

An Invasion of English Vandals?

A Study of the Language of Vandalism on Montreal Stop Signs

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Abstract: Vandalism, in written form, is very common in urban centres. Public property is a common target of vandals. In this study, the language of vandalism on stop signs in Montreal was examined. The language of the vandalism (English, French and Hebrew) was compared to the official language of the stop sign (English: STOP, French: ARRET). A statistically significant difference was found in comparing the prevalence of English and French vandalism and the language of the stop signs on which the vandalism was found. English vandalism was very common on ARRET signs, whereas French vandalism was very rare on STOP signs.

Introduction

Experiencing vandalism and graffiti are quintessential parts of living in an urban centre. They are evident on public and private property alike, and have many different functions and intentions. Some representations could easily be called art, others could have a political message, are gang related, are brand or promotionally oriented or can sometimes even be written as a joke or a play on words. In this study, I examine vandalism, primarily in the form of graffiti and stickers, on stop signs in Montreal, with a special emphasis on the language of the sign (STOP, STOP/ARRET or ARRET) and the language of the vandalism. Data were collected from the central area of Montreal including all or parts of the cities of Westmount, Hampstead and Cote Saint-Luc (CSL) and the boroughs of Ville-Marie, Notre-Dame-de-Grace/Cote-des-Neiges (NDG/CDN) and the Plateau.

Methods

Data collection was a collaborative effort of all of the students in ANTH 357 Archaeological Methods class, Winter 2008 term, at McGill University. Zones in the central area of the Island of Montreal were delineated by McGill Department of Anthropology Professor Stephen Chrisomalis. Thirty-one zones were examined (1-32 with the exception of zone 31). All of the stop signs within a given zone were photographed and catalogued by students in groups of three (in most cases). Many characteristics of the stop signs were recorded during these observations, however, the only relevant characteristic of the stop signs for this project was the degree of vandalism. The degree of vandalism was recorded with a number. A '0' designation implied that there was no vandalism, and 1, 2, and 3 implied that there was some degree of vandalism. All of the data collected from the different teams of students were then compiled in a master database.

By evaluating the degree of vandalism for each of the signs in the master database, the stop signs with vandalism on them (designated as 1, 2 or 3) were selected to be used for this project. Photographs of the signs with vandalism were then examined, and the words of the graffiti or stickers and the language (French, English or Hebrew) of the graffiti or stickers were recorded, if discernable. High resolution photographs were examined when needed for a closer inspection. At times, several graffiti markings or stickers were found on one stop sign. Each instance of graffiti and each sticker were

considered as a separate data point. Discernable vandalism was found in all zones mentioned above except for zones 6, 24, 26 and 30. In all, 139 signs with 168 instances of vandalism markings, were included in the data analysis of this paper. Peoples' names were not considered. Special attention was paid to the presence or absence of accents in the lettering – where the presence or absence of an accent would categorize the word as English or French. Words that could have been either English or French were not counted (for example 'date'). If there was vandalism in a language other than English or French, it was recorded as well. Hebrew (Figure 1) was the only other language of vandalism that was found.



Figure 1: Vandalism in Hebrew Language. (Photo 136 at stop sign 29-32-7)

For this paper, the terms 'official language' were used to describe the formal language on the stop signs (STOP-English, ARRET-French and STOP/ARRET-English and French). The language of the vandalism was then compared to the official language of the stop sign. If the languages corresponded, a designation of Y was given, if they did not N was designated. (Appendix A). The designation of Y/N was used when either the vandalism was written in only French or English on a STOP/ARRET sign, or when a single vandalism marking was in both French and English (ex. A sticker with 'de/from') on a unilingual sign. The total numbers of French, English, both French and English (on the same sticker) and Hebrew

vandalism are inscribed in table 1. For each of those languages or combinations of languages, the instances of the language corresponding to, partially corresponding to, or not corresponding to the official language of the sign were counted and recorded. The numbers and percentages of all the stop signs for 'ARRET', 'STOP' and 'ARRET/STOP' signs were included in a table. A comparison was made between the instances where the language of the vandalism markings corresponded to that of the stop sign and those where the language of the vandalism did not correspond to the language of the stop sign. This was conducted for English and French vandalism. A chi-square test was used to determine if this comparison was significant.



Figure 2: Political Vandalism. (Photo 22 at stop sign 7-12-a)

The types of vandalism on the signs were then classified as promotional, political, tags, wordplay, profanity, STOP/ARRET or other. The promotional category, in which all instances consisted of stickers, was used when the vandalism represented a company or band, or was promoting a show or event (ex. 'Stomp Records'). If the sticker has a website written on it, it was assumed to be promotional. If the sticker did not have a website written on it, and was not obviously the name of a company or band, a 'Google' search was undertaken to determine if the word or words did in fact represent a commercial entity. Vandalism was placed in the 'political' category when the words were presenting a political viewpoint. Some examples of this are 'vive Montréal français, vive le Québec français' (Figure 2) (Long live a French Montreal, Long live a French Quebec), 'éducation est accessible' (education is accessible) and 'anarchy'.

Vandalism was placed in the 'tag' category when it was clearly a signature of some sort. Tags are signatures or symbols that can be meant to define territories of gangs or individuals (Ley and Cybriwsky 1974). This was found in both sticker (written on a label) and graffiti forms. Profanity was very easy to identify. Some of the examples of this category are 'fuck' and 'fuck man'. Wordplay vandalism was identified by the use of the official word 'STOP' on the stop sign in a phrase. An example of this is 'Don't (STOP) Bombing!'. Signs where the words 'ARRET' or 'STOP' were written were classified as 'STOP/ARRET'. All of the other types of vandalism that did not fit into these categories were classified as 'other'.



Figure 3: Example of 'wordplay'. Photo s-30 at stop sign 8-17-7

The different purposes of the graffiti and stickers led to the possibility that the promotional stickers data were skewing the results of the comparison. A chi-square test was therefore performed to determine if this was indeed the case. Data from different zones were then reorganized to represent the stop sign data associated with the cities and boroughs mentioned above.

Results

Using the data from Appendix A, Table 1 was created. From all of the discernable vandalism that was found in the entire collection of stop signs, many more were marked with English graffiti (75.6%) than French graffiti (17.9%) (Table 1). A small proportion of the signs had vandalism with both languages on one sticker. Vandalism in Hebrew was found three times, with two of them (and possibly the third - due to low lighting it was not possible to discern this with certainty) having exactly the same sticker.

	All Languages	English	French	English and French	Hebrew
Vandalism Markings	168	127	30	8	3
Percentage of Whole Collection of Vandalism Markings	100%	75.6%	17.9%	4.76%	1.78%

Table 1: Language categories of the vandalism markings and percentages of the whole collection for that language category.

The different combinations of English, French, English and French, and Hebrew vandalism with 'ARRET' or 'STOP' signs are included in Table 2. The percentages of 'STOP', 'ARRET' and 'STOP/ARRET' signs are included in Table 3. The most common combinations were English vandalism on an 'ARRET' stop sign and French Vandalism on an 'ARRET' sign. In examining both the numbers and percentages of English graffiti on 'ARRET' signs (97 times, 76.3% of all English vandalism) and French graffiti on 'STOP' signs (1 time, 3.33% of all French vandalism), there is a striking difference (Table 2). To assess if this difference was statistically significant, a chi square test was performed (chi-square values are found in Table 4). A significant difference (p-value, 6.35157×10^{-15}) was found between English and French vandalism in regard to whether the language of the vandalism corresponded to the official language of the sign.

	All Languages	English	French	English and French	Hebrew
All Language Comparisons	168	127	30	8	3
Same as Official Language	54 (32.1 %)	24 (18.9%)	28 (93.3%)	1 (1.25%)	0 (0%)
Different than Official Language	100 (59.5%)	97 (76.3%)	1 (3.33%)	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Same as one of the Official Languages	14 (8.33%)	6 (4.72%)	1 (3.33%)	7 (8.75%)	0

Table 2: The incidents of vandalism were categorized by language, and were then considered in comparison to the language of the stop sign. 'Same as official language' implies that the language of the stop sign is the same as the language of the vandalism. 'Different than official language' implies that the vandalism was not the same language as the stop sign. 'Same as one of the official languages' implies that either the graffiti or stickers were in two languages and one of those languages was not the same as the official stop sign language, or on an Arret/Stop sign, only one of the official languages was represented in the vandalism. The first number is the actual number of incidents of a particular language category of vandalism and the second number is the percentage of the language (English, French etc) category of vandalism with a certain language comparison (same, partial or different to official language).

	Arret	Stop	Arret/Stop
Number of Signs	100	29	10
Percentage of Signs	71.94%	20.86%	7.20%

Table 3: This table includes the official language of the stop signs included in this project (French: Arret, English: Stop and French/English: Arret/Stop) and the percentages of the total for each type of sign.

	English Vandalism	French Vandalism
Same as Official Language	24	28
Different than Official Language	97	1
P value = 6.35157×10^{-15}		

Table 4: Values were used for the chi-square test. A significant different was found in the distribution of the English and French graffiti on the Arret and Stop signs.

The data was categorized as different types of vandalism (Table 5). There was a large quantity of English promotional vandalism, to be discussed further below, that could have skewed the results of the chi-square test. Another chi-square test was performed to assess if this extraordinarily small p value (Table 6) was due to the large proportion of promotional vandalism. The results of the same comparison described above, but without the promotional vandalism data, was still significant. The p value was larger, $p = 2.13451 \times 10^{-5}$, but still very significant.

	All Categories	Promotional	Political	Tags	Profanity	Wordplay	Stop/Arret	Other
All Languages	168	90	16	19	3	5	5	30
English	127, 75.6%	72, 80.0%	9, 56.25%	18, 94.7%	3, 100%	5, 100%	3, 60.0%	18, 60.0%
French	30, 17.9%	17, 18.8%	7, 43.8%	1, 5.25%	0, 0	0	2, 40.0%	3, 10.0%
English and French	8, 4.76%	1, 1.11%	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	0	0	7, 23.3%
Hebrew	3, 1.79%	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	0	0	3, 10.0%

Table 5: The vandalism was categorized into one of the groupings in this table. For each type of vandalism, the amount of times that vandalism was in a certain language is inscribed in this table. The percentages represent the proportion of a certain type of vandalism that is found in a particular language.

	English - promotional	French- promotional
Same as Official Language	14	12
Different than Official Language	37	1
P = 2.13451×10^{-5}		

Table 6: These are the values used for the second chi-square test. The vandalism classified as promotional was taken out of this calculation to assess whether the determining factor in making this comparison significant. As can be seen by looking at the p value in the 3rd row of this table, the comparison between the distribution of the English and French graffiti on the Stop and Arret stop signs was still found to be significant.

To better understand the data within its urban context, the data was reorganized to better represent the (parts of the) cities and boroughs that were examined (Table 7). The highest proportion of English vandalism was found in Hampstead, followed by, the Plateau, Cote Saint-Luc, Westmount, Ville-Marie and finally by NDG/CDN. On the other hand, the highest proportion of French vandalism was found in Ville-Marie followed by, NDG/CDN, the Plateau and Westmount. No French vandalism was found in Hamstead or Cote Saint-Luc. The Hebrew vandalism was found in NDG/CDN and Cote Saint-Luc.

	All Languages	English	French	English and French	Hebrew
Plateau	53, 31.5%	46, 86.7%	7, 13.2%	0, 0	0, 0
Ville-Marie	38, 22.6%	26,	12,	0, 0	0, 0

		68.4%	31.6%		
NDG/CDN	39, 18.4%	26, 66.7%	8, 20.5%	3, 7.69%	2, 5.13%
Westmount	31, 18.5%	23, 74.1%	3, 9.68%	5, 16.1%	0, 0
CSL	4, 2.38%	3, 75.0%	0, 0	0, 0	1, 25.0%
Hampstead	3, 1.79%	3, 100%	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0

Table 7: Within the boroughs and cities where the stop signs were observed, the data is classified by language in this table. The first number is the actual number of incidents of vandalism. The second is the percentage of the vandalism markings in that city are of a certain language, except for the second column (all languages) where the percentages represent the percent of all of the vandalism markings that the specific city or borough had in this study.

The categories of vandalism were then transformed to represent the types of vandalism within the boroughs and cities (Table 8). The Plateau had the highest proportion of promotional material, Ville-Marie had the highest proportion of political material, NDG/CDN had the highest proportion of tags, etc.

	All Categories	Promotional	Political	Tags	Profanity	Wordplay	Stop/Arret	Other
Plateau	53	43, 81.1 %	3, 5.66%	2, 3.77%	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	5, 9.43%
Ville-Marie	38	20, 52.6%	9, 23.7%	3, 7.89%	0, 0	0, 0	1, 2.63%	5, 16.1%
NDG/CDN	39	17, 43.6%	1, 2.56%	11, 28.2%	0, 0	0, 0	3, 7.690%	7, 17.9%
Westmount	31	10, 32.2%	2, 6.45%	3, 9.68%	2, 6.45%	4, 12.9%	1, 3.23%	9, 29.0%
CSL	4	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	1, 25.0%	0, 0	0, 0	3, 75.0%
Hampstead	3	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	1, 33.3%	0, 0	2, 66.7%

Table 8: The stop signs were then considered based on their place within their borough or city. For each type of vandalism, the number of incidents of vandalism in that area are noted. As well of the percentage of each type of vandalism present with the city or borough is included in this table.

Discussion

The fact that a very large proportion of the stop signs were officially French - 'ARRET' (71.94%), and yet a very strong majority of the vandalism on these signs was English (75.6%) deserves some sort of explanation. This could partially be because many companies and bands have English names regardless of their audience or potential clients. As well, tags could be written in English even if the author of the tag were a French individual. Finally, most of the very Montreal-specific vandalism, be it politically oriented, or advertising for shows, was in French. Essentially, the discrepancy between the languages of the graffiti and the official languages of the stop signs certainly cannot be connected to more English-speakers than French-speakers participating in the vandalizing of stop signs in Montreal.

It is important to consider the type of vandalism that was found on the signs to understand the extremely significant p value that was associated with the comparison between the prevalence of English and French vandalism on 'STOP' or 'ARRET' signs. Much of the English vandalism found on the French stop signs (and on the English ones as well) were promotional stickers. Many of these stickers were from stores, promotional events, online companies, bands and record labels. For the most part, the words on these stickers would be English regardless of whether they are distributed in a less or more English region of a city. These sorts of items are given out in large numbers and might or might not have been placed on stop signs as an actual promotional tool. They could have been placed haphazardly on stop signs by individuals who acquired these stickers with no intention of promotion whatsoever. A large proportion of this promotional material was found in zones 1 and 2 which are located in the Plateau of Montreal. This area close to the downtown core, and is known to house many students and young adults.



Figure 3: Promotional Vandalism. (Photo 95 at stop sign 16-22-4)

It was decided that this data would be taken out of the calculations to assess how strongly it influenced the results of the comparisons. However, without the promotional stickers, more English

vandalism was still found to significantly prevalent on 'ARRÊT' stop signs than would have been found if the distribution was random.

The second most common type of vandalism (not considering the category 'other') were tags. This would most likely be the most common type of graffiti had the non-discernable types been included in the analysis. As described in the methods section, all discernable English or French word (except people's names) were considered such as 'blank', 'chase' and 'beau'. Tags were especially difficult to decode. They were only included in the final data if they were could be unambiguously identified as a noun or verb (not a personal pronoun). Although there was only example of a French language tag ('beau'), this does not suggest that French-speaking individuals are not drawn to tagging stop signs. English words could be used as tags by French speaking individuals, as well, considering the large proportion of undecipherable tags on stop signs that were not included in this study, the proportion of English to French language tags may not be representative of the actual vandalism situation.



Figure 5: The only French-language tag. (Photo 241 at stop sign 19-16-5)

Much of the French language vandalism was much more specific to Montreal. There were advertisements for records that were coming out soon 'en vente partout' (now selling everywhere) and political statements 'un statut pour tou(te)s, marchons pour Montreal' (one law for everyone, walk for Montreal). A much higher proportion of French vandalism was political (7/30) than English vandalism (9/127), and every one of the French political vandalism markings were Montreal-specific, whereas none of the English ones were connected with Montreal in anyway.

This goes to say that, although much of the vandalism is in fact English, it is not specifically linked to the English community in Montreal and neither is it linked to the French community. However, there are some instances where an English speaking individual was most likely involved the vandalism. These were the vandalism markings categorized as 'wordplay'. Some examples of 'wordplay' are '(STOP) being an asshole' or 'don't (STOP) bombing'. These required some knowledge of English, they occurred in relatively English areas of Hampstead¹ and Westmount², and there was an absence of 'wordplay' in the French vandalism. It is more likely that these types of vandalism were created by English speaking than a (exclusively) French speaking individual.

¹ From the census tract (46200370.00) data from Statistics Canada, 60% of the inhabitants of this part of Hampstead are mother-tongue English. In all of Montreal, only 11% of the inhabitants are mother-tongue English.

² From the census tracts (46200350.00, 46200352.00, 46200354.00 and 46200356.00) data from Statistics Canada, an average of 51.8% of the inhabitants of these areas of Westmount are mother-tongue English. In all of Montreal, only 11% of the inhabitants are mother-tongue English.

There were many areas where this study could be improved upon. Time limitations did not allow for all of the data to be analyzed. An in depth study of the demographics of certain areas could be correlated with certain types of stop signs. Potentially, there could be many more explanations for the high proportion of English vandalism on Montreal stop signs. However, this study is a preliminary contribution to a detailed examination of vandalism in Montreal. How and whether the type of vandalism can contribute to any knowledge about the vandal him/herself is debatable. Closer examination of the data, and correlations with other information (demographics, language profiles etc.) could be helpful to furthering research and knowledge in this area.

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Appendix A: Data for the 139 Stop Signs

Zone	Int #	Sign #	Municipality	Int (N/S)	Int (E/W)	Van (F)	Van (B)	Official Language
1	2	7	Plateau	Laval	Rachel	1	3	a
1	3	8	Plateau	de Bullion	Rachel	1	2	a
1	6	7	Plateau	Esplanade	Marie-Anne	0	2	a
1	6	8	Plateau	Esplanade	Marie-Anne	1	2	a
1	7	7	Plateau	St. Dominique	Marie-Anne	1	1	a
1	9	7	Plateau	de Bullion	Marie-Anne	1	1	a
1	9	8	Plateau	de Bullion	Marie-Anne	0	1	a
1	10	3	Plateau	Hotel de Ville	Marie-Anne	0	2	a
1	10	4	Plateau	Hotel de Ville	Marie-Anne	0	1	a
1	12	8	Plateau	Henri-Julien	Marie-Anne	1	1	a
1	13	3	Plateau	Drolet	Marie-Anne	2	3	a
1	14	4	Plateau	Drolet	Mont-Royal	2	3	a
1	18	4	Plateau	Coloniale	Mont-Royal	1	3	a
1	19	7	Plateau	St. Dominique	Mont-Royal	0	3	a
1	20	7	Plateau	Clark	Mont-Royal	1	3	a
1	20	8	Plateau	Clark	Mont-Royal	0	3	a
1	21	8	Plateau	Esplanade	Mont-Royal	2	0	a
1	22	7	Plateau	Jeanne-Mance	Villeneuve	3	2	a
1	24	8	Plateau	Clark	Villeneuve	0	2	a
1	25	6	Plateau	St. Dominique	Villeneuve	1	0	a
1	32	1	Plateau	Gilford	Drolet	2	0	a
1	40	8	Plateau	de Bullion	Elmiré	0	1	a
2	2	5	Plateau	St. Famille	Milton	2	0	a
2	10	4	Plateau	Clark	Prince-Arthur	2	3	a
2	11	1	Plateau	St. Laurent	Guilbault W	0	0	a
2	16	3	Plateau	Coloniale	Prince-Arthur	3	3	a
2	16	4	Plateau	Coloniale	Prince-Arthur	2	3	a
2	19	8	Plateau	Bullion	Prince Arthur	1	3	a
2	22	4	Plateau	Hotel-de-Ville	Prince Arthur	0	1	a
2	25	2	Plateau	Saint Denis	Saint-Louis	3	0	a
2	26	4	Plateau	Laval	Prince Arthur	1	3	a
2	38	7	Plateau	St. Dominique	Roy	1	2	a
2	43	5	Plateau	St. Urbain	Bass	1	0	a
2	46	7	Plateau	Sewell	St. Cuthbert	1	0	a
2	50	7	Plateau	St. Dominique	Duluth	0	2	a
2	51	4	Plateau	Coloniale	Duluth	0	3	a
2	52	4	Plateau	Coloniale	Napoleon	1	2	a
2	54	7	Plateau	Bullion	Duluth	1	1	a
2	57	8	Plateau	Laval	Napoleon	0	3	a
					Rene			
3	4	4	Ville-Marie	St. Dominique	Levesque	3	0	a
3	6	3	Ville-Marie	St. Dominique	Viger	0	2	a
3	23	7	Ville-Marie	St. Dominique	Boisbriand	1	1	a
3	24	7	Ville-Marie	St. Dominique	Maisonneuve	3	3	a
3	26	8	Ville-Marie	Clark	Maisonneuve	0	1	a
3	48	8	Ville-Marie	St. Elizabeth	St. Catherine	2	0	a
3	51	5	Ville-Marie	St. Dominique	Boisbriand	1	1	a

3	54	7	Ville-Marie	St. Elizabeth	Boisbriand	2	1	a	
4	5	5	Ville-Marie	Parking lot Royal Victoria Hospital	Lorne	2	0	as	
4	14	6	Ville-Marie	Aylmer	Crescent	1	0	a	
4	15	8	Ville-Marie	Lorne Crescent	Prince Arthur	0	1	a	
5	5	3	Ville-Marie	McGill College	Cathcart	2	0	a	
5	8	4	Ville-Marie	Union	Belmont	1	0	a	
5	10	6	Ville-Marie	Alymer	Mayor	0	3	a	
5	11	6	Ville-Marie	City Councillors	Mayor	3	3	a	
5	12	3	Ville-Marie	City Councillors	St. Catherine	0	2	a	
5	13	5	Ville-Marie	St. Alexandre	Carmichael	0	3	a	
5	14	5	Ville-Marie	St. Alexandre	Dowd	1	0	a	
5	17	3	Ville-Marie	Anderson	Gauchetiere	0	1	a	
5	20	1	Ville-Marie	Bleury	St. Edward	1	3	a	
5	21	5	Ville-Marie	St. Alexandre	Mayor	1	1	a	
5	21	6	Ville-Marie	St. Alexandre	Mayor	2	3	a	
7	10	1	Ville-Marie	Atwater	Barat	2	0	a	
7	12	a	Ville-Marie	Atwater	Hawarden	0	1	a	
7	18	2	Ville-Marie	Lambert Closse	Lincoln	0	3	a	
7	23	2	Ville-Marie	St.Marc	Baile	0	2	a	
7	27	1	Ville-Marie	St. Mathieu	Tupper	0	1	a	
7	27	2	Ville-Marie	St. Mathieu	Tupper	2	3	a	
8	10	3	Westmount	Wood	St.Catherine	1	2	as	
8	17	7	Westmount	Hallowell	Dorchester	2	0	s	
8	26	5	Westmount	Greene	Sherbrooke	0	1	s	
9	6	c	Neiges	Cote des Stupid Mall	Parking Lot	Not Impressed	3	0	a
9	7	f	Neiges	Cote des Stupid Mall	Parking Lot	Not Impressed	3	0	a
9	18	8	Neiges	Cote des Lavoie	Barclay	0	1	a	
10	13	5	Neiges	Cote des Lavoie	Dupus	1	0	a	
10	20	7	Neiges	Legare	Dupus	0	1	as	
11	7	1	Westmount	Surrey Gardens	Devon	1	0	s	
11	9	1	Westmount	Oakland	Shorncliffe	0	1	s	
11	10	c	Westmount	N/A	Summit Circle	2	0	s	
12	15	6	Westmount	Grosvenor	Cote St-Antoine	1	0	s	
12	20	7	Westmount	Strathcona	Cote St-Antoine	2	1	s	
12	27	5	Westmount	Roslyn	Westmount	1	0	s	
12	35	1	Westmount	Sydenham/Forden	Westmount	0	1	s	
12	44	1	Westmount	Aberdeen	Montrose	1	0	s	
12	44	5	Westmount	Aberdeen	Montrose	1	0	s	
13	8	1	Westmount	Prince Albert	Burton	3	0	s	
13	9	5	Westmount	Prince Albert	de Maisonneuve	2	1	s	
13	16	5	Westmount	Redfern	de Maisonneuve	2	1	s	

13	25	5	Westmount	Parking Lot	Academy de	3	0	s
13	26	1	Westmount	Academy	Maisonneuve	3	3	s
13	28	5	Westmount	Lansdowne	de Maisonneuve de		3	s
13	29	3	Westmount	Roslyn	Maisonneuve de	3	2	s
13	31	5	Westmount	Grosvenor	Maisonneuve de	3	0	s
13	31	6	Westmount	Grosvenor	Maisonneuve de	3	0	s
13	31	8	Westmount	Grosvenor	Maisonneuve	1	0	s
13	32	5	Westmount	Victoria	de Maisonneuve		3	s
13	32	6	Westmount	Victoria	de Maisonneuve		3	s
13	37	7	Westmount	Blenheim	St. Catherine	0	2	s
13	47	5	Westmount	Clarke/Dorchester	St. Catherine		0	as
14	21	1	Neiges	Trans Island	Isabella	1	0	a
15	19	5	Westmount	Grosvenor	Sunnyside	1	0	s
16	2	8	de Grace	Marlowe	Brillon Notre-Dame-	1	0	as
16	9	3	Westmount	Villa Maria	de-Grace Cote St-	1	0	a
16	13	3	Westmount	Victoria	Antoine	2	0	s
16	19	4	de Grace	Northcliffe	Cote St-Antoine	1	0	as
16	22	4	de Grace	Northcliffe	Sherbrooke	0	0	a
16	39	1	de Grace	Prudhomme	Crowley	0	0	a
16	40	1	de Grace	Decarie	Maisonneuve	1	0	a
17	21	4	Neiges	Coolbrook	Garland	1	0	a
18	4	8	Neiges	Macdonald	Snowdon	0	1	a
18	9	7	Neiges	Coolbrook	Dupuis	1	0	a
18	22	7	Neiges	Coolbrook	Bourret	2	0	a
19	1	4	de Grace	Coolbrook	Monkland	0	1	a
19	3	7	de Grace	Harvard	Monkland	2	0	as
19	7	3	de Grace	Wilson	Terrebonne	2	1	a
19	8	8	de Grace	Harvard	Terrebonne	0	1	as
19	9	1	de Grace	Oxford	Terrebonne	1	1	a
19	16	5	de Grace	Wilson	Somerled	2	0	a

20	4	8	Notre Dame de Grace	Hingston	Sherbrooke	1	3	a
20	7	8	Notre Dame de Grace	Melrose	Sherbrooke	3	2	a
20	8	7	Notre Dame de Grace	Harvard	Sherbrooke	2	3	a
20	21	4	Notre Dame de Grace	Beaconsfield	Notre Dame de Grace	3	2	a
20	33	4	Notre Dame de Grace	Oxford	Côte St. Antoine	3	3	a
21	18	3	Notre Dame de Grace	Girouard	Maisonneuve	1	2	a
21	18	3.5	Notre Dame de Grace	Girouard	Maisonneuve	0	1	a
21	19	4	Notre Dame de Grace	Old Orchard	Maisonneuve	2	2	a
22	42	5	Hamstead	Thurlow	Hampstead	1	0	s
22	43	1	Hamstead	Stratford	Hampstead	0	1	s
23	2	7	Notre Dame de Grace	Royal	Terrebonne	1	1	a
25	2	7	Cote Saint Luc	Korczak	Korczak	2	2	as
27	5	1	Notre Dame de Grace	Walkley	Chester	2	0	a
28	2	6	Notre Dame de Grace	Prince of Wales	Starnes	2	1	a
28	16	4	Notre Dame de Grace	Prince of Wales	Monkland	1	1	a
28	26	4	Notre Dame de Grace	Cavendish to Cavendish	Near de Maisonneuve	1	0	a
29	32	7	Cote Saint Luc	Rand	Mackle	2	2	as
29	42	8	Cote Saint Luc	Parkhaven	Trinity	3	0	s
31	7	5	Notre Dame de Grace	Westmore	Connaught	1	0	a
31	11	1	Notre Dame de Grace	Westmore	Somerled	1	1	a
31	16	4	Notre Dame de Grace	O'Bryan	Fielding	1	0	a
32	15	3	Notre Dame de Grace	Belmore	Terrebonne	1	0	a

Continued

Zone	Int #	Sign #	Unofficial Language	Same as Official	Type	Written on Sign
1	2	7	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	Anodyne Records, Show
1	3	8	E	N	OTHER	Ya hobb is next
1	6	7	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	bogueart entertainment, drop
1	6	8	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment
1	7	7	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment
1	9	7	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment
1	9	8	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment
1	10	3	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment, Skate supply

1	10	4	E	N	PR	bogueart entertainment
1	12	8	E	N	PR	Mother Earth Hemp Clothing
1	13	3	E, F	N, Y	PR, PR	L'ASS--, Outernational bogueart entertainment,
1	14	4	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	outernational
1	18	4	E	N	PR	French Connection
1	19	7	E, E	N, N	PR, OTHER	Outernational, priority mail bogueart entertainment,
1	20	7	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	outernational
1	20	8	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	bogueart entertainment
1	21	8	E	N	PR	www.underworld-shop.com
1	22	7	E	N	PR	5662 Sherbrooke west
1	24	8	E	N	OTHER	59ER
1	25	6	E	N	TAG	OFKOARSE
1	32	1	F	Y	PO	education est accessible
1	40	8	F	Y	PO	Oui au Quebec Libre!
2	2	5	E	N	PR	333mag
2	10	4	E	N	PR	Rugged Inter-
2	11	1	F	Y	OTHER	La nouvelle-
2	16	3	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	Celestial Daw, Defend
2	16	4	E, F	Y, N	PR, PR	les-massive, bogueart entertainment
2	19	8	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	Bogueart entertainment, dark
2	22	4	E	N	PR	Bogueart entertainment
2	25	2	E	N	PR	Underworld
2	26	4	E, F, F	Y, N, N	PR, PR, PO	Dark, Les-massives, montreal
2	38	7	E	N	PR	Hype energy
2	43	5	E	N	PR	Underworld
2	46	7	E	N	PR	Burton Snowboarding
2	50	7	E	N	PR	Bogueartentertainment the betty- Bogueartentertainment, Where is
2	51	4	E, E	N, N	PR, OTHER	the fairness
2	52	4	E	N	PR	Side 6
2	54	7	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	Bogueartentertainment, Lewis cruise
2	57	8	E	N	TAG	gives
3	4	4	F	Y	PR	Symer cree la jalousie
3	6	3	E	N	TAG	Bank
3	23	7	E	N	PR	Obey
3	24	7	E, E	N, N	PR, PR	Side 6, Level 4
3	26	8	E	N	OTHER	Plastic Litt-
3	48	8	F	Y	PR	sagesse immobile
3	51	5	E	N	PR	obey
3	54	7	E	N	PR	Star one
4	5	5	E	Y/N	PR	Spin
4	14	6	E	N	STOP/ARRET	STOP
4	15	8	E	N	OTHER	Real Knee Head
5	5	3	F	Y	PR	Vivre Plus
5	8	4	E	N	OTHER	Junk Mail
5	10	6	F	Y	PR	vachemorte.com
5	11	6	E, E, F	Y, N, N	OTHER, PR, PR	Upper, vachemorte.com, Friday december 13th
5	12	3	E	N	TAG	Nose

5	13	5	E, F	Y, N	TAG, PR	Noze, longueur d'ondes
5	14	5	E	N	PR	Underworld
5	17	3	E	N	PR	Temple skate supply
5	20	1	F, F	Y, Y	PR, PR	en vente partout, vachemorte.com
5	21	5	F	Y	PR	Treizieme etage
5	21	6	E	N	PR	drop
7	10	1	E	N	PR	Underworld
7	12	a	F	Y	PO	Vive le Montreal francais vive le Quebec francais
7	18	2	E	N	OTHER	"Everyone picks their nose"
7	23	2	E, E, F	N, N, Y	PO, PO, PO	Vive le Montreal francais vive le Quebec francais, proletariat, www.arevolt.com
7	27	1	E, E	N, N	PO, PO	Proletariat, www.arevolt.com
7	27	2	E, E, F	N, N, Y	PO, PO, PO	Vive le Montreal francais vive le Quebec francais, proletariat, www.arevolt.com
8	10	3	F	Y/N	OTHER	sesame (with accent)
8	17	7	E	Y	WORDPLAY	Don't Stop Bombing
8	26	5	E	Y	PO	Anarchy
9	6	c	E	N	TAG	Spook (tag)
9	7	f	F	Y	STOP/ARRET	Arret
9	18	8	F	Y	PO	un statut pour tou(te)s marchons pour montreal
10	13	5	F	Y	OTHER	la nouvelle-
10	20	7	E	Y/N	PROF	FUCK
11	7	1	E	Y	PR	Sugarloaf/USA
11	9	1	E	Y	PR	Morton Longboards
11	10	c	E	Y	WORDPLAY	(stop) snitching
12	15	6	E	Y	WORDPLAY	(stop) being an asshole
12	20	7	E	Y	PR	I love threadless
12	27	5	E	Y	PR	I love threadless
12	35	1	E	Y	OTHER	Upperlansdove eastside
12	44	1	E	Y	PR	I love threadless
12	44	5	E	Y	PR	we love weed www.
13	8	1	E	Y	WORDPLAY	don't (stop) naw
13	9	5	E	Y	PR	drop
13	16	5	E	Y	PR	drop
13	25	5	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	hello/bonjour
13	26	1	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	hello/bonjour
13	28	5	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	hello/bonjour
13	29	3	E	Y	TAG	wage (tag)
13	31	5	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	hello/bonjour
13	31	6	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	hello/bonjour
13	31	8	E	Y	PO	fachism
13	32	5	E	Y	PR	alenaskateboarding.com
13	32	6	E	Y	PR	WRG? Online magazine
13	37	7	E	Y	PROF	Fuck man
13	47	5	E	Y	OTHER	nork is - then
14	21	1	hebrew	N	OTHER	
15	19	5	E	Y	TAG	DOE (tag)

16	2	8	E	Y/N	PR	whiteface
16	9	3	E	N	TAG	Roast (tag)
16	13	3	F	N	STOP/ARRET	Arret
16	19	4	E	Y/N	TAG	wage (tag)
						vachemorte.com, cheap tickets,
16	22	4	E, E, F	N, N, Y	PR, PR, PR	rugged
16	39	1	E	N	PR	Far Spray
16	40	1	E	N	PR	drop
17	21	4	E	N	TAG	Young c-05
18	4	8	F	Y	PR	CKOI
18	9	7	hebrew	N	OTHER	
18	22	7	E	N	TAG	BANK (tag)
19	1	4	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	de from
19	3	7	E/F	Y	PR	FUBU: The collection/La collection
19	7	3	E	N	PR	rewind
19	8	8	E	Y/N	TAG	prime
19	9	1	E	N	PR	Obey
19	16	5	F	Y	TAG	beau (tag)
20	4	8	E	N	TAG	Goof
20	7	8	E	N	OTHER	Can
20	8	7	E	N	PR	Obey
20	21	4	E	N	PR	Obsession
20	33	4	E	N	TAG	core (tag)
						vachemorte.com,
21	18	3	E, F	Y, N	PR	alenaskateboarding.com
21	18	3.5	F	Y	PR, PR	vachemorte.com
21	19	4	F	Y	PR	vachemorte.com
22	42	5	E	Y	WORDPLAY	(S)L(OP)
					OTHER,	
22	43	1	E, E	Y, Y	OTHER	Hampstead, Harland Cleave
23	2	7	E	N	TAG	Chase
25	2	7	E	Y/N	PROF	Fuck
27	5	1	E	N	STOP/ARRET	STOP
28	2	6	E/F	Y/N	OTHER	de from
28	16	4	E	N	TAG	chinn
28	26	4	E	N	PR	Stomp records
29	32	7	hebrew	N	OTHER	
					OTHER,	
29	42	8	E, E	Y, Y	OTHER	I love you tommy, I love bruce
31	7	5	E	N	OTHER	artful dodger
31	11	1	E	N	OTHER	go
31	16	4	E	N	STOP/ARRET	STOP
32	15	3	E	N	TAG	Blank (tag)

Continued

Zone	Int #	Sign #	Photo Front	Photo Back	Surveyors
1	2	7	1297	1298	KH, SB, EC
1	3	8	1301	1302	KH, SB, EC
1	6	7	1309	1310	KH, SB, EC
1	6	8	1311	1312	KH, SB, EC
1	7	7	1314	1315	KH, SB, EC

1	9	7	1322	1323	KH, SB, EC
1	9	8	1320	1321	KH, SB, EC
1	10	3	1325	1326	KH, SB, EC
1	10	4	1327	1328	KH, SB, EC
1	12	8	1335	1336	KH, SB, EC
1	13	3	1338	1339	KH, SB, EC
1	14	4	1342	1343	KH, SB, EC
1	18	4	1356	1357	KH, SB, EC
1	19	7	1359	1360	KH, SB, EC
1	20	7	1363	1364	KH, SB, EC
1	20	8	1365	1366	KH, SB, EC
1	21	8	1368		KH, SB, EC
1	22	7	1372	1373	KH, SB, EC
1	24	8	1377	1378	KH, SB, EC
1	25	6	1382		KH, SB, EC
1	32	1	1408		KH, SB, EC
1	40	8	1423	1424	KH, SB, EC
2	2	5	007	008	LP, ABH, SW
2	10	4	040	041	LP, ABH, SW
2	11	1	044	045	LP, ABH, SW
2	16	3	061	062	LP, ABH, SW
2	16	4	063	064	LP, ABH, SW
2	19	8	121	122	SW LP ABH
2	22	4	128	129	SW LP ABH
2	25	2	138	139	SW LP ABH
2	26	4	140	141	SW LP ABH
2	38	7	181	182	SW LP ABH
2	43	5	195		SW LP ABH
2	46	7	203		SW LP ABH
2	50	7	216	220	SW LP ABH
2	51	4	221	222	SW LP ABH
2	52	4	223	224	SW LP ABH
2	54	7	230	231	SW LP ABH
2	57	8	243	244	SW LP ABH
3	4	4	234	235	AW, TD, CR
3	6	3	241	242	AW, TD, CR
3	23	7	457	458	AW, TD, CR
3	24	7	461	462	AW, TD, CR
3	26	8	467	468	AW, TD, CR
3	48	8	749	750	TD AW RS
3	51	5	755	756	TD AW RS
3	54	7	763		TD AW RS
4	5	5	2618	-	KH, SB, EC
4	14	6	2637	-	KH, SB, EC
4	15	8	2640	2641	KH, SB, EC
5	5	3	100-0278		YW, AV, KT
5	8	4	100-0302	100-0303	YW, AV, KT
5	10	6	100-0307	100-0308	YW, AV, KT
5	11	6	100-0316	100-0317	YW, AV, KT
5	12	3	100-0318	100-0319	YW, AV, KT

5	13	5	100-0322	100-0323	YW, AV, KT
5	14	5	100-0324		YW, AV, KT
5	17	3	100-0332	100-0333	YW, AV, KT
5	20	1	100-0338	100-0399	YW, AV, KT
5	21	5	100-0343	100-0344	YW, AV, KT
5	21	6	100-0341	100-0342	YW, AV, KT
7	10	1	100-0014		JB, LA, CGM
7	12	a	100-0022	100-0023	JB, LA, CGM
7	18	2	100-0038		JB, LA, CGM
7	23	2	261	262	JB, LA, CGM
7	27	1	270	271	JB, LA, CGM
7	27	2	272	273	JB, LA, CGM
8	10	3	S3	S4-5	DG, SK, VR
8	17	7	S31	S30	DG, SK, VR
8	26	5	S57	S58	DG, SK, VR
9	6	c	473		JB, LA, CGM
9	7	f	481		JB, LA, CGM
9	18	8	525	526	JB, LA, CGM
10	13	5	44		HL, AV
10	20	7	76	77	HL, AV
11	7	1	063		JB, LA, CGM
11	9	1	068	069	JB, LA, CGM
11	10	c	077		JB, LA, CGM
12	15	6	1501		LZ, HL, GK
12	20	7	1515	1516	LZ, HL, GK
12	27	5	1533		LZ, HL, GK
12	35	1	1553	1554	LZ, HL, GK
12	44	1	1573		LZ, HL, GK
12	44	5	1575		LZ, HL, GK
13	8	1	100-0365	-	LZ, YW, KT
13	9	5	100-0368	100-0369	LZ, YW, KT
13	16	5	100-0395	100-0396	LZ, YW, KT
13	25	5	100-0426	-	LZ, YW, KT
13	26	1	100-0433	100-0434	LZ, YW, KT
13	28	5	-	100-0442-0443	LZ, YW, KT
13	29	3	100-0446	100-0447	LZ, YW, KT
13	31	5	100-0450	-	LZ, YW, KT
13	31	6	100-0451	-	LZ, YW, KT
13	31	8	100-0456	-	LZ, YW, KT
13	32	5	-	100-0460, 0461	LZ, YW, KT
13	32	6	-	100-0458	LZ, YW, KT
13	37	7	100-0471	100-0472	LZ, YW, KT
13	47	5	-	100-0490, 0491	LZ, YW, KT
14	21	1	807		CR, AW, TD
15	19	5	202		JB, LA, CGM
16	2	8	003	004	DG, SK, VR
16	9	3	027	028	DG, SK, VR
16	13	3	044	045	DG, SK, VR
16	19	4	079	080	DG, SK, VR
16	22	4	094	095	DG, SK, VR

16	39	1	172	173	DG, SK, VR
16	40	1	174		DG, SK, VR
17	21	4	6279		VALIANT!
18	4	8	1618	1619	AV, HL, GK
18	9	7	1644		AV, HL, GK
18	22	7	1681		AV, HL, GK
19	1	4	181	182	DG, SK, VR
19	3	7	187	188	DG, SK, VR
19	7	3	204	205	DG, SK, VR
19	8	8	210	211	DG, SK, VR
19	9	1	214	215	DG, SK, VR
19	16	5	241	242	DG, SK, VR
20	4	8	575	576	LZ, YW, KT
20	7	8	584	585	LZ, YW, KT
20	8	7	589	590	LZ, YW, KT
20	21	4	710	711	LZ, YW, KT
20	33	4	749	750	LZ, YW, KT
21	18	3	535	536	LZ, YW, KT
21	18	3.5	532	534	LZ, YW, KT
21	19	4	537	538	LZ, YW, KT
22	42	5	323		LP, ABH, SW
22	43	1	325	326	LP, ABH, SW
23	2	7	259	260	DG, SK, VR
25	2	7	006	007	EJ, BS
27	5	1	0416	-	JB, LA, CGM
28	2	6	045	046	DG, SK, VR
28	16	4	117	118	DG, SK, VR
28	26	4	164	165	DG, SK, VR
29	32	7	136	137	EJ, BS, SV
29	42	8	157	-	EJ, BS, SV
31	7	5	307		JB, LA, CGM
31	11	1	327	328	JB, LA, CGM
31	16	4	353		JB, LA, CGM
32	15	3	3008		EC