



vielseitig
prompt
gut



SIEGENDORFER ZUCKERFABRIK



FEINSTE RAFFINADE

HELMR - ZUCKER - WIEN 1.

Günstige Eigenschaften:
ausdauernd, willensstark, ernst,
schweigsam, klug

Ungünstige Eigenschaften:
harterzig, starkköpfig,
pessimistisch



HELMR - ZUCKER - WIEN 1.

Günstige Eigenschaften:
feinfühlig, friedfertig, heiter,
gemütvoll, medial veranlagt

Ungünstige Eigenschaften:
träumersch, innere Unruhe,
wenig Selbstvertrauen



HELMR - ZUCKER - WIEN 1.

Günstige Eigenschaften:
gewandt, humorvoll,
Überredungsgabe

Ungünstige Eigenschaften:
neugierig, unruhig, nervös,
nachlässig



Der Laubrosch
Meist zeigt der Laubrosch seine grüne
Oberseite, er kann seine Farbe aber
auch der Umgebung anpassen.
Laßt sie leben!
Julius Meini



Vom Aussterben bedroht.
WWF

Meini
Keiner
schmeckt
besser!



PINOCCHIO
RESTAURANT & PIZZERIA



semolato raffinato



SOCIETA' ITALIANA PER
L'INDUSTRIA DEGLI ZUCCHERI
GENOVA

Bustina dosata e chiusa meccanicamente
in Raffineria

ALIMENTO FISIOLOGICO
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BUSTINA RIEMPIA E TERMOCALDATA MECCANICAMENTE IN RAFFINERIA



Master in Learning and Communication in Multilingual and
Multicultural Contexts

Zocker, şeker, azúcar

**Sugar packets as evidence of a
changing language power balance**

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Belval

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Abstract - Resumen

The position of a language in society is a type of discourse. Even the most banal artefacts with language choices on them are not just results *of*, but participants *in* that discourse, and they can reinforce it, or challenge and transform it. In this thesis, sugar packets are presented as small samples or fossils of historical language power balances, which can be used to reconstruct shifts in those balances. As a form of ready-collected data, a number of online sugar packet catalogues are used, from which some key information is however missing such as manufacturing dates and finding places. The thesis' methodology is an attempt to utilize the potential of the data by investigating it through four different approaches. After a global overview of differences between the used catalogues, the scope is limited in two different ways. First, the focus is on one city, The Hague, for which the language choices on old and new sugar packets are compared. Next is a comparison of the packets released during the history of three different Dutch department stores. Finally, the study zooms in on a single sugar packet, to trace in detail its journey and the choices made during it. The data show a clear difference between “linguistic fetish” type use of foreign languages, whereby they are employed to call up positive connotations, and “instrumental” use, which is directly related to the companies' cross-border activities. Specifically this “instrumental” multilingualism occurs ever more often, as a result of the dynamics of franchising and foreign expansion during the period which is researched.

~

De machtspositie van een taal in de maatschappij is een diskoers. De taalkeuzes in of op welke tekst, uitspraak of onbeduidend object dan ook zijn niet alleen resultaten van dat diskoers, maar nemen erin deel, door het te herhalen en voort te zetten, of door het aan te passen en een nieuwe richting te geven. In deze scriptie worden suikerzakjes aangegrepen als kleine staaltjes of fossielen van historische taalbalansen, die kunnen worden gebruikt om de verschuivingen daarin te reconstrueren. Bij wijze van kant-en-klare data maakt de studie gebruik van een aantal door verzamelaars bijeen gebrachte online catalogi van suikerzakjes, waarin echter bepaalde cruciale informatie mist zoals wanneer de zakjes zijn gedrukt en waar ze zijn gevonden. De methodologie van de scriptie is een poging het potentieel van de data tot bloei te brengen met vier benaderingen in toenemende mate van detail. Na een overzicht van onderlinge verschillen tussen de catalogi volgen twee verschillende manieren om het bereik van de studie te beperken, eerst met een focus op suikerzakjes uit één stad, namelijk Den Haag, waarbij taalkeuzes op nieuwe en oude

zakjes worden vergeleken, en vervolgens met een vergelijking van de suikerzakjes uitgebracht gedurende de geschiedenis van drie Nederlandse warenhuizen. In de laatste analyse wordt de focus verscherpt op één enkel suikerzakje, om het door het zakje afgelegde pad te traceren en de daarbij gemaakte keuzes in hun context te plaatsen. Uit de data blijkt een onderscheid tussen „dwepend“ gebruik van vreemde talen – waarbij ze worden ingezet om positieve associaties op te roepen – en „instrumenteel“ gebruik, direct gerelateerd aan grensoverschrijdende economische activiteit van de bedrijven. Specifiek deze „instrumentele“ meertaligheid komt steeds meer voor als gevolg van het ontstaan van franchises en toenemende internationalisering van bedrijven tijdens het door het onderzoek beslagen tijdsbestek.

~

La posición de un idioma en la sociedad es un discurso. Cada texto, objeto o acto de habla, junto con las selecciones de idioma que se encuentran en estos, incluso en los más triviales, no son solamente resultados de este discurso sino que también hacen parte de éste y pueden reforzarlo, rebatirlo y transformarlo. En esta tesis, los paquetes de azúcar se presentan como muestras o fósiles de equilibrios históricos de poder lingüístico, cuyos cambios pueden ser reconstruidos mediante el análisis de estos vestigios. Como “corpus prefabricado” se utilizan catálogos en línea de paquetes de azúcar, recopilados por coleccionistas. Sin embargo, faltan informaciones tales como las fechas de producción o los lugares donde se hallaron los paquetes. La metodología de la tesis busca aprovechar el potencial de dichos paquetes desde cuatro enfoques de investigación diferentes. Se empieza presentando un panorama general de las diferencias entre los catálogos y entre los sistemas nacionales de distribución de azúcar. Luego, para limitar el alcance de los datos, se comparan las selecciones de idioma hechas, en primer lugar, en paquetes nuevos y antiguos de la ciudad de La Haya, y, en segundo lugar, en los paquetes creados a lo largo de la historia de tres almacenes neerlandeses. Por último, la investigación se enfoca en un único paquete para observar en detalle su recorrido y las decisiones tomadas en este proceso. Los resultados muestran una clara distinción entre el uso de idiomas extranjeros de dos maneras: como “fetiche lingüístico” y de forma “instrumental”. En la primera, los idiomas son usados para evocar asociaciones positivas, mientras que la segunda está directamente relacionada a las actividades transfronterizas de las empresas. Este tipo de plurilingüismo “instrumental” particular ocurre cada vez más seguido, como resultado de las dinámicas de creación de franquicias y de expansión internacional durante el periodo investigado.

Dankwoord

Thank you Julia, for the great guidance and encouragement. Thanks, to the anonymous community who toiled on putting together online sugar packet catalogues. And importantly, I would like to say thanks to all my dear friends, family, classmates, housemates, teachers, and friends of friends, who have thought of me when buying coffee and brought me their sugar packets.

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Introduction

This thesis is about the power balance between languages: how it is maintained, and how it changes. Power balance here means the “status quo” of what languages are used, understood, and expected or even enforced in a certain area at a certain time. The status of a language (be it official or unofficial) is a type of discourse; it is a shared understanding of a group of people. Every time you choose to say something in a certain language or in another, you are either reaffirming or changing the shared understanding about what language should be expected in the situation where you made the choice. In other words, every time you use a language, you contribute to normalising the use of that language in that situation. This applies to everything from the most symbolically important to the most mundane of utterances and writings: from law texts written in English or in Ndebele, to whether one says “Bon appétit” or “Eet smakelijk” before eating the dinner.

In this thesis the object of study is sugar packets, but the thing to understand is that to answer the question of how the power balance between languages changes or stays stable, one could study absolutely any category of spoken or written language. The sugar packets are merely a fun and handy way to study it because they are small, thus easy and quick to compare, and it is relatively easy to get access to a corpus of many of them from many different places and covering all of the past century. And not unimportantly, they have nice pictures to look at when one gets overwhelmed with all the theory.

Over the course of this past century the language choices on the sugar packets have changed, seemingly as a result of changing distribution logistics and changing economic hierarchies. The packets display the effects new business models based on franchising and international expansion have on language use.

There is not one immediately obvious way of approaching the topic of language choices on sugar packets methodologically. The second question dealt with in this thesis is, therefore, the question of finding an appropriate methodology. In a sense the thesis process is somewhat backwards, as instead of moving from a question to deciding a methodology and then setting about on data collection and analysis, this project has

started with a great lot of already available data: my own sugar packet collection, and several online catalogues of sugar packets created by collectors from lots of different countries. The methodology then followed, having to adapt to the affordances of the data – although there is a lot, the finding places and production dates are often missing. The resulting thesis consists of a number of different possible answers to the question of methodology, which together form a wide “triangulated” perspective, moving from the broad and generalised to the extremely specific.

In the first analysis, the data used in the rest of the analyses is introduced, analysed and compared. The data consists of sugar packet collections and catalogues brought together by collectors from different countries. The main focus is on two Dutch catalogues, but catalogues from Portugal, the Czech republic, France and other countries were used informatively and are also discussed. The chapter shows that the specificities of each catalogue are related to the characteristics of the national sugar packaging history and conventions, as well as to the way the individual websites were set up.

The second analysis is an exploratory quantitative historical comparison of packets from modern day The Hague and packets from The Hague in the 1950s-1970s – a first attempt to limit the scope of the research, using the “search” function of the Suikerzak.nl catalogue. It shows that there has been a considerable decrease in Dutch-only packets. In the modern collection, English is clearly the second language after Dutch, but not only English usage has increased, but usage of all other languages as well. The main increase in multilingualism is on the packets of franchises, rather than of individual businesses.

In the third analysis, the packets published throughout the history of three large Dutch department stores are dated, compared, and connected to what is known about the history of these shops, to gain insight in how a company’s large-scale decisions are related to the fate of their sugar packets. The packets show two types of multilingualism: “linguistic fetish” type use of foreign languages, to call up certain connotations, or “instrumental” multilingualism, where e.g. the word for 'sugar' is translated to many languages. This latter type of multilingualism seems to be linked to foreign expansion and franchising of companies.

Finally in the fourth analysis the focus is on just one specific sugar packet, tracing its

trajectory from the initial order, to it being handed over to the customer along with tea or coffee. In this chapter conceptual tools from Scollon & Scollon's (2004) suggested steps for a nexus analysis are employed. The sugar packet is found to reflect mainly the language practices of the company itself than those of the market where it is distributed.

Theoretical framework

This thesis is based on the assumption that the status of a language is a type of discourse. Before the analysis can start, it needs to be clear what is meant by “status”, “language” and “discourse” in this statement. In this chapter, these concepts are elaborated one by one, starting with the question “What is discourse?”, the elaboration of which leads to an understanding of the micro-workings of power. Next, the question is dealt with what a language is and how it can have power. The chapter closes by considering the implications of this theoretical framework for the thesis’ choice of corpus and methodology.

What is discourse?

The understanding of ‘discourse’ inherent in the statement that “language status is a type of discourse” is clearly post-Foucauldian; it is not about a single written text or speech event, as in the preceding linguistic understanding. In Halliday’s work *Language as a Social Semiotic* (1978), itself contemporary with Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* (1976), ‘discourse’ is taken to be synonymous with ‘text’ - it is even listed as such in the index: “discourse (*see: text*)”. The idea of ‘discourse’ introduced by Foucault is rather the greater structure of which individual texts form part.

Clearly though, even focusing only on the understandings of discourse by Foucault himself or inspired by his writings, there is still a great variety of different interpretations, most of which are not very precise at all. Indeed, Warnke asserts that the choice of the term “discourse” by Foucault can be seen as a conscious strategy to designate the unclear, the opaque, the terminologically non-delineated as a scientific object of research: “Gegen das Geschlossene und damit auch terminologisch Präzise wird das offene System vieldeutiger Bezüge gestellt” (2007:11). The concept is intentionally left blurry as a rejection of a scientific practice in which concepts are delineated strictly.

The idea here is not to give a complete overview of all that has been said about discourse, but to introduce the understanding at the basis of the current work, an understanding which is itself a discourse embedded in other discourses. The purpose therefore is to trace the origins of this understanding and, potentially, to critique it. In the studies used as

methodological inspiration for this thesis each of the authors attempt to interpret and operationalise Foucault's idea of discourse in their own way.

The interpretations of what "discourse" is fall into a number of broad, but blurry categories, here and there self-identified by the authors, but nevertheless not clearly distinguishable due to the lack of clarity of the concept itself. It can be treated as primarily linguistic, as in some streams of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), but scholars of CDA, e.g. Machin and Mayr (2012) acknowledge at least Kress & Van Leeuwen's assertion (e.g. 2005) that pictures are part of the picture, that it is not just the text in, say, a newspaper or a fashion glossy that form part of specific discourses, but that the pictures do so, as well. This goes beyond the 'purely' linguistic. Yet there definitely seems to be something missing in this sort of understanding. Why focus on the picture in a fashion ad, or the word choice in an article about refugees, but leave out of account the meaning-making done by the buildings the refugees stay in or the way the actresses learnt how to pose? It is handier for analysis, because the researcher can stay at home; yet it offers no overview of how discourse as a whole works (and perhaps doesn't aspire to).

Van Leeuwen himself in his introduction to *Discourse and Practice* (2008) calls discourse "recontextualisation of social practise". He compares sociology and linguistics: in sociology the primacy of practice has always been a guiding principle. In linguistics, he argues, the system has traditionally been seen as generating the process (the grammar the utterance) rather than the other way round – the process generating the system: practice generating institutions and objectified forms of knowledge. "I will take the view that all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices." (2008:5). From this book it is not immediately clear in what other ways texts may have been interpreted according to him; what he argues is rather that even those who do not explicitly see texts as representations of social practices, still end up finding themselves forced to treat them as such, having to recourse to concepts like "experience", "world knowledge" and "background knowledge". These disparate and vague ideas are rounded up by Van Leeuwen and collectively termed "representations of practices". Discourse is understood as a "socially constructed knowledge of some social practice". For him, it is thus not itself a social practice. Rather, he sees it as a resource for representation: "As discourses are social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, they can be, and are, used

as resources for representing social practices in text. This means that it is possible to reconstruct discourses from the texts that draw on them.” (2008:6).

Interesting about Van Leeuwen’s understanding of discourse is that it is somewhat explicitly seen as something produced by the powerful end of systems and institutions and communicated down towards the ordinary people, who receive it apparently uncritically and who have no effect on it. The “recontextualisation chain” he describes (2008:15) for instance shows how discourse on ways to discipline children to prepare them for class is prepared by the publishing industry and the press, and brought to the family. The concept of “recontextualisation” itself is taken from Bernstein, who introduced it to describe how knowledge is produced at the “upper reaches” of the education system and then objectified in order to be serve the contextually defined purpose in the pedagogic context of the “lower reaches”.

Cook (*The Discourse of Advertising* 1992) also seems to have a gingerly awareness that there is something more to discourse than just language. He attempts to stretch it up a bit by including both “text” and “context”. Context includes paralinguistic features; other texts of the same type; related texts of a different type; the “situation” or the properties and relations of objects and people in the vicinity of the text; the function of the text and the participants. His choice of words already indicates that everything is centred on language, though: the context is only worth studying for its aid in interpreting the text itself.

In the work of Blommaert and Scollon & Scollon, the concept of discourse is further widened up. To an extent their understanding can be treated as shared; they seem to have met each other and refer to each other frequently. Ron Scollon is for instance mentioned in the preface to Blommaert's *Discourse* (2005: xi) which in turn is quoted, in preparation, in Scollon & Scollon's *Nexus Analysis* (2004: 5). Specifically they seem to agree with one another about the nature of discourse, defined as comprising “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use” (Blommaert 2005:3, Scollon & Scollon 2004:5). They all admit that in this use, the word 'discourse' becomes pretty much synonymous to 'semiotics'. (Perhaps semiotics is wider in that it does not preclude meaningful behaviour of animals.) It becomes much bigger than 'just' language and practice: it now also includes “all kinds

of semiotic 'flagging'" (Blommaert 2005:3), that is, objects; people's postures and gestures, or more general their learned behaviour; the way they are dressed; building interiors and exteriors; activities; nature resorts etc. The question is rather, where are the borders of discourse? Discourse only has borders to the extent that meaning has borders. Thus even a nature area so wild it has never been seen by humans, or a yet undiscovered planet, can be part of discourse, insofar as it influences human behaviour – e.g. talking or speculating about it.

Language, practise, objects and learned human behaviour explicitly hang together in Scollon & Scollon's theoretical grasping of discourse. They introduce the idea of "cycles of discourse", which establishes a metaphor between the circulation of discourse and the water cycle. Water exists in the air as water vapour, clouds, free-floating particles. When it gets colder or hits a solid surface it becomes water (precipitation). Then it exists as lakes, rivers, ground water, water in the tap, water in people's and animals' bodies, ice, glaciers etc. Through evaporation the water becomes free-floating particles once again.

Discourse, then, works in a similar way. 'Free-floating' discourse consists of "Discourse in the form of spoken discourse or any form of language being used, whether it is written or spoken" (2004:27). Through "precipitative actions" this free-floating discourse becomes more solid, in an almost literal sense: "What was said might be written down or what was written may be transformed through actions into objects" (2004:28), so for instance a lecture about people's reaction to lack of light might influence an architect to create a plan for a building with big windows, which through the actions of the construction workers is "solidified" further into a building.

The free-floating discourse also shapes what the authors refer to as the "historical body" of the people who come into contact with it. This needs some further explanation. The historical body consists of all that a person has learned and internalised: their skills, language, how they talk and walk and cycle, how they stand and gesture. Language is here understood also as a very physical thing: it is your body moving in a certain way so as to produce meaningful sound sequences, pen scribbles or keystrokes. Thus, the discourse is internalized by persons who learn how to use the objects or who learn to reason according to the spoken instructions. Through their actions and through what they say, the solidified discourse can "evaporate" into free-floating discourse once again. To

continue the example: people might learn how to find their way in the architect's new building and subsequently give someone else directions; someone might write an article about the progressive ways in which the building lets the light in.

One thing to note about this concept of discourse is that in every action many different discourses are present simultaneously. Every object in one's surroundings is the result of a long line of production actions, conversations, development of people's skills; one's body itself is an accumulation of all the discourses it has encountered; the action which one is doing is an interaction with these discourses. The built environment and the other people close by too, are results and part of many intersecting discourses. They have a material existence, but this cannot be seen separately from its semiotic existence; their material existence only matters insofar as it has meaning and is created through meaningful processes.

Discourses can stay stable or they can change. A discourse is not a unitary, monolithic "thing"; it consists of all the separate instances and utterances that make it up. Each gesture, posture, picture, object etc. reaffirms or changes existent discourses. The discourse does not exist without the individual utterances, as much as the utterances are meaningless without the discourse: discourse can be seen as the structure of meaning precedents within which new expressions gain and promulgate meaning. The expressions themselves then become new precedents, based on which future expressions can create new meanings. Warnke uses the image of a discursive "field" which gives meaning to the individual utterances: "Die Vorstellung einer Singularität von Aussagen ist (...) ausgeschlossen. Vielmehr kann das diskursive Feld als ein Funktionssystem verstanden werden, das den jeweiligen Einzelaussagen ein Position zuschreibt" (2007:15). For the pluralised term, "discourses", I would use the metaphor of 'chains' of precedents leading to the current utterance, which itself forms a link for many future utterances to connect to.

In this understanding of discourse it is no longer "produced" *only* by the "upper reaches" of institutions, 'the system', society, as in Van Leeuwen's depiction. In fact it is everyone who has a role in creating, promulgating and altering discourse, all the time with everything they do. Van Leeuwen's hierarchical understanding should be credited though, in that sense that some discourses seem to last longer than others; some people benefit

more from existing ideas than others; some people seem to have more success in spreading or enforcing their ideas; indeed those “upper reaches” whose communications seem to have more meaning-making value or power than those of the “lower reaches”. The question that arises from the every-utterance-counts approach to discourse introduced here, then, is: why does inequality exist if everyone is in some way authoring the world’s discourses? The next section will therefore look at the concept of power.

Discourse and power

For Foucault, discourse is closely tied up with power. Blommaert, too, starts his book *Discourse* with a brief meditation on how power is repulsive and fascinating at the same time. In the description of discourse so far it could seem like it is a thing separate from power, though. The idea “discourse is everything” needs to be reconsolidated with the idea motivating much of critical discourse analysis, of discourse as promulgating the hegemony, or at least signposting it. And since, as stated, the intention of this thesis is to highlight the *power* balance among languages, clearly we need to get to the bottom of what *power* is, exactly.

That *power* is a hard to grasp concept has been amply demonstrated to me by the reactions of those reading along with my manuscripts. A selection of the comments: languages don't have power, the speakers do; people can't have power, they can exert it; objects don't carry the power within themselves, but it is bestowed in them by the people using them; power is the social valorisation of actions and objects; power is real and transferable. So power is not material; it is not to be *had*, but to be *exerted*, *bestowed*, *transferred*. What exactly is being exerted, bestowed and transferred, though? If power is social value, how does that valorisation work?

Inherent to this world’s time and space restrictions is the need to always make choices. Scollon and Scollon highlight this with reference to multilingual signs: “When a text is in multiple codes (...) or multiple orthographies there is a system of preference. The mere fact that these items in a picture or in the world cannot be located simultaneously in the same place produces a choice system.” (2003:120). This mechanism extends far beyond languages on signs. Every time one says or does or makes something, there is necessarily a choice involved to say/do/make that one thing and not any of the other possibilities. But choices creates a hierarchy. The thing that is being said, made, done is given preference

over all those other options. This is where inequality arises between what is chosen, and what isn't. Inequality in this sense is inherent to every utterance, action and object.

Important to the idea of discourse as described above, is that the choices made to say one thing or another are often not accidental. It is not accidental that we say the sound sequence *dog* when talking about a barking four-legged friend – it's what people expect to hear, and what they will understand. It is unexpected to refer to it as a *bsrefp* or *dolphin* and they might not understand if you did. The sound sequence *dog* as well as this particular way of spelling it, is thus the 'privileged' way of referring to that animal. There is a form of inequality between *dog* and *bsrefp* in that the one is accepted and the other isn't; and in that people who know how to say *dog* are more likely to be successful in communicating the idea 'dog' to someone else.

Word meanings, like norms, are a 'discourse' in the sense that they also function as a chain of precedents, with every utterance forming a new link for future possibilities. If I tried hard enough, I could probably get a number of people to occasionally refer to dogs as *bsrefp* by having created the precedent here. The norm of putting the knife on the right of the plate and the fork on the left (as I learnt it) is also something that started somewhere, sometime after the invention of said eating utensils, that someone else saw, maybe justified, and repeated, and that has since come to be expected in a certain group or area at least, based on the large number of precedents.

The inequality between the utterance that is chosen and the utterance that isn't, is thus, sometimes, a necessary and functional inequality: imagine trying to make up for the inequality between *dog* and all possible other sound sequences you could use to refer to it (including but certainly not limited to *wusvâx*, *vacuum cleaner*, *Hund*, *chó*, any of which could in theory work equally well to designate a dog). The norm with the knife and the fork is to an extent also functional – it makes life easier to know what to expect and what decisions to make; not to have to go looking for your fork at the other end of the table or in the flower vase. Yet again the norm is exclusive of people who aren't familiar with it. Imagine visiting friends who are accustomed to each take their own cutlery out of the drawer. Without further explanation, you might be sitting at the table a bit mystified as to how you are supposed to eat.

The fact that a certain cutlery arrangement or way of saying something becomes the expected way to do so, does not mean that it is the only possible way of doing so, as demonstrated, or the only justifiable way. Some variation can be allowed that will still successfully communicate that which was intended – think of different accents to say *dog* in Scotland, the U.S. or Germany, or restaurants where all the cutlery is served on one side of the plate, wrapped in the serviette. However, the variation may be judged or evaluated negatively. The greater the variation from the established precedents, or from what the new link to the chain was expected to be, the greater often the negativity of the evaluation. Perhaps as a mechanism to ensure understanding, or to ‘socialise’ one another into the current norms, people tend to correct or criticise each other where expected norms are being transgressed. This even happens when the transgression does not necessarily impede understanding – think of people correcting spelling mistakes such as “tomorrow” or “seperate”. The point is that norms can be functional for increased understanding, but don’t necessarily have to be.

There is thus a two-way process with these norms, word meanings and other forms of discourses. At the one hand, they are functional for meaning-making, they lead to understanding, they help people to expect what is going to happen. At the other hand, they are exclusive; people who do not know the norms or word meanings cannot make themselves understood or function well in the situation; other ways of saying and doing things are not utilised and are often explicitly not accepted, even beyond the extent to which they could still function to communicate effectively.

Power, then, is simultaneously the *result of the exclusivity of discourse*, and *itself a discourse*. The people who have internalised all the relevant ways of speaking, acting and dressing in a specific situation into their “historical body” are more likely to communicate successfully in that situation; those who do not know the relevant ways are more likely not to be understood or to be evaluated negatively; they get excluded and ‘silenced’. This inequality itself, in turn, becomes an expected way for things to be. It, itself, becomes a mechanism for meaning-making. Thus kids who are able to adapt to the expected way to do things at school quickly – sitting still, spelling right, doing maths, not peeing yourself – are successful and can manipulate their surroundings better. They function within the expected norms in that situation. Those who do keep running around and spelling words all wrong, setting precedent upon precedent of not knowing the right norms, are judged

and evaluated negatively as ‘dumb’ or ‘bad’ and people are less likely to respect them and listen to them – although the norms expected or evaluated positively by the teacher may be different from those expected or evaluated positively by other kids in the class. Indeed the unruly kids may be acting according to their own norms, but their norms are not the norm in school. Norms, and by extension power, are situation-dependent. The ‘adapted’ kids are more likely to get good jobs and to be better paid than the ‘unadapted’ ones; they are the ones that get the power in society.

It is hard to say where power started, as it is to say where language started (what are the roots of the Proto-Indo-European etyma roots?) It is clearer to see how it is promulgated. Those already in power have more say, are more likely to be listened to, in valuing some ways of doing and devaluing others, whereby “valuing” means as much as making the ways of doing accepted or even expected, and “devaluing” means to make them less accepted, to open them up to critique. Whether intentionally or not, people in power can change the discourse in effective ways: a lot of people start to copy them and start to expect that new turn as standard. Thus, when Yves Saint Laurent introduces a new twist in his designs, say the revival of polka dots, all the newspapers write about how it’s the new trend this season, and other designers feel forced to also include a wink to polka dots in some form or another. Yet if a Master student of a fashion degree – perhaps one of the ‘adapted’ kids delivered by the primary school in the previous metaphor – creates a design with the same polka dots for their final portfolio, he or she might get some recognition from her or his teachers and friends and family, maybe even get mentioned in an article on page 10 of the local paper (“Students revive polka dots on the catwalk”), but it would be unlikely to be noticed very much by the greater world of fashion designers. They do not have as much say in creating trends; in dictating new norms. They have some say though; they can directly influence their friends or people on the street who see them sporting the dots and think they are well cool. They could start a band that always wears polka dots at shows and get a loyal following that uses polka dots as the way to recognize one another (which has already happened before – see Fig.1). So those lower in the hierarchy *do* have the possibility to influence discourses, but they have fewer channels to spread their influence. Discourse is not *produced* only by those in the “upper reaches”,

but it is *disseminated* more effectively by them. The dissemination channels, again, work with frameworks of expectation: they (e.g. the newspaper) focus on those already in power (e.g. the



Figure 1 The role of polka dots in Russian Stilyagi

Luxembourgish ducal family), because it is expected that they will be the ones saying things that everybody will want to know, or because it is accepted that their way of doing will be what people will want to copy (indeed, three out of the ten “most read articles” of the English Luxembourgish Wort online in 2015 were pictures of the ducal family, graduating, being “all smiles” and enjoying their holiday in the south of France.)

Power in Foucault’s terms is very similar to the way it is explained here. In *The History of Sexuality* he gives the following series of interpretations:

Par pouvoir, il me semble qu'il faut comprendre d'abord la multiplicité des rapports de force qui sont immanents au domaine où ils s'exercent, et sont constitutifs de leur organisation; le jeu qui par voie de luttes et d'affrontements incessants les transforme, les renforce, les inverse; les appuis que ces rapports de force trouvent les uns dans les autres, de manière à former chaîne ou système, ou, au contraire, les décalages, les contradictions qui les isolent les uns des autres; les stratégies enfin dans lesquelles ils prennent effet, et dont le dessin général ou la cristallisation institutionnelle prennent corps dans les appareils étatiques, dans la formulation de la loi, dans les hégémonies sociales. (1976: 121-122)

“It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organisation; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which

they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies.”
(translation Hurley 1978: 92-93)

Power is thus not a unitary thing, not something that is decided ahead of time, but something that is transformed, strengthened or reversed at every instance; something that forms a ‘chain or system’; something that can ‘crystallize’ into a state apparatus (like discourse in Scollon & Scollon’s cycle). Moreover, he recognises that power arises from inequality:

La condition de possibilité du pouvoir, (...) c'est le socle mouvant des rapports de force qui induisent sans cesse, par leur inégalité, des états de pouvoir, mais toujours locaux et instables. (1976: 122)

“Power's condition of possibility (...) is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable.” (translation Hurley 1978: 93)

One difference between how Foucault frames power and how it is framed above, is that Foucault talks about the microfibers of power as “force relations”, whereas I have refrained from calling them anything specific other than the result of the necessary inequality of discourses – not intentionally leaving it undefined, but rather not seeing any way to be more specific. Including 'force relations' in the definition further complicates the picture: what is and what is not force? Is saying *dog* exerting force, is the word *dog* exerting force over us? Is recommending polka dots exerting force? Foucault himself refers to Machiavelli, stating that he was one of the few who conceived of the power (of the Prince) in terms of force relationships (1976: 97). In *The Prince*, 'force' is rather one of the tenets of power, along with 'cunning' and 'goodwill'. It is violence, using arms, killing, causing pain and fear. Surely this is not, at least not exclusively, what Foucault means when he talks about force relations.

A start to a resolution to this puzzle is made by Blommaert (2005). He argues against the study of “hegemony as total consent”, that is, to rephrase in the terms used here, to understand power as only consisting of people's internalised norms; people completely

agreeing with the ideologies that keep them poor and marginalised. His argument is twofold; first of all, he notes that even for Gramsci – who is cited as an inspiration by many CDA scholars (e.g. Fairclough 1995, Machin & Mayr 2012) – 'consent' is only part of the picture of how a group can remain in power and suppress other groups in society. Consent, or agreement to the dominant norms, is perhaps alignable with Machiavelli's cunning and goodwill. For Gramsci, as for Machiavelli, it goes hand in hand with 'force'. What force means here, is further specified in the following excerpt:

“It is also wise to remember that ideological processes such as the ones described by Bourdieu and Foucault involve elaborate coercive practices. (...) At the end of the day, hegemony may be what it is because there is a real price to be paid for being anti-hegemonic. The price may be that one is not understood, not heard, not recognised as a subject, but it may also be that one is ostracised, exiled, killed or jailed, made unemployable, or declared insane.” (Blommaert 2005:167)

Force can thus express itself also in the control, discipline, surveillance and punishment over children in school, over prisoners, asylum inmates, employees. To think back of the word meanings, they could be seen as also being controlled by force. In school and in employment the misspelling of words leads to disciplining, lower marks and ratings. Between parents, friends and peers, the correction of misuse and mispronunciation of words is control in a light sense, too: people feel they have to adapt, for fear of ultimately being socially ostracised if they have too many weird quirks (‘why does that girl keep referring to dogs as vacuum cleaners?’)

The argument continues, citing Scott (1990), that people may thus act according to the 'hegemony' or 'dominant ideology' without actually agreeing to it; they enact power and powerlessness according to the supposed ideotype of said hegemony, but hold strongly dissident ideas in private. This enactment – appearing as consent – is controlled by the fear of force. An example may be students who profess to be against neoliberal capitalism and university ranking systems, but who still go get their degree at a prestigious university so as they will not be unemployed later.

The power balance between languages

This thesis is specifically about the sort of power “held” by languages. Having defined a

word meaning as a type of discourse, a language is per result a staggering collection of discourses; beside the word meanings, it has syntax, set expressions, registers, pronunciation, intonation conventions, the lot, all of which need to be employed correctly and will unmask the non-native speaker effectively if varied upon in unexpected ways.

Notably, I am referring to the plural “languages” and the countable noun “a language”. In current linguistics there is a strong increasing feeling that there are no natural borders to language and that you cannot really count the “languages” an individual speaks. This is the key idea at the foundation of the study of translanguaging, defined as “[referring] to multiple discursive practices as seen from the perspective of speakers themselves” (García & Sylvan, 2011, 389). Helot & Erfurt (In preparation) discuss García and Wei's notion of language as an integrated system; as one continuous whole of related signs and signifiers, of which every individual uses and understands a certain idiosyncratic selection. This idiosyncrasy is an important point. Everyone learns their own selection of norms and meanings, which they further reinterpret and recombine in their own minds and in the interaction with others. For most people there would be groups of others that they have an overlap with in which meanings they know, understand and practise, that is to say, their language “community” but also nested “groups” of city or region, class, perhaps gender, profession, sports or hobby practitioners, friends and family, school that they went to etc. Given this understanding of language and culture, what does it still mean to say two people speak the same language?

The concept of “languages” as used in general parlance mostly refers to standard languages. One of the reasons why the idea of countable languages purveys is because it's handy. When you want to provide for communication with a large group, standard languages allow you to assume a particular overlap of understandings. Actors in mass-communications (businesses, TV and radio channels, papers, schools, government institutions) make often very delineated choices in which particular overlap(s) they want to cater for. Bounded, unitary languages may not be a thing, but standard languages definitely are: conscious choices to accept and promote a particular set of meanings, specified precisely in dictionaries, protected and regulated by language academies, and promulgated through national education systems. Aside from handy, these standard languages are also powerful and prestigious: they show education and adaptation to the ruling norms.

The concept of language that a research uses should depend on the type of actor they are studying. When studying individual language use (e.g. that of school children) it makes sense to think in terms of individual repertoires and translanguaging. If the object of study is a corpus of papers, advertising, the text books in school, business or government communications etc. it is likely that the producers of such texts make conscious choices only to use a particular standard language; to stick with the means provided in that particular set of dictionaries and grammar guides. To insist on studying their individual repertoires would be to miss an important aspect of the logic used by the actors.

Aside from the norms that make up the language itself, there are thus norms related to its usage. Where is it to be spoken, by who to who? Every time we speak we make decisions guided by expectations, which, again, are partially functional and partially “just” customary but nevertheless enforced. Most of the time these decisions are relatively unconscious; they are part of the “historical body”. Sometimes one is confronted with them more openly. Recently there was a Flemish researcher visiting Luxembourg, and in class we got the chance to ask him about his articles. The language spoken between him and the students was English; yet since him and I had Dutch in common, I felt very weird addressing him in English. I ended up deciding to make a sort of amalgam question, starting the sentence in English and finishing in Dutch (which, interestingly, nobody seemed to notice). If anything it shows the personal variation in internalised norms; another Dutch-speaking student might have felt more comfortable continuing in English.

What language, and more specifically what register and variety of language, is to be spoken and written, then, is group-bound and situation-bound. It is geographically bound to the extent that groups of people and communities are geographically bound, and to the extent that they have inscribed the language on the surroundings. Within a community there may be one or more varieties that play a role, which are ‘appropriate’ (accepted for use) in different situations or which signal different things about the person using them; after all each of them will have had different precedents of usage in the community. There may thus be “powerful” or “dominant” varieties normally associated with the national education system and the rulers or ruling classes of a country, (that is, those in control of the dissemination channels). At the other hand we have the concept of a “minority language”: a language which is spoken by a group in society, but which has fewer rights

or which is less visible than the “dominant” language. The norms surrounding language use may “crystallise” into language policy documents, education systems, textbooks, artefacts with the language on them, etc.

Of course these classifications – a dominant language, a minority language – are just temporary states of how the languages are seen vis-à-vis one another. A language that is at one point the esteemed and prestigious language of government may be seen as a dialect only centuries later – as with Scots in Scotland – or as archaic, foreign, arrogant, alien – think of Latin in secularising countries, Russian in post-soviet countries, or French, which was at one point the language of the ruling classes in most of Europe. Likewise, a language that is at one point seen as a peasant dialect can become an esteemed language of government over time – a shift which Luxembourgish might be experiencing at the time of writing. Every moment in which the choice is made to speak in a particular language, that choice reinforces, shifts or challenges the norms surrounding language use. What one observes at any particular point is but a temporary “power balance” between languages, in a particular group, in a particular situation. To reiterate: it is the “status quo” of what languages are used, understood, and expected or even enforced in a certain area at a certain time.

One notable language shift that has been happening over the past century is the shift to more use of English worldwide: in education, in international business, on the internet and as a lingua franca between Erasmus students. For instance about use of English in higher education in the European Union, Ammon writes: “The shift to English took place gradually in all the European language communities, with a thrust after World War II and with the smaller language communities moving ahead and the larger following suit” (Ammon 1996:258). Reading the whole article by Ammon, it becomes clear to what extent the spread of English was a gradual process, depending on the decisions of many individual actors, from business negotiators to pop singers. Such choices – what language to speak to a Flemish researcher abroad; what language to write one’s thesis or one’s sugar packet in – could be seen as the micro-workings of power. The multitude of all these choices together show overall tendencies, such as e.g. the shift to English.

Implications for this thesis' methodology and choice of corpus

To study the power balance between languages, then, both changing and unchanging, I

am proposing that any sort of data source in the production process of which language choices had to be made can be a good source. Each of these texts, objects, inscriptions, utterances, recordings, etc. is a “crystallization” of the norms, understandings, knowledge and perception of languages of the person or people by whom that language choice is made at the time and in the situation where it is made. To study the macro-level overall picture of changes in language power through the attention for the language choices in small-scale utterances is like studying the shifting of the earth’s magnetic field by studying the alignment of molecules in stones. It is akin to studying the plant remains deep in the soil to get an idea of the vegetation that grew there thousands of years ago. It is important to keep in mind that each individual token does not show an overall “truth” – indeed there is no such thing as an overall ‘truth’ of ‘the’ language norms of some country, but rather a great multitude of individual cases and precedents, following each other up over time like flowers and their seedlings. The individual token shows one of the possibilities within the framework of the time and situation under study. If one finds remains of a tree stem in a soil sample, that does not tell you that all of the area was tree stem at the time; but it does tell you that it was possible for trees to grow there.

Sugar packets, then, are like samples of magnetised stone or like small fossils. They are more than snapshots: they are themselves an integral part of the process we are studying. They may not seem particularly important and meaningful in and of themselves, or as a study topic, but together with other tokens they form the linguistic environment that surrounds us, reproducing, challenging and shifting norms for language use and connotations of the languages. Even those packets that use no language at all still have to make the motivated choice not to do so.

Atkinson and Coffey (2011) make a similar point about documents, a category in which sugar packets could arguably be included, arguing that they not a way of gaining access to a sort of underlying reality, but rather a ‘reality’ in and of themselves. They should be analysed taking into consideration that they were written with distinctive purposes in mind, considering the context they were produced in and the implied readership.

"Documents are 'social facts', in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways. They are not, however, transparent representations of organisational routines, decision-making processes, or professional practices." (2011:79)

As opposed to large-size documents, sugar packets are especially conducive to comparative and longitudinal analysis. As they generally do not have a lot of text on them, it is easy to compare a great many of them without having to simplify very much, without skipping details. Having collected them already since 2006, I have gathered a “corpus” of about 750 packets of my own. While interesting and informative – it led to the initial questions and curiosity out of which this thesis was born – it is an erratic collection with a lot of gaps, based around places that I or my friends and family have visited, all over the world. There are also substantial catalogues of them available online from many different countries, which means easy and in some cases free access to very rich datasets, some dating back as far as the 1930s. These fill up the gaps of my own collection to some extent.

Although rich and interesting, the sugar packet collections are somewhat challenging data to work with. A lot of the collection dates and places are not noted, and the printing dates are also not generally known. The place where they have been distributed is sometimes mentioned on the packets, but in other cases it is not clear. Sometimes the language on them can be a clue, but this creates a circular reasoning fallacy whereby we study the country's language situation through its packets, which we identify through assumptions about its language situation.

This thesis is thus an attempt to find ways to put to work the rich potential of sugar packets as data, or “found data” such as archives and collections more in general – that is to say, data which were not gathered with the express purpose of such a research in mind. Within sociolinguistics and discourse analysis there is not much previous literature to rely on to know how to do this particular kind of study. There are two fields which are somewhat related; linguistic landscaping, and multilingual advertising.

Linguistic landscaping shares the premise that the languages inscribed in the places around us can be studied to get an idea of the 'real' language use of the communities living there (in the broad sense – not just 'inhabiting' them but also working, visiting, passing by; 'being alive' in these places). Cenoz and Gorter explain the relation as follows:

On the one hand, the linguistic landscape reflects the relative power and status of the

different languages in a specific sociolinguistic context. (...) On the other hand, the linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context because people process the visual information that comes to them, and the language in which signs are written can certainly influence their perception of the status of the different languages and even affect their own linguistic behaviour. (2006: 67-68)

Sugar packets do not fit unambiguously into the domain of “linguistic landscape”. Landry and Bourhis (1997) delineate the linguistic landscape as “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” (p.25). They are what you see outside. For sugar packets, however, you often have to go inside a café or restaurant, or sit on their terrace if it is a sunny day, and you most likely have to pay for a cup of coffee or tea. Access to them is somewhat more restricted. Yet, they have a similar dynamic to the types of “linguistic landscape” studied by Landry and Bourhis. At the one hand they are a result of the existing language situation: policies, expected language comprehension, available resources and dominant ideologies, all filtered through the designer of the packet. At the other hand, they form part of the language surrounding people in their everyday life, and in a small way they contribute to the visibility or dominance of certain languages and the suppression of others.

Research methods in linguistic landscaping are in rapid development, as it is a young and active research area. Some of the texts seen as “classics” in the field, such as the studies by Ben Rafael et al. (2006), Cenoz & Gorter (2006), are relatively quantitatively focused, focusing on counting the signs and coding and categorising the languages used on them. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) for instance, analyse their documented signs based on the number of languages on the sign, on which languages are present, what order they are in, and on how much information is translated. There are however also texts, self-identified as linguistic landscaping by the authors, with a much more qualitative approach, focusing on e.g. reception of the signs by people looking at them (cf. Garvin 2010), or the people who made them (cf. Malinowski 2009), through interviews with the involved actors, or through ethnographic observation, as in Blommaert (2012).

Another related field is multilingual advertising. Multilingual advertising writing, e.g. by Kelly-Holmes (2005, 2010), Piller (2001, 2003) and reminiscent of texts by Roland

Barthes (1977:33-5) about mythologizing in advertisements, focuses mainly on the stereotyping connotations of different languages, that are intentionally used by advertisers to achieve certain effects such as an association with German technological dexterity or the international expat glamour of English. Cook (1992) focuses specifically on advertising as a discourse type, where discourse is understood (as explained above) in a rather classical linguistic way. His interest is in the linguistic and surrounding aspects that make ads ads, such as prosody, pictures, jingles, word connotations etc.

To an extent, sugar packets can definitely be analysed as marketing material. They might not be advertising directly, as you usually get them when you have already ordered a drink; rather they are themselves part of the service. Yet they serve to reinforce your choice for that product or that café, they contribute to shaping the atmosphere and profiling the establishment from which you have bought the drink, and they sometimes tell you something about the coffee you are drinking. The language on them is not *only* informational, and the informational function is not very important. Most people that the sugar packet is distributed to probably do not need to read the packet in order to understand that it holds sugar, because its size, material and shape, the time and place where it is distributed, the feeling and the sound it makes when you shake it, all give clues to what might be in it as well. Usually the word for 'sugar' is mentioned somewhere on the packet, but it can be in very small print on the glued edge, or underneath the fold of a sugar stick. The rest of the packet becomes a blank canvas, which can be used e.g. to advertise the coffee company or the café you are in. In some cases the word or words for 'sugar' is/are used as a feature of the design. Because the text 'sugar' is not complicated and not crucial information, it can be given in any of the languages the consumer might half-understand (or even not at all), meaning the choice and order of the languages in which to give this information can be informed by more than just practical concerns (can they understand it?) but also by the connotations that different languages might have to the user.

Research methods in the texts mentioned above as belonging to the field of multilingual advertising are much less systematic and organised than those in quantitative linguistic landscaping studies, and with much more attention for the individual sample. The data for study are presented to demonstrate the specific type of processes the authors are writing about, rather than to prove that they are always the case.

Neither of these approaches are completely satisfactory for the purposes of this thesis. The collection and catalogue data are too incomplete and lack too much information to provide for a full quantitative analysis. The qualitative focus on single examples can be done with some success, but it does not avail of the possibilities for meaningful longitudinal and geographical comparison that the catalogues seem to provide. The methodology employed by this thesis tries to make up for the inherent gaps of the data by coming at them from many different angles, as a way of triangulation. It starts out focusing on the broad picture: the comparison between different sugar packet catalogues. Next is a quantitative historical comparison between the language choices in the mostly historical catalogue of Dutch sugar packets and the more recent packets in my own collection. The third angle is qualitative historical analysis of the sugar packets of three different warehouses. Finally the last angle is focusing on only one packet, figuring out its pathway and analysing the resulting choices on the packet. This is clearly a very brief sketch of the methodology; in the analysis chapters themselves the methodology will be described and discussed in greater detail. In each chapter the small-scale language choices are analysed in the context of overall historical settings and changes.

Summary

This chapter established a theoretical framework within which the link between the relative power of languages, and the language choices on sugar packets can be understood. First, it establishes a concept of discourse. It is demonstrated that the understanding of discourse analysts such as Kress & Van Leeuwen and Cook are broader than the “classical” linguistic understanding, but still quite text-focused and limited. Blommaert and Scollon & Scollon have a wider understanding, whereby objects, actions, written texts and internalised practices and understandings are included as “crystallised discourse” too. “Free floating” spoken discourse is transformed through actions to objects, which generate new spoken discourse. Discourse can thus be seen as a “chain of precedents”. Every new utterance, object and action reinforces, transforms or challenges existing discourses.

The second part of the chapter works from this concept of discourse to an understanding of power. As every choice of one action or utterance means not taking another action or saying something else, choices create a hierarchy; there is an inequality inherent to every

choice. Yet people make specific choices because of the preceding discourse, in the context of which they can be understood; if they made a choice which has no precedents in discourse they would not be understood. The inequality is thus often necessary and functional when it serves understanding. Yet it also includes and excludes; it differentiates between people who understand the norm and people who don't. "Having power" is thus understood as understanding discourse and being able to spread one's discursive reinforcements or transformations through effective dissemination channels. Power is itself a discourse, because the understanding of who or what should have it is also established as a chain of precedents.

Language is defined as a collection of discourses about word meaning, accepted syntax, spelling, intonation etc. Even though a person's selection of understood and used norms is idiosyncratic, the groups of norms that make up specific standard languages are well defined. There are also discourses related to when specific languages or registers or varieties thereof are to be used. A language, or a variety thereof, can be dominant in one situation and a minority language in another. As all objects are a form of crystallised discourse, the argument is made that you can study anything that has language on it as "fossils" of discourses about language choice. Therefore sugar packets are a good way to study the changing power balance of languages.

Analysis 1. Comparing catalogues

To start off the analysis, the first important thing is to introduce the type of data and the data collection methods on which this thesis is based. As stated, the data consists of my own collection of sugar packets, as well as a number of online catalogues. Some catalogues were used very intensively, to wit the Dutch catalogues Suikerzak.nl and CataWiki; others were used mostly informatively, that is, the catalogues from other countries. The catalogues have some differences from one another, partially because of the way they were put together by the collectors, and partially because of differences in the way the sugar is produced and distributed in the different countries. Introducing the data, then, it makes sense to also reflect on how the contained systems of sugar producers, distributors and collectors have developed.

For the three online catalogues that were used most intensively, I reflect on how they were put together, by who; on how many sugar packets there are, with which focus (and why that focus) and on what sort of information is given about the sugar packets. The focus often consists of mostly sugar packets from a specific (locally dominant) sugar packager. Some of the other sugar packet catalogues are discussed more briefly.

Suikerzak.nl

To start, Suikerzak.nl is the main Dutch collector club for sugar packets. The club was started in 1995, originally as a joke, but as time passed it got a more serious character. It turned out to be a solution for an existing desire among collectors, however ludic, to have a point of contact where to share knowledge about sugar packets. As the Dutch sugar packagers never kept a record of what sugar packets they printed, some of the club members decided they would make a catalogue themselves, in order to allow other collectors to determine which packets they were still missing. The catalogue is based on these members' personal collections. At the time of writing there are almost 70 000 packets in the catalogue, but it increases rapidly with about a thousand packets every month.

The “Golden Age” of sugar packet collecting in the Netherlands is between the 50s and the 70s. During this time it was common for small individual businesses to have sugar

packets printed with the name and address details of the business and often an etch of the building it was in. For collectors, the album of sugar packets was thus a bit like a picture album of the places where they had been, at a time when it was still pricey and impractical to take photos. This coincides with the idea of leisure time, which has an official starting point in 1960, the year the free Saturday was introduced (NOS 2010). Before that, people had to work from Monday to Saturday, and on Sunday they had to go to church and weren't allowed to travel. The free Saturday was an opportunity for people to make small touristic trips to other towns every week; it encouraged recreation and consumerism. Individual collectors often sort their packets alphabetically, according to the municipalities listed in the address.

After the 70s it became less common for businesses to have their own sugar packets; one reason for this decrease being the rise in popularity of the franchise organisation. The concept of franchises was imported from the U.S.A. in the late 1950s, early 1960s, where it became popular through fast food restaurants like McDonald's and KFC. In the Netherlands Hema became the first registered franchise organisation, in 1958. Gradually franchising was made easier, for instance by the founding of industry associations such as NFV (Nederlandse Franchise Vereniging) in 1972, that oversaw fair business practices between the franchisor and the franchisee. One main characteristic of franchises is that the house style is uniform across the different locations of the franchise. The sugar packets thus became more uniform, too, and as a result the collecting hype declined.

These hallmarks of the sugar packet industry in the Netherlands have influenced the way the Suikerzak.nl catalogue took shape. The focus of the catalogue is strongly on packets from this “golden age”. For each of the packets, the place and the province where the packet is from is listed. From the 80s onwards it is much less obvious to list sugar packets on place name; there is often no place name mentioned on them. Even if there was, it would be more likely to be the franchisor's address than that of the franchisee, and thus not representative of the collector's experience at the place where they had coffee.

Other data given about the packets on Suikerzak.nl include some details related to the cataloguing (a keyword, a number, a code and a catalogue number); a picture of the front and sometimes of the back of the packet; a description of the illustration on the packet, of whether it is landscape or portrait-format, and of the colour in which it was printed; and,

usefully for this thesis, the text on the packet is transcribed. This transcription makes it possible to search through the catalogue quickly for specific words, for instance the word for 'sugar' in different foreign languages. The year of publication is not given per packet. However, there are some company-specific sub-catalogues, as well as sub-catalogues in which the packets are sorted in different types (such as envelope packets with specific motifs around the edges). For some of the sub-catalogues, indications are given of the period in which packets were printed like that.

Catawiki.nl

The next biggest source of sugar packets in this project is Catawiki.nl. CataWiki was founded in 2008, intended as a general platform for collectors where they can catalogue their items and discuss the collection and documentation methods. It is not just for sugar packets, but for a whole range of items including for instance old coins, pop memorabilia, antique books and model trains. From 2011 onwards CataWiki has been organising auctions. It is also possible to sell sugar packets on the website – they are normally sold for a price decided by the seller, not auctioned. The website was founded in the Netherlands, but at the time of writing they are very explicit about their intention to expand internationally.

What is strange is that the sugar packet catalogue is hard to find from the front page of the website. Only the more valuable auctionable objects are announced on the front page. The user has to browse all the way down, click 'collectors' platform', click 'all categories' in the sidebar and then press “Suikerzakjes”. Despite this difficulty in reaching the catalogue, there are 40.416 sugar packets documented in it (at the time of writing, as is the rest of the information in this paragraph) according to the website. The main difference with Suikerzak.nl is that it is not a “community effort” to document the collections, who got together and agreed to start cataloguing in a particular way, but rather the effort of many individual collectors, brought together through the affordances of the website. There are 361 individual collectors listed on the website, of which most have not added anything at all to the catalogue, some have added only a few (under fifty), and some have added hundreds or thousands of packets. There is one administrator, who can manage other contributors' submissions and who is tasked with avoiding multiple contributions of the same sugar packet.

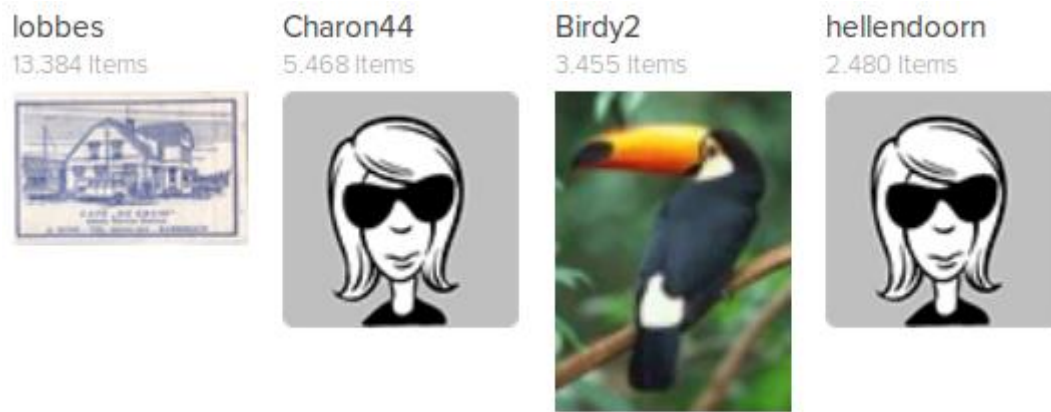


Figure 2 The four most active contributors of sugar packets on CataWiki.

There is a forum on which there are some discussions between the sugar packet collectors about the way the website is organised. One particularly active user made a lot of posts with instructions to keep the contributions unitary and to combine certain categories; he is also named a few times on the forum for harassing other contributors. Such social control may scare away new contributors, but it does help to unify the data given about the packets in the catalogue.

The sugar packets uploaded per contributor reflect their personal collection interests, not those of a greater community, meaning that there are sugar packets from multiple countries and periods. There is a broader range of packets available than on Suikerzak.nl, including packets from 1923 to 2016 and from Andorra and Argentina to Sweden and Switzerland. Having been put together by mostly Dutch collectors, there is still a predominance of packets from the “golden era of sugar packets” in the Netherlands (1950s-1970s). The CataWiki catalogue is however not very complete; for instance there is a category “Sugar packets from Curaçao” but it has only two packets in it. The focus of Suikerzak.nl is more narrow, but more complete in that narrow focus. There is a good chance that the option to sell the packets has some influence on the selection of packets documented. At the one hand collectors would be more likely to only want to sell the doubles, which could mean the more common packets are more likely to be documented. At the other hand, they might speculate about what packets buyers would be interested in, and document their rare packets first.

The info for each packet is on a separate webpage. For every packet a picture of the front

is given and for some of them of the back, too. A bunch of cataloguing information is included (catalogue number, collection category, title item) and a lot of specific details about the packet, but only the type of package (sticks, wrappers, packets) is compulsory to fill out, possibly due to the sorting system of the website. About the design of the packet the user can further specify the type of package (e.g. broad, narrow, sealed, pyramids), the type of backside, colour, text position, size, and the number of lines on the back. There is a transcription of the text on the packet and a description of the image on it. Then there are fields related to the sugar packet distribution: the packager, the industry sector, the type of sugar, the sugar factory, the place, province, country, the period and year it came out, the series the packet is in and the number it has therein. Another difference with Suikerzak.nl is that on CataWiki the name of the contributor is shown, whereas in the Suikerzak catalogue, the contributors remain mostly anonymous.

For this thesis CataWiki was handy for looking for Dutch packets from after the 1970s, which were often not well documented in Suikerzak.nl. The pictures of the front and back are mainly crucial for being able to research the packets. For searching through the catalogue, the title and transcription are important; where indicated, the year or period the packet was made are useful. A lot of the information is filled out so erratically that it is impossible to rely on it, for instance the sugar factory – it is often not listed on the packet itself, meaning it would cost the contributor a lot of extra research to find out who produced it.

Pacotada.com

Although not used to collect data for the current project, other catalogues can help to understand how the system of sugar production, packaging, distribution and collection can differ. One particularly active collector community is located in Portugal and represented by the Pacotada.com website. The packets catalogued on the website are divided in three categories: *séries*, *individuais*, and *catálogo*. At the time of writing, the category *séries* counts 22895 packets, *individuais* has 1321, and there are 1008 packets in the *catálogo* category. As opposed to Suikerzak.nl and CataWiki, the packet details are not given individually, except for the ones in *individuais*. The rest is neatly sorted in PDF documents. Per document, information is given about the sugar packaging company and the printing company, the year of publication where known, the name of the set and how many packets are in it, the size of the packets and the amount of sugar in them, and each

packet is depicted with the front and the back. There is no transcription of the packets given, which makes it hard to search through the catalogue quickly unless you are looking for specific coffee brands.

There is clearly a contrast between the Dutch catalogues and Pacotada.com in that the latter has a much stronger focus on series. In the Dutch catalogues the emphasis is strongly on packets from individual businesses. The series on Pacotada.com are sorted per year and further subdivided into numerous types: found series, private series, foreign series etc. and per packager and coffee brand. The *catálogo* is further subdivided into *embaladoras* (packagers – only has one list) and *marcas de café* (coffee brands) – it includes packets that are semi-serieslike in that they are brought out in a similar style by the same coffee brand. The packets in *individuais* are mostly packets brought out in honour of certain events such as a city festival or a religious celebration. There are hardly any packets in the catalogue that are personalised to a particular café or business, except for some foreign (e.g. Spanish) packets.

There are two possible explanations for this lack of individual packets. The first is that the collectors from Portugal simply aren't interested in individual packets and prefer to focus on series. The second, more likely explanation is that in Portugal, it was and is “not done” to personalise sugar packets to the individual businesses. Instead of personalising the packets, the business owners just order coffee and serve it with the sugar packets distributed by the coffee brand. The coffee brand can afford to bring their packets out in series: they have a bigger budget and they know their sugar packets get a wide distribution. The sugar packet series can function as a small incentive for people to come back and buy more coffee, in order to complete the series. Moreover, the lack of precedent for individualising the packet has a self-reinforcing effect: since there is no culture for individualised packets, it would be an insecure investment to set up a packaging company that offers this service; the lack of such businesses, in turn, perpetuates the nonexistence of such a culture.

The Pacotada.com catalogue is much more focused on recent packets than either of the Dutch catalogues. The most recent packets, from the 21st Century, are published on the site per month and per year (in all categories). The oldest dated packets they have on the site are from 1979. There are 32 series on the website where the exact year is unknown,

indicated as “19XX” or “19??”, that look older than 1979. As an ad-hoc explanation, perhaps sugar packet printing as a whole only became popular in the late 70s in Portugal; before that they may have just used sugar shakers or sugar pots in the cafés, assuming cafés were already a thing; that would mean that sugar packet printing only started when franchising was already popular in the rest of the world, meaning the period of individualised business packets was skipped entirely.



Figure 3 Enumerated Lavazza packets, 2003, n° 8-12 plus the front view.

As an aside, the most mystifying category on Pacotada.com is the *séries numeradas*. These are mostly sugar sticks from large coffee businesses such as Lavazza and Cup&Cino. The front is the same on all of them, and the back almost the same, except for a small number in one of the corners, which is different on each packet and commonly counts up to 10 or 12 (see Fig. 3). The collectors on the website have to date documented 209 such enumerated series, shockingly all complete.

Collections from other countries

Like the way Portuguese sugar packets mostly consist of series, other countries have their own specificities as well. In the UK, packets tend to be brought out in pairs: the packet design is the same or very similar, but one packet contains white sugar and the other brown, cane or demerara sugar. In Germany, packets are often 5.5cm squares; in France,

sugar cubes are very dominant. The catalogues for the UK (uksucrologistsclub.org.uk) and Germany (zuckersammler.de) are well-maintained, but access to them is paid and includes a subscription to the respective clubs' monthly newsletter. The official French club (clubdesglycophilesfrançais.eu) has a publication but no on-site catalogue; a prolific individual has however catalogued almost 10 000 sugar packets – mostly cube wrappers – on his personal website (ccimp.perso.neuf.fr) (Fig. 4).

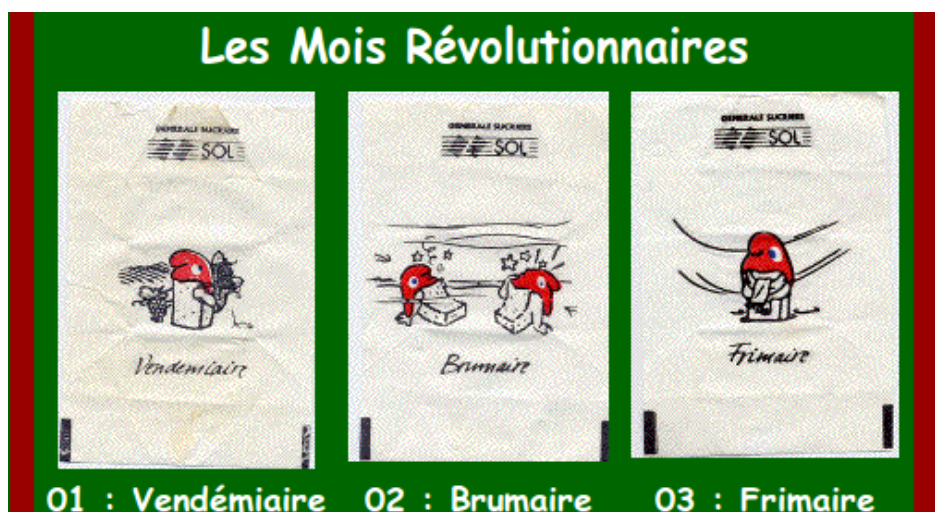


Figure 4 Sugar cube wrappers « Les Mois Révolutionnaires »

Aside from per country, there are also clear separations over time. As described, the Dutch system changed over time due to franchising becoming more popular. In the Eastern Block, there was a specific 'communist' style of printing sugar packets. Sugar packets were cut from rolls of paper with a repetitive pattern, without concern over where in the pattern the packet was cut. The Czech sugar packet catalogue catalogue.barok.org has a number of examples of this way of printing (Fig. 5). They (resentfully?) note: “The closing date of this part of the catalogue is 31.12.1992 when Czechoslovakia was divided into two successor countries, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Unfortunately most packets are as drab and vapid as all other matters in the communist era” (Frantisek Rehak 2004). The same technique for making sugar packets was also used for instance in the DDR right up to the fall of the iron curtain (Fig. 6).



Figure 5 Czechoslovak sugar packets from the "Hradec Kralove" seat.



Figure 6 Packets from Berlin, 1989.

In Latvia, the process of EU accession had implications for the way the sugar industry was organised. The Baltic Times explains: “Before accession to the EU only domestic sugar could be used in the food industry, while sugar imports were subject to special licenses. After accession, Latvia had to open its sugar market to other EU producers.” (Baltic times 15-07-2004). As a result, the country's two big sugar refineries in Liepāja and in Jelgava chose to restructure, and terminated sugar manufacturing within the country. The Latvian sugar was replaced by import sugar e.g. from the company Danisco, which obtained a permit to perpetuate the brand name Jelgavas Cukurs on their Latvian packets.

My own collection

The data is further supplemented by my own collection. This consists of around 750 sugar packets from 2006-2016, picked up in restaurants around the globe by me or by family,

friends, teachers and classmates. I sort them intuitively based on colour, shape, brand, lettering, pictures etc. and stick them in an album from which they can still be easily removed so you can see the backs if needed. Also part of the physical collection are a couple hundred packets from the Netherlands from the 1950s and 1960s which were collected by my great-grandfather, and three alphabetised folders of packets (maybe about 1500) collected in the same period and donated to me by another former collector. These latter two parts of the collection have a large overlap with the Suikerzak.nl and CataWiki catalogues. The recent part of the catalogue is in no way 'complete' or systematic; it is a broad overview of packets from the kind of establishments I and my circle of acquaintances visit. It does however give a good impression of contemporary “sugar cultures” in those places.

Summary

In this chapter the key catalogues used as data in the rest of the thesis are introduced, while reflecting on how their respective specificities are formed in reaction to the characteristics of the sugar packaging cultures from which they originate, which in turn take shape according to wider societal and economic circumstances.

Two Dutch catalogues are discussed in detail, the one – Suikerzak.nl – built cooperatively based on the collections of a number of collectors who know each other and who are all part of the same club, while the other – CataWiki – consists of separate collectors' individual contributions to a platform for cataloguing a host of different types of collections. The former is found to have a narrower focus, having mostly packets from the 1950s-1970s, but in this narrower focus it is more complete than the latter, which also has packets from other countries and periods, but more sporadically. Because the historical packets from the Netherlands are highly localised, the place name and province have a prominent position in the data given for each packet in the Suikerzak.nl catalogue. On CataWiki they are optional information, but the packet type is compulsory to fill out because of the website's sorting system.

Both of the Dutch catalogues are quite different from the Pacotada.com catalogue, which focuses mainly on series and which is sorted accordingly. The analysis of the Portuguese and other non-Dutch catalogues shows that different countries have different sugar packaging traditions, and that these traditions can change over time.

Analysis 2. Old and new packets from The Hague

With all the catalogued and collected packets counted up together there is an overwhelming amount of data available for this study. To be able to do historical comparison, it is necessary to choose two or more selections of packets to compare them to one another. A complicating factor is that for a lot of the packets, the printing dates are not given. The selections would ideally need to consist only of packets from a known period; where the selection as a whole can be dated, given that the individual packets likely cannot. Other than the date, it is desirable that the factors affecting the selections are kept as constant as possible. For this reason, in this chapter a comparison is made between two sets of packets from the same city, The Hague; one set from my own collection, which was collected between 2006-2016, and one from the website Suikerzak.nl, which predominantly has packets from the 1950s-1970s.

This is an exploratory analysis. During the process of finding the packets that belonged to the selection it turned that “packets from The Hague” was quite an arbitrary and imprecise way of trying to limit the scope; it is not clear where “The Hague” ends, and it is hard to know which businesses are and were in the city. The comparison did however give some interesting preliminary results that can be further probed through alternative means.

The new packets

The packets from my own collection were selected on the criterion that they should be from The Hague. The finding place has not been recorded; to determine which packets came from The Hague there were a number of aspects to pay attention to. Two categories were included in the selection: firstly, packets that come specifically from The Hague and that are only distributed there. This includes packets which have addresses on them that show they are from there, or phone numbers that start with the area code 070. A number of sugar packets are from businesses or (sightseeing) places in The Hague, such as the Hofvijver or the hospital Hagaziekenhuis. These packets which are only distributed in or from The Hague came to 19 in total. Secondly, 38 packets were included from franchises which also have a location in The Hague, such as de Hema, de Bijenkorf, the supermarket Albert Heijn, and the rail station catering Kiosk. In appendix 1, a table is included with

the overview of the packet selection from my own collection. The packets are transcribed, it is noted whether they are only found in Den Haag or also elsewhere, and the languages found on them are listed briefly.

The old packets

The collection on Suikerzak.nl is much bigger than my own collection. To navigate it, it is handy to use the search function of the catalogue. It searches through all of the data given for the packets. Because the transcriptions of the packets are always included in the catalogue, the search function can be used to look up details similar to the ones that were looked at to determine which packets from my own collection came from The Hague: address details, phone numbers, and names of businesses.

The first keywords I used for finding old packets from The Hague are its names in Dutch: *'s-Gravenhage* and *Den Haag*. Both of these names are used; *Den Haag* is the original name, that was officially replaced by the fancier sounding *'s-Gravenhage* (“The Count's Hague”) in the 17th century. The name *Den Haag* continued to be used in common parlance. Today both names are in use by official institutions. These are the total counts for the occurrence of both names on Suikerzak.nl:

s-Gravenhage 1920 *suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes*

Den Haag 1638 *suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes*

There is an overlap in these two groups on Suikerzak.nl, because the website categorises packets that say *Den Haag* in their own systems under *'s-Gravenhage*. The first result of the comparison is that the **use of the more official name has decreased** in the timespan between the old packets and the current ones. On the new ones the name *Den Haag* is used exclusively, whereas *'s-Gravenhage* gives more results for the old packets.

Being the seat of the Dutch Government, The Hague also houses a lot of foreign embassies. It has long been a cosmopolitan city and therefore has names in many languages. Given that just using the name in Dutch might exclude multilingual packets, I also searched for the following names: (strikethrough means there were no or no relevant

results)

The Hague 19 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (Fig.7)

La Haye 17 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

La Haya 0 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

L'Aia 2 results but only as part of the word "soerabaia"

Haga 0 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes



Figure 7 „t Jagertje“
Private Club The Hague.

I also tried the area code, even though this is somewhat lacking, as at the time it was quite common to leave the area code off the phone number for it was assumed people ringing would be from the same area.

070 178 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

A quick count of these sugar packets showed that only about 140 of them are actually from the The Hague area (the others have 070 somewhere later in the phone number or in the postal code). Of the 140, a lot of them have an overlap with the packets that say 's-Gravenhage or Den Haag. Yet, of the packets with area code 070, a lot in fact didn't list the city in their address, but rather the specific area they were from, such as Kijkduin, Leidschendam or Rijswijk. Some of these parts are officially separate municipalities, but all of them are part of the agglomeration Den Haag. A search in the catalogue as a whole for the various areas gave the following result:

Kijkduin 37 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (Fig.8)

Leidschendam 71 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Scheveningen 248 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Loosduinen 10 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Rijswijk 95 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Voorburg 67 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes



Figure 8 Paviljoen
„Zon aan zee“ Kijkduin.

With all these criteria so far, there are 4122 sugar packets to compare to the 18 in my collection that are distributed from and/or in The Hague (the 4122 old packets include overlaps and packets that are not actually from there, e.g. restaurants in other places that are called “Klein Den Haag”). This does not yet include the packets from businesses that

are likely to have existed in The Hague at the time, either exclusively there or as part of a franchise. For completeness something like a registry would be needed of which businesses were active in The Hague between broadly the 1950s and the 1970s, and then for each individual business the sugar packets could be searched in the catalogue. Lacking such an overview, the solution used here is to include only the packets of businesses which are in my own collection as well. Below listed are businesses which certainly or potentially already existed at the time – businesses which are very new are not included, and neither was Van der Valk hotels, because they only recently spread to The Hague despite having existed as a franchise for a long time.

Only in The Hague (25)

Espresso Service West

Hofvijver 2 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Vredespaleis 3 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Gevangenpoort

Paleis Noordeinde

NWO

Grote Markt

Madurodam 19 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Juliana's

Florencia 1 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes –this still the same packet! (Fig. 9)

Strandpaviljoen Zuid

Dudok



Figure 9 Florenxia's sugar packet, unchanged in the past half century.

Franchises (231):

Vroom & Dreesman 34 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

V&D 77 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Kiosk

Hema (97) suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes of which 31 actually Hema

Albert Heijn 9 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Pathé

McDonalds 2 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Bijenkorf - The great majority of these are from other businesses than the warehouse franchise but if I search the page (ctrl+F) for “warenhuizen” the result is 12

V.O.F. Van Leeuwen Catering

De Beren Eetcafés

Discussion and conclusions

Having counted all this, a number of remarks are in order. First of all, virtually all of the packets lack a precise (or indeed, any) indication of when they were printed and distributed. My own collection was started in 2006 and so includes packets from the last 10 years. The database on Suikerzak.nl consists of multiple different collections, digitalised. It is not clear whether any of the individual collectors made notes of when they collected the packets, but the database does not have a column in their tables for the date. Where the packaging company is indicated, this gives some limited information, as it is known when those companies were active. For instance, SuikerUnie has only been active under that name from 1966 onwards. Other than that, the main guess at when the packets were made is based on when collecting sugar was a popular hobby, which is roughly from the 1950s to the 1970s; however, the collection includes the occasional “new” packet as well, such as a few Starbucks packets that say “©2010” on them. Clearly such a broad scope makes a quantitative enquiry a lot less precise.

Next, it is clear from the above that the criteria for selection are, in practice, very arbitrary. Should all municipalities in the agglomeration of The Hague be included? Why not the entire Randstad conurbation – where does the city end? Should all businesses active in the Hague be included or only the ones which I – a biased observer – recognise and/or have the time to look up? Also, the fact that a business had a franchise in The Hague is not a guarantee that each specific packet design in the database was in fact handed out in The Hague (e.g. the V&D results include packets printed exclusively for the V&D locations in Venlo, Dordrecht and other parts of the country.)

Despite all the side notes a few preliminary observations can be made about the sugar packets from The Hague as resulting from the comparison. First of all, in the collection of new packets, roughly 25 of the 55 packets are monolingually Dutch. Of these I flagged 3 as being “ambiguous”, namely the packet which only says “Madurodam” (the name of a park with miniatures of famous Dutch buildings and places) and “NWO” (A science funding organisation. It stands for “Nederlands Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek” but normally just the acronym is used) – so packets that only have the brand name – as well as the packet which says “Barbera Espresso Service West”, which are all words that make

as much sense in English or German as they do in Dutch. 22 out of 55 packets in Dutch only – so a good bit less than half – is **an enormous decrease in Dutch-only packets** in comparison to the old packets in the database. It is hard to look at all the 4000+ packets in the catalogue from The Hague to compare, but a smaller sub-sample – the 71 packets from Leidschendam – gives an indication: none of those packets have any other languages than Dutch on them, save for the occasional loan (“importrice” – see Fig. 10). Leidschendam might be less cosmopolitan than the city centre of The Hague, but a lot of the franchises found in the newer collection have separate shops in Leidschendam as well, meaning that if one were to compare a similar number of packets collected in Leidschendam today, these could be expected to have a lot more languages on them.

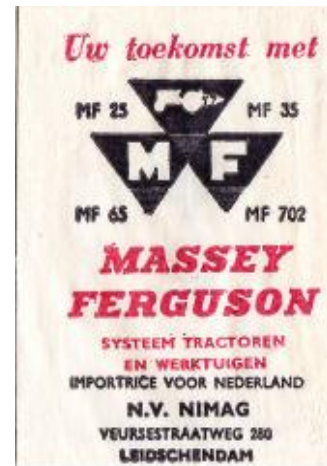


Figure 10 Massey Ferguson Leidschendam

This leads me to the next point, which is that, in my own collection, the **franchise packets are more multilingual than those of individual businesses**. Franchises are here understood as the businesses that have more locations than just the one in Den Haag. 14 of the 40 franchise packets are in only Dutch, versus 12 of the 15 individual businesses. Of the latter, then, only 3 packets have other languages, to wit, that of the city council, and two cafés in the city centre. The front side of the city council packet only says “Gemeente Den Haag” (in Dutch), but the backside has the information of sugar packaging company Van Oordt in four different languages (more on this in the next chapter.) Of the café packets, one also has Van Oordt info on English on it, and the other has the café name “Zèta” on it which I marked in the table as a tokenistic use of Greek.

So which languages are used instead of or alongside Dutch? Importantly **the rise of English shows its strong effects** in the modern sample. 22 of the 55 packets have some English on them, 9 as the first language on the packet and 10 as the second language. After monolingual Dutch packets, the most common language combination is Dutch first, then English (bilingual) which occurs 5 times; the combination English first, then Dutch, occurs a further three times. English, then, is firmly the second language of the Netherlands to the extent that these packets are an indication. Yet **not just English usage has increased, but also usage of all other languages**, in comparison to the global

impression from the older packets, where packets with German, French and English (or other languages) occur, but only on a very small division of the packets. In the modern sample, French occurs on about 14 packets, depending on how ambiguous language usage is counted, and German on 11. Further languages that occur are Italian (on which more below), Spanish, Swedish, Polish, Hungarian, and Portuguese, (most of which are used on the McCafé packet) and the Greek café name mentioned above. It seems like the Netherlands have become all-round more multilingual, not just more bilingual, as the debate about the rise of English would suggest.

Italian is also a very popular language for sugar packets in the modern collection. There are seven packets in the new collection on which Italian occurs; on two as the suggested language of the brand name (*Vapiano*, *Bocca*) and perhaps surprisingly, on three as the only language in which the word “sugar” is given (“zucchero”) – two by the coffee business *Espresso Service West* (Fig. 11) and one from Italian food take-away restaurant *Julia’s*. They are both businesses specialising in products associated with Italy – espresso, and Italian food. A search for the keyword “zucchero” in the old database only gives two results, of which one is the Italian-inspired coffee company Ionia (Fig.12), apparently comparable to Espresso Service West, and the other lists Italian among a number of other languages.



Figure 11 Italian on the packet of Espresso Service West.



Figure 12 Italian on the packets of Ionia Nederland.

Counting the word for 'sugar'

One way to get an idea of the use of languages other than Dutch on old sugar packets in the database (not just from The Hague, but in general all of them) to further research the hypothesis about the Netherlands becoming more multilingual, is through the keyword *sugar* in all its different translations. On multilingual packets, and especially the “hypermultilingual” ones which feature more than say 4 different languages, this is often the word which is translated into all the different languages. (On the ones with 4 languages or fewer there would be more instances of mixed, partial translations). At the time of writing, the database contains 65715 packets.

Suiker 2119 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Sugar 198 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Sucre 143 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Zucker 97 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes

Açucar 4 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (all by Hotel Krasnapolsky)

Azúcar 3 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (2x Dutch Antilles and one by PortionPack Europe)

Zucchero 2 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (Ionia caffè see above, and a multilingual packet)

Cukier 1 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (a stray recent design, by Miko coffee)

Cukor 1 suikerzakjes en -wikkeltjes (the same Miko wrapper)

The relatively *low* result for the word in Dutch (2119 is about 3% of 65715) indicates that there must in fact be something wrong with this search method – perhaps the text on the sugar packets was only transcribed for a part of the collection, or else in a lot of cases the transcribers only transcribed the front of the packet whereas on the older envelope style packets the word for 'sugar' would have usually been on the back.

Nevertheless, the numbers give an indication of how much more common Dutch was than all the other languages. English has less than one tenth of the occurrences that Dutch does, English about 7%, German about 4.5% and the other languages are altogether rare.

Analysis 3. Comparing packets of warehouses

The challenge of working with huge catalogues of collected data is to find a meaningful and useful way to limit the scope of research, so that historical comparison becomes possible. In chapter 2, the scope was limited by focusing only on the packets produced in one city, Den Haag. The conclusion was that it is hard to know which packets are from Den Haag; it was hard to know when they were made; and the comparison of the packets was not very meaningful without understanding the specific context in which they were made.

The current analysis is based on an idea to limit the scope by focusing only on the packets of specific companies. The manufacturing dates of the sugar packets can be determined more easily in the context of the company's history, which makes the historical comparison more meaningful. The corpus is more limited than in the overview of all packets in The Hague: that analysis included thousands of packets. The current corpus consists of about 150 packets, meaning it is possible to consider each packet in some detail. The shift from the bigger picture (the city as a whole) to smaller actors (the companies) also entails a shift from counting and comparing, to tracing the individual histories and decision making processes. It is a more qualitative approach, recognising the need to know the individual historical contexts of the packets to understand changes.

It makes sense to juxtapose a few companies here, to compare their developments. In doing so the choice has fallen on three department stores: Hema, Vroom & Dreesmann (V&D), and de Bijenkorf. The reason why department stores work well for the comparison is that they are large, well-known franchises that decide the face of the Dutch shopping street landscape to a strong extent (they have locations in every big town): they have big budgets, so that they can afford to print their own packets, and they have all been around for many decades, meaning there is plenty of historical material to compare. All three stores have long featured in-store cafeterias, which is where the sugar packets were distributed.

The choice of three department stores is reminiscent of Labov's famous study (1966) in which the link between rhoticisation and class was investigated in three New York

department stores, each of which was differently socially stratified. This study has been repeated by other people since, for instance by Gardner-Chloros' (1997) comparison of the shop attendant's choice for Alsatian or for French in three department stores Strasbourg.

The stores in this current chapter, too, are arguably socially stratified. Hema was opened by the owners of de Bijenkorf, as a cheap alternative. De Bijenkorf itself is presented as luxurious and sells design brands. The V&D, which has closed their doors due to bankruptcy in 2016 – a national drama – had a public image of being in between those two. The following quote is from a 2007 interview with the “Brands Director” of the V&D, Rudolph van der Kraan:

Het lijkt er op dat jullie meer richting de Bijenkorf gaan?

'Oh, je bent de zoveelste die dat zegt? De Bijenkorf is een andere weg ingeslagen. Daar zie je nu merken als Armani, Gucci en Prada en dat is niet ons ding. Helemaal niet zelfs. We lijken meer op de Bijenkorf van 15 jaar geleden. Maar V&D blijft betaalbaar. (...)

Bijenkorf en Hema hebben een strakke positionering met een breed publiek. Maar jullie lijken altijd in het midden te zitten. Een oncomfortabele plek, lijkt me dat.

'Ik vind het daar wel leuk. Omringd door Hema en Bijenkorf. Dat maakt de kaders duidelijk. In het midden van die markt zitten wel de meeste klanten. Dat is onze klant en die willen we goed begrijpen'.

It seems like you are going more in the direction of the Bijenkorf?

Oh, you're not the first one to say that. De Bijenkorf has gone another direction. There you now see brands like Armani, Gucci and Prada and that's not our thing. Not at all, in fact. We are more like de Bijenkorf from 15 years ago. But V&D stays affordable. (...)

Bijenkorf and Hema have a tight positioning with a broad audience. But you always seem to be in the middle. An uncomfortable spot, it seems to me.

I kind of like it there. Surrounded by Hema and Bijenkorf. That clarifies the frame. In the middle of the market you find the most customers. That is our customer and we want to understand them well. (Van Vugt 2007, my translation)

Methodology

The first questions to answer are: where were the packets for the corpus collected, and how were the manufacturing dates determined? The sugar packets of all the three stores are well-documented online. Suikerzak.nl provides a large collection for each, but as is true for most of the catalogue, these packets and wrappers are mainly from the “golden age” of sugar collecting in the Netherlands, that is to say, from between the 1930s and the 1980s. The gaps in the Suikerzak.nl collection, mainly the more modern packets, are filled up by Catawiki.nl. This website has the additional benefit that it more commonly provides both sides of the sugar packet, which makes it easier to determine when the packets were made.

All three of the department stores have consistently brought their packets out with the Netherlands’ biggest and most well-known sugar packager, Van Oordt. The first Van Oordt sugar factory started in 1732 in Rotterdam. In 1927 a heir of the original founder started portion packing the sugar. When World War II started in 1940 the sugar production was halted because of the scarcity of sugar. In 1947 the production was reinitiated. In 1998 Van Oordt joined forces with German sugar company Hellma to form PortionPack Europe, which has since been joined by six more European portion packaging companies.

Van Oordt's packets before ±1989 mostly used the concept where the front of the packet carried the name and a logo or picture of the establishment, and the back of the packet had information about the sugar and the logo and address of Van Oordt itself. The way the backs of the packets looked was dependent only on Van Oordt, meaning they looked the same for all customers, and changed over time according to Van Oordt's own choices and organisational changes. This is helpful here because it aids figuring out when the packets were made.

The Suikerzak.nl website contains some guides to dating the Van Oordt packets according to the way the backs look, based on the study “Hoe oud is dit suikerzakje” by P.C. Korteweg (unpublished). For instance, the date the new logo was introduced is a reliable pointer: between 1954 and 1962 the logo was a circle with a heart and the company name in it. From 1959 on a diamond shape with the white heart in it has been in use. Packets with the new logo cannot be from before 1959 because the logo had not been introduced yet. Packets with the old logo may still have been made after that date though; there was

an overlap period of about 3 years in which both logos were in use.

There are also pointers for the date in the way the address and the phone number are given (e.g. with or without dialling code). To find out whether this method was reliable, I made a comparison between it and another way of dating the packets, namely through events mentioned on (the front of) the packet which can be traced in the known history of the shop. The V&D brought out a packet for the opening of a new shop in Oosterhout, with the slogan “Nu óók in Oosterhout”. On the back of the packet, it has a diamond-shaped logo (the *wybertje*) and five lines of text on it: “Kristalsuiker / V.C.S. / W. v. OORDT & CO. / Rotterdam / Telefoon 56500”. From the logo, we can infer that it was made after 1959. According to the Suikerzak.nl guide, the text “Kristalsuiker V.C.S.”, referring to the “Vereniging Coöperatieve Suikerfabrieken”, was used between 1961 and 1969. The way the producer's name is capitalised, with “CO” with two capitals, was used between 1960 and 1968. The place name “Rotterdam” with only an initial capital was written like that between 1960 and 1972. The phone number was written like “56500” between 1957 and 1963. In conclusion, the back of this packet suggests that it was made between 1961 and 1963.



Figure 13 The dating method for Van Oordt packets.

According to the first info I could find, Oosterhout was long deemed too small for a 'real' V&D. It was thus one of the cities in which so-called Vendet shops opened in the mid-seventies; a smaller shop with a limited selection. The Vendet-shop in Oosterhout started business in 1976. Confused about this seeming disparity between the front and the back of the packet, I contacted the curator of the archive of the V&D, who was able to tell me that in fact a branch of the V&D Breda opened in Oosterhout in 1961. The conclusion is

thus that the backs of the sugar packets seem to be a fairly precise method of dating them.

Another clue for dating the sugar packets comes from the printing techniques used. Until about the 60s, Van Oordt made a lot of sugar cubes in wrappers (*wikkeltjes*). It is clear the production of wrappers and packets ran side by side for a while: there are some wrappers and packets that have strikingly similar designs, particularly for the V&D; and while generally sugar cubes seem to have been more popular in the earlier decades of when we have packets – the 30s to 50s – and packets more popular in the 60s and thereafter, there are some packets that can be dated before 1954 (the ones with a round Van Oordt logo) and cubes that can be dated thereafter, such as the packet created for the Rotterdam Expo 1955 with the logo “E55” on it.

According to the guide by Korteweg, the sugar packets were shaped like small “envelopes” (*klepzakjes*) until 1989, but from that year onwards they started to be glued (*sealed*) at the edges. He also mentions an experiment with sealed packages in 1964. While this information seems to be mostly true for the V&D and de Bijenkorf, Hema has had sealed packets at least from 1976, but possibly from 1964 onwards.

In the more recent past, two new types of packets have been introduced. One is the sugar stick, which starts to pop up around the start of the 21st century. As a collector, I have the impression that sugar sticks are overtaking rectangular packets in popularity now; they are ever more ubiquitous. The motivation for choosing a stick instead of a rectangular packet is printed on one of the packets in the corpus under current investigation (Fig.14): it uses less paper, making it cheaper and better for the environment.

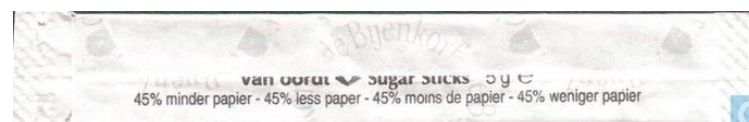


Figure 14 Quadrilingual Van Oordt sugar stick.

Following the stick, the stickbag was introduced: an oblong flat packet sealed on four sides. There are only two examples of it in the current corpus, to wit the two most recent Bijenkorf packets. On the order form of the website of Van Oordt, the stickbag is described as “A beautiful luxurious stickbag with own design”. It does not save paper compared to regular rectangular sugar packets or sticks.

Analysis

In the analysis section, the packet outputs of the three companies are considered in turn. For each company, first the history of the shop is considered, along with its implications for determining when the packets were manufactured. Then, the packets are considered in detail, with specific attention for language choices and references to (foreign) countries. All of the packets discussed here are included in the appendix.

De Bijenkorf

The oldest of the three stores is de Bijenkorf. It was started in 1870 by the Jewish entrepreneur Simon Philip Goudsmit, first as a small shop in Amsterdam, then in 1915 as a big department store on the Dam in the centre of the city. A second department store was opened in Den Haag in 1926 and a third in Rotterdam in 1930. For almost 40 years after, the business stayed like that: just the three big stores. It was not until 1969 that they started further expanding, slowly, to Eindhoven, Arnhem, Utrecht, and other big cities in the Netherlands. De Bijenkorf consistently has one sugar packet for the whole of the franchise, rather than individualised packets for the separate locations. After their further expansion in 1969, they stop listing place names on the packets. The four decades in between expansions can thus be clearly recognised on the sugar packets, which can be generally dated in between 1930 and 1969.

De Bijenkorf printed far fewer packets than Hema and V&D. The corpus consists of 17 packets. Of these, four feature a not yet very stylised picture of a beehive – de Bijenkorf's old logo. These largely coincide with the packets in the corpus with Van Oordt's old circular logo, save for one packet which has the old Van Oordt logo and the new Bijenkorf logo, made in 1956. The new Bijenkorf logo used from then on is a more stylised outline of a beehive in a hexagon. There are two packets, one sealed rectangle and one stick, which have another logo – a beehive built up of loose lines. Because of the printing techniques it seems like these packets are from the 1990s. In the 21st century de Bijenkorf has only brought out two packets so far, both stickbags. One features the hexagonal logo, the other just the text “Bijenkorf Collection”, referring to a line of fashion with the Bijenkorf clothing label.

On the packets, the word for 'sugar' is consistently given only in Dutch, sometimes in

more complicated formulations (“Wester Suikertabletten”; “Geraffineerde kristalsuiker” until 1962; thereafter “Kristalsuiker C.S.M.”; from the 90s just “Suiker”). There is just one exception, a transparent packet in the colours of the Italian flag. The packet is advertising the Bijenkorf’s “Ristorante Italiano”, and as a result all the text is in Italian. The first two lines, “86 Anni”, indicate that the packet was printed in 1956. On the back of the packet, the standard text of Van Oordt “Kristalsuiker” (granulated sugar) and “Machinaal verpakt” (machine wrapped) are translated to Italian: “Zucchero semolato” and “Sacchetto riempito e chiuso a macchina”. Another packet bears the slogan “Evviva L’Italia”. This packet is from an action in 1964. Unfortunately the back of the packet is not available. These two packets are further discussed below.

Beside the sugar information, the name of the shop itself is in Dutch. One packet features a slogan in Dutch: “Dag, Zomerkorf” - meaning “Goodbye, summer hive”. It seems to refer to the introduction of the new autumn/winter fashion. The slogan is mentioned in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam (929: Archief van de Koninklijke Bijenkorf Beheer) for an action in 1967. The packets from before 1969 feature a description of the catering facilities at de Bijenkorf: “Lunchroom” or “Lunchroom en daktuin”. In etymology dictionaries, this word – obviously a loan from English – is dated as first entering Dutch at the start of the 20th century (e.g. Van der Sijs 2001). A further reference to the Anglophone word is the “Manhattan”-action packet, which has a lot of text on it: “Manhattan in de Bijenkorf, Manhattan aan de Dam, Manhattan in Den Haag, Manhattan aan de Maas, Manhattan in de Bijenkorf”, whereby “aan de Dam” refers to the Amsterdam location of the shop, and “aan de Maas” to the Rotterdam location (the Maas being the river that runs through the city). This packet was made for a 1966 action apparently celebrating New York style.

Finally, there is one packet which has four languages on the back, mentioned above as the introduction of the sugar stick. While the Bijenkorf logo is in Dutch as usual, the Van Oordt information is given in English, Dutch, French and German: “van oordt sugar sticks 5g e / 45% minder papier – 45% less paper – 45% moins de papier – 45% weniger papier”. This can be understood as Van Oordt, and not de Bijenkorf, advertising and profiling itself as multilingual. The packet seems to have been made in the 1990s; it could coincide with the 1998 foundation of PortionPack Europe.

V&D

In 1887, the first V&D-shop was opened by Willem Vroom and Anton Dreesmann, two devout Catholic men who had both had small sewing supplies shops before. Their first shop together was opened in Amsterdam, but the expansion started immediately: in 1892 to Rotterdam, in 1893 to Den Haag, and further at a high rate so that by the franchise's 25th anniversary in 1912 there were already 22 shops.

The packets frequently mention the place name of the specific shop in which they were distributed.

The different V&D branches started as independent businesses. Until 1948 they only co-operated loosely; in 1948 they formed a co-operation. They became one national company together quite late, in 1973. The head quarter in Amsterdam did co-ordinate marketing to some extent already, before that time, but the businesses could largely make their own choice whether or not they wanted to participate in that (Schaap 2016, personal correspondence).

Thus we see that there is a large variety in styles, and in general a lot of packets. Before 1957, there are a number of different logos; in 1957 a national logo was introduced that all the shops used. Two of the logos before 1957 were used by multiple shops: a round logo, used in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Geleen, Maastricht and Enschede; and a logo of which the ampersand is wrapped around a horizontal bar (classified in the appendix as the "chique" logo), used in Dordrecht, Rotterdam and Maastricht as well, and in Haarlem, Alkmaar, Leiden, Leeuwarden and Deventer. The branch in Den Haag was fairly powerful within the company (Schaap 2016, personal correspondence) and used their own logo, which is the letters of the name of their tearoom "Intermezzo", in an arch around the letters V&D in a sort of Western style. Likewise Leiden and Maastricht had their own house style, and the three cooperating shops in Eindhoven, Tilburg and Den Bosch brought out two of their own packets together. A remarkable thing is that a lot (but not all) of the pre-1957 packets have matching wrappers.

The logo introduced in 1957 and used until 1974 is the letters V&D in a sideways trapezoid inside a square. Even though the logo was unified, there was still a great variety in the actual packets. On the one hand there are localised packets that mention the place

name. Some also have a picture of the building in which that branch is housed. Then there are a number of packets without place name. Eight of these have the slogan “Het gezelligste zitje van de stad!” (The word “gezellig” is notoriously hard to translate, but it means something like cosy, comfy, sociable or chatty. The sentence thus means something like “the most sociable place to sit in the city”) Although they appear like a series, they weren't all made in the same year. Two were made in 1962-1963, and the other six in 1965-1968. The slogan already appears on a pre-1957 packet brought out by the trio of shops in Eindhoven-Tilburg-Den Bosch. Other packets made in this period include a packet that says “Nederlandse kwaliteit voor Europa” from between 1965-1968, a packet for the action “Italia Universale” in 1967, and a packet with stylised flowers from 1969 or 1970 with a matching wrapper.

In 1974 a new logo was again introduced. This is the year after the shops became one organisation together; there are no longer packets for the individual shops. The reduction in the number of packets per year is really notable. There are 33 packets for the 30 year period between 1927 and 1957 (although it should be noted Van Oordt ceased business for 7 years in this period due to WWII); 36 packets for the 17-year period 1957-1974, and between 1974 and 2016 (42 years) there are only 7 packets (so in total the corpus is 76 packets.) In this last period, an additional development was that the catering facilities in the shops became semi-independent: they were no longer the V&D lunchroom, but got an independent name. First, the catering facility was called “LE Restaurant”, and then it became “La Place”.

Aside from the place names and the information about the sugar (both given in Dutch without exception), the main bits of language on the packets are the different words used for the catering facilities. Often used are: “Lunchroom” (mentioned 22 times), “Restaurant” (15 times), “Tearoom” (6 times) and “Snelbuffet” (5 times), “Snackbar” and “Dakterras” (both twice). Interesting is how many of these words are loans. “Lunchroom” has already been mentioned above. “Tearoom”, first noted in 1929, falls into the same category. The loan “Snackbar” is noted by Van der Sijs (2001) as first occurring in Dutch around 1950. “Restaurant”, a well-integrated loan from French. It first occurred in Dutch with its current meaning in 1862. “Snelbuffet” is first noted in 1950, but the stem “buffet” (pronounced /'byfɛt/ unlike in French) has been in the language since before the 1340s.

The words “Tearoom”, “Lunchroom” and “Snackbar” could be interpreted as a way to call up a positive association in the Dutch visitor through using English. Although mentioned in Dutch dictionaries, the words retain a clear English identity, because they have not been respelled in Dutch (which would render them *tieroem*, *lunsjroem*, *snekbar*). The fact that they are mentioned in the dictionaries as well as on the sugar packets, however, indicates that they were widely accepted and understood. It could be a case of a “linguistic fetish” as Kelly-Holmes calls it, where the use of a particular language is invested with symbolic value, obscuring the communicative or utility value (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 22-24). Yet because the words were so widely accepted, it does not seem like a clear-cut case. By now, the words “lunchroom” and “tearoom” are no longer very widespread, but “Snackbar” is still quite common for “a place where you can buy fries and deep-fried meat snacks” - so not very high-class.

A clearer example of a linguistic fetish is in the names of the integrated restaurants opened in the 1990s, “LE Restaurant” and later “Restaurant La Place”. The first La Place was opened in 1987 in Utrecht, serving French sandwiches. The formula of La Place is that the products are freshly delivered every day, and prepared in the view of the customer. The following quotes are from an interview with founder Bringmann:

“Wij begonnen met Franse broodjes. Toen iedereen die ging verkopen, stapten wij over op foccacia. We willen niet ver voor de troepen uitlopen, maar wel een klein stukje.”

“La Place is onderdeel van Les Halles, de horecatak van V&D (...) De naam La Place komt simpelweg uit het Franse woordenboek. Paul Bringmann zocht een alternatief voor markt, dé plaats waar je verse producten koopt. Marché bestond al, dus werd het La Place. (...) Vier keer per jaar verschijnt het eigen tijdschrift van de keten: Le Magazine.”

“We started with French sandwiches. When everyone started to sell those, we switched to foccacia. We don't want to be too far ahead of the mass, but a little bit ahead.”

“La Place is a part of Les Halles, the catering department of V&D (...) The name La Place simply comes from the French dictionary. Paul Bringmann was looking for an alternative to market, the place where you buy fresh produce. Marché was already taken, so he chose La Place. (...) Four times a year, the franchise's own publication comes out: Le Magazine.”

(De Vos 2008: 39, my translation)

The name was intentionally chosen in French, perhaps to inform the customer about the “French sandwiches” – whatever they may be – and/or because of an association of French with fresh produce and freshly made food. “Les Halles”, “Le Magazine” and the company's new take-home food formula “Mangerie” all use French as well, suggesting that the language is a sort of part of the house style. As a side note, La Place has survived its mother company V&D – although V&D is now bankrupt, La Place is continuing business and even expanding abroad.

A final fun word for the in-house catering is “Partaria”, used once on a packet from Venlo in 1962-63. Venlo is a place in Limburg, the southwestern province of the Netherlands that shares borders with Germany and Belgium. The word “Partaria” stood out to me because I had never heard it before. Indeed it is not in the Van Dale dictionary and a google search only really churns out this specific sugar packet. One could speculate that the V&D in Venlo was trying to underline Limburg's separate linguistic identity by using a word unknown in the rest of the country. Alternatively, it could be a neologism that never caught on.

Looking at the slogans on the packets, we have the above mentioned “Het gezelligste zitje van de stad!”; “Proeft ons heerlijk gebak vervaardigd in eigen banketbakkerijen” (“Taste our delicious pastry made in our own pastry bakeries”); “Van alle markten thuis!” (“Home from all markets”, an expression meaning “to be handy and able to do a lot of things”); and “Nederlandse kwaliteit voor Europa” (“Dutch quality for Europe”). A special Christmas edition asserts “Wij wensen U Prettige Feestdagen!” (“We wish you happy holidays!”) All these slogans are very Dutch to the extent that they're hard to translate, except maybe for the “Nederlandse kwaliteit” one. The slogans do not use a lot of Latinate words and constructions, but rather words unique to Dutch, like “het gezelligste zitje”, “heerlijk gebak”, “prettige feestdagen”. “Van alle markten thuis” is an expression which has no equivalent in English. It is hard to argue whether the shop intentionally chose very Dutch expressions to profile themselves. The only clear attempt to profile themselves as Dutch is the “Nederlandse kwaliteit voor Europa”-packet, which has the colours of the flag in the background. The words themselves are arranged in little waves, to suggest a waving flag. It is remarkable that the only time the Dutch identity is introduced is in the context of “Europa”, for which or for whom the “Dutch quality” is.

Hema

The latest of the three shops to be opened was the Hema, which started business in 1926 as a daughter company of de Bijenkorf, intended for less wealthy people. On the website of Hema, the philosophy of the shop is explained as follows:

“Founders Leo Meyer and Arthur Isaac wanted to open a department store for "ordinary" people. Before this, department stores were very much aimed at wealthy people and most store personnel spoke French. Hema (...) was the first department store of its kind in the Netherlands. Products were priced at 10, 25 or 50 cents. And from day one, the essence of Hema was defined as: optimistic, unique, clear, reliable, accessible and as typically Dutch.” (Hema 2014-2016).

After the war the system with the unitary prices was dropped, but the shop continued to have only one type of each products, produced especially for the Hema – they do not sell other brands.

The description “Typically Dutch” is elaborated lower on the page as “Hema products are no-nonsense with a smile”. The Dutch identity of the shop is further underscored by external sources, for instance a book about the experiences of Dutch expats called “Ik mis alleen de Hema” (Sikkel & Witter 2006) - “I only miss the Hema”. In fact, of the three department stores discussed here, Hema is the only one which has expanded to other countries than the Netherlands. In 1984 they opened their first shop in Belgium, in 2002 in Germany, in 2006 in Luxemburg and in 2009 in France. In 2014 they announced plans to expand to Spain and England. In the shops abroad, they sell some “typical Dutch” products such as drop (liquorice) and stroopwafels (syrup waffles). The need to emphasise Dutchness could be related to expanding – the identity only starts to matter once it is confronted with other non-Dutch identities. Yet there are other Dutch companies abroad that do not make a point of emphasizing their Dutchness, for instance de Spar.

Like de Bijenkorf, the Hema has never printed separate packets for the different franchises. Yet they have a lot more packets than de Bijenkorf does: a total of 55 in the current corpus. Save for the earliest few, almost all of these are sealed packets. The Van Oordt-info is not always present, or it is reduced to one line at the bottom, making it

harder to date the packets. The logo history of Hema goes some way towards finding the dates. Between 1958 and 1976 they use a rectangle with hollow sides; between 1976 and 1993 the logo is the name of the shop in bold letters with serif; in 1993 they change to sans-serif with a line under the name; and from 2008 they have used a square (of any colour, it can be adapted to the rest of the design) with the letters “Hema” in white in the middle. On early packets there is mention of “Wip-In” and an increasingly more stylised logo with a flying cook. Wip-In was the name of the in-store self-service restaurant; it is however unclear when this name went out of use.

One reason why there are so many packets seems to be that Hema brought out a lot of series: packets that have more or less the same back and general design, but different pictures on the front. For Wip-In there is a series of packets with pictures of meals possibly from the mid-60s. In the period between 1976 and 1993 an “ijsfestijn” series was brought out, with pictures of ice cream coupes, and a series “gezellig winkelen – lekker koffiedrinken” with pictures of slices of pie with a lot of cream on top.

Like on the packets for de Bijenkorf and V&D, some of the Hema packets mention the in-store catering facilities. On the back of the later Wip-In packets the text “Banketbakkerijen Coffeeshops Horeca Exploitaties” is included, styled like a cloud of steam coming off the dish carried by the flying cook. On the Hema packets themselves, for a long period the text “Restaurants Coffeeshops” was included with the logo. This description misses from the more modern packets. In the 1990s the word “coffeeshop” gained the connotation of a place where marijuana is sold.

There are some explicit references to other countries and languages. One of the packets from the Wip-In meal photos series has a picture of a hamburger, with the plate sitting on a U.S. flag. One packet has the text “smullen op z'n Belgisch” (roughly “Belgian-style feasting”) and an outline of the Belgian map filled with the colours of its flag. Looking at the packet design, which is very similar to a packet from the Hema's 60th anniversary in 1986, this Belgian packet may very well have been made in 1984 when Hema opened their first shops in Belgium. There are two packets that mention Italy – one that says “Italia '90”, presumably referring to the World Cup (there is also a packet in honour of the 1980 European championship, stating “Hup Holland” - “go Holland” - on an orange football shirt). Then there's a packet with the text “Viva Italia” in green and red around a

very yellow sun. Finally there is a packet with a surprisingly similar aesthetic to the “Dutch quality for Europe” packet of the V&D. In red and blue letters arranged to look like a waving flag it declares “Nederland Hemaland”.

These explicit references to other countries and languages differ from the use of other languages on the more modern packets. From the mid-1990s, the Hema packets have three languages on them: Dutch, French and German, in that order. The only information given in the languages is the translation for 'sugar'. The latest packet, brought out around 2014, has five languages on it. Dutch is no longer on top, but on the second place, after English. Then follow French, German, and Spanish. That the new pentalingualism is not coincidental, but indeed the new language policy is clear because the products in the shops also have the same five languages on them in the same order. The introduction of this language policy in 2014 coincides with the expansion of the franchise to England and Spain.

The trilingual policy from the mid-1990s to 2014 does cover most of the standard languages of the countries where Hema had expanded to until then: France, Germany and the Benelux (although Luxembourgish is missing). Its introduction, however, does not coincide with a specific expansion. It is possible that in the first ten years after expansion to Belgium, Hema focused mainly on Flanders, that is to say, on the Dutch-speaking part, and that the trilingualism was adopted when they decided to start targeting Francophone customers as well.

The interesting thing about the new language choices on the sugar packets is that the in-store catering is not, or at least not always, a part of the formula used for the expansions to the other countries, where the shops are much smaller and focused on e.g. gift products and small household items. The sugar packet is thus distributed mainly in the Dutch market, yet it also has the five languages on it – the language policy is applied evenly to all terrains.

Italian packets of the three shops

Remarkably, all three of the department stores brought out packets referencing Italy in Italian. De Bijenkorf brought out one packet in 1956 and one in 1964; the V&D one in 1967 and the Hema one in 1990, and one which is definitely between 1976 and 1993. I

asked some Dutch people who would remember this period if they recognised the packets, and they thought it was rather from the late 1980s or the early 1990s because of the graphic design.



Figure 15 Five packets using Italian.

The first two of these packets are from the fanciest of the three shops, de Bijenkorf. As elaborated above, all the standard sugar-related text on the packet is translated to Italian. The packet itself is made of transparent paper, which was quite rare then (and still is). The packet is easy to date because it says “86 Anni” - a weird jubilee to celebrate. It suggests the sort of authority of an Italian family businesses, claimed based on how long they have been running. All in all this is a very fancy sugar packet. The other Bijenkorf packet is not transparent. There is no back available, so it is not clear whether the info was translated. It also has a green, white and red colour scheme, with a tile or mandala also featured on the event's poster. “Evviva L'Italia” means something like “Long live Italy” or “Hooray Italy”.

Next, V&D catches on to the Italian trend. The packet has an austere design: the action's slogan, an Italian flag and the text “Vroom & Dreesmann Italia Universale” repeated numerous times. The info on the back is in Dutch as usual. In 1990 Hema brought out a packet which has the colours of the flag in a playful design, with a yellow sun and a slogan that is a slightly simpler version of the 1964 Bijenkorf slogan. The two sides of the packet are the same; the text “Restaurants-Coffeeshops” is not further translated. The other Hema packet is the odd one out in this collection, because it is only referring to Italy as the place where the 1990 World Cup is taking place (hence the globe), rather than as the cultural cradle of Italian food. Therefore the packet also doesn't have a green-white-red colour scheme, but instead an orange background, to symbolise the Dutch football

team.

Signaled by these packets is that the trend of Italian food was introduced as a fancy high-class thing, which slowly it filtered down and became more widely accepted. Indeed Italian food became fashionable in the Netherlands in the 60s. It is possible that this popularity is linked to the influx of Italian guest workers into Northern Europe around this time. In 1956, the fanciest café in The Hague, the Wiener Konditorei, became the first place in the Netherlands with a real Italian espresso machine. People started learning how to make pasta and tomato sauces instead of the classical “meat and two veg” dishes. By now spaghetti is quite a common food, and people can buy Nescafé-machines to have Italian espresso at home. In the packet design a line could be recognised from fancy and a bit stern to less fancy and more playful.

Conclusions

The purposes of this analysis were to limit the scope of the corpus, so as to date the packets more precisely, which would make it possible to track and compare historical changes in language use. Indeed, determining the manufacturing dates has been fairly successful and surprisingly precise in some cases.

The visible historical changes in the overall packet outputs are mainly related to organisational changes in the companies themselves, for example the expansions of de Bijenkorf after 1969, and the V&D becoming one national company in 1974.

As for language use, the packets tell us something about the development of the Dutch language, such as the popularity of the different words for catering facilities, e.g. “lunchroom” and “coffeeshop”.

The use of languages other than Dutch falls broadly into two categories. At the one hand, there are mentions of other countries and words or slogans in other languages, used to call up positive connotations. This is what Kelly-Holmes (2005) refers to as “linguistic fetish” and the “country-of-origin effect”. Examples are for instance the name of the V&D Restaurant “La Place” and the Italian packets discussed above. At the other hand is more “instrumental” language use, related to actual foreign expansion. The examples of that in the current corpus are Hema's switch to first a trilingual and then a pentalingual policy,

and Van Oordt's information on the back of the sugar stick, given in four translations. Both companies indeed have expanded beyond Dutch borders. There is still a symbolic charge to this multilingualism though, because it signals “we are an international company”. Also, issues of ordering the languages come into play.

The “instrumental/globalisation” multilingualism may be connected to the finding of the previous chapter that the sugar packets seem to have become more multilingual overall. Not just the use of English has increased, but the use of all non-Dutch languages.

To delve further into the question of “instrumental multilingualism”, a follow-up research project could make a selection of packets with multiple translations on them and research the company's expansion history for each of the packet, to see if this type of multilingualism is always connected to international expansion.

The social stratification of the shops did not seem to have a big impact on the “instrumental” multilingualism on the packets, which was rather related to the company's expansions. For the “linguistic fetish” type multilingualism, it was interesting to note that the idolisation of Italian moved down from the higher class shop via the middle class one to the lower class shop.

Analysis 4. Tracing the trajectory of one packet

The last analysis of this thesis is inspired by the idea of a ‘nexus analysis’ as described by Scollon & Scollon (2004). In a nexus analysis, the purpose is to determine all the relevant ‘cycles of discourse’ (see literature review) present in a given social situation, with the express purpose to find points in the system where one can step in and cause change. “Nexus” here signifies the idea that any given situation consists of a great number of intersecting discourses. The steps of a nexus analysis include finding the practices embedded in the social situation and the discourses of which the social situation itself forms part. Scollon & Scollon use observation, interviews and focus groups to identify the discourses and how fast they ‘cycle’.

The point of this current analysis is to see how far one could get in applying the ideas at the root of a nexus analysis to a sugar packet. This is not based on the premise that language choices on sugar packets form a social problem, where it is needed to step in and cause change, although one could argue that they do signal or contribute to a bigger one – minority languages are rarely represented on sugar packets. Yet the evaluation of whether something is a “problem” or not is made by the researcher; it is not inherent in the issue itself. The reason I chose to zoom in on one packet only is that it would allow to combine ethnographic observation of the actors and practices in the sugar packaging chain with in-depth multimodal analysis of the sugar packet. The idea was moreover to trace the ‘trajectory’ of the sugar packet, inspired by Kell's work on ‘text trajectories’ (e.g. 2013).

Sugar packets do certainly constitute a *social* issue, where *social* is understood to mean anything related to or involved in communication between humans. The sugar packets result from human actions and communications, and the intersection of the discourses inherent in those actions and communications decides the way the packet turns out; the discourses are thus solidified, preserved in or represented by the sugar packet. When the sugar packet is read and looked at, interpreted and/or acted upon at a later point, the discourse patterns become action again, as it were.

Aside from being itself “social”, the sugar packet is also embedded in practices that are

social in a perhaps more classical understanding. The packet goes through a number of different places and is handled by various actors. The first step of a nexus analysis as described by Scollon & Scollon is “engaging the nexus of practice”; a process in which the researcher identifies the relevant actors and discourses in the issue they will study, and their own position within that network (their “zone of identification”). As a first step towards understanding who the actors are that create and handle the sugar packet, here is a model of its trajectory:

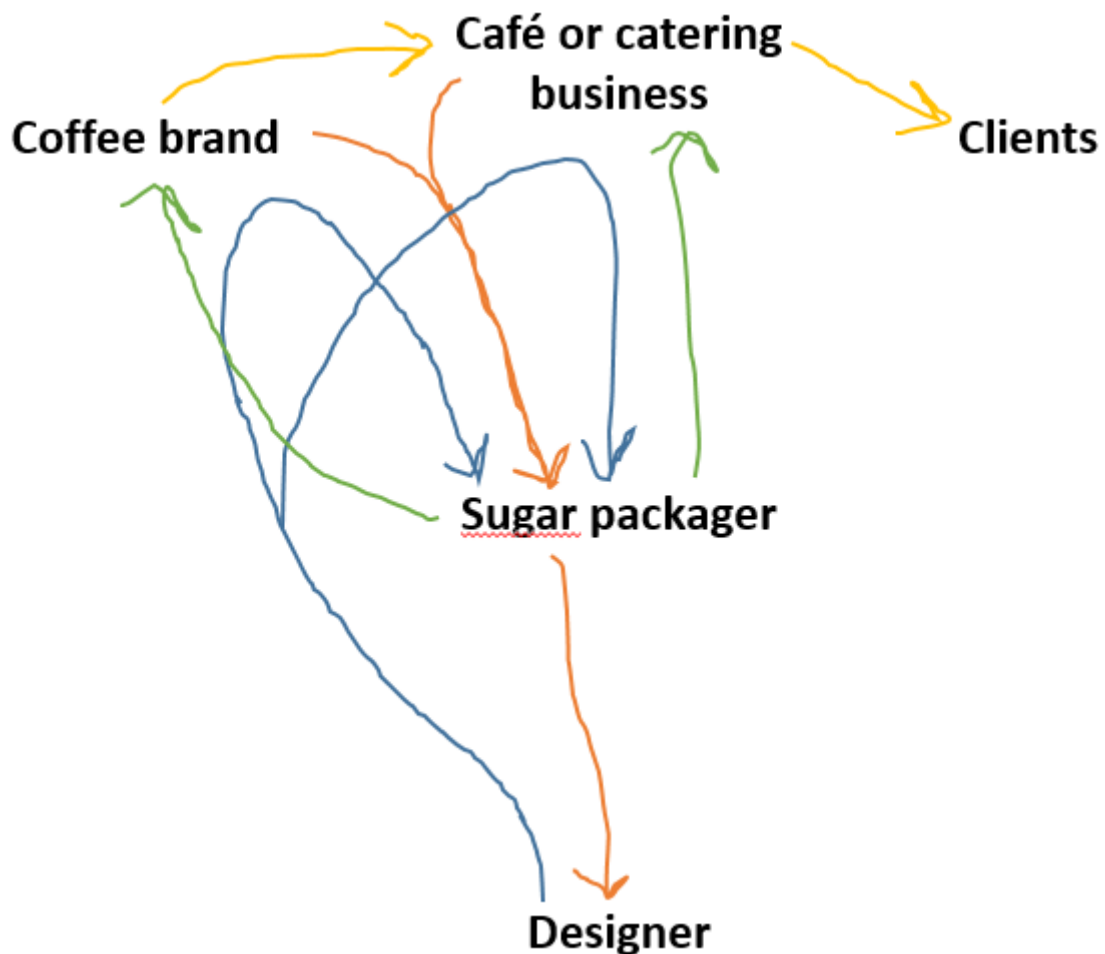


Figure 16 The model trajectory of sugar packets.

In this model, a number of possible trajectories for sugar packets are depicted. The sugar packets are normally ordered by a coffee brand (large quantities) or directly by the café itself (smaller quantities), from the sugar packager. In some cases the client already has a design ready, handmade or made by their in-house designer. Where this isn't the case, the order is forwarded to the sugar packager's designer, who checks the design with the client

before sending it back to the sugar packager for printing. The printed and filled sugar packets are packed in boxes and sent to the client. If this is a coffee brand, the boxes are further distributed to its client businesses and cafés along with the coffee. The café or catering service then serves the sugar packet to the customer along with the hot drink of their choice. The customer may or may not further engage with the sugar packet: opening it and putting it in their coffee; taking it home and sticking it in a collection album; or leaving it to sit on the saucer untouched.

What is left out of this model trajectory is the delivery channels of sugar, paper and ink to the packaging company, all sourced at different farms, refineries and factories. Provided that the focus in this research is on how the language choices on the sugar packets came about (and what effect they have), the cut-off point of who are the “crucial” actors could be placed where the actors have no influence in that role on those language choices. The designer and the shop owner are thus primary, and as they are likely to keep the (potential) customer in mind with their choices this potential consumer is also a primary actor. It should be noted that all actors in the process double as potential customers; moreover, the coffee brand is a client to the packager and the café a client to the coffee brand, meaning their opinion, too, is being kept in mind by the seller when making and selling the product. The paper, ink and machine suppliers are less important in those roles, unless one imagines that they would put the price of resources up so far that the designer starts limiting the number of represented languages to save ink. The barista is involved in the final presentation of the sugar packet. Depending on how far he or she is removed from the person deciding on the packet design, they could be a somewhat influential actor – a person serving coffee in Starbucks probably has less influence on Starbucks’ packet design than a person working in say, café Zèta on the Grote Markt in The Hague would have on that café’s design.

The consumer has, as stated above, a role in the sugar packet trajectory in that sense that the “earlier” stages of the trajectory are anticipatory of the action and reaction of the customer: they are undertaken based on the discursive understanding that the customer should be offered sugar with the tea or coffee (that this is as much part and parcel of buying a hot drink as the cup it comes in is); the sugar packet itself becomes a canvas for marketing messages directed to the potential consumer in a somewhat unilateral communication process; an open-ended one where the receiver is not yet explicit.

Backhaus expresses this as follows: “The sign reader has no immediate means of responding to the transmitted message, because the originator of the message is absent. The latter, on the other hand, has to be aware of the fact that they deal with a completely unknown readership” (2007:9). The end consumers can only talk back in non-direct ways: through the choices they make in where to spend money on drinks, through user satisfaction surveys or user panels, through looking at and “liking” new design trends on social networking sites, and being made subject of market reviews. Collectors further participate in the documentation of packets that are brought out, mapping the history and making trends visible.

The next question to ask about these actors is what their individual histories are, and what social identities they are producing or claiming through the actions they take surrounding the sugar packets. What enabled them to take the role they take vis-à-vis the sugar packets? How do they know the discourses in which they are participating?

The roles that the participants take in the trajectory of the sugar packet are related to their “historical body” – the whole of the discourses and practices that they have learnt and internalised and according to which they use and move their body (including, but not limited to, movements to write or speak). The sugar packet company representative thus dresses and acts in such a way that we might recognize him or her as a sugar packet company representative, for instance by talking about the prices of different colour combinations in the design, or by sitting down in an office chair in the sugar packet company headquarter and turning on his computer. The customer of the café looks and acts like a customer e.g. by avoiding access to the staff-only areas or by opening and reading the menu.

Methodology

This analysis is an attempt to zoom in on some of the steps of the trajectory outlined above, and observe the practices/discourses that surround the chosen packet. The analysis is limited by the extent of the access I could obtain (within the framework of this thesis). It thus uses primarily observation rather than formal interviews or even focus groups; it focuses on the finding places, on the information about the distributors that is available online, and on the sugar packet itself.

The chosen packet

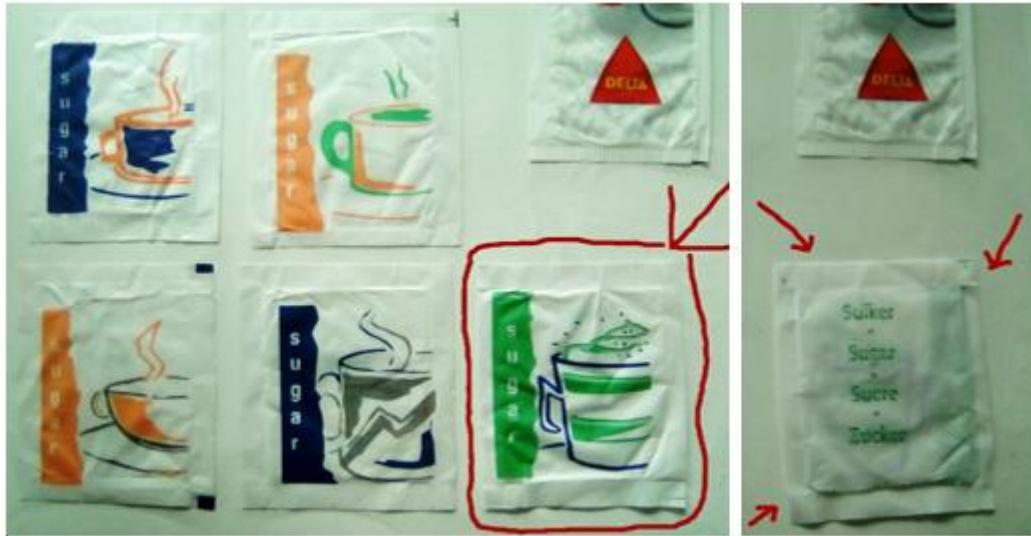


Figure 17 The front and back of the series.

Why this packet?

It is one of the three for which I already have pictures of the finding place. Of those three, it is the easiest and seemingly most interesting to work with: I found it nearby, so I might have more access to information about the distribution network than with the packet of which I photographed the finding place in Italy; furthermore it has four languages on it, which makes it fun to look further into for the purposes of studying the process of language choices. The truth is there is no fully defensible criterion to choose any of these packets and therefore any reasonably good one will do for the analysis. This is a reasonably good one.

The packet is one of a series in which there are 5 designs. All have the same back, with the word for “sugar” in four languages, in green. On the front it has the word in English once more along with a picture of a cup with a drink, different on each of the designs. There is no company mentioned on the packets.

Finding place



Figure 18 The finding place: a table in the university.

This packet came into my hands on the second floor of the Maison de Savoir in Belval, where me and some classmates were standing during the break of a class. There was a conference going on in a nearby room, and a table had been set up (Fig. 18) with tea, coffee, juice, water, slices of cake and accessories, including a lined basket with plastic



Figure 19 A basket with sugar packets, milk and plastic spoons.

spoons, cups of milk and packets of sugar (Fig. 19). The table had been set up for the participants of the conference, not for us, but nevertheless some of the students helped themselves to a bit of water and a piece of cake, if hesitatingly, and I searched through the basket to see if there were any packets I didn't have yet. There was just one. I already found the other packets in the series: two or three of them in a café in Esch-sur-Alzette and the other from a fellow student who passed them on to me.

This anecdote already reveals some things about the practice surrounding the sugar packet, more specifically surrounding the stage where it is handed over to the client.

The sugar is served along with the milk and spoons, to which it is related as “things that

are offered with coffee and tea”. The drinks are provided along with the conference in a similar way to how the sugar is served with the coffee and tea: it is expected, it would be strange if it was not there. The tea and coffee are served to the conference participants; the students have a sense of disobedience about taking things from the table because they know it is not for them. In a café the place of the sugar indicates that it is intended for the customer who ordered the tea.

Distributors



Figure 20 Coffee on the terrace of Brasserie Rex.

The picture in Fig. 20 was taken in the Brasserie Rex at the Place de la Résistance in Esch-sur-Alzette. It showcases another way in which the sugar packets are transferred to the customer. Because the packets themselves do not mention the name of the company where they were made, I asked the owner of this brasserie if he could tell me where the packets came from. He was very helpful and brought me the box they came in. The packets were distributed to him by Foodservice La Provençale s.à.r.l. Luxembourg, and they got them from BLOC Pro Melior, which is a Belgian company from the town of Strombeek – Bever, in the municipality Grimsbergen northwards of Brussels. It is in Flanders, so from a Dutch-speaking region.

BLOC is a “buying and import trade association”, importing products for retail and food service in the Benelux and France. Pro Melior is one of their three product ranges: a

“private label for retail”. Other products in the Pro Melior range include canned and frozen vegetables, confitures, and fish, bottles of sauces, portion packs of dairy, jam, or biscuits, and cleaning products for food businesses. Their price list is available on the website in Excel format, and includes the name of each product in French, Dutch and English. Their website is also multilingual, but English is dominant. The company's slogan is given in English, Dutch and French, but the names of the pages of the website are given only in English, and so are many of the links and the information on the pages.

La Provençale is a name also featured on many other sugar packets in Luxembourg. They are a big distributor of food and related articles, mainly in Luxembourg but also in the surrounding regions, and they have a range of some 35 000 products which they deliver to restaurants, catering companies, cafés, canteens, hospitals, supermarkets etc. Some of their products are bought straight from the producers, some of them via such trade associations as BLOC. On their website, French is the predominant language, being the one in which information is presented when you get to the website; however in the bottom corner other language choices are represented with a small German flag and a Union Jack. When you click one of these, truly every part of the website is translated, even the classified ads.

Analysis of the sugar packet itself

Each aspect of the sugar packet's in- and exterior is in the result of decisions made somewhere along its chain of production. Focusing on different aspects for analysis, we can try to reconstruct these decisions.

First off, this packet is fairly sparse in the information that is given. There is no brand name, no address, no logo; just the word for 'sugar' repeated a number of times in different languages, along with a picture of a striped mug with a lot of cream. In the context of the other packets, which all have cups with heat or steam lines coming out, we know that there must be a hot drink in the mug (it's not just a mug full of



Figure 21 The back of the packet .

cream), likely hot chocolate.

The way the sugar packet was distributed gives a clue as to why there isn't more information on the packet. It is part of a "Private label for food service", intended for small or independent food services that do not form part of a franchise and do not have the wish or budget to design and order their own merchandise. It has to be adaptable to different settings. In a way the lack of information could serve to obfuscate the company's supply chain.

Code preference

Not just what it says on the packet matters, but very importantly where it says it on the packet. The packet has a top and bottom – an intended reading direction – and a front and back, although this is a bit less obvious. You can tell the top and bottom simply by making sure the letters are not upside down. The front of the packet is, in series, usually the part that changes. It often has a picture or a logo, and it tends to be more decorated or colourful (although there are exceptions). The back has smaller letters, sometimes address details, usually more text and no pictures. The front functions to introduce the product or item, and the back is to elaborate and give extra information. The packet shape thus adds an extra dimension to the reading directions introduced by Kress & Van Leeuwen (e.g. 2005), where right is 'Given' and left is 'New', or where the top is 'Ideal' and the bottom 'Real'. In this case we could perhaps argue that the front is 'Ideal' and the back is 'Real', because the front shows an idealised hot drink, and the back tells you what this sugar packet can contribute to that dream (to wit: sugar).

The expected reading order creates a hierarchy of information. "The mere fact that these items in a picture or in the world cannot be located simultaneously in the same place produces a choice system", write Scollon & Scollon (2003). For multilingual texts this creates a system of preference, as there has to be a language which is put first in the writing order, where it is most likely to be read. This has strong ideological implications. Putting a language first can signal that it is the one the producer of the sign considers the most important for the target distribution area, or the one that they think should be most important, or the one that they think is most likely to be understood by a wide audience, or the one that will make them appear a certain way that reflects positively on their product (e.g. use of Italian by Italian restaurants). The ideological implications of code

preference are also recognised by other researchers. For instance, Backhaus (2007:109) cites official guidelines for code preference on signs in Tokyo, stating that an “interlinear order with Japanese above and Rōmaji below is desirable” and that English text should be half the size of Japanese text. Interestingly, he found that more than 60% of bottom-up signs do not comply with these guidelines, instead prioritising European languages. His conclusion is: “giving an impression of foreignness – real or fake – thus seems to be desirable only for signs of a non-official nature. Official agents try to avoid the impression that the sign could be anything but Japanese.”

There are examples of multilingual design which makes attempts to circumvent the hierarchy of languages created by the expected reading order, where for instance the languages are placed criss-cross throughhither to forestall a preordained reading order (Fig. 22), or where the words are alike enough that the overlapping parts are combined, with the non-overlapping parts signalled as “optional” to read (Fig. 23 and 24).



Figure 24 A very multilingually considerate sugar packet from Italy.



Figure 23 Integrated translations on an EU energy label.



Figure 22 Semi-integrated translation on a Belgian mayonnaise jar.

On our current sugar packet, however, no attempt is made to circumvent the hierarchy of languages. On the front, vertically, it says “sugar” in English. On the back Dutch comes first, then English, then French and finally German. On the front the S of “sugar” is not capitalised, but on the back all the words are capitalised, possibly to unify the design with the German word, for which the capital is prescribed. The packet has all the official languages of Belgium, plus English twice.

The Belgian language conflicts have led to a very conscious way of dealing with the code preference created by writing order as well as speaking order (which is even more temporal and binding than writing order). The country is divided into language areas, and in each of the areas there are specific laws on what languages should be used. The policies are very strict for governmental organisations; for instance the order of the languages in which the conductor should make voice-over announcements in the Belgian trains is Dutch first and then French, German and English. For private businesses the rules are not so strict, but still there are some regulations such as that, in the Flemish language area, bosses have to communicate in Dutch with their employees (vice versa it's up to the employee.) This is however only enforced when the employee complains. (Steunpunt Taalwetwijzer, p.16-17)

The sugar packet can be interpreted in the context of these semi-binding prescriptions on language preference. BLOC is a private business in the Flemish language area. The order Dutch – French – German is indeed reflected as such, but the position of English is different. It is the only one used on the front, and on the back it is put right after Dutch rather than at the end, after German.

The preference for English on the front is reflected by BLOC's website. As stated above, on their website English is mostly used first where there are multiple translations available (the price list of Pro Melior is an exception), and often it is the only language in which information is given. BLOC does not export to any countries in which English is the mainly spoken language, but it exports to a group of countries with differing dominant languages: French, German, Dutch, Luxembourgish. Given that information, English seems to have been chosen as a language that is likely to be understood in all of these countries, as a lingua franca or as a "neutral medium".

Discussion and conclusions

This is probably the most aspiring of the four analyses in this thesis. It attempts to combine several previously described research methods into a new one with a different focus. In the book that proposes Nexus Analysis (2004) Scollon and Scollon focus on the social issue of Native Alaskans who cannot reach the school to follow classes. In this analysis the idea is to apply the philosophy underlying their method to a whole different

category of subject; rather than a situation in which multiple discourses interact, the chapter tries to analyse a type of 'crystallised' discourse (the sugar packet) as it moves through different situations, with the aim to figure out what other discourses it has interacted with.

This approach could be promising if one has more access than I was able to acquire within the space of this thesis – if it was combined with e.g. visits to the factory and distribution centres, and with interviews with the designer and the different actors in the distribution chain. As it is, the reach of this analysis is limited; for instance, the information is lacking to say much about the 'historical body' of the designer of the packet.

What can be concluded based on the investigation, though, is that the languages on the packet mainly reflect the language situation of the BLOC buying & import trade association, being a business situated in Flanders – thus using Dutch first, then French and German – but with an international outreach, meaning they use English as a lingua franca both on their website and on the sugar packet. The packet does not seem to be explicitly adapted to the South Luxembourgish market where it was distributed to me; it does not list the Luxembourgish word for 'sugar' and the position of Dutch on the packet does not reflect its position in the language power balance in South Luxembourg (although in North Luxembourg in the holiday season it could have a higher hierarchical position due to the influx of Dutch tourists). This undermines the hypothesis that the designer mainly takes the end user into account.

Discussion and conclusions

Having done four analyses, the fun part is that they can be compared for usefulness and validity. The second analysis, the comparison of old and new sugar packets from The Hague, was the most quantitative, and perhaps because of that it seems to give the broadest overview of changes in language power balance as well as some surprising results which could further be probed by the other analyses. Clearly though, its sampling method leaves a lot to be desired; indeed I originally felt that this method had “failed” somewhat, because I did not succeed at creating a coherent sample from the catalogue’s sugar packets, and the sample taken from the modern collection was very arbitrarily delineated. Because of these drawbacks, the chapter’s conclusions cannot be taken as absolute numbers for the occurrence of foreign languages. However, it does give a good relative idea of how the use in the period on which Suikerzak focuses compares to the use in the period in which my own collection was put together.

The most interesting findings from this chapter were that not just the use of English has increased more on Dutch sugar packets, but the use of many non-Dutch languages. The linguistic landscape has become more multilingual altogether. This multilingualism is mainly found on the packets of franchises, not of individual businesses. The typical multilingual packet gives a number of translations of the same word, e.g. “White Sugar - Weißer Zucker - Witte suiker - Cukier Bialy” (on a packet by Wild Bean Cafe). After Dutch, English is the most common language, followed by French and German.

The methodology of analysis n° 3, the comparison of packets from three department stores, was to research the historical context of the artefacts, which made for a fun to write chapter and which helped to elaborate and affirm the findings from analysis n° 2. There were four businesses that played a big role in the historical picture which is sketched in this chapter; not just the three shops, but also the sugar packaging company Van Oordt, from which all three of the shops ordered their packets. The contrast is shown between Bijenkorf and V&D on the one hand, which have stayed exclusively Dutch so far, and Hema and Van Oordt on the other, which have both expanded to foreign countries. While the former keep on using mainly Dutch, the latter two opt for translation strategies. The chapter also shows a contrast between two types of multilingualism: the one is to use

expressions in a foreign language to evoke positive associations, termed “linguistic fetish” by Kelly-Holmes (2005) – an example being the restaurant “La Place” which is a Dutch company, but still gives all their marketing French titles. The other type of multilingualism is the type seen on the multilingual franchise packets in analysis 2, which I have termed “instrumental” or “globalisation” multilingualism. This is the type found on the Hema packets after their expansion as well as in the Van Oordt information on the backs of more recent packets.

As per the design of the fourth analysis, focusing on one single sugar packet, it does not give a broadly generalizable conclusion. It makes visible the specific trajectory of the chosen packet, and analyses the language choices made by the actors in the distribution network. The analysis finds that the language choices on the packet reflect the language situation of the Flemish company that printed it, rather than that of the area in South Luxembourg where the packet was found, which was surprising as one of my original hypotheses was that the languages are strategically chosen to accommodate the target customer. Yet because it is only one packet, it could be a weird exception – it doesn’t say that much about anything else. Another point about this analysis is that it is the only one of the four analyses that is focused on Luxembourg rather than on sugar packets in the Netherlands – this is mostly a coincidence, as I had not planned to write about any specific country. The other analyses being about the Netherlands was mainly because I was already somewhat familiar with the situation there, which accommodated analysis.

The first analysis was intended to introduce the data used in the rest of the thesis, while also probing and questioning them and trying to figure out why the catalogues were as they are, and what caused the differences between them. The chapter demonstrates the kind of differences found, and thereby links back to the idea of how discourses change over time and certain ways of doing things become settled. A number of “traditions” of sugar packaging seem to have developed, which can change due to societal and economic causes such as the fall of the Iron Curtain or the invention of franchising, and which influence the way the catalogues take shape.

Given the interesting findings about the increased occurrence of multilingual packets, which seems to hang together with the invention of franchising, with foreign expansion, and possibly with economic regulations created since the foundation of the EU, a good

direction for this project would be a study that takes a number of these “instrumental” type multilingual packets, and compares the company histories, language policies, organisational structures and foreign activities of the businesses that released them, in the style of the BLOC and Hema analyses but using quantitative tools.

Finally, language in this thesis is treated descriptively and as mostly unproblematic. It describes the way discourses get established and take new directions, without evaluating their tendency to empower some and exclude others – indeed it could be described as “ethically empty”. What this research has shown, though, is that the linguistic landscape is largely moulded by market forces, which prioritise prestigious, established national standard languages. I have not found one Dutch packet in the entire corpus under study that has Turkish or Arabic on it (although the remarkable popularity of Italian on packets might have been linked to influxes of Italian guest workers into Northern Europe). The sugar packets reflect the status quo, but also contribute to it, by normalising the absence of minority languages.

Appendix 1: Overview of new sugar packets from The Hague

Album	Pg	Keyword	Transcription	Why The Hague?	Only DH?	Type	Languages
red	19	Espresso Service West	sucre / suiker / zucchero / sugar // sucre / suiker / zucchero / sugar / 070 3624872 ESPRESSOSERVICEWEST www.esw.nl	HQ in The Hague	?	stickbag	FR NL IT EN
red	19	Espresso Service West	Espresso / Service West Zucchero	HQ in The Hague	?	stickbag	NL (EN ambigu) IT
blue	11	Espresso Service West	Zucchero	HQ in The Hague	?	stickbag	IT
brown	11	Barbera	Barbera // Espresso Service West 070-3624872	“west” and 070	y	packet	NL (ambigu)
brown	31	Horeca centrum	Hofvijver // Hofvijver / Het is niet helemaal zeker maar in oude boeken wordt geschreven dat in de 14e eeuw een duinmeer verder uitgegraven is, tot, wat dan tegenwoordig heet “De Hofvijver”. Lopend langs deze vijver heb je een schitterend uitzicht op de achterzijde van de regeringsgebouwen. Het is ook aan deze vijver waar het beroemde torentje, de werkplek van de Nederlandse Minister President ligt. / Horeca Centrum / elmes bv. / Zuiver kristalsuiker	well-known place	y	packet	NL
brown	31	Horeca centrum	Vredespaleis // Vredespaleis / De bouw van dit schitterende paleis heeft zes jaar geduurd (1907-1913). Vele landen hebben iets bijgedragen in de kosten of het interieur. Carnegie, een Amerikaanse filantroop, heeft de eerste 1,5 miljoen dollar beschikbaar gesteld. Nederland heeft de grond geschonken. Al vele jaren is het Internationaal Gerechtshof gevestigd in het Vredespaleis. / Horeca centrum / elmes b.v. / zuiver kristalsuiker.	well-known place	y	packet	NL
brown	31	Horeca centrum	Gevangenpoort // Gevangenpoort / De enige bouwpoort uit de middeleeuwen die nog overeind staat. Deze “voorpoort” leidde naar het Binnenhof. Het is gebouwd ergens in de 14e eeuw. Begin 15e eeuw is dit gebouw ingericht als gevangenis. De gebroeders Cornelis en Johan de Witt zijn hier in 1672 vermoord. Vanaf 1882 is de Gevangenpoort als rijksmuseum ingericht voor oude martel- en folterwerktuigen. Ook nu kunt u dit museum nog “gezellig” bezoeken. / Horeca centrum / elmes b.v. / zuiver kristalsuiker	well-known place	y	packet	NL

brown	32	HagaZiekenhuis	Suiker Hagaziekenhuis	well-known place	y	stick	NL
brown	32	NWO	NWO	well-known place	y	cube	NL (ambigu)
brown	44	Zèta	Zèta / www.gmdh.nl/zeta // Zèta / Grote Markt 26 2511 BG Den Haag / Telefoon 070 – 3622630	address	y	packet	GR (tokenistic), NL
brown	44	Madurodam	Madurodam	well-known place	y	packet	ambigu
red	5	Gemeente	Suiker Gemeente Den Haag // van oordt Sugar Sticks / 45% minder papier - 45% less paper - 45% moins de papier - 45% weniger papier	city council	y	stick	NL EN FR DE
red	19	Juliana's	JULIANA'S / Café - Restaurant // JULIANA'S / Café - Restaurant Van Oordt PortionPack Sugar	address	y	stickbag	NL EN
blue	2	Floencia	Voor echte koffie en lekker ijs / Floencia / óók voor de prijs / Den Haag Tel. 363 02 14	address	y	packet	NL
blue	21	Zuid	Strandpaviljoen / ZUID / rietsuiker 5g e // strandpaviljoen-zuid.nl / grotemarktdenhaag.nl	address	y	packet	NL
brown	26	Monuta	Monuta / uitvaartzorg en -verzekeringen	vestiging ve keten	n	cube	NL
brown	36	Medellín secret	Medellín Secret / single finca / single arabica / medellinsecret.com // Secrets / Life is secrets, not wilting, untold secrets, but secrets shared and which suddenly bloom and sometimes poems are secrets: gold nuggets life piles up and joy, like grains of sugar unleashed upon a table shared by friends. / Annabel Torres / sucre/suiker – 560/3679	HQ in The Hague	n	packet	EN, FR, NL + coffee words + spanish language names
brown	36	Medellín secret	Medellín Secret / single finca / single arabica / medellinsecret.com // Secrets / Life is secrets, not wilting, untold secrets, but secrets shared and which suddenly bloom and sometimes poems are secrets: gold nuggets life piles up and joy, like grains of sugar unleashed upon a table shared by friends. / Annabel Torres / suiker	HQ in The Hague	n	packet	EN, NL
brown	44	Lebkov	Lebkov / & sons / Good food / Biologische / rietsuiker / 4g // Biologische / rietsuiker / Organic cane sugar / Bio Rohrzucker / Sucre roux / bio equitable / Skal 015172 / NL-BIO-01 / www.lebkov.com / Van Oordt	franchise location	n	packet	EN, NL, DE, FR
brown	44	Dudok	D / Cafe Brasserie // www.dudok.nl / sugar 5g e	franchise location	n	packet	NL/Fr (ambigu) EN
brown	44	Dudok	D / Cafe Brasserie // www.dudok.nl	franchise location	n	packet	NL/Fr (ambigu)
brown	44	Dudok	Rotterdam Den Haag Arnhem // Kristalsuiker / EGRO centrum Rotterdam B.V. 010 – 298 74 74	franchise location	n	packet	NL
brown	48	De Broodzaak	Suiker DEBROODZAAK Suiker	franchise location	n	stickbag	NL

brown	48	Kiosk	Kiosk Suiker	franchise location	n	stickbag	NL
brown	48	Kiosk	Suiker 4GR Kiosk	franchise location	n	stickbag	NL
red	4	Hema	HEMA // SUIKER SUCRE ZUCKER	franchise location	n	packet	NL FR DE
red	4	Hema	HEMA // suiker sucre zucker	franchise location	n	packet	NL FR DE
red	4	Hema	HEMA suiker sucre Zucker	franchise location	n	stick	NL FR DE
red	4	Hema	HEMA / Sugar / Suiker / Sucre / Zucker / Azúcar	franchise location	n	stick	EN NL FR DE ES
red	4	AH	Albert Heijn Suiker // Zaandam www.ah.nl	franchise location	n	stick	NL
red		AH to go	Sugar / to go / Albert Heijn	franchise location	n	stick	NL EN
red		AH to go	Sugar suiker - zucker - sucre / to go / Albert Heijn	franchise location	n	stick	EN NL DE FR
red		AH	Albert Heijn SUIKERstaafje	franchise location	n	stick	NL
red	4	AH xpress	xpress SUIKER	franchise location	n	stick	EN NL
red	5	Pathé	Pathé! Suiker // Pathé wenst je een prettige voorstelling! / van oordt PortionPack sugar	franchise location	n	stick	NL EN
red	5	Kiosk	Suiker Kiosk // suiker 5g e	franchise location	n	stick	NL
red	5	Kiosk	suiker Kiosk	franchise location	n	packet	NL
red	9	bagels & beans	suiker - sugar - sucre / Stress? De glucose in suiker zorgt / voor een zonniger humeur :-) / Bagels & Beans // www.bagelsbeans.nl	franchise location	n	stick	NL EN FR
red	9	McDonalds	ZUCKER / McDonald's® / SUCRE / SUIKER / SUGAR // PortionPack Europe / Contents/inhoud/poids net: 5 g e	franchise location	n	stick	DE FR NL EN
red	9	McCafé	ZUCKER - WHITE SUGAR - SUCRE / ZUCCHERO - SOCKER - AZÚCAR BLANQUILLA - AÇÚCAR - CUKOR - CUKIER McCafé // Made for exclusive use of McDonald's Restaurants by PortionPack Landgraaf, / Reeweg 171, 6374 BW Landgraaf, The Netherlands	franchise location	n	stick	DE EN FR IT SV ES PT Hungarian Polish
red	18	Bijenkorf	BIJENKORF / COLLECTION / SUIKER	franchise location	n	stickbag	NL
red	18	Bijenkorf	Suiker de Bijenkorf	franchise location	n	stickbag	NL
red	21	Van der Valk	Suiker Van der Valk Hotels en Restaurants Sugar // van oordt Sugar Sticks®	franchise location	n	stick	NL EN
red	21	Van der Valk	Suiker Valk Sugar / van der valk exclusief www.valk.nl	franchise location	n	stick	NL
red	21	Kinki kappers	Kinki zoethoudertje // www.kinki.nl	franchise location	n	stick	NL
red	21	V.O.F. van leeuwen	Suiker / V.O.F. VAN LEEUWEN / Catering op maat! / UW PARTNER IN FOOD // www.cateringopmaat.nl	HQ in Leidschendam	n	stick	NL EN
blue	5	Vapiano	VAPIANO® // WEISSER ZUCKER WHITE SUGAR	franchise location	n	stick	
blue	11	Julia's	ZUCCHERO / JULIA'S	franchise location	n	stickbag	IT

blue	13	Bocca	Bocca / coffee roasters // shop: / bocca.nl / 560/3965 / ES-ECO-019-CT / non-EU Agriculture / distribution certified / by BE-BIO-02 / BIOLOGISCHE RIETSUIKER / TAKE IT EASY ON THE SUGAR / TASTE MORE OF OUR GREAT COFFEE	franchise location	n	stick	IT EN NL
blue	13	Single Estate	SINGLE ESTATE / Coffee Roasters / www.secoffee.nl SUGAR	franchise location	n	packet	EN
blue	15	Wild Bean Cafe	Wild bean cafe™ / Suiker	franchise location	n	stick	EN NL
blue	15	Wild Bean Cafe	Wild bean cafe™ / White Sugar Weißer Zucker Witte suiker Cukier Bialy	franchise location	n	stick	EN DE NL PL
brown	42	De beren eetcafés	Suiker // BB de BEREN eetcafés / De Beren op het internet: www.beren.nl	franchise location	n	packet	NL

The “Album” colours and page numbers refer to the albums in my own collection in which the packet is found. “Why The Hague?” indicates the reason why I thought the packet should be included in the collection of packets from The Hague, while “Only DH?” means “Is this business only active in The Hague?”

Appendix 2: Department store packets

Vroom & Dreesmann

1927-1957: A VARIETY OF LOGOS

ROUND LOGOS

The backs of these packets are missing, but you can see the circular Van Oordt logo shining through.



CHIQUÉ LOGOS



ECCENTRIC STYLES



WRAPPERS (The wrappers match the packets very well)



round logos



eccentric styles



chique logos



Expo 1955

NEW V&D LOGO, OLD VAN OORDT LOGO (1957-1962)

Another remarkable packet is the Breda – Bergen op Zoom – Oosterhout – Roosendaal packet, sealed on three sides, but with the old Van Oordt logo. It was made in 1961.



NEW VAN OORDT LOGO, OLD V&D LOGO (1959)



NEW V&D LOGO, NEW VAN OORDT LOGO, WITH PLACENAME (1959-1974)



Nieuwe zakelijkheid -style

PLACENAME PACKETS WITH PICTURES



1961 opening Oosterhout special edition



60th anniversary Leiden special edition 1963





NEW V&D LOGO, NEW VAN OORDT LOGO, NO PLACENAME (also 1959-1974)



1962-1963



1965-1968



1965-1968



1965-1968

"Het gezelligste zitje van de stad!" series



"Nederlandse kwaliteit voor Europa" 1965-1968



"Italia Universale", 1967



Unusual place Van Oordt info. 1969 or 1970



Matching wrapper

YELLOW AND BROWN LOGO (1974-1988)



Still a "klepzakje" (envelope packet), Van Oordt address details on closure, double sided printing. 1980-1982



The first modern sealed packet.



100 year anniversary. 1985-1987.

VROOM-LOGO-DREESMANN (1988-1997)



A christmas edition



restaurant. Two formats.

LE restaurant, an integrated



La Place, the newer integrated restaurant, founded 1987.



La Place stick without mention of the V&D

De Bijenkorf

OLD LOGO (Roughly 1927-1959)

Both the Bijenkorf and Van Oordt still used their old logos on these packets.



NEW LOGO – BEFORE 1969 EXPANSION (roughly 1959-1969)



(The “Manhattan”-action packet has no Bijenkorf logo, but it does refer to the three pre-1969 locations: “aan de Dam”, “in Den Haag”, “aan de Maas”).

NEW LOGO – AFTER EXPANSION – KLEPZAKJES (1969-1989)



1989-now: SEALED, STICKS AND STICKBAGS



Hema

OLD LOGOS AND WIP-IN



“35 jaar haantje de voorste” 1926+35= 1961





1963-1968



1965-1968

Ever more stylised flying cook, seemingly the symbol of Wip-In





Wip-in/HEMA series with pictures of meals – could have been made in 1964



LOGO 1975-1993



"50 jaar HEMA/wip-in" 1976



"Hema Prijsjes Dagen"



"Verwen jezelf bij de Hema."



"Fruit Festijn"



"Prettige feestdagen"

RESTAURANTS-COFFEESHOPS



"Nederland Hemaland"



"Viva Italia"



"Zomerzoentjes van de Hema"



"grote, reuze, super koffie 1,75 – koffiedrinken is nu dubbel plezier"



“u vindt ons óók op de floriade” 1982



“luchtige prijzen in de hema en 'n geweldige actie van de HEMA - NLM”



“ook voor niet-rokers!”



“smullen op z'n belgisch”



“ijsfestijn in de HEMA”



“gezellig winkelen – lekker koffiedrinken in de HEMA”

Most of these have this text at the bottom:



“Europees kampioenschap voetbal 1980 - Hup Holland in de Hema!” (back eroded)



“60 Jaar en... 14 Miljoen Fans” 1986



"Italia '90" 1990 (FIFA world cup)

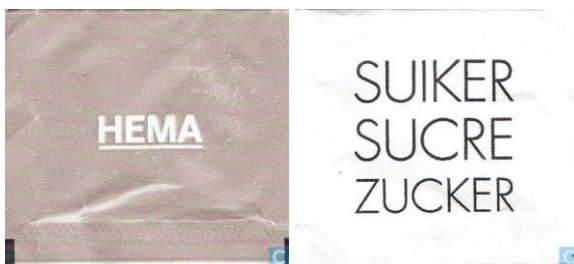
LOGO 1993-2008



Hema Hema Hema



Handwriting style 'suiker / sucre / Zucker'

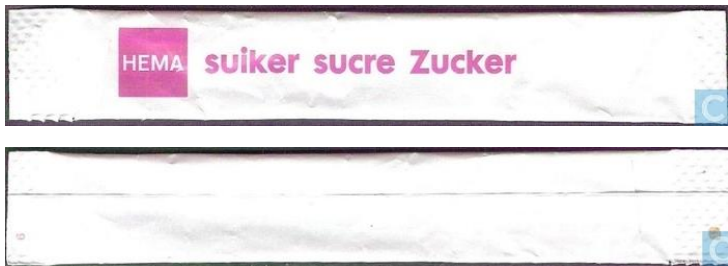


All caps trilingual

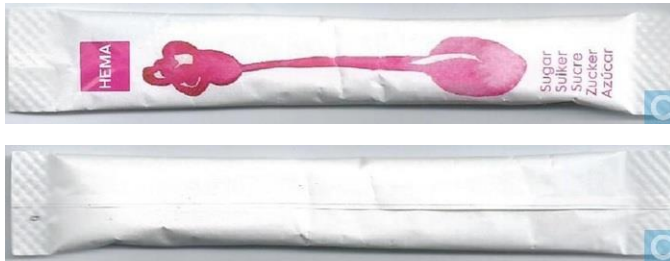
LOGO 2008-NOW



Grey square, trilingual



Pink square, stick, trilingual



Teaspoon, stick, pentalingual (2014-now)

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Figures

Fig. 0, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, part of Fig. 15, and all pictures in the appendix that do not have a blue square with a letter ‘C’ in the bottom right corner: Harry Dietz (2000-2015) *Club van Suikerzakjesverzamelaars in Nederland*. <http://suikerzak.nl/catalogi>

Fig 1: Art Vivat (Date unknown) “Все мы любим буги-вуги!” On: *Art Vivat*. <http://art-vivat.ru/index.php/tematicheskij-korporativ/rok-n-roll.html>

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Fig. 3: Carlos Brás (2013) “Sticks Express Yourself (numerados)”. *Pacotada*
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Fig. 4: Guerrier, J. (2007) “Les Mois Révolutionnaires (O-06)”. *Saccharine & Co.*
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Fig. 5 Frantisek Rehak (2004) *Czechoslovak catalogue*.
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Fig. 6, part of Fig. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24: Own pictures

Fig. 22: Dal, G. (2015) *Comment devenir belge, ou le rester si vous l'êtes déjà*. Jungle!

Author's declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “Zocker, şeker, azúcar: Sugar packets as evidence of a changing language power balance” has been carried out in the Master in Learning and Communication in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts, at the University of Luxembourg, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Julia de Bres. The work is original and has not been submitted in part or full by me for any degree or diploma at any other University.

I further declare that the material obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Place, date:

(Signature of the student)