THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN A MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL IN ASTANA

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Abstract. Fostered by several policy documents, the large-scale implementation and promotion of trilingual education have become one of the key elements of Kazakhstan's language policy. Investigating the linguistic landscape of schools can help offer insights into how trilingualism practices are being realised, allowing us to compare the de jure language policy with the de facto language use. The study aimed to examine how the promotion of trilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of one trilingual school in Astana, Kazakhstan, where the languages of instruction are Kazakh, Russian, and English. The signs in the school corridors were analysed using the quantitative method according to the following criteria: (a) the number of languages on signs, (b) the presence and absence of languages on signs, (c) the order and size of languages on signs, (d) top-down and bottom-up signs, and (e) the functions of the signs. The study results showed that Russian dominated the signs, playing the main informational function within the school context. While largely present in top-down representational signs as an official "state language", Kazakh was seldomly used in regulatory signs that communicate important "do as I tell you messages". The absence of student-produced signs in Kazakh indicated that despite being promoted through the official language policy with the help of top-down representational signs, Kazakh seemed to lack bottom-up support from the school community. English, on the other hand, prevailed in the student-made posters. This can be explained by its relative prestige and popularity among the youth and the common perception that associates knowledge of English with success and upward social mobility. The current study adds to the growing body of literature about the linguistic landscape of schools by showing how the de jure language policy can be reflected in de facto language use through school signs.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, language signs, multilingualism, trilingual schools, language policy, trilingual education, language ideology, language functions

Basic Provisions

The promotion of trilingual education has become one of the key elements of the language policy in Kazakhstan, and a great amount of discussion has been concentrated on the topic of trilingual education in recent years. The linguistic landscape is an effective and unique way to investigate the results of the promotion of trilingualism in schools [1; 2]. Investigating linguistic signs not only can reveal the language ideology behind the linguistic landscape in a school setting but also

offers retrospective insights into how trilingualism practices are being realised and promoted [3; 1].

This study aimed to investigate how the promotion of trilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of one trilingual school in Astana, Kazakhstan, where Kazakh, Russian, and English were used as the language of instruction. This study addressed the following research questions: How are the Kazakh, Russian and English languages represented in the school signage of a trilingual school? How is the promotion of trilingualism reflected in the school signage of a school implementing trilingual education?

Introduction

The idea of introducing trilingualism, the acquisition and use of the Kazakh, Russian, and English languages by the citizens of Kazakhstan, was first announced at the XII session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan in 2006. In 2007, Nursultan Nazarbayev, the former president of Kazakhstan, suggested the phased implementation of the cultural project called "Trinity of Languages" by stating that "Kazakhstan should be perceived throughout the world as a highly educated country with a population that speaks three languages: Kazakh as the state language; Russian as the language of interethnic communication; and English as the language of successful integration into the global economy" [4].

On June 29, 2011, the former President of the Republic of Kazakhstan issued a decree called "The State Programme on the Development and Functioning of Languages in Kazakhstan for 2011-2020" that aimed at strengthening the institutional status of the Kazakh language as a state language as well as preserving and developing the Kazakhstanis' linguistic capital [5]. The programme's main objective was to achieve a harmonious language policy that ensures the promotion of the Kazakh language as the main factor that strengthens and develops the united Kazakhstani identity while preserving the languages of all ethnic groups in the country. Six out of ten main tasks of the programme emphasised the promotion of Kazakh, underlining the need to increase the prestige and demand for the use of the Kazakh language and to improve the methodology for teaching it. The other 4 tasks of the programme consisted of improving the language culture of the nation, preserving Russian in the linguistic-communicative space, promoting English and other foreign languages, and preserving language diversity in Kazakhstan [5].

To ensure the large-scale implementation of trilingual education at all levels of education in Kazakhstan, in 2015, the Kazakhstani government developed a Roadmap for the Development of Trilingual Education for 2015-2020 [6]. According to the Roadmap, in 2015, there were 33 schools for gifted children where school subjects were taught in three languages. Additionally, 18 Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools offered their high school education in English and prepared their students for international external examinations [6]. In 30 Kazakh-Turkish lyceums, some natural science subjects were taught in English. Overall, trilingual education was introduced in 110 schools stage by stage [6]. The Roadmap stipulated that by 2020, regardless of the language of instruction, schools should start teaching the History of Kazakhstan and Geography in Kazakh and World History in Russian. In

addition, starting from high school, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, and Computer Science should be conducted and taught in English [6]. For the current study, we chose one of the trilingual schools in Kazakhstan, Astana, that had 20 classes that studied in Kazakh, 26 classes that studied in Russian, and 5 experimental classes that studied Biology, Mathematics, and Computer Science in English in the 2017-2018 academic year.

Defining Linguistic Landscape

The concept of linguistic landscape is relatively new. Yet this new development in research appears to grow increasingly popular with the scholars conducting multilingual studies. Landry and Bourhis (1997) define linguistic landscape as the "language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" [7, p. 25]. This signage often has informational and symbolic functions which serve as markers of the relative powers of linguistic communities within a certain sociolinguistic context [7]. The informational function of language signs indicates that the language at issue can be used for communicating and obtaining information, and people can be served in this language [7, p. 25]. On the other hand, the symbolic function of a sign complements the informational function by being affectively charged and symbolising whether the language in question is valued [7, p. 29]. Laundry and Bourhis (1997) claim that the prevalence of a certain language in signs can encourage the speakers of this language to value and use this language. Similarly, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) highlight the significance of the linguistic landscape by explaining that it may not only influence people's perception of the statuses of different languages used within a specific sociolinguistic context but also affect people's linguistic behaviour, in other words, language use [8]. Within a school setting, environmental print, or in other words, all the printed words that people encounter in one setting, can strongly influence the member of that setting. Shohamy (2006) speculated how linguistic landscapes delineate the important messages about "de facto policy practice" [9, p. 110] within some schools along with neighbourhoods and cities in public spaces. By stating that signage in schools can help reveal the discourses around the status of different languages, Dressler (2015) looked at schools as a means for promoting bilingualism [1].

A number of studies that investigate linguistic landscape categorise the signs being examined into top-down signs (the official signs placed by the authority and government) and bottom-up signs (the non-official signs placed by people themselves) [10]. The further coding system in these studies usually involves grouping the signs according to the criteria like the number of languages represented on the sign, the size of the text, the order of the language on signs or translation-related groupings (signs with fully or partially provided translations) [10]. Distinguishing between the top-down and bottom-up signs helps investigate a certain sociolinguistic context and compare the language use in this context with the official language policy. While top-down signs might reflect an official language policy, bottom-up signs help observe the impact of this policy on people [8]. Furthermore, according to Halliday (1969), the language used on signs serves several functions: regulatory signs serve to control the behaviours and actions of the

actors; interactional signs maintain the connection between the invisible sign maker and the reader, attempting to direct its readers to a certain behaviour or delivers a message that denotes a sense of a common objective; personal signs draw upon the individuality promoting behaviour that leads to success [11]. Some signs serve imaginative functions in the form of quotes, decorations, and travel posters; other signs have a representational function, covering the names for location labels and their number might be copious (e.g., Exit, Main entrance) [11]. To have a deeper understanding of the role, usage, and status of Kazakh, Russian and English within a trilingual school context, in this study, we categorised the school signage according to the number, order, and size of the languages on them. We then divided the signs into top-down and bottom-up signs and identified their functions using Halliday's classification of language functions.

Methods

The study employed a quantitative method to examine the photos of the signs in one Kazakhstani trilingual school to understand how the school signage reflects the de jure trilingual policy. The first step during the data analysis was examining the photos in terms of the number of languages on the signs. Thus, the signs were categorised into three groups: (a) signs written in one language only; (b) signs with two languages present; (c) signs in three languages. Further, the examination focused on identifying which languages prevail in the school landscape and which are most frequently missing. For this purpose, the number of occurrences, the sizes, and the order of occurrence of each language (Kazakh, Russian, and English) were counted. The next step in the analysis involved "the demarcation between top-down and bottom-up" signs [1, p. 7]. The study differentiated the top-down official signs created by the school administration and teachers from the bottom-up signs created by students. Finally, the signs were classified into five categories (personal, imaginative, regulatory, representational, and interactional) based on their functions.

The data of the current study were collected in the 2017-2018 academic year. The site chosen for the study is one trilingual school in Astana, Kazakhstan, that uses three languages, namely, Kazakh, Russian, and English, as the language of instruction. During the 2017-2018 academic year, the school had 1181 students and 51 classes (from Grade 1 to Grade 11). 20 of these classes were Kazakh-medium, and 26 were Russian-medium. In other words, the school had two main language streams where all the subjects were taught in Kazakh or Russian. In addition, the school introduced 5 experimental classes (Group 8X, Group 7X, Group 9X, Group 10X, Group 11X) that studied STEM subjects (Physics, Biology, Mathematics, Computer Science) through English-Medium instruction. Apart from being the languages of instruction, English, Kazakh, and Russian were taught as separate school subjects to all the students. The school building consisted of three floors. Since all the students shared the main entrance and school corridors, gym and canteen and were exposed to the same school signage, we took pictures of all the signs in these areas.

Results

A total of 105 photographs of the signs were taken during the data collection process. The photographed areas included the school corridors, canteen, and gym. The photographs of the school signage were analysed according to the following criteria: (a) the number of languages on signs, (b) the presence and absence of languages on signs, (c) the order and size of languages on signs, (d) top-down and bottom-up signs, and (e) the functions of the signs.

Categorising the Languages into Groups

When looking at the number of languages on the signs, the signs were divided into three categories: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs. The monolingual signs, in turn, were categorised into three groups: (a) the signs in Kazakh, (b) the signs in Russian, and (c) the signs in English. The signs in Russian constituted 45 %(48 signs) of all the signs. The number of signs in Kazakh and English comprised 26 %(28) and 6 %(6), respectively. Bilingual signs represented only two types of combinations of the languages: (a) the signs with Kazakh and Russian languages; and (b) the signs with Russian and English languages. Bilingual signs constituted a small percentage of the sample. Signs that used both Kazakh and Russian comprised 6 %(6 signs), and signs that used Russian and English comprised 2 %(2 signs). Multilingual signs with the Kazakh, Russian and English languages comprised 14 %(15) of the overall signs.

The analysis shows that Russian is the most frequently used language among monolingual signs (45 per cent). Almost all the important informational signs were written in Russian. The Kazakh language occurred half as much as Russian and composed only 26 per cent. It can be found mostly on the representational signs such as room nameplates and the stands about the state symbols. Signs in the English language made up 6 per cent, and they mostly reflected English class activities. They included pupils' essays ("How to spend holidays"), projects ("Healthy food"), and advertisements for school events, clubs, and programs. It should be noted that the bulletin boards with student essays and the bulletin boards with student projects were counted as one sign each.

The second group in the number of signs was the multilingual category. It covered the Kazakh, Russian and English languages. The school was in the process of introducing and promoting trilingual education, and the 15 trilingual signs can be seen as examples of this promotion. Signs in three languages were found in the school's name and on many rooms' nameplates. With regard to the eight bilingual signs, six of them were in Kazakh and Russian, and the other two were in Russian and English. The fact that the Russian language appeared in both groups of bilingual signs indicates the wide use of Russian in signage.

Presence and Absence of Languages, Order of Languages, and Size of Letters on Bilingual and Trilingual Signs

When examining the signs containing more than one language, the presence and absence of the Kazakh, Russian and English languages, the order of these languages, and the size of the letters on the signs were analysed.

It appeared that although all three languages were present in trilingual signs, in bilingual signs, the presence of Russian dominated over the other two languages. Russian, with no exception, was present in all 8 bilingual signs. Kazakh, in its turn,

appeared in 75% of the signs, while English was used in 25% of the bilingual signs. Thus, the only two combinations of languages in bilingual signs included Kazakh and Russian and Russian and English. The combination of the Kazakh and English languages was not observed.

Table 1. Presence and Absence of Languages in the Signs with More Than One Language

	Bilingual signs	Trilingual signs	Bilingual and trilingual signs
Kazakh	75% (6/8)	100% (15/15)	91% (21/23)
Russian	100% (23/23)	100% (15/15)	100% (8/8)
English	25% (2/8)	100% (15/15)	78% (17/21)

As for the order of the languages, the data revealed that English goes either first or last in trilingual signs. In 80% of the cases, it is positioned at the top of the sign, and in 20% of the cases at the bottom. As for bilingual signs, within the combination of Kazakh and Russian, Kazakh appeared first in 67% of the signs, whereas the opposite was observed only in 33% of the signs. Examining the two signs with the combination of English and Russian showed that in one case, the Russian text was presented first, while in the other sign, the text in English appeared first.

When examining the size of the letters in the signs, the size of the letters in most of the signs (87%) appeared to be the same except for three cases. One bilingual sign with Kazakh inscription was bigger than equally sized Russian and English inscriptions. In two bilingual signs with the combination of Kazakh and Russian, and English and Russian, Kazakh and English letters were distinctly larger than the Russian ones.

Top-down and Bottom-up Signs

Of 105 signs, 90.4% (95 signs) were top-down signs, and 9.6% (10 signs) were bottom-up signs. The majority of the top-down signs were in Russian (50 %), followed by the signs in Kazakh (29%). Trilingual signs (Kazakh, Russian and English) and bilingual (Kazakh and Russian) signs constituted 15% and 6% of all the top-down signs, respectively.

Of the bottom-up signs, 6 were in English only, and they were mainly students' homework about their plans for summer vacation, information about speaking clubs, and leadership clubs; the rest of the bottom-up signs were in Russian, and there were no bottom-up signs in Kazakh. More specifically, 6 out of 10 signs were in English, 4 in Russian, and no bottom-up signs were in Kazakh.

It should be noted that the notes such as "assembly hall", "contests", and "tasty foods" on the English invitations to the spring party were designed by the students of the 7th grade and posted on several places across the first and second floors were translated into Russian manually by pen, by the students themselves. This indicates that the Russian language is perceived to be understood by all the 5-7th grade students in the school, regardless of the language they study, and implies that not all the school students understand English or Kazakh.
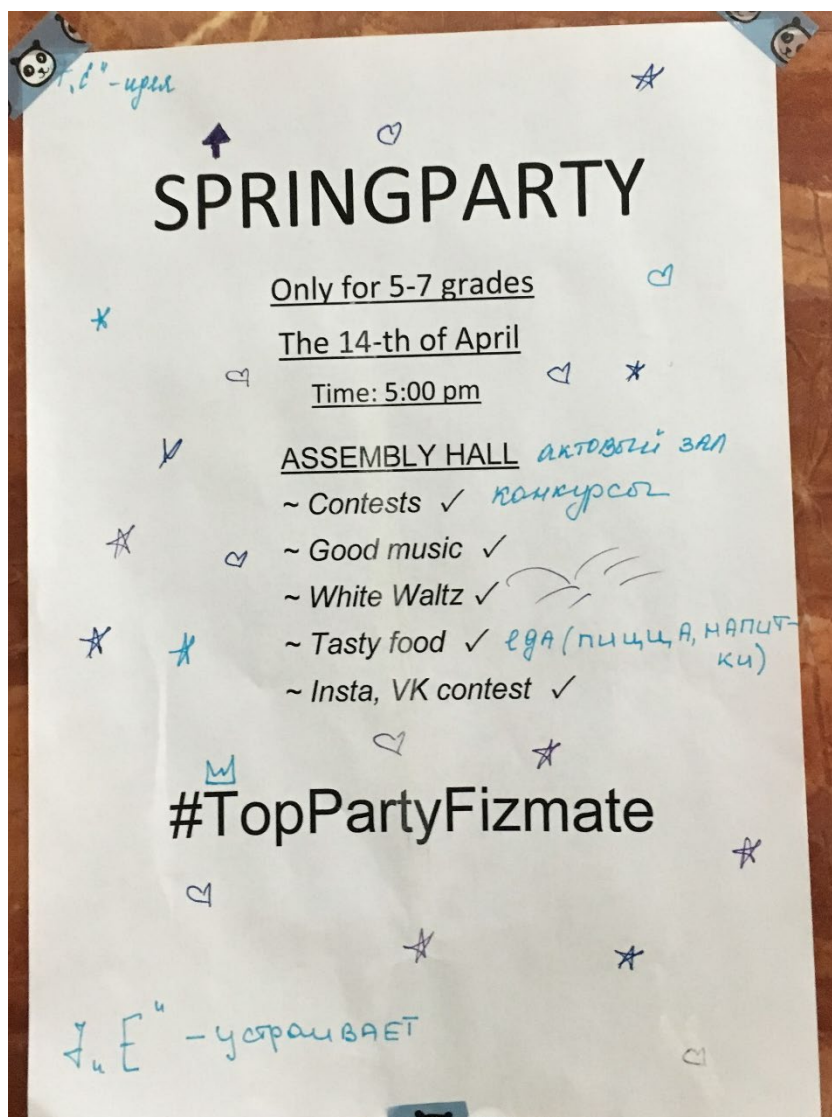
Photo 1- An example of a bottom-up sign made by students

A large number of the English bottom-up signs made by students show that English is promoted as an international language and might indicate that it is seen as a prestigious language and a useful language capital among the students themselves. The absence of Kazakh bottom-up signs shows the need to promote Kazakh among students and teachers.

Functions of Signs

Linguistic landscape serves five functions of languages in a school setting (i.e., personal, imaginative, regulatory, representational, and interactional) [11]. The representational signs (48%) compose the salient ratio of the signs in the corridor areas, followed by the interactional signs (30%), the regulatory signs (10%), and the personal and imaginative signs that made up 6% each (Figure 1). The chart (Figure 2) depicts that the representational signs in Kazakh composed the highest proportion (36%) among the other representational signs. The second-highest figure is equally distributed between the representational signs in Russian and the combination of three languages (Kazakh-Russian-English), composing 28% each. These signs were directed to all school visitors. They included the room nameplates, the guides for performing first aid, emergency evacuation maps, the description and history of state

symbols, and the biography and achievements of the first President of Kazakhstan. We grouped all the school event announcements that targeted the students and teachers under the category of interactional signs. It seemed that the event announcements were written in accordance with the languages they were held in since half of them were in Kazakh and the other half in Russian and only a small percentage of those signs were in English. However, in the canteen, the food menus for all the weekdays were provided only in Russian.

Interestingly, most of the regulatory signs, namely, the warnings such as "wash your hands before the meal", "please don't leave your valuable things in the dressing room", the warning sign that prohibits drawing on school walls, and the school's rule of conduct that was printed out on 5 separate A4 paper were provided only in Russian. Only one of the regulatory signs was in Kazakh. Personal and imaginative signs included the signs such as the student-made posters in English that promoted healthy food consumption, the student essays themed "How to spend holidays" on a separate bulletin board, a board in Kazakh that promoted a healthy lifestyle, and the learner-profile corner with the characteristics of a good learner in all three languages.
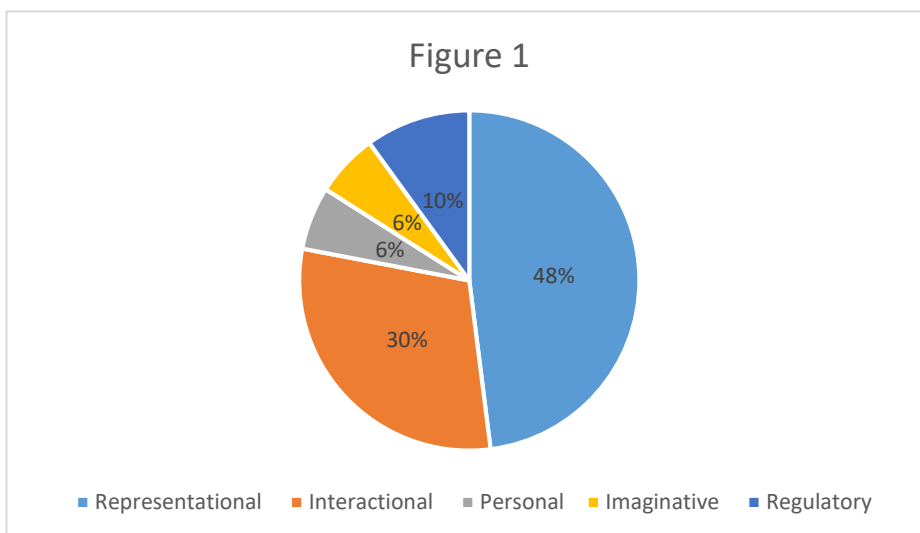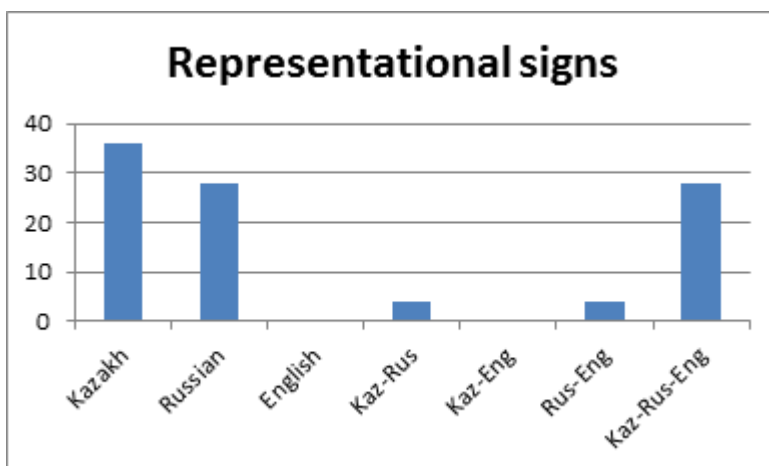

Figure 1 - The distribution of sign functions

Figure 2 - The Distribution of Languages in Representational Signs

Discussions

The analysis of the school signage revealed the representation of the Kazakh, Russian, and English languages in signs is not always equal, and they are used for different functions. Despite being the sole state language of Kazakhstan, the overall percentage of Kazakh-only signs at school was twice less than the signs in Russian, and the signs in English constituted only 6 % of the overall signs. In school signage, the representational signs that serve the "I've got something to tell you function" [11] constituted the largest proportion (nearly half) of all the signs. Therefore, they helped to reveal the strongest discourses in place and were the primary examples of the school's formal promotion of all three languages. The fact that the Kazakh language was given more priority than Russian and English in the representational signs showed the formal promotion of Kazakh on the part of the school and the manifestation of its official status. However, the absence of student-produced signs in Kazakh indicates that despite being promoted through the official language policy with the help of top-down representational signs, Kazakh seems to lack bottom-up support from the school community (school students, the staff responsible for creating regulatory signs) itself. This might be due to the lower prestige of Kazakh among the youth. As Fierman (2006) noted, even in Kazakh-medium schools, students from Kazakhstan's urban areas tend to communicate predominantly in Russian outside the classroom [12]. On the other hand, because of not having official status within the country, English did not occur solo in the top-down representational signs. However, being "intrinsically linked to upward mobility and economic success" [13, p.457], it was prevalent in the posters created by the students and was an integral component of trilingual signs representing the school's promotion of trilingualism. The broad usage of Russian in the school signs, in its turn, indicates that it plays the main informational function within the school, being the "common" language understood by all the school members. For instance, the bulk of the frequently read regulatory signs that communicate important "do as I tell you" [11] messages such as "wash your hands before the meal", "please don't leave your valuable things in the dressing room" as well as the food menus in the canteen were given only in Russian. This can also mean that Russian might be the language of preference of the school members (pupils, teachers, workers). Since the study did not triangulate, several reasons might underlie the wide usage of Russian in school signage: (a). The predominance of Russian might reflect the geographical location of Astana since it is located in an area inhabited by many Russian-dominant speakers. (b) The predominance of Russian signs can be connected to the linguistic competence and preference of sign-makers or the school administration responsible for signs.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine how the promotion of trilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of one trilingual school in Astana (current Nur-Sultan), which was achieved through the use of the quantitative method and discourse analysis. The research questions were addressed by representing the Kazakh, Russian, and English languages in the school's signage.

In this study, we examined only the school corridor, excluding all the classrooms, to avoid interfering with the teaching and learning process. Thus, the collected signs do not show the full picture of the school signage. For future research, the recommendation is to conduct more qualitative studies that involve interviews with teachers and students to explore their opinions on languages used in signage and their roles in school life. Comparative mixed-method studies can be conducted to compare the linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan's schools with different language instruction.

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АСТАНА ҚАЛАСЫНДАҒЫ ҮШ ТІЛДЕ БІЛІМ БЕРЕТІН МЕКТЕПТІҢ ЛИНГВИСТИКАЛЫҚ ЛАНДШАФТЫНА ТАЛДАУ

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Аңдатпа. Бірқатар саяси бағдарламалық құжаттарда алға қойылған үш тілде білім беруді дамыту жобасы Қазақстан тіл саясатының негізгі бір бөлігіне айналды. Жоба жүзеге асырылатын басты ошақ- мектептердің лингвистикалық ландшафтын зерттеу үштілділік тәжірибелерінің қалай көрініс тауап отырғанын түсінумен қатар, елдегі де-юре тіл саясатын іс жүзіндегі тіл қолданысымен салыстыруға мүмкіндік береді. Аталмыш зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты үштілділік саясаты пәндерді қазақ, орыс және ағылшын тілдерінде оқытатын Астана қаласындағы үштілді мектептің лингвистикалық ландшафтында қалай көрініс тапқанын анықтау болды. Зерттеуде мектеп дәліздеріндегі белгілер келесі критерийлер бойынша сандық әдіспен талданды: (а) белгілердегі тілдердің саны, (б) белгілерде тілдердің кездесуі немесе кездеспеуі, (в) белгілердегі тілдердің реті мен өлшемі, (d) жоғарыдан төменге қарай ұсынылған белгілер және төменнен жоғарыға қарай ұсынылған белгілер (д) белгілердің функциялары. Мектептегі маңдайшалар мен белгілерді талдау маңдайшалар мен белгілерде қазақ, орыс және ағылшын тілдері әрдайым бірдей мөлшерде кездесіп бір қызмет атқара бермейтінін айқындады. Соның ішінде, зерттеу нәтижесі орыс тілінің мектеп белгілерінде басым кездесіп мектеп мәнмәтінінде негізгі ақпараттық функция атқаратынын көрсетті. Ресми мемлекеттік тіл ретінде қазақ тілі репрезентативті белгілерде кеңінен қолданылғанымен, маңызды «менің айтқанымды орында» мағынасында реттеуші функция атқаратын белгілерде сирек кездеседі. Қазақ тілінде оқушылар шығарған белгілердің болмауы қазақ тілінің мемлекеттік тіл саясаты аясында репрезентативті белгілер арқылы насихатталып жатқанымен, мектеп қауымдастығынан (мектеп оқушылары мен реттеуші белгілерді жасап ілуге жауапты қызметкерлер) аз қолдау тауап отырғанын көрсетеді. Ал студенттер жасаған плакаттарда ағылшын тілінің басым болуын оның жастар арасындағы салыстырмалы беделі мен қоғамдағы кең тараған ағылшын тілін білу табыс пен және әлеуметтік мобильділікпен байланыстыратын түсінікпен түсіндіруге болады. Аталмыш зерттеу де-юре тіл саясатының мектеп белгілері арқылы тілдің іс жүзінде қолдануында қалай көрініс табатынын көрсетіп, мектептердегі тілдік ландшафты зерттеу туралы әдебиеттердің өсіп келе жатқан жиынтығын толықтырады.

Тірек сөздер: лингвистикалық ландшафт, тілдік белгілер, көптілділік, үштілді мектептер, тіл саясаты, үштілді білім беру, тіл идеологиясы, тіл функциялары

АНАЛИЗ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО ЛАНДШАФТА ШКОЛЫ ПРЕДСТАВЛЯЮЩЕЙ ТРЕХЪЯЗЫЧНОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ В ГОРОДЕ АСТАНА

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Аннотация. Широкомасштабное внедрение и продвижение трехъязычного образования, поддерживаемое рядом программ, стало одним из ключевых элементов языковой политики в Казахстане. Изучение языкового ландшафта школ, ключевого сектора трехъязычного образования, может помочь понять, как реализуется и продвигается практика трехъязычия, позволяя нам сравнить языковую политику де-юре с использованием языка де-факто. Цель данного исследования – изучить, как продвижение трехъязычия отражается в языковом ландшафте одной трехъязычной школы в Астане, где преподавание ведется на казахском, русском и английском языках. Таблички в школьных коридорах были проанализированы с использованием количественного метода по следующим критериям: (а) количество языков на табличках, (б) наличие и отсутствие языков на табличках, (в) порядок и размер языков на табличках, (г) нисходящие сверху знаки и восходящие вверх знаки, (д) функции табличек. Результаты исследования показали, что русский язык доминирует на знаках, выполняя основную информационную функцию в контексте школы.Анализ школьных вывесок показал, что казахский, русский и английский языки представлены на вывесках не всегда одинаково. Среди всех трех языков русский доминировал на вывесках, выполняя основную информационную функцию в школьном контексте. В то время как казахский язык в основном присутствовал в нисходящих репрезентативных знаках как официальный "государственный язык". Он редко использовался в регулирующих знаках, которые передают важные сообщения. Отсутствие знаков на казахском языке, созданных учащимися, указывает на то, что, несмотря на продвижение официальной языковой политики с помощью нисходящих репрезентативных знаков, казахскому языку, похоже, не хватает поддержки со стороны школьного сообщества (учащихся школы и сотрудников, ответственных за создание регулирующих знаков). С другой стороны, английский язык преобладал в плакатах, созданных учащимися. Это можно объяснить его относительным престижем и популярностью среди молодежи и распространенным представлением, согласно которому знание английского языка ассоциируется с успехом и восходящей социальной мобильностью. Настоящее исследование пополняет растущее количество литературы о языковом ландшафте школ, показывая, как языковая политика де-юре может отражаться в использовании языка де-факто через школьные знаки.

Ключевые слова: языковой ландшафт, языковые знаки, полиязычие, трехъязычные школы, языковая политика, трехъязычное образование, языковая идеология, функции языка