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## Visual multilingualism in the Arctic minority context of indigenous urban communities (Enontekiö, Dudinka and Khanty-Mansiysk)

The article summarizes some of the results of research on the current linguistic and cultural identity of the Sámi community in Enontekiö, Finland, of Nenets, Dolgan, Nganasan, Evenki and Enets communities in Dudinka, and of the Mansi community in Khanty-Mansiysk in the Russian Federation. The research focuses on analysing the linguistic landscapes of Enontekiö, Dudinka and Khanty-Mansiysk. The visual materials on linguistic landscape in general, and schoolscape in particular analysed in the paper were collected by the authors during their fieldworks: 2015 in Hetta, Enontekiö, 2008 and 2016 in Dudinka, and 2015 in Khanty-Mansiysk. We conclude that there is a direct correspondence between the representation of the minority languages in the broad linguistic landscape of the area and the official language policy of the state in question, the differences observed at the territories under investigation originate from the official language policy in the given state. The only domain of linguistic landscape in all the territories where the minority language is represented on its own or in combination with the majority language is that of educational and cultural institutions. The lack of monolingual minority signs in public spaces can also be the result of the fact that the use of the minority languages in writing is a recent development in all of these communities.

### 1. Introduction

The article summarizes some of the results of a research on the current linguistic and cultural identity of the Sámi community in Enontekiö, Finland, that of Nenets, Dolgan, Nganasan, Evenki and Enets communities in Dudinka, as well as of the Mansi community in Khanty-Mansiysk in the Russian Federation. The research aims at presenting how members of these communities adjust to today's urban multilingual environment in their respective territories. In its present phase the research focuses on analysing the linguistic landscapes of Enontekiö, Dudinka and Khanty-Mansiysk, as well as the attitudes and strategies of urban minorities with respect to inter-generational transmission of minority languages.<sup>1</sup>

In case of Enontekiö the present paper seeks to explore the linguistic landscape of Hetta, the administrative centre of Enontekiö, to analyse the visual representation of a minority language that has essentially been used orally. The presence and absence of both minority Sámi and majority Finnish on road and street signs, name signs of buildings, notices and the schoolscape<sup>2</sup> of the Hetta elementary school as well

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1. The present research has been carried out in the framework of the project "Minority languages in the process of urbanization: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Arctic indigenous communities" (NKFIH-11246).

2. The schoolscape includes visual materials, e.g. notice boards, tableaus, displays, teaching materials, building signs present in the school's premises (cf. Tódor 2014).

as the distribution of these genres (i.e. types of signs) are presented in the article. The paper also investigates how the linguistic landscape of public places and the school follows the official minority language policy reflected in the Sámi Language Act, the norms of language use in the community, as well as majority and minority attitudes towards Sámi language and culture.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of the paper in case of Dudinka is to present the linguistic landscape of the administrative centre of Krasnoyarsk Krai in North Siberia, in Russia.<sup>4</sup> The aim here is to investigate the visual representation of a minority language and identity, as well as the presence and absence of both indigenous minority languages (Nenets, Dolgan, Nganasan, Enets and Evenki) and the majority language Russian in the city. The paper answers the following questions (1) How does the linguistic landscape of public places and the school reflect the official minority language policy in Russia? (2) Which languages appear in the linguistic landscape of Dudinka? (3) Do differences exist in the use of minority languages? (4) Can we find any other languages in the streets of the city? The representation of indigenous minorities, as well as semi-otic elements and signage has been part of the urban public space sporadically and mainly appear in minority spaces.

In the case of Khanty-Mansiysk,<sup>5</sup> the paper aims to define the extent of multilingualism in the town's landscape and place the limited amount of textual and visual elements connected to the Mansi – sometimes generally to the Ob-Ugric peoples – in this diverse scale governed by language policy and identity constructions rather than actual language use. The small number of signs forming the Mansi linguistic landscape do not allow to group or assort these elements according to their genres, but gives the opportunity to compile a complete or near-complete enumeration and to clarify their context.

Analysis presented here covers public signage, i.e. road signs, street names, the names of administrative and commercial institutions, advertisements, as well as signage on sculptures and on certain institutions reflecting indigenous identities. Observations also include dynamic signs beside static ones, such as “flat screen displays, video walls and other dynamic visual stimuli” (Marten et al. 2012: 4). Thus, the traditional notion of the linguistic landscape is here interpreted in a broader sense including not only linguistic elements but also other forms of visual representations, e.g. ethnic ornaments, symbols and icons. Signs can be divided into official top-down and private bottom-up ones (Ben Rafael et al. 2006, Cenoz & Gorter 2006). In the present research official signs are further classified as signage on and within public administrative institutions and as commercial signage. The analysis of all of the signs in the communities under investigation is outside the scope of this investigation.

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3. The article summarizes some of the results on the fieldwork carried out during the August of 2015 in Hetta, Enontekiö.

4. In case of Dudinka fieldwork and the collection of materials were conducted in 2008 (as a part of a previous project) and in February in 2016.

5. The article summarizes some of the results on the fieldwork carried out six times between 2006 and 2015 in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug.

Rather, it aims at finding signage with the traces of bilingualism and minority identity, as well as presenting the most typical genres and language combinations prevailing this arctic linguistic landscape.

The article first introduces readers to the theoretical background relevant to the research project and then refers to some earlier studies carried out in the linguistic landscapes of urban and arctic environments. The chapter then goes on to present the places of the research and the local minority speech communities giving also an overview of some aspects of the language situation of each minority in their respective countries. Results of the fieldworks in the urban environments of Enontekiö, Dudinka and Khanty-Mansiysk are detailed in the next section followed by the conclusions and the summary in the end.

## 2. Theoretical background and earlier research

As it is defined by Kelly-Holmes (2014: 136) “the concept of linguistic landscape represents an attempt to account for the visual presence of particular languages in the public space as a reflection of and contribution to ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e. the relative strength of these languages in terms of their status and functions as “living languages” within their immediate speech communities and beyond, particularly in minority language spaces and sites of complex multilingualism”.

In the past decades the investigation of the linguistic landscape has become a field of research on its own right. Landry and Bourhis (1997) examined the language situation in Québec and concluded that the norm of visual language use in a certain speech community is an indication of its linguistic vitality. Jackendoff (1983) claims that the use of signs and the choice of language on them depends on the community’s writing and reading comprehension skills, and that the community uses the language it wishes to be identified with. The language on signs also delivers message to outsiders about the linguistic composition of the community and reflects the status of the language. Similarly, the visual use of a minority language increases its prestige and has a positive effect on its oral usage. The dominant language generally appears in front of or above the minority sign and can be printed in a larger font size. The linguistic landscape is regarded by Shohamy (2009) as an arena where the languages fight for their dominance in the community reflecting the processes of language policy, language ideology and the language situation in the community.

Most of the earlier studies on linguistic landscape have focused on the urban environment of multilingual communities in cities like Tokyo, Brussels, Leeuwarden and Donostia-San Sebastián where due to globalization as well as to initiations in politics and language policy the sociolinguistic situation of the community, i.e. the patterns of language use, identity and thus the visual representation of the languages has significantly changed (Backhaus 2007; Cenoz és Gorter 2006; Gorter et al. 2012; Coupland 2010; Huebner 2006; Shohamy et al. 2010). Recently, the number of investigations on the linguistic landscape and schoolsapes in East-Central European Hungarian paired

multilingual communities has also increased (Horváth 2013; Laihonen 2012, 2013; Szabó 2013; Tódor 2014; Brown 2012).<sup>6</sup> These studies primarily focus on presenting how the linguistic landscape represents the state of language policy of the city, the attitudes of the majority and the minority, as well as the role of the linguistic landscape in the process of language revitalization.

A bulk of recent research on the linguistic landscape has been carried out in minority speech communities claiming that the exploration of the linguistic landscape enriches the description of the minority language situation and of minority attitudes in the community. As a consequence the visibility of a minority language and culture is not only an indicator but also a facilitator of the vitality, maintenance and transmission of the minority language. Naturally, linguistic landscapes differ with respect to the status of the minority community, whether it is an indigenous or a migrant one, as well as to the size of the community, whether it has a significant number of members or it is an endangered speech community with only a couple of hundred speakers.

Studying the linguistic landscape of indigenous minority communities in Fennoscandinavia is a recent phenomenon which has so far involved Sámi, Tornedalen Finnish and Kven speech communities (Helander 2015; Pietikäinen 2011, 2014, 2015; Salo 2012). These mostly comparative studies investigate how minority languages, e.g. Sámi in Lovozero, Karasjok, Inari and Sevetijärvi are represented and function in the linguistic landscape of administrative centres. Such diachronic and synchronic researches emphasize that today's arctic linguistic landscape and the sociolinguistic situation of the minorities can be best interpreted in the light of processes of political and economic changes characterizing each minority. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2015) have recently drawn attention to the significance of researches related to the investigation of the linguistic situation of minorities that are situated in the periphery with respect to their geographical and economical position. Minorities in the Arctic periphery are today more mobile than their ancestors had been. They leave their homeland due to better possibilities in the labour market and in education and either return or not. This heterogeneous peripheral community recently also includes non-members of the minority who for shorter or longer periods settle down there. This current flow of people in and out of the periphery affects the sociolinguistic situation and linguistic landscape of the local minority community. Studies on the Finnish periphery focus on describing the linguistic landscape of the administrative centre of Inari ignoring the Sámi community of Enontekiö which, in many respects, is in a more peripheral situation. The present research thus aims at supplementing studies on describing northern linguistic landscapes. Similarly to the Inari study we explore the places of local activities, including shops, the child care centre with a special emphasis on school premises, as well as places of tourism. Places of activities related to the Sámi community are underrepresented in Hetta as opposed to Inari which due to its more central position is home to the Sámi Parliament and the YLE Sámi Radio.

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6. Cf. a workshop conference on Theory and Practice of Linguistic Landscape research on East-Central European Minorities organised on 23 May 2013, <<http://www.nytud.hu/nyelvitajkep/>>.

Classic Sámi studies have been mostly concerned with the Sámi that live scattered in their traditional indigenous territories (*Sápmi*) and are engaged in reindeer herding. However, today the Sámi cannot only be defined as a Fenno-Scandinavian minority of the official Sámi territories as about half of them live outside these territories and an increasing number of them settle down in administrative centres of Sápmi, as well as commute between Sámi villages or settlements and cities outside their traditional indigenous territories due to education and work. The urbanisation of the Sámi (cf. Lindgren 2000, Nyseth & Pedersen 2014, Seurujärvi-Kari 2012, Virtanen et al. 2013) is a present-day phenomenon that has for example drawn the attention of experts on Sámi language teaching to the fact that the Sámi language competency of students largely differ as to their place of living. Consequently, according to Huhtanen and Puukko (2016) different strategies should be elaborated on teaching Sámi to those that live in mostly monolingual Finnish communities in urban centres and to those that live in more compact Sámi communities.

The identity and language situation of Sámi people living in urban settlements has not been thoroughly examined apart from Lindgren's (2000) outstanding work on exploring the identity of Sámis in Helsinki. She differentiates Sámis in terms of their place of living, i.e. Sámis living in the administrative centres of Sápmi are urban Sámis (= *urbaanisaamelainen*), Sámis living in Finnish cities outside Sápmi are city Sámis (= *kaupunkisaamelainen*), and Sámis living in Helsinki are the Sámis of the capital (= *pääkaupungin saamelainen*). The Sámis in the place of research, Hetta can thus be identified as urban Sámis. They differ from the Sámis living outside Sápmi as Sápmi urban centres include Sámis that besides their urban way of life as e.g. teachers or social workers maintain their traditional Sámi way of life as reindeer herders or Sámi craftsmen and craftswomen. For sociolinguistic research this new community of Sámis mixing the urban and traditional way of living, similarly to more urbanised Sámi communities, has mostly been invisible. We thus believe that research in the urban settlements of Sápmi is indispensable for us to be able to understand the Sámi identity of our times and the current situation of the Sámi.

Since the academic papers describing the sociolinguistic situation of the northern indigenous people of Russia are underrepresented among the literature of language vitality or sociolinguistics, the lack of comprehensive studies on the Mansi language and its speakers is regrettably not surprising at all. Only a few articles (Skribnik & Koshkaryova 1996, Spodina 2011) touch upon Mansi language vitality, besides their short expanse these papers are difficult to analyse since they either mention the data on Mansi and Khanty simultaneously, either hardly differentiate between rural and urban Mansi. Throwing a glance at possible subfields of sociolinguistics the situation is even less satisfactory. Although the situation and transformation of Mansi language teaching makes education the most important domain of language use as well as of language revitalisation, unlike the articles introducing the system of other indigenous Siberian peoples (Jääsalmi-Krüger 1998, Ventsel & Dudeck 1998, Bartels & Bartels 1995, Lavrillier 2013) no paper discusses the role of Mansi in language transmission or language acquisition. As for the indigenous people of the Taimir Peninsula, only a few

articles were written about the situation and problems of North Siberian people by Shoji and Janhunen (1997), by Vahtin (2001, 2007), by Krivonogov (2001) and by Sillanpää (2008). Until recent times the issue of viability, linguistic landscapes and sociolinguistic investigations were underrepresented in the literature. The identity and language situation of the indigenous peoples of the Taimyr has not been thoroughly examined apart from Siegl's (2013) work on sociolinguistic status quo on the Taimyr.

The situation is similar in the case of studies on linguistic landscape, the research of the role of indigenous Siberian languages or the overview of the linguistic landscape in Siberian cities is completely missing. The observation of minority languages appearing in the linguistic landscape would be extremely urgent and important in post-Soviet cities. The turning from the Soviet establishment to the consumer culture altered the linguistic landscape of cities, metropolises and changed the role of cities as well, turning the communal spaces into the domains of advertisement and thus also the fora of new identity constructions (Muth 2016: 19). Nevertheless, papers on post-Soviet urban linguistic landscape almost exclusively deal with Russian only.

### 3. Recent developments in minority related legislation and education

#### 3.1. Finland

The Sámi community in Fenno-Scandinavia has traditionally been bound by the family, as well as by their common place and source of living. Due to its gradual assimilation into the majority and migration away from their homeland, the Sámi needed to establish new forms of cooperation in the second half of the 20th century to be able to maintain their language and culture. As a result, the Sámi people in Finland have become members of the Sámi Council, the World Council of Indigenous People, the Nordic Council, the UN Human Rights Committee and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council. In Finland the first anti-discrimination laws were introduced in the 1970s which resulted in a more favourable attitude of the majority towards the Sámi and in an increasing number of measures aiming at the improvement of the economical, educational and social situation of the Sámi minorities in Finland. According to the Finnish Constitution (2000, § 17) the Sámi are an indigenous minority with the rights to maintain and develop its language and culture. In 1973 the Sámi Parliament was set up to protect these rights. Since 1991 the Finnish Parliament has been responsible for dealing with matters that concern the Sámi. Today's Sámi Language Act (*Saamen kielilaki*, 2003) came into effect in 1992 for the first time, replaced by a second language act with a larger field of rights, guaranteeing the right for the Sámis to use their mother tongue orally and in writing with the authorities (*Asetus saamen kielen käyttämisestä viranomaisissa*, 1201/1991). The act itself has presently been under discussion at the Finnish parliament. The Act also states that the Sámi have the right to be informed in their mother tongue within their indigenous territories, i.e. in the four northernmost municipalities of Finland inhabited by North, Inari and Skolt Sámis.

Thus, road and street signs, as well as names of institutions should appear both in Finnish and Sámi. Unlike in Norway and Sweden there is no separate act governing the official use of Sámi place names (Helander 2015).

It was not until the 1950s when Sámi children had the possibility to learn their mother tongue at school. In the beginning children could study Sámi in the residential schools of the central villages. In the 1970s an act was put into force enabling Sámi children to study certain subjects in their mother tongue. Primary education in Sámi was first introduced at the Utsjoki primary school in 1975–1976 followed by other primary schools in Finnish Lapland in the 1980s. During the 1990s the number of institutions providing Sámi language teaching and primary education in Sámi has considerably grown in the indigenous territories. A development of key importance with respect to Sámi education is the fact that since 1999 the costs of education in Sámi in the Sámi homeland have been covered by the Finnish state (cf. Keskitalo et al. 2014).

The maori language nest was the impetus for establishing a language nest in Sevetijärvi and in Ivalo in 1997 which has been playing a significant role in the language socialization of the youngest Sámi generations also in Inari, Finland (cf. Pasanen 2003, 2015). The idea of setting up a language nest in Hetta has recently been put forward by local Sámi activists in Hetta. Currently in Finland ca. 400 students study Sámi and ca. 100 students study the subjects of mother tongue and mathematics in Sámi. The language of education is Sámi in 12 schools and Sámi is taught as a subject in 29 schools altogether. Although the situation of Sámi education has considerably improved in the past decades, there is no sufficient number of child care centres where the youngest age groups can acquire Sámi or qualified teachers of Sámi, and due to the lack of teaching materials there are only a few subjects in the 7th–9th grades taught in Sámi. Students of North Sámi have the best possibilities as their mother tongue is taught in all schools in Finnish Lapland and also in a number of schools outside Lapland (cf. Keskitalo et al. 2014, Aikio 2016, Huhtanen & Puukko eds. 2016). The development of North Sámi teaching materials is supported not only by the Finnish but also by the Norwegian and Swedish state.

### 3.2. Russia

Although the indigenous small-numbered peoples investigated in the present paper live on territories of Russia that at least partly hold their ethnonym in their official name, being a titular ethnic group in an autonomous okrug does not allow to have or to create wide range of language rights. The Russian Federation consists of various kinds of subjects, among which only the republics have constitution and the right to establish state languages, while autonomous okrugs can introduce only some official functions for their titular languages (Zamyatin 2014: 15). The fundamental acts regulating language policy in relation to the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation are the Russian Constitution, the Constitution of the Russian Federation Law “On Education”, the Law “On languages of peoples of the

RSFSR”, the Law “On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation”, the concept of the Russian Federation’s national education policy and a number of other federal and regional regulations. (Lekhanova 2008: 28) These acts recognize the equality of the languages of all peoples, guarantee the right of every citizen to preserve their native language and to create conditions for its study and development.

On the territory of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra ten primary schools offer Mansi language classes at present (cf. Horváth 2015), all of them to be found on the outskirts of the Okrug, in villages and smaller towns. According to the figures in the annual reports of the Department of Education of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra, 453 children studied the Mansi language at governmental schools in 2011, and 423 in 2012 (Šestálova 2011, 2012). While approximately 250 Mansi children study in Khanty-Mansiysk, there is no kindergarten, primary or vocational school offering full training or at least some of the classes with Mansi as the language of instruction. Studies in the field of Mansi language or culture are available at the Teacher Training College and – to a limited extent – at Ugra State University. The language of instruction in the programs of tertiary education is Russian.

Alternative educational institutions, that is, institutions offering extracurricular courses teaching Mansi language and culture exist in two settlements in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra, in Saranpaul and in Khanty-Mansiysk. Alternative institutions were founded in larger, urbanised settlements to complement Mansi children’s knowledge of their heritage culture and language. These institutions were established to teach children with limited or no knowledge of Mansi culture and no competence in the Mansi language at all. They attempt to find a solution for the problems governmental education has faced for decades, and they do so by developing new teaching materials (e.g. Norova 2010) and teaching methodology (e.g. Norova 2011). There are no official statistics available on the students of alternative institutions, but according to the estimation of the teachers working at the alternative institution in Khanty-Mansiysk, approximately a hundred students attend these two educational institutions in the Okrug.

In spite of its numerically significant native minority, schools in Dudinka lack traditions in teaching indigenous languages on any school level. The informants during my fieldworks (in 2008 and 2016) reported that since 2010 new attempts to teach Dolgan, Nganasan and Evenki have been made only twice or once a week in School Number 1 with its adjacent boarding school. Teaching Tundra Nenets in School Number 1 has longer traditions. In the Taimyrsky Kolledž, an institute of higher secondary education and practical education, language classes have been organized for Dolgan, Tundra Nenets, Nganasan, Forest Enets and Evenki, as well as some basic training was launched in educational sciences. In 2006 special evening classes in Tundra Nenets were organized at the City centre of Folk Art. It was limited to only six months, and was a one-time opportunity. The idea of a language nest was initiated which had strong local support but the role of these initiatives has so far remained symbolic (Siegl 2013: 12, 23).

Summing up other fieldworkers' notes on Tundra Nenets and Dolgan, the two titular indigenous peoples are comparatively safe and have survival chances, though still endangered due to relatively compact settlement areas and to a larger number of speakers. Nganasan has entered the path towards extinction, and both Enets, as well as Taimyrian Evenki are critically endangered.

## 4. The places of research

### 4.1. Enontekiö

The mother tongue of the Sámi people in Enontekiö is North Sámi as a rule which, with its ca. 25,000 speakers, is considered to be the largest Sámi minority community in Fenno-Scandinavia. In Finland there is an estimated number of 2,000 North Sámi speakers and ca. 3,500 consider Sámi as their mother tongue. There are no monolingual speakers of North Sámi in Finland, apart perhaps from some elderly people born in Finnmark. Apart from the municipality of Utsjoki North Sámi is a minority language in Finnish Lapland. According to recent census data the number of Sámis in Utsjoki is decreasing, while there is an increasing number of them in the municipalities of Enontekiö and Inari. (cf. Tilastokeskus).

The place of research, Hetta (*Heahtá*) is located in the municipality of Enontekiö (*Eanodat*) (see Map 1) where 11% of the population, i.e. 203 people consider themselves as Sámis (cf. Tilastokeskus). The Sámi of Enontekiö, a municipality bordered by Norway and Sweden, live scattered in the municipality's small villages and more concentrated in the central village of Hetta. Enontekiö is the third largest (8391 km<sup>2</sup>) and one of the least populated municipalities (0.24 people/km<sup>2</sup>) in Finland.

The local community mostly relies on tourism and reindeer herding as their source of living. The official languages of the territory are Sámi and Finnish. North Sámi is taught in the elementary schools of Kilpisjärvi (*Gilbbesjávri*), Karesuvanto (*Gárasavvon*) and Hetta, as well as in the secondary school of Hetta. North Sámi is also a medium of education in these settlements. The Sámi community in Hetta is characterized by native and natively like speakers of Sámi, as well as by Sámis who consider themselves Sámi, but acquired Sámi as a second language. Most speakers acquired and use Sámi in the family domain and on family occasions but there is an increasing number of Sámi in the middle-aged and younger generations who use Sámi at their workplaces, e.g. at the health centre and at the municipality of Enontekiö. Although, due to revitalization efforts and to the positive attitudes of the majority and the minority, the process of language change, which started ca. 150 years ago, has slowed down in the community (cf. Duray 2015), younger generation of Sámi students use Finnish as a rule in their everyday lives.



Picture 1. The road sign of the municipality of Enontekiö, an indigenous territory of the Sámi in Finland



Map 1. The municipality of Enontekiö and the place of research, the central village of Hetta.

## 4.2. Dudinka

Dudinka is the administrative centre of the Taimyrsky Dolgano-Nenetsky District of Krasnoyarsk Krai, Russia. Officially, the five Taimyrian villages of Volochanka, Leniskye Pesky, Potapovo, Ust-Avam and Hantayskoe Ozero also belong to the town. The city processes and sends cargo via Norilsk railway to the Norilsk Mining and Smelting Factory and also ships non-ferrous metals, coal and ore. Dudinka is the most important port in the lower reaches of the Yenisei River accessible to seagoing ships. Thanks to its important strategic position Dudinka is declared to be a closed area. Therefore, tourism and globalization work slowly here.

Dudinka is a multiethnic city. The five indigenous peoples officially recognized as the indigenous peoples of the Taimyr are Tundra Nenetses, Dolgans, Nganasans, Enetses, and Evenkis. Linguistically, Nenets, Enets and Nganasan belong to the Samoyedic languages of the Uralic family, Dolgan is a Turkic language, Evenki belongs to the northern branch of the Tungusic family. Apart from its significant indigenous population and descendants from the political prisoners who have stayed here, Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians, Azeris and other people from Central Asia can be frequently encountered.

The most problematic matter is the absence of any accurate demographic and socio-linguistic data regarding the city of Dudinka. The only data available are from the census of 2010 covering only the Krasnoyarsk Krai. According to the official homepage of the Taimyr Municipality Area in 2008 there were 5,517 Dolgans, 3,486 (Tundra) Nenetses, 749 Nganasans, 270 Evenkis and 168 Enetses (cf. *Vizitnaya kartochka munitsipalnogo rayona*). According to some statistical data in 2005 Dudinka had 25,000 inhabitants, out of whom 1,328, 5.3% of the urban population, belonged to indigenous communities (Siegl 2013). According to the city's official website ([Gorod-dudinka.ru](http://Gorod-dudinka.ru)) in January 2016 the population of the city was 23,559. The city is Russian-speaking. The official language of the territory is Russian, which is the dominating language in Dudinka.

On the basis fieldworkers' notes and our observations the language skills of the members of indigenous communities are quite diverse. Language usage is highly variable. It is especially the older generation that can speak and use the native language fluently. These activists work mostly in educational and cultural centers, or in the media, where the indigenous minority culture, language and identity are preserved.

## 4.3. Khanty-Mansiysk

Mansi is an endangered language, it plays minor role in its Russian-dominated environment. Its situation is affected by the loss of traditional way of life and rapid urbanisation. The process of language shift has already been taking place in the Mansi-speaking community for decades. Because of recent economical and social changes in the Mansi society, the traditional model of language transmission and language use has been radically changed. The new lifestyle involving multi-ethnic families using Russian as common

language affected the intergenerational transmission of Mansi negatively, and the minority position the Mansi occupy in cities reduced the domains of language use. On the other hand, urbanization has also had positive effects on language use: urbanisation has changed the attitudes towards Mansi language (Horváth 2012: 65), activated some of the already existing linguistic domains (e.g. press and media), created new domains (internet, especially social media) and maintained language revitalization attempts.

The demographic processes characterizing the Mansi language situation (and also its closest relative, the Khanty language) are fairly different from the tendencies observed in the case of other Uralic language spoken in Russia. While the number of Mansi speakers is decreasing in every census (2,746 speakers in 2002, only 938 speakers in 2010), the number of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Mansi ethnicity is increasing, from 11,432 people in 2002 to 12,269 people in 2010 (Sipőcz 2005, Census data 2010 – Национальный состав населения Российской Федерации, Национальный состав населения по субъектам Российской Федерации).

As a result of the major economic and social changes that have taken place in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra since the 1970s, the Okrug attracted representatives of many different ethnic groups who migrated into the Okrug to work (and eventually to settle down), thus the Okrug has become one of the most prosperous and multi-ethnic regions in the Russian Federation. These changes also affected the indigenous people, instead of following the traditional lifestyle (hunting, fishing, reindeer herding to a certain extent) the representatives of the indigenous people settled down, moved to towns and cities. 57% of the Mansi population now live in urban settlements.

Although the majority of Mansi live in settlements of urban type, they form a tiny minority within the cities, in Khanty-Mansiysk they represent only 1.5% of the city's population (Census 2010). In a great part due to the lack of monolingual Mansi domains of language use in Khanty-Mansiysk, the most stable domains for speaking Mansi are the family or microcommunal sphere, and the few professional domain specially related to the use of Mansi language (such as e.g. the newsroom of the Mansi journal).

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Hetta, Enontekiö

#### 5.1.1. The distribution of genres

The linguistic landscape of Hetta is characterized by majority Finnish, minority Sámi and English which appear on the signs as a single language or in a certain combination. Figure 1 presents the distribution of genres (cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2011, Gorter et al. 2012) on 45 signs included in this investigation.<sup>7</sup> According to the observations the language combinations clearly represent the official language policy of Finland as about half of the signs are bilingual Finnish and Sámi. The majority of the signs are road signs, name

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7. Data in Figure 1 do not represent all of the signs in Hetta.

signs of buildings and street names with Finnish being in an emphatic position in front of or above the Sámi sign. Finnish, the official language of the state and the locally most relevant language appears on all of the signs discussed in this article.<sup>8</sup>

A quarter of the signs, notices near tourist attractions, maps, advertisements and a few place names, such as hotel signs, are monolingual Finnish which is due to the fact that mainly Finnish tourists visit this popular tourist destination. English only appears on shorter notices and 4% of the signs present a Finnish-English language combination. Monolingual English signs such as the name sign of the local grocery store (K-Market) are also underrepresented on only 4% of the signs. About a quarter of the signs are monolingual Sámi. They are all included in the schoolscape of the primary school and are the products of Sámi students' project work. Although the language of interactions at the school is Finnish except for Sámi classes and communication between Sámi teachers, there is a positive attitude towards Sámi language teaching and thus towards the visual representation of Sámi as it is represented by quite a number of Sámi signs and as it is claimed by Sámi teachers at school.

In sum, it can be claimed that Sámi on ca. 50% of the signs plays mostly symbolic role in the linguistic landscape of Hetta.

	Road sign	Street name	Name sign of a building	Notice	Schoolscape	Hetta (N; %)	
Minority	0	0	0	0	9	9	20.0%
Majority	2	0	3	6	0	11	24.4%
Majority +Minority	8	2	9	0	2	21	46.7%
Majority +International	0	0	1	1	0	2	4.4%
International	0	0	2	0	0	2	4.4%
<b>Σ:</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Figure 1. Distribution of genres in Hetta linguistic landscape (International = English).

### 5.1.2. Road signs, street names and name signs of buildings

The linguistic landscape of Hetta is dominated by road signs, street names and name signs of buildings. Road signs and street names are without exception bilingual with majority Finnish in the first place followed by the Sámi sign as a rule (Pictures 2–5). Road signs designating places and directions are also Finnish-Sámi bilingual (Picture 3). The road sign on Picture 2 is incomplete with respect to the place name of Muonio which as opposed to the two other place names above lacks the Sámi designation (*Muoná*).

8. On the patterns of language use in the local community see Duray 2015.



Picture 2 (above). Road sign of the village in Finnish and Sámi.

Picture 3 (below). Road sign of the airport in the vicinity of Hetta in Finnish and Sámi.





Picture 4 (above). Road sign in the vicinity of Hetta.

Picture 5 (below). Street sign in Hetta in Finnish and Sámi.





Picture 6 (above). Name sign of the pharmacy in Hetta in Finnish and Sámi.

Picture 7 (below). Name sign of the old people's home in Hetta in Finnish and Sámi.



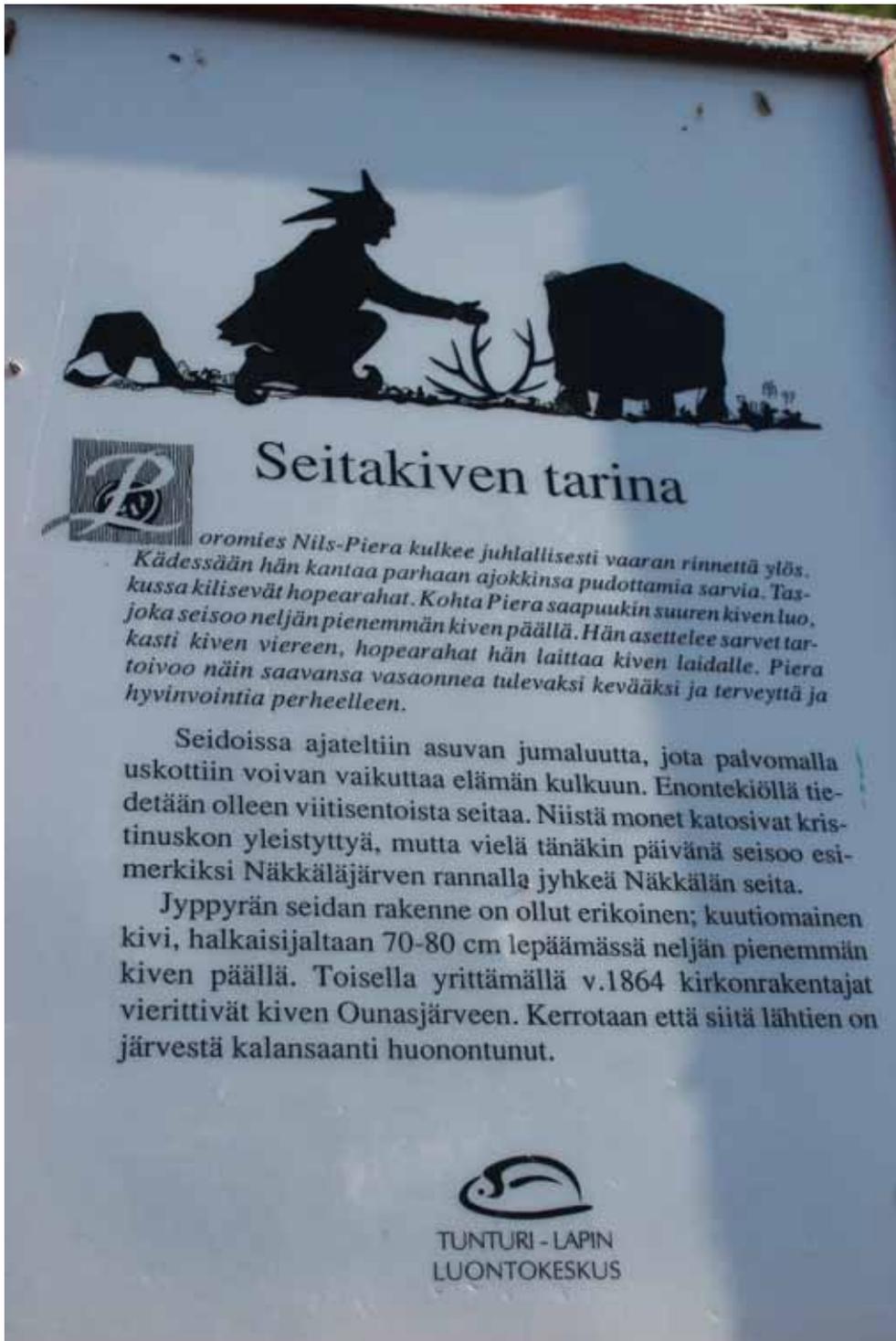


Picture 8. Hotel sign in Hetta in Finnish.

Only a small proportion of the name signs of buildings are Finnish-Sámi bilingual. The name sign of the pharmacy in the centre of Hetta also follows the provisions of the Sámi Language Act with the Finnish name in front followed by the Sámi designation in the same format (Picture 6). Most of the names of institutions in the centre of Hetta are present on signs of direction, all of them being bilingual with the Finnish designation placed in front of the Sámi one (Picture 7). Name signs of buildings closely related to tourism e.g. on hotels and restaurants only include the Finnish designation (Picture 8).

### 5.1.3. Notices

Similarly to the names of places and institutions, Sámi and also English are under-represented with regard to notices which are all related to tourism. Although tourism plays an important role in the life of both Enontekiö and Inari, Inari being the centre of Sámi activities in the Sámi indigenous territories abounds in Sámi signs and symbols, as well as other languages (Salo 2012). Picture 9 presents a notice on a stone (*Seitakivi*) in Finnish on the path leading to the top of Jyppyrä hill in Hetta which as a part of the traditional Sámi belief system used to be a popular destination for the Sámis. It used to be a Sámi custom to place reindeer antlers and silver coins on the stone to bring health and well-being for the family. Although it is a Sámi tradition, the



Picture 9. The story of the Seita stone in Finnish on Jyppyrä.



Picture 10. Notice in front of the village church in Hetta in Finnish and English.

text on the notice board fails to inform tourists about that. It is a drawing of a Sámi man in a Sámi costume that refers to the Sámi tradition. Thus, the Finnish text only has a functional role informing Finnish tourists about an old tradition of reindeer herding, today an occupation of both Sámis and Finns.

While most of the notices are monolingual Finnish, there are a couple of bilingual ones including a notice on the opening hours of the village church in Finnish and English (Picture 10). Interestingly, there is no Sámi text on this notice, despite of the fact that recently there have been regular services in Sámi.

#### 5.1.4. The schoolscape

Sámi is not only represented visually in the public spaces of Hetta, but also in the inner space, e.g. in the Fell Lapland Nature Centre presenting the Sámi culture and most characteristically in the educational institutions of Hetta. Sámi education receives significant financial support, as besides the family domain schools in Enontekiö can be regarded as the most important domain of linguistic and cultural socialization. As one of the Sámi teachers in Hetta primary school reports with Sámi language use decreasing in the family, today an increasing number of parents rely on the school domain to transmit Sámi to their children.

We here explore the inner and outer spaces of the primary school investigating to what extent Sámi texts, notices and symbols characterize these spaces and represent the provisions of the Sámi Language Act, as well as minority and majority attitudes. One of the Sámi teachers, an active member of the local Sámi community, kept one of the authors of this article company by commenting on the schoolscape and several aspects of Sámi language teaching at the school.

The official language policy contained in the Sámi Language Act is reflected on the school façade and on a road sign designating direction where the name of the school appears in Finnish and Sámi. Similarly to public spaces Sámi signage at school has a symbolic function where Finnish dominates. Yet, Sámi classrooms and the vicinity of them are decorated with noticeboards and posters in Sámi presenting the project work of Sámi students on famous Sámi people (Picture 11).

Sámi artefacts and symbols, e.g. the drawings of reindeer, the Sun and the arctic landscape on windows, curtains and school furniture, clearly represent the positive attitude of the school community towards Sámi language and culture, as well as the intention to strengthen the Sámi identity of school children (Picture 12).

Name signs of the most frequently visited school premises including the headmaster's office, the library and the toilet are Finnish-Sámi bilingual ones with Finnish in an emphatic position placed above the Sámi text as in the case of other local bilingual signs outside school (Picture 13).

Sámi dominates the classroom where Sámi language and mathematics in Sámi are currently taught at lower grades for four pupils. As it is illustrated in some of the photos (Pictures 14–16) all the elements in the linguistic landscape of the classroom including writings on the blackboard and noticeboards are in Sámi. All teaching materials, e.g. cd-s for improving listening comprehension are also in Sámi, similarly to most of the books on the shelves.

In sum, the schoolscape in Hetta is reflective of a school community that promotes bilingualism positively affecting pupils' attitudes towards their minority language and culture, as well as their minority language use.





Picture 13 (above). Sign on the headmasters' office in Finnish and Sámi.

Picture 14 (below). Blackboard in Sámi.

lbma 455:1-2

Rehketcealkagat:

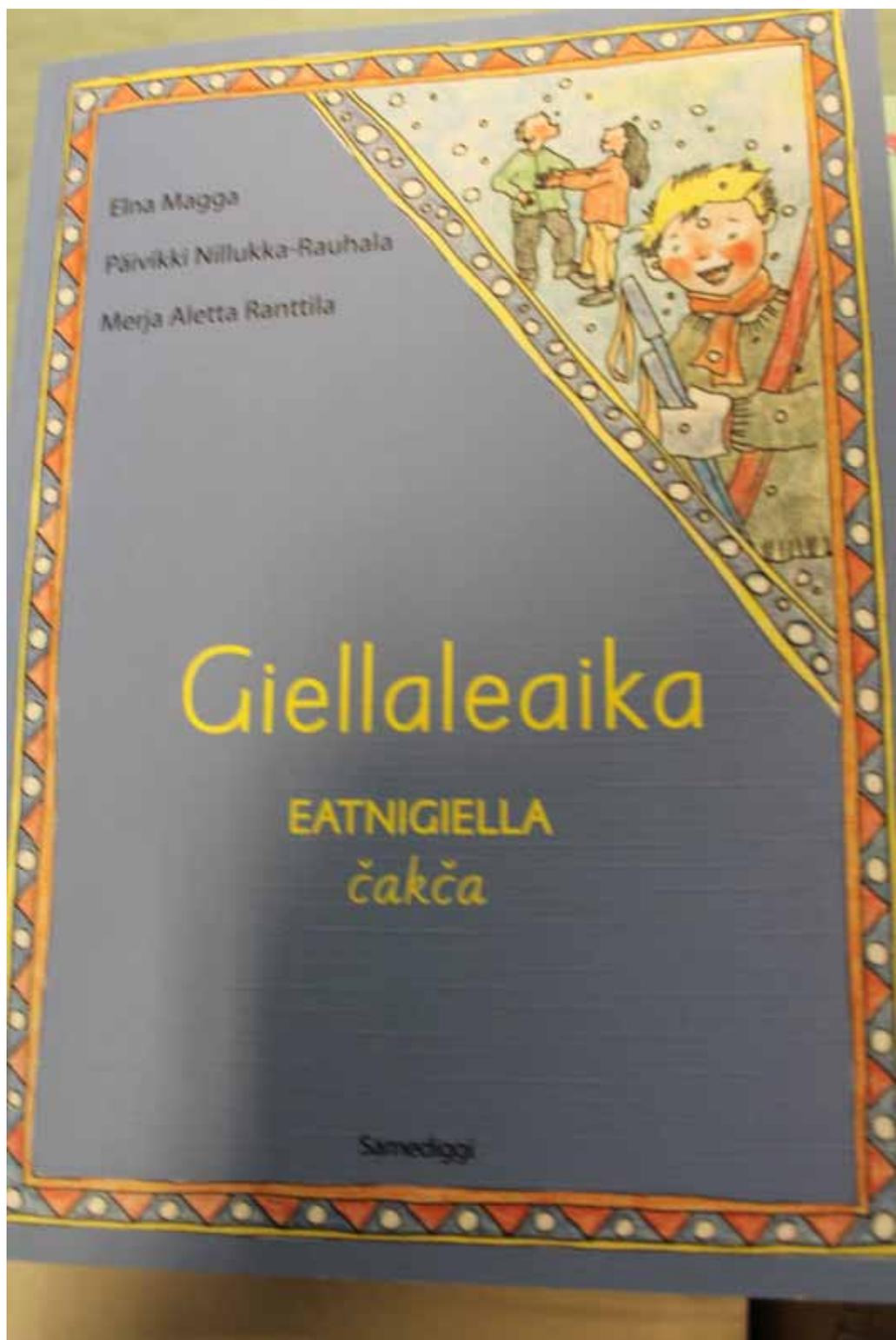
259+344

3·10

s. loga vuos s. 6

s. 6-7

s. 108-1109



Picture 15. Sámi teaching material (Mother Tongue).



Picture 16. Noticeboard with days, seasons and weather in Sámi.

## 5.2. Dudinka

### 5.2.1. Majority language in the linguistic landscape of Dudinka

A survey of the linguistic landscape of Dudinka reveals that it is the national language which is most frequently used in the city. Obviously, Russian is the language which most often appears on signs throughout the city with over 99% of all units in the analysis. All official institutions display monolingual signs in Russian. Russian language policy and laws do not forbid, but do not provide for bi- and multilingual signage resulting in the lack of them throughout the city. All official inscription, every traffic sign, signpost, street name, names of institutions, as well as advertising formulas and slogans are only monolingual Russian (Pictures 17–19).

### 5.2.2. Minority languages in the linguistic landscape of Dudinka

Occasionally, we can find two monolingual signs in the city which are written in a minority language. One of these is a neon sign on the wall of a house written in Dolgan: *Хейро* [hejro], Dolgan ‘sun’. The other one is written in Nenets. A new colourful playground was built in the centre of the city. It was carried out within the framework a project titled *Олюко* [olyuko] Nenets ‘child’, it has finished in summer of 2011. The name of the playground also has this Nenets word (Pictures 20–21).



Picture 17. Official sign of the School number 1 and boarding school (2016).

КОМИТЕТ КУЛЬТУРЫ, МОЛОДЕЖНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ  
И СПОРТА АДМИНИСТРАЦИИ ГОРОДА ДУДИНКИ

МУНИЦИПАЛЬНОЕ УЧРЕЖДЕНИЕ КУЛЬТУРЫ

ГОРОДСКОЙ ЦЕНТР  
НАРОДНОГО  
ТВОРЧЕСТВА



Picture 18 (above). Official sign of City Center of Folk Arts (2016).

Picture 19 (below). “Dudinka – the city of my hopes”, monolingual notice (2008).





Picture 20. Dolgan monolingual neon sign (2008).



Picture 21. Playground with monolingual Nenets notice (2016).

Other minority languages that are spoken in Dudinka such as Nganasan, Evenki, and Enets were not part of the linguistic landscape of the city. These two examples are only exceptions.

### 5.2.3. English in the linguistic landscape of Dudinka

While migration is continuous to the city, only local residents are moving into and out of the city. Due to the closed status of Dudinka it is not surprising that tourism and a steady influx of foreign visitors are not typical. However, these factors fairly often explain a high number of signs that use English, especially in urban agglomerations that are at the same time popular tourist destinations. Accordingly, English only has a symbolic function. It is rarely visible on verbal signs in the city. On advertising banners and on the facade of houses English is used as well in conjunction with Russian, mostly having a rather symbolic function, whereas an English heading is used as a catchphrase to trigger associations with the Western world and to convey notions of internationality, cosmopolitanism and a somewhat sublime sense of modernity. English words are very often written in Cyrillic (Pictures 22–24).

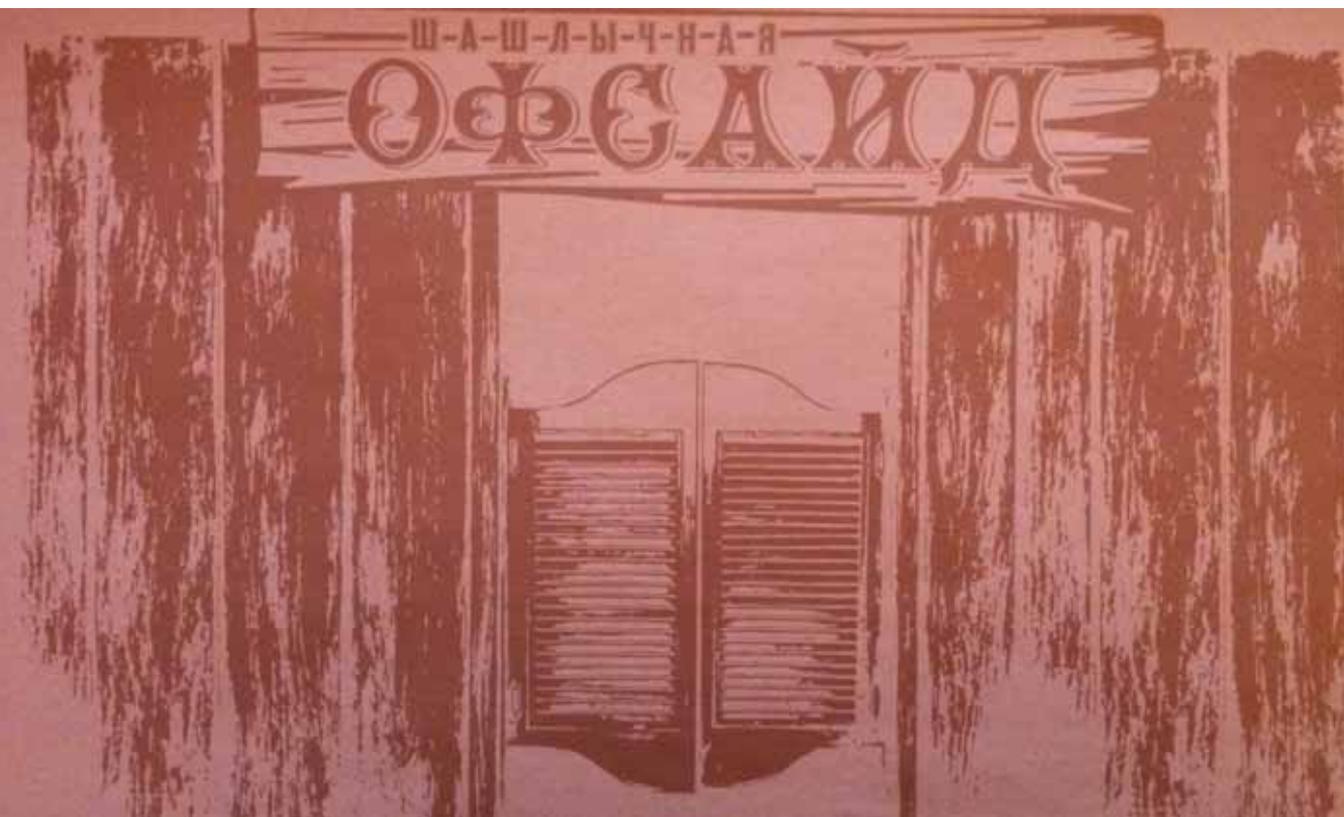


Picture 22. Bilingual advertisement using English elements (with Cyrillic and Latin writings) (2016).



Picture 23 (above). Graffiti using English elements (2016).

Picture 24 (below). Bilingual notice of a restaurant using English words in Cyrillic (2016).



#### 5.2.4. Various visual forms of the indigenous minority in the streets of Dudinka

In recent years decorative motifs, idols and symbols of the indigenous identity began to spread on street signs, banners and billboards (Picture 25). The sun, the tent (chum), a man dressed in a traditional costume, the shaman drum, a reindeer and decorative motifs of various peoples are recurring (Picture 26). Expressive motifs of the local aboriginal identity can be found in large numbers near the cultural and educational institutions (schools, folklore centres) of the indigenous minorities (Pictures 27–31). They visually show the presence of indigenous people in the area.



Picture 25. Street number with Nenets, Evenki, Nganasan and Enets motifs (2016).



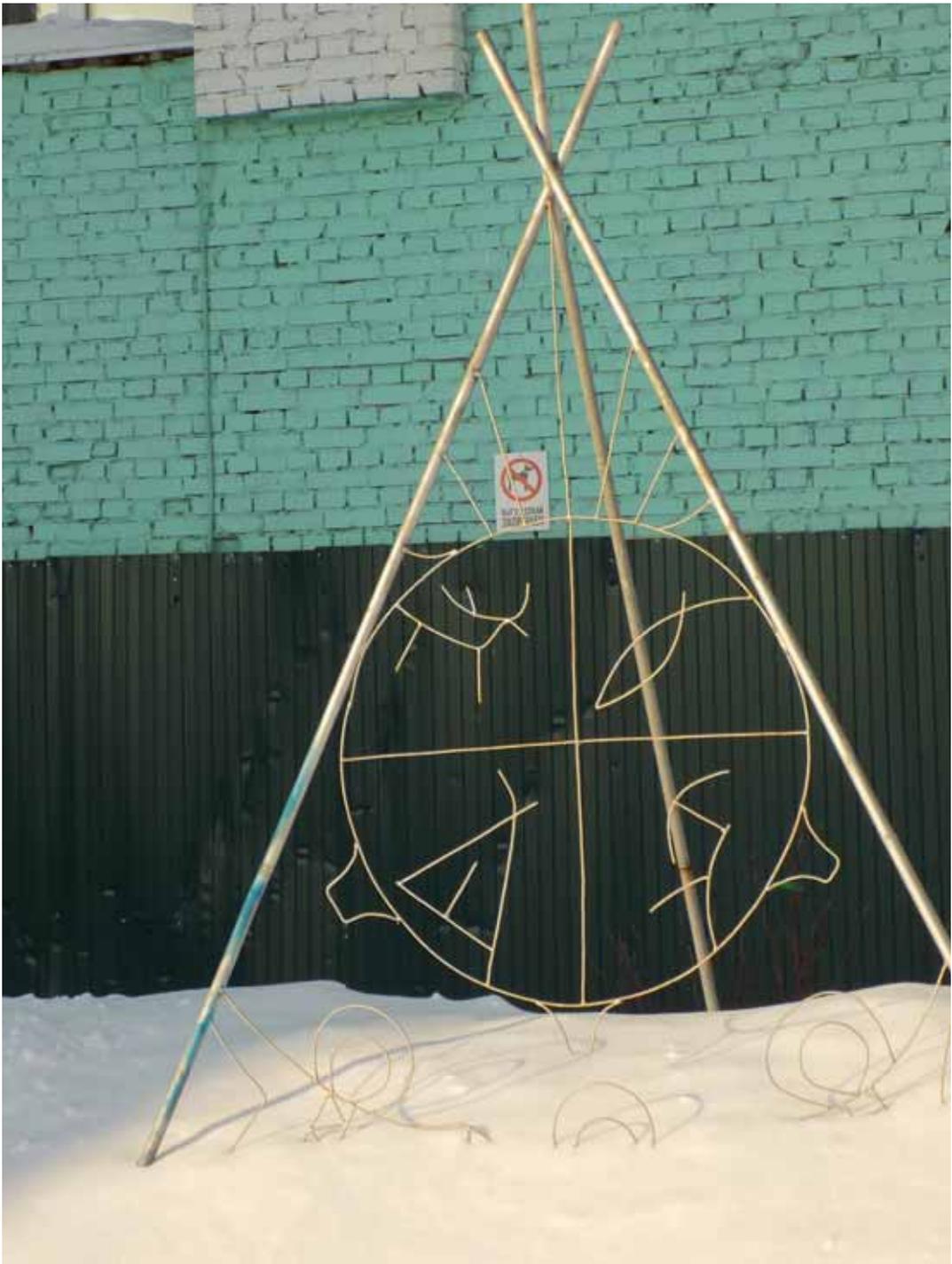
Picture 26 (above). Street number using aboriginal symbols (2016).

Picture 27 (below). The building of the City Center of Folk Arts. A park in front thematized for aboriginal people (2016).





Picture 28. Giant banner using aboriginal motifs and symbols (2016).



Picture 29. One of the four statues in front of the entry hall of the *Taimyrsky Kolledž* using aboriginal symbols: fish, hunter, tent, reindeer (2016).



Picture 30 (above). Three enlarged Nganasan idols in front of the entrance of the City Center of Folk Arts (2016).

Picture 31 (below). The “Taimyr house of Folk Arts” has a chum-like main entrance and statues of a mammoth and a bear (symbols of the Taimyr) (2016).





Picture 32. Nganasan lesson in the native language classroom of the *Taimyrsky Kolledž* (2008).

#### 5.2.4. Inner spaces

The most significant elements of the inner Taimyrian linguistic landscape are educational institutions and folklore centres, namely School number 1 [Дудиинская средняя школа №1] and the boarding school, Taimyrsky Kolledž [Таймырский колледж], “Taimyr house of Folk Arts” [Таймырский Дом народного творчества] and “the City centre of Folk Arts” [Гордской центр народного творчества]. Similarly to public spaces indigenous minority signage at school has a symbolic function. As it is illustrated in the photos all the elements in the linguistic landscape of those classrooms where the native language is taught are well-decorated with posters, noticeboards, teaching materials and writings on the blackboards in Nganasan or Nenents, presenting the work of students. Indigenous artefacts, symbols represent the positive attitude of the community in the schools and folklore centres. The Russian attributes of the state and official signage are also frequently presented in the landscape. (Pictures 32–34.)

As it was mentioned above bi- and multilingual signage do not occur throughout Dudinka at all. This is not the case in inner spaces. In the local institute, the “City centre of Folk Arts” there are five bilingual boards with greetings in indigenous languages. On the first above there is a Russian word written in black letters ‘Welcome’



Picture 33 (above). In the native language classroom of the *Taimyrsky Kolledž* (2016.)

Picture 34 (below). Russian flag with welcome notices in Nenets and in Dolgan. [‘Welcome’] depicted on the wall of the boarding school (2016).



and underneath there is the same word of greeting in one of the minority languages written in red letters. The edges of the notices are decorated with motifs of the respective ethnic communities (Pictures 35a–e). Also in the entry hall of the *Taimyrsky Kolledž* a digital notice board can be found with ‘Welcome’ signs in the five local languages and in Russian (Picture 36).



Picture 35a. Bilingual welcome signs ['Welcome']: Russian-Nenets (2016).



Picture 35b. Bilingual welcome signs: Russian-Dolgan (2016).



Picture 35c. Bilingual welcome signs: Russian-Nghanasan (2016).



Picture 35d. Bilingual welcome signs: Russian-Enets (2016).



Picture 35e. Bilingual welcome signs: Russian-Evenki (2016).



Picture 36. Multilingual 'Welcome' signs in the entry hall of the local *Taimyrskij Kolledž* (2016). 'Welcome' in Nenets, Dolgan, Nganasan, Enets, Evenki and in Russian.

### 5.3. Khanty-Mansiysk

#### 5.3.1. The Russian language in the linguistic landscape of Khanty-Mansiysk

Russian is the mother tongue of the Russian population (68.1%, Census 2010) of the town, most likely also the first language of the vast majority of the various other ethnic groups forming the remaining proportion of the population. Russian is the one and only official language of Khanty-Mansiysk, as well as the mediating language of the interethnic families and urban domains (such as e.g. the marketplace). Consequently it is not surprising that the official, commercial, communal and private signs are to be found exclusively in Russian, and the enumeration of the handful of exception does not cause problems.

### 5.3.2. The English language in the linguistic landscape of Khanty-Mansiysk

The presence of English in the local linguistic landscape goes back to rather short history. Khanty-Mansiysk attracts tourists to a minimal degree, visitors speaking English and no Russian arrive to the town on the occasion of specific international programs, such as e.g. scientific conferences, art festivals, sport championships. Signs containing English texts beside Russian are desultory situated at the location of such events, as e.g. in the biathlon centre (see Picture 37).

The English-Russian bilingual street signs (forming the majority of the town's bilingual signs) were placed in the city centre in 2008 on the occasion of the EU-Russia summit. After the necessary, or least reasonable placement of these bilingual signs a similar demand appeared in the cultural sphere, especially in the case of museum collections since the 2010s, although the English section of these descriptions is not a complete translation of the Russian text, but often consist only of the mere denomination of the different artefacts. Words or phrases in English (written with Latin or Cyrillic alphabet) occur in advertisements targeted on Russian-speaking customers as well. Although the first language of commercials and advertisements is Russian, a growing number of signs display the nature of the offered services in English as well (e.g. Picture 38).

### 5.3.3. Ob-Ugric languages in the linguistic landscape of Khanty-Mansiysk

The signs on the buildings of institution, communal places, stores, memorials and other sites related to Ob-Ugric people in Khanty-Mansiysk are dominantly in Russian only. The monolingualism may be easily commented on by the lack of official status of the Ob-Ugric languages as well as with the low proportion of first language speakers of Ob-Ugric languages in the local population. Still, the lack of signs containing Ob-Ugric elements as result of language planning, status planning or spontaneous emplacement is rather surprising. It is difficult to explain, why do not the memorial plates of the most well-known Mansi poet Yuvan Shestalov contain any Mansi elements (if his first name *Yuvan* is not considered to be a Mansi word), neither the memorial plate on his home building (Picture 39), nor the memorial in the local open-air museum (Picture 40).

There are only a few documented exceptions under the rule of Russian linguistic dominance. Two older examples are the cinema and the leisure centre Langel and hotel Misne. While the name of the hotel Misne is rarely commented as a reference on the relatively well-known Mansi mythological figure, the name of the cinema centre Langel is often remembered to get its name after the Khanty name of the river Ob.

The most significant element of the Mansi linguistic landscape is the alternative educational institution of Khanty-Mansiysk, the *Lylyng Soyum* Centre. The name of the Centre contains Mansi words (*лылың союм* 'living creek'), thus the sign bearing the name of the Centre at the main entrance is the only sign of Khanty-Mansiysk that functions as a marker denoting the presence of Mansi language and culture instead of merely referring to the titular peoples of the Okrug as a cultural reference of identity construction. Besides the sign at the entrance, Mansi (and to a limited extent also Khanty) signs, texts, decorations are also regularly displayed in the classrooms (Picture 41).



Picture 37 (above). Bilingual sign at the Biathlon Centre of Khanty-Mansiysk (2015).

Picture 38 (below). Bilingual advertisement using English elements in the centre of Khanty-Mansiysk (2015).





Picture 39 (above). Russian monolingual memorial plate on the wall of the house which was the last home of the Mansi poet Yuvan Shestalov (2015).

Picture 40 (below). The Russian monolingual memorial of the Mansi poet Yuvan Shestalov at the local open-air museum. The memorial contains the fragment of Shestalov's poem in Russian (2015).





Picture 41. Mansi monolingual notices in the central room of the *Lylyng Soyum Centre* (2015).

### 5.3.5. Textuality and visibility

The definition of linguistic landscape generally covers written elements only, a handful of papers may found expanding their field of observation on “visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and the built environment” (Hornsby & Vigers 2012: 57; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 2). To the more complete investigation of presence of Ob-Ugric people in Khanty-Mansiysk it is definitely necessary to include to the research materials containing no text but visual elements, as e.g. building, statues and graffiti.

The Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra, and its administrative and cultural centre Khanty-Mansiysk often prefer to feature the term Ugra, decorative elements or rituals related to the Ob-Ugric people in order to create the Okrug’s and its capital’s unique identity within the Russian Federation (Nagy 2016: 10–11). Buildings resembling the shape of the traditional dwelling place of the indigenous peoples can be observed on many sites of Khanty-Mansiysk, especially on prominent spots of the city centre, as e.g. the mall on the main square of the city (Picture 42) or the main building of one of the largest hotels in town *Ugorskaya dolina* (Picture 43).

Khanty-Mansiysk is surprisingly rich in monuments and sculptures, there are a few interesting statues related to the Ob-Ugric religious believes and myths as well. The statue titled “Hunter and bear”, erected in 2005 next to the Museum of Human and Nature depicts a realistic yet highly supernatural fight of the Ob-Ugric hunter and the bear, a beast deeply venerated and surrounded by many taboos in the



Picture 42 (above). Shopping center in the downtown of Khanty-Mansiysk (2015).

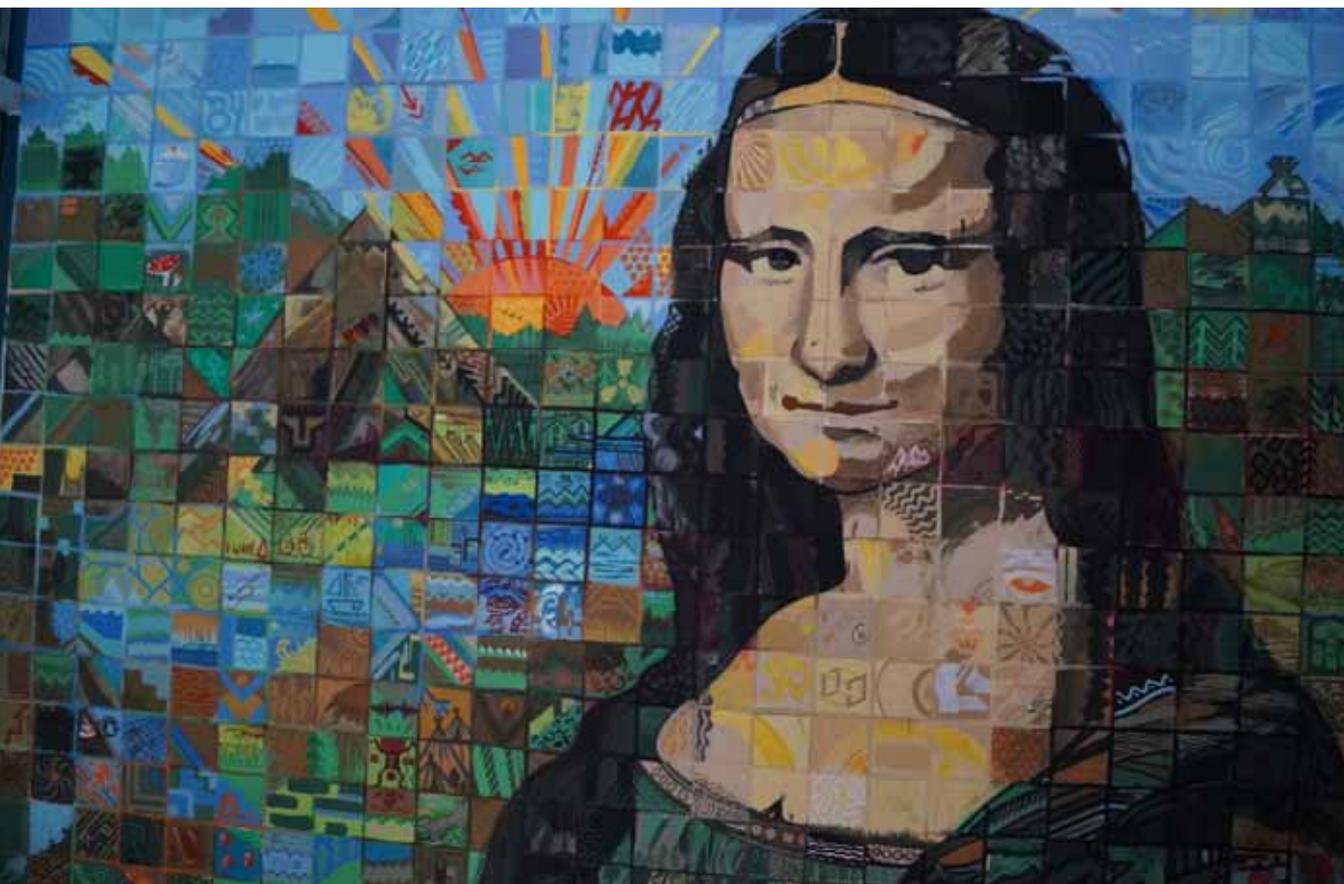
Picture 43 (below). The main building of the hotel *Ugorskaya dolina* (2015).





Picture 44 (above). Graffiti depicting the Ob-Ugric world (2015).

Picture 45 (below). The Mona Lisa of Khanty-Mansiysk (2015).



Ob-Ugric traditions. In 2010 an installation of seven statues has been placed over the Dzerzhinsky prospect illustrating Ob-Ugric mythological figures and events.

According to Muth (cf. Muth 2016) while stencilled or painted graffiti are common forms of the urban linguistic landscapes, this form of expression became visible in post-Soviet and Eastern European landscapes as late as the 1990s. In Khanty-Mansiysk, especially in the city centre – with the exception of a few tags – no graffiti were observed until 2014. In 2014, on the initiative of a graphic and teacher of the local art school dozens of graffiti appeared on the streets of Khanty-Mansiysk, at the beginning in cooperation with the local government, later in an independent, partly illegal way. The graffiti contain almost no texts or written elements, but many of them are related to cultural elements of the Ob-Ugric peoples.

Next to the Museum of Human and Nature a whole series of graffiti depicts the Ob-Ugric world (e.g. Picture 44) since the creation of Earth to the nomadic lifestyle still followed by a smaller group of the Ob-Ugric peoples. Traditions and urban lifestyle are merged in the graffiti of the café Mona Lisa depicting the Mona Lisa of Khanty-Mansiysk (Picture 45) on the background of tundra landscape with Ob-Ugric building, while the graffiti is compiled of small frames illustrating aspects of urban life.

## 6. Conclusions

### 6.1. Hetta, Enontekiö

The linguistic landscape of Hetta is dominated by bilingual road and street signs with the Sámi name following the Finnish one. Names of public spaces are although under-represented in Hetta compared to road and street signs, places that play an important role in the life of the local Sámi people are mostly bilingually signed in Finnish and Sámi. Names of institutions on road signs denoting direction are also bilingual Finnish-Sámi. Places related to tourism have Finnish names and notices near most of the tourist attractions are also monolingual Finnish. In both cases Finnish is most probably preferred as these places attract mainly Finnish tourists or Sámis who understand Finnish. It is only the linguistic landscape of the school that has monolingual Sámi signs and texts.

In sum, it can be concluded that the linguistic landscape of Hetta is a reflection of the minority language policy of Finland favouring the use of Sámi languages, that of the Sámi Language Act and of the norms of language use in the local Sámi community investigated by Duray (2008, 2014, 2015). Bilingual signs for the sake of bilingual readers, i.e. the official bilingual signs only have a symbolic function, i.e. the local Sámi community and the authorities use these signs, as a matter of law, to show the presence of the Sámi community and most probably that of Sámi speakers in the village. Monolingual Sámi notices and symbols, as well as Finnish-Sámi bilingual signs in the schoolscape reflect the positive attitude of the community towards

Sámi language and culture. Most of the notices and the few nonofficial signs in public spaces are monolingual Finnish pointing at the fact that the local speech community dominantly uses Finnish in their everyday lives. The positive attitudes of both majority Finns and minority Sámis towards Sámi do not result in a proactive approach to signage, i.e. presenting Sámi visually in the landscape. Although the Sámi Language Act also approves of the use of Sámi and one can thus expect more monolingual Sámi signs in the village, the fact that Sámi literacy is a relatively new phenomenon might also prevent locals to use Sámi in writing.

## 6.2. Dudinka

A survey of the linguistic landscape of Dudinka pointed out that it is the national language which is most frequently used in the city. As a result, the 5.3% of the city-dwellers belonging to ethnic minorities and the languages are not co-official, all official institutions display monolingual signs in Russian. Russian language policy and laws do not forbid, but do not provide for bi- and multilingual signage resulting in the lack of such signage throughout the city. This is not the case for inner spaces. There are two signs in the city which are monolingual and are written in the minority language. Other minority languages that are spoken in Dudinka such as Nganasan, Evenki, and Enets are not part of the linguistic landscape of the city. These two examples are only exceptions. English is used as well in conjunction with Russian, mostly having a rather symbolic function hardly visible on verbal signs in the city. In recent years decorative motifs, idols and symbols of the indigenous identity began to spread on street signs, banners, billboards and sculptures. They visually show the presence of indigenous people in the area.

## 6.3. Khanty-Mansiysk

Regarding the situation in Khanty-Mansiysk, in the case of linguistic landscape – just as in the context of language use – the presence of Ob-Ugric languages is rising, yet it is still rather narrow. The amount of texts on signs and other written elements in Khanty or Mansi is under-represented, even bearing the dominance of Russian and the small proportion of Ob-Ugric citizens in mind.

The Mansi language is missing from the official and semi-official domains of the linguistic landscape. It has very limited importance in economy, mostly in the form of proper names and place names. The two most dominant domains of language use of Mansi – family and education – are not equally active and significant in the observation linguistic landscape, it is reasonable to pay more concentrated attention on the role of education. In Khanty-Mansiysk no public school offers language classes in Mansi (or Khanty), the only educational institution keeping Mansi (and Khanty) lessons in the timetable is the alternative educational centre Lylyng Soyum. Subsequently the Lylyng Soyum Centre is the most stable domain of Khanty-Mansiysk where signs and texts in Ob-Ugric languages are present not only on the

front of the building but also indoors. In the classrooms of the Centre both stable and temporary signs and texts are displayed, and it is important to note that while in the oral language use the overwhelming dominance of Russian may not be questioned, taking the signs into account, texts in Khanty and Mansi outnumber the Russian ones.

## 7. Summary

Sámi in its written form has only been approved by majority Finns for only a few decades. Sámi signage and semiotic elements in public spaces and in schools is thus a recent phenomenon and is fundamental in fostering the revitalization of Sámi, the positive attitudes of the minority and the majority. Bilingualism in the urban linguistic landscape is a natural phenomenon. The representations of Ob-Ugric identities have been part of urban public spaces and schools for a short period, as well. Ob-Ugric ornaments and other design elements are widely supported and used by the majority society, while the Ob-Ugric languages in their written forms are mostly present in minority spaces and schools. The representation of the Tajmyrian minorities, as well as semiotic elements and signage has been part of the urban public space sporadically and mainly appear in minority spaces.

We can conclude that there is a direct correspondence between the representation of the minority languages in the broad linguistic landscape of the area and the official language policy of the state in question. The differences among the linguistic landscapes of the territories under investigation originate from the official language policy in the given state. As Finnish official language policy reflects a positive attitude towards Sámi-Finnish bilingualism, one could expect a richer multilingual linguistic landscape in Hetta. Compared to the Sámi site the Russian sites are richer in ornaments and symbolic signs on wallpapers, in the form of sculptures and buildings.

The only linguistic landscape in all the territories where the minority language is represented on its own or in combination with the majority language is educational and cultural institutions. The minority language mostly appears in the classrooms designated for minority language teaching in the form of teaching materials, blackboard notices, wallpapers, books etc.

All in all, the visual representation of the indigenous minority languages in this investigation is symbolic indicating the presence of the minority community within the majority and to some extent the local use of the dominant majority language. Furthermore, it is claimed that the lack of monolingual minority signs in public spaces can also be the result of the fact that the use of the minority languages in writing is a recent development in all of these communities. It is also concluded that the linguistic landscape is significantly richer in minority signs and symbols within inner spaces, i.e. in educational and cultural institutions where the minority language is manifested both orally and in writing and where the minority linguistic landscape is also an indicator of the positive attitude of both the minority and the majority towards the minority language and culture.

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