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Linguistic Landscape of a Modern Post-Soviet Capital — Case of Chișinău, Republic of Moldova

The study of linguistic landscape considers the hierarchy of languages motivated by political, administrative, and economic reasons, as reflected in the graphic design and order of inscriptions. In this research, we will present the linguistic landscape of Chișinău by analyzing top-down and bottom-up signs and commercial billboards. The choice fell on this city because it is multiethnic, home for Moldovans/Romanians and other nationalities. The relevance of the topic is explained by the fact that Moldova aspires to join the European Union, and in 2018 Chișinău became one of the country's pilot municipalities for the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which the country has adopted, but has not yet ratified. The new signs must indicate direction to public and cultural institutions, monuments and memorials, parks and major streets, university buildings, the railway station, and the airport with trilingual inscriptions in Moldovan, a local minority language (Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, German or Yiddish) and English. The investigation of the linguistic landscape will help identify the dominant language(s) in the Moldovan capital, understand the relations between linguistic communities and the linguistic situation in Chișinău.

Keywords: language situation, linguistic landscape, bi- and multilingualism, language policy, language ideology, post-Soviet countries, Chișinău, Moldova.

Introduction. Theoretical background

Multilingualism has always been attracting scholars' interest, which made them seek new methods to study bi- and multilingual societies. At the end of the XX century a new branch called Linguistic Landscape Studies emerged from several academic disciplines such as applied linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and cultural geography [1]. The term Linguistic Landscape was first introduced by Landry and Bourhis in their research "Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study" [2]. In the article the authors define the Linguistic Landscape as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration" (ibid.).

Written public signs both reflect and regulate the cultural, sociolinguistic, and political structure of the space they are situated in [3]. Therefore, for this type of research in most cases scholars choose cities that are characterized by a dense multilingual environment [e.g., 2–5]. Lately, post-Soviet multiethnic cities have caught researchers' attention as they choose to study the linguistic landscape and the linguistic situation of these places. In most cases the papers are dedicated to the presentation of the Russian language on the former Soviet territories. Examples of such papers can be "Status language planning in Belarus: An examination of written discourse in public spaces" by Anthony N. Brown [6], "Multilingualism and Language Policy in

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post-Soviet Ukraine: English, Ukrainian and Russian in Linguistic Landscapes" by O. Bever [7], "Transgression as the Norm: Russian in Linguistic Landscape of Kyiv, Ukraine" by A. Pavlenko [8], "Negotiating Public Space: Post-Soviet Linguistic Landscape in Kazakhstan" by I. Moore [9]. A change in the geopolitical status of a state leads to change in legislation, including the regulation of language functioning. Nowadays in the post-Soviet countries, the following trends in the field of language policy are observed:

- ✓ Strengthening the status of the national languages of the former Soviet republics;
- ✓ Changing the status of the Russian language and de-Russification;
- ✓ Support for national minority languages [10].

As a result of these processes, the linguistic landscape of Chișinău also changes. Unlike other post-Soviet cities' linguistic landscape, the one of Moldovan cities did not get much attention from local, as well as foreign researchers, which is also a reason we chose this topic. The linguistic landscape of Chișinău in comparison with Vilnius and other post-Soviet capitals is described in several articles by Sebastian Muth [11–13]. Articles dedicated to other multiethnic Moldovan cities have also been written lately. For example, the linguistic situation and landscape of Comrat, the capital of the autonomous region of Gagauzia in the south of Moldova, and Bălți, the "northern capital of Moldova", with a strong Russian speaking community, in comparison with the linguistic situation in Transcarpathia or in other multilingual European countries are presented in several studies by Angela Palágyi [14; 15]. Both authors present the modern linguistic situation of the Republic of Moldova, analyze the linguistic landscape of cities with a mixed population and present the ratio of mono- and multilingual written signs, eliciting the relationship between the spoken languages and their status and prestige. Since 2018, the language policy of the country has changed, as well as the demographics and language use. Therefore, we were interested to check how the linguistic landscape of Chișinău has changed in the past five years. We assume that the modern linguistic landscape of the Moldovan capital would be much different from the one described in the above-mentioned articles. The aim of this research is to present and analyze the linguistic landscape of Chișinău and understand the situation of minority languages in this city. At the end of the research, we will identify which languages are the most visible in four districts of the Moldovan capital after the adoption of the law on advertisement and explain whether the presence or absence of minority languages in the linguistic landscape can be related to the country's language policy or natural language shift.

Republic of Moldova after 1991: Demographics and Language Policy

II.1 Changes in the Language Policy from 1990' to Nowadays

In 1991, Moldova became an independent state after being a Soviet republic for 51 years. After the declaration of independence, the Government adopted a new language policy, which led to demographic changes and ethnic tensions in the country. On August 31, 1989, the Moldovan language written in the Latin script was proclaimed as the official language of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Back then, the Government expressed the intention to unite with Romania. These declarations encountered strong disagreement from the Russian-speaking ethnic minorities living in the republic. De-russification measures taken in Moldova in the early 1990s led to a civil war, which forced the authorities to review the language and minority policies. On September 1, 1989, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopted and published a revised law on languages. This normative act guaranteed the use of Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Yiddish, Gagauz and the languages of other ethnic groups living on the territory of the republic. Special guarantees were provided in regards with the Russian language. Along with Moldovan[*], Russian received the status of the language of interethnic communication. The language policy of the republic changes very often. In 2018, the law "On functioning of Languages on the Territory of Moldova" was abolished, since then Russian is no longer the language of intercultural communication, but its status of minority language is defined in other legal acts [16].

On 13 November 2018 seventy-one multilingual tourist signs were inaugurated by the Council of Europe in cooperation with the National Inbound Tourism Association of Moldova (ANTRIM) and the Moldovan Tourist Information Center in Chișinău, in the framework of the project "Protecting national minorities and minority languages in Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Belarus". The signs mark the most im-

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[*]According to the Constitution, the official language of the country is Moldovan. However, the name of the language is strongly disputed among scholars. Since this question is outside of our competence, we will speak about the official language in this term. For the names of the people both Moldovan/Romanian will be used, as some citizens declare themselves Moldovans, while others-Romanians.

portant touristic sights in Chişinău in Moldovan, English and in a minority language: Russian, Ukrainian, German, Bulgarian and Yiddish. The goal of this initiative was to increase the visibility of the minority languages in the Republic of Moldova and to promote multilingualism and national cultural heritage in the capital. The participants of the event also mentioned the importance of preserving minority languages and fostering the pluralistic culture of the Republic of Moldova [16].

In the same year a new regulation revised the language of public advertisements, which influenced the linguistic landscape of the capital as well. The bill replaced the advertising law adopted two decades ago and stipulated much clearer rules about all types of advertisement, from political and audiovisual to commercial and informal. According to Chapter 3 of the Regulation, all advertisement and public signs must be displayed in the Moldovan language and, at the request of the advertising provider — in other languages spoken in the country or English. The main condition is that the script must be Latin, which completely excludes the possibility to use the Cyrillic script in public [17].

II.2 Demographics of Chişinau

According to the 2015 census regarding urbanization, 45 % of the total population (2.6 million) live in urban areas [18]. At the beginning of 2016, the population of Chişinău within the city limits was 685.900, and within the municipality — 820.500 inhabitants [19]. In 2004 and in 2014 censuses on the ethnical composition of the capital showed a drop in the number of representatives of national minorities, as presented below [20] (Table 1):

T a b l e 1

Ethnical Groups of Chişinau. Data by The National Bureau of Statistics

Ethnic Group	2004		2014	
	Population	% of total*	Population	% of total*
Moldovans	481,626	67.62	304,860	64.95
Romanians	31,984	4.49	65,605	13.98
Russians	99,149	13.92	42,174	8.98
Ukrainians	58,945	8.27	26,991	5.75
Bulgarians	8,866	1.25	4,850	1.03
Gagauzians	6,448	0.91	3,108	0.66
Others	11,605	1.63	5,954	1.27
Not declared	13,595	1.91	15,604	3.32

In 2014 the National Bureau of Statistics presented new information on distribution of mother tongues and languages usually spoken in Chişinău as whole and by district [20]. According to the statistics, 43.78 % of inhabitants of Chişinău usually speak the Romanian language, 29.55 — Moldovan, 25.64 — Russian, while only 1.03 of the city population speak other minority languages: Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Gagauz. The five residential districts (Centru, Botanica, Buiucani, Râşcani and Ciocana) are traditionally divided by ethnicity of the inhabitants. The density of Russians and Ukrainians is a little higher in the districts dating from the Soviet era — Botanica and Râşcani, than in other districts of Chişinău. Buiucani and Ciocana districts are populated in absolute majority by Moldovans/Romanians with a Russian-speaking minority composed of Russians and Ukrainians. Here the Russian language is known by most people over the age of 30, and the younger generation understands it but speaks it to a lesser extent. At the same time, the Centru district is largely populated by Moldovans/Romanians, but since most government institutions and business centers are located there, it is more multilingual than the other districts.

Methodology

Linguistic landscape studies adopted research methods and techniques from sociolinguistics and applied linguistics: questionnaires, interviews, observations, ethnographic research and discourse analysis. Most studies on the linguistic landscape use both quantitative and qualitative method. The latter studies the placement and relative size of different languages and signs, which is done using Scollon's framework of geosemiotics [21]. In recent years the methodology has expanded, which lead to a widening in topic understanding. Unlike many studies from the turn of the century, today researchers focus not only on top-down vs. bottom-up signs, but also on different levels of analysis of written language inside and outside various types of buildings and on any display in public spaces which communicates varied types of messages [5; 22].

In linguistic landscape studies the term "unit of analysis" was adopted to denote textual signs [23]. Backhaus defines the last one as any piece of text within a spatially definable frame [21]. Here is brought into question whether only the fixed signs should be considered, or should those mobile ones also be seen as unit of analysis. Recently, researchers have begun to include non-stationary signs as texts on vehicles, clothes, banknotes and even gadgets as well as into their studies [22; 23; 24–27].

Our research is based on digital pictures taken in Chişinău in July 2021 and in February 2022. The database contains 595 pictures which include 61 top-down signs, 390 commercial signs and 144 private signs. The pictures were taken in 4 different districts of the city — Ciocana, Centru, Botanica and Râşcani. For this research we used the random sampling method and took pictures of bi- or multilingual signs and monolingual signs written in other languages than just Moldovan. For this study we focused only on fixed signs. Since we used the quantitative method to study the linguistic landscape of Chişinău, we had undertaken Backhaus' definition and counted each sign as a single unit of analysis. We analyzed the linguistic landscape of Chişinău from the point of view of language policy and multilingualism: what and how many languages appear on bottom-up and top-down signs, in which combination and on what type of signs are languages present in each of the four districts. Also, there are many signs written in English and other foreign languages. But since these languages are not originally spoken in Moldova, they were not taken into consideration during the data analysis. In the end, we compared the obtained data with the statistical information on mother tongue/ used language in order to see what languages functions are and how the linguistic landscape complies with the new advertisement regulations. The information about the pictures (district, date taken) is included in the Annex.

Results

As mentioned in II.2., the most used language in Chişinău is Romanian/Moldovan. Names of theatres, museums, libraries, governmental institutions, hospitals are written mainly in this language. However, in the case of cultural institutions, Moldovan and/or Russian is used in combination with the given minority language, or the latter may be presented alone. For example, in Figure 1 we can see the State Russian Theatre. The name of the institution is displayed in the official language on the left and in Russian on the right, the information shares the same space and font.

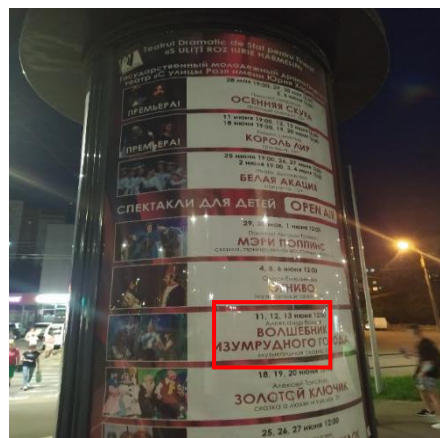

Figure 1. The State Russian Theatre

Figure 2. Theatre programme written in Russian

Figure 3. The Jewish cemetery

Regarding the provided information, there is no strict pattern, since it may be the same, or the writing in the minority language may provide additional data. In some cases, the information provided in minority languages is not translated at all into the official language. Such example can be seen in Figure 2, where the name of the theatre is transliterated into Moldovan "S uliţî roz Iurie Harmelin" and below is also written in Russian, while the programme itself is presented only in Russian.

It can also happen that some information is displayed in only Moldovan, and not translated into any other languages. An example is presented in Figure 3 which shows the entrance to the Jewish cemetery. The name is written in Yiddish, Moldovan and Russian, while the information that this is a historical monument is written only in the official language (the signs are highlighted).

The situation is quite interesting in the case of commemorative plaques. Those installed during the Soviet era are kept in Moldovan written in Cyrillic (Fig. 4) and in the Russian language (Fig. 5) and are not changed, whereas the ones installed in the late 90's are only written in the official language.

Figure 4. Commemorative plague
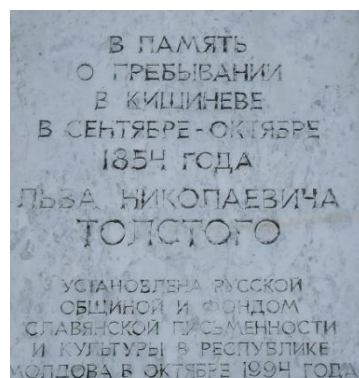on one of the oldest churches in the city

Figure 5. Commemorative plaque in Russian
dedicated to L. Tolstoy's visit to Chişinău in 1845

In Centru district we discovered the multilingual signs that mark directions to the places of interest. The information on these signs is presented in three languages. Only English and Moldovan were persistent, combined with Russian, Ukrainian, German or Yiddish. In the case of signs written in Yiddish, both the traditional script and the transliteration into Latin alphabet are included, as we can see in Figure 6 and 7. We believe that the choice of these minority languages is explained by the fact that Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and Jews are the biggest linguistic communities in Chişinau, while in 2018 the German community celebrated the 204th anniversary of the establishment of German colonists in Bessarabia.

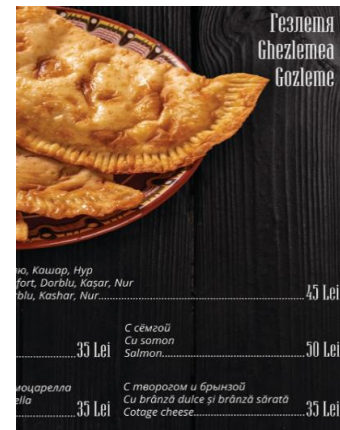Figures 6-7 (from the left to the right). Directions to places of interest

The distribution of languages on top-down signs by districts may be seen in the Table 2:

Distribution of minority languages on top-down signs by districts

	Moldovan – Russian signs	Russian signs	Moldovan – Other Minority Language(s) signs	Moldovan – Russian – Other Minority Language(s) signs	Other Minority Languages signs
Ciocana	3	0	0	0	0
Râşcani	5	2	2	1	1
Botanica	6	3	0	0	0
Centru	22	0	13	2	1
Total	36	5	15	3	2

In the commercial sphere bilingualism is more noticeable than in the governmental. Even though it is forbidden by the municipal law to write in Cyrillic, a lot of places have a Russian name, but written in the Latin script: *Eli-Pili* (Fig. 8), *Chernomorka, Pivnushka A95, VDrova*. Shops and kiosks often display information in Moldovan and Russian. This is noticeable both in the case of either big chain stores or small private businesses. The same thing can also be observed in places like fitness centers, restaurants, where speakers of different languages come, and a good customer service needs to be offered. In Figure 9 we can see the same information about the group workouts published in the official language and in Russian. Unlike in the case of top-down signs, the conveyed information is the same in most cases here. What caught our attention was the fact that no other minority languages except Russian are used in this sphere. For example, the menu in a Gagauz restaurant is offered in Moldovan, Russian and English (Fig. 10).

Figures 8–10 (from the left to the right). Examples of signs written in Russian with Latin script and bilingual signs

The distribution of languages in this sphere is as follows (Table 3):

Distribution of minority languages on commercial signs by districts

	Moldovan-Russian signs	Russian signs
Ciocana	42	0
Râşcani	59	14
Botanica	46	0
Centru	202	27
Total	349	41

The situation is completely different in the case of private ads, which are difficult to track and regulate by the law. They are published by locals and for locals, and since most of the city inhabitants speak Russian as a second language, no other minority languages were discovered here as well. This type of signs includes advertisements with different content, or just simply graffiti. A total absence of a strict pattern on used lan-

guages is noticeable here. The provided information may be the same in some cases, like in Figure 11, in the upper right corner, where the person is interested in buying hair and printed the ad in Moldovan and Russian. The information may also differ completely, as the text in Russian completes the Moldovan title, like we can notice in Figure 12. Here the person advertises roof renovation services in the official language, and after describes only in Russian what kind of work they do. Although the combination of the official language and Russian is dominant here as well, we found example of signs written only in Russian, both in Cyrillic and in Latin. In Figure 11, the highlighted sign is printed in Russian and calls citizens to wear a mask on trolleybuses. Figure 13 is an example of graffiti written in Russian saying, "Those without documents — go home" and a tattoo master's telephone number above also written in Russian.

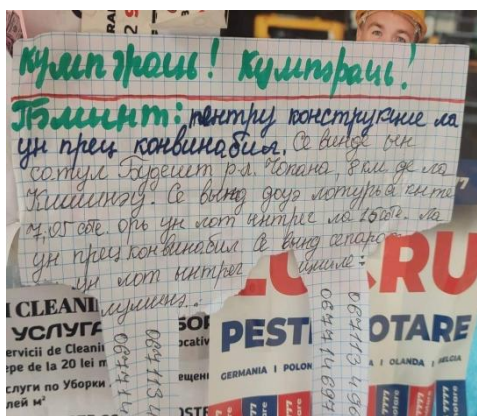Figures 11–13 (from the left to the right). Examples of private advertisements and graffiti

Figure 14.

Code mixing has also been noticed on this type of signs. We have discovered ads written in the state language, but in Cyrillic script, which was official in Moldova until 1989. This can be explained by the fact that often elder generation encounters difficulties writing in the Latin script. Also, very often people may not know the Moldovan equivalent of the word, which is familiar in Russian though. For example, in Figure 14 we can see a sign informing about the selling of a land plot. The information is written in Moldovan, in Cyrillic script. It contains the Russian word «сота» for which the Moldovan equivalent is "acru".

Sometimes not only Russian words are borrowed, but also morphemes that are attached to Moldovan words. In some cases, it is difficult to identify whether the ad is made to be a joke, like in Figure 15. The ad is written in the "old" Soviet Moldovan language using the Cyrillic script, but it is full of grammatical errors, which reflects the vernacular pronunciation and is therefore likely to draw even more attention to itself. It displays a warning not to throw around cigarette stubs in a block of flats. The sign contains Russian words and idioms («предупреждение» — "warning", «куда попало» — "anywhere"), as well as Russian words with Moldovan suffixes («бичуоашеле» — "cigarette stubs", «мусоркэ» — "trash bin", «соблюдоеск» —

"respect", «шубэ» — "face" (slang). Another example of informal sign in a block of flats, forbidding the use of heavy tools from 6 PM until 8 AM, can be seen in Figure 16. The names of tools («болгарка», «дрелю») are in Russian, but with Moldovan affixes. This kind of adverts can be understood only by the locals speaking Moldovan as well as Russian.
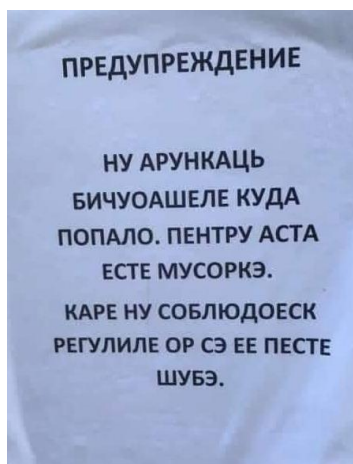

Figure 15. Warning not to throw cigarettes

Figure 16. Warning not to use heavy tools

Representation of languages on bottom-up signs (Table 4):

T a b l e 4

Distribution of minority languages on private signs by districts

	Moldovan – Russian signs	Russian signs
Ciocana	0	0
Rascani	24	42
Botanica	17	51
Centru	0	0
Total	41	93

Conclusions

After analyzing the collected data, we concluded that minority languages are present in the linguistic landscape of Chişinău on top-down and bottom-up signs. The most frequently used minority language is Russian, which is used in combination with other languages or separately. Billboards and advertisements in this language are present in all 4 districts. Other minority languages that we displayed more often are Yiddish and Bulgarian. Signs in these languages can be read on cultural institutions of these peoples, as well as on the touristic signs. Ukrainian is less presented, although the Ukrainians constitute the biggest minority community in the country. In the beginning of March 2022 temporary road signs in Ukrainian and Russian were installed in order to help the Ukrainian refugees to orient. German is displayed to an even lower extent: signs in this language were only found on some of the touristic signs. At the same time the Gagauz language is completely absent on all types of signs.

Regarding the distribution by districts, most bi- or multilingual signs can be found in the Centru district. Multilingual signs can be noticed in other districts as well, independently of the predominant population. The situation is similar for the commercial sphere: bi- or multilingual signs were noticed in all districts, the only difference being the distribution of languages. While Moldovan is dominant here as well, Russian can be seen more often, even with Latin transcription. The number of bilingual Moldovan – Russian signs is 349, while that of Russian ones constitutes 41. We believe that this fact can be explained by the fact Russian names of locals may have stayed since the 2000's, when the language was enjoying a higher prestige, after 2009 it changed for English. Also, Russian is understood by most of the population, both by Moldovans/Romanians and representatives of other nationalities, while other minority languages are not, which explains the absence of other minority language on commercial signs.

The situation is slightly different in the case of informal private signs. Moldovan and Russian are dominant here, for the same reason as in the case of commercial placards. Here, however, we could notice a regularity: the number of signs in a certain language depends on the population's ethnicity in the district. Thus, in Ciocana most signs are written in Moldovan, in Botanica and Râșcani — in Russian. This observation supports the demographic data on the most spoken languages in the capital being Moldovan and Russian. In Centru no private signs were observed since it is forbidden for citizens to place advertisements there.

The analyzed data allows us to conclude that minority languages are present in all three spheres of language functioning, which corresponds to the national and international regulations. The linguistic landscape of Chișinău is changing, and it can be explained by the new law on advertisement, as well as by the natural language shift in the Moldovan society. The prestige and the level of knowledge of Moldovan is growing among national minorities' representatives, since more and more young people find it important to learn the official language and choose to study in schools and universities in Moldovan, in order to be able later to have better job opportunities, especially if we speak about Chișinău. Unfortunately, in the Moldovan capital, as well as in some regions of the European Union, the use of minority languages in public places (for example, on street signs, sometimes using a different alphabet) is perceived or presented as an unwelcome reminder of the multiculturalism and multilingualism of society (Mijatović, 2019). In 2018, Russian lost its status of language of intercultural communication and was equaled to other minority languages. Despite this fact, the large presence of Russian suggests that this language keeps functioning as lingua franca in the Moldovan capital, and, unlike other minority languages, is not endangered in Chișinău. The maintenance of Bulgarian and Yiddish also does not raise concerns, since the presence of these languages is supported by the numerous cultural organizations of these peoples, as well as by partners from abroad. However, the public absence of Gagauz and the fact that Ukrainian and German are present only on a small number of signs puts a question about the vitality of these languages in the Moldovan capital. Now it is difficult enough to predict what will be their faith, but hopefully on its European way Moldova will take the necessary steps to maintain their use and visibility in Chișinău and more initiatives supporting bi- and multilingualism will be adopted.

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А. Пелагии, А. Васильев

Қазіргі посткеңестік астананың лингвистикалық ландшафты (Кишинев, Молдова Республикасы мысалында)

Лингвистикалық ландшафтты зерттеу графикалық дизайн және жазулар тәртібінде көрінетін саяси, әкімшілік және экономикалық себептерге негізделген тілдер иерархиясын қарастырады. Зерттеуде біз Кишиневтің лингвистикалық ландшафтын мемлекеттік жарнамалар, сауда билбордтары мен бейресми белгілерін талдау арқылы көрсететін боламыз. Бұл қаланы таңдаудың себебі оның көпұлтты болуымен, яғни молдовандар/румындар және басқа ұлт өкілдері тұратынымен байланысты. Тақырыптың өзектілігі Молдованың Еуропалық одаққа кіруге ұмтылуымен түсіндіріледі әрі 2018 жылы Кишиневте қол қойылған, алайда ратификация жасалмаған аймақтық немесе аз тілдердің Еуропалық хартиясын қолдану бойынша пилоттық муниципалитеттерінің біріне айналды. Бағытты білдіретін жаңа белгілеулер қоғамдық және мәдени мекемелер, ескерткіштер мен мемориалдар, саябақтар мен ірі көшелер, университет ғимараттары, теміржол вокзалы және әуежайда үш тілде, яғни молдаван/румын, жергілікті аз тілдер (орыс, украин, болгар, неміс немесе идиш) мен ағылшын тілінде көрсетілуі қажет. Лингвистикалық ландшафтты зерттеу Молдова астанасындағы басым тілді (тілдерді) анықтауға, лингвистикалық қауымдастықтар арасындағы қарым-қатынасты және Кишиневтегі лингвистикалық жағдайды түсінуге көмектеседі.

Кілт сөздер: тілдік ахуал, лингвистикалық ландшафт, қос тілділік, көптілділік, тіл саясаты, тіл идеологиясы, посткеңестік елдер, Кишинев, Молдова.

А. Пелагии, А. Васильев

Лингвистический ландшафт современной постсоветской столицы (на примере Кишинева, Республика Молдова)

Изучение лингвистического ландшафта рассматривает иерархию языков, обусловленную политическими, административными и экономическими причинами, что находит отражение в графическом дизайне и порядке надписей. В настоящем исследовании мы представим лингвистический ландшафт

Кишинева, проанализировав государственные объявления, коммерческие вывески и частные объявления. Выбор пал на данный город, так как он является мультиэтническим домом для молдаван/румын и других национальностей. Актуальность темы объясняется и тем, что Молдова стремится вступить в Европейский союз, а в 2018 году Кишинев стал одним из пилотных муниципалитетов страны по применению Европейской хартии региональных языков или языков меньшинств, которую страна подписала, но еще не ратифицировала. Новые указатели должны указывать направление к государственным и культурным учреждениям, памятникам и мемориалам, паркам и главным улицам, зданиям университетов, железнодорожному вокзалу и аэропорту трехъязычными надписями на молдавском, языке местного национального меньшинства (русском, украинском, болгарском, немецком или идиш) и английском языках. Исследование лингвистического ландшафта поможет определить доминирующий язык (языки) в столице Молдовы, понять отношения между языковыми сообществами и языковую ситуацию в Кишиневе.

Ключевые слова: языковая ситуация, языковой ландшафт, дву- и многоязычие, языковая политика, языковая идеология, постсоветские страны, Кишинев, Молдова.

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Annex — Information about the pictures

Figure Nr.	District taken in	Date
1	Centru	17.02.2022
2	Ciocana	23.07.2021
3	Centru	27.07.2021
4	Centru	20.02.2022
5	Centru	06.07.2021
6	Centru	24.07.2021
7	Centru	24.07.2021
8	Centru	18.07.2021
9	Ciocana	13.02.2022
10	Rascani	18.02.2022
11	Botanica	11.02.2022
12	Rascani	13.07.2021
13	Botanica	31.07.2021
14	Ciocana	14.02.2022
15	Ciocana	20.07.2022
16	Rascani	25.02.2022