

and the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle.”

By investigating the representation of this in-between space or interstice in various media, our case studies will show whether the “river banks”, that is, the strict delimitation of binary regimes, are being undermined, or whether they are being reinforced, or both.

More concretely, we will examine firstly whether multilingualism and references to the cross-border context in advertising in Luxembourg contribute to the construction of transnational spaces, or whether they merely reinforce national spaces. We will then turn to the cross-border *Robert Schuman Art Award* and the interstitial space opened by the exhibitions and their representations in the official catalogues. The third subchapter will deal with museums and analyse to what degree their thresholds allow for a passage between public space and the space of high culture. Focusing on the self-representation of the multilingual publishing house *ultimomondo*, the following case study will examine how literature can escape its attribution to clearly delimited, territorially bounded linguistic spaces and thus embed itself as it were in a linguistic in-between space. The self presentation techniques of teenagers in cyberspace constitute another angle of approach of spatial identities in a subchapter investigating how *facebook* online profiles supplement identity projections and how they influence offline friendships. Finally, we will turn to petrol stations as interstitial places, both by their physical location and by their symbolic ambivalence (between numb routine and creative appropriation) and explore how this oscillation is practiced and narrated, both by interview partners and in films.

4.2 MULTILINGUAL ADVERTISING AND REGIONALIZATION IN LUXEMBOURG

Julia de Bres

This contribution analyses the connections between multilingual advertising and regionalization in Luxembourg, from a sociolinguistic perspective. Advertising is a fertile area for examining identity construction. Advertisers seek to appeal to consumers through a variety of techniques, one of which is orienting to features of their assumed identities, including linguistic identities. While consumers may resist these identity constructions, their constant reiteration is still likely to have some impact on appropriated identities. Advertisers also play a role in reinforcing and/or reconstructing spatial boundaries, through both linguistic and extralinguistic means. Interstitiality in this context can be approached from two angles. First, linguistic interstitiality could be represented by the use of more than one language variety in advertisements, through code-switching between varieties

within an advertising text. Such interstitial linguistic practices disrupt the norm of monolingualism in written texts and are relatively frequent in advertising, a genre that often displays creative and transgressive forms of language use. Second, spatial interstitiality could be represented by the depiction of border-crossing practices in advertisements, for example depictions of the lived reality of cross-border workers or references to a transnational region. Moreover, use of languages associated with particular geographical spaces can itself be seen as a form of spatial representation, which may tend more towards the national (reflecting a state's dominant language use) or the transnational (reflecting a more hybrid, i.e. interstitial, language use). Both these linguistic and spatial forms of interstitiality stand in opposition to other more dominant constructions of language and space, which would keep languages firmly separate and the borders between national spaces clearly defined. Using data from a large corpus of print advertisements in the free daily newspaper *L'essentiel*, as well as additional advertisements from the public space in Luxembourg, this contribution addresses two themes related to interstitiality. The first is how multilingual practices in the advertisements indirectly reference national and/or transnational spaces. The second considers advertisements that directly address the cross-border context. Overall, the contribution argues that multilingual practices and references to borders in the advertisements, while superficially interstitial, do little to create transnational identities, and rather tend to reinforce existing national state borders.

The research was undertaken within the theoretical framework of socio-linguistic research on multilingualism in advertising. Such research often focuses on advertisements produced in contexts where there is a clear default or majority language, including Japan (Haarman 1989), Germany (Piller 2001) and Ireland (Kelly-Holmes 2005). Researchers highlight the (stereotypical) associations of language varieties that advertisers draw upon in an attempt to transfer these connotations onto the products advertised (Cook 2001, Myers 1999). We find, for example, French as the language of romance, Italian as the language of food, German as the language of technical expertise, and English as the language of business (Haarman 1989, Piller 2001, Kelly-Holmes 2005). In such cases, researchers speak of the “linguistic fetish”, “fake multilingualism” (Kelly-Holmes 2005) or “mock language” (Piller 2003), given that the multilingualism of the advertisements fulfills symbolic (and commercial) purposes rather than reflecting the linguistic realities of its target audience, many of whom may not understand the languages used at all. The situation is quite different in societies with a substantial tradition of multilingualism, where a range of languages are used for everyday communicative purposes and society members have a diverse linguistic repertoire. Luxembourg, with its official trilingualism in Luxembourgish, German and French, and ever-more complex forms of multilingualism as a result of recent patterns of migration and globalization, is one such setting par excellence. Here, while advertisers may still draw upon the symbolic associations of languages in designing their advertisements, the languages used may also reflect actual

multilingual practices (and identities) in the community. For researchers, the languages of advertising in such settings can provide insights into language relationships in a multilingual context.

This case study involves analysing multilingualism in advertising in line with current approaches in sociolinguistics. At the same time, drawing on the common themes of this chapter, analysis of the advertisements takes into account not only multilingual aspects, but also the advertisements' relationship to the construction of interstitial spaces in particular. The research questions addressed are:

- How does multilingualism in advertising contribute to the construction of national and/or transnational spaces?
- How do references to the cross-border context in advertising contribute to the construction of national and/or transnational spaces?
- How does multilingualism interact with border references in advertising in constructing national and/or transnational spaces?

The data is a selection of advertisements from 2009-2011 in the free French language daily newspaper *L'essentiel*. German was traditionally the main (although not exclusive) language of the print media in Luxembourg. This has recently changed, with a range of publications available in other languages, including Portuguese, French and English, to cater for the increasingly diverse population of the country. The newspaper that is the subject of this research, *L'essentiel*, is read by a comparatively young, ethnically diverse, French-speaking and less wealthy audience (Lamour and Langers 2012). Its introduction to the Luxembourg context both represents a response to the growing French language readership and forms part of a general rise in free daily newspapers across Europe (ibid.: 2012).

The choice of *L'essentiel* as a source for analysing multilingualism and border construction is related to its close connections to the economic and demographic developments currently underway in Luxembourg, which have resulted in a high prominence of migrants and cross-border workers. Distributed in Luxembourg in areas of transit (e.g. train stations, city centres, pedestrian zones, bus stops, service stations, as well as entries to numerous companies)³, the paper aims to reach both residents of Luxembourg and cross-border workers who commute to Luxembourg for work. In 2012, *L'essentiel* had 192,000 daily readers, exceeding those of the most read conventional daily newspaper, the *Luxemburger Wort* (172,100 readers). The readers of *L'essentiel* included 124,800 residents of Luxembourg, their nationalities mirroring the diversity of the resident population (46,900 Luxembourgish, 34,800 Portuguese, and 43,100 of other nationalities). The remaining readers consisted of 67,200 cross-border workers (49,500 French and 17,700 Belgian).⁴

3 | Personal correspondence with *L'essentiel*, 18 October 2012.

4 | Data from personal correspondence with *L'essentiel*, 4 October 2012. These figures are taken from a 2012 national survey of media consumption by Luxembourg residents,

Cross-border workers thus made up just over a third of the *L'essentiel* readership (35 %), and the proportion of French cross-border workers in particular (25.8 %) exceeded that of residents of Luxembourgish nationality (24.4 %). The integral relationship of *L'essentiel* to the diverse population of Luxembourg and the economic developments currently underway is well described by Lamour and Langers (2012: 18), who observe that “the viability of [free daily newspapers] rests on the presence of a dense and mobile population that can be captured during its daily movement in spaces of transit” and that they “capture a very eclectic readership made up of nationals and foreigners attracted by the grand-ducal urban economy.”⁵ In these ways, *L'essentiel* is a useful source of data on multilingualism in Luxembourg in a context of intense cross-border migration.

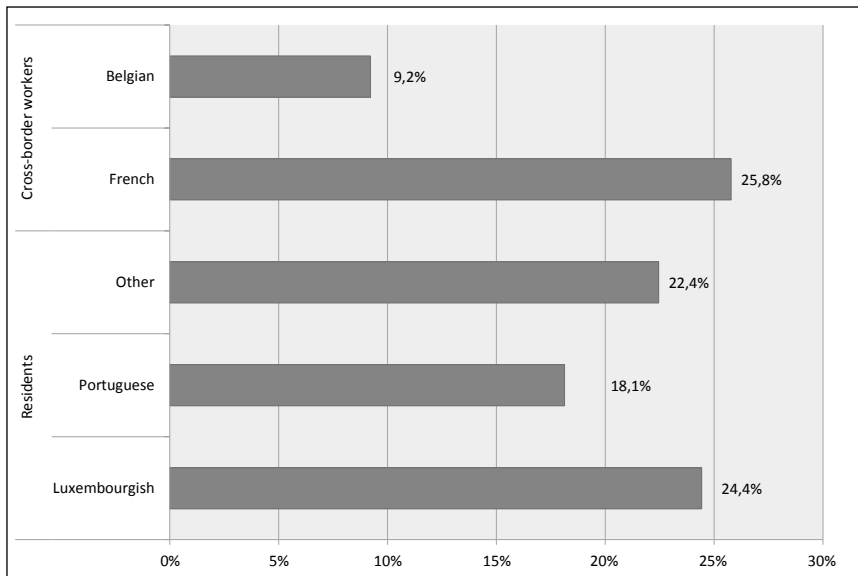


Figure 1: *L'essentiel* readership in 2012 (source: *L'essentiel*)

The period chosen for analysis was 2009-2011 (the three years leading up to the time the research was undertaken). Given the large number of advertisements

in addition to a supplementary survey focusing exclusively on cross-border workers. In response to my question as to whether German cross-border workers also read *L'essentiel*, *L'essentiel* noted that their number was not considered significant enough to include them in the survey. This was attributed to the language of the newspaper being French.

5 | Personal translation of: “La viabilité de [la presse quotidienne gratuite] repose sur la présence d’une population dense et mobile pouvant être captée lors du déplacement quotidien dans les espaces de transit”; “Elle capte un lectorat très éclectique fait de nationaux et d’étrangers attirés par l’économie urbaine grand-ducale” (Lamour/Langers 2012: 18).

in each issue, rather than collecting all advertisements across the period, it was decided to undertake a detailed analysis of advertisements from the available issues in three particular months: January 2009, June 2010 and December 2011 (the beginning, middle and end of the chosen period). The total number of issues analysed was 55 (out of an actual 63 issues produced across the three months⁶) and the number of advertisements in the final data set was 1,038. All of the advertisements in each issue were photographed, coded for date, page, company, sector and languages used, and analysed quantitatively to identify patterns across the period. Advertisements identified as especially salient in terms of multilingualism and/or the cross-border setting were then analysed qualitatively for aspects of language use, following established approaches to analysis of the discourse of advertising (e.g. Cook 2001). This contribution focuses on the qualitative analysis. Advertisements from other data sources are also included in the results that follow, to support the points made.

4.2.1 Multilingualism and the Construction of Space

The first theme to be discussed is the relationship between multilingualism and the construction of national and/or transnational spaces in the advertisements. Two main points are considered in this section: use of languages in relation to the national origin of the advertiser, and degree of multilingualism in the advertisements.

In the periods analysed, the advertisements placed came from a mixture of Luxembourgish, French and Belgian organizations. The French and Belgian organizations almost always used French as the main language of the advertisement, and the Luxembourgish organizations mostly used French or (very rarely) German, the traditional written languages of Luxembourg, as the main language of the advertisement. This general pattern reflects the dominant written language use associated with each nation-state (France, Luxembourg) or, in the case of Belgium, the French-speaking region of the nation-state.

One aspect that departs from this trend for reproducing written language use associated with particular national spaces is the use of Luxembourgish in the advertisements. Horner and Weber (2008) argue that the rise in salience of Luxembourgish in Luxembourg is particularly apparent in its increased use as a written language. This has been facilitated by ongoing processes of standardization. While previously regarded by many as a spoken dialect of German, Luxembourgish was progressively standardized over the nineteenth

6 | Access was only available to those issues that had been collected at the time by a contact, and some issues were missing. This involves four missing issues for January 2009 (16 out of 21 issues were available), one missing issue for June 2010 (20 out of 21 issues were available) and two missing issues for December 2011 (19 out of 21 issues were available).

and twentieth centuries so that a standard written variety now exists, with an official orthography, dictionaries and grammar.⁷ This written standard is taught to migrants (e.g. in evening classes) but only minimally at school and is not widely known. Luxembourgish is, however, increasingly used in written domains, particularly the new media (see e.g. de Bres/Franziskus 2014), with wide orthographic variation. Present in 11.5 % of advertisements in the data, Luxembourgish was not a major language of advertising in *L'essentiel* but its presence is significant given its more recent use as a written language. When used, Luxembourgish appeared most often in minimal forms (e.g. slogans in advertisements otherwise in French), but was sometimes used more extensively (e.g. some stretches of text in French, others in Luxembourgish) and occasionally made up the entire text of the advertisement. What is especially interesting for the purpose of this contribution is who was using Luxembourgish. The most frequent users of Luxembourgish were Luxembourgish organizations. Examples include the bank Spuerkeess, using the slogan *Äert Liewen. Är Bank. – Your life. Your bank. –* and the insurance company Foyer, using *Äert Vertrauen a sécheren Hänn – Your confidence in safe hands.* Luxembourgish organizations were the only ones to produce advertisements written entirely in Luxembourgish. These included, for example, the Luxembourgish Ministry of Transport, the cultural broadcaster Radio 100.7, promoters of the film about Luxembourg *Mir wëllen net bleiwen*, and political parties advertising national elections. In these cases, the strategy appears to be to appeal to Luxembourgish national identity in order to foreground authenticity in advertising products with a national or local character (see also Reddeker 2011). Luxembourgish was also used by some foreign-owned companies in the data, however. In some cases, this appeared to represent a change during the course of the period analysed. The multinational Pearle opticians and the Belgian supermarket Delhaize, for instance, had French slogans in January 2009, but Luxembourgish slogans in June 2010 (*Är Aen a gudden Hänn – Your eyes in good hands*, and *Einfach méi fir äert Geld – Simply more for your money*, respectively). A more extensive example was an advertisement by Brico Plan-It, a hardware store in Belgium. This advertisement included a slogan in Luxembourgish (*Alles fir d'Haus – Everything for the house*) and the top half of the ad was entirely in (non-standard) Luxembourgish, so that readers needed to be able to understand Luxembourgish to understand the message about the offer (in large font *Du muss déch awer entscheeden, well den 23. Juni -20 % op 1 Artikel vun Ärer Wiel – You need to decide though, because 23 June -20 % on*

7 | Current orthography is based on the rules of the *Luxemburger Wörterbuch* (1975), with a slight reform in 1999 (Mémorial 1999). In 2009 the Ministry of Culture formed a working group to modify and simplify the current rule system. A comprehensive official dictionary that will be based on the new rules – the *Lëtzebuenger Online Dictionnaire* (LOD 2007ff.) – is still in production (see Gilles forthcoming).

a product of your choice).⁸ Still, the majority of the text, including the technical details of the offer, remained in French. This advertisement is a good example of a polyphonic advertisement (Backhaus 2007), in that readers needed to be able to understand both French and Luxembourgish in order to get the full information, the advertisement thereby assuming a multilingual audience.

What can we make of the use of Luxembourgish by foreign companies? One possibility is using this language to appear local. This recalls the example of minority language use provided by Kelly-Holmes (2005) in which the foreign supermarket Tesco adopted Irish-English bilingual signage in Ireland, imitating the local supermarket Superquinn, “perhaps to make it look more Irish, or perhaps to show goodwill and an openness to the local culture” (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 134). Advertisers might also use Luxembourgish to target a specifically Luxembourgish audience. For example, a retail association across the border in France ran an advertisement in June 2010 wishing readers a good Luxembourgish national day and inviting them to come to Thionville where shops would remain open on the public holiday.⁹ Luxembourgish was used to say *Hierzlech Wëllkomm zu Diendenuewen* – a warm welcome to Thionville –, even using the Luxembourgish version of the town’s name, *Didde(h)uewen*, albeit in markedly non-standard spelling.¹⁰ Residents with Luxembourgish nationality are a significant part of the *L’essentiel* readership and are perceived as being relatively wealthy, meaning they are especially targeted by retailers in France, Belgium and Germany. Use of Luxembourgish forms part of this attraction strategy. Advertisers from across the border in this data did not, however, take the further step of producing advertisements fully in Luxembourgish. Use of Luxembourgish is a powerful means of constructing space through language in the advertisements discussed above. In the case of Luxembourgish organizations, it is a tool that can be used to emphasize a national or local identity, setting oneself apart from non-Luxembourgish organizations, and implicitly reinforcing national boundaries. For foreign companies, use of Luxembourgish performs a different function, moving to deconstruct ideas of Luxembourgish as only being relevant for national actors and instead appropriating it for use by actors deriving from a broader regional space.

If use of Luxembourgish is one way in which advertisers of different national origins could be distinguished in the data, the degree of multilingualism they employed in their advertisements was another. Most cases of multilingualism in the advertisements involved an advertisement mainly in one language with a

8 | The text is unusual in its use of *awer* (however), which seems out of place in this context, the absence of a verb in the second half of the sentence and the inconsistent use of *du* (informal ‘you’) followed by *Ärer* (polite ‘you’ or plural form).

9 | The Brico Plan-It example above is a comparable example originating from Belgium.

10 | *Hierzlech* is also non-standard, possibly representing the Luxembourg city pronunciation of *häärzlech*.

small element such as a slogan in another language. There were very few highly multilingual advertisements, in the sense that one could not really say which was the main language of the advertisement. This is in accordance with a widespread norm of monolingualism in written texts (see Sebba *et al.* 2012). When these advertisements did appear, however, the level of multilingualism could be quite striking. For example a 2010 Luxembourg Airport advertisement promoting a running event included the text:

*junior-kulturlaf/yuppi-mini-kulturlaf/team-run/walking
sport et musique – une combination unique*

Here elements of (sometimes non-standard) French, Luxembourgish and English can all be detected. Similarly, a 2010 advertisement for an equestrian event included the following text:

CSI Luxembourg
Reiser Pärdsdeeg 2010
Jeudi:
Youngsters Tour
Vendredi:
International Qualifyings
Polo Night
Samedi:
Toyota Lexis Masters
STar Chef Cooking
Dimanche:
Grand Prix de Roeser
Prix P&T Luxembourg
Aire De Jeux Pour Enfants/Shopping Village
Et Spécialités Culinaires

Again French, Luxembourgish and English blend together, with it being difficult to determine one main language for the advertisement.

Other instances of multilingualism in the data were more subtle, with some advertisements showing the influence of other languages in the use of non-standard forms in a particular language. Examples involving English in advertisements include non-standard grammatical structures or morphology, such as use of the ‘Germanic hyphen’ to connect compound nouns, formation of compound nouns as a single word, or excessive use of capital letters, revealing the influence of German or Luxembourgish in English and French. One bilingual example showing several of these features is a travel advertisement from 2009, which advertises *Events & Sightseeing, Parcs d’attractions, Day Spa, Minitrips, Citytrips, Comédies musicales, Foires et expositions* (events and sightseeing, fun

parks, day spas, mini trips, city trips, musicals, fairs and exhibitions), ostensibly in a combination of French and English but also showing Germanic influences in the use of capital letters and compound nouns.

It can be questioned why there are so few highly multilingual advertisements in the data. This could reflect the application of the monolingual norm for written texts, which may apply even to highly multilingual Luxembourg. Nevertheless, all of the above instances of multilingualism came from the advertisements of Luxembourgish organizations, and in the data as a whole we can again see a distinction between organizations of different national origins in relation to their apparent degree of comfort with multilingual practices. A good example of this is advertisements by supermarkets of different national origins in the data. The Luxembourgish supermarket Cactus mainly produced advertisements in French, often with small elements in Luxembourgish (e.g. *pickeg Präisser* – spiky prices, 2009). A more subtle feature of its advertisements was to not translate words on pictures of foreign-origin products when referring to them in the body of the advertisement. An example from 2009 was an advertisement that included pictures of products with the words *Blattspinat* and *Schinkenwurst* (spinach and ham sausage) on the packaging. Although the rest of the advertisement was in French, captions for these products reproduced the terms in German as on the packages, rather than using the French translations *épinards* and *saucisson au jambon*. This was also the case for a Cactus advertisement in 2010, where a caption reproduced the English term *tealight* from the packaging in the associated picture, rather than using the French term *bougie chauffe-plat*. In contrast, advertisements of the French supermarket Auchan were always fully in French, with careful translation of any products with non-French names into French in the captions. Delhaize was also most likely to translate product names into French, although in 2010 it included a Flemish caption (*harengs-matjes*). This language use reproduces perceived national trends of language use (multilingual in Luxembourg, monolingual in France, bilingual in Belgium).

In general, it seems that Luxembourgish organizations in the data did advertise in (sometimes subtly) more multilingual ways than organizations from the neighbouring nations, despite the fact that these latter organizations were also advertising in Luxembourg. While generally advertisers from all national origins stuck to one main language in the advertisements (showing the force of the monolingual norm), Luxembourgish advertisers occasionally showed a much higher degree of multilingual practices, perhaps reflecting the multilingualism of the national space.

4.2.2 Borders and the Construction of Space

If the multilingual practices discussed in the previous section indirectly contribute to the construction of largely national spaces, the data also includes more direct references to national and transnational spaces. This section focuses

on how the advertisements relate to the cross-border context. It was commonplace to see advertisements by companies located across the border and/or promoting events across the border. These advertisements implicitly lend a regional and supranational context to the newspaper advertisements. Here, however, the focus is on cases where the cross-border context was explicitly referenced in the advertisements, thereby contributing to the construction of national and/or transnational spaces.

There were very minimal explicit references to the 'Greater Region' in the data. In 2009 one Luxembourgish language school offering classes in English, French, German and Luxembourgish had *Grande Région* as part of its name (*inlingua Grande Région*), and in 2010 the Commune de Sanem advertised a garden show that it referred to as *une manifestation unique dans sont [sic] genre dans la grande région* – a unique manifestation of its kind in the Greater Region. The term did not appear in any other advertisements.

Several advertisements referred to the cross-border context by targeting cross-border workers in particular. In 2009, the Luxembourg gym Fitness Zone advertised a *Pack Frontaliers* – cross-border workers' package. In 2010, the LCGB union advertised itself as being *le syndicat luxembourgeois pour frontaliers* – the Luxembourg union for cross-border workers – and the French bank Banque Populaire Lorraine-Champagne claimed that it accompanied clients beyond "our borders" – *vous accompagne au-delà de nos frontières* – and that it was *la banque des frontaliers* – the bank of the cross-border workers. Many such advertisements had a tendency to reinforce the border rather than diminish its importance. For example, the Luxembourg bank BGL placed an advertisement in 2010 showing cross-border workers being interviewed on the point of arriving at the Luxembourg railway station, which is highly symbolic of the border, and a LUXGSM advertisement in 2010 constructed an intricate metaphor of cross-border workers having two pairs of glasses, one spectacles for the week and the other sunglasses for the weekend, asking them: *frontaliers, vous en avez marre de choisir?* – cross-border workers, are you sick of choosing? – and suggesting that they buy a phone that they could use both in Luxembourg and their country of residence. Such advertisements emphasize the border as a disruption, rather than constructing a borderless region.

An instance of more implicit reference to borders in the advertisements is the approach advertisers took to indicating their geographical location. Across the data set, some advertisements simply mentioned the place name (e.g. *Messancy*), while others noted the country (e.g. *Messancy (Belgique)*). In 2009, an advertisement for the concert venue Rockhal specified that its location, Esch-sur-Alzette, was in Luxembourg, before noting how far it was in kilometres from Nancy (France), Metz (France) and Saarbrücken (Germany). In 2010, there were two interesting instances of marked *lack of* reference to national locations in advertisements. Firstly, the retailer McArthur Glen Luxembourg uses the term Luxembourg in its product name, whereas it is actually situated in Belgium (just across the border, in Messancy). Whereas one could also interpret the name as referring to the

'province de Luxembourg' region of Belgium in which it is located, the use of this name within the Grand Duchy is more likely to be interpreted in national terms. This interpretation is supported by the text on the company's website, which gives directions to the shopping centre from Belgium, Luxembourg and France, but offers GPS coordinates rather than specifying the country: *Le centre McArthurGlen Luxembourg est situé à l'intersection de grands axes de communication entre le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, la France et la Belgique. Coordonnées GPS: Longitude: 05 degrés 48'30" Latitude: 49 degrés 36'29"*.¹¹ Secondly, the 'Chocolaterie du Luxembourg', on further research, is actually located just across the border in France. Both marked references to locations and strongly unmarked references to locations suggest that national differences are perceived by advertisers as being important. Why go to such lengths to obscure them if they are not? I would claim that the borders are again reinforced rather than deconstructed in these advertisements.

So far, this contribution has considered two themes separately in relation to the advertising data, multilingualism and the construction of space on the one hand, and border references and the construction of space on the other. In fact, these two themes can coincide within an advertisement. As an example, in September 2012 the telecommunications company Tango launched a billboard campaign in the forecourt of the Luxembourg city railway station. The campaign involved four posters attached to a metal frame, and was aimed at cross-border workers – presumably those who were likely to pass it on their way out of the train station en route to work. In the main poster it was stated that cross-border workers, like the three pictured, should [*choisir*] *Tango FreeBorders pour appeler, surfer et envoyer des SMS depuis [leur] pays d'origine* – choose Tango FreeBorders to call, surf and send SMSes from their country of origin. Underneath the main image, the text referred to the product as *la solution que tous les frontaliers attendaient* – the solution that all cross-border workers were waiting for. Each of the other three posters showed one cross-border worker each, introduced as *Marc le frontalier*, *Lisa die Grenzgängerin* and *Amélie la frontalière* – Marc the cross-border worker, Lisa the cross-border worker and Amélie the cross-border worker. It was stated under the image of each person that they had chosen Tango FreeBorders to call all their friends wherever they were. The message of this advertising campaign seems at first glance to involve surpassing borders, the product name *FreeBorders* and the content of the advertising text suggesting that the border presents no barrier to making use of the product in either Luxembourg or France, Belgium or Germany. The linguistic and visual features of the advertisement suggest otherwise, however. First, language choice is telling. While the main poster was entirely in French, the language choice for the other posters followed that of the featured cross-border worker's country

11 | Personal translation: "The centre McArthurGlen Luxembourg is situated at the intersection of large axes of communication between the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, France and Belgium. GPS coordinates: Longitude: 05 degrees 48'30" Latitude: 49 degrees 36'29"."

of origin: we find French for Marc, German for Lisa, and French for Amélie. This reproduces the standard national (or in the case of Belgium regional) language use of each country, and reflects the widespread “one nation, one language” ideology (Woolard 1998), which posits that each nation state (or in the case of Belgium, region) has only one legitimate language associated with it. This language use was reinforced by the use of national flags in two circles to each side of the cross-border worker’s head (placing him/her in the no man’s land inbetween), with the text reinforcing a divide between nation states through the verbal opposition *il vit en France* (in the circle to the left) and *il travaille au Luxembourg* (in the circle to the right) – he lives in France, he works in Luxembourg. The overall effect of the advertising campaign, despite attempting to focus on the ‘borderless’ practices of cross-border workers, is to reproduce these borders, through both linguistic and non-linguistic means.

4.2.3 Conclusion

This contribution has drawn from a large corpus of newspaper advertisements, as well as a further advertising campaign outside the newspaper context, to examine the connections between multilingual advertising and regionalization in Luxembourg. The focus has been on identifying interstitial practices in both linguistic and spatial terms in the data. Interstitial linguistic practices are not absent in the data. We can for instance highlight the (rare) use of Luxembourgish by foreign companies and the adoption of multilingual practices to at least some degree by advertisers of all national origins. These advertisements depart from the monolingual norm applying to written texts, and suggest a possibility for more fluid linguistic and spatial relationships. Nevertheless, the general pattern is for language use to closely reflect dominant language use within the nation-state of the advertiser, markedly multilingual practices remain restricted to advertisers originating from multilingual Luxembourg, and even use of Luxembourgish by foreign advertisers can be seen as a reference to the national space of Luxembourg, rather than as creating a common regional space. This linguistic reinforcement of the national is also apparent in more direct references to the cross-border context within the advertisements, which tend to reinforce spatial borders even while focusing on those people who cross them. The overall conclusion is that both multilingual practices and references to borders in the data, while superficially interstitial, do little to construct a transnational region, but rather tend to reinforce existing national state borders. When it comes to the advertising data considered here, identity constructions involving truly interstitial linguistic and spatial practices seem rather thin on the ground.