ITALIAN LINGUISTIC SCHOOLSCAPE IN BUDAPEST: A CASE STUDY

Máté Huber, *Andrea Zentainé Kollár*[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

Bilingual programs occupy a special place in Hungarian public education, as the students studying in these programs do not only have a high number of lessons in the chosen foreign language, but also study some subjects in this language, thus their foreign language competences also extend to certain specialised areas and subject content by the end of their studies (Vámos, 1998). This framework has become established in the literature of glottodidactics under the name *Content and Language Integrated Learning*, or CLIL for short (Bognár, 2005), and it is currently a highly promoted methodological approach in the European Union, which is not only recommended for bilingual classrooms, but also for the purpose of enabling students to learn languages at a much higher level than usual without increasing the time spent studying at school (Huszthy, 2024).

Bilingual schools in Hungary have a very special characteristic; the schools and their teachers try to create a multilingual situation in such a way that outside the walls of the institution their students are socialized in a monolingual environment, so bilingualism is in fact an artificially created internal reality of the school, i.e. the institution is responsible for the development of all segments of communicative and intercultural competence. To create this special universe, a number of tools are available: specific curricula, teaching materials, school trips, international exchange programs, native speaker teachers and, last but not least, a physical environment that surrounds the pupils every day. By physical environment, we do not only mean textbooks and school furniture, but also the walls of the classroom, more specifically the signs, posters, aids, maps and student work displayed on them. In a bilingual classroom, increased attention can be paid to the verbal cues that are in the classroom every day in the students' field of vision. The importance of the function of signs on classroom walls and corridors is also emphasised by linguistic schoolscape researchers (Brown, 2005), since it is clear, especially in foreign language learning, that visual-verbal signs placed in the physical space surrounding the student, in addition to the teacher and the textbook, can also contribute greatly to enhancing learning outcomes (Szabó, 2017).

In the present research, we examine the linguistic schoolscape of a bilingual institution, focusing on the question of how the linguistic landscape of the school reflects the institutional presence of a language taught in a large number of lessons. Our study was conducted in two phases in a secondary school in Budapest: the Italian-Hungarian bilingual section of Szent László Gimnázium in the Kőbánya district. The first phase took place in the spring of 2024, during which an Italian teacher helped us to learn about the history of the school, the characteristics of the school and the current situation of the institution. Our results were published in a pilot study in 2024 (Huber, Zentainé Kollár,

[1] University of Szeged.

2024), and in the autumn of the same calendar year we returned to the school to collect further data relevant to our linguistic schoolscape research, and also conducted another interview, this time with one of the deputy heads of the institution. In the present study, adding to the preliminary results of the first phase of the research, we are now able to provide a complete picture of the linguistic landscape of the high school under study, as well as the views of the teachers of the school on the function and usefulness of linguistic schoolscape as a pedagogical tool.

The school in our study was one of the first in Hungary to establish an Italian-Hungarian bilingual section. Szent László Gimnázium (formerly known as László I. Gimnázium) in Budapest's Kőbánya district started its first bilingual class on an experimental basis in 1988. In the first preparatory year of the five-year course, students learn Italian in 18 lessons a week, and in the following years they study Italian civilisation, geography, history, art history and mathematics in this language. In the school year 2023/24, there was a total of 150 students in the program, taught by 14 Italian teachers, three of whom were native speakers.

The popularity of the bilingual section and the Italian language in the institution has been continuous since the beginning, in line with national trends (Zentainé Kollár, 2022; Horváth, 2023), as evidenced by the success of the bilingual class every year.

2. CONTEXT

Before presenting our research project in detail, it is worth briefly reviewing the most important historical and statistical data and characteristics of Italian language education in Hungary. In the Hungarian education system today, the presence of Italian is strongest in state high schools. This has historical reasons, as a hundred years ago, in 1924, the Hungarian Minister of Education, Kunó Klebelsberg, developed a public education reform plan, one of the most important objectives of which was to make it possible to learn Italian, French, or English in state high schools in addition to the compulsory German and Latin (Horváth, 2022). Klebelsberg was convinced that learning Italian was essential for understanding European culture (Klebelsberg, 1927). After the minister's bill was approved by parliament, the first high school classes in which students could learn Italian as a second foreign language were launched in 1925. Of course, Italian language teaching already had a long tradition in church institutions and universities by then (Farkis, 2021), however, thanks to Klebelsberg's law of public education, Italian also found its place in state schools. The socialist regime banned the teaching of so-called Western languages for a few years in the 1950s, but with the softening of the dictatorship, English, French, and Italian became part of the curriculum again (Pelles, 2006).

In Hungary today, secondary education is divided into three branches; in vocational and trade schools, learning one foreign language is compulsory, while in grammar schools, students choose two foreign languages. The first foreign language, which students begin learning at the age of ten, can only be English or German, while the second foreign language can be chosen depending on which languages are offered in the school's educational program. Currently, there are 226,000 students enrolled in 880 secondary schools in Hungary, of whom 17,438 chose Italian in 2024[2]. There are currently 200 secondary schools offering Italian, with approximately 300 Italian teachers (Kollár, 2024). Summarizing the national data, we can say that every fourth Hungarian secondary school offers the opportunity to learn Italian, and 7.8% of students take advantage of this opportunity. The vast majority of students learn their second foreign language in three

[2] Central Bureau of Statistics database: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/okt/hu/okt0016.html.

lessons per week, which means that they attend approximately 400 language lessons during their four years of secondary school. However, many schools also offer extended hours of instruction, and in fact, many schools offer the option of enrolling in bilingual classes. Italian- Hungarian bilingual programs are currently offered by three schools in Hungary: one in Budapest, the capital, one in Pécs, and one in Debrecen.

The Szent László High School of Kőbánya, which this study focuses on, offers several other specializations in addition to the Italian bilingual program, so the Italian program is only one of six parallel classes operating at the school. Most of the school's students come from the Kőbánya district of the capital, and the number of native Italian-speaking students is very low. The Italian program is operated by the Hungarian state, but the school has a wide network of contacts in Italy. The institution is very proud that Aldo Moro, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited their school in 1974, and that Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, then President of the Republic of Italy, visited the high school in 1997[3].

Two Hungarian teachers of Italian participated in our research. The first interview was conducted with a young teacher with ten years of teaching experience, who, in addition to teaching Italian, also practices bibliotherapy. The second interview was with a colleague in her fifties who has been teaching Italian, Latin, and Geography for thirty years. She is currently the head of the Italian department of the school, and one of the institution's deputy principals.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC SCHOOLSCAPES

By now, a plethora of case studies have contributed to broadening the scope of linguistic landscape (LL) research toward pedagogical contexts (cf. Brown, 2012; Szabó, 2015; Laihonen, Tódor, 2017; Amara, 2018 etc.). Among others, Gorter and Cenoz (2015) highlight the role of LL in shaping diverse social spaces and the formation and expression of identities. More recently, drawing on the groundbreaking observations of these studies, entire edited volumes have been published on the topic of linguistic schoolscapes, including Malinowski *et al.* (2020), who explore how linguistic landscapes can be used as a resource for language teaching, emphasizing the pedagogical potential of engaging students with the semiotic environment around them. Taking this framework a step further, Melo-Pfeifer (2023) focuses on the role of LL in shaping language and teacher education, and highlights how both the physical and symbolic dimensions of schoolscapes contribute to language learning and multilingual awareness in the context of language as well as teacher education.

Within this expanding body of research, scholars have proposed various classifications of signs. To start with, Gorter and Cenoz (2015) distinguish between top-down signs, produced by official institutions such as school administrations, and bottom-up signs, created by individuals or grassroots actors, including students. Both of these can obviously be found in the school context under study in the present paper.

Amara (2018) adds further granularity to this distinction by introducing further categories, such as official, commercial, and grassroots signs, thereby highlighting the diverse actors contributing to the linguistic landscape, which is also true with respect to the school context at hand. Additionally, Savela (2018) proposes a highly complex system of categorization involving administrative, linguistic, multimodal, agency, function, as well as spatial categories, and conducting multidimensional data analysis across these dimensions. This illustrates how different analytical lenses – such as authorship, function,

[3] Data on the school are taken from the interviews as well as from the institution's website: https://www.szlgbp.hu/nappali/intezmeny_tortenete/.

modality, or pedagogical use – can illuminate complementary aspects of the linguistic schoolscape. The present study builds on these frameworks by paying attention to all of the aforementioned factors when it comes to the interpretation of signs in the schoolscape of the institution under study, addressing specific bilingual dynamics in the Hungarian–Italian educational context.

4. HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Taking into account the institutional background described above, the hypothesis of our research was that Italian would play a dominant role in the linguistic schoolscape of the high school under study, especially concerning signs that are connected to the everyday life of the school, as well as student projects (cf. Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024). We therefore expected that the school would show a tendency to exploit the pedagogical potential offered by linguistic schoolscape in the field of Italian language teaching. However, this hypothesis was – at least partially – refuted in our pilot study in 2024, which is the antecedent of the present research. We concluded then that, although the role of Italian is indeed significant in the linguistic landscape of the school under study, the Italian presence is far from being dominant, and the pedagogical–methodological potential offered by the linguistic schoolscape needs to be significantly improved (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024). In the present paper, we report on the results of our fieldwork in the autumn of 2024, as a continuation of the research conducted in the spring of 2024, seeking to find out to what extent the preliminary results are modified by the data collected in the continuation.

5. METHOD

In both spring and autumn 2024, we used Szabó's (2016) tourist guide technique for data collection, combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in a triangulation approach, which allowed us to analyse the linguistic schoolscape of the institution in question in a complex way, thus arriving at more complex results and exploring more diverse interpretative possibilities, as suggested by Savela (2018). In the spring, we were shown around the school by a young Italian teacher, while in the autumn we were shown around by an experienced Italian teacher, who is also the deputy head of the institution and therefore had a different perspective from her young colleague. In line with the principles set out by Szabó (2016), both teachers selected for the interview have a deep knowledge of the school, as they spend their workdays there, but we believe that the fact that the two colleagues have a very different internal perspective, one as a young teacher and the other as a deputy head, adds significantly to the depth of our qualitative observations.

An important element of Szabó's (2016) tourist guide technique is that, while the local teacher is showing the visitors around the institution, he or she is constantly telling them about the school, its daily life and the role of the linguistic schoolscape in it. So, in fact, while the photographs taken in the institution (in our case a total of 130 pictures) provide a clear opportunity for a quantitative analysis, the comments and the narrative of the teacher from an insider's point of view - like an interview - open up the possibility of a qualitative analysis.

In our pilot study (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024), we reported on the results of the first data collection in the spring of 2024, which this research complements with the findings of our visit in the autumn of 2024. During the first visit, 61 pictures were taken,

but at that time part of the building was closed due to the graduation exams that were being administered on that day. As a result, we had to return in the autumn, when we added another 69 images to the existing database, bringing the total to 130 pictures, which were taken in various parts of the school, including the classrooms, the staff room, the hallways, the entrance of the building, the school cafeteria, and so on, encompassing the entirety of the institution. These images were categorised according to the content of the signs and also according to the language(s) in them. The results of this categorisation will be reported in detail in a later subsection of the present paper. It is important to note that the number of pictures does not correspond to the number of signs captured in them, as in some cases there are several signs in the same picture. However, there are no photos showing signs in different languages, as the dataset is intended to reflect the clear-cut separation of languages that was observable in the school, indicative of a strongly monoglossic perspective.

The categorisation and interpretation of the pictures was complemented by an analysis of the interviews, one of which lasted approximately 40 minutes and the other approximately 75 minutes. The texts were analysed using the qualitative content analysis software *Taguette*, following the research methodology guidelines recommended by Schreier (2013). Once the interviews were transcribed, they were read and re-read in order to gain a deeper understanding of their content, and finally, the coding was performed - inductively for the first interview and deductively for the second. This meant that, while in the first interview, we created the codes (i.e. the important thematic units and thematic foci of the interview) while reading the transcript, in the second interview we had the coding frame (the set of codes from the first interview) at our disposal, and we worked on the basis of this code frame in a concept-driven way, assigning new coded interview segments to the existing codes.

The resulting coding frame contained the following elements (cf. Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024):

1. digital language use
2. history of the school
3. everyday life
4. subject-related signs
5. personal opinions, attitudes, and practices.

These were the main themes that emerged again and again in the interviews, and to these we assigned coded segments (interview excerpts) in which one of the teachers expresses her thoughts on the theme. Among these coded segments, there were short, one- or two-sentence segments, but there were also quite long ones, where the interviewee talked about the topic for several minutes. With this in mind, and also due to the qualitative nature of this segment of the research, we do not quantify the number of interview segments assigned to a given code in this analysis, as such a figure would be irrelevant to the interpretation of the data, and often even misleading (cf. Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024).

6. RESULTS

In what follows, we attempt to present the results of our empirical research. The first subsection deals with the results of the quantitative and the second with the results of the qualitative segment. It is important to mention that compared to the pilot study (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024), the qualitative segment is rather new, while the quantitative

segment confirms and deepens our previous results with an increased number of elements (from 61 to 130 pictures).

6.1. *Results of the quantitative segment*

At first glance, the quantitative results show that the potential of the linguistic schoolscape is exploited only to a rather limited extent in the institution under study, as suggested by the small numbers in Table 1. The possible reasons for this are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Table 1. *Number and language breakdown of pictures by category*

	HUNGARIAN	ITALIAN	ENGLISH
Signs connected to everyday school life	60	2	7
Student projects	12	9	5
Tourism-related cultural materials and maps	8	1	4
Certificates	3	3	0
Inscriptions relating to the history of the school	3	0	0
Official signs, regulations	6	0	0
Language teaching materials	0	0	7
Total	92 (pictures)	15 (pictures)	23 (pictures)

The predominance of Hungarian signs is clearly visible in Table 1: a total of 92 photos were taken of Hungarian signs, compared to 15 of Italian and 23 of English inscriptions. The difference is particularly striking in the area of school life (cf. Picture 1), where there are 60 images of Hungarian signs and only 9 of foreign ones, but the situation is similar for official signs and regulations, as well as inscriptions on the history of the school, where all the signs are in Hungarian without exception (cf. Picture 2).

Picture 1. *A sign instructing students not to leave their gym class equipment on the floor of the hallway (in Hungarian)*

Picture 2. *A sign commemorating teachers, students, and janitors of the school who died in the first World War (in Hungarian)*

Most of these are signs that students need to be able to interpret quickly, and since the vast majority of students in this institution are native Hungarian speakers, the predominance of Hungarian in these categories is justified, even though we believe that there would be many opportunities for a greater proportion of foreign languages in these areas - especially in the case of signs relating to the history of the school, given the regular foreign visitors, exchange students and the like.

Contrary to the above, foreign languages play a much greater role in the case of the student projects displayed, with 12 images of signs in Hungarian, 9 in Italian (as exemplified by Picture 3 below), and 5 in English. This confirms Badstübner-Kizik and Janíková's (2018) as well as Gorter's (2018) ideas about the multiple possibilities of using

the linguistic schoolscape in language teaching, but also, as the numbers are still rather low, it highlights once again the under-utilisation of these opportunities in the institution under study. This will be explored further int he qualitative component of the present research.

Picture 3. *An Italian student project displayed in the school*

A separate category was devoted to materials related to language teaching, which mainly included posters by language textbook publishers. We found only English (as seen in Picture 4) – there were no examples of Italian, which illustrates the different position of English and other foreign languages in the Hungarian education system. While institutional teaching of English is supported by a well-developed textbook publishing infrastructure – be it textbooks, learning aids or even the organisation of training courses – this is much less the case for other languages, which means that if a Spanish or Italian teacher wants to put up Spanish or Italian materials on the walls of their classroom, they are much more likely to rely on self-made posters, student projects, infographics, etc, than an English teacher who is more likely to get such materials ready-made from publishers. On the one hand, this places an extra burden on colleagues teaching these languages, but on the other hand, it can be seen as an opportunity, as they are more likely to exploit the diverse pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape in their institution (as described by Badstübner-Kizik, Janíková, 2018, and Gorter, 2018).

Picture 4. *An English language learning poster*

6.2. *Results of the qualitative analysis*

Compared to the above, a lot more new observations are made in the qualitative segment of the study in comparison with the pilot project, although here we also build to a large extent on the preliminary results (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024). In what follows, we assign to each code a few selected interview excerpts that are typical for that code in some respect, and use them to present our results for that code. As the original interviews were conducted in Hungarian, we translated the transcripts into English, and it is these English translations that are included here.

6.2.1. *The history of the school*

> Recently, we have become accustomed to naming classrooms after former teachers. This one was named after Lóránt Pálmai, who actually taught very little here, then he taught at university, but his wife worked here, and he also came back to us a lot to organise competitions, school house competitions, and after he died, we named this room after him, this mathematics room, and then we placed this memorial plaque here in his memory... (I2)

> It was called Szent László Gimnázium, and then it became László I Gimnázium during the socialist times, and then it became the Szent László Gimnázium again. It was built in Hungarian Art Nouveau style, which can be seen in the decorations, the floral, folk motifs, and on the floor, too, if you look at the owls and the depictions of the Danube. (I1)

While this theme is not always directly related to the linguistic schoolscape, it is important to highlight that both interviewees mentioned different aspects of the school's history on several occasions. The first of the two excerpts above gives an example of a statement made in relation to a specific inscription, a plaque to be precise, while the second provides some art historical background in relation to the school building itself. Since both types of coded segments – i.e. those related to a specific inscription and those about the history of the school in general – were relatively frequent in the interviews, we thought it important to illustrate each of them with an example above – also highlighting the hybridisation of linguistic and non-linguistic signs, as the two are often in fact indistinguishable from each other, which is a very important premise in linguistic landscape studies (cf. Otsuji-Pennycook, 2013; Pütz-Mundt, 2018; Rubdy, 2013).

6.2.2. *Everyday life*

> Maybe we can check the cafeteria to see if there are only official inscriptions or any other things. (I1)

> On the first Thursday of every month, a small concert is held in the assembly hall during recess, featuring teachers and children, about 10-15 minutes, some music and singing, and everyone can come. (I2)

In this code, i.e. the theme of everyday life in the school, we have included a very large number of interview fragments dealing with different sub-themes, reflecting the complexity of everyday life in a secondary school, a complexity that inevitably appears in the linguistic schoolscape. This code contains the largest number of coded segments, which provides an excellent illustration of the importance of the topic, although, as mentioned earlier, this is not the most important aspect of our analysis in this qualitatively oriented component, but it is also an obvious consequence of the very heterogeneous thematic distribution of the coded segments associated with it. The first quote highlighted above, for example, is intended to illustrate the many occasions that our interviewees commented on specific rooms, corridors or parts of the building, such as the canteen in this case, while walking around the school building. In the second excerpt, then, the deputy head of the school talks about an event that is held in the school on a monthly basis, and there were posters on the walls of the corridors, bringing this event to people's attention.

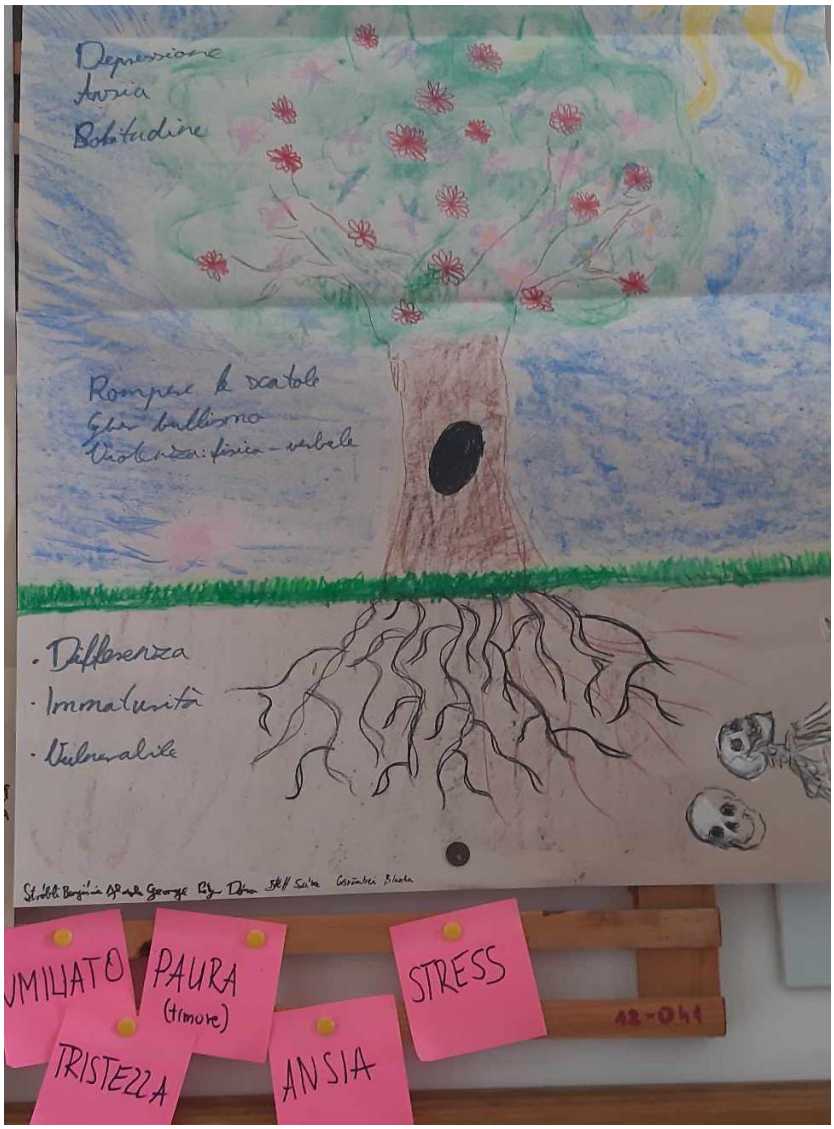
6.2.3. *Subject-related signs*

> There are a lot of student projects displayed here; for instance I had one group do that one on [bullismo]. (I1)

> This is student work. We teach geography in Italian, and when we teach geography, this is how we do it, or at least when I taught it, this is how we did it, so that a group ... got it and then they had to make a tableau of it, and then they had to make some of these ... and then they had to stand up and perform it. (I2)

It has been mentioned earlier that the Italian materials in the linguistic schoolscape are often the students' own work. This finding is refined by the second interview extract above, which shows that these materials are often not primarily related to Italian language teaching, but to other subjects which are, at the same time, taught in Italian in bilingual classes, in accordance with the principles of CLIL.

Picture 5. *An Italian student project*



It should also be noted that Italian lessons – and other subjects taught in Italian – are rarely taught in the same room every day. It is much more common for Italian classes to have all their lessons in a different room, and for these rooms to be shared with other subjects, so it is not very common for a teacher to have the opportunity to design the decoration of a classroom and the visual aids placed there according to his or her own concept. However, it is clear from the above interview extracts that the linguistic schoolscape provides a great pedagogical toolbox for thematising different social issues as well as for achieving a greater subject focus by activating students to create something tangible (as exemplified by the student project shown in Picture 5, which is accompanied by a collection of useful Italian vocabulary items connected to the topic at hand).

6.2.4. *Personal opinions*, *attitudes*, *and practices*

> You can write on post-its and then stick them on the blackboard. It is also more colourful because not everyone writes on the blackboard in chalk, but it is more transparent, because the colours are differentiated and everyone's handwriting is visible (I1).

> This topic does not really arise at the level of the teaching staff, only regarding the prohibition not to display things, but as a possible methodological tool to display students' works or to engage them in a project or whatever, so it is not so much part of the methodological toolbox that we use the space, the walls. (I1)

> So I feel that it's also because everyone has a thousand side jobs, no time, we have to rush with the material. (I1)

> It's more important in the lower grades. Not here. It doesn't make them feel more at home, I think. ... It's not because we tell them it's not allowed. (I2)

Of the above interview excerpts, the first one reports on the interviewee's own pedagogical practice and the ephemeral emergence of the linguistic schoolscape in her use of the blackboard, which is also a relatively new horizon in lingustic schoolscape studies (Krompák, 2022), while the other three quotes focus more on teachers' personal opinions and attitudes regarding the pedagogical potential of the language landscape and its under-utilisation.

As for the first quote, it is particularly interesting to note that the linguistic landscape in schools can be manifested in short-lived classroom activities that do not necessarily leave a permanent imprint on the classroom walls, as they are removed from the walls or blackboard even before the end of the lesson, but are clearly an important part of the visual environment of the learning-teaching process and have a significant pedagogical function, be it in terms of visualisation, motivation or even mnemotechnical tools. This observation fully supports the findings of Bagna and Bellinzona (2022), Krompák (2022) and Malinowski *et al.* (2023), among others, regarding the temporary and dynamic nature of linguistic schoolscapes, sometimes with especially ephemeral elements (such as the post-it notes in the above interview excerpt), but at the same time with a high potential for activating learners.

The other three interviews are more concerned with the under-utilisation of the pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape, and more specifically with the possible reasons for it. The first interviewee (I1), on the one hand, refers to the teachers' overwork, lack of time and capacity, and, on the other hand, mentions the school administration's

prohibition of the use of posters and visual aids, citing the need to preserve the walls of the building. In contrast, the second interviewee (I2) expresses scepticism about the – perceived or real – age characteristics of the secondary school age group, and assumes that the linguistic landscape of the school is more relevant for primary school pupils. In the latter comment, a kind of egodefensive, external mechanism of appropriation is evident, whereby the respondent (I2), when examining the causes of the perceived problem (in this case, the low utilisation of the pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape), primarily focuses on aspects outside the individual, beyond herself (cf. Weiner-Graham, 1990: 467), while the other respondent (I1) also takes into account aspects within the school, including the situation, the personal attitudes and preferences of the teachers. However, what is certainly common to both interviewees' accounts is that they perceive and acknowledge the underexploited pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape.

6.2.5. *Digital language use*

> On messenger we are also now sending pictures related to the Palermo student exchange, and then I can see who is liking them. So now you can react to the messages and then you can also post something like "Please, if you read this, indicate it with an emoji" and then they will react with an emoji. (I1)

Although at first glance one might say that digital language use is not closely related to the topic of linguistic schoolscapes, we decided that it is worth devoting a separate code to it (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024), on the one hand because of the many occasions when digital language use was mentioned in the interviews, and on the other hand, because the functions of communication and information flow have been largely relocated from the old-fashioned, noticeboard-type information surfaces to the online space. Moradi and Chen (2019), Porter (2005) and Wolf (2012), among others, also argue for the inclusion of digital language use in institutional language teaching, since a significant part of language use outside school is also taking place online, and the teaching-learning process itself is increasingly shifting to various online platforms.

One manifestation of this can be found in the interview excerpt above: online interactions with learners are characterised by a high degree of hybridity and interactivity, a mix of linguistic and non-linguistic stimuli and the possibility of instantaneous responses, as opposed to the relatively clear and static nature of the traditional linguistic landscape in schools.

7. CONCLUSION

As we have already stated in the pilot study, our results clearly show that the pedagogical-methodological toolkit of the linguistic schoolscape is not widely used in the institution under study (Huber, Zentainé Kollár, 2024). The results of our fieldwork in the autumn of 2024, as a continuation of the spring data collection, primarily confirm and deepen the previous results, especially as regards the quantitative segment of the research - more than doubling the number of elements of the sample examined. On the basis of the above, we can therefore confirm the conclusion that, although Italian is noticeably present in the linguistic landscape of the school in question, this Italian presence is far from being dominant, and in fact it is not commensurate with the number of hours Italian is included in the school curriculum. It is also important to reiterate the finding that a

rather clear-cut separation of languages was observable in the school, which indicates a strongly monoglossic perspective on language education.

The qualitative segment of the research has produced several new follow-up results that complement the conclusions drawn in the previous phase. This confirms the importance of the methodological step of including two Italian teachers with very different perspectives in the interview data collection, thus broadening the interpretative horizon of our results. Among the conclusions that can be drawn is the hybridisation of linguistic and non-linguistic signs in the linguistic landscape of the school, whether digital or physical, as well as the cross-curricular presence of Italian-language student works as a result of the work of bilingual classes int he framework of CLIL, and the egodefensive, externalised mechanism of appropriation that emerges in the interviews when discussing possible explanations for the under-utilisation of the pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape.

Plans to continue this research include an investigation of the school's website and social media platforms, justified by the aforementioned proliferation of digital language use. We would also like to compare the results of our present study with those of other bilingual schools, particularly primary schools, as the interview data presented in this study suggest that the latter are more likely to exploit the pedagogical potential of the linguistic schoolscape than secondary schools.

Furthermore, we believe that a large-scale, mixed-methods study using questionnaire and interview data collection is warranted to explore teachers' as well as learners' perceptions of the potential of linguistic schoolscape for language pedagogy. Finally, in light of the present findings, we intend to propose teacher training on linguistic schoolscape as a pedagogical tool.

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