A multimodal discourse analysis of the material culture of multilingualism at three Western Cape universities

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Abstract

The advent of semiotic/Linguistic Landscapes (LL) as a new sociolinguistic enquiry has received considerable attention in the field of Language and Communication Studies. Although LL studies have been done in South Africa, none has problematised the languages and cultural objects such as statues and names of buildings and streets as constructing, including or excluding certain social-types. The aim of the study was to examine the material culture (languages and cultural objects) constituting the landscape at three established Western Province universities, namely the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the University of Cape Town (UCT), and Stellenbosch University (SU). Using the qualitative 'walking method' adapted by Stroud and Jegels (2014) and a handheld recording device/camera, the total collection of data consisted of [312] images captured at the selected research sites. The images were taken of varying street sign names (within a 2.5km radius), building structures – including their names, monuments, statues, artworks – and historically significant space(s) in place.

Unpacking the data was made possible using conceptualisations of the semiotic turn in the LL and a multimodal discourse analysis. As a result, the data indicated how these stipulated elements placed in the landscape constructs (a) particular inclusive and exclusive identities and (b), messages, which both confirm and contradict attributes in mission statements and other official university policies such as the universities' language policies. An example of this was indicated by the images of street sign names, 215 in total, which illustrated that UWC had a significantly higher balance between English (64%) and Afrikaans (37%) signage in place. UCT indicated a spatial repertoire that predominantly favoured English (91%), and SU predominantly favouring Afrikaans (87%), while the sum of African Bantu languages across all three of the LLs accounted for less than 5%. In this regard, the material culture in place contradicts the rhetoric of UWC, UCT, and SU's language polices and mission statements pertaining to statements on inclusive multilingual practices.

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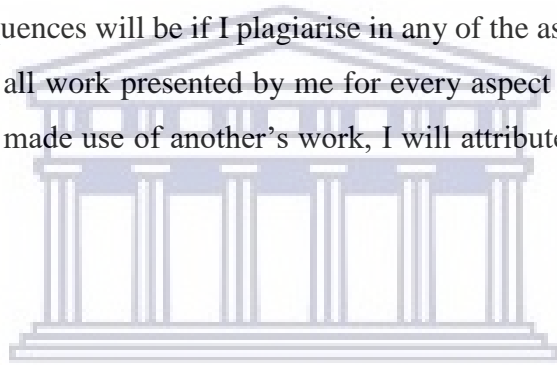
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Special mention is given to those who have suffered the indignity of past oppression and in extreme cases gave up their lives for freedom and democracy in South Africa. Without their sacrifice, the content for this study would not exist.

This study was prompted by the accumulation of social events pertaining to the inclusion and exclusion of certain social types at the three Western Cape universities (UCT, UWC and SU) in recent years. Special mention is given to the Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall student movements of 2015. Since then, awareness of socio-economic, cultural and racial inequality experienced by social actors within university space(s) has become more recognised and is a motivating factor in this study.

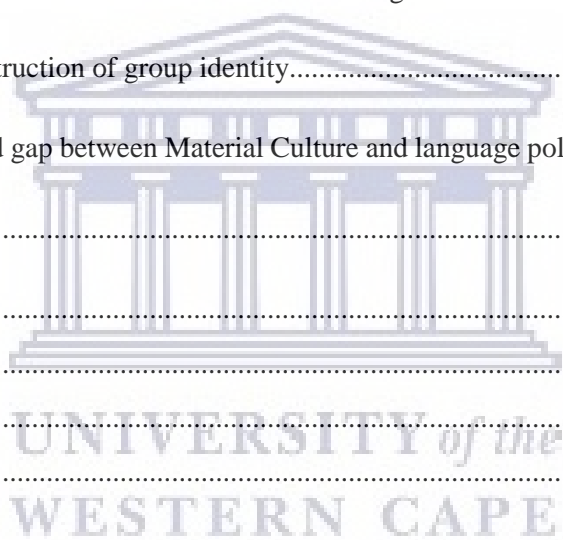#BLACKLIVESMATTER

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1.1 Universities' historical background

The following section provides a brief history to the setting of two historically white universities (HWU's), namely the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Stellenbosch University (SU), as well as the University of the Western Cape (UWC), which is a historically black university (HBU). Grasping the respective histories of the three universities foreshadows the interpretation of languages of signage situated within this study.

1.1.2 University of Cape Town

UCT is the oldest university in South Africa. It was founded in 1829 as a South African college, which was initially a high school for boys – currently known as Scottish Association for Country Sports (SACS). The college had a small tertiary education facility that grew substantially after 1880. The subsequent growth of the university is linked to the discovery of gold and diamonds in the country. According to Nicholas (1994), this provided a financial boost to develop worker skills (geology and mineralogy in particular) in the mining sector at the time. The college developed into a fully-fledged university during the period 1880 to 1900, thanks to increased funding from private benefactors as well as the colonial government.

In 1928, the university moved to its current Groote Schuur Campus courtesy of the Cecil John Rhodes Estate on the slopes of Devil's Peak. Cecil John Rhodes (5 July 1853 – 26 March 1902) was one of the significant benefactors of the university following the success of the mining sector at the time. The amount of funding and resources provided to UCT is physically visible through the scenic views and setting of the campus. Impressive architecture such as buildings, statues and artefacts commemorating Rhodes' influence amongst the other private benefactors are spread throughout the space of the university, while the design is assimilated to the British Victorian era prevalent at the time.

The university is proclaimed as the most prestigious university, according to the university web rankings of Africa (2017). UCT was placed number one as the most sought-after university in Africa. It has awarded degrees to some of the world's most iconic leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, Queen Elizabeth, amongst others.

1.1.3 Stellenbosch University

The origin of the university can be traced back to the Stellenbosch Gymnasium, which was founded in 1864 and opened on 1 March 1866. The institution became the Stellenbosch College in 1881 and was located at the current arts department. Initially only one university was planned for the Western Cape but after the government was visited by a delegation from the Victoria College, it was decided to allow the college to be a university if it could raise £100,000. This large sum of money at the time was bequeathed by a wealthy Stellenbosch farmer named Johannes (Jannie) Henoch Marais, before his death in 1915. As a result, Marais has a statue placed in his honour in the central quad of the university. In turn, SU officially acquired university status on 2 April 1918.

Mabokela (2001) stipulates that preceding the onset of the apartheid regime in 1930- 1940's very little, if any, tuition was in English. Due to the Afrikaans centered nature of the university it received favouritism from the apartheid government. For instance, "In 1874, a series of government acts provided for colleges and universities, with generous subsidies and staff" (Nicholas, 1994; 34). Subsequently SU was provided with a significant amount of resources which can be viewed by the enormity and beauty of the landscape in which the campus is situated, at the epicenter of the town.

Artefacts and cultural objects situated in and around the campus are named after private /public benefactors and affluent/iconic members of the Cape Dutch Colony in particular. The town of Stellenbosch is in fact named after the founder Simon van der Stel (1639-1712), a notorious Cape Dutch commander.

1.1.4 University of the Western Cape

UWC was established in 1959 by the apartheid government as a university for Coloured people only. UWC started as a bush college, "a university college without autonomy under auspices of

the University of South Africa" (Herman, 1995:267) offering limited training for lower to middle level positions in schools and civil service. The university is placed on the outskirts of an industrial area (Parow) on an expansive, low-lying area commonly referred to as the 'Cape Flats.' According to Soudien (2012), it is argued that UWC, the 'bush college,' was placed in the Cape Flats, essentially in the bush as an oppressive ploy by the apartheid government.

UWC has a history of disadvantage, discrimination, and struggle against oppression. In the first years of its existence, a great deal of the teaching staff were White. Wolpe notes, "In 1970, the board and staff were primarily Whites, supporting the National Party and the apartheid government" (Wolpe, 1995:19). Many of the lecturers came from SU and the language in most lectures was Afrikaans. Considering that the demographic of UWC's students were non-White, there were many who were active in the struggle against apartheid. According to Wolpe (1995), there was a presence of students who were loyal to the Black consciousness movement, due to persistent educational barriers. This movement was a pivotal force in dismantling the apartheid regime.

In 1982, the university rejected the apartheid ideology formally in its mission statement. During the next year (1983), UWC gained the same autonomy as the HWU's through the UWC Act. The controversial historical background of this particular campus adds rich information to the discourses of identity amongst students, namely transformation, liberation, and struggle discourses (Banda & Mafofo, 2016).

1.2 Statement of the problem

While the histories and attributes of the above-mentioned universities are easily acquired, not one study has problematised exactly how the languages and cultural objects constituting these spaces are seen as constructing or excluding certain social-types. In this study, the goal is to illustrate that the study of materialities (artefacts, objects, and spaces) can contribute significantly to the investigation of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the universities LL.

Considering that "material culture manifests social reality and social change with tangible clarity that often is inaccessible in studies of all other aspects of multilingualism" (Aronin & O' Laoire,

2012:2), it can be stated that language is a social construct housed within the material culture of the physical environment.

The differing histories of the universities can be said to illustrate a past which is moulded by colonial beneficiation and racial hierarchies. The problem is whether this is reflected in the material culture in place at the three universities.

The problem to be investigated therefore relates to cultural objects (language choices, statues, buildings/street names, and architecture) in place at the three universities. Reflection of material culture which embodies colonial heritage may cause students to either feel included or excluded from their physical environment. Exclusivity and inclusivity are two opposing ends of a spectrum that hold a pedagogic hierarchy within the spatial edifices of tertiary facilities across the Western Cape. There are concerns about representation of language and identity that could be harmful if left unaddressed/unattended.

1.3 Research objectives

1. To investigate the material culture of multilingualism/multiculturalism in the Linguistic Landscape of the three universities.
2. To explore how the identities of the universities are differentially constructed through the languages used on signage and cultural objects (statues, names of streets, and buildings) found on campuses and surrounding areas within a 2.5km radius.
3. To explore the extent the material cultures found in the semiotic landscape of the universities reflect or contradict the language policies and mission statements of the three universities.
4. To open discussion on how the three universities can make the semiotic landscapes more inclusive to diverse cultural groups.

1.4 Research questions

1. How does research into the material culture of multilingualism extend the present epistemological paradigms of Linguistic Landscape research and contribute to research on multilingualism/multiculturalism at the three universities?

2. How are the constructions of identities in the universities' space semiotised in linguistic and cultural objects, and artefacts?

3. Are there any contemporary forms of material culture (signage) and language use which complement and reinforce language policy and mission statements?

4. What should the three universities do regarding material culture in their Linguistic Landscape to enhance multilingualism and to make universities sites of inclusive multicultural dispensations?

1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Overview of the study

This chapter presents the introductory information situating the study and providing contextualisation to the reader, such as a brief history of the above-mentioned universities, the statement of the problem, and the research questions and objectives.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

The literature review takes into consideration prior knowledge and contemporary theories of the LL and the manner it has transcended, understanding languages as more than words within the landscape. The perusal of literature also includes understanding language and identity in the Western Cape. Knowledge of language policy, identity, multimodality, and material culture of multilingualism provide the analytical means to engage with the data collected.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

This chapter includes a description of the calculated, systematic approach (qualitative) with regard to the methods of planning and collecting data applied in this study.

Chapter 4: Exploring the languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism

In this significant chapter, analysis of the languages of signage is conducted using the combination of extensive fieldwork aided by Google Maps to interpret material artefacts in place at each university. The findings were hypothesised to link the presence of current semiotic material to the

historical background of each specific university, implicating semiotic ecology (Banda & Jamaima, 2015) and the material culture of multilingualism (Aronin & O'Loaire, 2012).

Chapter 5: Exploring contrasting identities in statues, space(s), and cultural objects (names of buildings and their architecture)

This chapter reviews empirical evidence (material artefacts and cultural objects) which embody identity within the Western Cape. The perusal of the specified artefacts indicates varying social types and identities expanded and spread between the three campuses. Understanding how spatial edifices are molded (material culture) as a consequence of underlying identity is unpacked in the analysis.

Chapter 6: The relationship of the language policy and mission statements, and material culture in place at the three universities

The universities in this study (UCT, UWC and SU) are widely known to celebrate diversity and advocate against indifference. In this chapter, a document analysis is conducted whereby confirmation and contradictions are explored by the official statements provided by the university in relation to artefacts placed in the LL. Identities and social types are hypothesised to be confronted with obstacles pertaining to inclusivity and exclusivity of the institutional culture represented by, specifically, the 'material culture' of the universities.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This section seeks to highlight the findings from the analysis of the data. The priority of this chapter involves reflecting on the research objectives, which have been thoroughly confronted, and providing recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The literature review focuses on early literature on LL, the multimodal/semiotic turn, material culture, language and identity, and literature on the theoretical/analytical framework.

2.1.2 Introducing the Linguistic Landscape concept

LL is a term that is constantly evolving. The concept was initially presumed to be brought about by Landry and Bourhis (1997), widely credited amongst linguists as being among the first researchers to explore the 'Linguistic Landscape.' The central argument of LL, according to these scholars, was to explore "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:23). Their work emerged from the tradition of the social psychology of language and was primarily concerned with the presence or lack of specific language codes as indices of ethno-linguistic vitality.

The classical conception of LL studies is on written language that marks the public sphere. With the increased interest in LL, studies there have been numerous advancements in theoretical and methodological approaches. The definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997) has been adapted by various scholars to suit the scope of their own specific research. For instance, Ben-Rafael (2006:14) defines the LL as "any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or private business in a given geographical location." This definition includes signs that are located on the inside of buildings. Dailey et al., (2005) include advertisement brochures and flyers, the spoken language heard outside in the neighbourhood, on television and in the classroom. Further extension of LL studies is seen in Backhaus (2007) observing and quantifying the distribution of fixed public signs that were extended by categorising multilingual signs using the framework of code preference by Scollon and Scollon (2003). However, most of these early studies in LL tended to be quantitative so that the presence or absence of a particular language, for example, was seen as evidence of language vitality or lack thereof. Quantitative methods illustrate

weakness in the early studies; in Africa, for example, the absence of African languages in preference for colonial languages such as English and French in street and other signage does not necessarily mean no-one speaks African languages.

2.2 Linguistic Landscapes and their genres

The recent volume dedicated to the study of LLs, Gorter (2006:3) observes, "one may say that the Linguistic Landscape refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space. But the question is what constitutes such an object or sign?" In this regard, researchers of LL have been somewhat inconsistent. Ben-Rafael et al., (2006:10), following Landry and Bourhis closely, included in their study "street signs, commercial signs, billboards, signs on national and municipal institutes, trade names, and personal study plates or public notices." However, this is not a list of mutually exclusive categories. For example, trade names appearing on billboards and billboards are a type of commercial sign. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) consider an entire storefront as a single token. In cases in which a sign is not a part of the storefront, the signs themselves are tokens. Cenoz and Gorter analyse these tokens in terms of, among other variables, their "type." For storefronts, this means the type of store (e.g., clothing, books, and food). Among the non-storefronts coded in their study are "graffiti, commercial and non-commercial posters" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006:71). To their credit, they recognise "a degree of arbitrariness" in the codification process.

The above-mentioned volume looks at such "signs" without a clear delineation of what is included within the particularly broad term. Backhaus (2006:55) defines a 'sign' as "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame," although he recognises some of the potential problems with that definition as well, in particular that "the underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards" (Backhaus, 2006:55). It is the attention to language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces, that is the centre of attention in this rapidly growing area referred to as 'Linguistic Landscape.'

2.3 Multimodal semiotic landscapes

People do not communicate by language alone, and following Halliday, Kress and Van Leeuwen, and other researchers in multimodality, they have shown that language is not the only semiotic system. If anything, people communicate multimodally (more than one mode). Criticism following this narrative led to what is called the multimodal or (multi)semiotic turn in LL studies as outlined below.

The onset of semiotic landscapes is drawn from a number of approaches that have come into fruition since the initial exploration of the LL. A notable contribution to multimodal turn in LL studies in that regard was seen in Scollon and Scollons' (2003) 'geosemiotics,' which involved the study of social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses, and of actions in the material world. This has been stated as one of the most influential studies to date contributing to the semiotic turn in LL. Their work has "broadened the remit of Linguistic Landscape analysis beyond the presence or absence of particular language codes in public spaces to include the analysis of displayed texts' multimodality, materiality, and emplacement and interaction order" (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:19). The focus on semiotics entails understanding that meaning exists in rich and complex texture of everyday contexts where language can be found, as opposed to language itself.

The increasing awareness of semiotic landscapes as a new sociolinguistic enquiry has re-conceptualised previous understandings of LL. The focus is no longer just on the written language within a public sphere, rather, the observation that the LL refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space including verbal and non-verbal signage as proposed by Cenoz and Gorter (2009). The inclusion of objects and visual attributed elements of language and identity broaden the conventional understanding of the presence of multilingualism in the LL. The signs and objects derive their meaning for us through their relations to other signs in their social and material environments (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). This has prompted some researchers to replace the term 'Linguistic Landscapes' with 'semiotic landscapes' "in the most general sense, any public space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:7).

Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) introduce semiotic landscapes as an alternative term to LL; however, this has not gained significant traction. Suggesting changing the name of the field from LL to semiotic landscapes proved futile. This is because the name LL has become entrenched in scholarship, and there is consensus among academics that although LL is the accepted term, the study generally tends to lean towards semiotic landscapes in its entirety (Peck & Banda, 2014; Banda & Jimaima, 2015). What has changed is that studies advancing the semiotic turn in LL advocate an extended scope in the kinds of material culture to be explored.

LL items (whatever ways they are defined) offer rich and stimulating texts on multiple levels; single words with deep meanings and shared knowledge, colourful images, sounds and moving objects, and infinite creative representations. These displays shape the ecology in local, global and transnational contexts, and in multiple languages.

2.3.1 Linguistic Ecology in the LL

Cenoz and Gorter (2009:62) in their discussion of the LL make reference to 'ecosystems' by pointing out that "Diversity is necessary for evolution and the strongest ecosystems are those which are more diverse." They further remark, "the disappearance of a species is a great loss for the world but the death of a language is also a significant loss because languages imply a loss of inherited knowledge" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009:62). In this sense, they privilege the bio-diversity invested in languages. Hult (2009) follows suit in framing his study of Language Ecology and Linguistic Landscape Analysis after the notion of language diversity. He reminds us that the "core principles of the ecology of language has an orientation to multilingualism" (2009:88). Given the object of study in mainstream LL, such as photography and the presence of specific languages observable on the signage and how these languages appear on signage. Hult (2009:91) concludes that these make the LL study "an ecological approach to the study of multilingualism," as it provides "a window into the niches of specific languages in a linguistic ecosystem."

In this study, the notion of ecology is extended beyond languages in contact to account for the multimodal turn in linguistic/semiotic landscapes studies, best assimilated to Banda and Jimaima (2015:650) who use it to capture "the productive and complex interplay between the diverse semiotic material in place, to which meanings are assigned and appropriated based on the

circumstance of use and its consumers." The focus on the ecology of semiotic material in place is meant to highlight the creativity of producers and consumers of the semiotic material, who selectively use memory, historical knowledge, the natural features in the environment, spatial architecture and cultural materialities (Aronin & O'Laoire, 2012) to bring to life diverse meanings relating to the spaces they navigate. This prioritises the interactions between producers and consumers of signs, and the varied semiotic material in place.

For example, Shohamy and Waksman (2009:314) perceive a study of the semiotic ecology of linguistic/semiotic landscapes in the sense of the dynamic relations between "verbal texts, images, and objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings." Citing Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), Iedema (2003) and Scollon and Scollon's (2003) 'geosemiotics,' among others, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) argue for the broadening of the repertoire of texts to capture the expanded meaning potential as a result of the interplay of multiple semiosis in the semiotic landscapes.

Banda and Jimaima (2015) follow Shohamy and Waksman (2009) and Pennycook's (2010) characterisation of linguistic/semiotic ecology, in which the interlocutors, the spatial design, the visual, the audio, the gestural, olfaction, linguistic, and generally the multi-semiotic materials in place are brought together for different shades of meaning. The notion of 'ecology' is thus used akin to Shohamy and Waksman (2009) and Pennycook (2009, 2010) to emphasise the semiotic diversity in the ecosystem/environment constituted by multimodal material in the landscapes from which multiple meanings are produced and consumed.

2.3.2 Material culture

The study of material culture has its origins in disciplines linked with the study of history. It has received attention from archaeologists, historical geographers, and recently from ethnographers. Material culture itself refers to the physical objects, resources, and spaces that people use to define their culture. The embodiment of this conceptualisation includes the physical manifestations of neighborhoods, cities, schools, goods and products, stores, and so forth. These physical aspects define its members' behaviours and perceptions. Material culture represented through signage and

cultural objects encapsulates constituents in the semiotic turn in LL, stipulated by Gorter and Shohamy (2008) and Jaworski and Thurlow (2010).

Material culture is the core and ineluctable constituent of human life. "It is the realm of physical items, produced by humans as well as events and spaces interconnected by and with local and global mentality, culture, tradition and social life" (Aronin & O'Loaire, 2012:3). In that sense, space is not so much physical aspects of language but combines objects in place with the abstract notion of culture and the order of information. Similarly, space(s) is understood by Banda and Jimaima (2015) as a function of the imaginations of the inhabitants of a place regarding socio-cultural aspects, and those of the built environment and natural landscape. This is differentiated by previous authors such as Entrikin (1991) and Johnstone (2004) who postulate that what we experience as 'home' and 'belonging' are experiences mediated by forms of semiotic framing in place.

Considering that "developments in information and communication technologies have also resulted in more investigative studies of materialities" (Aronin & O'Loaire, 2012:3), the value and potential of materialities are recognised not only for their symbolic and culture-specific value, but also as being important social parameters in themselves in the enhancement of the LL.

2.4 Identity and Language in the LL

The assumed position on language and identity is that the two concepts are intertwined, noted as inferential factors of the LL. "Language and identity is routed in the geographical and situational make up of a given institution" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:16). The intricate interaction of language and identity in the LL has been indicated by Lamy and Hampel (2007) who identify "language socialization through social and group identity, interactivity and transformation within communities of practice" (Lamy & Hampel, 2007:26). The significance of identity within a communicative setting "gives us a way to link the phenomenological domain of lived, moment-by-moment experience and the semiotic domain of enduring cultural and social systems of beliefs, values and meaning-making practices" (Lemke, 2002:21).

Although this is agreeable, prior insight, according to Simmel (1997), postulates that individuals create identities and sense of place in part through the process of geographical imagining. The geographical imagining includes the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places or by being excluded from them by sharing space and interacting with others.

Following the logic of geographical imagining, locating oneself within the space, Szerszynski and Urry (2006) demonstrate through conducting a study of how highly mobile, middle class professionals, who have come to live in a rural area in the north of England, experience their new environment in more romanticised, cartographic ways, focussing more on the landscape than land itself in contrast to their working-class neighbours. With regard to language and identity in the LL, it can be said that an individual's perception within a particular space varies when confronted with a contrast of lived experiences, subsequently creating a hierarchical sense of identity in place.

Considering that both language and identity are constructed through lived experience, it is fundamental to understand the context of identity within a localised region, in particular the Western Cape. Speech communities, spatial repertoires, socio-economic status, historical relevance and culture require focussed review.

2.4.1 Political, social and economic dimensions in the construction language and identity inthe LL/Semiotic Landscape of the Western Cape

The South African context with its history of apartheid and on-going contemporary post-apartheid transformation "is a veritable laboratory for the study of forms of conflict and conviviality in diversity" (Horn, 1991). The apartheid era (1948-1994) was a well-constructed, conservative regime separating the populous of South Africa on the premise of ethnicity/skin colour, implicating both language and identity. Evidence of this can be referenced by the implementation of the Land Group Areas Act that used varying geographical areas to distinguish and place race. According to Baldwin (1975), South African law divided the population into four major racial categories: (1) Coloured's of mixed Black and White descent who account for 9% of the population; (2) Indians who account for around 3%; (3) Whites who account for about 13% of the population; and lastly, (4) Black Africans, of which the Nguni and Sotho groups account for 90% of the Black population. The Black population accounts 75% of South Africa's entire population.

Although a handful of traditional scholars' delineate apartheid as a "separateness that put South Africans of different racial groups on their own paths in a partitioned system of development" (Thompson, 1999:3), the outcome of apartheid was oppressive and allowed the ruling party at the time (National Party) "to maintain the status quo of White supremacy as well as control of African (non-White) labour needed for rapid industrial development" (Baldwin, 1975:218). The minority of White South Africans historically benefitted socio-economically at the expense of non-White South Africans.

Since 1994, the transition from the system of oppression into a democratic society (majority rule) was partnered with a considerably unequal distribution of wealth, limited cross-cultural communication, and shared knowledge in the South African society. According to world statistics, South Africa is a high ranked competitor for having one of the highest GINI coefficients in the world. That is having an extremely large gap between the rich and poor. The significance of this particular gap indicates extreme inequality.

Although the South African law of racial categories has been abolished, many South Africans still view themselves according to the above-mentioned racial categories (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007) in "shifting language attitudes in linguistically diverse learning environment in South Africa." Their study on language serves as a powerful entity indicating the separation of people from understanding each other as well as access to resources, namely education.

The roots of contrasting identity is relevant to this study because within the South African context individuals have a pre-existing (empirical) structure of being classified or grouped into certain categories associated with intersectional based criteria of race, wealth, religion, class, and even gender. These root causal factors of grouping and dividing individuals may aid in understanding the landscapes shaped in contemporary South Africa, more specifically the Western Cape.

2.4.2 Coloured identity

Among non-White people, the largest demographic/group of inhabitants in the Western Cape are the Coloured community. The term Coloured is multifaceted, and it transcends ideas of the mix between Black and White exclusively. The De Wit et al, (2010) study on genome-wide analysis of the Coloured population genotyped 959 individuals from the Western Cape area, self-identified

as belonging to this demographic. Results from the study indicated a mix of "Bantu-speaking Africans (20–36%), European (21–28%), and a smaller Asian contribution (9–11%)" (De Wit et al., 2010:2). The Coloured community are said to include Indians (South Asian), Malays (Austronesian), East Asian, native Africans (Khoi-San), and both Eastern and Western Europeans. As a result, Coloureds in the Western Cape boast one of the most diverse and wide range of genetic sequences in the world.

The origins of the Coloured population in the Western Cape are said to be a product of Dutch sailors inter-marrying with the Khoi-San in the 17th century. While Dutch inter-marrying may be substantiated, there is an underlying propensity of the Coloured community identifying more with the lost heritage of the native Khoi-Khoi populous, formerly known as the 'strandlopers,' a name given by Dutch settlers describing people who live by hunting and gathering food along the beaches of south-western Africa. According to Sydow (1973), this nomadic community "did not persist in the face of demographic and economic changes occurring in southern and south-western Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries, disappearing in the Cape through assimilation and integration" (Sydow, 1973:73). Other dominations of the Coloured community, such as the Malays and Indians, were taken to South Africa as slaves from East India in the 18th century.

These variants of the Coloured community were systemically oppressed by White colonial government and later by the apartheid regime which geographically grouped and placed the constituents in accordance to their race. "Race-based legislation such as the Land Group Areas Act forced non-White people out of more central urban areas into government-built townships situated in the Cape Flats" (Standing, 2003:16). The name 'Cape Flats' represents widespread semantic dispersion across the Western Cape. In its broad understanding, "it is an expansive, low-lying, flat area situated to the southeast of the central business district of Cape Town. To many people in Cape Town, the area is known simply as the flats" (Standing, 2003:16). The more reflective connation of the flats, according to Standing (2003), is described as the 'apartheids dumping ground' considering that from the 1950s the area became home to people the apartheid government designated as non-White.

Coloured identity is hierarchical, in that due to prejudice and stigmatisation of varying linguistic styles and pronunciation or vocabulary of words, it is associated with class, especially in the Cape Flats. Stone (1995) confirms that members of the working-class Afrikaans-speaking cape

peninsula Coloured community speak a distinctive dialect, mother tongue of a region or community. "The dialect is a marker of the community's identity, which is reflected in endogamy, ties of descent, kinship and preferential association, and shared residential areas, both voluntary and enforced" (Stone, 1995:277). Coloured identity is regarded as intermediate, paradoxical, anomalous, and deracinated and luminal in South African society (Turner, 1969). This opens it to ambivalence: on the one hand, to sacralisation as humble, egalitarian and creative of identity, and on the other, to stigmatisation as outcast and destructive of identity" (Stone, 2002).

2.4.3 Black identity

Similar to Coloured identity, Black identity is a multifaceted, diverse term in the context of the Western Cape, which is dependent on the correspondence to varying African speech communities. A speech community is defined by Yule (2006) as a group of people who share a set of linguistic norms and expectations regarding the use of language. The sharing of linguistic norms, ideologies, and beliefs creates broader likeness and assimilation of identity between members within the same spatial repertoire. The Black (Bantu) population consists of several groups: Khoi-San, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Sotho, Shangaan, Venda, amongst others, including foreign nationals. According to Baldwin (1975), the Khoi-San are said to be the original inhabitants of the Western Cape.

The emphasis on Black identity in this study points towards the consequences of suffering the full might of the apartheid regime against the backdrop of colonial imperialism. As a result, up until the years 1991-1994, physical structures and institutional systems constructed in the Western Cape were inherently designed (by law) to exclude and oppress Black people. Evidence implicating access to infrastructure and employment is previously stated by apartheid law as limiting Black workers, in particular, to civil services and unskilled labour. Black people were previously deterred from pursuing higher education. The effect of colonialism and apartheid on Black identity is inadequately researched, with regard to the depth of structures and systems (material culture) as excluding Black people. However, it is known that racial segregation favoured the political interest and economic power of the White minority at the expense of the Black majority, negatively affecting the concept of group identity experienced by Black people with regard to access to recourses.

Thompson (1999) predicates that South Africa is suffering the consequences of the historically skewed policies of imperialism and apartheid. A study conducted by Bremmer (1998) on the emerging landscape of post-apartheid Johannesburg indicates that years after apartheid laws were abolished, South Africa is still far from the ideal of a celebrated multi-cultural society. Black people/communities lead largely separate lives, albeit in close proximity, with few points of contact with White people. "Africans have become more integrated, but the majority are constrained by residential options encapsulated by levels of poverty" (Christopher, 2001:449). In the context of the Western Cape, evidence of this is observable by the expansion of the fast growing informal settlements living in considerable poverty in the outer districts of the cities, lacking sufficient sanitation, electricity, and water. These informal settlements, according to Google Maps in the Western Cape, are situated less than 30 minutes travelling distance on each major arterial route in and out of the Cape Town CBD and are predominately housing non-White/Black populous.

2.4.4 White and colonial identity

Origins of White identity are derived from the first Europeans to reach the Cape of Good Hope. Permanent White settlement did not begin until 1652, when the Dutch East India Company established a provisioning station on the Cape. In subsequent decades, French Huguenot refugees, the Dutch, and Germans began to settle in the Cape. Many of whom were drawn into the formation of a speech community known as the Afrikaners. This particular speech community speaks, what we know today as Afrikaans, a language closely related to the Dutch/Flemish language.

The secondary major colonial influence is that of the British Empire (English). According to Ross (1999), the British occupied the Cape in 1795, ending the Dutch East India Company's role in the region. As a result, Britain acquired considerable control/presence over the Cape region. The area became a vital base for Britain prior to the opening of the Suez Canal (Egypt – Cape to Cairo) in 1869. The Cape Colony's economy was meshed with that of Britain, which saw significant wealth amidst the discovery of gold and diamonds among other valuable resources in South Africa. The discovery of valuable African natural resources was the catalyst in solidifying colonial presence in South Africa. Ross (1999) also indicates that relations between the Afrikaners and the English over control of South Africa (access to the resources) resulted in the South African War also known

as the Boer War 1 and 2 or the Anglo-Boer war. Although Great Britain was victorious in the 2nd Boer War in 1902, four decades later during the apartheid era (1948 – 1994), Afrikaners obtained considerable power over the governance of the South African state. Apartheid favoured the culmination of White identity, subsequently Whites were granted prime real estate, favourable local economic trade, as well as priority access to public facilities. Being a White person (physical features) is idealised and romanticised in conjunction with standards of beauty in Westernised culture. White identity has shaped architecture, traditions, systems and institutions in place in the Western Cape.

The White population are a minority in the Western Cape; however, occupy the majority of socio-economic resources. To date, there are 11 official languages in South Africa. The predominant languages spoken in the Western Cape are English and Afrikaans. The two languages are both from colonial descent. Language is a key indicator of the effect of how the previously dominating White identity maintains a presence in the LL, aided with assistance of globalisation.

There are polarised positions in media and academia as to whether a positive White racial identity, which does not diminish other racial groups, is plausible or achievable in the Western world's political climate.

2.5 Language Policy and Mission Statements in the Western Cape – addressing inequality

In the South African context (Western Cape), students who attend universities are from multicultural, multilingual, and vastly differentiated socio-economic backgrounds. Policymaking poses a particular challenge due to this implicated context. Banda and Mafofo (2016:177) identify that "government policy documents, on the transformation of higher education, such as The White Paper 3 on Transformation of Higher Education of 1997 (Ministry of Higher Education, 1997a) and The Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (1997b) contain the vision, policy goals and objectives for higher education." The core aim of transformation is equity and redress summarised in the MoE (1997a:11) as fair opportunities both to enter higher education programmed and to succeed in them. Applying the principle of equity implies, on the one hand, a critical identification of existing inequalities that are the product of policies, structures, and practices based on racial, gender, disability and other forms of discrimination or disadvantage, and on the other a programme

of transformation with a view to redress. Such transformation involves not only abolishing all existing forms of unjust differentiation, but also measures of empowerment, including financial support to bring about equal opportunity for individuals and institutions.

2.5.1 The relationship between Language policy and Material Culture

With regard to language, in particular implementation of language policy is a determining factor in the construction of the material culture. There is a duality between the environment and policy. Spolsky (2004) provides three distinctive components of language policy. "(1) Language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; (2) Language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and, (3) Any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning, or management" (Spolsky, 2004:5). Further definitions provided by Kaplan and Baldauf (2007) refer to language policy as a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system. While, Orman (2008) states that language policy represents the formulation of laws, regulations, and official positions regarding language use and the allocation of linguistic resources by some government institutions or political organisations.

The relationship to material culture is included more explicitly in definitions provided by McCarty (2011), who characterises language policy as being a complex socio-cultural process and as modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power. Furthermore, Johnson (2013) states that language policy is a policy mechanism that impacts the social structure, individual function, as well as access to resources. Tollefson (2014) noted that language policy means the institutionalisation of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups. Language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that it can determine who accesses political power and economic resources. In other words, language policy is utilised by the dominant groups to establish socio-political and economic hegemony in society. This is reflective in the historical context of the Western Cape. English and Afrikaans are institutional languages, providing extended access to society. Both English and Afrikaans are of colonial descent, derived from a White minority in the Western Cape.

2.6 Theoretical and analytical framework

2.6.1 Social semiotic approach to multimodality

Commonly referred to as the practice or use of more than one mode in a commutative scenario, the theory of multimodality has a profound impact in the following research due to the content of the data. Michael Halliday, the founder of systemic functional linguistics (SFL), provides the social semiotic approach to multimodality which argues, "The grammar of a language is not a code, not a set of rules for producing correct sentences, but a resource for making meanings" (Halliday, 1978:192). Making meaning can be achieved through analysing social processes. Languages vary in how and what they do as well as what humans do with them in the contexts of human cultural practice (Van Leeuwen, 2006). This school of thought aptly applies to the context this study, in terms social processes, likened to the historical construction of the three research sites. Historical context feeds into the perceived material culture, which in turn cultivates identity seeded within cultural objects and artefacts.

2.6.2 The material culture of multilingualism

Material culture study involves the analysis of "artefacts and objects as well as landscapes, cityscapes, private households and collective homes, public spaces and ways of their organisation and use" (Aronin & O'Loaire, 2012:4). Researchers in material culture scrutinise the qualities of artefacts, as well as the use and production of objects and compare them. Close attention is paid to the position of investigated artefacts in space and how they are located in relation to each other (e.g., left, right, on top of the other, etc.). The artefacts are often compared with each other and interpretations are offered as to modes of use and human interaction with material objects.

2.6.3 Multimodal discourse analysis

Multimodality refers to "the idea that communication and representation always draw on a multiplicity of semiotics of which language may be one" (Kress, 2001:67-68). Kress (2010) further stipulates that multimodality involves the combination of sound, oral, written, visual and other modes or semiotic resources, and how they are manipulated to create meaning. The study of more than one mode in an interactive event is the primary definition of multimodal discourse analysis. "MDA is concerned with theory and analysis of semiotic resources and the semantic expansions which occur as semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena" (O'Halloran, 2011:2). MDA provides a framework for conceptualising the complex array of semiotic resources that are used to create meaning (e.g., language, visual imagery, gesture, sound, music, three dimensional objects, and architecture) and detailed practices for analysing the meaning that arises from the integrated use of those resources in communicative artefacts and events. Therefore, MDA will enable the analysis of statues, the languages, and names of streets and buildings, the architecture of the buildings and so on, as material culture of multilingualism/multiculturalism in place, and the extent these engender inclusiveness in diversity.

2.6.4 MDA for the analysis of Linguistic Landscapes: Deliberation of materialities

According to Hymes (1972), language cannot be studied in isolation. It has to be studied in the wider context of cultural and social aspects. Language is not limited to a mere technical set of grammatical rules. In fact, it has a specific context, both in terms of the individual and the cultural norms and beliefs. At an early conceptual level, Landry and Bourhis (1997) provide a compelling construct, documenting a visual record of the identities, values, and relationships within a given territory, region, or urban area. At the operational level; however, the definition requires some clarification and narrowing of the concept. In conducting LL research, the choice of sampling domain is driven by the purpose of the study. For example, Ben-Rafael et al., (2006) and Huebner (2006) select neighbourhoods to reflect the diversity and variation of the communities they describe, the focus, being primarily on problems of selection, classification, and linguistic analysis

of artefacts found in LLs. To address these issues, it examines artefacts found in LLs from the perspective of ethnography of communication. Aronin (2012:10) suggests that the deliberate focus on the study of materialities (cultural artefacts, objects, and spaces) contributes significantly to the investigation of multilingualism. The spatial arrangements of the universities (multi-sited) are seen as an agent of material culture, correlating to the aims and objectives of this study.

The dissection of communication from the point of view of the selected semiotic material included a multimodal analysis based on two of the three constituents of the grammar of visual design proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998). The constituents include salience: visual cues such as size, focus, cultural symbolism and colour, frame, and boarders between elements connecting or disconnecting them.

Due to the overtly semiotic nature of the permanent artefacts (buildings and statues), salience and framing presents a more accurate description as opposed to information value, which is more frequented for the linguistic analysis of spatial organisation of advertisements such as billboards and informative plaques, seen in Huebner (2008).

2.6.5 Document analysis

Bowen (2009:27) defines document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents." Bowen (2009) also postulates that a document may be either printed or electronic, which may be computer-based and Internet-transmitted material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rappley, 2007). In reviewing a document, it is imperative to illustrate an organised and systematic path of analysis. Similarly, Bowen (2009) states that dissecting documents involves coding content into subjects like how focus group or interview transcripts are investigated. The theme in this study has been pre-determined, exclusively encompassing multilingual language practices at the three research sites.

Document analysis is a theoretical/analytical framework that allows for the comparison of the ascertained extracts of language policies and mission statements. O'Leary (2014) stipulates that physical evidence located within the study setting are also referred to as artefacts and are

considered as documents. This creates a bridge in terms of understanding the relationship between the written and observable data in place at the three universities implicated in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 Qualitative research and triangulation

The data generated in this study is represented by varied modes of communication and perception, mitigated via the social actors being investigated and the integrity of the researcher's own academic insights. The modes include both visual and written types of data. Multimodal data forms part of qualitative research as it concerns itself with human beings, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings, helping the researcher "understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live" (Myers, 1997:13). The qualitative researcher attempts "to attain rich, real, deep, and valid data and from a rational standpoint, the approach is inductive" (Leedy, 1993:143). The nature of this study is conducive to qualitative methods because it involves the examination of the inclusion and exclusion of identity, which is concerned with human perception, including the researcher's own.

Triangulation is a method used to increase the credibility and validity of research findings. Out of the four types of triangulation postulated by Denzin (2017), the one which applies most to this study is number (1) "data triangulation" (2017:301), which includes the combination of matters such as periods of time, space, people, and numbers.

Although this investigative study follows a considerably qualitative research design supported by the theoretical frameworks of multimodal discourse analysis and document analysis, it is not limited by them.

The opportunity to provide greater accuracy to the outcome of this study arises when taking into account the vast quantity of materialities, such as street names in the LLs. The quantity of the street name sign images [215] allow for a secondary research method concerned more with numbers. The method borrows from the concept of quantitative research. "Systematically organizing and assessing data with numerical value" (Watson, 2015:44), calculating percentage and averages, both aid in providing accuracy and contribute to triangulation in this study

3.1.2 Ethnographic research

The ethnographic model is one of the most popular and widely recognised methods of qualitative research; it is generally conducted in a manner that immerses subjects in a culture that is unfamiliar to them. "In etymological terms, ethnography means writing about people, or writing an account of the way of life of a particular people." (Hammersley, 2007:1) Contrary to the immersion within an unfamiliar culture, the reality of this study is in fact a familiar one, conducted by a student (the researcher) immersed within university space about students situated within university space(s). The ethnographic approach indicates differentiated culturally placed phenomena in a manner similar to how anthropologists observe the cultural challenges and motivations that drive a group, which ties in with both the context and the investigative nature of this study.

3.1.3 Walking method

The walking method is considered an ethnographic qualitative approach because the researcher has been immersed in the surroundings that allowed for the acquisition of a kinaesthetic (physical) experience, which can create a sense of feeling for the space and the spatial qualities. Stroud and Jegels (2014) state that walking is an active mode of perceiving the urban environment, walking methods allow insight into how the participants actively construct the significance of the place as they navigate and move through space(s). It also illustrates the performance, disputes, and elaboration of signage discourses within local performativity of place (ibid). This study uses the method of narrated walking in particular, which allows the researcher to monitor the performing of discourses of place as they progress over time and across landscapes through the viewpoints (the performativity of the various discourses of place through the participants' lenses).

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Data collection

The following section contains the three strategically planned phases of collecting the data sources required for the study:

(1) Mapping the universities and surrounding areas (establishing the walking path)

(i)   Phase one involved a pre-emptive grasp of the landscape, establishing a walking path for the three research sites (UWC, UCT, and SU). This was made possible through the exemplary technological advances of Google Maps/Google Earth. Google Earth, in particular gave the following research access to GPS mapping and satellite (aerial) imagery of the universities, as well as surrounding areas in a 2.5km radius. More significant to the study, Google Maps/Google Earth provided context to street names and presence of significant buildings around the universities that were not visible at eye level, ensuring a swift and organised data collection process, as well as a more user-friendly experience for anyone attempting to revisit the content used in this study.

(ii)   The maps were ascertained from Google Earth and the time stamps on the three images were last modified on 1 August 2019 respectively.

(iii)   Although Google Maps/Google Earth primarily marked the path, the researcher was previously a student at the UWC for several years, providing an element of experience. This gives the researcher an advantage of being acquainted with the LL.

SU and UCT required a more focused use of Google Maps to establish a walking path, in order for the researcher to immerse himself practically into each respective LL, although prior geographical knowledge of the campuses also aided in locating a walking path.

(2) Capturing the material culture of multilingualism at the research sites (fieldwork)

(i)   Phase two was the physical action of committing to the designated walking path, and capturing images of conspicuous architectural designs, statues, building and street names, and historical/cultural artefacts that focussed on both the interior and exterior of the facilities. This included directories, information boards, both formal and informal signage, as well as other unique and interesting landscapes noticed. Evidently, the focus was on the spatial edifices housing material culture that indicated identities differentially constructed through the languages of signage and cultural objects.

(ii)   The collection of data was conducted on specifically selected days when traffic and bodies of students did not compromise the acquisition of the images, nor jeopardise ethical considerations. A conscious effort was involved to avoid students being captured within frames. The ideal data collection days were, therefore, during vacation (VAC) and on public holidays for the duration of this study.

(iii)   The outcome of the data collection consisted of particular imagery involving the material culture and language practices in the LL, experienced from the perspective of a visitor and student.

(iv)   The data set (street names, space(s), and cultural objects) collectively consisted of 312 images taken at the selected research sites, of which a select amount was chosen for the data analysis.

(3) Language policy and mission statements of the universities

(i)   Phase three required an indulgence of both premeditated planning and corresponding fieldwork for the purpose of selecting implicated documents generated by the universities.

(ii)   Each university has a significant online presence (student portal). Language policy and mission statements are overtly displayed and available for student perusal, which was collected. The relevant documents (exclusively language related) were screenshot (copied) and placed as is in the Appendix 2.

3.2.2 Equipment

The equipment, also known as the research tools, provided the means to achieve a systematic approach. The following equipment was used to collect data in this study:

- The researcher and moderator/walking method
- Google Maps/Google Earth
- Camera/handheld device
- Pen and paper to jot down significant points i.e. transcription
- Printed copies and screenshots of the varying language policies and mission statements

3.3 Ethical considerations

Firstly, informed consent was not required because there were no active participants and interviews (walking/focus groups in particular). Data was collected during the vacation period to avoid student contact. Secondly, there is no required ethics for downloading mission statements and language policy documents of the universities from the Internet.

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CHAPTER 4

EXPLORING THE LANGUAGES OF SIGNAGE AS MATERIAL CULTURE OF MULTILINGUALISM

4.1.1 Introduction

The research sites (UWC, SU, and UCT) in this study are situated in relatively close proximity, falling within a 50km radius from each other in the Western Cape. Unpacking the data takes into account the three distinct locations (sites) and their varying languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism.

4.1.2 The deliberation of materialities

Aronin (2013) stipulates that the environment of the multilingual's surroundings is replete with material artefacts and objects that represent past and present real-life realities; however, also adds, "Multilingualism studies up to this juncture have theorised the environment mostly as milieu, focusing on languages itself within communities as a social phenomenon" (Aronin, 2013:4) leaving the material culture of multilingualism largely unresearched. Fortunately, for this study, contributions in the semiotic turn in LL studies suggested in Gorter and Shohamy (2008) deduce that material artefacts and objects representing the above-mentioned past/present life realities both reflect and influence languages as well as the ability to cause a shift or change in language-related practices.

Consequently, the following chapter focuses primarily on the presence of language in place, by unpacking surrounding street names/signs and building names in particular. The captured imagery of the multilingual practices exhibited by these materialities enable the multimodal analysis of the languages of signage.

4.2 The University of Cape Town – street names

UCT is situated closest to the Cape Town central business district (CBD) in comparison to SU and UWC. UCT has four campuses in total and several connected properties throughout the city;

however. the focus in this study is on Upper campus in particular. Considered the face of UCT, Upper campus is the social and political epicentre according to official mission statements provided by open source UCT online services.

The data set of street names consists of 66 images located on Upper campus, as well as a 2.5km radius, which was crossed-referenced with assistance from Google Earth and Google Maps for increased accuracy. The number of images of street names collected was slightly lower than SU and UWC due to the fact that UCT is located in an embedded area between the foot of Devil's Peak and the arterial road known as Rhodes Drive (m3) seen in the aerial map of Figure 51 (page 66).

The quantity of images captured in and around Upper campus (66) shown below in table format provides an organised indication of languages of signage in practice in the given LL/semiotic landscape:

Table 1A: Upper campus grounds

1) University Ave	2) Madiba Circle (formerly Ring Road)	3) Library Road	4) Residence Road
5) Nursery Road	6) North Lane	7) Chemistry Road	8) Southern Exit Road
9) Rhodes Drive (m3)	10) Rhodes Memorial Street	11) Entrance Road	12) Rugby Road

Table 1B: Upper Rondebosch and Rosebank

13) Stanley Road	14) Japonica Walk	15) Lovers Walk	16) Cross Campus Road	17) Woodbine Road
18) Woodroyd Road	19) Tantallon Road	20) Grotto Road	21) Fountain Road	22) Glen Darrach Road

23) Baxter Road	24) Meadow Road	25) Church Street	26) Highstead Road	27) Chapel Road
28) Woolsack Road	29) Linkoping Road	30) Burg Road	31) Rustenburg Ave	32) Belmont Road
33) Glen Walk	34) The Grange Ave	35) Groote Schuur Ave	36) Newlands Ave	37) Klipper Road
38) Reform Road	39) Park Lane	40) Lyle Road	41) Alcis Road	42) Ripple Close
43) Mount Pleasant Road	44) Dean Street	45) Irene Road	46) Alfred Road	47) Copeland Road
48) Avenue Road	49) Westerford Road	50) Rudolph Street		

Table 1C: Mowbray

51) Rhodes Ave	52) Cecil Road	53) Main Road	54) Barry Ave
55) Welgelegen Road	56) Avenue Road	57) Roughmoor Road	58) Glencaird Road
59) Salford Road	60) Mount Street	61) Matopo Road	62) Osborne Road
63) Vine Street	64) Batten Lane	65) Bollihope Cres	66) Wolmunster Road

From the 66 street names, 60 were of English origin, while four were Afrikaans, one isiXhosa (Madiba Circle), and the other one is Tshivenda (Matopo Road). The percentage of English street signs (60/66) was calculated to account for 91% of the total amount of images of street signs collected in Upper campus, upper Rondebosch, Rosebank, and Mowbray. The combination of Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and Tshivenda (6/66) images accounted for the remaining 9%.

The materiality in place favours a predominantly English speaking speech community. Particular street names found in the LL include: Rhodes Drive (#9), Rhodes Memorial Street (#10), Lovers Walk (#15), Belmont Road (#32), Glen Walk (#33), Rhodes Ave (#51), and Cecil Road (#52),

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amongst others, they exhibit a likeness and assimilation to a historically British context. Several road names and spaces are seen to commemorate the late infamous Cecil John Rhodes, who was an ardent believer and enforcer of British imperialism in the late 19th century in South Africa.

The images of the street signs that were collected in UCT were consistently more elaborate in comparison to SU and UWC in terms of the manner in which they were presented (composition) in the semiotic landscape on various placards, concrete slabs, and traditional streets posts as seen below:

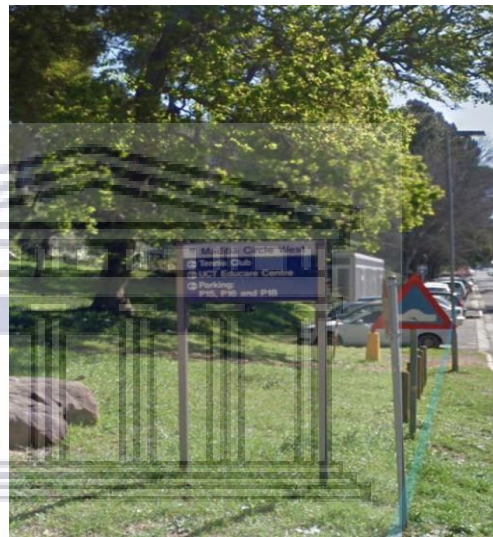**Figure 4.2: Residence Way**   **Figure 4.1: Madiba Circle**

Figures 4.1 (Madiba Circle) and 4.2 (Residence Road) are both examples of the images ascertained from within UCT Upper campus. The street signs situated on the campus are distinctively themed in blue and White in coherence with the colour scheme of the university logo.

The campus street signs are unorthodox in terms of font and pole structure. UCT as an entity appears to be responsible for its own road signs on the campus grounds (private property). Therefore, the street names (#1-12) are organised and determined by the university, with the exception for Madiba Circle that was previously known as 'Ring Road' before it was renamed in 2014. Additionally, 11 of the 12 captured street signs on campus were named in English.

It is apparent that the naming of the roads follows a pattern. The framing of the street sign names are evidently "signs where the signifier is resembled by the signified" (Atkin, 2005:165), more

commonly referred to as an iconic sign, derived from Charles Pierce's typology of signs. Evidence of this can be seen by Rugby Road (#12) situated parallel to the rugby fields, University Ave (#1) at the entrance of the university, North Lane (#6) situated on the northern quadrant of the university, Library Road (#3) outside the library, and Chemistry Road (#7) adjacent to the chemistry building.
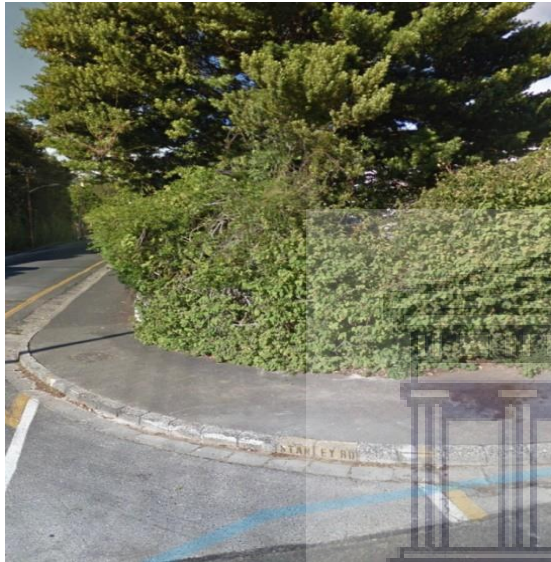

Figure 4.3: Stanley Road   *Figure 4.4: Lovers Walk*

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 are the unique images of street markings/signs for Stanley Road (#13) and Lovers Walk (#15). Both are well-known high traffic roads for pedestrian and vehicle access into UCT Upper campus. The road names are embedded in the pavement with engraved text on a concrete slab. The slabs are painted yellow, ideally to be more salient and pronounced to an intended onlooker. The fading of the yellow paint indicates the age of the street sign name, suggested by the implicated lifespan of a sign (Banda & Jimaima, 2015).

Characteristics illustrated by the data set of surrounding street sign names situated on public roads (upper Rondebosch, Rosebank, and Mowbray) are seen to differ in two ways from those on the private roads of Upper campus. Firstly, the naming and maintenance are determined and co-ordinated by government, more specifically the Municipality of Cape Town. Secondly, street name signs presented on public roads are either on a yellow concrete slab with an engraved text embedded in the pavement or as a traditional street post (majority). Yellow concrete slabs were

seen to label the older arterial and sub-arterial roads that provide access into the campus, while traditional street posts seen in Figure 4.5 below were exclusively found in surrounding residential areas/roads.

Figure 4.5: Tantallon Way

The residential street names surrounding UCT are consistently archaic and of English origin. An example of the archaic nature can be seen in Figure 4.5 (Tantallon Road). The origins of this name are traced to Tantallon Castle, which is a ruined mid-14th-century fortress, located 5km east of North Berwick in East Lothian, Scotland (Caldwell & O'Neil, 1991).

4.2.1 The University of Cape Town – building names and structures

Figure 4.6: 'Heritage@uct' informative plaque and campus map

UCT is the oldest university in South Africa, as a result, there are several national heritage monuments housed within the Groote Schuur Campus.

These are marked by the emblem seen in Figure 8.5 (see Appendix 1), formerly known as the National Monuments Council (NMC).

UCT has the most organised semiotic indicators of material culture of the selected universities (SU and UWC). Evidence of this is visible from the historical artefacts that are catalogued and labelled in the LL. Figure 4.6 seen above is an informative plaque titled 'heritage@uct.' The plaque contains the numbered 1-18 names and locations of the heritage monuments located within the landscape. *"1 – The UCT Crest; 2 – Japonica walk; 3 – The Summer House; 4 – Middle Campus; 5 – The rugby fields; 6 – Statue of Cecil John Rhode (**removed**); 7 – Sod – turning slab; 8 – The War Memorial; 9 – Smuts Hall and Fuller Hall; 10 – Solomon Plaque; 11 – The Oracle; 12 – Skull series; 13 – Jameson Hall (**renamed**); 14 – Cissie Gool Plaza and Molly Blackburn Hall; 15 – Academic Freedom Plaque; 16 – Legends of the Cape of Good Hope; 17 – Kava Va Nga Heti; and, 18 – Mechanical Man."* In Figure 4.6, there is also a map provided, where the various plaques and heritage monuments on the campus can be found. The 18 monuments contribute to the mentioned acknowledgement and pride of being recognised as the oldest university in South Africa. The historical buildings situated on the map in Figure 4.6 are consistently named after iconic historical figures and benefactors of the university. This is a grey area in terms of the languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism because identity and inclusion/exclusion of certain social types is symbolically implicated by the presence of these signs.

Figure 4.8: Fuller Hall UCT

Figure 4.7: Smuts Hall UCT

Figures 4.7 and 4.8 are images of the Fuller Hall and Smuts Hall. The two buildings are residence halls, both were declared as national monuments by the NMC. The Fuller Hall residence is named after Maria Emmeline Barnard Fuller, one of the first four women to enrol at UCT in 1887. The Smuts Hall is named after Jan Smuts. Although he was an Afrikaner, Smuts was a known associate of the iconic British prime minister, Winston Churchill, during the Second World War in which he received high praise.

With regard to the building structures of Figures 4.7 and 4.8, the visible patterns are symbolic of the British Victorian era. During this era, "it was widely accepted that to build was to create meaning: architecture was considered 'phonetic' as it had 'expressional character' and it exhibited 'particular moral or political ideas'" (Crinson, 2013:9). The stature of the design of buildings was indicative of social prowess and elevation (the bigger the better) as seen in both Figures 4.7 and 4.8. The buildings have distinctively large concrete structures, decorative pillar arches, and exaggerated detail in the stone carving. These elements embedded in the buildings structure provide evidence that UCT shows characteristics of the above-mentioned expressional character. Crinson (2013) states that under the Victorian era, choosing a style implied choosing certain meanings. Older buildings are seen as having British similarities by perusing the style of the windows in the figures above, as well as 8.6 (Appendix 1). Further evidence can be seen in the ornate nature and size of the lamp post in Figure 8.7 (Appendix 1) fashioned by the architecture of its time (1980 – 1920 British arts and craft movement).

Academic buildings and facilities situated on Upper campus are increasingly being named and re-named in honour of non-White heroes and heroines who advocated against racism and oppression in South Africa. The most publicly announced renaming was of the Jameson Hall to the Sarah Baartman Hall in 2018 (Appendix 2). The use of increased strategic names of iconic historical figures ingeniously implicates representation of varying languages and identity, strengthening the languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism, while maintaining the predominant use of English (lingua franca) in the LL.

Figure 4.9: Chris Hani Building sign UCT   *Figure 4.10: A C Jordan Building sign UCT*

Figures 4.9 and 4.10 are images of buildings and their respective signs named after Archibald Campbell Mzolisa "A C Jordan" (1906 – 1968) who was a novelist, literary historian and intellectual pioneer of African studies in South Africa. Chris Hani (1942 – 1993), born Martin Thembisile Hani, was the leader of the South African Communist Party and chief of staff of the infamous uMkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC). He was a fierce opponent of the apartheid government.

4.3 The University of the Western Cape – street names

UWC is situated in Bellville, off Robert Sobukwe Road. It is located in-between SU and UCT on the flat lying area known as the Cape Flats. UWC is highlighted as previously disadvantaged and historically black (Soudien, 2012). Evidently, the psychical features of the landscape differ to that of the older HWU's – SU and UCT.

The data set for UWC consists of 75 images of street names obtained on the university property/campus, as well as surrounding areas within a 2.5km radius. UWC is unique because it is located/wedged in-between the large-scale industrial area known as Parow Industrial and the low – medium income residential area known as Belhar and Erica Township.

As mentioned for UCT, the quantity of images captured in and around UWC Campus (75) shown below in table format provide an organised indication of languages of signage in practice in the given LL/semiotic landscape. This data set in particular indicates increased multilingual practices:

Table 2A: UWC Campus

1) University Ave	2) Robert Sobukwe Road	3) Symphony Way
4) Achievers Way	5) West Drive	6) UWC Access Road
7) University Access Road (East)	8) Park Road	9) Senate Ave
10) Lakeside Road	11) East Road	12) Residence Way
13) East Drive	14) Recreation Ave	15) Boundary Road

Table 2B: Belhar

16) Kern Cres	17) Kern Street	18) Graduate street	19) Chancellor street
20) Degree Street	21) Varsity street	22) Proton Road	23) Neutron Road
24) Tecoma Road	25) Erica Drive	26) Mimosa Cres	27) Hawthorn Cres
28) Azalea Cres	29) Lavender Cres	30) Rose Cres	31) Ivy Close
32) Holly Close	33) Clover Road	34) Daffodil Cres	35) Chestnut Way
36) Suikerbos Road	37) Sipress Ave	38) Orgidee Road	39) Nerine Road
40) Kanna Road			

Table 2C: Erica Township

41) Waterboom	42) Jasmyn Road	43) Aalwyn Road	44) Watsonia Road
45) Disa Road	46) Heide Road	47) Dahlia Road	48) Arctotis Way
49) Wistaria Road	50) Bloulelie Cres	51) Aandblom Road	52) Boegoe Road

53) Japonika Road	54) Bauhinia Road	55) Amandal Road	56) Cedar Close
57) Strelitzia Road	58) Verbena Road	59) Katjiepiering Road	60) Denneboom Road
61) Homeria Road	62) Vuurpyl Road	63) Hyacinth Road	

Table 2D: Parow Industrial – nearest industrial area

64) Radnor Street	65) Junction Road	66) Trans Karoo Road	67) Koets Street
68) Garret Street	69) Trans Oranje Road	70) Stoker Street	71) Industria Ring Road
72) Cradick Road	73) Stellenberg Road	74) Assegaai Street	75) Parin Road

From the 75 ascertained images, 48 were in English, 26 were in Afrikaans, and one was of isiXhosa origin (Robert Sobukwe Road). The calculated percentage of English language use accounted for 64% of the total number of collected images of street sign names. Afrikaans was calculated as representing 35%. IsiXhosa accounted for the remaining 1%. From the three universities, UWC has the most balanced indication of multilingual practises between English and Afrikaans, as the languages of signage suggests. Signs representing Bantu languages are limited.

The street names of the surrounding residential areas (Erica Township, and Belhar) illustrated a distinctive pattern, consistently named after local flora and fauna. Disa Road (#45), Daffodil Road (#34), Lavender Cres (#29), Azalea Cres (#28), Rose Cres (#30), Orgidee Road (#38) meaning Orchid in English, and Suikerbos Road (#36) – Sugar bush in English and Clover Road (#33), amongst others. The street names of flowers and plants are typically found within the natural habitat of the Western Cape. The 'Disa' flower is in fact the symbol/logo for the Western Province.

The patterned street names indicate a strong connection to the Cape Flats Nature Reserve located next to the UWC campus, famous for its contributions in biodiversity/natural habitat studies of the Western Cape (Ernstson, 2013:11).

From the 25 road signs collected in Belhar, 23 of them were in English. The material culture suggests that residents of Belhar illustrate a preference to English. Erica Township had 23 street signs collected, 18 of which were in Afrikaans – flower and plant names included. The materiality in Erica Township indicates a preference of Afrikaans; however, the proximity between Erica Township and Belhar suggests that both English and Afrikaans are mixed (multilingual). The speech community inhabited by speakers of the alternative Afrikaans 'mixed' dialect is known as "Kaaps" (Dyers, 2015), which fits the description suggested by the languages of signage.
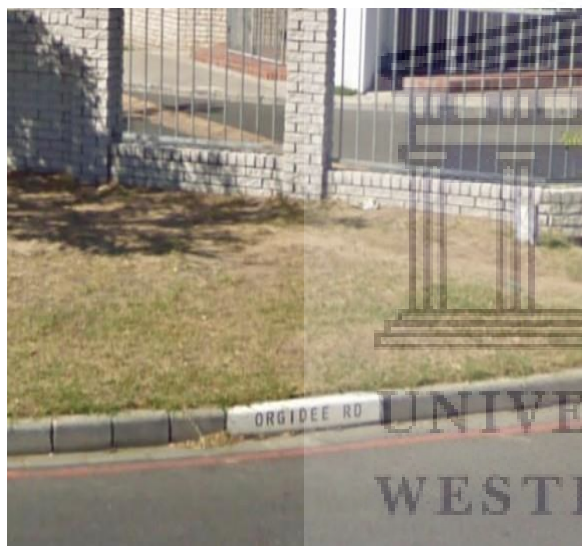

Figure 4.11: Orgidee Road (Orchid Road)   *Figure 4.12: Daffodil Crescent*

Figures 4.11 and 4.12 are examples of data/images indicating the composition of street signs in Erica Township and Belhar. The street signs within these areas are unique because there were no visible (limited) poles/traditional residential signs containing street names. Road name signs were consistently embedded in the pavement illustrated in the figures above. The text is black and engraved against the white painted backdrop of the concrete slab. This particular variation of street sign is also found in Parow Industrial – Radnor Road (#64) and Junction Road (#65) – as well as Robert Sobukwe Road, which is a new edition to the semiotic landscape of UWC, renamed in June 2013 from the previous Afrikaans name known as 'Modderdam Road.' The same white and black concrete slab street name is seen embedded in the pavement of the arterial road. The black

engraved text and white paint is distinctly brighter, due to the age (new) of the road name. Visual evidence "R" is visible in Figure 4.13:

Figure 4.13: Robert Sobukwe Road

In contrast, Figures 4.14 and 4.15 are the street signs situated on the UWC Campus, which bears a striking similarity to signs situated on UCT's Upper campus. The signs are unorthodox in terms of font and structure; however, they still serve the dual purpose of a street sign indicating the road names, as well as the location of university facilities within the campus property:

Figure 4.14: Lakeside Road

Figure 4.15: East Road

Another similarity to UCT was indicated by the framing of the street names were "signs where the signifier is resembled by the signified." Atkin (2005:165) more commonly referred to iconic sign derived Charles Pierce's typology of signs. Evidence of this is indicated by the collected images and on Google Maps (Figure 5.7 on page 78), which depicts East road, on the east side of the campus, West road on the west side of the campus, Boundary Road on the outskirts, and Resident way where the student accommodation is situated. The naming of the streets at UWC is therefore similar to UCT because the university is responsible for naming them, all of which are in English (13/13).

4.3.1 The University of the Western Cape – building names

The iconic nature of signs on the UWC campus is extended to buildings and lecture halls (Atkin, 2005). Academic facilities at UWC are consistently named according to their immediate function within the university. The administration (east and west wing) building, financial aid offices, prefabs, and lecture halls are rarely seen to indicate a deeper contextual meaning other than what the signage is signifying.

Figure 4.16: 'D-Lesingsale' building

Figure 4.17: 'Sosialewetenskappe' building

Figures 4.16 and are evidence of the university's early/original signage written in Afrikaans, during a time in which UWC was operating under apartheid legislation. Older buildings on the campus are consistently marked in Afrikaans. Figure 4.17 signifies the DL lecture rooms; 'Lesingsale' translates to reading room in English.

In Figure 4.16, it is apparent that certain letters are missing from the original 'Sosialewetenskappe,' which translates to the Social Sciences. As a researcher at this particular university, in the last seven years there has been no attempt to rectify or completely remove the signage. Pre-1994, Afrikaans signage in the LL of UWC is proven to be approached with an uncanny neglect, according to the data.

The most salient and common feature detailed in the LL of UWC is seen in Figures 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, and 4.19 patterned in the architecture. The brick laid setting is conspicuously attributed to the physical circumstance. Translating the semiotic implication of this phenomenon; Scollon and Scollon (2003) suggest that the examination of semiotic social/cultural meaning is represented within the materialities of the given environment. In that regard, although the brick laid setting does not implicate any particular European colonial heritage in comparison to UCT and SU, it does not mean the specified landscape of UWC lacks historical meaning. The LL is patterned; nonetheless, as a product of the social climate during the time of its construction as a HBU.

Figure 4.18: UWC library renovations 2019

Figure 4.19: UWC's iconic Pink Prefabs

Figure 4.19 (and Figure 5.10 on page 81) is known as the pink prefabs located on the Central East wing of the campus. These low-cost container type classroom venues are amongst the older buildings and lecture venues. An interesting feature of these rooms is seen in the laminated brick walls, designed to fit into the architectural scheme of the campus at a fraction of the cost. The unofficial/informal "Kaaps" (Dyers, 2015) phrase used to describe the pink prefabs from members of the university is known as the "honnehokke," loosely translated to dog kennels, due to the anaesthetic, low-cost nature of the prefabs. They are named in both English and Afrikaans, signified by letters of the alphabet; for example, Prefab A, B, and C.

Figure 4.20: Life Science Building

Figure 4.21: Chemical Sciences Building

UWC is a campus in development under regular construction, as indicated in the abundant signage placed around the campus (Figure 4.18) contributing to a more developed UWC. Figures 4.20 and 4.21 are the relatively new Chemical and Life Sciences buildings; they are symbolic of the modernisation of UWC's physical circumstance in contrast to the brick laid setting. The signage used to indicate newly built constructs are focussed in English rather than Afrikaans or isiXhosa. 'Life Sciences Building' and 'Chemistry Sciences' are written in bold text on the North face of both buildings.

4.4 Stellenbosch University – street names

The town of Stellenbosch is known as the second oldest European settlement in South Africa. The early settlers of Stellenbosch are of Dutch origin/descent, commonly referred to as 'Cape Dutch, Boer' (Van Beek, 2010).

SU is situated at the epicentre of this town (CBD). The captured data set for SU, like UWC, consists of 75 images of street names obtained within the university, as well as surrounding areas within a 2.5km radius.

Due to the central nature of the campus in Stellenbosch, public street signs had a tendency to intersect with the university property. As a result, the street names in and around SU are organised by the Municipality of Stellenbosch. Victoria Street (#1) and Merriman Avenue (#2) are roads that provide direct access (vehicle and pedestrian) into the property/campus of SU.

Seen below is the captured data set, catalogued and written in text format. The tables provide an organised and systemic approach to unpacking the street names as languages of signage:

Table 3A: SU Campus and central business district – 2.5km radius

1) Victoria Street	2) Merriman Ave	3) Bosman Road	4) De Beer Road
5) Ryneveld Street	6) Crozier Road	7) Neethling Street	8) Van Riebeeck Street
9) Murray Street	10) Smuts Road	11) Joubert Road	12) Banghoek Road
13) Bird Street	14) Marias Road	15) Claassen Street	16) Soetewiede Road

17) Groeneweide Road	18) Rattray Ave	19) Keerom Street	20) Minserie Street
21) Die Laan	22) De Vos Street	23) Noordwal-Oos Street	24) Coetzenburg Street
25) Suidwal Street	26) Dorp Street	27) Pastorie Street	28) Helderberg Street
29) Piet Retief Street	30) Hamman Street	31) Krige Road	32) Herte Street
33) Schroder Road	34) Mark Street	35) Stasie Street	36) Papegaai Street
37) Skone Uitsig Road	38) Alexander Street	39) Koetsier Street	40) Bergzicht Street
41) Du Toit Street	42) Blom Road	43) Mill Street	44) Church Street
45) Andringa Street	46) Plein Street	47) Drostdy Street	48) Dennesig Street
49) Paul Kruger	50) Hoffman Road	51) Molteno Road	52) Borcherd Road

53) Muller Road	54) Jan Celliers Road	55) Langehoven Road	56) Olienhout Street
57) Karee Street	58) Hammanshand Road	59) Goldfields Road	60) Verreweide Road
61) Schoongezicht Road	62) Kommanduer Road	63) Rooikrans Road	64) Reyger Road
65) Drommedaris street	66) Heresingal Road	67) Druk-my-Niet Road	68) Simonsberg Road
69) Simonsrust Street	70) Rustenberg Road	71) Herold Street	72) Heynike Lane
73) Jonkershoek Street	74) Van Der Stel Road	75) Rowan Road	

From the 75 images of street names collected, 65 were in Afrikaans and 10 were in English. There were no visible (0) public street signs implicating Bantu languages within the 2.5km radius of the campus. The calculated percentage for the total number of Afrikaans street name signs was 87%.

English street name signs accounted for the remaining 13%. The languages of signage indicate the occurrence of multilingual practices; however, Afrikaans is significantly favoured in the speech community of Stellenbosch. The quantity of street names of the predominant Afrikaans language support the statement of the Cape Dutch origins of Stellenbosch.

Furthermore, from the 75 street names, 37 were named after iconic individuals historically connected to Stellenbosch and the Cape Dutch/Afrikaner culture. Names such as Neethling (#7), Van Riebeeck (#8), Van Der Stel (#74), Jan Celliers (#54), Piet Retief (#29), Paul Kruger (#49), and Smuts (#10), amongst others, are significant to the Afrikaner culture. SU is forthcoming in the manner in which it pays respect to founding and prominent figures in the Stellenbosch community. The street names placed in the LL of Stellenbosch and surrounding areas commemorate historically known Dutch conservatives and benefactors contributing to the development of the university and town.

On the campus property, the most recurring textual feature in the LL is the name J.H Marias. He is praised for donating a sum of his wealth to 'Die Instituut vir Dowesen Blindes' (English: The Institute for the Deaf and Blind) in Worcester and the 'Kinders Endinghuis' (English: Orphanage) in Cape Town. His estate established the 'Het Jan Marais Nationale Fonds' (English: The Jan Marais National Fund), a "scholarship program which continues to support thousands of students" (Kapp, 2011:48). His namesake holds the title of several buildings, street names, a nature reserve, as well as a prominent statue in the central quad of the university.

As mentioned previously, signage named after people falls into a grey area where identity and inclusion of certain social types are implicated; components that lie beyond languages of signage and multilingualism (see Chapter 5).

The images bellows are the street signs for Neethling Road (#7) and Smuts Road (#10):

Figure 4.22: Neethling Road   **Figure 4.23: Smuts Road**

The compositions of the street signs are similar to Figures 4.3 (Lovers Walk) and 4.4 (Stanley Road) of UCT in terms of the painted yellow concrete slabs and black text embedded in the pavement. In the semiotic landscape of Stellenbosch, this was the common format for the majority of the 75 images captured. The yellow concrete street signs were also found at major intersections of traffic seen in Figure 4.24 (#3):

Figure 4.24: Bosman Road

4.4.1 Stellenbosch University – building names and structures

Buildings, like street signs, are named in Afrikaans and after iconic historical figures of the Stellenbosch community. Both language use and culturally distinctive structural characteristics serve a multimodal purpose:

Figure 4.25: 'Ou Hoofgebou'

Figure 4.26: 'J H Neethlinggebou'

Figure 4.25 is labelled as 'Ou Hoofgebou,' which translates to 'old main building.' The building is listed by the previously mentioned NMC as a national monument. The building was designed by Carl Otto Hager with the initial purpose to provide adequate accommodation for the Stellenbosch College in 1880. The 'Ou Hoofgebou' is considered the birthplace of SU. Figure 4.26 is the academic building specified as the 'Landbouwetenskappe,' translated to Agricultural Sciences. The other name for this building is seen above the decorative arch of the central door written in bold, upper case letters as 'J.H Neethlinggebou,' named after Johannes Henoch Neethling (1826 – 1904). Neethling was known as one of the great pastors of the Dutch Reformed Church in the second half of the 19th century. There is more than one (two visible) building named after Neethling at SU, as well as the road name seen in Figure 8.3 (Appendix section).

Aronin (2013) proposes that distinctive elements of material culture such as architecture have the ability to illustrate the contextual history of a given place. The acknowledgment of history and practise of culture coincides with the ability to indicate language use. An example of this phenomenon is demonstrated by the buildings placed on the SU Campus. The building style, known as early 'Cape Dutch' or 'Georgian' architecture, is prominent in the landscape. Merrington

(2006:12) stipulates that building structures that are consistently rectangular shaped, whitewashed, and have dormer or shuttered windows symmetrically placed either side of the central front door are typically known characteristics of Cape Dutch architecture. These attributes are evidently present in Figures 4.25 and 4.27. The specified (Merrington, 2006) architectural features are not mutually exclusive to the 'Cape Dutch' culture; however, the manner in which the buildings are named in Afrikaans solidifies the Cape Dutch context.

With the assistance of GPS data gathered from Google Maps, SU compared to UCT and UWC within the LL has significantly more churches listed in areas surrounding the university. A significant amount of religious constructs are indicated by the NMC plaque as national monuments. The semiotic implication of churches in the LL illustrates that the community of Stellenbosch has developed from a conservative culture, NG Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) in particular. Religious constructs are not limited to Christianity, evidence can be found in the Appendix 2 (Figure 8.1), illustrating the accommodation to differing religious buildings (Jewish synagogue and Islamic Mosque); however, the vast majority of religious constructs in Stellenbosch are Dutch Reformed Churches. Figure 4.27 is an image of 'Kruiskerk' a Dutch Reformed Church located at the entrance of SU.

Figure 4.27: 'Kruiskerk' religious building off Victoria Road (entrance into SU)

4.5 Summary

This chapter was confronted with the challenge of simplifying the abundance of material artefacts located within and around the three universities. Organising the collected images into a list/numerical format aided immensely as a guideline in examining (triangulation) the most striking elements of languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism.

It is noteworthy to mention that the analysis in this chapter was neutral. It is known that the foundations of the universities are inherently unequal. In particular, UWC was previously referred to as the bush university (Soudien, 2012). It was created under the legislation of the apartheid and was initially designated for non-White 'Coloured' students for middle level jobs, schooling and civil services in particular. The history of the university includes a long-term interactive resistance against the apartheid laws that constricted non-White people, which is reflected consistently in the material objects placed around the campus.

It is apparent by the material culture that the HWU received favouritism through government funding and private benefactors during the time of its construction. Evidence of this is seen by UCT's upper campus situated in a high-income geographical area (as stipulated by Google Maps). The signage placed on the UCT Campus illustrates a deep pride of history and heritage implicating the British Victorian era. In contrast to UWC, UCT and SU both house major buildings recognised and labelled by the National Monument Council.

From the three universities, UWC has the most balanced indication of multilingual practises between English and Afrikaans, as the languages of signage suggests. However, signs representing Bantu languages (isiXhosa, isiZulu, and Tshivenda, amongst others) are limited, evidently in all three of the research sites/LLs (UCT, UWC, and SU).

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING CONTRASTING IDENTITIES IN STATUES, SPACE(S), AND CULTURAL OBJECTS (NAMES OF BUILDINGS AND THEIR ARCHITECTURE)

5.1.1 Introduction

The task ahead of this chapter is concerned with exploring the complex contrast of the identities seeded in statues, space(s), and cultural objects. The notion of identity has a distinctive relationship with the material culture of multilingualism stipulated by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) who provide evidence of 'shared knowledge' in the physical environment in which communication occurs.

5.1.2 Incorporation of geosemiotics

The semiotic turn in the LL includes the notion of geosemiotics, proposed by Scollon and Scollon (2003), which encourages social meaning derived by the placement of signs and actions in the material world. The material world in this study is broken down into three distinctive yet corresponding tertiary facilities. The placement of each research site is strategic (UCT, UWC, and SU). Each of the universities embody varying historical and geographical significance seen in the languages of signage as material of multilingualism in Chapter 4.

5.1.3 The inclusion and exclusion of social types in the LL

The grey area mentioned in Chapter 4 of the languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism is confronted by exploring identity and the exclusion/inclusion of certain social types symbolically implicated by material culture. Lemke (2002) highlights the significance of identity within a communicative setting, "giving us a way to link the phenomenological domain of lived, moment-by-moment experience and the semiotic domain of enduring cultural and social systems of beliefs, values, and meaning-making practices" (Lemke, 2002:21). Similarly, Blackwood and Woldemariam (2016) also indicate the negotiation and contestation of identities as a new advent in the study of LL, in particular on African soil.

5.1.4 The co-construction of institutional identity of the three universities in the WesternCape

The interaction and contrast of identity in the LL has been indicated by Lamy and Hampel (2007) who identify "language socialization through social and group identity, interactivity and transformation within communities of practice" (Lamy & Hampel, 2007:26). In terms of the community of practice in the context of this study, universities are typically considered as 'institutional.' Benwell (2006) states, "institutional identities are emergent properties of talk-in-interaction" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:1). The universities' space(s) are communities of language practice that allow varying speech communities to construct the perceived material culture of multilingualism. Evidence of this was seen in the MDA of Chapter 4 indicating semiotic material that reflects macro-social forces.

5.2 The University of Cape Town

Figure 5.1: The University of Cape Town, Google Maps (Upper campus) screenshot

UCT is situated on the slopes of Devil's Peak, about 6km from the Cape Town CBD. It is considered to be the wealthier and most prestigious of the two above-mentioned universities. The wealth is determined by the quantity of mandated property as well as the quality of academic

facilities owned by the university around the Western Cape. The focus in this study is directed towards the Upper campus in particular. Upper campus, also known as the Groote Schuur Campus, was gifted by the Rhodes Estate. UCT is named after Cecil John Rhodes, an infamous British imperialist who dominated Southern Africa in the late 19th century and gained incredible wealth of which UCT was a major beneficiary.

UCT's prowess is supported by Times Higher Education's (THE) latest world ranking for 2020, published on Wednesday 11 September 2019, placing UCT as the 136th best university in the world, jumping up 20 places from the previous 156th. This puts UCT in the top spot in South Africa, as well as on the African continent. Further evidence of the above-mentioned prowess and prestige is illustrative in the physical attributes of the setting. In Figure 8.3.1, the aerial view of UCT Upper campus allows the opportunity to gauge the spatial arrangement. The campus is seen to be housed within a visibly enclosed area, separated from surrounding residential areas. The enclosed area provides a sense of privacy. It is also located on the slopes of Devil's Peak, overlooking the Cape Flats. The raised nature of Upper campus provides a sense of domain and authority overlooking the suburbs of Cape Town.

UCT is also seen to be surrounded by dense vegetation and green pastures which include various sporting fields. The physical features of the landscape are visibly greener than the other two universities (UWC and SU). The concrete environment is immersed within nature, providing a natural/earthly aesthetic. In turn, this serves the function of creating a tranquil, peaceful or scenic setting. British newspaper 'The Telegraph' in 2012 chose UCT as the "third most beautiful university in the world, Oxford University was #1 followed by Harvard #2," which is thought provoking considering the British Victorian architecture of UCT, similar to Oxford and Harvard, illustrating perceivable standards of beauty.

5.2.1 The removal of the Cecil John Rhodes statue in the landscape of UCT

Although there is an abundance of signage and properties paying tribute to Rhodes in the surrounding areas, the statue in Figure 8.3.2 of Rhodes was publically removed ('ejected') from UCT's Upper campus on the 9th April 2015.

Figure 5.3: Rhodes statue graffiti 'Eject'   *Figure 5.2: Rhodes statue remnants 2019*

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate the effects of contrasting identities seeded in the LL of UCT. It depicts what remains of the removed Cecil John Rhodes statue, located at the centre Upper campus. The podium is seen to be cordoned off with plywood. Although there is no statue, the space it previously occupied still remains significant, a semiotic repercussion suggested by Banda and Jimaima (2015). The empty podium is a controversial and political landmark of UCT.

The defaced podium in Figure 5.3 above indicates that heritage monuments are likely to produce increased signage that challenges authority. "In contemporary language forms the omission of politeness devices involves an enquiry that tends to benefit the hearer (audience), not the speaker (agency)" (Myers, 1994:48). The development of semiotic landscapes indicate these alternative art forms as a common occurrence, Scollon and Scollon (2003) provide an explanation stating that the notions of graffiti seen in Figure 5.3 is an example of "transgressive discourse," aiming at challenging social authority and commonly held expectations.

Transgressive signs are put into place without authorisation and therefore may be wiped out or removed by the authorities (UCT). Institutionally placed signage is easily distinguishable from the signage produced by students, which are hand-written or painted urban literary artefacts, namely graffiti and small-scale posters. These are common across the three universities.

The reason behind the removal of the statue is due to the historical dilemma that Cecil John Rhodes has been mentioned as an ardent believer and enforcer of British imperialism in the late 1800's. British imperialism in South Africa was known to exhibit thorough economic exploitation of the native population and its natural resources, coupled with the ideology of racial superiority, which was spearheaded by Cecil John Rhodes as the 7th prime minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896). "Britain's colonial affiliation in South Africa was motivated by hunger for natural resources, cash

crops and the discovery of gold and diamonds in the 1870s" (Magubane, 1996:34). The presence of valuable natural recourses in South Africa ensured the development of the economy as well as various skills associated with finances, mining and farming, which was systematically and institutionally restricted from the non-White population.

The movement behind the removal of the previous national monument is referred to as 'Rhodes Must Fall' which describes itself as "a collective movement of students and staff members mobilising for direct action against the reality of institutional racism at the University of Cape Town" (Francis & Hardman, 2018:72). The Rhodes Must Fall narrative states, "The fall of Rhodes is symbolic for the inevitable fall of White supremacy and privilege at our campus" (Chaudhuri, 2016:16). In terms of the contrast of identity, the presence of the Rhodes monument has been considered a symbol of racism to non-White previously disadvantaged students, considering the past inferences of colonial imperialism. The statue itself previously grew to encompass a representation of institutional racism, the perceived lack of racial transformation at the university, and access to tertiary education and student accommodation, which predominantly affected previously disadvantaged non-White students.

Controversy surrounding the removal of the Rhodes statue received international acclamation from The New York Times. An article written by Hauser (2016) sensationally mentions, "protests have erupted over frustration with the lack of change in post-apartheid South Africa, where 80 percent of the population is Black and Black South Africans make up the majority of the universities' student body." Unbeknownst to many external and independent analysts, the call for the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes monument had been in motion for several decades. The first request for the removal of the statue was initially prompted by members of the Afrikaans community who demanded the removal of the statue in the 1950's – formative apartheid years. The initial call for the removal of the Rhodes monument was due to the volatile Cape Dutch and British history of conflict experienced in the first and second Boer war stipulated by Pretorius (2010).

The removal of the statue at UCT(9th of April 2015) was significant because it marked the onset of challenging institutionally placed identity manifested in cultural objects and artefacts through actionable (protests) discourse, leading to a more empirical transformative narrative. This led to further considerations of renaming historical buildings.

5.2.2 Renaming of the Jameson Hall, UCT

The aftermath of the Rhodes Must Fall movement resulted in a shift to more progressive and an inclusive UCT institutional identity. Evidence of this can be seen by UCT's implementation of a task team (Figure 6.11, page 101). The task team was established to conduct, commission and audit assessment, and analysis of the names of buildings, rooms, spaces and roads that could be seen to recognise or celebrate colonial oppressors or could be offensive or controversial.

In the fall of 2015, UCT openly invited proposals for and against renaming five key buildings. The five buildings were the Jameson Memorial Hall, Smuts Hall, Beattie Building, Wernher Beit, and the Otto Beit Building, which was identified for possible renaming by members of the university community (from the five historical buildings mentioned above, Jameson Hall was the only one officially renamed by UCT).

Noxolo Ntaka, the Secretary-General (2016) of the Student Representative Council was of the view, "It believed that a change in terms of institutional symbolism was needed, a large part of which came from the names of buildings and statues."

5.2.3 The Sarah "Saartjie" Baartman Hall

On the 8th December 2018, the UCT council made the historic decision to rename the Jameson Memorial Hall after the Khoi heroine Sarah Baartman. Renaming the Memorial Hall contributes to UCT holistically reflecting an inclusive history of South Africa. The hall was originally named after Sir Leander Starr Jameson, a former prime minister of the Cape Colony. Pretorius (2016) critiques Jameson for the unlawful raid that brought about the second Boer War (1899-1902) in South Africa. Jameson was considered the right-hand man of Cecil John Rhodes.

Following the removal of the statue of Rhodes in 2015, renaming Jameson Hall was a logical step. It is fitting that Baartman, a victim of colonial inhumanity, replaced a perpetrator of colonial crimes.

Sarah Baartman (or Saartjie, as she was known) was only 20 years old when she was taken away under false pretenses by British captors. In London she was exhibited as a freak show attraction.

"In 1814 she was sold to an animal trainer in France, where she died barely a year later of disease and homesickness. Her humiliation did not end there; however, a plaster cast was made of her body, which was then dissected, and her brain and genitalia were preserved in formalin. Her body was discussed by European scientists of that century as the missing link between human and ape" (Gordon-Chipembere, 2011:10). Her remains were displayed in the Musée de l'Homme (anthropology museum in Paris) from 1816 until 1986. It was only in May 2002 that Baartman was brought home to South Africa, with a traditional Khoisan burial ceremony held on 9 August 2002.

Other historical buildings in Cape Town (i.e. the Cape Castle) are historically known to have been constructed over the graves of past slaves much like Sarah Baartman, who anonymously died while building them, forgotten in history. Buildings with similar archaic architecture that are placed in the LL of UCT are particularly named after colonial leaders or members of the White (English/Afrikaans) community. This does not represent members from Coloured and Black communities and has been proven harmful.

In terms of identity, previously disadvantaged non-White students face a reality of being detached from their heritage. By re-naming the Memorial Hall after Sarah Baartman UCT is using her namesake as a symbol to pay homage to the unnoticed lives that were lost through slavery. Evidence of this is provided by UCT's website, which openly acknowledges responsibility to not only the Khoi community, but all communities to "uphold Sarah Baartman Hall as a place of restoration, healing, growth and compassion." As for the semiotic indication in the LL, the bold concrete text illustrating 'Jameson Memorial Hall' was officially removed from the hall during the month of September 2019 and replaced with 'Sarah Baartman Hall.'

5.2.5 The Smuts Hall

Figure 5.4: Smuts Hall entrance

Figure 5.4 is a depiction of the front entrance of the national monument known as Smuts Hall. The Hall is named after the late Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950) who was noted as a successful academic. According to Pretorious (2016), Smuts was a highly decorated South African military and political figure in the First and Second Boer War as well as World War I and II. Smuts was also a highly praised member of the Afrikaans community. His legacy extends beyond UCT with a variety of streets and buildings named after him in the Western Cape (i.e. Jan Smuts Drive).

In the transformative climate of UCT, the approach to the potential renaming of Smuts Hall mentioned in the document (Figure 6.11) was met with uncertainty. The naming and symbolism of Smuts Hall illustrates a visible conflict in the contrast of identities seen in Figure 5.4. The image shows the head-mounted sculpture of Jan Smuts, which has been evidently smeared with white paint, presumably by students following actionable (protest) discourse against the perceived colonial artefact.

Smearing and defacing colonial statues is a common trend in the Western Cape, exacerbated by the Rhodes Must Fall movement. Above the main entrance door is a sign that reads, 'Parkhurst High' placed directly over the original signage labelled as 'Smuts Hall.' The temporary 'Parkhurst

High' sign was removed with no official UCT acknowledgement or existence of the semantics in response to the name.

The data (Figures 5.4 and 6.11) indicates an apparent lack of tolerance to the presence of Jan Smuts in the LL of the university. The complexity of what Jan Smuts symbolises in the built environment stems from his radical and contradictory political views in his career. Smuts was for the most of his political life a vocal supporter of segregation of the races. In 1929, he justified the erection of separate institutions for Blacks and Whites, which was the premise of the later practice of the apartheid (1948-1994). Smuts was quoted stating, "Separate institutions involve territorial segregation of the White and Black. If they live mixed together it is not practicable to sort them out under separate institutions of their own. Institutional segregation carries with it territorial segregation" (Cook, 1930:21). In general, Smuts' view of Black Africans was patronising. He saw Black Africans as needing the guidance of White people, which was an attitude that reflected the common perceptions of most non-Africans in his lifetime. Smuts has been further quoted referring to the African populous of South Africa as, "Children of nature who have not the inner toughness and persistence of the European, nor the social and moral incentives to progress like the built-up European civilisation in a comparatively short period" (Cook, 1930:21). In the current climate of UCT, it is clear that Smuts' previous justification of segregation may rub previously disadvantaged non-White and liberal students wrongly.

However, towards the end of Smuts' political career, he advocated strongly against the notion of apartheid, stating that it was an impractical system. The complexity of the symbolism accentuated by the legacy of Jan Smuts is that he is accused of being a politician who extolled the virtues of humanitarianism and liberalism abroad (Britain in particular), while failing to practice what he preached at home in South Africa.

Two years before his death in 1948, he publicly diverted further from his original views on segregation and appeared to support the idea that Africans should be recognised as permanent residents of White South Africa and not only temporary workers that belonged in reserves. This was in direct opposition to the policies of the National Party (apartheid government) that wished to extend segregation and formalise it into apartheid and succeeded in doing so. Evidently, UCT is hesitant on renaming the Smuts Hall even though it presents an undeniable conflict in the contrast of identities between members of the university.

5.2.5 Beyond the building names; exploring the intricate structures of artefacts at UCT

In Chapter 4, the MDA discussed features visible in the data set from UCT seen as symbolic of the British Victorian era, typically associated with White identity (British Colonial). During this era, "It was widely accepted that to build was to create meaning: architecture was considered 'phonetic,' it had 'expressional character,' and it exhibited 'particular moral or political ideas' (Crinson, 2013:9). In Figure 8.14 (page 123), the previously named 'Jameson Memorial Hall' has distinctively large concrete structures, decorative pillar arches and exaggerated detail in the stone carving. These elements placed in the LL provide evidence that UCT shows characteristics of the above-mentioned expressional character.

Figure 5.4 (Smuts Hall) has two colonial coats of arms (anchor and the three ships symbol) which have potentially offensive connotations to members of the Black and Coloured identity. This was unaddressed by the specified task team of UCT council, who were more focussed on the name than the building/structure itself.

5.2.6 Contrasting identities and the censorship of cultural objects – artworks at UCT

UCT's council also deployed an artworks task team proposing that 'a core cluster' of artworks displayed on campus were viewed as controversial and stigmatising Black identity. The task team indicated that they found a number of artworks offensive for the way it depicted Black people. Since 2015, more than 75 confirmed artworks were both permanently and temporarily removed while the university processed the decision on the curatorial policy it considered adopting.

Figure 5.5: Censorship of 'Pasiphaë'

Figure 5.6: Removed colonial art

Figure 5.6 is an example of the removed artwork that offended non-White students. Figure 5.5 is an art display named 'Pasiphaë,' it was created by Diane Victor and depicts Black farmers in an uncanny manner. The word Pasiphaë originates from Greek mythology and was the name of the daughter of the sun god Helios. In the myth, according to Armstrong (2006), Pasiphaë is cursed by Poseidon and experiences lust for a bull. In order to mate with the bull, a wooden cow wrapped in cow hide is built for Pasiphaë. She then hides in this cow, mates with the bull, and gives birth to a son. Consequentially, the painting in Figure 5.5 features a large bull that is being held by a Black farmer, while a small girl stands next to the farmer, smiling with a miniature bull on wheels at her feet. Inside the bull, is the figure of a naked Black man, sleeping.

Figure 5.5 depicts the artwork in the process of being censored. The piece was considered to be in violation of the UCT council's agenda on offensive and harmful representation of Black identity in the LL. The creator of the piece, Diane Victor, made an official statement in an interview in which she responded, "UCT's actions were slightly comical" and that her artwork should be understood on a "simplistic level." This is significant because it ties into the understanding of an apparent dilemma between the contrasts of identities at UCT concerned about intolerance towards art at the institution. The Academic Freedom Committee (AFC) noted with "grave concern recent instances of threats to freedom." Furthermore, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) was investigating the matter as of May 2017, in order to determine whether the university was infringing on the constitutional right to freedom of expression and the right to artistic creativity.

5.3 The University of the Western Cape
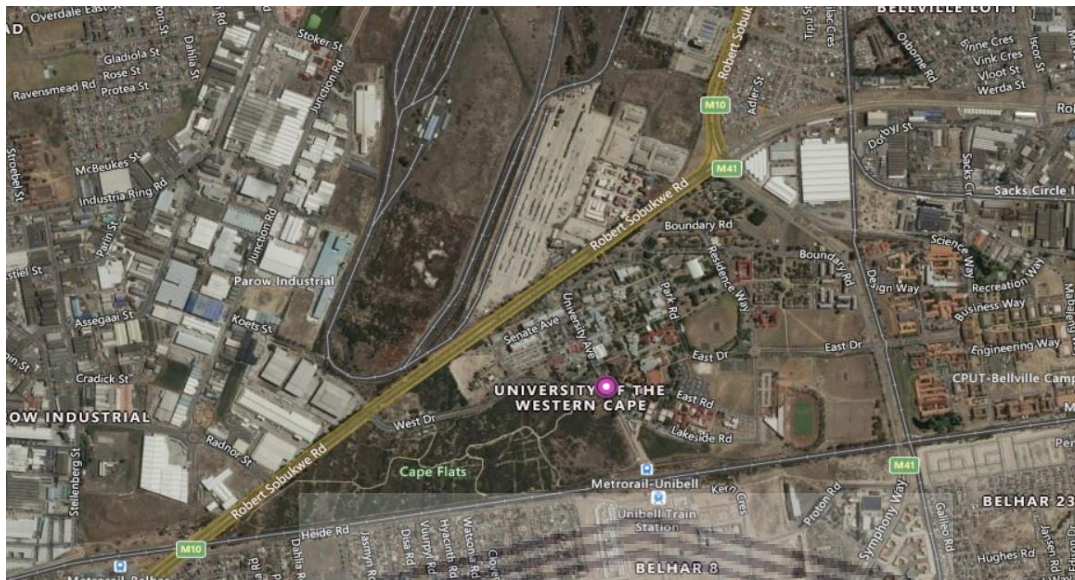
Figure 5.7: The University of the Western Cape, Google Maps screenshot

UWC is differentiated from the other two universities (UCT and SU) because it is located within an industrial area. On the left side of Figure 5.7, there is a conglomerate of large-scale warehouse type buildings. The surrounding area is known as Parow Industrial, characterised by logistics and production facilities. UWC is affected by pollution (noise and CO_2) produced by the manufacturing facilities which are visible and audible due to the close proximity. The surrounding residential areas west of the UWC campus include Elsies River, Belhar and Bishop Lavis, which are likened speech communities inhabited predominantly by speakers of the alternative Afrikaans dialect known as "Kaaps" (Dyers, 2015), as well as English depending on the favourable language in the respective household. The residential areas are considered as low to medium income earning areas, presumably housing for people employed by the industrial facilities.

In Figure 5.7, the area labelled 'Cape Flats' in the lower centre of the image signifies the nature reserve parallel to the university. The name 'Cape Flats' represents widespread semantic dispersion across the Western Cape. The Cape Flats in its broad understanding "is an expansive, low-lying, flat area situated to the southeast of the central business district of Cape Town. To many people in Cape Town, the area is known simply as the flats" (Standing, 2003:16). The semantic connation of the flats, according to Standing (2003), is described as the 'Apartheid's dumping ground.' From the 1950s, the area became home to people the apartheid government designated as

non-White. Race-based legislation such as the Land Group Areas Act forced non-White people out of more central urban areas into government-built townships situated on the flats. The residential areas mentioned around UWC (Elsies River, Belhar, and Bishop Lavis) were formerly areas designated for the Coloured race.

The relationship between what is now known as the Cape Flats Nature Reserve and the context behind the landscape of the university's construction (1959) was not precariously selected. It is claimed by Soudien (2012) in 'Becoming UWC,' that early UWC proprietors in cohesion with the apartheid government constructed the campus in an attempt to provide a "bush environment" for the non-White students. The initial oppressive tactic backfired in following years by the intricate application of legislation – Section 12(4) of the Nature Conservation ordinance of 1974 by UWC students in 1977, turning the area seen in Figure 5.7 into a nature reserve. In its present climate, "The placement and purpose of the nature reserve has made world renowned contribution to the research of biodiversity and ecology to the Cape Flats area as a natural habitat" (Ernstson, 2013:11).

Identity seeded in the LL of UWC is unique in comparison to UCT and SU because it is a HBU. UWC is previously mentioned as a "by-product of the apartheid government in an attempt to provide limited (civil service) skills to the Coloured population in particular" (Herman, 1995:267), whilst Black people were prohibited from tertiary education and subjected to low wage civil services and 'unskilled' labour. This was an oppressive strategy implemented through White supremacist ideology, which served the dual purpose of White financial gain as well as socio-economically layering the population according to race (Baldwin, 1975).

5.3.1 The implication of identity in the represented meaning of the 'Beginning and Ending'statue

Figure 5.8: UWC 'Beginning and Ending' centerpiece statue

Figure 5.8 is the centrepiece statue of UWC sculpted by David Hlongwane in 2001, aptly named "Beginning and Ending." This statue provides empirical evidence of the university's historically black, previously disadvantaged past. On the left of Figure 5.8, there is one feminine figure dressed as a domestic worker with a broom in her hand. On the right side, there is a masculine figure, a graduate with a degree certificate clenched in his raised fist.

The notion stated by Aronin (2013) that the environment of the multilingual's surroundings is replete with material artefacts that represent past and present real-life realities ties into the represented meaning in the 'Beginning and Ending.' The statue hints at a gendered reality involving the sacrifices mothers make for the success of their children. In South Africa in particular, university students have parents who have lived and endured through extreme inequality. That said, the feminine figure on the left embodies themes from the volatile history of South Africa and the effects of apartheid. The domestic worker epitomises the low wage, unskilled labour, Black South Africans were subjected to during the apartheid years. On the right is the graduated masculine figure holding a degree. This represents the new generation of students in South Africa, symbolising the breaking of generational chains of past subjugation.

The male figure epitomises a narrative of growth and development. This has been criticised for being overtly gendered. Another significant critique, according to Banda and Jimaima (2015) with regard to the trajectory, is that the statue potentially serves as projection of the future rather than a reflection of the past/present.

5.3.2 Robert Sobukwe Road

An effort to restore justice to the previously excluded Black identity from tertiary education and the LL is visible in Figure 5.7. The map illustrates an aerial view of labelled street names, residential and industrial areas surrounding the university. The main access point into the campus is now known as Robert Sobukwe Road, it was officially renamed in 2014 from 'Modderdam Road.'

The arterial road was renamed after Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924-1978) who was a devout activist in the Black community (Ntloedibe, 1995). Sobukwe broke from the ANC in 1959 to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), becoming its first president. The political party known as the PAC is infamous in South Africa due to its involvement in the 'Sharpeville massacre.' "On March 21, the PAC led a nationwide protest against the carrying of passes (dompas) in connection with the law of the group areas act under the apartheid regime. On that day, police opened fire on PAC supporters in Sharpeville, killing 69 innocent people" (Ntloedibe, 1995:14). The Sharpeville massacre has previously been associated with "struggle and transformation discourse and identity" (Banda & Mafofo, 2016:176).

Sobukwe was considered so 'dangerous' by the apartheid government (National Party) that its parliament enacted the "Sobukwe clause," specifically intended to authorise the arbitrary extension of his imprisonment. This was because Sobukwe was an ardent believer in an Africanist future for South Africa, "an Africa for Africans" (PAC) and rejected any model suggesting working with anyone other than Africans. Ntloedibe (1995) furthermore states that the influence of Sobukwe as indicated by his close comrades and followers who referred to him as the Professor or simply "Prof." This was a testament to his educational achievements and powers of speech and persuasion. Sobukwe spoke of the need for Black South Africans to liberate themselves without the help of non-Africans. His strong convictions and active resistance inspired many other individuals and

organisations involved in the anti-apartheid movement, notably the Black consciousness movement.

5.3.4 Identity embedded in the space(s) of the LL of UWC

The anti-apartheid and Black consciousness movement ties in with the construction of identity and material culture in the LL of UWC. Material culture in and around the space(s) of UWC consistently indicates anti-apartheid icons, liberation, struggle, and previous oppression.

It has been stated that UWC was established by the apartheid government as a university for Coloured people only. UWC started as a bush college, "A university college without autonomy under auspices of the University of South Africa" (Herman, 1995:267). The university initially offered limited training for lower to middle level positions in schools and civil service. While UWC was initially designed to reinforce White superiority (bush university), its members were actively involved in its transition to 'full university status.' As a result, there are distinctive patterns of constructed identity, suggested by the material culture placed in the LL.

Figure 5.9: UWC's tribute to honorary alumni who led an active role in the anti-apartheid movement

Material culture indicating previous oppression is seen in Figure 5.9, captured outside of the main hall of UWC. The image indicates the tribute paid to anti-apartheid and human rights icons associated with the university, which include iconic members of the Coloured community such as Jakes Gerwal, Derrick Swartz, Brian Figaji, Nicholas Morgan, Jonothan Jansen, Franklin Sonn, and Russell Botman, amongst others. These are known UWC alumni who were devout opponents of the apartheid regime. Their efforts were pivotal in mobilising the liberation of UWC.

Although there are visible efforts to make up for previous Black identity exclusion from the LL of UWC, there is also a simultaneous neglect of the older Afrikaans signage as seen in Figure 4.16. In Chapter 4, the MDA analysis of the LL indicates that the older departmental buildings and lecture halls in the formative years of UWC were marked and labelled in Afrikaans (i.e. Figure 4.17). It was also stipulated that older buildings are consistently brick laid, as seen in both Figures 4.16 and 5.10, especially unique to UWC.

In Figure 5.10, the tag labelled '0% increment' is related to the Rhodes Must Fall, and subsequent Fees Must Fall narrative, seen to have a visible effect on the material culture in the LL of all three research sites.

Figure 4.16: 'Sosialewetenskappe' building   *Figure 5.10: '0% increment' Pink Prefabs*

Coloured identity embodies an inherent paradox with its approach to material artefacts incorporating Afrikaans (see Figure 4.16). Certain branches of the Coloured identity speak a dialect of Afrikaans known as 'Kaaps' – one of the three dominant varieties of the Afrikaans

language spoken in South Africa identified by da Costa, Dyers and Mheta (2014:328). Kaaps was initially spoken by the slave population in and around Cape Town. Also known as Cape Vernacular, Kaaps is a regional and often highly stigmatised variety of Afrikaans, which is one of the official South African languages. "It is acknowledged as the variety of Afrikaans most, but by no means exclusively, used by the 'Coloured' people of the Western Cape, particularly in and around the city of Cape Town" (Dyers, 2008:52).

Blignaut and Lesch (2014:21) list features of Kaaps which distinguish it from other varieties like standard Afrikaans as having a "substantial English influence" which "includes mixing of English and Afrikaans lexemes, borrowing lexemes from English, and the Afrikaansifying of English words. A lexicon which also shows influences from the Muslim community (Arabic) with words like salaam and giving existing words new or extended meanings; for example, gevaarlik (dangerous) or duidelik (clear), meaning of good or nice. In the capacity of Kaaps, Afrikaans is valued in the LL, however, more traditional notions of Afrikaans artefacts in the LL, typically associated with the apartheid repertoire, and in the initial construction of UWC are not met with the same enthusiasm.

5.4 Stellenbosch University
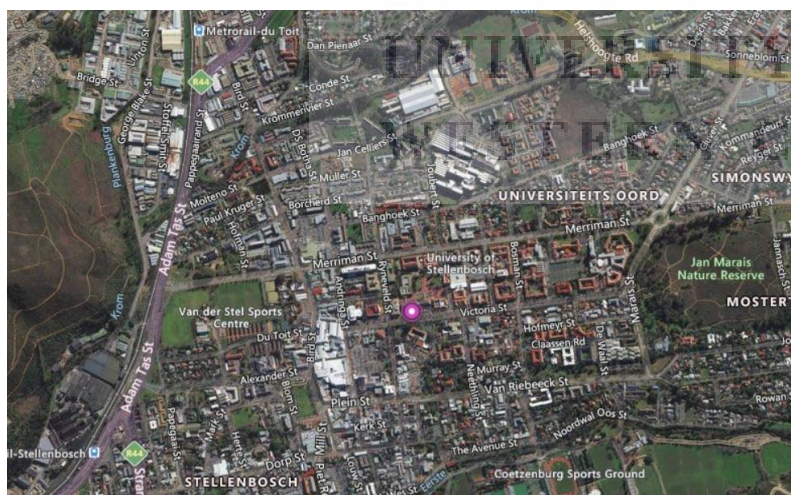
Figure 5.11: Stellenbosch University, Google Maps screenshot

Stellenbosch is a town situated roughly 50km east of Cape Town, along the banks of the Eerste River at the foot of the Stellenbosch Mountain. It is the second oldest European settlement in the province, after Cape Town.

In 2018, a total of 31 765 students were enrolled at Stellenbosch on the official annual SU census date (June 2018). The considerable amount of students who attend this university contribute to economic production in the town that has a profound impact on the material culture and multilingual signage placed in surrounding areas of the university. Signs produced by shops, housing (student residential flats), restaurants, pubs, and various surrounding sporting fields are likely to be targeted towards students. According to demographical research, statistics at SU show that of the 31 765 students enrolled in 2018, 47.8% indicated English as a home language, followed by 37.8% Afrikaans and henceforth 10.3% other official South African languages as their home language, and a furthermore 4.1% other (international) languages.

Although English is specified as the favourable home language, the most noticeable feature from Chapter 4 was the overt use of the Afrikaans language placed in the landscape. Suburbs and street names surrounding the university are predominantly named in Afrikaans. Street and building names in Stellenbosch are also consistently named after people who have contributed to the growth of the town. Various leading figures in politics, military and the Dutch Reformed Church are visibly praised in the LL (Van Riebeeck, van der Stel, and Neethling), which illustrates a particularly conservative and proud Cape-Dutch culture within the towns setting and scene.

The nature reserve provides evidence of the Stellenbosch climate, which is graced with conditions that are ideal for viticulture. Vineyards – wineries' amongst other farming methods conducted in the area form a significant contribution to the landscape of Stellenbosch. The impressive mountain ranges as seen in the aerial imagery of Figure 5.11 form one of the most beautiful wine-producing areas of the world. "The vineyards lie on the valley sides and mountain foothills, benefiting from the many different meso-climates offered by the mountainous terrain and diverse terroirs. There's constant interaction between the rugged peaks and multi-directional valley slopes" (Carey et al., 2008:178). SU is placed in a highly desirable and sought after land.

5.4.1 Negotiated and contested identities in the LL of SU: The Jan Marias statue

Figure 5.12: J H Marais centrepiece statue

Figure 5.13: J H Marais statue inscription

Johannes Henoch (Jannie) Marais (September 8, 1851 - May 30, 1915) was a champion of Afrikaans and philanthropist who made possible the founding of SU. In the LL of SU, the name JH 'Jannie' Marais is an iconic symbol of Afrikaner identity.

Figures 5.12 and 5.13 are images of the iconic Jan Marais statue, sculpted by Coert Steynberg. The inscription in Figure 5.12 reads, "*Hierdie gedenkteke is opgerignamens die universiteit van Stellenbosch het Jan Marais - fonds Het Jan Marais nationale fonds die munisipaliteit van Stellenbosch die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Stellenbosch die teologiesekweekskoolen die hosptitaal raad Stellenbosch.*" This translates to, "This memorial was erected on behalf of SU, The Jan Marais fund, The Jan Marias National Fund, The Municipality of Stellenbosch, The Dutch Reformed Church of Stellenbosch, The Theological Seminary and the Hospitality Council Stellenbosch."

The pose of the statue is presented as masculine and authoritative. The podium is raised in a manner that members of the university (audience) have to look up at the sculpture of JH Marais, seen as a symbol of authority. The chin of the male figure is raised and the shoulders have been sculpted to

be particularly broad which indicates an accentuated masculinity. These attributes are linked to JM contributing an exceptional amount of his wealth to the benefit of the university at a time when government demanded 100,000 pounds (£) sterling not to include Victoria College (SU) as a subsidiary of the South African College (UCT). He is noted as a champion for Afrikaans and significant benefactor of SU. His will appropriated the significant 100 000 (£) necessary for SU to exist as it is today under the following condition, " In order to promote higher education in Stellenbosch, but more specifically of education in and through the Dutch language in both forms (i.e. Afrikaans both as Dutch), and to the end that in such education, the Dutch language in both forms will, as afore-mentioned, take no less place than the other official national language" (Kapp, 2011:48). As a result, Afrikaans has remained a significant language of tuition at SU.

At the lexical level, Myers (1994) notes that pronouns set up relationships between the reader and the hypothetical speaker/author, "Third person pronouns establish a body of shared knowledge between reader and speaker/author" (Myers 1994:85). Evidence of this is seen on the Jan Marias monument (SU) (Figure 5.13) in the inscription "Ons' Weldoener" Ons,' which translates to 'our.' The use of the third party pronoun (our) implies shared knowledge between the speaker and reader.

In the multilingual space of SU, the reality is that Jan Marais does not represent the identity of the majority of non-White members.

In Figure 5.12, the JM statue appears to be defaced and targeted by temporary transgressive signage, suggested by Scollon and Scollon (2003). The faded signage, although inadmissible, is not meaningless. It provides an indication of challenging institutional authority. In Figure 8.1.7, similar transgressive discourse (Pennycook, 2008) is visible by the "Wel" in "Ons' Weldoener," seen to have been previously blacked out, presumably to indicate "Ons' Doener." Scratching out the "Wel" takes away from the benevolence (wellness/goodness) associated with Jan Marias in the LL of SU. "Ons' Doener" translates to English as "done us over."

Both figures illustrate negotiated and contested identities in the LL, stipulated by Blackwood and Woldermariam et al., (2016). At SU, there is an apparent reluctance of non-White students to accept Afrikaans solely as a language that embodies the institutional identity. In Figure 5.12, the white poster paper scratched off the monument illustrates that there have been several posters placed over the inscription of the statue. This implicates the notion of contested space. The podium

of the JM statues is used as a controversial platform to express messages intended for the institution.

Most recently, in 2015, the South African Academy for Arts and Sciences introduced a prize in his name (Jan Marias) for an outstanding contribution to Afrikaans as a science language through high-quality scientific work and publications in Afrikaans. SU advocates the vitality of Afrikaner identity.
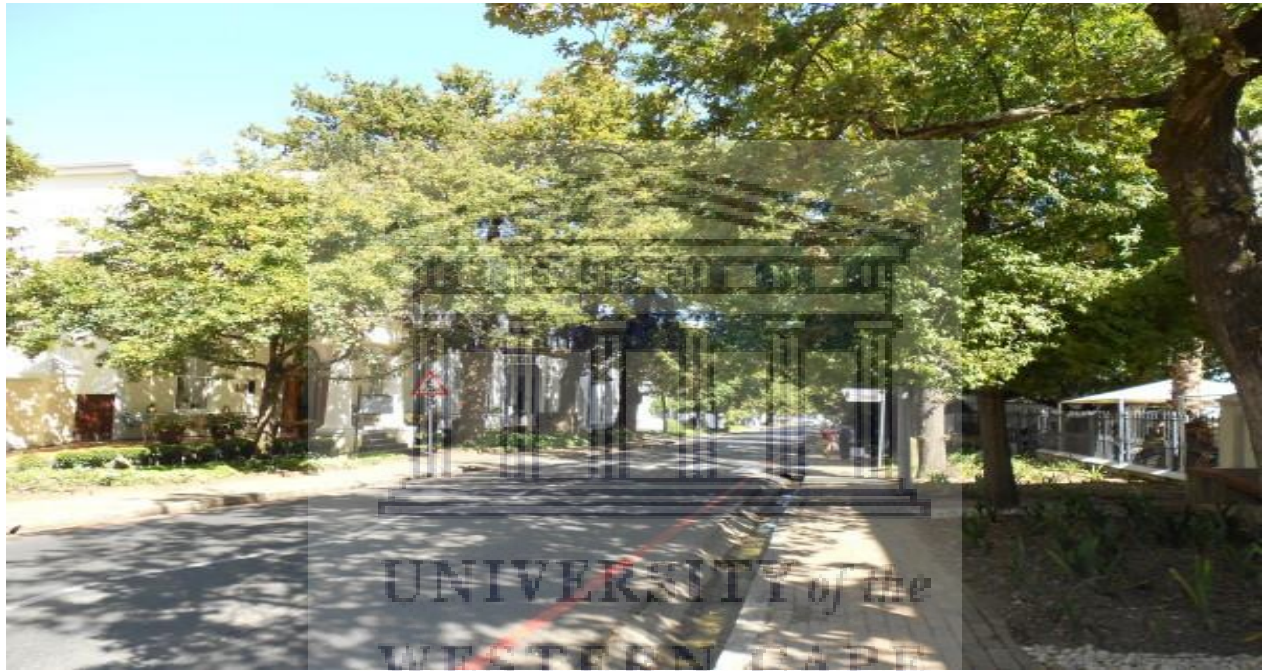
Figure 5.14: Stellenbosch Oak trees lining the sides of Merriman Road

5.4.2 Beyond the languages of signage at SU

Cape Dutch material culture is reflected beyond the overt Afrikaans labelled signage in the LL (street and building names). Early settlers who first lived in the Stellenbosch area were encouraged by van der Stel (founder) to plant oak trees as the land was fertile. Simon van der Stel was documented as planting trees himself. In Figure 5.14, the large, regal oak trees provide historical meaning. Due to the large oak tree numbers, Stellenbosch received the nickname, "Eikestad," which means "Village of Oaks." The significance of the trees is that they have been marked as

National Monuments, even though they are not from the natural habitat of the Western Cape (alien vegetation).

In Chapter 4, it is mentioned that distinctive elements of material culture such as architecture have the ability to illustrate the contextual history of a given place (Aronin, 2013). The acknowledgment of history and practise of culture allow the ability to gauge identity and language use. The building style known as early Cape Dutch or Georgian architecture is prominent in the landscape of SU. Merrington (2006) stipulates that building structures that are consistently rectangular shaped, whitewashed, and have dormer or shuttered windows symmetrically placed either side of the central front door are typically known characteristics of Cape Dutch architecture. These attributes are evidently present in Figures 4.25 and 4.26.

The significance of the "J H Neethlingbou" in Figure 4.26 is that in the LL of SU, there appears to be a consistent reference to the Dutch Reformed Church. The building is named after Johannes Henoch Neethling (1826 -1904). Neethling was one of the great pastors of the Dutch Reformed Church in the second half of the 19th century. The church in Figure 4.27 is named in Afrikaans, labelled above the circular window as 'Kruiskerk,' which is translated to Christ Church. SU compared to UCT and UWC has significantly more churches listed in spaces surrounding the university. SU was institutionally co-constructed in conjunction with theological (Dutch Reformed Church) practices. Prior to the establishment of SU, in March 1858, "Rev. Neethling accepted an appeal to the Dutch Reformed Church of Stellenbosch, where three-men; John Murray, NJ Hofmeyer, and Neethling would inspire each other to multiple activities which enabled the establishment of a theological seminary in Stellenbosch" (Van Beek, 2010:201). The theological department was one of the first departments of SU.

5.4.3 Nuanced multilingual practices in the LL of SU

Figure 5.15: Education building named in three dominant Western
Cape languages

Newer buildings at SU illustrate increased multilingual practices as seen in Figure 5.16. The newly constructed Education building at SU symbolises an institutional attempt of inclusivity of all members. The building is named in three of the significant languages prone to the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa).

Although there is a concerted effort to increase multilingual practices on the SU Campus, Afrikaans materiality and culture inundates the LL. The preservation and vitality of Afrikaans in the LL of SU is a fundamental multilingual practice. Evidence of this is indicated by the annual Stellenbosch Woordfees (Word Festival). The literary and art festival of the SU attracts students as well as art and literature enthusiasts from all over the country. Woordfees is a celebration of South African writing, visual, and performing arts – a celebration of 'the word' in all its expressions. It is also a celebration of Stellenbosch: the streets of central Stellenbosch get flooded with visitors, and public spaces (including restaurants and pubs) are temporarily converted into

improvised art theatres, galleries, and concert venues. Woordfees also features works in other African languages; however, the main attraction is Afrikaans, Dutch and Flemish languages.

5.5 Summary

The exploration of identity seeded in statues, space(s), and cultural objects indicated an apparent hierarchical nature of artefacts, favouring colonial artefacts.

Historical artefacts associated with the LL of HWU's (UCT and SU) are constructed with undertones of power, establishment, and prestige. Buildings and structures in the older HWU's are consistently marked with the distinctive symbols such as seen in Figure 8.5 (see Appendix 1). This logo signifies an acknowledgment by the NMC.

As a HWU, UCT (in comparison to SU) has demonstrated the most proactive rhetoric in response to the request for inclusion of varying social types by removing its offensive artwork, renaming buildings, and most significantly, removing the Cecil John Rhodes statue.

The description of the varying space(s) seen in Figures 5.7, 5.11, and 5.1 indicate that the universities are inherently diverse in terms of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, in turn affecting the multilingual language practices in each LL. Artefacts in the LL associated with the HBU (UWC) (non-White identity) are typically associated with struggle, liberation, and being previously oppressed. This is a painfully triggering reality, enabled by the material culture in place.

CHAPTER 6

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY AND MISSION STATEMENTS, AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN PLACE AT THE THREE UNIVERSITIES

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides a document analysis, including breakdown of the language policies and mission statements generated by UWC, UCT, and SU. The aim of the analysis is to understand the relationship between the ascertained documents and the material culture in place at the universities implicated in the previous analytical Chapters 4 and 5. The outcome is to provide background and context, as well as a means of tracking change in the development and verification of findings. In this chapter, the data is sourced primarily via Internet-transmitted material (open source) provided by each university.

The nature of the documents being analysed in this chapter are associated solely with language related practices by the universities. The online sourced (Internet-transmitted) documents are contrasted with the physical evidence located in the setting of the study. O'Leary (2014) stipulates that physical evidence located within the LL, also referred to as artefacts, are also considered documents. These artefacts may include messages embedded in statues and cultural objects pertaining to the material culture in place.

6.2 Thematic commonalties amongst the three universities language policies and missionstatements

Although the manner in which language policy is defined may vary between previous conceptualisations (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Spolsky, 2004; Orman, 2008; Lo Bianco, 2010; McCarthy, 2011; Tollefson, 2014), at its core policymaking where language related practices are concerned follows intrinsically specific criteria. Spolsky (2004) hones in on the specific criteria and argues that the broad nature of language policy is ultimately divided into three components within a speech community. "(1) Language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; (2) Language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about

language and language use; and, (3) Any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning, or management" (Spolsky, 2004:5).

Using the reasoning of Spolsky (2004), it can be determined that UCT, UWC, and SU will share thematic commonalities in the manner in which their language policies are created. The three universities are occupied by members who hold similar institutional values; therefore, characteristics of both language policy and mission statements will be indubitably similar.

The internal structure of a tertiary setting can be considered to fall into the category of a speech community/spatial repertoire, considering the prevalent socially accepted 'de facto' language practices, language beliefs and ideology pertaining to academic conduct.

6.3.1 Language policy

The following section involves the perusal of the ascertained documents regarding language related practices, in particular language policy and relevant mission statements pertaining to language practices.
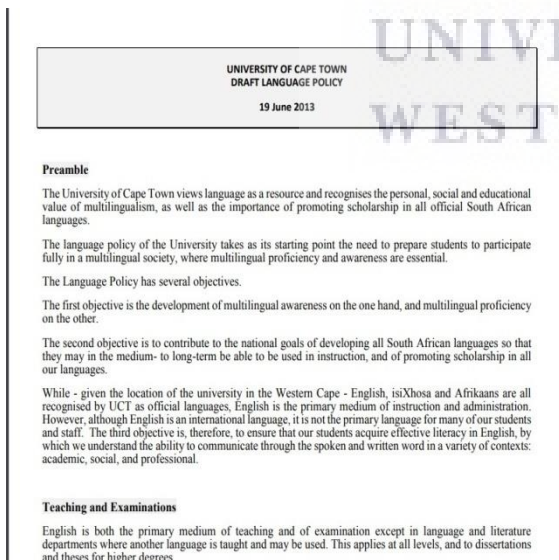
Figure 6.1: UCT Language Policy (page 1 of 2)
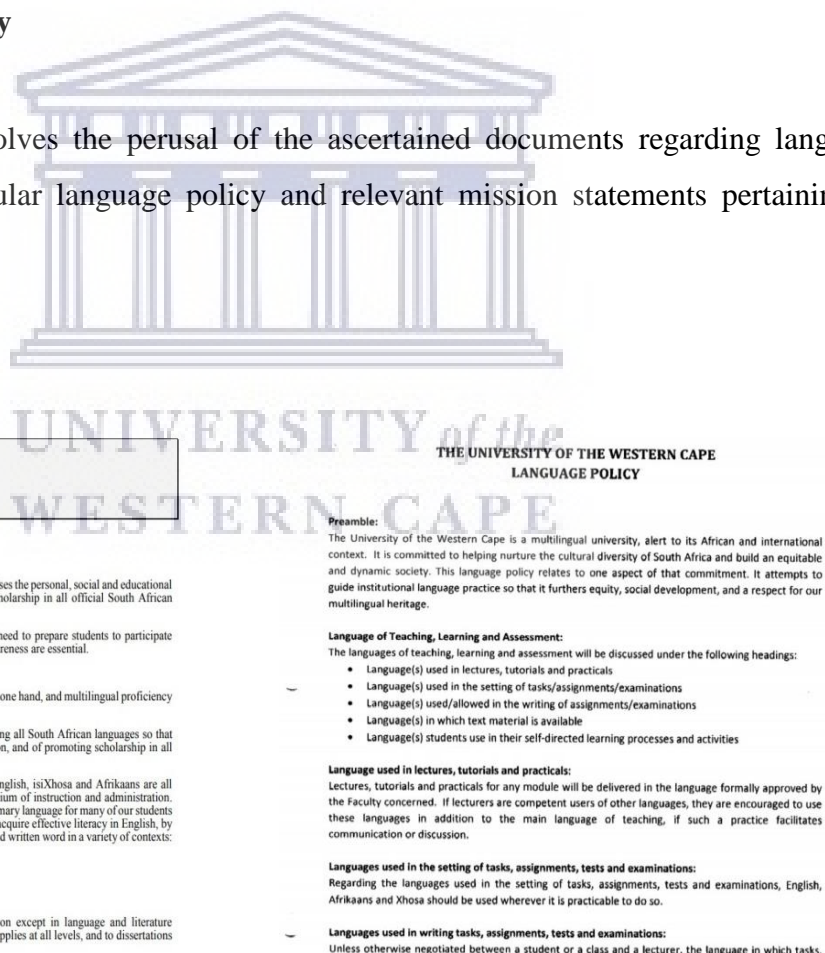
Figure 6.2: UWC Language Policy (page 1 of 2)

Figure 6.1 on the left is an extract from UCT's language policy. The first paragraph labelled 'preamble' indicates a preparatory statement introducing the language policy of UCT. The first sentence reads as follows, *"The University of Cape Town views language as a resource and recognizes the personal, social and educational value of multilingualism, as well as the importance of promoting scholarship in all official South African languages."* The word "multilingual/multilingualism" is referred to five times within the first one hundred words.

It is evident that there is a focus on expressing acceptance of diversity through varying language use. In the preamble, it also states that the policy's first objective "is the development of multilingual awareness on the one hand, and multilingual proficiency on the other" however acknowledges that English is the primary medium with regard to the section labelled *"teaching and examination."* The second objective is to *"contribute to the national goals of developing all South African languages so that they may in the medium- to long-term be able to be used in instruction, and of promoting scholarship."* By stating this UCT is further acknowledging the diversity of languages and mitigating the fact in a way that their interest is aligned with the wider purpose of the South Africa's national goals.

Figure 6.2 on the right is an extract from UWC's language policy. The opening sentence of the preamble is a declarative statement, stating, *"The University of the Western Cape is a multilingual university, alert to its African and international context."* This statement is noteworthy due to the historical context of UWC. It is the youngest of the three universities and contains a demographic of students and staff alike with a high aptitude of multilingual interaction. Reference of this multilingual aptitude can be seen under the section titled, *"Language used in lectures, tutorials and practicals."* It states that lecturers who are competent in more than one official South African language are encouraged to engage proactively with their students, prompting the implementation of multilingual practices.

Figure 6.3: SU Language Policy (page 2 of 12)   *Figure 6.4: SU Language Policy (page 7 of 12)*

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 are extracts from SU's language policy. Stellenbosch has the most recently updated language policy between the three universities. SU Council, with the concurrence of Senate, approved the latest language policy on 22 June 2016 and implemented it on 1 January 2017.

Stellenbosch evidently has the most detailed language policy, 12 pages long. The document's opening heading is, *"The essence of the language policy,"* signifying a more elaborate 'preamble' as opposed to both UCT and UWC. Furthermore, evidence of the increased intrinsic nature of SU's language policy can be seen by the reference to *"Section 29 (2) of the Constitution in relation to language usage in its academic, administrative, professional and social contexts,"* in so doing, SU is stating the parallel nature of their policy to legally binding criteria of the South African Constitution. The essence of the policy also states, *"The aims to increase equitable access for all SU students and staff to facilitate pedagogically sound teaching and learning."* SU acknowledges the context of the Western Cape by having a pre-determined awareness to unequal access to teaching facilities, with language as a primary barrier.

SU mentions three of South Africa's official languages in particular in their policy, namely English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa. SU was initially a solely Afrikaans-medium university. The wider context of Stellenbosch is an Afrikaans speech community, it is stated, *"67% of the population have Afrikaans as home language, and is the only one of four universities in the province to offer degree courses in Afrikaans."* As a result, the university is held in high regard by the Afrikaner community.

Within the setting of SU, the student body and staff have become more diversified through post-apartheid transformation. The language policy of SU is posed with a contemporary challenge, since it is one of the few tertiary institutions in South Africa that still offer tuition in Afrikaans. The challenge can be seen in Figure 6.3, which categorically states that Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa are all used in academic, administrative, professional, and social contexts. However, classes in particular are offered in *"primarily Afrikaans and English."* Students are allowed to write their assignments, tests, and examinations in English or Afrikaans. SU justified this in accordance to the 2016 language profile of the university, which states, *"40.7% of its students stated Afrikaans as their home language, 46.1% stated English, 0.9% stated English and Afrikaans, and 3.1% of students stated isiXhosa as their home language."*

Figure 6.4 is the section of SU's language policy pertaining to the promotion of multilingualism at the university. In this section, SU proclaim the utmost devotion for the enhancement for multilingual practices. According to Figure 6.4, *"The Language Centre, the faculties, the language departments, support services and management bodies"* are co-responsible for the advancement of multilingualism. SU incentivises innovative multilingual practices by providing institutional funding for *"expanding teaching in more than one language in faculties; conducting research; sharing best multilingual practices; ICT-enhanced learning strategies; and discipline-specific academic literacy initiatives."* In this document (Figure 6.4), SU is vocal about advancing the academic potential of Afrikaans by means of *"teaching, conducting research, holding symposia, presenting short courses, supporting language teachers, and hosting guest lecturers in Afrikaans..."* Afrikaans is portrayed as fundamental to the vitality of multilingual practices at SU. IsiXhosa is noted as an emerging formal academic language in the process of receiving particular attention for the purpose of its incremental introduction into selected disciplinary domains,
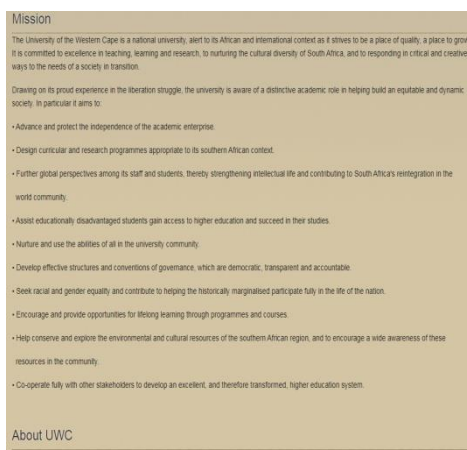
prioritised in accordance with student needs in a well-planned, well-organised and systematic manner.

With regard to isiXhosa, the academic role and leadership of the Department of African Languages claims to have an extensive experience in advanced-level teaching and research in language and linguistic fields. Figure 6.4 states, *"In certain programmes, isiXhosa is already used with a view to facilitating effective learning and teaching, especially where the use of isiXhosa may be important for career purposes. SU is committed to increasing the use of isiXhosa, to the extent that this is reasonably practicable."*

The language of tuition also varies depending on the faculty. The Faculty of Arts, for example, *"is 40% English, so courses are lectured bilingually and the language of most handouts or prescribed material is determined by the student,"* similar to Figure 6.2's specification of UWC. At postgraduate level, the language of tuition is determined by the composition of the class. Most advanced postgraduate courses are conducted in English.

It can be determined from the extracts that the primary aim of the three universities is to create all inclusive, non-discriminatory language policies. In all three of the above-mentioned policies, the common outcome points towards an overall progressive attitude of multilingual practices. This indicates the awareness of diversity between the institution and students enrolled at SU, UCT, and UWC.

6.3.2 Mission statements
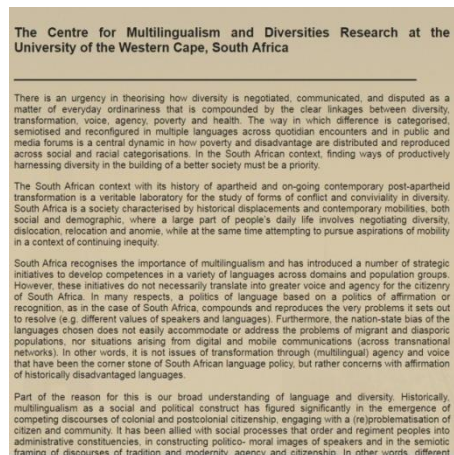
Figure 6.5: UWC online mission statement

Figure 6.6: UWC's CMDR mission statement (page 1 of 2)

Figure 6.5 is an Internet-transmitted mission statement sourced from UWC online services. Similar to the language policy, there is a proclamation to the alertness of its African and international context. The mission of UWC *"is committed to excellence in teaching, learning and research, to nurturing the cultural diversity of South Africa, and to responding in critical and creative ways to the needs of a society in transition."* UWC draws on its proud experience in the liberation struggle (apartheid); the university is aware of a distinctive academic role in helping build an equitable and dynamic society. Evidence of this is categorically stated in the aims of the mission, which include:

- *"Design curricular and research programmes appropriate to its southern African context."*
- *"Seek racial and gender equality and contribute to helping the historically marginalised participate fully in the life of the nation."*
- *"Help conserve and explore the environmental and cultural resources of the southern African region, and to encourage a wide awareness of these resources in the community."*
- *"Assist educationally disadvantaged students gain access to higher education and succeed in their studies."*

The above-mentioned awareness of the universities' distinctive academic role in helping build an equitable and dynamic society is complemented by Figure 6.6, which is an extract sourced from the Centre for Multilingualism and Diversities Research (CMDR). The Faculty of Arts at UWC inaugurated the CMDR, which is dedicated to cross-faculty research on multilingualism. In terms of implementation, the CMDR provides a lens for the practice of multilingualism that can be analysed and explained.

According to the statement in Figure 8.17 (CMDR page 2 of 2), the objective is to ensure the *"development of a theory of language politics adequate for diverse and transforming societies,"* as well as building a more complex understanding of the dynamics of "*linguistic diversity in its multiple manifestations, local representations and practices, and that provides new modes of theoretical engagement with how speakers accomplish voice and agency*." The CMDR is unique in that it creates an awareness of the 'real-life' language practices of its students as it unfolds in a manner that is academically comprehensible, proactively leading the pack ahead of UCT and SU. Further evidence to the advanced aptitude toward multilingualism follows "*the recognition that a*

revitalization and renewal of public and political spaces requires significant contributions from a broad range of humanities, social science and educational disciplines."

The CMDR denounces "*colonial and monoglot understandings of language and linguistic diversity" that* have significantly restricted academic engagements with contemporary and historical voices. As a previously disadvantaged university, UWC has motive and evidence to account for the above-mentioned phenomenon. Essentially, the CMDR of UWC's mission is to conduct a critical analysis of contemporary deliberation on multilingualism across academia and society at large.

The CMDR can be compared to SU's Language Centre mentioned in Figure 6.6. The Language Centre provides language support services aimed at the effective implementation of the Language Policy, in collaboration with the faculties, support services divisions, and management bodies, "*Providing reading and writing development support, language services that include translation, interpreting and editing services, modules in professional communication, academic literacy and language acquisition."* The faculties, support services divisions, and management bodies consult with the Language Centre and also provide language support of their own.

Figure 6.7: SU 'Our Vision 2040'
(page 3 of 34)
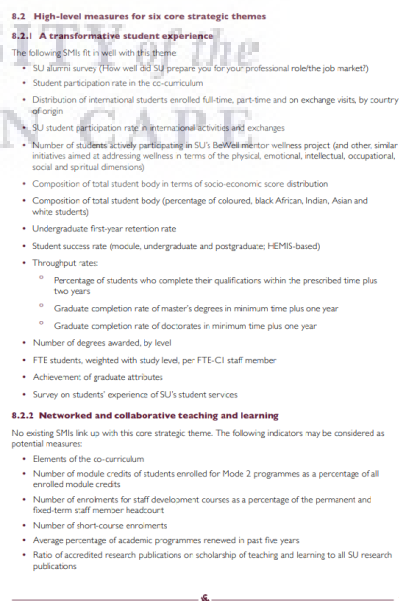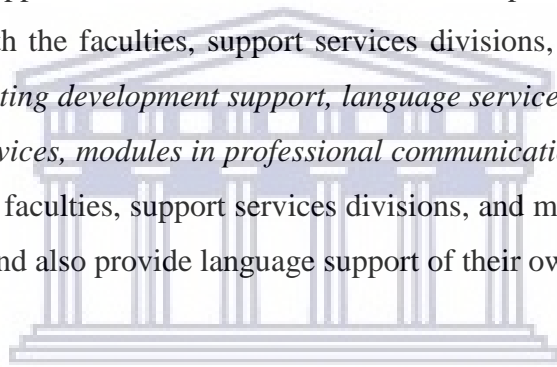
Figure 6.8: SU 'Our Vision 2040'
(page 30 of 34)

Both Figures 6.7 and 6.8 are from the same document titled 'Vision 2040 and Strategy 2019 – 2024.' It is a recently released (2019) 34-page document highlighting in-depth insight into the vision and execution of the development of SU as a tertiary institution. In Figure 8.10.3, 'our vision 2014' states, *"SU will be Africa's leading research-intensive university, globally recognized as excellent, inclusive and innovative, where we advance knowledge in service of society."* An interesting observation from the orchestration of the vision 2040 and strategy 2019 – 2024 was that the core themes were only addressed on page 30 of 34. Under the section of 'transformative student experience' and 'networked and collaborative teaching and learning,' there was limited reference to multilingualism and multilingual practices, which does not align with the aims and objectives of the language policy (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).

Figure 6.10: UCT online mission statement screenshot

Figure 6.9: 'A statement of values' for members attending UCT

Figure 6.9 contains UCT's mission statement. At the bottom of the extract, its approval is dated 10 December 2016. The vision and mission aligns with the UCT language policy (Figure 6.2). The vision states that UCT is an inclusive and engaged research-intensive African university that inspires creativity through outstanding achievements in learning. Subsequent to that, UCT states

that they are committed to engaging with the key issues of our natural and social worlds through outstanding teaching, research, and scholarship. The mission of UCT is to ensure that scholarship and research have a positive impact on our society and our environment, stating, *"we will actively advance the pace of transformation within our university and beyond, nurturing an inclusive institutional culture which embraces diversity."*

Figure 6.10 is a document titled "A statement of values for the University of Cape Town and its members." This document is neither a language policy nor a mission statement; however, contains information pertaining to diversity and multilingual practices on the campus. The document shares a common narrative to the language policy in terms of the introductory statement. *"As a public university in Africa we fully embrace our African identity"* is the opening sentence. The document also stipulates that UCT is a community. A community implies the adherence by its members to certain shared values. Some of the values are linked to multilingual practices and the inclusion of identity:

- *"Inclusiveness, embodying respect for cultural, religious, linguistic, political, and other differences and acknowledgement of the value of diversity in society."*
- *"Build on the best of UCT's legacy, while interrogating the historical values and assumptions that inform our institutional culture and the academic project."*

6.4 The disjuncture between language policy, mission statements and material culture

The extracts (*Figures 6.1 – 10*) pertaining to language policy and mission statements used in this chapter across the three universities may vary in terms of the finite details of strategy and implementation. However, each respective university shares a common ideal outcome for growth and development, which is evidently a progressive attitude towards diversity and multilingualism as an institutional practice.

However, while the above-mentioned policies and statements indicate language use, aims, objectives, visions and missions, the actual LL provides physical/tangible evidence to the reality of the material culture of multilingualism. Materialities containing linguistic value are key indicators to the extent in which the ascertained documents are implemented in the physical environment of each university.

The findings in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that the language policies and mission statements only account for a fraction (limited) of the material artefacts and cultural objects in the LL. In other words, there is a distinctive gap between material culture observed in the landscape and the content produced in language policies and mission statements.

6.4.1 The University of Cape Town

Figure 5.2: Rhodes statue remnants 2019

Figures 5.2 and 5.3, as seen in Chapter 5, are located in a significant area on UCT Upper campus. It is where the iconic Cecil John Rhodes statue stood. The statue was removed as a consequence of the Rhodes Must Fall movement in 2015. The movement successfully pled for the removal of the statue; seen as a symbol which protesters felt was oppressive, encompassed institutional racism, as well as the perceived lack of racial transformation at the university. According to Figure 6.10, UCT provides a statement of values, stating the following:

- *"Inclusiveness, embodying respect for cultural, religious, linguistic, political, and other differences and acknowledgement of the value of diversity in society."*

UCT indicates institutional morals which coincide with the removal of the statue. However, there is an apparent disjuncture. Although the statue of Rhodes was removed from the campus, it is observed in the LL of UCT in Chapter 4 "languages of signage as material culture of multilingualism" that the statue was just one artefact amidst a plethora of colonial materiality that

forms the basis of origin at UCT. There are several road names and a memorial of Rhodes surrounding the campus still boasting a significant presence in landscape.

Figure 6.11: UCT task team agenda on identifying harmful materialities located on Upper campus

Figure 6.11 is a document indicating a tangible connection between the language policies and mission statements with the material culture of UCT. The document consists of information on a task team with regard to "the Naming of Buildings, Rooms, Spaces and Roads." The task team was established by the UCT Council in 2015 with the following primary objectives:

- *"Conduct or commission an audit, assessment and analysis of the names of buildings, rooms, spaces and roads that may be seen to recognize or celebrate colonial oppressors and/or which may be offensive or controversial; and*

- *Seek comment and opinion from members of the university and other interested and/or affected parties on these names."*

The task team claims to have carried out the task of investigating the naming of buildings, rooms, spaces, and roads. However, in reality, more focus was on the naming and renaming of buildings

in particular – as languages of signage, seen as combating the symptoms of the exclusion of certain types (identities) rather than the root cause.

An example of the extent of the deep-rooted colonial artefacts can be seen in the artefacts below:
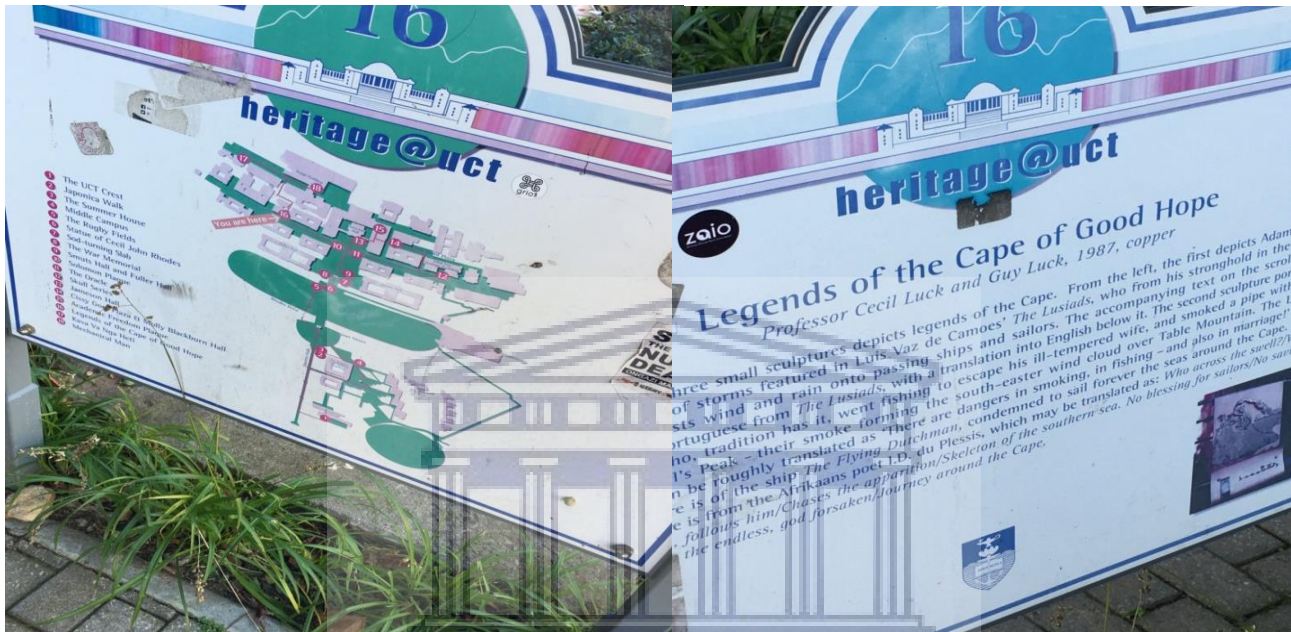
Figure 6.12: (right) 'Legends of the Cape of Good Hope' inscription on the back of Figure 4.6 (left)

The provided map of the campus plaque number 16 is labelled as 'Legends of Good Hope.' Plaque number 16's memorial resembles a considerable grey area in terms of the implementation of mission statements and values of institutional culture provided by the university in Figures 6.9 and 6.10. 'Legends of Good Hope' appears to euphemise colonialism through folktales, creating heroes of historical events that fall in the same category of the removed Rhodes statue.

6.4.2 The University of the Western Cape

Figure 4.16: 'Sosialewetenskappe' building

Figure 4.18: UWC library renovations

The approach to Afrikaans signage and material culture resembling the apartheid era situated in the LL of UWC is symbolically captured by Figure 4.16. Practices of standardised Afrikaans is seen as increasingly diminishing.

Intolerance of language practices remnant of the apartheid era indicates an alignment with Figure 6.6; the extract containing a profound statement issued by the CMDR of UWC. The statement denounces colonial historical perspective on languages, stating, "*Colonial and monoglot understandings of language and linguistic* diversity, *have significantly restricted academic engagements with contemporary and historical voices.*" The broadness of this statement can be argued against the colonial origins of both Afrikaans and English in the LL of UWC in particular, being the only HBU.

Figure 5.9: UWC's honorary alumni who led an active role in the anti-apartheid/movement

UWC is known as being particularly active in the fight for equal human rights. Evidence in both the ascertained language policy and mission statements of UWC indicates pride, as a liberal university. Figure 5.9 aligns with one of the main objectives of the mission statement issued in

Figure 6.2. The objective states the intention to, *"Seek racial and gender equality and contribute to helping the historically marginalised participate fully in the life of the nation."* In that regard,

there is symmetry between paying tribute to the anti-apartheid icons of UWC (material culture) and the current objective of seeking racial and gender equality (language policy and mission statements).

6.4.3 Stellenbosch University
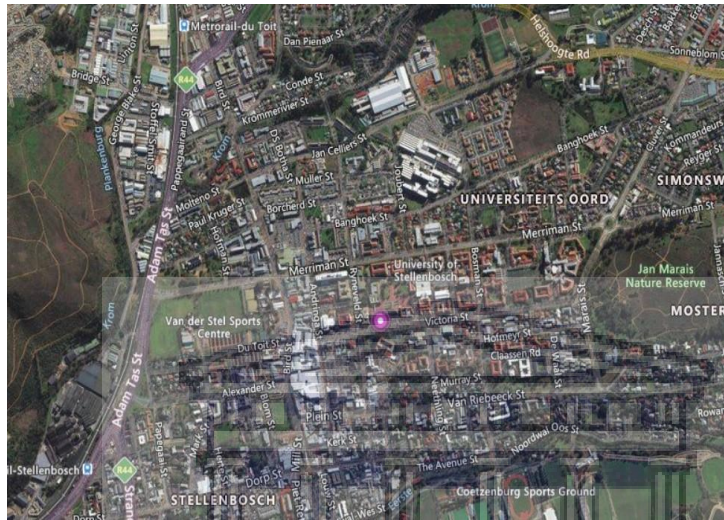
Figure 5.11: Stellenbosch University, Google Maps screenshot

Stellenbosch is known as the second oldest European settlement (Dutch) in the Western Cape and a haven for colonial Dutch heritage. The presence of specific material artefacts were seen in Chapters 4 and 5, illustrating street names, building names, sporting fields, reserves, and statues surrounding SU considerably favouring Afrikaans in the LL.

The relationship between the mission statements, language policy, and material culture of SU presents a challenge in terms of the stipulated historical context. The history of Stellenbosch is a contributing factor to understanding the university's detailed and legally binding language policy in which SU cites, *"Section 29 (2) of the Constitution in relation to language usage in its academic, administrative, professional and social contexts"* of the South African Constitution. According to Figure 6.4, the language policy states that where multilingual practices are concerned, "*7.5.1 The Language Centre, the faculties, the language departments, support services and management bodies are co-responsible for the advancement of multilingualism at SU."* The co-responsibility of the advancement of multilingualism by the above-mentioned parties' points toward

substantiated progression and growth of multilingual practices within academia; however, leaves the broader social aspects – the material culture within the LL – largely unaddressed.

There is insufficient documentation to suggest how the more visible semiotic features seeded into the environment of SU may include or exclude certain social types and identities mentioned in Chapter 5. In Chapter 4 and 5, the distinctive characteristics of the LL are analysed and shown to exhibit semiotic features likened to Dutch culture. In that capacity, there is consistency between the material culture and the language policy, with regard to Afrikaans implemented at SU, which is referred to in Figure 6.4, *"SU advances the academic potential of Afrikaans by means of, for example, teaching, conducting research, holding symposia, presenting short courses, supporting language teachers and hosting guest lecturers in Afrikaans…"* At SU, Afrikaans is notably more practiced and versed in the academic setting, as a formal medium as well as being consistent with the cultural objects and artefacts (documents) located within the LL.

Afrikaner identity is celebrated in Stellenbosch. Social practices and events are mentioned in Chapter 5, in which the University annually hosts the *SU Wordless* (word festival), a predominantly Afrikaans-language festival.
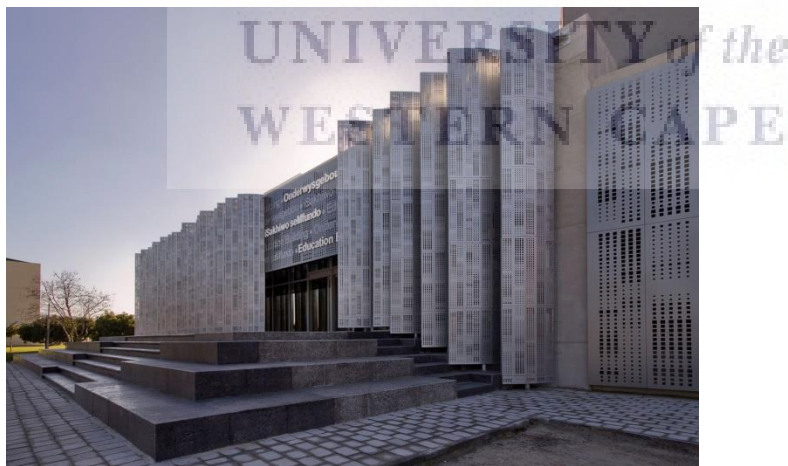
Figure 5.16: SU Education building named in the three dominant Western Cape languages

There is evidence of concentrated multilingual development in the LL, as the language policy and mission statements encourage. In particular, Figure 5.15 from Chapter 5 is an image taken outside of the recently constructed education building. Reh's (2004) stipulated uses of code display a

duplicating arrangement of information as seen above. There is a clear separation of languages: The first phrase contains Afrikaans script, lexicon, and syntax; the second contains isiXhosa script, lexicon, and syntax; and the third phrase contains English script, lexicon, and syntax.

The increased presence of South African (Bantu) languages in the LL of SU is symbolic of the policy provided in Figure 6.3, which states, *"the aims to increase equitable access for all SU students and staff to facilitate pedagogically sound teaching and learning."* Language and multilingual practices are used an administrative tool of inclusion at SU.

6.5 Summary

The language related documents indicate a common forum by each university (UCT, UWC, and SU), which categorically states the importance of diversity and multilingual practices. All three of the universities' language policies and mission statements emphasise an ideal of maximized inclusion of identity, with a substantiated regard to cater for previously disadvantaged members of the university.

HWU's in particular are previously known for their harmful colonial history. Their policies are in the process of navigating restorative measures to accommodate past inequalities. The reality, however, is that there is an underlying paradox of the inclusion of identity and equitable access in the universities perpetuated by the material effects of the history of South Africa. This is captured by the apparent disjuncture between the language policy, mission statements, and material culture.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the significant findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the analysis. The findings are broken down into five segments (a – e).

(a) Investigating and exploring how the languages of signage, cultural objects, and artefacts (statues, names of streets, and buildings) were differentially constructed within the respective research sites. (b) Unpacking spatial repertoires, beyond the signs and toward the construction, and the impact of identity seeded in the artefacts. (c) The diachronic nature of this study considering the semiotic ecology of the material culture of multilingualism and the role of identity. (d) The effect of group identity in place. Lastly, (e) The manner and extent; the material cultures investigated reflected and contradicted the language policies and mission statements procured from the three universities. The findings are broken down in a consistent manner with the structure of this study, aiding in connecting the research objectives.

The recommendation section addresses the evident gap located in the research of the LL and promotes further discussion and research on the material culture of multilingualism.

7.1.2 (a) The investigation of the material culture of multilingualism

The challenge of this study was that comparing the universities on the basis of materiality implicated a range of extended contexts such as financial, historical, geographical, social, and political. The universities are inherently imperfect in that regard, particularly against the backdrop of post-apartheid South Africa and its colonial history. It was hypothesised that the universities LLs would have a limited presence of African (Bantu) languages due to this historical context.

This hypothesis was proven correct in Chapter 4, which gave an accurate indication of the languages in place as material culture of multilingualism on the three research sites. This was aided by the significant quantity of images (215) of street signs collected and cross-referenced by Google

Maps. The table format (triangulation) of the data set illustrated that UWC had a significantly higher balance between English (64%) and Afrikaans (37%) signage in place (aptitude for multilingualism). UCT illustrated a spatial repertoire that predominantly favoured English (91%), and SU predominantly favouring Afrikaans (87%), while the sum of Bantu languages across all three of the LLs accounted for less than 5%.

The findings' generated from the languages of signage (material culture) illustrate a significant imbalance of multilingual practices, seen as more excluding towards African language practices.

7.1.3 (b) Unpacking spatial repertoires, beyond the signs

Material artefacts are presented as being socially engineered and constructed in the LL; evidence of this was seen in Chapter 5 where the LLs shared semiotic commonalities and patterns. The data set was seen to share multiple characteristics in their positioning. In the provided list of Figures 4.7, 4.8, 5.2, 5.3 (UCT); 4.18, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 (UWC), and 4.25, 5.12, 5.13, 5.15 (SU) there are examples of ascertained images of the statues and permanent artefacts meticulously situated at what is to be considered desired real estate on each of the campus grounds. This is what one might consider a "high traffic area" of an intended audience (Huebner, 2008:75). The cultural objects and material artefacts of the three universities are strategically placed near the halls, libraries, and student cafeterias, made overtly visible to its members. "Signs identifying the names of buildings and nature of establishments are most often meant both to identify the business for passers-by and to entice them" (Ibid, p. 75).

While there were similar characteristics noted above, the performance languages and identity in this study were truly reinforced and illustrated a closer link to architecture (finite structures in place), as well as the flora and fauna, empirically differentiated between each university:

(1) UCT had a consistent British Victorian era (archaic) large-scale building style: Figures 4.7, 5.4, 8.7, and 8.8, as well as a significant presence of green pastures, which include vines that are reclaiming the walls and buildings: Figures 8.4, 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8. in Appendix 1.

(2) SU's older buildings illustrated a Cape Dutch building style: Figures 4.25, 4.26, 4.27, and 5.14. Structures are consistently named after iconic members of the Afrikaner community (political, religious, and military): Figures 4.25 and 4.26. A significant amount of oak trees

were visible, reported to be planted by its founder, famous Dutch settler; Simon van der Stel – Figure 5.14.

(3) UWC was seen to be consistently brick laid – Figures 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, 4.19, and 5.10, with a dry/arid climate, located next to the Cape Flats Nature Reserve famous for its 'fynbos' habitat – Figure 5.7.

The depth of languages and identity in place is secured by this deep rooted materiality. There was noticeably less (insufficient) research referring to the effects of these finite inferences of material culture seen to have a profound relationship with identity and multilingual practices.

7.1.4 (c) The semiotic ecology of the material culture of multilingualism and the role ofidentity

In the investigation of the material culture of multilingualism, it was determined that material objects cannot be studied as a fixed phenomenon. Following conceptualisations on semiotic ecology in the LL proposed by Banda and Jimaima (2015), the task of reviewing languages of signage and multilingual practices is considered as an ecosystem with trajectories – evidence of this was indicated by the signs and buildings that were renamed and altered within the duration of this study, illustrating a diachronic nature.

The universities space(s) was noted as a platform for the production and consumption of signage. Language practices and the material objects occupying the spatial arrangements evidently had a complex interaction with its intended audience. Statues, monuments, and historical landmarks marking symbolic institutional identity within the universities space(s) were seen as a form of authoritarian communication.

Institutionally placed artefacts and cultural objects were associated with certain speech communities and ideologies. For example, the remnants of Cecil John Rhodes in the LL of UCT seen in Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 were associated with British imperialism and institutional racism, ultimately leading to its removal. Another example was seen at SU. Figures 5.12 and 5.13 are images of the Jan Marias statue associated with the Afrikaner identity exclusively. As a result, the statue was visibly defaced in both figures.

The transitional trajectories in the semiotic landscapes of UCT and SU indicated a resistance to accept colonially perceived artefacts and cultural objects as a "present reality" (Gorter & Shohamy, 2008; Aronin, 2013), which has led to the development of an alternative materiality in the LL seen by the renaming of buildings such as the Sarah Baartman Hall and Chris Hani Building. Chapter 5 indicated that the transition was not limited to HWU's exclusively. In the semiotic landscape of UWC (HBU), Figures 4.16 and 5.10 both indicate similar ecological, contestation and development of languages of signage.

7.1.5 (d) The impact and construction of group identity

Understanding the norms of interpretation of social actors of a given LL requires the researcher to move beyond the quantification of linguistic artefacts and to collect qualitative data from those inhabitants. That was a challenge in this study, especially considering the role of group identity.

Group identity played a significant role in gathering a consensus of audiences' rhetoric to institutionally placed signage. In that regard, it is noteworthy to mention how platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook (social media) contributed to the happenings in the semiotic landscape. The social media generated #RhodesMustFall as seen in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 (UCT), and the #FeesMustFall narrative seen in "0% Increment" in Figure 5.10 (UWC). Graffiti and acts of transgressive discourses involving these hashtags were littered throughout all three of the research sites. Consensus amongst social groups enables members of the universities to make use of occupation, civil disobedience and protests as a response to material culture. Actions visible in the data set included defacing the statues and buildings, occupying UCT and SU offices, as well as damaging and removal of art.

The specified historically South African prone "struggle discourse" specified by Banda and Mafofo (2015) of social identity feeds into the observable behaviour of students and universities in response to the semiotic features of their respective LL space(s).

Considering that "the analysis of institutional interaction indicates structures that embed power relations within them" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:1), the relationship between stable/fixed communicative practices (statues and names of buildings architecture) and situational practices (temporary signage and graffiti) were understood as a matter of trying to connect interaction

between the present with the historical. In the data set, both fixed and situational communicative practices were seen to have a significant outcome on the construction of identity in university space(s).

7.1.6 (e) The contradiction and gap between Material Culture and language policy/missionstatements

The analytical Chapter 6 made use of the qualitative method known as document analysis (Bowen, 2009). The documents that were analysed included both language policies and mission statements (open source Internet generated) pertaining to multilingual practices at the universities. The documents were compared and contrasted with the material culture of multilingualism in place at the three universities which indicated a disjuncture between the statements provided and tangible artefacts located in the LL.

In the review of the ascertained language related documents, a common forum was shared (Spolsky, 2004) by each university (UCT, UWC, and SU) categorically stating the importance of diversity and multilingual practices. The language policies and mission statements emphasise an ideal of maximized inclusion of identity, with a substantiated regard to cater for previously disadvantaged members of the university. However, there is limited reference to material culture in these official documents. The understanding of the structures in place that reinforce language and identity (social and institutional) is poorly understood and frequently gaslighted.

In terms of the material culture of multilingualism (Aronin, 2012), there is an underlying paradox of the inclusion of identity and equitable access in the universities traced back to the history of colonial South Africa and the present/contemporary desire for the acquisition of resources. The paradox is that historically, the distribution of wealth does not incorporate the majority of the non-White population. Instead, only a minority own and have extended access to resources.

The available material and cultural objects in the LLs illustrate a gap between the ascertained documents and material culture. A major flaw was unveiled with regard to language policy development, indicated by Prah (2016) who emphasises, "development that is sustainable and human-centred necessarily requires the full participation of society; yet learning, communication and critical thinking which are central to sustainable development cannot be attained through

languages that are not fully mastered by the community" (ibid. p. 165). The flaw is that the term 'development' is subjective. It means different things to different people. Deneulin and Shahani (2009) explain development as a means of material prosperity; owning money, land, and house. For others, development means liberation from oppression by those who own money and resources.

7.2 Recommendations

This study proves that the LL/semiotic landscape of the universities' seen in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate the material culture of multilingualism as socially and politically significant factors; however, it is inadequately researched as an epistemological paradigm. Due to the inadequate research, the universities were seen to consistently contradict their content provided by language policies and mission statements, specifically the relationship between multilingual practices and material culture.

While there are efforts encompassing transformation of material culture, indicated by UCT, SU, and UWC in renaming various buildings and surrounding road names, the findings indicate that instead of promoting multilingualism both the HWU's and HBU's would rename buildings after non-White, typically anti-apartheid political figures. This was seen to promote inclusion of surface level identity, while maintaining the predominant use of English (UCT and UWC) or Afrikaans (SU). The universities had not taken into account the unaddressed structures in place that reinforce/promote colonial identity through distinguished architecture (British Victorian and Cape Dutch), and even flora and fauna which are not originally from the Western Capes natural habitat.

In order to truly enhance the understanding of multilingualism in the LL and to make universities sites of inclusiveness and multicultural dispensations, it is recommended that academics expand the present epistemological paradigms of Multilingual Landscape research to include a focus on material culture, linked with the ways of life in:

- Multilingual homes
- Places of work
- Socialisation

- Time-spaces of wider society

The focus on material culture goes beyond and transcends the LL, delving into the intricate constructs of language and identity.

By doing this, the universities' administration can understand and draft more inclusive documents pertaining to multilingual practices performed in the LL through cultural objects and material artefacts. This act will protect both its members and the physical environment from harm. UCT has notably initiated this rhetoric as a HWU, opposed to SU.

Opening dialogue on how the three universities can make the semiotic landscapes more inclusive to diverse cultural groups is highly encouraged. The sensitivity of identity must be approached with the utmost caution. In doing so, it must be said that entirely eradicating White history in Africa is not possible. However, non-White suffering at the expense of colonialism cannot be undermined either. South Africa is a rainbow nation and should cater to all. There must be a compromise.

There is simply no denying or challenging the importance of continuing and expanding this research. In the broader context of South Africa, *our* country is undergoing severe domestic and international scrutiny over the impact of material culture and identity seeded in the LL. Some progressive examples included renaming entire cities and townships (Port Elizabeth to Gqeberha, amongst others), road and building name changes are also rife amidst the wave of decoloniality in South Africa.

The recommendation is that the analysis conducted in this study serves as an indication that further research is required. In particular, understanding material representation and inclusion of all social types should be a mandatory consideration, especially in previously colonial settlements.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Photographs

Figure 8.1: Jewish Synagogue situated at the entrance of SU – Victoria Road

Figure 8.2: Joubert Road

Figure 8.3: UWC 'Beginning and Ending' statue inscription

Figure 8.4: UCT green pastures, nature reclaiming the concrete structures

Figure 8.5: National Monuments Council (NMC)
coat of arms and logo

Figure 8.6: Smuts Hall building structure (Victorian
design)

Figure 8.7: Archaic style lamp post;
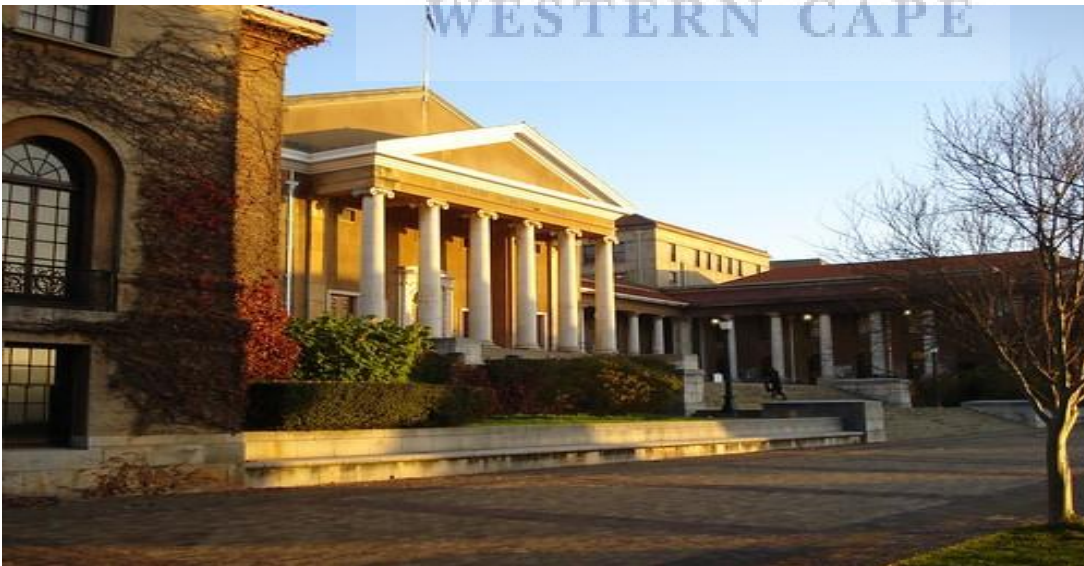*ornate structure*

Figure 8.8: Sarah Baartman Hall, formerly known as the Jameson Hall

Appendix 2 – Screenshots

academic, social, and professional.

Teaching and Examinations

English is both the primary medium of teaching and of examination except in language and literature departments where another language is taught and may be used. This applies at all levels, and to dissertations and theses for higher degrees.

All academic programme convenors and teachers are expected to explore and implement ways in which the objective of the promotion of multilingual awareness and proficiency can be achieved; and to contribute towards realising the national goals of developing all South African languages and their use, and to promoting scholarship in all our languages.

Administration

English is the primary language of internal governance and of administration. All English communication must be clear, concise and gender-sensitive. Where practical, communication will include at least the three official languages of the university: English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa.

The university management and all administrative heads of department are expected to explore and implement ways in which the aims of multilingual awareness and proficiency can be achieved; and to promote the use of the three official languages in their internal and external communication, wherever, practicable.

The UCT Language Plan

The University's Language Plan proposes strategies, guidelines and structures for implementation in relation to teaching African languages to staff and students, promoting scholarship in all South African languages, and facilitating proficiency in English and promoting multilingualism in the environment.

Figure 8.9: UCT Language Policy (page 2 of 2) screenshot

Languages in which texts are available:

Regarding the language students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities, departments should actively seek to appoint some student tutors who can assist students in Xhosa and/or Afrikaans, as well as English.

Access to Academic and Professional Discourse:

- All students will have access to entry-level courses aimed at strengthening their English oral and aural communication skills and improving their academic literacy in English.
- All students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy in English.

UWC Language Policy: Date of Approval - C2003/3   Page 1/2
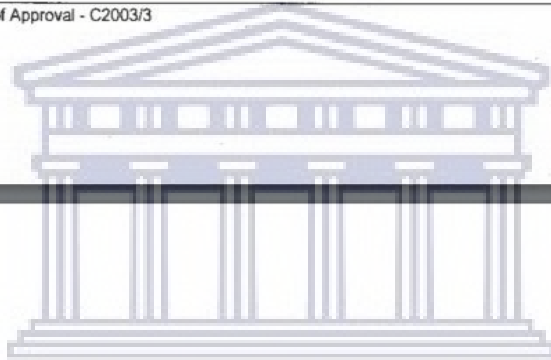
Promoting Multilingualism:

- The university undertakes to make language acquisition courses in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa available to both administrative and lecturing staff.
- All students will be encouraged, through enrichment programmes, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.

Languages of Internal Communication:

The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English. However, the university will progressively make important information available in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. Essential information such as rules will be made available in the three languages as a matter of priority. If departments for whatever reason deem it necessary, or because research into the needs of the client group reveals a clear need, Afrikaans , English and Xhosa translation of formal communications should be made available, provided that it is practicable to do so.

Figure 8.10: UWC Language Policy (page 2 of 2) – screenshot

economies of value, determine what languages should/can be mastered by whom, and for what functions and purposes, and constrain modes of access to, and acquisition of, each variety. The organisation of citizenship in societies has been mediated by a historically variable socio-political and cultural organisation of language practices and beliefs about language and language learning.

Not surprisingly, this means that attending to the role of language in bridging divides, restoring dignities and redistributing power poses a host of challenges for contemporary language policy. The conceptual frameworks through which language policy making and implementation are conventionally understood can only with difficulty translate values such as care, empathy, and respect for diversity into a language policy for democracy. Thus, a central question is how can a rethinking of multilingualism contribute to the reconfiguration of public (and intimate) space, so as to allow for a broader based democratic involvement?

The Centre for Multilingualism and Diversities Research (CMDR)

The Faculty of Arts at the University of the Western Cape recently inaugurated the Centre for Multilingualism and Diversities Research, which is dedicated to cross-faculty research on multilingualism. Its overall objective is the development of a theory of language politics adequate for diverse and transforming societies that builds on a more complex understanding of the dynamics of linguistic diversity in its multiple manifestations, local representations and practices, and that provides new modes of theoretical engagement with how speakers accomplish voice and agency, or what constrains or denies this. Importantly, it recognises that a revitalisation and renewal of public and political spaces requires significant contributions from a broad range of humanities, social science and educational disciplines. Colonial and monoglot understandings of language and linguistic diversity have significantly restricted academic engagements with contemporary and historical voices, and the way these voices have been circulated and interpreted for which publics. A critical analysis of contemporary deliberation on multilingualism across academia and society at large will provide the epistemological and methodological framework for the reconstitution of the areas of language, literature and cultural studies from the vantage point/perspective of the global, postcolonial, South. The aim is to embark on a significant project of intellectual reorientation that promises not just a significant rethinking of multilingualism, but also a new discourse with which to approach interdisciplinary work in the humanities and the education sciences.

Modes of work

Cognizant, then, of the double aim of (i) developing an understanding of the wider political and philosophical significance of multilingualism, and (ii) contributing to a disciplinary rejuvenation across the humanities by rethinking language through interdisciplinary dialogue on multilingualism, the CMDR grounds its activities in (a) research clusters, (b) an interdisciplinary seminar series devoted to discipline specific discourses on multilingualism, (c) a programme of visiting researchers and research fellows, (d) a residential writer, (e) international and regional partnerships and (f) outreach activities with local communities and institutions.

Figure 8.11: UWC mission statement generated by CMDR (page 2 of 2) – screenshot

FAQs by students about SU's new Language Policy

When will the new Language Policy take effect?

The new Language Policy and Language Implementation Plans will take effect from the start of 2017. In the second semester of 2016, the current Language Policy will apply, with modules offered in accordance with the language specifications in the 2016 calendars (yearbooks). As in the first semester, and subject to available resources, SU will continue with additional measures to ensure that students who are not proficient in Afrikaans or English are not excluded from lectures.

In what language will lectures be available?

Faculties will offer academic programmes in a combination of three different language modes –

More than one class group:
For undergraduate modules where it is reasonably practicable and pedagogically sound to have more than one class group:
- separate lectures will be offered in Afrikaans and English;
- such learning opportunities as group work, assignments, tutorials and practical sessions involving students from both language groups will be utilised to promote integration within programmes; and
- students will be supported in Afrikaans and English with a combination of appropriate, facilitated learning opportunities (e.g. consultations during office hours or routinely scheduled tutorials and practical sessions).

Afrikaans and English in the same class group:
For undergraduate modules where both Afrikaans and English are used in the same class group, the combination of facilitated learning opportunities is as follows:
- During each lecture, all information is conveyed at least in English and summaries or emphasis of content are also repeated in Afrikaans. Questions in Afrikaans and English are, at the least, answered in the language of the question.
- Students are supported in Afrikaans and English during a combination of appropriate, facilitated learning opportunities (e.g. consultations during office hours, or routinely scheduled tutorials and practical sessions).
- For first-year modules, SU makes simultaneous interpreting available during each lecture. During the second and subsequent years of study, simultaneous interpreting is made available by SU upon request by a faculty, if the needs of the students warrant the service and SU has the resources to provide it. If two weeks have passed with no students making use of the interpreting service, it may be discontinued.

Lectures in a single language:
- Where the nature of the subject matter of the module justifies doing so, for example where the module is on the language itself.
- Where the assigned lecturer is proficient to teach only in Afrikaans or English. For these modules additional support is provided:
  o If the lectures are in Afrikaans, SU makes simultaneous interpreting available in English.
  o If the lectures of the first-year modules are in English, SU makes simultaneous interpreting available in Afrikaans, and during the second and subsequent years of study, simultaneous interpreting is made available by SU upon request by a faculty,

Figure 8.12: Stellenbosch University FAQs by students on Language Policy (English) page 1 of 4 – screenshot

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if the needs of the students warrant the service and SU has the resources to provide it.

- o If two weeks have passed with no students making use of the interpreting service, it may be discontinued.

Where all the students in the class group have been invited to vote by means of a secret ballot, and those students who have voted unanimously agree to it, the module will be presented in Afrikaans only or English only, provided that the relevant lecturers and teaching assistants have the necessary language proficiency and agree to do so.

In what language will I be expected to write exams?

Question papers for tests, examinations and other summative assessments in undergraduate modules will be available in Afrikaans and English. Students may answer all assessments and submit all written work in Afrikaans or English.

In postgraduate learning and teaching, including final year modules at NQF level 8, any language may be used provided all the relevant students are sufficiently proficient in that language.

What impact will the Language Policy have on University residences?

In residences and other living environments, language is used in such a way that, where reasonably practicable, no stakeholder is excluded from participating in any formal activities in these environments.

What can I do if the Language policy is not being implemented correctly?

Students who feel negatively affected by the implementation of the Language Policy can follow the following procedures:

- Re. implementation by faculties, complaints can be lodged as prescribed by the relevant faculty's appeals/complaints procedure or, in the absence of such a procedure and in order of preference, with the relevant staff member, the departmental chairperson or head, or the dean. If complaints are not satisfactorily resolved at faculty level and the complaints are related to academic contexts, students can refer the complaints to the Academic Planning Committee (APC), via the Student Academic Affairs Council. If complaints are still not resolved, the APC will refer the matter to Senate, with a recommendation.
- Re. implementation by support services, complaints can be lodged with the relevant hierarchy of line managers, or in the case of the broader University, with the Rector's Management Team (RMT) via the executive committee of the Students Representative Council (SRC).
- Re. implementation in student living environments, complaints can be lodged with the relevant house committee or residential head. If complaints are not satisfactorily resolved at university residence or private student ward level, students may approach the Senior Director: Student Affairs.

In cases where the above mentioned structures are not suitable, complaints may be submitted to the SU Ombudsman for settlement in consultation with the relevant structures. Contact details are available on the University's website under the link, Contact Us.

Figure 8.13: Stellenbosch University FAQs by students on Language Policy (English) page 2 of 4 – screenshot

Undergraduate lectures may only be offered in one language when the learning material warrants this, the lecturer concerned can only teach in that language, or the class votes unanimously for one language. For first-year students at least, real-time interpreting into the 'other' language will be available.

- The language mode for each of your academic modules will be explained in the module framework concerned, as well as on your faculty's webpage.

The support you will receive

Further support in Afrikaans or English is available to students through consultations during office hours, scheduled tutorials and practicals, ICT-supported learning (audio and video recordings), and the services of the Language Centre.

All compulsory reading material will be provided in English and, except for published material, also in Afrikaans. SU's module frameworks and study guides will still be available in English and Afrikaans. In undergraduate modules, question papers for tests, examinations and other assessments will be prepared in Afrikaans and English, and students may complete all assessments and written work in Afrikaans or English. The multilingual model supports Afrikaans first-year students who have not yet mastered academic English. In their final year of study, through the academic support that is available, these students should be able to participate nationally and internationally.

Help each other to succeed

The Language Policy is not ideologically motivated. It does not accord any special status to any of South Africa's official languages, and the language allocation is not based on a given percentage of lecture time per language. SU believes that multilingualism is an additional asset for any graduate. The intention is rather to use the languages of tuition in practical ways that will ensure no one is excluded from knowledge, that no one language is forced on students, and that students are encouraged to learn additional languages. The implementation of multilingualism is complex and there is no universal quick fix. The language proficiency of a particular group of students is the biggest variable – it will differ from module to module, and from year to year. Therefore language application should be flexible to adapt to changing needs. Feedback to lecturers is important. Share examples of successful language implementation and make suggestions for improvement with a positive and helpful attitude.

Where students believe that language usage is jeopardising their study success, or that they are being excluded from the academic offering on the basis of the language of tuition, the matter can be taken up in the department or faculty, or through the faculty's representatives on the Academic Affairs Council that operates under the auspices of the Student Representative Council. If the matter

Figure 8.14: SU online mission statement – screenshot