The Linguistic Landscape of Rural South Africa after 1994:

A Case Study of Philippolis

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Linguistic landscape (LL) research is a recent development in the field of sociolinguistics, focusing specifically on language policy and planning as well as aspects of linguistic diversity. The LL itself is, essentially, the written communication situated in the public space. Written language has different semiotic properties from those of spoken language, and the LL hence offers a new approach to investigating sociolinguistic themes. The LL, being situated in the public space, which is a continuously contested arena, carries significant symbolic meaning. Given the dialectic between society and the LL, the latter not only reflects the nature of the sociolinguistic groups within a specific area, but also broader socio-political developments. The LL is more than a reflection – it also serves to shape the society. The LL is used to create and maintain power relations, and also to express and create identities.

By the very nature of the language being written, and being situated in the public space, the LL's importance lies in the fact that it is language made visible. Hogan-Brun, Ozolins, Ramoniené and Rannut (2007: 612) state in their study of the language regime changes in the Baltic States after their independence that, in the light of the centrality of language to the Baltic national identity, the language laws of the late 1980's acted as "*de facto* statements of independence". This statement can be applied to most situations where a change in political regime occurred. In the South African context, the dramatic conversion from apartheid to democracy was accompanied by an ambitious new language policy introduced after 1994. For the population to experience change as real/tangible and for a language policy to succeed, sociolinguistic changes need to be visible. Maurais (1997: 152) identifies the LL (referring specifically to "public commercial signs") as one of the domains wherein change must be visible. This change is also important for linguistic groups to understand their role in society. Landry and Bourhis (1997) identify language visibility as a factor, amongst others, in perceived ethnolinguistic vitality. Language visibility also impacts on actual language vitality. For instance, Coluzzi's (2009) study of the LL's of the northern Italian cities of Milan and Udine focuses specifically on the presence of the local regional/minority languages. He finds that English and the dominant languages dominate the LL, as is the case worldwide. To prevent a

language shift to the majority language, he argues for the need to put effective language strategies into place, one of which is to allow minority and regional languages to share the LL with the more prestigious languages (2009: 310-311).

The LL is thus a powerful mechanism of inclusion and exclusion, and hence also of expressing and creating identities. The most effective means by which to address these themes are by investigating issues of agency (by whom is the LL written), readership (for whom is the LL written), and the dynamics involved in shaping the LL. The latter aspect is addressed effectively by referring to the functions of the LL (informational, symbolic and mythological), as well as the structuration principles shaping the LL, which involve either pragmatic or symbolic considerations. By employing these research parameters, this study addresses topics identified by previous studies. The most prevalent subject is that of multilingualism, as addressed by Backhaus' various studies, the book edited by Gorter (2006a) and Reh's (2004) typology of multilingualism. The importance of language visibility is notably addressed by Coluzzi (2009) and, in turn, its impact on identity by Curtin (2007) and language attitudes by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Two other related topics are those of societal power (Brown, 2007; Shohamy, 2006) and the interchange between ethnolinguistic communities and the LL (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Lou, 2009).

Methodologically, the current study is based on a combined qualitative/quantitative approach (Backhaus, 2005a), paying due attention to the importance of triangulation. Barni (2006, 2008) points out that it is crucial to verify LL findings with administrative, historical and demographic information. This study investigates the LL of Philippolis, a rural town in the south of the Free State Province in South Africa, to determine the impact of the broader socio-political changes after 1994 on the rural linguistic landscape.

Du Plessis (2007: 553) points out that few studies have been conducted on the LL of South Africa, or indeed of Africa (Rosendal, 2009: 21). Given the high degree of societal multilingualism, the complex language policy and the drastic political reform, it follows that South Africa's LL can be expected to have a unique LL. Furthermore, this is even more likely for the rural areas, which continue to be marginalised after

the process of decentralisation of municipal structures. This is a shortcoming in the current body of research as the focus of LL research has been on urban areas, to the degree that the term 'cityscape' has been suggested (Gorter, 2006b: 2; Spolsky in the foreword of Backhaus, 2007: ix). The uniqueness of rural areas is emphasised by the study of the effect of public policy in small towns undertaken by Van Niekerk and Marais (2008). They choose Philippolis as a case study, as it can be considered a typical Free State town. In other words, it is quite some distance from the main urban centres. The outlaying areas depend on extensive stock farming and social grants play an important role in the economies of small towns. Also, national and provincial departments do not have an integrated means of service delivery. The findings are considered to be relevant to most small towns (according to their criteria, with a population less than 50 000 inhabitants) in the Free State and Northern Cape (2008: 371).

On the other hand, the town of Philippolis is unique in terms of its historical significance, with regard to both population migrations and governance. Since it is the oldest settlement in the Free State, it played a central role in the early development of the Free State Province. Further, there is a strong historical presence of Khoisan descendants, for whom several mission stations were established in area (of which Philippolis was one). The migration of several population groups had a significant impact on the composition of the current population. The major role players were the Griqua, a group of emancipated coloureds (or Basters, as they called themselves originally) from the Cape Colony. During the Mfecane, the state of war under the rule of Shaka Zulu, there was an influx of Setswana and Sesotho refugees. The introduction of the Afrikaners into the area was marked by the arrival of the Trekboere, followed by the nationalist Voortrekkers. The British played a major political, but not populative role. The Afrikaans-speaking whites remain the socio-economically dominant group, although the black population is strong in terms of political power.

The investigation of the LL of Philippolis thus relates to the impact of the socio-political changes on the use of language in the public space, given the bidirectional relationship between the LL and society. The new governance structure and its language regulations, the new power relations between the different ethnolinguistic

groups, and how they view their role in society are all relevant issues that will be investigated. Language attitudes, as related to issues of power and identity, are also addressed. The central research question is whether these changes are reflected in the rural LL and, if so, in what way such changes are reflected. This is done within the research parameters of agency (creators of signage), readership (readers of signage) and dynamics (processes involved in the creation of the LL). The analysis is approached by firstly, examining the current LL and secondly, analysing the LL occurrences that are clearly perceived as being erected either before or after 1994.

The data corpus is composed of 533 signs collected on 20 and 21 May 2008. Only the signs displaying Afrikaans, English and/or African languages are included. Signs not containing written language or that are unidentifiable are discarded. The survey area consists of three research sites, Bergmanshoogte (coloured neighbourhood), Poding-tse-Rolo (the black township) and the former white town of Philippolis. These neighbourhoods each have a distinct ethno-cultural and linguistic composition, a remnant from the apartheid regime's segregation policy. As a result of the different attitudes and aspirations of the groups in these neighbourhoods, they make separate contributions to the LL. The contributions are analysed with the aim to determine the motivations behind the choices of language. The motivations are either pragmatic or symbolic in nature. Literacy of both the creators and the readers of signs, as well as the function of the sign, dictates most of the code choices which are made. The symbolic nature of the LL (as it is situated in the public space) allows it to perform further symbolic functions. Not only is the LL used to create and maintain power relations between and amongst groups, but it is also employed to express and create identities. These are some of the findings which will be presented in the study.

A further consideration is the separate contributions by bottom-up and top-down agents. South Africa has few regulations related directly to the linguistic landscape, in most cases only vaguely referring to the constitutional principles of developing linguistic diversity, parity of esteem and equitable treatment (Du Plessis, 2007). Since governmental bodies have, for the most part, determined working languages, it is expected that their contributions to the LL will be more coherent than those of the bottom-up agents. The latter have a freer choice and are expected to either reveal a higher degree of linguistic diversity, or a stronger correlation between the LL and the

ethno-linguistic community. However, factors such as language perceptions and attitudes, as well as processes such as globalisation have an impact on choices.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the existing literature, including both theoretical developments and methodological considerations. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the field as such, including the development of the field and of the relevant definitions. The research parameters are defined in 2.2, following a discussion of the nature of the LL. The functions of the LL and the principles structuring it are discussed in 2.3 and 2.4, respectively. This is followed by an overview of the methodological considerations discussed in current literature in 2.5. Chapter 3 elucidates the methodology developed specifically for this study. The background necessitated by the triangulated approach is provided in Chapter 4, including an introduction to the location (4.1), an overview of the historical developments in the area (4.2), demographic information in 4.3, and the system of governance in 4.4. Language policies on the different tiers of government (national, provincial and local) are discussed in 4.5. The data are presented and analysed in Chapter 5. As set out in the methodology, the data are presented according to agency (5.1), code preference (5.2), and multilingualism (5.3). Layered and temporal signage receives attention in 5.4 and 5.5, respectively. Section 5.6 provides a discussion of the data. The study concludes with Chapter 6, which provides general conclusions and recommendations. The Annexures provide the complete sets of data for all three sites (Annexure 1) and the town plans of the three sites (Annexure 2). The genealogy of the Kok family is provided in Annexure 3.

This LL study investigates the written use of language in the public space against the backdrop of a rich history, a changing political environment, promising linguistic policies and a diverse community. It aims to expand the field of study by contributing to research on the South African linguistic landscape, as well as on the LL of areas that could be considered rural. It is, to my knowledge, also the first study in South Africa to recognise residential areas, within a specific setting, as part of the public space. The comprehensive research parameters and coding scheme developed in this study make an input to the development of a coherent methodology for the field. Further, the differentiated dynamics amongst different sociolinguistic and ethnic

groups and between the LL inform about linguistic matters in the public space, thereby contributing to the broader field of sociolinguistics.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 The linguistic landscape: the field

The study of the linguistic landscape (LL) is a reasonably new development in the field of sociolinguistics, and more specifically in the subfields of language management and linguistic diversity. The focus of LL research is on written language in the public space. Landry and Bourhis (1997) were amongst the first to focus research on the linguistic landscape, with reference to work by language planners in Quebec and Belgium (Corbeil, 1980 and Verdoot, 1979, respectively, in Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 24). Landry and Bourhis' 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" (1997: 23), 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).

Their seminal paper has been the focal point of several descriptive studies, analysing the LL from several theoretical approaches. Several authors (in Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) have pointed out there is no coherent and independent theory of the field to speak of as yet, although several methodological advances have been made. Some theoretical considerations have been suggested by a number of authors.

Several studies included the notion of the linguistic landscape; however, it is only after Landry and Bourhis' seminal paper that LL research was established as a field (Backhaus, 2007: 54). The body of research grew gradually and expanded exponentially over the last two years. The *Encyclopaedia of Language and Education*, edited by Hornberger and Cenoz, recently allowed an entry about the LL, *Knowledge about language and linguistic landscape* (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). The first significant publication was the special edition of the *International Journal of*

Multilingualism edited by Durk Gorter (Gorter, 2006a), focusing specifically on the LL of different societies. More recently, Shohamy and Gorter (2009) edited the book *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* following the First Linguistic Landscape Workshop in Tel Aviv, Israel in 2008. This was followed by the Second Linguistic Landscape Workshop in Siena, Italy in 2009, and the Third Linguistic Landscape Workshop will take place in Strasbourg, France in 2010. Before that, several other conferences included sessions focusing specifically on the LL: The European Second Language Association conference in San Sebastian, Spain, in 2002; the conference of the International Association of Applied Linguistics in 2005 in Madison, USA; and the 16th Sociolinguistic Symposium that took place in Limerick, Ireland, in 2006.

The significance of the 2009 publication lies therein that contributed to the development of a consistent theory and methodology of the field by pointing out the shortcomings (see Section 2.5 and Chapter 3). The identification of the structuration principles shaping the LL (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Spolsky, 2009) had an impact on qualitative aspects, even if researchers do not employ the factors directly in their analysis. Peter Backhaus published extensively on his study of the development of multilingualism in Tokyo (see 2.1.1 for a discussion of his contribution). His studies made considerable advances in creating a coherent methodology; such as the identification of the research parameters – who the creators of the LL are, for whom it is created and what the dynamics involved in the creation of the LL are; as well as by pointing out factors that need to be clarified before conducting a study, such as the definition of the unit of analysis and the survey area. His research also drew on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of code preference and Reh's (2004) typology of multilingualism to create a system for categorising multilingual signage.

The field also developed significantly with the advance of technology, specifically the spread of digital cameras, which allowed for a more complete data corpus (Backhaus, 2007: 54-55; Gorter, 2006b: 2). Another significant technological development, which has the potential to contribute greatly to the field by allowing for a triangulated, interdisciplinary approach to mapping languages, is the development of the *Sociolinguistic Data Collection Mobile Laboratory* by Monica Barni and her colleagues (see 2.1.1).

Even if researchers start out with a specific research agenda, they often end up addressing more than one theme. Themes concentrate on either language policy or linguistic diversity. The former relates to *de jure* versus *de facto* policy, which includes an analysis of the different contributions of top-down and bottom-up agents, such as the studies by Backhaus (2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008), Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), Du Plessis (2007) and Shohamy (2006). Top-down languages policies are informed by state ideology, as pointed out by Brown (2007), Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) and Slobada (2009). Linguistic diversity receives attention, especially as it relates to the role of minority languages, such as the studies by Cenoz (2008), Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Coluzzi (2009) and Rosendal (2009). Within this theme, the issue of language contact receives attention especially in the studies focusing on Asia, not just because of the introduction of other languages, but also the process of Romanisation (Backhaus 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008; Curtin, 2007; Huebner, 2006).

Most of the studies focus on Europe, including Tulp's (1978) early study of Brussels. Quite a number of studies focus on Italy (Barni, 2006, 2008; Coluzzi, 2009) and on the Basque country (Cenoz, 2008), the latter also being compared to Friesland (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). A large body of research exists on Israel, significantly that of Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991). LL research is extended to post-communist states by Brown (2007) and Slobada (2009). Asia is researched by Curtin (2007), Huebner (2006) and Backhaus, who studied Tokyo. Following the Israeli studies, which for the most part focus on ethnolinguistic localities, Lou (2009) and Leeman and Modan (2009) conducted LL research in Chinatown in Washington, DC. In Africa, Reh (2004) investigated the LL in Uganda; Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) Ethopia; Rosendal (2009) Rwanda; and Du Plessis (2007) indirectly the LL of South Africa. Interestingly enough, studies involving immigrant languages tend to be conducted in Europe, whilst studies in Israel tend to focus on the different contributions of ethnolinguistic groups. Studies in the (post)soviet states centre on the dialectic between regime and LL; and those in Asia on issues of language contact.

The definition of the LL itself has also not been stabilised yet, although there is enough correspondence between most studies to identify the LL as "the use of

language in its written form in the public sphere" (Gorter, 2006b: 2). As pointed out by Backhaus (2007: 12, 54), although several studies were conducted on or employed LL research, it was only with Landry and Bourhis' (1997) study that the field was established as a coherent discipline. Although they did not conduct an empirical investigation of the LL per se, their identification of it as a factor in perceived ethnolinguistic vitality defined the purpose of LL research (linguistic landscaping) as investigating "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (1997: 23). Their description of what constitutes the LL is now generally accepted as the standard definition of the term.

Although some studies have moved beyond this commercial focus, including, for example, signs erected by government agencies, an urban focus is inherent in the current understanding of the term. Both Spolsky (in Backhaus, 2007: ix) and Gorter (2006b: 2) suggest the term 'cityscape' instead, since the majority of studies focus on cities, where signage is at its densest. Private areas are decidedly excluded from the notion of the public space, whatever the locality. The public space is defined by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) as "any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location" (14) and "every space in the community or the society that is not private propriety, such as streets, parks or public institutions" (41).

The LL is also essentially written, an expansion of the current sociolinguistic focus on spoken language. This is possible because written communication in the public space has unique semiotic properties, which is expounded by Backhaus (2007: 1, 4-8). 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 (2005: 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.

The word 'landscape' itself is used in various ways, as discussed by Gorter (2006b: 1-2). It is used to refer to the social context of linguistic phenomena, such as the language situation in a certain country or an overview of the presence and use of

languages in a specific area or variation within a language or between languages. It is also related to concepts such as language ecology and linguistic diversity.

The general definition of the linguistic landscape as written communication in the public space is used in this study, with the focus on language choice. Several themes within LL research, as identified by various authors, are discussed in 2.1.1. This is followed by a discussion of the public, written nature of the LL in 2.2, from which the research parameters are drawn, namely agency, readership and content/dynamics. This is followed by a discussion of the two other key theoretical considerations, namely the functions the linguistic landscape fulfils (2.3) and the structuration principles shaping the LL (2.4), with special attention paid to the concept of agency (2.4.4). Section 2.5 elucidates methodological considerations as discussed in the literature so far.

2.1.1 Theoretical considerations

The first problem obstructing the formulation of a theory is the uncertainty whether linguistic landscape studies should be considered an independent field or not. Spolsky (2009) directly questions the parameters of the field and suggests that if no independent theory can be developed, the definitions relevant to the field should be clearly differentiated from those in other fields. Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 351-352) state that existing theoretical concepts from other fields should be applied. 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 planning; language status, attitudes or perceptions; language contact; or the spread of English. The majority of these are descriptive studies and therefore the authors are more concerned with methodological considerations than the development of a theory. In the initial phases, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) developed a model and identified principles underlying the forming of the LL, but only later did the LL receive more attention. Although no consistent theory exists currently, studies usually investigate topics of language policy or themes of linguistic diversity. A few of these are briefly discussed below as illustration. A recent development is the triangulated methodological model

presented by Barni (2008), which offers the potential for a consistent approach to investigate linguistic diversity.

Besides the study of Landry and Bourhis (1997), one of the first studies to actively use the LL and which thereby contribute to the development of the field, is Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) investigation of language knowledge and use in the Old City of Jerusalem. They include an analysis of 100 language signs, on which they base a tentative model accounting for the choice of language on signs and principles of classification. They also develop the three sign rules indicating/revealing structuration principles (see 2.4 for further discussion). In this early study they already recognise the importance of a triangulated approach when using the LL.

One of the central issues taken into account when analysing LL data, is the distinction between top-down and bottom-up contributions (see 2.4.4). A further consideration is the contribution from different localities. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 7-30) investigate language use in three different ethnolinguistic localities in East Jerusalem. The discrepancies they find between bottom-up and top-down signage manifest in different ways in the three localities. Hebrew, Arabic and English are distributed differently across the localities and areas within the localities.

Language policy and regulations are the central issue when examining top-down contributions. As discussed below, this aspect can be approached in different ways.

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Coluzzi (2009) provide comparative studies on the effect of language policy on the visibility of minority languages. The study by Cenoz and Gorter compares a central shopping street in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland (The Netherlands) and Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain). Their finding is that the majority language in the area is the most prominent in the LL of both cities. However, the stronger minority language policy in the Basque country results in a stronger presence of the minority language in both bottom-up and top-down signs. Coluzzi (2009) compares the linguistic landscape of a street in each of two Northern Italian cities, Milan and Udine. The focus is on the presence of the languages in the linguistic repertoire of the two cities, but specifically on the local regional/minority languages. He finds that the local languages have only limited

visibility, whereas the presence of English is quite strong. Backhaus (2009), on the other hand, compare the concerns addressed by linguistic regulations impacting on the LL of Tokyo and the Canadian province of Quebec in order to determine whether there are any commonalities. He concludes that LL regulations commonly address issues of both status and corpus planning.

Rosendal (2009) examines the impact of a change in language policy. After the genocide in 1994, the Rwandan Government changed the official language policy from bilingual Rwanda-French to trilingual Rwanda-French-English. English was thus formally introduced in official domains. Rosendal investigates the extent of this change as reflected in newspaper advertisements and the LL in the form of shop signs and billboards. She finds a discrepancy not only between the official language policy and the language usage of the advertisements in the government-owned newspaper, but also between the frequency of English and French signs compared to the population's knowledge of these two languages.

Policy is, naturally, informed by ideology. Sloboda (2009) expands the study of language policy to that of the wider concept of state ideology. He illustrates the dialectic between state ideology and the LL by comparing three states that formed part of the former Soviet bloc, namely Belarus, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Policy also serves ideology. For instance, the language policy in the Tigray region of Ethiopia is aimed at promoting an ideology of ethnic federalism. Lanza and Woldemariam's (2009) study in the city of Mekele finds that Amharic (the national language), Tigrinya (the regional language) and English dominates the LL to the detriment of the indigenous languages, which are absent from the LL.

Different political regimes leave their mark on the LL. Brown (2007) studies the representation of Belarusian and Russian, the two official languages of Belarus, on public signage. He finds that signage on official buildings reflects the language policy from three different periods, each with their own language policy: (1) The Soviet era, when Russian was widely used as the sole language; (2) 1990 to 1994 when Belarusian was the sole official language; and (3) the post-1995 period in which Belarusian and Russian serve as co-official languages.

Ideology also relates to identity. Curtin's (2007) study of the LL of Taipei reveals how vogue (or display) languages and different orthographies are used by the various socio-economic and political groups to form and maintain identities at local, regional and (trans)national level. The LL was used by various regimes to impact on the identities of the inhabitants. She identifies the LL as "important social semiotic sites related to the negotiation of Taiwanese identities" (202). Specifically, vogue languages mostly serve a decorative function, commonly signifying "high quality products, economic prosperity, a chic cosmopolitan identity, and an overall modern worldview" (286). Although the use of vogue English indexes a cosmopolitan identity, it is less a Western-orientated cosmopolitan identity and more of an achieved East Asian one (279-280). The relationship between the LL and language attitudes, as it relates to identities within the South African context, will be discussed later.

The linguistic landscape, serving as an excellent tool for investigating linguistic diversity, is also used to explore the results of language contact since the written form of language is more established than the spoken word. Huebner (2006), for instance, explores issues of language contact in the LL of 15 neighbourhoods of Bangkok. He notices a shift from Chinese to English as the language of wider communication; the emergence of nascent Thai variety of English; and the influence of English on Thai. Barni (2008) focuses on immigrant languages in Italy and the different dynamics of language contact, as well as what influence it has on the existing LL. She concludes that the relationship between the languages and physical territory itself is a factor in constructing the significance of the languages (2008: 218, 238-239). This research, as well as the project undertaken in cooperation with her colleagues, discussed below, involves a method with the potential to considerably develop and improve LL methodology.

The Centre of Excellence for Research Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian Language among Foreigners and of Immigrant Languages at the Università per Stranieri di Siena developed a model that incorporates information technology (IT), geography, statistics and linguistics. With the *Sociolinguistic Data Collection Mobile Laboratory*, the researcher collects linguistic data directly, which are then processed to create a geolinguistic map of the area investigated. The system of georeferencing links the data and the territory where it was collected, enabling both a

synchronic and a diachronic analysis of the data. Since each individual field of the geodatabase is indexed, the researcher can develop a different data collection model suited to the research parameters of each individual study. This model not only confirms the benefit of an interdisciplinary approach to the LL, but also emphasises the need for triangulation.

Backhaus' study of the linguistic landscape of Tokyo illustrates the versatility of the information rendered by the LL. His doctoral thesis (2005a) investigates the visibility of multilingualism in the LL of Tokyo against the backdrop of Japan's general linguistic homogeneity. In 2007 he publishes a comparative study of urban multilingualism in Japan, which reveals the increasing orientation towards multilingualism (Backhaus, 2007), followed by a further publication in 2008 on linguistic diversity in the supposedly monolingual Tokyo (Backhaus, 2008). He also pays attention to the agency in the LL. The study published in 2006 reveals the different reasons why and ways in which non-Japanese languages are used by bottom-up and top-down agents, respectively. He finds that top-down agents tend to use non-Japanese languages to express and reinforce power relations, while the use of these languages in the bottom-up domain indicates solidarity, whether with the intended readership, or with the values associated with a language (as is the case with English) (Backhaus, 2006). His second study (2005b) focuses on the occurrence of layered signs in Tokyo to determine the effect of the change of the language regime on the LL. In 2009 he investigates the issues LL regulations concern themselves with by comparing the situations in Quebec and Tokyo with each other. Backhaus (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) also contributes significantly to the methodology of the field by identifying three research parameters – LL by whom, for whom, and the linguistic situation as a whole – and his definition of the unit of analysis (see 2.5).

The central theoretical considerations revolve around the public nature of the linguistic landscape and the three different functions it fulfils (informative, symbolic and mythological). Furthermore, some advances have been made to determine the principles shaping the LL. The discussion of these considerations is followed by an exploration of methodological considerations of importance to a LL researcher.

2.2 The public space

LL research focuses on written linguistic signs in the public space, the definition of which has to be specified for this particular focus. Being in the public space, it is a very specific type of communication. The LL is not studied only for its linguistic appearance, but also the shaping forces behind it and what it symbolises once created.

2.2.1 Definition of public space

Ben-Rafael *et al*. (2006: 40-41) and Coulmas (2009: 13-14) point out that the current notion of public space draws from the earlier concept of public sphere formulated by Habermas. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 40-41) also discuss that the notion of public space can be approached from various angles, but within LL studies the concept of public space is defined geoterritorially. In other words, the public space, as concerned to LL researchers, "includes every space in the community or the society that is not private propriety, such as streets, parks or public institutions" (2006: 41).

Ben-Rafael (2009: 41) defines the LL as a "symbolic construction of public space" and as such it constitutes the decorum of the public space. The LL is composed of different and contrasting inputs, yet it is still viewed as a coherent whole, or gestalt. He draws from the definition by Durkheim of a social fact – "a reality pertaining to, and marking, social life independently, *a priori*, from individual will" (Durkheim, 1964/1995 in Ben-Rafael, 2009). 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 on an equal basis. The linguistic landscape is thus the public space as marked by language.

2.2.2 Written language

Linguistic landscape research expands sociolinguistic studies by focusing on language in the public space in its written form. It is limited to written forms of communication, as including other communicative items extend the research to

semiotics in the public space. Scollon and Scollon (2003), in their study of geosemiotics (as opposed to geolinguistics that focus specifically 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 physical embodiment of the linguistic items in the LL reflects this indexical nature of communication. They employ the term 'interaction order' as defined by Erving Goffman (1983, in Scollon & Scollon, 2003), in other words, the way in which people form social interactions and relations through which they interact with the semiotic systems (systems by which language is located in the material world, and by which sociocultural and political powers are indexed) around them, and how they position themselves within those structures of meaning and power (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: x). 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.

2.2.3 Dialectic between the LL and society

Another aspect characteristic of communication in the LL is impersonality. The author is (mostly) anonymous and the target readership unspecified. The communication in public space therefore usually carries a message of general public concern, such as topographic information, directions or commercial information (Backhaus, 2005a: 18, 56). Even though the communication is impersonal, there is dialectic between the LL and society.

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". Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 67-68) also indicate the bidirectional relationship between the LL and the sociolinguistic context. The linguistic landscape reflects the sociolinguistic landscape and is a product thereof; on the other hand, the LL contributes to the sociolinguistic situation by influencing language perception and use. This relates to Shohamy's (2006) view of the LL as language policy mechanism and also of the study by Landry and Bourhis (1997) that identifies the LL as an independent factor in perceived ethnolinguistic vitality.

This dialectic involves language policy. The LL is experienced as a whole, but it is often incoherent, whether due to inconsistent implementation of official language policies (Du Plessis, 2007: 563) or as a result of to the processes creating *de facto* language policies. These processes involve the contributions of competing linguistic, socio-economic and political groups; those in power and those who are marginalised in the society. Shohamy (2006: 110-112, 123) argues that language in the public space is a mechanism, used by both parties, to manipulate *de facto* language practices. The LL is a covert mechanism of language manipulation whereby certain language policies are imposed or protested, or negotiated, and whereby certain language ideologies are turned into practice. According to Backhaus (2005a: 32), "(d)ifferent practices of language use on signs represent different views on the linguistic arrangement of a place".

2.2.4 Research parameters

This dialectic enlightens three research considerations, which are emphasised by the research parameters identified by Backhaus (2005a: 56-60), namely: who are the sign writers and the sign readers; and what are the dynamics of the linguistic landscape. Below are the research parameters relevant to LL studies as identified by Coulmas (2009); Hanauer (2009: 288), following Malinowski (2009); and Spolsky (2009) (discussed in more detail in 2.5):

i)   **Agency** – who writes in the public space; what are the aims and ramifications of public writing; what the ramifications are of multiple agents in the public space; what happens to agency and ownership of public literacy and the space it occupies; and under what conditions does this writing take place. Agency and the process by which a sign is produced need to be considered as well (Spolsky, 2009: 30-32).

ii) **Readership** – what are the ramifications of an unintentional (and in some cases unwilling) readership. Coulmas (2009: 22-23) confirms this consideration: linguistic signs are openly displayed and meant to be read; thus the researcher must ask who is able to read the signs and who actually reads it.

iii) **Content** – what is written in the public arena; how does this public writing reflect and/or direct public perception of the social space; and what does this public writing say about the society and the community within which it appears. According to Coulmas (2009: 22-23), the LL is a cultural scene, formed by agents who may or may not be authorised to do so, and who have different motivations and intentions. Thus information contexts, language choice and symbolic significances must be reckoned with to the extent that they can be inferred.

The linguistic landscape is thus a specific type of communication, shaped by the fact that it occurs in the public space with its heavy symbolic value; that it is written, yet dynamic; that it is experienced as a whole, yet it contains discrepancies; and various processes influence its production and interpretation. Owing to its public and symbolic nature, the linguistic landscape fulfils several functions.

2.3 Functions of the LL

In their study of the impact of the linguistic landscape on ethnolinguistic vitality, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25-29) distinguish between the informational and the symbolic function of the LL. Hicks (2002) expands on this distinction by adding the mythological (or folkloric) function.

2.3.1 Informative function

This most basic function of LL relates to both the fact that certain information is presented on a specific sign (functional), as well as that the LL serves to delineate linguistic boundaries; in other words, it marks the territory. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25-29), the LL gives information on the sociolinguistic composition of various groups in the area, as well as the power and status relations between them. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 117-120) discuss this function as the "indexicality of the geopolitical world", in other words, how the languages in the LL index the groups present or the readership intended in a certain time space. The prevalence of a

certain language on the signs indicates the languages one can expect to use in the 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.

In addition to creating a language expectancy, the LL indicates the degree of linguistic diversity in a certain area. A choice of bilingual or multilingual signage indicates a multilingual situation. According to Landry and Bourhis (*ibid.*), the coherence, or lack thereof, of the LL indicates the degree of discrepancy between official and *de facto* language policy. The discrepancy between the official and *de facto* language policy can also be indicated by the variation in language patterns and the types of use (Huebner, 2006: 37-38) (see 2.2.4 discrepancy). Extra and Barni (2008: 3) warn that the LL is not a faithful mapping of the linguistic make-up of the population in a given place. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) issue a similar warning. Based on their study of the degree of language visibility in three different ethno-cultural localities in East Jerusalem, they conclude that the LL does not completely represent the linguistic repertoire of a community, but rather the linguistic resources employed in the public space specifically (Ben Rafael *et al.,* 2006: 14). This is supported by Lou's (2009) examination of the Chinatown of Washington DC. Despite the (mandatory) English/Chinese bilingual signage, the neighbourhood is perceived as inauthentic by tourists and locals alike. The image of Chinatown is a 'produced' one and the Chinese population resides outside of this area. Backhaus (2006: 109-110, 141-142; 2008: 321-322), by examining the difference between top-down and bottom-up contributions, finds that signs containing English or more than one language are not necessarily directed at foreigners; rather, it is often used to create an impression of 'foreignness'. The LL is thus not an accurate reflection of the linguistic situation at all times, especially when one or two linguistic groups dominate a certain area. A triangulated approach is therefore necessary to ensure accurate interpretations of LL data.

The dominance of a specific language in the LL indicates the power and status of a majority or strong minority group over other groups. In diglossic situations, for example, the high-status language used in official domains is more likely to be found on public signs than the languages of lower status. Reh (2004: 38) concludes that

the study of language on signs "enables conclusions to be drawn regarding, amongst other factors, the social layering of the community, the relative status of the various societal segments, and the dominant cultural ideals." Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 27) write that the "LL analysis allows us to point out patterns representing different ways in which people, groups, associations, institutions and government agencies cope with the game of symbols within a complex reality". The LL and issues of power are discussed in more detail in 2.3.2 below.

2.3.2 Symbolic function

The symbolic function of the linguistic landscape lies in the choice of message, and more specifically the choice concerning language, on public signage. Scollon and Scollon (2003), in their study of geosemiotics, refer to this function as follows:

> "All semiotic systems operate as systems of social positioning and power relationship both at the level of interpersonal relationships and at the level of struggle for hegemony amongst social groups in any society precisely because they are systems of choice and no choices are neutral in the social world" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 7).

The symbolic function relates to two issues, namely power and status, and identity.

2.3.2.i Power and status

One of the major means through which socio-political control can be exercised in the public space, is by controlling the discourses of that space (i.e. language policy, whether official or *de facto*) (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: x). Scollon and Scollon (2003: xi) refer to the example of Quebec and the former Soviet bloc. Quebec asserted its (semi-)independence from Canada by passing legislation compelling sign makers to place French above English or any other languages in all bilingual signs. Estonia, the Ukraine and other Soviet Republics displayed their independence by placing Estonian, Ukrainian or even English in the privileged position on signs over the formerly dominant Russian.

Those in power can more easily dominate the official signage domain and thereby send ideological messages about their position, whereas the private domain can be used to protest by either employing or excluding certain languages. "Writing embodies the dialectics of power and resistance," states Coulmas (2009: 14). One such important instance of protest is the use of graffiti. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) encountered the interesting case where non-Israeli Palestinians in Eastern Jerusalem did not use Hebrew, Israel's official language, in the bottom-up signage at all, thereby denying it any status at ground level.

Shohamy (2006) discusses this situation from the departure point that the LL is a language policy mechanism:

> "(T)he presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes *de facto* language policy and practice. Thus, the presence (or absence) of specific language items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society. The display of language transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent" (Shohamy, 2006: 110).

2.3.2.ii Identity

The symbolic function of the linguistic landscape relates to its capacity to contribute to a positive social identity of the group whose language is used, by affirming the value and status of that language and leading the group to feel included in the society. Landry and Bourhis (1997) link the visibility of a language in the linguistic landscape to ethnolinguistic vitality. Their empirical research reveals the linguistic landscape as a distinct variable in ethnolinguistic vitality, with an increased evaluation of the language, a greater likelihood of the language being used in a wider sociolinguistic context and thus more likely to be carried over to the next generation. However, by including certain groups, others are excluded and thus marginalised. According to Barker and Giles (2002, in Barni, 2008: 227), the LL

contributes to modifying attitudes of host communities towards other communities that are present within a given territory – a greater degree of plurilingualism within the social communication space corresponds to less hostile native attitudes. The LL is also employed to create identities, as pointed out by Curtin (2007).

Some studies critique multilingual signage as tokenism as opposed to being a true reflection of multilingualism in the area. Brown (2007: 297) questions whether the use of Belarusian on public signage in Belarus reflects a genuine effort to preserve the national language. Hornsby (2008) investigates whether the use of the minority language, Breton, on public signage in Brittany indeed leads to an increased use of the language in other informal domains. He concludes that, since the instances of Breton on public signage is as a result of commoditisation, it does not effectively contribute to the expanded use of the language. It would be more useful to erect Breton signage at locations where Breton speakers regularly gather (2008: 136-137). On the other hand, the use of minority languages on public signage could be a sensitive issue, with speakers feeling conspicuous and more open to discrimination, as well as an impression of the language being commoditised for the sake of tourism (see Puzey, 2007, for such instances in Norway, Scotland and Italy). A striking example of this is the deliberate creation of a bilingual image of the Chinatown in Washington, DC as investigated by Lou (2009), and Leeman and Modan (2009), who show how Chinatown is itself turned into a commodity.

2.3.3 Mythological function

Hicks (2002) adds the mythological/folkloric function. Place names are often all that remain of traditional cultures and as such present a focal point to recall these. In this way, names of mythological content act to add a sense of place and belonging of the in-group to its territory. Such names are of importance to indigenous cultures, especially those who have suffered genocides such as the native peoples of the Americas and Australia. Often the surviving name referring to a deity is all that remains of their culture. In this way names help to transmit the traditional culture. It demarcates not just present, but also past linguistic boundaries. From the amount of interest shown in place names, Hicks (2002) deduces that people intrinsically feel that the names on the landscape are identifiable with community and nation. The

replacement of such a name takes something away from the community and adds to the language group from which the new name comes.

The different functions that the LL performs are part of the dynamics in the creation and impact thereof. An interpretation of these functions should not simply be an *ad hoc* guess, but be supported by triangulated information (Barni, 2006). Demographic information, such as the strength of the different sociolinguistic communities in an area; administrative information such as language policies and regulations; and authorities responsible for the creation and implementation thereof, as well as a historical background on the development of the current socio-political situation can provide the context necessary for an authentic interpretation.

2.4 Structuration principles

The LL, although it is composed of many different LL items, forms a coherent whole. It follows that there are certain structuring principles at work (see Ben-Rafael's discussion of the LL as a gestalt, 2009: 42-44). Several researchers have identified and discussed such factors, each from his/her point of departure. These will be discussed below.

2.4.1 Ben-Rafael's four structuration principles

Ben-Rafael (2009: 44-48), proceeding from his view of the LL functioning as symbolic construction of public space, identifies four structuration principles that shape the LL. These four principles are not equally universal and also illustrate different orientations and foci of attention. The first principle, *presentation of self*, is inspired by Goffman's (1963, 1981 in Ben-Rafael, 2009) analysis of how social agents present a favourable image of themselves to others in order to reach a desired goal. Ben-Rafael extends this principle to LL items, which compete for the attention of passers-by. It follows that the denser the LL, the more difficult the competition, and more unusual items have a greater chance of being noticed. On the other hand, because LL items compete for the attention of the same readership, there are some restrictions with regard to the presentation of the LL items. The *good-*

reasons principle derives from the fact that LL items have to cater 'rationally' to the (perceived) needs and desires of the readership, and that the readership has to be able to perceive such LL items as being rational.

The third structuration principle relates to *collective identity*. Whilst the principle of presentation of self indicates the agent's uniqueness in order to gain the attention of passersby, the collective-identity principle indicates to which group(s) the agent belongs and draws clients on a basis of a shared identity. This is particularly relevant in multicultural societies. Ben-Rafael (2009: 46-47) points out that an awareness of this can indicate the measure of societal divisions – of tolerance to sociocultural differences and the use of linguistic items to include or exclude groups and expressing identity.

Power-relations, the fourth principle, centre on the degree to which certain groups are able to impose linguistic regulations on others. It can be revealed in the extent to which a dominant culture is tolerant to differences; to the degree in which a dominant group's power is restricted by legislation; or also how other powerful agents may oppose language regulations. Ben-Rafael (2009: 47) quotes the imposition of the national language in the LL as an example of power hegemony. He also mentions that the greater the role the *power-relations* principle plays in structuring the LL, the more this aspect might be the object of confrontation.

2.4.2 Spolsky's three conditions for language choice

Referring to Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 81-85), Spolsky (2009: 33-34) discusses three conditions for language choice on public signs. The first relates to literacy – *write in a language you know*. Spolsky deems this a necessary condition, although Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) prove that lack of proficiency does not prevent the agent from attempting to use the language. The second, the *presumed reader's condition*, stems from the communicative goals of public signage and requires the sign writer to use a language the presumed readers are expected to understand. The *symbolic value condition*, the third, is relevant to signs asserting ownership. Sign writers write signs in their own language or in a language they wish to be associated with. The second and third conditions do not necessarily apply to all signs, and in cases where

all the conditions apply, they will not have an equal impact on the final language choice. The conditions for language choice thus vary from sign to sign.

Spolsky (2009: 29-30) refines his condition related to literacy. The absence of a language might simply be due to the fact that the language has no written system or the speakers are not literate. Also, there is a higher degree of literacy in certain areas, for example, in Jerusalem's Old City there is evidence of literacy in religious institutions, with various traditions and histories of writing and decoration. He suggests that signs should first be classified according to density and the comparative density of verbal and non-verbal signs – even before language choice.

According to Spolsky (2009: 32-33), the LL records the state of literacy rather than the state of the spoken varieties. As a consequence the researcher risks misinterpretation, especially since the three agents involved in the process of producing a sign are not available to provide feedback. This once again confirms the need for a triangulated approach.

2.4.3 Kallen's matrix

Kallen (2009: 277-278) argues that the choices pertaining to communication in the LL encompass more than simply a choice of language(s). Although his matrix is not widely used, it correlates with the previous two authors' theories. Kallen's matrix of choices consists of four factors. *Language choice* relates to the choice of language(s), which includes the level of translation (Kallen here refers to Reh, 2004); *code choice* refers to the graphic modes of representation such as font, colour and placement (see Scollon & Scollon, 2003); and *pragmatic choices* refer to the general interactional function of a sign. These tie in with Spolsky's first condition, literacy. The fourth factor, *readership choices*, refers to the anticipated readership of the sign (see Huebner, 2006). It correlates with Ben-Rafael's *good-reasons* principle and Spolsky's *presumed-reader* condition. This matrix can be utilised to investigate the communicative choices made when creating an LL item.

2.4.4 Agency

The above discussion focuses on the explanations of choices, but the issue of the agents themselves is a much debated concern.

The current dichotomous definition of agency distinguishes between bottom-up and top-down agents. Landry and Bourhis' (1997) differentiation between private and governmental signs remains an important factor of categorisation and analysis in linguistic landscape studies:

> "Private signs include commercial signs on storefronts and business institutions (e.g. retail stores and banks), commercial advertising and billboards, and advertising signs displayed in public transport and on private vehicles. Governmental signs refer to public signs used by national, regional, or municipal governments in the following domains: road signs, place names, street names, and inscriptions on government buildings, including ministries, hospitals, universities, town halls, schools, metro stations, and public parks" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 26f).

This distinction was later refined and expanded by several researchers, including Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 10). Top-down signage is issued by "institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local and central policies", while bottom-up signage is erected by "individual, associative or corporative agents who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits" (ibid.). The importance of these distinctions is that they indicate not necessarily the source, but "two different ways of *marking the territory*" (Calvet in Backhaus, 2005a: 41). In other words, it makes different contributions to the LL.

Landry and Bourhis (1997: 26-27) note that there is greater linguistic diversity in bottom-up signage because private signs are less controlled. As a result, it provides a more realistic reflection of the sociolinguistic composition of the specific area than top-down signs. The coherence (or lack thereof) of the linguistic landscape also indicates the degree of discrepancy between official and *de facto* language policies. Discrepancies do not only exist between top-down and bottom-up signage, but also

in top-down signage itself. This is often due to incoherent planning and implementing by the government (Du Plessis, 2007: 563).

Backhaus (2006) identifies three areas in which top-down and bottom-up signs contribute differently to Tokyo's linguistic landscape:

i) The languages contained – bottom-up signs tend to include more languages than top-down signs; Japanese is found more frequently on top-down signs; there are almost no multilingual top-down signs without Japanese, while more than half of bottom-up multilingual signs do not include Japanese.

ii) The functions of the languages used – official signs tend to include mutual translations and are presumably aimed at non-speakers of Japanese, whereas approximately half of bottom-up signs contain mutual translations and are aimed mainly at a multilingual readership.

iii) The prominence of the languages used – Japanese is dominant in virtually all the top-down signs, while about 40% of bottom-up signs are in languages other than Japanese.

He argues that the choices on bottom-up or top-down signs are determined by notions of solidarity and power relations, respectively. On official signs, translations are used only if there is a perceived need and Japanese is the dominant language. There is thus a visible hierarchy expressing the dominant position of Japanese language and ideology. On bottom-up signs, foreign languages are used mainly to convey complementary messages and no hierarchy is visible. Foreign languages are used to convey solidarity, either with the ethnic group or with the values associated with English. According to Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 348-349), public signs usually reflect a specific language policy. Huebner (2006: 37-47) finds that Thai appears on all the top-down signs he investigated in Bangkok, and 60% are monolingual. He interprets this as reflecting the official language policy (with Thai being the official national language) and of English as an international language. Bottom-up signs indicate much greater variation across neighbourhoods than top-down signs, depending on the sociocultural and economic nature of the neighbourhood. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 10) find that top-down signs reflect a general commitment to the

dominant culture while bottom-up signs are more diverse. This observation ties in with the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape.

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. Spolsky (2009: 28), for instance, mentions a third possibility. Both private and governmental signs can be government regulated, while governmental signs can more or less be under local control. He supports the argument by identifying the participants in the process: the initiator/owner of the sign; the sign-maker and the sign-reader; and the authority that stipulates the language policy (2009: 31-32). Not only are several agents involved, but Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 8-9) point out that the impact of modernisation, globalisation and multiculturalism, such as new institutions and branches of commercial activity, and demographic developments, play a substantial role. This concern is echoed by Backhaus (2005a), who as his research parameters not only investigate issues of agency and readership, but also the dynamics of the shaping of the LL. It is clear that, if the LL is to contribute accurately to a study, the problem of agency needs to be resolved.

The choice of language on signage is impacted by mainly two considerations. Pragmatism will dictate what is considered to be suitable for the intended readership; or the literacy of either the agent or the reader may determine language choice. The symbolic value of language further influences the choice of language, whether it is to present oneself favourably or as belonging to a certain group, or to express or protest power. Not only is it important to identify the reasons behind language choice, but also who is making the choice. According to Spolsky (2009: 30), the problem of agency is the greatest weakness in the discipline so far.

2.5 Methodological considerations

As a result of the theoretical shortcomings, there is currently no consistent methodology. Nevertheless, there are certain factors that feature in most studies and these will be discussed below.

Gorter (2006b: 2-4) and Backhaus (2005a: 92-94) identify the three methodological aspects that need consideration before commencing a study. Firstly, the *survey area* needs to be established. This aspect will mainly be determined by the aim of the study. Secondly, it is crucial to define what constitutes a sign, as the *unit of analysis*. Definitions can either be semiotic or physical. Third is the *categorisation* of signage, in other words, according to which criteria the signs will be sorted. Most studies include a distinction between bottom-up and top-down signs and also a more detailed coding scheme, usually centred on identifying the dominant language or patterns of language combinations.

Backhaus (2005a: 56-60) identifies three questions underlying most LL studies, which form his research parameters (refer back to 2.2.4):

i)   Linguistic landscaping by whom – in other words, the sign writers.
ii)   Linguistic landscaping for whom – the intended readership.
iii)   Linguistic landscape *qua vadis* – the dynamics involved in the formation of the linguistic landscape.

These questions relate to the structuration principals as identified by Ben-Rafael (2009) and Spolsky (2009). Observations regarding the sign writers might be explained by the principle of *presentation of self*, and also the condition of *write in a language you know*. The *good-reason* principle and Spolsky's *presumed-reader* condition may account for observations relating to the intended readership. Backhaus' third question is much more complicated, and the approach will be determined by the aim of the study. Spolsky's 'symbolic value condition' and Ben-Rafael's third and fourth principles, *collective identity* and *power-relations*, might still be of use in clarifying observations.

2.5.1 Qualitative or quantitative approach

Backhaus (2005a: 92-94) provides a summary of the advantages and shortcomings of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative studies, such as those by Reh (2004) and Scollon and Scollon (2003), observe the use of languages on signs,

but these observations are not based on a clearly defined corpus. As a result, the observations cannot be quantified. Quantitative studies require a corpus that is clearly defined and systematically collected; however, analytical categories other than the languages contained are rarely considered. A combined approach allows for a wider scope. More recent studies, including that of Backhaus, follow a combined approach. The issue of triangulation has recently received more attention (see, for instance, Barni, 2006; Extra & Barni, 2008; Gorter & Cenoz, 2004). The three other sources to be taken into account are demographic information (such as census data), administrative information (language policies and the authorities issuing them), and the historical background that informs about the development of the current socio-political situation. Some researchers, like Lou (2009), expand their research not only to complementary sociolinguistic techniques like interviews and participant observations, but also become personally involved in the community.

2.5.2 Unit of analysis

Linguistic landscape studies evidently involve linguistic objects that mark the space, but there is currently no shared definition. Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 351-352) and Huebner (2009: 71-72) list this shortcoming as one of the challenges of LL methodology. This is further complicated by the dynamic nature of the LL, and issues such as permanence and temporality, and stationary and moving objects need to be resolved. The definition can either be semiotic (see Shohamy & Waksman, 2009) or physical. Backhaus' (2005a: 96) physical definition is one of the more widely accepted descriptions – "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame". The boundaries of this frame are open to interpretation – Backhaus himself counts all signs as one item, while Cenoz and Gorter (2006) count each establishment as a unit of analysis.

Backhaus (2005a) records all the signs that are visible from street level – ranging from inscribed litter boxes to large commercial billboards and traffic signs – in the determined survey area by means of a digital camera. Every sign is counted as one item, irrespective of size, and signs of identical format that appear more than once are counted separately. Signs with more than one surface of inscription (e.g. front and back) are each counted as separate items.

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) argue that, even if the signs on an establishment are in different languages, it is the result of the choice of the same company, and thus each text belongs to a larger whole. They therefore include even very small texts that would hardly be noticed by passers-by.

Huebner's (2009: 71-72) objection to current definitions is that all signs are afforded equal weight, regardless of its size and placement. The definition of the unit of analysis is thus a methodological consideration that still needs considerable attention.

2.5.3 Survey area

So far, linguistic landscape studies have focused on urban settings, because of the higher concentration of signs as well as the greater diversity in terms of sociolinguistic groups. In fact, Ben-Rafael (2009: 40-41) defines public space, where the LL is situated, as "every space in the community or the society that is not private property, such as streets, parks or public institutions". He adds to this definition a further restriction to "centers", defined as "where one sees 'the crowd' when most people are not at work" (Ben-Rafael, 2009: 41).

Researchers use different criteria to establish research sites, depending on the purpose of the study. Backhaus (2005a), for example, uses the railway line as geographic marker for the areas (parts of streets) he investigates in Tokyo, and Huebner (2006) investigates the LL in 15 different neighbourhoods in Bangkok. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) compare sites with different ethno-cultural characteristics in Israel. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compare the linguistic landscapes of two similar streets in two different cities in the Basque Country and Friesland.

Gorter (2006b: 2-4) and Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 351-352) point out that it is not sufficient to define only the area to be investigated, but representation must also be taken into account. This is supported by the observation of Backhaus (2005a: 112-115) that the LL tends to reflect the concentration of sociolinguistic groups in a city (the LL here fulfilling its informative function) and therefore the geographical

distribution of linguistic tendencies need to be considered. He includes the concept of sign density, i.e. the average number of signs per metre for each area. For example, he finds that linguistic minorities are beginning to exert their presence in Tokyo's LL, and he also uses this parameter to explain his findings about the tendencies of multilingual signage. Huebner (2006: 33-34) finds linguistic variations across the 15 neighbourhoods he investigates, thereby "highlighting the importance of sample selection in linguistic landscape research". In the book edited by Barni and Extra (2008), the authors focus on mapping linguistic diversity in multilingual contexts. The chapter by Barni (2008) concentrates on immigrant languages, following from the observation that the relationship between language and physical territory is in itself a factor in the construction of the significance of the languages (Barni, 2008: 218). She and her colleagues at the Centre for Excellence developed a methodological model incorporating several fields that makes possible the geo-referencing of the occurrence of signs and their specific details. This multidisciplinary approach confirms the need for triangulation when analysing the LL, as argued, and cautioned, by Extra and Barni (2008) and Gorter and Cenoz (2004), amongst others.

2.5.4 Categorisation of signs

The categorisation of signs will largely depend on the focus of the research and the nature of the findings. This lack of similar coding schemes is one of the current methodological challenges of LL studies that impede comparability (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008: 351-352). Most studies consider the dominance of certain languages, including the linguistic trend relating to it, such as multilingual combinations and availability of translation. Backhaus (2005a, 2006, 2007), for example, focuses on the emerging multilingualism in Tokyo. He had to develop a method for distinguishing between monolingual and multilingual signs, complicated by different orthographic conventions. When coding signs according to language, it is essential to first establish a method for dealing with mixed orthographies, code switching and code mixing, and the appearance of proper names. Edelman (2009) provides the arguments regarding the latter. Most studies also remark on the presence of English, the spread of which is attributed to globalisation. The pervasiveness of English receives a great deal of attention, 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 linguistic landscapes, irrespective of whether or not it is actually spoken by any sizable share of the population."

2.5.4.i Agency

The contentious issue of agency is discussed in detail in 2.4.4. To summarise, top-down signage is initiated by official domains (the government) and bottom-up signage by the private sphere (notably the commercial domain). They make different contributions to the LL, especially in terms of language policy. Official language policies are ascribed to with varying degrees of accuracy on official signage, while bottom-up agents for the most part have more freedom and thus create the *de facto* language policy. These two contributions are analysed and compared in terms of the languages contained and the code preference, the latter including the availability of multilingual signage. A further definition might take into consideration the function or content of the sign. There is currently not a set method for investigating the process of sign creating as a whole (see 2.4.4), although a triangulated approach contributes significantly to an understanding of the process and to creating a framework for analysis.

2.5.4.ii Code preference

Languages cannot share the same space on multilingual signs and for this reason one will be in a prominent position. This visual hierarchy indicates which language is the preferred code. In order to determine code preference, researchers have to develop a coding scheme suitable for the type of data. The features identified by Scollon and Scollon (2003) usually form the basis for such systems.

The first feature indicating preference is placement (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 119-120) and a choice has to be made concerning the language or orthography which will take the dominant position: "The mere fact that these items in a picture or in the world cannot be located simultaneously in the same place produces a choice system." If the codes are aligned horizontally the location of preference is on top; if they are aligned vertically the preferred code is on the left; or the preferred code can be situated in the centre. Backhaus (2005a) reverses this order to accommodate the

Asian writing conventions. The mixing of orthographies and writing conventions complicates the identification of the preferred code – Huebner (2006: 34-36) compares the placement with the amount of information in order to reach a conclusion.

The qualities of the inscription further indicate code preference. Different fonts or letter forms (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 130-134), including shape, size, and colour, can produce different meanings in the 'same' linguistic message. In cases where size and order express conflicting preferences, size outweighs order. The choice of orthography is as significant as the choice of language, as illustrated by Backhaus (2005a: 5-8), who had to develop a definition of what constitutes 'Japanese' script. Similar to Spolsky and Cooper (1991), Scollon and Scollon (2003: 135-137) also identify materials as an aspect indicating code preference. The type of material can indicate permanence (such as stone) or temporality (a hand-written note on paper), as well as the medium of inscription (compare a painted sign to an engraved one). Scollon and Scollon (2003: 137) discuss layering as an indication of temporality, although this is not always the case (see 2.5.4 below). The arrangement of languages and scripts on multilingual signs also serves to indicate code preference, refer to Reh's (2004) taxonomy of types of multilingual information arrangement in 2.5.4 below.

2.5.4.iii Multilingualism (visibility and types of translations)

Seeing as most LL studies are conducted in urban settings, where there is a high degree of language contact and a great variety of sociolinguistic groups, the issue of multilingualism (the visibility thereof and the different types) stands quite central. It reveals aspects of inclusivity, literacy and social layering of the community wherein it is written.

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 first two of Spolsky's (2009) three conditions for language choice – write in a language you know and/or a language the reader is expected to know; or write in a language

you wish to be identified with – indicate the importance of literacy in creating linguistic landscape items. This is linked to the degree of both individual and societal multilingualism in the community. The main system of the classification of multilingual signage has been developed by Reh (2004). Since the number and type of multilingual texts in a given area are determined by factors such as the number of languages used, the language policy, the status and self-esteem of speakers and the reader-orientation of text suppliers, a study of these texts reflects the social layering within the community (Reh, 2004: 1).

The model's parameters facilitate analyses within and across regions, domains and societies, with the parameters being the spatial mobility of the object inscribed, the degree of visibility of multilingualism and the way in which the multilingual information is arranged. The model was developed for stationary items only, although it is adaptable for mobile texts. Reh (2004: 3-5, 8) draws the distinction between stationary and mobile texts because the reading conditions, such as the mobility of the reader and the number of ways in which languages and information can be arranged on the two types of surfaces differs. It thus requires different types of categorisation. With regard to the visibility of multilingual writing, Reh (2004: 5-7) distinguishes between visible and covert multilingualism.

2.5.4.iii.a Visibility

Visible multilingualism refers to multilingual text inscribed on the same material unit, without requiring the reader to change 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. He traces the origin of this practice to the fact that some texts are applicable to more than one linguistic community and that readers prefer to read the text in the language they are most fluent in. The third parameter refers to the specific combination of languages and information in the text, of which Reh (2004: 8-15) identifies four types. How the researcher deals with proper names also impacts on the results regarding the frequency of multilingualism and the presence of English. Edelman (2009) presents the arguments for and against classifying proper names in signs according to their original language. Brand and product names are most often

the 'foreign' element in a sign, and their value is connotative rather than denotative. These signs, usually commercial signs designed to attract the attention of passers-by, occupy a prominent position in the LL and thus the foreign languages need to be coded to get a complete picture of the linguistic landscape's character. On the other hand, the determination of language of origin is not always straightforward. Some proper names can belong to more than one language, depending on their context. However, including such names with a possible foreign connotation is still the sign writer's choice. The neglect of their visibility overlooks information about the role names play in the LL and the use of languages to appeal to the readership's emotions. On the other hand, the exclusion of proper names more accurately reflects the languages spoken in the area. A discussion of Reh's typology follows below.

2.5.4.iii.b Types of multilingualism

Duplicating multilingual writing refers to the practice of presenting the exact same text in more than one language. It is a reaction to societal multilingualism, to the technical aspect of communication in cases where individual multilingualism is insufficient or in cases of language acquisition; and to the affective aspects in cases where individual multilingualism does allow for comprehension of a message in just one language, but where the use of more than one language serves a purpose of identity and equality of all the groups thus addressed. *Fragmentary multilingualism* occurs when the information is supplied fully in only one language, but selected parts have been translated into additional language(s). When part of the information is in one language only, and part of it is available in additional language(s), it is referred to as *overlapping multilingualism*. There are two types of overlapping multilingualism. In the first, the notional content of the messages are the same, but not the pragmatic form and interpersonal meaning. This type of multilingualism informs monolingual readers sufficiently without boring multilingual readers with an exact duplicate of the message or offering them the privilege of more information than monolingual readers. 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. This type of multilingual information assumes a multilingual reader to decipher all the information given. *Complementary multilingual writing* also assumes

a multilingual readership. Different parts of the overall information are rendered in different languages and knowledge of all the languages is required in order to understand the whole message.

2.5.4.iv Temporality

Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 81) identify three criteria for the development of a methodology for data categorisation, namely code preference according to the language(s) used on the sign as well as the number of languages; code preference according to the function and use of the sign; and code preference according to physical form, or the material from which the sign is made. They draw up the following list according to the permanence of the signs and the skills required making them:

1. written with a marker or brush on any surface;
2. typed or written on paper;
3. printed poster;
4. painted sign on wooden board;
5. illuminated (painted or glass or plastic);
6. painted sign on metal;
7. painted on a tile;
8. bronze or metal (engraved or cut out); or
9. engraved or embossed on stone.

Scollon and Scollon (2003: 135-137) also identify the material from which a sign is made as an indication of its permanence. The type of material can indicate permanence (such as stone) or temporality (a hand-written note on paper) and the medium of inscription (a painted sign compared to an engraved sign).

2.5.4.v Layering/Replacement/Removal

Older and newer versions of signs sometimes coexist. They usually originate from different political or language regimes (whether *de jure* or *de facto*) and are the result of older signs that are gradually being replaced. In addition to other languages used

on such signs, there is also an increase in the amount of information provided by the additional languages, in other words, an increase in its functional weights. The investigation of layering also indicates how languages coexist and internally affect one another at various levels, such as lexicon, grammar and orthography (Backhaus, 2005a, 2005b).

Backhaus (2005b) conducts a diachronic analysis on the development of Tokyo's LL. There are two approaches to a diachronic investigation, namely the "real time" approach involving two or more successive surveys at different times of a LL site, while directly comparing the results; and "apparent time" studies using data from only one point in time and comparing the older and newer versions of coexisting signs.

Spolsky (2009: 26-27), referring to his earlier work (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991), gives the following example of how layering can indicate different political regimes. He found two signs (it seems as though this is a common appearance) indicating street names on opposite sides of a street, each consisting of nine tiles and written in three languages. The Hebrew and Arabic are identical on both sides, but on one side the English reads "Ha-Malakh Rd"; and on the other "El-Malak Rd". The former is the English transliteration of Hebrew and the latter the transliteration of Arabic. The former sign consists of nine tiles with a single frame, the texts written over three tiles, while in the latter, the Arabic and its transliteration have a frame that separate them from the top three tiles with Hebrew, which were added later. Spolsky (2009) explains this in historical terms: during the Jordanian occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem (1948-1967), Jews were expelled and Arabic signs were put up containing English for tourists. In 1967 the Old City came under Israeli rule and was opened up to the three major religions. A Hebrew line was added to existing signs. These new signs recognised both the trilingual situation and, by adding Hebrew on top, the Israeli rule and Hebrew dominance.

In Tokyo, the language policy has changed and official signs may include English, Chinese and Korean in addition to Japanese, but signs are replaced only occasionally, in other words, when necessary. Backhaus (2005a, 2008) observes changes in language use patterns in the LL with regard to:

i. The number of languages and scripts contained – there is an increase in languages and scripts contained. Official signs are replaced only occasionally, but they have come to dominate the LL. Foreign languages other than English have also become involved in the LL.

ii. The amount of foreign language information – an increased functionality of languages other than Japanese, although Japanese is still clearly dominant on official signs.

iii. The foreign language proficiency – an increase in foreign language proficiency, especially English, is observed. Backhaus refers to the occurrence of idiosyncrasies.

iv. The change in proportions of languages and scripts – the introduction of different orthographies and the amount of languages used, and their respective weights.

As official signs are more strictly regulated by language policy, the state of transition of the language regime is more easily observable by studies of layered instances on official than nonofficial signs.

Backhaus (2005b) cautions that, when investigating layering, it is important to establish that i) the items are indeed variants of the same sign; and ii) that these signs are indeed of different ages – background information is vital. Data must be gained from external sources, such as administrative documents or direct enquiry at the relevant agency, or from the sign itself, its material condition or increase in language proficiency.

2.5.4.vi Globalisation

English is pervasive in linguistic landscapes across the world. This can be attributed to the process of globalisation, in which 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 because of the values attached to it. It is important to specify in the methodology how to deal with English-looking terms, as it will both influence the

strength of English and the frequency of multilingual signs (see Edelman's discussion in 2.5.4.iii.a, 2009).

Huebner (2006: 33-34) challenges the perception that English in Bangkok is directed only at tourists and other foreigners, as do Backhaus (2005a, 2006, 2007, 2008) regarding the use of English in Tokyo. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 24-25) indicate that English is used both for its beneficial expectations (tourists) and its prestige in Israel. The possibility that English is used because of its status as language of international communication is proven by Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 78), namely that other 'strong' foreign languages in their research sites were only marginally present. They also prove that English is used for its connotational values, because it is employed for more than informational purposes directed at foreign visitors.

Cenoz and Gorter (2009) investigate economical considerations in the shaping of the LL and refer to the benefit of using English, in the light of the process of globalisation. Across the world, multilingual signs tend to include English, a result of globalisation which defines the language in economic terms such as markets, production and consumption. English is also associated with values such as an international orientation, modernity, success, sophistication and fun. The omnipresence of English is one of the most obvious markets of globalisation (2009: 57-58).

The LL researcher must solve several methodological considerations before commencing a study. These will be influenced by the nature of the study and the aim of the research parameters, which must include at least a reference to questions of agency, readership and the dynamics of the LL. The problem of agency is highly problematic; nevertheless, the researcher needs to develop a workable manner in which to deal with it. Whether the researcher prefers a qualitative, quantitative or combined approach, triangulation is essential for an accurate interpretation of the data. The discipline is too evolved to simply allow for a descriptive study. In order to be of qualitative value, the choice of research location must be representative of the group(s) investigated. The unit of analysis is another challenge for which there is no consistent solution as yet. The definition is still up to the researcher's discretion. From the outset the researcher must also decide how to deal with multilingual and

layered signage, as these decisions might yield different impressions of the LL investigated. The triangulated methodological model presented by Barni (2006, 2008) may be a helpful tool in future studies.

In summary, LL research is a new approach to existing sociolinguistic studies. Written language in the public space has distinctive semiotic properties, offering a new approach to themes such as language policy and linguistic diversity; but also bearing 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 level, private or governmental in nature, or relating to identity or power relations. The three research parameters, linguistic landscaping for whom, by whom, and how, is a valuable guideline in attempting an analysis considering these symbolic factors. The evolution of technology, especially the spread of digital cameras, which enable the collection of a consistent data corpus, led to the exponential growth in the field, allowing a functional combination of qualitative and quantitative research. The popularity of LL studies is evident not only through the exponential increase of articles focusing or involving an LL element, but also in the increased involvement in conferences, specifically the annual linguistic landscape conferences (2008, 2009 and 2010).

Several methodological inconsistencies still obstruct comparability between studies. The most notable is the lack of agreement on the definition of two basic considerations, namely the unit of analysis and the survey area. In addition, the importance of a triangulated approach only recently received its due attention in methodological discussions. The LL data alone are not sufficient to allow for an accurate interpretation of the significance and dynamics of actions in the LL. A triangulated approach is required for an informed analysis of LL data. Conversely, such a method enables the LL to contribute meaningfully to studies with other foci.

An analysis of the data within the research parameters ought to shed light on the research questions: Whether the broader socio-political changes after 1994 reflect in the rural linguistic landscape of South Africa, and how these societal changes manifest in the LL.

The next chapter outlines the methodology followed in this study. The issues of agency and triangulation, as well as the definition of the unit of analysis and the survey area receive appropriate attention.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodological challenges of a linguistic landscape study were discussed in the previous chapter. Despite a lack of consistency in methodology and theoretical shortcomings in the field, it is essential for a LL researcher to meet these challenges by clarifying the methodology. The methodology of this study is formed by the research parameters identified by Backhaus (2005a), Coulmas (2009), Hanauer (2009), Malinowski (2009) and Spolsky (2009) (discussed in 2.2.4 and 2.5):

i)   **Agency** – *by* whom is the LL created
ii)   **Readership** – *for* whom is the LL created
iii)   **Dynamics** – *how* the LL is formed

The three fundamental methodological aspects (see 2.5) are the determination of the survey area, the definition of the unit of analysis, and the development of a coding scheme for categorising data. This chapter explains the methodology used to conduct this study, and the parameters within which the data were analysed.

3.1 A combined qualitative/quantitative approach

The combined qualitative/quantitative approach followed in this study allows for both observations about language use in the public space as well as the creation of a defined corpus. The data and the conclusions drawn from it are substantiated by triangulated information, expounded in Chapter 4. The historical overview describes the creation of the current municipal structure of Philippolis, and also the development of the town itself. The Griqua played a central role in the history of the area, and their involvement is described in detail. An overview of the demographic composition of the population residing in the area provides a backdrop against which language choices can be interpreted. Lastly, the section on administrative information provides the regulations of language policy at national, provincial and local level.

3.2 Survey area

Currently the focus of LL studies is mostly on urban settings, because of the higher concentration of signage and the greater diversity of social groups. Although Philippolis is situated in a rural area, its linguistic landscape still serves to indicate the dynamics shaping LL, such as the impact of the development of tourism. Philippolis qualifies as a research location as it played the central role in the historical development of the Free State. Furthermore, the municipality, as a remnant of the policy of segregation during apartheid, is divided into three neighbourhoods, each with a unique sociolinguistic and ethno-cultural composition. Keeping in mind the principle of representation, as discussed in Section 2.5.3, which dictates that the geographic distributions of linguistic tendencies ought to be considered, the three sites were investigated separately in order to determine and thereby compare the contributions of the different sites. The town plans are displayed in Annexure 2.

The former white town, Philippolis (**FWT**), houses mainly white inhabitants, the majority of whom use Afrikaans as first language, along with a few English first-language speakers. The coloured population, who also uses Afrikaans as a first language, resides in Bergmanshoogte (**BMH**), the former coloured area. Poding-tse-Rolo (**PTR**), the former black township, is home to the black population. Linguistically speaking, this site is the most diverse. The population comprises Sesotho and isiXhosa speakers and a few Setswana and isiZulu speakers. The immigrants from central Africa and Mediterranean/Asia also reside in Poding-tse-Rolo, where they learn the local African languages. The three sites each have a very small population and are situated in close proximity (walking distance) from each other.

The entire neighbourhood in each research site was taken into consideration, including residential areas. This follows from the fact that there are no clear demarcations between commercial, private and official centres in the black and coloured neighbourhoods. The researcher was mindful to respect the privacy of the residents. A local resident acted as a guide, ensuring that the entire neighbourhood was covered – and at times also provided on-the-spot explanations. Each of the

three sites was investigated separately in order to allow comparability between the LL of different sociolinguistic groups.

3.3 Unit of analysis

Following Backhaus, a physical rather than a semantic definition of signs was used, the definition of a sign being "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" (Backhaus, 2005a: 96). Every text/individual sign was counted as a unit, unlike Cenoz and Gorter (2006), who take each establishment to be a sign.

Shohamy and Waksman (2009) argue for the linguistic landscape to be expanded to include all items carrying written language. However, this would allow the study to deviate too far into the field of semiotics. The focus is on written language with a relative permanence and therefore non-stationary items were excluded. The method of sign capturing developed by Backhaus (2005a) was followed. Only items with text were considered, while signs with only pictures, emblems, pictograms, or numbers were not recorded. A count-all approach was followed, irrespective of size. The criteria were legibility and visibility from street level.

The object to which the sign is attached is labelled as the carrier and may have more than one surface for display. Following Reh's (2004) definition of covert and visible multilingualism, signs with more than one surface of inscription were counted as one item.

Layered items were noted in a separate category. The legible signs on the layered item were duplicated into the relevant category. For example, a sign of public demarcation was used on a concrete column, with a political poster on the column. The instance of layering was recorded, and the item was duplicated into both the categories of public demarcation and political signage. Temporary signs fall under a different rationale from permanent signs. They were included in the main study, but an additional analysis referred to the nature of these signs.

Following current methodology, each sign was captured separately with a digital camera and entered into the database.

3.4 Categorisation of signs

3.4.1 Research sites

As indicated in 3.2, each of the three neighbourhoods was investigated separately. The coding scheme is largely informed by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) (see Annexure 1 for the complete data set).

3.4.2 Agency

Agency is a contentious issue and currently receives a great deal of attention in theoretical discussions (see 2.5.4.1). As there is currently no agreed expansion of the top-down, bottom-up dichotomy, data are categorised as originating either from the official sphere (top-down) or from the public sector (bottom-up).

Bottom-up and top-down actors operate in different domains. Table 3.1 (on p. 56) indicates the top-down domains and Table 3.2 (on p. 58) the bottom-up domains. The domains are subdivided in order to identify the types of signs occurring in each domain. These sub-domains often contain signs with a variety of foci, necessitating a further division. Within the latter category, certain types of signs occur so often that it is necessary to further categorise the data according to focus. For example, a warning sign is a type of sign which occurs so regularly that it is necessary to investigate the language choices on these signs and the reasons behind the choices. A special category is created for sponsor-related signage. A considerable number of signs are printed on carriers sponsored by corporations, and the corporations' names also appear on these signs. In such cases, the sign is noted in the sponsor-related category and the category relating to the domain of the other information. For example, a sign in the educational domain containing the name of a school sponsored by Company X (for example, Philippolis High School signs sponsored by Investec, see Photo's 5.7i-iii on p. 119-120) is duplicated and entered both into the

'sponsor-related' category and the sub domain of 'building markings and names' (see 5.4 for a more complete discussion on layered signage). It must be noted that not all these subdivisions were taken into consideration with the analysis, as either no generalisation could be made, or no significant occurrence could be found.

3.4.2.i Top-down domains

Government agencies form a large part of the top-down agency (as is indicated in Table 3.1 on page 56), which does not necessarily imply that they contribute to the majority of top-down signage. Top-down signage is erected with the intention of performing an informational function. In other words, most of these signs serve to mark a government building or site (such as the conservation area). Directional signs, whether initiated by local or national agents, constitute a notable percentage of signage.

Due to the large number of sponsored signs, a corporate category is included. The pervasiveness of Coca-Cola as a brand is recorded with a detailed indication. These signs are noted as separate entries and are not included in the main data corpus. Refer to 5.4 for a discussion of the layered signs. Public announcements, although temporary, are included in the same category as the permanent signs, as it is initiated by the same (governmental) agency. The SAPS signs are "missing or wanted persons", whilst the announcements erected by government departments notify about the visits of or services provided by government officials of the relevant departments. It is quite common in the rural areas that service providers are not stationed permanently in a town, but rather visit them on circuit (refer to Van Niekerk & Marais, 2008, especially p. 373, for a discussion for this eminent problem).

Cultural and political signage is included under the same rationale as the other governmental initiatives, since it is of general civic concern. Cultural signage is subdivided into museums and national monuments, both public in nature. The political signage exclusively constitutes announcements by the APC (African People's Convention) of a rally. Such announcements, by political parties and government agencies, are considered a general phenomenon in these small towns and the signs recorded during the survey serve as an example thereof. Signage in

the educational domain in this study refers to building markings at schools, crèches, and ABET's (Adult Basic Education and Training) facilities.

Domain	Sub-domain	Division	Detail
Cultural	Museum		
	National Monument		
Education	Building markings and names		
Government	Government agencies	Bloemwater	
		Conservation	
		CPF (Community Policing Forum)	
		Government departments (each noted separately)	
		Eskom	General
			Warning
		LED (Local Economic Development)	
		Magistrate's Court	
		Police Station	
		Post Office	
	Local government	Directional	
		Municipal	
		Warning	
	National government	Road signage	Directional
			Tourist
		Other	
Political	Announcements		
Public Announcements	Government agencies	Government departments (each noted separately)	
		SAPS	

Table 3.1: Categorisation of signage in top-down domains

Local and national government have different responsibilities relating to the LL and accordingly make different contributions. National governmental signage in the area mainly comprises road signage, indicating either direction (green boards containing chiefly place names) or tourist facilities (brown boards). The distinction is necessary to indicate the effect of tourism on linguistic choices. Signage in the local government sub-domain is divided into directional (e.g. street names), municipal (e.g. building names and markings) and general warnings signs. Although the latter two categories fall within the same rationale, warning signs generally have specific properties in that they are more likely to be multilingual.

The category 'government agencies' refer to government departments active in the area, as well as semi-privatised agencies such as the post office. A large number of signs initiated by Eskom are warning signs. Since warning signs in general tend to be multilingual in nature, special note is taken of these signs.

3.4.2.ii Bottom-up domains

As in the top-down domains, a corporate category indicates the presence of brand names in bottom-up signage – especially Coca-Cola. Once again, these signs are dealt with in a separate category dealing specifically with layered signage (5.4). Bottom-up signage (see Table 3.2 on p. 58) much less serves an informational function like top-down signs, but is mostly a way of marking the territory (associations, private homes and religious buildings) or with the aim of selling something.

Public demarcation signs, although marking the territory, are impersonal, unlike the other signs marking the territory. The commercial category constitutes the bulk of both agency and number of signs. Certain associations mark the buildings where they are active. As it is of permanent nature, it is categorised separately from the other announcements. Religious signage also serves to mark buildings. Private announcements (i.e. announcements not relating events or information initiated by government), although of temporary nature, fall under the same agency and is therefore included here.

Domain	Sub-domain	Division	Detail
Associations	Building markings and names		
Commercial	Goods for sale		
	Guest houses	Business name and information	
	Services	Banks	
		Legal	
		Real estate	
		Security	
		Other	
	Shops	Business name and information	
		Shop offers	
	Taverns/bars	Business name and information	
		Shop offers	
Graffiti			
Private announcements	Community news	Events	
		Information	
	Other		
Private Homes	Affiliation	Sport	
		Religious	
	Ownership, decoration, commentary		
	Warning	Beware of the dog	
		Other	
Public demarcation			
Religious	Building markings and names		

Table 3.2: Categorisation of signage in bottom-up domains

The commercial domain is subdivided in a manner that allows for an investigation of the markets the LL caters for in different sites. For the same reason, signage for shops and taverns is categorised separately. Signage indicating goods for sale is categorised as commercial rather than public announcements, because the intention of such signage is financial in nature. Notices indicating or offering services, whether of a permanent or temporary nature, are grouped together under the sub-domain

'services'. Guest houses are a specific type of business aimed at national or international tourists. Linguistic choices on these signs serve to indicate the same trend as governmental tourist signs. However, on guest house signs, the language of the name of the business is taken into consideration (as is the case with the appearance of personal names in shop names). On governmental tourist signs, the name of the business is ignored. For example, in Photo 3.1.i below, the name of the business "Philippolis Old Jail" is not taken into account, whereas the sign in Photo 3.1.ii is classified as bilingual, as the name of the business is in English and the business information in Afrikaans.

Photo 3.1.i

Photo 3.1.ii

Seeing that this study includes residential areas, the category of private homes was created. Homes are marked in several ways. In PTR, and to a lesser degree in BMH, the walls of houses are used to indicate ownership, to deliver commentary or simply for decoration. Affiliation with a sports team or a religious movement is also indicated on the walls or in the windows of homes. Warning signs are mostly 'Beware of the dog' signs. In most of the cases in PTR and BMH, these warning signs seem to serve no purpose, and thus were most likely used to indicate ownership. However, this observation could not be verified (when the guide was questioned on this, she pulled up her shoulders and said, "Hulle sien dit maar by die witmense" (explaining that they are imitating the white people). The signs are therefore kept separate from the 'ownership' category. Informal signage used on the street and not at homes, is classified as graffiti. A special category is created for signs of unknown origin demarcating the public space, such as the sign in Photo 3.2 below.

Photo 3.2: A sign demarcating the public space

The variety of distinctive domains indicates the range of functional purposes the LL can serve. These divisions will also serve to reveal whether or not the LL is employed for different reasons in the three research sites.

3.4.3 Code preference

The coding scheme focuses on the choice of language(s) in order to determine the languages present in the LL, and the ways in which they occur. In other words, whether the signs are monolingual or multilingual, and what language combinations are found in multilingual signage. Table 3.3 on page 62 explains the linguistic categories used. A total of 594 signs were collected. The signs categorised as 'neutral', 'unidentifiable' or 'foreign' were discarded, which left a remainder of 533 signs. The data further categorised and analysed thus only refer to signage containing Afrikaans, English and/or an African language(s). The three sites, each with a unique sociolinguistic composition, are expected to make different contributions to the LL. Signage contributed by top-down and bottom-up agents falls under different rationales (the former's choices restricted to a greater degree by policy); the domains falling under the two agencies function within different areas of activity. Hence, the linguistic choices exercised by these initiators are considered separately.

Site	Agency	Domain	Monolingual				Multilingual						
			African	Afr	Eng	Total monolingual	Afr-Eng	Afr-African	Eng-African	African-African	Afr-Eng-African	Afr-Eng-African-African	Total multilingual
		Total/language /domain											
	Total/language/agency												
Total/language/site													

Table 3.3: Categorisation scheme for determining code preference

3.4.3.i Languages present

English and Afrikaans signs are, for the most part, easily distinguishable. The African languages on signs are either Sesotho or Setswana (Sotho language group), and/or isiXhosa or isiZulu (Nguni language group). The number of signs containing African languages is too few to constitute a meaningful corpus; hence they are grouped together in one category as African. Signs that could belong to either the Afrikaans or English category, such as 'in', or that could not be identified as belonging to any specific language, are classified as neutral. Given the absence of a coherent policy on place names, the presence of a place name on a sign is counted as neutral. For example, 'Philippolis High School' would be counted as an English sign, and 'Philippolis Hoërskool' as an Afrikaans sign. There are a few signs in a 'foreign' language, such as a house named 'Le Palace'. These signs are also discarded.

Brand and personal names are dealt with differently. The use of a personal place name indicates an expression of identity, and since no difficulties were encountered to determine the language of personal names, the language of the name is noted. For example, 'Mvubu's Tuck Shop' (Photo 3.3 below) is counted as a bilingual English-African sign.

Photo 3.3: Example of an African personal name in a shop sign

Signs containing brand names are dealt with according to the amount of information provided by the sponsoring corporation. In cases where only the name of the brand appears on the sign together with other information, the brand name is counted as

neutral. For example, the sign for 'Kokkewiet Kafee' is sponsored by Coca-Cola (see Photo 3.4 below). The presence of the brand name is ignored and the sign counted as Afrikaans. In cases where the presence of the brand name is accompanied by further information or a catch phrase, the sign is categorised according to the further information. The sign with the words, 'This school is proudly supported by Investec', is categorised as English (Photo 3.5 below). In order to investigate the phenomenon of sponsored signs, especially those with the internationally pervasive presence of Coca-Cola, signs containing a corporate presence are copied into a further category 'corporate' and counted as a layered sign.

Photo 3.4: Example of a sponsored sign with a neutral corporate name
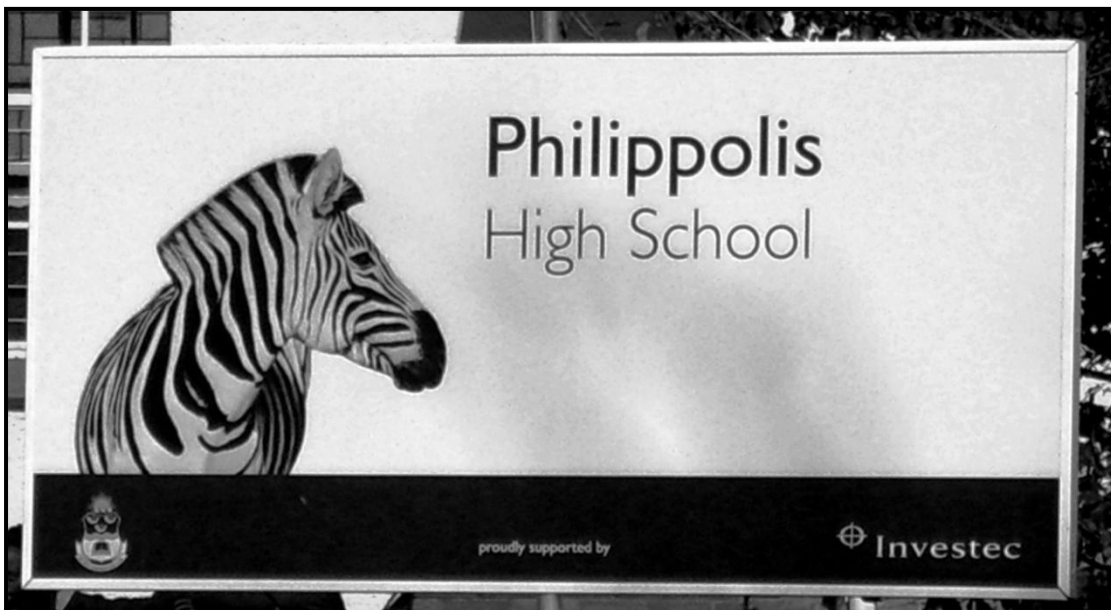
Photo 3.5: Example of a sponsored sign with corporate information

3.4.3.ii Multilingualism

Signs are categorised as either monolingual or multilingual. Monolingual signs are classified as Afrikaans, English or African. The multilingual category expands to include the various combinations of the above-mentioned three languages. As there are no dominant trends and the boundaries between languages are clear, code dominance or types of multilingualism are not taken into account. The analysis instead focuses on the overall presence of a language across domains and sites, and the types of combinations. For instance, the fact that there are a significant number of bilingual English/African signs, but very few bilingual Afrikaans/African signs, is more significant than the order of appearance.

3.4.4 Temporality

Signs of a temporary nature are copied into a separate category (within its classification of either top-down or bottom-up) in order to investigate whether it makes a different contribution to the LL than permanent signs. Temporality is determined by the material of the sign (see 2.5.4.v), but also according to the way in which it is affixed. Some signs are not made of a durable material, such as plywood, but it is affixed to the fence with wire. In such cases, the sign is counted as permanent, seeing that it was clearly meant to serve a purpose for an extended period of time. Signs affixed with any form of adhesive, such as Prestik or Cellotape are counted as temporary. Table 3.4 on p. 66 reproduces the framework.

Location	Direction	Top-down	Bottom-up					TOTAL
	Type	Announcements	Announcements	Goods for sale/Services	Shop offers	Other	Total bottom-up	
BMH								
FWT								
PTR								
Grand Total								

Table 3.4: Occurrence of temporality

3.4.5 Layering

Layered signage receives special attention as it provides information on the development of signage in the LL and indicates past policies. As with temporality, this classification maintains the division between bottom-up and top-down. Every instance of layering is counted as one item. For example, signs indicating a national monument originate from two different chronologies. Although there are several buildings with these signs, it is counted as one instance of layering (see Photo 3.6.i and ii on p. 68). Layered signs are categorised according to chronological deviations (date) and type. The latter refers to the instance of 'corporate' signage, as discussed in 3.4.3.i. A further distinction is made between signs sponsored by Coca-Cola and those by other corporations, given the international presence of Coca-Cola. Table 3.5 below recounts the categorisation of layering:

Location	Direction	Total	Date	Type	Division	Nr	Details	Nr
	Top-down				Corporate		Coca-Cola	
							Other	
					Other			
	Bottom-up				Corporate		Coca-Cola	
							Other	
					Other			
Total								

Table 3.5: Categorisation of layered signage

Photo 3.6.i and Photo 3.6.ii

3.5 Quantification and analysis

The data are quantified and presented according to the criteria set out above. The research parameters (agency, readership and dynamics), as discussed in the introduction of this chapter, define the analytical framework. The framework is further supplemented by the principles of pragmatic and symbolic motivations behind the choice of language. The first consideration is the current linguistic situation of the LL and the second concerns the signage that is clearly perceived as erected after 1994.

The data are presented in terms of agency (bottom-up and top-down contributions) and readership (the three research sites). The dynamics of language choice are clarified in terms of pragmatic and symbolic motivations. The former refers to what the initiator of the sign deems suitable for the intended readership, and also of the purpose of the sign. Symbolic motivations refer to issues of the presentation of self (the individual), indicating membership to a collective identity, expressing or protesting socio-political power, as well as choices influenced by language attitudes, indicating the perceived value of the language used. These considerations are applied where appropriate to account for linguistic choices.

The change in political regime from apartheid to democracy resulted in, amongst others, an alteration of the national language policy from official Afrikaans/English bilingualism to eleven official languages. Consequently, new provincial and local linguistic regulations had to be specified. Municipal demarcations were initiated and new municipal structures created. In broader terms, the South African society itself transformed. Perception of self changed across sociocultural groups, while language attitudes were influenced as well. Afrikaans attained a negative connotation amongst certain groups, while the Afrikaner and to a lesser degree the coloured community now ascribe to a notion of language preservation. English gained more power as the language of wider communication, power and upward mobilisation. African languages continue to be neglected in favour of English, although it carries a covert prestige in the informal sphere, such as in music, sports and community life (Mesthrie, 2008: 329).

The changes visible in the LL are analysed, keeping this information in mind. The changed roles of Afrikaans, English and African languages, as well as the different contributions by top-down and bottom-up actors, are considered. The motivations behind these changes are discussed in terms of pragmatic and symbolic considerations. Considering the dialectic between the linguistic landscape and the society, attention is paid to the impact of these changes.

With this triangulated approach, this study aspires to accurately reflect the visual linguistic situation in the area and the dynamics shaping it.

Chapter 4: Background information

Philippolis is one of nine towns in the Kopanong Local Municipality in the southern Free State. Three role-players profoundly influenced the history of the town, namely the missionaries of the London Missionary Society; the Griqua – especially the Kok family; and the Afrikaners, especially the Voortrekkers. Each change in ownership was indicative of the socio-political events on a larger scale in South Africa. This includes the emancipation of a non-white community from the Cape Colony; the developments in and between the African chiefdoms; British imperialism; Afrikaner nationalism; and the progress of democracy. A triangulated approach to LL research requires a historical, demographic and an administrative overview. Section 4.1 provides an introduction to the area, followed by a synopsis of the historical developments in 4.2. The demographic information as provided by the 2001 Census is summarised in 4.3. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 outline governmental legislation, the governance structures and language policies in the different tiers of government, respectively. This chapter aims to provide the background necessary to interpret what the linguistic landscape reveals about past and current populations, policies and ideologies.

4.1 Location

South Africa's municipal demarcation divides the country into nine provinces, which are subdivided into districts, with local municipalities. The nine provinces are the Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Limpopo, North West and Western Cape (see Map 4.1 on p. 71). The Free State includes five district municipalities, namely Xhariep, Motheo, Lejweleputswa, Thabo Mofutsanyane and Fezile Dabi. The Xhariep District Municipality in the southern Free State comprises three local municipalities, namely Letsemeng, Mohokare, and Kopanong. Philippolis is situated in the latter (see Map 4.2 on p. 72). The Xhariep District Municipality was established on 6 December 2001 in terms of Section 21 of the *Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998*. In accordance with the Act, municipal areas were re-demarcated and new municipal entities were established.

Map 4.1: Provinces of South Africa (*Map of South Africa, 2008*)

Map 4.2: Xhariep District Municipality (*Map of the Free State*, 2008)

The information below is available on the Xhariep District Municipality's website (*Xhariep District Municipality*, 2008).

The Xhariep District Municipality is the largest district municipality in the Free State, incorporating 17 towns. Extending over an area of 34 131 km^2, it covers 26% of the Free State's total surface area. The Orange River forms the southern border of both the Xhariep District and the Free State. The district also borders the Eastern and Northern Cape and Lesotho.

This district stretches over large, open grassland, supporting a strong industry of livestock farming. Approximately 2,5 million ha of land are classified as natural

grazing suitable for extensive small and large livestock farming; Almost 36 000 ha are irrigated and 166 000 ha are cropped as dry lands for winter crops; 54 000 ha of commonages belong to local municipalities for farming practices; 34 000 ha belong to the Oppermans community (land that traditionally belonged to this group of Griqua descent). The district also includes the largest dam in South Africa, namely the Gariep Dam. To sustain this, there is a large irrigation scheme in the Letsemeng Local Municipality. Tourism plays a vital role in the economy of the area, supported by the three national roads (N1 – Gauteng to Cape Town; N6 – Eastern Cape to Bloemfontein; and the N8 – Bloemfontein to Kimberley) passing through it. The area is home to three nature reserves. Although some of the mines around Jagersfontein are non-operational, some of the largest diamonds in the world are found in the area between Jagersfontein and Koffiefontein.

Letsemeng Local Municipality, in the south-western Free State, covers about 29,5% 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 south-eastern Free State, covers 26% surface area of the Xhariep District. The towns in this area are Zastron, Smithfield and Rouxville.

Kopanong Local Municipality in the southern Free State is situated at the centre of the Xhariep District. It is the largest of the three local municipalities, covering about 44,5% of the Xhariep's surface area. The towns in the Kopanong Municipal District are Trompsburg, Gariep Dam, Springfontein, Bethulie, Philippolis, Jagersfontein, Fauresmith, Edenburg and Reddersburg. The District Municipality is situated in Trompsburg. Refer to Table 4.1 on p. 74 for the distribution of the population amongst the local municipalities.

Local Municipality	Number of people	Percentage of people	Area in km^2	% of Xhariep surface area	Number of people / km^2
Letsemeng	42 984	31.8	10 192	29.9	4.22
Kopanong	55 944	41.4	15 190	44.5	3.68
Mohokare	36 321	26.9	8 743	25.6	4.15
XHARIEP	**135 249**	**100**	**34 n131**	**100**	**3.96**

Table 4.1: Distribution of population amongst local municipalities in the Xhariep District (SSA, 2001)

4.2 Historical background

Philippolis is settled in the Transgariep, the area between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. The historical overview below focuses on the developments that had a specific impact on this area. The most prominent group was the Griqua Captaincy, which managed to establish themselves as a polity, but then declined under the advent of British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism.

4.2.1 Original inhabitants of the Transgariep

During the first millennium ACE three groups lived in the area now known as South Africa, and are believed to have been the first inhabitants of the area under consideration, the Transgariep. The San hunter-gatherers lived in Southern Africa for millennia. The Khoi, or after intermingling with the San, Khoisan, pastoralists migrated into the area during the second half of the first millennium BCE, settling around the Gariep (previously Orange) River (Ross, 1999: 6-7). The San had a loose possession of the area, which they retained until the 18th century, despite the settlement of the Khoisan (Ross, 1976: 23). Bantu migrations from the north introduced an agricultural lifestyle during the first half of the first millennium ACE and eventually these people established chiefdoms surrounding the Transgariep (Ross, 1999: 7-8).

4.2.2 Enter the Griqua

Adam Kok, allegedly an emancipated slave, settled on a farm in the Piketberg region in 1751. He gathered a group of divergent people around him, and this remained the nature of this group throughout their further history. It included Basters (offspring with Khoi mothers and white fathers); remnants of Khoisan groups; freed and escaped slaves; African tribesmen, as well as some white individuals (Ross, 1976: 1; Schoeman, 1996: xi). This group called themselves the Basters (Bastards). Subsequently the community grew exceedingly large and coherent and as a result Adam Kok was recognised as the 'Kaptyn' (chief) by the colonial administration. He received the staff of office that other traditional chiefs received (Schoeman, 1996: xi). This Captaincy is traditionally hereditary and therefore Adam Kok I is regarded as the founder of a dynasty (Schoeman, 2002: 12) (see Annexure 3 for the Kok genealogy). By this stage the white settlers had established themselves as farmers, continuously expanding their territory in the Cape territory. The Basters were forced to migrate inland and left the Cape Colony in 1743 under the leadership of Kok. They settled around the Orange River where they set up cattle posts and initiated a system of trading and hunting with the Khoisan (!Kora) and the Tswana people living in the Transgariep (Schoeman, 1996: xi). They 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, and also initiated the process of westernisation (Ross, 1976: 16-17).

The process of westernisation was further stimulated by the arrival of missionaries, who introduced "Christian" concepts such as monogamy and settled agriculture. These concepts gradually created a foothold in the community (Ross, 1976: 17-19). LMS missionaries started working in the area in 1801, and in 1807 a settlement was established at Klaarwater (Schoeman, 1996: xi). The Basters were often quite willing converts. Schoeman (1996: xi; 2002: 17-18) remarks that the societal divisions at that time were between white and Christian on the one hand, and non-white and heathen on the other. Conversion to Christianity thus provided a means to access the status and privileges of the white society. John Campbell of the LMS visited Klaarwater in 1813. Owing to the derogative nature of the name Baster, he persuaded them to change their name. They chose Griqua, after their KhoiKhoi

(Chaguriqua) descent. Klaarwater was renamed Griquatown, and with the adoption of a set of rules, the Griqua Captaincy came into being (Schoeman, 1996: xi-xii).

Schoeman (1996: xii) and Ross (1976: 20-21) identify four centres of Griqua power, namely the group at Griquatown under the leadership of Andries Waterboer, whose appointment in 1820 was strongly supported by the missionaries; the second centre at Campbell, where Cornelius Kok I had already settled by then; the area between the Vaal and the Riet River where Adam Kok II and Barend Barendse had settled, after they had withdrawn in protest against the appointment of Waterboer, the former settled in the Hart River valley and the fourth centre, Philippolis. A raiding, hunting group of Griqua, under the leadership of Kok, joined the local Korana raiders in the mountainous area between the Vaal and the Riet Rivers, from where they acquired the name Bergenaars (this group eventually settled at Philippolis).

4.2.3 The establishment of Philippolis

Schoeman (1996: xii-xiii) provides a short overview of the settlement of Kok's group of Griqua at Philippolis. Rev. Abraham Faure and Captain Andries Stockenström, magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, established Philippolis in 1823 as a missionary station for the San. The station was named after Dr John Philip, then Supervisor for the LMS in South Africa. On 28 August 1825 Philip and Adam Kok II met and Adam Kok asked permission for the Griqua to settle at Philippolis. Philip agreed to this request, on the condition that the Griqua protected the San, who were cruelly murdered during this period. The promise was not kept. The San were wiped out by Griqua and Boer alike, and the missionaries were forced to relocate to the old San mission stations (Ross, 1976: 23-25). In 1826 Rev. Peter Wright, under instruction from Philip, allowed the Griqua to occupy Philippolis. The missionary at the station, James Clarke, in the hope that the Griqua would offer protection against the threatening attacks from Bergenaars and other raiding groups, renounced the station and its surrounding area to Kok on 22 July 1826. The boundaries of the territory were delineated by the Orange River in the south; by the modern boundary between the Free State and the Northern Cape in the west; by modern Bethulie in the east; and although not clearly defined, by the Riet River and the surrounding area of the modern Reddersburg in the north. Raath (1997: 6) remarks that this later caused

much dispute, as the territory was not the property of the LMS and they thus did not have the power to assign the land to the Griquas.

Schoeman (1996: xiii) and Ross (1976: 25-26) point out the diverse nature of the community settled at Philippolis and its surrounding area. The main groups were the proper Griqua, the traditional following of the Kok family; the Old Inhabitants, who were Basters originally attached to the mission; an anarchic Bergenaar group; some Korana (!Kora), who were gradually assimilated into the general population; and Tswana and Sotho refugees from the interior. This group constantly grew as a result of immigration from Griquatown and the Cape Colony. According to Schoeman (2002: 97-98), the population of Philippolis totalled between 1 150 and 1 860 people in 1827, and by 1845 Adam Kok III estimated (in a letter to the Colonial Secretary of the Cape) the habitants of his territory to be about 6 000.

The Griqua/Baster group formed the largest portion of the community. Schoeman (2002: 102, 106-107) clarifies the different sections as follow, (although the categories are in reality not so clear):

- **Hottentots** refer to the detribalised descendants of pastoral Khoi tribes of the Cape Colony, who were drifting inland, either attaching to mission stations or working as farmhands.
- **Basters** were the descendants of white fathers and KhoiKhoi mothers. Often included in this group were the ex-slaves who escaped from their Boer masters, some of whom settled in the Captaincy.
- **Griqua** were the Basters who recognised the authority of one of the Griqua Kaptyns.
- **Baster-Hottentots** were the descendants of the KhoiKhoi and slaves, with no admixture of blood from white people.
- **Oorlams** was a term used for any of these people who had attained some degree of westernisation in their dress and habits.

These groups gradually assimilated into a homogenous identity, solidified during the apartheid era when they were classified as Coloureds. A large number of the coloureds currently residing in Philippolis are not aware of their Griqua heritage.

The Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms were destroyed by the period of war in the 1820s, following the establishment of Shaka's Zulu kingdom. Some of the refugees settled in Kok's territory, where they seem to have played no significant role (Schoeman, 2002: 101-102). After Moshoeshoe had restored peace in the area near the Caledon River in the 1830s, many of the Sotho refugees returned, but a considerable number of Tswana people remained. A group of Tswana people settled at the mission station in modern Bethulie. The boundaries between their territory and that of the Griqua were established in 1835, although there were later (failed) attempts to assimilate this area into Griqua territory (Ross, 1976: 26-28).

The Griqua Captaincy developed at a passive pace. Owing to the lack of water, the Griquas mostly settled around Philippolis rather than in the town itself. They mostly continued to follow the traditional way of life, living in the traditional bee-hive huts, although westernisation had an influence on them. The town itself boasted a church and a school building (Ross, 1976: 41-44). The leadership of the Griqua Captaincy evolved into a more structured (although not necessarily more effective) organisation. The Kaptyn (traditional spelling of 'Captain') was assisted by the Volksraad (Council), who resolved complaints. In 1838 this Raad sanctioned a set of laws for the Griqua Captaincy. However, these laws were not specific and were applied inconsistently. The area was roughly divided into wards, in which officials of the Raad acted as leaders of the community as well as police officers (Ross, 1976: 41-44). There was also an Executive Committee, a Secret Council and a Griqua magistrate responsible for administrative matters (Raath, 1997: 26-28). The general impression is that these structures were not so much utilised to administer justice, but rather to provide the opportunity for 'talking', a process much valued by the Griquas.

4.2.4 Decline of the Griqua Captaincy

Although the Griqua owned large areas of farmland, most of them did not live on their lands or even attempted to develop it. Following periods of drought, white farmers (Trekboere) started to cross the northern frontier in search of temporary grazing. These migrations developed into semi-permanent settlement in the Transgariep. Although it was forbidden by Griqua law, a significant number of Griqua sold their land to white people (Schoeman, 1996: xiii). Others entered into complicated lease contracts, stipulating that, when the renting farmer moved, the Griqua owner had to pay for all the improvements on the land. Since the Griqua were unable to pay for this, they were forced to continue leasing out the land. The arrangement was further complicated by unclear boundaries and a confusion regarding issues of authority and rightful ownership (Raath, 1997: 8-9). Although there were numerous instances of conflict, stable relationships were formed and some of the Boers even occasionally attended the church services at Philippolis (Ross, 1976: 31-33). The situation took a turn for the worse with the influx of the Voortrekkers during the Great Trek (from 1836 onwards). These whites left the Cape Colony mainly for political reasons and were strongly anti-British. They brought large numbers of livestock with them and ignored the territorial rights and judicial claims of the Griqua Kaptyn, despite warnings. On the other hand, some of the Griqua continued to lease or even sell or trade their land. A landmark of one of the farms' boundaries, the grave of one David, would later play a significant role in determining ownership of the diamond fields (Raath, 1997: 8-9, 17). The continuous conflict and increasing territorial demands from the Boere threatened the continued existence of the Griqua Captaincy (see Map 4.3 on p. 80 for the movements of the Voortrekkers).

5. The Afrikaner Great Trek, 1836–1854
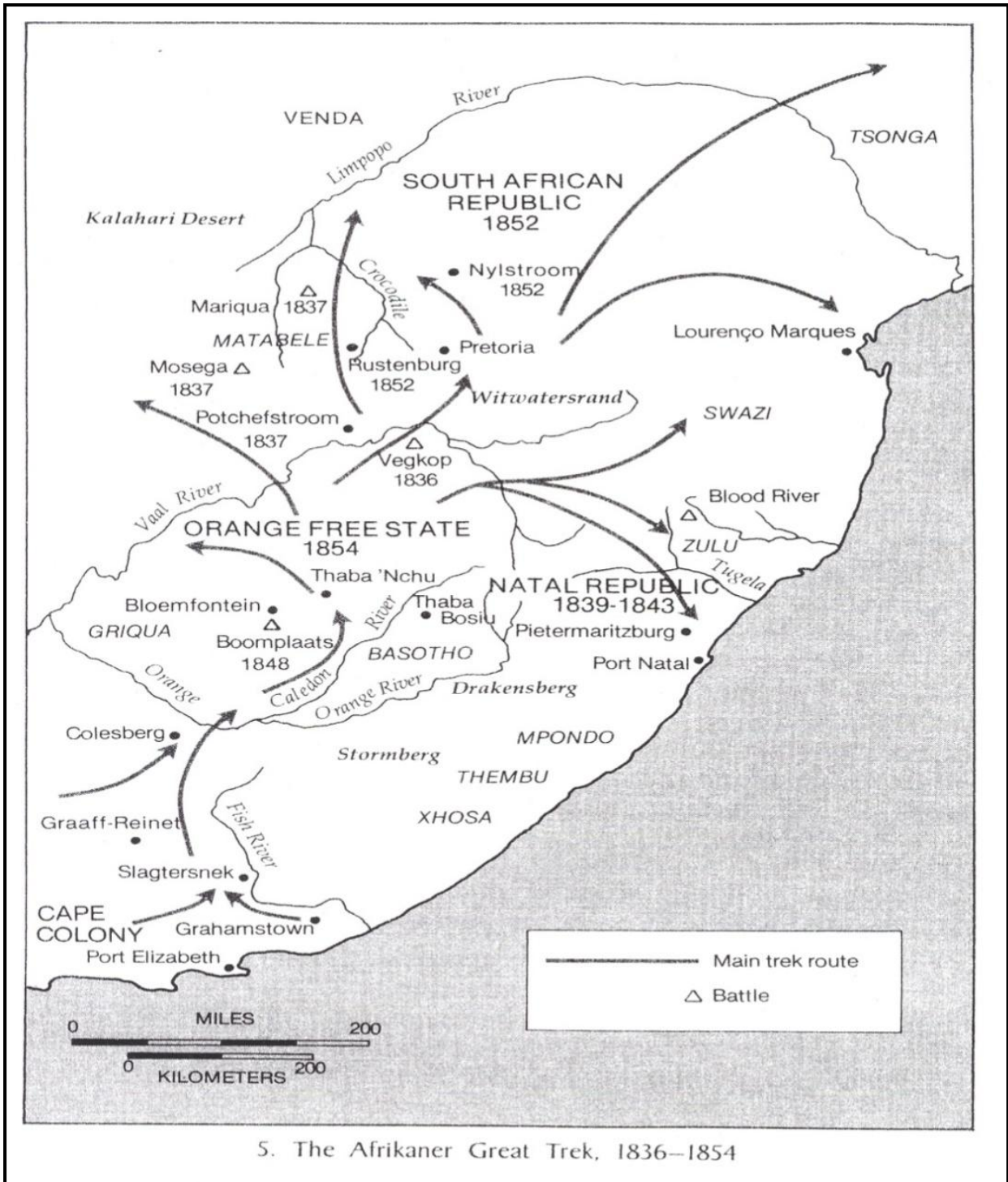
Map 4.3: Spread of the white settlers during the Great Trek (Thompson, 1995: 89)

At this stage, realising the threat of decline the Griqua are facing, Dr Philip started to actively interfere. He proposed uniting the three Griqua territories (Griqualand, Campbell and Philippolis) to create a buffer between white expansion from the south and attacks from African wars from the north. He deemed Andries Waterboer to be

the person most suited to head such a polity, and tried to remove Cornelius and Adam Kok from their positions (Raath, 1997: 9-12). Between 1836 and 1838 Adam Kok III made several attempts to enter into a treaty with the Cape Colony similar to the one concluded with Andries Waterboer in 1832. Also in this time, there was a leadership dispute between the two brothers Adam and Abraham Kok. Abraham joined the Bergenaars and attacked Philippolis in the winter of 1838. Adam, with the assistance of Andries Waterboer, defeated Abraham. On 9 November 1838, Kok and Waterboer signed a treaty of mutual assistance, although it had little real impact (Raath, 1997: 14-16).

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 mount. The Voortrekkers wanted to add the entire Transgariep area to the Republic of Potchefstroom-Winburg. Judge Menzies hastily claimed the area as British territory, although the British Government, not wishing to extend their territory in this area, declared the claim invalid, and the Voortrekkers proclaimed the Transgariep as part of Potchefstroom-Winburg (Raath, 1997: 16-17).

Governor Napier realised a buffer state would be more cost-effective than annexing the area, and signed the Napier treaty in 1837 with Adam Kok as well as with Moshoeshoe. One of the conditions of the treaty was that the Griqua maintain order in the area, being given power also over the whites in the Transgariep. Dissatisfaction amongst the white settlers mounted until an incident led to an armed conflict. The Boere were defeated by the Griqua and British soldiers and they retreated to Winburg (Raath, 1997: 17-18).

The continued conflict between the Griqua and the white settlers resulted in the Maitland Treaty in 1846. The Griqua territory was divided between alienable and inalienable (land not to be sold) territories. Given the vague borders and the confusion regarding previous agreements, dissatisfaction remained and there was another incident of conflict between the Cape Corps (assisted by the Griqua and the Barolong) and the Boere, the latter again defeated (Raath, 1997: 19-20).

Eventually these treaties amounted to carrying little real value. The influence of the LMS in South Africa decreased, and the rising troubles concerning the blacks in the interior shifted the focus away from the Griqua. Although Adam Kok remained loyal to the treaties, the Captaincy's problems were given little attention by the British authorities (Schoeman, 1996: xvi, xviii). The little support the Griqua received from the British Government was withdrawn with the arrival of Governor Harry Smith in 1847 (Schoeman, 1996: xviii).

4.2.5 The final days

Smith met with Adam Kok on 3 January 1848, forcing him into agreeing to give up the alienable land in the Griqua territory, and this permanent loss of land considerably weakened the Griqua's position. On 23 February 1848 the Transgariep was annexed as 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 formed. The treaties between the British Government and the Griqua were cancelled in secret at the convention, but Kok was continuously bribed into renouncing the treaties. When he finally gave in, the Free State Government published the secret treaty and continued to divide the area (Raath, 1997: 21-24). 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 Niemandsland, east of the Drakensberg mountain range (later Griqualand East) at the end of 1861 (see Map 4.4 on p. 83 for the layout of the territories).
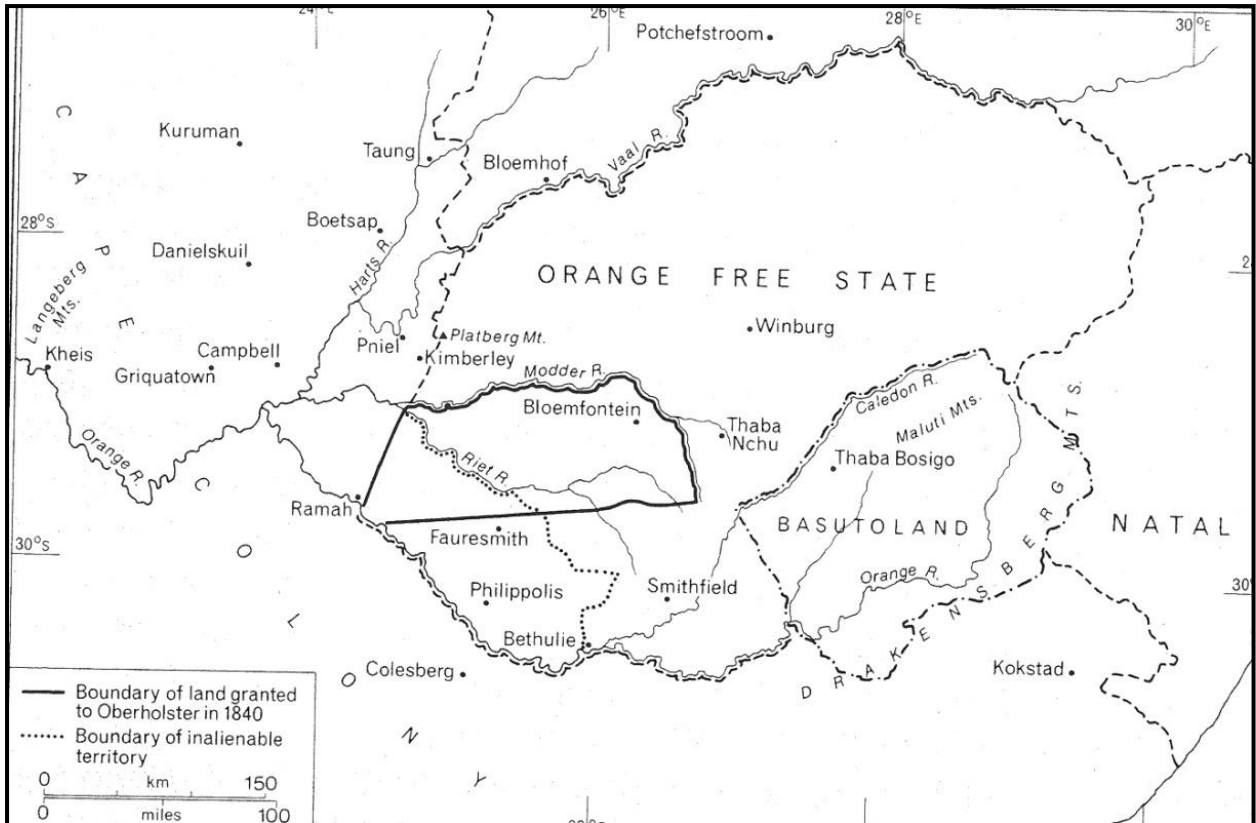
Map 4.4: Griqualand West and surroundings (Ross, 1976: 40)

The last of the Griqua left the Transgariep in 1862 and Philippolis was proclaimed as a Free State town (Raath, 1997: 25-26). The Griqua became less prosperous during the trek. They established Kokstad as their capital, although it soon ceased to be a Griqua polity. Another major immigration happened under the leadership of Andries Le Fleur and consequently Kranshoek near Plettenberg Bay was established as a Griqua centre – these people being the "modern successors to the Kaptyns of Philippolis" (Schoeman, 1996: xx).

Philippolis was recognised as a municipality in 1862. It soon began to play a central role with regard to both the military and the administration of justice. Whatever remnants of the Griqua, or the original San, KhoiKhoi or Sotho/Tswana inhabitants there were, were dominated by the Boere, and once again Philippolis changed ownership.

4.2.6 Brief outline of further developments

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 on the banks of the Vaal River resulted in yet another border dispute – this time between the Griqua of Griquatown and the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The Cape Colony took control of the area in 1871. The diamond mines, as well as the gold mines in 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 Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1881. The Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics were seized in 1900, resulting in the second Anglo-Boer 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, combining the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

This introduced the segregation area and after 1948 apartheid became a fully-fledged policy. One of the prevailing ideals was that different nations were created by God and that this distinction should be preserved (Ross, 1999: 88, 116). This eventually led to the *Natives Land Act of 1913*, which outlined the borders between the African Reserves and the white farming areas. Each of these (later called Bantustans) reserves 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. In 1950, for instance, the *Group Areas Act of 1950* was passed; designating living quarters for specific racial groups, and many people were forcibly moved to their assigned areas. The effects of this policy remain until today. At Philippolis (and in the rest of the Xhariep District), the population groups (coloured, black and white) still keep mostly to the previously designated areas. South Africa became a Republic in 1961 and a democracy in 1994, after a long struggle for freedom. The Constitution adopted in 1996 is generally considered as one of the most progressive constitutions worldwide.

In summary, although the linguistic landscape is in flux, it very often retains traces of the past, of communities and the dynamics between them, of the authorities affecting them, and of their mere existence. The San and Khoi, the original inhabitants, have disappeared without leaving a trace in the linguistic landscape of Philippolis. The Griqua, once in a position of power, left little more than hereditary traces in the bloodline of the coloured population of the town. However, their historical presence facilitated events which did, in time, leave a mark. The old Griqua church was torn down and the Dutch Reformed Church built on the same spot. This church later played a pivotal role during the Anglo-Boer War and for long remained a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism and independence (it seems that the current congregation still do not allow English services in their building). It was the missionaries who were responsible for the layout of the town, but the segregation policy was responsible for the divided neighbourhoods. In this way, the sociocultural groups are able to each make a unique imprint on the linguistic landscape. Although Kaptyn Kok rarely lived in Philippolis, he had a house and a kraal in town. These, amongst many other buildings, are now national monuments – with the linguistic sign indicating it as such. Place names are also part of the linguistic landscape, and the names of the three sites refer to different eras in the history of not only Philippolis, but also South Africa: Philippolis itself was named after Dr John Philip, at a time when missionaries were very active in South Africa. Poding-tse-Rolo ("place of the bontebok") confirms the historic presence of both the giver and receiver of the goats, the Griqua and the Sotho, and indicates the relationship between them. Bergmanshoogte is a remnant from the apartheid policy of separate councils for the different racial groups (see 4.4 for a more complete account of the names).

4.3 Population (Census data)

A closer look at the population of the Xhariep District and specifically of Kopanong provides valuable insight into the dynamics of the community. The following information, obtained from the 2001 Census data (SSA, 2001), is sorted according to the 2005 demarcation of borders.

4.3.1 Xhariep District Municipality

The total population of the Xhariep District is 135 249 people, comprising almost 5% of the total population of the Free State. A ratio of 51% female, 49% male reflects in all the individual local municipalities, with only the Kopanong Local Municipality slightly differing with a ratio of 52% female and 48% male. As in the rest of South Africa, the major population group is black people – scaling up to 75% of the total population in the Xhariep District – although white people are in a more prosperous economical position. Coloured people make up 16% of the population and white people 9%. Even though a small number of Indian/Asian people, around 55, reside here, their numbers are too few to reflect as a percentage. Christianity is undoubtedly the majority religion in the Xhariep District, with the a-religious group at about 4% of the population and other religions making up less than 1% of the population. The Dutch Reformed Church is the most dominant denomination at 28%, while the other denominations with a significant presence are Methodist (13%), Catholic Church (12%) and other Apostolic Churches (12%).

The most widely spoken languages in the district are Afrikaans and Sesotho (34% and 39%, respectively), followed by isiXhosa (21%) and Setswana (5%). Although it does not register on the data for the district, English has a 1% presence (see Graph 4.1 on p. 87). However, English serves as the official language of wider communication in the district municipality.
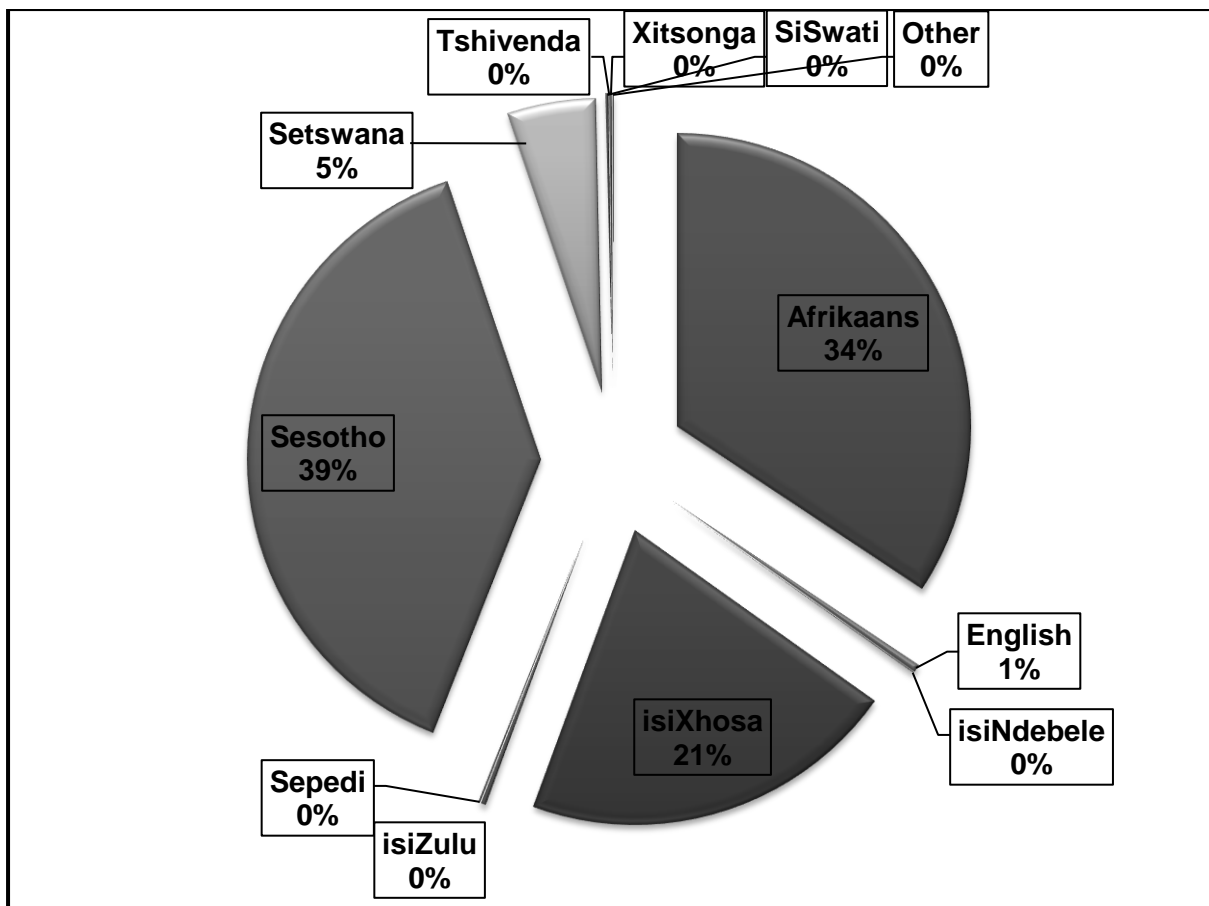
Graph 4.1: Distribution of official languages in Xhariep District

For the 42% of the general population to whom it is applicable (people from 5 to 24 years of age), only 26% attend school. The universe for statistics of highest level of education is of all people older than 20. Of this population 23% have never received schooling, with only 12% having obtained Grade 12. The lack of education in these areas aggravates the socio-economic problems.

The main economic sectors in the area are agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing (15%). The other bigger economic sectors are private households (7%); community or social and personal services (5%); wholesale and retail trade, repairs, hotels and restaurants (3%) and mining and quarrying (1%). The economically active population (people between 15 and 65 years old) forms 62% of the population in the Xhariep; only 37% of this group are employed. It is a rather poor area, with 65% of the population having no income (although the universe for this data is all people, including those in the 15 to 65 year range) and 26% earn R800 or less per month. Often entire extended families survive on this small income.

The data vary between the three local municipalities, on account of different economic activities and historic presences of population groups. The population statistics of Kopanong will be discussed in detail in the section below.

4.3.2 Kopanong Local Municipality

A population of 55 944 people resides in the Kopanong Municipal Area, which is 41% of Xhariep's total population. Kopanong covers the largest surface area of the three municipalities, extending over 15 190 km^2, comprising 44,5% of the total surface area of the Xhariep. The statistics imply a population density of approximately 3,68 people per km^2, although about 76% of the local population live in the 'urban' areas (or towns) and 24% in the rural areas (*Kopanong Local Municipality*, 2008).

The population comprises 73% black people, 18% coloured people and 10% white people. Although there are immigrants of Asian/Indian descent, their numbers are too few to reflect in the statistics. There are 2% more coloured people in Kopanong than reflected in the statistics of the district, and for this reason a slightly lower percentage of black people (72% compared to the 75% in Xhariep overall).

Given the slightly higher percentage of white people and coloured people in Kopanong, one would expect Afrikaans to take up a stronger position, but as indicated on Graph 4.2 on p. 90, the presence of Afrikaans is in fact slightly lower (33% compared to the 34% at district level). The overall presence of African languages shows an increase of one percent (from 65% to 66%). Sesotho is the main language in Kopanong with 40% of speakers; Setswana speakers, although gradually being assimilated into Sesotho, still make up for 3%; isiXhosa maintains a strong status at 23%; the first-language speakers of isiZulu are too few to reflect in the statistics and the languages of the Asian/Indian people are not reflected in the statistics. English barely makes a presence at 1% and although Afrikaans is generally employed as the lingua franca in the area, English is the default language of wider communication.

The working age population of Kopanong constitutes 62% of the population, which is identical to that at district level. The school-going population is 42%. Refer to Graph 4.3 on p. 90 for a detailed analysis of the age figures.

Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the population attend school, which is slightly higher than the 26% at district level. The overall level of education is rather low (refer to Graph 4.4 on p. 91). Although 49% of the population have completed their General Education and Training (Grades 0-9, compulsory for all persons from age 7), only 25% matriculated (Further Education and Training, Grades 10-12). A mere 5% continued their education, obtaining either a certificate, diploma or university degree. Unfortunately, as is often the case in rural areas, the individuals with higher education tend to leave the area in search of better employment opportunities in the larger towns. A shocking 21% had no schooling whatsoever, although it is slightly lower than the 23% at district level.
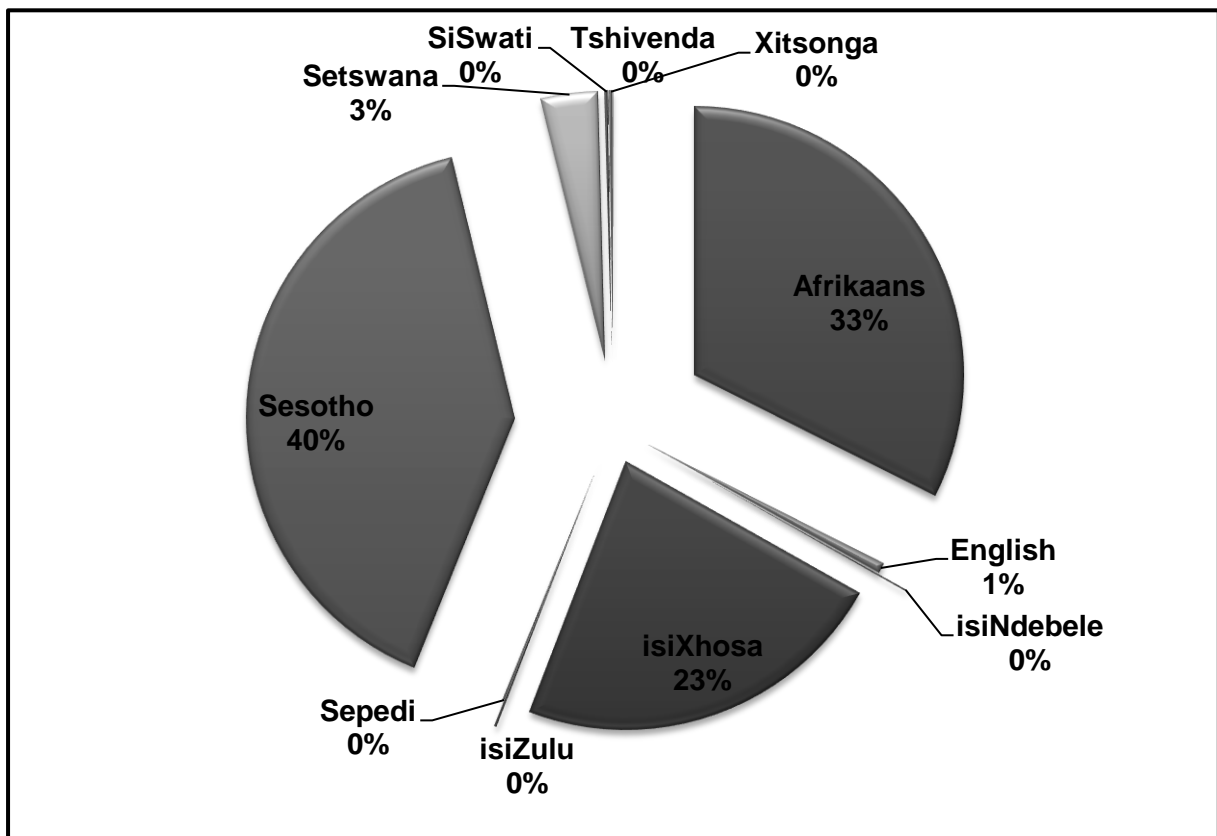
Graph 4.2: Distribution of official languages in Kopanong
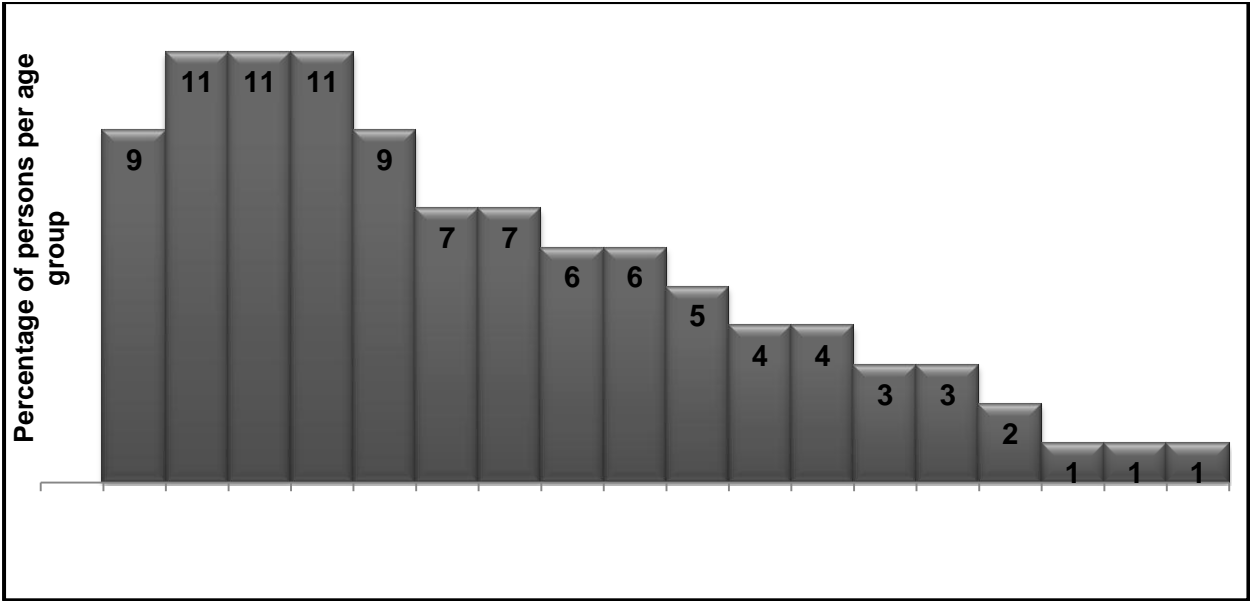
Graph 4.3: Distribution of age groups in Kopanong in percentages (Age groups all persons)
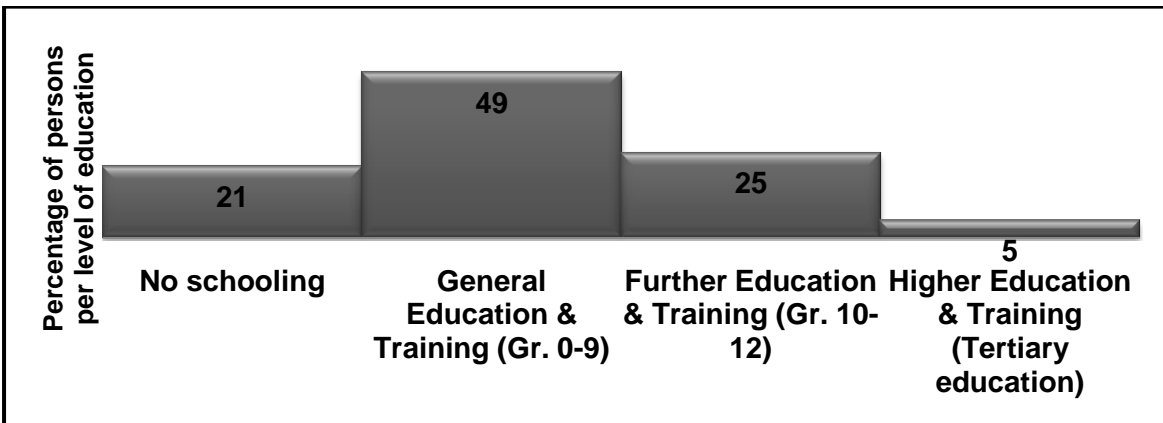
Graph 4.4: Highest level of education in Kopanong percentages (all persons aged 20 and older)

The largest industries, as in the rest of the district, are agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing (13%). As will be shown when analysing the LL data, economic enterprises such as shops or endeavours relating to tourism, such as guesthouses, also contribute significantly to the community's economic activities. Only 35% of the population are employed, 2% less than the district percentage (see Graph 4.5 on p. 92). Once again, the income ratio reflects that of the average of the district: 65% of the population have no income and 26% an income of R800 per month or less (see Graph 4.6 on p. 92). The low levels of income, employment and education contribute to detrimental socio-economic circumstances, which might ultimately

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result in the decline of the town (see Van Niekerk & Marais, 2008 for an overview of the decline of small towns in South Africa).
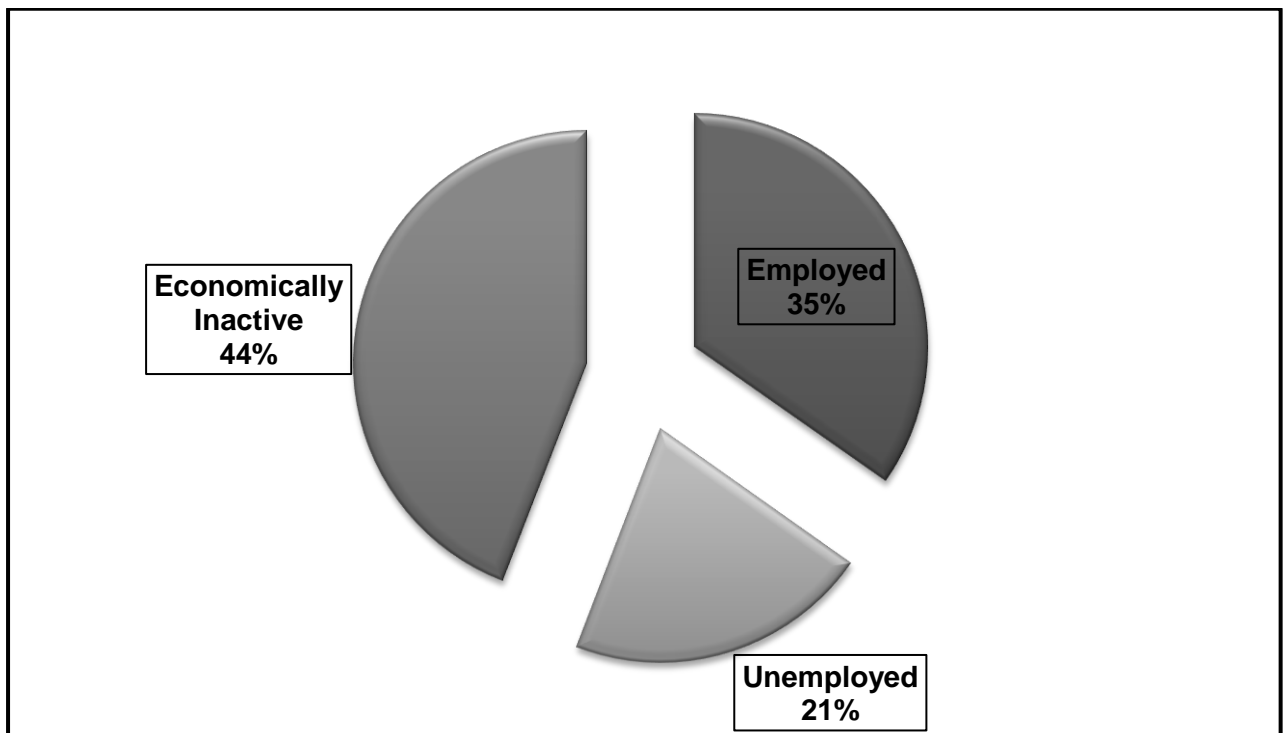
Graph 4.5: Level of economic activity in Kopanong
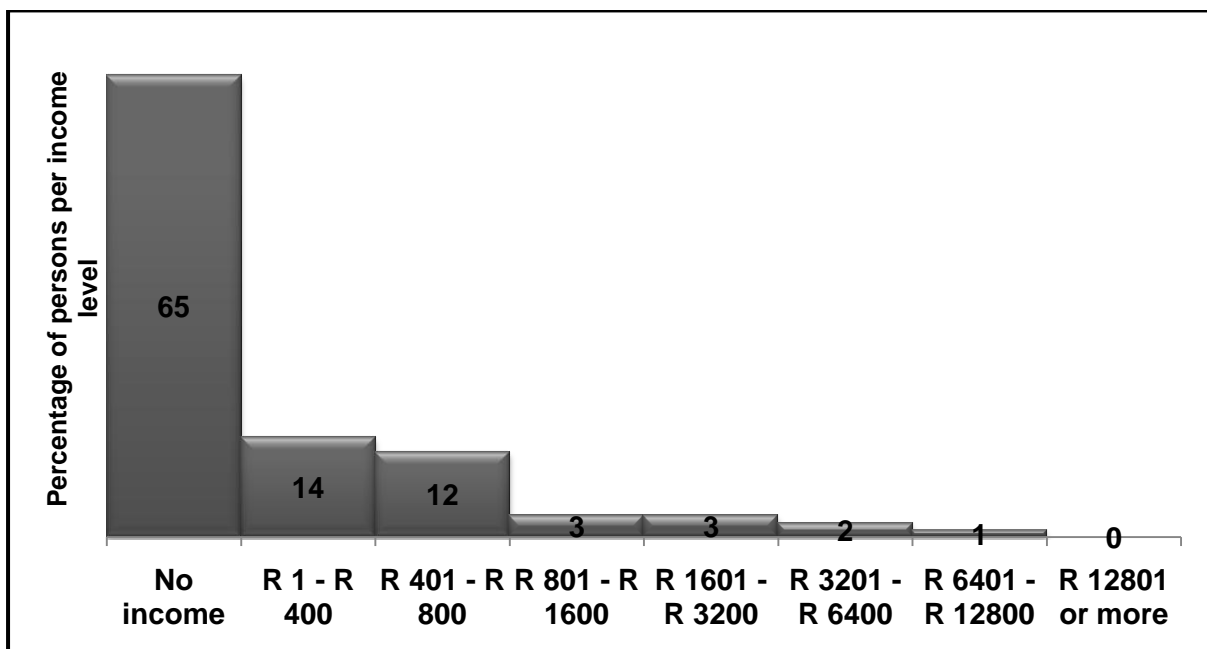
Graph 4.6: Income all persons in Kopanong

The relatively low population density can be attributed to the dominant presence of farms in the municipal area. Agriculture is the largest economic sector forming 13%

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of the economy with wool and meat (sheep and cattle farming) as the primary products of this sector. (In fact, the second-largest sheering station in South Africa is situated at Trompsburg). Economically speaking, white people are still the dominant class, even though black people make up the largest population in the area, and coloured people are still the most disadvantaged community. Due to this economic strength, as well as historic reasons, Afrikaans serves as the lingua franca between the different population groups. Black people accommodate one another by switching between Sesotho and isiXhosa (see Yperzeele, 2009). English is used as the official lingua franca, but the policy provides for the local languages, as discussed in Section 4.4. The low levels of literacy and the high number of unemployment result in substantial socio-economic problems, such as alcoholism, gross neglect of children and domestic violence. The Department of Social Development provides grants for pensioners, the unemployed and children, although this money is often spent in a reckless manner.

The linguistic landscape will allow for a comparison between the geographical strength of the languages present in the area, and the relative status of those languages, whether it serves an official purpose, as a marker of identity or as a demonstration of the level of multilingualism. The level of education of the sign writer impacts on the quality of language usage on the sign, while the economic situation will influence the type and quality of sign. For instance, will an immigrant from Pakistan try to assert his identity by giving his shop a Fari name? Would he rather identify English as the lingua franca? Or, might he attempt to use an African language in order to identify with his target market? It is essential to analyse linguistic landscape data against the background of societal dynamics.

4.4 Governance

Chapter 6 (Provinces) of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) regulates the functioning of provinces, while the operation of provinces is regulated by Chapter 7 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996). The national department responsible for provinces and municipalities, the Department of Provincial and Local Government, is in charge of the development of legislation pertaining to provincial and local government, as well as monitoring the implementation thereof. The provincial government of every

province has both legislative and executive authority in provincial matters, while local matters are administered by the municipalities. District municipalities also have legislative and executive powers, vested in the municipal council. Local municipalities share authority and the municipalities' powers are subjected to both provincial and national legislation.

In 1862 Philippolis became a municipality (Raper, 2004: 305). In 1976, during the era of segregation, three different sites were set out for the white people, the coloureds and the black people. Although this policy has long since been repealed, the town, as in the rest of the district, maintains these separated settlements. Meanwhile, some of the wealthier black people have moved into the main town area. Philippolis, the name of the formal town and also of the municipality, is named after the missionary Dr John Philip. The area in which most coloured people stay is named Bergmanshoogte, after one Mr Bergman, one of the members of the Council for Coloured Affairs (in conversation with Dr Kiepie Jaftha on 15 September 2009). The settlement for black people is named Poding-tse-Rolo, a Sesotho name meaning "Place of the Bontebok" – 'Kaptyn' Kok rewarded Moletsane and his followers with bontebok (*Damaliscus pygargus*) for their services (Raper, 2004: 309). Poding-tse-Rolo is divided into three areas, namely the original location, virtually destroyed by a flood; the New Location built after the flood; and Masakane (Uitspak), the most recent area where the RDP (Regional Development Programme) houses are built by the government. This division is named Uitspak because of its close proximity to the hill where the name of the town is packed out in stones (see Photo 5.2 on p. 106). This is customary to traditional white settlements. Distinguishing between the different sections would be very difficult to the uninformed person since the streets and pathways flow into one another (see Annexure 1 for the town plans of Philippolis, Bergmanshoogte and Poding-tse-Rolo).

4.5 Language policies

Language policies provide the legal framework according to which languages may and must be used. South Africa's linguistic legislation is, however, confined to the official sphere, except for restrictions against linguistic discrimination. Actors in the non-official domain thus have more freedom with regard to the way(s) in which they

employ language(s). Du Plessis (2007: 557-560) points out that language visibility do not, for the most part, feature in any prominent way in language legislation and policy documents.

4.5.1 National policies

Before 1994, Afrikaans and English were the only official languages, although around 25 languages are spoken in South Africa.

The 1996 constitution, Chapter 2 Section 6 (RSA, 1996) recognises eleven official languages, namely Afrikaans and English; the Nguni languages isiNdebele, isiSwati, isiXhosa and isiZulu; the Sotho languages Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana; as well as Tshivenda and Xitsonga. The principle that the status and use of the indigenous languages should be developed is also stated in Chapter 2 Section 6 of the Constitution. A Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established by national legislation (RSA, 1995), with the function not only to promote the official languages, but also the Khoi, Nama and San languages as well as Sign Language. PanSALB should also promote respect for "all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa", such as German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu, along with languages used for religious purposes such as Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit. Du Plessis (2007: 557-560) points out that the regulation regarding previously marginalised languages, as well as the regulation regarding parity of esteem and equitable treatment implicates an increase in language visibility.

Language polices are developed at three levels according to municipal demarcation, namely national, provincial and local. The national and provincial governments must use at least two of the official languages for purposes of government, "taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned". Municipalities are also required to take the language usage and preferences of their residents into account. In addition, all official languages "must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably".

The Bill of Rights set out in Chapter 2 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) defines certain basic language rights. No person may be unfairly discriminated against on the basis of language and everyone is allowed to use the language of his or her choice.

A Language Task Group (Langtag) was appointed in 1996 to create a framework for the development of a national language policy and implementation plan (National Language Policy Framework – NLPF). The NLPF was published in 2002 (NLPF, 2002) and the Department of Arts and Culture is the government department responsible for managing language policies. The document provides guidelines for the development and synchronisation of language policies and implementation plans of governmental structures at all three levels (national, provincial and local), and also for institutions performing a public function.

The NLPF stipulates that language policies should take into account the following:

i.   Each governmental structure must agree on working language/languages of record to be used for intra- and interdepartmental purposes.
ii. Languages for communication with the public, both written and orally, must be determined by the preference of the citizen(s).

The NLPF provides for the development and capacity building of language facilitation resources, including the establishment of language units in all national and provincial government departments. It provides for short-, medium- and long-term implementation and also for a gradual implementation of the provisions, in addition to policy reviews and monitoring by the DAC with the cooperation of PanSALB.

It also states that provinces must formulate a language plan in accordance with the NLPF guidelines as well as provisions in the Constitution that it takes into account the regional circumstances and the needs and preferences of the provincial community. Local government must follow the same guidelines and develop, publicise and implement a multilingual policy in consultation with their communities.

4.5.2 Provincial policy

The Free State Provincial Government is still in the process of developing a provincial language policy and has finalised a draft version. This is prepared under the flagship of the MIDP III project – a project co-sponsored by the province of Antwerp in Belgium and executed by the Free State Department of Sport, Arts and Culture in collaboration with the Unit for Language Management at the University of the Free State (for information on the process, see Geyser, Lombaard & Du Plessis, 2007).

The Free State Provincial Government (FSPG) Language Policy has been drafted based on the data from the 2001 census. Sesotho is the majority language in the Free State, followed by Afrikaans. Although English is the first language of a mere 1,3% of speakers, it is the most wide-spread language amongst speakers of different first languages. The three languages, Afrikaans, English and Sesotho, are therefore designated as the official languages of the Free State. The other three languages also used by a significant number of speakers are isiXhosa, Setswana and isiZulu. The provincial government has to make provision for the speakers of these languages through a helpdesk. Provision has also been made for people with hearing and visual disabilities. The FSPG Language Policy aims to:

1. promote the development of Sesotho, the majority Free State language to ensure redress;
2. promote the equitable use of the three designated official languages of the Free State Provincial Government, namely Sesotho, Afrikaans and English;
3. facilitate communication between the Free State Provincial Government and the people of the Free State;
4. foster respect for and protect the language rights of the people of the Free State;
5. facilitate equitable access to Free State governmental services, knowledge and information for all people of the Free State, including deaf and blind people;

6. promote and encourage multilingualism in the Free State and to raise language awareness;

7. initiate and sustain a vibrant discourse on multilingualism with all language communities in the Free State;

8. encourage the learning of Sesotho, Afrikaans, English and SA Sign Language to promote unity in diversity; and

9. promote good language management for efficient administration in the Free State Provincial Government to meet client expectations and needs (FSPG, 2007).

The provincial policy allows for municipalities and departments to decide on its own working language, but written communication has to be in English. As such, any of the designated languages can be used providing that the documents are translated. Section (3.4.8), external communication, states that information boards, direction boards and name boards should be in the four designated languages of the province. This regulation is reflected in the Xhariep District policy, see below. The draft language policy states that Sesotho terminology is required to be expanded and standardised by developing a bilingual English-Sesotho database capturing all the technical fields required in the FSPG (FSPG, 2007). Private enterprises are also encouraged to develop language policies in line with the provincial language policy.

4.5.3 Xhariep District Municipality policy

Both district and local municipalities may draw up language policies, provided it corresponds with provincial language policy and complies with the stipulations of the Constitution.

The constitutional principles of non-discrimination, promoting multilingualism and the use of previously marginalised languages are reflected in the Xhariep District Municipality's language policy (*Proposed Language By-law for Xhariep*, received via fax from the Mayor's office on 27 May 2008). The municipal languages (official languages of the municipality) are Afrikaans, English and Sesotho; and the administrative languages, which may be used in addition to the municipal languages,

are Setswana and IsiXhosa. Several regulations therein relate to the linguistic landscape:

- 4(1) – "Official notices, publications, advertisements and tenders of the Municipality must be published or issued in all the municipal languages and may also be issued in the administrative languages when required."
- 5(1) – "If an institution of the Municipality identifies any of its offices or facilities by way of sign boards, or if it can reasonably be expected of the relevant institution to do so, such sign boards, as well as street names and directions, shall be displayed in at least two of the municipal languages, and the administrative languages, in accordance with the language preferences of the specific community concerned.
- 5(2) – "At least two municipal languages shall be used in identifying municipal assets and vehicles."
- 5(3) – "Where required administrative languages shall also be used in identifying municipal assets and vehicles."

4.5.4 Kopanong Local Municipality policy

The Kopanong Local Municipality (Kopanong Local Municipality, s.a.) has drawn up a by-law for a draft language policy – that has yet to be approved – and as such only the broad parameters can be discussed.

The policy is based on a survey (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 of representatives of the community. The results per town are reproduced in Table 5.1 on p. 100. Based on this, the working languages of the district are Sesotho, Afrikaans, IsiXhosa, Setswana and English. Section 6(2) stipulates that correspondence with the members of public will be in the language of the citizen's choice. No further regulations relate directly to language visibility.

Town	Afrikaans	English	Isixhosa	Sesotho	Setswana
Bethulie	x	x	x	x	
Edenburg	x	x	x	x	x
Fauresmith	x	x		x	x
Gariep Dam	x	x			
Jagersfontein	x	x	x	x	
Philippolis	x	x			
Reddersburg	x	x	x	x	
Springfontein	x	x	x	x	
Trompsburg	x	x	x	x	

Table 5.1: Results of the survey for the Xhariep Language Policy per town

The lack of policy regulations on language visibility (as pointed out by Du Plessis, 2007) allows an open interpretation of constitutional stipulations. It is often remarked that South Africa's constitutional language regulations are exceptional in theory, but the implementation thereof leaves much to be desired. In practice, English is the dominant language, to the disadvantage of other languages, and African languages are still sorely neglected in all spheres. An investigation into language attitudes in Kopanong (Yperzeele, 2009) made use of both participant observations at government service points and interviews with officials and local residents. The formal internal municipal communication mostly takes place in English, but interaction with the community is determined by the community's preferences. In general, accommodation between groups is the norm, due to both societal and individual multilingualism, and pragmatic considerations. This situation would most likely have become apparent, even if there was no policy in place regulating interaction with the community. The *de jure* and *de facto* language policies usually correspond in varying degrees and the linguistic landscape serves as one of the indicators of the discrepancy between policy and practice.

In summary, the focus of this study is thus on the use of written language in the public space, the analysis of which is verified against historical, demographic and legislative data. The LL does not only retain past occurrences but also indicates newer developments. The growth of the tourism industry extended to Philippolis,

where numerous advertisements for guesthouses are found. Nel (2005) and Atkinson and Zingle (2004), both in Van Niekerk and Marais (2008: 369), note that the growth of tourism is one of the changes characterising local economic activities in small towns in South Africa after 1994. Philippolis is indeed on the Transgariep Tourism Route and its tourism potential is recognised by the local authorities, both in the Integrated Development Plans of the Xhariep District Municipality (2005) and that of the Kopanong Municipality (2005) (both in Van Niekerk & Marais, 2008: 376). The expansion corporations such as Coca-Cola become visible as their presence is slipping into the linguistic landscape of this rural town. English continues to spread, not only as a global language, but also as one of status and power in South Africa. An interesting example of a combination of the two issues can be found in Photo 4.1 below:
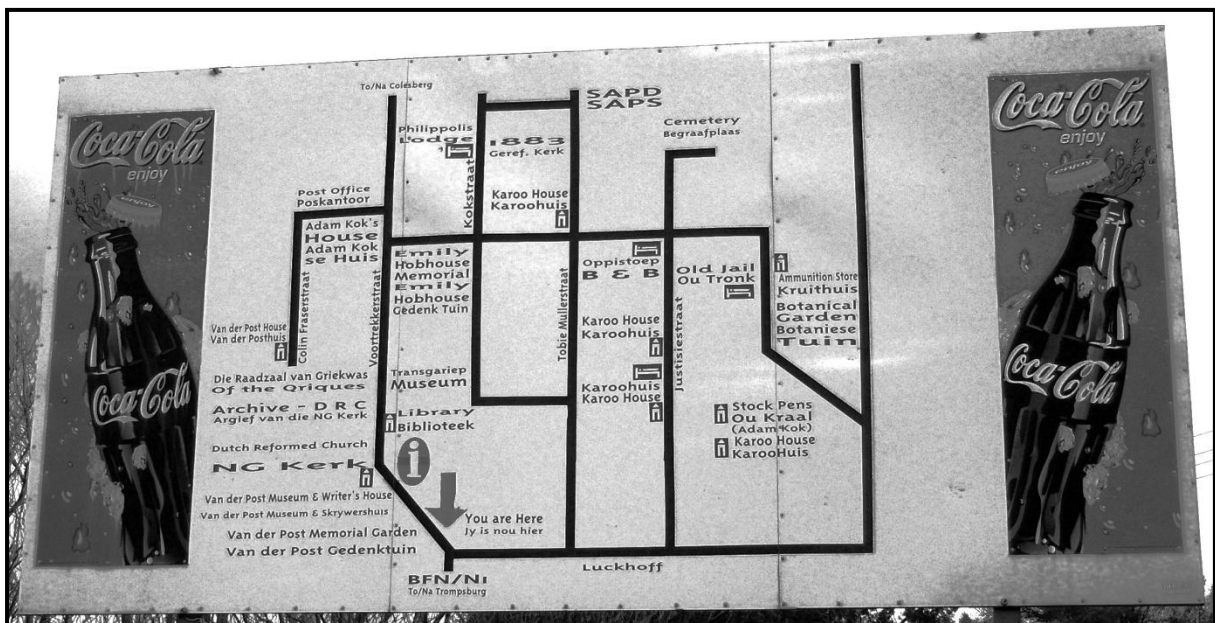
Photo 4.1: A sign simultaneously indexing the development of tourism and corporate involvement

The use of language, as a powerful indicator of identity, reveals how the actors view themselves or wish to be viewed, and what importance the actors ascribe to their background compared to the aspired identity. After 1994, circumstances opened up numerous opportunities for transformation. The linguistic landscape is one of the variants that indicate and index this change, or lack thereof. The interpretation of the data obtained from the LL must necessarily be interpreted within the broader picture.

Chapter 5: Results and analysis

A total of 594 signs were collected in the three research sites, namely Bergmanshoogte (BMH), Poding-tse-Rolo (PTR) and the main town, Philippolis (former white town – FWT). Five-hundred-and-thirty-three (533) of the signs displayed Afrikaans, English, an African language, and/or a combination of these, constituting 90% of the visible signage. Only these signs are taken into consideration for the data presentation and analysis. The FWT, as it is the commercial and administrative centre of the survey area, contributes the majority of signage to the linguistic landscape (see Graph 5.1 below). The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the contributions per agent and per site, as well as the linguistic characteristics of these inputs. The discussion of the data attempts a rationalisation of the contributions.
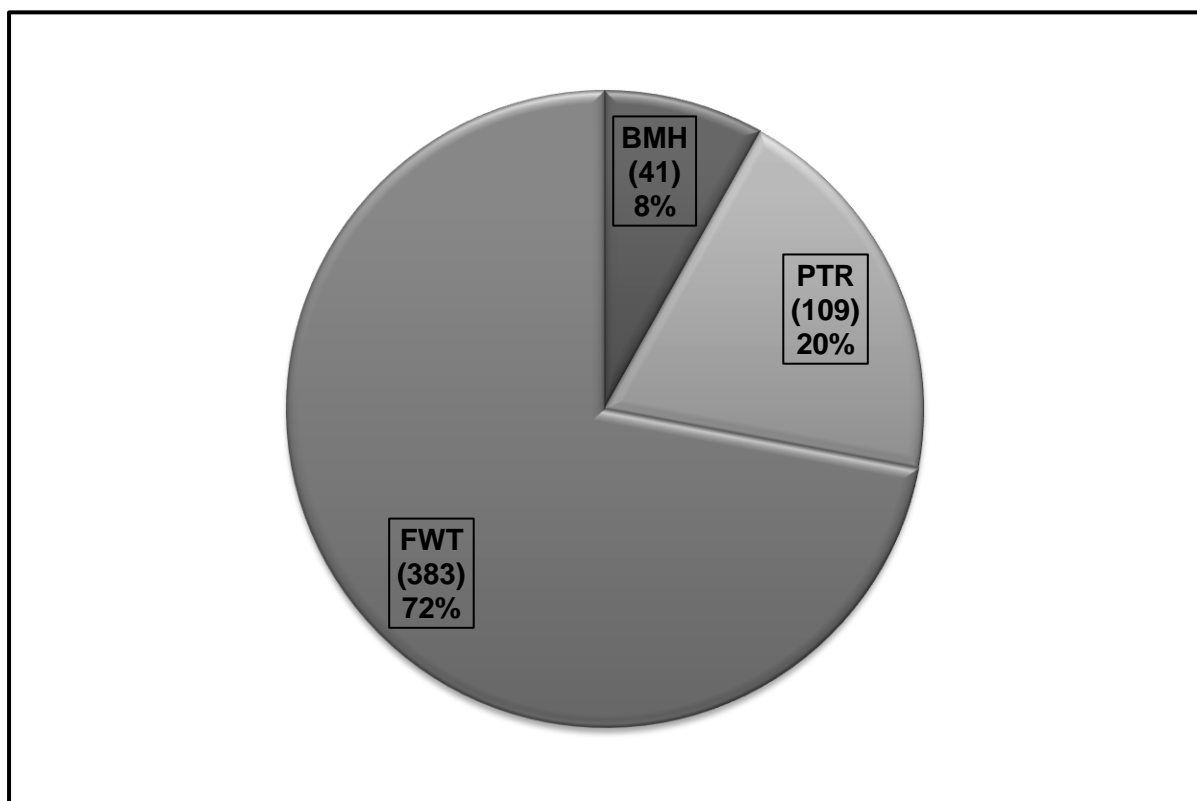
Graph 5.1: Total signage per location

5.1 Agency

Bottom-up agents contribute to 70% (375) of the signs in the linguistic landscape, significantly more than the top-down agents (30% or 158 signs). This can, in part, be

explained by the fact that the research sites include residential areas. A complete data set of the contributions per research site is provided in Annexure 1.

5.1.1 Agency per site

Bottom-up agents are the main contributors to the LL, but this trend is reversed in BMH, as shown in Table 5.2 below. A distinction of only agency is too broad to properly account for this tendency; hence the input of both the top-down and bottom-up domains in the three locations are examined in 5.2.1.i and 5.2.1.ii, respectively. Only a summative table is included in the text. (See Annexure 1 for the complete data sets.)

Research site	Bottom-up	Top-down
BMH	12 (29%)	29 (71%)
PTR	86 (79%)	23 (21%)
FWT	277 (72%)	106 (28%)

Table 5.2: Contribution of agency per site

5.1.1.i Top-down domains per site

Table 5.3 (on p. 105) summarises the contributions of the five top-down domains of the LL. The cultural signs are signage indicating national monuments on the many historic houses situated in FWT. This site is the spot of the original Griqua settlement and it has maintained its status as 'main town' throughout its existence.

Signage from the educational domain marks its buildings, indicating its purpose as an educational facility. The only political signage is announcements by the APC (African People's Convention) for a rally, and is temporary. If this event did not occur, there would be no political signage whatsoever, since there are also no instances of signage indicating political affiliation on private homes. Except for one, all the APC posters are bilingual. The original sign is English, but an Afrikaans translation of the venue, city hall ("stadsaal") was added by hand (see Photo 5.1 on p. 104). This is essential information and the fact that it was deemed necessary to translate the term

indicates the perception of the readership as either Afrikaans or English, instead of being bilingual in terms of literacy.
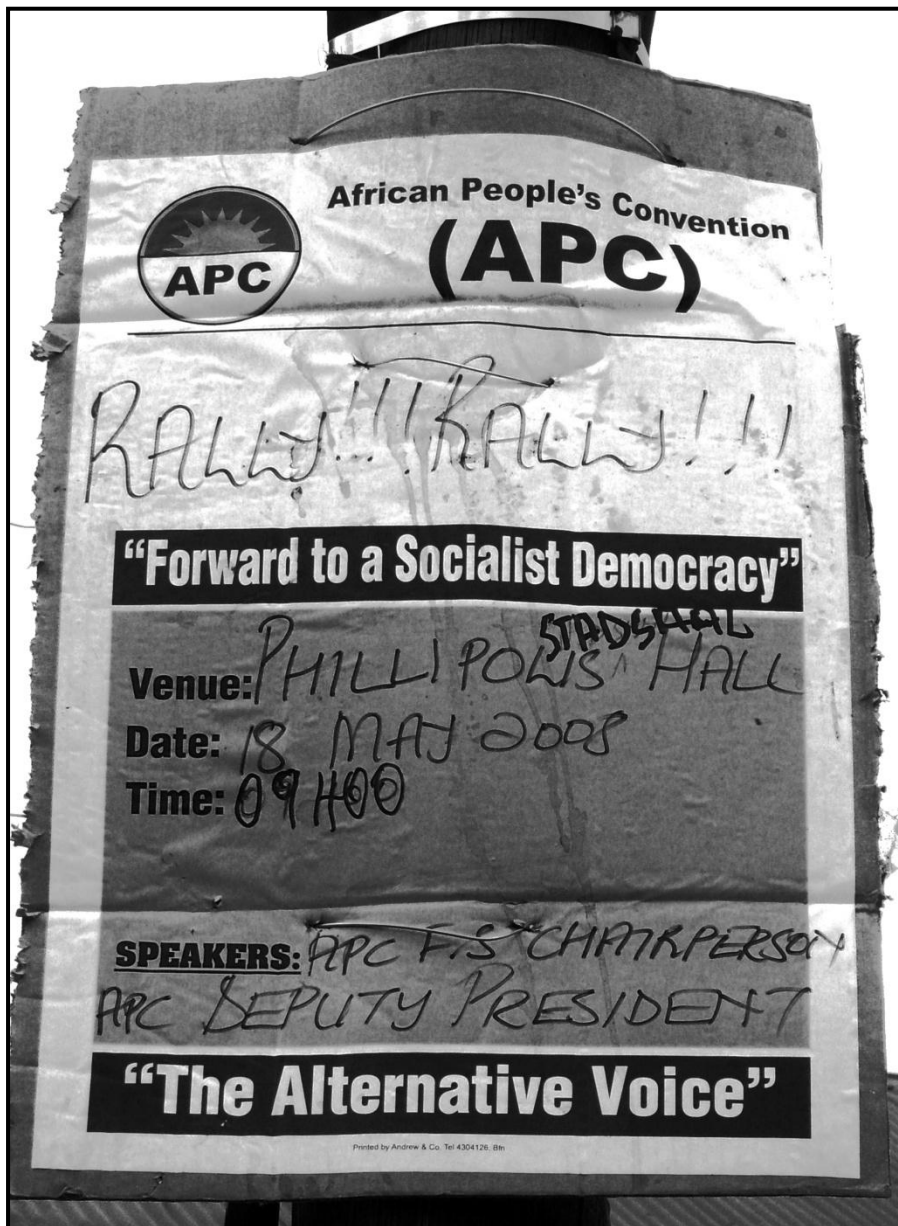
Photo 5.1: Bilingual political signage

The large number of governmental signs is accounted for by the number of directional and street signs in FWT. The governmental signage in BMH constitutes for the most part (16 signs out of 18) warning signs on electricity boxes by Eskom, which is classified as a governmental agency. Without these signs BMH would have had as low a governmental presence in the LL as PTR. Public announcements provide information from departmental agencies, although the majority of these signs

were 'wanted' or 'missing peoples' reports posted by the South African Police Service. The fact that these are posted only in FWT confirms its status as the main centre.

Domain	BMH	PTR	FWT	TOTAL
Cultural	0	0	13	13
Education	6	5	4	15
Government	18	1	64	83
Political	5	17	17	39
Public Announcements	0	0	8	8

Table 5.3: Contributions by top-down domains

5.1.1.ii Bottom-up domains per site

Table 5.4 (on p. 106) clearly illustrates the consequence of including residential areas in the survey area. Signage on private homes constitutes 33% of the bottom-up agency's contribution (123 out of a total of 375). On the other hand, as discussed in the methodology, the commercial institutions in BMH and PTR are dispersed amongst the houses and there is no business centre as such to be investigated separately. Most of the signage on private homes is to indicate ownership, to deliver comment or for purposes of decoration. In FWT a large number of 'Beware of the dog' signs (45 signs), with a functional role, are present. In PTR 10 of the 49 signs on private homes are 'Beware of the dog' signs. However, these signs seem to fulfil a symbolic rather than a functional purpose, since the dogs run around freely in the street.

FWT has the most diverse commercial sector because it participates in all the economic activities except for taverns and bars. There are two bars in FWT, but they are part of another institution and not advertised as such. Opposed to this diversity, the only commercial institution in BMH is a tavern. Signage for guest houses is found

exclusively in FWT. To run a business requires a certain level of financial stability and education, thereby revealing one of the variables between FWT and the other two sites. Layering will be discussed in 5.5, but it is worth mentioning that the majority of business names in PTR are 'sponsored'. A 'corporate' or 'international' ambience and the values associated with it are thereby created.

Announcements are mostly for events, whether it is about a visiting performing artist or an initiative to clean up the town. Graffiti on the whole is unobtrusive (although quite profane, as is common in this genre), presumably because the houses provide a surface for expression, and partly because there are no suitable surfaces to write graffiti within the area defined as the research site. The rocks around the research site are often covered in graffiti. The wall around the sports field, counted as one item, provides a space for outlet. The signs demarcating the public space are mostly directional, including the sign on the hill spelling out 'Philippolis' with white stones (see Photo 5.2). An interesting instance is a bible verse placed, for no apparent reason, at the end of a street (see Photo 3.2 on p. 60).

Domain	BMH	PTR	FWT	TOTAL
Associations	0	0	10	**10**
Commercial	2	24	184	**210**
Graffiti	1	4	1	**6**
Private Announcements	0	4	15	**19**
Private (Homes)	6	51	66	**123**
Public Demarcation	3	2	0	**5**
Religion	0	1	1	**2**

Table 5.4: Contributions by bottom-up domains
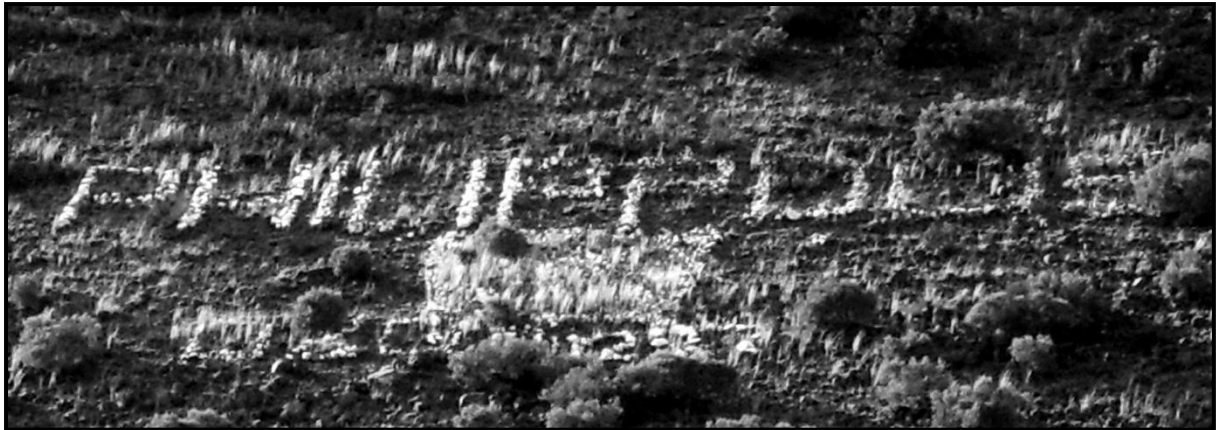
Photo 5.2: Public demarcation of Philippolis

5.2 Code preference

The various bottom-up and top-down agents exercise different choices with regard to language, because of different policies and pragmatic or symbolic considerations. Given their different sociocultural compositions, the three research sites also exhibit differing trends with regard to linguistic preference. A sign is counted into the category of every language it displays, for example, a multilingual Afrikaans/English/African sign would confer a count to each of the three categories.

5.2.1 The languages present

According to census data (SSA, 2001), Sesotho is the dominant language in the area, and African languages are spoken as a first language by 66% of the population. English as first language constitutes barely 1%. In the LL, however, English is the dominant language and the African languages sorely neglected, as illustrated in Table 5.5 below.

Census 2001 (distribution of official languages)			Signage
Sesotho	40%	African 66%	**11%**
isiXhosa	23%		
Setswana	3%		
Afrikaans		33%	**40%**
English		1%	**49%**

Table 5.5: Comparison between census and LL data

This situation is examined in terms of the different contributions the two agents make to the LL, as well as a result of the differing sociolinguistic situations at each of the sites.

5.2.2 Code preference per agency

African languages are equally neglected by both agents (see Table 5.6 below). It is used mostly on warning signs in combination with other languages; in BMH on the electricity boxes, and in FWT on 'Beware of the dog' signs. In PTR it makes a tokenistic appearance as a personal African name within a shop name. This observation provides conflicting interpretations. On the one hand, African languages are discarded in favour of English in general. On the shop signs, English is used to indicate the nature of the business. In addition, many of business shop signs in PTR are sponsored. Both of these serve as markers of prestige. Often a personal African name is added to the business name to indicate ownership (e.g. Mvubu's Tuck Shop), presenting the self as belonging to the African community. In stark contrast, the African languages are conspicuously absent on private home signage, where their usage would have truly served to indicate a collective identity. A tentative conclusion can be drawn that the use of a personal African name within the business name is not to indicate a collective identity, but simply ownership. Given the economic situation in PTR, owning a business may serve as a marker of status.

Afrikaans and English appear mostly on bilingual signs. The two languages are represented almost equally in the top-down domain and it appears on 84% and 94% of the signs, respectively. Although more Afrikaans signs appear in bottom-up than top-down domains, Afrikaans constitutes a smaller percentage of the total bottom-up signage. The situation is reversed with regard to English. In most cases, however, these are bilingual Afrikaans/English signs – 67 top-down signs and 59 bottom-up signs, 126 in total. The bilingual Afrikaans/English tendency is slightly stronger in the top-down domains, possibly affected by language regulations of inclusivity.

	Afrikaans	**English**	**African**
Top-down	128 (45%)	122 (43%)	33 (12%)
Bottom-up	195 (39%)	260 (51%)	51 (10%)

Table 5.6: Code preference per agency

English is generally considered as the language of wider communication by government agents. However, it often appears in combinations with other languages on top-down signage; in BMH on the electricity box warnings and in FWT on bilingual signs. This indicates that the readership is not expected to be fully or at all literate in English. This multilingualism is repeated in the bottom-up signs in FWT. Monolingual English signs are displayed mostly in the commercial domain, both in FWT and PTR, adding up to almost more than half that of the monolingual Afrikaans commercial signs. Given the fact that Afrikaans is generally considered to be the lingua franca, in the non-official domains at least (see Yperzeele, 2009), this choice favouring English indicates symbolic rather than pragmatic considerations. The few national corporations, such as FNB, ABSA and Foodzone, do not have much room for choice. The other signs in the commercial domain, however, are freely chosen. The majority of commercial English signs are those indicating the business name and information. This is thus the language used to identify the self and the choice is therefore highly symbolic. By choosing English, the values of prestige and globalisation are invoked, thereby not only expressing the self favourably as belonging to an elite group, but also offering the client to share this identity. In PTR, English is frequently used on houses to indicate ownership. Once again, this choice

is symbolic rather than pragmatic. In the light of this, the neglect of African languages becomes even more significant. It is not the African identity *per se* that is disregarded, but it rather signifies the perception of African languages as inferior in the public domain as well as the wish for the upward social mobilisation that the use of English represents.

Afrikaans is generally considered to be the lingua franca (at grass roots level). Although Afrikaans seems to have a strong presence at first glance, a high percentage of these signs are Afrikaans-English bilingual signs, or multilingual warning signs in combination with African languages and English – in BMH on the electricity boxes and in FWT on 'Beware of the dog' signs. It is interesting to note there are a few Afrikaans monolingual signs on houses in PTR, especially in the light of the absence of monolingual African signs. The strong top-down presence of Afrikaans in FWT is accounted for by the presence of the commemorative street names (see the example in Photo 5.3 on p. 110). Afrikaans is also used in several business names in FWT, often in a manner that would be considered charming by Afrikaans speakers, for example, a guesthouse named "Kant en Klaar" ('be all set'), or the cafes "Indraf" and "Dit en Dat" ('pop in' and 'this and that', respectively). An especially quaint business name is that of "Antie Emily", 'Antie' being an accepted colloquial translation of the English word 'aunt'. Such names would be appealing to both the local Afrikaans-speakers, as well as South African tourists. The high incidence of guest houses with Afrikaans business names can either indicate that the tourist sector in this area is national rather than international; or a strong desire to identify oneself as Afrikaans-speaking. Both interpretations most likely apply.

Photo 5.3: Commemorative street name

African languages are thus not allowed a significant presence in the LL, whilst bilingual Afrikaans/English signage dominates. Not only do agents employ the LL differently, but language choices differ across the three ethnolinguistic sites.

5.2.3 Code preference per site

In the light of their different sociolinguistic compositions, language expectations differ across the three sites. It would be reasonable, for example, to expect a higher incidence of African languages in PTR, given that it is the black neighbourhood. Agents would express their identity or cater for the community by choosing an African language. However, as is shown in Table 5.7 on p. 111, this is not the case.

Research site	Afrikaans	English	African
BMH	37	30	19
PTR	36	90	27
FWT	250	266	42

Table 5.7: Code preference per site

Bergmanshoogte is a distinctly Afrikaans community, and a strong presence of Afrikaans is thus expected. Most of the signs (21 out of 41) are multilingual warning signs or bilingual political announcements, accounting for the high incidence of African and English. Of the 14 monolingual signs in BMH, 11 are monolingual Afrikaans; six are related to educational facilities; and five are in the bottom-up domain. A monolingual display strengthens the presence of a language in the LL. Afrikaans thus appears to be the preferred code in BMH, correlating with the language expectancy created by the demographic information.

The incidence of African languages and Afrikaans in PTR is similar to that in BMH. The bilingual political posters account for 16 of the 36 signs containing Afrikaans. The position of Afrikaans is slightly strengthened by its monolingual presence on 13 of the signs on private homes, but the overbearing presence of English diminishes this potential. African languages appear mostly in combination with English, specifically in the commercial domain and on private homes. Only five monolingual African signs are present, and only a single bilingual African sign appears in the LLs of all three sites, and not a very visible sign at that (see Photo 5.4 on p. 112).

This trend is most aptly explained by the lack of perceived value of African languages in the official and public domains, especially when compared to the prestige of English. The pervasiveness of English is strengthened by its monolingual occurrence, mostly in bottom-up domains. The 18 English commercial signs are the only monolingual signs in the category and more than half (23) signs on private homes are only in English.

Photo 5.4: Bilingual Sesotho/isiXhosa sign

5.3 Multilingualism

Monolingual signage dominates the LL of the investigated area. It accounts for 61% (343 signs) of the linguistic landscape, whereas multilingual signs constitute 39% (209 signs). Afrikaans and English share a similar distribution of multilingualism. Forty-three percent (43%) of the signs on which Afrikaans appears are monolingual, and 47% of those on which English appears. There are 209 multilingual signs in total. Afrikaans appears on 88% of the multilingual signs, and English on 99% of these signs. Compared to this equal distribution, the presence of African languages is considerably weakened (40%) (see Table 5.8 below).

	Afrikaans	**English**	**African**
Monolingual	139	180	5
Multilingual	184	206	83

Table 5.8: Representative strength of Afrikaans, English and African languages

Top-down agents are more likely to use multilingual signage than the bottom-up agency (see Table 5.9 on p. 115). The bilingual political posters comprise a sizeable number of top-down multilingual signage, and several of the multilingual top-down signs are warning signs. The main trend of multilingualism, however, is bilingual Afrikaans/English signs, notably in the governmental domain, especially directional (e.g. tourist information), or at government agencies, such as the police station or the post office. On the one hand, this may be a remnant from the previous government. On the other hand, this language choice might be influenced by pragmatic considerations, as English is the language of wider communication, and Afrikaans is the lingua franca at grass roots level.

Multilingual signage in the bottom-up domain occurs mostly in the commercial domain, as well as on private homes in the neighbourhoods. The main combination here is also Afrikaans/English. In both cases the consideration is probably more pragmatic than symbolic. Bilingual commercial signage is more inclusive and caters for more language groups, which is, of course, beneficial to the business owners. On private homes, multilingualism is used on warning signs (mostly 'Beware of the dog' signs) to ensure the message is comprehensible to as wide an readership as possible. 'Beware of the dog' signs vary from shop-bought signs containing four languages to hand-written monolingual signs (see Photos 5.5.i and 5.5.ii on p. 114 for an illustration). In general, however, signage in the commercial sphere and on private homes tends to be monolingual.

Photo 5.5.i: Commercially produced warning sign

Photo 5.5.ii: Privately produced warning sign

	Monolingual	Multilingual
Top-down	58	100
Bottom-up	266	109

Table 5.9: Spread of multilingualism across agencies

Bilingual Afrikaans/English signage is the most visible type of multilingual signage. However, multilingual signage is presented in different combinations of Afrikaans, English, and/or African language(s). These signs indicate the expected literacy of the readership.

5.3.1 Multilingual combinations

The pervasiveness of English across all domains and language combinations is confirmed in Graph 5.2 (on p. 116). The most prominent combination is bilingual Afrikaans/English signage, followed by an Afrikaans/English/African combination. Most of the latter comprises warning signs, whereas the Afrikaans/English signs are found across all domains. The bilingual political posters contribute to the top-down agency in this regard, but even if it were to be excluded, a substantial amount of governmental signs, notable building markings and names (at the post office and police station) remain. Bottom-up contributions originate from the commercial sphere (also building markings and names) as well as from private homes. Most of the multilingual signs on private homes are warning signs, although the signs containing three or four languages (Afrikaans, English and one or two African languages) are more dominant.
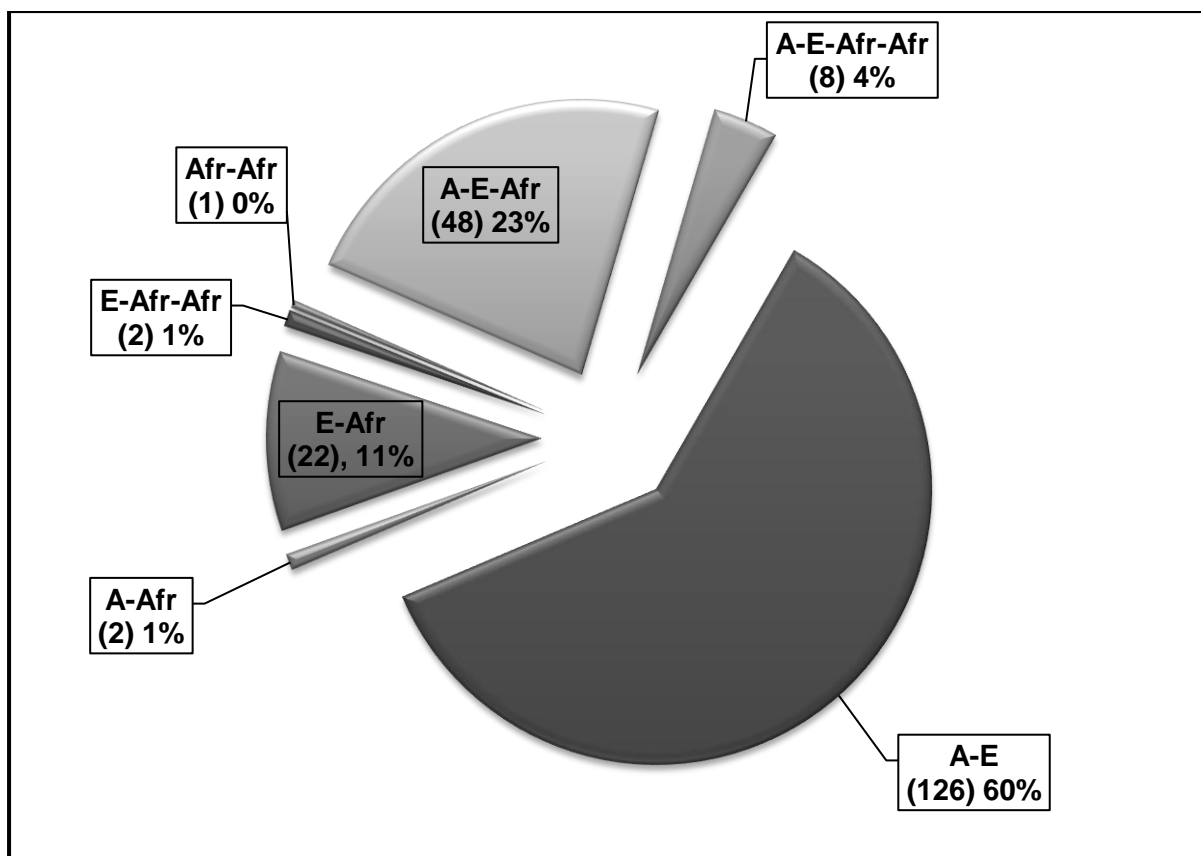
Graph 5.2: Multilingual combinations

The African/English combination is created by including an African name in a business name (the motivations have been discussed above). This combination is found almost exclusively in PTR.

5.4 Layered signage

Instances of layered signage are recorded according to the methodology expounded in 3.4.5. Instances of layering are reflected in Table 5.10 below.

Total	Date	Type	Division	Nr	Details	Nr
38	19	19	Corporate	15	Coca-Cola	9
					Other	6
			Other	4		

Table 5.10: Instances of layering

Signs layered chronologically inform about the changes in the LL over time. In some cases, as many as three different versions of signs are present, especially signage relating to guest houses. Three different signs were found relating to the post office. It is not certain whether the signs in Photo 5.6.i and Photo 5.6.ii truly originate from different times, but the sign in Photo 5.6.iii is obviously the result of new policy.

Photo 5.6.i: Old post office sign 1

Photo 5.6.ii: Old post office sign 2

Photo 5.6.iii: New post office sign

Instances of layering according to type are especially noted with reference to the presence of corporate institutions. Special attention is paid to Coca-Cola, given that it is one of the most wide-spread brand names internationally. Nine instances of layering involving Coca-Cola are noted – more than half of sponsored signs.

There are also instances of 'double' layering – signs duplicated into both 'date' and 'type' categories. A case of special interest is that of school sign boards sponsored by Investec. The first sign, a simple blue and white sign (Photo 5.7.i), was put up at the two schools, and a bigger sign followed later. It is thus both a corporate sign as well as an instance of chronological layering. Furthermore, the sign, with identical layout, was duplicated at two other sites but in different languages. In correlation with the language policies of the schools, the original sign was in English, the second sign in Afrikaans at the school at BMH (Photo 5.7.ii), and the third sign in English at the school in FWT (Photo 5.7.iii).

Photo 5.7.i: Original Investec sign

Photo 5.7.ii: Afrikaans Investec sign
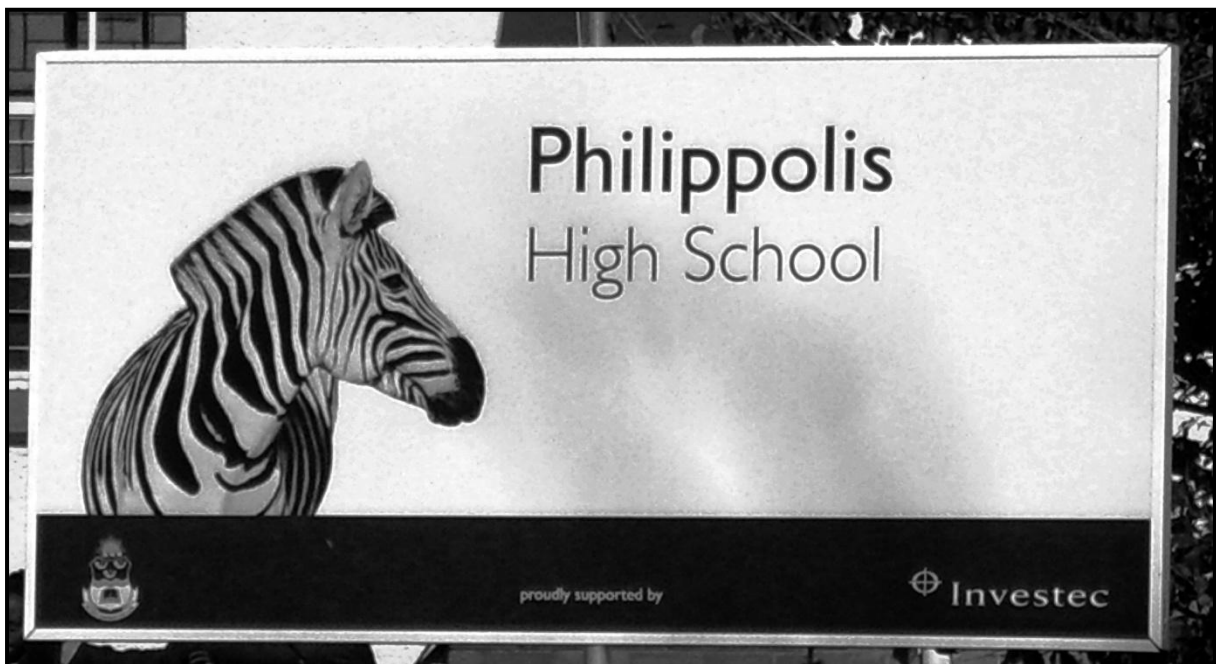
Photo 5.7.iii: English Investec sign

5.5 Temporality

Temporary signs initiated by both top-down and bottom-up agents are largely announcements (see Table 5.11 on p. 121). These provide the current evaluation of the linguistic composition of the target readership by the sign creator. The top-down

announcements are the bilingual political posters. Of the bottom-up announcements, eleven are monolingual English and eight Afrikaans – none are multilingual. Most of the other bottom-up temporary signs are monolingual, mainly Afrikaans. Not only does this indicate perceived readership, but it also expresses socio-economic power. Almost all of these signs are situated in FWT, posted by white business owners – the individuals in positions of power in this regard.

Temporality						
Direction	**Top-down**	**Bottom-up**				
Type	Announce-ments	Announce-ments	Goods for sale/Services	Shop offers	Other	**TOTAL**
		16	13	7	10	
Total/direction	**54**				**46**	**100**

Table 5.11: Instances of temporality

5.6 Discussion

Most of the signs cannot be dated, largely due to the lack of historic visual material or the absence of or ignorance on the part of the initiators of the signs. Signs that appear to be older can often not be ascribed with certainty to either the pre-1994 or the post-1994 category. Thus, although a chronological development can be detected in the case of chronologically layered signage, the division between before and after 1994 is not clear. However, given that this study focuses on the impact of the wider socio-political changes after 1994 on the LL, and what those changes reveal about this community, an attempt is made to identify those signs that can clearly be perceived as originating from either before or after 1994. A few examples will now be discussed, followed by a summary of the societal changes reflected in the data.

In accordance with the pre-1994 language policy, all official signage was required to be bilingually Afrikaans/English. A remnant of this policy, for example, is illustrated in Photo 5.8 and Photo 5.9 (both on p. 122). Photo 5.10 (p. 123), on the other hand, is

the result of a new policy of the SAPS (South African Police Service). Another development is the inclusion of provincial departments' names in all three languages on signage in accordance with language regulations, although the additional information provided is generally monolingual. The Afrikaans street names are the result of an initiative during the centenary celebrations of the Voortrekker movement, thereby demonstrating how private agents can impact on public domains.

Photo 5.8: Pre-1994 road sign

Photo 5.9: Pre-1994 sign marking official building

Photo 5.10: New governmental sign

The interaction between a change in political regime – and consequently language policy – and the LL is a phenomenon widely discussed in the literature (see, for instance, Brown, 2007; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Coluzzi, 2009; Rosendal, 2009; Slobada, 2009). The drastic transformation of South Africa's language policy is clearly reflected in the LL – albeit contradictory thereto. The constitutional stipulations aspire to the principles of parity of esteem and equitable treatment (Du Plessis, 2007), but the tokenist top-down multilingualism and shift to English from bilingualism defy these concepts. This discrepancy between the *de jure* and *de facto* language policy can be attributed to inconsistent implementation (Du Plessis, 2007). On the other hand, opting for English is often a pragmatic solution, being the

simplest way of dealing with the complicated language policy. It may also be argued that by using English in a community that largely lacks proficiency in English, the governmental agency is confirming its socio-political power. However, as discussed later on, English is also predominantly the bottom-up code preference. In fact, the survey conducted by policy makers to determine the language preference and use of the community indicated that Afrikaans and English is the language of choice in Philippolis (see Table 5.1 on p. 100). Most likely, all three interpretations are applicable. The LL of Philippolis is thus seen to reflect the political transformation, both in terms of the power group and the new language policy with its challenges.

In the bottom-up domains, new developments in the commercial sector deserve more attention. The rich history of the town attracts enough tourists to render running a guesthouse a viable business, for at least part of the year. The growth of the tourism sector in South Africa after 1994 is reflected in the signage of this little town. There are several instances of chronological layering that involve signage relating to guesthouses, in other words, newer signs that are (assumed to be) more attractive to passers-by, indicating an understanding of tourism as a viable economic activity. Compare, for instance, the example of Philippolis Lodge in Photos 5.11 and 5.12 on p. 125.

Photo 5.11: Example of an older sign advertising a guesthouse

Photo 5.12: Example of a newer sign advertising a guesthouse

The development of national corporations and the accompanying aggressive marketing are reflected on 'sponsored' signs. In addition to simple advertisements, some corporations sponsor the signage of businesses. Most notable in this regard is the presence of the Coca-Cola logo, one of the most recognisable brands worldwide.

Afrikaans, generally considered to be the spoken lingua franca, retains its strong position in the two Afrikaans-speaking sites, BMH and FWT. The white Afrikaans-speaking population is in the strongest socio-economic position, thereby enforcing the functional role of Afrikaans in the public space. English nevertheless plays an increasingly significant role in the LL, the most interesting its role in PTR by means of association. English is generally considered to be the language of prestige, power and upward mobilisation. The fact that its use on commercial and private home signage is so widespread in PTR indicates a wish to be associated with these values. English is not only the preferred code, but it is also employed to the detriment of the African languages. Given the demographic information, a stronger presence of African languages is expected, even if English is the preferred code. The situation thus reflects the stigmatisation of African languages as inferior. All in all, African languages are sorely neglected in the linguistic landscape of the area.

Only five monolingual African signs are present on private homes in PTR. The one bilingual Sesotho/isiXhosa sign is the name of a pre-primary school in PTR. The rest of the signs in PTR combine the presence of African languages with English, especially in shop names. With this, the owner of the home or business is able to identify with the targeted readership, but also to infer the values associated with English. Not only does this add prestige to the business, but it also creates the impression of accessibility to this prestige for the client. In the rest of the area, African languages appear mostly on multilingual signage on warning signs. The consideration behind this choice is pragmatic rather than symbolic. Given the high incidence of Afrikaans/English bilingualism, the addition of African languages indicates a desire to ensure the message of danger is clear to as wide a readership as possible.

The presence of Afrikaans in the LL is the result of both symbolic and pragmatic considerations, indicating its solid functional role. English is often chosen for

symbolic rather than pragmatic reasons, and often appears in the LL in the form of corporate signage. African languages are absent due to symbolic motivations. Signage on private homes is presented to the public, which in PTR is a Sesotho- and isiXhosa-speaking community. The choice of English on the signage of private homes, instead of an African language that a wider range of the community would be expected to understand, indicates that this platform is used to present the self in a way the individual wishes to be perceived, rather than expressing a collective identity.

It is generally accepted that the use of English, or a foreign language, is aimed at tourists. Backhaus (2006, 2008) and Huebner (2006), amongst others, prove that this is very much not the case. English is often used to attract local customers by presenting the self as associated with the values represented by English. Indeed, as demonstrated by Edelman (2009), brand and product names often represent the 'foreign' in other words, prestige or unique element, and the value thereof is connotative rather than denotative. This is evident by the mixture of African personal names and English in business names in PTR, but also in the FWT, where Afrikaans is used to present a quaint image of the business (such as 'Antie Emily'). Curtin's (2007) excellent investigation on the relationship between LL and identity clarifies how language may be used to present the self in a certain way (refer to the structuration principles discussed in 2.4). She argues that, since English has become an accepted part of the LL in Taipei, it indicates a localised cosmopolitan identity rather than an aspired Western cosmopolitan identity (Curtin, 2007: 279-280). This observation is applicable to the FWT; however, given the socio-economic situation of the community in the black research site, this prestige identity remains aspirational. The conspicuous nature of this code preference in PTR is a powerful example of how a certain group can gain control of the public space in a manner more effective that using graffiti. This signifies how the black population orientates itself as an emergent powerful group in the transformed society.

The discrepancy between the demographic information provided by the census data, and the findings of the LL research confirm the need for a triangulated approach to linguistic landscape research as emphasised repeatedly in the literature. This study has confirmed it yet again.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

The linguistic landscape is, in essence, written discourse in the public space, and the study thereof investigates linguistic choices and the motivations behind these choices. The dialectic between society and the LL results in the LL not only reflecting the societal situation (informational function), but also playing a role in shaping it (symbolic function), most notably in creating, expressing and maintaining power relations and concepts of identity. Most LL research focuses on themes of language policy and linguistic diversity.

Despite the fact that the field lacks a coherent methodology, this study has identified central methodological considerations. These are the survey area, which must be representative; the unit of analysis; and the coding scheme. The latter depends on the focus of the study; however, most studies include an analysis of code preference. The choice of language is determined by either pragmatic or symbolic considerations. In order to accurately evaluate these choices, a triangulated approach providing an administrative, historical and demographic background is essential. This is further necessitated by the fact that the LL does not accurately reflect language policies or the presence of linguistic groups.

Whatever the focal point, including the research parameters below (as identified primarily by Backhaus) contributes to a consistent data analysis:

1. Agency: by whom the LL is created – agents (bottom-up and top-down) have different motivations for their choices. Considering agency reveals who has the power to impact on the public space and to what extent. This also serves to explain discrepancies between *de jure* and *de facto* language policies.
2. Readership: for whom the LL is created – demographic information and the ethnolinguistic composition of communities create linguistic expectations in the LL, and vice versa. Investigating discrepancy in this regard reveals power relations, in other words, how much of the LL is imposed.
3. Dynamics: what is written in the LL and why – this consideration relates to the dialectic between LL and society dynamic and serves to investigate the motivation behind linguistic choices.

With regard to the latter, the structuration principles identified by Ben-Rafael (2009) and Spolsky (2009) provide a helpful framework within which to approach this aspect:

1. Pragmatic motivations – This relates to the literacy of either the agent or the reader, as well as what the agent deems appropriate for the presumed reader or the function of the sign.
2. Symbolic motivations – The agent presents the self as either unique or as belonging to a collective identity. LL items are also employed to express or protest socio-political power.

In the light of this field being relatively new, there are still several shortcomings. These might be addressed before long, given the exponential growth in the field as exemplified by the large body of recent research.

Although the methodological considerations have largely been agreed on, it has not been consistently defined, which complicates comparisons between studies. The survey areas range from a single street to an entire neighbourhood; the focus also consistently falls on urban areas, thereby neglecting the unique character of rural areas. The debate on a physical as opposed to a semiotic definition of the unit of analysis has not been finalised. The former approach is preferable; however, even the boundaries of what constitutes a sign (a single LL item as opposed to a whole building) have not been concluded. Studies further vary on the type of signs they include, a significant number of which focus exclusively on commercial signs. A consistent coding scheme would allow quantification of data from different studies, thereby benefiting studies with other approaches. Given the interdisciplinary nature of LL research, this is a valuable contribution the entire field might make to sociolinguistic studies in general. The development of a *Sociolinguistic Data Collection Mobile Laboratory* by Monica Barni and her colleagues promises to make a significant contribution to the process of data interpretation.

The issue of agency is a much-debated aspect. One strong argument is for the expansion of the bottom-up, top-down dichotomy to include the individual actors as

well as wider processes. In the meantime, the third research parameter of 'dynamics' serves as an indirect way by which to address this issue.

LL research themes focus in essence on either language policy or linguistic diversity. If the methodological obstacles are resolved, further comparative studies will allow for more generalised sociolinguistic observations. For instance, Backhaus (2009) compares the issues addressed by LL legislation in Tokyo and Canada. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Coluzzi (2009) compare the effects of minority language policies on language visibility in two separate areas. A comparison between the contributions of different ethnolinguistic groups across localities reveals interesting observations about language, power and identity, such as the study by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006).

The current study has been undertaken with the understanding that the LL not only reflects society, but also creates it. The initial research question centred round whether the radical political and societal changes after the switch to democracy in South Africa are reflected in the LL. A further important issue is which of these changes are reflected, and in what manner. In order to determine this, the current LL was examined, as well as signage that can be clearly dated as being erected either before or after 1994. The data were codified according to agency (bottom-up or top-down initiatives), code preference and multilingualism. The findings were explained in terms of either pragmatic or symbolic choices, within the research parameters of agency, readership and LL dynamics. The deductions were verified against the administrative, historical and demographic background.

Essentially, the changes in the LL of Philippolis were found to relate to changed language attitudes and perceptions; the maintenance of power relations or expressions of emerging power; or the expression of identity, or a wish to be perceived in a certain way. A summary of the findings follows below.

Firstly, the informative function of the LL is to indicate the sociolinguistic composition of communities and the dynamics between them. A comparison between the census data and the LL results indicates a misrepresentation of the English and African communities in the linguistic public space. Although the African-speaking community is by far the majority group, the lack of African signage suggests the opposite. In

contrast to this, English dominates the LL, although less than one percent of the population uses it as a first language. This case study is an excellent example of Backhaus' statement on the presence of English in the LL: "Owing to both its wide communicative range and its high prestige value worldwide, English is the language omnipresent in virtually all of the linguistic landscapes, irrespective of whether or not it is actually spoken by any sizeable share of the population." (Backhaus, 2006: 56-57). The rationale behind this situation is informed by language attitudes and perceptions, another aspect that the LL reveals.

The neglect of African languages reflects the stigmatisation that accompanies its use in the public space, especially since these choices are made by the African linguistic community itself. Its favourable consideration confirms the role of English as the language of status and upward social mobilisation. This perception of English, when taken into consideration with the development of tourism as an economic sector as well as corporate involvement, indicates the effects of globalisation. The discrepancy between the multilingual language policy and the implementation thereof that gravitates towards to English monolingualism (see Yperzeele, 2009) confirm the positive attitude towards English. Afrikaans has a stable presence across both public and private domains, which is reflected more or less accurately in the LL. Indeed, Afrikaans and English are shown to be the languages of choice in the survey to determine the Xhariep District language policy (see Table 5.1 on p. 100). However, when examining the newer signage, especially those in the commercial sphere, a tendency towards English is detected, signalling a potential loss of representative strength in the public space.

Secondly, an investigation into the symbolic function of the LL reveals the dynamics shaping the situation explicated above. In the case of Philippolis, the LL is employed to express and maintain power; and to express and create identity. The position of Afrikaans in the public space has weakened since apartheid. It maintains its power as a lingua franca in the Xhariep District – the Afrikaners and coloured people are first-language speakers, and the older coloured generation fiercely supports Afrikaans (Yperzeele, 2009). Afrikaners are in the most favourable socio-economic position and therefore the most powerful in this regard. The LL is used not only to

express this power, but serves to maintain it as well, as is revealed by the presence of monolingual Afrikaans signage.

The lack of African languages might have been interpreted as a lack of power amongst the African community. However, there is a strong tendency to identify with English, the use of which indicates an awareness of the power to participate in and to a degree manipulate the public space. The language policy of the local municipality acknowledges the presence of the African communities in the area. However, the way in which the African community chooses to express itself creates a *de facto* language situation that deviates from the official policy (although not from the implementation thereof). The LL is thus used by the African community to create their new identity by power of association with the language of English, and by deliberately marginalising their own languages in the public space. This is a reversal of the situations found in studies so far, namely that the absence of language indicates a group being excluded by another group. In many cases the inclination to English monolingualism in the governmental sphere is based on pragmatic considerations, but combined with the decline of the use of Afrikaans it may be interpreted as a method for the new regime to express its new power. These findings on power dynamics and concepts of identity once again confirm Ben-Rafael's statement that the LL is a "symbolic construction of the public space" (2009: 41).

This study concludes that the linguistic landscape of Philippolis, representative of the bigger rural area in the Kopanong Local Municipality, reflects the socio-political developments in the area on a larger scale, both in terms of the changed regime and the transformed societal South African identity.

This study promotes further research on the South African LL; and also contributes at another level to an understanding of the societal transformation in South Africa after 1994. Furthermore, the extension to the rural area reveals that these remote areas can contribute as much to LL research as urban areas. The necessity to include residential areas in such undertakings requires a reconsideration of what constitutes the public space to be investigated by LL researchers. It also confirms the need to define the survey area clearly and carefully.

This study corroborates the value of the three research parameters (agency, readership and dynamics) as identified in LL literature, as well as the importance of the structuration principles in an analysis of a data corpus. The coding scheme is an extraction and refinement of what has been offered so far. In this way, this study contributes to the development of a consistent methodology. By confirming the role between language, identity and power, this study adds to general sociolinguistic understanding. The clearly segregated ethnolinguistic groups and their LL contributions further the understanding of the role language plays in the dynamics between and within groups, and how they react differently to socio-political changes. Issues of language ideology, such as language attitudes, are further clarified.

This research is meant as a case study, and case studies should be verified whenever possible. Philippolis is considered to be a 'typical' example of towns in the rural areas of the Free State and the Northern Cape. However, the demographic compositions of these towns differ, although most do have a segregated neighbourhood structure. Also, the small size of the coloured neighbourhood in Philippolis made it difficult to draw any generalisations on this group's perceptions and contributions. This study's findings will be complemented by comparing LL research findings on other towns.

One of the biggest challenges of the current study is to clearly identify LL signs as originating from either before or after 1994. Sign initiators are often not available or able to date their signs. An extended historical and archival investigation of the LL of the past will allow for a deeper analysis. A chronological approach, in other words, conducting a follow-up study a few years into the future, might reveal more about the continuation of changes in the post-apartheid South African society. LL studies in other areas of South Africa will provide information on the society as a whole. In conclusion, an exploration of the LL within the South African context presents a challenging but awarding avenue for sociolinguistic, socio-economic and socio-political research. In general, the field of LL research indeed offers new frontiers of academic endeavour.

ANNEXURE 1: COMPLETE DATA SETS

FORMER WHITE TOWN

Agency	Domain	Division	Detail	Specific	Monolingual A	Monolingual E	Monolingual Afr	TOT Mono	A-E	A-Afr	E-Afr	E-Afr-Afr	Afr-Afr	A-E-Afr	A-E-Afr-Afr	TOT Multi	TOTAL
Top-Down	Cultural	Museum			0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	11	13
		National Monument			0	0	0		10	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Education	Building markings & names			1	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	Government	Government Agencies	CPF		0	1	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	64
			Eskom	General	3	3	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
				Warning	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	7	0		
			Lotto		0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	0		
			Magistrate's Court		0	0	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Police station		0	0	0		2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Dept. Health		0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
			Dept. Public Safety		0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Dept. Public Works		0	2	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Post office		0	0	0		5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
		Local Government	Directional		18	1	0		5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Municipal		4	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Warning		0	0	0		0	1	0	0	0	0	0		
		National Government	Road Signage	National	0	0	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
				Tourist	0	2	0		2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Political	Announcements			0	1	0	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	17
	Public Announcements	Government Agencies			2	3	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	8
106					28	20	0	48	46	1	1	0	0	10	0	58	106

Philippolis - FWT

Bottom-up																
Bottom-up	Assoc-iations			1	8	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**10**
	Commer-cial	Goods for sale		6	3	0	140	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	44	**184**
		Guest houses	Business names & Info	19	27	0		10	0	0	0	0	0	0		
		Services	Banks	1	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Real estate	3	13	0		5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Security	0	8	0		2	0	0	0	0	2	2		
			Other	11	6	0		10	1	0	0	0	1	0		
		Shops	Business names & info	13	21	0		8	0	0	0	0	1	0		
			Shop offers	4	4	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Graffiti			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
	Private Announce-ments	Community News	Events	6	5	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**15**
			Information	2	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
		Other		0	2	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Private Homes	Ownership, decoration, commentary		12	5	0	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	**66**
		Warning	Beware of the dog	7	2	0		13	0	4	1	0	12	6		
			Other	1	1	0		2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Public Demar-cation			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
	Religious	Building markings & names		1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
277				87	107	0	194	53	1	4	1	0	16	8	83	277
383				115	127	0	242	99	2	5	1	0	26	8	141	383

BERGMANSHOOGTE

Agency	Domain	Division	Detail	Specific	Monolingual			TOT Mono	Multilingual							TOT Multi	TOTAL
					A	E	Afr		A-E	A-Afr	E-Afr	E-Afr-Afr	Afr-Afr	A-E-Afr	A-E-Afr-Afr		
Top-Down	Education	Building markings & names			6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**6**
	Government	Government Agencies	Bloemwater		0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	**18**
			LED		0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	0		
			Eskom	Warning	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	16	0		
		National Government	Road Signage	National	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Political	Announcements			0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	**5**
	29				6	1	0	**7**	5	0	1	0	0	16	0	22	**29**
Bottom-up	Commercial	Taverns/Bars	Business names & info		0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**2**
			Shop offers		0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Graffiti				1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
	Private Homes	Affiliation	Sport		0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	**6**
		Ownership, decoration, commentary			0	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	2	0		
		Warning	Beware of the dog		2	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Public demarcation				2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**3**
	12				5	2	0	**7**	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	**12**
	41				11	3	0	**14**	8	0	1	0	0	18	0	**27**	**41**

PODING-TSE-ROLO

Agency	Domain	Division	Detail	Specific	Monolingual A	E	Afr	TOT Mono	A-E	A-Afr	E-Afr	E-Afr-Afr	Afr-Afr	A-E-Afr	A-E-Afr-Afr	TOT Multi	TOTAL
					\- Philippolis - Poding-tse-Rolo												
Top-Down	Education	Building markings & names			0	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	5
	Government	Government Agencies	Conservation		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Political	Announcements			0	1	0	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	17
23					0	3	0	3	16	0	2	1	1	0	0	20	23
Bottom-up	Commercial		Goods for sale		0	1	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	24
		Services	Legal		0	2	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Other		0	1	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	0		
		Shops	Business names & info		0	6	0		0	0	5	0	0	0	0		
			Shop offers		0	4	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
		Taverns/Bars	Business names & info		0	4	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Shop offers		0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Graffiti				0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	4	4
	Private Announcements	Community News	Events		0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	4
	Private Homes	Affiliation	Sport		0	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	0		0	10	51
			Religious		0	1	0		0	0	4	0	0		0		
		Ownership, decoration, commentary			6	20	5		0	0	2	0	0	1	0		
		Warning	Beware of the dog		5	2	0		3	0	0	0	0	0	0		
			Other		2	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	Public demarcation				0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Religious	Building markings & names			0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
86					13	47	5	65	3	0	14	0	0	4	0	21	86
109					13	50	5	68	19	0	16	1	1	4	0	41	109

ANNEXURE 2: TOWN PLANS

TOWN PLAN OF PHILIPPOLIS (FORMER WHITE TOWN)

FREE STATE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

SPATIAL PLANNING DIRECTORATE

LEGEND

Philippolis_erven

SOURCE:

COMPILED BY:
VERIFIED BY: SW SLABBERT
DATE:

PHILIPPOLIS ERVEN NUMBERS
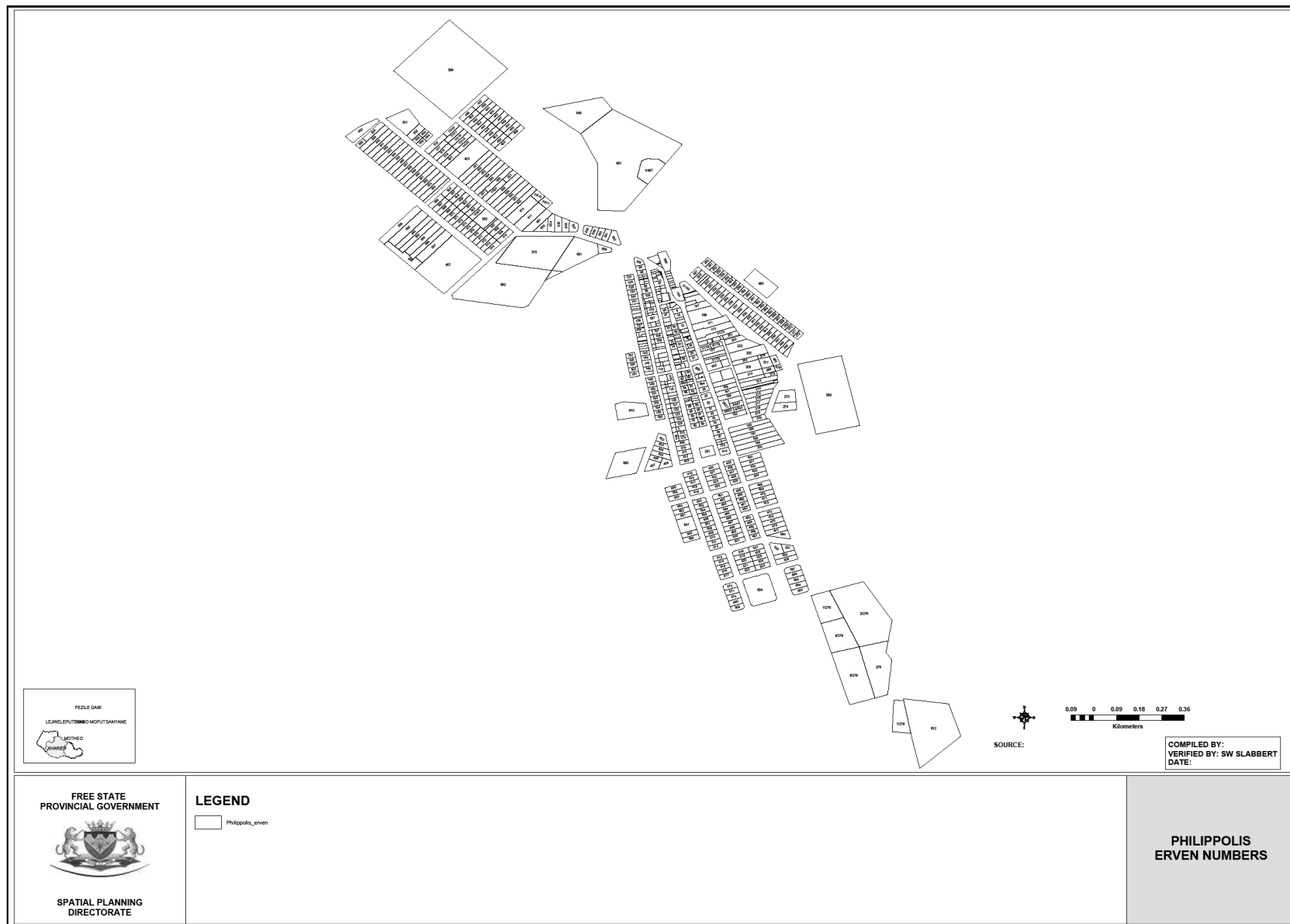
TOWN PLAN OF BERGMANSHOOGTE
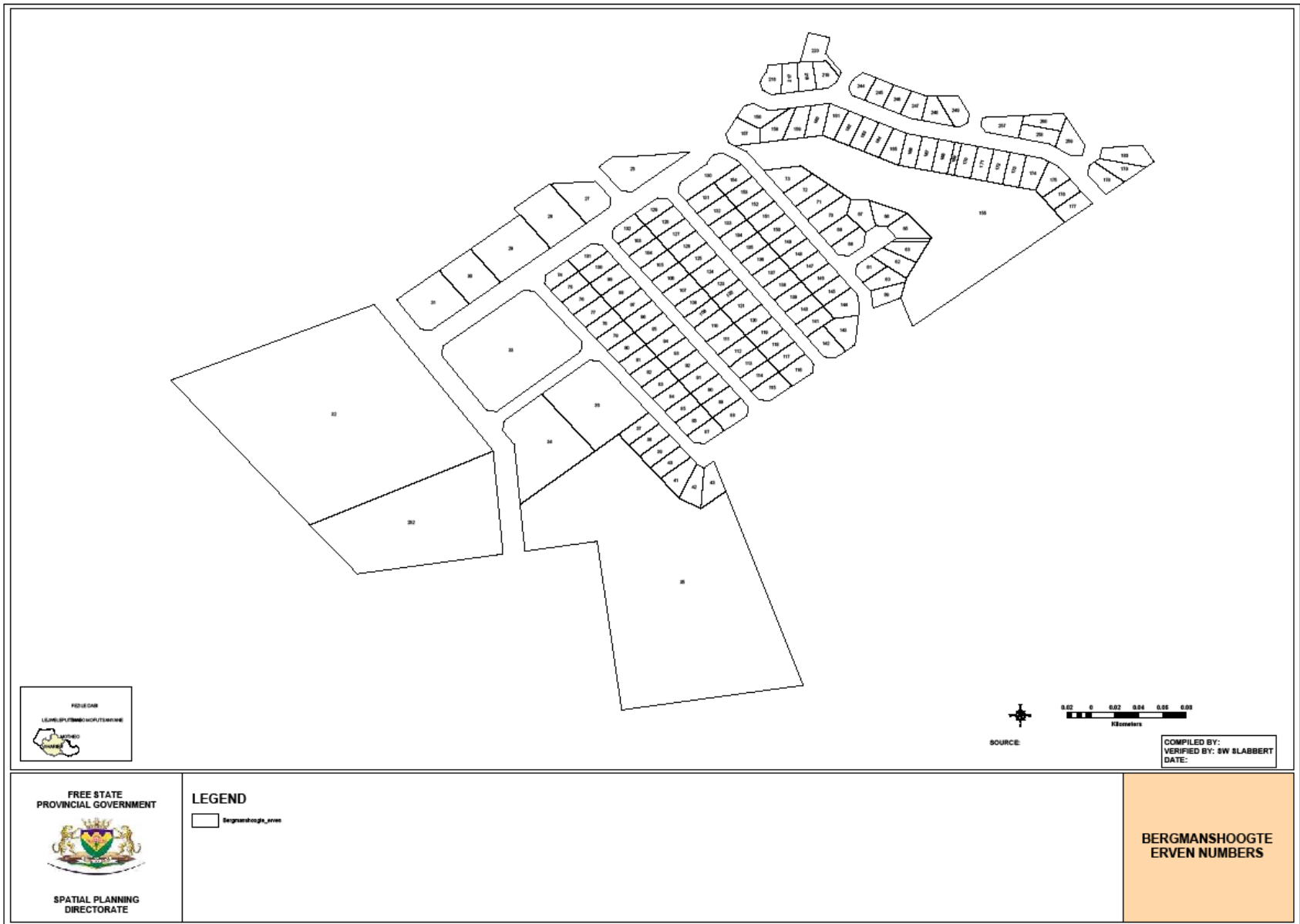
TOWN PLAN OF PODING-TSE-ROLO

FEZILE DABI

LEJWELEPUTSWA THABO MOFUTSANYANE

MOTHEO

XHARIEP

FREE STATE
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
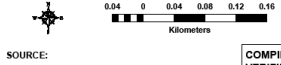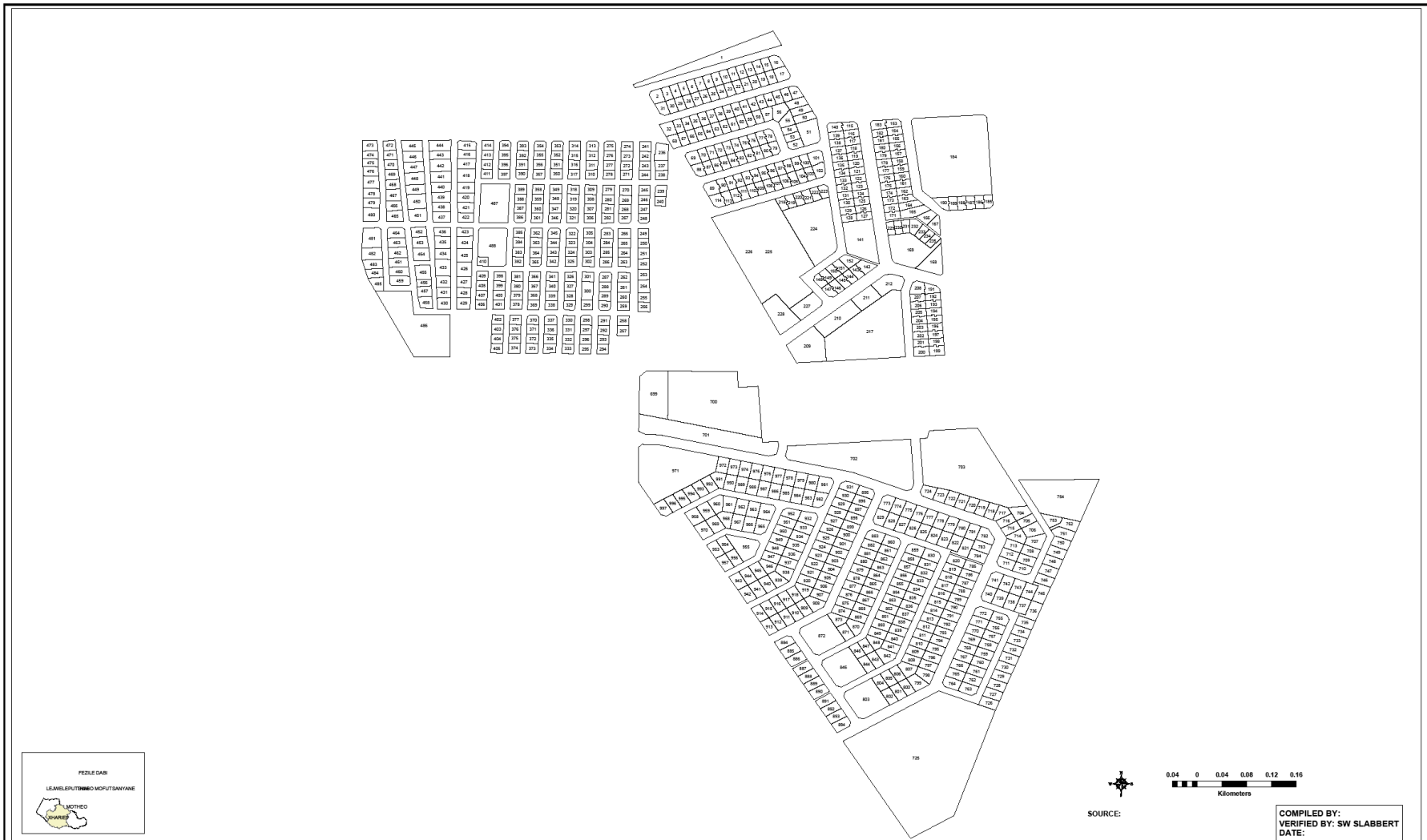
SPATIAL PLANNING
DIRECTORATE

LEGEND

Poding-Tse-Rolo_erven

COMPILED BY:
VERIFIED BY: SW SLABBERT
DATE:

SOURCE:

Kilometers

0.04 0 0.04 0.08 0.12 0.16

PODING - TSE - ROLO
ERVEN NUMBERS
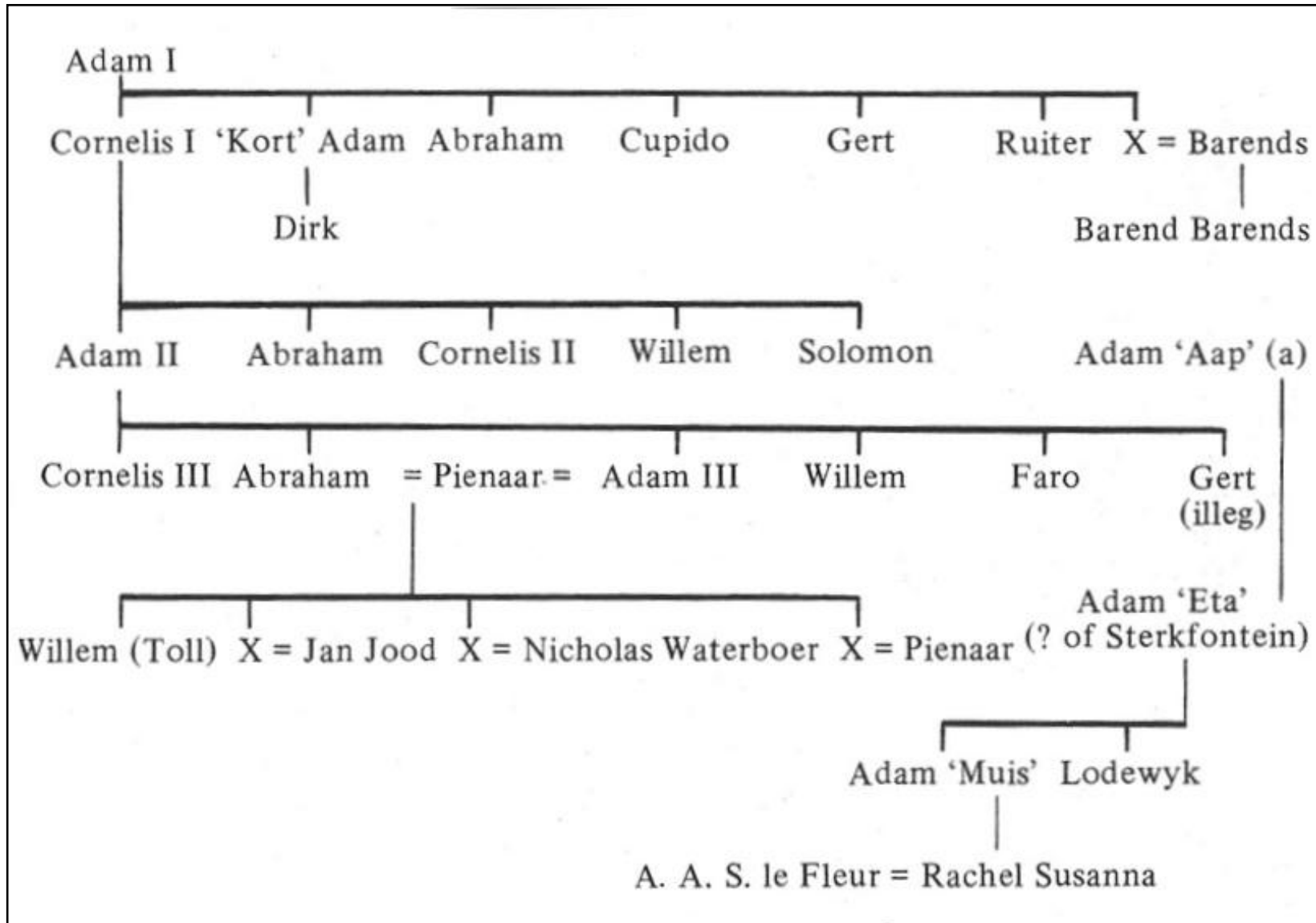
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Summary

Linguistic landscape (LL) research is a recent development in the field of sociolinguistics. The LL is written language in the public space; and the study thereof focuses on the linguistic choices in the LL and the motivations behind these choices. Language in the LL has unique semiotic properties and the LL hence offers a new approach to investigate sociolinguistic themes. The themes most commonly addressed are language policy and linguistic diversity.

As a result of the bidirectional relationship between the LL and society, the LL not only reflects societal changes (informational function), but also shapes society (symbolic function). This is usually by expressing, creating and maintaining power relations and concepts of identity. The drastic transformation in South Africa from apartheid to democracy in 1994 was accompanied by, amongst other changes, the introduction of an innovative language policy, new power relations and changed perceptions of identity. The hypothesis is that these changes will impact on the LL. The LL in Philippolis is investigated with the aim to determine whether these changes indeed influence the LL, and if so, in what manner.

This case study extends LL research to rural areas. Philippolis, although a typical small Free State town, also carries historical significance both in terms of population migrations and the role it played in the early development of the Free State Province. Like many other towns, the three neighbourhoods are still divided according to ethno-linguistic boundaries (white, coloured, and black), a remnant from the segregation policy of the previous regime. These three neighbourhoods constitute the survey area (research sites).

The combined qualitative/quantitative approach includes a triangulated methodology. A complete inventory of the LL of these three sites was compiled on 20 and 21 May 2008. Only signs displaying Afrikaans, English, and/or African languages (533 in total) are considered for the analysis. The data are codified according to agency (top-down and bottom-up initiatives); code preference (by agency and by research site); and multilingualism (combinations of languages). The data are approached by firstly examining the current LL and secondly, by analysing the LL items that can be

clearly perceived as either before or after 1994. The research parameters within which the data are interpreted, are agency (by whom is the LL created), readership (for whom the LL is created), and LL dynamics (in the light of the dialectic between the LL and society). The interpretation focuses on the motivations behind the language choices, whether pragmatic or symbolic. The findings are verified against the administrative, demographic and historical background.

The discrepancy between the *de jure* and *de facto* language policy, as well as between the demographic census data and the presentation of ethnolinguistic communities in the LL; indicates that certain ideologies are at work. These ideologies are found to centre on language attitudes, power relations, and concepts of identity. The absence of African languages indicates that these languages are stigmatised, whilst the prevalence of English confirms its status as the language of wider communication and of prestige. The white Afrikaans speaking group is still the socio-economically dominant group, but the black population is an emerging socio-political power. It is obvious that they view themselves as such by their choice to associate with English.

This study contributes to the field by expanding research on the LL of South Africa as well as on areas that are considered rural. It furthers the understanding of the transforming, post-apartheid South African society; as well as the sociolinguistic understanding of the relationship between language, and power and identity. It also hopes to contribute to the creation of a consistent methodology for the field.

Keywords

Linguistic landscape; Philippolis; 1994; Sociolinguistic communities; Language attitudes; Power relations; Identity.

Samevatting

Navorsing oor die linguistiese landskap (LL) is 'n onlangse ontwikkeling in die sosiolinguistiese veld. Die LL self is geskrewe taal in die openbare ruimte; die studie daarvan fokus op die linguistiese keuses in die LL en die onderliggende oorwegings. Taal in die LL het unieke semiotiese eienskappe en die LL bied dus 'n nuwe benadering tot die ondersoek van sosiolinguistiese temas. Die temas sentreer grootliks rondom taalbeleid en linguistiese diversiteit.

As gevolg van die dialektiek tussen die LL en die samelewing, reflekteer die LL nie net veranderinge in die samelewing nie (informasionele funksie), maar vorm ook die samelewing (simboliese funksie). Dit is gewoonlik deur magsverhoudinge en nosies rondom identiteit uit te druk, te skep en te onderhou. Die drastiese transformasie van apartheid na demokrasie in Suid-Afrika in 1994 het gepaard gegaan met, onder andere, die inleiding van 'n innoverende taalbeleid, nuwe magsverhoudinge en veranderde ervarings van identiteit. Die hipotese is dat hierdie veranderinge op die LL impak maak. Philippolis se LL is ondersoek met die doel om vas te stel of hierdie veranderinge inderdaad die LL beïnvloed, en indien wel, op welke wyse.

Hierdie gevallestudie brei LL-navorsing uit na plaaslike gebiede. Hoewel Philippolis 'n tipiese Vrystaatse dorpie is, is dit van historiese belang beide in terme van bevolkingsmigrasies sowel as die rol wat dit in die vroeë ontwikkeling van die Vrystaatse provinsie gespeel het. Soos in vele ander dorpe is die woongebiede steeds etnolinguisties verdeel (wit, kleurlinge en swart), 'n oorblyfsel uit die segregasiebeleid van die vorige bedeling. Hierdie drie woongebiede vorm die ondersoekgebied (navorsingsterreine).

Die gekombineerde kwalitatiewe/kwantitatiewe benadering sluit 'n getrianguleerde metode in. 'n Volledige inventaris van die drie navorsingsterreine is op 20 en 21 Mei 2008 saamgestel. Slegs tekens wat Afrikaans, Engels en/of Afrika-tale bevat (533 in totaal), is vir die analise in ag geneem. Die data is gekodifiseer volgens agentskap ('top-down' en 'bottom-up' inisiatiewe); voorkeurkode (deur agent en per navorsingsterrein); en meertaligheid (kombinasies van tale). Die data is benader deur eerstens die bestaande LL te ondersoek, en tweedens LL-items wat duidelik

waargeneem kan word as voor of na 1994 te analiseer. Die navorsingsparameters waarbinne die data geïnterpreteer is, is agentskap (wie skep die LL), leserskap (vir wie word die LL geskep) en LL-dinamiek (in die lig van die dialektiek tussen die LL en die samelewing). Die interpretasie fokus op die pragmatiese en simboliese oorwegings onderliggend aan die taalkeuses. Die bevindinge is teen die administratiewe, demografiese en historiese agtergrond geverifieer.

Die diskrepansie tussen die *de jure* en *de facto* taalbeleid, sowel as tussen die demografiese sensusdata en die verteenwoordiging van etnolinguistiese gemeenskappe in die LL, dui daarop dat sekere ideologieë werksaam is. Hierdie ideologieë sentreer rondom taalhoudings, magsverhoudinge en nosies van identiteit. Die afwesigheid van swart tale dui daarop dat hierdie tale gestigmatiseerd is, terwyl die dominansie van Engels die status daarvan as taal van breër kommunikasie en van prestige bevestig. Die wit, Afrikaans-sprekende groep is steeds sosio-ekonomies dominant, maar die swart bevolking is 'n ontwikkelende sosiopolitiese mag. Hul keuse om met Engels te assosieer, dui daarop dat hulle hulself as sulks beskou.

Hierdie studie dra tot die veld by deur die navorsing oor die Suid-Afrikaanse LL, sowel as dié van plaaslike gebiede, uit te brei. Dit bevorder begrip van die transformerende, post-apartheid Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, sowel as sosiolinguistiese opvattinge rondom die verhouding tussen taal, en mag en identiteit. Die studie poog ook om tot die formulering van 'n samehangende metodologie tot die veld by te dra.

Sleutelwoorde

Linguistiese landskap; Philippolis; 1994; Sosiolinguistiese gemeenskappe; Taalhoudings; Magsverhoudinge; Identiteit.