Michael Chesnut*, Nathaniel Ming Curran and Sungwoo Kim

From garbage to COVID-19: theorizing 'Multilingual Commanding Urgency' in the linguistic landscape

https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2022-0009
Received January 18, 2022; accepted March 30, 2022; published online May 18, 2022

Abstract: Across the globe signage which conveys directives regarding appropriate behavior in public, such as 'Do Not Enter' signs, is made multilingual in ways that other signage is not. This paper examines two examples of multilingualism in directive signs within Seoul, South Korea in order to theorize what gives rise to multilingualism in directive signage while other signage remains monolingual. Examination of Vietnamese and Arabic on signs prohibiting the illegal disposal of household garbage on side streets in Seoul, and English, Chinese, and Japanese on mask-required due to COVID-19 signs within the Seoul subway system allows for a robust analysis of what shapes the inclusion of additional languages on directive signage. We posit the construction of a differently speaking other who is seen as likely to disobey stated regulations alongside the desire by authorities to minimize the effort required to respond to rule breaking results in a *multilingual commanding urgency* that shapes multilingualism in directive signage. The concept of multilingual commanding urgency emphasizes the role enforcement practices have in shaping multilingualism, an important development in understanding this form of signage. Multilingual commanding urgency is especially relevant as it shapes signage deployed in emergency contexts such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: COVID-19; language policy; linguistic landscape; multilingualism; South Korea

1 Introduction

This paper examines the phenomenon of additional languages appearing on certain directive signs, but not on other similar or related signs. Examples of this

***Corresponding author: Michael Chesnut**, Department of English for International Conferences and Communication, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Main Building Room 106, 107 Imun-ro, Imun-dong, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul, South Korea, E-mail: michael.chesnut@hufs.ac.kr
Nathaniel Ming Curran, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Sungwoo Kim, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea

phenomenon include a 'Do Not Spit' sign in an airport in New Zealand featuring only Chinese and Korean text (Cunningham and King 2020: 106), a sign in a park prohibiting hawking in Hong Kong which includes Tagalog (Guinto 2019: 166), a code of conduct sign at a public recreation center in Toronto, Canada which features Romanian (Angermeyer 2017: 165), handwritten signs posted at a flea market in Oulu, Finland featuring only English and Arabic regarding theft, surveillance, and police which by implication are prohibiting theft (Nishiyama 2020), and digital signs within the Grand Mosque in Mecca which convey messages regarding public order which are far more multilingual than other signs within this site (Alsaif and Starks 2019). Kallen (2010: 49) suggests that directive signs can be a means for languages to enter use within official, government-authorized signage, perhaps leading to a more inclusive form of multilingualism. However, Angermeyer (2017), Guinto (2019), and Kim (2020) all discuss the important ways the use of a specific language in directive signage, rarely used outside of that context, can potentially marginalize communities which use that language. We seek to better understand multilingualism within directive signage with the belief that developing a richer understanding of what shapes the inclusion of different languages within directive signage will lead to a more robust discussion among scholars and between scholars and policymakers regarding multilingualism in the linguistic landscape. In seeking to better understand this phenomenon, we develop the concept of *multilingual commanding urgency* to explain the impetus to include additional languages within certain directive signs.

We provide the following definition of multilingual commanding urgency:

> Multilingual commanding urgency is the impetus to make directive signage multilingual due to the belief, not necessarily based upon actual practices, that one or more differently speaking language communities is likely to not comply with a stated directive, and an understanding that successful communication regarding relevant directives will reduce the enforcement burden of authorities.

This definition places great importance upon both the discourses which construct different language using communities within a particular place, and the enforcement practices of authorities within that place. We argue there is an impetus to make directive signs multilingual in a way that communicates directives to speakers who authorities believe are likely to disobey those signs, if those signs require a response from authorities when disobeyed. We believe this impetus emerges from the social construction of particular places in which perceived social problems occur, larger understandings regarding these social problems and especially who is responsible for these problems within a certain place, and authorities' desire to minimize the effort they must make to address these problems. Importantly, multilingual commanding urgency shapes signs

authorized and posted by government, but also signs posted by businesses, individuals, or others who can claim some authority to enforce or attempt to enforce directives posted on signs as with, for example, a cafe with a 'No Smoking' sign where, in the event a customer starts smoking, staff will ask the customer to stop, move to a smoking room, or leave the cafe.

An emerging body of scholarship has engaged with directive signage in ways that have further developed understandings of how this signage is intertwined with the law and how this signage can contribute to the marginalization of certain communities (see Angermeyer 2017 and Kim 2020 as examples). We build upon this scholarship and engage in a discussion that is both more general about directive signs, and more rooted in perceived societal problems within particular places as well as the enforcement actions taken regarding those problems.

We argue that there is a relevant distinction between directive signs which communicate a command that requires a response from authorities when not obeyed, such as certain 'Entry Forbidden' signs which will prompt a security guard to approach if disobeyed, and those directive signs which do not require a response from authorities when not obeyed, such as certain 'Hold The Handrail' signs on escalators, 'No Running' signs in subway stations, and even 'No Smoking' signs in places where smoking has become commonplace and normalized. Key then for this analysis is a recognition that directive signs are not just intertwined with the law and larger discourses, but also with the practices of a particular place, especially the enforcement practices associated with certain regulations stated on directive signs. This emphasis on distinguishing between directives which are enforced and those which are not is a significant conceptual difference between the approach towards directive signs adopted within this study and the approaches adopted in other studies (Angermeyer 2017; Ferenčík 2018; Guinto 2019; Kim 2020; Svennevig 2021), even if Mautner (2012) wisely discusses the importance of enforcement practices in understanding directive signage.

1.1 A conceptual study

This paper is primarily conceptual but engages in analysis of data collected within Seoul, South Korea (hereinafter Korea), in order to examine and explicate what shapes the inclusion of different languages within particular directive signs. This paper examines two places within Seoul, understanding place to be the social construction of a particular type of space (Cresswell 2004), and two types of directive signs within those places: COVID-19 related mask required signs in subways stations, and signs prohibiting illegal garbage disposal in side-streets. These areas both feature many different types of directive signs, alongside many

other types of signs more generally, but within this paper focus is given to directive signs which incorporate additional languages in distinctive ways.

Much of the scholarship on the marginalizing impact of additional languages on directive signage has focused on less commonly used languages within a particular place (see Angermeyer 2017 and Guinto 2019) while scholarship such as Svennevig's (2021) examination of the pragmatics of directive signs does not focus on the multilingual aspects of this signage. This paper expands discussion of directive signage by examining how directive signage can be made multilingual by incorporating globally significant languages with very large numbers of users which are often incorporated into multilingual signage within a particular place, and also how this signage can be made multilingual by incorporating less-commonly used languages which are rarely seen within the linguistic landscape in a given place. By examining the origins of diverse forms of multilingualism we explicate the role of multilingual commanding urgency in different forms of multilingualism.

Directive signs are important and can provide needed guidance to passersby (Tan and Said 2015), something especially critical during a crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. However, these signs can also contribute to the marginalization of certain communities and speakers by constructing them as a problematic 'Other' (Angermeyer 2017; Guinto 2019; Kim 2020). Ultimately, this paper contributes to linguistic landscape scholarship by deepening our understanding of how a very significant aspect of the linguistic landscape is made multilingual in different ways.

1.2 Terminology and the linguistic landscape

Many linguistic landscape studies have focused on the languages included on signs rather than the function of signs (see Landry and Bourhis 1997 as a notable example), or categorized signs based on their origins, often distinguishing between signs authorized by government, termed top-down signs, or from more local authors, termed bottom-up signs (see Shohamy et al. 2010 for examples). Unfortunately, within studies that do engage in classifying signs based upon their function (see Kroon et al. 2015; Mautner 2012; Scollon and Scollon 2003; Spolsky and Cooper 1991 as examples), no consensus has emerged regarding a common terminology for the functions of signs and several different means of classifying signs have been used in different research projects, even if scholars generally recognize a need to classify signs which direct the public to behave in accordance with authorized regulations as deserving a specific category (see Angermeyer 2017: 46 for a discussion of different terms for signs which foster public order).

Within this paper we adopt the term 'directive signs' following Mautner (2012), defining directive signs as those which clearly direct the addressee to act in accordance with some rule, regulation, or law, either explicitly through a direct command as with a sign stating, 'Do Not Enter' or implicitly through a warning or additional information as with 'Trespassers Will Be Shot' sign which implicitly commands addressees to not enter a premises. Key to this definition is the understanding that directive signs urge the reader to act or refrain from acting on behalf of the authority who created the sign (Svennevig 2021: 166). Examples of these signs abound throughout the world and include both prohibitions as with 'No Smoking' signs and requirements as shown with 'Hard Hats Required' signs, among so many others. Importantly, more generally informative or warning signs which do not implicitly require addressees to take some action, such as a 'CCTV in Operation' sign would not be considered directive signs.

Sebba (2013) in examining multilingual written discourse more generally coined the term 'parallel texts' for texts which consist of "matched units, symmetrically arranged and containing identical content in each language, without any language mixing" (p. 109) as opposed to texts which mix languages within one message. Multilingual commanding urgency only is relevant to parallel texts in two or more languages which consist of directive signage.

1.3 The law, marginalization, and scholarship examining directive signage

The work of Mautner (2012) is critical in understanding directive signs and has provided a foundation for further scholarship regarding this aspect of the linguistic landscape. Mautner examines how directive signs both produce and are the product of the construction of a place, "and in doing so become implicated in a variety of socio-legal structures and processes" (Mautner 2012: 191). Mautner demonstrates how the emplacement of directive signs and the invocation of legal authority generate a performative potential in directive signs within a particular place. This shows how directive signs can 'do things' in the world, such as construct a place in which certain actions are no longer performed, as when busking ends after 'No Busking' signs are placed in a public square. Mautner argues directive signs generate this performative potential when such signs are placed correctly and invoke legal authority. However, Mautner adds a critical caveat, acknowledging the possibility that some may resist the performative potential of directive signs, even when signs are properly emplaced and invoke legal authority. People disobey directive signs, as Mautner rightly points out, and resist the construction or reconstruction of places through language (see Rose-Redwood

2008, for an additional discussion of this form of resistance). Mautner argues, "the possibility of non-compliance alone does not, I believe, invalidate the performative perspective on signs, but it should encourage us to embrace rather than deny the complexities involved" (p. 203) and within this study we further examine the complexities of directive signs, how they function in particular places, and how enforcement practices shape the multilingualism of these signs.

Importantly, Mautner assumes that resistance to directive signs, or simply not obeying the commands stated on directive signs, "does not alter the fact that breach of a legal rule will, if detected, incur legal sanctions" which is an assumption we further examine in this study. In fact, laws are routinely not enforced for a variety of reasons, such as the greater priority given to the enforcement of some laws over others, general indifference of enforcement authorities to certain breaches of the law, and laws are sometimes not enforced because of conflicts between those responsible for creating the law and those responsible for enforcing the law. Moreover, the degree to which laws are enforced can actually remake the indexicality of directive signs over time as Mautner notes (p. 203). A 'No Graffiti' sign in a clean and tidy subways station indexes the prohibition authorities have placed on graffiti as well as the potential for this place as a site of graffiti, even if none is visible, because if there was no possibility of graffiti appearing in the station, then the sign likely would not be needed. However, when such a sign is located in a subway station with numerous examples of graffiti it can index different meanings. If the sign is new, it could signal the beginning of a new enforcement effort to eliminate graffiti in this place. If the sign is old and perhaps partially covered with graffiti itself, such a 'No Graffiti' sign can mean that this prohibition against graffiti is actually not being enforced or enforced only to a limited degree. Continuing with this example, such a 'No Graffiti' sign in a subway station with numerous examples of graffiti and both a person creating further graffiti and a police officer indifferent to this act indexes additional meanings, nearly guaranteeing that the directive promulgated on this sign has extremely limited performative potential. A timelier example would be a 'Mask Required Due to COVID-19' sign emplaced properly and with legal authority. This sign indexes radically different meanings depending on whether or not people surrounding this sign wear masks and more critically whether or not those who are responsible for enforcing this regulation wear masks themselves and enforce this regulation. Depending on how a mask sign is enforced it can index a meaning of mask wearing as an important and necessary health policy with serious consequences if disobeyed, a silly policy that can safely and wisely be ignored, or even index a meaning that mask wearing requirements are an improper and unethical policy promulgated by an ignorant or malevolent government (see Chan 2020; Demillo

2020; Dickson 2020; McKay 2021, for examples in the popular press of police refusing to wear masks and enforce mask regulations in the USA). Within this paper, the previous examples of graffiti and COVID-19 mask signs serve to illustrate how the enforcement or lack of enforcement of commands conveyed through directive signs can radically alter the indexicality of those signs.

Additionally, scholarship by Angermeyer (2017), Guinto (2019), and Kim (2020) further analyzes directive signs, demonstrating how these signs can carry divergent indexicalities to different communities and speakers depending on the presence and use of different languages included in directive signage. Angermeyer examines the use of Hungarian in Toronto and the larger context of Roma refugees in Canada, as well as how this community is framed through signage both in Canada and Central Europe. Importantly, Angermeyer shows "that the indexical meaning of the use of minority languages in multilingual signage depends strongly on the function of signs, the frame in which they are interpreted, and on the specific linguistic forms that are employed" (p. 178), with the use of poorly translated and sometimes incomprehensible forms of machine translated Hungarian conveying a message of indifference and disrespect to the Roma community often being addressed by these signs. Of particular interest is how directive signs in minority languages have a particular capacity to index an understanding to those communities addressed by these signs that they are viewed as transgressors and problematic by sign making authorities. Likewise, Angermeyer (2017) discusses how directive signs can be 'overread' by passersby who cannot comprehend the written text in particular foreign languages, but can assume the meaning of the text based on what is written in another language or the larger context and then make assumptions about why particularly communities are being addressed through certain languages within these directive signs.

> public-order signs that communicate warnings, directives, or prohibitions represent a genre of signs that warrant specialized attention from scholars in LL studies, because they have particular semiotic properties. By projecting addressees who engage in transgressive behavior, such signs have the potential to function as a covert racist discourse that stigmatizes speakers of particular languages as social deviants. (p. 179)

This capacity for directive signs to be 'overread' by passersby is a critical aspect of multilingual directive signs as this overreading risks strengthening negative stereotypes regarding already marginalized communities and speakers.

Guinto (2019) examines the use of Tagalog in Hong Kong directive signage as part of a larger study of Filipino migrant domestic workers' practices within the Central district of Hong Kong. Guinto specifically examines "public signage

(and some talk) in Tagalog to uncover how the presence (and absence) of the language indexes positionings that may be linked to stereotypes and discriminatory practices" (p. 161) and in doing so finds that the use of Tagalog on directive signage and its absence in many other forms of signage marginalizes this community.

> The presence of Tagalog in these spaces, and compared with its relative absence elsewhere (or its parallel presence with a host of other 'minority' languages), arguably indexes the Filipino workers' presence in Central as temporary, marginal or anomalous. The (semi-) permanent materiality of the signs accords with this too. It appears to match the conditional and provisional nature of their status – they may be present but they do not belong. (p. 169)

Guinto, like Angermeyer, shows how multilingualism in directive signage can marginalize communities and groups of speakers, constructing both place and certain speakers within that place in potentially damaging ways and both build upon the work of Mautner in doing so.

Similarly, Kim (2020), drawing upon a perspective anchored in concerns over language rights that parallels but does not engage with the work of Mautner, examines the use of Chinese in government signage in Garibong District, an area in Seoul with many Chinese residents. Kim (2020) finds many of the directive signs containing Chinese text further marginalized the Chinese community in the district. For example, in one sign, text regarding financial rewards for information on others who illegally dispose of garbage was written exclusively in Korean (p. 106) while in other signs, such as those warning against misbehavior related to alcohol, text was written exclusively in Chinese (p. 103). Kim concludes that the rights of Chinese speakers are not being upheld and government resources are being misused through the construction of signage in this district in Seoul.

Angermeyer (2017), Guinto (2019), and Kim (2020) demonstrate the vital importance of multilingualism in directive signs and the potential for these signs to contribute to the marginalization of certain communities. However, there remains a need to conceptualize more generally what gives rise to the inclusion of additional languages in directive signage within a context where other related informative and directive signs do not feature those languages.

1.4 Understanding the Korean linguistic landscape

The linguistic landscape of Korea is dominated by Korean, which is unsurprising given the vast majority of residents are Korean citizens whose first language is Korean. However, there is an increasing population of non-Korean residents within

Korea, with the number of foreign nationals in Korea surpassing 2.5 million for the first time in December, 2020 (Choi 2020), out of a population of 51 million, although that number has fallen substantially due to COVID-19 (Kim 2021a). While many foreign residents can speak Korean, a large number of foreign residents and tourists communicate in languages other than Korean.

Ding et al. (2020) highlight how economics, geopolitics, and identity have shaped a diverse linguistic landscape in Korea which, while dominated by Korean, also features English, Chinese, and many other languages. English occupies a special position in the Korean linguistic landscape as it is by far the most common foreign language featured in signage in Korea. Consequently, a small but growing body of literature focuses specifically on the use of English in the linguistic landscape in Korea (Choi et al. 2021; Kim 2021b; Lawrence 2012; Lee 2019; Park and Yang 2015; Tan and Tan 2015; Vlack 2011). In much of the Korean linguistic landscape, English signs do not primarily convey information through the messages written in English text, but instead the use of English is a means to associate a place or business with a cosmopolitan or global identity (see Piller 2003). For example, English is likely to be found in coffee shops as part of an effort to foster a cosmopolitan identity (Chesnut and Curran 2022; Curran and Chesnut 2021), but is less likely to appear in domestic restaurants serving Korean cuisine (Lee 2019). Importantly, English and to a lesser extent Chinese and Japanese, can be found in many institutionally-authorized signs such as street signs, signage regarding tourism sites, and maps and direction signs in subways (see Lawrence 2012: 85, for a discussion of the omnipresence of Korean, English, and Chinese in public transportation signage) with the trifecta of English, Chinese, and Japanese often serving as a default means of communicating with foreign residents and tourists. In these cases English, Chinese, Japanese, and occasionally other languages do convey information through the text written in those languages.

2 Methodology: an ethnographic approach towards understanding the linguistic landscape

In order to better understand multilingualism in directive signage, we draw upon a collection of photographs we have taken of signs in Korea, our accumulated experiences walking and being present in subway stations and side streets in Korea which we view as a form of ethnographic observation, and a collection of Korean and English public press about relevant signs, places, and issues. Combining both linguistic landscape data and ethnographic observations is not new (Blommaert 2013; Blommaert and Maly 2014; Maly 2016), but this combination

proved particularly fruitful in our study as we could observe both signage and the practices associated with that signage through careful observation in our daily routine. Moreover, a substantial body of scholarship now demonstrates that walking can be a powerful means of developing knowledge, especially knowledge about place (see Pink et al. 2010; Springgay and Truman, 2017: 4; and Vergunst 2010 for discussion of walking methods; and see Marshall 2021 for a discussion of using walking ethnography to study the COVID-19 linguistic landscape), and walking through the subway stations and side streets of Seoul proved to be a productive means of generating and evaluating understandings of language use within these places.

The garbage-related photos were taken during one author's regular urban walks through different neighborhoods in Seoul, during which they often photographed a variety of different signs. Photos related to COVID-19 were collected by all three authors beginning in Spring 2020 specifically to examine how multilingualism is deployed on COVID-19 related signage in Seoul. Speakers of Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese were asked about the intelligibility of text in those languages featured within the signs discussed in this article, with Korean and English examined directly by the authors. All texts were found to be easily understood by those who can read those languages. Newspaper articles in Korean and English regarding COVID-19 and the illegal disposal of household garbage were examined to better understand the discourses regarding these issues which circulate widely in Korea.

We chose to examine illegal garbage disposal signs and COVID-19 mask signs for this study as these signs differ in several important ways, which allows for a deeper examination of multilingualism in directive signage and a more robust validation of the notion of multilingual commanding urgency. The signs regarding illegal garbage disposal explicitly prohibit a practice, involve an ongoing challenge that likely will not be resolved in the near future, concern an important but not life-threatening issue, contain information regarding the consequences of not obeying the directive they promulgate—namely fines—and are related to a local problem. In contrast, the signs regarding masks within the Seoul subway system explicitly require a practice, involve a temporary issue that will end at some point in the future, concern a potentially life-threatening practice, do not contain information regarding the consequences of not obeying the directive they promulgate, and are universal across the entire Seoul subway system.

We begin by examining garbage signage and practices in detail and move onto examining COVID-19 mask signage in subways. By examining such different contexts we believe we can better theorize multilingualism in directive signage.

3 Garbage needs signs

Littering and the illegal disposal of household garbage is an important global issue (see Chaudhary et al. 2021 for a review of literature regarding this topic), and in Korea this practice is often regarded as a serious annoyance, especially for those who live outside major apartment blocks as "low-rise residential areas lack adequate garbage collection facilities compared to high-rise apartment districts" (Joo and Kwon 2015: 1090). Cities in Korea publicize efforts to reduce illegal garbage disposal, such as the use of 'smart warning systems' which use video surveillance to monitor illegal garbage disposal (see Vision Seongnam 2020, as an example), and the Korean language popular press showcases similar efforts as well (see Choe 2020, as an example), demonstrating the importance of this issue. Walking down various smaller side streets in Seoul's older, less-developed areas, neighborhood conflicts over illegal garbage disposal become obvious: small piles of household garbage in plastic shopping bags or simply emptied onto street corners, while not everywhere, can easily be found alongside homemade signs posted by residents warning against dumping garbage. These homemade signs are often quite elaborate and can include images of unsightly garbage, images taken by security cameras of people dumping garbage, and even images of receipts for purchases found in illegally dumped garbage potentially identifying those responsible for that act—all of which can serve to persuade through shame and fear those who might be tempted to illegally dispose of garbage to reconsider this practice. Walking through these side streets, the ongoing conflict over illegal garbage disposal becomes obvious as does the lack of a satisfactory resolution to this problem.

Within Korea, widely circulating discourses posit that foreign residents from China, Vietnam, the Middle East, and other less-wealthy or less-developed regions of the world are often responsible for the illegal disposal of garbage (see Kim 2017 for an example of journalism which reflects this discourse). Kang and Seo (2017) examine Korean perceptions of crime, place, and the nationality of foreign residents and find fear of crime increases as the number of foreign residents from less wealthy countries increases in a neighborhood. These same perceptions shape understandings of links between foreign residents and the illegal disposal of garbage.

Government authorized signs regarding the illegal disposal of garbage are an important element of authorities' efforts to combat the illegal disposal of garbage and are relatively commonplace, with many placed by district level authorities. Journalists have reported positively on efforts to make these signs and corresponding garbage bags more multilingual to better reflect the languages spoken by residents within certain parts of Korea and to ensure all

residents of a neighborhood can understand Korean garbage disposal regulations (see Mujinjingnyuseu-i 2020 as an example). These efforts, while important and intended to improve orderly garbage disposal, also reflect discourses which unfairly position foreign residents from less wealthy countries as responsible for illegal garbage disposal.

Many of these government authorized signs feature only Korean text, but some are multilingual in notable ways. The signs seen in Figures 1 and 2 are exceptional. These signs feature Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese text and state 'Warning' in large red text, followed by 'This place is not a garbage disposal place' in black text, which is then followed by 'Those caught illegally disposing of garbage can be fined up to 1,000,000 Korean Won' with these messages repeated in all three languages.

These garbage related signs are notable for two reasons. First, these government signs feature Vietnamese. In Korea, Vietnamese is generally only seen in Vietnamese restaurants, Vietnamese cafes, and the rare business that caters to Vietnamese customers. In Seongdong District, the location where these signs were photographed, no other government signage featuring Vietnamese could be located. Typically signs in this district will feature Korean and then sometimes English, and less often Chinese. For example, across from the banner seen in Figure 2 hung a banner regarding illegal parking (not pictured) which was written entirely in Korean. This parking banner is far more typical of government signage in this district than the Korean, Vietnamese, and Chinese language signs seen in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1: A relatively small sign featuring Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese text with the logo of Seongdong district.

Figure 2: A large banner featuring the same text again in Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese.

The second point of interest regarding these garbage signs is the fact that they feature Vietnamese and Chinese but do not feature English. The absence of English is notable as English often acts as the default language for communicating with non-Korean speakers in Korea, due to dominant ideologies that naturalize English as the ultimate language of global communication (Park 2009). Given that a message is being communicated to a non-Korean audience, the absence of English is striking and evidence that authorities, instead of adopting the more common strategy of communicating with foreign residents and tourists through English and additional languages, are attempting to communicate specifically with Chinese and Vietnamese communities in this district.

Comparing the contexts of the illegal garbage signage featuring Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese and the nearby illegal parking signage featuring only Korean can illuminate what shapes the incorporation of multilingual text within such directive signage. Illegal parking is a serious issue in Seoul, but this problem has several solutions available to resolve it, at both the government and individual level. For example, district authorities can note the license plates of illegally parked cars and fine them appropriately, and the vast majority of drivers post their phone numbers on the front dash of their vehicles, enabling others to contact them to move their cars if that should prove necessary. While illegal parking is a serious issue, there are means of addressing it at both the individual and government level that mitigate the seriousness of this issue and this lessens the urgency with which this issue must be addressed through novel solutions by authorities. Additionally, in Korea there is no larger discourse that links illegal parking with foreign visitors

or residents. Given there already exists a means to address the issue of illegal parking and there is no special association between illegal parking and foreign visitors or residents, authorities simply adopt the common practice of only using Korean to remind passersby of parking regulations. The context of illegal garbage disposal is quite different. Neither at the level of government nor individuals have satisfactory solutions been found to this problem. Additionally, widely circulating discourses link specific foreign communities with illegal garbage disposal. These differing contexts suggest that authorities felt the need to address the issue of illegal garbage disposal through the inclusion of Vietnamese and Chinese in the signs seen in Figures 1 and 2. As discussed earlier, we name this need to add additional languages to directive signs due to a belief regarding who needs to understand this directive and a need to resolve this issue in a manner which reduces the enforcement efforts of authorities, multilingual commanding urgency. Crucially, multilingual commanding urgency appears to be capable of reshaping common sign making practices in significant ways as it supersedes the common practice of including English as the default language of communication with non-Korean speakers.

In Yongsan District, another area within Seoul, multilingual commanding urgency shapes another sign about the illegal disposal of garbage as well. Figure 3 features a sign with the word 'Warning' in Korean, English, and Arabic and below this text are three bullet points concerning garbage. The Korean text reads 'Please do not leave garbage here' and corresponding Arabic text is present as well. The

Figure 3: A sign featuring Korean, English, and Arabic giving details regarding the illegal disposal of garbage for Yongsan district.

corresponding English text is missing in this first bullet point, but given the presence of English in the remaining bullet points elsewhere in the sign, this is likely due to an error rather than a deliberate choice.

Below that text are more details, in Korean, English, and Arabic regarding trash disposal in Yongsan District. As with Vietnamese, it is unusual for Arabic to be found in the linguistic landscape of Korea, although it does appear on the signage of a limited number of restaurants serving Middle Eastern cuisine, shops catering to customers from the Middle East, and the relatively few mosques in Korea.

Jeon and Jung (2019) examined the residential patterns of foreigners in Seoul and noted that many foreign residents from less-wealthy countries tend to reside together in certain neighborhoods. However, data on the demographics of foreign residents can only partially explain the choice of languages on these garbage signs, demonstrating how language choice in directive signage is inevitably shaped by more than simply demographics and patterns of language use. Table 1, based upon information from Seoul city's Open Data Plaza (2022a) shows the number of foreign residents of Seongdong District in 2019, the year before residency and migration were impacted by COVID-19. Following the practice of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, residents from China and residents from China who are ethnically Korean or 'Korean-Chinese' are listed separately. Table 1 includes only the five largest groups of foreign residents of this district and the total population of Seongdong District in 2019 was 300,505 (Open Data Plaza 2022b).

The use of Chinese and Vietnamese in the signage in Seongdong District reflects the large number of foreign residents within that district who understand Chinese and Vietnamese. However, the context within Yongsan District is more complicated.

Table 2 shows the ten largest groups of foreign residents in Yongsan District overall, and the five largest groups of foreign residents from nations with Arabic as an official language in order to provide greater context regarding this district. Yongsan District has a total population of 244,645 (Open data Plaza 2022b). English on the garbage sign in Yongsan District reflects the role of English as a common

Table 1: The number of foreign residents of Seongdong district for 2019 by nationality.

District	Total foreign population	Number of foreign residents by nationality				
		China	Korean-Chinese	Vietnam	Mongolia	USA
Seongdong district	8,090	2,627	2,258	903	271	237

language for communication with non-Korean speakers in Korea, the large number of American and other English-speaking residents, and the historic presence of American military facilities in this district. Arabic speakers constitute a sizable minority in Yongsan District, but the inclusion of Arabic on these garbage signs reflects more than the population of Arabic speakers residing in this district. The Seoul Central Mosque is located in Yongsan District and so this area is seen by many as a central to Arabic speakers in Seoul, even if, according to Seol (2010: 148), Korean and English are often the lingua franca among many foreign Muslims from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Iran who visit this mosque, and, as Song (2014) notes, the Muslim community in Seoul and Korea more generally is incredibly diverse (see Song 2014, for a discussion of daily life within the 'Muslim Street' in Itaewon) with many different language practices. Given the diversity that exists in Yongsan District, the use of Arabic in this sign is both an attempt to communicate to Arabic speakers and a reflection of a larger discourse which positions Arabic as representative of many foreign visitors and residents of Yongsan District, an understanding which does not wholly reflect the language practices within this place. The absence of Chinese in this sign likely reflects that while Yongsan District is widely understood to be home to many foreign residents, including American and Muslim communities, it is not seen as a district which is home to a large Chinese community, unlike other districts in Seoul such as Garibong District (see Kim 2020) which is understood to be the site of a large Chinese community. This is despite the sizable number of Chinese residents in Yongsan District.

Widely circulating discourses position foreign residents from less-developed countries as more likely to be responsible for illegal garbage disposal within Korea,

Table 2: The number of foreign residents of Yongsan district by nationality for 2019.

District	Total foreign population	Number of residents by nationality				
		USA	**Malaysia**	**Japan**	**Korean-Chinese**	**China**
Yongsan	16,515	2,494	1,398	1,330	1,230	762
		Philippines	**Nigeria**	**India**	**Germany**	**Pakistan**
		628	538	419	416	400

	Number of residents by nationality from a nation with Arabic as an official language				
	Egypt	**Saudi Arabia**	**Morocco**	**Sudan**	**Iraq**
	331	307	147	89	82

which explains, for example, the absence of Japanese in illegal garbage disposal signage in Yongsan District, despite the large number of Japanese residents. Importantly, these discourses often do not reflect the full range of language practices within a particular place. Discourses regarding who is responsible for violating regulations and directives are critical in shaping language use in directive signs and so are incorporated within our concept of multilingual commanding agency. Multilingual directive urgency reflects the desire for authorities to mitigate what is understood to be a problematic practice within a place, and in doing so reduce their need to enforce related directives, and discourses regarding who is responsible for those practices.

4 Mask wearing becomes a requirement in the Seoul subway system

Posters regarding appropriate behavior in public transportation have an important role in shaping public behavior and providing quality service to the public (see Schimkowsky 2021a, 2021b, for a discussion of manner posters in Japanese public transportation as an example). Similarly, posters regarding public health have a vital role to play in promoting safe ways of managing public health threats (see Serlin 2010; Witte and Allen 2000, for examples of scholarship examining this type of signage). With the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, new signage was placed within public transportation systems around the world intended to manage public behavior in ways that would limit the emerging public health threat of COVID-19. Within this section we examine the public health signage related to COVID-19 during May and early June 2020 placed within the Seoul subway system.

By mid-May 2020 many subway stations in Seoul featured COVID-19 public health signage almost entirely in monolingual Korean, unlike earlier in the pandemic when more English, Chinese, and Japanese COVID-19 related signage was common. We draw upon photographs taken in Hwarangdae Subway Station, a relatively typical subway station, as it was within this subway station that data on COVID-19 public health signage was regularly collected by one author.

On May 26, 2020 new regulations requiring passengers to wear masks within Seoul's public transportation system came into effect (see Kwon and Lee 2020; Park 2020, for a discussion of this policy in the popular press in English) and this was accompanied by new signage within Hwarangdae Station. The image seen in Figure 4 shows an example of this signage, photographed by one author on May 26, 2020, which was posted as these new mask regulations came into effect. These signs inform passengers that they are required to wear masks when using the

Figure 4: An image of posters informing passengers they must wear masks while using the subway.

subway and covered nearly every pillar in Hwarangdae Station. These signs also contain information regarding locations near the station where masks can be purchased in the space at the bottom of the sign.

On June 4, 2020 the photograph in Figure 5 was taken. This photograph contains an image of signage which was placed near the signs seen in Figure 4 and is titled in Korean 'Social Distancing' with English, Chinese, and Japanese text below. The English reads: 'subway passengers are required to wear masks.' Aside from one older Korean and Chinese sign advocating COVID-19 prevention practices near the gate of this station, these signs in June 2020 were the only multilingual signs related to COVID-19 in this station. However, many additional monolingual Korean COVID-19 related signs were posted throughout this station following the placement of the signs seen in Figure 5. Many of these monolingual Korean signs conveyed important health information. For example, one monolingual Korean sign posted in late June informed passersby that free COVID-19 tests are available for any resident of Seoul who wishes to be tested. Other Korean monolingual signs posted in September invoked fear through images and text to remind readers to wear masks and engage in social distancing more generally (see Chesnut et al. 2021 for a discussion of this signage), but all of these signs used only Korean text. Examining the use of English, Chinese, and Japanese in these small directive signs, posted alongside the larger, more professionally produced, and more detailed Korean language directive signs, amidst the other monolingual Korean language signs regarding COVID-19 which are not directive signs, allows for a productive examination of what shapes multilingualism in directive signs.

Figure 5: An image of an English, Chinese, and Korean sign posted near the sign seen in Figure 4.

Information regarding free COVID-19 testing is important, and signage intended to shape general attitudes towards mask wearing and social distancing can contribute to limiting the spread of COVID-19. However, only signs which convey directives regarding mask wearing potentially change the practices of staff and other authorities within subway stations in Seoul. Only these directive signs have the potential to reduce the need for station attendants to intercept subway passengers and demand they wear a mask before entering the subway station. These directive signs may, in the view of authorities, also reduce the potential for conflict between passengers over mask wearing by reminding passengers of the requirement to wear masks, which reduces their need to intervene in such conflicts. When one author visited Hwarangdae station in the days after this regulation came into effect, station attendants could be seen stopping and asking those mask-

less passengers to wear masks as they approached the subway gates. Later, this same author traveling on the subway heard an announcement asking a passenger in a particular car to put their mask back on, demonstrating that authorities were having to act when these regulations were being disobeyed. Given this, we conclude there is an added urgency to ensure as many passengers as possible understand the signs stating masks are required, which originates in the requirement that authorities must act if these signs are disobeyed. It is this urgency which led to English, Chinese, and Japanese directive signs being hastily added to the larger Korean directive signs. In other words, the multilingualism in these directive signs is linked to the practices in these stations and the desire of authorities to resolve problems related to the disobedience of these directives with the least amount of effort. Posting signs which remind passengers who potentially may disobey these directives of their need to obey these directives obviously requires less effort than dealing with individual problems as they occur. Importantly, it is the urgency to minimize rule breaking, rather than the urgency to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic, which we argue is shaping the production of these smaller multilingual signs. This can be inferred because other important but non-directive COVID-19 signage featured only Korean text within this station during May 2020 and continuing into the fall of that year. Given the lack of multilingualism in much of this COVID-19 signage overall within this station at that time, we can conclude there is limited overall concern with communicating COVID-19 information to foreign residents and visitors.

Critically, the English, Chinese, and Japanese sign seen in Figure 5 contains less information than the Korean sign seen in Figure 4: information regarding where to buy masks is absent in the smaller multilingual sign. While perhaps only a limited number of passersby will require this information, the fact that only the directive is provided in English, Chinese, and Japanese is alarming and could potentially create serious difficulties for someone relying on these multilingual signs.

The use of English, Chinese, and Japanese in these signs reflects that no single foreign community was seen as likely to disobey the directive to wear masks. Instead, there was a more amorphous concern that non-Koreans in general may not obey this directive. This resulted in the adoption of the default language policy for communicating with foreign residents and guests often adopted on signage posted within public transportation and tourist sites: the use of English, Chinese, and Japanese.

The urgency with which authorities attempted to ensure that foreign passengers within the Seoul subway system comply with this new directive to wear a mask resulted in the quick production of smaller, less professionally produced signs featuring English, Chinese, and Japanese. Multilingual commanding urgency

provides a reasonable explanation for why English, Chinese, and Japanese COVID-19 related directive signs appeared in May and June 2020, while other important COVID-19 health signage featured only Korean.

5 Discussion and conclusion: the importance of multilingual commanding urgency

This section examines the impact of multilingual commanding urgency and how development of this concept can deepen understanding regarding multilingualism in the linguistic landscape. Multilingual commanding urgency can reshape the linguistic landscape in several ways. Common practices in the linguistic landscape, such as the use of English as a means of addressing non-Koreans in Korean government signage, can be overridden by multilingual commanding urgency, as seen with the Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese signage in Figures 1 and 2. Additionally, multilingual commanding urgency can shape the inclusion and exclusion of languages on directive signage based upon limited understandings of who is responsible for problematic behavior and limited understandings of that community's language practices. For example, the inclusion of Korean, English, and Arabic in the sign seen in Figure 3 only partially represents the complex language practices of Yongsan District and the inclusion of English, Chinese, and Japanese in COVID-19 signage represents only a limited segment of foreign residents and visitors in Korea. Also, multilingual commanding urgency can be responsible for directive signage featuring a multitude of languages, but the information needed to comply with those directives being available only in the most widely used language in that context, as with the example of COVID-19 subway signage in Seoul. This can create serious and even potentially life-threatening difficulties for those who rely on communication in an additional language in certain contexts. As a general principle, we believe any language used in directive signage should also be used to convey information required to obey those directives. More generally, we observed a multitude of informative COVID-19 signage in subway stations conveying vital information, such as signs about free testing for COVID-19, featuring only Korean (see Hopkyns and van den Hoven 2021 on the need for multilingual pandemic-related signage). This broader disjuncture between recognizing the need for multilingual communication regarding directives while abandoning responsibility for such communication in informative signs with potentially lifesaving information can be explained by multilingual commanding urgency. In explaining this phenomenon, we hope to foster a broader recognition of the

problematic nature of this limited multilingualism and encourage the development of effective multilingual communication beyond directive signs.

Examining the role of multilingualism in directive signage requires an emphasis on both the role of authorities in enforcing regulations and the practices authorities and other actors view as problematic. Already scholars have made valuable contributions in examining the law and signage (Angermeyer 2017; Mautner 2012) but we believe greater analytical emphasis must be placed on enforcement of the law. It is authorities' desire to minimize the effort needed to enforce the regulations that often provides the impetus for posting multilingual directive signs and multilingual commanding urgency emphasizes the role enforcement plays in shaping multilingualism in directive signs.

Languages which have never been used in government authorized signage can enter usage through directive signs shaped by multilingual commanding urgency. It has been suggested that this can begin a process in which these languages enter more general usage within official signage (Kallen 2010) but we are skeptical given we have not observed Vietnamese and Arabic being adopted more broadly in locations where they were used in directive signs in Seoul and because the specific circumstances in which these languages are adopted in this signage are so distinct. In fact, the concept of multilingual commanding urgency incorporates the distinctive nature of this form of multilingualism and suggests that the multilingualism in this signage is not easily incorporated into other authorized signage, given its distinct origin.

Multilingual commanding urgency can lead to the use of more commonly seen foreign languages appearing again in the greater linguistic landscape, as with the mask-required signs, or languages that are rarely seen in the linguistic landscape being incorporated into directive signs as with the garbage signs examined in this paper. We argue the same fundamental process is shaping both acts of multilingualism, even if the resulting impact in the linguistic landscape is substantially different. Critically, we believe that the use of less common languages in directive signage has a greater potential for negatively impacting communities in which it is placed.

Multilingual commanding urgency can lead to the public noticing the presence of certain languages within directive signage and their absence in other more informative signage. For those who speak those languages, this can feel like authorities are targeting them or not serving them adequately. For those who do not speak those languages, observing these languages on directive signs can lead to 'overreading' (Angermeyer 2017) these signs and the belief that speakers of those languages are likely to disobey the directives written in those languages. Likely some Vietnamese and Arabic speakers, along with English, Chinese, and Japanese speakers to a lesser degree, feel unfairly targeted by the signs examined in this

paper. Likewise, some Korean passersby of these signs surely wonder why these languages were included in these signs and suspect that repeated failure to obey the regulations contained within those signs by speakers of these languages must be the reason. Given these examples, and the critical work of Angermeyer (2017), Guinto (2019), and Kim (2020), there is reason to be concerned that the multilingualism generated by multilingual commanding urgency can marginalize communities in important ways.

The use of Chinese in both garbage signage and COVID-19 signage deserves further explanation and allows for an examination of how the significance of a language within a sign can depend on the specific construction of that sign and its context. The use of Chinese in the garbage related signage seen in Figures 1 and 2 will be understood as a means to communicate directly with Chinese communities residing in less developed areas of that district. The unusual combination of languages in this sign: Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese—alongside the absence of English and to a lesser extent Japanese—indicate this is a sign intended for Chinese as well as Vietnamese communities in this district and not more generally for all foreign residents and visitors to this district. If it were intended for a wider audience of non-Koreans, then one would expect the common practice of using English, Chinese, and Japanese in informative government signage. Importantly, it is the absence of English and Japanese that makes this so. Additionally, the signs seen in Figures 1 and 2 bear the symbol of Seongdong District meaning they are almost certainly only used in that district of Seoul. This indicates it is a local sign intended to be read only by residents or those visiting this district. Further, these signs are posted in less developed areas where garbage collection is less adequate (Joo and Kwon 2015: 1090) and the issue they address—the illegal disposal of garbage—is already associated with less wealthy Chinese communities in Korea. Collectively this means that the Chinese text used in the signs seen in Figures 1 and 2 are a means of specifically addressing the Chinese communities residing in that district. This stands in stark contrast to the use of Chinese text in the sign seen in Figure 5, which follows the very common practice of using English, Chinese, and Japanese as a means of generally addressing foreign residents and visitors by government authorities. The constellation of English, Chinese, and Japanese as common languages for addressing non-Koreans within government signage means the role of Chinese in these COVID-19 signs is a means of generally communicating with non-Korean speakers who reside in or visit Korea. The ways in which a language can possess different indexicalities within signage depending on the sign it is a part of and the larger context in which it is enmeshed deserves further examination and analysis as does the different roles Chinese text can play in the larger linguistic landscape of Korea. Future research should examine these issues.

Multilingual commanding urgency is not the only cause for multilingualism in directive signs and other regulatory signage more broadly. For example, Schimkowsky (2021a) shows how 'manner posters' in Japan are made multilingual as a means of customer service, and in Korea certain tourist sites will feature English, Chinese, and Japanese on a wide variety of signage, including directive signs, as part of a tourism-focused language policy. Further, multilingualism in signage, including potentially directive signage, can be implemented and discontinued in ways that may or may not be due to multilingual commanding urgency. At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous informative signs appeared regarding COVID-19 in subway stations across Seoul featuring Korean, English, Chinese, and Japanese. However, by May 2020 these signs had been mostly replaced with monolingual Korean COVID-19 signage. Future research should examine the rise and fall of multilingual COVID-19 informative signage early in 2020 within Korea and what role if any multilingual commanding urgency may have played in the formation of this signage.

Additionally, multilingual commanding urgency will not shape the linguistic landscape in situations when authorities intend to use the law to persecute particular marginalized communities. In these situations, regulations and the law may in fact be intended to be unclear and difficult to understand for certain communities, as this makes obeying regulations more challenging which facilitates legal persecution of certain groups. Multilingual commanding urgency only shapes the linguistic landscape when authorities make a good faith effort to communicate to specific communities through language in order to reduce a perceived problem, and when the broader language policy does not include the languages relevant to multilingual commanding urgency.

An additional element can shape multilingualism in directive signage as well: the inclusion of certain languages in directive signage can facilitate prosecution of those who fail to obey these signs as this reduces the believability that speakers of those languages are ignorant of directives promulgated through those signs. While this is an important element of directive signage, it is not likely shaping the inclusion of Vietnamese, Arabic, English, Chinese, and Japanese in signage examined in this paper. Failing to wear a mask in the Seoul subway system will almost never result in prosecution, but instead simply being asked to wear a mask. In the case of the illegal garbage disposal, it is likely authorities are far more interested in reducing this problematic practice rather than prosecuting individuals engaging in this practice, and therefore these signs are intended to simply curtain this illegal activity. However, further studies should examine the possibility that multilingual directive signs can be intended to facilitate the prosecution of those who disobey the directives promulgated through such signs.

The garbage and COVID-19 signs examined in this study differ in substantial ways, and the category of directive signs can include additional types of signs not examined in this paper. Some directive signs contain implicit commands and do not include the most common language used within a place. The English and Arabic sign posted in a flea market in Finland regarding surveillance, police, and theft, which implicitly commands addressees not to engage in theft, discussed in Nishiyama (2020) serves as a notable example of this type of signage. Directive signs and the context in which they are posted can differ in vitally important ways and additional research should examine these signs and their contexts to better understand the complex elements at play regarding multilingualism in signage. The concept of multilingual commanding urgency can serve these studies by offering an explanation for the emergence of multilingualism in certain contexts and hopefully encourages further research on directive signage.

COVID-19 transformed life across the globe, but it will not be the last pandemic to strike nor be the only crisis requiring new public behavior and consequently new directive signage. Multilingual commanding urgency will shape this signage in multilingual communities and so it is vital to better understand how different languages are used in this critically important signage. The sociolinguistics of emergency situations or crisis sociolinguistics (see Ahmad and Hillman 2021; Piller 2020; Tan and Said 2015, and the special issue of *Multilingua* on language and the COVID-19 pandemic edited by Zhang and Li 2020 for examples and discussion of crisis sociolinguistics) is an emerging and important scholarly endeavor and the concept of multilingual commanding urgency has much to offer this area of study.

Lastly, we believe the concept of multilingual commanding urgency has a role to play beyond academia. This is an accessible concept which can help authorities responsible for the production of public signage and the incorporation of multiple languages into that signage better understand what shapes their practices. It may seem obvious to many that if there is a 'problem' in a community, a sign should be posted in the language used by that community directing addressees to act in a manner which will avoid that problematic practice. We show in this paper, as have others before us (Angermeyer 2017; Guinto 2019; Kim 2020), that this situation is more complicated than it appears. We generally advocate that any language included in directive signage should also be included in a multitude of informative signage in order to avoid 'overreading' that signage and marginalizing speakers of that language. We believe discussing multilingual commanding urgency with authorities is one way scholars can begin bringing about these better multilingual practices.

Competing interests: None of the authors have a competing interest regarding this article.

References

Ahmad, Rizwan & Sarah Hillman. 2021. Laboring to communicate: Use of migrant languages in COVID-19 awareness campaign in Qatar. *Multilingua* 40(3). 303–337.

Alsaif, Reema Ali S. & Donna Starks. 2019. Medium and domains in the linguistic landscapes of the Grand Mosque in Mecca. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 40(1). 14–31.

Angermeyer, Philipp Sebastian. 2017. Controlling Roma refugees with 'Google-Hungarian': Indexing deviance, contempt, and belonging in Toronto's linguistic landscape. *Language in Society* 46. 159–183.

Blommaert, Jan. 2013. *Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: Chronicles of complexity*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, Jan & Ico Maly. 2014. Ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis and social change: A case study. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 100.

Chan, Melissa. 2020. *Police in New York are defying state and city orders to wear masks*. Time Magazine. https://time.com/5849175/police-masks-protests/ (accessed 11 January 2022).

Chaudhary, Abdul Haseeb, Michael Jay Polonsky & Nicholas McClaren. 2021. Littering behaviour: A systematic review. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 45(4). 478–510.

Chesnut, Michael & Nathaniel Ming Curran. 2022. Americano, latte, or English: What do menu languages in Korean coffee shops tell us about the meaning of English today? *English Today* 38(1). 38–51.

Chesnut, Michael, Nate Ming Curran & Sungwoo Kim. 2021. *Cuteness and fear in the COVID-19 linguistic landscape of South Korea*. The Linguistic Landscape of COVID-19. https://www.covidsigns.net/post/michael-chesnut-et-al-cuteness-and-fear-in-the-covid-19-linguistic-landscape-of-south-korea (accessed 10 August 2021).

Choe, Moran. 2020. 외국인 *70*만명 사는 경기도, 영어·중국어 쓰레기 봉투 만든다 *[More than 700,000 foreigners live in Gyeonggi Province, garbage bags are being made with English and Chinese]*. Jungangilbo. https://news.joins.com/article/23915634?fbclid=IwAR1ljBt7AlJHaQqpyW5OGzLHQnmQVGC_bwDejVHM2aslOF22XR52dIB0g-c (accessed 11 January 2022).

Choi, Si-young. 2020. *Number of foreigners in Korea surpasses 2.5 million*. The Korean Herald. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20200217000716 (accessed 11 January 2022).

Choi, Jinsook, Tatar Bradley & Jeongyeon Kim. 2021. 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.

Cresswell, Tim. 2004. *Place: An introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Cunningham, Una & Jeanette King. 2020. Information, education, and language policy in the linguistic landscape of an international airport in New Zealand. In Greg Niedt & Corinne A. Seals (eds.), *Linguistic landscapes beyond the language classroom*, 99–117. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Curran, Nathaniel Ming & Michael Chesnut. 2021. English fever and coffee: Transient cosmopolitanism and the rising cost of distinction. *Journal of Consumer Culture Advance Online Publication*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540521990869.

Demillo, Andrew. 2020. *Some US police resist enforcing coronavirus mask mandates*. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/some-us-police-resist-enforcing-coronavirus-mask-mandates/2020/07/26/cc273002-cf5f-11ea-826b-cc394d824e35_story.html (accessed 26 April 2022).

Dickson, EJ. 2020. *Why won't cops wear masks?* Rolling Stone. https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/nypd-masks-bella-hadid-1041003/ (accessed 26 April 2022).

Ding, Seong Lin, Hyun-cheol Kim & Yong-joong Kang. 2020. Imagined homogeneity: Identity and geopolitical and geoeconomic influences in the linguistic landscape of Seoul. *Lingua* 244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2020.102851.

Ferenčík, Milan. 2018. Im/politeness on the move: A study of regulatory discourse practices in Slovakia's centre of tourism. *Journal of Pragmatics* 134. 183–198.

Guinto, Nicanor. 2019. The place/s of Tagalog in Hong Kong's Central district: Negotiating center-periphery dynamics. *Linguistic Landscape* 5(2). 160–178.

Hopkyns, Sarah & Melanie van den Hoven. 2021. Linguistic diversity and inclusion in Abu Dhabi's linguistic landscape during the COVID-19 period. *Multilingua* 41(2). 201–232.

Jeon, Gangeun & Sanghoon Jung. 2019. Comparative analysis of residential patterns of foreigners from rich and poor countries in Seoul. *Sustainable Cities and Society* 47. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2019.101470.

Joo, Youngha & Youngsang Kwon. 2015. Urban street greenery as a prevention against illegal dumping of household garbage—A case in Suwon, South Korea. *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening* 14(4). 1088–1094.

Kallen, Jeffrey L. 2010. Changing landscapes: Language, space and policy in the Dublin linguistic landscape. In Jaworski Adam & Crispin Thurlow (eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space*, 41–58. London: Bloomsbury.

Kang, Sujin & Wonseok Seo. 2017. 외국인 거주자 국적이 지역주민의 범죄두려움에 미치는 영향 분석 [The Effect of Nationality of Foreign Residents on Fear of Crime for Local Residents]. 지역발전연구 *[Journal of Regional Studies and Development]* 27(1). 95–115.

Kim, Sangyoon. 2017. *[NOW]* 쓰레기 무단투기 외국인은 출국금지*? [Are foreigners who illegally dispose of garbage banned from leaving the country?]*. Chosun Ilbo. https://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/11/13/2017111300169.html (accessed 26 April 2022).

Kim, Yuri. 2020. About multiculturalism and language rights: A linguistic landscape of governmental public signs in Garibong-Dong, Seoul. 사회언어학 *[The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea]* 28. 95–126.

Kim, So-hyun. 2021a. *Foreign population in Korea shrinks to lowest level in 5.5 years*. The Korea Herald. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20210728000744 (accessed 26 April 2022).

Kim, Sugene. 2021b. 'Sejong the Great would turn in his grave!': South Korean attitudes towards monolingual English signage in public buildings. *English Today* 37(3). 134–141.

Kroon, Sjaak, Jie Dong & Blommaert Jan. 2015. Truly moving texts. In Christopher Stroud & Mastin Prinsloo (eds.), *Language, literacy and diversity: Moving words*, 1–15. Milton Park: Routledge.

Kwon, Ji-dam & Yu-jin Lee. 2020. *Masks required to board buses, subways, and taxis as of May 26*. The Hankyoreh. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/946564.html (accessed 26 April 2022).

Landry, Rodrigue & Richard Y. Bourhis. 1997. Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16(1). 23–49.

Lawrence, C. Bruce. 2012. The Korean English linguistic landscape. *World Englishes* 31(1). 70–92.

Lee, Jamie Shinhee. 2019. Multilingual advertising in the linguistic landscape of Seoul. *World Englishes* 38(3). 500–518.

Maly, Ico. 2016. Detecting social changes in times of superdiversity: An ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis of Ostend in Belgium. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(5). 703–723.

Marshall, Steve. 2021. Navigating COVID-19 linguistic landscapes in Vancouver's North Shore: Official signs, grassroots literacy artefacts, monolingualism, and discursive convergence. *International Journal of Multilingualism Advance online publication*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2020.1849225.

Mautner, Gerlinde. 2012. Language, space, and the law: A study of directive signs. *International Journal of Speech Language and the Law* 19(2). 189–217.

McKay, Rich. 2021. *'Not backed by science:' LA County sheriff will not enforce new mask mandate*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/world/us/not-backed-by-science-la-county-sheriff-will-not-enforce-new-mask-mandate-2021-07-17/ (accessed 26 April 2022).

Mujinjingnyuseu-i. 2020. 무주군 무주읍, 외국어로 쓰레기 배출 안내 *[Muju County Muju Town, garbage disposal information given in foreign languages]*. Mujinjingnyuseu-i. http://mjjnews.net/news/article.html?no=14127&fbclid=IwAR0SC27xwvzZc6bE5oSm58Sqg5l7ZECUuAdiu_CNDWjzPQ1jZtF05kXANIM (accessed 26 April 2022).

Nishiyama, Hidefumi. 2020. Racializing surveillance through language: The role of selective translation in the promotion of public vigilance against migrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(10). 1757–1775.

Open Data Plaza. 2022a. *Status of registered foreigners in Seoul (by nationality/division) statistics*. Seoul City. https://data.seoul.go.kr/dataList/803/S/2/datasetView.do.

Open Data Plaza. 2022b. *Seoul resident population (by division) statistics*. Seoul City. https://data.seoul.go.kr/dataList/419/S/2/datasetView.do.

Park, Joseph Sung-Yul. 2009. *The local construction of a global language: Ideologies of English in South Korea*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Park, Han-na. 2020. *Face masks mandatory on public transport*. The Korean Herald. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20200525000755 (accessed 26 April 2022).

Park, Eun-hee & Jin-suk Yang. 2015. A sociolinguistic analysis of a commercial district in Seoul: A linguistic landscape approach. 사회언어학 *[The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea]* 23. 37–63.

Piller, Ingrid. 2003. Advertising as a site of language contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23. 170–183.

Piller, Ingrid. 2020. *Language challenges of Covid-19 are a pressing issue*. Language on the Move. https://www.languageonthemove.com/language-challenges-of-covid-19-are-a-pressing-issue/ (accessed 27 July 2022).

Pink, Sarah, Phil Hubbard, Maggie O'Neill & Alan Radley. 2010. Walking across disciplines: From ethnography to arts practice. *Visual Studies* 25(1). 1–7.

Rose-Redwood, Reuben S. 2008. "Sixth Avenue is now a memory": Regimes of spatial inscription and the performative limits of the official city-text. *Political Geography* 27(8). 875–894.

Schimkowsky, Christoph. 2021a. *Managing passenger etiquette in Tokyo: Between social control and customer service*. Mobilities Advance Online Publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2021.1929418.

Schimkowsky, Christoph. 2021b. Manner posters: A genre approach. *Japanese Studies* 41(2). 139–160.

Scollon, Ron & Suzy Wong Scollon. 2003. *Discourse in place: Language in the material world*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Sebba, Mark. 2013. Multilingualism in written discourse: An approach to the analysis of multilingual texts. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 17(1). 97–118.

Seol, Dong-Hoon. 2010. Ethnic enclaves in Korean cities: Formation, residential patterns and communal features. In Tai-Chee Wong & Jonathan Rigg (eds.), *Asian cities, migrant labor and contested spaces*, 149–171. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Seongnam, Vision. 2020. 성남시, 쓰레기 무단투기 '스마트 경고 시스템' 8곳에 설치 *[Seongnam City, the smart warning system for illegal garbage disposal was installed in eight locations]*. Vision Seongnam. https://snvision.seongnam.go.kr/12498?fbclid=IwAR1k00sAYAd8qMCvHx65MIzZp1Fn3w7xElXpkM7Cs70tHoIotHWl_VyUmo4 (accessed 27 April 2022).

Serlin, David. 2010. Introduction: Toward a visual culture of public health. In David Serlin (ed.), *Imagining illness: Public health and visual culture*, xi–xxxvii. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Shohamy, Elana, Eliezer Ben-Rafael & Monica Barni (eds.). 2010. *Linguistic landscape in the city*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Song, Doyoung. 2014. The configuration of daily life space for Muslims in Seoul: A case study of Itaewon's "Muslims' street". *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 43(4). 401–440.

Spolsky, Bernard & Robert L. Cooper. 1991. *The languages of Jerusalem*. London: Clarendon Press.

Springgay, Stephanie & Sarah E. Truman. 2017. *Walking methodologies in a more-than-human world: WalkingLab*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Svennevig, Jan. 2021. How to do things with signs. The formulation of directives on signs in public spaces. *Journal of Pragmatics* 175. 165–183.

Tan, Mei Shan & Selim Ben Said. 2015. Linguistic landscape and exclusion: An examination of language representation in disaster signage in Japan. In Rani Rubdy & Selim Ben Said (eds.), *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape*, 145–169. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tan, Shanna Xin-Wei Tan & Ying-Ying Tan. 2015. Examining the functions and identities associated with English and Korean in South Korea: A linguistic landscape study. *Asian Englishes* 17(1). 59–79.

Vergunst, Jo. 2010. Rhythms of walking: History and presence in a city street. *Space and Culture* 13(4). 376–388.

Vlack, Stephen van. 2011. English in the South Korean linguistic landscape: Varied patterns of use and status. 언어 *[Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 36(2). 559–583.

Witte, Kim & Mike Allen. 2000. A meta-analysis of fear appeals: Implications for effective public health campaigns. *Health Education & Behavior* 27(5). 591–615.

Zhang, Jie & Li Jia (eds.). 2020. Linguistic diversity in a time of crisis: Language challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. [Special issue]. *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 39(5).