# Linguistic Landscapes and Superdiversity in Istanbul – A Focus on Kumkapı, "Istanbul's Mogadishu"

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**Abstract**

Throughout its history extending more than two thousand years, Istanbul has played host to diverse ethnic communities making it one of the most complex and cosmopolitan urban metropolises on the planet. Although the large historic communities of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians no longer populate the neighborhoods in the old city or along the Bosphorus, Istanbul continues to be a magnate for Anatolian Turks and Kurds, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants from Uzbekistan to Senegal hoping to improve their circumstances. In the past 40 years, Istanbul has experienced explosive growth from three million people in 1980 to its present day population of over 16 million. This paper reports on superdiversity in Istanbul from the perspective of a linguistic landscape analysis of Kumkapı, a historic district and former Armenian enclave. Superdiversity is a term recently coined to indicate the qualitatively different demographic and social conditions of today's migrant communities in urban metropolises. A linguistic landscape analysis evaluates visible language on a city's signage. Kumkapı's linguistic landscape was twice documented, once in January 2017, and a second time 17 months later in July 2018. An evaluation of the differences between the two data sets reveals the dynamics of an underground market for lodging in the Kumkapı neighborhood. As more Central Asians, particularly Uzbeks, have settled in, Turkish landlords have shifted strategies to attract favored potential renters.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Linguistic landscape, Superdiversity, Istanbul, Kumkapı

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**Introduction**

Istanbul is among the largest and most complex urban spaces on the planet and, from any perspective, it presents a challenge to anyone hoping to document its rich heritage. This historic city, reputed for its cosmopolitan past, has grown from a generous three million in the early 1980s to its present day population of more than 16 million inhabitants. It has attracted ethnic Turks and Kurds from the eastern parts of the country, economic migrants from Central Asia to West Africa, and asylum seekers, in addition to absorbing tens of thousands of Syrian refugees fleeing the war in Syria. Istanbul is also the cultural and financial capital of Turkey and, by any measure, is one of the world's most dynamic global cities.

Beginning in the 1990s, a novel demographic phenomenon was emerging in Europe that has since been called "superdiversity" following the landmark article by Vertovec (2006). Superdiversity, understood as the "diversification of diversity", is characterized by larger numbers of migrants arriving from a greater range of country origins resulting in new formations of communities—new formations not just in terms of nationalities, but in terms of ethnicities, uncertain visa statuses, reasons for migrating, intentions, and ideas about their own future. These are highly mobile migrant populations in which the individuals feel little pressure to assimilate to local cultures. Communication with the home country is accessible and rapid; present day Internet and information technology resources mean that migrants may continue to participate in their home country's social, cultural and political life (Blommaert 2010, 2013). While these new migrants can maintain an 'online presence' in their home countries, their bodies are elsewhere. Superdiversity is a feature that characterizes many of Europe's cities; Istanbul is one such city (Eraydin, et. al. 2017).

This paper will examine superdiversity in Istanbul from the perspective of a linguistic landscape analysis. The results and discussion are based on (a) one section of an examination of Istanbul's linguistic landscapes conducted in 2016-2017 and, (b) new data collected in July 2018. For the original study, ten districts around Istanbul were chosen for documentation based on their historical and present-day importance in the life of the city. Most of the districts were historic ethnic communities. The main results for the original study can be found in Wendel (2017) and will not be reviewed here. The particular research interest of the present linguistic landscape analysis is the historic district of Kumkapı in the old section of the city of Istanbul.

Kumkapı is located along the Sea of Marmara, down the steep slopes from the hyper-touristic Grand Bazaar. Formerly an Armenian enclave and the seat of the Armenian Patriarchiate (which continues to function as such today), Kumkapı fell into decline after the Armenians were driven out during the several expulsions in the early years of the republic, or squeezed out because of the wealth tax laws in the 1940s. Many of the abandoned properties were eventually taken over by Anatolian Kurds and Turks who moved into the district in the 1980s and 1990s. Zazaki (a language in the Kurkish formation) is heard along the streets as frequently as is Turkish in many parts of this district. More recently, this district has also become the destination for newly arrived Central Asian and African populations of small-time traders, unskilled laborers, and refugees. Kumpakı, dubbed "Istanbul's Mogadishu" and "Somali Street" by the Turkish press (Seibert 2011), was the most linguistically diverse of all the districts surveyed for the original 2016-2017 study.

The most common objective of linguistic landscape studies is to produce a sociolinguistic profile of a given area such as a neighborhood or city. A sociolinguistic profile addresses such questions as, What speaker groups live in a given district? What is the sociolinguistic regime of the neighborhood? What is the relative status and prestige of languages in the area? Why do some languages appear in the landscape but not others? and, What is the vitality of speaker groups in the district? Apart from the visible language in the environment, historical, demographic and other contextualizing information must also be considered as part and parcel of any linguistic landscape analysis. To date, there have been a number of linguistic landscape studies conducted on cities including Tokyo (Backhaus 2010), Bangkok (Huebner 2009) , Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael et. al. 2006), and Antwerp (Blommaert 2013). Wendel (2017) and the present investigation are the only instances of linguistic landscape research undertaken on Istanbul.

As one of the first investigators of linguistic landscapes (or what he called "l'environment graphique", Calvet 1994/2011:170), Louis-Jean Calvet demonstrated that signs in the environment have a story to tell us, they show us that synchrony and diachrony are inseparable, and that collectively, signs give us indications concerning the relative prestige of languages and the status of speakers in the communities. As such, signs can be analyzed along several parameters including function, agency, number of languages, salience, and choice of script among others. Signs have both an informational and a symbolic function (Landry and Bourhis 1997:25-29). On the one hand, language used on the signs can be used to refer to things in the real world such as goods or services or as markers of territory. On the other, a sign can function essentially to promote solidarity as in a political slogan or an expression of individual protest as graffiti on building walls. Often, a sign will function in both ways. Another distinction is agency, that is, who put the sign up: in the case of a national or municipal government, the sign is classified as top-down; in the case of a small business or individual, it is classified as bottom-up. The distinction between top-down and bottom-up is fundamental because each sign type has been shown to have distinctive features and uses. For example, Backhaus (2008) found that language choice on top-down signs "is determined by power relations, whereas nonofficial [i.e., bottom-up] signs tend to make use of foreign languages in order to express solidarity" (Backhaus 2008:62). Additionally, as Ben-Rafael points out, "Top-down items are designed by experts appointed by functionaries and are committed to serve official policies and the 'dominant culture', that is the culture represented by authorities" whereas "bottom up signs are designed much more freely by autonomous actors" (Ben-Rafael 2008:49).

This paper is organized in two parts. The first part is based on data collected from Kumkapı in January 2017 for the original 2016-2917 study of ten linguistic landscapes of Istanbul (Wendel 2017). The second part reports on data collected anew from Kumkapı in July 2018 and includes an evaluation of the changes that have taken place in the district during the 17 month interval between visits.

**The original survey (January 2017): Methods and Procedures**

The two research questions for the original survey were, (1) What are the linguistic landscapes of present-day Istanbul? and (2) What processes are shaping Istanbul's linguistic landscapes? As one of the chosen districts for the original linguistic

landscape study, all signs along the main commercial street in Kumkapı were documented and analyzed. The study area comprised about 700m along sections of three streets: Sevgi Sok., Molla Taşı Cad., and Katip Kasım Cami Cad. A sign was considered, as in Backhaus' (2007) study, to be "any piece of written text within a definable frame" (2007:66). In total, 327 signs were collected in Kumkapı. (Table 1).

**Results and discussion (January 2017)**

As Table 1 shows, monolingual Turkish signs dominated the Kumkapi landscape with 74% percent of the total number of signs, of which 15 were top-down—mainly street signs. English did not account for a great share of the total signs: 23 bilingual Turkish and English signs (all of them commercial) and 14 monolingual English signs (again, all commercial signage).

Table 1. Language and agency breakdown for Kumkapi (Jan 2017)

|  | Turkish | Turk + Eng | English | Other |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Top Down | 15 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 15 (5%) |
| Bottom Up | 226 | 23 | 14 | 47 | 312 (95%) |
| Totals | 241 (74%) | 23 (7%) | 14 (4%) | 49 (15%) | 327 (100%) |

The "Other" category in Table 1 consists of (a) monolingual signs in any languages except Turkish or English, and (b) signs having two or more languages in any combination apart from Turkish/English bilingual signs. The 'Other' category included the following languages: Turkish, English, Russian, Arabic, Uzbek, Uygur, Amharic, Armenian, and French for a total of nine languages found in the Kumkapı linguistic landscape. A breakdown by overall frequency of appearance of languages on the signs appears in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of appearance of languages (Jan 2017)

| Language | Freq | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Turkish | 274 | 83.79 |
| English | 53 | 16.21 |
| Russian | 18 | 5.50 |
| Arabic | 15 | 4.59 |
| Uzbek | 7 | 2.14 |
| Uygur | 5 | 1.53 |
| Amharic | 5 | 1.53 |
| Armenian | 4 | 1.22 |
| French | 2 | 0.61 |

Russian and Arabic are significant languages in Kumkapı because each is a potential lingua franca: Russian for ethnic Russians and Central Asians; Arabic for ethnic Arabs and North Africans. The Russian and Arabic signs were associated mainly with beauty salons or 'room for rent' signs. Uzbek and Uygur are both Turkic languages and can be considered as of a piece with the Central Asian boom in Kumkapı: in each case, these signs were associated with restaurants or 'for rent' signs. There is a community of Ethiopians who live in or visit the district which accounts for Amharic signs (Figure 1); all instances of Amharic were associated with one beauty salon and included five Amharic monolingual or English-Amharic bilingual signs. Armenian

was found on four signs, all of them associated with the Armenian Patriarchate and immediate surroundings—not one of them serve a commercial function. Rather these signs function as information markers for tourists or to provide onlookers with the name of the Armenian architect of a building. The two appearances of French deserve mention: French appeared on a Turkish-Russian-Arabic-French Telecom store sign announcing international money transfers; French was also on a bilingual English-French 'help wanted' sign (see Figure 2) in a beauty salon store-window. Both the French and English in this sign are non-standard (English: "Help Wanted" instead of the "Vacancy"; French: "Recherche Une Coiffeuse" instead of "Recherche Dune Coiffeuse"). The fact that a number of bottom-up monolingual and bilingual signs in languages other than Turkish appear in Kumkapı is indicative of the multi-ethnic mix of the residents and visitors to this district.



Figure 1. Amharic beauty salon sign

There is one glaring absence in Table 2, that of Zazaki. Although the streets of Kumkapı are alive with children shouting and playing in Zazaki and with adults negotiating their purchases in the markets in Zazaki, I have never seen one Zazaki sign in Kumkapı or, for that matter, anywhere around Istanbul in all of my walks spanning several years. (This condition prevails in the city in which Eraydin et. al. (2017:29) claim that "around 20% of Istanbul's residents are Kurdish.") The absence of Zazaki representations has to do with the long history of conflict between the Turkish and Kurdish communities, and with Turkish laws and prohibitions against the use Kurdish institutionally, commercially, or in the public sphere (Haig 2003).

Figure 2.  'Vacancy' sign in English and French

Most striking about the linguistic landscape of Kumkapı in January 2017 was the large number of 'for rent' signs (with associated contact information) taped, pasted, tacked, stapled or glued to walls, fences, lamp-posts or any available public surface along the streets surveyed. These signs were mostly printed by computer on B4 or A3 white copy paper. In total, there were 73 'for rent' signs—all monolingual.  Of these, 65 (89%) were in Turkish, 4 in Russian, 3 in Uzbek, and 1 in Arabic. A content analysis revealed that 25% of the Turkish signs specifically targeted Central Asians by including in the announcements the Turkish words for 'foreigner' (*yabanci*), Uzbek (*Üzbek*), or Turkmen (*Türkmen*)—see Figure 3 for an example. Of course, the Russian and Uzbek signs targeted Russian and Uzbek audiences. These facts suggest that Uzbeks and other Central Asian populations are settling into the district, that this district is a 'first arrival' destination for many such migrants, that there likely are communication networks in place in Kumkapı for both migrants and Turkish owners, and that there is an underground market for rooms and apartments in Kumkapı.


Figure 3.  Turkish sign targeting foreigner renters, 'yabanci'

Wherefore an underground market? First of all, the signs themselves are made of flimsy, impermanent material: white copy paper. Wind, rain, and the competition for space (evidenced by the signs that had been torn off or overlaid by newer signs on building or fence surfaces) to display one's sign meant that any given sign had a very short life. For the above reasons, just as these signs are easy to make, they are easy to destroy. They are also inexpensive to make and require nothing more than a piece of paper and a black pen, in the case of hand-written signs.

In the volatile political, social, and economic climate of present-day Istanbul and Turkey, the above features work considerably to the advantage of both the owners and candidate renters. For one thing, in the past five years, there has been an explosion in the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers (particularly from war-torn Syria), economic migrants, and transients attempting to pass through Turkey into Europe. Tens of thousands of these migrants make their way to or through Istanbul (Eraydin 2017), stretching social services and local good-will. Many of these migrants have a valid visa status, but for most, their visa status is uncertain or they are simply undocumented. In other words, most migrants do not have the documentation required for legal residence in Turkey, and therefore they have no bank account, no Turkish tax number, and no local identification. Migrants in such circumstances benefit by not having to show locally valid ID to the owners, not having to conclude formal leases, and have the chance to barter their labor in exchange for housing (many of the 'for rent' signs, in addition to announcing available rooms, also announce available work: "*iş var*" or 'there is work'). For their part, the owners enjoy the similar flexibility in that they do not have to conclude formal leases contracts, they do not have to pay taxes on any financial gains, they have the opportunity to exploit vulnerable migrants having uncertain residence status, and most importantly, their arrangements are advertized and conducted through channels that are 'quiet', easily go unnoticed, ephemeral (literally, the signs are 'gone with the wind'), and best of all, leave no trace for the authorities. Even in today's digital world, when the circumstances oblige, there are unforeseen opportunities for the old-fashioned Guttenberg way securing lodging.

**The second survey (July 2018): Methods and Procedures**

For the second survey, I documented signage along the same Kumkapı streets as in the first January 2017 survey—amounting to a 17 month interval between visits. But for this second survey, I documented only the 'for rent' signs for several reasons. For one, as above, 'for rent' signs are an optimum vehicle in the linguistic landscape for evaluating demographic movements. Also, as the materials used are short lived, I was interested to see if a whole new set of signs had been posted. Thirdly, this was an opportunity to provide time depth to one district from the original study, something that is not often done in linguistic landscape research. In addition to the 'for rent' signs, however, I also noted other things relevant to the investigation of superdiversity that were found in the self-same locations as the 'for rent' signs. I also took note of new restaurants which I found along the same streets. My research questions were, (1) What differences, if any, can be found across the two 'for rent' data sets collected in Kumkapı? and, (2) How can any such differences be explained?

**Results and discussion (July 2018)**

As Table 3 shows, the second survey yielded 133 'for rent' signs, nearly twice the number as the January 2017 survey. The most interesting change to note, however, is in the languages on the signs. Whereas in January 2017, Turkish signs comprised 89% of the total, in July 2018, it was Uzbek signs that represented the greater share with 65%. How can this difference be explained?

Table 3. Results for Kumkapi 'for rent' signs across visits

|  | **January 2017** | **July 2018** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total signs** | 73=N | 133=N |
| **Turkish** | 65 (89%) | 49 (37%) |
| Printed | 63 | 35 |
| Hand | 2 | 14 |
| **Uzbek** | 3 (4%) | 83 (63%) |
| *Uzbek, Latin* | 0 | 37 |
| Printed | 0 | 33 |
| Hand | 0 | 4 |
| *Uzbek, Cyrillic* | 0 | 46 |
| Printed | 0 | 9 |
| Hand | 3 | 37 |
| **Russian** (hand) | 4 (5%) | 0 |
| **Arabic** (script) | 1 (1%) | 1 (<1.0%) |

The first question to address is that of agency: in other words, who is making and posting the signs? The Turkish signs, we can assume are made and posted by Turkish owners who are specifically targeting, as above, foreigners. What about the Uzbek signs? Reason itself dictates that it couldn't be the Uzbeks themselves who are renting their own properties, and therefore, Uzbeks are not the makers of the Uzbek signs. A closer examination of the signs themselves, to which we next turn, offers clues.

In the first survey, there were only three Uzbek signs in the Cyrillic script, all handwritten. Data from the second survey is more complex. We find not only handwritten and printed signs, but also Uzbek signs in both the Latin and Cyrillic script. What governs the choice of script (Latin vs. Cyrillic) and mode of production (printed vs. handwritten)? Based on the data above, we can discern a pattern. If the Uzbek signs are written in the Latin alphabet, they will be printed by computer nine times out of ten (89% of the time); if the signs are rendered in Cyrillic, they will be handwritten eight times out of ten (80% of the time). What might explain this choice? Printing the Uzbek signs in the Latin alphabet is an easy thing to do as owners can use their Turkish keyboard (see Figure 4). Cyrillic is a different matter, and the owners seem not to have access to keyboard software for Cyrillic as 37 of the Cyrillic signs are handwritten while only 9 are printed.
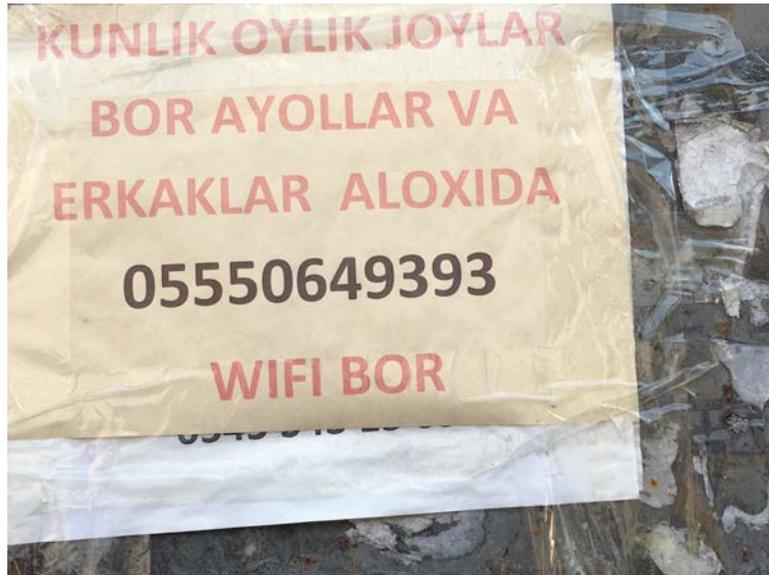
Figure 4. Uzbek sign printed in Latin alphabet

In fact, many of the Cyrillic handwritten signs display features suggesting that they were written by non-native writers (see Figure 5). These signs display a clumsiness and a labored effort reminiscent of children learning the first letters of their alphabet. The conclusion is that many of the handwritten Cyrillic signs, in fact, are written by Turkish owners. Following on this conclusion, it is also likely that the few handwritten Cyrillic signs featuring a 'native' hand were written by Uzbeks on behalf of Turkish owners. In addition, 33% of the Turkish signs specifically targeted foreigners, Uzbeks, or Turkmens; and even the signs written in Uzbek targeted "Uzbeks" in 25 out of the 83 signs, that is 30% of the time.
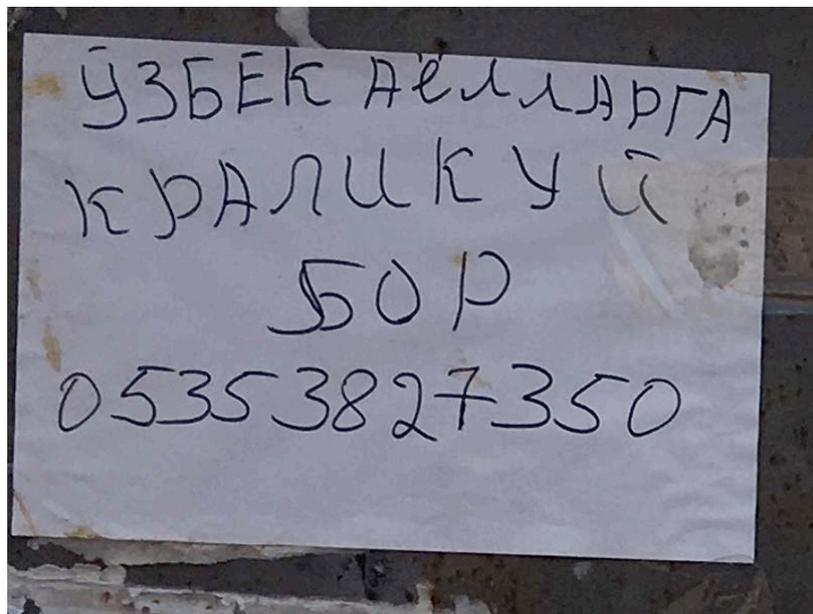

Figure 5. Uzbek sign: Non-native hand

Interestingly, many of the Uzbek signs evidence Turkish-Uzbek language mixing and non-standard usages. Uzbek and Turkish are both Turkic languages and quite similar in both syntax and morphology; further, the essential vocabulary words used in 'for rent' signs are cognates (example: the expressions for *by the day*, *by the month*, and

*work* in Turkish are <u>günlük</u>, <u>ayık</u>, <u>iş</u>; in Uzbek: <u>kunlik</u>, <u>oylik</u>, <u>ish</u>). Yet we find cases where the author is using the incorrect plural ending for the associated noun in Uzbek. For example in Figure 6, the word for *men* in Turkish is <u>erkekler</u>, in Uzbek is it <u>erkaklar</u>; but the author has written <u>erkakler</u> connecting the Uzbek word for *man* (<u>erkak</u>) with the incorrect Turkish plural ending (-<u>ler</u>)—and violating the rule for vowel harmony, one of the defining characteristics of the Turkic languages. In another example in Figure 6, the word for *work* in Turkish is <u>iş</u>, in Uzbek it is written as <u>ish</u>, but the author has spelled out the word in Turkish <u>iş</u>—even though the sign is intended to be Uzbek. These confoundings are mere details and there is no doubt that Uzbek audiences can read and understand such signs. The point is, these non-standard usages reveal the Turkish authorship behind Uzbek signs, not only the handwritten Cyrillic signs, but also those printed in the Latin alphabet. Most fascinating, however, is the evidence of such language contact phenomena which deserves a deeper analysis than can be included in the present discussion.



Figure 6. Uzbek sign with errors and language mixing

But the question remains, why write in Uzbek at all? Why not write signs in Turkish as did 89% of the authors of 'for rent' signs in January 2017? Why would Turkish sign makers take the trouble to write in a language not their own? To address this issue, we must turn to two matters: script reform in Uzbekistan following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the symbolic capital of script itself.

Very briefly, in 1929, most Central Asian soviet republics, including Uzbekistan, decided (with Soviet encouragement) to change from Arabic script to the Latin alphabet. Under a Russification campaign in the early 1940s, however, the Soviet government mandated a changeover from the Latin to the Cyrillic alphabet. Following independence in 1991, the Uzbekistani government in 1993 reintroduced the Latin alphabet, the whole process of derussification to be completed by 2010. This process has been slow and the government has not instituted strict language policies, allowing for a more lax, evolutionary process to take place in lieu of top-down enforcement. As a result, today the Cyrillic alphabet "is widely used in public and political life" (Topilov 2017). In sum, Uzbekistan has had four alphabets in 80 years. Although both

the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets continue to be used in government and commercial publications, and on commercial signs in Uzbekistan, the direction of change is towards eventual Latinization of the writing system. In the meantime, as one observer has put it, "A stranger or foreigner in Uzbekistan will be hard pressed to tell what script in this country is official. All street signs from billboards to posters to signboards to road signs offer a staggering hodgepodge of languages and alphabetic notations" (Sharifov 2007).

As far as symbolic capital is concerned, the choice of national language and script are matters of great importance for all nations, particularly newly emergent nations. National languages and their writing systems reach deeply in matters of ethnicity, identity and the founding of national ideologies. In addition to establishing titular languages (and also moving to English as the new lingua franca), former Soviet republics such as Moldova, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan have shifted away from Cyrillic script to the Latin alphabet since the Soviet dissolution. They do so in part to make a clear symbolic break away from their past status as Soviet-ruled dependencies, and in part to align themselves with Latin-based Western economies and cultures.

What do the above considerations imply, if anything, for language and script choice of the 'for rent' signs in Kumkapı? First, the perceptions among Turkish sign makers may be that although both Turkish and Uzbek are acceptable, and although (as we have seen) if writing in Uzbek, both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets are in practice acceptable, it is more efficient and friendlier to write in the Uzbek language, and further, to use the Cyrillic alphabet, the 'authentic', as it were, script of the Uzbek people.

At this point in the discussion, it is useful to recall Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) three principles regarding language choice for signage in multilingual environments.

1. Write in a language you know.
2. Prefer to write in a language that your readers are able to read.
3. Prefer to write in your own language or a language with which you wish to be identified.

The first is a skill-based condition and explains why there may be errors when non-native speakers compose signs in a language they may not know well. The second is also directly relevant to the present study. The Turkish owners are targeting Uzbeks to fill their vacant rooms and apartments, so why not display the for rent signs in their language. And to sweeten the deal, so to speak, why not write in a script that is closer to the Uzbek's heart: the Latin alphabet speaks to the mind of the Uzbek, might go Turkish perceptions, but the Cyrillic alphabet speaks to the heart. This takes us to the third of Spolsky and Cooper's principles, what they have called the "symbolic value condition" (Spolsky 2009:33) in which the choice of language itself is the significant message and takes precedence over the informational content of the sign. In this case, writing in the Latin, but especially the Cyrillic alphabet, conveys the welcoming message that, 'Uzbek people, language and culture are valued here', or in the spirit of post-modern commercialism, "We speak your language!" Of course, having the signs posted in Uzbek increases the chances that interested Uzbeks will fill their vacancies before they turn to owners who have posted their signs unilingually in Turkish.

Imagine yourself in a similar situation: which of two landlords would be more attractive to you, the one who wrote in his own language or the one who attempts, no matter how clumsily, to appeal to you in your language?

Finally, a word about what these two sets of 'for rent' sign suggest with respect to superdiversity. Not only the increase in numbers of 'for rent' signs over a 17-month interval, but also the emerging sophistication of the advertizing market (in terms of language and script choice) strongly suggest that greater numbers of Uzbeks (and perhaps other Central Asian migrants) are settling into the neighborhood and that the migrant communication networks are expanding. There is also additional evidence that supports this conclusion. In the first survey, I found only one Uzbek restaurant and one Pakistani restaurant along the indicated streets; on the second visit, I counted two Pakistani restaurants, one Turkmen, and six Uzbek restaurants. I also found signs advertising for baby-sitting services (see Figure 7) and signs announcing the opening of a kindergarten for Uzbek children (both signs are in Uzbek, printed in Cyrillic). These baby-sitting and kindergarten signs, I assume, were posted by enterprising Uzbeks seizing opportunities to provide services for newly arrived parents who need care for their children during business hours. It is obvious that Kumkapı continues to function as a superdiversity district. Clearly, the sociolinguistic regime of this district is complex, not wholly Turkish, and includes communities of speakers from Central Asian and African origins.



Figure 7. Uzbek sign for baby-sitting services

## 4. Conclusion

This study has considered the historical district of Kumkapı in Istanbul to demonstrate a useful role for linguistic landscape analyses in documenting  superdiversity. 'For rent' signs are an ideal instrument for assessing population movements in urban centers. The profusion of such signs posted around the streets of Kumkapı points to an active and changeable underground market for lodging. In particular, having the majority of signs most recently posted in Uzbek shows that these migrants are favored renters, no doubt in part because the owners and renters have many things in common: religion and shared roots in both culture and language. It is clear that linguistic landscape analyses that take a quantitative approach can generate insights into the dynamics of superdiversity; but it is also just as clear that undertaking an ethnography focusing on individual communicative practices in Kumkapı would be a hugely rewarding and insightful endeavor (as in Blommaert 2013).

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