

**The linguistic landscape as construct of the public space: a case study of  
post-apartheid rural South Africa**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, Chrismi-Rinda Loth, declare that the Doctoral Degree research thesis that I herewith submit for the Doctoral Degree qualification Linguistics (LIN 900) at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The linguistic landscape (LL), comprised of items displaying written language in the public space, is the product of linguistic choices that are executed by a myriad of actors who are guided by numerous pragmatic or symbolic motivations. Written language in the public space has unique semiotic properties that extend beyond its communicative function. It indexes power relations and identities, and, as such, is utilised to impose or negotiate these. The LL is thus a symbolic construct finding itself in a continuous dialectic with society. This dialectic is especially interesting in a society undergoing socio-political transformation, since revised language policies and ideologies are at play. While the changes influence choices made in the LL, the LL simultaneously serves to index change. In the South African context, the shift from apartheid to democracy in 1994 heralded a new language regime. The high level of societal multilingualism in the country is now supported on an official level. The present study asks questions about the nature of the LL constructed in post-apartheid South Africa. Since peripheral LLs are generally neglected in LL research, this investigation aims to address the gap by conducting an empirical case study of the linguistic profile of a rural area in South Africa.

LL research focuses on the patterns of language choice in the public space. However, the field has not yet developed a coherent methodological and theoretical framework that allows for an extensive yet systematic exploration of LL patterns. Therefore, the present study proposes a model based on concepts from the field of language policy and planning (LPP).

Based on the premise that the validity of communicative actions is determined by space (as context), a model of LPP space is developed. This LPP space is constituted by a physical and a semiotic aspect. The latter is further divided into three centres, namely the regulatory, the legitimising and the implementational. These four facets of the LPP space each adhere to an internal logic, but they are interactive and compete for dominance. The prevailing LPP facet governs the rules for valid communicative actions that require or prohibit the use of certain linguistic competencies. Based on which competencies are allowed, the multilingual capacities of actors are rendered either valid or invalid.

The LPP space model is applied to the LL by determining the spatio-temporal characteristics of the research site (physical aspect), analysing official directives regarding the LL (regulatory centre), exploring language attitudes in the community (legitimising centre), and documenting

the language choices executed in the LL (implementational centre). How multilingualism is evaluated by each LPP facet is also considered.

The implementational centre is explored by means of a complete LL survey of the nine towns in the Kopanong Local Municipality in the southern Free State province of South Africa. The dataset, comprising 5,773 signs, was compiled between 20 May 2008 and 18 August 2010. Given the extensiveness of the data, several methodological advances are developed in order to systematically codify and analyse the dataset. The combined qualitative/quantitative approach allows thorough cross-referencing of the results, where patterns of language choice are compared to the three LL variables (locality, agency and functionality) as well as the other LPP facets.

For this specific context, the study concludes that all facets of the LPP space place the onus to enact multilingual competencies on the LL actors themselves. The LL resulting from their choices is constituted by a high volume of monolingual signage. In addition, English dominates at the expense of African language visibility, and, to a lesser degree, Afrikaans. However, this outcome is considered the result of lacking critical awareness about the LL rather than a negative evaluation of a multilingual LL.

**Keywords:**

Kopanong Local Municipality, language attitudes, language legislation, language policy and planning, language practices, linguistic landscape, multilingualism, public space, rural research

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**AFRIKAANS**

**ABSTRAK**

Die linguistiese landskap (LL), bestaande uit items wat geskrewe taal in die openbare ruimte vertoon, is die produk van linguistiese keuses wat gemaak word deur 'n groot aantal rolspelers, dié gelei deur verskeie pragmatiese of simboliese motiverings. Geskrewe taal in die openbare ruimte het unieke semiotiese eienskappe wat ver verby die kommunikatiewe funksie daarvan strek. Dit indekseer magsverhoudinge en identiteite en word, as sodanig, aangewend om hierdie af te dwing of te onderhandel. Die LL is gevolglik 'n simboliese konstruk wat sigself in 'n voortdurende dialektiek met die samelewing verkeer. Hierdie dialektiek is veral interessant in

'n samelewing wat besig is om sosio-politiese transformasie te ondergaan, aangesien hersiene taalbeleide en -ideologieë aan die bod is. Terwyl hierdie veranderinge keuses in die LL beïnvloed, dien die LL terselfdertyd as medium om verandering te indekseer. In die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks het die verandering in 1994 van apartheid na demokrasie 'n nuwe taalregime ingelui. Die hoë vlak van veeltaligheid in hierdie samelewing geniet nou amptelike ondersteuning. Die huidige studie doen ondersoek oor die aard van die LL wat in postapartheid Suid-Afrika gekonstrueer word. Aangesien daar gewoonlik nie aandag geskenk word aan perifere LL's in LL-navorsing nie, poog hierdie ondersoek om die gaping aan te spreek deur die uitvoer van 'n empiriese gevallestudie van die linguistiese profiel van 'n landelike gebied in Suid-Afrika.

LL-navorsing fokus op die tendense rondom taalkeuses in die openbare ruimte. Die veld het egter nog nie 'n koherente metodologiese en teoretiese raamwerk ontwikkel wat 'n omvattende, dog sistematiese ondersoek van LL-tendense toelaat nie. Gevolglik stel die huidige studie 'n model voor, gebaseer op konsepte uit die veld van taalbeleid en taalbeplanning (LPP).

Gebaseer op die veronderstelling dat die geldigheid van kommunikatiewe handeling deur ruimte (as konteks) bepaal word, is 'n model vir LPP-ruimte ontwikkel. Hierdie LPP-ruimte bestaan uit 'n fisiese en 'n semiotiese aspek. Laasgenoemde word verder onderverdeel in drie kerne, naamlik die regulatoriese, die legitimerende en die implementerende. Hierdie vier fasette van die LPP-ruimte is elk onderworpe aan 'n interne logika, maar hulle is interaktief en ding mee om dominansie. Die heersende LPP-faset bepaal die reëls vir geldige kommunikatiewe aksies, wat die gebruik van sekere linguistiese vaardighede vereis of verbied. Gebaseer op welke vaardighede toegelaat word, word die veeltalige vermoëns van rolspelers geldig of ongeldig verklaar.

Die LPP-ruimtemodel word op die LL toegepas deur die ruimtelik-temporale eienskappe van die navorsingsterrein (fisiese aspek) te bepaal, amptelike riglyne rakende die LL te analiseer (regulatoriese kern), taalhoudinge in die gemeenskap te ondersoek (legitimerende kern), en die dokumentering van die taalkeuses wat in die LL toegepas word (implementerende kern). Oorweging word ook geskenk aan hoe veeltaligheid deur elke LPP-faset geëvalueer word. Die implementerende kern is ondersoek by wyse van 'n omvattende opname van die LL van die nege dorpe in die Kopanong Plaaslike Munisipaliteit in die suidelike Vrystaat-provinsie in Suid-Afrika. Die datastel, bestaande uit 5,773 tekens, is tussen 20 Mei 2008 en 18 Augustus

2010 ingesamel. Gegewe die omvattende aard van die data is verskeie metodologiese tegnieke ontwikkel ten einde die datastel sistematies te kodifiseer en te ontleed. Die gekombineerde kwalitatiewe/kwantitatiewe benadering laat ruimte vir die kruis-verwysing van die resultate, waar tendense van taalkeuse vergelyk word met die drie LL-veranderlikes (ligging, agentskap en funksionaliteit), asook die ander LPP-fasette.

Vir hierdie spesifieke konteks kom die studie tot die gevolgtrekking dat alle fasette van die LPP-ruimte die onus om veeltalige vaardighede uit te voer, op die LL-rolspelers self plaas. Die LL wat voortspruit uit hulle keuses bestaan uit 'n hoë volume eentalige tekens. Verder oorheers Engels ten koste van die sigbaarheid van Afrikatale en, tot 'n mindere mate, Afrikaans. Hierdie uitkoms word egter beskou as die resultaat van 'n gebrek aan kritiese bewustheid omtrent die LL, eerder as 'n negatiewe evaluering van 'n veeltalige LL.

**Sleutelwoorde:**

Kopanong Plaaslike Munisipaliteit, taalhoudinge, taalwetgewing, taalbeleid en taalbeplanning, taalpraktyke, linguistiese landskap, veeltaligheid, openbare ruimte, landelike navorsing

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Loraine Kotze. *Dankie vir die vlerke, Ma en vir die grond onder my voete.*



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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION<sup>1,2</sup>

The broadly accepted definition of the linguistic landscape (LL) is “the use of language in its written form in the public sphere” (Gorter 2006b: 2). A myriad of actors produces signs, their language choices motivated by either pragmatic considerations or underlying ideologies relating to power relations and identity. Given the symbolic impact of these signs, they function as social facts (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy & Barni 2010: xiv) that contribute to the “symbolic construction of the public space” (Ben-Rafael 2009: 41). Therefore, by making linguistic choices in the LL, LL actors are participating in and shaping their public space. The aim of LL research is to “describe and identify systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces” as well as the dynamics behind the decisions creating these patterns (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 1).

This phenomenon is particularly interesting in societies undergoing processes of socio-political transformation. New political regimes produce revised language policies as well as altered linguistic ideologies, both of which influence the language choices made in the LL. South Africa transitioned from the apartheid regime to a democracy in 1994. The strict bilingual Afrikaans/English language policy was replaced with a broader form of institutionalised multilingualism, which is reflective of the high degree of societal multilingualism in the country. How multiple languages are employed in the construction of the LL is thus of specific interest to the present study. On a theoretical level, a model of language policy and planning

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<sup>1</sup> In strict linguistic terms, the term ‘African language’ refers to a language originating in the African context, including, for example, languages such as Afrikaans. The linguistically correct term for the Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga languages is ‘Bantu’ languages. However, since this study does not constitute a linguistic analyses, but rather consider languages in their broader socio-political context, the negative connotation to the term ‘Bantu’ in the South African milieu is taken into consideration. Therefore the term ‘African languages’ is used to refer to languages from the Bantu language family. Afrikaans is indicated by name specifically.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling convention of the language in which the thesis is written, English, is followed. Therefore the class markers for the languages from the Bantu languages are omitted, referring to Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu instead of Sesotho, Setswana, isiXhosa and isiZulu. This logic is the same as using ‘French’ and ‘Spanish’ to refer to those languages in English instead of *français* and *Español*.

space is developed to provide a framework for the systematic exploration of this phenomenon. Methodologically, this is an empirical case study of a rural LL situated in post-apartheid South Africa.

### 1.1. What is the linguistic landscape?

Language in its written form, and especially when situated in the public space, carries different semiotic properties from spoken language (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2007: 1, 4-8). As such, the LL is not simply a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a real and symbolic manifestation of various aspects of reality. For instance, signs collectively form a whole that is perceived as coherent, a *gestalt* (Ben-Rafael 2009: 42-44, 2015) that is influenced by, and influences the sociolinguistic characteristics of a specific area. As such, there is a dialectic between LL and society. Socio-political events influence the LL and, in turn, the LL affects society by influencing sociolinguistic ideologies and by construing place. The present study is specifically interested three aspects of LL: that it is in a dialectic with society; the role of multilingualism in language choices in the LL; and that LL research lends itself to interdisciplinary studies, the additional field of research being language policy and planning in this case.

#### 1.1.1. Linguistic landscape and place

‘Place’ is deliberately created by “carefully selecting and representing the world so as to give it a particular meaning” (Mitchell 2000: 100). This “meaning” relates to the dynamics of power relations and identities in a society. Language in the LL is used for both pragmatic and symbolic reasons. On the one hand, language in the public space facilitates (or limits) access to information. On the other hand, using a specific language or language combination symbolises an affiliation with a specific, a collective or a broader societal identity. Therefore, the inclusion or exclusion of languages in the LL is associated with the dominance or marginalisation of the associated sociolinguistic groups. The creation of place is achieved by LL actors manipulating both official and *de facto* language policies pertaining to the LL. As argued by Scollon and Scollon (2003: x), one of the most effective ways to control the public space is to control the discourses in that space, i.e. via language policy amongst others. In this way, the LL functions as a covert language policy mechanism used by both dominant and minority parties to manipulate actual language practices (Shohamy 2006: 110). The effect of these practices is to impose, negotiate or protest against language policies. In other words, language ideologies and attitudes are turned into practice and these “represent different views on the linguistic arrangement of a place” (Backhaus 2005a: 32; see also Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht 2006: 27). The seemingly coherent *gestalt* of the LL is the result of conflicting

interests, negotiations and impositions (Shohamy & Waksman 2009). The LL is thus a powerful mechanism with which to express and create identities, and therefore also a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion.

The dialectic between LL and society is especially pertinent in a country that is subject to a dramatic socio-political transformation. Such large-scale changes are usually accompanied by revised language policies and altered language ideologies. These influence the LL, and, in turn, the LL is used as a mechanism with which to signify these changes (cf. *inter alia*, Brown 2007; Hogan-Brun, Ozolins, Ramoniené & Rannut 2007; Du Plessis 2011, 2012; Lado 2011; Pavlenko 2008, 2009; Rosendal 2009; Slobada 2009; Taylor-Leech 2011). In the South African context, the dramatic conversion from apartheid to democracy in 1994 was accompanied by an ambitious new language policy. The introduction of institutionalised multilingualism (11 official languages) in response to and in support of the high level of societal multilingualism (an estimated 25 languages are spoken in the country) renders multilingualism a salient topic in the South African context.

#### 1.1.2. The importance of multilingualism

Multilingualism manifests on both individual and societal levels. The former occurs when an individual is competent in more than one code and the latter when more than one code is used within a specific setting. Multilingualism serves several functions. The main ideas, as listed by Lo Bianco (2010: 39-46), are summarised below. Language is the most salient marker of identity, whether particular, national or transnational (the latter is particularly relevant in this globalised era of mass migrations). The widespread use (strength) of a language contributes to the ethnolinguistic vitality of its associated ethno-cultural group(s). This is crucially important when considering the survival of minority groups, as their existence enhances the maintenance of cultural diversity. Cultural diversity, in turn, allows for the preservation of alternative knowledge systems, practices, cultural products (such as literature, folk tales and proverbs) and world-views. The preservation of multiple languages, i.e. the maintenance of linguistic diversity, thus serves to preserve cultural diversity as well as the benefits associated with it.

Furthermore, there is also an interdependence between linguistic-cultural diversity and biodiversity. The ecolinguistic approach (cf. *inter alia*, Johnson 2013: 51-52) considers multiple languages as existing within a language ecosystem. Within this ecosystem, every language is valuable both in itself, as a resource and in its interaction with the socio-political,

economic and cultural environments. On a more practical level, the ability to communicate in more than one language is a relevant factor when considering access to services and resources.

There are also several economic arguments for the preservation of linguistic diversity, including that it can be viewed as a public good (Grin 2003), in other words, a commodity that contributes to the aggregate welfare of the community. This idea is especially useful to the LL, where language is utilised in the public space by both private and government agents. The specific type of multilingualism relevant to LL research refers to the capacity to use more than one language in its written form in a manner that is suitable for effective communication in the public space.

Multilingualism, or linguistic diversity, is a prominent focus in LL research. It is an especially pertinent topic in situations of language contact. Research in this regard is often conducted in contexts where migrant groups have settled in a host community and language contact is inevitable (cf. *inter alia*, Barni 2008; Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015; Woldemariam & Lanza 2015). Another type of language contact is found between orthographies, such as when English is used in Asian countries (Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008; Curtin 2007; Huebner 2006). Related to the issue of multilingualism is the issue of literacy. LL actors do not necessarily have written competency in the languages they know or wish to use (Spolsky 2009). As a solution LL actors sometimes combine the linguistic and semiotic resources at their disposal, a phenomenon known as translanguaging (cf. Gorter & Cenoz 2015). The visibility of the languages of sociolinguistic minorities is often problematic in diverse societies, especially with regard to their written form in the public space (i.e. the LL). Language visibility is linked to the (perceived) vitality of sociolinguistic groups (Du Plessis 2011; Landry & Bourhis 1997).

### 1.1.3. Linguistic landscape and language policy and planning

Investigating issues around multilingualism also lies at the heart of another field of research, namely language policy and planning (LPP). This mutual interest has resulted in fruitful collaboration between LPP and LL (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008; Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Cenoz & Gorter 2006; Du Plessis 2007, 2011, 2012; Lado 2011; Pavlenko 2008, 2009; Rosendal 2009; Shohamy 2006, 2015; Slobada 2009; Spolsky 2009). However, LL research is not an independent field of enquiry, meaning that there is no specific LL theory as such. LPP, although a long-established field that has made numerous theoretical advances

in several areas of application, has not yet developed an integrated theoretical model. The theoretical shortcomings limit the impact of findings from interdisciplinary research endeavours.

However, there are two salient theoretical notions. One is that the LL can be approached as an LPP domain, in other words, a context within which forms of LPP are relevant (Spolsky 2004: 42-56). Another consideration is that the LL, in addition to its mediating role in constructing the public space, functions as a covert language policy mechanism (Shohamy 2006). In other words, by exercising language choices in the LL, various LL actors can impose, protest against or negotiate language policies.

### 1.2. Problem statement

The LL is constructed in the public space by a multitude of actors who erect signs in specific locations for numerous reasons, and who are influenced by the broader socio-political and linguistic context. To understand how multilingualism is enacted in the LL, which is an LPP domain, a trifold approach is required. These three elements are descriptive, analytical and critical. First, the language choices made in the LL need to be determined (descriptive). Second, an analysis of the influences resulting in these language choices has to be conducted (analytical). Third, the impact of these language choices on multilingualism in the LL and within LPP has to be determined (critical). However, neither LL research nor the field of LPP offer a suitable theoretical framework or a methodology that allows for a systematic exploration of how the LL is constructed by social actors making linguistic choices.

### 1.3. Objective of the study

Considering the LL as an LPP mechanism as well as LPP domain, the present study wishes to explore the LL that is constructed in rural post-apartheid South Africa from an LPP perspective. Specifically, given the official as well as societal multilingualism in South Africa, the enactment of multilingualism in this aspect of the public space is explored. This study seeks to address the methodological shortcomings in LL research by developing a scheme by which the language choices in the LL can be systematically codified and analysed. It further seeks to provide a theoretical framework that allows for an interdisciplinary LL/LPP approach to understanding how multilingualism is enacted in the public space.

### 1.4. Research question

What is the nature of the linguistic landscape constructed in rural, post-apartheid South Africa?

### 1.5. Research design and research methodology

The combined quantitative/qualitative approach followed in this study serves two purposes. On the one hand, it produces conclusive data regarding the language choices in the LL. On the other hand, the analysis explores the significance of this usage. The results are triangulated by the information discovered in the background section.

Theoretically, the present study addresses the shortcomings of the LL and LPP fields by developing a model of LPP space. The crux of the model is based on the notion proposed by Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005a) that space (or environment), as a constituent of context, is a determining factor of what constitutes effective communication. Effective communication can either require or prohibit multilingualism. As such, multilingual competency is not inherent to actors. Instead, its enactment is rather dependent on the space within which LL actors operate. Space can of course be defined in various ways, but the present study is interested in the LPP space. For this, a model drawing on existing LPP theory is proposed.

The proposed model of the LPP space is comprised of two aspects, namely the physical and the semiotic aspect. The physical aspect refers to the spatio-temporal characteristics of the research site. The semiotic aspect is constituted by three centres; namely the regulatory, the legitimising and the implementational. In the regulatory centre, official laws, rules and regulations regarding language are originated. Unofficial opinions about language comprise the legitimising centre. Actual language practices are executed in the implementational centre. These three centres all adhere to separate internal logics but interact with each other, as well as with the physical aspect. This LPP model is applied to the LL by exploring each facet in turn.

Administrative, historical and demographic information reveal the spatio-temporal characteristics of the physical aspect. Official directives concerning written language in the public space provide information about the regulatory centre. An exploration of opinions about language in the community uncovers the workings of the legitimising centre. The implementational centre is researched by examining the language practices executed in the LL, in other words, the actual language choices made. Each of these analyses concludes on whether or not multilingual capacity is enabled or disabled by each specific facet of the LPP space. This allows for an in-depth analysis of how multilingualism is dealt with by every aspect of LPP as relating to the LL.

Methodologically, the study makes use of an extensive empirical dataset. The research site is situated in the Kopanong Local Municipality (KLM), located in the southern Free State province, and is comprised of nine towns – Trompsburg, Philippolis, Springfontein, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Gariiep Dam, Bethulie, Reddersburg and Edenburg. These are all classified as ‘small towns’, namely those with a population of less than 50,000 (Van Niekerk & Marais 2008: 369), with the entire KLM population totalling a mere 49,171 (SSA 2011). Two post-graduate students, assisted by local guides, collected the LL data for the legitimising centre between 20 May 2008 and 18 August 2010. Every public sign displaying linguistic text visible with the naked eye from street level was captured by means of digital cameras. These photographs were downloaded onto a computer and categorised according to a coding scheme. Given the size of the dataset (5,773 items), as well as the comprehensive and empirical nature of the study, a rigorous coding scheme was developed.

In essence, this study attempts to uncover the prevalent trends regarding language choices in the LL, i.e. the presence or absence of certain languages and language combinations as well as the reasons behind these choices (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 1). These are explored as language visibility profiles that are influenced by three LL variables, namely locality, agency and functionality (Du Plessis 2011). Locality refers to the geoterritorial site where the LL is situated (towns as well as locales, or types of suburbs). Agency explores who created the sign, i.e. whether it originated from the official (top-down) or the private (bottom-up) domain, whether it was created by local or external agents, as well as who owned the sign. Functionality refers to the perceived purpose of a sign. This section of the study is guided by three questions (Backhaus 2005; Gorter 2006):

1. What choices are made in the LL?
2. What are the dynamics behind choices in the LL?
3. What is the impact of choices in the LL?

The first question is simply descriptive, whilst the second introduces an analytical component via the three LL variables. A self-reflective attempt is constituted by the third question, which explores the impact of the LL as implementational centre on multilingualism, as well as the interaction of the implementational centre with the rest of the LPP space.



### 1.6. Value of the research

The present study makes both a theoretical and a methodological contribution to LL research. First, the proposed theoretical model is tested within a specific LPP domain, namely the LL, by means of an empirical study. To a degree, Gorter's (2013: 204-205) call for LL research to use empirical studies to test rather than merely illustrate theoretical concepts is heeded. Second, the comprehensive database of this empirical study necessitated a number of methodological inventions. Some of these methodological advances might be applicable to further LL studies, especially those including a quantitative element. The methodological advances made in the present study include the type of research site explored, an expansion of the three LL variables as well as a refined technique for compiling language visibility profiles.

A unique aspect of the present study is that it was conducted in a rural area. LL research is almost exclusively conducted in urban areas, thus neglecting the insight that peripheral centres can offer on the dialectic between LL and society. In addition, a significant portion of South Africa is classified as rural (44% according to the Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform (MRDLR 2009)) and research here contributes to the knowledge of linguistic realities in the country. A further aspect concerns the fact that LL researchers usually delineate a limited, functional area as their research site. In the research area for this study, functional centres (commercial, administrative and residential) are not clearly separated from each other. It is for this reason that a comprehensive survey was conducted. This allows for a better understanding of the impact of the various types of activities and actors constructing the LL.

The three LL variables are locality (where signs are situated), agency (who makes the language choices on signs) and functionality (the purpose of signs). Locality as variable is explored in two dimensions. Each of the nine towns are considered as a locality, and the three types of locales (Coloured Areas, Former White Towns and Townships) are identified in order to explore the impact of sociolinguistic concentrations on the LL. These locales are a remnant from apartheid policy, where different population groups were legally forced to live separately.

Agency remains a contested issue in LL methodology and the top-down/bottom-up dichotomy provides limited results. The distinction between local and external LL actors is a welcome refinement (Du Plessis 2011). However, certain types of LL actors utilise the LL for varying purposes, thus introducing further differentiation of sign owners. The different purposes for

which signs are displayed is addressed via the variable of functionality, for which a streamlined scheme is developed.

Given the specific interest in the means by which multiple languages are employed to construct the LL, the present methodology explores language visibility profiles (patterns of language choices) in detail. The linguistic codes are African (African languages displayed such low visibility that they had to be grouped together as a single code), Afrikaans, English, and various combinations of these. A problematic factor in linguistic categorisation is constituted in the inclusion of names (personal names, toponyms, ergonyms and Big Commercial Names) on signs. The solutions proposed could assist other studies facing similar challenges. The concept of code preference is expanded by differentiating between code prevalence (how often a code appears on signs in general) and code prominence (the position of a code on a sign). This differentiation is facilitated by careful consideration of code preference indicators; a system for determining code preference that extends beyond visual hierarchy.

Ultimately, the proposed model of LPP space allows for a systematic approach to an LL study. The empirical nature of the present study provides an avenue for thorough testing of this theoretical proposition. The findings of the study reveal not only the linguistic visibility profiles within the LL constructed in rural, post-apartheid South Africa, but also expose the dynamics underlying the creation of the LL. Specifically, the study reveals how the LL is created through the deployment of multilingual capacities.

### 1.7. Chapter outline

The thesis is divided into six chapters, the first this introduction. Chapter 2 serves two purposes. First, the literature review provides an overview of the development of LL research, focusing specifically on theoretical advancements. Second, the interaction between LL and LPP is explored and the theoretical framework for the present study is constructed. This includes the development of a model of LPP space.

Chapter 3 provides the background to the research site. This task is approached in three steps. First, the physical aspect of the LPP is explored by summarising the administrative, historical and demographic background of the research site. Second, the directives issued in the regulatory system are analysed. These include documents issued at all three tiers of government as well as other relevant documents. Third, research on opinions circulating in the legitimising

centre about the role of language in the LL is assembled. These include instances of activism, the demographic composition of the community as well as their language attitudes. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the treatment of multilingualism in the LPP space.

The methodology for collecting and codifying data from the implementational centre is elucidated in Chapter 4. Given the empirical nature of the study as well as the comprehensive dataset, this chapter is extensive and it is divided into five sections. The first section defends the combined qualitative/quantitative approach. The second section explains how the data were collected. Section three explicates the coding scheme in six parts. The first two parts relate to the identification of as well as the material properties of signs. In the third part, the codification of the linguistic properties of signs is described. Each of the remaining three parts discusses one of the three LL variables in turn, namely locality, agency and functionality. The fourth section explains how the data were quantified and analysed. A reflection on the methodology, shortcomings, and contributions of the present study, as well as recommendations for further studies, is provided in the fifth section.

The results from exploration of the implementational centre are provided and discussed in Chapter 5. The composition of the overall LL is first replicated, followed by a presentation of the language visibility profiles resulting from LL interaction with the three variables (locality, agency and functionality). This section is followed by a discussion of the dialectic between code choices and variables. In the last section, an analysis is provided of how the LL is constructed through the evaluation of multilingual competencies by the implementational centre as well as the LPP centre as a whole. The chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the usefulness of the model of LPP space. Chapter 6 contains some concluding remarks as well as recommendations for future LL research.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

LL research has developed quite significantly as an avenue of enquiry over the past decade (cf. Gorter 2013 for an overview). Signage in the public space was at first investigated as a curiosity; later as an additional perspective in other studies. Gradually researchers started to explore issues specifically related to the LL. The emerging methodological issues led to the development of some sort of methodology for the field. Even if researchers do not yet agree on how to investigate certain aspects, they at least agree on the issues that need to be considered (survey area, unit of analysis, categorisation of signs, and some degree of triangulation). In addition, given that the field inherently lends itself to interdisciplinary analysis, theoretical frameworks are informed by other fields (e.g. language policy, sociology and economics). Slowly but surely certain critical issues are emerging and indeed the field has reached its critical turn (cf. Barni & Bagna 2015).

Characterised as “an interesting way of uncovering social realities” (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 8), LL research is employed as a research tool across disciplines. Generally, the LL is defined as language in its written form in the public space; the result of linguistic choices made by a myriad of actors. Their choices are influenced by both pragmatic considerations and underlying ideologies (cf. Thompson 1990 for an exposition of the concept). These choices not only manifest as inscriptions in the LL, but also serve as a mechanism by which actors participate in and shape the public space. This signage collectively creates a *gestalt* (Ben-Rafael 2009: 42-44, 2015) that reflects and influences the socio-political, economic and linguistic characteristics of a specific area, as well as the sociolinguistic ideologies, attitudes and preferences prevalent therein.

### 2.1 Definition of the LL

The term “linguistic landscape” has been used to refer to the (socio-)linguistic situation within a specific area or, in other cases, to variations within a language or between languages (Gorter 2006b: 1-2). Many different alternative terms have been suggested, from geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003) and cityscape (Gorter 2006a, 2013) to semiotic landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010). What has been agreed upon is that the LL is essentially written, and is thus an extension of the original focus of sociolinguistics on spoken language. This is possible because written communication in the public space has unique semiotic properties (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2007: 1, 4-8). Of course, the field has since expanded to include semiotic devices other than language. Another aspect emphasised in the definition of LL is the symbolic or

indexical nature of signage. Ben-Rafael (2009: 41) defines the LL as a “symbolic construction of public space” and Backhaus (2005a: 2), referring to the reciprocal indexical relationship between sign and space, defines the LL as the “meaning-making processes of visible language in public space”. Shohamy (2006: 110-112, 123) extends this definition to label the LL as a language policy mechanism. As such, there is a dialectic between the LL and society, in other words, socio-political events influence the LL and the LL in turn affects society (by influencing language attitudes and creating place).

Landry and Bourhis’ (1997: 23) seminal study defined the purpose of LL studies as investigating “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” and the LL itself is defined as:

“The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration” (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 25).

Given the exponential growth of the field, the definition of LL has been continually expanded, moving from the broader definition of “the use of language in its written form in the public sphere” (Gorter 2006b: 2) to include other factors contributing to the semiotic aspects of the LL, such as clothing, images, sounds, movements, buildings and other multimodal aspects. This multimodal expansion is evident in the definition provided by the editors of the new journal *Linguistic Landscape*: “... the presence, representation, meanings and interpretation of languages displayed in public places...” (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 1). Shohamy (2015: 154) in fact argues that not taking cognisance of these multimodal influences will result in an inaccurate interpretation of the written texts. However, this thesis wishes to contribute to LL from an LPP perspective, instead of a semiotic one, and the ensuing discussions follow suit.

## 2.2 Development of LL research

The LL was investigated as early as 1991 by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) as a manifestation of the *de facto* language policy in Old Jerusalem. However, Landry and Bourhis’ (1997) investigation of the LL as a factor in ethnolinguistic vitality serves as the seminal study in the field. These researchers investigated the LL within the framework of language planning as set out by Corbeil (1980) in Quebec, and Verdoot (1979), in Belgium (referenced in Landry and

Bourhis 1997: 24). Their approach to LL is that it is a factor in perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, thereby introducing LL as an issue in multilingual settings. Also, by distinguishing between the informational and symbolic function of the LL (*ibid*: 25-29), they introduced the notion of a dialectic between society and LL; and predicted the currently prevailing trend to investigate the LL within a semiotic framework. A lot of methodological groundwork was done with the PhD thesis of Backhaus (2005a). However, it was only from 2008 that the LL started getting serious attention.

The first research meeting that focused specifically on LL was the First Linguistic Landscape Workshop in Israel in 2008. This was followed by the second such workshop in Italy in 2009, the third in France (2010), the fourth in Ethiopia (2012), the fifth in Belgium (2013), the sixth in South Africa (2014), and the seventh in the USA (2015). The Eighth LL Workshop will take place in the UK in 2016. Several other conferences have also incorporated sessions focusing specifically on the LL. Examples are: the European Second Language Association conference in San Sebastian, Spain (2002); the conference of the International Association of Applied Linguistics in Madison, USA (2005); the 16<sup>th</sup> Sociolinguistic Symposium (SS) in Limerick, Ireland (2006); the 19<sup>th</sup> SS in Germany (2012); and the conference that is to be hosted by the American Association for Applied Linguistics in the USA in 2016.

Several publications, including books, have followed from these workshops. Not only have established researchers become interested in this field, but it has also gained popularity as a research topic for post-graduate studies and as a course of study at tertiary educational institutions. The first significant publication was the special edition of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* edited by Durk Gorter (Gorter 2006a), focusing specifically on the LLs of different societies. The *Encyclopaedia of Language and Education*, edited by Hornberger and Cenoz, contains an entry about the LL, defining it as “Knowledge about language and linguistic landscape” (Gorter & Cenoz 2008). Shohamy and Gorter (2009) edited the book *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, which highlights the diversity of approaches to LL research. Another publication from 2009 is *Mapping Linguistic Diversity in Multicultural Contexts* (Barni & Extra 2008), which focuses on the LL in multilingual societies, especially immigrant situations. This was followed by *Linguistic Landscape in the City* (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni 2010), which confirmed the urban focus of LL research, and then *Semiotic Landscapes – Language, Image, Space* (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010), which explores the semiotic properties of the LL. The contributions in *Minority Languages in the Linguistic*

*Landscape*, edited by Gorter, Martel, Van Mensel and Hogan-Brun (2011), again highlighted the role of minority languages. The dialectic between the LL and society was confirmed in *Linguistic Landscapes, Multilingualism and Social Change*, edited by Hélot, Barni, Janssens and Bagna (2012). The concept of superdiversity was introduced to the LL field in Blommaert's (2013) *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes – Chronicles of Complexity*. Once again highlighting the social importance of the linguistic landscape was the 2015 book edited by Rubdy and Ben Said, titled *Conflict, Exclusion and Dissent in the Linguistic Landscape*. Also published in 2015 is *The Linguistic Landscape of the Mediterranean – French and Italian Coastal Studies* by Blackwood and Tufi. The field received a boost with the establishment of *Linguistic Landscape – An International Journal* by the John Benjamins Publishing Company. The first volume (1/2) was published in 2015 and the third issue is expected in December 2015. In addition to numerous blogs (some more professional than others), the establishment of an official LL organisation is also being considered (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 2).

The next section provides an overview of the main developments in the LL field by considering the issues investigated in LL studies, and the related methodological and theoretical developments.

### 2.3 Theoretical development in LL research

The theoretical conceptualisation in LL research progressed from a descriptive agenda to one that acknowledges the symbolic nature of the LL. Currently the focus falls on the semiotic properties of the LL (see especially the work of Jaworski and Thurlow (2010)) and the concept of superdiversity (mainly developed by Blommaert in 2013). Related to this is the idea that the LL functions as “an arena for contestation” (Shohamy & Waksman 2009), especially in terms of language policy. The dynamics surrounding the creation, maintenance and interpretation of the LL are investigated by incorporating theoretical concepts from sociolinguistics (Ben-Rafael 2009; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009, 2010), place (Ben-Rafael 2009) and even education: applied LL utilises the LL as a pedagogical resource (Malinowski 2010). Despite some developments in and of its own right, LL research relies heavily on existing theories from other fields. As such, it does not have a coherent, independent theoretical or methodological framework, but remains essentially interdisciplinary in nature. LL research is, however, a self-aware and critical avenue of research in its own right (Barni & Bagna 2015).

With the introduction of a dedicated journal, the field is starting to prove its independence. While it remains interdisciplinary in nature, the guiding principle underlying LL research is an attempt to identify and explain “systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces” (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 1). This idea of “systematic patterns” aligns with Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael’s (2015: 21) approach to the LL as a gestalt.

The first obstacle encountered in the development of an LL theory concerned the question of whether LL studies should be considered an independent field or not. This concern was addressed early on when the field started gaining momentum. For instance, Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 351-352) acknowledged that theoretical concepts from other fields are utilised, but stated that the definitions relevant to the LL field should be clearly differentiated from those in other fields (Spolsky 2009). The interdisciplinary nature of LL research lends itself to such a solution. In most studies, the LL has been used as an approach to investigate other topics, such as linguistic diversity in general; language policy and language planning; language status, attitudes or perceptions; language contact; or the spread of English. The majority of these were descriptive studies and therefore the authors were more concerned with methodological considerations than the development of a theory. Even so, at least two theoretical points of reference have been defined: the functions of the LL (Landry & Bourhis 1997) and the identification of structuration principles (Ben-Rafael 2009; Spolsky 2009). Researchers continue to use aspects of these functions and principles even if they do not refer to them directly.

### 2.3.1 Functions of the LL

Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25-29) distinguish between the informational and the symbolic function of the LL, a distinction that has been utilised and expanded on since. The most basic, informative function of LL relates to the fact that certain information is presented on a specific sign (functional), as well as that the LL serves to delineate linguistic boundaries. The LL provides information on the sociolinguistic composition of various groups in the area, as well as the power and status relations between them (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 27; Landry & Bourhis 1997: 25-29; Reh 2004: 38); or, in the words of Scollon and Scollon (2003: 117-120), on the “indexicality of the geopolitical world”. It also creates a language expectancy by indicating what language(s) one can expect to be used in other domains in a specific area. However, the more unstable the status and functions of the languages used in the area, the greater the discrepancy tends to be between the language expectancy created and the actual language



usage. The LL is not an accurate reflection of the linguistic repertoire of a specific population, but rather of the linguistic resources specifically employed in the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 14; Extra & Barni 2008: 3). Furthermore, the coherence, (or lack thereof) of the LL indicates the degree of discrepancy between official and *de facto* language policy (Du Plessis 2007; Landry & Bourhis 1997: 25-29).

The symbolic function of the LL refers to the choice of message, and more specifically, the language choice exercised on public signage. This relates to two issues, namely power relations and identity. Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015: 21-22) approach the LL because of social actions which are directed by underlying principles. One of these constitutes the power relations reflected in the LL in terms of the inclusion or exclusion of languages in the LL. Language choice can also be determined by attachment to a specific identity. Groups or individuals exercise socio-political control by controlling the discourses of that space (i.e. language policy, whether official or *de facto*) (Scollon & Scollon 2003: x). Those in power can more easily dominate the official signage domain and thereby send ideological messages about their position, whereas the private domain can use the LL for protest by either employing or excluding certain languages. One such important instance of protest is the use of graffiti (e.g. Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006). Shohamy (2006: 110) discusses this situation from the departure point that the LL is a language policy mechanism, where the presence or absence of languages sends specific messages regarding attitudes towards certain languages/language groups. Languages displayed in the LL contribute to a positive social identity of the group whose language is used, thereby contributing to the ethnolinguistic vitality of said group, as concluded by Landry and Bourhis (1997). However, by including certain groups, others are excluded and thus marginalised. The LL is also employed to create identities, a notion that is more fully discussed in Section 2.3.3.2 (identity).

### 2.3.2 Structuration principles

One of the most established observations about the LL is that, although it is composed of many different LL items, it forms a coherent whole or *gestalt* (Ben-Rafael 2009: 42-44; Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015: 20-21). Certain structuration principles have been identified, revealing that either pragmatic or symbolic considerations determine language choices in the LL. These are usefully explicated by Spolsky (2009: 33-34) and Ben-Rafael (2009: 44-48).

Spolsky identifies three conditions that influence language choices in the LL, namely literacy of the author, literacy of the presumed reader and the symbolic value of certain choices. The four LL structuration principles listed by Ben-Rafael are the presentation of self, good reasons, collective identity and power relations. Deriving from the field of economic linguistics, Grin's (2003: 43-44) three conditions for actual language use – capacity, opportunity and desire (or willingness) – add a further dimension.

A prominent consideration when making choices in the LL concerns literacy, whether this be the literacy of the LL actor or that of the sign reader. This refers to Spolsky's first condition, *write in a language you know* (although the symbolic value of a language may motivate an agent to attempt to use that language despite poor language proficiency) as well as his second condition, *presumed reader's condition* (write in a language the reader is expected to understand). The issue of literacy speaks to Grin's condition of capacity, which specifies that actors should possess a certain degree of competence in a language in order to choose to use that specific language. Ben-Rafael's principle of *presentation of self* (LL items should be designed to be attractive to the viewers) is restricted by his *good reasons* structuration principle (the LL item must also cater 'rationally' to the (perceived) needs and desires of the viewers). In a shift from individual agents to the group, Ben-Rafael's principle of *collective identity* (draw clients based on a shared identity) relates to Spolsky's *symbolic value* condition (write signs either in their own language, or in the language with which they wish to be associated). All these tie in with Grin's third condition, that actors be motivated to make a specific choice, i.e. to use a certain language (desire/willingness). The principles are then extended to society in general with Ben-Rafael's principle of *power relations*, which involves the degree to which certain groups are able to impose linguistic regulations on others – i.e. to make LL choices in order to express power or protest against power. Also addressing this issue of agency is Grin's condition of opportunity, i.e. in order to participate LL actors should be supplied with a linguistic environment within which they can use their languages.

The structuration principles relating to literacy are pragmatic (although one could argue that access to literacy also invokes power relations), while the others are symbolic in nature, referring to either identity or power relations. Symbolic considerations can engage the (real or projected) identity of the LL actor, or of the reader as perceived by the actor. It can also be determined by existing power relations not only impacting on language choices but also on

action. Depending on the circumstances and the actor's motivation, any of these structuration principles can prevail when an LL choice has to be made.

### 2.3.3 Topics in LL research

Theoretical advances made in LL research are the outcome of enquiry into a specific issue. Given the lack of existing LL theory, LL researchers borrow from other fields. In some cases, the theoretical insights are developed into independent critical LL concepts. This wide range of foci is reflected in the recent establishment of the *Linguistic Landscape* journal, the first (combined) issue of which aimed to provide an overview of current topics and issues in the field (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 3). Some pertinent topics are discussed in the following section.

#### 2.3.3.1 LL and 'place'

The importance of the LL being situated in the public space was acknowledged from the beginning. This situatedness in the public space implies that the LL is a very specific type of communication and therefore the LL is studied not only for its linguistic appearance, but also for an understanding of its shaping forces and what it symbolises once created. The term 'public space' not only refers to the shared physical environment, but also to its intangible and symbolic aspects. This conceptualisation is based on Habermas' (1989) theory of the public sphere, which entails the manner by which public (i.e. free and open) discourse on public matters is conducted. This is further expanded by Lefebvre's (1991) notion of space as a social product. The term is used vaguely and across many different disciplines (from architecture to philosophy). In order to determine our definition of public space, it might be useful to consider Janz's (2005: 90-91) discussion of 'place'. He attempts to summarise the different approaches to 'place' as a theoretical and analytical concept, although he remarks that these should be interpreted as discourses about rather than models of 'place'. Janz differentiates between the four most distinguishable approaches. The phenomenological and hermeneutical approaches confront place as simultaneously an abstract idea as well as something that is intertwined with experience. According to the symbolic and structural approaches, place is something that is 'practised', in other words, symbolically produced on an external level. Also on an external level, social constructivist and Marxian approaches view place as something that is produced by social forces, and therefore the historical development of a place carries significance. Turning inwards, psychological and deterministic approaches investigate the role of place in identity formation and therefore attribute significance to the role between subjectivity and environment. Space (the objective, geographical, physical environment) is thus something that

is transformed into place (the symbolic, created aspect thereof). Intertwined, these two aspects make up the ‘public space’.

This symbolic place is thus “the kind of real material and symbolic space in which people anchor a dense complex of symbolic and material practices” (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005b: 206); or, as stated by Shohamy (2015: 154), in defence of a multimodal approach to LL, the public space functions as an ecology where various semiotic devices are employed to make meaning. Place is thus a created construct and signage functions as a performative discourse in space that contributes to this creation (Lou 2010; Muth 2014; Stroud & Jegels 2014; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). Therefore, the public space is, per definition, a shared arena, which means that it is dynamic and dialogic – it is constantly changing; it shapes and is shaped by the discourses in or relating to it (Shohamy & Waksman 2009). Within it a variety of actors with diverging and competing agendas act, and as such it is also a space of contestation and negotiation (*ibid.* 2009). These discourses manifest in the physical dimension in various ways, such as in architecture, street layouts, shop fronts, fashion, products and services provided.

It is because of this dynamic that Ben-Rafael (2009: 41) can discuss the LL as the “symbolic construction of the public space”. The LL functions as decorum as it calls for the attention of the public, a process in which not all linguistic items in the LL participate equally (Ben-Rafael 2009). Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015: 20-21) use Gestalt theory to expand on this notion. The LL is composed of different and contrasting inputs, yet it is still viewed as a coherent whole, or a *gestalt*, that exists independently and *a priori* of these choices –thus qualifying as a social fact (referring to Durkheim 1964/1995).

The LL is also essentially written, thus constituting an expansion of the sociolinguistic focus on spoken language. This is possible because written communication in the public space has unique semiotic properties expounded by Backhaus (2007: 1, 4-8). Written language has different qualities from spoken language; even more so when it is reflected in the public space which itself carries significant symbolic value. Scollon and Scollon (2003), in their study of geosemiotics (as opposed to geolinguistics with its specific focus on language itself), investigate the indexical nature of communication. This entails that all communication (through whichever mode) must be situated in time and space in order to carry meaning. The fact of the physical embodiment of the linguistic items in the LL reflects this indexical nature

of communication. These authors employ the term “interaction order”, as defined by Erving Goffman (1983, in Scollon & Scollon 2003). This refers first to the way in which people form social interactions and relations through which they interact with the semiotic systems around them, i.e. systems by which language is located in the material world, and by which sociocultural and political powers are indexed. Second, this interaction order further include how people position themselves within those structures of meaning and power (Scollon & Scollon 2003: x). If one considers language as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986), the LL is a resource used by many different actors to create a specific place. This process may be deliberate, such as in the case of explicit LL regulations; or implicit, reflecting underlying ideologies and language attitudes.

Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 40-41) also discuss the notion of public space being approached from various angles, but within LL studies the concept of public space is defined geoterritorially. In other words, to LL researchers the public space “includes every space in the community or the society that is not private propriety, such as streets, parks or public institutions” (*ibid*: 41).

Oftentimes a ‘place’ is quite deliberately created, by “carefully selecting and representing the world so as to give it a particular meaning” (Mitchell 2000: 100). Amongst other methods, this conversion is facilitated using language (Shohamy & Waksman 2009), particularly with written language in the public space (LL). An obvious illustration of the transformative properties of the LL is its role in the creation of the *gestalt* of ethnic neighbourhoods, for example so-called ‘Chinatowns’ (cf. Lou 2010); of commercial, residential and administrative centres in towns; or following a socio-political change that brings with it new language policies and altered language ideologies. The result is that certain languages and linguistic patterns are more prominently visible whilst others ‘retreat’ from the public space.

This concept is confirmed by comparative studies of different neighbourhoods and localities. As noted by Barni (2008: 218, 238-239), the relationship between languages and physical territory itself is a factor in constructing the significance of the languages. The LL is not a faithful mapping of the linguistic make-up of the population in a given place. In other words, the LL does not reflect the linguistic repertoire of a community, but rather the linguistic resources specifically employed in the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 14; Extra & Barni 2008: 3), sometimes in order to create a specific ‘place’. There is not only a correlation between ethnic neighbourhoods and LL, but also between LL and type of environment or social class

(major versus secondary downtowns) (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015). This relates to what Shohamy (2015: 165-166) terms ‘neighbourhood identities’ to explain the special connection that people living in a specific territorial space have with it. These ‘identities’ can take on various forms, as explored by Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015) as well as Woldemariam and Lanza (2015).

#### 2.3.3.2 LL and identity

The issue of identity relates to the symbolic function of the LL. By using a specific language in the LL, its value and status is affirmed. In turn, the associated sociolinguistic group is led to feel included in the society, thereby contributing positively to their social identity (Landry & Bourhis 1997). This effect of using languages in the LL is so extensive that it has a modifying impact on the attitudes of host communities towards minorities (Barker & Giles 2002, in Barni 2008: 227). Languages (and orthographies) are used by the various socio-economic and political groups to form and maintain identities at local, regional and (trans)national levels by various regimes (Curtin 2007; Taylor-Leech 2011). This relates to the idea of ‘place’, as developed by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), where the LL is used to create a specific feeling that includes or excludes certain readerships, thus creating a ‘place’. This effect is evident in scenarios where languages are commodified for the sake of tourism and/or as tokenism (Brown 2007; Hornsby 2008; Puzey 2007; Lou 2010; Leeman & Modan 2009; Reershemius 2011). This deliberate creation can even extend to the ‘image’ of a city, such as the study by Waksman and Shohamy (2010) where the LL was employed to create a specific homogenous image of the city of Tel Aviv during its centennial (the reaction to this imposed identity is explored in Shohamy and Waksman’s 2012 publication).

The dialectic between LL and identity not only relates to group identities in terms of socio-political communities, but also to marginalised minorities such as migrant communities. Various studies show that migrant communities employ the LL to create multiple identities; usually a unique identity to distinguish themselves from each other and another to align themselves with the national identity of the host community (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015: 35; Woldemariam & Lanza 2015: 172-190).

#### 2.3.3.3 LL and minorities

Some studies investigate how minority languages or languages of minority groups are dealt with in the LL, either as an aspect of multilingualism (Cenoz 2008; Cenoz & Gorter 2006; Coluzzi 2009; Rosendal 2009), or as a stand-alone issue (Blackwood 2011; Chini 2011;

Pietikäinen, Lane, Salo & Laihiala-Kankainen 2011; Reershemius 2011). This relates to the issues of language policy and of identity, and serves as a sufficiently broad issue that the volume edited by Barni and Extra (2008) is dedicated to the topic, as is the book edited by Gorter *et al.* (2011). Subsumed under this topic, naturally, is the issue of migrant communities and the LL, investigated specifically by, *inter alia*, Woldemariam and Lanza (2015) as well as Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015).

#### 2.3.3.4 LL and multilingualism/linguistic diversity

At first, the LL was mainly noticed as a reflection of multilingual contexts and theoretical borrowings focused on issues of language diversity, language visibility, language vitality, language shift and language contact. Quite a number of studies focus specifically on the challenges posed by multilingual settings. Indeed, one of the first prominent publications to focus on the LL specifically, the special edition of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Gorter 2006a), poses that the LL serves as an avenue for investigating issues of multilingualism. Monolingual and multilingual signage has different communicative potentials and semiotic values. Monolingual signs restrict readership, whereas different modes of multilingualism indicate various degrees of inclusivity (Barni 2008: 235-238). The degree of both individual and societal multilingualism in the community is also linked to the importance of literacy in the LL, as pointed out by Spolsky (2009). The main system for classifying multilingual signage was developed by Reh (2004) and distinguishes between visible and covert multilingualism. Language diversity *per se* is investigated by Backhaus (2005a, 2007, 2008) and ideas around language visibility by Du Plessis (2011) as well as Grin and Vaillancourt (1999). Indeed, a methodology to include the LL in a mapping of linguistic diversity was developed by Barni (2008). Multilingual signage was first explored from an economic perspective by Grin and Vaillancourt (1999) and later by Cenoz and Gorter (2009), Nunes, Onofri, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) as well as Onofri, Nunes, Cenoz and Gorter (2010).

The LL is used to explore the results of language contact since the written form of language is more permanent than the spoken word (Barni 2008; Huebner 2006). This type of research is often conducted in contexts where migrant communities become established in host countries. It is also popular in Asia, where foreign languages and alternative orthographies (the process of Romanisation) receive a great deal of attention (Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008; Curtin 2007; Huebner 2006).

Related to the issue of sociolinguistic minorities and linguistic diversity is the notion that the LL plays a significant role in linguistic vitality. This notion was introduced to the field by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 34), whose research proved that the LL is the most salient marker of linguistic vitality. On the other hand, various other studies have found the opposite. Based on the result of an extended research methodology, which combined both linguistic and non-linguistic features, Barni and Bagna (2009, 2015) found no link between language visibility and vitality. Contrasting results were discovered by Du Plessis (2011), where African languages are widely spoken but rarely used in the LL, while the decreasing visibility of Afrikaans is accompanied by a loss of this language's higher domain functions. This once again proves that one cannot make simple observations about the LL, but that perspectives must be triangulated as thoroughly as possible.

Not only are the links between LL and language vitality, demographic make-up and literacy (language competency) contested, but even the inhabitants of a certain area might have a misperception of the actual make-up of the LL. Shohamy (2015: 166-167) refers to a Master's degree study (Goldstein-Havazki 2011) which asked high school students to document signage in their neighbourhood. They were given questionnaires about the visibility of the various languages before and after their 'fieldwork'. The result was strongly incongruent – the perceived and actual visibility of languages in the LL differ. While this study is of too small a scale to be significant, it can serve as a basis for the argument that some degree of quantification is beneficial to LL research.

Linked to the structuration principle of literacy is the fact that not all actors have full competency in the languages they know. As a result, they often combine the linguistic and semiotic resources at their disposal in order to communicate in the LL – in other words, via translanguaging (cf. Gorter and Cenoz (2015: 54-74) for an exploration of this phenomenon).

#### 2.3.3.5 LL and semiotics/multimodality

There is an increasing focus on the LL as a semiotic research avenue, originally (and explicitly) proposed by Shohamy and Waksman (2009), and further developed in the volume by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010). This focus is based on the argument that the LL is constituted not only by stationary signs, but also by other communicative items such as newspapers and shirts. The concept was preceded by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) use of the concept of interaction order. Hult (2009) later uses nexus analysis, based on the principles of interaction order in



combination with LL analysis, to create a methodology for an eco-linguistic study. Backhaus (2005a: 2) confirms that the indexical relationship between the sign and the space is reciprocal – the space confers meaning on the sign, and vice versa. He defines this as “meaning-making processes of visible language in public space”. This tie in with the issue of ‘placeness’.

The approach above led to the development of a multimodal interest in the LL, expanding its focus from texts to images, sounds, smells, movements, buildings, history, “as well as people who are immersed and absorbed in spaces by interacting with LL in different ways” (Shohamy 2015: 154). One such interesting study focuses on the tattooed body as a corporeal landscape, or ‘moving discursive locality’ (Peck & Stroud 2015: 133-151). This ever-expanding approach seems to be in line with the paradigm shift towards comprehensive research and away from the carefully delineated research approach that emerged during the Age of Reason (Hogan-Brun & Brun 2013).

#### 2.3.3.6 LL and globalisation

The impact of globalisation on the LL is not only reflected in the commodification of languages, but also in the spread and dominance of English (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015; Curtin 2007; Hult 2014; Kasanga 2012a, 2012b; Leeman & Modan 2009; Vettorel & Franceschi 2013). The spread and prevalence of English has garnered great interest. This language is pervasive in LLs across the world, at the expense of other languages. This can be attributed to the process of globalisation (Cenoz & Gorter 2009: 57-58), where English has become the language of wider communication. It is found at sites, tourist attractions or urban areas with mixed sociolinguistic groups where it acts as the *lingua franca*, or on signs aimed at the local population for connotative rather than informative purposes (Backhaus 2005a, 2006, 2007, 2008; Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 24-25; Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 78, 2009; Huebner 2006: 33-34). Some actors have mistakenly assumed that the use of English attracts a larger readership, but one of the outcomes of such a choice is that the visibility of other languages becomes diminished.

Globalisation further impacts on issues of identity, specifically as manifested in patterns of large-scale migrations. Both Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015) as well as Woldemariam and Lanza (2015) explore how the LL is used by migrant communities, not only to create local and unique identities, but also ones that cross national borders.

A further aspect of globalisation involves the spread of brand names and trademarks internationally, to the point where they are removed from their countries of origin (Tufi & Blackwood 2010). In fact, in certain cases these names cannot even be assigned to a specific language of origin and therefore Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015: 33-34) argue for such names as a “code engendered by globalisation” (*ibid*: 33), to be assigned a unique linguistic category, namely “Big Commercial Names” – BCNs.

#### 2.3.3.7 LL as pedagogic resource

The LL can serve as a pedagogic resource in additional language education (Cenoz & Gorter 2008b); not only in terms of language exposure but also as a reflection of the sociocultural and political context within which the language is used (Sayer 2009). Indeed, this practice has become so popular that Malinowski (2015: 95-113) proposes a conceptual framework that combines LL research with pedagogical practice. Furthermore, the LL not only serves as a tool for acquiring language, but can also be utilised to promote intercultural awareness (Walinski 2013).

#### 2.3.3.8 LL and language policy and practice

A dialectic exists between the LL and society – while the LL is a product of the sociolinguistic environment, it simultaneously influences the sociolinguistic situation by affecting language perception and use (Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 67-78). This dialectic thus means that by affecting the LL, actors can influence the wider environment. As argued by Scollon and Scollon (2003: x), one of the most effective ways to control the public space is by controlling the discourses in that space. One of the ways in which the discourse is controlled, is through control of the LL via language policy (whether official or *de facto*). On the other hand, the LL can also influence language policy. Shohamy (2006: 110-112, 123) points out that the LL functions as a covert language policy mechanism, used by both dominant and minority parties to manipulate actual language practices. Through these practices, language policies can be imposed, negotiated or protested against (such as with the use of graffiti (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006)). In other words, language ideologies and attitudes are turned into practice and these “(d)ifferent practices of language use on signs represent different views on the linguistic arrangement of a place” (Backhaus 2005a: 32; see also Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 27). While incoherence in the LL is partly due to the inconsistent implementation of official language policies (Du Plessis 2007: 563), it frequently stems from the fact that the LL functions as a policy mechanism. The LL is constituted by contributions from competing linguistic, socio-economic and political groups; those in power and those who are marginalised in the society.

This brings us to the issue of agency, i.e. that official government institutions (top-down agent) make different choices in the LL to those in the private sector (bottom-up agent). This reveals different contributions to the LL, highlighting ‘two different ways of *marking the territory*’ (Calvet, quoted in Backhaus 2005a: 41). Top-down and bottom-up agents make different language choices, with top-down signs tending to adhere to official policy while bottom-up signs display a greater variation (Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008; Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Du Plessis 2007; Huebner 2006; Shohamy 2006).

This dichotomy of top-down and bottom-up agency is heavily contested on both theoretical and methodological grounds. Recent discussions on agency argue for an extension of the dichotomy to a consideration of the process by which the LL is produced and employed. The distinction between bottom-up and top-down initiatives is not as clear as the dichotomy implies. Not only are several actors involved, – such as the initiator/owner of the sign, the sign maker, the sign reader, and the authority that stipulates the language policy (Spolsky 2009: 31-32) – but Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 8-9) point out that processes such as the impact of modernisation, globalisation and multiculturalism also play a substantial role, as well as notions of power relations and identity.

The distinction remains useful, however, especially when contrasting official policy with actual language practices, thereby allowing for an evaluation of the efficacy of policy. It further allows for an exploration of the LL-societal dialectic when a large-scale socio-political change occurs. Socio-political changes lead to changes in language attitudes and language policy, which consequently influences the LL. This idea has been thoroughly documented in several studies (cf. *inter alia*, Brown 2007; Du Plessis 2011, 2012; Lado 2011; Pavlenko 2008, 2009; Rosendal 2009; Slobada 2009; Taylor-Leech 2011). The impact is visible in the phenomenon of layering, a term developed by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) to refer to the simultaneous existence of the same type of sign in various versions as a result of different policies – in effect, the LL thus documents the effects of regime changes. This concept was linked as proof of language shift, a concept originally developed by Fishman but tied to the LL by Pavlenko (2008, 2009).

Official language policies play an important role in the LL as they contribute to the visibility of languages in the LL. It has been proven that strong language policies result in a stronger

presence of the affected language in the LL, which is especially important in the case of minority languages (Cenoz & Gorter 2006).

#### 2.4 Discussion of LL research

Methodologies and theoretical frameworks are currently developed on an *ad hoc* basis to suit various studies and as such, there is no overarching agenda. LL research is interdisciplinary in its very essence and serves to provide unique insights into various other fields of human endeavour. As such, it does not seem likely that it will develop as an independent field. However, some theoretical foundations as well as coherent methodologies will counteract the tendency towards random studies that yield interesting but incomparable results. While this diversity enriches various other fields and allows for a deeper understanding of LL dynamics, LL as a field as enquiry has reached the point where its exploration should focus on theoretical advances. As stated by Gorter (2013: 204-205), “A future challenge will be to use empirical studies to test theoretical ideas rather than provide descriptive or analytical accounts that more or less illustrate theoretical ideas.”

The dire need to develop a theoretical framework has been pointed out repeatedly. However, different issues require different theoretical considerations and it thus seems impossible to develop a theoretical framework that is applicable in all instances of LL research. Then again, having reached its critical turn, LL research is sufficiently developed to reflect upon itself and evaluate the usefulness of its undertakings. The essence of this critical theory lies in the fact that the LL is situated in the public space, which is the essential nature of the LL and on which many of the issues are based. It is a place of open access to the public (mostly); it is created by many different actors with a plethora of agendas; it is both an individual and a mass experience; and it contributes to ‘placeness’. The latter issue is of great importance in the modern world where public existence is becoming increasingly anonymous (as opposed to the community-based existence that prevailed in the past). A consideration of this issue will deepen understanding about what the LL means to those creating it and navigating it. This need is addressed in the development of the multimodal approach.

There are specific issues that warrant further attention in the LL. For instance, LL could be incorporated into architectural considerations and even provide employment avenues for language practitioners. A narrowed focus on the LL could even create an avenue for bioscientific research – how passers-by physically perceive the LL and the implications thereof.

However, the issues that have already received attention have not yet been fully exploited and should continue to be investigated and theorised.

The LL, as constituted by written language in the public space, has distinctive semiotic properties. An exploration thereof allows for a new or an additional approach to themes such as language policy and linguistic diversity. However, it also bears unique theoretic and methodological challenges. The study of the LL does not involve simply cataloguing linguistic phenomena such as a discrepancy between *de jure* and *de facto* language policy, the impact of language contact on the structures of the languages involved, or how language usage differs between ethnolinguistic and functional localities. Rather, its importance lies in examining the dynamics behind the linguistic choices resulting in these phenomena; whether the consideration is symbolic at individual or societal levels, private or governmental in nature, relating to identity or power relations, and, significantly, what the (often unintended) impact of the LL is on creating place. The popularity of LL studies is evident not only through the exponential increase of publications and interest on the level of tertiary education, but also in the increased visibility at conferences (specifically the annual LL workshops), as well as the establishment of the *Linguistic Landscape* journal. While there is much yet to be done, this overview has shown that LL research has developed into an independent and fruitful avenue of research.

## 2.5 Theoretical framework of the study

### 2.5.1 LL and LPP

As has been shown so far, LL is essentially an interdisciplinary field, both drawing from and enriching other areas of research. One such intersection is with language policy and planning (LPP), which is also an interdisciplinary field. The term ‘LPP’ is used because language policy and language planning, although originally approached separately, have been fused (Hornberger 2006: 24-25; Johnson 2013: 3-4). While Shohamy (2015: 152) points out that “the LL is instrumental in contributing to the broadening of the theory and practice of LP (language policy)”, this relationship is instead two-way, with both fields serving to enrich and supplement their mutual theories and methodologies.

A useful way to understand this interaction is to consider the notion of the LL as an LPP domain. LPP domains can be defined in two ways. Turi (2003) distinguishes between two types of LPP domains or “zone[s] of application” (*ibid*: 7), these being the official and the unofficial domains. The official domains are education, public administration, legislation and justice,

while the unofficial domains are labour, communications, culture, commerce and business (*ibid*: 9). This distinction is useful when investigating official, top-down LPP. When considering LPP from a broader point of view, Spolsky's (2004) definition is more appropriate. He follows Fishman's [Fishman, Cooper & Ma 1971] sociolinguistic definition, where domains are viewed as sociolinguistic contexts that are defined by location, participants and topic, from the family unit to the school environment and even a whole nation or state (Spolsky 2004: 42-56). An LPP domain can thus be defined as any context within which LPP is relevant. The LL, as LPP domain, is constituted by written language in the public space. It is created and interpreted by a variety of participants and motivated by several topics, ranging from the provision of information to attempts at persuasion. Defining LPP domains as 'sociolinguistic contexts' is pertinent to the theoretical framework developed in the present study.

LPP is a long-established interdisciplinary field, resulting in theoretical fragmentation and even disagreement about terminology and what indeed to call the field (cf. *inter alia*, Darquennes 2014; Johnson 2013: 26). Various LPP discourses centre on diverging topics such as: linguistic or human rights; ideologies (issues of identity, power relations and nation-building); the maintenance, promotion, protection or development of languages and linguistic groups; or other factors, including social, political, economic, historical, psycho-social, geographical or even straightforward linguistic issues. LPP is also practiced in various domains (e.g. judiciary, administration, education, commerce or media), with the theories and methodologies of those fields interacting with that of LPP. Other issues commonly addressed include agency (top-down/bottom-up), layers and levels of LPP (macro-, meso- and micro-layers as well as supranational LPP), types of LPP, approaches and orientations towards LPP, goals and outcomes (both intended and actual) of LPP as well as the processes and mechanisms by which LPP is executed and the contexts within which this takes place.

Following the pragmatic turn of the field, LPP started focusing not only on LPP issues, but also on how LPP goals can be best achieved. This allows for a self-critical look at the field, where the impact of LPP on society is questioned (Darquennes 2014: 17). This development was accompanied by a more integrated approach towards LPP research. A starting place is the integrated framework developed by Hornberger (2006: 27-33), although limited to top-down language planning. Other attempts at more integrated approaches involve the application of nexus analysis (cf. Hult 2009) and complexity theory to LPP research, as well as the development of the ecological approach to language, initiated by Haugen (1972) and followed

by, among others, Hornberger (2002) as well as Hornberger and Hult (2008). For the former, refer to the special issue of *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2013 (14(3/4)), especially the contribution by Bastardas-Boada (2013) and the conversation between Hogan-Brun and Brun (2013). The multiple and variable dimensions of LPP creation are acknowledged by approaching it as engaged language policy and practice (Davis 2014); an approach that emphasises LPP as situated action. This understanding cross-references the conceptualisation of the LL as the outcome of situated actions (Hult 2014).

However, the field of LPP does not have an encompassing model that allows for the exploration of various LPP aspects simultaneously. The present study proposes a model in this regard, drawing on the theorisations of Blommaert and his colleagues about space as inspired by conceptualisations from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. This model is intended to be useful for both LPP and LL research.

#### 2.5.2 Blommaert's theorisation about space

Blommaert *et al.* (2005a, 2005b) introduce the notion of scales in an effort to create a concept suitable for exploring the multiplicity inherent in meaning making (also see Blommaert 2007a, 2007b). However, while the idea of scale might not (yet) be an altogether successful theoretical concept in sociolinguistics (cf. Blommaert, Westinen & Leppänen 2015), the related ideas of polycentricity and interactional regimes can be employed to develop an integrated model of LPP. This approach takes into consideration that various systems are operational in the creation and execution of LPP, each with its own inherent functioning but still interrelated.

The basic tenet of Blommaert's theorisation is that spaces are polycentric, in other words, constituted by multiple centres of authority. Each of these centres acts in an evaluative role with regard to what constitutes valid interactive (and communicative) behaviour. This means that there is an interactional regime (a hierarchically ordered set of norms) that regulates behaviour. Centres each contain at least one interactional regime. Given that spaces contain multiple centres, multiple interactional regimes are active within one space. Since not all interactional regimes can be enacted simultaneously, it follows that there is some sort of hierarchy. This stratification is created by the scales at which centres (and therefore the associated regimes) operate; in other words, scale determines the sphere of influence of a centre. The regime(s) of the dominant centre will prevail more often than the regimes originating from peripheral centres. In this way, space is a determining factor for which types

of actions prevail. The type of actions at stake here is discursive, specifically communicative interaction.

The interaction between space and discourse is possible because space is not strictly material and discourse is not strictly immaterial (or symbolic) (Blommaert *et al.* 2005b: 211-212). The specific environment within which discourse takes place can thus be described as the “real material and symbolic space in which people anchor a dense complex of symbolic and material practices and to which they refer in performing these practices” (*ibid*: 206). These practices are politically and socially determined patterns of potential versus actual behaviour (Blommaert 2007b: 120). Interactional regimes determine these patterns, functioning as sets of behavioural expectations regarding physical conduct, including language – or communicative interaction (Blommaert *et al.* 2005b: 212). With regard to the LL, we are specifically interested in communicative interaction as it relates to the enactment of multilingual competencies in its written form in the public space. Employment of these multilingual competencies is dependent on the interactional regime that is prevalent within a space. The regime sets the requirements for what constitutes valid communicative behaviour. The degree to which speakers’ linguistic competencies correlate with the requirements determines whether their competencies are valid or invalid. As a result, spaces can render multilingual competencies valid or invalid; multilingualism is therefore either enabled or disabled by spaces.

Blommaert and his colleagues developed the concept of interactional regimes as relating to communication. Expanding on the accepted notion of indexicality, where denotative as well as connotative sociocultural meanings are indexed by textual features (Blommaert *et al.* 2015: 122), Blommaert (2007b: 116-118) distinguishes between indexical order and orders of indexicality. The former concept refers to the fact that communicative actions occur in patterns that are reflected as ‘types’, such as register. The second concept addresses the idea that these indexical orders stand in a hierarchical relation to each other. These ‘ordered indexicalities’ mean that certain patterns of communicative interactions are systematically valued, meaning that some are perceived as valuable, less valuable or not taken into account at all – the result being that certain types of communicative behaviour are valid while others are not. This phenomenon can be labelled interactional regimes (Blommaert *et al.* 2005b: 212). ‘Regime’ refers to the normative conditions which regiment situated understandings of language, while ‘interactional’ acknowledges that normative actions are still situated and therefore necessarily emergent.



When multiple interactional regimes are present, only one can prevail at a time. Therefore, there is a hierarchy, where possible regimes are found in a stratified relation to each other. They are organised via the centres of authority from which they emanate (Blommaert 2007b: 118-120). Centres of authority, whether real or perceived, are those individuals, collectives (peer groups, subcultural groups), abstract entities or ideas which provide the norms for what constitutes appropriate behaviour. In other words, it produces the interactional regimes. The authority of these centres is over clusters of semiotic features, such as thematic domains, places, people (their roles, identities and relationships) and semiotic styles (such as linguistic varieties and modes of performance).

Each centre produces at least one interactional regime and, since spaces are polycentric, there are multiple interactional regimes within one space to which actors need to orient themselves simultaneously (Blommaert *et al.* 2005b: 207, 212). Actors can comply with or disregard any interactional regime at any step of the process, whether intentionally or not (Blommaert 2007b: 119). The fact that some interactional regimes prevail systematically over others is the result of unequal power relations between centres of authority (*ibid*: 120). This sphere of influence is determined by the scale at which a centre operates (central/peripheral, local/translocal, prestige/vernacular, etc.) (Blommaert *et al.* 2005a, 2005b; Blommaert 2007a). Scales also exist in a hierarchical relationship to each other (higher and lower levels) and not all the scales within a centre are equally accessible to all the participants in a communicative interaction. Scale-jumping, where one participant lifts an issue to a scale which is inaccessible to another (such as using a higher register, e.g. switching to medical jargon) reflects how linguistic competencies that are valuable at one scale level might be disempowering or irrelevant at another (Blommaert 2007a: 6-7). The different interactional regimes available are evaluated according to the scale. Blommaert *et al.* (2005b: 229) explain with the example of immigrants in Belgium. Fluent competency in Arabic is considered good in an Arabic school because it links to a larger, translocal Arabic identity. However, this competency is irrelevant in the context of a Dutch immersion school.

As a result of this scaling effect, monolingual and multilingual competencies are employed with various levels of efficacy during communicative interaction. Given that space itself is considered as a determining factor in communication, the type of space rather than the interaction itself is described. As such, Blommaert *et al.* (2005b: 213-217) distinguish between

monologic and dialogic spaces, within which regimes prescribing a gradient of monolingual and multilingual practices are imposed officially, intentionally or based on necessity. Officially, monologic or dialogic spaces are the outcome of a fixed interactional regime, usually the result of a deliberate choice with the aim of including certain groups and excluding others. When spaces adopt a specific interactional regime in order to attain a specific practical goal or as an expression of political-ideological principles, these spaces are intentionally monologic or dialogic. In some spaces the particular demographic or spatial patterns only allow for certain interactional regimes and the space is then *de facto*, unplanned and as-required monologic or dialogic. In the latter instance, the outcome can be consensual or conflicting, because spaces are also multifunctional and there might be contestations regarding the ownership and proper usage of a space. This relates to the evaluation of which interactional regimes should be observed.

The discussion returns to the notion proposed by Blommaert *et al.* (2005a) that space is a determining factor in multilingual competency. Actual language use (language practices) is strongly influenced by the context in which the communication takes place. This context is made up of various variables, one of which is space, understood in both its physical and semiotic sense (and including centres of authority and interactional regimes). Traditionally, language competency is viewed as a capacity inherent to actors – individuals, groups of individuals (speech communities) or institutions. Blommaert *et al.* (2005a) propose the alternative notion, that linguistic competency is either enabled or disabled by the space in which it occurs. They argue that the relevance of an actor's linguistic competency changes as the context changes. Therefore, competency is not determined by the linguistic potential (repertoire) of actors but rather by their position (in other words, the context, or more specifically the space from which they operate). Spaces therefore significantly influence the relevance and validity of the actors' repertoires. In other words, it determines which linguistic competencies are relevant. In cases where the space limits multilingual capacities, it can be said to truncate multilingual competence. For example, if a person competent in three languages travels to an area where only one of those languages is spoken, the competency is reduced to a monolingual competency (truncated multilingual competence). If the person travels to an area where none of the three languages is spoken, the person has no relevant lingual competency and is thus rendered 'language-less'.

To explore the employment of multilingual competencies in the LL, the present study tries to define the 'LPP space'. Blommaert *et al.* (2005a: 202) state that space can be delineated along

physical as well as semiotic boundaries. The proposed model differentiates between the physical and the semiotic aspect of the LPP space. The physical aspect involves a spatio-temporal element that interacts with and even qualifies the semiotic aspect (by affecting its scales). For the present study, the administrative set-up, history and demographics of the research area (the physical aspect) provide information that serves to triangulate the LL findings. The semiotic aspect is determined by drawing on existing LPP theories.

### 2.5.3 Centres of the semiotic aspect of the LPP space

Three contributions that present an attempt at an integrated approach to LPP are useful for the development of a model of LPP space, namely those by Spolsky (2004), Lo Bianco (2010) and Hornberger (2002, 2005a). Spolsky (2004) states that LPP consists of three components, namely language management, language beliefs and language practices. Lo Bianco (2010: 157-162) identifies three sources of LPP, i.e. public texts, public discourses and performative actions. These components and sources are framed by Hornberger's (2002, 2005a) binary concept of ideological and implementational spaces for LPP.

A pertinent matter for clarification is the division between language policy and language practice. Traditionally, policy and practice are viewed as two separate factors. However, recent trends acknowledge that LPP is constituted by both facets. Overt policy refers to the explicit, official, *de jure* decisions declared by LPP authorities; whether it is initiated from the top-down or the bottom-up, or occurs on the macro-, meso- or micro-levels (the latter is also referred to as localised planning). See *inter alia*, Williams (1994: 102) for levels of LPP as well as Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) for an introduction to localised language planning. Such forms of policy are what Spolsky (2004) labels language management, not only vaguely defined as “any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management” (*ibid*: 5), but also more specifically as “the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use” (*ibid*: 11). These are what Lo Bianco (2010) defines as “public texts”, in other words, “the official documentation issued by a state or its agencies” (*ibid*: 157). Of these, national constitutions are considered the “ultimate” public texts (*ibid*: 158). Overt policy is therefore supplied by the constitution as well as primary and secondary legislation, including any relevant regulations issued by the state. These legislative measures create a certain language use precedent within the public facet of the domain in which it operates.

Covert policy is the implicit, unofficial language policy, in other words, certain pervasive conventions about language use. Spolsky (2004) terms these language beliefs, in other words, “the beliefs about language and language use” (*ibid*: 5) or “what people think should be done” (*ibid*: 14), but covert policy extends beyond language attitudes and ideologies to include behaviour. This is investigated by Schiffman (1996, 2006) under the term “linguistic culture”; the existing beliefs and conventions about the functions and values of languages not only within a speech community but also within even society as a whole. Therefore, practised, or *de facto* language policy refers to the actual choices made about language use, whether by persons or institutions, i.e. “what people actually do” (Spolsky 2004: 14). Spolsky defines this aspect as language practices, i.e. “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire” (*ibid*: 5). Lo Bianco (2010: 161-162) differentiates between mundane actions that have transactional communicative value, and performative actions, which refers to the ideological use of language. The latter (language practices) serve to model language forms that are desired and valued by its users, thereby influencing patterns of language use, social relationships and meanings.

There is always tension between policy (statement and/or intention) and practice (actualisation) – a policy needs to have legitimacy among those tasked with its implementation as well as those who are subjected to it. Conversely, language practices need to be prevalent enough in order to influence policy makers. Legitimacy relates not only to issues of LPP congruence (the degree to which policy and reality correlate) (Schiffman 1996, 2006; Spolsky 2004: 222), but also to public discourse (Lo Bianco 2010). Public discourse is the process by which public opinion is expressed and shaped, including the interpretation of public texts (intention and implementation), thus impacting on the legitimation of policies (*ibid*: 159-161). This aspect can be expanded to include more localised forms of discourse as well, such as the discussions of a school governing board to determine its language policy, or the local branch of a national business franchise on how to implement its language regulations in the local context.

This tension between policy and practice is explored by Hornberger (2005a) in terms of ideological and implementational spaces. Macro-level policies, for instance legislation promoting heritage language education, open up ideological spaces for the possibility of heritage language education, which in turn creates implementational spaces to be filled with practices that promote and execute heritage language education. The process also happens in reverse order: practices in the implementational space wedge open ideological spaces that bring

about change on macro-level. Choices made on both ideological and implementational spaces serve as mutual reinforcements for each other (Hornberger 2005b: 12). This binary concept allows for a more balanced and nuanced investigation of agency than is allowed by the classic top-down/bottom-up and micro-level/macro-level debates.

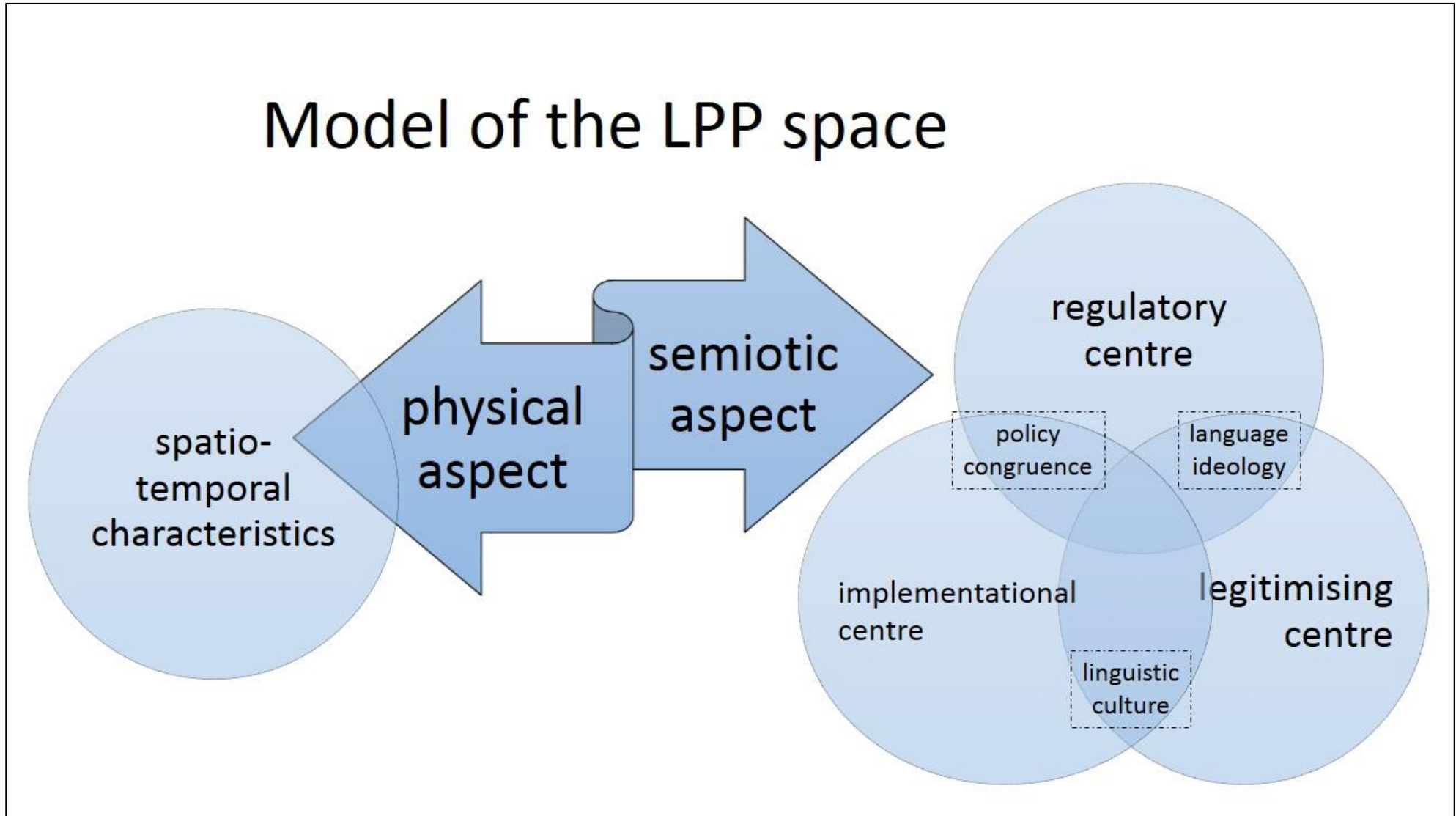
Collectively, these three theoretical frameworks reveal that the semiotic aspect of the LPP space is constituted by three centres, namely the regulatory, the legitimising and the implementational centres. These three centres are independent but interactive. The regulatory centre produces the official and legislative directives regarding the use of language within its polity, thereby opening up or closing ideological spaces. These directives are influenced by language ideologies held by political parties, ideologies defined by Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 57-58) as “strategies for maintaining social power”. Given that “democratic states require the attainment of a minimum level of societal consensus supporting their actions” (Howlett 2000: 22), the language ideologies held by the populace also influence whether or not a certain directive is accepted and legitimised. The legitimising centre is constituted by public discourse, which reflects prevalent language ideologies as well as evaluations of policies, whether actual or proposed. The legitimisation of a directive is also influenced by the linguistic culture existing in the speech community or LPP domain where it is to be implemented, i.e. the opinions held about language use and language communities as well as language practices. Language attitudes can be said to be composed of three elements, namely affective (feelings or sentiments), behavioural (predisposition to act) and cognitive (thoughts about language) (e.g. Ajzen 1988; McGuire 1985; Warren & Jahoda 1973 (all in May 2000: 112)). The actual language practices (choices), whether executed by state or private entities, constitute the implementational centre. These practices correlate to varying degrees with the official directives (language policy congruence). An analysis of policy congruence can further inform whether or not policy should be adapted or whether a top-down intervention is required (cf. Schiffman’s 1996 publication for a discussion on congruence between policy and sociolinguistic reality).

#### 2.5.4 A model of LPP space

The model of LPP space that is proposed by this study thus suggests that the LPP space is constituted by a physical aspect that interacts closely with a triadic semiotic aspect (Figure 1).

The physical aspect of the LPP space is defined by its spatio-temporal characteristics. It contributes the administrative, historical and demographic features (possibly also others such as political and economic conditions), which in turn creates the backdrop against which the semiotic aspect operates. The spatio-temporal characteristics of the physical aspects determine certain norms for communicative interaction.

Figure 1: A model of the LPP space



The three centres that make up the semiotic aspect – regulatory, legitimising and implementational – are in a continuous dialectic with each other and with the physical aspect of the LPP space. They are each impacted on by different scales, produce different interactional regimes and therefore present different opportunities for compliance or negotiation regarding the language choices that constitute communicative behaviour. Each centre therefore impacts differently on multilingualism in the LL.

The regulatory centre is governed by the state (government, political parties) and is thus very powerful in relation to the other centres. The scalar differentiation within this centre relates to the various administrative levels – the national, provincial, district, and local tiers. The purpose of this centre is to open ideological spaces that are supportive of multilingual practices via laws and regulations. Certain facets of the physical aspect influence how this centre functions. On the temporal level, the post-apartheid context filters through to practical and symbolic matters, including the establishment of a new approach to language on the official level. The new administrative tiers influence the level (scale) of policy. The demographic composition of communications influence their linguistic requirements, which local governments are legally required to take into consideration.

Whether the ideological spaces (potential) for multilingualism are acted upon or not is determined by the legitimising centre. This is constituted by the public, in other words sociolinguistic communities as well as individuals who both produce, and are directed by the prevailing linguistic culture. The scales in this centre are more symbolic in nature, referring to linguistic codes with high status and the perceived capacity of these codes to fulfil certain functions. Again the demographics is an influencing factor, given that certain accepted linguistic conventions and power relations between various groups and actors impact on language choice. History influences two things in this centre, namely the historic confluence of varied ethnolinguistic groups, resulting in the existing sociolinguistic composition of the population, as well as certain connotative appraisals of different linguistic codes.

The actual language practices, in other words, the choices of linguistic codes, are reflected in the implementational centre as language visibility profiles. It is closely related to the legitimising centre via the concept of linguistic culture, and can force changes in the regulatory centre by directing the ideological spaces. The implementational centre is relevant to a variety of LPP domains. However, the present study is specifically interested in the sociolinguistic



context provided by the public space available for the display of written text. Scalar factors that are significant to the LL are that language is used here in its written form; and that this type of communication is performed in the public space. A further subset of scales constitutes the three variables influencing language choice within this centre, namely locality (where signs are erected), agency (by whom signs are created) and functionality (the purpose that signs are supposed to serve).

These facets all function together to create the LPP space; a significant variable in the context of communicative interaction. They each produce different interactional regimes that compete with one another for dominance. LL actors can either comply with or negotiate these regimes and, as a result, the LPP space either disables or enables multilingualism in the LL.

#### 2.5.5 Application of the LPP model

The present study aims to determine whether multilingualism is enabled or disabled in the LL. The LL, as LPP domain, is explored by applying an LPP model. This model presents LPP as a specific type of space, created by a physical as well as a semiotic aspect. The semiotic aspect is constituted by three centres, each operating on their own scales and producing different interactional regimes. Not only are these regimes in competition with each other; actors can also choose whether to comply with them or not. However, the prevailing regime might not necessarily allow for the enactment of multilingual competencies. As a result, centres can be either monologic or dialogic, allowing for or inhibiting multilingual communicative interaction. The centres of LPP relevant to LL have been identified as being the regulatory, the legitimising and the implementational centres.

In the regulatory centre, the specific South African (national) policy situation is relevant, as well as the other policy levels, i.e. the provincial, district and municipal regulations (situated scale). The potential of policies and regulations to support institutionalised multilingualism is impacted by the fact that multiple languages are competing for status (including officiality), corpus development and support for acquisition. In the legitimising centre, influenced by both translocal and situated scales (centrality, different sociolinguistic groups), a positive evaluation of multilingual competency is dependent on the perceived value and prestige by the community (actors). Multilingual potential is realised through actual language use in the implementational centre. This centre is also scaled locally as well as translocally, but it includes the feature that its language use is of the written variety.

The question is whether multilingualism, specifically the competence to produce written text in more than one language in the public space, is enabled or disabled or not. The new political regime in South Africa, which includes a shift from statutory bilingualism to institutionalised multilingualism, dictates that all three LPP centres should enable multilingualism competencies for all LPP actors operating in the public space, from individuals and communities to private and government institutions. It therefore foresees the type of institutionalised multilingualism that supports both individual and societal multilingualism.

The model of LPP space is applied in the present study by identifying the interactional regimes prevalent in each centre. In so doing, it determines whether the regimes accommodate multilingual communicative interaction or not. It thus concludes whether or not the LPP space, as activated within the specific research site, enables or disables multilingualism.

## CHAPTER 3: THE RESEARCH SITE

This section will explore the research site by applying the LPP model proposed in the previous chapter. First, the physical aspect of the LPP space is outlined by discussing the administrative, historical and demographic background to the research site. The research site encompasses nine towns – Trompsburg, Philippolis, Springfontein, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Gariep Dam, Bethulie, Reddersburg and Edenburg – that comprise the KLM, which is situated in the Xhariep District Municipality in the southern Free State province. It is located in the Transgariep, the area between the Orange and the Vaal rivers. The discussion will then proceed to an overview of the regulatory and legitimising centres in South Africa; two of the three centres that constitute the semiotic aspect of the LPP space. Each of these three facets will be analysed in order to identify the prevalent interactional regimes and to determine the impact of these regimes on written multilingual competency in the public space. The methodologies in this chapter rely heavily on secondary sources, both due to the scope of the analysis required as well as to ensure sufficient triangulation. Altogether, this chapter sets the scene for the investigation of the implementational centre to follow in Chapters 4 and 5.

### 3.1. Background of the research site: the physical aspect of the LPP space

The physical aspect of the LPP space relates to the fact that it is situated in a location that can be defined in geoterritorial and temporal terms. The area under investigation is situated in a rural zone of a country that underwent a dramatic political and administrative change two decades ago (in 1994). There is a tension between the revolutionary changes on national political level versus the relatively isolated nature of this area. Another influence is the sociolinguistic composition of the inhabitants, resulting from both historical and new migrations as well as the composition of neighbouring populations. The exploration of the spatio-temporal characteristics of the research site provides the background data against which the functioning of the semiotic aspect of the LPP space can be contextualised.

#### 3.1.1. Administrative background

Administratively, the government of South Africa operates on three tiers – national, provincial and district. The country is divided into nine provinces, each with a provincial legislature. The nine provinces are the Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Limpopo, North West and Western Cape, as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Map of the nine provinces of South Africa

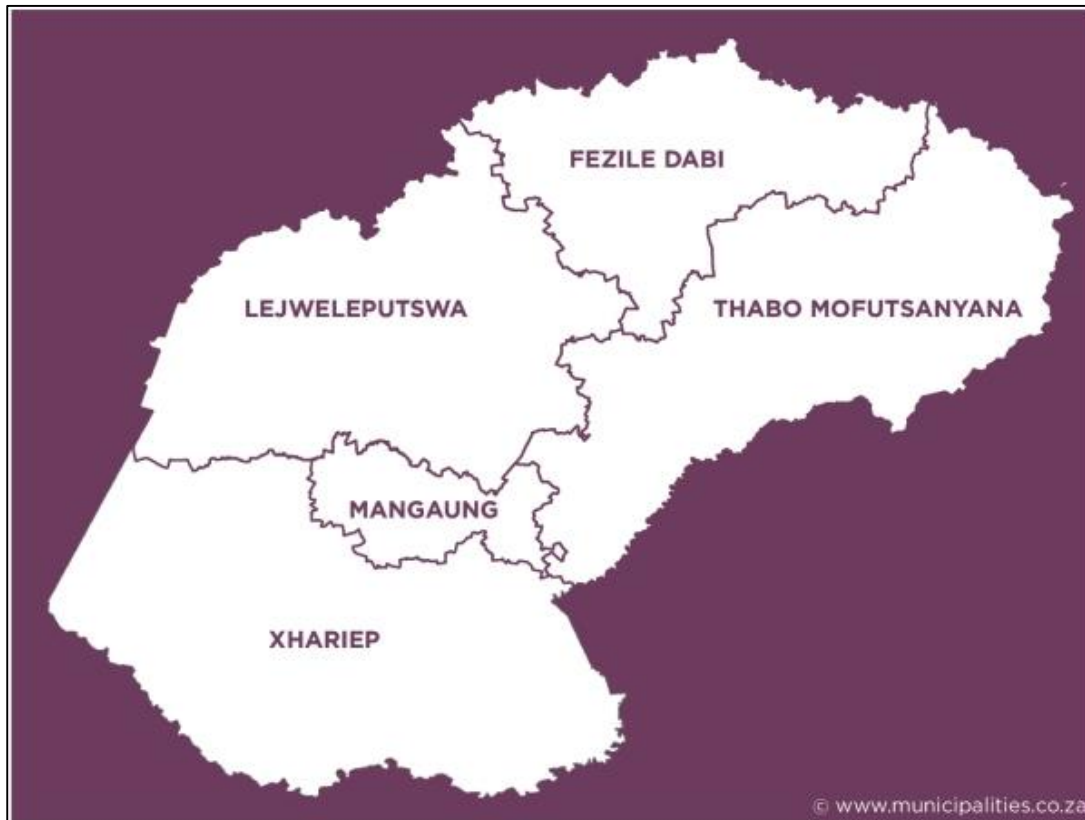


(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_South\\_Africa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_South_Africa), accessed 2015, November 10)

As seen in the map above, the Free State is the most central province, bordering six other provinces as well as the country Lesotho. At 129,825 km<sup>2</sup>, the Free State is the third largest province in South Africa. However, it has the second lowest population density in the country, being home to 5.3% of the national population. The capital of the Free State province is Bloemfontein, which is also the country's judicial capital. It is considered a rural province, composed of farmland and about 90% of the province is used for crop production (The Local Government Handbook 2015).

The provinces are in turn divided into districts and further subdivided into local municipalities. As can be seen in Figure 3 below, the Free State province is divided into five district municipalities, namely Mangaung (which is classified as a metropolitan municipality), Lejweleputswa, Thabo Mofutsanyana, Fezile Dabi and Xhariep.

Figure 3: Map of the five district municipalities of the Free State province



(Source: <http://municipalities.co.za/provinces/view/2/free-state>, accessed 2015, November 10)

The Xhariep District Municipality was established on 6 December 2001 in accordance with Section 21 of the *Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (RSA 1998)*. It is located at the southern point of the Free State province, where the Orange River forms the southern border of both the district and the province. The Xhariep district also shares borders with both the Eastern and the Northern Cape Provinces as well as the country of Lesotho. It is the largest district municipality in the Free State. Extending over an area of 37 674 km<sup>2</sup>, it covers 29% of the Free State's total surface area. It is divided into four local municipalities, namely Letsemeng, Kopanong, Mohokare and Naledi (see Figure 4 below). Naledi Local Municipality was only incorporated into the Xhariep district in July 2011, after the data collection for this study was conducted (Municipal Demarcation Board 2014). However, this municipality will be merged with the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality after the 2016 local government elections. Altogether, this district encompasses 20 towns (The Local Government Handbook 2015).

Figure 4: Map of the four local municipalities comprising the Xhariep district



(Source: <http://municipalities.co.za/districts/view/11/Xhariep-District-Municipality#map>, accessed 2015, November 10)

Letsemeng Local Municipality, in the southwestern Free State, covers about 26% of the surface area of the Xhariep district. The district includes the following towns: Jacobsdal, Luckhoff, Oppermansgronde, Koffiefontein and Petrusburg. Mohokare Local Municipality, in the southeastern Free State, covers 23% of the surface area of the Xhariep district. The towns in this area are Zastron, Smithfield and Rouxville. The newly added Naledi Local Municipality comprises 9% of the surface area of the Xhariep district. Its towns are Dewetsdorp, Van Stadensrus and Wepener. Kopanong Local Municipality, situated in the middle of the district, is the largest of these four municipalities, comprising 42% of the Xhariep district. It comprises nine towns, namely Trompsburg (headquarters of both the district and the local municipalities), Philippolis (which encompasses the hamlet of Waterkloof), Springfontein, Reddersburg, Edenburg, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Gariep Dam and Bethulie (The Local Government Handbook 2015). A map of these nine towns is provided in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Map of the nine towns comprising the KLM



(Source: [www.places.co.za/maps/free\\_state\\_map.html](http://www.places.co.za/maps/free_state_map.html), accessed 2015, November 10)

According to The Local Government Handbook (2015), the name ‘Kopanong’ is a Sotho word meaning “meeting place” or “where people are invited”. This reflects its history as a nexus point of the English expansion from Kwa-Zulu Natal, the settlement of the Boer trekkers, the settlement of the Griqua people and the influx of some Mfecane refugees, as well as the recent influx of migrants. Besides its historical significance, the towns also host a number of tourist attractions, some of which are listed by The Local Government Handbook (2015). Lake Gariep, near the town Gariep Dam, is the largest dam in South Africa. Jagersfontein boasts the biggest hand-excavated hole in the world. This is where the second-largest diamond in the world, Excelsior, was found as well. There are a number of historically significant buildings in Philippolis, the oldest settlement in the Free State province, such as the old jail, the house and kraal of the Griqua leader Adam Kok, as well as the Dutch Reformed Church. Fauresmith is

one of the few towns in the world where the railway line runs through the middle of the town. However, agriculture remains a significant activity in the area. The Local Government Handbook (2015) lists the municipality's main economic sectors as agriculture (38%), general government (23%), finance (13%) and trade (10%). The municipality's website (KLM 2015) confirms that meat (cattle and sheep) as well as wool constitute a significant portion of the farming industry.

The scales relevant in this section of the background discussion are that the research site is land-locked and thus is dependent on its internal support systems. In this case, the area is largely dependent on agriculture, which, in the Free State climate, entails rather large tracts of land to be allocated to one farm in order to be commercially successful. As a result the towns are situated a fair distance from each other, resulting in relative isolation as well as the apt description of the area as 'rural'. An outcome of the decentralisation of administration is that the headquarters of the KLM, as well as that of the Xhariep district, is now situated in Trompsburg. The development focus of both government and commercial institutions, as well as the activities of private persons has largely shifted towards the new 'centre', thus leaving many of the towns without important services and access to products. This has a dire impact on the socio-economic state of the area.

### 3.1.2. Historical background

The KLM is indeed a "meeting place" for many groups of people. For a thorough history, see the publications of Raath (1997) and (Schoeman 1996, 2002), on which the summary below is based.

Colonisation in South Africa was initiated with the Dutch claiming Cape Town and its surrounding area in 1652 as Dutch territory. The following centuries were marked by a struggle for power between the Dutch and British powers, as well as between themselves and the indigenous tribes. Under the practice of slavery, peoples from India, Indonesia, the Malayan peninsula and other African countries were imported. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British took control over the Cape Colony and slavery was abolished. During this century, white settlers of Dutch origin became dissatisfied with British rule and migrated inwards. The first migrations were also motivated by drought, when white farmers ('Trekboere') started crossing the frontier in search of temporary grazing. A more organised, mass migration happened from 1836 onwards, when the 'Voortrekkers' exited the area. These two groups



eventually became an ethnolinguistic and culturally defined group called Boer. The Boer migrations developed into semi-permanent settlement in the Transgariep area.

This area was originally inhabited by three groups, namely the San hunter-gatherers (or, as they prefer to be called, the Bushmen (Raper, Möller & Du Plessis 2014: xii-xiii)); a pastoralist group named the Khoi (or, after intermingling with the San, Khoisan); and Bantu groups who migrated from the north, introducing an agricultural lifestyle and establishing chiefdoms surrounding the Transgariep during the first millennium ACE. In 1743 a racially mixed group, later called the Griqua, left the Cape Colony under the leadership of Adam Kok. They settled around the Orange River where they set up cattle posts and initiated a system of hunting and trading with the Khoisan and Tswana peoples already settled in the Transgariep. The Griqua became involved in the trading net that spread out from Cape Town, thereby obtaining weapons and ammunition. This elevated them into the dominant position in the area, also initiating the process of westernisation. The process of westernisation was further stimulated by the arrival of missionaries from 1801 onwards.

The period of war in the 1820s following the establishment of Shaka's Zulu kingdom, the Mfecane, led to the destruction of the Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms. Some of the refugees settled in Kok's territory, where they seem to have played no significant role (Schoeman 2002: 101-102). After Moshoeshoe (a Basotho chief) had restored peace in the area near the Caledon River in the 1830s, many of the Sotho refugees returned to their place of origin, but a considerable number of Tswana people remained, with a group settling at the mission station in modern Bethulie. The area remained loosely under control of the Griqua Captaincy, even after the entry of the Boers. Although there were numerous instances of conflict, stable relationships were formed. The situation took a turn for the worse with the influx of the Voortrekkers. The continuous conflict and increasing territorial demands from the Voortrekkers threatened the existence of the Griqua Captaincy and the area continued to be destabilised.

Simultaneously, the tension between the Trekboere and Voortrekkers, as well as between the Voortrekkers on the one hand and the British Government and the local inhabitants on the other, continued to build. The Voortrekkers wanted to add the entire Transgariep area to their Republic of Potchefstroom-Winburg. Although the area was claimed as British territory, the British Government, not wishing to extend their territory in this area, declared the claim invalid.

As a result, the Voortrekkers proclaimed the Transgariiep as part of Potchefstroom-Winburg (Raath 1997: 16-17).

Instead of attempting to annex the area, the Governor, Napier, realised a buffer state would be more cost-effective than annexing the area, and signed the Napier treaty with Adam Kok (the area's Griqua leader) as well as with Moshoeshoe in 1837. One of the conditions of the treaty was that the Griqua maintain order in the area, also having been given power over the whites in the Transgariiep. Given the vague borders and the confusion regarding previous agreements, dissatisfaction remained and there were several incidents of conflict between the British authorities (assisted by the Griqua and the Basotho) and the Boere (assimilated group of Trekboere and Voortrekkers).

In 1848 the Transgariiep was annexed as the Orange River Sovereignty but, realising it would be too expensive to maintain, the British authority withdrew from the area. With the signing of the Bloemfontein Convention on 23 February 1854, the independent Republic of the Orange Free State was established. The Free State began exerting its authority in the area and the Griqua had no further protection or support from the British authorities (Schoeman 1996: xix). The Griqua's situation declined to the point where it was decided they would sell the land to the Free State and relocate. On 15 March 1860 a treaty between Adam Kok and President Pretorius was concluded and the selling of the lands began. The Griqua commenced their trek to Niemandland, east of the Drakensberg mountain range (later Griqualand East), at the end of 1861.

The discovery of diamonds on the banks of the Vaal River in 1867 resulted in yet another border dispute – this time between the Griqua of Griquatown on the one side and the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies on the other. The Cape Colony (under British authority) took control of the area in 1871. The diamond mines as well as the gold mines in the southern Transvaal attracted workers from all over southern Africa, as well as from North America, Australia, Britain and central Europe (Ross 1999: 55, 66).

The British administration made several efforts to confederate the various South African states (Ross 1999: 57-59), resulting in further instances of conflict, and eventually the first South African War of 1880-1881. The Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics were seized in 1900, resulting in the second South African War (1899-1902). In 1902 the Treaty of

Vereeniging was signed and the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics were annexed. On 31 May 1910 South Africa became a Union encompassing four provinces, namely the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

This introduced the era of racial segregation, and after 1948, with the election to power of the National Party, apartheid became a fully-fledged policy. Eventually the *Natives Land Act of 1913* was passed, which outlined the borders between the African Reserves and the white farming areas. Each of these reserves (later called Bantustans) had its own administration, with the idea that they should develop into independent states – an attempt that failed dismally (Ross 1999: 135). The process of racial classification intensified. Amongst other developments, separate living quarters were designated for the different racial groups, and many people were forcibly moved to their assigned areas. The effects of this policy remain until today, as is the case in the research site, where ethnolinguistic groups are concentrated in separate neighbourhoods. South Africa became a republic in 1961 and a democracy in 1994. The constitution adopted in 1996 is generally considered as one of the most progressive constitutions worldwide. Amongst other changes, the strictly bilingual Afrikaans/English language policy was replaced by a more vague multilingual approach.

The historical background portrays a tense past, fraught with struggles for power and survival. A similar picture unfolds itself in the names of the towns (all from Raper *et al.* 2014): The impact of the missionaries in the early history of the area is clearly reflected by how many times they are referenced in the town names. The superintendent of the London Missionary Station, Dr John Philip (1775-1851), selected Philippolis as the site for a mission station established there in 1823 and the place was named in honour of him. Bethulie was originally called *Moordenaarspoort* [“Murderer’s Pass”] because the Basotho killed many San and Griqua there. The London Missionary Society established a mission station at that location in 1829 and in 1835 the town was renamed to *Bethualia*, from the bible. Continuing the religious inspiration for place names, Edenburg, established in 1862 on the farm Rietfontein, is either of biblical origin (Garden of Eden) or it refers to the birthplace of the only minister in the then Orange Free State for many years, Reverend Andrew Murray (1828-1917). The origin of Reddersburg is not clear – it was established, according to various sources, in 1857, 1859, 1861 or 1863 on the farm Vlakfontein. The motivation refers to either the saviour [“redder”] figure of Jesus Christ, or the first minister of the congregation, JJ de Beer. Mixing politics with religion, Fauresmith was named in honour of both the moderator of the Dutch Reformed

Church, Philip Eduard Faure and Sir Harry Smith (1787-1860), governor of the Cape from 1847-1852. This town was laid out on the farm Sannah's Poort in 1850.

One of the towns that has undergone several name changes is Trompsburg. It was laid out on the farm Middelwater in 1891, and was first called *Jagersfontein Road*, then *Hamilton* in honour of Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams (1858-1920), Lieutenant-Governor of the Orange River Colony from 1901-1910. The name was finally settled to commemorate the original owners of the farm, Jan and Bastiaan Tromp. Very simply, Springfontein was laid out on the farm with the same name in 1904. The name means 'fountain which jumps' in Afrikaans. Gariep Dam carries two divergent historical remnants in its name. It was first named *Hendrik Verwoerd Dam* after Dr Hendrik Verwoerd (1901-1966), Prime Minister of SA 1958-1966. However, it is now named after the Orange (Gariep) River, 'gariep' being the Afrikaans adaptation of the Khoisan word meaning 'large river'. Another name serving as a historical artefact is Jagersfontein, the mining town that was laid out on the farm Jagersfontein in 1878 and named after the Griqua owner of the farm, Evert Jagers.

A result of these various groups entering the area and vying for socio-political power is a diverse ethnolinguistic composition, as is discussed in the next section.

### 3.1.3. Demographic background

According to Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 369), small towns can be classified as those having a population of less than 50,000, which qualifies all these nine towns as 'small' simply on the basis that the entire KLM population totals only 49,171, resulting in a population density of three people per km<sup>2</sup> (SSA 2011). These towns are all situated some distance from the urban centre (Bloemfontein), as can be seen in Figure 6 below.

This isolation from the urban centre has implications for issues such as access to services and employment opportunities. Generally, these are vulnerable communities facing considerable social, administrative and development challenges. Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 363-364) found that national and provincial departments often do not have an integrated means of service delivery in rural areas. While some departments have local offices (especially the departments of health and justice), these communities are largely dependent on rotating visits from governmental service providers. Furthermore, in their study of the effect of public policy in

small towns, Van Niekerk and Marais (2008) found that rural areas continue to be marginalised, largely as a side effect of the decentralisation of municipal structures.

Figure 6: Map of the location of the KLM towns compared to Bloemfontein centre



Source: <http://blog.sa-venues.com/provinces/free-state/2010-host-city-bloemfontein/>, accessed 2015, November 10)

Marais, Ingle, Skinner and Sigenu (2012: 96), in confirming KLM as a small-town environment, reference several studies (cited in this paragraph) which have highlighted the plight of these communities: There is such a high incidence of poverty that 43% of households have indicated that they experience a day a week of no food (Joost *et al.* 2006: 15). According to Krige (1995) there is a high dependency on breadwinners working in the city. Among other effects, this has led to a decrease of skilled people in the KLM over the long term (Mfecane *et al.* 2006a) as well as a large number of unskilled workers, mainly former farm workers, living in the area (Atkinson 2007: 111-132). This is confirmed by census data collected in 2011,

which shows that 13.4% of persons over the age of 20 years have no schooling and only 20.7% of this age group have completed their school education (SSA 2011).

Furthermore, census data reflects that the area experienced a negative growth rate of -1.31% between 2001 and 2011 (*ibid.*). Even though the dependency ratio (number of non-working aged persons dependent on working aged population) has decreased from 60.8%, it remains quite high at 57.4% (*ibid.*). In addition, the unemployment rate among the working-aged population (15-64) is 27% (*ibid.*). It is therefore clear that the area requires substantial state assistance. However, Marais *et al.* (2012: 96) point out that the overall development potential and therefore development need of the area is viewed as extremely limited by the National Spatial Development Perspective and the Free State Growth and Development Strategy, the two programmes tasked with development in the area. The KLM therefore receives very little of the state assistance it desperately requires. In addition, Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 372) point out that the centralisation of the municipal head office in Trompsburg means that fewer officials are stationed in the other eight towns, resulting in a negative impact on the economic development of these towns. It therefore appears that Kopanong, or at least the eight non-administrative towns, are communities in decline.

This dilemma is not unique to the area – according to Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 369) there are about 500 small towns in South Africa all facing similar challenges. For the plight of small towns in KLM specifically and South Africa in general, see *inter alia*, Atkinson (2007), Du Plessis (2002), Heunis, Wouters, Kigozi, Janse van Rensburg-Bonthuyzen and Jacobs (2013), Krause (2007), Marais and Pelsler (2006), Marais (2006), Marais *et al.* (2012), Murray (2000), Naumann (2014), Steyn and Du Plessis (2007), Van Niekerk and Marais (2008), as well as Van Zyl, Van der Merwe, Walsh, Van Rooyen, Van Wyk and Groenewald (2010). Teck (2013) also provides an informal survey of community development in this area, observing a similar struggle for survival.

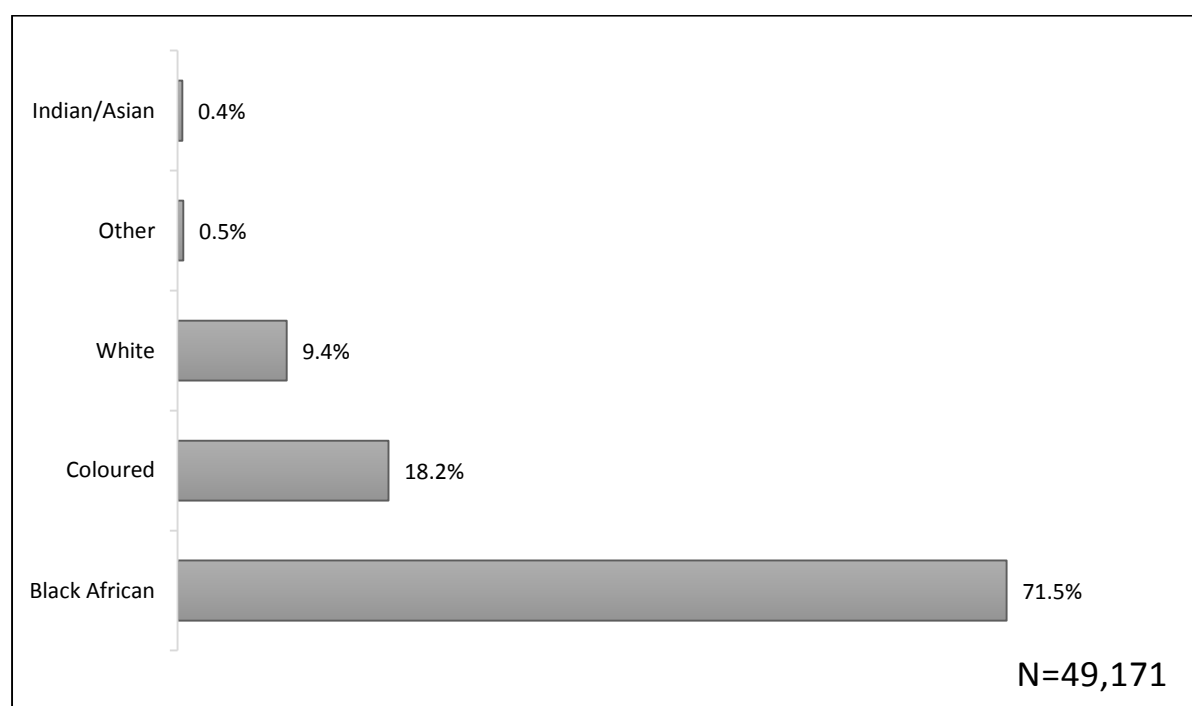
Focusing more specifically on the demographic background, the next section turns to the composition of the population. As seen in Table 1 below, the KLM population is almost equally balanced in terms of gender, being composed of 49.1% males and 50.6% females. This balance is maintained throughout the various age groups, with slightly more females than men older than 65 years. More than a third of the population (36.4%) falls in the dependency age group (younger than 15 and older than 64 years).

Age in years	Gender in %		Total % of age group
	Males	Females	
<b>0-14</b>	14.8	14.8	29.6
<b>15-64</b>	31.5	31.8	63.3
<b>65+</b>	2.8	4	6.8
<b>Total % of gender</b>	49.1	50.6	<b>N = 49,171</b>

Table 1: Distribution of age groups and gender in the KLM (Source: SSA 2011)

The ratio is more unequal in terms of population groups, as reflected in Figure 7 below. Black Africans constitute the vast majority of the population (71.5%). The Coloured group follows at a far second, comprising 18.2% of the population, while Whites constitute a mere 9.4%. Other population groups make up the remaining 0.9% of the population.

Figure 7: Distribution of population groups in the KLM

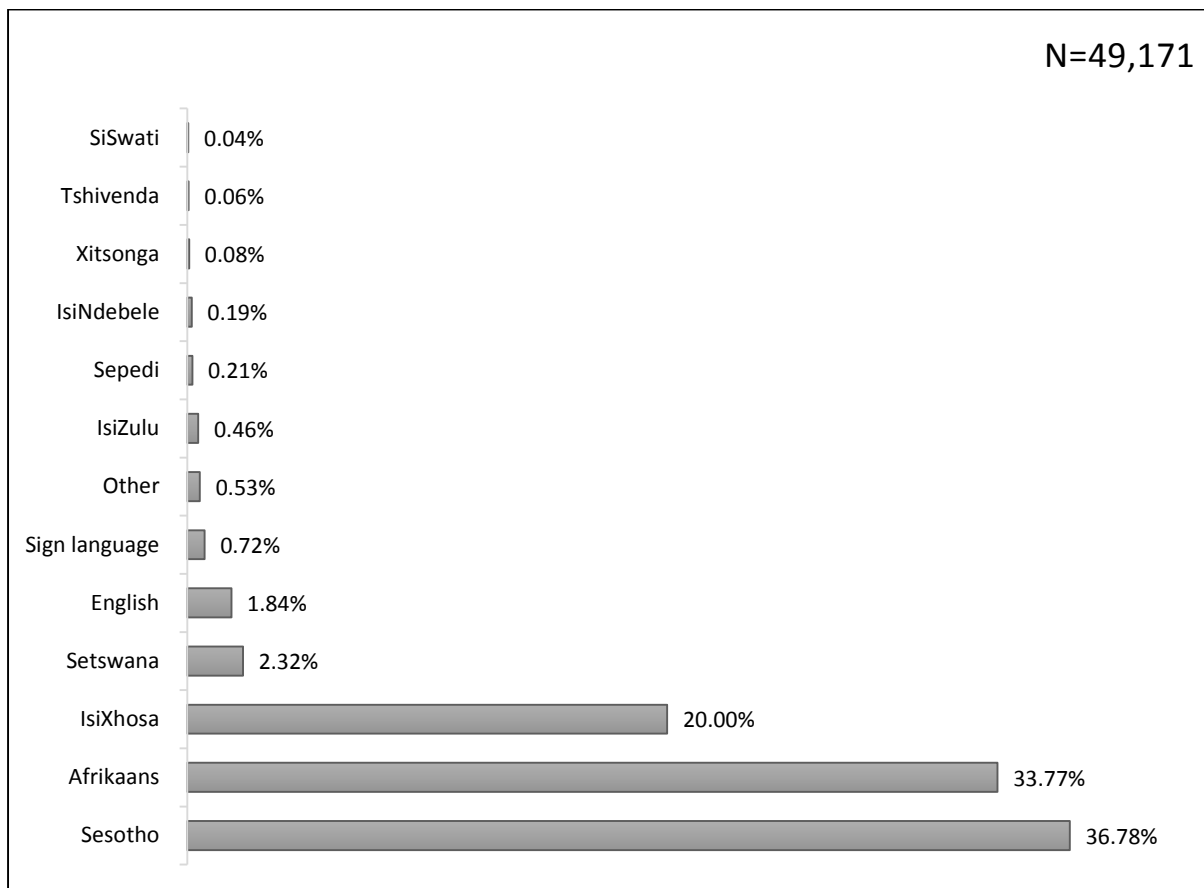


(Source: SSA 2011)

Given the correlation between ethnic group and language, one would expect that African languages would constitute the first language of 73% of the population and that at least 18% of the population would use Afrikaans as a first language. Respondents to the 2011 Census were asked to indicate which languages they speak most often. Figure 8 below reveals the results, using two decimal points to reflect the low incidence of the lesser spoken languages.

In total, African languages are considered the dominant language of 60.13% of the KLM population. Of this group, Sotho features most prominently (36.78%), followed by Xhosa (20%). The prevalence of spoken Afrikaans is almost on par with that of Sotho at 33.77%. Tswana and English are respectively spoken most often by only 2.32% and 1.84% of the population respectively. Other languages, including Sign Language, are also spoken in the area, but they each constitute less than one per cent of the linguistic profile

Figure 8: Distribution of most frequently spoken languages in the KLM



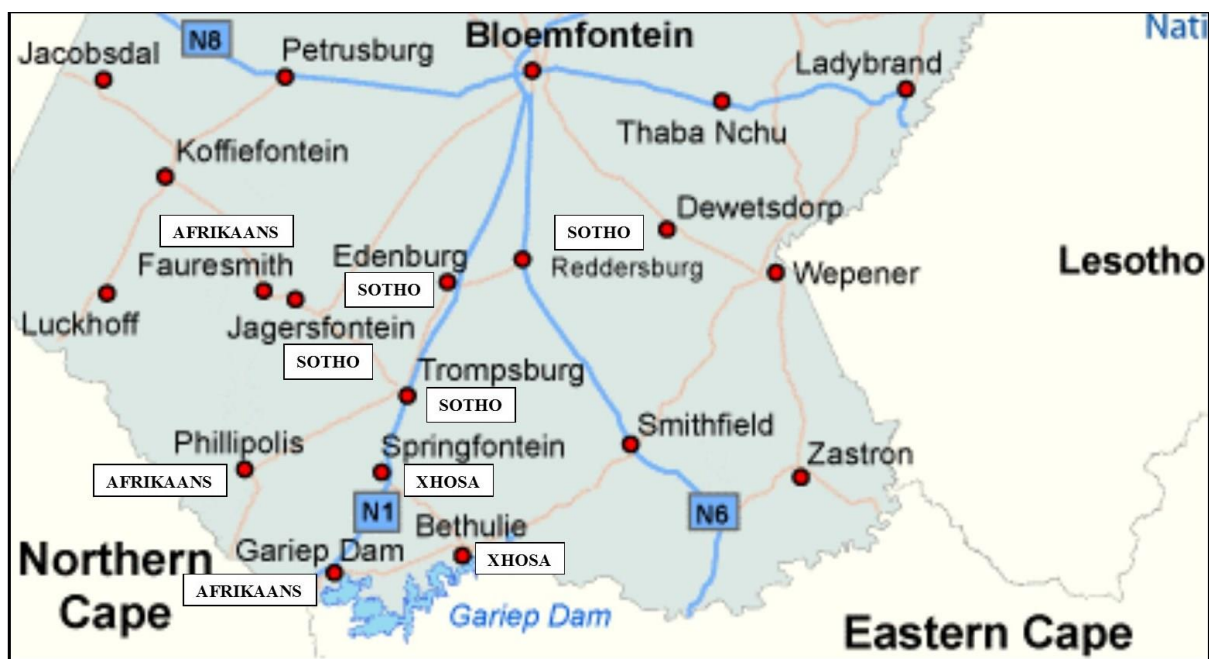
(Source: SSA 2011)

These results show a small discrepancy between population group and spoken language. When considering that the Coloured population group mostly speaks Afrikaans, and that Afrikaans is also the predominant language amongst the White population group in this area (altogether constituting 27.6% of the KLM population), it follows that a small percentage of the Black African population group uses Afrikaans as a home language.



Taking into account the regional variation of ethnolinguistic groups, a variation of dominant language spoken between the towns is to be expected, as is indeed reflected in Figure 9 below. The data for the distribution of language between towns and suburbs is obtained from Frith (2011), who processed census data and population statistics from the 2011 Census. The dominant language in the Free State province is Sotho, in the Northern Cape Province it is Afrikaans, and Xhosa is spoken most frequently in the Eastern Cape province. Migration patterns from these regions are likely to influence the distribution of spoken languages in the KLM. The most commonly spoken language in Bethulie and Springfontein, both close to the Eastern Cape, is Xhosa. Gariiep Dam is close to the Northern Cape. Additionally, its population is constituted mainly of members from the White and Coloured population groups, both predominantly Afrikaans-speakers. Edenburg, Jagersfontein, Reddersburg and Trompsburg house a majority of Sotho-speakers, while Afrikaans is the language most frequently spoken in Fauresmith and Philippolis.

Figure 9: Distribution of the most frequently spoken languages across towns in the KLM



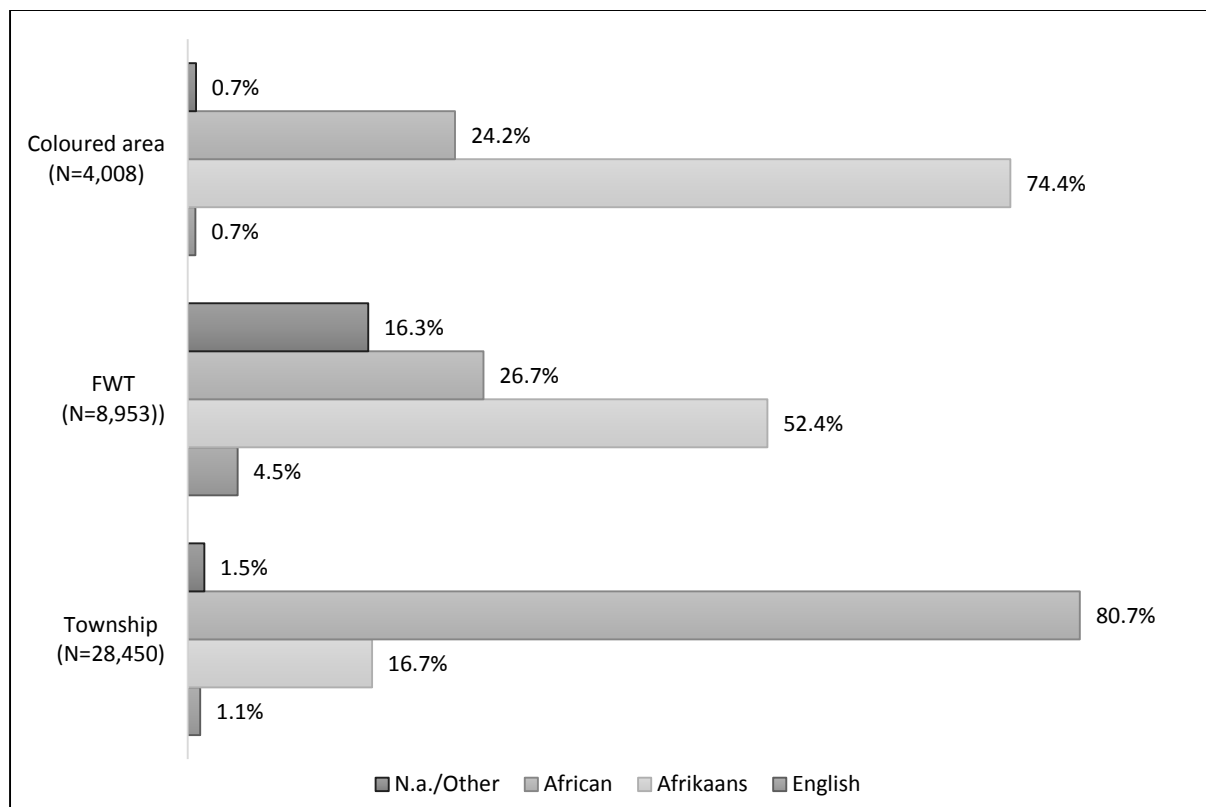
(Source: Frith 2011)

This linguistic distribution can also be linked to the sizes of the associated population groups in these nine towns (Addendum A). In order to explore the link between ethnicity and language further, it is useful to consider language distribution between suburb types.

Suburbs delineated along ethnolinguistic lines are a remnant from the political system of apartheid (1948-1994) which was based on racial segregation, meaning that different races were assigned to different living areas. This arrangement has remained relatively intact in South African small towns (Van Niekerk & Marais 2008: 369), including the research site for this study. While the boundaries are starting to fade away, the various population groups are still mostly settled in their previously assigned areas. As a result, towns are usually divided into three neighbourhoods. The main towns remain the administrative centre, where the main governmental institutions as well as the bigger commercial enterprises are situated. This is also the area previously assigned as the living quarters of the 'white' population, members of which are predominantly Afrikaans- and English-speaking. As such, these suburbs are categorised in the present study as 'Former White Towns' (FWTs). Members of the 'Coloured' population, who speak Afrikaans as their first language, mostly reside in what is dubbed the 'Coloured Area'. The 'Township(s)', a South African term for the neighbourhoods housing almost exclusively 'Black' populations, is home to speakers of various African languages, mainly Sotho and Xhosa, and to a lesser degree Tswana and Zulu. This is also the suburb where some immigrants from central Africa, the Mediterranean and Asia settle. It is important to note that not all the towns in the KLM reflect this exact delineation. For instance, Gariep Dam does not have a township, while Reddersburg does not have a coloured area. The spread of language use per suburb type (locale) is reflected in Figure 10 below.

Afrikaans is by far the most frequently spoken language in the locales associated with the Coloured and White population groups. It is spoken most frequently by the majority of speakers in the Coloured Areas (74.4%), and by over half of speakers in the FWTs (52.4%). In sharp contrast, Afrikaans is only most frequently spoken by 16.7% of speakers living in the Townships. This result confirms the suspicion that at least a small percentage of Black Africans use Afrikaans more frequently than African languages.

Figure 10: Distribution of the most frequently spoken languages across locales in the KLM



(Source: Frith 2011)

The ratio is reversed when considering the use of African languages. The use of African languages (as language most frequently spoken) is almost similar in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs. In both cases the most frequently spoken language is Sotho (14.2% and 14.3% respectively), followed by Xhosa (6.8% and 9.9% in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs respectively). Tswana is very seldom spoken in both locales: only 2.5% in the Coloured Areas and 1.6% in the FWTs. The vast majority of speakers in the Townships use African languages most frequently (80.7%), these languages being Sotho (49.1%), followed by Xhosa (27.6%) and Tswana (2.7%). Townships are also the only locales where Zulu has any statistical presence (0.6%). English does not function as a dominant spoken language in any of the three locales – only by 0.7% of speakers in the Coloured Areas, by 4.5% in the FWTs, and 1.1% in the Townships. A more complete table of the spread of spoken language use in the towns and locales is available in Addendum A.

### 3.1.4. Remarks about multilingualism in the physical environment

In summary, the scales prevalent in the background are ethnolinguistic diversity (both historical and current), regional and localised variation in terms of language patterns, and the

administrative and physical isolation of the area. Historically, the area served as a nexus point for various migrations and the resultant diversity remains. Today immigrants from all over the world are trickling into the area, although not in large enough numbers to reflect in the population or linguistic distribution patterns. There is a reasonable amount of correlation between the distribution of population groups and their associated languages, as well as their (self-)assigned living areas. However, the background reflects the distribution and prevalence of spoken languages, as opposed to language in its written form in the LL. Given the low level of the population members' education, the issue of literacy might influence this correlation in the implementational centre. The isolation of the towns as well as the administrative neglect might also influence the rate and extent to which larger socio-political changes filter down and take effect in these towns. In addition to the isolation, these areas face dire socio-economic challenges, influencing not only on quality of life, but in fact threatening survival. While the population reflects a high degree of spoken multilingualism, the importance of symbolic concerns, such as language rights and linguistic identity, is challenged in these dire situations. Thus, while the physical aspect of this LPP space is supportive of multilingual competencies, the requirement for it is only implied. Furthermore, this section does not reveal anything about written practices. It can only be inferred that processes of negotiation rather than compliance prevail in written communicative interaction.

The semiotic aspect of the LPP space is discussed next. The regulatory centre is discussed first in Section 3.2, followed by the legitimising centre in Section 3.3.

### [3.2. Researching the regulatory centre – directives relating to the LL](#)

Generally, top-down regulation of the LL is achieved through legislative provisions on language visibility. In South Africa, top-down LPP is managed by all three tiers of government. On national level, laws relating to language are passed by the relevant department (e.g. the Department of Education or the Department of Justice). Provincial governments are required to adapt LPP to the specific requirements of its populations. Lastly, local municipalities must develop LPP initiatives that are in line with the provincial guidelines and sensitive to their residents' requirements. The primary legislation on national level is the Constitution adopted in 1996 (RSA 1996). Other relevant information on the lower tiers of government comprise the Free State Provincial Language Policy (FSPG 2002), the Xhariep district Language Policy (Xhariep District Municipality 2003) and the Kopanong Local Municipality Language Policy (KLM S.a.).

South African legislation does not contain explicit regulations regarding language visibility, as is the case in countries like Wales or the province of Quebec. However, a policy analysis of the Constitution (RSA 1996) reveals the implications of existing regulations for the LL, i.e. the ideological spaces opened up for multilingualism in the LL. As stated by Lo Bianco (2010: 158-159), public texts (legislation) require continuous (re-)interpretation as circumstances change and according to the locality or context where it is to be implemented – in this case, the LL. This section relies strongly on Du Plessis' (2007, 2011) comparative policy analysis relating to language visibility).

### 3.2.1. Documents issued at national level

The Language Clause (Section 6) of the South African Constitution (RSA 1996) is dedicated to the promotion and maintenance of multilingualism. Not only does the Constitution designate 11 official languages (Section 6(1)), it also prescribes the promotion of previously disadvantaged languages (Section 6(2)) as well as the equitable treatment of all official languages by government departments (Section 6(4)). An extensive range of language rights is granted in other sections of the Constitution. This includes protection against unfair discrimination based on language (Section 9(3)), freedom of cultural, religious and linguistic participation and expression (Section 9(30)), the right to be educated in the official language of one's choice (Section 29) and the right to be arrested, detained and given trial in a language one understands (Sections 35(3) and (4)). The Constitution explicitly extends this dedication to national and provincial departments by mandating that government departments should use at least two official languages and that municipalities must take into account the needs and preferences of their residents (Sections 6(3) and (4)). Section 6(5) provides for the establishment of a Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) to be responsible for language development and language promotion.

This spirit of institutionalised multilingualism is supported by both primary and secondary legislation, especially extensive in the domain of education, but also in the judiciary and public administration. Effective multilingual practices are supported by the publication of the National Language Policy Framework (DAC 2002), which stipulates an extended plan of action for the implementation of institutionalised multilingualism in South Africa. This includes the harmonisation of language policy on all three levels of government as well as the collaborative effort of different language stakeholders, experts and sections of government. This prescribed multilingualism is supported by the existence of the Pan South African Language Board as a

public body (established in terms of the *Pan South African Language Act (1995)* (RSA 1995)), the *Use of Official Languages Act (2012)* (RSA 2012) and the recently promulgated *South African Language Practitioners' Council Act (2014)* (RSA 2014). Within the context of institutional dedication to the development and maintenance of multilingual LPP and practices (cf. Mesthrie 2006 for an overview of LPP developments in South Africa since democracy in 1994), the lack of national legislation specifically for the LL is rather obvious. It becomes even more conspicuous when considering the desire to redress the previous regime's policy of statutory bilingualism. In fact, Du Plessis (2007: 557-560) points out that language visibility does not, for the most part, feature in any prominent way in language legislation and policy documents. However, the constitutional directives regarding previously marginalised languages, as well as the regulation regarding parity of esteem and equitable treatment implies an increased visibility of African languages. Du Plessis (2011: 159) extends this argument by means of a comparative policy analysis, concluding that the constitutional language requirements imply the re-profiling of the LL, from the statutory Afrikaans/English signage of the previous regime to multilingual signage that also displays African languages (either re-bilingualisation to include an African language or multilingual signage that includes an African language or African languages).

On the national level the regulatory centre is driven by a shift from the apartheid regime's statutory bilingualism towards an official but vaguely defined multilingualism. This new dispensation emphasises the centralisation of African languages, although the maintenance of Afrikaans and English is still prioritised in some quarters (of Afrikaans, at least on paper). National legislation is heavily critiqued for its lack of practicability and PanSALB, public protector of language matters, is considered a toothless watchdog. However, the Use of Official Languages Act 2012 (RSA 2012) stipulates that all national state entities must adopt a language policy that allows for its functioning in at least three official languages. This provides at least legal grounds on which private persons and institutions can litigate for multilingual practices by the state.

### 3.2.2. Documents issued on the lower tiers

Entities on all three tiers of government – national, provincial and local – are required to develop a language policy aligned with the policy of the level that is higher up. The Free State Provincial Language Policy (FSPG 2002) has not yet been promulgated and consequently, neither have the language policies on the lower levels.

The draft provincial policy does indeed state that information boards, direction boards and name boards in and around buildings should appear in the four designated languages of the province (Afrikaans, English, Sotho and Xhosa). The Xhariep District Municipality's language policy (Xhariep District Municipality 2003) reflects this directive. It states that all notices and identifying signage (on buildings, vehicles and other municipal assets) should be issued in the official languages (Afrikaans, English and Sotho) and where necessary, also the administrative languages (Tswana and Xhosa). The KLM's (S.a.) draft policy is found in the form of a by-law which designates Afrikaans, English, Sotho, Tswana and Xhosa as the official languages of the municipality. Other than stating that correspondence with members of the public should be conducted in the citizen's language of choice, it contains no other directives regarding the LL.

Although the directives on these three tiers do open an ideological space for multilingual signage, it provides no concrete guidelines on how to design such signage. In principle, however, it perpetuates the constitutional imperative to promote multilingualism.

### 3.2.3. Other documents in the regulatory centre

The signage of other national and provincial government agents is regulated by the *Corporate Identity and Branding Guidelines (CIBG)* (DAC 2005). While thorough, this manual does not stipulate a requirement for multilingual signage. The *South African Road Traffic Signs Manual* (DoT 1999) regulates road traffic signs and the *South African Manual for Outdoor Advertising Control* (DEAT & DoT 1998) regulates all advertising signage erected by both government and non-government agents. None of these three documents contains regulations regarding language use in the LL, except an indicated preference for icons instead of text in the second instance and a prohibition on inappropriate language in the third (cf. Du Plessis 2011). The additional legislation in the regulatory centre therefore does not actively promote or even support multilingualism in the public space.

### 3.2.4. Remarks about multilingualism in the regulatory centre

The regulatory centre, in its entirety, is clearly supportive of institutionalised multilingualism in principle. However, the lack of clear directives on how this multilingualism is to be instituted severely hampers the efficacy of the legislation (cf. for example Beukes 2004, 2008, 2009; Kaschula 2004; Mesthrie 2006; Webb 1999, 2009). In addition, the state, as the main role-player in the regulatory centre, is increasingly operating in English only. Furthermore, the issue of language use in the LL is severely neglected. Even the *Use of Official Languages Act (2012)* (RSA 2012), which explicitly states the linguistic obligations and processes for state entities,

does not include directives regarding multilingual signage. It is commendable that the provincial and district policies include signage as a factor. Whether or not the stipulation will be retained in the final versions remains to be seen.

In general, although the regulatory centre does not actively contribute to the promotion of multilingualism in the LL, it does provide an ideological space conducive to a multilingual LL – providing the state entities interpret it as such and that private entities follow suit. The dominant interactional regime in the regulatory centre is one that requires negotiation rather than compliance. As a result, the responsibility of executing multilingual competencies is placed on the other two semiotic LPP centres. This outcome is supported by several South African scholars who argue that the onus to effect a multilingual dispensation lies with the language communities themselves (cf. *inter alia*, Mesthrie 2006; Webb 1999, 2009; Wright 2002). Therefore, the process of negotiation in the regulatory centre is supported by a supportive ideological space to which the community should respond. Whether or not they do respond is explored in the legitimising and implementational centres.

### 3.3. Researching the legitimising centre – opinions about the role of language in the LL

As discussed in the literature review, the legitimising centre is constituted by both language ideologies and the linguistic culture, i.e. opinions about the use of language in the LL. Baker (2006: 213-214) states that these language attitudes affect not only linguistic vitality, but also evaluations about provisions in policy (e.g. bilingual education, language laws, etc.). While opinions about language(s), its use(s) and even its users may be expressed in the public space, in the South African context many of the informational discussions and decision-making processes do not take place in the public space. Additionally, the LL is not a topical issue in South Africa, as is discussed below.

Public opinion is often reflected and/or created by the media and therefore a newspaper analysis could be a useful source for this domain. Indeed, as Johnson (2013: 140) states, the media serves as both a source and instigator of language attitudes and beliefs. However, discourse about language visibility in South Africa centres mainly on developments regarding geographical names changes (such as place names, street names and names of geographical features) and to some degree on languages in broadcasting (e.g. see the extensive discussions in the *South African Language Rights Monitor* series). In addition, a search in SA Media, the official Sabinet newspaper database at the University of the Free State (UFS) did not deliver



any relevant results (Sabinet 2014). Other sources of public opinion had to be identified, those being activities of an activist nature, a demographic profile of the area, as well as language attitude and preference surveys and studies.

The legitimising centre in South Africa is explored by analysing instances of activism (complaints lodged with PanSALB), establishing a demographic profile based on statistics from the 2011 Census (SSA 2011), and reviewing language preference and attitude surveys by the KLM (S.a.), PanSALB (2001), the UFS' Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (Loth, Steenkamp & Du Plessis 2013) as well as research studies on language attitudes and the linguistic culture in the area (Cuvelier, Meeuwis, Vandekerckhove & Yperzeele 2010; Du Plessis 2010; Yperzeele 2009).

### 3.3.1. Activism - complaints lodged with PanSALB

The public's sentiment can be garnered by an analysis of activist activities. Such activities, or instruments, of language activism are litigation, lobbying, research, community mobilisation, media coverage and violence (Martel 1999: 47). There are no recorded instances of these activities inspired by LL issues. However, Du Plessis (2004) adds the lodging of complaints as an instrument of language activism. There are several official bodies in South Africa where the public can lodge language-related complaints, but the only institution where complaints relevant to the LL were lodged is PanSALB. This information is available in their archives at the Pretoria headquarters, but the annual reports provide details about language complaints (PanSALB 2014). Except for the 2007/2008 report, the annual reports from 2005/2006 to 2012/2013 are available to the public. The reports only contain details about complaints until the 2010/2011 report. Du Plessis (2009) analysed complaints from 1997 to 2006 and these are therefore used as a supplementary source. Complaints from 1997 to 2011 are also considered.

Between 1997 and 2011 only eight complaints were lodged about the use of language on signage, with only two of these related to signage in the Free State province. One concerned a local municipality's decision to reflect the motto on its coat of arms in Sotho only (2005/2006: 34 (docket no. M381) and the other involved the removal of Afrikaans signs following a road construction (2008/2009: 93 (docket no. M450)).

In general, the complaints with PanSALB reflect a certain awareness of language visibility amongst members of the South African population. There is a substantial number of complaints

about the language that government structures use when advertising in newspapers, often published only in English. Another common complaint relates to language in broadcasting – not only about the dominance of English, but also about the absence of indigenous languages and the quality of language use (i.e. the translations in subtitles, use of standard varieties, etc.).

Given that these eight complaints are the only instances of activism relating to language in the LL, this confirms that the LL is not a topical subject in South Africa. This lack of interest could possibly be explained by a preoccupation with the changing of geographical names on both public and state levels.

### 3.3.2. Demographic information

Census data constitute a restricted source of language attitudes, since questions vary and tend to be limited (Baker 2006: 215-217). Demographic information, however, provides a linguistic profile of the community under investigation, which can be triangulated with supplementary attitudinal studies and surveys. The only question pertaining to language in the 2011 Census questionnaire (SSA 2011) is formulated as follows: “Which two languages does (*name*) speak most often in this household?’ ‘(*name*)’ refers to all the individuals in the household)” (Census 2011 questionnaire downloaded from <https://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/CensusQuestionnaire.asp>, accessed 2014, 19 September). This information provides a reflection of actual language use, or at least of language preference, in the area – more so than the question regarding ethnicity, which is limited in terms of ‘population groups’ – Black African, Coloured, Indian or Asian, White and Other.

In line with the distribution ratio of the population groups, African languages are the most frequently spoken languages in the KLM for 60.1% of the population. This group is constituted mostly by speakers of Sotho (36.8%), Xhosa (20%) and a small section of Tswana-speakers (2.3%). Afrikaans is almost as frequently spoken as Sotho (33.8%), but English is spoken most often by only 1.8% of the KLM population. Although it is risky to draw conclusions about language attitudes based on these limited statistics alone, the linguistic profile, reflecting a high degree of societal multilingualism, can be compared with the results of the surveys and attitudinal studies below.

### 3.3.3. Community opinion (language needs and preferences)

According to Baker (2006: 210-211), attitude surveys and opinion polls provide social indicators of changing thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires. This section again relies on

secondary sources by incorporating language preference surveys performed by the KLM (S.a.), PanSALB (2001) and the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (Loth *et al.* 2013), as well as a review of research studies investigating language attitudes in the area (Cuvelier *et al.* 2010; Du Plessis 2010; Yperzeele 2009).

### 3.3.3.1. Kopanong municipal language preference survey

Schedule 4 (Section 6(3)(a)) of the Constitution (RSA 1996) stipulates that “municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents”. In order to determine the language preferences of their community, the KLM included a language preference survey in the drafting of its language policy (s.a: 9), asking about which languages the community members would prefer to receive their public services in. The results reflect language attitudes in terms of the beliefs about the status of the languages involved, i.e. the functions these languages are believed to be capable of performing. A positive evaluation of a language would transfer to a positive evaluation of that language’s presence in the LL.

The policy is based on a survey by the drafters of the policy (no date is mentioned in the policy) to determine the community’s language use and preferences. Questionnaires were sent to all unit managers, ward committees and councillors in their capacity as representatives of the community. The results per town are reflected in Table 2 below. The “X” marks the languages indicated by the town’s community members as their preferred language of service delivery.

TOWN	Language preference				
	Sotho	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Tswana	English
Trompsburg	X	X	X		X
Springfontein	X	X	X		X
Philippolis		X			X
Edenburg	X	X	X	X	X
Reddersburg	X	X	X		X
Jagersfontein	X	X	X		X
Fauresmith	X	X		X	X
Gariiep Dam		X			X
Bethulie	X	X	X		X

Table 2: Language preferences of KLM inhabitants (Source: KLM s.a: 9)

The results of this survey clearly indicate a need and desire for institutional multilingualism, echoing the level of societal multilingualism reflected in the demographics. To determine whether this preference includes awareness about multilingualism in the LL or not, this observation is triangulated with other sources, such as the studies conducted about language attitudes in the research site.

#### 3.3.3.2. PanSALB's national sociolinguistic survey

The national sociolinguistic survey conducted by PanSALB provides a limited indication of language attitudes in South Africa (PanSALB 2001). This survey, based on a stratified probability sample of 2,160 South Africans of 16 years and older from all social categories, was conducted via personal interviews. Amongst other issues, the survey investigated whether or not South Africans are generally accommodated in their first languages in public institutions and public communication, including in terms of “adverts, signs and notices, public and private sector” (i.e. the LL). Although this survey was not focused exclusively on the KLM, it provided a backdrop against which the local language attitudes could be interpreted.

The survey investigated language use in a variety of domains, from the judiciary and broadcasting to private spheres such as religious services. Language use in areas such as “adverts, signs and notices, public and private sector” (i.e. the LL) emerged as the area in which respondents felt their first languages were least accommodated (only 25% or less of respondents). Of those that felt their languages were not being accommodated, 41-51% reacted negatively about the situation – implying a need and/or desire for signage in the languages spoken by the population. Given the language distribution in South Africa and the high level of societal multilingualism, this implies a need for multilingual signage in order to accommodate at least the speakers of the most widely spoken languages in a specific area.

#### 3.3.3.3. Intervention by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment

The Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment at the UFS identified the gap in the regulatory centre regarding the LL and intervened as an external agent by developing the *Manual for Multilingual Signage* (Loth *et al.* 2013) to be used by both government and private entities. A draft version of the manual was launched in Philippolis, one of the towns in the research site of this study. Every person or institution in a position to erect signage received a copy (57 in total). The *Manual* was adapted in line with feedback received from local respondents and then was re-launched. The feedback questionnaires contained questions about the participants' evaluation of multilingual signage based on a five-point attitude scale

(strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly agree), including their understanding of the term ‘multilingual signage’, their perception about the importance of multilingual signage as well as their evaluation thereof. Although the survey area was limited (only 38 of 57 participants responded), the feedback reflected general trends in the area and could be triangulated with broader data.

Only 47% of the 38 participants had a clear understanding of what multilingual signage is (50% did not or could not respond and 3% were uncertain). After the term was clarified, 63% indicated that they thought the use of multilingual signage important, while 3% found it to be of low importance and 5% thought it a non-factor (29% could not or did not provide feedback). It became clear that the participant group as a whole valued the importance of multilingual signage (even if the term first had to be clarified in some cases). The participants were then asked whether they believed multilingual signage to be more expensive than monolingual signage or not, and even if they did believe it to be more expensive, whether or not they would still be willing to opt for multilingualism should they ever need to erect signage. This question aimed to determine the perceived costs of multilingual signage as well as the participants’ true attitudes towards multilingual signage. Although there was no definite indication of the participants being informed about the costs of multilingual signage, 58% of the 38 participants indicated that they believed it would be worth the extra cost and effort (such as translation services and lay-out challenges) to erect multilingual signage, mainly to facilitate cultural accommodation and for business purposes.

One can deduce a lack of awareness about multilingualism in the LL, but these generally positive attitudes toward multilingual signage, despite extra cost, indicated that the community members (at least those in the position to erect signs) appreciate multilingualism in the LL. Thus far, results have emerged as being aligned with the multilingual demography as well as the preference for institutional multilingualism.

#### 3.3.3.4. Research studies about language attitudes

This section discusses the study conducted by Yperzeele (2009), which was expanded upon by Cuvelier *et al.* (2010) and Du Plessis (2010). An extensive research study in the Xhariep district (the district within which the KLM is located) provided the data for several language attitude analyses. Yperzeele (2009) provides an in-depth analysis of the role of language attitudes in the delivery of public services. The analysis included the language attitudes of both civil

servants and the public, as well as reflects the language attitudes of the community as a whole. This study was followed by Cuvelier *et al.*'s (2010) more in-depth analysis of the prevalent language attitudes, including the locally dominant views on multilingualism *per se*. The data was further analysed by Du Plessis (2010) in terms of bottom-up language planning; a study that further served to elucidate the linguistic culture prevalent in the area. These three studies presented very clear feedback on the language attitudes prevalent in the community, whether in their capacity as private citizens or as civil servants.

Yperzeele's (2009) extensive study aimed to record the language attitudes of both civil servants and private persons in the Xhariep district. The methodology included in-depth interviews, participant observations and policy analyses. Her analysis (*ibid.*), as well as those of Cuvelier *et al.* (2010) and Du Plessis (2010) were largely based on the results from this study. Whereas Yperzeele investigated the role of language attitudes in service delivery, Cuvelier *et al.* (2010) studied how language attitudes affects patterns of multilingualism. Both studies concluded that the Xhariep community, including both civil servants and users of public services, evaluates multilingualism positively on instrumental and prestigious grounds. This finding is supported by Du Plessis (2010), who used the same data (supplemented by other sources) to prove how the community utilises its multilingual skills to counter any potential communication problems. Both societal and individual multilingualism are highly valued in the Xhariep community, since it is viewed as "a conflict-avoiding, consensus-constructing factor" (Cuvelier *et al.* 2010: 31). This positive evaluation of multilingualism for both pragmatic and symbolic reasons can be assumed to translate to an equally positive evaluation about multilingualism in the LL.

Trends in multilingual competencies tend to be concentrated along ethnic groupings. There are very few English first-language speakers in the community. 'Whites' thus mainly refers to white people who are native speakers of Afrikaans. This group is at most bilingual (with English as their additional language) and very few have learned the local African languages. The Coloured group also comprises native Afrikaans speakers with added English competency. Some members of the older generation can speak Sotho as a result of former living arrangements, where the Coloured and African groups shared a neighbourhood before segregation. The African group is the most multilingual, with most individuals speaking two or more African languages (Sotho and Xhosa being the dominant local languages, as well as some Tswana), Afrikaans, and English, the latter with varying levels of fluency. Locals appointed in government positions display similar multilingual competencies, but officials

appointed from outside the area tended to have lower competence in the local African languages and/or Afrikaans. Language attitudes were also revealed to be divided along ethnic lines.

Multilingualism is highly appreciated in the KLM communities. On the one hand, mono- and bilingual speakers value the repertoire of multilingual speakers for its instrumental value, since this societal multilingualism allows them to continue operating in their own languages. Multilingual speakers value their own wide-ranging repertoire, both for its instrumental value as well as its integrative value, the latter concerning the social prestige associated with being multilingual. As a whole, the community's language attitudes and practices reveal a continued dedication to the maintenance of societal multilingualism. With regard to the government, multilingualism is supported by allowing officials to make use of their multilingual competencies where necessary and possible, but its increasing use of monolingual internal English communication internally, as well as in the community at large, indicates an agenda towards English hegemony.

Despite these challenges, public communication appears to be executed fluently. The main mechanism in overcoming these challenges is comprised of various forms of linguistic accommodation. The first of these is the maintenance of multilingualism, both the cultivation thereof on an individual level by the African language community as well as continued positive attitudes by the Whites and Coloureds. The second type of accommodation involves the societal linguistic convergence towards Afrikaans, which allows the language to function as a *lingua franca*. Even so, some individuals are not supportive of this situation, as it does not allow for mutual accommodation, but is rather one-sided. There are also situational accommodations, like code switching employed to accommodate either the more powerful party or the party with lesser multilingual competencies. Another technique is linguistic divergence, where a linguistic mismatch results in the parties not being able to execute mutual accommodation, with each party speaking its own language while still understanding the other.

A secondary mechanism refers to language facilitation, although in limited form. Unofficial, untrained multilingual persons often act as interpreters (and in some cases, translators) when a linguistic mismatch requires mediation. This involves individuals asking for assistance from other community or family members, especially with regard to written communication, e.g. the completion of forms or reading of public signs. These two mechanisms (accommodation and

facilitation) are sufficient to enable spoken public communication. However, written public communication requires another set of multilingual competencies for which the community has not yet developed effective mechanisms. The problem is two-part: increased monolingual English written communication from the state, and a high degree of illiteracy in the community. The state tends to issue forms, public notices and even information brochures only in English, and sometimes also in Afrikaans. Not only is there a high degree of illiteracy in the area, especially among the elder members, but functional English illiteracy is widespread, i.e. there is difficulty in comprehending formal or administrative English. Despite efficient spoken communication techniques, written public communication is problematic, largely because of the prevalence of monolingual English texts.

In conclusion, multilingualism is highly valued in this society. Although these three studies focused mainly on spoken language, it can be assumed that this positive evaluation will also reflect in the LL. On the other hand, as pointed out by Mesthrie (2006), languages are used differently in different domains in order to achieve a variety of goals. This is a factor to consider when comparing (perceived) language attitudes with results from the implementational centre. With regard to written communication from the government, a desire and even need for multilingualism is indicated. Whether or not the community realises that the LL also constitutes written communication, is unclear.

#### 3.3.4. Remarks about multilingualism in the legitimising centre

In general, these localised language attitudes seem to be in line with national sentiments about English and African languages. English is considered a prestige language, not only because of its international status and (perceived) function as a tool for upward social mobility (Kamwangamalu 2001: 81, 84), but also because it is seen as a language of liberation after being so widely used by the anti-apartheid political structure (Kamwangamalu 2001: 84; Mesthrie 2006: 151, 156). As such, this language is also employed as a neutral choice during interethnic interactions (Kamwangamalu 2001: 84). Mesthrie (2006: 161) predicts that English will continue to gain ground as the language of aspirations. The use of African languages in its higher domain functions, on the other hand, has become stigmatised as a result of apartheid language policy where it was enforced (*ibid*: 151). The low economic value and status of African languages in the public life is confirmed by Posel and Casale (2011) as well as Kamwangamalu (2001: 82), who states that, “African languages have no real cachet in the broader social, political, and economic context”. According to Orman (2008: 94), “a clear



language hierarchy has emerged with English at the top, the Bantu languages at the bottom and Afrikaans somewhere in the middle but gradually sinking”. This situation is similarly defined by Kamwangamalu (2001: 82) as a “hierarchical triglossic system”.

However, Mesthrie (2006: 156) critiques Webb (2002: 13) for stating that African languages have become highly stigmatised and are perceived as worthless by most of their speakers, as this statement does not consider the covert appraisal of African languages. Since not one single African language functions as a *lingua franca* among the Black African population group, they use their multiple competencies to negotiate identities in various differing contexts given that these languages carry a local rather than an international load (*ibid*: 160-161, also 2008: 329). Afrikaans, on the other hand, has attained a negative connotation amongst certain groups, given its association with the previous regime, but remains a viable language especially in the private domain (Kamwangamalu 2001: 81) (see Orman (2008: 101-107) for a discussion of the dialectic between language policy, language attitudes and nation-building in South Africa).

With regard to attitudes about multilingualism, the high level of societal (and individual) multilingualism in the KLM is accompanied by a firmly positive evaluation thereof, both by citizens and state officials. This is accentuated by an expressed need and desire for institutionalised multilingualism. Not only can it be assumed that these positive attitudes are extended to the LL, but the survey for the *Manual* (Loth *et al.* 2013) confirmed a positive evaluation of multilingualism in the LL, and the PanSALB (2001) survey proved a need for multilingual signage. This situation is strongly contrasted with the lack of public participation on the issue. No instances of newspaper coverage or of litigation were found, and very few complaints were lodged with PanSALB; in fact, there seem to be no debates or discourse around the issue. This finding seems to be in line with the general trend countrywide to rely too heavily on the regulatory centre (Mesthrie 2006: 154-158; Webb 1999, 2009; Wright 2002). Given the fair amount of triangulation, one could assume that these attitudes are indeed accurate, and that the low level of public participation is more likely the result of lacking critical awareness. In contrast, see the efforts by the Welsh Language Society to establish bilingual road signs in Wales (Merriman & Jones 2009). The LL, as *gestalt*, is very often viewed as a natural part of the physical background and laypeople are not aware of the critical role the LL plays in perpetuating multilingualism, legitimising languages and facilitating social cohesion and access to information. This lack of awareness and discourse results in insufficient public participation on the matter. Generally, although the profile of the area indicates that multilingual practices are required, actors in the implementational centre do not sufficiently

participate in the negotiation for the creation of such practices. The multilingual competencies of LL actors are thus truncated.

#### 3.4. Concluding remarks about multilingualism in the research site

To conclude, on the national level the regulatory centre opens wide ideological spaces for the institution of multilingual practices, although the support for multilingualism in the LL is only implied. Actors on the lower tiers have the opportunity to fill these ideological spaces with more concrete requirements for multilingual practices, but this is not the case. Furthermore, the manner in which the actors in the regulatory centre disregards their own directives, as well as the fact that these guidelines are impractical, results in a certain predetermined English-only requirement. On the other hand, it allows the actors in the legitimising centre to take action and negotiate for multilingual practices. However, although multilingualism is positively evaluated, therein opening a further ideological space in favour of a multilingual LL, actors in the legitimising centre are not sufficiently mobilised to negotiate such practices. On the one hand, this apathy might be the result of the isolated and poor socio-economic circumstances in which these communities are situated. On the other hand, it might be a lack of critical awareness by the members of this research site and wider. The physical environment as well as the regulatory and legitimising centres do not force a strict compliance to a specific code in the LL, but leave a lot of room for negotiation. Whether or not actors make use of this potential for a multilingual LL is determined in the next chapter's exploration of the implementational centre.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY – RESEARCHING THE IMPLEMENTATIONAL CENTRE (ACTUAL LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN THE LL)

The physical aspect of the LPP space, as well as the two facets of the semiotic aspect already discussed (the regulatory and the legitimising centres), endorse processes of negotiation rather than compliance regarding written language use in the LL. This means that the multilingual competencies of LL actors are neither effectively enabled nor disabled. Therefore, while LL actors are not restricted in terms of the language choices deemed as effective communication in the LL, the onus is on them to make choices that employ their multilingual competencies. This chapter documents and analyses actual language choice in terms of language visibility patterns and the variables influencing these language visibility profiles in order to explore whether or not they make such choices, i.e. whether or not the implementational centre enables multilingualism.

### 4.1. Combined qualitative/quantitative approach

A basic methodological issue concerns deciding between a qualitative, a quantitative or a combined qualitative/quantitative approach. Qualitative methodologies allow for the observation of language usage on signs, but since such observations are not based on a clearly defined corpus, they cannot be quantified (Backhaus 2005a: 92-94). While quantitative data collections produce clearly defined corpuses, by neglecting analytical categories other than the languages displayed on the signs, the dialectic between the LL and society is often neglected (Barni & Bagna 2015: 14). Recent research has tended more towards a qualitative or combined approach, in line with the trend to investigate the LL within a semiotic or multimodal paradigm (cf. Gorter 2013: 198-201). As pointed out by Blackwood (2015: 38-53), a combined approach allows for a measure of cross-referencing – quantitative data contextualises language use, while a qualitative analysis prevents impressionistic conclusions.

A further crucial methodological issue is that of triangulation, regardless of which approach is chosen; since the LL does not exist in a vacuum (Barni 2006, 2008; Extra & Barni 2008). This is reflected in the statement by Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 314) that, “LL provides a prism of language embedded in societies and situated in humanistic, social and political ecology of those who share, form, influence and are influenced by it” as well as the position of Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2010: xii), namely that the LL is “characterized by dynamics of its own, contingent on the nature of its linguistic, social, cultural and political context”. Supportive data can include demographic information (such as census results), administrative information (language

policies and the authorities issuing them), as well as the historical background that informed the development of the current socio-political situation. Some studies have expanded their triangulation efforts to include the ethnographic aspect, using complementary sociolinguistic techniques like interviews and participant observations, or even becoming personally involved (Lou 2010). Looking inward, Pavlenko and Mullen (2015: 114-132) argue that the LL should serve as a point of cross-reference for itself. Since signs are linked to preceding signs in the same environment as well as to related signs elsewhere, some diachronicity is required in the analysis. Given the vast methodological inconsistencies between studies, triangulation might allow a study to contribute meaningfully to other LL studies with differing methodologies or foci.

The present study follows a combined quantitative/qualitative approach. It constitutes an empirical study based on an extensive dataset. The original dataset is constituted by 6,232 signs displaying linguistic text. Four hundred and fifty-nine (7%) of these signs displayed information that deemed the sign invalid for investigation. These are signs that displayed only Big Commercial Names (371 signs), toponyms (55 signs) or a foreign language (33 signs). The dataset for the present analysis is thus comprised of the remaining 5,773 signs. The data for the present study was collected between 20 May 2008 and 18 August 2010. Two researchers (post-graduate students) walked through the nine towns of the KLM and photographed with a digital camera every public sign that was visible from street level with the naked eye. In most cases they were accompanied by a local guide, who made sure that the entire research site was covered, and who negotiated interactions with local inhabitants where necessary and provided on-the-spot explanations. The two researchers also wore clothing with the official university branding in order to mitigate confusion and/or offer proof of their purpose, i.e. to show that they were not journalists or government officials. The photographs were downloaded into a database and the signs were codified. This was followed by an analysis to determine patterns of language choice. The results were contextualised by considering the dynamics influencing these choices, both in terms of LL variables and non-LL data for triangulation. The latter data included administrative, historical and demographic information as well as information from the other two LPP centres (the regulatory and the legitimising). Given the scope of the study, interviews were not considered a viable method of triangulation, which proved to be a shortcoming in some respects.

## 4.2. Data collection

Backhaus (2005a: 92-94) and Gorter (2006b: 2-4) originally identified three critical methodological aspects to bear in mind during data collection. These are ascertaining the survey area (research site), defining the unit of analysis and categorising the collected signs. There are of course other practical matters, such as being mindful of the privacy of individuals by ensuring the data does not contain identifiable information (such as faces or number plates of cars) and getting permission from institutions where necessary (such as when documented data can pose a security risk, such as the signage of the division of Correctional Services). Another factor to be mindful of is that although signs in the LL are public, some sign owners might be uncomfortable with their signs being documented.

### 4.2.1. Research site

Researchers use different criteria to ascertain the research site (or research sites), depending on the purpose of the study. The research site of the present study is situated in a rural zone of South Africa, so chosen for a variety of reasons.

Thus far, comparatively few LL studies have been undertaken in Africa (Kasanga 2010, 2012a; Lanza & Woldemariam 2009; Reh 2004; Rosendal 2009), and even less in South Africa. However, there is an increasing local interest in the topic (Dowling 2010, 2012; Du Plessis 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012; Ebersöhn 2009; Kadenge 2015; Kelleher 2014; Kotze 2009; Kotze & Du Plessis 2010; Peck & Stroud 2015; Speyer 2014; Stroud & Jegels 2014; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009, 2010). In addition to the growing number of local publications, the Sixth LL Workshop was hosted in South Africa in 2014. This study contributes to the growing body of local knowledge about the LL.

Furthermore, the research site of the present study displays the characteristics of a ‘typical’ rural area as identified by Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 371). LL research is mainly conducted in urban settings and indeed, ‘cityscape’ has been suggested as an alternative for the problematic term ‘linguistic landscape’ (Gorter 2006b: 2; also see Spolsky in the foreword of Backhaus 2007: ix). The reason for this urban focus is that cities generally display a higher concentration of signs and host a greater diversity of sociolinguistic groups, i.e. it thus serves as a “showcase” for language choices both on individual level and in terms of policy (Barni & Bagna 2015: 9). Some studies have addressed less central LLs, but rural areas are generally neglected. Marginalised or peripheral centres have unique insights to offer in the dialectic

between society and the LL, in view of their particular developmental struggles (Van Niekerk & Marais 2008: 363-364). Given that a substantial part (43.7%) of South Africa is rural (MRDLR 2009), to ignore these LLs results in a neglect of the linguistic realities of a significant portion of the country.

Another factor for choosing this research site is the existence of prior research in the area. The present study is preceded by a Master's level case study of the LL of one of the towns, i.e. Philippolis (Kotze 2010), as well as an LL analysis of the three central towns in the KLM, namely Trompsburg, Philippolis and Springfontein (Du Plessis 2011, 2012). The present study expands the area under investigation to include the rest of the KLM, thus researching the LLs of nine towns in total. From participating in research projects facilitated by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (UFS) the researcher became familiar with the area, had built up a contact base, and could draw on existing studies for secondary information in order to triangulate findings. The UFS also has a presence in the area by means of several research projects, including the Khula Xhariep Partnership ('Khula' meaning 'growth'), established in 2006 in Philippolis, Springfontein and Trompsburg between community leaders, the public sectors, local government and the university (cf. Krause 2007).

#### 4.2.2. Complete versus partial survey

When deciding on a research site, LL researchers can perform an in-depth investigation of a limited area such as a railway line (Backhaus 2005a) or different neighbourhoods determined according to ethnolinguistic composition or main activity (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Dowling 2012; Huebner 2006). Other researchers have compared similar sites, such as the main streets in different cities (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015; Cenoz & Gorter 2006), or even just a 50-metre stretch of road in 20 different sites (Tufi & Blackwood 2010). This selectivity protects researchers from what Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015: 23) have dubbed a "mission impossible". Given the urban focus of the field, LL studies are usually limited to "centers", defined as "where one sees 'the crowd' when most people are not at work" (Ben-Rafael 2009: 41). Therefore, the focus usually falls on commercial areas, or sometimes administrative centres, and almost always excludes private spaces.

The above delineation is not appropriate for the present research site, since residential and commercial centres are not clearly separated in the nine KLM towns. While the administrative buildings are usually (but not always) hosted in a central part of the main town, other service

providers (such as libraries, clinics and police stations) are often not situated in the main streets. Furthermore, commercial and residential areas are mingled. Small or informal economic enterprises are run from home, or shops (usually one-building all-in-one types) are interspersed throughout the community wherever convenient. The various purposes of the public space are not clearly delineated in this research site. Therefore a complete survey of the LLs of the nine KLM towns was conducted, including all functional area types (administrative, commercial and residential), as well as the three suburb types (Coloured Areas, FWTs and Townships).

#### 4.2.3. Survey items

To define the unit of analysis involves delineating what constitutes a sign. Some studies prefer a semiotic definition (as argued Shohamy and Waksman's 2009 publication); whereas others define signs according to their physical attributes. Another issue concerns whether to consider signs individually by counting all signs as one item (e.g. Backhaus 2005a), or collectively (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter 2006; Gorter & Cenoz 2015), whereby each establishment is counted as a unit of analysis. Other issues relate to signs with multiple surfaces of inscription, the visibility of signs (size, visibility with the naked eye, visibility from street level or not), as well as the qualities of signs relating to mobility and permanence. Reh (2004: 3-5, 8) draws the distinction between stationary and mobile texts because the reading conditions differ in terms of the reader's mobility and the number of ways in which languages and information can be arranged on the two surface types.

The present study is specifically interested in language choices in the LL, as constituting the larger LPP space. Therefore, only signs with text were considered, while the presence of pictures, emblems, pictograms or numbers were disregarded. For instance, in Example 1 below, only the text "Fauresmith" was considered valid for the database.

Since the LL is defined as space marked by linguistic objects, excluding other modalities, the present study follows Backhaus' (2005a: 96) definition, i.e. "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame". Furthermore, each sign was recorded as a single database entry, since each sign constitutes the manifestation of a specific language choice, not necessarily always by the same company owner. For instance, a shop front may display its own signage, temporary notices from the community and promotional material sponsored by manufacturers. Furthermore, following Reh's (2004) definition of covert and visible multilingualism, signs with more than one surface of inscription were counted as one item. This study included only

items with a certain permanence. While temporary signs (such as posters and notices) were included in the main study, they fall under a different rationale. The codification category ‘permanence’ distinguishes between permanent and temporary signs.

*Example 1: Disregarded pictogram on sign*



Huebner (2009: 71-72) objects to methodologies that afford all signage in the LL equal weight, regardless of size and placement. The present study addressed this objection by exclusively recording signs that were visible from the street level to a person on foot, and with the naked eye, i.e. all those signs that constitute the *gestalt*, the experience, of the LL.

#### 4.2.4. Categorisation of signs

In LL research coding schemes are largely informed by the purpose of a study. For instance, a study that is interested in the linguistic properties of the signs in the LL under investigation will include an evaluation of a sign’s compliance with language rules, as well as the reasons behind variations such as translation errors or writer competency. Studies more interested in the semiotic aspect of the LL focus instead on the content of the sign and might include a discourse analysis (the ideological meaning implied in content displayed on signs) of the text. Most studies consider the dominance of certain languages (code preference), including the linguistic trends relating to it, such as multilingual combinations and availability of translation. Especially the pervasiveness of English receives a great deal of attention (Backhaus 2005a, 2006, 2007; Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015; Edelman 2009), since, as Backhaus (2006: 56-57) points out, “Owing to both its wide communicative range and its high prestige value



worldwide, English is the language omnipresent in virtually all of the LLs, irrespective of whether or not it is actually spoken by any sizable share of the population.” This incongruence with regards to categorisation is another methodological challenge that impedes comparability between studies (Gorter & Cenoz 2008: 351-352).

A study like this one, interested in exploring actual language choices in the LL, can draw on a substantial (although sometimes incoherent) body of methodological developments in the field. A useful matrix of the choices that are considered when creating signage was developed by Kallen (2009: 277-278). *Language choice* relates to the choice of language(s), which includes the level of translation (Kallen refers here to Reh 2004), while *code choice* refers to graphic modes of representation such as font, colour and placement (here invoking Scollon and Scollon’s visual hierarchy developed in 2003). Exploring these two choices will help to build the profile of a specific LL. The other two factors are useful for exploring the LL dynamics. *Readership choices* refers to the anticipated readership of the sign (also see Huebner 2006), while *pragmatic choices* refers to the interactional function of a sign. These four factors tie in well with the research parameters identified by other authors, explored in this study as the three LL variables of locality, agency and functionality.

According to Backhaus (2005a: 50-56), it is essential to determine the sign writers (agency), the sign readers (readership), and the dynamics of the LL. These parameters were further developed by Coulmas (2009), Hanauer (2009: 288, following Malinowski 2009), and Spolsky (2009). The variable of ‘agency’ explores the sign writers, whether top-down or bottom-up, and includes issues such as the aims and ramifications of public writing, of multiple agents in the public space, of public literacy, of the space occupied by public writing, and the conditions under which this public writing takes place. The process by which a sign is produced also needs to be considered (Spolsky 2009: 30-32). ‘Readership’, also identified by Kallen (2009), refers to the issues that are the ramifications of an unintentional (and in some cases unwilling) readership. Coulmas (2009: 22-23) explains that since LL signs are openly displayed and meant to be read, the researcher must determine who is able to read the signs and who actually reads them. This relates to the aspect of locality identified by Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015), where different readerships are situated in specific neighbourhoods. The ‘dynamics’ by which the LL is created relates to what is written in the public arena, how this public writing reflects and/or directs the community’s perception of the public space, and what this public writing says about the society and the community within which it is displayed. In this regard it is useful

to consider Kallen’s ‘pragmatic choice’ factor, which Du Plessis (2011) adds to agency and locality as ‘functionality’, i.e. the intended purpose of the sign. Du Plessis (*ibid.*) also introduces the concept of language visibility profiles, where an analysis of code preferences is utilised to catalogue the prominence of certain languages or language combinations, again invoking Kallen’s first two choices, namely language choice and code choice.

The coding scheme for the present study (see Table 3 below) is therefore based on the development of language visibility profiles, the dynamics of which are explored in terms of agency, locality and functionality.

<b>Coding scheme</b>			
<b>Sign ID</b>	ID		
	Date recorded		
<b>Sign material properties</b>	Durability	Permanence (permanent/temporary)	
		Medium of inscription	
		Carrier	
	Number of surfaces of inscription		
<b>Sign linguistic properties</b>	Codes (languages & language combinations)		
	Level of multilingualism	Monolingual	
		Bilingual	
		Trilingual	
		Quadrilingual	
	Type of multilingualism	Overt/covert	
	Preferred code		
	BCN included		
Place name included			
<b>Locality of sign</b>	District municipality		
	Local municipality		
	Municipality		
	Suburb name		
	Suburb type	Coloured Area	
		FWT	

		Township			
<b>Agency of sign</b>	Domain	Top-down			
		Bottom-up			
	Ownership	<b>Owner</b>	<b>Ownership detail</b>		
		National government agent			
		Provincial government agent			
		Local government agent (municipal)			
		Government agent			
		Semi-privatised government agent			
		Commercial interest	National franchise		
			Shop owner		
			Tavern owner		
			Guesthouse owner		
			Service provider		
			Seller		
		Initiative	Religious institution		
			Political party		
			NGO		
			Event organisers		
			Private initiative		
	Home owner				
	Graffiti artist				
Unknown					
Regulatory instrument	<i>SARTSM</i>				
	<i>CIBG</i>				
	Municipal by-law				
	<i>SAMOAC</i>				
	Specific regulation				
	Unregulated				
<b>Functionality of sign</b>	Class	Road signage			
		Outdoor advertising signage			
		Posters and general signs			

	Signs on buildings, structures and premises
Function	Advertising
	Guidance
	Identification
	Information
	Ownership/Decoration/Commentary
	Warning
	Graffiti
	Public demarcation
Text	Affiliation
	Attraction
	Institution name
	Institution information
	Community news
	Direction
	Facility
	Local direction
	Offer(s)
	Ownership/Decoration/Commentary
	Regulation
	Street name
	Suburb name
	Town name
	Uncertain
	Warning (beware of the dog/electricity/security services/no trespassing)

*Table 3: Coding scheme for categorising data collected in the KLM*

The first consideration was that all signs had to be identified, for both quality control and ease of reference. Therefore, each sign was assigned an ID by consecutively numbering the signs and noting the recording date. Permanence and the number of surfaces of inscription

constituted the material properties of signs. The linguistic characteristics of each sign were recorded to document the level and type of multilingualism displayed on the sign, the languages and multilingual combinations on the sign, whether or not a place name or a big commercial name were included and the dominant code on the sign was determined. Given that the data recording for this particular study was done per suburb per town, the next consideration was locality, including both the name of the location as well as the type of suburb (locale) represented. The variables of agency and functionality were investigated by analysing the domain (the sphere in which the sign originated), by whom the sign is owned, how the sign is regulated, the class and function of the sign and a brief description of the text on the sign. Each category is discussed more fully in the next section.

### 4.3. Coding scheme for the categorisation of signs

#### 4.3.1. Sign identification

##### 4.3.1.1. Identification number

All the recorded signs were downloaded from the digital cameras onto a computer hard drive. The researchers kept note of the cameras' automatic numbering in order to keep track of which signs were photographed and where (see Addendum B). The files were divided into folders (first per town, then per neighbourhood and then per function) in order to streamline categorisation. All signs were then numbered consecutively. This manual process was extremely time-consuming and a more digital approach, such as the system developed by Barni (2008) or Veselinova and Booza (2009), would be recommended for such a large dataset. In total, 6 232 signs were recorded for the present database, of which 5,773 were deemed relevant.

##### 4.3.1.2. Date recorded

The recording date of each sign was noted. In addition, for proper record keeping, such information can be useful for comparison in future studies (again, refer to Addendum B).

#### 4.3.2. Material properties of the sign

##### 4.3.2.1. Durability

Durability (cf. Spolsky & Cooper 1991) is determined by the type of material from which the sign is manufactured, such as stone (very permanent) or paper (very temporary). Another aspect concerns the medium of inscription – compare for instance a painted sign to an engraved one. The general assumption is that public signs made from materials that are more durable are intended to be more permanent. However, considering the economic profile of this research site (a rural area), where a hand-written sign on a piece of cardboard might very well be the

best the sign owner can afford, and where word of mouth is often used as the main source of advertisement (everyone knows you can buy product X from person A), no definite assumptions regarding intended permanency can be made. Sign 1 in Example 2 below is obviously intended to serve a permanent function, despite its poor durability. Lack of access to resources and professional services might influence the professionalism of a sign (Sign 2, in Example 2 below), but not necessarily its intended durability. This intention cannot be determined without conducting an interview with the sign owner. Therefore, while the actual permanence of signs was evaluated for the database, no assumptions were made regarding its value.

*Example 2: Signs with low durability in the KLM LL*



The durability of signs was recorded as either ‘permanent’ or ‘temporary’. Signs categorised as permanent were billboards, road signs, as well as signs affixed to buildings (Sign 1, Example 3), fences or other structures (Sign 2, Example 3). They also included stickers, since these are notoriously difficult to remove (Sign 3, Example 3).

*Example 3: Affixed signs in the KLM LL*



Signs of a permanent nature are usually made of metal, wood, plastic, Perspex, stone, or are painted onto a structure. Temporary signs, on the other hand, are printed, written or painted onto paper (Sign 1, Example 4) or cardboard (Sign 2, Example 4).

Example 4: Temporary signs in the KLM LL



Both the signs in Example 4 provide information about goods and services available for the foreseeable future and might have been intended to be quite permanent. However, signs made from this material can be removed or become dilapidated quite easily. They are all therefore considered to be temporary. Loose-standing signs also fall under this category, as the owner can easily opt to no longer display the sign (Sign 1 and 2, Example 5).

Example 5: Temporary loose-standing signs in the KLM LL

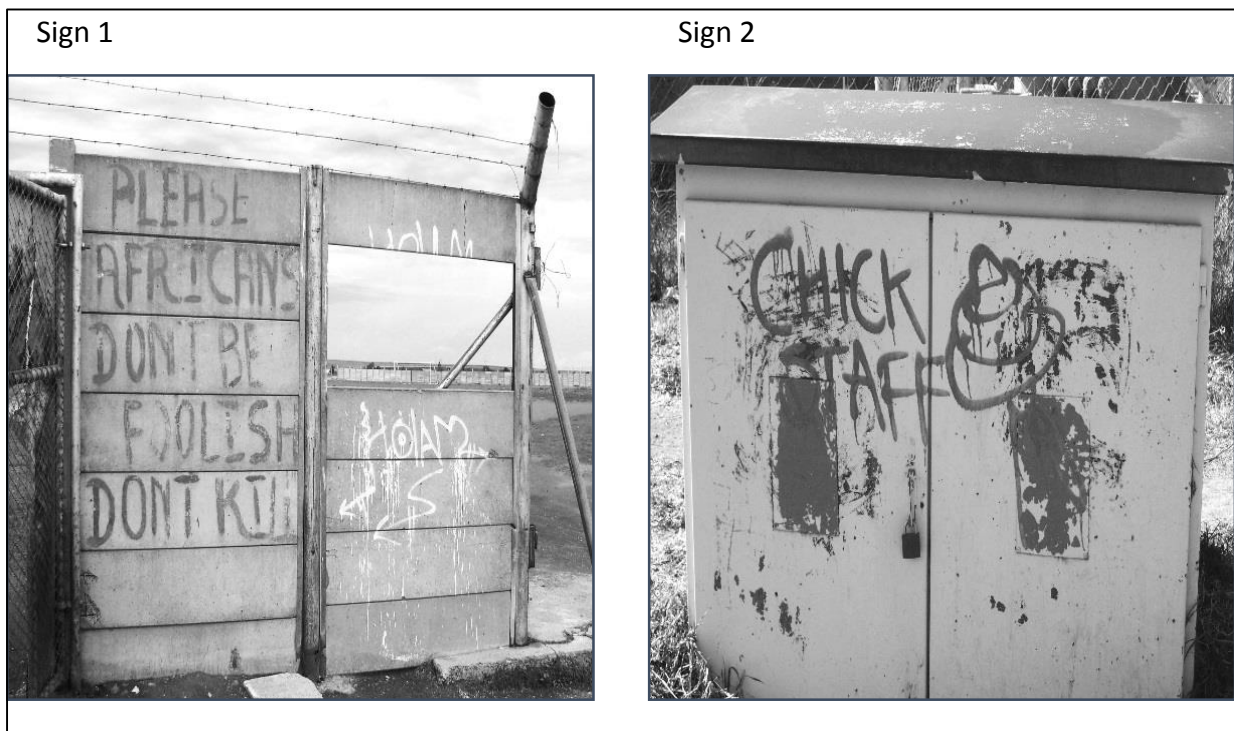




These types of signs can be removed and reused quite easily. They are therefore recorded as temporary.

Graffiti is created on many different surfaces, such as on walls (Sign 1, Example 6), on structures (Sign 2, Example 6), on sidewalks, lamp poles and with different materials such as paint, spray paint, permanent markers, pens and even Tippex.

*Example 6: Signs displaying graffiti in the KLM LL*



Graffiti, no matter the medium with which it is created, is always indicated as temporary, as graffiti works are illegal and ought to be removed by the authorities.

The 'medium of inscription' is divided into the following categories: hand-painted or hand-written (Sign 1, Example 7); printed from a desktop printer (Sign 1, Example 4); manufactured (Sign 2, Example 7); stickers (Sign 3, Example 3); painted or etched directly onto a window, door, wall or structure (Sign 3, Example 7); and a few signs laid out in stone (Sign 4, Example 7).

*Example 7: Permanent signs in the KLM LL*



Only six signs were created by laying out stones (Sign 4, in Example 7 above). They all fall within municipal boundaries and were thus included in the database. Since they all indicate the name of either a town or a locale, their purpose is to provide guidance and they are considered as 'road signage'.

The carrier of the signs was also recorded. Signs created on or affixed to windows, walls or doors were assigned as having been displayed on buildings, while those on fences, gates, sport field walls, sidewalks and lamp poles were recorded as having been displayed on structures. Signs that are permanent but not affixed, such as billboards or road signs were noted as free-

standing. Removable free-standing signs were entered as loose-standing signs (such as those in Example 5 above). The few signs laid out in stone were noted as being created on premises.

The majority of signage is permanent (82.7%). However, since almost a fifth of the signs in the LL is temporary (17.3%), this means there might be some amount of fluctuation with regard to the level of activity and LVPs. This type of information might be useful for a future comparative study of the same area. Signs are created in a number of ways. The majority of permanent signs (66.2%) are either professionally designed and created or pre-manufactured, such as billboards. A significant portion of permanent signs is affixed directly onto structures (17.9%) and a further 12.2% are created directly on the building by hand. A very small portion of permanent signs is printed (0.4%) and the stone-packed signs arranged on particular premises make up a mere 0.1%. Stickers constitute 3.2% of permanent signage. Temporary signs are largely comprised of printed signs attached to a structure (42.5%). Over twenty per cent (22.3%) of temporary signs are affixed to a structure, while 17.7% is manufactured and 16.6% created by hand.

#### 4.3.2.2. Surfaces of inscription

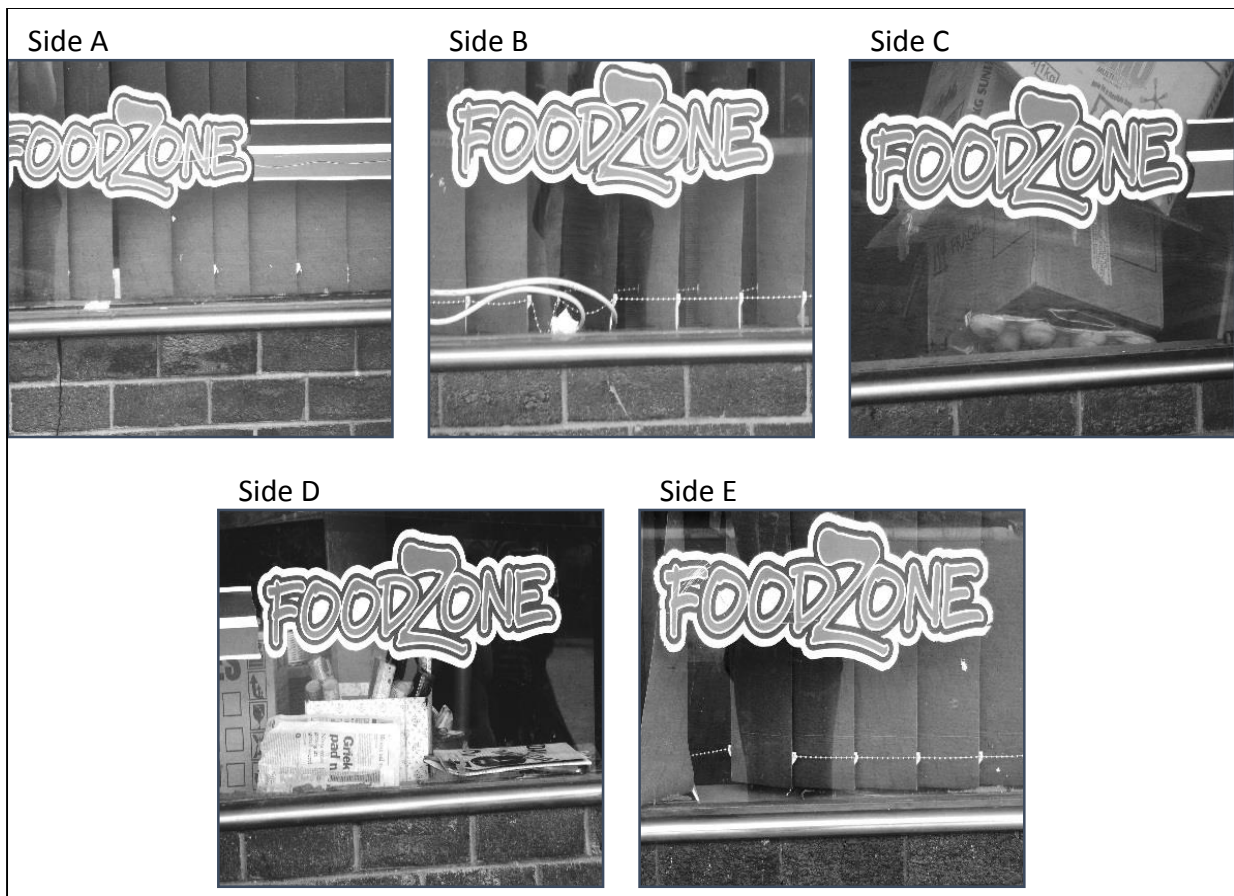
Signs with multiple surfaces for inscription are counted as a single entry. However, since it relates to issues of overt and covert multilingualism (Reh 2004: 5-7), the number of sides of all signs are recorded. This has relevance to the whether the multilingualism on a sign is overt or covert. Although most signs with multiple surfaces of inscription are simply two-sided, some street signs pose four surfaces for inscription, such as found in Example 8 below.

Example 8: Sign with four surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL



This sign has four surfaces for inscription, but is counted as one sign displaying two street names (Voortrekker and Van der Merwe). The same logic applies to signs with multiple surfaces of inscription, such as in Example 9 below.

Example 9: Sign with multiple surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL



In this case (Example 9 above), the surfaces of inscription are the multiple panes of the shop window. A permanent sticker bearing the name of the franchise is applied to each pane.

#### 4.3.3. Linguistic properties of signs

This section is largely descriptive and answers the first question, namely what language and code choices are made in the LL (Kallen 2009: 277-278; also Backhaus 2005a).

##### 4.3.3.1. Codes: languages and multilingual combinations displayed

The code choices that are displayed on signs can be compared to the outcomes of the other facets of the LPP space. The main languages spoken in the research site are Afrikaans, Sotho and Xhosa. For the most part it is easy to distinguish between Afrikaans and English on signs. Content that could be classified as either Afrikaans or English, such as the word 'in', was classified as a bilingual Afrikaans/English code. In English, the abbreviation for 'street' is 'St' (or in some cases 'St. '); while in Afrikaans, it is 'Str.'. Signs displaying either or both abbreviations were classified accordingly. While not all LL actors are aware of this distinction, it does contribute to the presence of the respective languages. Furthermore, these abbreviations are used to indicate bilingualism on street name signs, such as the sign in Example 8. In

contrast, the term ‘B&B’, referring to ‘bed and breakfast’, is used widely on both Afrikaans and English signs. While this is an industry term, it is still recognisable as English and its presence on signs was documented accordingly.

The African languages displayed in this LL are mostly from either the Sotho language group (i.e. Sotho and Tswana) or the Nguni language group (Xhosa and Zulu). While processing the data it was noticed that African languages are non-existent in the LL in comparison. This meant that the individual African languages would have no statistical relevance and therefore they are grouped together as a single code, namely ‘African’. When there was doubt about whether more than one African language was present on the same sign, a multilingual colleague was asked to identify the languages since the researcher is not proficient in any of the African languages. Signs of which the language could not be determined were listed as ‘uncertain’. Of these 125 undecipherable signs, 66 are graffiti, and 58 are displayed on private homes and one by a commercial interest.

A number of signs displaying languages were photographed that did not fall into the three linguistic categories, with these linguistic codes having been classified as ‘foreign’ (e.g. see the sign in Example 10 below).

*Example 10: Foreign language on a sign in the KLM LL*

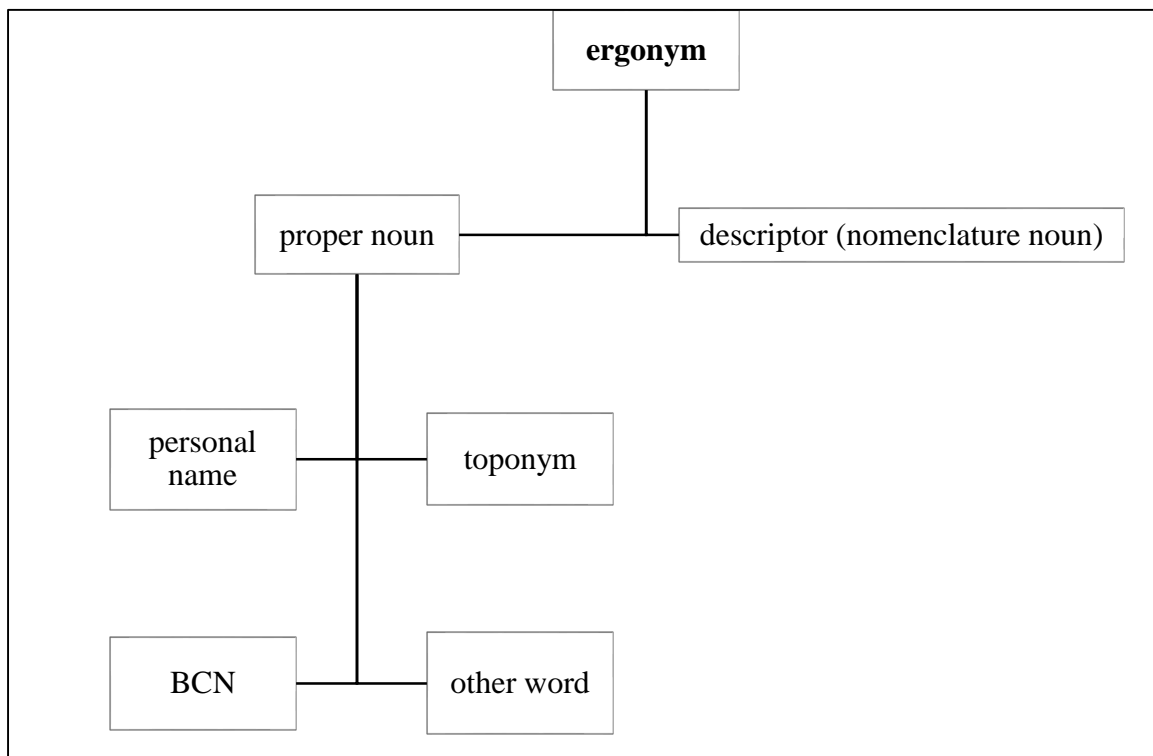


“Kai-Hai” could possibly refer to a location in the Gambia, but this inscription is not recognisable to speakers from the three local language groups.

#### 4.3.3.2. Names as code choice

Another complicated categorisation involves the inclusion of personal names, place names and commercial brands on signs. These names are usually included in the names of institutions or projects. The latter are called ‘ergonyms’, following the definition by the terminology group of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS 2015). As remarked by Pošeiko (2014: 300), ergonyms are usually constituted by two components – a proper noun, which indicates the chosen name of the institution, and a generic descriptor, usually in the form of a nomenclature noun, which indicates what type of institution it is (e.g. ‘High School’, ‘General Dealer’ or ‘Guest House’) (see Figure 11 below).

*Figure 11: The structure of ergonyms*



With regard to personal names, the name’s language of origin was indicated in the database as either bilingual Afrikaans/English or African language. It was not always possible to determine whether the surnames of Germanic origin belonged to Afrikaans or English speaker. In such cases, the descriptor was used to assign a linguistic code. In Sign 1 in Example 11 below, “Lategan” is a surname used by both Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans. “Hardware” [hardware] is in Afrikaans and the ergonym is assigned the same linguistic code

allocation. The name “Dennis” in Sign 2 in Example 11 below is used by both Afrikaans and English communities, but the ergonym is assigned the same linguistic code allocation as the descriptor, “auto”, in other words, English.

*Example 11: Personal names in ergonyms in the KLM LL*



African names did not pose such a great challenge, as they were easily recognisable and all the African languages were identified as belonging to the same linguistic code. It can happen that research bias influences perception, for example, the name of Nelson Mandela is so widely used that the researcher almost neglected to note that “Mandela” in Example 11’s Sign 3 is actually an African name.

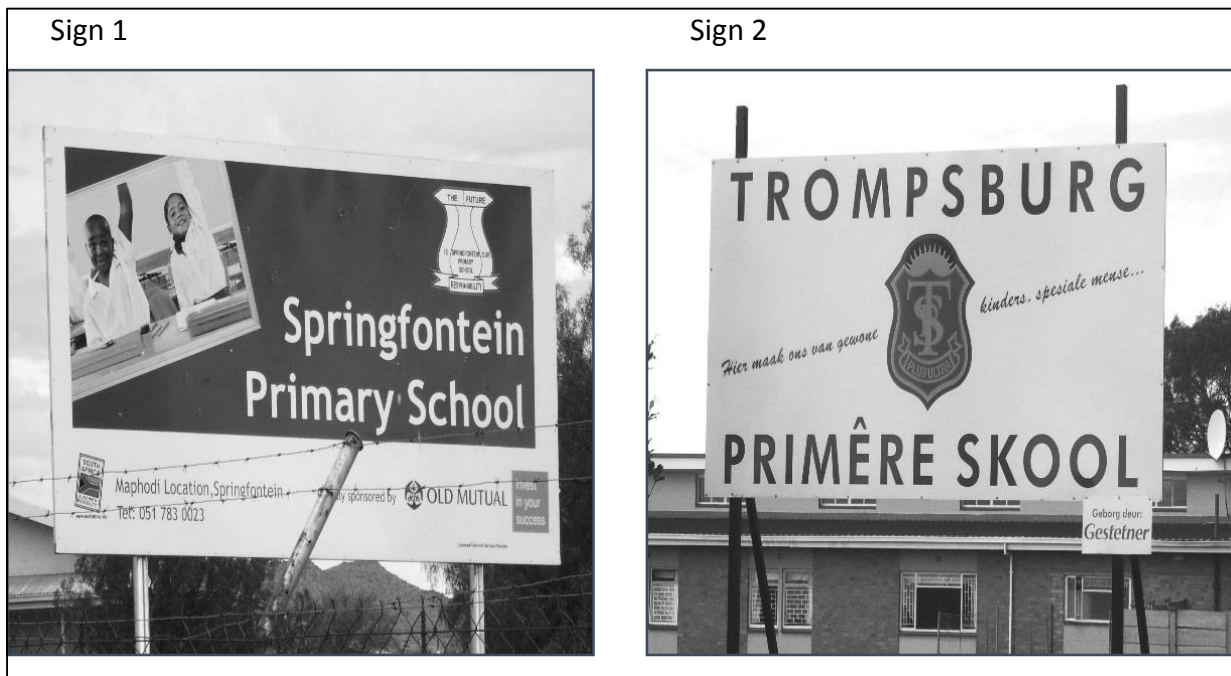
Both the language of the personal name as well as the language of the descriptor is taken into consideration. The ergonyms in Example 11’s first and second signs above are both



monolingual (Afrikaans and English respectively). However, the ergonym in Example 11's Sign 3 was counted as bilingual African/English. The rationale behind determining the linguistic code allocation of personal names is that these signs contribute most strongly to the presence of African languages in the LL.

Place names, or toponyms, refer to the names of localities, i.e. towns or suburbs. The presence of a toponym on a sign is assigned a neutral linguistic code allocation for two reasons. First, there is no policy on the consistency of the language of toponyms in South Africa, which is especially relevant since many toponyms are adapted versions of an original name in another language. The linguistic content of toponyms is therefore disregarded. Second, including a toponym on a sign does not constitute a linguistic choice by the owner of the sign. The ergonym of the school in Sign 1 in Example 12, "Springfontein Primary School", is counted as monolingual English and in Example 12's Sign 2, the ergonym of the school, "Trompsburg Primêre Skool", is recorded as monolingual Afrikaans. In both cases, the presence of the toponym is negated and only the linguistic code allocation of the descriptor is considered.

*Example 12: Monolingual ergonyms in the KLM LL*



However, given the symbolic value of toponyms (cf. Helleland 2009; Hicks 2002; Puzey 2009), the coding scheme includes a category indicating the presence of a toponym as well as its function – whether it is included in the ergonym, serves to indicate the location of an institution or acts as a road traffic guidance sign to indicate location or direction.

Toponyms (for this section, names of towns or localities) are only used on 349 (6.1%) signs. In more than half of occurrences (52.1%), toponyms are used to indicate the location of a specific institution. The toponym is then usually placed in a supplementary lexical unit containing the address. The second most frequent use of toponyms on signs involves when it is included in the ergonym, i.e. when it constitutes part of an institution's name (46.7% of signs). Guidance signs are the only signs displaying toponyms in order to indicate location or direction, constituting a mere one per cent (1.1%) of signs. Given that top-down signage is more closely regulated, it can be assumed that the display of toponyms on these signs is in line with an administrative decision, while LL actors in the bottom-up domain have greater freedom of choice. The decision to include the toponym in the addresses of bottom-up institutions is most likely a practical one. However, the large number of ergonyms in this domain that include toponyms hints at symbolic motivations behind this choice (such as affinity with the locale).

Brand names and trademarks pose a unique challenge to LL research, the solutions of which are varied. Edelman (2009) provides a good summary of approaches followed in other studies. She offers two approaches; the first being that brand names and trademarks usually cannot be accurately classified as belonging to a specific language, and hence should be excluded from a database. In this way a more accurate reflection of the linguistic make-up of the community under investigation can be created. However, in line with other studies, she remarks that the LL is not always an accurate reflection of communities residing in the research site (*ibid*: 152-153), whether or not brand names are included. The second option is to approach proper names in the same way as other words in the LL, and to classify them according to language of origin. The problem with this latter approach is discussed in depth by Tufi and Blackwood (2010). Depending on the context in which a brand name appears as well as the resultant varying connotations, the same name might be differently classified by different researchers. Their argument for the inclusion of brand names in LL analysis is that, while the LL does not necessarily reflect the languages spoken in the area, it does reflect the language beliefs and attitudes of those responsible for the LL (*ibid*: 202). Contrary to this, they acknowledge that brand names are not always associated with a specific language and that it might indeed have currency beyond its language and/or country of origin (*ibid*: 198-199). The question remains as to why brand names should be included in codification.

The approach by Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015) is useful here. They point out that although brand names are related to language beliefs and attitudes, the dissemination of such names is instead the effect of globalisation. Spolsky (2009) shares this point of view, arguing that local and global advertising signs should be considered separately, since “the existence rather than the language of the latter is what is most likely to be relevant, in other words, the association with what the brand represents, rather than making a specific language choice”. This is supported by Tufi and Blackwood (2010: 205-206) who describe brand names as “social representations”, especially in the context of their being iconic rather than verbal. This is based on a collective evaluation of what is represented by brand names. This is true in our LL, for example. A specific brand name such as ‘Coca-Cola’ is not a choice of language, but is displayed by the sign owners for its prestigious value or simply because it is a requirement of being sponsored by the company. Therefore, the marketers who design the brand name make the linguistic choice, rather than the sign owners who display the brand name on their sign. Hence, the linguistic code allocation of brand names is neutral.

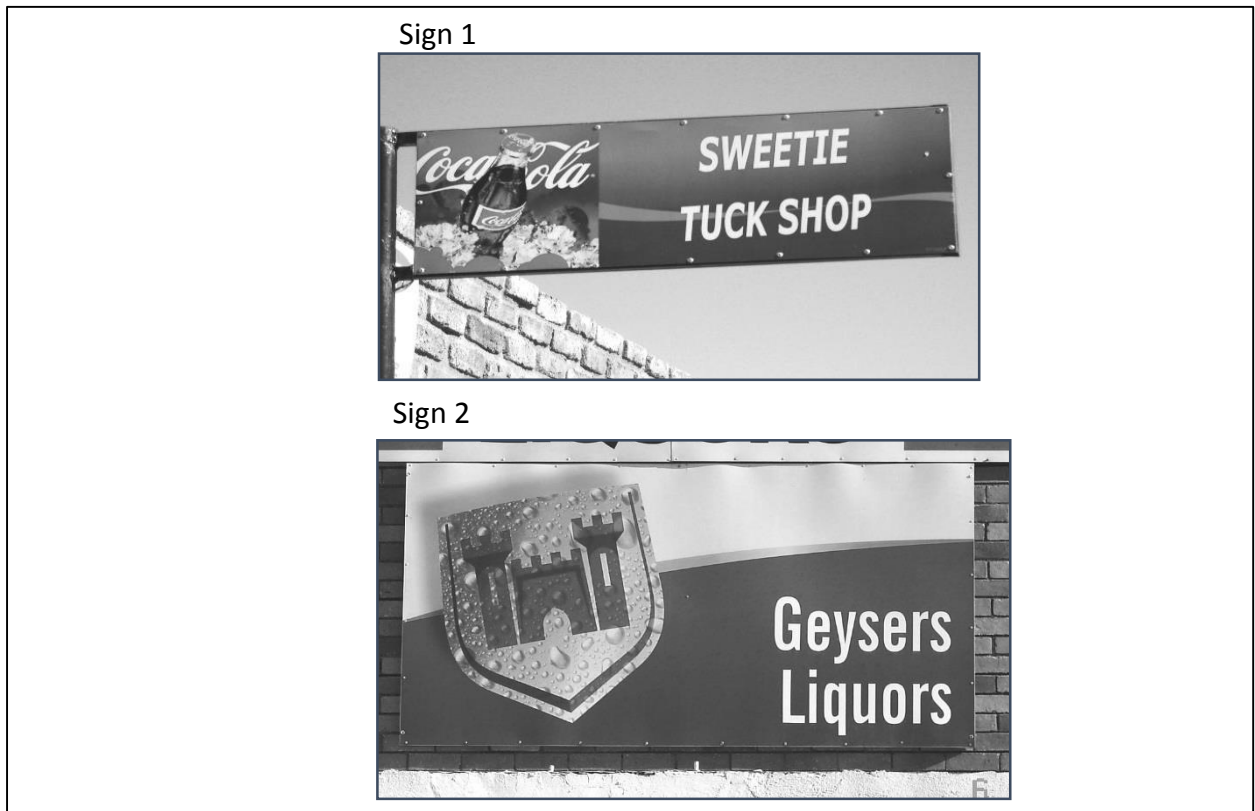
However, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015: 33-34) argue that these names should be included in LL analysis as they signify the impact of globalisation and commercialisation. Very usefully, they coin the term Big Commercial Names (BCN) to refer to the names of commercial institutions that belong to no language in particular, but instead are “a code engendered by globalization” (*ibid*: 33). In order to accommodate these signifiers, a category was included in the present coding scheme to indicate the presence of a BCN as well as the role it plays on the sign. Franchises sometimes only display their ergonyms (such as the Amalgamated Banks of South Africa with “Absa” in Example 13’s Sign 1 below), in which case the linguistic code allocation of the sign is neutral. When other information is included in addition to the BCN, the language of the sign is determined by the language of the additional information. Sign 2 in Example 13 below is codified as monolingual Afrikaans. The brand name, “First National Bank”, is negated and only the linguistic code allocation of the supplementary information, displaying opening hours, is considered.

*Example 13: Signs displaying a BCN in the KLM LL*



A number of signs are ‘sponsored’ by franchises. This constitutes an aggressive marketing strategy. Whereas an advertisement displays a product or service of the franchise that is offered by the commercial institution, a sponsored sign associates the institution as a whole with the franchise. Not only is this phenomenon a manifestation of globalisation, but it also contributes to the commercialisation of the public space (see the 2009 discussion of a material ethnography of the LL by Stroud and Mpendukana). While some sponsored signs do include the written out name of the BCN, such as in Sign 1 in Example 14 (“Coca-Cola”), the logos of such BCNs are so widespread and recognisable that the iconic representations alone are sometimes deemed sufficient, as in the case with Castle Lager in Example 14’s second sign below.

*Example 14: Sponsored signs in the KLM LL*



Confirming the role of BCNs as “social representations”, there are instances where BCNs are incorporated into an institution’s signage without the franchise acting as sponsor. The sign in Example 15 below not only includes the name of a BCN (“Coca-Cola”), but even mimics the characteristic cursive text of its logo.

*Example 15: Imitation of a sponsored sign in the KLM LL*



When considering the rural, relatively isolated nature of the research site, the prevalence of BCNs here speaks to the pervasiveness of the process of globalisation. This outcome confirms the importance of including BCNs in an LL analysis.

Signs displaying only BCNs are included for this specific analysis. Adding these 906 signs (15% of the total signage) increases the dataset to 6,054. Sponsors often display their information or logo on the same sign as the sponsored institution (31%), or they display their information alone (31%). BCNs on signage that identifies franchises and provides more information about these institutions comprise 26% of commercial signage. The eight hand-painted signs (0.9%) imitating BCNs are also included in this category since this speaks to the pervasiveness of these brands. While BCNs are not as prominent in the present LL as in the more centralised LLs, it is still relatively prominent and carries enough prestige to be copied.

#### 4.3.3.3. Level of multilingualism

The issue of multilingualism in the LL is quite central in urban studies, where there is a high degree of language contact and a range of sociolinguistic groups. However, this aspect remains salient to the present rural setting, where there is a high degree of societal multilingualism. Multilingualism also influences the communicative potential and semiotic value of a sign. Monolingual signs restrict readership, whereas different modes of multilingualism indicate various degrees of inclusivity (Barni 2008: 235-238). In order to compare the language profile of the LL of research sites to those of the other two LPP centres (the regulatory and the legitimising), the degree of multilingualism is recorded as monolingual (sign displaying only one language), bilingual (two languages), trilingual (three languages) or quadrilingual (four languages).

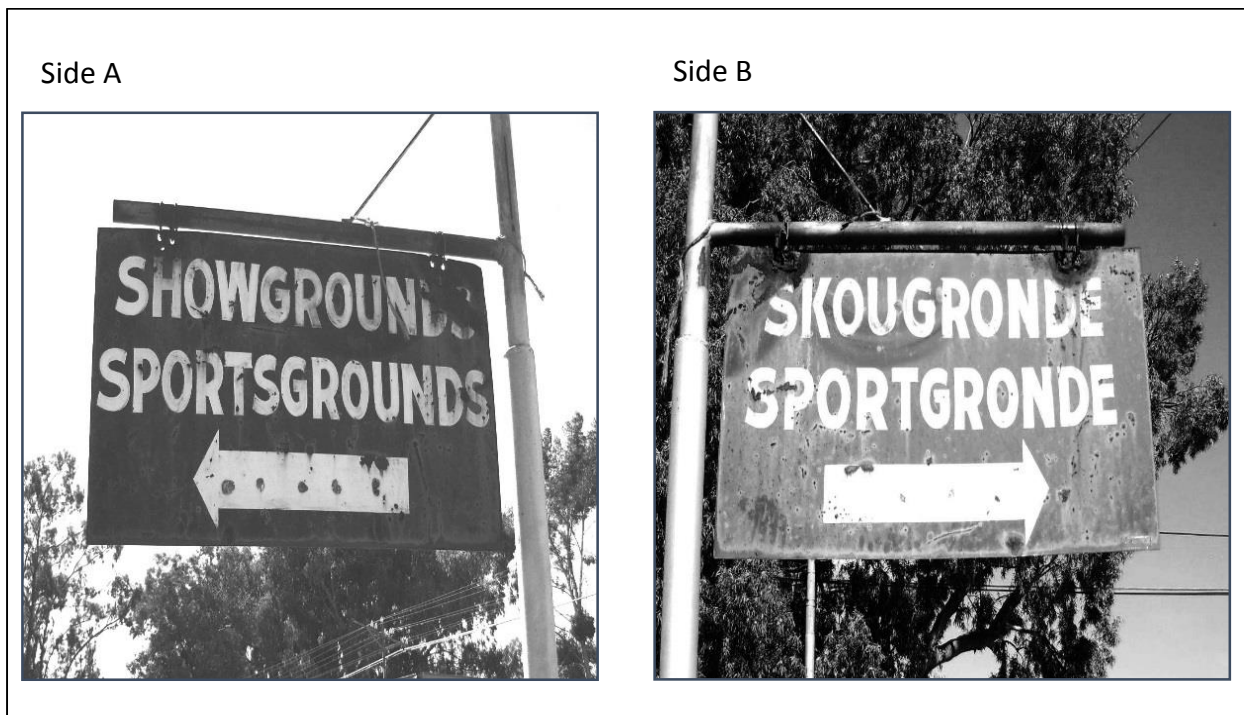
When codes are combined in a single text to combine a new code (e.g. a bilingual Afrikaans/English ergonym), the constituent codes are not utilised equally. In such cases it might be more useful to refer to hybrid or mixed codes. However, it is for two reasons that the present study only distinguishes between monolingual, bilingual, trilingual or quadrilingual codes. The first is that multilingualism (whether spoken or written) does not imply equal competence or use of all the linguistic codes involved. The second reason is, once again, the extensive size of the database, where further and even finer distinctions would complicate a meaningful analysis. However, this codification might be further developed for a future endeavour.

#### 4.3.3.4. Type of multilingualism

The main system for classifying multilingual signage was developed by Reh (2004). Amongst other qualities, Reh's model addresses the visibility of multilingualism, distinguishing between visible and covert multilingualism (*ibid*: 5-7). The former refers to multilingual text inscribed on the same material unit, without requiring readers to change their spatial position to read it. Covert multilingualism, also referred to as multiple monolingualism, occurs when text is available in more than one language, but each language is on a separate material unit and therefore is not simultaneously visible.

Those signs that display more than one language on the same surface of inscription are labelled as being overtly multilingual. In certain cases the bilingual inscription is repeated on several surfaces of inscription, such as in Example 16 below.

*Example 16: Overt multilingualism on a sign with two surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL*



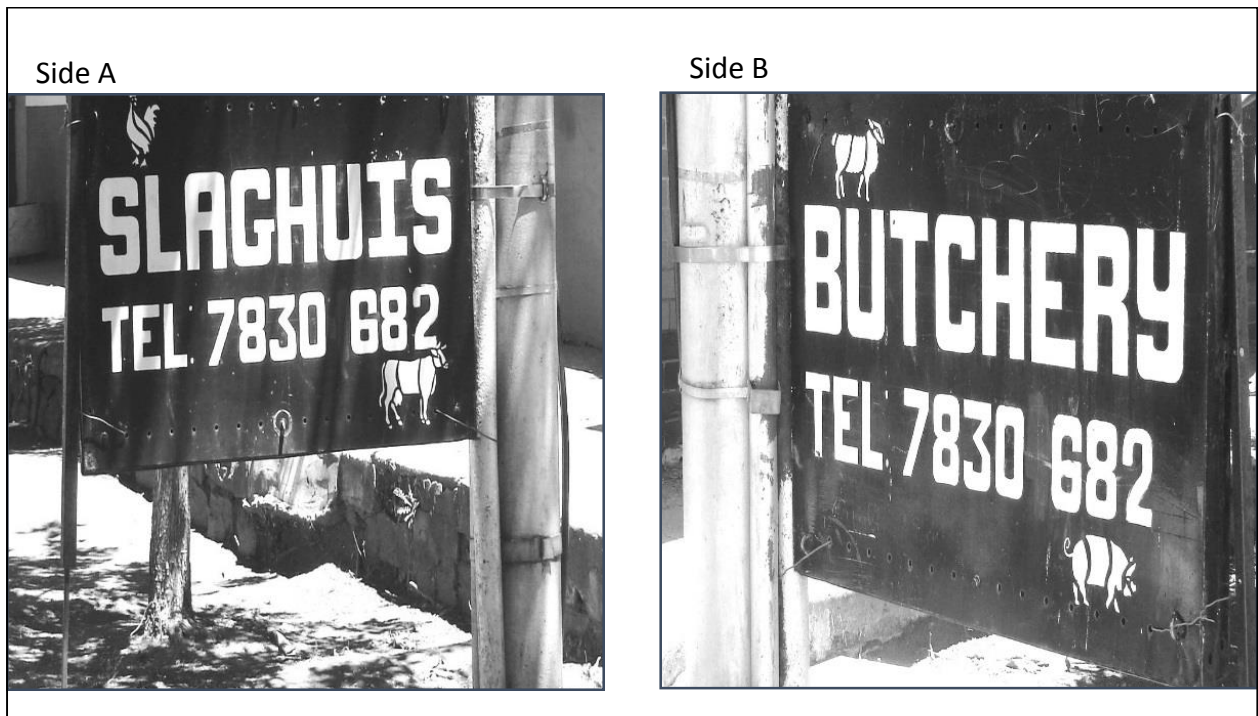
Signs that display more than one language, but on separate surfaces, project a form of covert multilingualism. However, in certain cases the surfaces are positioned in such a way that all the languages are visible simultaneously, such as in Example 17 below. Such signs are recorded as displaying overt multilingualism.

Example 17: Overt multilingualism on a sign with multiple, separate surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL



However, if the reader cannot see all the surfaces of inscription simultaneously, the sign appears to be monolingual. These signs, such as in Example 18 below, display covert multilingualism.

Example 18: Covert multilingualism on a sign with two surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL



The next two categories, code preferences and representative strength, transition the coding scheme from its descriptive task to its analytical function.



#### 4.3.3.5. Code preference

The issue of language visibility is closely tied with prominence, i.e. which language dominates on multilingual signs. The language in the dominant position is the preferred code. This can be determined in various ways. The most often used method is visual hierarchy, based on the visual hierarchy model developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) (drawing on Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996)). Other methods include the amount of script available in the language as well as the order in which scripts in different languages are displayed. The present methodology includes the use of ergonyms. Each of the factors is referred to as a code preference indicator (CPI).

Visual prominence is usefully determined by two methods. A first consideration is which language or orthography is placed in the dominant position on the sign. When orthographies (and therefore writing conventions) are mixed, the placement of the amount of information can be compared to reach a conclusion (Huebner 2006: 34-36). Since all the languages used in this LL follow the Western writing conventions, order is easily determined – information provided at the top (in vertical text) or on the left (in horizontal text) are considered the most prominent. The language in which the prominent information is written is considered as the preferred code.

A second consideration relates to the qualities of the inscription, such as fonts or letter types, including size, and colour, which can produce different meanings in the ‘same’ linguistic message and orthography (as shown by Backhaus 2005a: 5-8). In cases where both considerations are present but conflicting, size can be said to outweigh order as it has more visual prominence (Scollon & Scollon 2003). Therefore, in cases where information is provided in a much larger font size or a more noticeable colour – thus indicating visual prominence – the language of that inscription is considered the preferred code.

The amount of script available refers to the fact that not all information is translated into all the languages displayed on the sign. Reh’s (2004) model distinguishing between four different types of multilingualism is relevant here. With *duplicating multilingual writing* an identical copy of the same text is presented in more than one language. *Fragmentary multilingualism* occurs when the information is fully supplied in one language only, but selected parts have been translated into additional language(s). When part of the information appears in one language only, and part of it is available in additional language(s), this is referred to as *overlapping multilingualism*. There are two types of overlapping multilingualism. In the first,

the notional content of the messages is the same, but not the pragmatic form and interpersonal meaning. In the second type of overlapping multilingualism, parts of the information are only given in one language, while other parts of the information are directly translated. Lastly, with *complementary multilingual writing* different parts of the overall information are rendered in different languages and knowledge of all the languages is required in order to understand the entire message. In cases of equal translation (duplicating multilingual writing) or with complementary multilingual writing, the language in the most prominent position is considered dominant. In all the other cases which involve a partial translation, the complete text is considered the original and therefore the language in which is written is the dominant one. The same logic applies when a translation is not provided, but different sections of the information are provided in different languages. The language in which most of the information is provided, is considered to be the dominant language, i.e. the preferred code.

In addition to the amount of information and visual prominence, ergonyms (of institutions and projects) are added as a CPI. Ergonyms are highly symbolic and a lot of care is taken to compile them. Their presence on a sign thus carries significant weight. When personal names, BCN's and toponyms are included in ergonyms, their presence is negated. Because this element is introduced, it is useful to distinguish between the sign as a semantic entity and the information provided as lexical units. The sign as a whole constitutes a single semantic entity that displays one or more languages. One or more lexical units are contained on the sign. A lexical unit is a word or string of words that convey a single meaning. When an ergonym is combined with other information, this approach allows for a distinction between different lexical units and in this way determines which one is the principal CPI. When there are translations, every translation is considered a separate lexical unit. To determine the preferred code, lexical units are ranked according to CPI. The order of influence of CPIs is ergonyms, followed by amount of information and lastly visual hierarchy (size, colour and then order). In other words, when there is an ergonym on the sign, it is considered the most dominant lexical unit and the linguistic code allocation of the ergonym thus indicates the preferred code on the sign. The secondary codification, after the ergonym or if there is none, is the lexical unit containing the most information. The last consideration, i.e. following on or in the absence of the other two CPIs, is the visual prominence of the different lexical units – i.e. the lexical unit that is visually most prominent is thus the preferred code.

Code preference is indicated according to four grades – preferred, equal, neutral and deferred. Being the only code on a monolingual sign, or being contained in the dominant lexical unit (as determined by CPIs), assigns ‘preferred’ status to that code. When lexical units are in an equal position of dominance to each other, the codes therein are assigned ‘equal’ status. In cases where a code is used in the least dominant lexical unit on a sign, it is classified as the deferred code. When a lexical unit is found in the most or neither the least dominant position, nor is on equal footing with another lexical unit, the code is rated as ‘neutral’.

Some ergonyms present a challenge in that they contain more than one language. The ergonym in Example 19 below contains both an African language in the proper name “Kwa Bango”, and English in the descriptor “General Dealer”. The BCN (“Coca-Cola”) is considered neutral and hence its presence is not taken into consideration. Therefore, the sign as semantic entity is classified as bilingual. The presence of both languages involves a deliberate linguistic choice, but the ergonym is identified as a single lexical unit. Both languages are therefore accorded equal code dominance and the code preference is indicated as bilingual African/English.

*Example 19: Bilingual sign, preferred code bilingual African/English, in the KLM LL*



The sign in Example 20 below displays three lexical units – the ergonym (“Sebatso Vegetable Project”), information about the sponsor (“Proudly sponsored by National Development Agency”), and the logo bearing the motto of the sponsor. Ergonyms function as the principal CPI and thus the lexical unit containing the ergonym is the dominant one. Therefore, its linguistic code allocation, bilingual African/English, is the preferred code on this sign. The

secondary CPI constitutes amount of information. In this case, it is the lexical unit containing information about the sponsor. In addition, this lexical unit is also visually more prominent – it is written in a larger font and is displayed in a more noticeable colour. Technically, this lexical unit is more dominant than the third one containing the logo and motto. However, since both have the same linguistic code allocation, monolingual English, this distinction is of no consequence. The deferred code on this sign is thus English.

*Example 20: Bilingual sign, preferred code bilingual African/English, deferred code English, in the KLM LL*



In all cases, the lexical unit containing the ergonym may be considered the most prominent. In the sign below (Example 21), a large amount of information is provided in Afrikaans (the address and contact details of the institution). However, this information is considered secondary to the ergonym, the lexical unit, which is only in English (“Timeless Joy B&B”). While the sign (the semantic entity) is classified as bilingual Afrikaans/English, the preferred code on the sign is English.

*Example 21: Bilingual sign, preferred code monolingual English, deferred code Afrikaans, in the KLM LL*



A problematic aspect in this specific LL is the use of “B&B” (denoting bed and breakfast). On some signs this term is used to indicate the services provided by the institution, and in others it forms part of the ergonym (as in Example 21 above). While supplementary research (an interview, telephone book or services guide) is the only way to determine the use of “B&B” for certain, one can glean whether or not it forms part of the ergonym through the frequency with which it occurs or by determining what the ‘main’ sign of the institution is. For example, in Sign 1 in Example 22 below, the signs next to the road are meant to attract passers-by by using the term “B&B”. It is not part of the official name of the institution. The term is absent on the main sign, which is attached to the building housing the institution. The institution’s official name includes the article “die” [the], the version of the ergonym that appears on other promotional material as well. Therefore, the appearance of “B&B” is not considered in the analysis of the lexical unit containing the ergonym. The linguistic code of the ergonym is thus the preferred code on the sign (i.e. monolingual Afrikaans). Sign 1 (in Example 22) is counted as bilingual, while the second sign (Sign 2, Example 22) is monolingual Afrikaans.

*Example 22: Inconsistency in ergonyms in the KLM LL*



In other cases, design aspects have to be considered. In the sign below (Example 23), the ergonym is the dominant lexical unit, not because it is visually more prominent but because ergonyms are the primary CPIs. However, the ergonym itself, i.e. “Soeterus Undertakers”, is written in two languages, with “Soeterus” being the Afrikaans proper noun and “Undertakers” the English descriptor. Unlike “Kwa Bango General Dealer”, the words making up the lexical unit are not presented equally in terms of size: the Afrikaans proper noun “Soeterus” is much more prominent than the English descriptor “Undertakers”. However, for the sake of consistency, all lexical units are considered single units, and therefore the criteria for visual prominence do not apply. In this case, the preferred code is therefore classified as bilingual Afrikaans/English. The secondary lexical unit is in English only; this language is the deferred code on the sign.

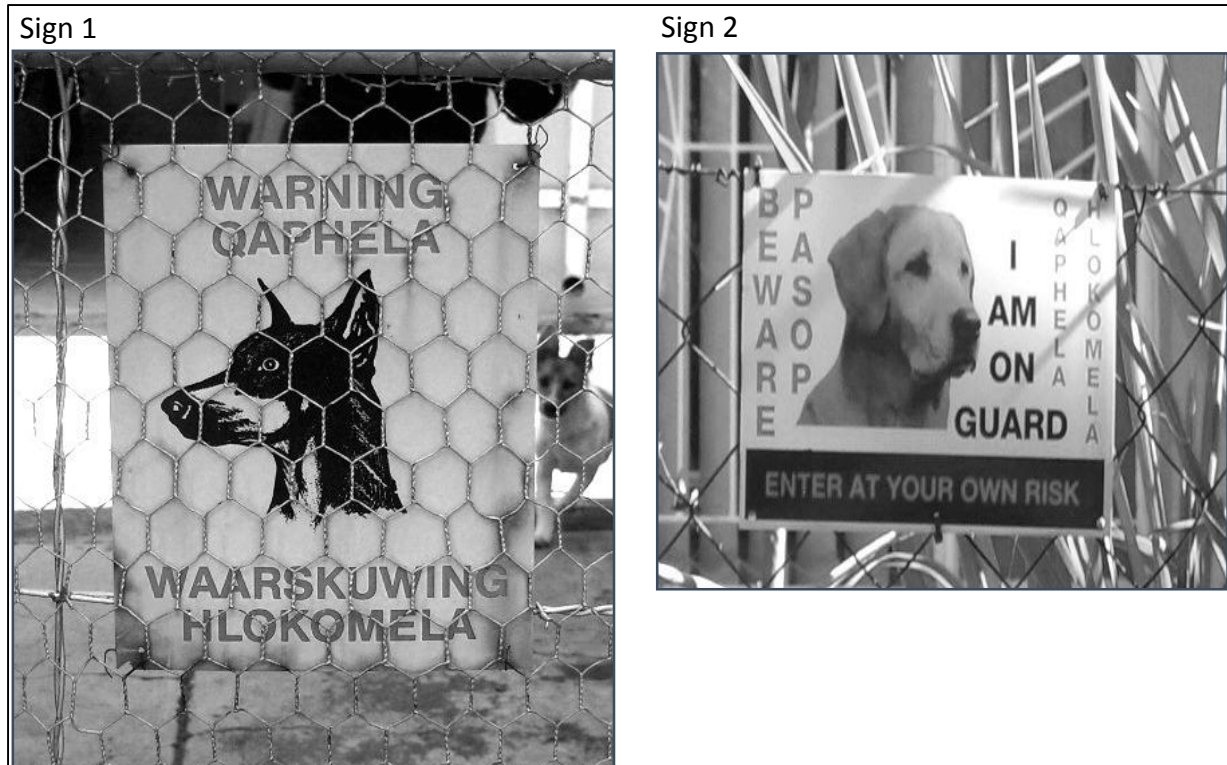
*Example 23: Bilingual sign, preferred code bilingual Afrikaans/English, deferred code English, in the KLM LL*



The other two CPIs, amount of information and visual prominence, are well illustrated with the ‘beware of the dog’ signs. The case of Sign 1 in Example 24 is straightforward – only one CPI is at stake and that is order. The first lexical unit (“Warning”) is the most dominant one and English is thus the preferred code. The first African language from the top (“Qaphela”), as well as Afrikaans (“Waarskuwing”) are both neutral codes and the bottom African language (“Hlokomela”) is the deferred code.

In Sign 2 in Example 24 below, two CPIs are involved – amount of information and the order in which it is displayed. The principal CPI is amount, which indicates that English, appearing in the most lexical units (“Beware”, “I am on guard” and “Enter at your own risk”), is the preferred code. The secondary CPI is order, as determined by the left-to-right reading convention. This means the two neutral codes are Afrikaans (“Pasop”) and the first African language (“Qaphela”). The last African language (“Hlokomela”) is the deferred code.

*Example 24: Order and amount utilised as CPIs in the KLM LL*



An interesting case emerges when signs display covert multilingualism. Although all the surfaces of inscription function together to create a single sign (the semantic unit), the lexical units are not in relation to each other. The codes are thus graded separately. In Example 25 below, both surfaces display a single lexical unit (the BCN is discounted) and contain the same information (the business hours). Since both surfaces of inscription are not simultaneously visible, the sign appears to be monolingual and the code on each (monolingual Afrikaans on Side A and monolingual English on Side B) is the preferred code on each surface. However, both surfaces function together in order to create the semantic unit and therefore the lexical units are afforded equal status. The code assigned for this sign is bilingual Afrikaans/English.



Example 25: Code preference on a bilingual sign with multiple surfaces of inscription in the KLM LL

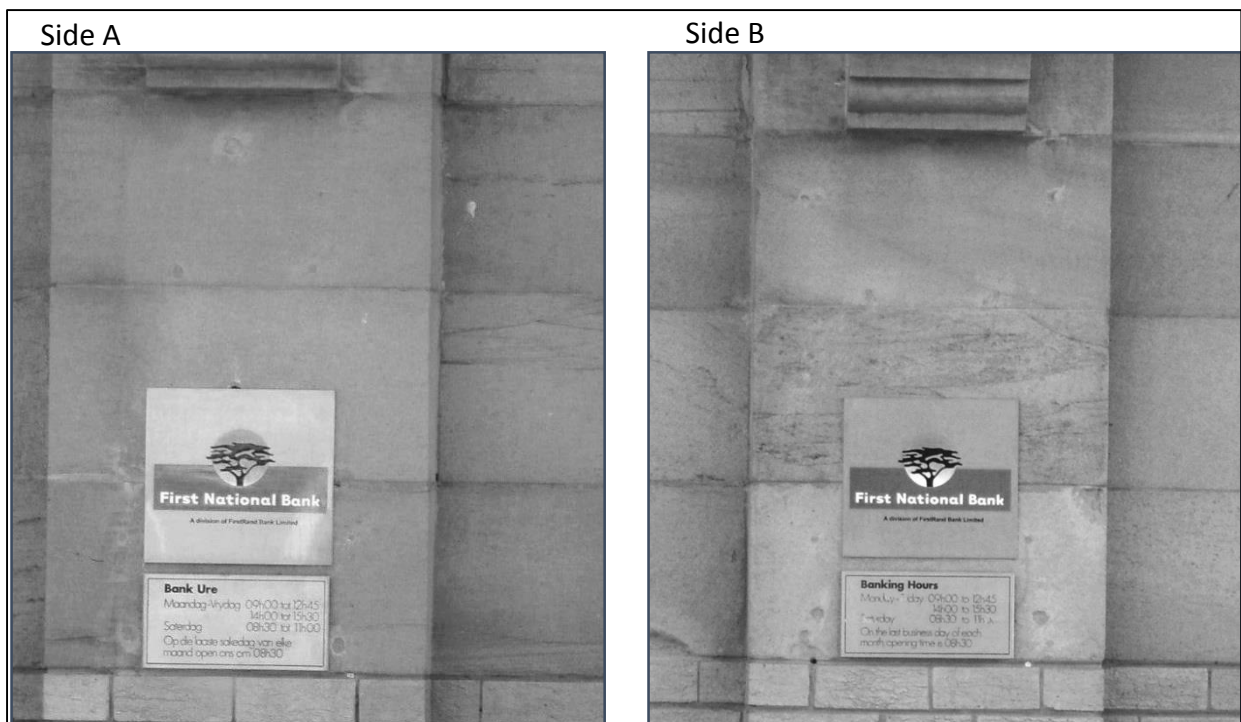
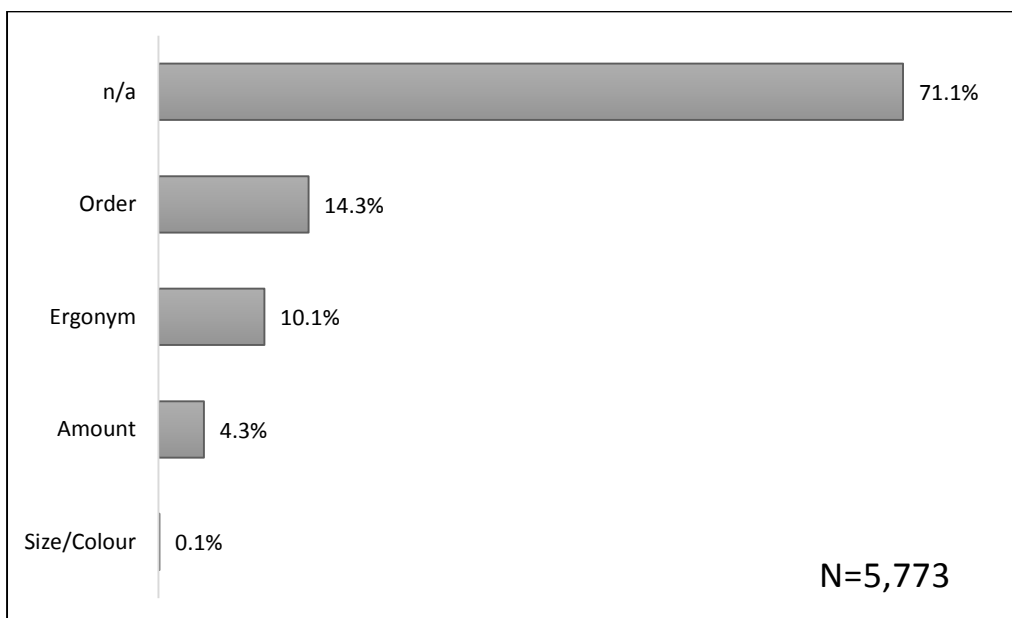


Figure 12 below reflects how CPIs are employed in the present LL.

Figure 12: Use of CPIs on signs in the KLM LL



No CPI is used on monolingual signs, on signs where the separate lexical units are assigned equal status, or where the signs display equal multilingualism (where two or more linguistic codes are displayed on equal footing). These signs constitute 71.1% of the LL. Of the signs

that do make use of CPIs, the reading convention (order) is used most often (14.3%), followed by ergonyms (10.1%). The impact of translation in the LL is reflected in the use of amount of information as a CPI, although it is utilised on only 4.3% of all signs. Visual hierarchy in terms of size or colour of lexical units is used to indicate dominance on only 0.1% of signs.

When considering only the signs that do indeed make use of CPIs (N=1,667, 28.9% of all signs), it is clear that order is used most often to indicate code preference (49.6% of such signs). Ergonyms function as CPIs on 35% of these signs, followed by amount of information (15.1%). Visual hierarchy is used as CPI on very few of these signs (only 0.3%). These results prove that code preference cannot be determined by visual hierarchy alone. Determining code preference on a sign can be a tedious process. However, it is useful when trying to determine the prevalence of a language or language combination in the LL. This analysis is enhanced with the consideration of code prominence.

#### 4.3.3.6. Code prominence

Detailing the trends regarding multilingual combinations and code preference on signs allows for an analysis regarding the representative strength of the three linguistic codes (African, Afrikaans and English). The concept of code prominence considers not only how often a language is used in the LL (its prevalence), but also considers its grading with regard to code preference. The first aspect involves simply tallying the total amount of times a specific code is displayed. To consider the second aspect, the code's preference grading is considered. Being the only code on a monolingual sign, or the preferred code on a multilingual sign, accords a higher degree of visibility in the LL to the specific code. The monolingual occurrences and its occurrences as a preferred code are added together to determine how many times a code is employed in the most prominent position in the LL. Being assigned as a neutral, equal or deferred code results in a less prominent position of a code in the LL. Signs containing more than one lexical unit, where the same language is used, will result in several gradings for a single language on the same sign. These are all counted as separate appearances. In Example 26 below, for instance, the dominant lexical unit is the ergonym ("Edenburg Correctional Services"), of which the linguistic code allocation is monolingual English since "Edenburg", the toponym, is negated. English is therefore the preferred code on this sign. The rest of the lexical units contain the same amount of information (a warning about entering the premises) displayed in the same script and colour. Thus, the CPI for these lexical units is order. However, since the dominant position has already been assigned to the unit containing the ergonym, the

order is not significant except for the last unit, which contains an African language. The grading of this African language (“Ungena apha ngomngcipheko wakho”) is neutral. Since the remaining units are not on equal footing, their linguistic codes (Afrikaans, English and African language) are assigned the grade ‘neutral’. The code preference on this sign is therefore as follows:

- Preferred code: English
- Neutral codes: Afrikaans, English, African language
- Deferred code: African language

The code prominence is determined by comparing the number of appearances of a specific language (prevalence) with its grading as a preferred code. English appears twice; once as the preferred code and once as a neutral code. Afrikaans appears only once, as a neutral code. Since African languages are grouped together as a single code, even though two African languages (Sotho followed by Xhosa) are used on the sign, the African code appears twice; once as a neutral code and once as a deferred code.

*Example 26: Use of various CPIs on one sign in the KLM LL*



By comparing a code’s various gradings against its prevalence (its total occurrence in the LL), one can explore the dynamics behind how a specific code is employed. By comparing the prominence of various codes, their prevalence and overall visibility can be determined. This serves as an indicator of the perceived function of various codes, as well as its value and status. The next three sections addresses the second research parameter regarding the dynamics behind the language choices, i.e. the three LL variables of locality, agency and functionality. These three variables influence language choices because signage is aimed at different readerships

(locality), implemented by various actors (agency) and intended to serve a variety of purposes (functionality).

#### 4.3.4. Locality as variable

The physical aspect of the LPP space, as defined by its specific spatio-temporal characteristics, also functions as a variable in communicative interaction by providing different requirements for valid linguistic action. These spatio-temporal characteristics include the demographic features of the population situated within a geographically defined territory. These borders can refer to larger structures, such as countries, provinces, districts or municipalities, but also smaller units such as towns or neighbourhoods. LL research has proven that there is indeed a correlation between neighbourhoods and their LLs (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2005a: 112-115; Barni 2008: 18; Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015; Gorter 2006b: 2-4; Gorter & Cenoz 2008: 351-352; Huebner 2006: 33-34). In fact, this correlation is so strong and the localised *gestalt* is so unique that Shohamy (2015: 165-166), referring to a study by herself and Waksman (in preparation), terms these “neighbourhood identities”.

However, it is important to note that the correlation between the LL and a locality does not imply a similar correspondence between the LL and the ethnolinguistic composition of the community settled in the neighbourhood. As already stated, the LL is rather a reflection of the linguistic resources available to the inhabitants (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 14; Extra & Barni 2008: 3). The employment of these resources is determined by the communicative requirements of the context, which includes issues such as literacy (both because of the sign writer as well as the sign reader), the power relations between individuals, groups and institutions, as well as the prevalent discourses around identity within the specific location.

In the present study, the demographic profile of the research site reveals that ethnolinguistic groups settled in geographically confined concentrations in the KLM. The geographical boundaries are defined in terms of towns as well as locales (different types of neighbourhoods). These neighbourhoods can be divided into three suburb types, namely Coloured Areas, Former White Towns (FWTs) and Townships. There are thus two types of localities, i.e. towns and locales, which function as variables against which language visibility profiles are compared.

##### 4.3.4.1. Sign density

Sign density is calculated by determining the number of signs per square meter in the research site (Backhaus 2005a). The number of signs produced within a certain locality can reveal the

distribution of patterns of language choices, but also reveal the different ways in which the public space is utilised. Furthermore, to compare the frequency of appearance of a certain code within a specific location might reveal something about the literacy of the language group. Indeed, Spolsky (2009: 29-30) observes that the absence or presence of a language might be related to the literacy of its speakers, or the language might not have a written system. This in turn relates to another issue, namely the fact that languages are used for different purposes. Especially multilingual speakers are prone to employ different codes in order to achieve different goals (Mesthrie 2006). Exploring sign density reveals the prevalence of code choices in the LL, which reveals how languages are employed to negotiate power relations and identities.

#### 4.3.5. Agency as variable

Agency refers to those persons and institutions (actors) making the language choices in the LL. This variable considers whether the signs were originated by government or by private institutions and whether these agents are situated locally or externally (domain). It also includes the LL actor with whom the sign is associated (ownership), as well as the regulatory instrument that provides rules and guidelines regarding language choice for a specific LL actor.

##### 4.3.5.1. Domain

The prevailing working (although contested) definition of agency is based on the dichotomy between top-down agents (official institutions) and bottom-up agents (private actors). This distinction remains relevant, because contributions from these two domains are different, as proven by various studies (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008; Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Du Plessis 2007; Gorter & Cenoz 2008: 348-349; Huebner 2006: 37-47; Shohamy 2006), presumably because different structuration principles are at work, in other words, LL actors from these two domains negotiate and comply with linguistic requirements differently. In other words, these two types of agents have “two different ways of *marking the territory*” (Calvet, quoted in Backhaus 2005a: 41). These differences usually pertain to the codes (languages, language combinations and code preferences) as well as the intended roles of the codes chosen (Backhaus 2006).

Recent discussions on agency have argued for an extension of the dichotomy to a consideration of the process by which the LL is produced and employed, since the distinction between bottom-up and top-down initiatives is not as clear as the dichotomy implies. For instance, Spolsky (2009: 31-32) points out that several actors are involved in the creation of a sign, such

as the initiator/owner of the sign, the sign maker, the sign reader, as well as the authority that stipulates the language policy. In addition, Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 8-9) point out that processes such as the impact of modernisation, globalisation and multiculturalism also play a substantial role in code choice.

These concerns are addressed in the present coding scheme by allowing for a more nuanced differentiation between domain, ownership and regulatory instruments. Signs originating from a state organ are coded as top-down, while those initiated by a private (i.e. non-state) person or institution are coded bottom-up. The coding scheme further differentiates between local and external role-players within the domains. The rest of the codification accommodates the further nuances of agency (i.e. via the categories ‘ownership’ and ‘ownership detail’).

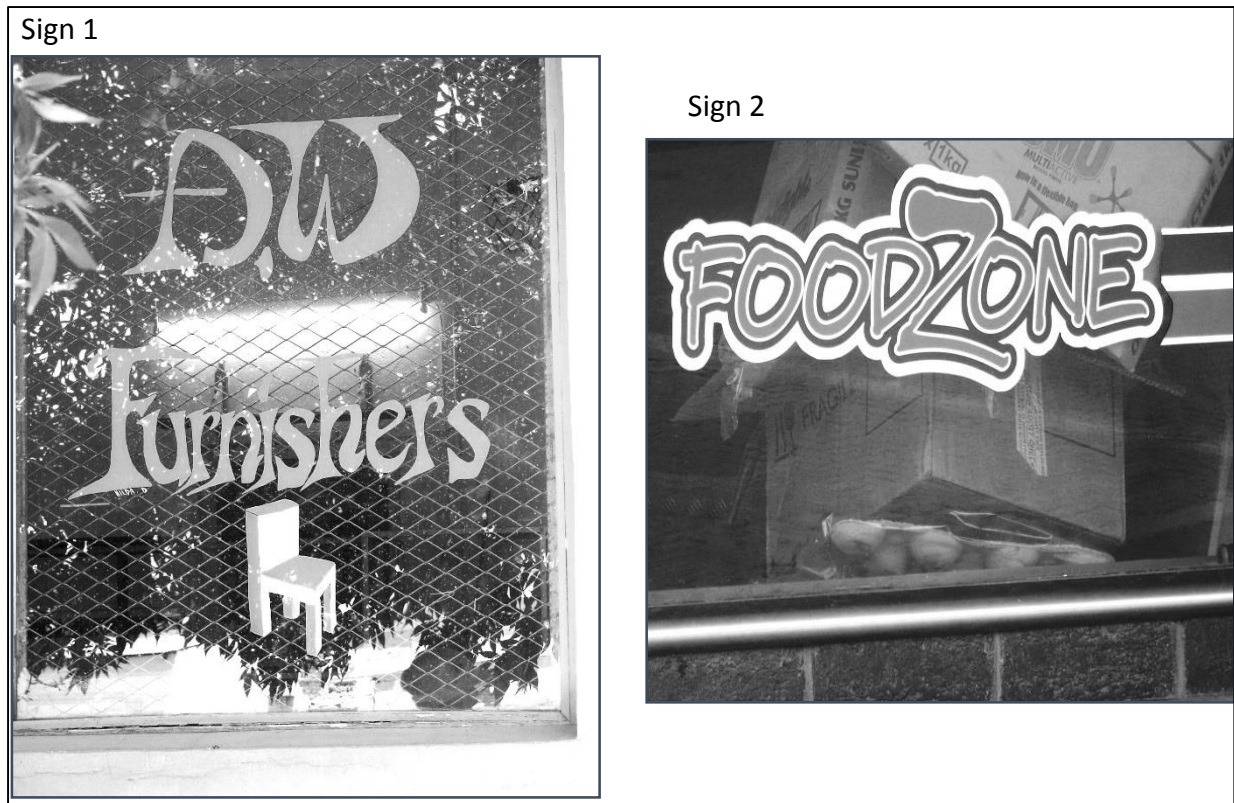
Du Plessis (2011: 194, 220-221) proves that local and external role-players, even if operating from within the same domain, make different linguistic choices. Therefore, the present study makes the same distinction. For example, government agents on national level might not be willing or able to comply to local language policies and expectations; whereas a local agent might be more inclined to accommodate its readership. On Sign 1 in Example 27 below, the informal sign created by a local actor associated with an external agent (such as the provincial Department of Agriculture) is presented in the three local languages spoken most frequently, with the code preference correlating to the spread of the languages as they are spoken (order: Sotho, Afrikaans, English). The second sign (Sign 2, Example 27) belongs to the same external agent but was erected by an external LL actor. While the three prominently spoken languages are included, the order is reversed with English being the preferred code and Sotho in the deferred position. Sign 3 (Example 27) was erected by a national government agent and appears in English only, with no consideration to the needs and preferences of the local community.

*Example 27: Differentiating between local and external top-down agents in the KLM LL*



The same distinction is made for bottom-up signs by distinguishing between local branches of national franchises as opposed to locally owned business. While top-down signs usually display some reference to their local/external status (such as the logo of a national or provincial department), discretion is required with regard to bottom-up signs. The two signs in Example 28 below are both commercial bottom-up signs, but the first (Sign 1) belongs to a local shop owner while the second (Sign 2) is part of a franchise. However, the status of franchises can easily be checked; franchises being classified as a commercial chain that operates across regional boundaries.

Example 28: Differentiating between local and external bottom-up agents in the KLM LL



In order to arrive at a better understanding of the centrality of an agent, it is useful to detail the ownership of a sign.

#### 4.3.5.2. Ownership

While it is true that is not always possible to determine all the actors involved in initiating, creating and erecting a sign, signs are generally associated with a specific LL actor. These actors are indicated as the ‘owners’ of the sign. The categories from the top-down domain include the various levels of government agents, while commercial interests, private initiatives, home owners and graffiti artists constitute the owners from the bottom-up domain.

Top-down signs are coded as belonging to national, provincial, local or semi-privatised government agents. Where available, further information about the owners is indicated under ‘ownership detail’. Details about top-down sign owners include information such as the ergonym of the specific government agent, such as ‘Department of Education’, ‘Municipality’ or ‘National Lottery (Lotto)’. An example of a national government agent is the South African Police Service (SAPS). Although the SAPS stations are distributed provincially, and provincial commissioners each report directly to a national commissioner, it remains a centralised agent. Another example is signage erected on national roads, as opposed to those erected by the local government (such as street or town names). According to the *South African Road Classification*



*and Access Manual* (COTO 2012: 17), there is no direct correlation between the administrative jurisdiction and the functional classes of road signs, so the rule of thumb for the present study is that signs erected on national roads (under control of the Department of Transport) fall under a national government agent. Only road signs that are clearly indicated as belonging to the provincial government are categorised as such. All other forms of road signage (such as street and town names) fall under the ownership of the local government agent (i.e. local municipality).

Government services such as clinics, libraries and schools fall under the responsibility of the provincial government and its ownership is indicated as ‘provincial government agent’. Services that are managed locally, such as the municipal offices or the community hall, belong to the local government agent (i.e. local municipality). Semi-privatised agents are those who provide services that are sent out for tender by the government, such as the national lottery (LOTTO), or those who have the state as their sole shareholders, e.g. the South African Post Office (SAPO). Projects funded by the government are also included in this category.

The category of ‘commercial interests’ includes franchises (constituting an external influence), stores (shops of all kinds), tavern owners (often displaying sponsored signage), guest house owners (presumably aimed at external customers) and sellers (often temporary signs). Religious institutions, political parties, non-profit organisations, event organisers and other initiatives by private institutions are all considered to fall under the ownership of ‘initiatives’. Signs erected on private homes or on structures in a private yard (such as outside toilets) are deemed to belong to the ‘home owner’. On the other hand, signs erected elsewhere, in non-sanctioned spaces, belong to ‘graffiti artists’.

#### 4.3.5.3. Regulatory instruments

Noting which regulatory instrument is applicable to the various types of signs allows for a more nuanced approach to agency. This distinction is useful to determine congruency between policy and practice, i.e. between the regulations in the relevant policy and the actual language choices on signs.

All signs directed to the road user, i.e. road traffic signs, are regulated by the *South African Road Traffic Signs Manual (SARTSM)* (DoT 1999). All other signs that may attract the attention of the road user, but which do not constitute road traffic signs, are regulated by the *South*

*African Manual for Outdoor Advertising Control (SAMOAC)* (DEAT & DoT 1998). These include signs that advertise a specific facility, service or product available to the public, that make known an organisation's or individual's opinion or grievance, or provide information on localities and activities (*ibid*: 15). Signage owned by semi-privatised government organisations, such as SAPO and the SAPS, are considered to be regulated by the *SAMOAC*. In other words, all signs that comply with these specifications, even if they are not situated on the roadside, are indicated as being regulated by the *SAMOAC*.

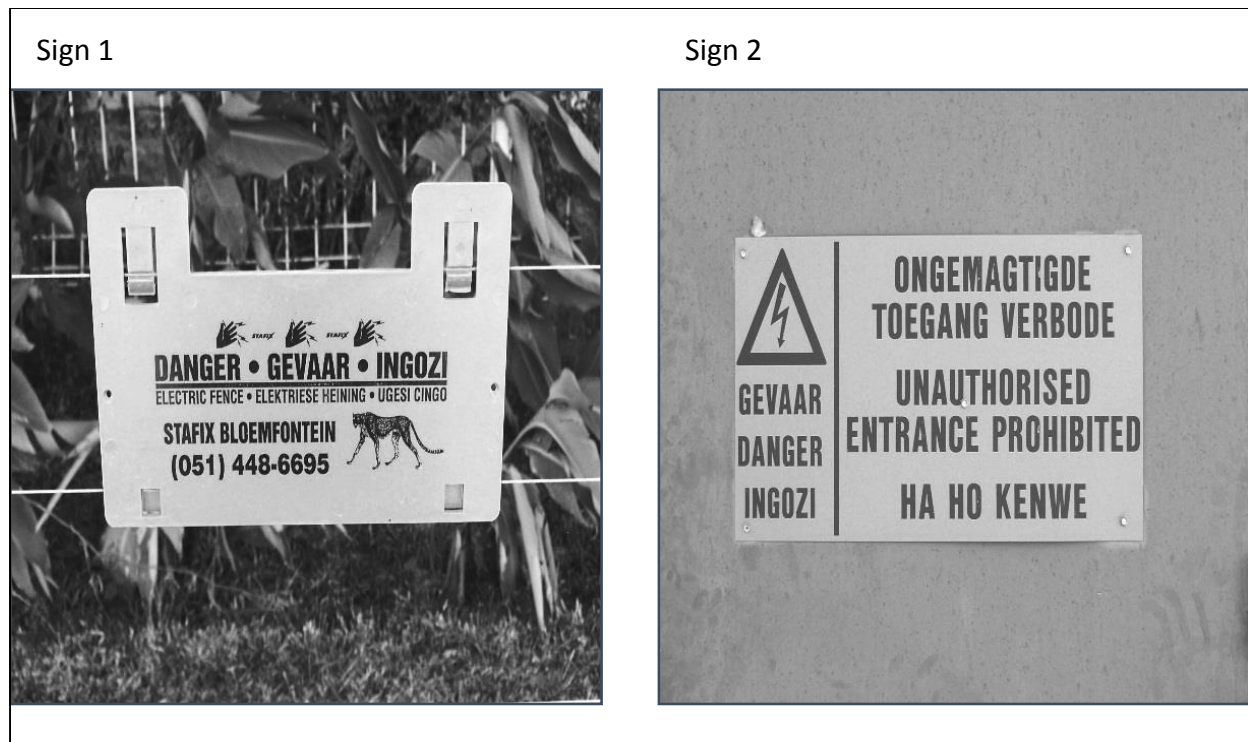
All public signs owned by the municipality, except for local road traffic signage, are regulated by the Kopanong Local Municipality By-law (KLM S.a.), whereas those owned by government agents are regulated by the *CIBG*. If signs from the latter category are sponsored by a commercial interest (such as the sign in Example 29 below is sponsored by Investec), it still falls under the directives of the *CIBG* as the schools first have to get permission from their head office before erecting the sign.

*Example 29: CIBG-regulated sponsored sign in the KLM LL*



Warnings about electricity, whether these are placed on private electrified fences (Sign 1, Example 30) or on power stations or boxes erected by the service provider (Sign 2, Example 30), are regulated by a specific regulation, namely “Regulation 12 of the Electrical Machinery Regulations” of the *Occupational Health and Safety Act (2011)* (DOL 2011).

Example 30: Electricity safety hazard warnings in the KLM LL



Since homes are considered private property, any signs that are displayed on houses fall under the discretion of the homeowner (or occupier) and is therefore not officially regulated. Since these signs do not aim to attract the attention of readers with the aim of commercial gain, and since it does not offer any services, other dynamics, presumably relating to identity and social aspirations, are at play here. These can be considered, as stated by Hull and James (2007: 14) on signage erected by residents, “a very active effort to impact their material circumstances, to construct a space and the harness the power of public representation in their community”. While fulfilling a similar role, graffiti is illegal and as such unregulated.

#### 4.3.6. Functionality as variable

Echoing Kallen’s (2009: 277-278) *pragmatic choice*, the category of ‘functionality’ relates to the purpose a sign is intended to serve. Therefore, the code choice on a sign reflects what functions the languages displayed are perceived to be able to perform. Du Plessis (2011) makes use of the classification by *SARTSM* and *SAMOAC* to differentiate between different classes and sign types. However, the resulting model allows too much overlapping without recording the necessary nuances. Therefore, the present coding system combines the overlapping categories and introduces the lacking ones. This variable is thus constituted by the following categories:

- Class of sign: road signage, outdoor advertising signage, posters and general signs, as well as signs on buildings, structures and premises
- Function of sign: advertising, guidance, identification, information, ownership/decoration/commentary, warning, or graffiti
- Text on sign: indicates the type of information on the sign

Each of these categories is discussed in more detail below.

#### 4.3.6.1. Class

‘Road signage’ constitutes all those signs typically regulated by the *SARTSM*. Freestanding signs not regulated by the *SARTSM* or *CIBG* (i.e. non-government initiatives), are classified as ‘outdoor advertising signage’. All temporary and loose-standing signs fall under the category of ‘posters and general signs’. Lastly, ‘signs on buildings, structures and premises’ are those permanent signs affixed on buildings or structures (including stickers).

#### 4.3.6.2. Function

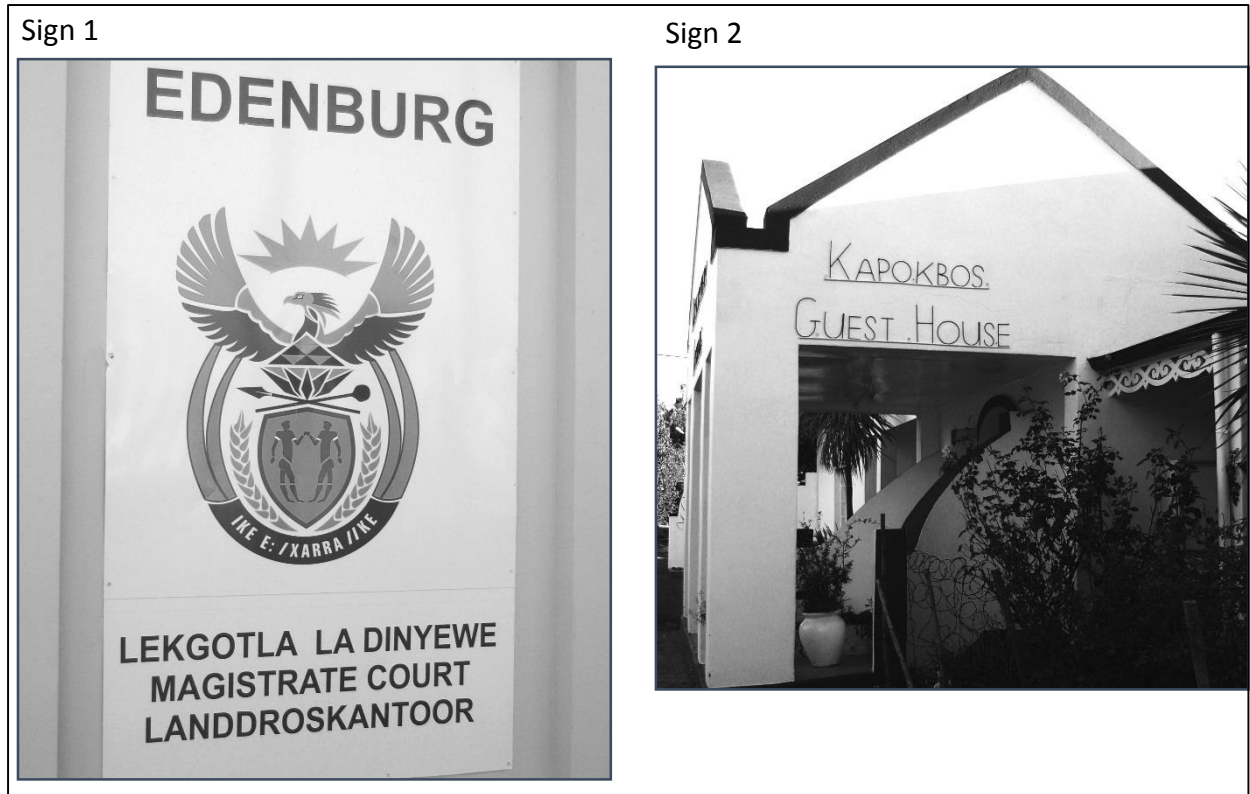
Signs that provide directions and instructions to road users (such as stop signs and directions) are classified as ‘guidance’ signs. Road traffic signs that constitute a warning, such as in Example 31 (“No fence”), serve to guide the road users and therefore fall under this category as well.

*Example 31: Guidance road traffic sign displaying a warning in the KLM LL*



‘Identification’ signs are those that provide the ergonym of a building, an institution or a facility. For example, Sign 1 in Example 32 identifies the institution as the Magistrate’s Court. If the sign reflects the ergonym of a commercial institution, its function is classified as ‘advertising’. The ergonym “Kapokbos Guesthouse” in Sign 2 (Example 32) serves to advertise the type of service provided. All other signage forms that relate to commercial gain (private services, facilities, goods for sale, etc.) are also included in this category.

*Example 32: Signs displaying ergonyms in the KLM LL*



The purpose of signs that indicate opening hours, provide contacts details, help users to locate entrances and so forth is to provide ‘information’. Sign 1 in Example 33 indicates the purpose of a specific room of the building of the magistrate’s court. Some signs contain information from two functional categories, e.g. both the ergonym and business hours of a commercial institution. Its function is indicated as advertising, but its contents are differentiated under the next section, ‘text’, as identification and/or information (Sign 2, Example 33). If a non-commercial sign contains both the ergonym as well as more information, its function is indicated as ‘Identification & information’ (Sign 3, Example 33).

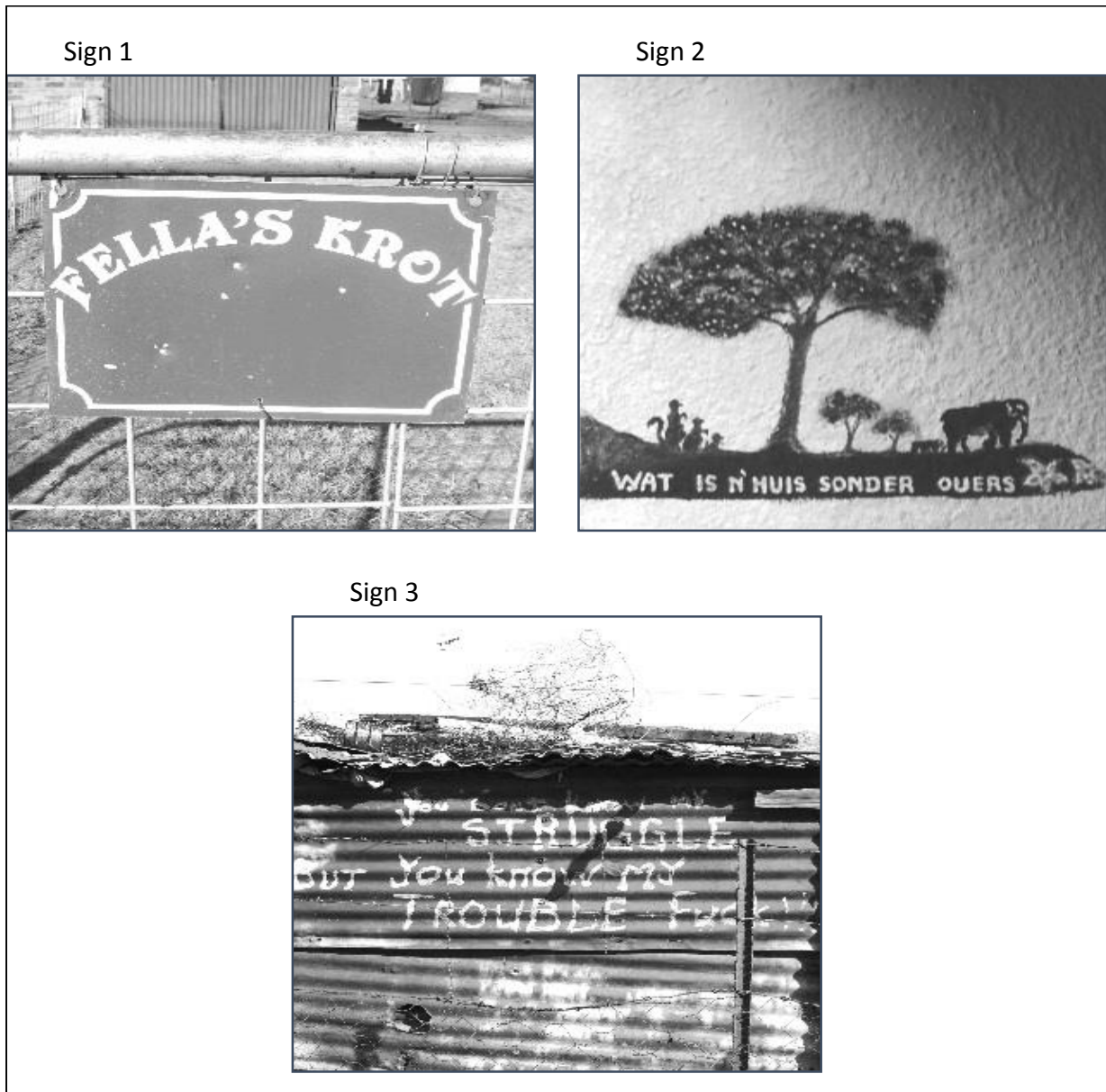
*Example 33: Signs serving to identify and provide information about ergonyms in the KLM LL*



Any sign that serves as a warning, whether it be to issue a warning about the presence of a watchdog, security services or the possibility of electrocution, was assigned the functional category of ‘warning’. Some forms of signage on private homes look like graffiti. However, this signage is created onto privately owned (or considered to be owned) property and is thus not illicit. As the purpose of these signs was hard to gauge, all signage on private homes were broadly categorised as having the function of ‘ownership/decoration/commentary’ (Signs 1, 2 and 3, in Example 34 below). “Fella’s Krot” in Sign 1 serves to indicate that the “krot” [shanty] belongs to a person named “Fella”. Sign 2 is a hand-painted picture with the words “Wat is ’n huis sonder ouers” [what is a home without parents]. The content of Sign 3 serves to comment

on a particular or general situation: “You don’t know my struggle but you know my trouble fuck!!!”

*Example 34: Signs on private homes in the KLM LL*



All other signs of this nature that do not appear on private property were classified as ‘graffiti’. It is usually easy to identify graffiti, although there are certain challenges when the graffiti seems to serve a functional purpose. The text in Sign 1 in Example 35 below, for instance, issues an instruction to “ry” [go], which is contrary to the original purpose of the sign (i.e. stop). On the other hand, the spray-painted text in Sign 2 (Example 35) repeats the original message, i.e. “stop”.



Example 35: Graffiti displayed on signs in the KLM LL



Once again, in cases like these the only definite way to get clarification about the intended function of the sign is by means of an interview. However, in certain cases such as in Example 35 above, it might not be possible to attain the required information because graffiti artists usually operate anonymously.

#### 4.3.6.3. Text

While the category ‘function of sign’ tries to gauge the purpose that the sign is intended to serve (connotative message), the category of ‘text’ codifies the actual content displayed on the sign (denotative message). Identifying the type of information on the sign allows for a more nuanced insight into the intended purpose of the sign. This categorisation is expounded in Table 4 below.

Category	Description
Affiliation	signage indicating support of a specific sports team or political party by the sign owner
Attraction	attached on or directing to (indicating) an attraction, such as a monument or a historical building
Institution name	displaying the name of the institution, building or structure
Institution information	displaying more information about the institution, such as opening hours, contact information or entrance

Community news	events or information relevant to the local community, including political rally (vs. posters to garner support, those are advertising and affiliation)
Direction	indicates the direction in which a reader should travel in order to reach a specific destination
Facility	whether freely available to the public or a commercial facility
Local direction	indicates the direction to a local destination (such as to the townships)
Offer(s)	any products, services or special offers offered by the institution or person (Lotto, ATM), including goods for sale
Ownership/decoration /commentary	all signage on private homes
Regulation	directing a reader to take or not to take a specific action
Street name	indicating the name of the specific street in which it is located
Suburb name	indicating the name of the suburb
Town name	indicating the name of the town
Uncertain	content cannot be determined, all instances of graffiti
Warning	indicating a specific danger, such as the presence of watchdogs, electrified fences, hazardous road conditions or lay-outs

*Table 4: Categories of 'text' for sign categorisation*

A particular interesting category is that of 'affiliation'. A number of homes displayed promotional stickers of political parties on their premises, but affiliation with sports teams were often hand-painted, such as in Example 36 below, which displays the name of one of South Africa's prominent soccer teams, Orlando Pirates.

Example 36: Affiliation displayed on private home in the KLM LL



In some cases, the function of a sign, and therefore the text displayed on it, is not clear. The sign in Example 37 below states the following, in Tswana, followed by Afrikaans:

These vegetables belong to the soup kitchen. If you are hungry, get food for free at the soup kitchen! Don't steal! Mind the traps.

The sign serves as a warning not to steal and to mind the traps, but it also provides more information about the institution (i.e. the soup kitchen). These include the reasons WHY prospective thieves should not help themselves to the vegetables – it belongs to a charity project and it is available free in processed form.

Example 37: Sign with unclear purpose in the KLM LL



In certain cases it is not easy to categorise the text of a sign without definite knowledge of the sign writer. The text in Example 38 below (“Welcome to Iraq”) contains two very different potential messages, depending on whether a local inhabitant or an immigrant wrote it.

*Example 38: Two different possible meanings in one text in the KLM LL*



These three variables – locality, agency and functionality – provide insight into the dynamics behind code choices. Each of these impacts differently on the norms for communicative interaction, as well as the measure and ways in which these norms are negotiated or complied with. These various processes are both interactive and competing, resulting in the patterns of code preference and code prominence. These patterns are explored as language visibility profiles during the analysis.

#### 4.4. Quantification and analysis

The potential for multilingual communication is created by the regulatory centre, while the implementational centre provides an evaluation of it. The realisation of this potential is evident in the implementational centre, where the results of linguistic choices made manifest as physical objects (LL signs). In an attempt to identify and explain “systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces” (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015: 1), the language visibility profiles (Du Plessis 2011) of the LL are explored by addressing three questions, namely:

2. What choices are made in the LL?
3. What are the dynamics behind choices in the LL?
4. What is the impact of choices in the LL?

First, the actual choices made in the LL of the KLM are described to address the first question. These choices are explored in terms of noticeable trends regarding choice of languages and

language combinations, in other words, language visibility profiles. The second question introduces an analytical dimension, in which the three variables of locality, agency and functionality are related to the language visibility profiles (LVPs) in order to explain variations in LVPs. The third question is two-part. First, the internal effect is determined, i.e. what constitutes effective communication in this centre; and whether multilingual competencies are enabled or disabled by it. Second, the outcomes of the investigation into the implementational centre are compared vis-à-vis the other two centres (i.e. the regulatory and the legitimising centres), concluding with an evaluation of the impact of the LPP space on multilingual written communication in the public space.

#### 4.5. Discussion of the methodology

The present study continues the interdisciplinary tradition of both the fields of LL and LPP. The LL is approached from an LPP perspective, and the theoretical framework is informed by conceptualisations from the disciplines of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. The methodology is an empirical data collection that is quantified, but analysed against qualitative parameters. This study is an example of how various fields and disciplines can interact and support each other.

##### 4.5.1. Shortcomings of the methodology

The issue of agency remains a problematic aspect in LL methodology. Differentiating between local and external agents allows a more nuanced approach and addresses the concern that national and international bottom-up commercial enterprises exert the same if not more influence in the LL than top-down agents. Including the regulatory instruments as a facet of agency permits for a more direct comparison between the communicative norms established by the regulatory centre and the actual choices made in the LL. However, given the vague directives provided by the regulatory instruments, determining the degree of congruency between policy and practice will only be of limited use. The categories of ‘ownership’ and ‘ownership details’ enable a thorough exploration of agency in the LL. However, the only way to determine ownership absolutely is by means of interviews, a method not suitable for such a large-scale study. The same critique applies for determining the functionality of signs with absolute certainty.

A particular challenge encountered by the present case study is the fact that certain types of signs are imitated even though they seem to serve no function (see Dowling 2010: 193-194 on signage losing its ‘place’). While the electricity warning signs on private homes in the FWTs

are functional (Example 30), homes in the Townships are not surrounded by electrified wires (Sign 1, Example 39). Almost all of the ‘beware of dog’ signs in the Townships are also practically irrelevant since the only dogs that pose any danger are tied up. In other cases, no dog is visible or the gate is open. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the FWTs, where the field workers had to be mindful of the dogs at all times (Sign 2, Example 39).

*Example 39: Warning signs performing different functions in the KLM LL*



While these warning signs are designed (and therefore classified) as warnings, they are used for another purpose, presumably ‘ownership/decoration/commentary’. This cannot be determined without conducting direct interviews with the owners, although the local guides confirmed that these signs are simply a convention copied from the FWTs. What this problem highlights, is that LL methodologies should consider differentiating between the purposes for which signs are developed and the purpose for which signs are used.

It is also clear from the data that without interviews, or at the very least thorough discourse analysis, important ethnographic information is not being considered. While no in-depth analysis is required to understand the message in Example 40 below (“Fuck.Fock.Fockol”), knowing whether utterances like these are rooted in individual experiences or are related to the wider socio-economic condition would contribute to a better understanding of the various purposes for which the LL is utilised.

*Example 40: No discourse analysis required to understand this sign in the KLM LL*



Certain anecdotal background is also lost. The word “whistle blower” in Example 41 below is accompanied by a number (“NQF6m”) and a date (“1985”), but it is impossible to tell whether the sign serves as a reminder of pride or as chastisement. Not only does information like this reveal what the LL is used for, but it also shows how the public space is shared and created via the LL.

*Example 41: Anecdotal information displayed on a sign in the KLM LL*



Another aspect where supplementary research is required relates to the impact of immigrants. Their presence has not yet affected statistically (population groups) or in terms of language spread. However, the number of immigrants that own businesses in Philippolis increased noticeably between when the LL data was collected (20-21 May 2008) and during the latter half of 2013, when the intervention by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment was conducted (Loth *et al.* 2013). One supplementary methodology, for instance, would be a discourse analysis of the ergonyms they have chosen for their institutions, i.e. which of the structuration principles are predominant (see Example 38).

Given the size of the database, the linguistic codification was very simple, only having distinguished between African languages, Afrikaans, English and combinations thereof. The categorisation did not consider blurred linguistic boundaries and some observations regarding translanguaging might have been overlooked. A more in-depth analysis of the use of African languages and their combinations and variations would also provide further information on how this linguistic code is actually employed in the LL. While the addition of code prominence as an analytic category is useful, the methodology for determining this requires refinement.

Despite the fair amount of triangulation employed in this study, the challenges listed above would suggest that interviews remain the only reliable way to acquire certain types of information. The guides, who were of sufficient assistance to allow the fieldworkers to gather and sort the data effectively, were only able to supply limited (and unverifiable) feedback. It would serve any researcher well to weigh the benefits of a large-scale empirical study carefully against the benefits of a more manageable study that allows for ethnographic triangulation.

#### 4.5.2. Contributions of this study

LL research has tended to focus either on specific residential areas (neighbourhoods) or on commercial or administrative ‘centres’, whereas this study comprised a complete survey. This combination allows for a comprehensive analysis of the various reasons for which the LL is used as well as the ways in which it is employed. In this way, the competition between LL actors to participate in the LL is revealed. The coding scheme was expanded by clearly and consistently typifying types of signs (class) and the purpose of signs (function). The resulting comprehensive coding scheme facilitates a more in-depth exploration of the influence of the three variables. As argued by Blackwood (2015), by combining qualitative methodologies to



interpret quantitative data, results can be cross-referenced and a more complete picture is created.

Another methodological contribution is the development of a more thorough method for determining code preference. While the visual hierarchy developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) is widely used, it does not take factors other than visual prominence into consideration. While the inclusion of amount of information has already been introduced by Kallen (2009), who includes translation with *language choice*, recognising the impact of names adds another dimension to the analysis. Differentiating between the signs as semantic entities and the inscriptions as lexical units clarifies this process. The method of determining code prominence is slightly complicated, but allows for a much more accurate reflection of the prevalence of codes in the LL. Analysing code prominence in combination with variables in order to create language visibility profiles also ensures that LL data is cross-referenced properly as well as analysed thoroughly and accurately.

Since the present coding scheme includes so many facets, it has the potential to allow for comparability with other studies. Some of these methodological refinements will be applicable to other studies; either quantitative studies or those with a combined qualitative/quantitative approach.

#### 4.5.3. Recommendations

The large scale of the present study has once again proven the need to combine technology with ethnographic methodologies. While the use of digital cameras allows for a more complete database (cf. *inter alia*, Backhaus 2007: 54-55; Gorter 2006b: 2), the manual categorisation is extremely time-consuming and prone to human error. By employing suitable software, a faster process of codification will allow more time for supplementary research, such as interviews, to supplement results. An advance in this direction is the development of the *Sociolinguistic Data Collection Mobile Laboratory* by the researchers at the Centre of Excellence for Research at the Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian Language among Foreigners and of Immigrant Languages in Italy, based at the University for Foreigners of Siena (Barni 2008; Barni & Bagna 2009, 2015). This tool, MapGeoLing, incorporates software for georeferencing objects as well as software for linguistic data processing. Their system includes a complete geodatabase, which allows the researcher to develop a different data collection model suited to various studies. This system can vastly contribute to the collection of a more complete,

triangulated dataset which is easily accessible and which excludes many of the difficulties and errors associated with manual recording and categorisation.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of LL research, a vast array of methodologies have been employed in this field. As such, there is no coherent 'LL methodology'. On the one hand, this shortcoming hampers comparability between studies, but on the other hand, it allows for a more detailed discovery of the dynamics in the LL. It is greatly problematic that useful research is being undertaken and masses of empirical data compiled, but that the methodological inconsistencies prevent comparability between studies. Even studies investigating the same topic do not follow the same system for data categorisation and analysis. Most notable is the lack of agreement on the definition of two basic considerations, namely the unit of analysis and the research site. Even more intricate is the lack of a defined categorisation system, which is the only way to allow access to data compiled by other researchers (other than availing raw data). Specifically the issue of agency should be resolved on a theoretical level, as it is a central factor in the creation of the LL. A uniform methodology is not a realistic expectation, but identifying at least some points of comparability will allow for comparison between studies, between different topics of investigation, as well as between similar studies undertaken in different parts of the world. This will enrich LL data and deepen understanding of the inherent functioning of the LL as well.

## CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION – DATA COLLECTED FROM THE IMPLEMENTATIONAL CENTRE

The observable patterns regarding language choice, in other words, language visibility profiles (LVPs), are the main products created by the implementational system. These LVPs are first described, exploring the deployment of the various linguistic codes in the LL. Given the interest of the present study specifically in the enactment of multilingual competencies, the appearance of more than one language on a sign is explored in depth, first via the level of multilingualism displayed in the LL and then the dominant type of multilingualism (overt or covert). This is followed by an illustration of the prevalence and prominence of the various codes. The impact of the three LL variables – locality, agency and functionality – on the LVPs is examined in order to explore the dynamics behind language choices. The section concludes with a discussion of the impact of these choices on written multilingual competency in the public space, both within the implementational centre and vis-à-vis the rest of the LPP space.

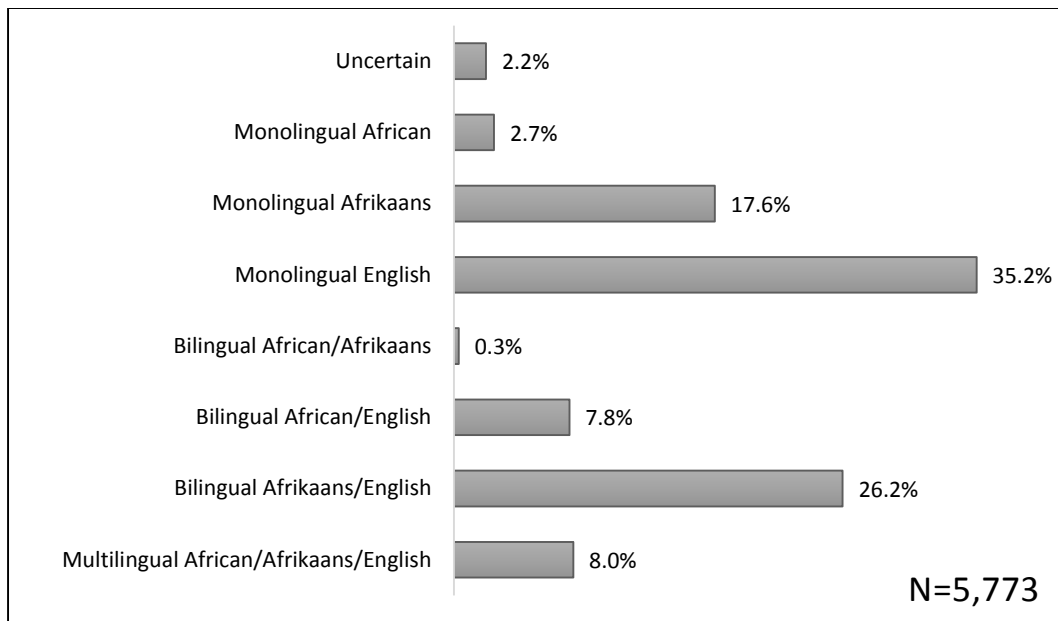
### 5.1. The choices made in the LL

This section explores the LVPs prevalent throughout the LL of the KLM. The distribution of code choices is first revealed, followed by an illustration of the level and type of multilingualism used on signs in the KLM. The mechanisms involved with CPIs are explained in detail, illustrating how the grading system is used to determine code prevalence and code preference.

#### 5.1.1. Code choices

The code choices that constitute the LL under investigation are summarised in Figure 13 below.

Figure 13: Distribution of code choices in the KLM LL



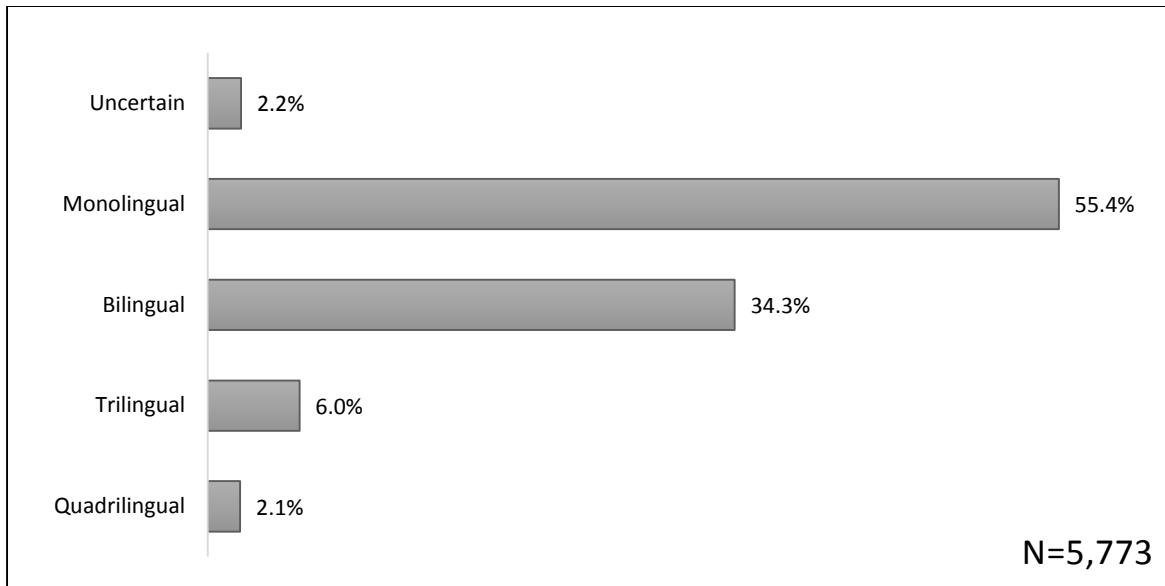
Monolingual signs constitute 55.4% of the LL. Of these, English features as the most dominant language, appearing as the sole code on 35.2% of signs. Monolingual Afrikaans signs comprise 17.6% of the LL and the remaining 2.7% of monolingual signs display only African languages. Bilingual code choices make up 34.3% of the LL. This portion of the LL is largely constituted by signs displaying both Afrikaans and English (26.2% of all signs). A far second is the African language/English combination at 7.7% of all signs. Signs displaying an African language together with Afrikaans are quite rare, constituting only 0.3% of the database. Trilingual and quadrilingual signs, i.e. those containing Afrikaans, English and one or two African languages constitute a mere 8% of all signs.

## 5.1.2. Multilingualism

### 5.1.2.1. Level of multilingualism

The level of multilingualism in the LL is reflected in Figure 14 below.

Figure 14: Level of multilingualism in the KLM LL

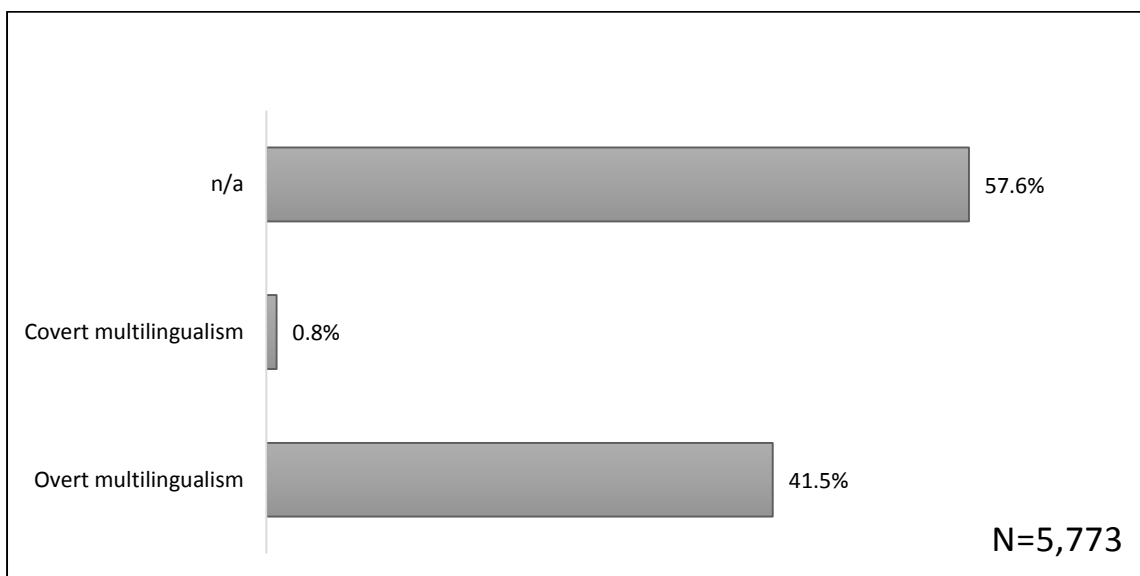


Monolingual signage constitutes more than half (55.4%) of the LL. Bilingual signs comprise a further 34.3% of the LL and are also the most dominant type of multilingual signs. Multilingual signs that display three or more languages make up a mere 8.1% of all signs.

#### 5.1.2.2. Type of multilingualism

Another aspect of multilingualism on public display is whether it is featured in an overt or a covert manner or not. As can be seen in Figure 15 below, most of the multilingual signs in the KLM LL are of the overt type.

Figure 15: Types of multilingualism in the KLM LL



Covert multilingualism is displayed on only 0.8% of all signs, thereby constituting a mere 2% of all signs classified as multilingual. Almost all the multilingual signs are overtly so, and constitute 41.5% of the total database. This means that 98% of the multilingual signs display more than one language in an obvious manner.

### 5.1.2.3. Code preference

Discussing all seven codes used in this LL against the three variables will result in an unmanageable amount of data variations. Therefore, the discussion of code preference is limited to the three linguistic codes, namely African, Afrikaans and English.

#### 5.1.2.3.1. Code prevalence

Code prevalence refers to the frequency of a code within the LL. Three factors are taken into consideration when determining prevalence: the number of signs that the code displayed on; the number of times that the code is used exclusively on a sign; and the grading of the code when used with other codes on the same sign. Table 5 below reflects the information for the three languages that are used in the KLM LL.

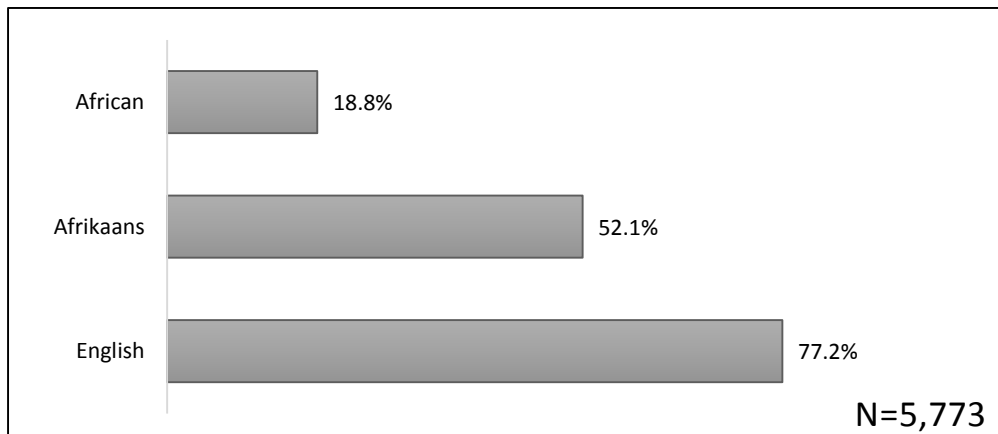
<b>Grading</b>		<b>Number of appearances</b>		
		<b>African language</b>	<b>Afrikaans</b>	<b>English</b>
Prevalence (number of signs code is displayed on)		1,088	3,010	4,457
Monolingual signs (number of signs only this code is displayed on)		156	1,015	2,033
Grading on multilingual signs (number of times code is displayed in this position)	Preferred code	46	544	965
	Equal/Neutral code	482	1,224	1,401
	Deferred code	529	333	452
(N=5,773)				

*Table 5: Code grading for the three languages used in the KLM LL*

English is used on the largest number of signs (4,457), followed by Afrikaans, which appears on about half the signs (3,010). African languages appear on less than a fifth of signs (1,088).

Given that some signs are multilingual, it was expected that there would be an overlap between the numbers of occurrences on signage between codes. The prevalence of the three linguistic codes is reflected in Figure 16 below.

*Figure 16: Prevalence of the three codes used in the KLM LL*

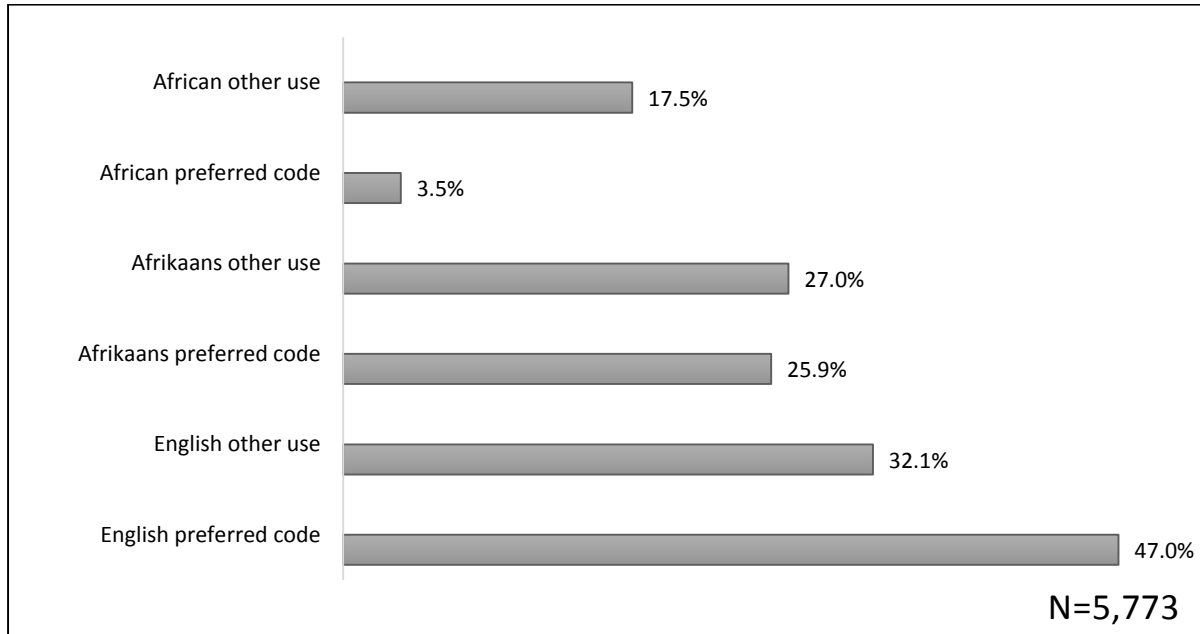


The prevalence of each of the three languages is clear – English appears on the majority of signs (77.2%), Afrikaans on over half (52.1%) and African languages on only 18.8% of signs. However, prevalence does not reveal the significance of a code’s use in the LL. To determine this, a code’s grading, as determined by the position of the lexical unit in which it is displayed, is considered. Refer to both Table 5 above and Figure 17 below to follow the discussion.

### 5.1.2.3.2. Code prominence

Figure 17 below reflects the prominence of the three linguistic codes in the LL of the KLM.

Figure 17: Prominence of the three codes used in the KLM LL



Of the 1,088 signs displaying African languages, only 156 of those signs are monolingual and African languages are the preferred code on a mere 46 signs. This means that African languages function as the most prominent code on just 3.5% of all signs. The African code is used as an equal, neutral or deferred code for the majority of its occurrences, appearing in this reverted position on 17.5% of all signs. The visibility of Afrikaans is significantly higher. Its monolingual occurrence (1,015) combined with its use as preferred code (544 occurrences) accords it prominent visibility on a quarter of the signage (25.9%). Afrikaans appears on a further third of the LL (27%) in a reverted position. The clearly dominant code is English, the only code that is used more often as a preferred code than a reverted one (on 32.1% of signs). Not only is it widely used as a monolingual code (2,033 instances), it is also displayed as the preferred code on 965 signs, resulting in prominence on almost half of the LL (47%).

English has a vastly dominant presence in this LL, while Afrikaans has a high degree of visibility and African languages barely anything at all. Not only does English appear on 77.2% of all signs, it mostly does so as the preferred code. Afrikaans is displayed on half the signs (52.1%), almost equally as a preferred and a supplementary code. In contrast, only 18.8% of signs display African languages, and then mostly in a deferred position. The majority of signs display monolingual texts (mostly English), which is in stark contrast to the high level of



spoken multilingualism in the KLM. Another prominent code is the bilingual Afrikaans/English combination. These results confirm that the LL does not mirror the linguistic repertoires of the speech community in which it is situated. Other factors, such as language attitudes, have a significant impact on actual language choices. Yet another element concerns the three LL variables, namely locality, agency and functionality.

## 5.2. The dynamics behind choices in the LL

The LVPs prevalent in localities are illustrated first, starting with code choices in towns and followed by those in locales. The impact of agency is elucidated, ending with the relation between the perceived function of a sign and the linguistic code assigned to it.

### 5.2.1. LVPs in localities (towns)

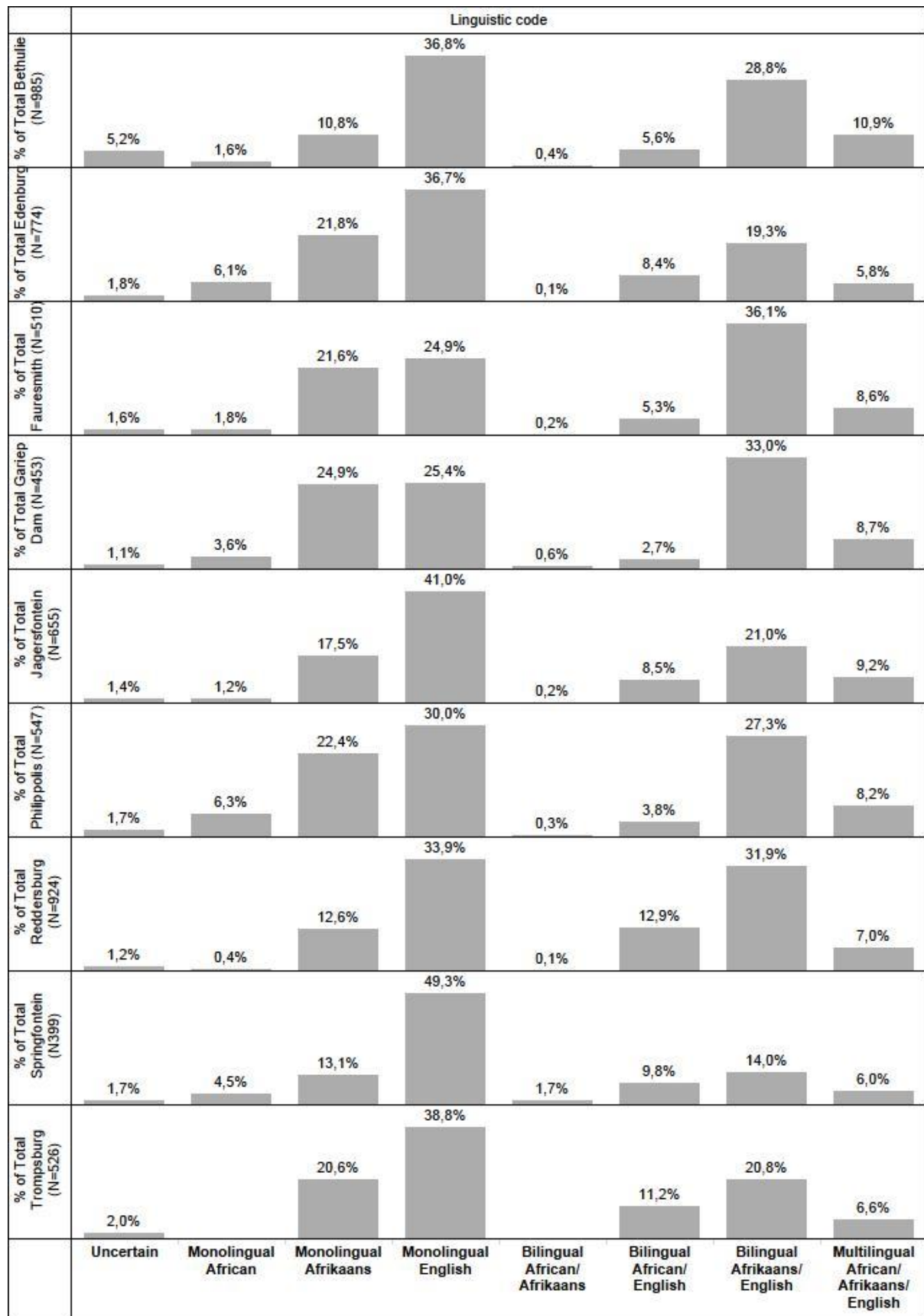
There are clear regional patterns with regard to the distribution of the most frequently spoken languages. This section explores the correlation between LL and speech community.

#### 5.2.1.1. Code choices in towns

Monolingual English is the most dominant code in the LL (35.2%), followed by bilingual Afrikaans/English (26.2%) and monolingual Afrikaans (17.6%). Eight per cent (8%) of the LL is comprised of signs displaying multilingual African/Afrikaans/English and almost as bilingual African/English (7.8%). The monolingual African code appears on 2.7% of signs. At 0.3% the bilingual African/Afrikaans code is barely visible. No code could be determined for the 2.2% of signs classified as uncertain. Figure 18 below displays the incidence of the various possible codes in each town.

Fauresmith, Gariep Dam and Philippolis all display a higher than average number of monolingual Afrikaans signs – 21.6% in Fauresmith, 24.9% in Gariep Dam and 22.4% in Philippolis. These three towns also host a lower than average number of monolingual English signs at 24.9% in Fauresmith, 25.4% in Gariep Dam and 30% in Philippolis. The first two towns also display a larger portion of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs (36.1% and 33% respectively), but the prevalence of this code in Philippolis is average (27.3%). However, Philippolis accommodates an above-average number of monolingual African signs (6.3%).

Figure 18: Code choices in the nine towns of the KLM LL



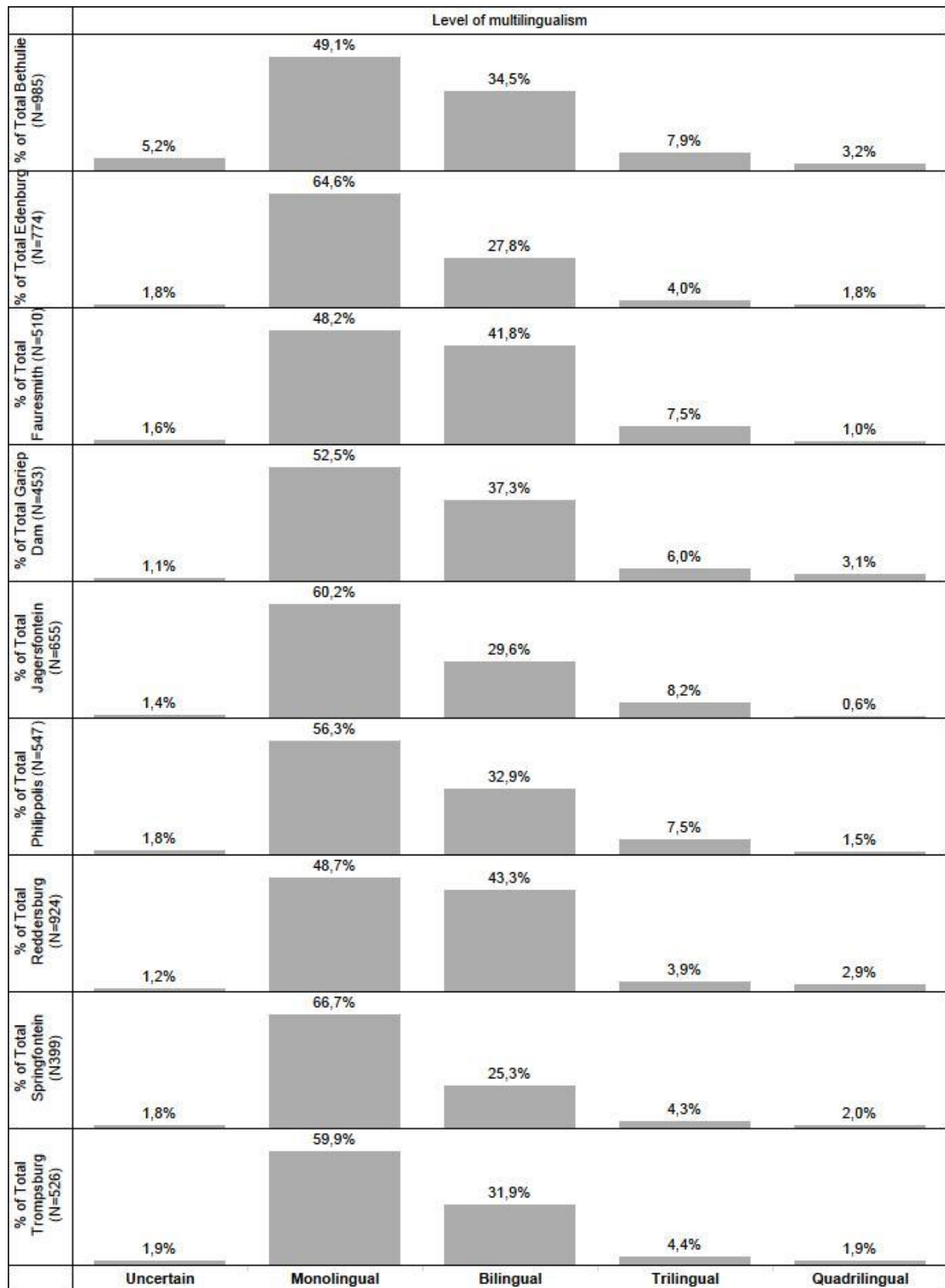
In Jagersfontein, monolingual English is displayed on a higher than average 41% of signs, while the rest of the code distribution is proportional, except for a slightly lower occurrence of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (21%). The LL of Reddersburg contains a lower than average 12.6% of the monolingual Afrikaans code, although it displays a higher incidence of bilingual African/English signs (12.9%), as well as of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs (31.9%). In Bethulie, monolingual Afrikaans is reduced to 10.8% of the town's LL while multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs are used at a slightly higher frequency (10.9%). Monolingual African signs occur more frequently than average in Edenburg (6.1%), although a lower than average 5.8% of signs display the multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code.

However, bilingual Afrikaans/English signs are also significantly less visible in this town's LL (19.3%). Springfontein exhibits the greatest variation in terms of code distribution. Almost half of its LL is comprised of monolingual English signs (49.3%), while it displays a much lower than average percentage of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs (14%). The LL in this town also displays less monolingual Afrikaans signs (13.1%). In addition to the high number of monolingual English signs, the LL of this town is accommodating towards African languages, displaying a slightly increased number of monolingual African signs (4.5%). It is also the town that has the highest incidence of bilingual African/Afrikaans signage (1.7%). Trompsburg is the only town that displays no monolingual African or bilingual African/Afrikaans signs. On the other hand, Trompsburg reflects an increased incidence of the bilingual African/English code at 11.2%.

#### 5.2.1.2. Level and type of multilingualism in towns

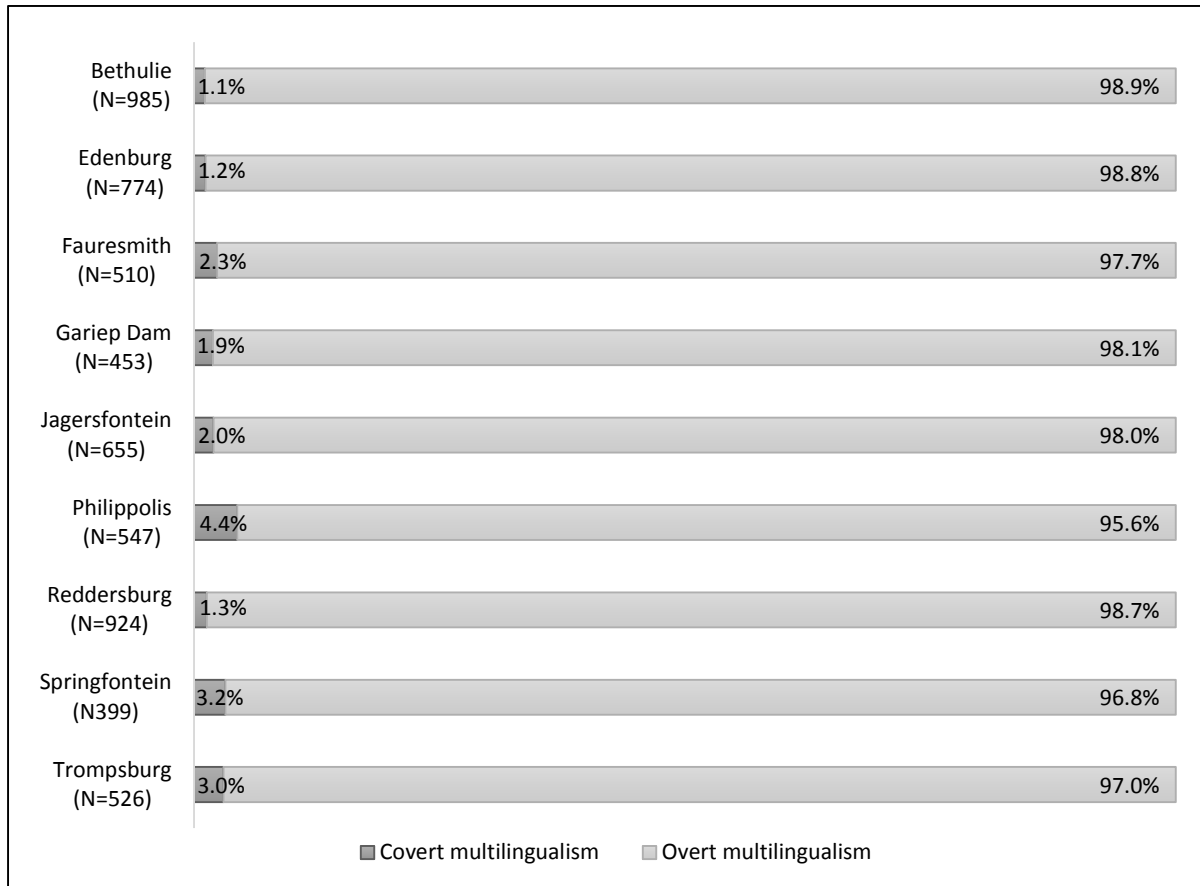
The LL of the KLM is largely monolingual (55%). Multilingual signs mostly display two languages (34.3%), while signs containing three or more languages comprise a mere 8.1% of the LL. However, the multilingual signs display this quality in an overt manner, thereby increasing the visibility of these codes. The level of multilingualism of the nine towns is reflected in Figure 19 below.

Figure 19: Level of multilingualism in the nine towns of the KLM LL



There is some variation with regard to the proportions of covert and overt multilingualism in the towns. While monolingual signs constitute the largest part of the LL, multilingualism is overtly displayed in the vast majority of its occurrences in all nine towns (see Figure 20 below).

*Figure 20: Type of multilingualism in the nine towns of the KLM LL*

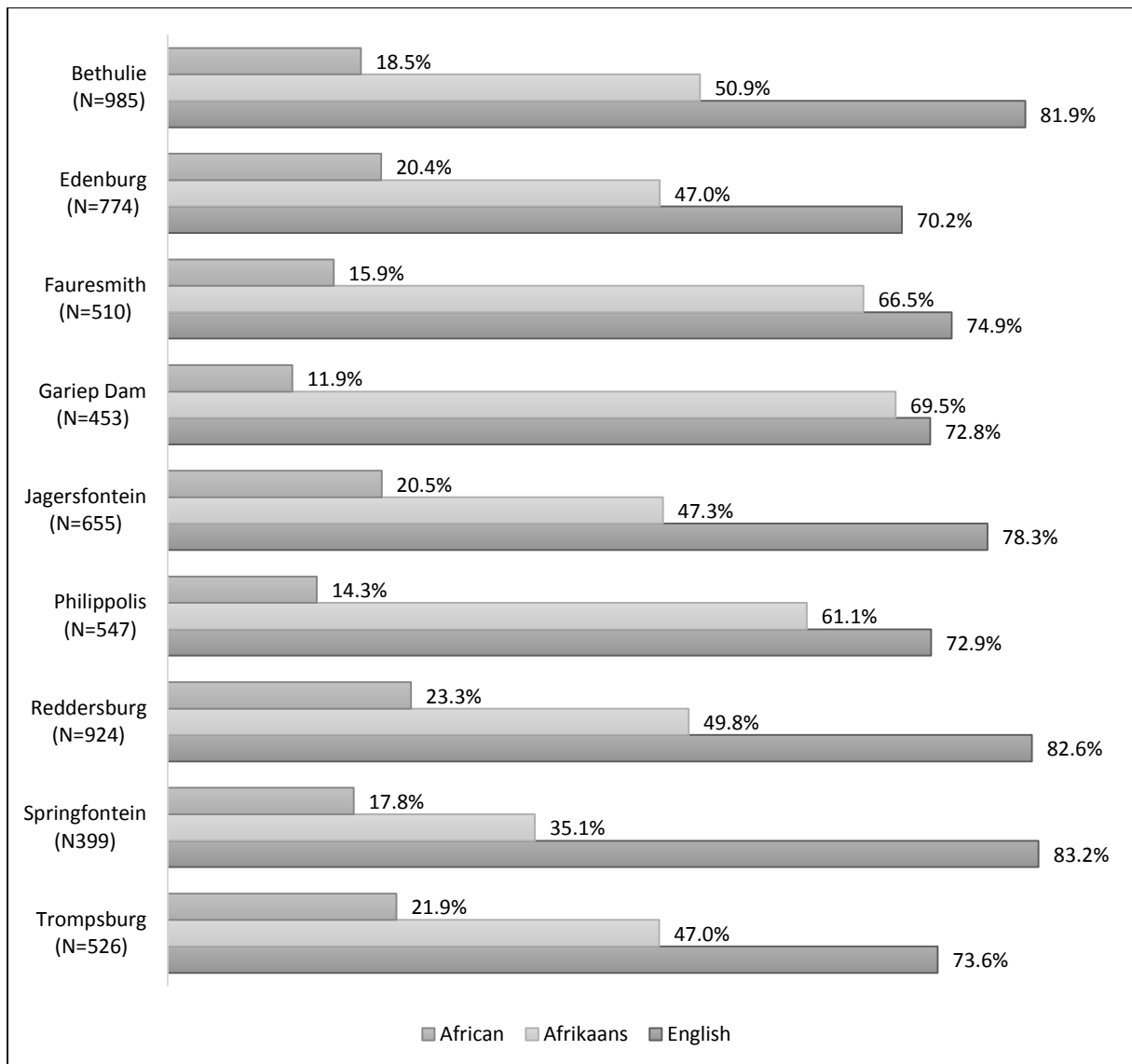


There appears to be no specific correlation between the distribution of multilingualism and towns as locality.

### 5.2.1.3. Code preference in towns

The prevalence of each of the three linguistic codes on the total signage of each town is reflected in Figure 21 below.

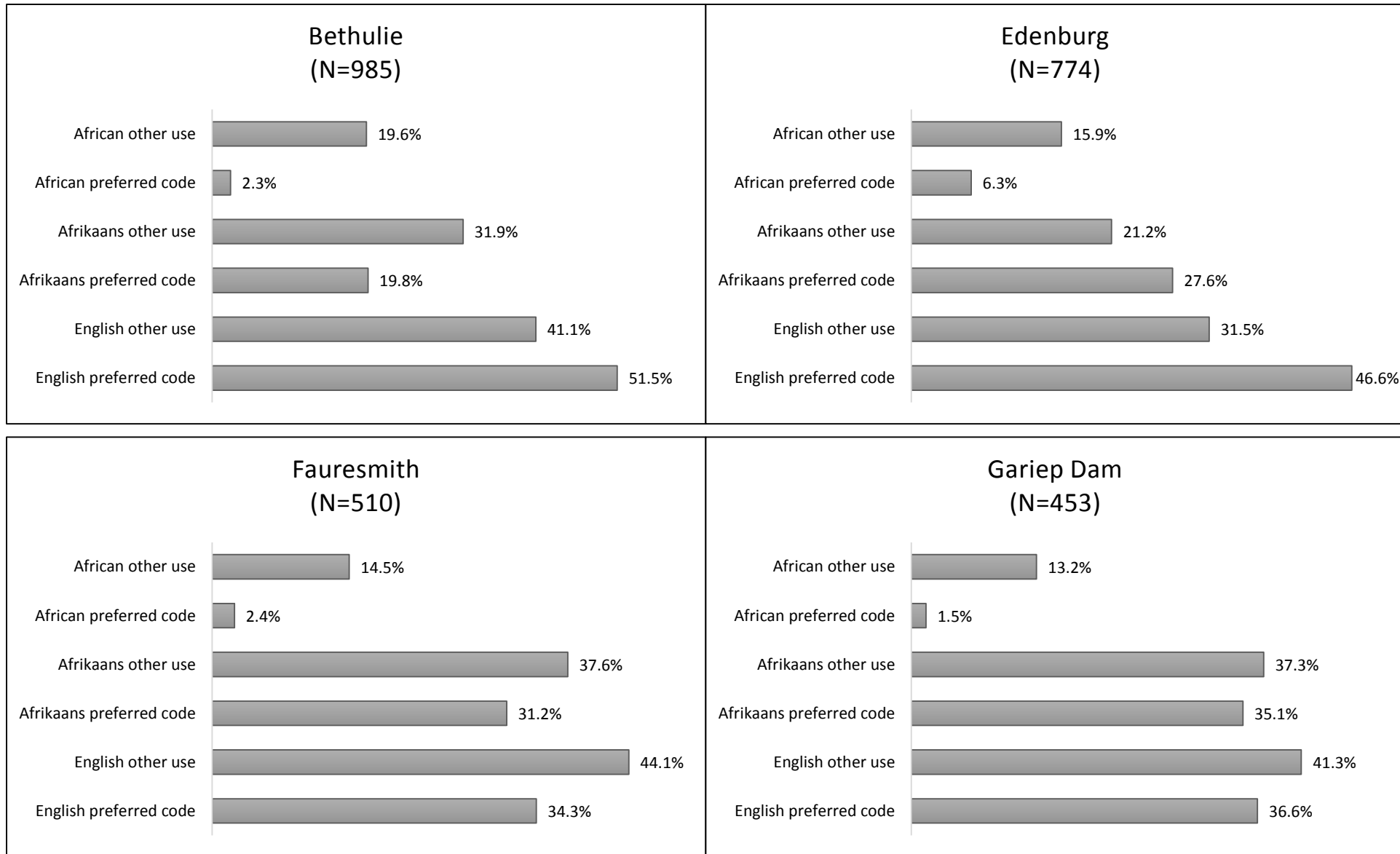
Figure 21: Code prevalence in the nine towns of the KLM LL

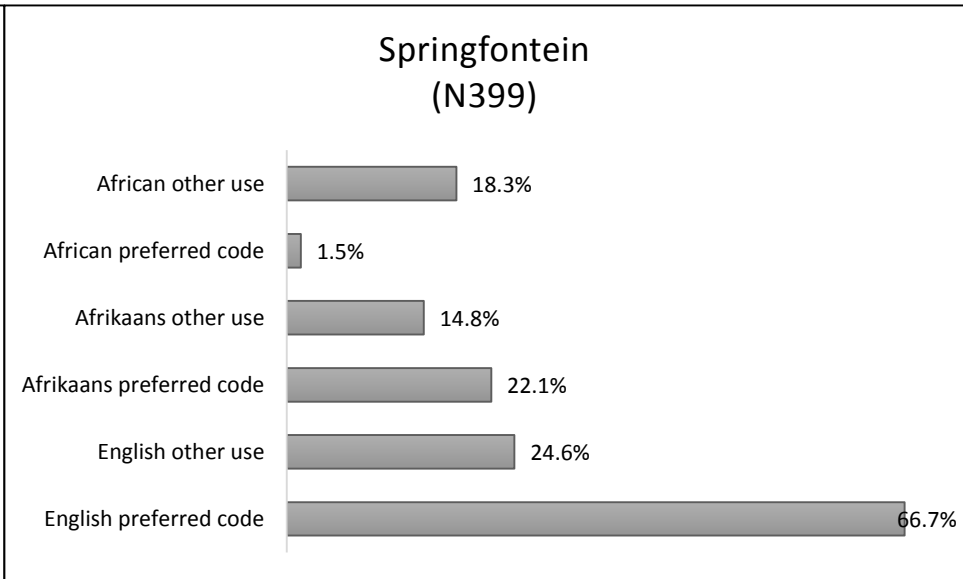
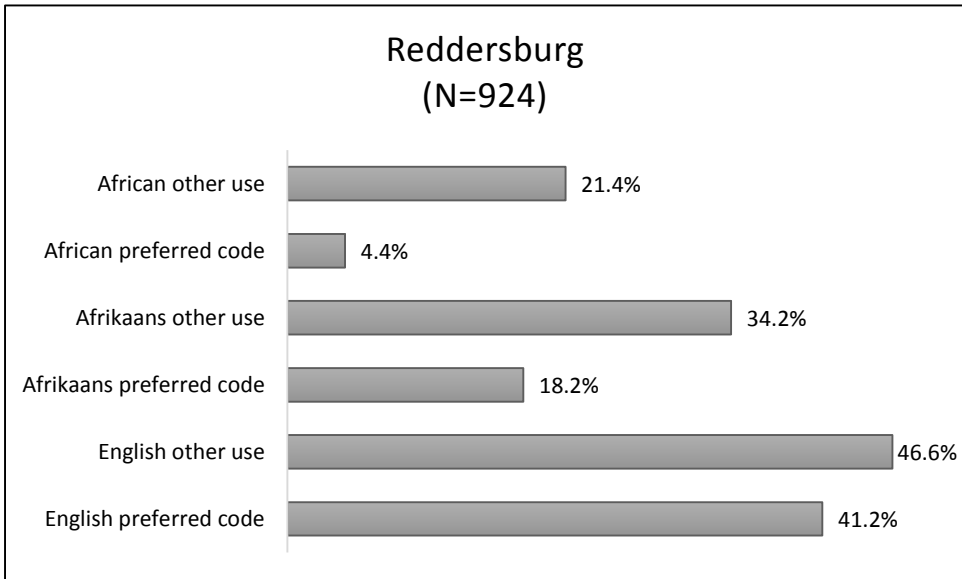
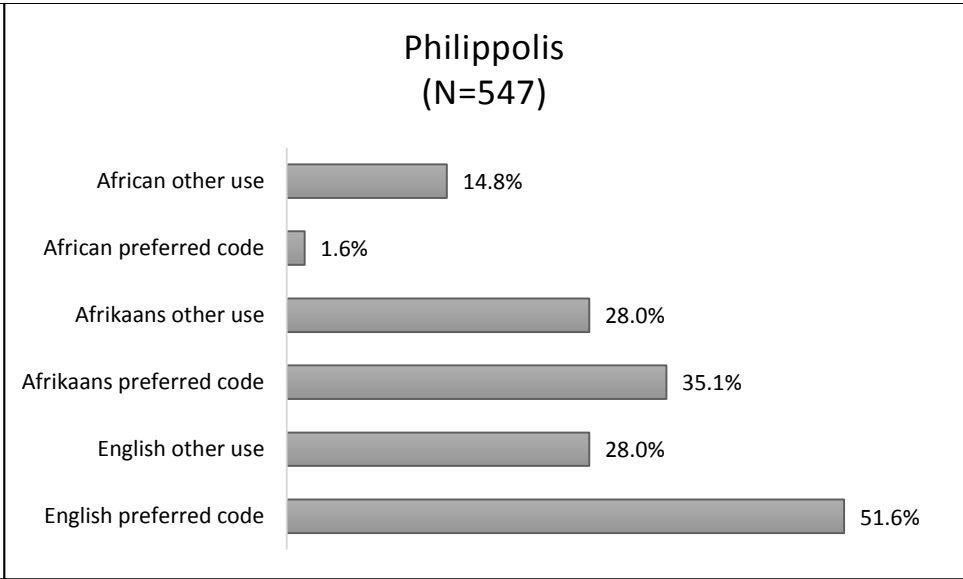
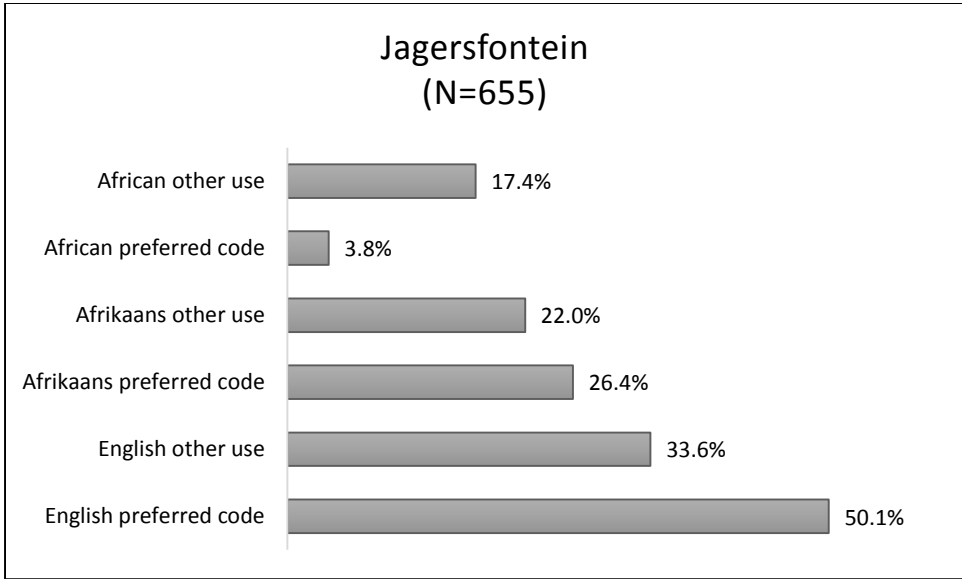


English is the dominant language in all nine towns, although its prevalence is influenced by the presence of the other two codes. Afrikaans is more prevalent in the LLs of Fauresmith (66.5%), Gariep Dam (69.5%) and Philippolis (61.1%), the three towns where this language is most frequently spoken. A slightly higher prevalence of the African code is observable in the LLs of Edenburg (20.4%), Jagersfontein (20.5%), Reddersburg (23.3%) and Trompsburg (21.9%). However, its prevalence is merely average in Bethulie (18.5%) and Springfontein (17.8%). These two towns have a higher than normal incidence of English on its signage; a possible explanation for the discrepancy – 81.9% in Bethulie and 83.2% in Springfontein.

The code prominence statistics for the nine towns are displayed in Figure 22 below.

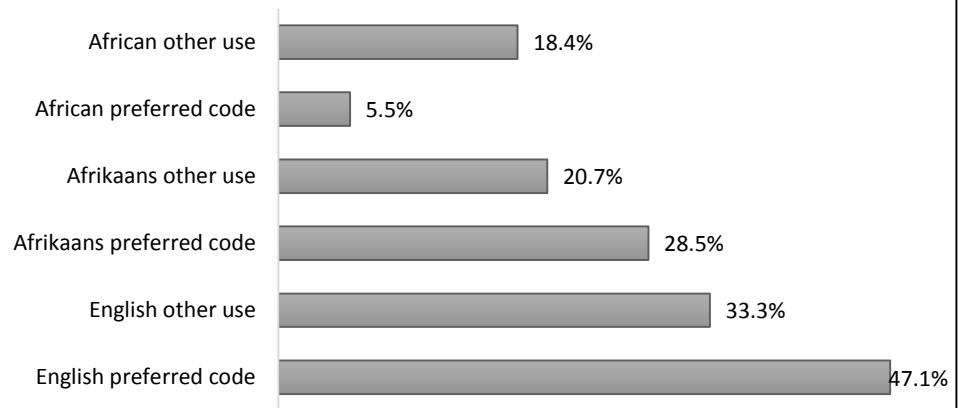
Figure 22: Code prominence in the nine towns of the KLM LL







Trompsburg  
(N=526)



The LL of Fauresmith displays Afrikaans in the preferred position on 31.2% of signs, while Gariep Dam and Philippolis both do so on 35.1% of its signage. Afrikaans is also employed in a supplementary position on a higher than average scale – 37.6% in Fauresmith and 37.3% in Gariep Dam, but only an average (compared to the total LL) 28% in Philippolis. In the former two towns, English is used more often in a deferred position than in a preferred one, while in Philippolis English is used as the preferred code on almost half the town's signage (51.6%). African languages are also used on less signs in Philippolis than is the ratio for the entire signage corpus.

In addition to Fauresmith and Gariep Dam, the only other town that employs English less frequently in a preferred position than in a deferred one is Reddersburg. African languages are more visible in Reddersburg. They are used as a preferred code on 4.4% of signs and in a reverted position on a higher than average 21.4% of signs. In this town, the use of Afrikaans in a reverted position is increased to 34.3% on signs. These fluctuations can be explained in terms of the high incidence of the bilingual code in this town. In Jagersfontein, the other town where African languages are spoken at a higher frequency than in the rest of the KLM, the display of the African code is average. It is used as the preferred code on 3.8% of signs and in a reverted position on 17.4% of signs.

English is used more frequently in Bethulie than in the other towns (as preferred code on 51.5% of signs and in a reverted position on 41.1%). This code is also disproportionately prevalent in Springfontein: although it is displayed in a reverted position on 24.6% of signs, English appears as a preferred code on 66.7% of signs in this town. Correspondingly, Afrikaans is less prevalent in that it is not only used less frequently in a preferred position (22.1%), but is also far less frequently used as a supplementary code (14.8%). In Bethulie, while Afrikaans is indeed used less frequently as a preferred code (19.8%), this language is used as a supplementary code on 31.9% of signs. In Edenburg, Afrikaans is slightly less visible than in the total LL, being used as a supplementary code on 21.2% of signs (normal preferred usage at 27.6%), but African languages are used as a preferred code on an elevated 6.3% of the town's signs (and on 15.9% as a supplementary code). The distribution of code prominence is normal in Trompsburg, except for a lower incidence of Afrikaans in the reverted position (20.7%) and an increased use of African languages as the preferred code (5.5%).

These results reflect a degree of correlation between the dominantly spoken languages and their written use in the public space. Each town also produces a separate LVP. The proportional distribution of code choices differs between towns. There is also a variation in the level of multilingualism, and while all towns display multilingual codes almost exclusively in an overt manner, a slight variation is observable in this regard as well. English is the dominant code (in terms of both prevalence and prominence) in all towns. However, towns show a higher prevalence of either African languages or Afrikaans in relation to each other. Towns also reflect different combinations of the use of African languages, Afrikaans and English in preferred and supplementary positions.

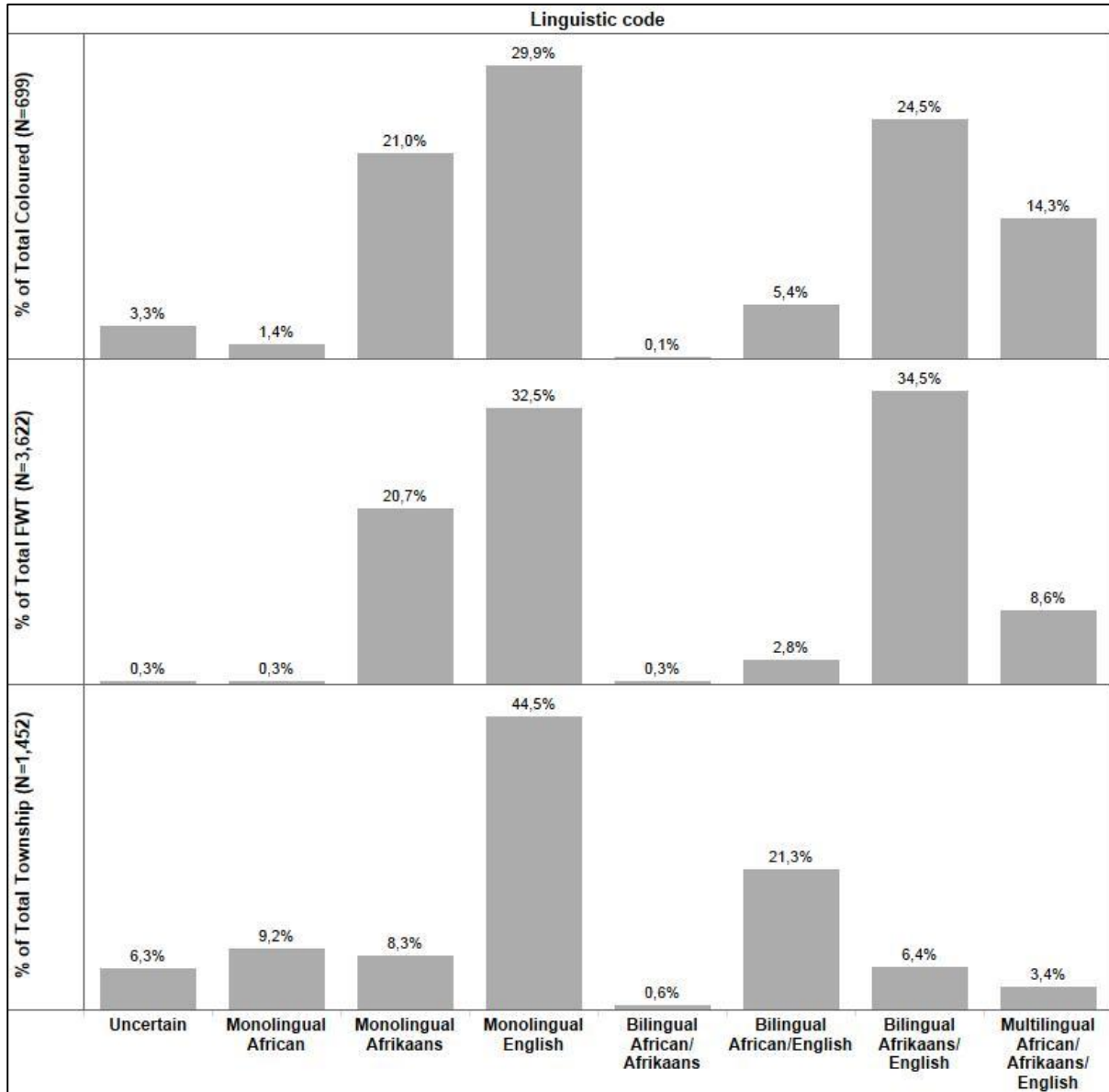
### 5.2.2. LVPs in localities (locales)

Localities are characterised by the concentration of sociolinguistic groups. While there are no clearly defined centres of activity (administrative, commercial or residential) in any of locales, a variation with regard to the level of activity types was observed. For instance, administrative activity as well as commercial enterprises by franchises are usually situated in the FWTs, while the Coloured Areas and the Townships host a high number of informal commercial activities.

### 5.2.2.1. Code choices in locales

The distribution of code choices across locales is illustrated in Figure 23 below.

Figure 23: Code choices in the three locales of the KLM LL



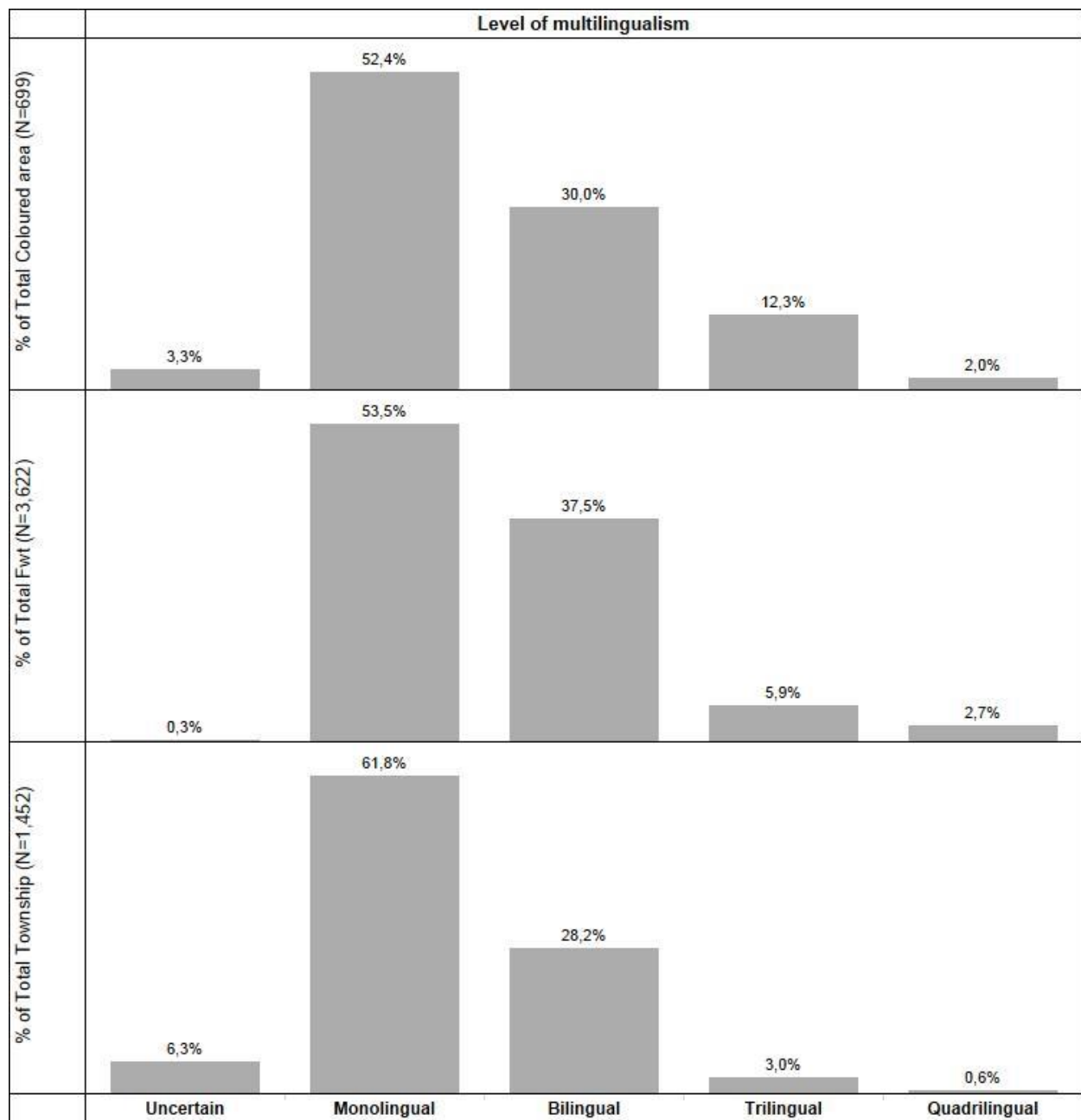
Monolingual English is the most popular code in the Coloured Areas (29.9%) and the Townships (44.5%). In the FWTs this code is only just surpassed by bilingual Afrikaans/English signs (34.5%, as opposed to the 32.5% of monolingual English signs). This code is also popular in the Coloured Areas (24.5%), but is rarely used in the Townships (6.4%). The second most prominent code, monolingual Afrikaans, is used on 21% of signs in the Coloured Areas and on 20.7% of FWT signs, but, contrastingly, on only 8.3% of signs in the Townships. However, monolingual African signs are used more often in the Townships (9.2%) than in the other two locales (1.4% in the Coloured Areas and 0.3% in the FWTs). This is also

the locale where the bilingual African/English code is employed frequently (21.3%), as opposed to the 5.4% usage in the Coloured Areas and only 2.8% in the FWTs. Multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs comprise 14.3% of signage in the Coloured Areas. In the FWTs, this code is used on 8.6% of signs and it occurs on only 3.4% of signs in the Townships.

#### 5.2.2.2. Level and type of multilingualism in locales

Figure 24 below reflects the level of multilingualism in the three locales.

Figure 24: Level of multilingualism in the three locales of the KLM LL

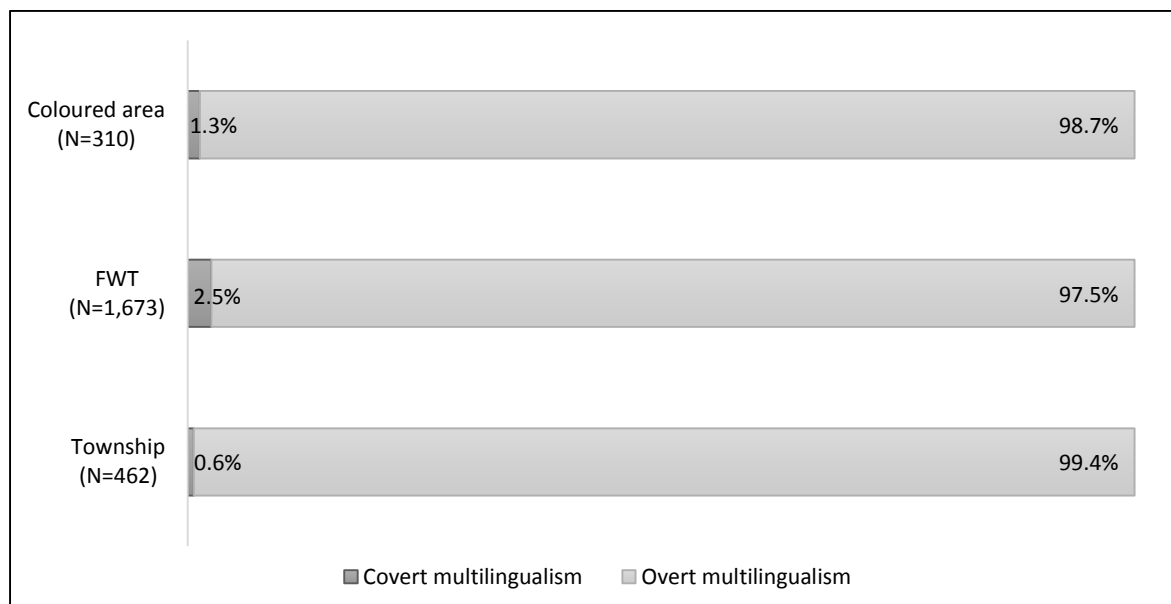


Monolingual signs constitute more than half the signage in all three locales. Signage in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs display only one language 52.4% and 53.5% of the time

respectively, and this figure is even higher in the Townships (61.8%). The distribution of levels of multilingualism is relatively consistent across locales. Bilingual signs constitute roughly a third of each locale – 28.2% in the Townships, 30% in the Coloured Areas and a slightly higher 37.5% in the FWTs. Trilingual and quadrilingual signage appear on only 3.6% of signs in the Townships, 14.3% of signs in the Coloured Areas and 8.6% in the FWTs.

The overwhelming majority of multilingual signs display more than one language in an overt manner (see Figure 25 below).

*Figure 25: Type of multilingualism in the three locales of the KLM LL*

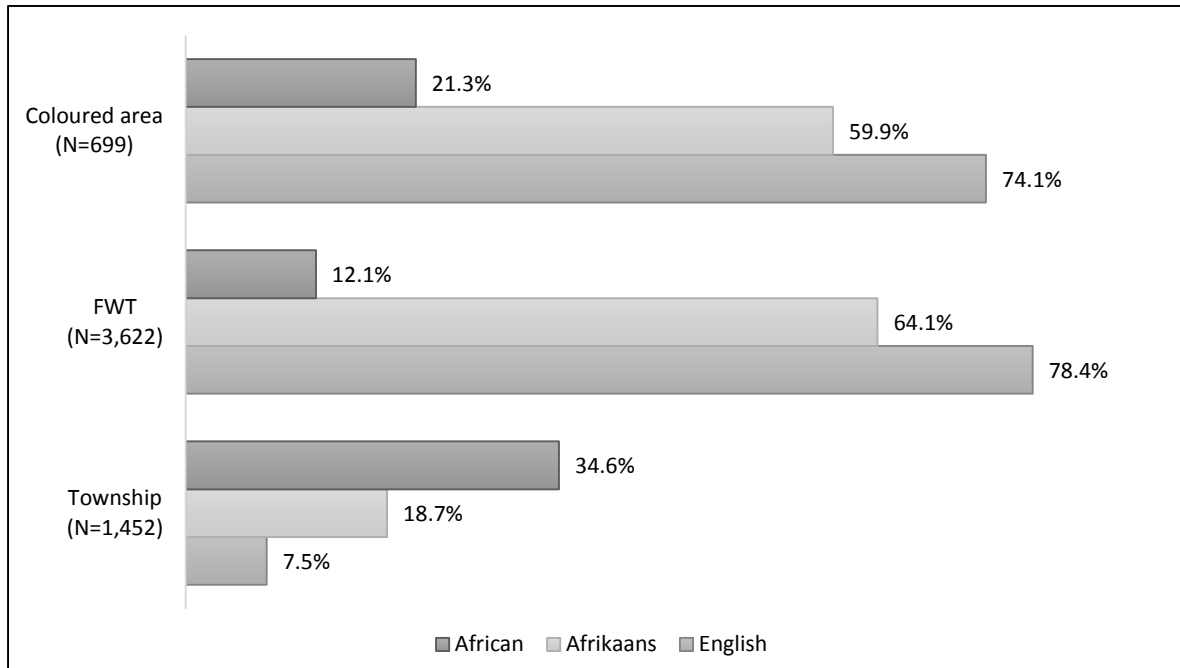


The incidence of covertly multilingual signs is slightly higher in the FWTs at 2.5%, compared to the 1.3% and 0.6% in the Coloured Areas and the Townships respectively.

### 5.2.2.3. Code preference in locales

The distribution of prevalent codes shows more variation in the locales than in the towns (Figure 26 below).

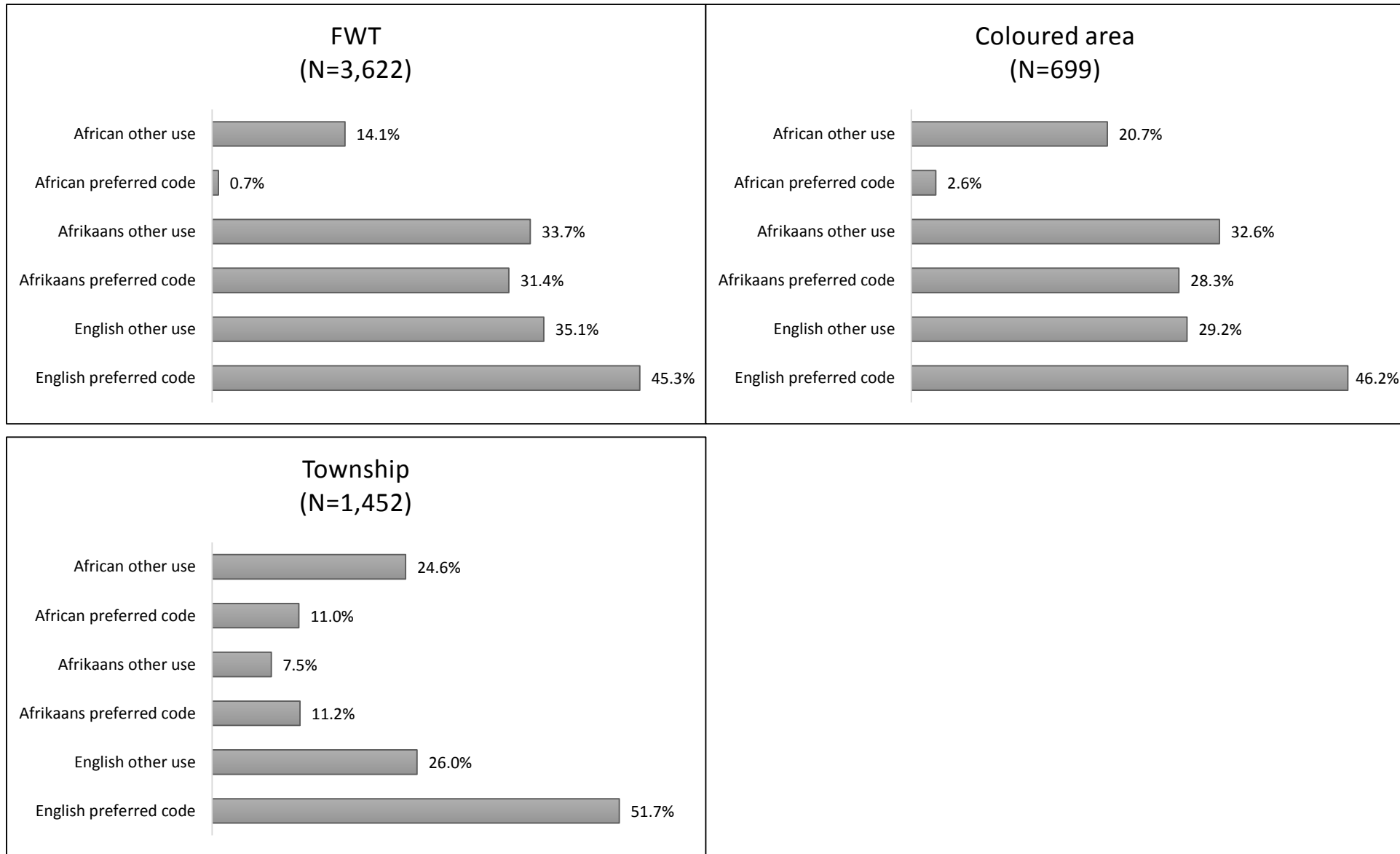
Figure 26: Language prevalence in the three locales of the KLM LL



Despite the proportionally high incidence of monolingual English signs in the Townships, this code is actually the least prevalent, appearing only on 7.5% of signs. This is in stark contrast to the Coloured Areas and the FWTs, where English appears on 74.1% and 78.4% of signs respectively. Afrikaans has a high level of visibility in these two locales, appearing on 59.9% of signs in the Coloured Areas and on an even higher 64.1% of FWT signs. It is used far less in the Townships (18.7%), but then this locale displays a much higher than average prevalence of the African code (34.6%). African languages are displayed on 21.3% of signs in the Coloured Areas and on 12.1% in the FWTs.

The prominence of the three codes in each locale is displayed in Figure 27 below.

Figure 27: Code prominence in the three locales of the KLM LL





In line with the overall prevalence of Afrikaans in the LL, it is used in a normal ratio in the Coloured Areas (28.3%), but also in a reverted position in a higher than average 32.6%. Afrikaans is even more prominent in the FWTs, being used as the preferred code on 31.4% of signs in this locale and as a supplementary code on 33.7%. This code has a very low prominence in the Townships (used on 11.2% of signs in the preferred position and on 7.5% as a reverted code), but the African code is used in a greater proportion in this locale. African languages are used as a preferred code on 11% of Township signs and as a reverted code on a further 24.6%. It is used much less frequently in the Coloured Areas, where it appears as the preferred code on 2.6% of signs and in a supplementary position on 20.7%. The African code is negated in the FWTs, where it is barely used as a preferred code (0.7%) and is displayed as a supplementary code on only 14.1% of signs. In the Townships, the prominence of English is aligned with the overall ratio, i.e. its prevalence is lower than that of the other codes. It appears as the preferred code on more than half of the Township signs (51.7%), although it is less frequently used in a reverted position (26%); the result of the low incidence of bilingual and multilingual signs in the Townships.

In this section, each locale is proven to produce a distinct LVP. However, some correlation was observed between the LLs of locales. For example, both the Coloured Areas and the FWTs host a higher number of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs and a lower incidence of monolingualism compared to the Townships. While monolingual English signs are used more often in the Townships, this language is a more prevalent code in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs. Afrikaans is highly visible in these two locales, while this code is negated in the Townships. The Coloured Areas and the Townships both contain more signs with monolingual English texts than the FWTs; and African languages are more visible in these two locales than in the FWTs. There appears to be very little similarity between the LLs of the FWTs and the Townships.

### 5.2.3. LVPs created by agency

Agency explores who makes language decisions within the LL, or rather, with whom the sign (and therefore also the code choice) is associated. Variation within agency is two-fold, referring to the domain and context of agency, as well as sign ownership. Bottom-up and top-down domains reflect whether a sign originates from a private person or institution, or from a government institution. The majority of signage originates in the private sphere (70.7%), with only 29.3% of signs being initiated from the top-down domain. The decision maker can also

be situated either locally or outside the KLM, thereby exerting either an internal or an external influence on the KLM. Internal agents are responsible for most of the LL choices (84.1%), while external agents contribute only 15.9% of the signs.

By far the most productive agent in the LL of the KLM constitutes private actors that are locally situated (64.5%). This agent is further subdivided into a range of owners who each contribute varying amounts of signage – commercial interests (32%), other initiatives (4.2%), homeowners (24.4%) and graffiti artists (4%). A far second contributor is the internal top-down agent, i.e. the town's municipal structure, making 19.5% of language decisions. External top-down actors are not very active in this particular LL, contributing only 9.8% of signs. From within this agent, semi-privatised government agents contribute 5.6% to the total LL, while national and provincial government agents contribute 1.1% and 3.1% respectively. The remaining 6.2% of the LL is decided by private external agents, i.e. franchises.

### 5.2.3.1. Code choices by agency

Figure 28: Code choices by agency in the KLM LL

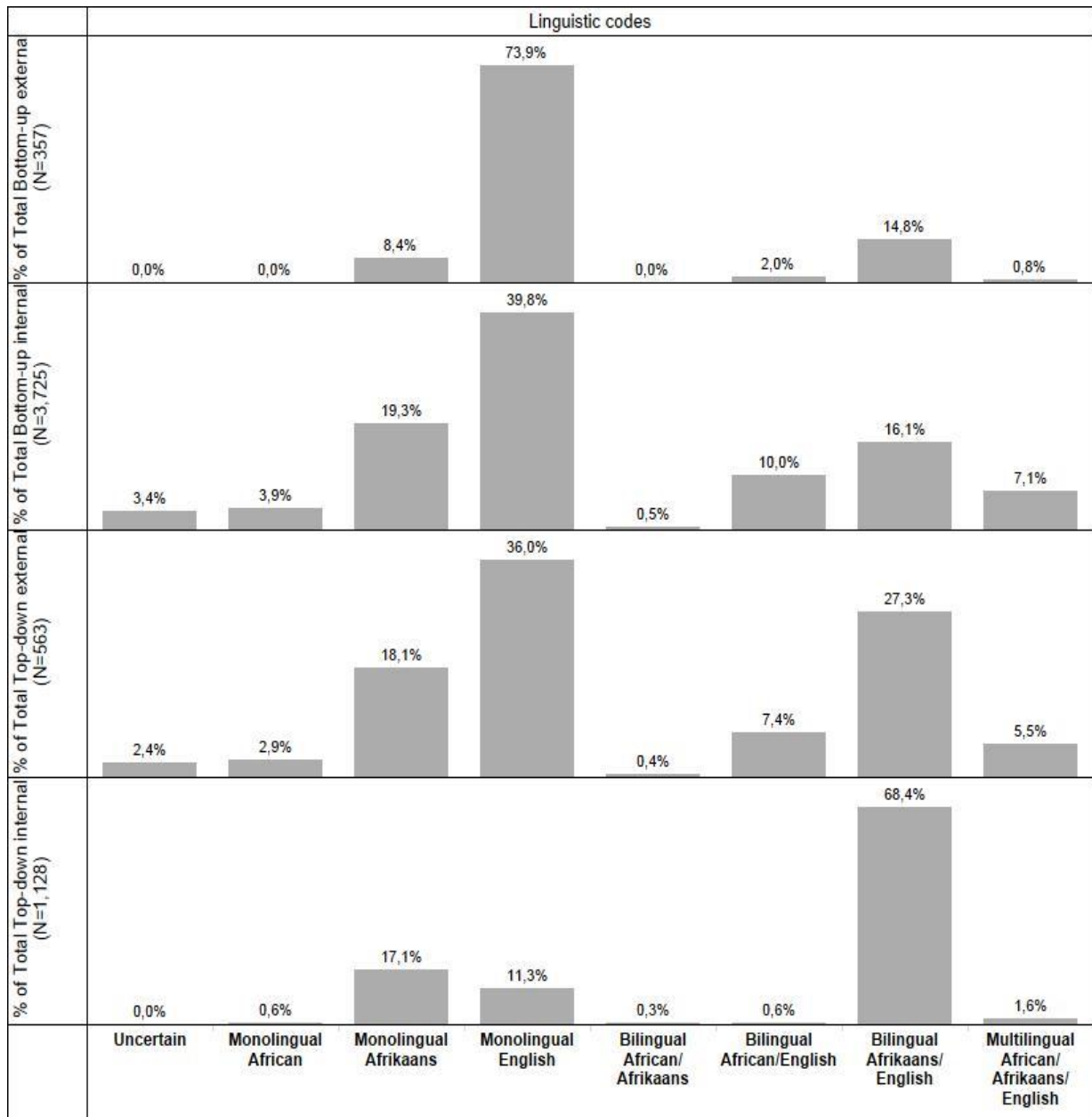


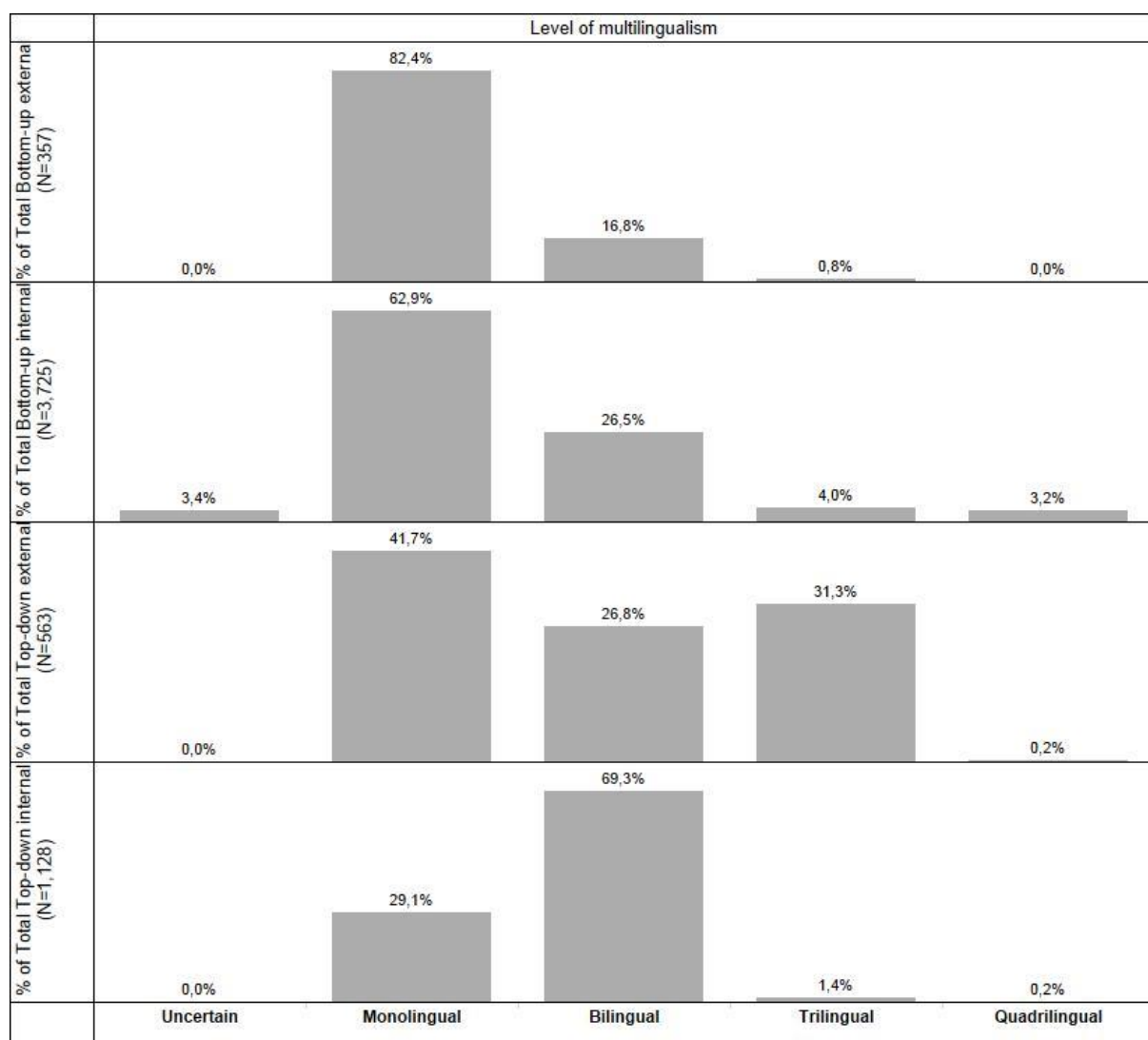
Figure 28 below reflects the code choices of the various LL agents. For the most part, bottom-up external agents prefer the monolingual English code (73.9%). This agent chooses bilingual Afrikaans/English 14.8% of the time, and monolingual Afrikaans 8.4% of the time. Bottom-up agents that are situated locally also assign a large portion of signs to the monolingual English code (39.8%), but choose a wider variety of other codes. The two other codes frequently chosen by internal, bottom-up agents are bilingual Afrikaans/English (16.1%) and monolingual Afrikaans (19.3%). There is a noticeable inclination towards bilingual African/English signs (10%), as well as multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs (7.1%). Monolingual African

signs constitute 3.9% of this agent’s signage. Top-down external agents follow a similar pattern, choosing their codes in almost the same proportions. The internal top-down agent deviates from the established pattern. It chooses monolingual English for only 11.3% of its signage, instead opting for the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (68.4%) as well as monolingual Afrikaans (17.1%).

### 5.2.3.2. Level and type of multilingualism created by agency

The level of multilingualism resulting from the code choices by the various agents is reflected in Figure 29 below.

Figure 29: Level of multilingualism choices by agency in the KLM LL

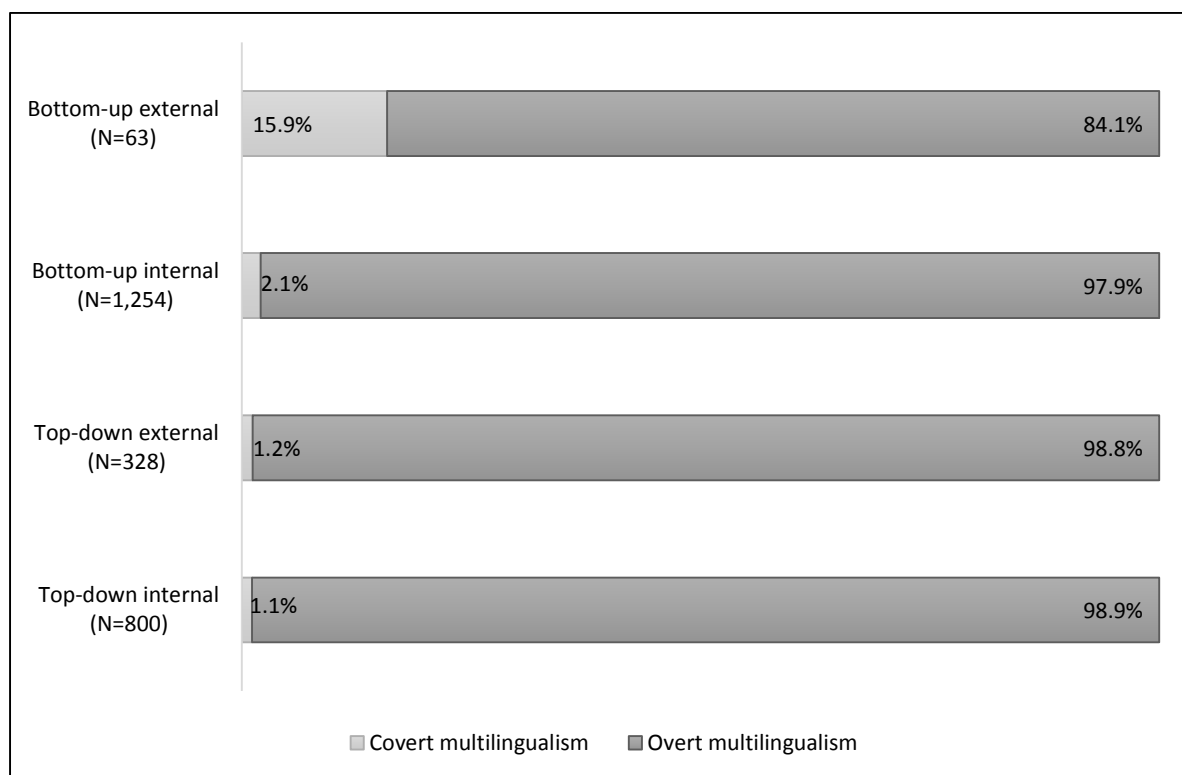


The results from the code choices are clearly reflected in the level of multilingualism. Franchises mostly employ monolingual signs (82.4%) and some bilingual signs (16.8%). Internal bottom-up agents contribute more multilingual signs, choosing less monolingual signs

(62.9%), but instead opting for bilingual signage (26.5%). This agent also employs a noticeable number of trilingual and quadrilingual signs (7.2%). The high incidence of trilingual top-down signage created by top-down agents impacts on the ratio of the other codes – monolingual signs are chosen 41.7% of the time and bilingual signs 26.8% of the time by this agent. A high level of bilingualism is produced by the internal top-down agent (69.3%), while monolingual signs are still considered favourably (29.1%).

The type of multilingualism employed by agents is illustrated in Figure 30 below.

*Figure 30: Type of multilingualism by agency in the KLM LL*

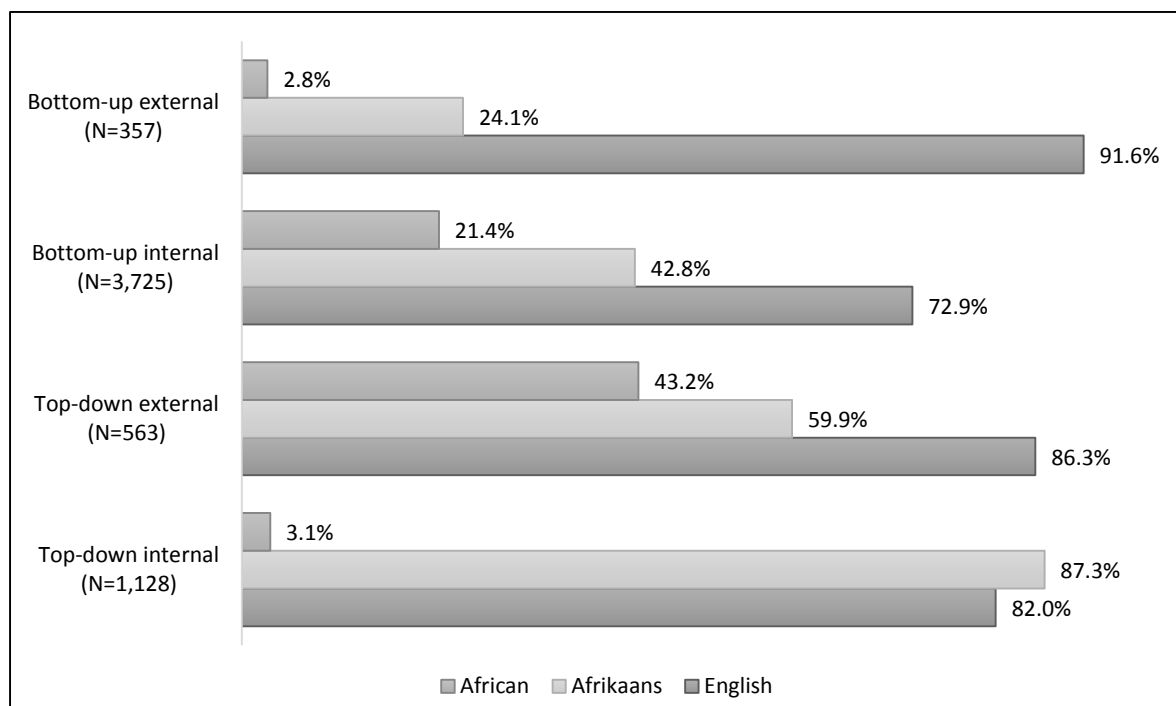


Covert multilingualism is rarely used in the KLM LL. Most agents either display multiple codes on a single surface or repeat all the codes should there be more than one surface of inscription. The external bottom-up agent is the only one that significantly deviates from this convention, opting for covert multilingualism on 15.9% of its multilingual signage.

### 5.2.3.3. Code preference by agency

Figure 31 below displays the prevalence of the three linguistic codes as chosen by the various LL agents.

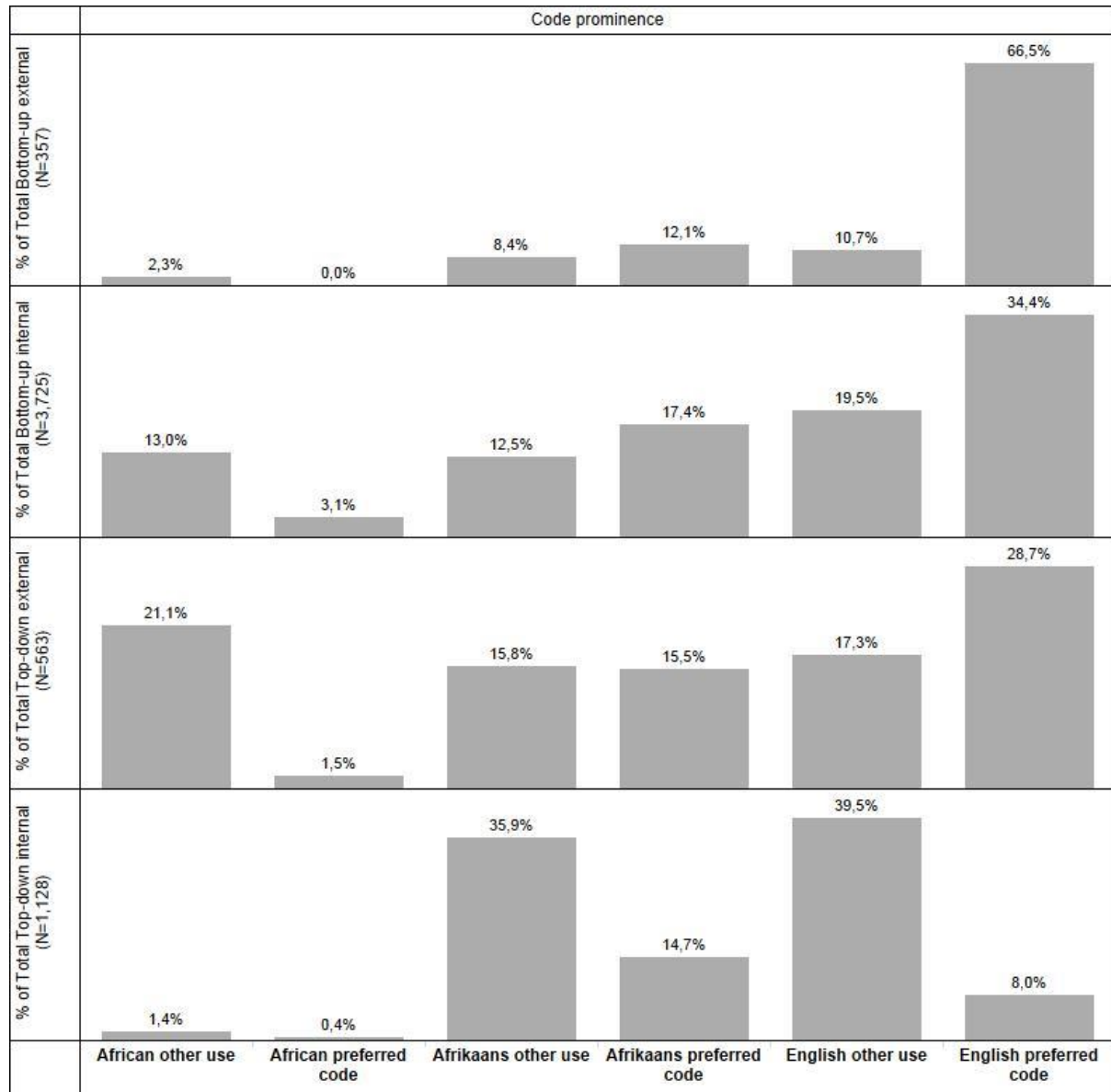
Figure 31: Code prevalence by agency in the KLM LL



Internal bottom-up agents display English less often on signage than the other agents (72.9%). While Afrikaans is a popular choice, appearing on 42.8% of signs, African languages are also chosen with relative regularity (21.4%). Signage by external bottom-up agents use African languages and Afrikaans very little, displaying it on only 2.8% and 24.1% of signs respectively, mostly opting for English instead, which appears on 91.6% of its signs. Top-down internal agents also reflect a higher than average preference for English (appearing on 82% of its signs), but the large number of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs increases the appearance of Afrikaans to 87.3% of its signs. However, the use of the African code is reduced to appear on only 3.1% of this agent's signage. The use of African languages by external top-down agents is boosted to appear on 43.2% of its signs. Afrikaans appears on 59.9% of this agent's signs, while the prevalence of English is increased, appearing on 86.3% of its signs.

The prominence of the three linguistic codes, as influenced by the choices of LL actors, is replicated in Figure 32 below.

Figure 32: Code prominence by agency in the KLM LL



The only agent that did not choose English in the preferred position is the internal top-down agent. Instead, English is relegated on 39.5% of signs by this agent, while it also uses Afrikaans as a supplementary code more often than other agents (35.9%). The other three agents use Afrikaans almost equally as a preferred and deferred code. African language is rarely the preferred code (on 3.1% of internal bottom-up signs and 1.5% of external top-down signs), although it functions in a supplementary capacity on 21.1% of signs for the external top-down agent and on 13% of internal bottom-up signs.

This section's discussion shows that LL actors have divergent preferences regarding the display of written languages in the public space. English remains a prominent choice amongst all agents, although there is a difference in the variety of linguistic codes employed by each. Agents also prefer different codes, which influences the level of multilingualism exercised by each in the LL, as well as the prevalence and prominence of African languages, Afrikaans and English. As a result, a separate LVP can be associated with each agent.

#### 5.2.4. LVPs resulting from functionality of signs

This section focuses on the LVPs that are created as a result of the purposes of signs, as divided into class of sign, function of sign and text on sign. The results from the analysis of class of sign proved to be simply a broader replication of the category function of sign. Signs on buildings, structures and premises make up the majority of signage (63.7%). The rest is divided between road signs (18.5%), and posters and other general signs (13.1%). Very few billboard type signs are erected in the KLM – outdoor advertising signage comprises a mere 4.7% of the LL.

It is also not practical to discuss the LVPs of text on signs here, given the number of categories for the denotative message on signs. Furthermore, this study does not present a discourse analysis but is instead concerned with the LVPs resulting from the assigned functions of signs. As such, the analysis in this section focuses on the perceived function of signs and the resulting LVPs.

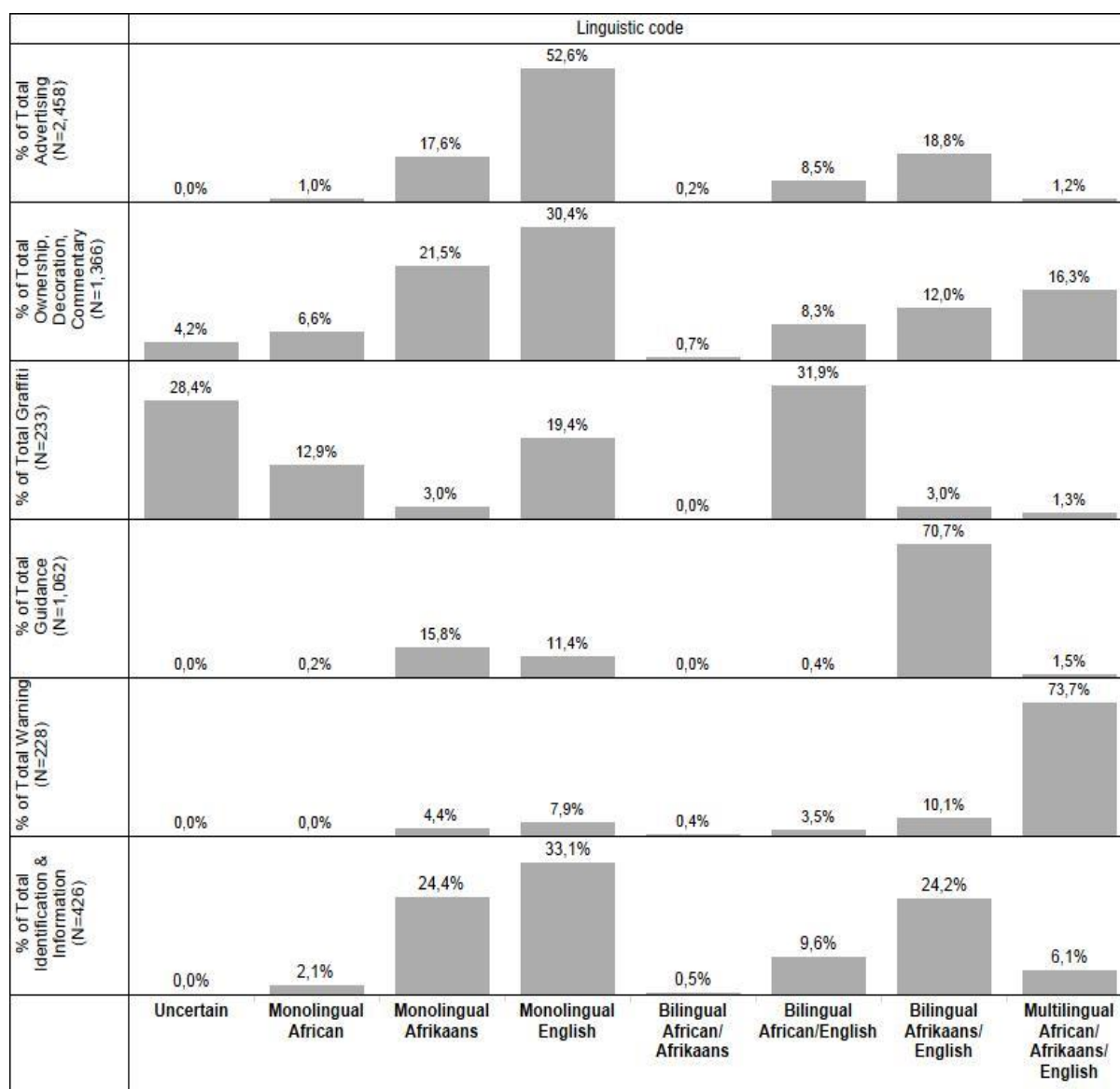
With regard to function of sign, the LL seems to be used most often for symbolic purposes – to persuade via advertising (42.6%) or to claim the space by erecting signage on private homes (23.7%), or by creating graffiti (4%). For practical purposes, signage is also erected to provide guidance (18.4%) or issue warnings (3.9%). In between these two categories are signs that serve to identify and inform about official institutions (7.4%). These signs are often subjected to official regulations, although there might be variations in how these instructions are executed.



### 5.2.4.1. Code choice and sign functionality

The linguistic codes assigned to signs that fulfil various functions in the LL is displayed in Figure 33 below.

Figure 33: Linguistic codes and sign functionality in the KLM LL



Monolingual English is the main code used for advertising in the LL (52.6%), followed by bilingual Afrikaans/English (18.8%) and monolingual Afrikaans (17.6%). The prevalence of ergonyms consisting of a proper noun in an African language and an English descriptor boosts the usage of the bilingual African/English code for advertising to 8.5%. The content of graffiti in this LL is often indecipherable, but it is possible to categorise most of the linguistic codes used for this purpose. The bilingual African/English code is used most often to mark space illegally (31.9%), followed by monolingual English signs (19.4%) and the monolingual African

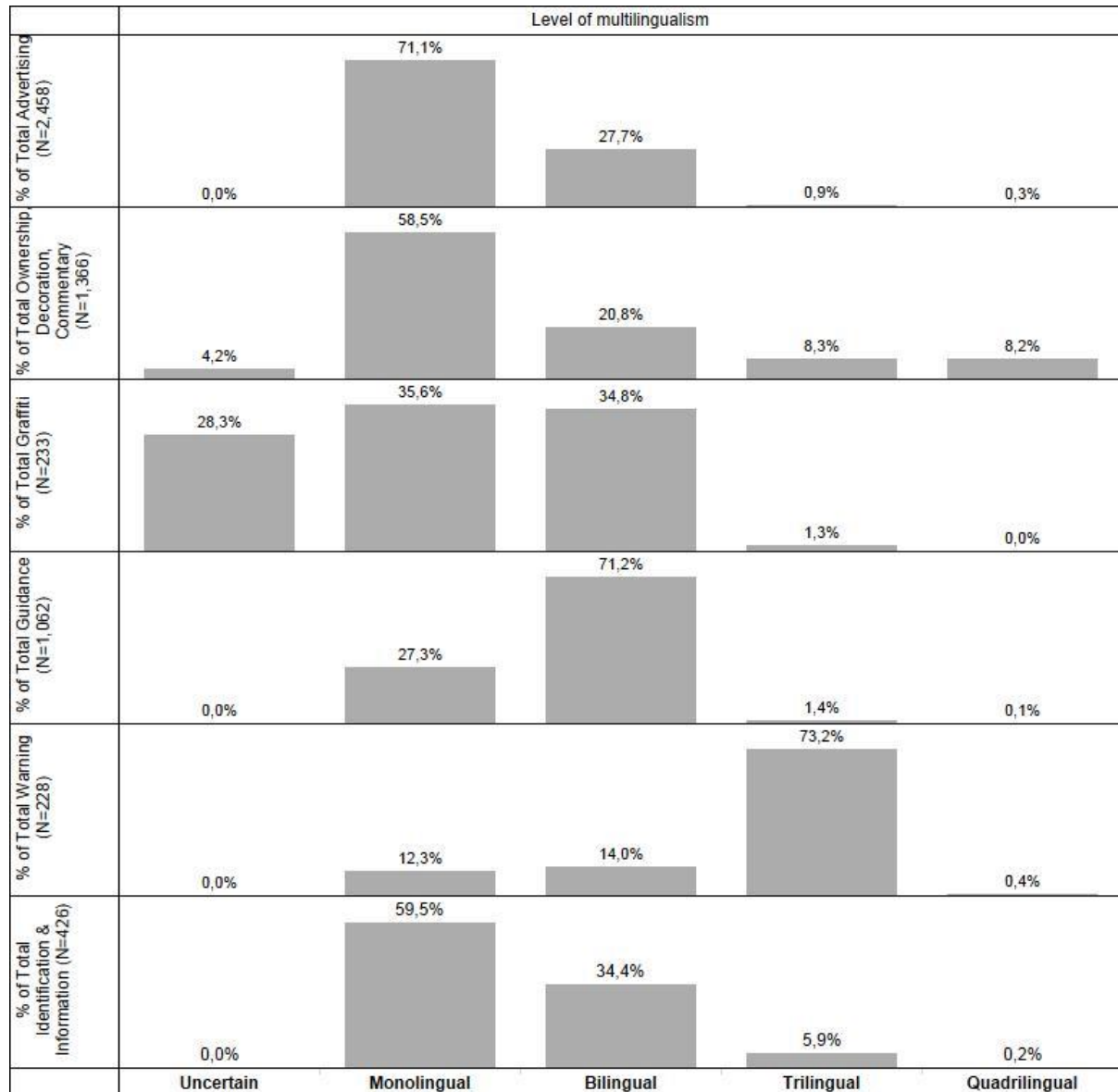
code (12.9%). Claiming space in a more lawful manner, home owners create signage using monolingual English and monolingual Afrikaans most often (30.4% and 21.5% respectively). The multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code is employed relatively frequently (16.3%), as is the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (12%). African languages are not employed as frequently for this purpose. The monolingual African code appears on 6.6% of signage on homes and the bilingual African/English code on 8.3%.

When providing identification of or information about an institution, monolingual signs are usually employed, with the monolingual English code constituting 33.1% of such signs and monolingual Afrikaans 24.4%. The visibility of Afrikaans and English, as employed for this function, is further enhanced by the prevalence of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (24.2%). While the usage of the bilingual African/English code is slightly above average in this functional category (9.6%), the use of multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs for identification and information is slightly below average (6.1%). Forms of signage that provide guidance (mostly street names and local directions) usually employ the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (70.7%). Monolingual Afrikaans and monolingual English signs are less often employed to fulfil this function (15.8% and 11.4% respectively). The majority of signs constituting warnings employ the multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code (73.7%). A number of warning signs also use the bilingual Afrikaans/English code (10.1%) and the monolingual English code (7.9%).

### 5.2.4.2. Level and type of multilingualism and sign functionality

Figure 34 below reflects the level of multilingualism resulting from type of sign function.

Figure 34: Level of multilingualism and sign functionality in the KLM LL

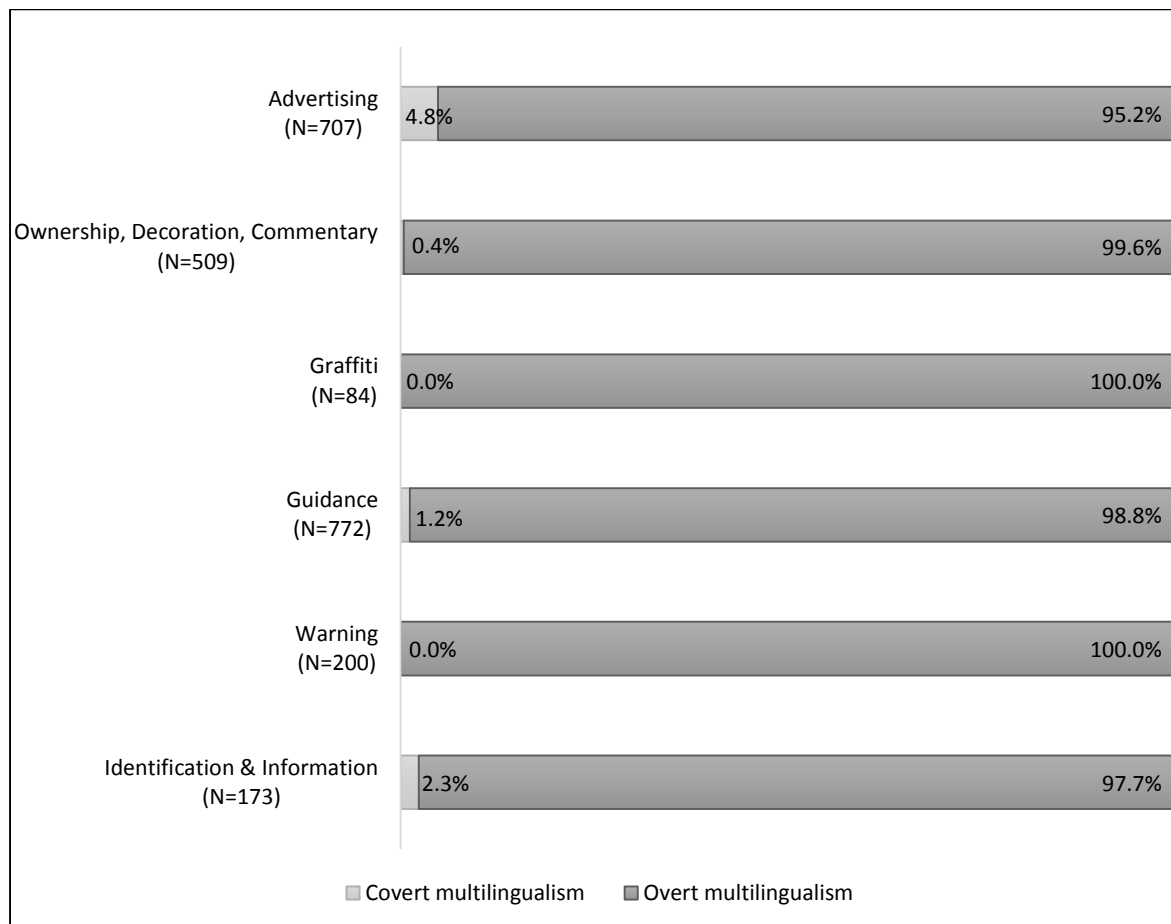


Generally, monolingual codes are deemed sufficient to fulfil any range of functions. Advertising signs mostly make use of only one language (71.1%), followed by bilingual choices (27.7%). The graffiti that could be deciphered is also mostly monolingual (35.6%) or bilingual (34.8%). This use of monolingual codes for symbolic purposes is slightly adjusted by the wider choice exhibited on signs created by homeowners. While signs reflecting ownership, decoration or commentary still contain a high level of monolingualism (58.5%) and a low level of bilingualism (20.8%), they noticeably employ three of four languages (16.5%). Signs designed to serve a practical purpose are more likely to make use of more than one language.

Guidance signs opt for bilingual choices 71.2% of the time, while most of the remainder are monolingual (27.3%). Warning signs most often contain three languages (73.2%), meaning that with the quadrilingual signs included (73.7% altogether), this type of sign reflects the highest level of multilingualism. The remainder of warning signs are made up by bilingual choices (14%) and monolingual codes (12.3%). Signs providing information and identification tend to be either monolingual (59.5%) or bilingual (34.4%). Only 6.1% of these sign types display more than two languages.

The type of multilingualism employed to serve LL functions is displayed in Figure 35 below.

Figure 35: Type of multilingualism and sign functionality in the KLM LL

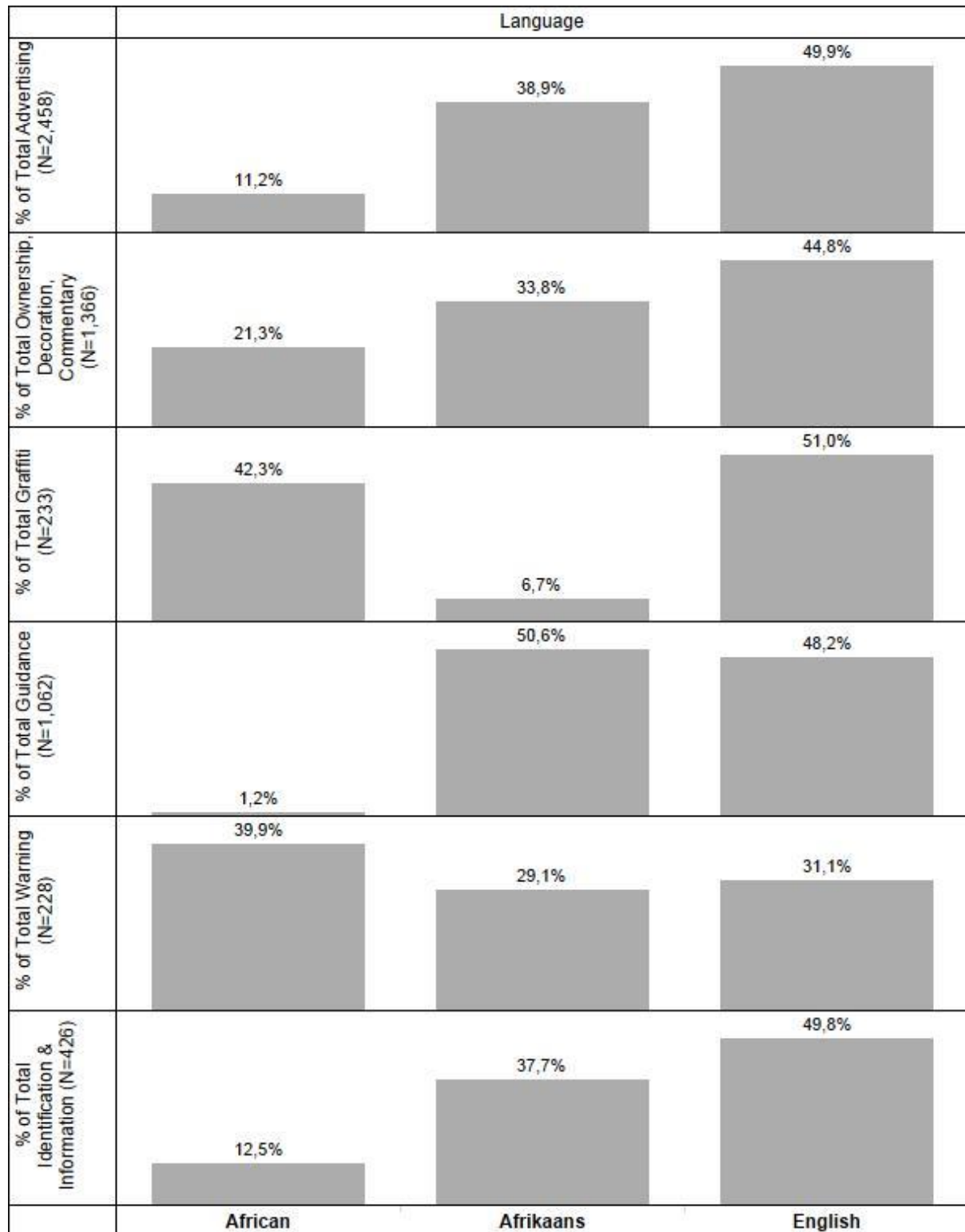


Two- or multi-surfaced signs are usually employed to advertise, to identify institutions or to provide guidance. Multi-surfaced guidance signs usually duplicate information on all sides, opting for covert multilingualism in only 1.2% of cases; and identifying signage in only 2.3% of cases. A number of advertising signs provide information in different codes on various surfaces of inscription (4.8%).

### 5.2.4.3. Code preference and sign functionality

The distribution pattern of the three linguistic codes according to sign functionality is illustrated in Figure 36 below.

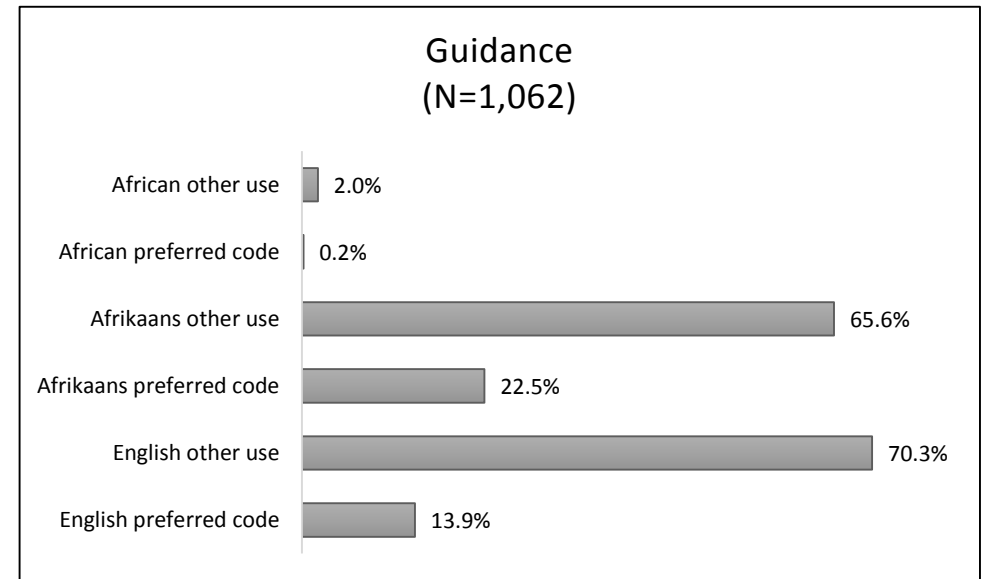
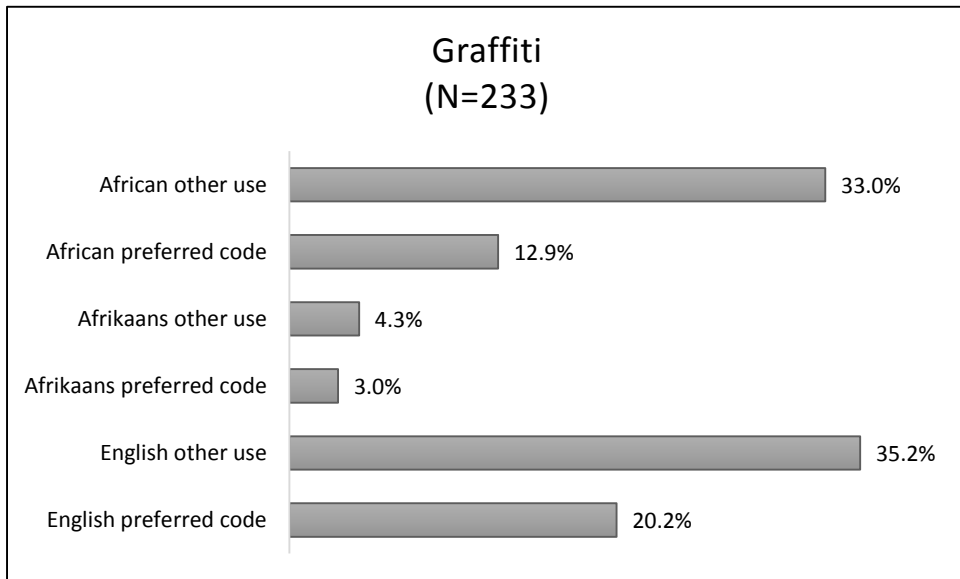
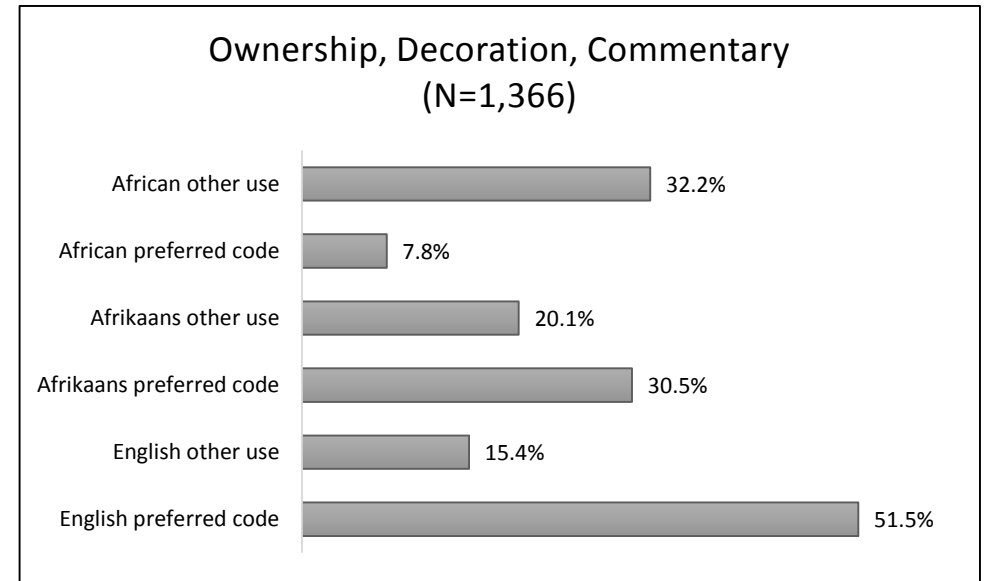
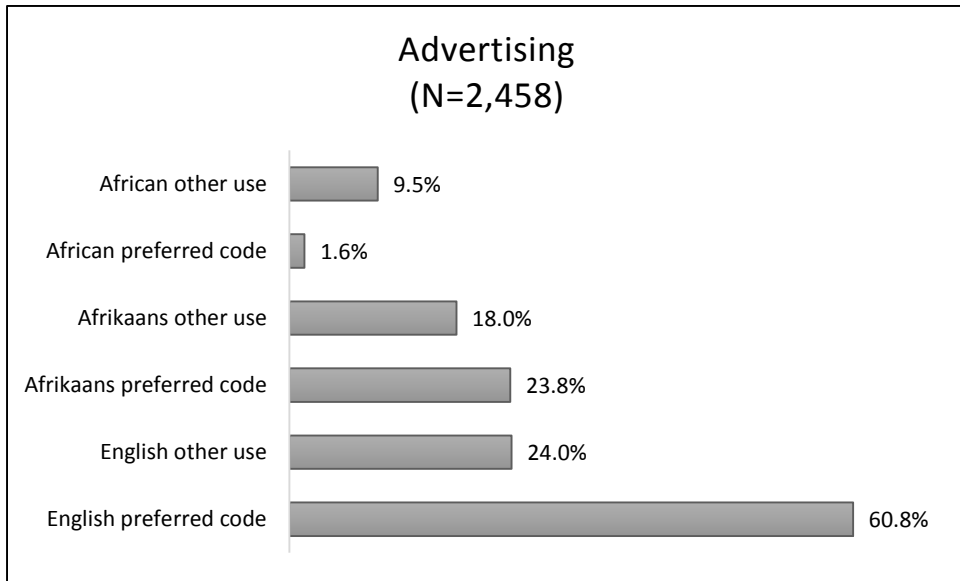
Figure 36: Code prevalence and sign functionality in the KLM LL



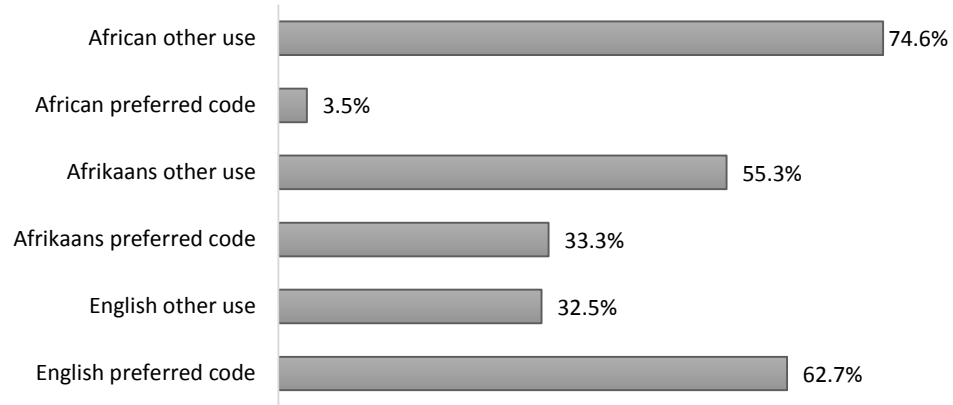
English is, for the most part, the most prevalent code for all sign functionalities. The visibility of Afrikaans is higher than that of English among guidance signs. The multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code is widely used on warnings, resulting in a spread of code prevalence that is more equal: African languages are used on 39.9% of warning signs, Afrikaans on 29.1% and English on 31.1%. The other function for which the African code is frequently employed is graffiti (42.3%), which is also the functionality that makes the least frequent use of Afrikaans (6.7%).

Figure 37 below elucidates the prominence of the three linguistic codes as employed for various functions.

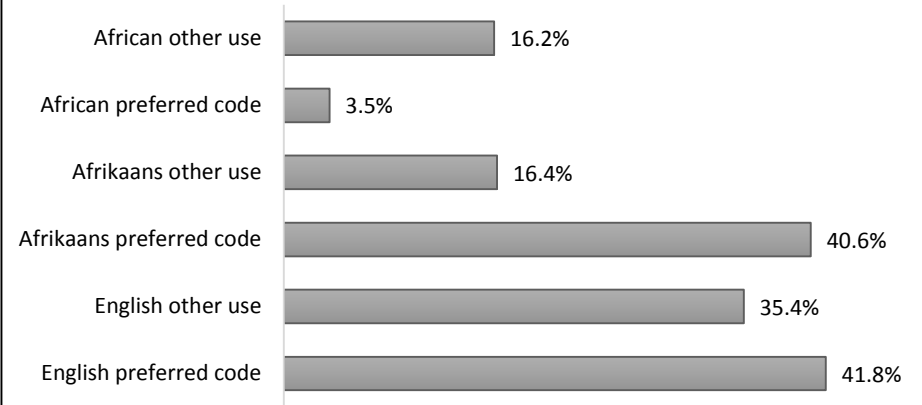
Figure 37: Code prominence and sign functionality in the KLM LL



### Warning (N=228)



### Identification & Information (N=426)





Signs that serve to persuade via advertising place high value on English, showing a much higher than average inclination to use it as the preferred code (on 60.8% of its signs), to the neglect of the other languages. When creating graffiti, English is used much less than in the overall LL and the use of Afrikaans is also noticeably low (used on 3% as preferred code and on 4.3% in a reverted position). The use of African languages for this function is dominant, being used as a preferred code on 12.9% of graffiti and in a reverted position on 33%. Homeowners indicate a preference for English, displaying it on 51.5% of their signs, but the use of the African code is also slightly increased (on 7.8% of homes as a preferred code and on 32.2% as a supplementary code).

English and Afrikaans are both widely used as supplementary languages (70.3% and 65.6% respectively), while the African code is barely visible (used on 2% as a supplementary code and on only 0.2% as a preferred code). The high incidence of multilingual coding on warning signs also results in the codes being widely used in reverted positions. While English is prominently used as a preferred code (62.7%), both Afrikaans and the African code have increased visibility in this functional category, albeit in a reverted position (Afrikaans on 55.3% and African on 74.6%). Signs providing identification and information display a ratio of codes similar to that of the overall LL, although Afrikaans is used less frequently in a reverted position (16.4%) and more as a preferred code (40,6%).

This section shows that code choices are noticeably influenced by the purpose that the sign is perceived to serve. Variation occurs not only in terms of the preferred level of multilingualism, but also impacts on the prevalence and prominence of the African code, Afrikaans and English. As such, the LL is a direct reflection of perceptions of the symbolic and practical potential of these three languages and of multilingualism.

### 5.3. Discussion: the dialectic between code choices and variables

This data confirms that while demographic compositions might impact on the LL of an area, this impact does not necessarily imply a direct correlation between the linguistic characteristics of the communities and the LL (see Addendum C). The dominant position of English in the LL, a language that is not at all widely spoken in the area, mitigates any obvious distributional pattern of LVPs across localities. However, an in-depth analysis reveals that the LLs in the nine towns and in the three types of locales are specific to its locality and that this variable is indeed influential. Agents are shown to make distinctive code choices, based on the domain from

which they operate (top-down or bottom-up) as well as their location (internal or external). While this variable is essential, the code choices of LL actors are perceivably related to the fact that they employ the LL for a variety of purposes. Indeed, the LVPs created according to sign functionality are highly individualised. These three variables and the LL are in a concrete dialectic with each other. This discussion will explore the relation between code choices and variables.

### 5.3.1. Dialectic between the LL and locality (town)

English is the dominant language in the LLs of all nine towns, although its prevalence is influenced by the presence of the other two codes (Afrikaans and African). There is an observable variation with regard to code choices, code prevalence and code prominence across towns. These are linked to the regional distribution of speech communities, as reflected in the statistics for the most frequently spoken languages in each town. While the LL is not an accurate reflection of the sociolinguistic background in which it is situated, there is indeed some correlation between spoken and written language patterns. In other words, the languages spoken most often in a town do somewhat impact on code choice in the LL.

Afrikaans is the most frequently spoken language in Fauresmith, Gariep Dam and Philippolis. In Fauresmith, this language is the most frequently spoken in all three locales (Coloured Areas, FWTs and Townships). Gariep Dam does not have a township and Afrikaans is spoken in both the FWT and the Coloured Area. In Philippolis, Sotho is spoken predominantly in the Township, but Afrikaans remains the most frequently spoken language overall. With regard to written language in the public space, Afrikaans has a higher prevalence in the LLs of these three towns than in the other six towns. This code is also employed in the preferred position in a higher ratio than in the total LL. In Fauresmith and Gariep Dam Afrikaans is further employed in the supplementary position in a higher than average proportion. In this regard, the slightly lower prevalence of Afrikaans in Philippolis is linked to the higher prevalence of English compared to the other two towns, presumably linked to the higher occurrence of English as the most frequently spoken language in the FWT (cf. Addendum C).

There also appears to be a slight correlation between how often African languages are spoken in an area and its utilisation in the LL. In the rest of the towns, either Sotho or Xhosa function as the most frequently spoken language. In these cases, the African language is spoken most frequently in the Townships while Afrikaans is spoken most often in the FWTs and the

Coloured Areas. The exceptions are Jagersfontein, where Sotho is also the most frequently spoken language in the Coloured Area, and Reddersburg, where there is no designated coloured area.

In Jagersfontein the African code is only slightly more prevalent in the LL than average. However, monolingual English is displayed on a higher than average proportion of signs and there is a slightly lower occurrence of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code. Reddersburg is the town where the African code enjoys the highest prevalence. While it is not often used as a preferred code, it appears on a higher than average number of signs in the reverted position, given the higher incidence of bilingual African/English signs. Besides Fauresmith and Gariep Dam, Reddersburg is the only other town that employs English more often as a deferred code than a preferred one. In this town, Afrikaans is also used much more frequently in its reverted position. The fluctuation with regard to these two codes can be explained in terms of the proportionally large number of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs.

While English is not the language spoken most frequently in Bethulie, it has this status in the FWT; the locality with the highest percentage of English spoken most frequently. This usage of spoken English is reflected in the LL, where English is used more frequently than in other towns, often as a preferred code. Consequently, Afrikaans is used less frequently as a preferred code but still significantly as a supplementary code. This town also reflects a slightly higher proportion of multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs, mostly erected by homeowners but also including warning signs.

Another town where English is disproportionately prevalent, and where this code is by far the most often used in its preferred position, is Springfontein. In fact, almost half of Springfontein's LL is comprised of monolingual English signs. Correspondingly, Afrikaans is less prevalent, and is not only used less frequently in a preferred position but also used far less frequently as a supplementary code. The LL in the Springfontein further displays a much lower than average percentage of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs. In addition, the LL of this town is accommodating towards African languages, displaying a slightly increased number of monolingual African signs. It is also the town with the highest incidence of bilingual African/Afrikaans signage.

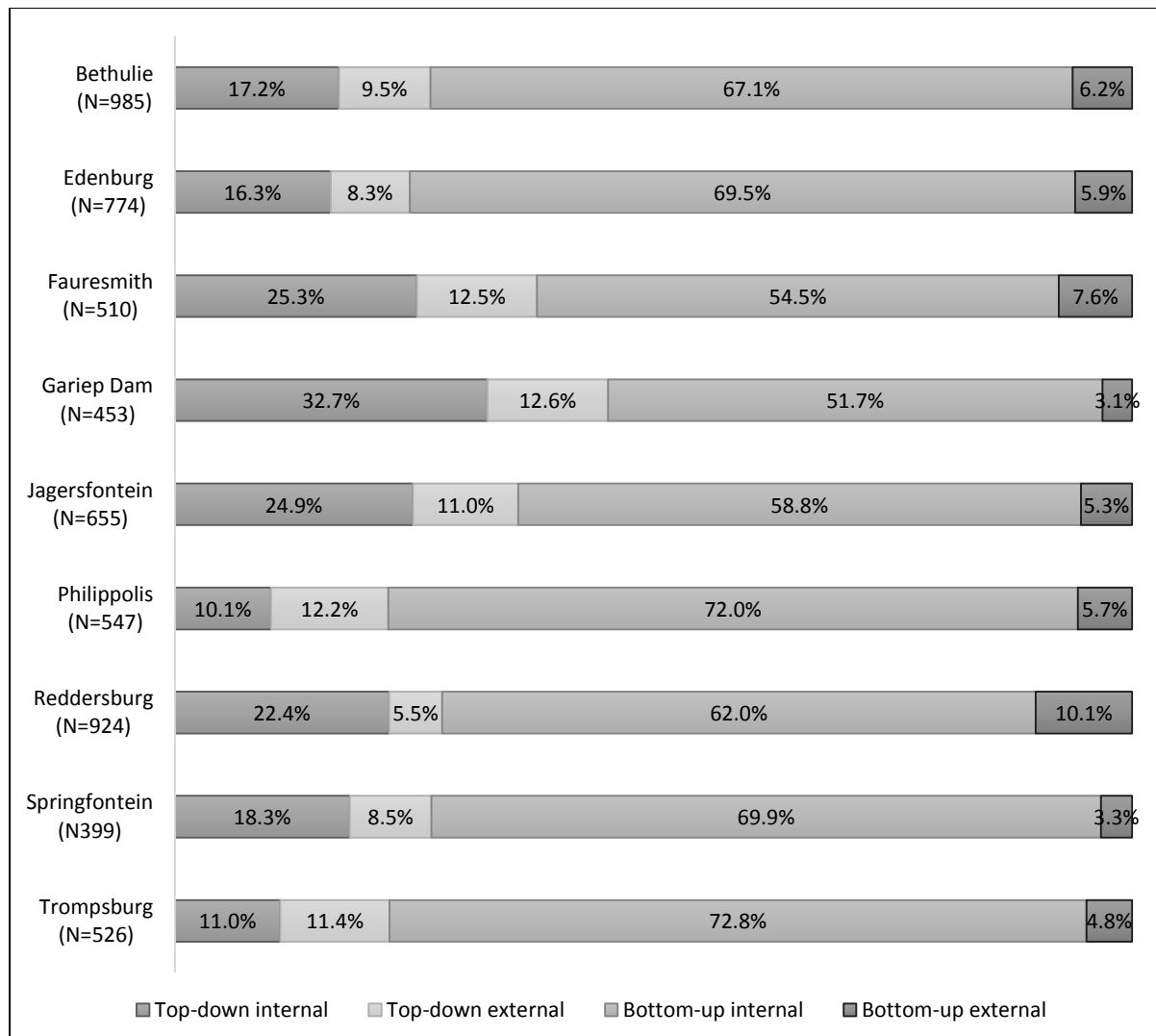
In Edenburg, a slightly higher prevalence of the African code is observable, including as a preferred code. On the other hand, there is a lower than average display of the multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code. Bilingual Afrikaans/English signs are also significantly less visible in this town's LL, contributing to a lower visibility of Afrikaans. Trompsburg is the only town that displays no monolingual African or bilingual African/Afrikaans signs. On the other hand, this town hosts an increased incidence of the bilingual African/English code, resulting in a slightly higher prevalence of the African code, including as a preferred code.

There appears to be a tenuous link between the most frequently spoken language in an area and its use in the LL. English is the dominant code in the LL of all nine towns, and its dominance is only mitigated by a higher incidence of Afrikaans or African languages. This section confirms the importance of multilingual signs – while English is widely used in the LL for its prestige status and (perceived) practical value, to include Afrikaans and/or African languages in a supplementary position on signage contributes to the overall visibility of these codes, especially since they are not often used as a preferred code.

#### 5.3.1.1. Other factors influencing signage in towns

The centrality of towns is a possible factor influencing LL activity. Towns with a higher ratio of administrative activity are expected to contain an average or higher than average (29.3%) number of top-down signs, while those with an active commercial centre or high population density are expected to host an average or higher than average (70.7%) number of signs from the bottom-up domain. Administratively, Trompsburg is in the centralised position, given that it hosts the headquarters of the local and district municipality. Trompsburg, Springfontein and Gariiep Dam are situated close to the biggest national road (N1), while Reddersburg is also on a national route (N6). A corresponding number of road signs is expected in these towns, as well as signage catering for tourists. The latter expectation is particularly relevant in the case of Gariiep Dam, which is mainly a tourist town given its proximity to Lake Gariiep. Figure 38 below displays the activities of LL actors in the nine towns.

Figure 38: Contributions by agency to the LLs of the nine towns in the KLM

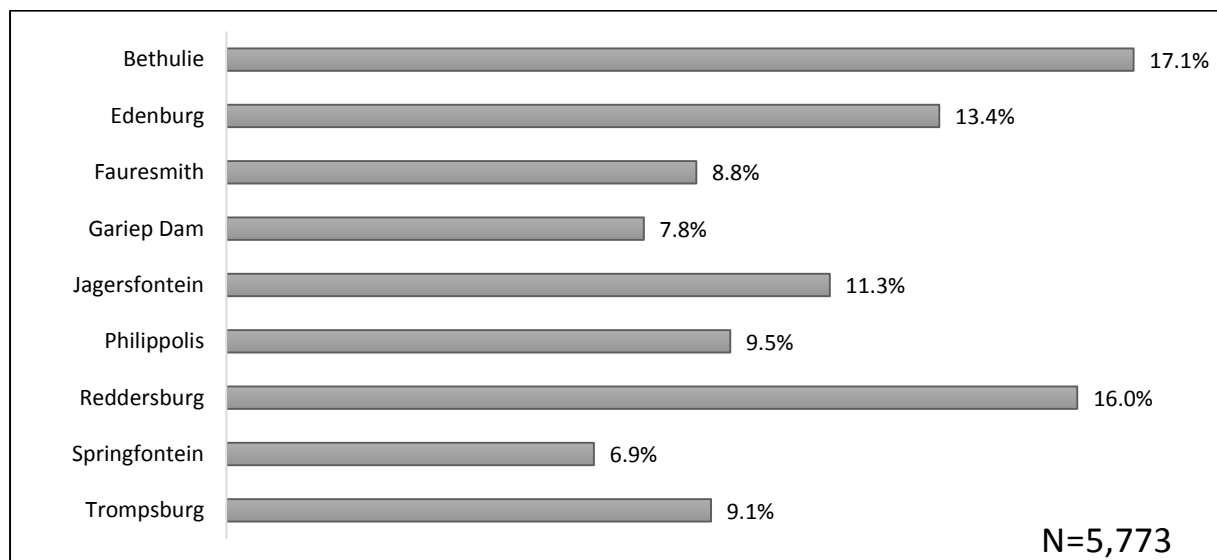


Trompsburg, the administrative centre, displays a less than average number of top-down signs (29.3%). The town's central position also makes it favourable to franchises and other commercial activities, as is evident in its higher than average number of bottom-up signs (77,6%). Jagersfontein, Gariep Dam and Fauresmith all display a much higher number of top-down signs (35.9%, 45.5% and 37.8% respectively), most of these serving as guiding signs erected by the local government agent (i.e. mostly street names). Consequently, these three towns also have a lower than average number of bottom-up signs (64.1%, 54.5% and 62.2% respectively). Springfontein displays more than the average number of signage from internal agents (88.2%) and less from external agents (11.8%), perhaps signifying the town's increasing marginalisation. In Fauresmith, the higher than average number of signs erected by external agents (20.2%) could possibly be explained by the number of signage erected by the Department of Correctional Services, one of only two branches in the KLM. The other branch

is in Bethulie, but for some reason this agent did not erect as many signs there. Although the results are not exactly in line with expectations, it does reveal a link between LL activity and a town's centrality. Another avenue of investigation in this regard relates to the level of LL activity in towns, both in terms of the number of signage produced as well as sign density.

As reflected in Addendum A, the town with the highest population density is Trompsburg (330 persons/km<sup>2</sup>), followed by Reddersburg (243 persons/km<sup>2</sup>), Springfontein (224 persons/km<sup>2</sup>) and Jagersfontein (223 persons/km<sup>2</sup>). These four towns are expected to have the highest sign density, not just because of presumably more LL actors, but also the position of Trompsburg as the site of the headquarters of both the Xhariep District Municipality and the KLM. Bethulie also has a relatively high population density (176 persons/km<sup>2</sup>), as does Edenburg (156 persons/km<sup>2</sup>). The remaining three towns, i.e. Philippolis (92 persons/km<sup>2</sup>), Fauresmith (68 persons/km<sup>2</sup>) and Gariep Dam (63 persons/km<sup>2</sup>), have the lowest population density and are therefore also expected to have a LL that is less dense. Figure 39 below reflects the contribution from each town to the total LL of the KLM.

*Figure 39: Contributions from towns to the KLM LL*



Surprisingly, Trompsburg contributes much less LL items than the average, comprising a mere 9.1% of the database. This is less than five other towns (Reddersburg, Jagersfontein, Bethulie, Edenburg and Philippolis), all of them hosting a much smaller population, a less active economy, as well as less administrative activity. It is remarkable that Springfontein, the town with the third highest population density, has the lowest LL contribution (6.9%), this perhaps indicating a lack of socio-economic activity as linked to the precarious circumstances of the

town. The remaining two towns, Fauresmith and Gariep Dam, performed according to expectations, contributing the least amount of signage to the LL.

Turning the analyses to inside the towns, sign density (number of signs/km<sup>2</sup>) reflects the distribution of signs within a town. Again, Trompsburg was expected to have the highest sign density, although some correlation was to be expected between a town's contribution to the LL (Figure 42 above) and the density of its LL, as reflected in Figure 40 below.

Figure 40: Sign density (no of signs/km<sup>2</sup>) in the nine towns of the KLM LL

Town	Area km <sup>2</sup>	No of signs/km <sup>2</sup>
Bethulie	37,02	27
Edenburg	41,36	19
Fauresmith	53,19	10
Gariep Dam	24,83	18
Jagersfontein	25,48	26
Philippolis	39,59	14
Reddersburg	20,07	46
Springfontein	16,55	24
Trompsburg	16,17	33
	Area km <sup>2</sup>	No of signs/km <sup>2</sup>

(N=5,773)

Once again, the reality is not align with expectations. Reddersburg, the town with the second highest population density, has a relatively small surface area and the second largest contribution to the dataset (16%). As a result, it is the town with the highest sign density (46 signs/km<sup>2</sup>). According to expectations, Trompsburg did reveal a high score, but at 33 signs/km<sup>2</sup>, its sign density is still significantly lower than that of Reddersburg. Even though Bethulie has a large surface area and a relatively low population density, the large number of signs (17.1% of the total signage) in this town results in it having the third highest sign density (27 signs/km<sup>2</sup>). This is very close to the sign density of Jagersfontein (26 signs/km<sup>2</sup>), which reflects the median with regard to population density, surface area and sign production. The speculation that Springfontein hosts a low level of activity is refuted in its sign density, which, at 24 signs/km<sup>2</sup>, falls exactly in the middle of the statistics for the nine towns. The underperformance of Edenburg (only 19 signs/km<sup>2</sup>) can be explained in terms of its large surface area (the second largest at 41 km<sup>2</sup>) and relatively low population density. The sign density of Gariep Dam (18 signs/km<sup>2</sup>) is in line with expectations, but it outperforms both Philippolis (14 signs/km<sup>2</sup>) and Fauresmith (10 signs/km<sup>2</sup>). Both these towns contribute a low

percentage of the total signage (9.5% and 8.8%, respectively) and have very large surface areas compared to the other towns.

While it is not possible to draw firm conclusions on LL activity and the centrality of towns, what this exploration establishes is that towns do serve as unique localities that should be considered separately; even towns which are as perceivably homogenous as these nine rural towns.

### 5.3.2. Dialectic between the LL and locality (locale)

The variation with regard to LL activity is more pronounced in locales than in towns. Whereas a comparison between the LL and towns focuses on the correlation between written and spoken languages, an investigation into locales considers the sociolinguistic composition of the community as well as their associated language attitudes. The populations of the Coloured Areas and the FWTs are mostly constituted by monolingual Afrikaans or bilingual Afrikaans/English speakers, while the Townships host multilingual speakers that are competent in several African languages, as well as in Afrikaans and English (to some extent). Multilingualism is valued by the whole community, although the different sociolinguistic groups evaluate their own and each other's languages and competencies differently.

English is by far the most prevalent code in the LLs of the Coloured Areas, and in addition, the most popular code in this locale is monolingual English. The prevalence of Afrikaans in the Coloured Areas is slightly boosted by its higher than average proportion of appearances in a reverted position. The African code enjoys some degree of visibility, although it is largely in combination with other languages. The bilingual African/English code is used for a variety of functions, while multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs usually constitute warnings – in the Coloured Areas the 14.3% of multilingual signs are mostly comprised of warnings on electricity boxes. Half of the signage in the Coloured Areas display only one language. However, multilingual signs are mostly overt in nature since most signs are attached directly to the surface of a wall or structure. There are also very few road signs in this locale, the type of sign most likely to have more than one surface of inscription. Thus, there is little choice for actors in these two localities between the overt and covert display of multiple languages.

Language prevalence in the FWTs is displayed in similar proportions to the Coloured Areas. English is still the most prevalent code, but in this locale, its monolingual usage is surpassed



by the high incidence of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs. Afrikaans is even more prominent in the FWTs than in the Coloured Areas, often used both as a preferred and as a supplementary code. African languages are negated in the FWTs, where it is barely used as a preferred code. Once again, multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs usually constitute warnings, i.e. as an electricity warning, but also in ‘beware of the dog’ signs erected by homeowners.

Monolingualism was chosen for more than half of the signage in the FWTs. In addition, the incidence of covertly multilingual signs is slightly higher in this locale. Commercial initiatives in the FWTs sometimes erect billboards or other advertising boards with more than one surface of inscription. A significant portion of this category of signs is comprised of temporary signs by estate agents. Several signs originating from the top-down domain are also two-sided. The older signs, presumably erected under the previous political regime, are equally bilingual Afrikaans/English on both sides. Newer government signs tend to display the same content on all sides of a sign.

The ratio of languages in the Townships is inverted, in that the African code is the most prevalent and English the least. While English is less prevalent in this locale, it appears as the preferred code on more than half of the Township signs. The African code is more often used as a supplementary code than a preferred one, but the incidence of monolingual African signage is higher here than the other two locales. Afrikaans has a very low prevalence, perhaps to a degree impacted by the low incidence of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code, which is popular in the other two locales. Instead, the bilingual African/English code is used to much greater effect – mostly in ergonyms and on private homes, but also for graffiti. Multilingual African/Afrikaans/English signs usually constitute warnings, i.e. both functional warnings on electricity boxes as well as (presumably appropriated) ‘beware of the dog’ signs on private homes.

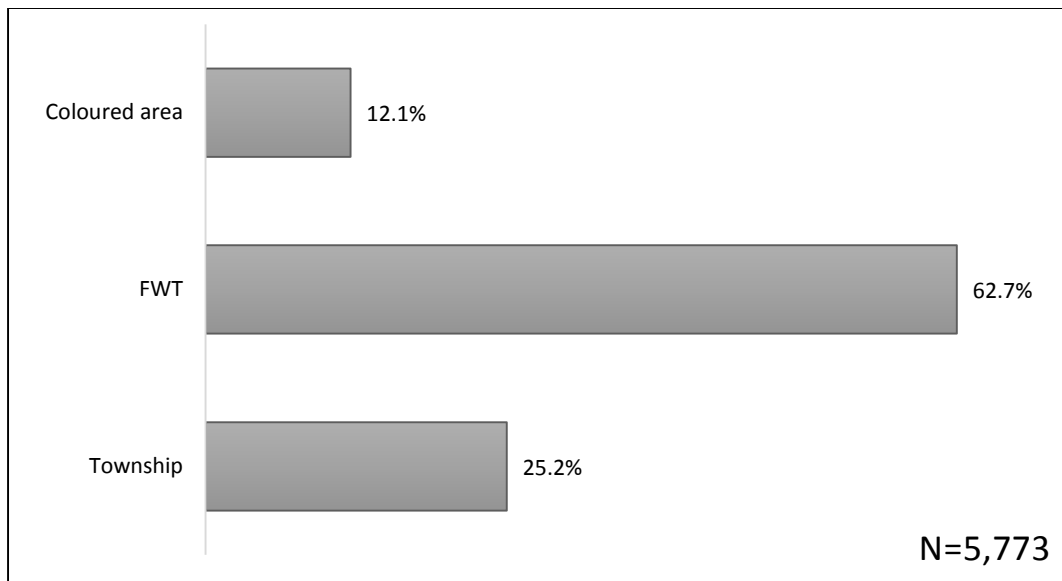
Monolingual signage constitutes an even higher percentage of the LL in the Townships. While this high rate of monolingualism could be expected to some degree in the FWTs and the Coloured Areas (given the linguistic profiles of the communities), this result is surprising in the Township – the locale with the highest degree of communal and individual multilingualism. This phenomenon is the result of language attitudes rather than sociolinguistic composition, where certain languages are deemed suitable for certain functions while others are not, regardless of multilingual competency.

Each locale has a distinct LL and while it cannot be said that the LL is a true reflection of the speech community, given the high preference for English and monolingual signs, there is some correlation between the spoken and the written language trends. Afrikaans, whether alone or in combination with other languages, appears more often in the locales where Afrikaans is spoken (Coloured Areas and FWTs), while the same is true for African languages in the Townships. The Coloured Areas and the FWTs, for instance, host a large number of bilingual Afrikaans/English signage but few bilingual African/English signs, while the reverse is true in the Townships. In contrast, a higher incidence of monolingual signage is used in the Townships, the locales in which the speech community exhibit a higher and more varied degree of spoken multilingualism. However, bilingual signs in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs are often bilingual Afrikaans/English signs displaying street names, a code combination virtually absent in the Townships. Bilingualism in the latter locale is rather the product of ergonyms, comprised of a proper name in an African language proper and an English descriptor. Multilingual signs displaying three or four languages are usually warning signs, either on electricity boxes (almost the sole function of this code in the Coloured Areas), ‘beware of the dog’ signs or security systems signs (especially and almost exclusively in the FWTs). These sign types are rarely used in the Townships, resulting in a low incidence of multilingual signs. Overall, some correlation was found between the LL and the speech community in which it is hosted, even if these two do not mirror each other exactly. The correlation between LL and locality refers not only to the sociolinguistic composition of the community in which the LL is situated, but also to the language appraisals held by that specific community.

#### 5.3.2.1. Other factors influencing signage in locales

Given that the locus of administrative and ‘large-scale’ economic activity is situated in the FWTs, the expectation is that the majority of signs will originate from this locale. However, the Townships host large populations as well as a varied range of activities, which indicates that it will also contribute significantly to the LL. The Coloured Areas, although small, have a much higher population density than the FWTs (Addendum A), which could influence the population’s activity in the public space. As reflected in Figure 41 below, however, the Coloured Areas contribute only 15.1% to the total signage, while the majority of signage (61.2%) is displayed in the FWTs. The remaining signage (23.7%) is situated in the Townships.

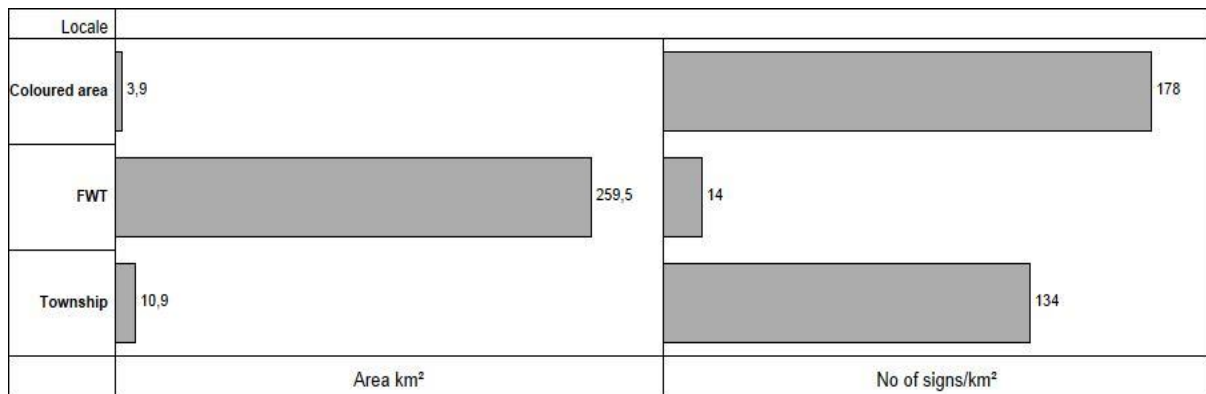
Figure 41: Number of signs contributed by the three locales of the KLM LL



It is not really possible to determine specific centres of activity in the present research site. While the municipal and other government administrative centres as well as franchises are usually located in the FWTs, they are often dispersed throughout the towns instead of the centre of town, or are sometimes situated in the Townships. A high degree of sign density is thus expected here. However, large residential areas are also included in the FWTs. With private homes typically displaying only one or two signs (if any at all), this might have a significant influence on sign density in the FWTs.

The mixture of activities is even more prominent in the Townships, where economic initiatives, especially informal shops and services, are interspersed throughout the residential area. In some towns, government services such as clinics and libraries are located in the Townships instead of the FWTs. Considering the high population density and range of activity these locales are expected to contain a high sign density. The Coloured Areas, on the other hand, also have a high population density but very few activities take place here, i.e. mainly education institutions and minor economic activities. A low sign density is expected in these locales. The sign density per locale is reflected in Figure 42 below.

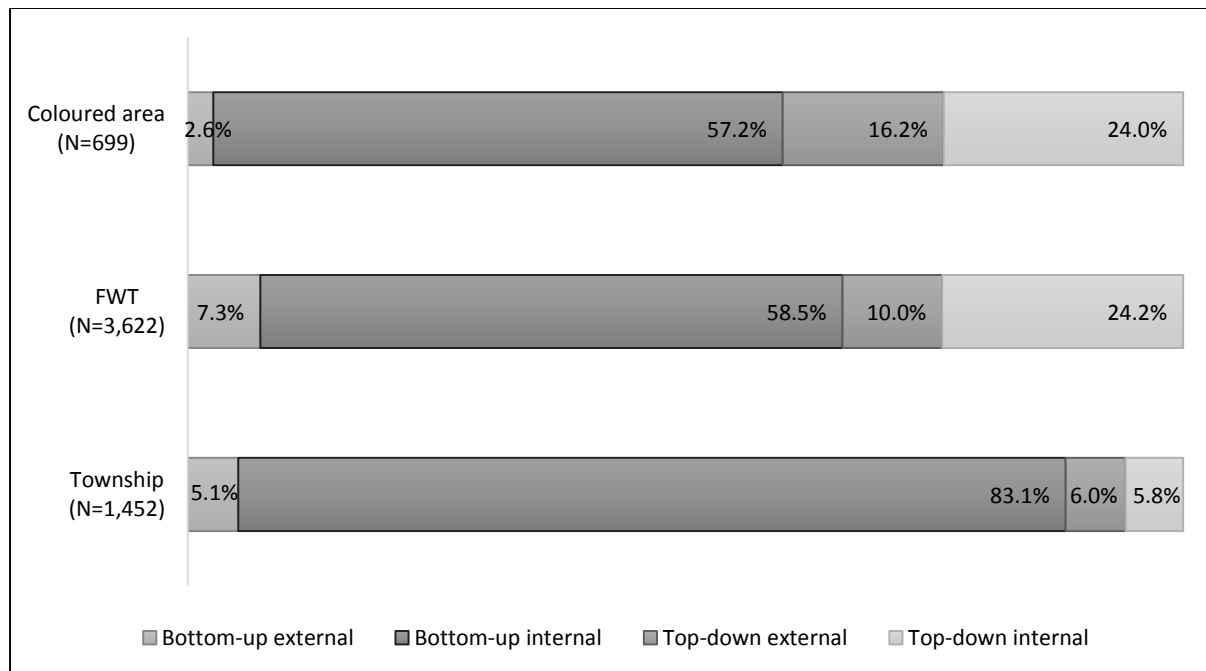
Figure 42: Sign density (no of signs/km<sup>2</sup>) in the three locales of the KLM LL



The reality is the complete reverse from the expectations, presumably the influence of the vast difference in surface area between the locales. Given that the majority of signs (61.2%) are situated in the FWTs, the only reasonable assumption about its low sign density (14 signs/km<sup>2</sup>) is that it is the result of being dispersed over the disproportionately large surface areas that constitute the FWTs. The defining quality of surface area is also discernible in the other two locales, where the Townships have a much higher sign density than the FWTs, but at 134 signs/km<sup>2</sup>, the latter is still second to the density of the Coloured Areas, which is 178 signs/km<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the signage is situated in the FWTs (61.2%), which is supposedly more central than the other two locales. However, there is no true centre of activity in the KLM towns. In addition, the population density in the FWTs is much lower than in the Coloured Areas and the Townships, which contribute 15.1% and 23.7% of the total signage respectively. It follows that agency is also a contributing factor in this type of locality. Figure 43 below reveals that there is a great amount of variation across locales in terms of contributions by LL actors.

Figure 43: Contributions by agency to the three locales of the KLM LL



As in all three locales, internal bottom-up agents contribute the majority of signage in the Coloured Areas (57.2%). The impact of the high population density is reflected in the amount of signage on homes, constituting 25.6% of all its signs. The rest of the signage by this agent is mostly contributed by commercial interests (22.3%). In contrast to this figure, external bottom-up agents (i.e. franchises) contribute a mere 2.6% of the signage. The municipality (internal top-down agent) contributes a further quarter of the signage (24%). Most of the activity by external top-down agents (16.2%) is comprised of warning signs erected by electricity service providers.

The varied commercial activities in the FWTs contribute 36.3% to their LLs, although only 16.6% is contributed by homeowners, given the lower population density. Altogether, internal bottom-up agents are responsible for the majority of signs in the FWTs (58.5%). If franchises open branches in the KLM, these are mostly situated in the FWTs, resulting in a 7.3% LL contribution by external bottom-up agents. Municipal offices are usually situated in the FWTs, although not always in the town centre. This internal, bottom-up agent is also responsible for local service signage (such as street signs) and therefore its contribution in the FWTs (24.2%) does not differ much from its activity in the Coloured Areas. Furthermore, in the majority of towns, services such as clinics and libraries are located in the FWTs (although not always). This type of activity produces 10% of the FWT signage by external bottom-up agents.

The majority of signs in the Townships are contributed by internal bottom-up agents (83.1%). From this agent, homeowners are by far the most prodigious LL contributors (43%), thus reflecting the impact of population density as well as the propensity of home owners to paint signage directly onto their houses. The contribution of the internal bottom-up agent is further boosted by the activity of informal commercial enterprises (26%) as well as graffiti artists (10.4%). Franchises contribute 5.1% of signage, mostly via temporary signs depicting offers. The most obvious variation, compared to the other two locales, is the proportional absence of government agents in the Townships. Both internal and external top-down agents contribute very little to the LLs of the Townships, i.e. only 5.8% and 6% respectively. This could speak to the marginalisation of the locale, especially when considering the volume of the population.

While the variation of spoken language patterns in towns influences the LL, the impact of locales is more nuanced. The influence of the legitimising centre, in terms of demographics and language attitudes, is clear. Not only does the sociolinguistic composition of this type of locality influence LL choices, but also so do the linguistic appraisals held by the communities of the locales. The level of LL activity seems to be linked, on the one hand, to the population density, and on the other to the administrative centrality of a locale.

At first glance, the overwhelming dominance of English seems to negate variation in the LL. However, the in-depth exploration of signage in towns and locales reveals that there are indeed certain interactional regimes. Given the varied linguistic competencies of the different sociolinguistic groups, no one specific code is absolutely required for effective communication and the process is thus based on negotiation. However, effective communication in each locality would involve a sensitivity to the language most frequently spoken, as well as a consideration of the function of a sign vis-à-vis the target audience's appraisal of the chosen code. While the surprising prevalence of monolingualism seems to devalue written multilingual competency, the wide usage of multilingual codes for both practical (e.g. warnings) and symbolic (e.g. ergonyms) reasons indicates that multilingualism is a valued capacity. In this regard, the LL can be said to neither actively discourage nor effectively encourage multilingual actions, instead offering LL actors the opportunity to negotiate communicative capacities.

### 5.3.3. Dialectic between the LL and agency

Bottom-up external agents show an overwhelming preference for English, utilised mostly in its monolingual capacity. While Afrikaans has some visibility on the signs created by this agent, the African code is mostly negated. Furthermore, this agent has the highest rate of monolingualism between agents. It is also the only agent that employs a significant ratio of covertly multilingual signs, although, since this translates to only 10 of the 63 signs contributed by this agent it does not have a significant effect on the LL.

External bottom-up agents use the LL for advertising and then largely employ English as well as monolingual codes for this purpose. On the one hand, it reflects the prestige value of English but on the other hand it also reflects the perception that this code has the capacity to function as a language of wider communication, even in a rural area. Indeed this is the result of globalisation rather than a reaction to imperatives from the local LPP space.

Bottom-up agents that are situated locally also assign a large portion of signs to English, but choose a wider variety of other codes, including multilingual options. The bilingual Afrikaans/English code enjoys prevalence from this agent, but codes including an African language are chosen more often by this agent than by the others.

Internal bottom-up agents tend to display signs that are more personal and locally invested. Such signs reflect affiliations, ownership, decoration, commentary and graffiti, which has the effect of claiming the public space rather than simply utilising it. Another prominent function is that of advertising, which produces signs that aim to persuade. The choices made by this agent reflect the perception of English as being a valuable code in attaining symbolic purposes, although Afrikaans is also often used. The low prevalence of African languages mirrors the appraisals discovered in the legitimising system. The greater variation in code choices by this agent reflects the competing influences from the implementational centre (significantly, the sociolinguistic demographics and the various linguistic appraisals).

Externally situated top-down agents also opt for a diversity of codes. While English remains dominant, Afrikaans is more visible and the African code is used more often, albeit mostly in a supplementary position. Electricity service providers are included in the external top-down agent group. They are responsible for erecting the warning signs on electricity boxes, which at 161 signs constitutes 2.8% of the total LL and a third of contributions by this agent. These

warning signs explain the high incidence of trilingual signage created by top-down agents as well as the greater occurrence of the African code.

Top-down signs mostly serve practical purposes, or are related to matters of public concern, by providing several kinds of guidance (directions, warnings or street names). External agents make use of African languages and Afrikaans, mostly on warning signs, where these codes serve a practical rather than a symbolic purpose. This perfunctory use of multilingual codes, and of African languages, is aligned with the instructions issued by the regulatory centre – and of course is the product of non-linguistic legislation on safety measures.

The choices of the internal top-down agent deviate from the pattern established by the other three agents. While English remains a dominant code, the bilingual Afrikaans/English code is chosen most often; a result of the high number of bilingual street names and local direction signs produced by the municipality. Top-down signs mostly serve practical purposes by providing several kinds of guidance (direction, warning, street names). What is striking is the severe absence of the African code on signs produced by this agent, given its mandate to consider the local linguistic conditions, although, arguably, this is in line with prevailing appraisals of the capacity of African languages to fulfil higher domain functions. The high incidence of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code is possibly a remnant from the previous regime (cf. Du Plessis 2011) and should not be interpreted as a renewed dedication to multilingualism.

LVPs are clearly specific to agency. Agents employ the LL for different functions; and the code choices are determined by the perceived capacity or suitability of the available codes to fulfil these functions. The high prevalence of monolingual English signs can be assigned to agents responding to the high prestige evaluation of either English in the legitimising system or the proclivity of the government to use English only. The high incidence of bilingual Afrikaans/English signs is most likely a remnant from the previously very strict bilingual Afrikaans/English policy, which is also mirrored in the private sphere. The incidence of monolingual Afrikaans signs shows sensitivity to the local linguistic culture, although codes containing African languages remain absent. The number of bilingual African/English ergonyms created by business owners and created for government projects increased the visibility of this code slightly.



Almost half of the contribution by the internal top-down agent is constituted by street name signs (483 signs, 8.4% of the total LL). These signs are usually bilingual Afrikaans/English, which explains the high incidence of this code for the municipality. The relatively high incidence of bilingualism and multilingualism by top-down agents is the result of a response to practical issues (warnings). Another factor is the lack of clear official directives as well as the fact that LL signs are not usually removed. This means that bilingual signs are probably the historical result of directives from the previous regulatory system. Signage by bottom-up agents confirms the prestige value of English as employing it often as a monolingual code. However, the internal agent responds to the linguistic composition of the community by employing African languages, in combination with English and Afrikaans, resulting in a slightly higher incidence of bilingualism and multilingualism.

The intrinsic purpose of an agent determines the purpose for which it employs the LL – to regulate public behaviour, to persuade or to claim space. Linguistic choices for signs are assigned according to a code's perceived capacity to fulfil the necessary role. In the case of top-down agents, linguistic appraisals are largely prescribed by the regulatory centre, although internal top-down actors have a greater freedom to interpret the directives with the local context. Bottom-up signs follow the appraisals created in the legitimising system, as is apparent in the range of choices exercised by local private agents. However, while the prevalence of English on signs created by franchises correlates with the dominance of English in the overall LL, it is not a result which stems from the legitimising centre, but rather of globalisation, in which this language is accorded high prestige. This evaluation of English impacts on its positive appraisal by the legitimising centre, which naturally trickles through to effect motivations in favour of this language by other agents.

The majority of signs in the LL of the KLM (84%) were created by internal agents and 64.5% of the LL is contributed by bottom-up actors. This LL, dominated by English and prevailing monolingualism, is very much the result of choices exercised by those who actively use this specific public space. Effective communication in the LL is achieved when a sign serves its intended purpose; therefore, the code displayed on it has to align with the local appraisals of languages. The most active agents (internal bottom-up) prefer English, assign a high visibility to Afrikaans and severely neglect African languages. However, they also opt for a wider variety of linguistic codes, including multilingual options. While the use of English appears to be increasingly required, the LVPs, as influenced by agency, indicate that the local community

appreciates the use of Afrikaans and African languages in a supplementary capacity. Again, no strict interactional regime is imposed; multilingualism is optional and the use thereof can be freely negotiated.

#### 5.3.4. Dialectic between the LL and functionality

As discovered in the previous section, code choice and sign functionality are closely related. The LL is most often used for symbolic purposes – to persuade via advertising (42.6%), to claim space by erecting signage on private homes (23.7%), or by creating graffiti (4%). For practical purposes, signage is erected to provide guidance (18.4%) or issue warnings (3.9%). In between these two categories are signs that serve to identify and inform about official institutions (7.4%).

Generally, monolingual codes are deemed sufficient to fulfil any range of functions, although there is a variation in the levels of multilingualism employed for different sign functionalities. Advertising signs mostly make use of monolingual signage, and show a strong preference for English. Since advertising signs mostly aim to persuade, this dominant use of English is indicative of the prestige value of the language. A small number of signs (252) is directed at tourists (signage by guesthouses) and in this case, English can be said to be chosen for a practical purpose, given its perceived status as a language of wider communication. Afrikaans is still highly visible on signs that persuade, whether alone or in combination with English. On the one hand, this code might be a remnant of the previous regime's strict bilingual Afrikaans/English policy. On the other hand, it perhaps speaks to the function of Afrikaans as a *lingua franca* in the KLM as well as its status of being a frequently spoken language in most localities. Whatever the case, Afrikaans carries sufficient assigned prestige to fulfil a persuasive function in the LL. African languages are barely used to persuade. However, they are used in a capacity with a high symbolic value, namely in ergonyms.

In addition, signs performing the function of indicating affiliation, ownership, decoration or commentary employ the most varied range of linguistic codes. While English is still highly evaluated, the prevalence of African languages is increased, as is the occurrence of multilingual codes. The use of monolingual codes for symbolic purposes is slightly expanded via the signs created by homeowners. Afrikaans is most often employed in its capacity as a monolingual code on private homes.

In contrast, African languages are used most often in graffiti while Afrikaans is almost never used for this function. African languages and English are often combined. However, graffiti works do not serve to persuade (or even communicate, given the indecipherable nature of most of the graffiti in the LL of the KLM, but instead serve to claim space).

In contrast to signs with a symbolic purpose, those intended to serve a practical purpose are likely to utilise more than one language. Guidance signs, mostly providing street names and local directions, display a strong preference for the bilingual Afrikaans/English code. As discussed before, this is likely a remnant from the previous regime rather than any new dedication to multilingualism. Warning signs most often contain three or four languages, meaning that these types of signs employ the highest level of multilingualism. However, the motivation behind the use of multiple languages is not an accommodation of the community's preference, but is instead a reaction to legal accountability. Messages regarding safety precautions have to be understood by the widest audience possible.

Those signs that provide identification of and/or information about an institution are created by government agents (signs performing a similar function for commercial initiatives are classified as advertising signs). As such, their purpose is both practical (indicating the availability of services) and symbolic (representing the government). On the one hand, the mandate for institutional multilingualism as well as the imperative to improve the status of African languages would predict the prevalence of multilingual codes including African languages. Accessibility of services would also imply the use of the local languages. On the other hand, the government's seeming inclination is to operate exclusively in English. This situation, in addition to the bilingual signs which have endured from the previous regime, contributes to a high incidence of monolingual signage, as well as a frequent display of the bilingual Afrikaans/English code. Ergonyms for government institutions and government-sponsored projects often include an African language. However, the African code has a very low prevalence in this function; and the multilingual African/Afrikaans/English code is barely used.

In summary, symbolic signs serving to persuade (advertise) have a strong inclination towards monolingual English signs, confirming the prestige value and (perceived) practical capacity of the language to be widely understood. English is also valued on signs that claim space (graffiti and signage on private homes), but in the latter regard African languages are used noticeably

more and Afrikaans noticeably less than for other functionalities. Signs that need to be widely understood and that mostly serve a practical purpose, i.e. guidance and warning signs, are more likely to employ multilingual codes. The manner in which multilingualism is expressed has a direct effect on the prevalence of codes. For instance, the high incidence of bilingual Afrikaans/English street and local direction signs increases the visibility of Afrikaans, while the large number of trilingual and quadrilingual warning signs enhances the visibility of African languages. Identification and information signs, which serve both a practical and a symbolic purpose, usually employ Afrikaans and English alone or together, thereby also negating the visibility of African languages.

The general perception is that top-down agents adhere to official policies while bottom-up agents display a greater variation of code choices in the LL. However, the outcomes of this exploration proves that the top-down/bottom-up dichotomy is too simplistic. Not only is it useful to further distinguish between internal and external agents, but the ownership of signs adds a useful dimension. Given that certain agents tend to employ the LL for specific reasons, an analysis of agency is incomplete without a consideration of sign functionality.

This section shows that code choice fluctuates with sign functionality, indicating that code choice is linked to the purpose a sign is supposed to serve. While multilingual signs are not discouraged in advertising, it is not truly valued and the most effective communication involves the use of a code that includes English. This is, of course, not to say that the other codes are incapable of serving a persuasive function, but rather that English functions as a prestige code in this regard and within this specific community. Signs that claim space are not strictly regulated, nor require or restrict multilingualism, and therefore these sign owners have the freedom to choose the codes they identify with. Signs with a practical purpose require multilingual codes, preferably with the inclusion of an African language. The varying code choices related to this functionality indicate, however, that this requirement is not absolute, if at least English or Afrikaans are included on the sign. Overall, the enactment of multilingual resources is neither prohibited nor strictly required. Therefore, communicative interaction is based on negotiation. Similarly, in light of the lack of clear guidelines, the mandate for multilingualism by government agents is open to interpretation. However, given the symbolic impact of language use in higher domain functions, especially by pivotal agents such as the government, choosing in favour of English and negating African languages has the impact of closing the ideological potential for a multilingual LL that is opened by the regulatory centre.

#### 5.4. Conclusion: the impact of LL choices

Code choices in the LL are influenced by directives from the regulatory and legitimising centres as well as the three LL variables, i.e. locality, agency and functionality. The exploration of the three variables reveals that they are in a continuous dialectic, each competing with the other to dictate what constitutes effective communication in the LL.

The resultant LL is largely created by locally situated agents operating from the bottom-up domain. While top-down agents are less active in general, they are relatively absent in the Townships, indicating a lack of activity in these locales. The perceived status of English by top-down agents, franchises and the Township populations is indeed reflected in the prevalence of this code in the LL. Afrikaans, the *lingua franca*, is employed by various actors and for a range of purposes and is therefore highly visible in the LL. African languages are not valued by non-speakers and thus they will not easily employ these languages in the LL. Since the African language speakers themselves consider their languages unsuitable for higher function activities, this code is virtually absent in the LL. In addition, top-down agents are not fulfilling their mandate to enhance the use of African languages, instead mostly using them only on warning signs.

Furthermore, there is a much lower incidence of multilingualism than expected in the LL. While bilingual Afrikaans/English signs are used relatively widely, multilingual signs that use one or two African languages in addition to Afrikaans and English comprise a very small portion of the LL. Most of these signs are pre-manufactured warning signs that are bought as is, indicating no real dedication to multilingualism. However, the inclusion of these languages on warning signs indicates that they are perceived to have functional value in the LL. In addition, the symbolic value of African languages is frequently recognised by their inclusion in ergonyms. Given the widespread use of Afrikaans, as well as the acknowledged potential of African languages, the implementational system enables multilingual capacities. However, the enactment of these capacities is negotiable rather than compulsory, and the onus rests on individual LL actors to choose in favour of multilingual signage.

The regulatory and the legitimising centres place the responsibility to actualise multilingualism on the implementational centre. These two centres also provide contradicting influences that impact on choices in the LL. The regulatory system supports institutionalised multilingualism in principle, but its hampered efficacy in executing its own directives results in an increased

use of English only. The legitimising system hosts a multilingual demography, but also varied and contradictory language appraisals. In addition, there is a lack of critical awareness around the importance of the LL. However, given that interactional regimes in the implementational centre are negotiable, the responsibility for the deployment of multilingualism is shifted from the LPP space onto the actors. Since the LL of the KLM is largely created by the community (internal bottom-up agents), this LL is their own creation; a construct of their shared, contested public space.

It could be argued that the small degree of multilingualism in the LL of the KLM does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in a multilingual public space. Since the LL functions as a *gestalt*, it is often discounted as part of the background and as a result, its critical importance is overlooked. In addition, language choices are usually made in line with prevailing conventions, without careful consideration. Arguably, if LL actors were more aware of the impact of the LL on language vitality, of the impact of a multilingual LL in promoting social cohesion by facilitating inclusion and accessibility, and that all languages are functionally capable of operating in the LL, they would possibly make different choices.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the absence of explicit LL regulations, the communicative needs and preferences of the community prevail in the LL. Given the relative isolation of this rural research site, with its small number of external LL actors and its few visitors, the communities address their LL requirements by themselves, for themselves. As such, this LL provides a clear example of how language choices in the public space can serve to negotiate and express power relations and identities within a community. A summative assessment of LL findings is first provided, followed by an evaluation of the methodology. The comments on the theoretical framework are extended to include recommendations for future LL research.

### 6.1. Remarks about the results of the study

In this specific research site, the LPP space was found not to impose any particular interactional regime. Instead, the requirements for effective communication are negotiable. The spatio-temporal characteristics of the research site reveal a multi-layered multilingual set-up, reflected in its administrative, historical and demographic dimensions. The regulatory system opens an ideological space for multilingualism, although it is poorly enacted by actors from this centre (i.e. the government itself). Feedback that is more complex is received from the legitimising centre. Spoken multilingualism is valued; but the differing appraisals by the various sociolinguistic groups influence the visibility of those languages in the LL. Language choices made in the implementational centre echo these fragmented and contradictory influences.

While multilingualism is not required for effective communication in this LL, multilingual texts are recognised as valid. Therefore, the onus lies with the LL actors themselves to enact their competencies. However, there is a high incidence of monolingualism in this LL, with such sign types constituting more than half (55.4%) of the LL. Language choices indicate a high preference for English, while Afrikaans is (still) prominent and African languages are negated. In addition, the majority of signage (64.5%) is created by local agents operating from the bottom-up domain. Given the relative isolation of the area, in this case the LL is largely created by the community itself, in accordance with its own communicative needs and preferences.

However, the argument can be made that the code choices made by top-down and bottom-up agents have different implications. Signage erected by the state, and therefore also the associated code choice, are by their very nature imposed. Monolingual choices as well as the neglect of African languages are a violation of the state's constitutional mandate to develop

institutional multilingualism and to promote the use of African languages. Conversely, private LL actors in South Africa are legally free to choose any code. This monolingual, English-dominated LL is largely the outcome of the community's preferences. However, closer inspection reveals that simple conclusions cannot be drawn about these prevalent language visibility profiles.

English is perceived as both a prestige and culturally neutral code, while Afrikaans, the *lingua franca*, is a practical option. However, perceptions about African languages are contradictory. Non-speakers of African languages do not assign communicative value to these languages, especially since there are measures in place to ensure efficient communication between sociolinguistic groups – mostly accommodation on the part of the multilingual African language-speaking groups. With regard to written communication, signs displaying Afrikaans and/or English are perceived to facilitate intergroup communication. Therefore, non-speakers are unlikely to employ African languages in the LL. This responsibility is left to the speakers of these languages themselves. While this group highly values its own spoken multilingual competency, the capacity of African languages to fulfil higher domain functions (such as in the LL) is negatively evaluated. Another factor is the capacity of multilingual African language speakers to employ their linguistic skills to negotiate various identities. Therefore, their use of English aligns them with the modernity and upward social mobility associated with this language.

In contrast to these appraisals, African languages are in fact employed in contexts where they serve both symbolic and pragmatic functions. African languages are often used on private homes in the Townships (the same goes for Afrikaans in the Coloured Areas and the FWTs), indicating an appreciation of own languages as a marker of identity. This symbolic value of the African languages is also engaged by including a personal name or another proper noun in an African language in ergonyms, declaring a shared identity with the target audience. Given that most of these ergonyms are names of shops, the use of the African code here also indicates its prestige as associated with the socio-economic status of a commercial initiative. Furthermore, given how often African languages are used on warning signs, they are perceived to be valued on functional (or instrumental) grounds.

The value of multilingualism in the LL is underestimated by LL actors. While the bilingual Afrikaans/English code is used on a quarter of signage (26.2%), multilingual signs displaying



one or more African languages in addition to Afrikaans and English are scarce, constituting less than a tenth (8.1%) of the LL. This low incidence of multilingual signage, as well as the absence of African languages, can be partly ascribed to a lack of critical awareness about the importance of code choice in the LL. Incidentally, an avenue of further research and community engagement is revealed in this regard. Instead of endeavours aimed at imposing African languages and multilingual codes in the LL, interventions should rather focus on enhancing the community's critical awareness. This will empower the community to make informed decisions about their LL instead of simply conforming to prevailing trends and perceptions. The importance of research that contributes to local knowledge is highlighted by this study.

What is clearly illustrated in this study, is how the LL is used as a mechanism to negotiate official language policy (albeit perhaps unknowingly). Institutional multilingualism is constitutionally mandated, but actual practices are affected by the agendas of various LL actors. All agents use trilingual or quadrilingual signs when liability is at stake (i.e. on warning signs), but code choices on other types of signs vary widely. Choices by external agents are usually informed by pragmatic motivations. Given the appraisal of English as a neutral language suitable for wider communication, both top-down and bottom-up external agents make extensive use of this language. Symbolic considerations come into play when external bottom-up agents (i.e. franchises) use English almost exclusively as a prestige code. External top-down agents (government institutions), in addition to a prominent use of English, demonstrate an attempt at inclusivity by including African languages in ergonyms.

Locally situated top-down agents (i.e. the municipalities) also appear to be motivated mostly by pragmatic considerations. Signs are not replaced unless there is a practical requirement, e.g. the construction of a new building, a changed street name or the severe dilapidation of an essential sign. Therefore, signs by this agent still reflect guidelines from the previous linguistic regime. In contrast, internal bottom-up agents (local commercial initiatives, homeowners and graffiti artists) appear to be motivated by symbolic considerations rather than pragmatic ones. Commercial agents erect signage in order to persuade. While this involves the substantial utilisation of English as a prestige code, there is a higher incidence of including the local languages (African languages and Afrikaans) within this agent. Signs erected to claim space (on private homes as well as graffiti) show a significantly greater use of African languages and

Afrikaans. It can thus be said that the vague official language policy is enacted according to the needs of individual LL actors.

This manipulation of the LL to effect language practices also relays the LL's mediating role in constructing the public space. Code choices are used to express, negotiate and enforce power relations and identities. The revised language policy in South Africa is vague and government agents do not implement it strictly. Consequently, bottom-up agents do not necessarily follow suit, as they did under the previous linguistic regime. Rather, the deciding factors are the linguistic preferences of the various sociolinguistic groups as well as their appraisals of the available codes.

Every code choice executed in the LL reflects a measure of control over a portion of the public space. The widespread use of English stems from its prestige and its (perceived) status as a language of wider communication, but it is also considered a 'neutral' language that can be used for impartial communication between groups. Therefore, the use of this code can also point to an attempt at accommodation. However, English is used for so many different reasons that no single deduction can be made about its function in facilitating power relations in the LL. Afrikaans has experienced a loss of its higher domain functions since 1994. Given the association between language and cultural identity, the maintenance of this language in the LL can be interpreted as a continuation of the *status quo* and the preservation of cultural identity. African languages have not experienced a similar loss. Instead, speakers seem to associate the use of their languages in higher domain functions negatively with repressive initiatives from the previous regime. Speakers from this group are linguistically more fluid, selecting codes from their wide repertoire to fulfil any number of functions. Not only do they use different codes according to differing contexts in spoken interaction; they express yet another competency (and identity) by employing English in the LL. On the one hand, use of this language associates users with values such as modernity, political freedom and upward social mobility. On the other hand, they engage their shared identity with the target audience by including African languages in ergonyms and on their private homes.

## 6.2. Remarks about the methodology

Methodologically, the present study proves the importance of triangulation as well as the value of a combined quantitative/qualitative approach. Such an approach produces factual proof for observations regarding code choices by quantifying their occurrences. The points of cross-

reference, the facets of LPP space as well as the LL variables, allow for an analysis of the dynamics behind these code choices. There is definitely a dialectic between choices made in the LL and the three LL variables (locality, agency and functionality).

With regard to locality, the LLs of the nine KLM towns reveal a measure of correlation between the regional distribution of the most frequently spoken languages and its occurrence in the LL. Similarly, each locale (Coloured Areas, FWTs and Townships) produced a distinct language visibility profile. These LVPs do not necessarily correlate with the sociolinguistic composition of the locales, but rather with the various language perceptions held by the LL actors within each locale. Therefore, the LL not only reflects the linguistic resources available to the community, but also their appraisals thereof. The different aspects of agency (top-down/bottom-up, internal/external, sign owners) each impact differently on language visibility profiles. Thus, LL actors base their choices on the function they wish their signage to fulfil as well as on which language they perceive to serve this purpose best. This phenomenon is linked to the third variable, functionality, where a distinction is drawn between practical purposes (guidance, warning or information) and symbolic aims (persuasion, claiming space or identification).

The elaborate coding scheme allows for a more nuanced understanding of the role of locality, agency and functionality as variables. The enhanced analysis of code preference, which distinguishes between code prevalence and code prominence, results in a more accurate interpretation of how codes are deployed in the LL. In particular, a method to deal with ergonyms was proposed and proven effective. On the one hand, the comprehensive nature of this study allows for comparability between other studies at any number of points of correlation. On the other hand, the manual codification of such an extensive database is extremely time-consuming and vulnerable to human error, necessitating several (more time-consuming) measures for crosschecking results.

Another methodological shortcoming is that without interviews agency and functionality could not be determined with absolute certainty in all cases. However, given the size of the study, conducting additional interviews was not deemed a viable option. A future study in the form of a selective ethnographic investigation could verify the results of the present study. Given the rural setting of the research site, where socio-political change is effected at a slower pace, the results will have to be verified in order to confirm their uniqueness. For example, the

observations about LL dynamics in peripheral areas can be corroborated by a selective comparative study, either with another rural LL or with a local urban area. Another avenue for further research is a selective diachronic investigation into changes in this particular LL over time.

### 6.3. Remarks about the theoretical framework

With regard to the theoretical aims of the present study, the environment (LPP space) is indeed found to be an influencing factor with regard to the enactment of multilingual competencies. This notion was tested by Blommaert and his colleagues in situations of unstable language contact, where various actors have differing linguistic resources at their disposals. However, even in the KLM where linguistic interaction is stabilised and various communicative techniques are in place, the LPP space is still a determining factor. Only in the present situation, by providing lax interactive regimes that require negotiation rather than compliance for effective communication, multilingual competencies are neither actively enabled nor disabled. However, although it is not required, multilingual written communication is recognised as valid. Therefore, multilingual competencies are deployed at the discretion of the LL actors themselves.

The proposed model of the LLP space proved useful in providing a systematic manner in which to explore the various factors influencing language choices in the LL. Simultaneously, it situates the LL, as an LPP domain, within the context of other LPP factors (centres). The outcome of this study proves, once again, that an integrated approach to LPP is a necessity. In this way, a comprehensive and systematic enquiry can be made into LL issues, yielding a nuanced understanding of LPP realities.

The proposed model of LPP space has been subjected to thorough testing in this empirical study. It has proven to be a useful framework, facilitating the systematic exploration of the LL and the dynamics behind its creation. The different facets of the LPP space, as well as the three LL variables, are interactive and competing, resulting in the complex and varied construct that is the LL. While the model proved useful for an analysis of the LL as LPP domain, its success here might also imply usefulness to other areas of LPP research.

#### 6.4. Contributions to the field

The LL has been utilised as a methodology or source of information for a variety of research topics. While such an approach renders useful results, it does not contribute to LL theorisation. A solution is to focus on only one of the LLs many facets and explore that in full. By focusing on one modality of LL, namely that aspect which relates to LPP, its dynamics in this regard can be explored in full. Additionally, through exploring the LL as an LPP domain, existing theoretical LPP concepts can be tested. These two avenues of research can indeed be mutually beneficial in terms of yielding data and testing theory. This section will first explore the contribution of the data analysis to current LL understanding. Then the usefulness of the model is considered.

One methodological development of the present study with theoretical implications is the refined system for determining code preference. Code preference is a pertinent issue in LL research, since studies often concentrate either on the visibility of languages or on the relations of powers between displayed languages. Distinguishing between code prevalence and code prominence allows for a more nuanced exploration of code preference. This can reveal implicit language ideologies, language patterns that might not be obvious as well as other linguistic idiosyncrasies. It would also be interesting to compare the perceived visibility of languages to a prevalence and prominence analysis. However, while the differentiation is theoretically valuable, the technique needs to be refined.

A related topic is that of the pervasiveness of English in LLs all over the world. It is the most dominant code used in this LL as well, not only as a prestige code, but also as one associated with cultural neutrality in the local context and with the national identity. The far-reaching effects of globalisation is felt even in this rural area and the continued relevance of research in this regard is confirmed. A further effect of globalisation is the spread of brand names even to these outlying areas. In fact, some of these BCN's have so much prestige that they are informally copied. These results from this rural and isolation area provide the potential for comparative studies, which might serve to provide some universal insights into the effects of globalisation.

This use of the LL is also indicative of how the LL is employed to construct the public space (Ben-Rafael 2009) symbolically through “meaning-making processes of visible language” (Backhaus 2005a: 2). Code choices in the LL are utilised, through the power of association, to

create a favourable image of the self. In turn, this constitutes a degree of creation and control of the public space – space can be controlled by controlling the discourses in that space (Scollon & Scollon 2003: x). By effecting code choices, LL actors invoke the values associated with that code. In this way, LL actors not only construct an image of the self, but also introduce that specific element to the public arena. Thus, individual LL actors ‘create’ the public space. The specificities of how this is achieved in this research site, of how choices are made between several code options and why, and the impact of these choices, again provide the potential for universal theorisations about the control and construction of the public space.

A composite effect of the individual efforts at controlling portions of the public space is the creation of ‘place’. Some places are deliberately created, such as the so-called Chinatowns (Lou 2010), but others are the result of a conglomeration of (not always consciously) shared perceptions about available codes. This is evident in the unique neighbourhood identities (Shohamy 2015: 165-166) that can be observed for each of the three different locales (Coloured Areas, Former White Towns and Townships). This observation ties in with existing LL studies that explore ‘neighbourhoods’. Previous LL research has pointed out that the language patterns in the LL does not necessarily correlate with the sociolinguistic composition of the host community, but rather reflects the linguistic resources used in the LL (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006: 14; Extra & Barni 2008: 3). This study more specifically proves that the LL mirrors the dominant language judgments. Since sociolinguistic groups tend to share certain perceptions about the available codes, and make their choices accordingly, the result is the observable neighbourhood identities. In addition, certain type of LL actors (e.g. external government agencies or franchises) tend to share similar perceptions about the code choices appropriate for serving their goal. As a result, in certain functional areas of the public space LVPs tend to mimic one another. In summary, LL actors base their choice on the function they wish their signage to fulfil as well as on which code they perceive most able to fulfil this purpose. As such, the LL can be said rather to be a reflection of the appraisal of code choices available in a certain area. Considering this element forces LL researchers to include a survey of the language attitudes, a method of triangulation that ensures the validity of LL findings. Such an approach further serve to elevate LL studies from simply descriptive to analytical.

The clashing language appraisals in the present research site explain, to a degree, the incongruence between the official language regulations and the multilingual composition of the Xhariep community on the one hand, and high incidence of monolingual signage and

English on the other. Written language, especially when produced in the public space, has a different symbolic value from spoken language (Backhaus 2007: 1, 4-8). Therefore, evaluations of languages made during spoken interactions do not always transfer code choices in its written form. The LL reflects the appraisals of the suitability of a code to perform a function in its written form, whereas the same code might be evaluated differently during spoken interaction. This aspect highlights the importance of triangulation. Given that the majority of the population belongs to African language-speaking groups, the assumption would be that African languages would be highly visible in the LL. However, the background information about spoken interaction shows that during intercultural contact the more multilingual party (usually a speaker of the African languages) accommodates the less multilingual party (usually Afrikaans or English speakers). This accommodation is rarely returned, including in the LL. Except for warning signs, almost no African languages are used outside of the Townships. However, the speakers of African languages themselves also choose to use their own languages less often in the LL than one would expect. Nevertheless, they do use code options that include African languages for highly symbolic functions, like in ergonyms, thereby indicating a higher evaluation of own language than might be obvious at first glance. Since the official language policy is vague, the discrepancy between policy and practice is not that great. However, what the present study reveals is that in the absence of strong policies, language attitudes will most likely determine code choice in the LL.

The situation in the Xhariep calls into question the idea that language visibility is linked to the (perceived) ethno-linguistic vitality of sociolinguistic groups. It might hold true for minority groups, such as in the original study by Landry and Bourhis (1997), but in the present case the African language-speaking group is by far the majority (constituting 71.5% of the population). While African languages are rarely used in the LL, they remain widely spoken and the vitality of this group does not appear to be under any threat. Furthermore, an analysis of the LL data against the three variables (agency, locality and functionality) reveals that African language-speakers use their own languages on signs of high symbolic importance (i.e. ergonyms). Even though the other population groups in the area do not value the communicative value of African languages, the speakers themselves have no problem to incorporate these languages in their code choices. Results such as these, point out the necessity of triangulation, as well as the usefulness of the three LL variables. It also calls for further research under varied circumstances of the link between language visibility and linguistic vitality,

Another interesting correlation between this LL and previous studies is the utilisation of the LL to express identities, whether real or desired. Migrant communities employ the LL to create multiple identities: a unique identity to distinguish themselves from each other and another to align themselves with the national identity of the host community (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2015: 35; Woldemariam & Lanza 2015: 172-190). However, the group speaking an African language in the present study achieves a similar effect by employing the bilingual African/English code in their ergonyms. Including an African language element refers to a unique identity, while English invokes not only the associations of prestige, but also ties in to a national identity, one perceived by the local community to value English as the language of progress. These two types of communities are in very different situations (minority/majority, foreigner/citizen) and yet employ the LL in the same manner and for the same reason. Discovering that the findings from earlier studies are not unique once again highlight the need for an accessible avenue dedicated to sharing LL research – which in future might be found in the journal, *Linguistic Landscape*.

A clear outcome of this study is the confirmation of the LL as an LPP mechanism (Shohamy 2006). In the present LL, the onus rests on LL actors to enact their multilingual competencies. The situation might have been different if there were clear and enforced directives regarding language visibility. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) show a clear correlation between strong language visibility regulations and the enhanced presence of the affected language in the LL. Therefore, although the South African Constitution mandates institutionalised multilingualism, actual language practices (i.e. *de facto* language policy) is rather affected by the agendas of the various LL actors. The vague official policy is enacted according to the needs of individual LL actors and the LL is thus manipulated to achieve these goals. The structuration principles by Spolsky (2009) and Ben-Rafael (2009), as well as the Grin's (2003) conditions for language use (section 2.3.2) provide fruitful ground for a synthesis of the motivations behind code choice; i.e. the functions which the LL is deemed to serve: pragmatic (guidance, warning, information) and symbolic (persuasion, identification or claiming space). A single code can be used for different reasons, depending on the context. In the absence of strong policy guidelines, language policy is not enforced and therefore the LL is not really used to protest LPP. However, given the varying and even conflicting language appraisals, processes of negotiation (with regard to the expression of identity, accommodation of differing linguistic capacities, power relations in these regards) are evident. Nevertheless, the concept of the LL as the result of conflicting interests, negotiations and impositions (Shohamy & Waksman 2009) stand.



Another question arises from the relatively isolated nature of these communities – are they more indulgent in catering to their own communicative needs when compared to areas that are more multicultural or that aim to attract the attention of more visitors? Even if a strong national language policy were in place, would it be strictly implemented in a rural area? Are the processes of negotiation (rather than of conflict and imposition) also prevalent in other multilingual communities in South Africa or is it contained to the rural areas? These questions indicate the need for due consideration of the local context even while trying to extrapolate theory. The results from this study prove some existing LL findings (the LL as mechanism for LPP, place and public space), question some others (the link between visibility and vitality) and it should give something to reflect on about the dynamics behind code choices.

Turning to the theoretical aims of the study, the usefulness of the model for LPP and LL research is considered. The model aims to provide an integrated approach that allows for the exploration of various LPP aspects simultaneously. It allows for a well-grounded methodology – it incorporates descriptive, analytical and critical elements in one study, ensures triangulation and provides a combined quantitative-qualitative approach.

There are existing LPP conceptualisations that move toward (and therefore confirm the necessity of) an integrated approach. While the existing theoretical frameworks acknowledge the interaction between different LPP elements, synthesising them in the model allows for a crucial element of each to be recognised – its role in determining the validity of communicative interactions. This approach allows for criteria against which to measure the contribution from various LPP inputs (regulations, attitudes and actual practices) consistently. However, the proposed model is not relevant to all of LL research, just as it is not applicable to the whole LPP field. On the one hand, it considers the facet of LL that is influenced by LPP. On the other hand, the model appreciates the functional aspect of LPP since it is designed to analyse LPP domains. In this way, the theoretical contribution of the present study is clearly delineated. An essentialist approach to LL is avoided and instead it is emphasised that only one of the many aspects of LL is explored. This is perhaps a crucial theoretical contribution. LL research should acknowledge that the LL manifests in different ways and as the result of different processes. None is the ‘essence’ of LL; instead, research should be framed as exploring aspects of LL. Further, by approaching the LL as a LPP domain, the present study shows that the LL can serve as more than simply a methodology in interdisciplinary research.

The model is intended to serve as an analytical tool for other LPP domains as well. Scalar differentiation within each centre renders the model flexible and as such, it can be applied to other LPP domains. For instance, each domain (and indeed research site) will have unique spatio-temporal characteristics. Administrative levels will be differently defined in other LPP domains (regulatory centre), each LPP domain will have different participants and criteria for the evaluation of code choices (legitimising centre), and of course, various types of language practices will be performed in other LPP domains (implementational centre). However, while the viability of the model is proven, it will have to be tested in other LPP domains in order to confirm its validity.

A particularly useful feature of the model is that it explains, to some degree, the incongruence between official language policy and actual linguistic practices. When considering that the fundamental function of each centre is to provide the norms for communicative interactions, failure in any centre should be considered against the norms provided by the other centres. In this way, possible discrepancies in guidelines or differing levels of activities can be identified. This will explain why some official language policies fail and why certain multilingual capacities are not enacted. Exploring whether centres provide sufficient guidelines for valid communicative interaction can reveal where interventions are required, if they are indeed necessary. The founding tenet of this model might be useful to other LL studies that do not follow an LPP approach, namely, to explore the norms for effective communication in whatever context. Overall, the present study proves the worth of interdisciplinary research between LL and LPP.

#### 6.5. Recommendations for further LL research

There are a number of avenues open to further LL research – not only certain topics such as architectural considerations and bio-scientific research, but also the possibilities opened up by technological advances. In addition, there is still much to be explored in terms of interdisciplinary research. For instance, LL research can further contribute to knowledge about LPP and its role in society. The LL's potential as a pedagogical resource can be developed more extensively, as well as its mediating function in societal inclusion in contexts of intercultural contact. The phenomenon of translanguaging in the LL can yield insight into research about linguistics and meaning making.

However, while certainly interesting, it is essential for LL research to resolve theoretical and methodological issues on a foundational level. The biggest challenge facing LL research at this stage is the absence of a coherent methodological and theoretical framework. Given that LL research is essentially interdisciplinary, the development of an overarching and specific LL theory is unlikely. However, basic methodological issues, such as research sites, units of analysis and coding schemes, should be resolved on the theoretical level. This will enhance comparability between studies and consequently enhance the scope of local findings. Also of importance in this regard is further empirical study that is based on data that are systematically collected and analysed in order to develop theories (Gorter 2013: 204-205). Comparability between studies is partly hampered by the interdisciplinary nature of LL research, which means that research is published in diverse and sometimes difficult to access avenues. However, the newly established *Linguistic Landscape* journal will provide easy and useful access to current research conducted on various topics and in different parts of the world.

At this stage, further LL research cannot be merely descriptive. Studies have to provide an exploration, and possibly a theorisation of the dynamics behind the creation of the LL. Theoretical advancements should aim at improving understanding of the role of the LL in creating public space, in facilitating the negotiation of socio-political relations and in general meaning-making. It is essential that LL research is two-fold. First, for a study to make a useful contribution, its findings should be generalised in order to contribute to the development of LL theory. Second, given the symbolic and pragmatic role of the LL in society, LL research should make a real-life contribution. Results specific to the research site should contribute to local knowledge about the LL, whether on municipal, regional or national level, and be utilised to raise critical awareness about the LL as a mechanism for realising language policy and social cohesion. In this way, LL research can contribute to the empowerment of communities and LL actors instead of diverging into a mere theoretical interest. What purpose does scientific enquiry serve, indeed, other than to understand and perhaps even improve our world?

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### **Online sources for maps**

- Figure 2: Map of the nine provinces of South Africa. Available: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_South\\_Africa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_South_Africa) [2015, November 10].
- Figure 3: Map of the five district municipalities of the Free State province. Available: <http://municipalities.co.za/provinces/view/2/free-state> [2015, November 10].
- Figure 4: Map of the four local municipalities comprising the Xhariep District. Available: <http://municipalities.co.za/districts/view/11/Xhariep-District-Municipality#map> [2015, November 10].
- Figure 5: Map of the nine towns comprising the Kopanong Local Municipality. Available: [www.places.co.za/maps/free\\_state\\_map.html](http://www.places.co.za/maps/free_state_map.html) [2015, November 10].

Figure 6: Map of the location of the KLM towns compared to Bloemfontein centre. Available: <http://blog.sa-venues.com/provinces/free-state/2010-host-city-bloemfontein/> [2015, November 10].

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## ADDENDA

Addendum A: Demographic information of towns in the KLM

TOWN	SUBTOWN	SUBURB TYPE	CODE	Area km <sup>2</sup>	Population	Population density (persons/km <sup>2</sup> )	Households	Most frequently spoken language
<b>Bethulie</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461018</b>	<b>37.02</b>	<b>6 496</b>	<b>175.47</b>	<b>1 952</b>	<b>Xhosa</b>
	Bethulie SP	FWT	Sub Place 461018001	35.65	1 542	43.25	514	Afrikaans
	Cloetespark	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461018002	0.16	557	3 481.25	162	Afrikaans
	Lephoi	Township	Main Place 461019	1.21	4 397	3 633.88	1 276	Xhosa
<b>Edenburg</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461004</b>	<b>41.36</b>	<b>6 460</b>	<b>156.19</b>	<b>1 981</b>	<b>Sotho</b>
	Edenburg SP	FWT	Sub Place 461004002	39.86	1 028	25.79	317	Afrikaans
	Edenhoogte	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461004001	0.22	381	1 731.82	110	Afrikaans
	Ha-Rasebei	Township	Main Place 461005	1.28	5 051	3 946.09	1 554	Sotho
<b>Fauresmith</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461007</b>	<b>53.19</b>	<b>3 628</b>	<b>68.21</b>	<b>1 194</b>	<b>Afrikaans</b>
	Fauresmith SP	FWT	Sub Place 461007002	50.63	770	15.21	232	Afrikaans
	Frayville	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461007001	1.51	660	437.09	218	Afrikaans
	Ipopeng	Township	Main Place 461006	1.05	2 198	2 093.33	744	Afrikaans
<b>Gariiep Dam</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461021</b>	<b>24.83</b>	<b>1 568</b>	<b>63.15</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>Afrikaans</b>

	Gariepdam SP	FWT	Sub Place 461021001	24.83	1 568	63.15	462	Afrikaans
<b>Jagersfontein</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461008</b>	<b>25.48</b>	<b>5 690</b>	<b>223.31</b>	<b>1 930</b>	<b>Sotho</b>
	Jagersfontein SP	FWT	Sub Place 461008001	22.98	1 290	56.14	428	Afrikaans
	Charlesville	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461008003	0.73	490	671.23	156	Sotho
	Itumeleng	Township	Main Place 461009	1.77	3 910	2 209.04	1 346	Sotho
<b>Philippolis</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461013</b>	<b>39.59</b>	<b>3 648</b>	<b>92.14</b>	<b>1 147</b>	<b>Afrikaans</b>
	Philippolis SP	FWT	Sub Place 461013001	37.99	433	11.40	186	Afrikaans
	Bergmanshoogte	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461013002	0.36	517	1 436.11	112	Afrikaans
	Poding-Tse-Rolo	Township	Main Place 461014	1.24	2 698	2 175.81	849	Xhosa
<b>Reddersburg</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461002</b>	<b>20.07</b>	<b>4 886</b>	<b>243.45</b>	<b>1 474</b>	<b>Sotho</b>
	Reddersburg SP	FWT	Main Place 461002	18.62	669	35.93	205	Afrikaans
	Matoporong	Township	Main Place 461001	1.45	4 217	2 908.28	1 269	Sotho
<b>Springfontein</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461015</b>	<b>16.55</b>	<b>3 699</b>	<b>223.50</b>	<b>1 180</b>	<b>Xhosa</b>
	Springfontein SP	FWT	Sub Place 461015002	14.69	711	48.40	228	Afrikaans
	Williamsville	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461015001	0.40	466	1 165.00	142	Afrikaans
	Maphodi	Township	Main Place 461016	1.46	2 522	1 727.40	810	Xhosa
<b>Trompsburg</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>Main Place 461011</b>	<b>16.17</b>	<b>5 338</b>	<b>330.12</b>	<b>1 614</b>	<b>Sotho</b>

	Trompsburg SP	FWT	Sub Place 461011002	14.21	942	66.29	256	Afrikaans
	Noordmanville	Coloured Area	Sub Place 461011001	0.55	938	1 705.45	266	Afrikaans
	Madikgetla	Township	Main Place 461010	1.41	3 458	2 452.48	1 092	Sotho

(Source: Frith 2011 <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/461>, accessed 2015, July 20)\*

“This site is developed by Adrian Frith. This site is not affiliated with Statistics South Africa, nor is it affiliated with my employer. Statistics South Africa is the source of the basic data, while the information displayed results from my own processing of the census data. Population statistics were obtained from the Census 2011 Community Profile Databases, and geographical areas were calculated from the Census 2011 GIS DVD.”

\*NOT APPLICABLE INCLUDED

Addendum B: Identification of signs constituting the KLM LL

<b>LL SIGN ID</b>				
<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Suburb type</b>	<b>Suburb name</b>	<b>ID range</b>	<b>Date of record</b>
<b>Springfontein</b>	FWT	Springfontein	1-275	20091104-05
	Township	Maphodi	276-384	20091104-05
	Gebied	Williamsville	385-429	20091104-05
<b>Trompsburg</b>	FWT	Trompsburg	430-810	20091102-03
	Township	Madikgetla	811-941	20091102-03
	Gebied	Noordmansville	942-982	20091102-03
<b>Philippolis</b>	FWT	Philippolis	983-1385	20080520-21
	Township	Poding-tse-Rolo	1386-1500	20080520-21
	Gebied	Bergmanshoogte	1501-1549	20080520-21
<b>Bethulie</b>	FWT	Bethulie	1637-2347	20100510
	Township	Lephoi	2348-2601	20100503
	Gebied	Cloetespark	1550-1636	20100503
<b>Edenburg</b>	FWT	Edenburg	2602-3100	20100816-18
	Township	Ha-Rasebei	3101-3413	20100817
	Gebied	Edenhoogte	3414-3445	20100817
<b>Fauresmith</b>	FWT	Fauresmith	3446-3829	20100505
	Township	Ipopeng	3830-3969	20100505
	Gebied	Frayville	3970-3991	20100505
<b>Gariiep Dam</b>	FWT	Gariiep Dam	3992-4055	20100504
	Gebied	Faunapark	4056-4464	20100504
<b>Jagersfontein</b>	FWT	Jagersfontein	4465-4937	20100506-07
	Township 1	Itumeleng	4938-5133	20100506
	Township 2	Mosenthalsville	5134-5145	2010506
	Gebied	Charlesville	5146-5193	20100506
<b>Reddersburg</b>	FWT	Reddersburg	5194-5868	20100511
	Township	Matoporong	5869-6232	20100511



Addendum C: Comparison between distribution of spoken and written languages in localities in the KLM

TOWN & locale		language spoken/locality			language prevalence in the LL/locality		
		African language	Afrikaans	English	African language	Afrikaans	English
<b>Bethulie</b>		<b>73.5%</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>18.5%</b>	<b>50.9%</b>	<b>82.0%</b>
	FWT	47.6%	42.4%	8.0%	8.6%	43.5%	58.6%
	Coloured Area	26.6%	72.5%	0.4%	4.3%	5.0%	7.1%
	Township	91.5%	5.3%	1.5%	5.6%	2.4%	16.3%
<b>Edenburg</b>		<b>68.5%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>47.0%</b>	<b>70.2%</b>
	FWT	27.0%	67.3%	4.8%	6.5%	37.2%	42.4%
	Coloured Area	2.9%	96.6%	0.3%	1.3%	0.9%	2.7%
	Township	83.0%	14.7%	0.7%	12.7%	8.9%	25.1%
<b>Fauresmith</b>		<b>34.8%</b>	<b>57.9%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>66.5%</b>	<b>74.9%</b>
	FWT	19.3%	77.7%	1.9%	8.8%	55.9%	54.9%
	Coloured Area	23.5%	75.9%	0.6%	0.6%	2.7%	2.0%
	Township	45.4%	52.5%	1.2%	6.5%	7.8%	18.0%
<b>Gariiep Dam</b>		<b>17.5%</b>	<b>76.9%</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	<b>69.5%</b>	<b>72.8%</b>
	FWT	17.5%	76.9%	4.9%	1.5%	10.4%	7.9%
	Coloured Area	Included in FWT by Frith (2011)			10.4%	59.2%	64.9%
<b>Jagersfontein</b>		<b>70.0%</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>20.5%</b>	<b>47.3%</b>	<b>78.3%</b>
	FWT	36.1%	56.6%	5.8%	9.9%	38.3%	51.6%
	Coloured Area	85.5%	11.4%	1.6%	2.1%	3.5%	4.7%
	Township	79.7%	17.0%	1.7%	8.4%	5.5%	22.0%
<b>Philippolis</b>		<b>56.5%</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>61.1%</b>	<b>72.9%</b>
	FWT	23.4%	66.4%	8.1%	6.6%	48.4%	51.2%

	Coloured Area	1.7%	97.3%	0.4%	3.7%	6.2%	6.4%
	Township	72.2%	26.5%	0.4%	4.0%	6.4%	15.4%
<b>Reddersburg</b>		<b>80.8%</b>	<b>13.9%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>49.8%</b>	<b>82.6%</b>
	FWT	11.5%	85.2%	2.1%	6.7%	46.5%	56.0%
	Township	92.3%	4.4%	1.1%	16.6%	3.2%	26.6%
<b>Springfontein</b>		<b>68.0%</b>	<b>28.9%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>17.8%</b>	<b>35.1%</b>	<b>83.2%</b>
	FWT	54.0%	41.1%	4.0%	7.8%	27.8%	55.1%
	Coloured Area	4.9%	92.7%	1.9%	1.3%	2.3%	7.8%
	Township	83.6%	13.7%	1.1%	8.8%	5.0%	20.3%
<b>Trompsburg</b>		<b>58.3%</b>	<b>34.2%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>21.9%</b>	<b>47.0%</b>	<b>73.6%</b>
	FWT	33.6%	56.6%	6.1%	10.6%	40.9%	50.2%
	Coloured Area	21.8%	76.4%	0.2%	1.5%	2.9%	4.9%
	Township	77.3%	20.4%	1.4%	9.7%	3.2%	18.4%