



Negotiating Multilingualism: Institutional and Student Perspectives on the Linguistic Landscape of Three Transylvanian Universities

Enikő BIRÓ

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Applied Linguistics

biro.eniko@ms.sapientia.ro

<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6373-881X>

Abstract. Higher education should serve as a transmitter of knowledge and values while promoting cultural pluralism that goes beyond the normative values and cultural standard of the majority culture. The research of the linguistic landscape of educationscapes (Krompák et al. 2022) highlights the symbolic significance of these environments. Drawing on the idea that educationscapes transmit multicultural and multilingual values, this study offers a comparative analysis of the linguistic landscape of three higher education institutions in Romania with study programmes in Hungarian: the University of Medicine in Târgu-Mureş, Babeş–Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, and Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania. It examines the transmission of multicultural and multilingual values through the linguistic landscapes of these universities and how institutional signage reflects or contradicts official commitments to linguistic diversity. Drawing on the Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) model, the study integrates three data sources: policy documents, photographic documentation of signage ($n \approx 250\text{--}300$ per site), and semi-structured interviews with Hungarian minority students.

Findings reveal a discrepancy between institutional language policies and actual linguistic visibility. Romanian predominates in top-down signage, even in officially multicultural universities, while Hungarian is often marginal or absent. English signage may supersede Hungarian, reflecting internationalization priorities. Student interviews underscore the symbolic importance of signage in shaping perceptions of inclusion, recognition, and identity, while demonstrating a critical awareness of linguistic hierarchies.

Keywords: minority, multilingual inequality, university, linguistic landscape

Introduction

Many of us remember walking through our university campus, passing the flyers and notice boards, filled with messages in different languages, some calling out to us, others remaining almost invisible and unheard. Universities have long served as hubs where the presence of languages enriches academic life, where cultural traditions converge. In today's increasingly globalized higher education landscape, this role has taken on renewed significance, as multilingualism and intercultural exchange become central to university missions, especially in European higher educational contexts (e.g. Shohamy and Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012, Tupas 2015, Cots et al. 2012)

This study explores how multilingual values and language choice are expressed or obscured within the linguistic landscapes of Romanian higher education institutions. Drawing on the concepts of *educationscapes* and *uniscapes*, the research applies a linguistic landscape analysis enriched by the Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) framework (Gorter and Cenoz 2024). The paper investigates how institutional language policies, signage, and student perceptions interrelate to reflect or contest dominant language ideologies, with particular attention to the experiences of Hungarian minority students in Romania.

The central conceptual pillars of the research are multilingualism, multiculturalism, and language policy, particularly as these intersect with linguistic landscape theory (see Shohamy 2006, Crowder 2013, Cenoz 2013, Gorter and Cenoz 2017). The study examines the spatial distribution of languages, both as a material reality (through signage) and as a discursive social practice shaped by power, policy, and perception (Shohamy 2006). The dynamic and ideological nature of public spaces within universities is often assumed to be pluralistic, but in practice they may reflect and reproduce linguistic hierarchies.

The study uses a triangulated approach to combine visual data (photographic documentation of signage), textual analysis (institutional policy documents), and qualitative data (semi-structured interviews with minority Hungarian students). The universities selected, Babeş–Bolyai University, the Medical University of Târgu-Mureş, and Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, offer contrasting institutional profiles in terms of their language policy frameworks and sociolinguistic settings.

While studies on linguistic landscapes have often centred on urban environments, this study extends the focus to uniscapes, thereby highlighting the symbolic and practical implications of language visibility in educational contexts. (Krompák et al. 2022, Gorter and Krompák 2024). By incorporating students' perspectives (see Hiram 2024, Krompák 2025), the paper foregrounds the role of sign readers and their reflective interpretations, thus offering a critical layer of

interpretation beyond textual and visual artefacts but at the same time considering that the intentions of those who post the signs must also be taken into account.

The paper is structured as follows: first, it provides a theoretical and contextual grounding in multiculturalism, linguistic landscapes, and higher education for the Hungarian minority in Romania. Second, it presents the MIPS framework and methodological triangulation. Third, it analyses the three university contexts individually, based on their language policy and their distinct linguistic landscape, followed by a comparative analysis of student interviews. Finally, it synthesises how the visual presence or absence of languages in these Romanian university spaces reflects deeper tensions between institutional language policies, symbolic recognition, and the experiences of Hungarian minority students.

1. Multiculturalism, multilingualism, and language policy

Multiculturalism and multilingualism have been defined in various contexts. In most contexts, it is understood as the coexistence of different cultures, languages, and ways of interpreting life (Crowder 2013, Saukkonen 2013). However, references to multiculturalism have often appeared in debates over minority policies, with opposing sides attempting to leverage the concept to support their respective agendas (Toró 2015). According to Cenoz (2013), multilingualism is not confined to individual linguistic competence; rather, entire communities may be regarded as multilingual, even if composed of individuals who each speak only a single language.

These two concepts are deeply rooted in linguistic landscape studies. Beyond doubt, no significant analysis can be carried out without taking into consideration the presence of more than one languages in the linguistic landscape. Linguistic landscapes research “wants to add another view about multilingualism by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, regulations, indexicality, or literacy” (Gorter and Cenoz 2017: 236). Based on the research framework of geosemiotics by Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003), the material placement of signs becomes relevant for their social meaning, and the authors argue that the meaning of public signs can only be interpreted by considering their placement in a social and a cultural context, with the geopolitical location and the sociocultural associations in the focus of the research. In our case, a sign in Hungarian in Romania may index a Hungarian-speaking community, but the underrepresentation of Hungarian signage may symbolize not only the low presence of Hungarian speakers in a particular area but mirror the language policy of a particular space.

The third concept, language policy, is also deeply rooted in linguistic landscape research. Linguistic landscape items “are mechanisms of language policy that can

perpetuate ideologies and the status of certain languages and not others” (Gorter and Cenoz 2017: 239). The term mechanism was first used by Shohamy in her book *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches* (2006). With the relationship between the linguistic landscape and language policy being in the focus of analysis, Shohamy (2006) argues that language policy within a given territory determines the use and representation of certain languages in society and in the public space (Shohamy 2006: 55). Therefore, linguistic landscape mirrors the legitimacy and prioritization of certain languages over others (Shohamy 2006: 110). Similarly, Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 56) assert that language policy and LL are particularly interconnected when governmental authorities regulate the languages to be used in public signage, education, media, and other social domains. Hult (2018) underlines that linguistic landscape analysis is closely connected to language policy via both indirect and direct ways. Indirectly, language policies serve to entextualize underlying language ideologies. Examining the visual representation of languages within public spaces offers valuable insight into the extent to which the values embedded in language policies are reflected in everyday social practices. In some cases, certain political entities explicitly regulate which languages may be used in public signage and determine the manner of their use. Language policy is not always explicit or implemented in practice, and, in any case, it is seldom monitored; more often, there are covert and implicit language-planning agendas hidden in language practices and mechanisms (Shohamy 2006). In bilingual or multilingual contexts, “the LL seems to reflect the general sociolinguistic situation as well as the intensity of language policies for the minority language” (Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 74). In other words, visibility of minority languages serves as an indicator of language resources, vitality, or status. The presence of a minority language in a public space is widely regarded as a key sign of both support for and the potential for development and maintenance of that language. Moreover, without a strong public presence, minority languages often struggle to endure (Gorter and Cenoz 2024).

Shohamy (2006) identifies universities and schools as institutional rather than public spaces, and they are dynamic sites worthy of analysis in linguistic landscape studies due to their multilingual, multicultural, and ideologically complex nature. The presence or absence of certain languages in university spaces can indicate power relations or shifting language hierarchies. Official signage reveals how language policies are enacted, while bottom-up signage may offer different insights into this complexity, as it may display contesting ideologies to the majority ideologies/agendas (Shohamy 2006). Additionally, the linguistic landscape of a university can vary across different locations on campus and evolve over time, providing a temporal and spatial dimension to analysis. Altogether, universities serve as special spaces of broader societal dynamics, making them valuable and insightful contexts of analysis.

2. Schoolscape, educationscape, uniscape

Linguistic landscape studies have come a long way from counting the number of languages to examining linguistic visibility, power relations, language policy, etc. (Shohamy 2015, Gorter 2021, Barni and Bagna 2015, Blackwood and Tufi 2012, Shohamy and Or 2025). The studies cover an extremely wide range of public spaces in all their forms from cityscape to soundscape, from skinscape to cyberscape, etc. (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2007, Backhaus 2015, Blommaert and Maly 2019, Cenoz and Gorter 2009, Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009).

The concept of *schoolscapes* was first introduced by Brown (2005, 2012) to investigate the linguistic landscape within educational settings, and she found that schoolscape serves as a tool for examining the visibility and ideological positioning of minority or regional languages. In general, schoolscape studies focus on the analysis of languages and cultures represented in educational contexts (e.g. Dressler 2015, Bagna and Bellinzona 2022) or investigate representations of language ideology and language policy, particularly against the backdrop of minority language contexts (e.g. Laihonon and Tódor 2017, Laihonon and Szabó 2017, Biró 2018, Cormier 2019, Troyer 2023). Further steps were taken when the focus of these studies was broadened. Current studies cover not only the analysis of the signage found on the walls of schools or the presence or absence and erasure of languages and their connection to language policies and ideologies, but they also refer to the pedagogical value of the linguistic landscape, i.e. teaching and learning languages or raising awareness towards multilingualism and multiculturalism in an educational space. The educational turn in linguistic landscape studies has shifted beyond the analysis of educational spaces to broader areas, bringing to light new research territories in the field. “Educationscape” (Vandenbroucke 2022, Krompák et al. 2022) as an umbrella term is used to analyse the linguistic and semiotic landscape of an educational space. It has become undeniable that both the production and the interpretation of signs requires a broad spectrum of competencies, which include literacy, critical thinking, and the capacity to reflect on the inequalities of languages (Gorter and Cenoz 2024). Any public space may foster intentional and incidental learning; therefore, they can be considered educational spaces (Krompák et al. 2022) and possess significant educational potential (Gorter and Cenoz 2024).

Implicitly, the university linguistic landscape is referred to as uniscape by Gorter and Krompák (2024), where presence of languages on signage, language policy of the university, multilingual and multicultural contexts may become the focus of linguistic landscape studies. Extending schoolscape research into the public spaces of higher education provides insight into a new dimension (see Szabó and Brown 2025) although relatively little attention has been directed towards the linguistic landscapes of university campuses and faculties (e.g.

Shohamy and Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012, Tupas 2015, Choi et al. 2019, Maxim 2024). Unlike cityscapes, university campuses tend to exhibit a relative scarcity of multilingual signage, thereby constituting a unique subcategory within linguistic landscape research. Still, higher educational institutions are a context in which multilingualism, multiculturalism, language policy issues surface almost automatically (Motschenbacher 2023). They represent spaces in which language varieties of the local geographical context and the use of languages of wider academic communication play a role, since universities have become increasingly internationalized. These research, therefore, are particularly relevant in multilingual contexts where majority and minority languages coexist (Gorter et al. 2012, Shohamy and Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012). Linguistic landscape components serve as indicators of perceived image, symbolic value, and relative status of different languages within local communities (Szabó and Laihonon 2024). Studying this interaction not only helps to reconstruct educational practices but also sheds light on language policies, including the construction of the linguistic landscape.

3. Higher education and the Hungarian minority in Romania

Language plays a central role in the process of nation building, where states implement regulatory frameworks aimed at shaping linguistic practices in accordance with prevailing language ideologies (Gorter and Cenoz 2024, Van Mensel 2025). In Romania, the Hungarian language is officially defined as the mother tongue of persons belonging to the Hungarian minority. Therefore, it is regarded as a minority language, and the right to use it is derived from the constitutional right of persons to preserve their ethnic identity (Horváth and Toró 2018). It is noteworthy that the largest Hungarian minority in the former territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, which dissolved in 1920, can be found in Transylvania, Western Romania. Hungarians represent the largest ethnic minority in Romania as a whole (1,002,151 – 6% of the total population).¹ Despite this significant presence, Romanian language holds dominant official status in this region. State language policy is quite often connected to the hegemony of Romanians as the national majority group. This language policy is typically characterized as a top-down approach imposed by the state (Biró 2023).

In Romania, most Hungarian students can study in Hungarian-medium education, while some from Hungarian and multiethnic families in the diaspora counties typically study in schools with Romanian as the language of instruction

1 Census 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Romania (Last accessed: 28 October 2025).

(Keszeg and Toró 2019). At the tertiary, higher education level, Hungarian-medium programmes are offered at several institutions in Transylvania, Romania. Data on students from Transylvania pursuing higher education reveal that after graduation, one-third of young people of Hungarian nationality and about half of those who graduated in Hungarian in secondary education continue their studies in the Hungarian-medium tertiary institutions in Romania (Péntek and Benő 2020: 197).

One of the most prominent among them is *Babeş-Bolyai University* (hereafter: BBU) in Cluj-Napoca [HU: Kolozsvár], which maintains dedicated departments with Hungarian language instruction, operating under a multilingual framework that includes Romanian, Hungarian, and German. *George Emil Palade University of Medicine, Pharmacy, and Technology of Târgu-Mureş* (hereafter: Medical University) is also one of Romania's most highly ranked universities. During the political changes in Romania in 1989, the continuity of Hungarian higher education was ensured by the University of Cluj-Napoca, the Medical University of Târgu-Mureş, the University of Theatre and Film Arts in Târgu-Mureş, and the two theological universities (Péntek and Benő 2020: 202). *Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania* (hereafter: Sapientia) was established in 2001 as a private institution with the support of the Hungarian government and serves as an autonomous Hungarian-medium university in Romania. It operates campuses in Cluj-Napoca, Târgu-Mureş [HU: Marosvásárhely], Miercurea Ciuc [HU: Csíkszereda], and Sfântu Gheorghe [HU: Sepsiszentgyörgy]. These cities differ significantly in their ethnic composition: while Cluj-Napoca has a predominantly Romanian population, with Hungarians making up around 16% of the residents, Târgu-Mureş has a more balanced demographic, with approximately 43% of Hungarians, and both Miercurea Ciuc and Sfântu Gheorghe are majority-Hungarian cities, where Hungarians represent roughly 81% and 74% of the population respectively.

The historical antecedents of Hungarian-language higher education in Transylvania are rich. The current Babeş-Bolyai University was founded in 1581, when Transylvania was part of the Hungarian Kingdom. In the immediate post-World War II period (1945–1948), after the integration of Transylvania into Romania, the Romanian educational system, at least in principle, provided for Hungarian-language instruction across all levels of education. A significant development occurred in 1948 with the establishment of Bolyai University in Cluj (Hungarian: Kolozsvár), a higher education institution offering instruction exclusively in Hungarian. Additional institutions were established, including an agricultural college, an academy of fine arts, and a conservatory. In parallel, an academy of dramatic art was founded in Târgu-Mureş, further broadening the scope of academic training available in Hungarian. In 1959, the Hungarian Bolyai University in Cluj was merged with the Romanian Babeş University under the

name Babeş–Bolyai University. The institution became bilingual, and Hungarian language was gradually replaced with all-Romanian language instruction (Benő and Szilágyi 2005). Following the political transition of 1989, Romania's educational system experienced significant reforms that positively impacted minority education. Opportunities for instruction in minority languages, including Hungarian, expanded across all levels of the educational system, encompassing primary, secondary, and higher education. These developments marked a notable shift towards greater recognition of linguistic rights within the framework of public education. By 1995, a multicultural university had been formed with three major lines of study created on linguistic criteria: the Romanian, the Hungarian, and the German line of study.²

As part of the expansion of Hungarian-language higher education, a medical-pharmaceutical faculty was established as a branch of Bolyai University. In 1945, the Faculty of Medicine of the former Babeş–Bolyai University moved to Târgu-Mureş, which later expanded to an independent university with faculties of dentistry and pharmacy. The institution provided higher education in Hungarian-only first, and it was made bilingual in 1962, when instruction in Romanian began. Currently, there are three instruction languages: Romanian, Hungarian, and English, and the Medical University has officially gained the title of multicultural university in 2011.

Established in 2001, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania serves as a key autonomous institution for Hungarian-language higher education in Romania. Its inception was driven by the need to address the underrepresentation of Hungarian-language programmes in the few multilingual Romanian universities, all of which include Romanian-medium programmes in the majority.

4. Theoretical framework: The Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) (Gorter and Cenoz 2024)

The MIPS model, developed by Gorter and Cenoz (2024), offers a comprehensive theoretical framework for analysing linguistic landscapes (LLs) through the lens of multilingualism and social equity. The MIPS model addresses the complex interplay between language policies, sign production, public signage, and societal language practices, emphasizing how these elements collectively influence the visibility and representation of languages in public spaces. It aims to explain linguistic and social inequalities regarding signs.

2 <https://www.ubbcluj.ro/en/despre/prezentare/istoric> (Last accessed: 28 October 2025).

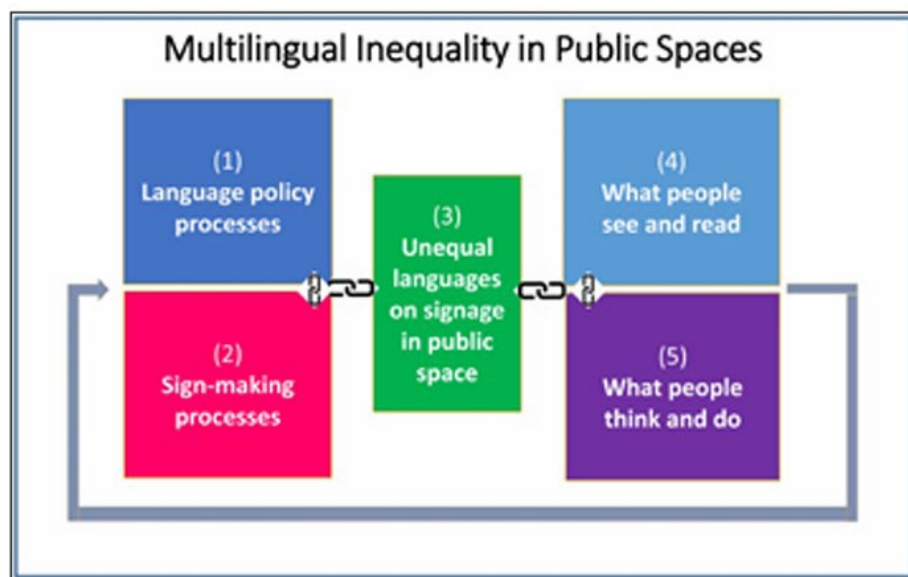


Figure 1. MIPS model proposed by Gorter and Cenoz (2024: 312)

As Corter and Cenoz claim, “the objective of the model is to describe and analyze the cyclic sequence associated with the construction of linguistic landscapes and how these processes and outcomes have an effect on the experiences of groups of people and their social behavior, in particular their language practices” (2024: 80). The MIPS framework comprises five interrelated and cyclical components. The first component, *Language Policy Processes*, examines the legislative and regulatory frameworks that govern language use in public signage. It considers how official policies shape the linguistic landscape, potentially privileging certain languages over others. The second element of the model, *Sign-Making Practices*, focuses on the decision-making processes of sign producers, including considerations of language choice, design, and intended audience. It highlights how individual and organizational choices contribute to the linguistic composition of public spaces. The third component, *Unequal Languages on Signage*, is a central component and analyses the actual display of languages in public signage, assessing the presence, absence, and prominence of different languages. It reflects the outcomes of both policy directives and sign-making practices. The fourth and fifth components refer to the sign readers, where the model takes into account what people see and read, as well as what people think and do. Signs can affect people through what is visually displayed and written, allowing them to engage with the language on the signs, which in turn can shape their behaviour and language use (Corter and Cenoz 2024: 81). The *Perception* element explores how individuals and communities perceive and interpret the

linguistic landscape. It considers the impact of signage on language attitudes, identity construction, and social inclusion or exclusion. The final component, *Reflections*, investigates how the linguistic landscape influences language use and social interactions within a community. It examines the feedback loop between public signage and everyday language practices.

The cyclical nature of the MIPS model underscores the dynamic relationships among its components. Changes in language policy can alter sign-making practices, which in turn reshape the linguistic landscape, influencing public perception and subsequent language behaviours. This iterative process highlights the importance of considering multiple factors when analysing multilingualism in public spaces. By integrating these components, the MIPS model provides a nuanced approach to studying linguistic landscapes, emphasizing the role of power dynamics, policy decisions, and individual agency in shaping the visibility of languages. It serves as a valuable tool for researchers and policymakers aiming to understand and address linguistic inequalities in multilingual societies.

5. Methodological approach. Triangulation of data

As noticed by Ben-Said (2011), visual data is too often considered as sufficient to “provide full evidence of the linguistic situations of the contexts investigated” (2011: 65). Triangulation of data serves to substantiate the data collected from visual data with other types of data. Ben-Said underlines that three different forms of data: signage, sign-readers’ views/interpretations, and language policy documents help in triangulating the findings effectively.

Methodological triangulation ensures a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which multilingual and multicultural values are represented, interpreted, and negotiated within university educationscapes. The triangulation includes three complementary sources of data: institutional language policy documents, photographic documentation of signage, and semi-structured interviews with Hungarian students in Romania. The study was guided by the following research questions: How are languages represented within the uniscapes of the selected university campuses? To what extent does the visibility of languages align with the official language policies of these institutions? Furthermore, how do Hungarian minority students in Romania interpret and reflect upon the signage in their academic environment?

In answering these questions, the MIPS framework provides an analytical foundation that simultaneously examines the language policy context, the linguistic inequality in the linguistic landscape of university spaces, with a specific focus on the sign makers’ as well as the sign readers’ reflections as the key actors.

5.1. Institutional language policy analysis

The first data stream consists of institutional language policy documents, including university charters, rector's reports (2023), and their official websites. I consulted the three main websites of each university.³ In addition, BBU maintains a dedicated, multilingual website, the Qualitas Centre,⁴ displaying information on quality assurance, covering aspects from the evaluation to the improvement of academic activities, which website was also included in the analysis. These sources were examined to identify the formal commitments of each university to multilingualism and multiculturalism, as well as their stated mechanisms for implementation. Particular attention was paid to references to language use in administrative, pedagogical, and symbolic domains, as institutional discourses work as legitimization mechanisms (Waksman and Shohamy 2016).

5.2. Visual data collection: Photographic documentation

The second stream of data includes photographic documentation of public signage, collected in May 2024 (Medical University) and February 2025 (BBU and Sapientia). Approximately 250-300 photos were taken per university, primarily in main university buildings and selected faculty buildings. A total of over 750 photographs comprise the visual dataset. Most signs captured were top-down (institutional) signs. Bottom-up (student- or staff-generated) signs were also included, particularly from noticeboards and informal spaces.

While this dataset offers a valuable snapshot, it must be noted that the analysis remains interpretive rather than exhaustive. No quantitative breakdown by language was applied; instead, images were categorized thematically based on the presence, hierarchy, and function of languages represented.

University campuses often span extensive areas, particularly in the case of Babeş–Bolyai University. Consequently, the scope of photographic data collection had to be strategically limited. For all three universities examined, data collection focused primarily on the main university building. At Babeş–Bolyai University, the corpus was further expanded to include linguistic landscape elements from four additional faculty buildings. In the case of the medical university, most campus buildings were incorporated into the dataset. At Sapientia University, photographic documentation encompassed linguistic landscape elements from its four faculties.

3 <https://sapientia.ro/en>, <https://www.ubbcluj.ro/en/>, <https://umfst.ro/en/> (Last accessed: 28 October 2025).

4 <https://qa.ubbcluj.ro/> (Last accessed: 28 October 2025).

5.3. Interviews with minority Hungarian students

The third component involved ten semi-structured interviews with Hungarian-speaking students, conducted between March and April 2025. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling, beginning with known contacts and expanding via participant recommendation.

Table 1. *Description of interview participants*

	Participants	Study programme	Age	Gender
BBU	P1	European Studies	22	M
	P2	Psychology	22	M
	P3	Law	22	M
Medical University	P4	Medicine	22	F
	P5	Dental Medicine	21	M
	P6	Medicine	22	F
Sapientia	P7	Film and Media	25	F
	P8	Translation-Interpretation	23	F
	P9	Translation-Interpretation	22	F
	P10	Forestry	21	F

The interviews, each 30–35 minutes in length, followed a protocol approved under GDPR-compliant ethical procedures. While the sample size is limited, it allows for exploratory insight into students' perceptions and interpretive practices as “sign readers” (Gorter and Cenoz 2024).

The interviews covered four thematic areas:

- (1) Linguistic biography and language use.
- (2) Interpretations of multiculturalism and multilingualism.
- (3) Recall and evaluation of visual language use across the campus.
- (4) Reflections on institutional language policy in relation to the visibility of different languages in signs.

Participants were also shown representative photographs from their university's linguistic landscape (in-vitro stimulus) and invited to comment on language order, prominence, and their emotional and symbolic responses.

Triangulation of document analysis, visual data, and participant perspectives enhances the internal validity of the study by providing multiple angles of inquiry. However, limitations must be acknowledged. The interview sample, while rich in detail, is small and potentially biased towards students already sensitized to linguistic issues.

6. Comparative analysis of the three uniscapes

In the following, the results of the linguistic landscape analysis conducted at the three Romanian universities are presented, drawing on photographic documentation and institutional policy sources. The focus is on the distribution, language hierarchy, and institutional language policy mirrored by the signage of each university. The analysis is structured around the presence of multilingualism, the alignment with language policies, and the extent to which Hungarian and other minority or international languages are made visible.

6.1. Babeş–Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca

As articulated in its official policy documents, BBU promotes the equitable use of Romanian, Hungarian, and German, which are the historically recognized languages of Transylvania, across all levels of academic and administrative communication. Its language policy documents emphasize multilingual equality in education, research dissemination, and internal communication in a multicultural university: “BBU is a multicultural university that supports multilingualism. In the spirit of multiculturalism, it treats Romanian, Hungarian, and German equally in education, the publication of research results, and internal communication” (Rector’s Annual Report 2023).

The multilingual official documents, websites reflect the university’s commitment to linguistic visibility and equity, and to align with European language policy standards. However, the photographic data reveal a partial implementation of this policy. Top-down multilingual signage (e.g. Romanian–Hungarian–German–English) is typically present in the main building of the university. Different faculty buildings display mostly Romanian-only institutional signage (*Figure 2*).



Figure 2. *Monolingual Romanian placard of the Language Centre (Faculty of Economics, BBU)*

The signage (Figure 2) of the Language Centre of the Faculty of Economics [*Lingua Centre. For the Development and Perfection of Communication in the Public Sphere*], where multiple languages are taught, primarily addresses the Romanian-speaking community even though the faculty also welcomes students with other native languages. On the other hand, this faculty maintains extensive international connections and international student exchange programmes. Consequently, English-only signage is also common, primarily serving a symbolic function, including large panels advertising international programmes such as the Executive Education Programme (Figure 3).



Figure 3. *English-only signage advertising an international education programme*

Hungarian is present but marginal compared to English, typically appearing on bottom-up signage such as student event posters or handwritten notices. As expected, the Hungarian Language and Literary Studies Department constitutes an exception, with approximately 90% of its signage in Hungarian.

6.2. The University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Târgu-Mureş

The Medical University is officially described as a multicultural and multilingual institution offering programmes in Romanian, Hungarian, and English. The Charter affirms students' rights to linguistic and cultural representation and commits to multilingual signage: "The university is a multicultural and multilingual institution where education is currently conducted in Romanian, Hungarian, and English. The language policy ensures the right of students to express their cultural and linguistic identity, as well as their proportional representation in the university's administrative structures" (University Charter).

The excerpt from the University Charter of the Medical University of Târgu-Mureş highlights the institution's commitment to multiculturalism and

multilingualism as core values shaping its identity and governance. By conducting education in Romanian, Hungarian, and English, the university declares equal access to learning and protects students' rights to express their linguistic and cultural identities. In doing so, the university aligns with European principles of diversity, equality, and cultural dialogue, positioning itself as a model of intercultural coexistence in higher education.

In the university's linguistic landscape, Romanian dominates the signage, and its representation is accordingly proportional. Multilingual signs (Romanian–Hungarian–English) do exist but are inconsistently applied and limited to institutional signage (*Figure 4*).



Figure 4. Multilingual institutional signage at the Medical University of Târgu-Mureș

Hungarian and English appear in smaller font sizes, typically occupying lower positions in the visual hierarchy. The presence of English is increasing, and besides navigation or administrative signage, it is particularly prominent in departments offering international programmes, where it facilitates orientation for international students. Bottom-up signage in Hungarian (*Figure 5*), while present, is limited and primarily functional (e.g. advertisements, notices).



Figure 5. Hungarian-only, bottom-up signage: a call for volunteers

For example, a Hungarian-language poster (*Figure 5*), posted by the NGO *Yuppi Camp*, calls for volunteers to support children with chronic illnesses and targets Hungarian-speaking students at the Medical University. Its presence on campus highlights the practical dimension of language choice, with Hungarian visibly used alongside Romanian in public communication. The coexistence of such posters with Romanian (and, more rarely, English) versions reflects a multilingual environment that recognizes local linguistic diversity while maintaining distinct communicative spaces for each language group. Nevertheless, it also underscores institutional ambivalence: although multiculturalism is embraced discursively, its spatial manifestation remains limited and asymmetrical.

6.3. Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania

As an institution explicitly founded to serve the Hungarian minority, Sapientia foregrounds Hungarian as the primary language of instruction (functional language use) and identity (symbolic language use). The University Charter does acknowledge the importance of acquiring Romanian academic competence and encourages English and German language proficiency to promote students' integration into the national higher education system and to enhance their international academic and professional mobility. Hungarian is the main language of instruction across all faculties, reinforcing the university's commitment to developing and maintaining the linguistic and cherishing the cultural identity of the Hungarian community in the region: "The language of

instruction is Hungarian; however, acquiring Romanian academic language is of key importance. Faculties may also offer programmes partially or entirely in international languages” (University Charter).

This excerpt from the Sapientia University Charter reflects a balanced multilingual strategy that combines cultural preservation with integration and internationalization. By establishing Hungarian as the main language of instruction, the university reinforces its mission to sustain the linguistic and cultural identity of the Hungarian minority in Romania. At the same time, emphasizing the importance of acquiring Romanian academic language acknowledges the need for graduates to integrate successfully into the national academic and professional context. The possibility of offering programmes in international languages further aligns the university with global educational standards.

Photographic data affirm a strong Hungarian visual presence. Most top-down signage is either Hungarian-only or bilingual (Hungarian–Romanian). The positioning of the languages is not always consistent; however, Romanian is typically in the dominant position on top-down signage whenever it appears (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Bilingual, top-down signage of office

Figure 6 illustrates the university’s language policy and its approach to linguistic representation in institutional spaces. The sign displays both Romanian (*Birou cadre didactice*) and Hungarian (*Tanári iroda*), meaning *Teachers’ Office*, placed under room number A104. The bilingual layout reflects the coexistence of the two official languages relevant to the university’s context: Romanian, the state language, and Hungarian, the primary language of instruction and institutional identity. Notably, in this instance, Romanian appears above Hungarian, a pattern consistent with official signage norms in Romania, where the state language occupies the dominant visual position in public or institutional communication. However, the inclusion of Hungarian alongside it signals linguistic equality and

cultural visibility within the institution. The visual prominence of Hungarian, supported by the university's logo and bilingual naming, affirms the university's minority-language character and autonomy while still adhering to national language policies.

This example illustrates how Sapiientia negotiates linguistic hierarchy and cultural identity: Romanian ensures legal and national alignment, while Hungarian expresses community belonging and institutional mission. The coexistence of the two languages on the same sign demonstrates the university's practical implementation of multiculturalism and bilingualism, contributing to an environment that reflects both state requirements and minority rights in a balanced and respectful way.

The university exhibits multilingual signage in locations presumably visited by international visitors. The faculty building in Cluj-Napoca shows a higher incidence of multilingual signage, including English, even on bottom-up signage (*Figure 7*), where the Hungarian language visibility is highlighted.



Figure 7. *Multilingual signage on the door of the elevator, Hungarian language highlighted*

This trilingual sign (*Figure 7*) exemplifies the interaction between institutional multilingual policy and community language practice. The inscriptions, Romanian (Nu funcționează!), Hungarian (Használaton kívül!), and English (Out of service!), indicate a functional, safety-related notice placed on an elevator door. Its semiotic function is primarily informative and directive, ensuring that all potential users understand that the elevator is temporarily out of use. The visual hierarchy emphasizes the Hungarian phrase in the centre, displayed in bold white text on a red background, visually foregrounding the university's Hungarian linguistic identity. Romanian and English appear above and below in black text on white, signalling both compliance with national norms and international accessibility. Furthermore, the placement of this sign, being on an elevator in the university building, underlines the fact that it was created not by institutional decree but by the staff.

The predominance of Hungarian in bottom-up signage documented through field photography and observation reveals a linguistic landscape closely aligned with community expectations yet less consistent with the European higher education principles of balanced multilingual representation promoted by bodies such as the Council of Europe, or by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992), which promotes both visibility of minority and state languages in education.

7. Students as sign readers of uniscapes

Student perceptions offer an interpretive layer to understanding how linguistic landscapes are experienced, internalized, or contested by their intended audiences. Drawing on the final two components of the MIPS model, Perception (what people see and interpret) and Reflection (how signage influences attitudes and practices), the data based on semi-structured interviews with students examines how Hungarian minority students from the three institutions engage with and interpret the multilingual or monolingual character of their uniscapes. The analysis provides insight into how signage functions not only as an informational tool but also as a marker of identity, recognition, and inclusion (see Tupas 2015).

7.1. Symbolic recognition and the value of multilingual signage

Across all three institutions, students underscored the symbolic function of multilingual signage as a marker of inclusion and respect. Multilingual signs were not merely viewed as communicative tools but as indicators of institutional attitude towards linguistic diversity. Several students at BBU and Sapientia noted that the order of languages, typically Romanian first, followed by Hungarian and English, reflects broader societal hierarchies, saying, “The order of the languages is logical: first the majority, then the minority, then English for international students.” (P1, UBB) and interpreted as a pragmatic and respectful gesture to the national context, without undermining the institution’s Hungarian identity: “It’s natural that Romanian should be on top, the university is in Romania, but it’s fair that we see all three languages” (P8, Sapientia).

This underscores the MIPS model’s claim that signage functions not only as a reflection of policy but as a semiotic gesture of identity negotiation and token of symbolic equity. Several participants noted that multilingualism is not evenly distributed across campus spaces. Central administrative buildings display more multilingual signage than individual faculties: Such spatial inconsistency suggests performative multiculturalism concentrated in representative areas,

while everyday academic spaces often remain monolingual. This selective implementation of the charters on multilingualism undermines the holistic application of multilingual policy and reinforces uneven language hierarchies.

At Sapientia, a reverse trend was noted: Hungarian dominates most campus signage. Students generally did not perceive this as exclusionary but rather as reflective of the university's mission: "The signs are mostly in Hungarian, it makes sense. But if a foreigner comes, there are English signs too" (P8, Sapientia). This can also be understood in the context of associating "foreigners" with English, which reflects the university's local linguistic dynamics. Here, "foreigner" refers less to nationality and more to anyone outside the Hungarian-speaking community. English functions as a neutral and accessible lingua franca, allowing communication without invoking the ethnic or identity meanings attached to Hungarian and Romanian. Its use therefore symbolizes inclusivity and international openness, aligning with global academic norms while preserving Hungarian as the core language of community identity.

7.2. Underrepresentation of Hungarian and hierarchies of visibility

Students at BBU and the Medical University consistently noted the underrepresentation of Hungarian in institutional signage, particularly in buildings without Hungarian-language programmes. One student at the Medical University emphasized the historical and demographic justification for the need of more visibility for the Hungarian language, stating, "There should be more Hungarian inscriptions because of the history and the current students" (P4, Medical University).

Another BBU student articulated a dual sentiment: acceptance of Romanian dominance in professional (i.e. functional language use) settings yet a desire for symbolic inclusion: "...in my faculty, everyone is expected to speak Romanian at an advanced level, so I don't think Hungarian signage is that important. However, it would be nice if I could sometimes see signs in Hungarian, as it would strengthen my feeling that the minority is treated in the same way as the majority in the society" (P3, BBU).

The visibility and order of languages on signage reflect both policy implementation and symbolic power, and these statements point to a perception of symbolic marginalization, where official policies proclaim proportional or absolute multiculturalism, yet the visual environment fails to represent minority presence consistently. This gap between institutional policy documents and visibility is precisely what the MIPS model identifies as a mechanism of linguistic inequality.

In contrast, Sapientia presents a space where Hungarian dominates, although students still reflected on the order and size of signage: "Romanian is usually

larger. I understand that it's the official language, but it still feels symbolic" (P8, Sapientia). This perceptible imbalance in visual representation reinforces perceived linguistic hierarchies.

7.3. Policy versus practice: Institutional multilingualism

It was part of the interview that students reflected on the disjuncture between the universities' stated language policies and the actual linguistic landscape. While BBU and the Medical University formally support multilingualism, students noted that this was inconsistently implemented. According to one of the participants: "The university claims to be multicultural, but most signage doesn't reflect that. At best, it's in Romanian and English" (P2, BBU). Similarly, a participant from the Medical University described the signage as reflecting inequality among languages in the university's public space, noting that "The signage doesn't represent languages proportionally. Classrooms in the dental faculty, for example, lack Hungarian or English signs" (P4, Medical University).

Even at Sapientia, where Hungarian signage dominates, students emphasized the need for greater presence of English to support international students: "Multilingual signage should include English too, especially in the cafeteria or for Erasmus students" (P9, Sapientia). These data suggest that multilingualism is strategically deployed in select spaces, yet absent or inconsistent in others, reflecting a partial and uneven implementation of institutional policies.

7.4. English as lingua franca and its symbolic displacement

English is often perceived as the language of academic prestige and global access, enriched with a pragmatic role, and participants could agree on "English is more important than Hungarian signage, especially for international opportunities and making education look accessible" (P2, BBU).

Students across all universities recognized the necessity of English signage but expressed ambivalence as well: "We've become so used to Romanian signs that we hardly notice the absence of Hungarian, but it's English that's growing" (P5, Medical University).

This may illustrate the growing linguistic commodification, where English functions as a symbolic capital aligned with mobility and prestige, often at the cost of minority languages becoming less visible not only due to majority dominance but also due to global pressures.

At Sapientia, English was viewed as a welcome addition rather than a threat as long as it complemented Hungarian signage rather than displacing it: "Including English helps both us and foreigners. It shows that we're open, but Hungarian should stay central" (P10, Sapientia).

8. Conclusions

This comparative study of the three universities investigated the extent to which language choice and multilingual values are transmitted, contested, or obscured within the uniscapes of Romanian institutions. Drawing on the MIPS model, I have analysed institutional policy documents, visual data from signage, and minority student interviews. The analysis revealed an uneven picture of these uniscapes. While institutions such as Babeş–Bolyai University and the Medical University of Târgu-Mureş endorse multilingualism in their charters and policies, the material landscape remains dominated by Romanian, with Hungarian marginalized and English increasingly prioritized for internationalization. At Sapientia, Hungarian dominates the linguistic landscape in alignment with the institution's mission, but the limited visibility of Romanian and English raises questions about broader engagement.

Student reflections highlighted signage as a symbol of recognition and legitimacy. Signage was not perceived merely as functional but as a medium through which institutional values, power dynamics, and language ideologies are communicated. Participants demonstrated a critical awareness of linguistic hierarchies. Students' voices foreground the emotional, political, and identity-forming dimensions of linguistic visibility. Signage is not a passive backdrop but works as an index of legitimacy.

By foregrounding the role of student perceptions and applying a cyclical, dynamic framework like MIPS, this study contributes to the expanding scholarship on linguistic landscapes in educational contexts. It underscores the need to consider not only policy declarations and visual representations but also the interpretive practices of those who are the sign readers of these spaces. Multilingualism in universities cannot be achieved through signage alone; it must be embedded in institutional practices that affirm the presence and rights of all language communities.

Future research could include larger and more diverse student cohorts, incorporate quantitative measures of signage, and examine temporal changes in linguistic landscapes, as practised multilingualism requires alignment between symbolic visibility, lived experience, and institutional accountability. Including students from Romanian- and English-medium programmes could further enrich the analysis by incorporating their perspectives into the results.

References

- Androutsopoulos, Jannis. 2007. Bilingualism in the mass media and on the Internet. In Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, 207–230. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Backhaus, Peter. 2015. Attention, please: A linguistic soundscape/landscape analysis of ELF information provision in public transport in Tokyo. In Kumiko Murata (ed.), *Exploring ELF in Japanese Academic and Business Contexts: Conceptualisation, Research and Pedagogic Implications*, 194–209. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bagna, Carla–Martina Bellinzona. 2022. Italian linguistic schoolscape: Neoplurilingualism in an age of migration. In Edina Krompák–Victor Fernández-Mallat and Stephan Meyer (eds), *Linguistic Landscapes and Educational Spaces*, 77–103. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Barni, Monica–Carla Bagna. 2015. The critical turn in LL: New methodologies and new items in LL. *Linguistic Landscape* 1 (1–2): 6–18.
- Ben Said, Selim. 2011. Data triangulation as a resource in multilingual research: Examples from the linguistic landscape. In *Proceedings of the International Conference “Doing Research in Applied Linguistics”*, 62–68. Bangkok: School of Liberal Arts.
- Benő, Attila–Sándor Szilágyi N. 2005. Hungarian in Romania. In Anna Fenyvesi (ed.), *Hungarian Language Contact outside Hungary: Studies on Hungarian as a Minority Language*, 133–162. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Biró, Enikő. 2016. Learning schoolscape in a minority setting. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 8(2): 109–121.
- . 2023. Linguistic landscape of football. Reterritorialization in a minority setting. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 15(2): 86–105.
- Blackwood, Robert–Stefania Tufi. 2012. Policies vs non-policies: Analysing regional languages and the national standard in the linguistic landscape of French and Italian Mediterranean cities. In Durk Gorter–Heiko F. Marten–Luk Van Mensel (eds), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*, 107–126. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blommaert, Jan–Ico Maly. 2019. Invisible lines in the online-offline linguistic landscape. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 223: 1–9. Tilburg University.
- Brown, D. Kara. 2005. Estonian schoolscape and the marginalization of regional identity in education. *European Education* 37: 78–89.
- . 2012. The linguistic landscape of educational spaces. In Heiko F. Marten–Durk Gorter–Luk Van Mansel (eds), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*, 281–298. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave-Macmillan.

- Cenoz, Jason. 2013. Defining multilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 33: 3–18.
- Cenoz, Jason–Durk Gorter. 2006. Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3(1): 67–80.
- . 2009. Language economy and linguistic landscape. In Elana Shohamy–Durk Gorter (eds), *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, 55–69. New York: Routledge.
- Choi, Jinsook–Bradley Tatar–Jeongyeon Kim. 2019. Bilingual signs at an ‘English only’ Korean university: Place-making and ‘global’ space in higher education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 24(9): 1431–1444.
- Cots, Josep M.–David Lasagabaster–Peter Garrett. 2012. Multilingual policies and practices of universities in three bilingual regions in Europe. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 216: 7–32.
- Cormier, Gail. 2019. Translanguaging and linguistic landscapes: A study of Manitoban schools. *OLBI Working Papers/Cahiers de l’ILOB* 10: 87–105.
- Crowder, George. 2013. *Theories of Multiculturalism: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dressler, Roswita. 2015. Signgeist: Promoting bilingualism through the linguistic landscape of school signage. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 12(1): 128–145.
- Gorter, Durk. 2021. Multilingual inequality in public spaces: Towards an inclusive model of linguistic landscapes. In Robert Blackwood–Deirdre A. Dunlevy (eds), *Multilingualism in the Public Spaces: Empowering and Transforming Communities*, 13–30. London: Bloomsbury.
- Gorter, Durk–Edina Krompák (eds). 2024. *Educational Agency and Activism in Linguistic Landscape Studies*. Berlin: Peter Lang GmbH.
- Gorter, Durk–Heiko F. Marten–Luk Van Mensel. 2012. *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gorter, Durk–Jason Cenoz. 2017. Linguistic landscape and multilingualism. In Jason Cenoz–Durk Gorter–Stephen May (eds), *Language Awareness and Multilingualism*, 233–245. Springer.
- . 2024. *A Panorama of Linguistic Landscape Studies*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Gorter, Durk–Jason Cenoz–Karin van der Worp. 2021. The linguistic landscape as a resource for language learning and raising language awareness. *Journal of Spanish Language Teaching* 8(2):161–181.
- Horváth, István–Tibor Toró. 2018. Language use, language policy, and language rights. In Tamás Kiss–István–Gergő Székely–Tibor Toró–Nándor Bárdi–István Horváth (eds), *Unequal Accommodation of Minority Rights*, 167–223. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Hult, Francis M. 2018. Language policy and planning and linguistic landscapes. In James W. Tollefson–Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*, 333–350. Oxford University Press.
- Ivkovic, Dejan–Heather Lotherington. 2009. Multilingualism in cyberspace: Conceptualising the virtual linguistic landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 6(1): 17–36.
- Keszeg, Erika–Tibor Toró. 2019. Nyelvi hierarchiák és aszimmetrikus nyelvi viszonyok az anyanyelvoktatásban: Fakultatív magyar nyelvoktatás Erdélyben [Language hierarchies and asymmetrical language relations in mother tongue teaching: Optional Hungarian language teaching in Transylvania]. *REGIO* 27(4): 106–141.
- Krompák, Edina. 2025. Language learning in linguistic landscape: Toward a sustainable and socially responsive language education. In Durk Gorter–Jason Cenoz (eds), *The Handbook of Linguistic Landscapes and Multilingualism*, 481–501. John Wiley and Sons.
- Krompák, Edina–Víctor Fernández–Stephan Mallat–Meyer. 2022. The symbolic value of educationscapes – Expanding the intersections between linguistic landscape and education. In Edina Krompák–Víctor Fernández-Mallat–Stephan Meyer (eds), *Linguistic Landscapes and Educational Spaces*, 1–28. Bristol, Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters.
- Laihonen, Petteri–Erika-Mária Tódor. 2017. The changing schoolscape in a Szekler village in Romania: Signs of diversity in rehungarization. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 20(3): 362–379.
- Laihonen, Petteri–Tamás Szabó P. 2017. Investigating visual practices in educational settings: Schoolscapes, language ideologies and organizational cultures. In Marilyn Martin-Jones–Deirdre Martin (eds), *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Approaches*, 121–138. Routledge.
- Maxim, Hiram. 2024. Affecting multiple literacies in the linguistic landscape. In Durk Gorter–Krompák Edina (eds), *Educational Agency and Activism in Linguistic Landscape Studies*, 125–161. Peter Lang.
- Motschenbacher, Heiko. 2023. Contrasting a university's language policy with its linguistic landscape: A Norwegian case study. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 25(3): 237–265.
- Péntek, János–Attila Benő. 2020. *A magyar nyelv Romániában (Erdélyben)* [The Hungarian Language in Romania (Transylvania)]. Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület.
- Saukkonen, Pasi. 2013. Multiculturalism and nationalism: The politics of diversity in Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37(6): 713–724.
- Scollon, Ron–Suzie Scollon-Wong. 2003. *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. London: Routledge.

- Shohamy, Elana. 2006. *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- . 2015. LL research as expanding language and language policy. *Linguistic Landscape* 1(1/2): 152–171.
- Shohamy, Elana–Abu M. Ghazaleh-Mahajneh. 2012. Linguistic landscape as a tool for interpreting language vitality: Arabic as a ‘minority’ language in Israel. In Durk Gorter–Heiko F. Marten–Luc van Mensel (eds), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape. Palgrave Studies in Minority Languages and Communities*, 89–108. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shohamy, Elana–Iair G. Or. 2025. Linguistic landscape in Israel: Policy, research, practice. In Durk Gorter–Jason Cenoz (eds), *The Handbook of Linguistic Landscapes and Multilingualism*, 255–273. John Wiley and Sons.
- Szabó, P. Tamás–Kara D. Brown. 2025. Schoolsapes: A linguistic landscape approach to learning environments. In Durk Gorter–Jason Cenoz (eds), *The Handbook of Linguistic Landscapes and Multilingualism*, 481–501. John Wiley and Sons.
- Szabó, P. Tamás–Petteri Laihonon. 2024. Building participatory video projects for multilingual schoolsapes. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 22(2): 379–396.
- Toró, Tibor. 2015. Multiculturalism and minority policies in Romania: Discourse and practice. *Central European Political Studies Review* 17(1): 71–84.
- Troyer, Robert. 2023. Agency and policy: Who controls the linguistic landscape of a school? In Sébastien Dubreil–David Malinowski–Hiram H. Maxim (eds), *Spatializing Language Studies. Educational Linguistics*, 89–119. Cham: Springer.
- Tupas, Ruanni. 2015. All of myself has to change: A story of inclusion and exclusion in an unequal learning space. In Rani Rubdy–Selim B. Said (eds), *Conflict, Exclusion and Dissent in the Linguistic Landscape*, 170–184. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Van Mensel, Luk. 2025. Minority languages and language ideologies. In Durk Gorter–Jason Cenoz (eds), *The Handbook of Linguistic Landscapes and Multilingualism*, 193–209. John Wiley and Sons.
- Vandenbroucke, Mieke. 2022. Institutional educationscapes for new speakers in Flanders: Language learning campaigns and linguistic integration. In Edina Krompák–Victor Fernández-Mallat–Stephan Meyer (eds), *Linguistic Landscapes and Educational Spaces*, 173–192. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Waksman, Shoshi–Elana Shohamy. 2016. Linguistic landscape of social protests: Moving from ‘open’ to ‘institutional’ spaces. In Robert Blackwood–Elizabeth Lanza–Hirut Woldemariam (eds), *Negotiating and Contesting Identities in Linguistic Landscapes*, 85–98. Bloomsbury.