

**A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN AND AROUND
BOTSWANA PARLIAMENT**

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DECLARATION:

I declare that *A Multimodal analysis of Linguistic Landscapes in and around Parliament of Botswana* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Naomi Sankoloba-Molokomme

May 2011

Signed: -----



ABSTRACT

This study investigates the use of language and signage in and around Parliament of Botswana by drawing from Linguistic Landscapes (LL) found in the area. The main aim of this study is to explore the symbolic and functional values of signs and languages found in and around Parliament of Botswana. Its main objective is to analyse the visual language in display in and around Parliament looking at the visibility and clarity of language and information/ messages on the signage and to interpret the distribution and frequency of each one of the languages in signage. Secondly, considering that embassies, international companies, organizations and one of the oldest and busiest malls are within the vicinity of Parliament, the study explored whether their presence is captured in the LL.

Following Gorter (2006), Shohamy and Gorter (2009) and Shohamy, Ben Rafael and Barni (2010), the data used was drawn from the different types of signs in and around parliament and its neighborhood and included signs with municipal and infrastructural discourses as well as commercial discourses. Using descriptive qualitative research and a thematic approach for data analysis, the study captures the distribution, function, composition and size, clarity of intended information or messages of language on multilingual and monophonic signs.

The study gives an insight on the dominance of English against other Botswana languages in LL. In terms of language vitality, the linguistic landscape gives the incorrect picture as if English and Setswana are the only languages spoken in Botswana. Interestingly, Chinese is occasionally found in the linguistic landscape. The presence of Chinese in the shops near Parliament, I argue, is a ploy to attract people to ostensibly “cheap” products. The linguistic landscape shows the apparent contradiction in which even monuments of heroes and pictures of past “Dikgosi” (Chiefs) are constructed in English. The study further reveals even where Setswana is used it is always on bilingual signs and the quality of translation is sometimes poor. The study also suggests that most of the signage was constructed in English and then translated to Setswana. It is not surprising then that the information on the Setswana LL is not always as complete as one on English. In some cases, it says something quite unrelated to the intended message.

The different signs and discourses analysed clearly show that people are aware of the signs that surround them and the marketing strategies employed. The signage revealed multiplicity and fusion of discourses with types ranging from low budget to the modern visual signs by individuals to established companies. Both the consumers and the authors are aware of the link between the LL and economics. For this reason, signage is placed where it is expected to achieve maximum visibility and for maximum consumer impact. It is not uncommon to find someone placing their LL on someone else's, and "ambush" marketing is common place. The diversity of signs used in the study have illustrated and given an insight into the contrasting marketing strategies adopted not only by Batswana, but also by foreign investors, all vying for a piece of space in the Botswana landscape.



KEYWORDS

Parliament of Botswana

Linguistic Landscapes

Multimodality

Main Mall

Language

Sign(s)

English

Setswana

Semiotics

Analysis



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0. Introduction

This study analyses what constitutes Linguistic Landscaping in and around Parliament of Botswana by exploring the function and symbolic values of different signs and languages found in the research area. In this particular chapter, I discuss the background which includes a brief account on the sociolinguistic history of Botswana, the aim and objectives of the study and the motivation for conducting the study. I also provide the organization of the thesis. As a starting point, I begin with the background.

1.1. Background to the study

Botswana is a landlocked country located in the Southern part of Africa. It shares borders with Namibia on the west and north-west, Zambia on upper north, Zimbabwe on the north- east and South Africa on the southern and south - eastern parts. The name Botswana was derived from the term Batswana, which refers to all citizens of the country, although it literally refers to the major ethnic group in the country which is the Batswana ‘the Tswana people’.

According to the latest statistics (2006), the population of Botswana stands at a 1.8 million with literacy rate at 81%. The Majority of the formally educated citizens reside in the capital city (Gaborone) for formal employment as most of the Government departments and big private companies’ headquarters are located here. All Embassies and most of the International organizations like the country’s UN offices and SADC headquarters are also based in Gaborone.

Gaborone which is the capital city of the country has the majority of the total population of the nation. This population is made up of people with different linguistic backgrounds who come from different parts of the country and the world in search of jobs and better living. Thus most of the inhabitants of the city speak at least one of the two official languages and it is therefore rare to find city residents with no idea of the main language, Setswana. This is supported by

Anderson and Jason (1997) who point out that most people who have another language as their mother tongue certainly know Setswana. This has sparked a belief and assumption that since Setswana is spoken by at least the majority of the country's citizens, Botswana is a monolingual country. This is indeed a mere belief and an assumption at best as the term implies.

1.1.1. The sociolinguistic situation of Botswana

Like most of its neighboring countries, the languages spoken in Botswana are mostly Bantu languages. The available information of linguistic history of Botswana is traced back to years before the first arrival of the group of its inhabitants.

According to Anderson and Jansen (1997), the first group of Bantu speaking group who arrived in Botswana as early as 1700 from the north, were the Kalangas who are related to the Vashona of Zimbabwe. The Kalangas were followed by the Bakgalagadi and later by several other groups of Batswana who today make the majority of the citizens. This group is made up Botswana's major tribes of Bakgatla, Balete, Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bangwato, Batlokwa, Barolong and Batawana who make the language that is referred to today as Setswana. The other groups that arrived later on were the Basubiya, the Wayeyi and the Hambukushu followed by the Ovaherero. Following Parsons (1999), by linguistic main geographical distribution, the Kalangas have inhabited the north-eastern part of the country, the Bayei are on the north -west, the Tswana occupy mainly the central and Southern part, the Babirwa and Tswapong are found on the far east-central and the Subiyas on the far north.

Over the years Botswana has experienced linguistic growth both by birth of new languages and/or by awareness on already existing ones. Although Anderson and Jansen (1997) estimated the number of languages spoken in Botswana at twenty-two (22), Parsons (1999) set the number at thirty four (34) and qualify them as a language family. According to Anderson and Janson, Batswana consists mostly of the eight (8) subgroups of the main language Setswana who over the years got to dominate the linguistic map of Botswana. Today only Setswana is regarded as the main language spoken in Botswana and is the only Botswana language used alongside English in education and in formal activities of the government (cf Tsonope and Janson 1991).

Although most of the citizens of Botswana speak Setswana as their mother tongue, the rest are indirectly forced to learn it as it is the national language and main language of education after English which is the official language. The influence and dominance of English in Botswana is traced back to the invasion of missionaries in the early years and back to the British administration years before 1966 when Botswana was a protectorate under the British rule.

According to Tsonope and Janson (1991), during the Protectorate era, English was used as the official language of the colonial administration and remained so even after independence as it continues to be used in official business both in writing and in oral communication. The constitution of Botswana states that English is the official language while Setswana is the national language of Botswana. The other languages, according to Anderson and Jason (1997), are almost totally neglected over Setswana and English which are the only ones used in education and official business.(cf. Nyathi Ramahobo, 1999).

According to Chebanne (2008) the Botswana sociolinguistic situation displays a lot of disparities. He describes it to be a situation where the weak languages or the ones termed “minority” lose out in social processes resulting into a negative impact on the theory and practice of democratic development as the current language policy exclude all other languages apart from Setswana and English from public domains.

Despite the call advocating an even distribution and use of other languages in Botswana by scholars and the general public, English and Setswana still remain the only languages used in all government domains at present.

1.1.2. Botswana Parliament

The parliament of Botswana which is also called the National Assembly is the main arena for political activities for both the government and the opposition. It is a house in which important laws and decisions that affect the country are passed. This include acting as a representation house for people/citizens or constituents, to make laws, approve the National Budget and Policies, pass Bills and play an oversight role through Parliamentary committees.

The building that houses the parliament is situated in the Centre of the Capital City, Gaborone in an area known as the Government Enclave and it has been on the same grounds since its first

sitting in 1966. However, there have been renovations and extensions to the historical structures over the years. Parliament grounds also houses Ntlo ya Dikgosi formerly known as The House of Chiefs. It is surrounded by mostly headquarters of Government ministries. The Office of the President and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Corporations are located on its west side, Botswana Police Headquarters on the north, Ministry of Trade and Industry on the north-eastern part and the National Archives and Ministry of Labour & Home Affairs on the south. On its eastern side, the space is mainly taken by gardens which are popular for monuments which include the statue of the first President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama and plaques with inscriptions of honorable men who represented the country at the two world wars and those that died fighting for the country in different arenas. Along these gardens passes one of the busiest roads (Khama Crescent) in the city, and across that road is the City's oldest mall known only as the Main Mall.

Botswana held its first elections in 1965 where the first Parliament was elected. The elections were then contested by 4 political parties and saw the incumbent party, Botswana Democratic Party win by a landslide majority with twenty-eight (28) seats out of the then thirty-one (31) Members of Parliament representation in the house. Since independence, Botswana has held its elections every five years. The latest one being the 2009 in which twelve (12) parties contested and only three of the parties made it to Parliament. There are currently fifty-seven (57) elected members and four nominated Members of Parliament that represent the current four (4) parties in Parliament namely; Botswana Democratic party which holds majority of the seats, the official opposition party, Botswana Movement for Democracy (formed in 2010 by mainly members of Parliament who defected from the ruling party), Botswana National Front and Botswana Congress Party.

1.1.3. The language situation of Botswana Parliament

Standing Orders of the National Assembly which regulate the proceedings of Parliament, addresses the issue of language in just three sentences. Standing Order 10 (1-3), states that the language of the debates may be English or Setswana; that A member making a speech or contributing in one language shall make the whole speech or contribution in that language; and lastly that every petition shall be in either of the two languages. However, when the first

Parliament was elected in 1965, the official language of communication in Parliament was English until after 23 years at the beginning of the 6th Parliament which followed elections held in October 1989, at which Setswana was included as another language for communication in Parliament. This followed a resolution as presented by a Cabinet Memorandum, Presidential Directive (CAB25/87) which permitted the use of Setswana in parliamentary debates in the house. This opened up a lot of gaps in the use, influence and distribution of language in Botswana's Parliament as the body where important national decisions are made. Although many perceived this initiative as a milestone in preserving the pride of Setswana as the language of the majority, the resolution left a lot of loopholes when it came to the practical use of language and communication in the house. Since Setswana has a number of dialects, there is no formal standard Setswana to be used in parliament and no formal regulation on the use of the language in that regard. As a result, this has impacted negatively on the language departments of Parliament which deal with the production of the daily debates (Hansard) especially when it comes to adherence and standardization on the production of the daily debates.

The use of the two languages in Parliament which is perceived by many as the 'acceptable languages' influences the language used on signage and other notable landscapes in and around Parliament. Although the Directive stated and resolved that Setswana be introduced as a language of debate in Parliament, some very influential phenomena as discussed below on language use were not changed to accommodate the changes on introduction of another language.

Among the notable gaps were that as part of the qualification of an MP, English was a requirement and not necessarily Setswana. An aspiring MP was required to show an ability to read and write in English in order to take an active part in the proceedings of the house. This did not put Setswana on the same footing with English in that members still need to know English, but do not necessarily have to know how to read and write Setswana. In addition, no simultaneous interpretation was introduced to cater for non-Setswana speakers. This meant that such MPs whose language is not Setswana may not actively take part in the proceedings due to language barrier. Worse yet, Parliament standing orders were not translated to Setswana, as all documentations and written formalities like the President's State of the National Address, the

Budget Speech, Statements by Ministers, Bills, the Order paper, the Notice Paper, Parliamentary questions, introduction and presentation of motions, the daily opening prayer and official minutes all continue to be written and presented in English only. The same directive stated that the Hansard be published in English only, and have a few copies of the Hansard in both languages (English and Setswana) printed for record purposes. This explains the establishment by Parliament administration of a Translation Unit which deals with translation of the Hansard.

The permission of Setswana to be used in Parliament against other Botswana languages is described by Nyathi-Ramahobo (1999) as a move from prohibition to tolerance for Setswana on the assimilation continuum. She questions the prohibition of other languages at the same platform and describes the case as assimilation prohibition, in which speakers of other languages are prohibited from using their languages while having to assimilate to Setswana and English.

This thesis looks at the study from Landry & Bourhis (1997)'s description of LL as "the visible language text on sign in public space" and in this sense it calls for looking in and around Botswana Parliament and paying particular attention to the interaction of visual and written language. It attempts to establish trends of language use to find out if the Parliament of Botswana is as supposedly a bilingual institution and whether what is reflective in the written 'formal' form and the Linguistic Landscape (LL) is the reality of the linguistic situation.

Since Botswana does not have a formal general language policy in place, the assumption is that there is no pressing and strict regulations or law that points to the use of language and language distribution especially in Linguistic landscapes. The picture that the researcher captures is that, the language that is used tends to be the one that is supposed to be acceptable in any particular discourse, a language that is not offensive which serves the function of that particular type of sign. The interest of the current research is to establish whether the two languages used in the proceedings of parliament and in other daily businesses of its administration have the same status and treatment when it comes to practice in LL in and around Parliament.

1.2. Statement of the Problem and Motivation

Until recently, there were few known studies done in the area of Linguistic landscapes in Africa and interestingly none in Botswana that I am aware of despite the fact that “society is flooded with all sorts and types of signage” Forceville (1999). Although this study is limited to Parliament of Botswana it was motivated by other similar studies done on the subject in other places around the world. This particular study sought to investigate evidence of (un)equal usage trends and distribution of languages. According to Landry & Bourhis (1997:25),

‘insofar as public signs are concerned, the use of a given language could indicate that a person can expect to use that language in the region’s public institution, although the use of a given language on signage will not necessarily coincide with the right to use it in communications with the authorities-or indeed the actual possibility of finding someone able to communicate in that language’.

Although Botswana has two official languages, English and Setswana, there are other indigenous languages spoken. The intention of this research was to establish and question further the extent Setswana and other languages of Botswana are used in the LL. Considering the economic influence of the Chinese and other international firms, as well as the presence of embassies in the vicinity of Parliament, it was also imperative to find out whether these have left a footprint in the LL. Additionally, it was important to examine the nature of the LL and signage and ask why they are placed at a particular space and time and not the other.

1.3. Objectives and Aim of the study

The study's main aim was to find out what constitutes Linguistic Landscaping in and around Parliament of Botswana by exploring the function and symbolic values of different signs and languages found in the research area.

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Analyse the visual language in display in and around Parliament looking at the visibility and clarity of language and information/ messages on the signage.
2. Analyse and interpret the distribution and frequency of each one of the languages in signage.
3. Determine power relations, attitudes and patterns of language use in LL in the research area.
4. Study the gap between official language policy and practice with regard to the languages found in the LL.
5. Find out whether there is a differential effect in which language is used in a particular space.

1.4. Research Questions

The study thus sought to answer the following questions:

- Which language/s and signage are more visible and where in the research area
- To what extent does the language of LL represent the linguistic reality as determined by the number of mother tongue speakers
- What influences the placement of a particular signage of a particular language to a particular space
- What constitutes most of the LL in terms of its types (bottom-up vs top-down signage,- billboards, road signs, notice boards, place names etc).

1.5. Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organised in six chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The chapter gives an introduction to the research with focus on the background by giving an insight into Parliament of Botswana and the language situation. It also gives a statement of the problem and the motivation for the study. Objectives and aims are also provided. I then close with a section on the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a review of the concepts employed in the study. It describes in detail the theoretical framework as informed by literature on Semiotics, Linguistic Landscapes and Multimodality.

Chapter 3: Research Design and methodology

This chapter outlines in detail the research approach and methods used in the study. It explains the processes the study followed by describing materials and instruments used for data collection to sources and selection of data and then the approaches followed in analyzing it. The study employs an eclectic approach combining descriptive qualitative research and thematic analysis guided by Shohamy (2009), and Shohamy, Ben- Rafael, and Barni (2010).

Chapter 4: Distribution of languages of landscapes in and around Parliament

This chapter provides an interpretation and discussions of the findings and analysis focusing on data collected within Parliament and how the language of LL is distributed. Among other themes it discusses in detail the monolingual practices in LL and depicts English as the language of dominance. The chapter also explores the quality of the translation between English and Setswana and argued translation on bilingual signs was always questionable.

Chapter 5: Linguistic Landscapes in the Parliament neighborhood

This chapter gives an insight of LL from findings drawn from areas surrounding Parliament of Botswana with focus on the Mall and its vicinity and the LL resulting from the presence of

embassies. As part of its findings it explores languages at play in the research area while also discussing the popularity and common adoption of foreign names in the commercial market and the symbols of identity that are common in international firms and country embassies.

Chapter 6– Conclusion

This chapter concludes the study and gives observations based on the findings and analysis outlined in chapters 4 and 5. The main conclusion drawn is that English is the main language of LL followed far behind by Setswana. One can even think the two languages are the only languages spoken in Botswana. It concludes that even where Setswana is used it is translated and sourced from English. The dominance of English is further exposed by the apparent contradiction in which even monuments of heroes and pictures of past “Dikgosi” (Chiefs) are constructed in English. The study also concludes that the research area is rich with a diversity of signs with authoritative or top-down signage found mostly in Parliament while commercial discourses dominate the mall area.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

This literature review is in two parts. First I look at the theory of signs (semiotics) and thereafter I review the literature on Linguistic Landscaping and multimodality.

2.1. Semiotics

Semiotics is the study of signs and the way they work. It is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. According to Umberto Eco (1976), semiotics involves the study, not only of what we refer to as ‘signs’ in everyday speech, but also of anything, which ‘stands’ for something else. Semiotics is considered as the theory of the production and interpretation of meaning. Meaning is made by deployment of acts and objects which function as ‘signs’ in relation to other signs. As an approach to textual analysis, semiotics treats the language of which texts are composed as a system of signs and symbols, which convey meaning to the other reader.

Daniel Chandler (2010) defines sign as a pattern of data which when perceived, brings to mind something other than itself, the notion of the sign is central to the semiotic approach to the study of communication. According to his study signs take the form of different objects, but such things have any meaning and become signs only when we invest in them with meaning. Anything can be a sign as long as someone interprets it as ‘signifying’ something – referring to or standing for something other than itself.

In this regard, the study of semiotics can be traced to Saussure’s proposal on a theory of signification. He defined a sign as being composed of the ‘signified’- the idea being represented and the ‘signifier’- the word doing the presenting. Thus the sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is referred to as ‘signification’. Saussure argues that signs refer primarily to each other within the language systems, everything depends on relations. Both signifier and signified are purely relational entities.

In semiotics, denotation and connotation are terms describing the relationship between the signifier and its signified, and on analytic distinction is made between two types of signified, a denotative signified and connotative signified, meaning includes both denotation and connotation. Most signs have at least one normal, ‘the common sense’ meaning. This meaning is called signs denotations shared among many people and it is the most widely used meaning of the sign, but signs also may have many different subjective’ meanings.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) refer to semiotic landscapes as the place of visual communication in a given society which can be understood in the context of, on the one hand, the range of forms or modes of public communication available in that society, and, on the other hand, their uses and valuations. They argue for ‘visual semiotics’ which encompasses pictures in the form texts, images, photographs, graphs, paintings and other combinations of these and others (c.f. Scollon and Scollon 2003).

The research also employed the study of what Scollon and Scollon (2003: 211) call “Geosemiotic analysis”. “Geosemiotics is defined as the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our action in the material world”. This study argues for among others the analysis of code preference in cases where signs have two or more languages, a system of for the analysis of inscription or the material substance of a sign and a system of analyzing emplacement.

Furthermore, Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that signs and symbols take a major part of their meaning from how and where they are placed, and thus they propose that signs are all around us and are a part of our daily life in all sorts of discourses, even our bodies and appearance at a particular place and time make up meaning. In support, they give three (3) main systems of geosemiotics as the interaction order, visual semiotics and place semiotics. Interaction order is defined in terms of adoption of Goffmans’s rough categorization of the forms of social interaction we produce when we come together which can be in the form of encounters of people which can be, among others, queues, meetings etc. They argue for visual semiotics following Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996)’s description that visual images can be read as “text”, arguing that the metaphor of “grammar” can be applied to the study of visuals and argued convincingly that, like language, all semiotic modes are socially constructed. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 84)’s

'interest' in Kress and Van Leeuwen's visual semiotics is based on three aspects which they list as:

The representation of real-world actions in visual images, the problem of how visual images index the real world in which they are placed and thirdly, the problem of how social actors index these images which are so abundant in our world, constructing ongoing social performances as part of the social situation front.

The main aim of geosemiotics as Scollon and Scollon (2003) puts it, lies in how images represent the real social world, in how images mean what they mean because of where they are seen, and in how images are used in the world to do other things.

2.2. Linguistic Landscaping

This thesis looks at the linguistic landscape of Parliament and its surrounding area focusing on labeling of offices, shops, names of buildings, notices and bill boards and any other visible signage. A linguistic landscape refers to 'any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location' (Ben Rafael et al. 2006: 14). As linguistic landscape is the language of the road signs, advertising billboards, street names and place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combine to form linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration, the study will focus on the above.

The linguistic landscape of a region can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). Public language representations are for both *symbolic* and *functional* purposes (Cenoz and Gorter 2009:56). Symbolic purpose refers to the value and status of a language relative to other languages. Functional purpose refers to how language is used in the public domain to achieve specific ends.

Examining such displays of language accessible to everyone gives us an insight into the function, status and spread of a certain language as Reh (2004:38) observes:

Within a confined area, language displayed on these signs gives information about languages used, about possible differences between official practices in language policy and the linguistic reality as depicted on signs about functions, different languages fulfill in different contexts and about the influence of ethnic and the social factors on patterns of language use.

As Gorter (2006) observes, the presence of languages around us is often neglected, but the conformation of the linguistic landscape can be assumed to be a contributing factor in describing the language use characteristics of a given territory and mapping language diversity. It can be considered one of the levels at which linguistic diversity can be observed and measured. LL enables us to observe the presence and visibility of languages within a given territory, making them "speak" in their various manifestations. LL also makes it possible for analysis of the conditions and ways in which one or more languages (can) become visible and used within a space in which they are not the dominant languages or to which they do not traditionally belong, and how, through contact, languages and cultures are recreated.

The study of LL is a recent phenomenon. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) describe it in terms of its use of the modern linguistic forms and how such forms of discourses are used in LL as circulation of languages across space and different semiotic artifacts spaces to come up with diversity of meanings. For Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), LL is a yardstick for the distribution of multilingualism in society. It is for this reason that they propose an ethnographic approach to LL, which considers the present and past histories of the landscapes in place.

2.3. Multimodality

Studies done on linguistic landscapes have mostly been from a multimodal approach. Multimodality refers to the use of two or more modes in a communicative act or event. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:15), texts are constructed through different media, which may reflect different meanings in their interpretation. Multimodal texts therefore consist of images and written text that may also have differences in meaning between the visual image and the written text. The primary argument is that there has certainly been a shift towards the visual in modern times. The advent and rapid transformations of media and texts, generally, has been a catalyst to this shift.

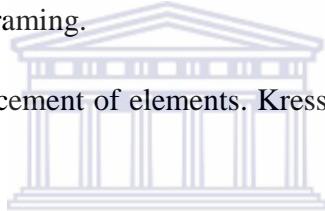
Kress and Van Leeuwen argue that text involves more than just language and that its interpretation can be influenced by what that given text is written on. That is, the kind of material which can be paper, wood, vellum, stone, metal and or rock etc; to what it is written with (gold, ink, (en)gravings, dots of ink etc), with letters formed in systems influenced by aesthetic,

psychological, pragmatic and other considerations, and with a layout imposed on the material substance, whether on the page, the computer screen or polished brass plaque.

In support, Carmida Silvestre (2008) describes language as one of the modes through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Images are described as another mode that plays the same role on their own in the same culture. In this study, language is seen as the privileged mode through which we make sense of the world, yet images also present concepts, ideas or feelings.

According to multimodal analysis, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), images present relations between people, places & the things they depict. They argue that in images, an important element to look at is the composition as a whole which is based on the representational and interactive meaning of a picture to each other through three (3) interrelated systems. These are the informational value, salience and framing.

Information value refers to the placement of elements. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:106) put it that:



Placing different elements in the upper and lower sections creates a structure called *ideal* or *real*. The elements of an image in the upper section are represented as *ideal*. Those in the lower section are represented as *real*. For something to be represented as ideal means that it is the generalised essence of the information and therefore its most salient part. The real is opposed to this and presents more specific, factual, or practically orientated information. The “ideal” is quite frequently represented as the “dream” or “aspiration” and the real the more mundane. They also argue that, Images can also be composed along the dimensions of *centre* and *margin*. The centre is presented as the nucleus of the information, whereas the margin is subservient or ancillary.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) salience can be seen as when elements which include participants are placed or made in such a way that it attracts the viewer’s attention to different degrees. This is done through various ways, including placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value or colour, or differences in sharpness. Framing on the other hand looks at how elements in a picture are connected or disconnected. Therefore, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) have come up with what they call the ‘Grammar of Visual Design’ not only as a way to understand how different modes are used for particular

communicative events, but also as a tool for interpretation and analysis. One key feature of multimodal texts is the use of “hybridity”, a kind of assimilation of genres that obscures boundaries of genres and ‘intertextuality’. The concept of intertextuality is referred to by O’Halloran (2004) as to account for the deliberate references, allusions or echoes that a writer makes to other widely known texts. He argues that text borrow from text that existed prior to them and use them for their own purpose. According to Graham (2000) intertextuality is therefore useful for readers as it is a vital function to help understand the past, present and the future of the text by drawing on texts already read, in order to interest the text currently being read.

This new reality calls for an all inclusive interpretation of the texts as totalities of communicative events rather than interpreting on mode in isolation. Since LL tends to use a mixture of texts, a multimodal approach is a favoured mode of analysis (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010, Banda 2009, Stroud & Mpundukana 2009, Shohamy & Gorter 2009). This thesis is therefore guided by the concepts discussed in the literature review that bind the use of language and text together with other modes of communication.

2.1.4. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of combining semiotics and multimodality in the study of LL. In addition LL needs to account for the history, material ethnography and the Geosemiotics related to the signage understudy (Scollon & Scollon 2003, Stroud & Mpundukana 2009). This theoretical underpinnings will be critical in the analysis of the LL undertaken in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design employed by the study by detailing the method that the study used to attain its aims. It explains the procedure and means by which this study was carried from the instruments that were used, the data collection method, gives an insight in the sampling method chosen and also the way the analysis and interpretation of the data was carried out.

3.1. Research Design

Like many studies done on LL, this study employs qualitative method of research. Qualitative research is an approach that cannot be reduced to any particular techniques nor set stages, but rather employs the use of dynamic processes which link together problems, theories and methods. Qualitative research is used to gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyle and it is used to inform business decisions, policy formation, communication and research. Among the formal approaches that qualitative research uses content analysis, ethnography, evaluation and semiotics. www.qsrinternational.com, Bryman and Burgess (1994).

According to Attriade-String (2001), the value of qualitative research lies in its explanatory power and by also paying a particular attention to the prospects that are unachievable without methodical rigor at all stages of the research processes from design, to fieldwork and to the Analysis. Accordingly, researchers when tasked with study that deals and calls for interpretation of data like pictures as is the case with most of LL material, they tend to focus mostly on repetitions, similarities and differences, missing data and also to sorting or metacoding techniques. The approach that this study focuses on is guided by Shohamy (2006) who states that LL research has so far focused on qualitative analysis of visual signs or linguistic objects, which tend to give attention to categories such as those of the presence of specific languages, the order

of appearance, size of letters and others. This study is also guided by multimodal analysis, Kress and Leeuwen (1996/2006) and borrows a lot from the multimodal approach employed by Shohamy and Gorter (2009) and Backhaus (2007) in analysing LL data.

In extending LL theory Banda (2009), contends that in multilingual contexts of Africa, LL needs to account for more than contested languages in contexts. It needs to be about the history and culture, which engendered the signs and the spaces on which they are placed. Moreover, LL needs to account for geosemiotics and multimodality: indexicality, dialogicality and rationale of selection. Scollon/Scollon (2003: 210,212) defines indexicality as ‘the property of the context-dependency of signs, especially language; hence the study of those aspects of meaning which depend on the placement of the sign in the material world’ whilst dialogicality is described as ‘the property of all discourse that it responds to prior discourse and anticipates subsequent discourse; that is, discourse always speaking to other discourses’.

Multilingualism and linguistic diversity are social and cultural realities which find focus in the jumbled, irregular, ‘ordered’ disorder constituted by the jungle of variations in LL configurations. This ordered ‘disorders’ of LL refers to the toppled objects with linguistic elements which can be made up of different discourses which can be found to carry different and diversity of linguistic meanings (cf. Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010). Examples of jumbled disorders can include among others signs put on top of each other (as found in this study) which is common in contested spaces but can also relate to disorganized, chaotic, and misplaced signs. Banda (2009) argues that the locality (neighbourhood) and space (e.g building) on which the LL is placed gives it meaning, so that the text in the same commercial advert may mean different things depending on where it is placed. The re-purposing and mobility of texts and cultural artefacts for local meanings across ethnic, regional (and even national), etc boundaries is a critical part of LL.

Banda (2009) further argues that in analyzing texts and other cultural artifacts, there is need to be sensitive to the uses to which local people and their target audience are putting these texts. This is in line with the argument that linguistic landscape texts often contain written messages targeting a specific audience in a location (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006); Shohamy and Gorter (2009). Atheide and Johnston (1994) further state that an analysis

of qualitative material is a necessarily subjective process capitalizing on the researchers' appreciation of the enormity, contingency and fragility of signification.

In terms of design and procedure, the researcher first identified zones based on georeferencing to guide the research. The research area which was initially divided into four (4) zones was later reduced to three. The original four zones were made up of (i) Parliament, (ii) Government and International Institutions near and around parliament, (iii) the Mall area and (iv) sites near the research area which the researcher deemed important to the general aims of the study. The research broke down the zones and incorporated data captured in Parliament with that of Government offices nearby as they were identical. The second zone was that of the mall and lastly the International companies and Embassies.

3.2. Data Collection Method

Data was collected for a period of two (3) months from November 2010 to January 2011. The Research focused primarily on Parliament of Botswana but paid a particular interest in other Government offices near Parliament, the mall area in the vicinity and the few Embassies and international firms nearest to the principal research area. A digital camera was used to capture pictures of linguistic landscapes found in the Research area. Following Hult (2009), methodologically, linguistic analysis of LL relies on photography and visual analysis. He purports, the core data gathering method is to engage in photography that thoroughly defines social spaces.

The central point of data collection was Botswana Parliament and the corpus that was collected amounted close to four hundred (400) digital photographs. Data collected included different types of signs, some bilingual and some monolingual and of various discourses from commercial, regulatory and mandatory and transgressive (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The data collected was then georeferenced. According to Barni and Bagna (2009), geoferencing implies that the data is linked not only to the place of collection but also to a precise location identified by geographical coordinates. These places of collection as raised above included Parliament of Botswana as the main research area and the places around it, particularly the mall and the International organizations

Unfortunately though, in some places of this study's interests, especially some international firms and foreign embassies and High Commissions' offices had strict protocol pertaining to the capturing of data on camera. It is therefore vital to declare that the findings of this study are partly reliant on the researcher's noted observations while on field research in areas where taking pictures or collection of data by means of a camera was prohibited.

3.3. Sampling

The study used purposive sampling for capturing of data relevant to the study. Purposive sampling is a type of sampling where a researcher's selection of data is deliberately based on their judgment guided by mainly the objectives and main subject of the research Patton (1990). As such the study adopted this sampling by selecting the cases that the researcher deemed more relevant and made up the characteristics that were central and tackled the issues at hand brought about by the goals of the study. In this regard, after taking three hundred and sixty six (366) photographs of signs, only thirty five (35) of such photographs were purposively selected for interpretation, discussion and analysis of the research. The selection was guided by the objectives and aims of the research laid down in the introductory chapter (1). Most of the data that is used in this research therefore were purposively collected from Botswana Parliament and its surrounds as it was the central and principle research area followed by the mall area

The purpose of concentration on the two areas was to draw the anticipated difference in the top-down and bottom-up signs contradiction as the two represent two different places in terms of authority. Focus on the data that were finally used to exemplify the findings were based on the patterns that kept recurring in the research areas and most of the patterns that were picked up as main themes were a representation of the majority of the signage captured and analysed.

As the data drawn from Parliament were found to be a reduplication of all types of signage found in and within the premises, the identical data were classified as one and thus reduction in the statistics of signs captured. The type of signage and distribution of language at Parliament and the Government offices surrounding it were also found to carry the same type of discourses and fell into same classes as such data collected from Parliament and the said offices were also categorized as one. In selecting what signage to use, the researcher used data that she thought

was going to be of value based on the objectives of the research guided though by the recurring patterns and lastly the themes from the codes as the data was classified and sieved to make the final findings.

3.4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis of data drawn by this research was based on thematic analysis. Jodi Aroson (1994) defines thematic analysis as an approach to dealing with data that involves the creation and application of ‘codes’ to data. Themes are defined as units derived from patterns such as recurring activities and are identified by bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experience which are often meaningless when viewed alone. Coding refers to the creation of categories in relation to the data which entails the grouping together of different instances of datum under an umbrella term that can enable them to be regarded as of the same type.

Following Attridge- Stirling (2001), in research like that of Linguistic Landscapes, themes are easy to pick. She describes themes as abstract constructs that link not only to expressions found in texts but also expressions found in images, sound and objects. She describes themes in all shapes and sizes, some broad, some more focused and specific.

In accordance with Aroson (1994) and Backhaus (2007), the process entailed taking of pictures which were then grouped according to different coding schemes, then analyzed unit by unit using the LL theory and multimodal analysis paying particular attention to types of signs, number of languages, amount of information, composition and size of languages on bilingual and multilingual signs.

Following Aroson (1994), Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) geosemiotics and borrowing from Backhaus’s (2007) coding scheme, the first step was to collect data according to the zones as given above, the second part of the stage entailed combining and cataloguing related sub themes drawing from Backhaus (2007)’s coding scheme variables where samples were drawn from different signs which were then coded and themed according to the type of sign whether it was a top-down or bottom-up. This scheme relied on some of the variables which included the amount of information on the sign, number of languages, composition and size of languages on bilingual and multilingual signs and also guided by the objectives of the research as stipulated in the first

chapter. Following Hult (2009: 132), ‘each photograph, associated with a precise geographical location, is classified unequivocally using a progressive number of identity, the observation and the actual photograph’.

The last step of the research necessitated for the analysis and interpretation of the findings by discussions where themes were used as a base to build arguments by support of the data in relation to the literature. The themes were categorized into two chapters (four and five) which follow. Chapter 4 which concentrates on Parliament, pools together patterns that made up themes which were mainly made of signs with municipal and infrastructural discourses while Chapter 5 encompasses the Main Mall and the International firms with the themes motivated mainly by commercial discourses.

3.5. Conclusion

This study follows the methodologies employed by other researchers such as Shohamy and Gorter (2009) and Shohamy, Ben- Rafael, and Barni (2010). They employ an eclectic approach combining descriptive, qualitative research and thematic analysis in the methodological and research design. For this reason, the data collected was not confined to the written text as monuments, grounds and the buildings on which the signage is placed formed part of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES OF LANDSCAPES IN AND AROUND PARLIAMENT

4.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the main trends that make Parliament of Botswana Linguistic Landscapes (LL). It takes a detailed focus at the distribution of languages on signage. The chapter also explores the quality of the translation between English and Setswana, and the minimalist approach (which will be explained in detail below), ambush and indirect advertising and marketing evident in the LL. The distribution and the use of colour and its politics and the political history and cultural heritage as resemiotized in the LL at the Parliament of Botswana are also discussed.

4.1. Towards an understanding of linguistic landscapes

As the general description of linguistics as a science of language is a known phenomenon that has been studied from different perspectives over time, there is a growing profound interest in the field and its link to the language and semiotics of landscapes and architecture, better known as Linguistic Landscapes an interest which this study attempts to unravel. For a long time, the most common mode of formal communication has been the written one. However, with globalization and the new era of technological advancement and the invention of the internet and digital communication, images and signs in general together with text have become new modes that form our everyday depiction of communication.

According to Claus (2004) signs do serve multiple functions beyond indexing, including marketing, advertising, way finding, providing information, building images, educating and creating a visually stimulating retail environment. Although words and symbols are open to a wider interpretation and understanding informed by culture, our experiences, background and context at which they are applied customarily differ. Botswana like most developing countries has adopted the use of standard signage common in most countries. Most of these have been

appropriated from the western world brought about by globalization. However, language and images may be ambiguous and people give different meanings to the same signs. This makes the study of signs, language and their meanings fascinating.

4.2. Parliament and the Language of LL

I begin the analysis by providing limited quantitative data on the distribution of languages in LL in and around Parliament. The focus is on the LL found in Parliament, its grounds and the mall area which is in its vicinity. The Table below presents the statistics:

Table 4.1: Language distribution within and around Parliament

Language	No. Parliament	%	No. The Mall	%	No. Total	%
Setswana	3	2.4	0	0	3	1.4
English	101	83.4	75	86.2	176	84.6
English and Setswana	17	14.0	7	8.0	24	11.5
Any other language	0	0	3	3.4	3	1.4
Any other + Setswana/ English or both	0	0	2	2.2	2	0.96
Total	121		87		208	

In Table 4.1 above, the research area surprisingly presents a monolingual view with Setswana used in less than the 5% of the signs displayed. The Table also shows that most of the signs, that is, more than 85% reveal monolingual practices with English taking precedence. This suggests the domination of English over other languages in LL. This is so despite that Setswana is the first language for at least 80% of the citizens as noted above, and that the language is the main language of verbal communication both in and out of offices including in some formal meetings.

The data in Table 4.1 shows further that English is undoubtedly the main language of LL. This is attested further in that all signs that comprised Setswana were bilingual and included English as the code preference. According to Jia Lou (2007) the choice of language and code preference in a sign can imply a lot about what language is spoken in such a location and also about the targeted reader. Scollon and Scollon (2003) define code preference as the relationship between two or more languages in bilingual or multilingual signs and pictures. According to this definition the preferred code will always be on top when the sign is horizontally divided and on the left when vertically divided. Figure 4.1 below illustrates this point aptly:



Figure. 4. 1: Placed at Ntlo ya Dikgosi entrance

This identical board can be found on the entrance to Parliament Chambers. Even though the signage can be said to have two languages, Setswana is hardly legible as it is surrounded by English verbiage. It is surprising that “Parliament of Botswana” has not been translated. The only part that has been translated relates to a warning or prohibition. However, the quality of the translation is also questionable as “House Sitting” and “*Go mo Phuthegong*” do not necessarily mean the same thing. The latter has nothing to do with a house sitting but rather suggest there is a meeting taking place. The messages or information presented on the same sign through the two languages are different, I will elaborate more on translation trends common in the research area in another section below.

Scollon & Scollon (2003) discuss the value of placement of signs in relation to code preference, where they state that the most preferred language always dominate the signs. Based on this argument, English is portrayed as the code of preference all round as it dominates the list in the distribution of languages found in the LL of the Parliament. In all of these landscapes, where English was found to be used with Setswana all the time, English was always given a prominent status as it was the main language of the ‘sign’ in addition to according it the top slot on the signage. Additionally, providing it enough information space compared to Setswana. This argument can thus be applied to all the bilingual signs that the research considered as English always enjoyed the preferred status of prominence (see Figure 4. 1).

Code preference is not only in terms of the horizontal juxtapositioning of languages, but also where such signage is placed. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 210) define placement as “the act of placing a sign in a physical location to activate its meaning; the meaning that derives from such an action; the study of such meanings”. Figure 4.2 below shows a sign dominated by English and placed in the main gardens. This gives prominence to English in an area where people usually mingle formally and informally after deliberations.



Figure 4. 2: Signage placed at Parliament's main gardens

It is also interesting to note that as if it is a strategy to market English, the signage is assembled in fancy modern glass boards. Figure 4.2 above is arguably Parliament's main information source for outsiders by virtue of intended purpose and function. Its main function is to direct and give information to various stakeholders or customers of Parliament coming to the different offices that service the daily requests of the institution.

Gorter (2006), stipulates that among the criteria of designing signs, they must include the following; comprehensiveness, legibility and conspicuity. Accordingly, a sign must be easy to understand, be readable from a distance and within a very short space of time, and be distinguishable from other signs. This means that signs must sell the place and vice versa. The signs must thus be part of any given architecture on that given space and the two ought to complement each other to give the place an image. The designing, the placement and what is part of the sign must be premeditated and employ the consideration of different users that make up the circle starting from the designer to the end user. In this regard, one would expect at least to have the reverse side written in Setswana. However, this is not the case as the following Figure 4.3 which is basically the reverse side of Figure 4.2 shows:



Figure 4.3: Signage placed at Parliament main gardens (reverse of Fig. 4.2.)

It should be pointed out that, apart from the black arrows pointing to different directions, the sides are identical. They are both in English and the effort is wastefully duplicated in the same language (English). The reverse side of the board could have been a Setswana version of the other side to cater for Seswana speakers as the language is also used as language of debates and communication in Parliament. In the sign, the only Setswana used is the name, Ntlo ya Dikgosi which translates to House of Chiefs. For an outsider, the inscription of Ntlo ya Dikgosi appears like a translation of Secretary when it is not and should have instead read as ‘Secretary to Ntlo Ya Dikgosi’ or the brackets replaced by a dash (-) sign.

The question is: does this then mean majority of the people who visit parliament or who are supposed to visit the institution and are targeted by the sign expected to speak and understand English and is it accessible to many as opposed to Setswana. Although one can argue that English is an international language and its practically user friendly as it is a language of the majority, and that Parliament is a national body that is a member of a number of international bodies and organizations, the fact is that most of the non-Setswana speakers who come to Parliament do so usually during official events by invitation and are usually accompanied and guided by Parliament Staff and Members of Parliament who are already familiar with the geography of the place. Parliament is frequented mainly by civil servants, heads and members of private institutions and organizations, journalists and ordinary Batswana, the majority of whom speak Setswana more often than English in and outside offices. The foreigners who visit Parliament are usually dignitaries who are always accompanied and guided to the respective places of Parliament.

Furthermore, the board sign could have served the intended purpose better if it was placed by the main entrance to Parliament grounds where it could be accessed by all entrants. Although it is practically placed on the central location, in the main gardens, it is lowly placed in between trees. The board is taken mostly by the image of Parliament which is used as its logo with its motto which is also in English ‘Our Parliament Our Pride’ occupying most top part of the board followed by the Coat of Arms. In terms of information value the motto and the words of Parliament of Botswana are written in English in big bold letters which enhances its visibility

and attraction to the viewers than the case is with Setswana thus promoting its official and social status (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

4.3. Language representation and the power and influence of translation on LL

It is not uncommon for Setswana translations to be direct (and/or partial) from English as illustrated by the landscapes above and as it shall be raised in interpretation of Figure 4.1. According to Bassnett-McGuire (1988: 2), ‘translation involves the rendering of a source language (SL) text into the target language (TL) so as to ensure that the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structure will be seriously distorted’.

As pointed out in the earlier parts of this thesis, all the signs that were found to be in Setswana were bilingual that included English as the main language. English was also discovered to be the source language and Setswana the target language of translation. In all the bilingual signs, English seemed to have been translated in order to transmit the message in Setswana. In as much as the idea is a good one, the translation does not fully transmit the message as it is represented in English. Additionally, the translated signs make a very small percentage of the data as indicated in Table 4.1 to be said to have any informational value on the intended target audience. Furthermore, in most cases the translations were found to have partial, direct and/or with diluted meaning during the translation process while some were limiting to equivalence of words and phrases used.

Drawing motivation from the intended function of translated language in a text, Nord (1991) places the value of translation on the basis of the contention that being culture-bound linguistic signs, both the source text and the target text as illustrated are determined by the communicative situation in which they serve to convey the message. According to this argument a consideration has to be drawn from the function of the intended message and what influences such translation in that situation. This research uses some of the notable few signs that were in both languages to argue that the Setswana found in the premises of Parliament was sourced from English as the primary language and that in all signs there was always something wide of the mark with translation trends and models employed.

Taking into consideration the technicality of translation and the theory that is employed when translating different languages, the study raises a few arguments pertaining to the (non) methods employed in translating the signs found in the research area. The following signs raise some of the noted translation trends discovered by the study and the domination of English in this is further revealed even where signs have been ‘translated’. In support, Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that in trends where signs bear multilingualism and translation practices such signs do not only display a duplication of information but also displays a clear separation of languages as it has been noted with the use of Setswana and English in this research.

Figure 4.4 below is one of the few bilingual signs found in the premises of parliament. The message in Setswana is partially translated with English given a preference of a better code than Setswana by virtue of English carrying the focal message and by the code’s placement as argued in the preceding discussions.



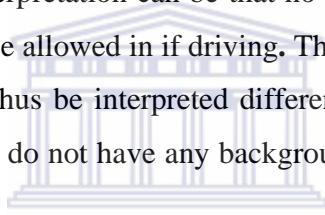


Figure 4.4: On fence by entrance to MPs and staff offices

The sign is first on sight as you walk into the grounds of Parliament coming through the main entrance. The sign is affixed on the fence closer to the entrance to offices for MPs and some Parliament staff offices block (referred to as Annex 1). English as in most of the bilingual signs found in the research area makes a better part of the sign by placement and informational value. The sign informs its English readers as to who the premises houses by stipulating that it is 'Parliamentarian Premises' and that there is no trespassing whilst Setswana speakers are just instructed '*gago ralalwe*' meaning no trespassing without being given a clue as to why that is so or provide an alternative option. An English speaker will immediately have an idea that s/he is in Parliament but maybe the wrong office block depending on the purpose of the visit. Although it does not say '*gago tsenwe*' or no entry, the sign sends a strong message for the Setswana non-English speakers. The Setswana non-English language speakers are denied the vital information that the premises houses, 'their' Members of Parliament.

The notice is not welcoming in Setswana and its language functional value is limited to English. The sign has adopted the notion of partial translation as the message is clearer in English. The notice would have served multiple functions of directing and informing its users of where to find information as there is no other sign to that effect near it. One will assume trespassing is allowed in Parliament but not at these particular premises as there is no sign/s addressing the public on such at the assumed main entrances but this one is meant for the one particular office block.

For some people pictures communicate more than words and for some, one language is more preferred than the other depending on whether written or verbal. Images used with text can help diffuse and give a sign further clarity on its meaning for other people while it can work as a contradiction for others. If relying on the picture alone, the symbol can have multiple meanings depending on the context of placement. In this case the symbol can be considered or depicted to mean no men allowed, another interpretation can be that no walking is allowed and so one may think or get the idea that they can be allowed in if driving. The multiple meanings of the sign and the image that accompany it can thus be interpreted differently by different language speakers and also differently by people who do not have any background on interpretation and reading of signs and symbols.



Although the colour and the font used on the sign is the same for both languages, English, as earlier noted, is given the upper hand as it is put on top and occupies most of the sign, whilst Setswana is put right at the bottom with fractional information limited to the prohibition of trespassing. The use of the colour red on the pictogram can here be associated with its western symbolic association for, urgency, danger and hostility and is known to promote expectations and quick decision making while the colours used with it for the text can be traced to power and formality. Although the above explanation of the use of red may apply, this then questions the politics of colour and its significance to different people of different backgrounds as discussed in the later part of the discussion.

Figure 4.5 below is yet another example of a partially translated signage. In the message in the sign, the Setswana part of the sign, when fully translated will read as ‘when there is fire use steps, do not use the lift’. In the English version it goes beyond this to explain that in the event of fire one should not use the lifts and should ‘exit down’ the stairs.



Figure 4. 5: By lifts in Annex 1 and Annex 2

The fully translated Setswana version should have read '*Fa go sha, le seka la dirisa dilifiti, dirisang direpodi go fologela ko tlase*'. In the English version, the author refers to all lifts as they is use of plural in the form of 'lifts', the Setswana version only refers to this particular lift as it does not say *dilifiti* but rather *lifiti*. The message intended or targeted for those who will understand or choose to read only the Setswana version is totally different from one meant for English readers. The Setswana reader will not know that they need to exit down stairs or that they should not use any other lift in the case of fire.

This warning sign which is very important to the user of this lift, has the presence of the designer or producer in the form of the choice of language and type of writing used but perhaps no consideration of the Setswana end user. Interestingly though the author has adopted the use of diacritics (Š) which is hardly used in print. The sign lack proper translation which may be traced

to the core problem of English always being the source language and the language being the code of preference.

The two signs that follow in the discussion below are a further illustration of loss of meaning brought about by mistranslation in which wrong words were used and equivalents not considered resulting into the production of two totally different messages. The signs are placed on opposite sides in the gardens of Parliament. Although the two figures (4.6 and 4.7), below at first glance may be taken to transmit same message by someone who is conversant with both languages Setswana and English, the two are totally different.



Figure 4.6: Signage in English placed in the Parliament Gardens



Figure 4.7: Signage in Setswana placed in the Parliament Gardens

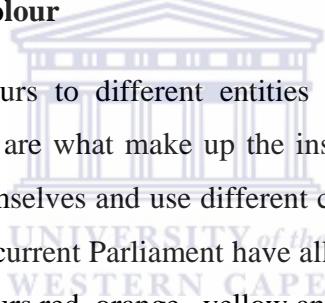
These signs carry two different messages, targeted at two different language speakers and they use different tones in addressing the different language speakers. The message in Figure 4.6 in English reads: PLEASE DO NOT TRESPASS, SIT OR SLEEP IN THE GARDERN. THANK YOU, whilst the message in Figure 4.7, after translation from Setswana into English reads as: *NO TRASPASSING, SITTING/STAYING, LYING DOWN ON THE GRASS. WE THANK YOU.* The two signs were possibly meant to transmit the same message, however, it is clear from the renditions above that Figure 4.6 prohibits trespassing, sleeping and sitting in the ‘garden’ while Figure 4.7 prohibits sitting, lying down on the grass. The Setswana word ‘senne’ which is used in figure 4.7 can arguably be interpreted to mean three (3) different things (1) do not stay, (2) do not hang around or (3)do not sit and worse yet it is used ambiguously in the sign together with the word *rapame* which means to lie down/lying down.

The Setswana sign when translated will read as: *NO TRESPASSING, SITTING (SIC), OR LYING DOWN ON THE LAWN, WE THANK YOU.* The two signs are not placed on the same place but do make up the landscape, they are placed in two opposite places or parts of opposite location in

the gardens but are related as they are expected to serve the same intended message that prohibits people from using the gardens for relaxation. Further the two forms of resting are used differently in the two signs with different tones used in relaying the message. In the first sign in English, for example, the pardon word ‘please’ is used while in the second sign in Setswana there is no equivalence of such used.

The data clearly shows that when a sign uses Setswana only, it is being employed for giving warnings and prohibitions. The problem that arises with this kind of approach to the use of Setswana language is that it will be associated with negative activities which by extension might imply that only the Setswana speakers are prone to going contrary to civil laws. With its negative association and minimal use in such places as Parliament, this would tend to discourage multilingualism which is reflective of ground level language use.

4.4. Parliament and Politics of colour



The association of different colours to different entities is no exception to the culture of Parliament. The politics of colour are what make up the institution as the political parties that constitute the House associate themselves and use different colours as their brands. The four (4) political parties represented in the current Parliament have all espoused the use of black and then as their primary or main party colours red, orange , yellow and green respectively.

The politics of colour as such have not spared Linguistic landscapes of the Parliament as colours that make up the walls, fences and anything that Scollon and Scollon (2003) describe as space, are guarded against promoting and displaying colours that may instill a sense of unequal support for one political body against the other. As such Parliament as an institution that houses different political parties has shied away from the use of and/or display of colours associated with political parties and has since adopted the use of natural and neutral colours to avoid risking political bias.

For instance, like most of the Botswana government offices, Parliament has adopted the blue, white and black colours of Botswana flag as the main colours used on most of their official signage and for their image and brand of Parliament together with the Coat of Arms. ‘The colours of Botswana flag, which are the same as those on the coat of arms, have different symbolic meanings to the country and its people. The blue represents rain or water, the black and

white symbolizes the racial harmony of the country's people as well as the pluralist nature of the society while the stripes that take up the shape of the colours are inspired by zebra, the national animal of Botswana'. www.worldflags101.com/b/Botswana-flag. Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9 below illustrates this fact of use of colour at Parliament.



Figure 4.8: Sign along Parliament corridors

As illustrated in Figures 4.8 above and 4.9. 4.10 below, as well as the ones used in Figures 4.1 to 4.3 above, the colours adopted by Parliament are mainly white, black and blue. These colours are dominant in almost all the signs found in the premises of Parliament.



Figure 4.9: Garden fence at Parliament

It is also noticeably clear that the décor of Parliament is guided by the same colours which restrict the even distribution of other colours as seen in figure 4.9 above where the colours are used on the garden fence. The same politics of colour have also been extended to members of staff who are without any formal directive, discouraged, restricted and limited to some colours against ones labeled political as the expectation is that they serve and administer the duties of Parliament without any bias. This practice of limitation and restriction of colours has not excluded the public who are at all times reminded and discouraged not to wear party colours when attending the proceedings of Parliament. The sign below (Figure 4.10) also further illustrates the use of blue, black and white colours, here used on a poster that displays the vision and mission statement of the institution.



Figure 4.10: On notice board in main and Annex 1 reception areas at Parliament

Despite the colour red's association with the ruling party, the colour contributes to the landscapes mostly in warning and regulatory signs as is the standard around the world. As in Figures 4.4, 4.6 and 4.7, the colour is used in text and at times in symbols used with a white background.

4.5. The Political History & Cultural Heritage that makes up Parliament LL

The landscapes that make up Parliament of Botswana depicts mostly symbols of the past and the present political history of the Republic of Botswana. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) advocate for material ethnography and argue that ethnographic approach considers the present and the past histories of the landscape in place. Similarly, according to Backhaus (2005), the study of LL can give an insight in the historical outlook of a place as it also involves studying cultural heritage. He describes language as a part of cultural heritage, as the sustainable development of linguistic diversity is seen as an important aspect of our heritage. Figure 4.11 provides posters and calendar with portraits of current MPs and Maloko a Dikgosi:



Figure 4.11: Office in Annex 2: current Mps, Maloko a Ntlo Ya Dikgosi and 2010 calendar

The past histories and the present of Parliament and indeed of Botswana are displayed all around Parliament in the form of historical discourses through framed posters of former and current

Presidents of Botswana, Ministers, Speakers of Members of Parliament and Dikgosi as shown in Figures 4.11 above and 4.12 below.

By making use of historical landscape, Parliament has managed to preserve and showcase the history of the country as the place is regarded as part of important historical and educational attraction due to the monuments, the statue and other historical landscapes found in its environs. In relating the language of monuments and generally art itself to LL, Abousnnouga and Machin (2010) stress how semiotic resources in monuments can be used to communicate particular discourses, identities, values and events. Figure 4.12 below captures chiefs and former presidents and thus acts as a historical monument.

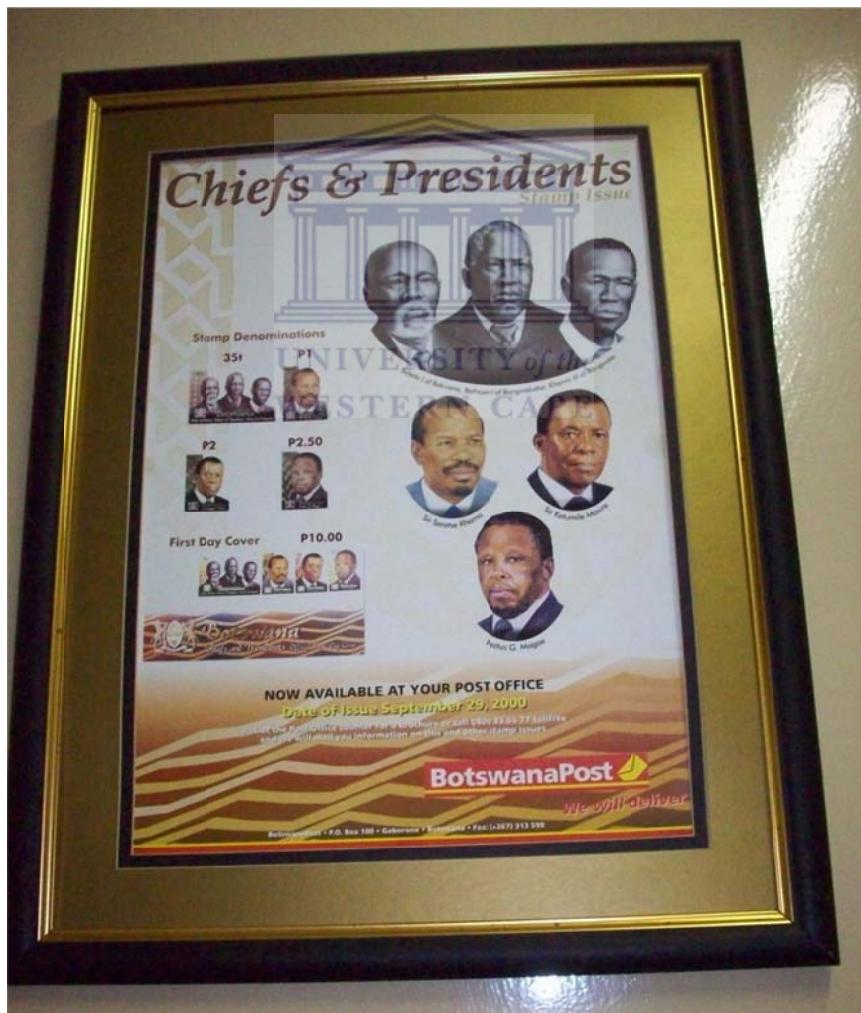


Figure 4.12: Poster of Chiefs and former Presidents in Main reception area

The framed poster in figure 4.12 above, designed and distributed by Botswana Post, pride itself with the tale of the rich history of Botswana from the early years when the country was still called Bechuanaland to after its independence. The poster is a very unique and extraordinary landscape as it tells the story of the history of Botswana through its leaders in the form of Traditional (Chiefs) and Political (former Presidents) leaders. Pictured on the right top part of the poster in black are the three (3) Chiefs, Khama of the Bangwato, Bathoeng of Bangwaketse and Sebele of Bakwena who led a delegation that travelled to England in 1895 to ask the British for Protection. Below the Chiefs, the poster has the former Presidents, the First President Sir Seretse Khama (1966-1980), Sir Ketumile Masire who took over from the former (1980-1998) and Festus Mogae (1998- 2008).

The walls are also decorated with posters of Cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament from the early years to the current together with Speakers from the first Parliament to the current 10th Parliament. See Figure 4.13.





Figure 4.13: Poster of Former Cabinet Members (1995)

This type of décor is among the most common displays that make up the landscape of the indoors of the institution. These “decorations” can be said to be part of the Geosemiotics of Parliament. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), the placement of language in the material world and the meaning of signs and discourses and the meaning of our actions in and among those discourses in place is an important aspect of Linguistic landscapes. In this regard, in order to understand the Bakhtin’s dialogicality of the signs that make up the LL, we need to study and interpret signs in and around Botswana Parliament in totality and as Geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003).

According to Abousnnouga and Machin (2010), objects of art find their way into public spaces and as such their shape and form can teach us much about the attitude, values and politics of a particular time and place. The war monument in Figures 4.15 and 4.16, respectively and the statue in Figure 4.14 are all used by the authorities to disseminate specific representation of events and time. Art uses semiotic resources in this form to tell stories of the past. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) argue in support of this that images can communicate a multiple messages and transform the landscape and the way people view their presence. They argue that the surface realization of an image which is defined as the truth or modality or visual modality or the degree to which the surface of the statue is realised is the same kind of detail as a figure in real life. The size of such a statue which is normally associated with power and the materials used on it also add much to the intended communicational realisation of putting such a piece of art in the given place.

The first President of the country who was also the Chief of the Bangwato tribe and passed away in 1980 is celebrated and makes landscapes rich in the form of a statue located in the gardens of Parliament (Figure 4.14). Born in 1921, Sir Seretse Khama who is the father to the current President of Botswana, Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama, became the President of Botswana with the first elections in 1965 until he died in 1980.



Figure 4.14: Statue of the first President Sir Seretse Khama

Sculptured by British stateman Norman Pearce, until 2008 the statue was facing the mall and the war memorial discussed below, with its back to Parliament but now faces Parliament building. The statue is a symbol of appreciation for Sir Seretse Khama's dedication to the country and hence honours his contribution to the history and the legacy that make Botswana today.

Borrowing from Abousnnouga and Machin (2010), in analyzing World War 1 statues, they argue for statues as a motivated socially situated use of semiotic resources and a deliberate attempt to take up public space and communicate political values on everyday basis. If this is anything to go by, the erection of the statue of the first President and the war memorial (Figures 4.15 and 4.16) in Parliament gardens are not only a symbol of the past but also of the values, commitment and appreciation of the past without necessarily using language. The war memorial entails and

boasts plaques with inscription of the honorable men who fought and died for the country under the Botswana Defence Force. This war memorial and the statue are some of the attractions that Parliament offers to people who visit it. Below is the war memorial statue:



Figure 4.15: War memorial statue at Botswana Parliamnet

These landscapes are able to tell a particular story of the political and historical struggle of the country, its road to democracy and the commitment of its people. At the same time they honour the memories of heroes of the past thereby adorning the gardens to make them of significance. This is in support that the interpretation and the emplacement of signs in the material world go a long way in the distribution of language and meaning. Although all these tell a fundamental history of the country it is interesting to note that, they are surrounded by English. The statue, the war memorial and Botswana Traditional leaders are all constructed and presented in English. A

further illustration of the LL of Parliament includes the inscription of names of soldiers who died in war as in Figure 4.16 below:



Figure 4.16: (Closer view of Figure 4.15) Inscription of names of Soldiers

4.6. Parliament and the Minimalist Approach on LL

Despite its rich historical landscapes, Parliament of Botswana was discovered to have a lot of unused potential spaces. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 216) refer to space as to the objective, physical dimensions and characteristics of a portion of the earth or built environment; often defined by sociopolitical ideologies and powers; contrasted by geographers with place.

Further, Scollon and Scollon (2003), argue that discourses in particular places shape and are constrained by the built environment as well as the interaction order that governs the people who use urban spaces, they give four (4) factors to be considered in geosemiotics being the social actor or the habitus of individual humans, the interaction order in which they conduct their social

lives, visual semiotics they encounter and the place semiotics in which all of this happens including all the other signs, equipment and their emplacement or location in time and space in the material world. Following Scollon and Scollon's above reckoning and indeed the general study of LL, as much as images and text may communicate and symbolize different things, an empty space like the notice board in Figure 4.17 also communicate a given meaning according to the situation and its placement in time and the location of that space within the material world. Although this research has by far proven that Parliament boasts of a rich diversity of linguistic landscapes, another finding that the research discovered was the notable notion of minimal approach to LL in place which I defined as unused empty potential spaces. As in the empty notice board in Figure 4.17 below and in illustrations that follow, there is unexpectedly minimal use of space as in such a busy and place of such important semiosis.

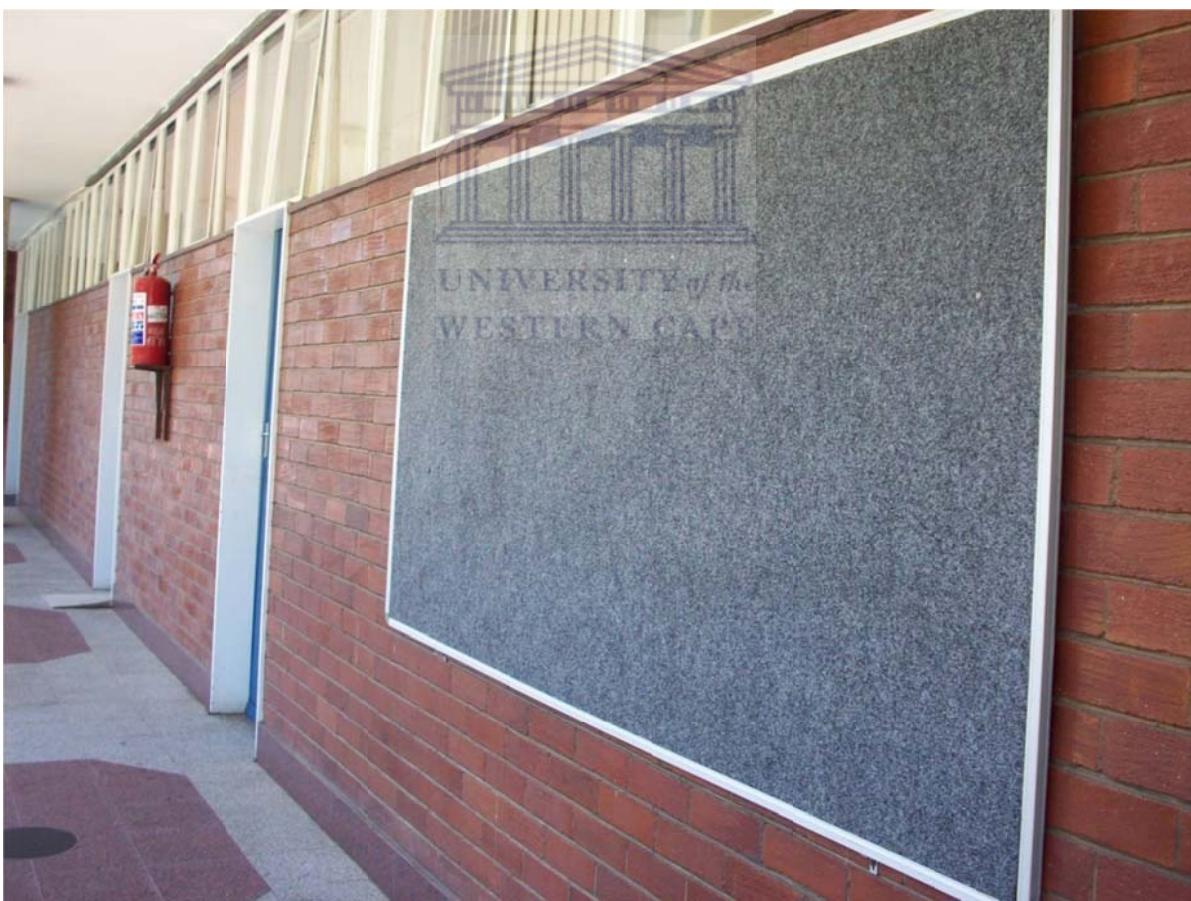


Figure 4.17: Notice board located between Members' lounge & Pigeon hole room

This minimal use of space can be attributed to a variety of reasons brought about by politicizing the place itself to accommodate people of different political backgrounds and the semiotic practices that can influence the interpretation of any landscape. What is put on the walls and grounds of such a place as Parliament can go a long way in making meaning for a given group against the other and creating discourses that may be interpreted differently in different situations and backgrounds and appear as a milestone for one and let down for another in political and presentational terms.

Apart from the high chances of the minimal approach being influenced by semiotic interpretation which is always being scrutinized for and based on political judgments to accommodate all, research shows the notion of minimal approach in Parliament of Botswana is also influenced and motivated by technology. LL advocates for analysis based on multimodality hence technology makes part of a different mode of communication. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006)'s notion of multimodality, the computer and other technologies make part of semiotic resources.

Figure 4.18 demonstrates an example of almost empty walls with only the inscription of the office name (Parliament Annexe) and the symbol of the Coat of Arms. The use of symbols is another way of distribution of communication on LL as they do have their own meanings and significance, this is supported by Shohamy and Waksman in Shohamy and Gorter (2009) who state that language is embedded in a variety of semiotics. With the era of electronics, digital technology, tele and cellular phones, the internet, websites and emails and, together with visual images, distribution of information has become a fusion of multiple modes of communication.



Figure 4.18: Annex 1: Empty walls

With the computer technology adopted by Botswana Parliament and equal opportunities of such literacy given to the Staff and Members of Parliament, there is minimal distribution of printed information internally as most officers and all MPs have emails and most internal communication is thus done online. This adoption of computer age with communication online and the multimodal artifacts used may be blamed for empty and unutilized spaces.

4.7. Disordered Orders

As supported by signs used in earlier arguments and in the argument to follow, patterns of haphazard placement are a common phenomenon in the linguistic landscapes of the research area. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003) the most fundamental aspect of geosemiotic is having to do with language in the material world. They advocate the geosemiotic meaning of the sign to depend on where on the earth it is placed. The emplacement of signs has to be taken as an

art in that a right sign put at the wrong place, with wrong language used can have a great impact on the whole landscape of a semiotic space. The art of emplacement has to take into consideration, among others, the concepts of purpose and function, targeted audience, location and space as well as code preference.

There seem to be no order in the placement of the landscapes especially in the indoor walls and corridors where there is a regular pattern of ‘jangle discourses’, especially the ones the research labeled historical in the cases of posters of past Parliaments. The placement of such signs around parliament were found to be just random as one would find as an example in the main reception area the 1985, 1995 followed by a 2004-2009s’ posters of cabinet or MPs the poster in Figure 4.13 shows an example of such posters. There is no sign of other parliaments in place as in what one also finds in the MPs offices’ reception area (Annex 1) where you get a 1980 (Figure 4.19) and 2004-2009 poster. There is no clear picture as to why other years are missing or other posters of particular years are placed in one particular area and not the other or why the different landscapes are found in some offices and not others. The Figure below shows the 1980 Parliament placed in Annex 1 at the reception area:

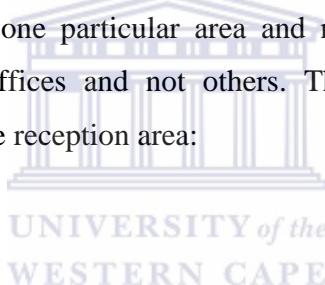




Figure 4.19: 1980 Members of Parliament placed in Annex 1 Reception area

The only attempts made to fill up this gap are in the form of framed pictures of former Speakers of the house placed along the corridor leading to the current Speaker's, her deputy and their administrators' offices. Here the pictures of former speakers are neatly lined sequentially in uniform by the years of each parliament and the information regarding their full names and year of service on each picture are given.

Apart from the non-chronological history in place noted above, there is also the common outdated discourses that make the landscape as illustrated in figure 4.20 and 4.21. Makeshift office naming as illustrated vividly in figure 4.20 is a common sight. The trend of do it yourself

office naming seem to be influenced by movement of officers to different offices and new designations. This practice leads to different types and versions or variations of such signs found on office doors.



Figure 4.20: Makeshift office naming

As officers are shifted around the office names are not updated. This practice is however interestingly common with staff in the main Parliament building and hardly with Members of Parliament who enjoy the luxury of updated office naming whenever there is a reshuffle of offices.

There also seem to be no constant or strict measures pertaining to the placement and time of signs and the maintenance of the notice boards. Following Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of geosemiotics, time and space interact with each other and their relationship to place goes a long way in the interpretation of signs. How and where a particular type of discourse is placed will determine how it is understood and utilised. Notably, the only on sight public notice board

placed by the entrance to the main reception area had mostly stale information with some documents that were dated back to three months and invitation to football matches played two to three months prior. This is illustrated on the board in Figure 4.21 below.

Thus, although the board is strategically placed by the entrance to the main building, it ends up not serving the right purpose besides it not being of any attraction to people as it is known not to be of any value and end up being neglected and resulting in potential waste of space.



Figure 4.21: Locked notice board

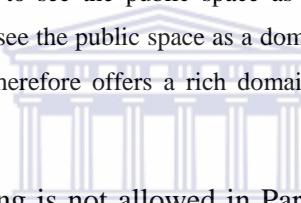
The notion of emplacement and disordered orders stated above coalesce very well with that of minimal approach that was discussed earlier. As Scallon and Scallon (2003:169) point out that:

Spaces may be designed ranging from very close specification to the needs of particular types of social interaction to very loose, multi-purpose spaces... many spaces are not at all that carefully designed in the first place. They simply reflect a loose and conflicting aggregate of considerations having little to do with the social use of those spaces but which, in time, because they are suitable to some uses and not others come to take on those meanings quite unintentionally.

4.8. Ambush Marketing and Advertising

The reputation of Parliament and the unused potential spaces in place and the minimal consideration given to the material in place as discussed in this chapter, influences and offers indirect opportunities for ambush marketing and advertising in Parliament. According to Macmillian Dictionary (2011), ambush marketing is a marketing strategy where a company attempts to capitalize on reputation and popularity of a particular event or place indirectly. It is also referred to as ‘parasite marketing’, Burnett and Moriarty (1998).

Although Parliament is a public space that is open to people of all lifestyles, the space is monitored and controlled and so is the landscapes that make up the space. In support, Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 3) state that:

A faint watermark of the University of Western Cape logo is visible in the background of the page. The logo features a classical building facade with four columns and the text "UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE".
“ideologues and politicians tend to see the public space as an arena to exercise influence and deliver messages and so do corporations see the public space as a domain for marketing and advertising with huge financial interests at stake. LL therefore offers a rich domain of ‘real life’, authentic language in very dynamic and energetic uses.”

Even though commercial advertising is not allowed in Parliament, some companies, especially those that supply the institution with different products and services, know parliament is visited and frequented by important people that include decision makers and business people, thus they look for loopholes for free advertising rides by use of advertising codes. The bottom-up signs found in Parliament grounds were mainly commercial signage which in most cases came with suppliers of services used by Parliament ordered from private companies who left footprints on their products in the form of company names and brands. See Figure 4.22 and 4.23 below:



Figure 4.22: New Beginning poster placed on top of Parliament posters

An example of a company which indirectly advertises its services is one found in at least two reception areas of Parliament. As in Figure 4.22, the poster of the said company is placed on top of Parliamentary discourses. This is a company that deals with motivational and personal growth empowerment workshop and surely, the target market will be MPs, staff and the general public people come to Parliament hence the indirect advertisement termed motivational discourse above.

As is also with Figure 4.23 below, the company that collects garbage from the ground of Parliament as well took an opportunity of indirect advertising by ensuring that they are not only providing the service they were contracted for but marketing their brand to the general public too. They do this by displaying their services and contact details on the garbage bins spread around the grounds of Parliament. Figure 4.23- below illustrates this point:



Figure 4.23: Clean Cities and Town's bin displaying brand marketing

This is not the only company that has taken advantage of unexploited spaces to advertise on but equally the Botswana Post framed poster with Dikgosi and former presidents with the Botswana Post brand name standing out from the image (see Figure 4.12) discussed on historical discourses.

According to Kitchen (1999:144), in order for marketing message-making to be meaningful to consumers they must be placed within the consumers' cultural frame of reference. He argues that :

"when messages are seen as part of one's current milieu, it is often much harder to see the kinds of message codes that are at work. The 'strings of signs' which constitute marketing messages must, in order to carry semantic value target audiences that make use of symbols that are currently culturally relevant. Well constructed promotional messages make use of symbols which are so fundamental to the current way of understanding the cultural world that they are not even noticed."

Accordingly, in relation to the advertising discourses found in the grounds of Parliament, although the Botswana post poster has very important images and relevant discourses, it is indirectly marketing its brand and products or being directly marketed by just having its brand displayed in the area as in also the other landscapes discussed above.

As such Parliament of Botswana can be said to display a diversity of Linguistic landscapes mainly in the form of top-down signs. Although it cannot be said to be a place of language diversity as it is clear on issues of language preference in LL, the general landscapes are an assortment of a touch of almost all discourses as it displays a multimodal stand in LL.

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main trends that make up Parliament of Botswana Linguistic Landscapes (LL). It has provided a detailed focus at the distribution of languages on signage. The analysis has revealed monolingual practices with English taking precedence with Setswana trailing behind and no other Botswana language used in the language of LL. The chapter has also explored the quality of the translation between English and Setswana and argued that translation on bilingual signs was always questionable. The issue of minimalist approach, where the study revealed unused potential spaces and empty walls was also looked at. This chapter also discussed the chaotic orders of LL in the form of outdated discourses, improvised office naming and random placement of posters.

Although Parliament does not advocate commercial marketing and advertising, the study disclosed a tendency of ambush and indirect advertising and marketing where companies constructed to provide goods and services took advantage of the popularity of the place and left their footprints. The distribution and the use of colour and its politics evident were also analysed with discovery of colours at play found to be restricted mainly to the blue, white and black colours of the National flag. The analysis also looked at political history and cultural heritage as resemiotized in the LL. It revealed Parliament landscape is rich in historical and cultural discourses. Examples of the historical discourses discussed include that of the value carried by the statue of the first President and the war memorial found in the gardens and posters of former political leaders found in most walls of corridors and offices of Parliament. However and

interestingly, these historical discourses and cultural heritage lose some of their meaning as they are constructed in English which is at best a foreign language.

The next chapter discusses Linguistic Landscape in the Parliament neighborhood.



CHAPTER FIVE

LINGUSITIC LANDSCAPES IN THE PARLIAMENT NEIGHBOURHOOD

5.0. Introduction

This chapter looks at what constitutes Linguistic Landscaping in the places surrounding the Parliament of Botswana particularly the interaction of language and semiotics in the Mall area (\pm 500m away). It also tries to establish if there is influence of international organizations and embassies around Parliament on LL. The discussion also pays particular attention to the use of foreign names adopted by many shop owners and common with many of the LL in the Mall. There is also an attempt to observe what sells in a sign by analyzing the different types of signs used as an advertising and marketing tools. Finally yet importantly, the symbols that are used by different countries as a significance of identity are also highlighted and discussed.

5.1. The Linguistic Landscape of the Mall

In comparing Parliament and the Mall, I found that the latter has mainly signage made of bottom-up signs. Most of these are in the form of shop signs, adverts that range from digital and electronic, to hand written. The other difference is on the emplacement of such signs, which varied from stems of trees to walls, big visual billboards and to street vendors.

The architecture of a place, indeed, is widely determined by actions accumulated over decades, if not centuries under the influence of natural conditions, culture and external circumstances (Rodanini 1981). This, accordingly, makes sense to the architecture of ‘The Main Mall’ as it is traditionally called. Traced back to the 1960s when the city was starting to take shape, the mall was part of the landscape that made up one of the few attractions of Gaborone City as it was intended to be the new city centre. Today the mall retains its central role as home to numerous shops and offices and still boasts of landscapes of the oldest and overtime revamped buildings. With time, it has attracted advanced types of landscapes to go with the modern times as illustrated by data to be discussed below (See also, www.Botswana.World-guides.com).

The Mall which is practically less than 500 metres away from Parliament, as illustrated in Figure 5.1, tells a story different from the latter in terms of semiotic distribution and the diversity of discourses, with no variation in the language choice and circulation as English is still the code of choice. The space between the two places is marked and separated as illustrated in Figure 5.1 along Khama Crescent, a two-way road whose name is synonymous to the past and current history of Botswana and to the landscapes of the research area as discussed in the previous chapter, that is, with regard to the mentioned Khamas being the lineage of Chiefs of Bangwato Tribe: Kgosi Khama III, Sir Seretse Khama (first President) and the current President Lieutenant General Seretse Khama.



Figure 5.1: Space between Parliament gardens and the Mall

(note the war monument discussed in the previous chapter visibly protruding between the trees on the other side of the road opposite the bus-stop).

5.1.1 The Main Mall and the Language on LL

Despite the more than 20 languages practically spoken within the borders of Botswana, and the expected influence of other languages brought about by the influx of foreigners, the languages that made up the architect of environs of the Mall were partly limited to English excluding the signs found on commercial discourses in form of foreign shops or business names. Despite the Zimbabweans thought to be making the majority of foreigners in Botswana, there was no footprints of their languages found in the LL. Interestingly though, apart from a bit of Setswana found, which was only in bilingual signs, Chinese and Chinese symbols were found in the signs of the many Chinese owned outlets that make up most of the clothing shops found in the Mall. Like in Parliament and offices around Government enclave, English was found in almost all the signs captured and in the few bilingual signs.

The linguistic architecture that mainly made up the Mall was predictably made of commercial signage as the Mall is a haven of businesses of different kinds which include, among others, big retail shops, banks, hotels, loan shark offices, street vendors trading in traditional herbs, food and music stalls, second hand clothing big franchise shop and hair and beauty salons. The pictures of signs that follow displays an example of the different kinds of businesses that make up the Mall area, beginning from the British Council to vendors and Government offices to the contested spaces in the Mall.

The establishment of these different businesses found in the Mall play a big role in the influence of the language of the research area. There is a substantial influence of commercial discourse in the LL. Using English as the vehicle for messages, the kind of language used is that of marketing and advertising. The diversity of different types of businesses and the different commercial discourses are illustrated by Figure 5.2 below:



Figure 5.2: An illustration of a variety of businesses

The sign above was captured on the entrance of one of the buildings in the Mall (Embassy Chambers) that houses, among others, the sign hair salons, cash loan office, a computer repair shop, flower shop a Bureau de Change and a management training institution. The name “embassy” itself is a place known to be associated with foreign country offices but there is no official office as such in the building. By the name, the idea is to draw in the association that goes with prestige and protocol that characterize ‘embassies’. The names and wording of the signs are selected for maximum effect so that the signs show exotic and “market” related phrasing such as “Rexnet Salon”, “Exclusive Hair Studio” and “Xperienced Computers”. I elaborate on this in the next section.

5.2 . The power of foreign names and discourses of power in branding

The use of foreign names in business is not a new phenomenon in Botswana as it is also a common practice globally. The art of naming especially in commercial discourses in LL is aptly discussed by Edelman (2009:151) who states “advertisers use particular languages in advertisements or shop signs to associate products or services with the corresponding social groups”. As proper names of shops and names of brand’s goal is not to transmit factual information but merely as a tool of popularizing a business, they can easily be written in any language that may or may not be spoken or fully understood by the audience. The choice of a language is however carefully chosen based on marketing power a particular language is perceived to have. As Haarmann (1986) notes that the use of English and other foreign languages in such contexts does not often reflect the everyday language use of a community. He calls this impersonal multilingualism.

In line with Eldeman (2009)’s arguments, Yasin and Mahadin (1996:415) argue that the purpose of a foreign name is a strategic means as it has been established that customers tend to associate foreign names with and as such this is a way to appeal to their emotions. They further argue that “it is this association between what is foreign and what is good quality that businesses utilize by choosing a foreign name, or using foreign words in promoting their goods and services”. Accordingly, they hope by doing so a foreign sign will create this association in their customers’ minds and that the customers will thus be attracted to their shops.

This practice of using foreign languages in naming business premises and products as revealed by Eldeman (2009), Yasin and Mahadin (1996), was found to be a common feature in Botswana in general and the research area in particular. Traces of different foreign languages which included, from among others, French, Chinese, Japanese, American slang and fusion of any of these were found in the Mall. Some of the noted foreign names included: ‘La Roche’, ‘Zanger’, Hua Dong, Longteng, ‘Mafia Soul’ which tends to be associated with an American influenced clothes line, Jian Li company, Lavanda, Tukive investments, Beni fame ‘Bureau de Exchange, Asman stores and Ushma .

La Roche which is French for ‘The Rock’ in Figure 5.3 is a French name inspired clothing shop that surprisingly did not have any French line clothing stocked at the time of data collection. The motivation drawn from this influence of foreign naming was not only restricted to clothing outlets but also to some businesses run by locals who have possibly opted for such names for marketing reasons. Below is Figure 5.3. displaying the ‘La Roche’ sign:



Figure 5.3: La Roche, ‘The Rocks’ in English

Another shop with a foreign name was a jewelry shop called Ushma Jewellery (Figure 5.4). Ushma is an Indian name which means heat or warmth and the economic link here is that India is associated with good, genuine jewelry of different kinds. See Figure 5.4 below:



Figure 5.4: Ushma Jewellery

This use of foreign languages is usually not intended as a means of verbal communication but rather to appeal to people's emotions as earlier noted. It is also used for identity as Haarmann (1986) points out that language is the most immediate element of identity for ordinary people. Through the use of particular languages in advertisements or on shop signs, products are associated with the corresponding groups of speakers. Thus languages used may or may not reflect the languages spoken by the speech community for which an advertisement or shop sign is meant for. This was found to be the case in the study area in that the language(s) for most shops' signs were not necessarily that used by the majority. For example, see Figure 5.5. below, a sign in Chinese:



Figure 5.5: Chinese Clothing shop

According to the study, the use of English or any foreign language of choice as it applies to Botswana and in particular the Mall was found to have connotational value and that even if the intended audience does not understand the denotational message of the foreign part, their stereotypes about the language speaking persons will be activated and transferred to the product or service. Like in the sign above (Fig.5.5), the research shows that there is a popular trend of Chinese signage on Chinese shops in the Mall and generally in Botswana where Chinese have set up businesses. Although the Chinese trader knows that their targeted market does not speak Chinese and maybe not even English, they have adopted the strategy raised by Haarmann (2009). As China is known for bargain products, and the Chinese brand is already associated with such, no verbal or written communication in the language of the community is used but rather emotional appeal to draw people to their businesses.

From the shop signs presented above (Figs. 5.5) and below in Figure 5.7 there is neither English nor Setswana used. In figure 5.5, for example, everything about the sign is in Chinese apart from the words ‘box’ and ‘tel’. “Box” is used to stand for the postal address, but even that is not complete as it does not say whether the Box is in Gaborone, Botswana or Beijing or any other city in China. The clipped word ‘tel’ which can be assumed to be the short form of telephone number does not give any further information to that effect. It would be particularly difficult for the audience to know, for instance, what *Longten* means. *Teng* means to leap, but when combined with *Long* (dragon), based on its metaphorical meaning in Chinese folklore and contemporary literature and mindset, it means "leaping out of the sea and soaring into the sky". This may imply economic rising and thus it will have multiple layers of meaning depending on who wrote it and who is interpreting it in a given context.



Figure 5.6: Chinese Clothing shop

From what has been shown so far, it is clear that it is difficult to decipher what is meant from the names on the signs in some foreign languages. The only idea that one can get, is drawn from the displayed clothes outside and on the display windows to suggest that it is a shop that retail in

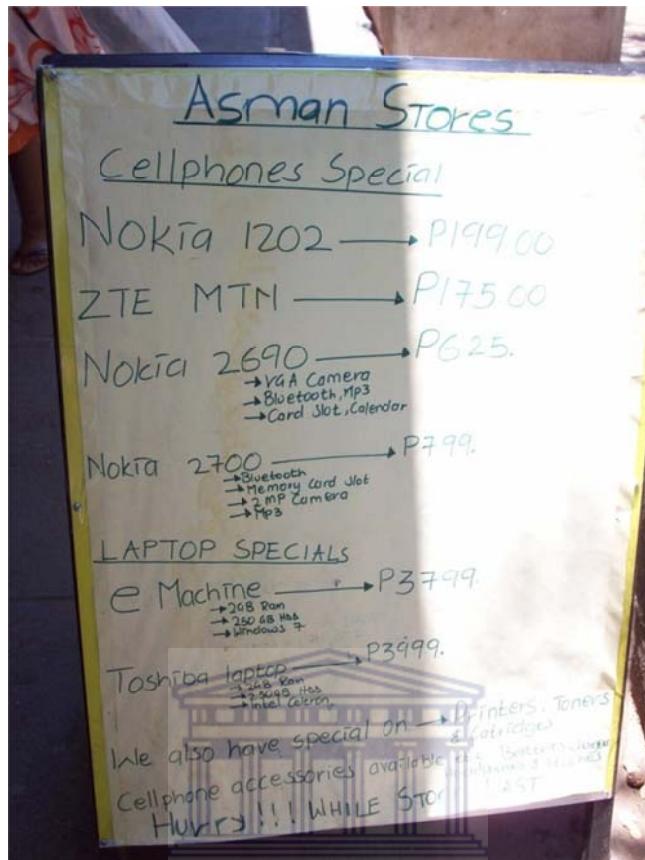
men and women clothes by assumption taken from the doll dressed in both men and women's garments. The use of the Chinese script is here used as a marketing strategy to sell cheap or bargain goods as is the norm associated with China and the Chinese trade.

However as raised in the preceding discussions, the common choice of language is normally with certain associations, common examples are the association of French with Perfumes, Italy with food and here notably cheap clothes with the Chinese. Spolsky (2009) argues that the mixture of languages which can be traced and linked as a result of growing globalization as contact with foreign language has meant that other languages are more likely to be understood, and even if not understood, to carry symbolic associations that can be exploited by the sign-maker and this seems to be the case with most of the foreign influenced names discussed.

5.3. Language and the Economics of signs

This study has looked at and discussed implications of choice of language, among others, in a sign. The following discussion questions the economics of signs. The arguments raised in the following discussion questions the implications of the types of signs and their economics. The question is whether the economics of signs have to do with what types of signs, the location and placement of the sign, the language used, the material or the value of the sign in general.

Cenoz and Gorter (2009) raise issues of the relationship between language and the economy as an emerging field of research and link it to LL. The signs may inform us about the location of a store or the kinds of products that can be bought at that location. Many of these are advertisement which contain a message that try to convince us to buy certain product and services. Scollon and Scollon (2003) define material as the physical substances on which the inscription is made from granite monuments to sand writing at the beach to more durable materials which tend to indicate more permanent meanings. See Figure 5.7 below and compare it to Figure 5.8:



UNIVERSITY of the
Figure 5.7: Asman Stores- Electronics shop

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2009), signs have an economic cost because they have to be made from some material by somebody. Moreover, there is a huge difference in cost between a hand written note stuck on the wall as in Figure 5.7 or on a tree as in Figure 5.9 advertising a house to let and a huge commercial billboard with rotating text or a large video screen or digital signage as in Figure 5.10. The LL of the mall area displayed a full circle of advertising as illustrated by the data.

The results revealed an interaction of competitors in advertising were titans in the form of established businesses are locked in horns with the small businesses who are trying to penetrate the market as illustrated by the types of advertisement in Figures 5.7 to 5.9 and their level of differences in the strategy and experience used.



Figure 5.8: Shell Select shop

As mostly commercial discourses are economic, the study drew interest in the different types of marketing and advertising genres that were employed and used in the Mall area. This varied from cheap to desperate to diverse distribution of discourses and from minimal to contested use of spaces that reigned in the different kinds of businesses of different levels and degrees. From the types of signs used to the type of business involved. Kitchen (1999) places as among others the role and aims of advertising as long-term brand building awareness, conveying information, telling a story, establishing identity and creating a predisposition. He further demonstrates the implications that this study aims to raise with economics that make a sign. The scope of an advertising, he states is limited by the financial resources available, particularly for allocation to the buying of media space and time. This explains why one would place an ad on a tree as in Figure 5.9 below:



Figure 5.9: Advert for a house to rent posted on a tree

The economics and financial background of businesses represented in and by signs in Figure 5.1 to 5.10 may in a way be predictably defined by the type of marketing and types of signs and messages carried thereon or advertisement in this case. Asman stores in figure 5.7 sells electronic products that range from computers to cellphones and ordinarily one will not expect this type of advertising to be linked to such products. This is presumably influenced by the free will to paste anywhere and everywhere in the Mall area and diversification. Further, Asman used the strategy of personalizing the sign by having it hand-written to make it probably appeal more to ordinary people.

The advertisement in figure 5.9 was one of the many found on trees but interestingly this one could arguably be said to be misplaced as the target market for such a house of the rent value (P2900/ ±R3000 monthly) will not normally look for such on a tree but rather in a newspaper or from online sources. Despite this, the advertiser used the chance and took an opportunity of free advertising and the strategic location of the tree which is next to British Council offices in the passage way in the middle of the Mall. The strategy employed by the above advertisements can

thus so relate to the target market in the research area and the opportunity of different modes of advertising the Mall avails to different people.

Figure 5.10 also illustrates the different opportunities advertisers used in the Mall. Two matching dustbins put alongside each other carry two types of adverts targeted at two totally different social groups and events happening at almost the same time, separated by hours all promoting celebrations to welcome the new year.



Figure 5.10: Dustbins in the middle of the Mall

The dustbin on the left is marketing 'Boosta Bash', a popular annual music festival frequented by the youth and promoted by one of the cellphone network companies in the country. The event advertised is on New Year's Eve where the audience's expectation contemporary music and alcohol the whole night while the one on the left, advertises a religious concert where the expectation is the opposite of the other, as there will be gospel music, singing and praising God the whole day.

The freedom of placing signs in a disordered pattern everywhere was a norm in the Mall as earlier noted and illustrated. This was not just restricted to the inside of the Mall but also the surrounds. In this regard, about fifty percent (50%) of the data collected revealed a tendency of signs strategically posted in any place and space on sight with all sorts of posters bearing adverts presumably not monitored or managed, on top of each other, on dustbins, on bus stops, trees, walls, poles, and just anything on sight as illustrated with landscapes used in this research. Below is a typical example in Figure 5.11 illustrating this fact:



Figure 5.11: Bus stop opposite Parliament (also used in Figure 4.22)

As illustrated in the signs below (Figures 5.12 and 5.13) even clothing and canvas material are used as LL. Vendors are not left out, they also make part of the landscape of marketing their products and associating themselves with ‘class’ in order to compete with established businesses. They have elevated themselves as an established business by taking in consideration the importance and value of signs. These vendors do not only market themselves as a “music shop” (Fig. 5.12), for example, but also as “The home of music”. They make a puzzle of the LL that make up the Mall mainly in the commercial discourse.



Figure 5.12: Music Street vendors



Figure 5.13: Cellphone and Clothing Vendor

As the Mall area is a haven for everything from established businesses to street vendors to crooks who rob people of their money daily, all this make up the LL of the place together and add up to communication and what language in place signals. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) argue for the study of LL as advocating for and discovery of new ways of observing language in space and ways of manipulating language as different patterns emerge and interact. They argue that there is a revolution taking place that includes to set linguistic procedure allowing mixtures of languages, new linguistic rules, new spellings, new syntax, inventions of words combined with additional presentations, those of sounds and all displayed publicly.

5.4. Linguistic Landscapes and symbols of identity in a “foreign land”

The general sights that seem to be at play with regard to Botswana Parliament itself does appears to be the same to some extent, for example, the United States of America Embassy which has entertained some Setswana similar to the what obtains at the Parliament. Here, Setswana was found only on American Embassy security walls, prohibiting taking of pictures around the embassy. However, the language of communication that dominates LL in this particular research zone was also English, particularly the language used at South African, Zimbabwean, Zambian Embassies and British Council offices as can be seen in Figure for British Council below. As has been mentioned earlier, the researcher could not be allowed to take photos from some mentioned embassies for security reasons but took notes instead.



Figure 5.14: British Council office Building

Therefore, the majority of the signs in all embassies and international institutions were in English with their linguistic identity found mostly in their symbols in the form of coat of arms, emblems, flags and mottos. In more than one case on their place name, signs found by where either at the gate to their grounds or at the entrance to the buildings as in Figure 5.15, a sign found on the main entrance to the embassy building of Libyan Government with Arabic as the main language displayed on top next on the coat of arms and the English version of the Arabic on the bottom part of the sign.



**Figure 5.15: Sign showing the name of place for the Libyan Embassy Building placed at the
WESTERN CAPE entrance**

International businesses as in Figure 5.16 also displayed their association with certain countries and did so with the inscription of the given country but also strategically as a marketing and identity tool. By this, they are able to be identified by potential clients by virtue of their association with the given symbol and the name of such a country.



Figure 5.16: IDP Education Australia

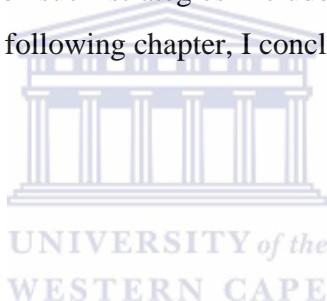
In many instances the significance of a symbol and a name is an economical link to the familiarity of their product or services to a given market. Figure 5.16 above is one of the many examples. As Batswana are known to study in Australia, mostly through Government bursaries, the IDL has thus established itself on the market to target prospective students who will need such services as clearly written on the sign.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has managed to capture the LL at play in the vicinity of Parliament by drawing from the themes that the researcher deemed significant to the study. The themes that were drawn from the data in this area include the languages at play, the popularity and common adoption of foreign names in the commercial market, the economics of signs and the symbols of identity in a foreign land. The analysis discovered substantial influence of commercial discourse in the LL. The language that dominated was English as it is used mostly as the vehicle for messages especially in advertisements and marketing tools. With regard to international firms and embassies, the study reveals through majority of the signs in all embassies and international

institution, that they carry their daily businesses in English. Their linguistic identity was mostly noted distinguishably by each country's symbols in the form of coat of arms, emblems, flags and mottos found in their walls and premises. Chinese and its symbols were found to be commonly used in the research area as a marketing strategy in association with the country and its people's connection to bargains. The drawing of names inspired by different countries and languages was not only limited to China as another notable trend picked was the frequency in which foreign names are used by most businesses with the influence linked to the stereotype associated with the type of good quality products from the particular country.

The diversity of signs used as examples in this chapter have illustrated and given an insight on the marketing strategies adopted by Batswana. They revealed multiplicity and fusion of discourses with types ranging from low budget to the modern visual signs by individuals and established companies. Examples of such strategies include use of free advertising spaces on trees and discarded dustbins. In the following chapter, I conclude the thesis.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

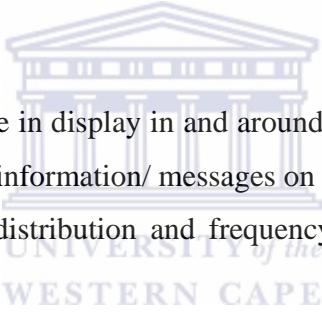
6.0. Introduction

This chapter draws the main conclusions from the study. It summarises the main themes and what has been gained from the study. I will first give a recap of the objectives of the study.

6.1. Language and information in the LL

Below I look at each of the following objectives and discuss what conclusions can be drawn from each.

The objectives of the study were to:

- 
- 1 Analyse the visual language in display in and around Parliament looking at the visibility and clarity of language and information/ messages on the signage.
 - 2 Analyse and interpret the distribution and frequency of each one of the languages in signage.
 - 3 Determine power relations, attitudes and patterns of language use in LL in the research area
 - 4 Study the gap between official language policy and practice with regard to the languages found in the LL
 - 5 Find out whether there is a differential effect in which language is used in a particular space

With regard to the first objective on visual language on display, it is clear that English is the main language of LL followed far behind by Setswana. One can even think the two languages are the only languages spoken in Botswana. In terms of frequency and distribution of each languages, these two are also the main language used in LL. Surprisingly though, there were no other languages of Botswana apart from the minimal Setswana found on the landscapes. However, one finds in Embassies and commercial enterprises in the research areas other

languages like Chinese and Arabic. It is clear from the study that Chinese which was found in the mall area, is not used as a communicative language for China but rather as a marketing ploy as China is associated with bargains as discussed elsewhere.

On the third objective on influence of power relations, attitudes and patterns of languages found, it is clear that with its few mother tongue speakers in Botswana, English still carries a lot of socio-economic capital. This is also apparent as it seems people have much more positive attitude towards English perhaps more than even their mother tongues which in this case is likely to be Setswana. The distribution relates to English as the language that is used at work and offices while Setswana is still used as a language of communication at home.

According to Bourhis and Landry (2008), language vitality indicators are exposed by the choice and support of one language over another among other languages. They also give the status associated with a language as an indicator that can have implication on socio economic status of a language speaking community. According to the study, languages that have little or no vitality eventually cease to exist as the marginalized group tends to be assimilated into other groups or identify themselves with the prominent language groups. If this theory is anything to go by, the general advocacy for English evident in the LL disclosed by the study seems to suggest the other languages in Botswana are marginalized. This practice has multiple implications which can lead to language extinction and promote oppression and uneven distribution of economics (cf. Chebanne 2008). From the LL it is clear that languages other than English and Setswana may be in danger of language death.

There is also an evident gap with regard to official language policy and practice on LL. Even though both languages, Setswana and English, are considered as official languages, the LL seems to suggest that there is only one language which is English. Even the obvious high literacy rate in Setswana is being undermined in LL . There is also an apparent contradiction in which Setswana is called a national and English is referred to as the official language. This is because it is assumed everybody speaks Setswana which is not the case as there are other language groups who may not speak Setswana at all. The same is true for English.

In terms of the quality of translation employed on bilingual signs, this study concludes it is not up to standard. It is evident that when one compares the information found in the English to the Setswana used on LL in most cases the Setswana used is constructed in English and later translated into the former. In most cases, the information value on the Setswana LL was not as complete as on English. This shoddy work on translation can be associated to the authors or producers of the signs who may not be professional translators or trained language professionals.

With regard to the fifth objective, although English is used all round and dominates the LL in the research area all round, there is a difference though in terms of the type of discourses found. Authoritative or top-down signage was found mostly in Parliament while commercial discourses dominated the mall area. The different signs and discourses analysed clearly show that people are aware of the signs that surround them and the marketing strategies employed. They are also aware of the link between the LL and economics. This is illustrated through businesses adoption of foreign names and that of economics of signs. In support, Laundry and Bourhis (1997) suggest all signs have an economic dimension be it by choice of language used, cost of design, maintenance or the intended market value of the location. Therefore choice of language and the influence of types of signs in and around Parliament of Botswana seem to be influenced to a large extent by globalisation which is linked to the economic importance, relations of power and status generally associated with English and anything foreign.

I argued for the statues, war memorials, posters of former leaders and other artifacts in terms of them reflecting and conveying political value and preservation of cultural and historical discourses. These linguistic landscapes though also explored the apparent contradiction in which even monuments of heroes and pictures of past “Dikgosi” (Chiefs) or traditional Tswana leaders are constructed in English. The study also exposed the chaotic placement of signs in Parliament. Ben-Rafael et al (2006: 10) refer to this chaotic composition of LL as “symbolic construction of the public space” as LL signs are jumbled around not in order. This seems to imply that what is seen at play with regard to Parliament is symbolic to the disordered orders or chaotic composition as can be seen with random placement of posters, outdated communiqués and makeshift office naming.

The study also revealed politics of colour with regard to Parliament. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002) associate the meaning of different colours to different sources, used in relation to differentiate entities to distinguish different identities. This seem to be true for Parliament as it suggests that its adoption of particular colours distinguishes it from any other place in the form of its identification and association with colours of the Botswana flag. The choice of colours adopted by Parliament are however evidently a symbol of identity more to do with the politics of colour than associated to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) theory on colour. The selection and choices of colours here are more guided by the availability rather than on their significance as determined by Kress and Van Leeuwen. For instance, political parties represented in Parliament do not use colours that are already being used by other parties as a way to preserve their identity.

6.2 Suggestions for further Research

It is crucial to note that, findings of this research also motivated and raised questions which due to limitations, this particular research could not answer. One particular interest is with regard to exploration of road signs particularly with interest on contradiction with the code of language used with regard to theory and practice. As such, the hanging questions and the limitation of the research are inspiration for future research which can take the study of LL in Botswana to another level. This will include interviewing people who are writing signs and the end users to answer questions which include whether people who put up signs used and raised in this study pay any particular interest to the trends found especially the interpretation of their clientele.

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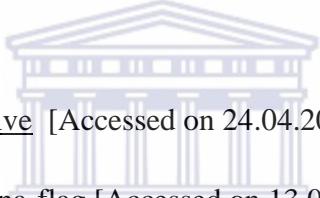
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