

**Multilingualism, linguistic landscaping and translation of isiXhosa signage at three  
Western Cape Universities**



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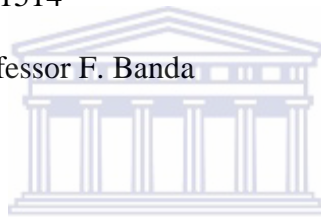
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**University of the Western Cape**

**Department of Linguistics**

**MA Thesis Linguistics Programme (Full thesis)**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium  
in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

## Keywords

University of the Western Cape

University of Cape Town

Stellenbosch University/ University of Stellenbosch

Linguistic landscapes/semiotic landscapes/signage

Language planning

Language policy

Multilingualism

Translation

Multimodality

IsiXhosa

Audience/ receivers/viewers



# Multilingualism, Linguistic Landscaping and Translation of IsiXhosa Signage at Three Western Cape Universities

**S. Philibane**

**Magister Artium**

## **Abstract**

*Promotion and practice of multilingualism is of infinite need in a country with such history as South Africa. The need to promote, preserve and maintain languages grows each and every day due to the possibility of languages fading away until they become non-existent. The best system to maintain, preserve and promote all languages existing in a country is to utilise them in a multilingual sense. This is what each mission statement of the three major universities in the Western Cape Province promise; they claim to contribute to multilingualism by encouraging the use of and development isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans as languages of learning and teaching at the institutions. This study set out to investigate the practice of multilingualism in the three universities of the Western Cape considering the quantity and quality (of isiXhosa translation) in the linguistic landscapes. The findings show uneven promotion of the three official languages in all three universities in both the number of signage found and the quality of the translation, and sometimes incomplete translation of isiXhosa signage. At the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town, English proved to be the most favoured language in comparison to Afrikaans and isiXhosa. This tradition of favouring languages was the same at Stellenbosch University, only the language of prestige was different; Afrikaans. Thus among other things the study recommends that policy makers within the three universities should ensure that linguistic landscapes do not just display all three languages, they should make sure that the languages are distributed evenly. Most significant, all the target text should be translated properly. In essence, the universities should employ trained language practitioners for all language related matters.*

May 2014

## DECLARATION

I declare that this proposal for the topic: *Multilingualism, linguistic landscaping and translation of isiXhosa signage at three Western Cape Universities*, is my own work, that it has not been submitted before, for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Sibongile Philibane

Signed..... Date .....



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The Holy Scripture states that God knew each and every one of us before we were introduced to life. Thus He planned our lives before we were conceived. I thank God for designing my life the way it is. I thank Him for His guidance and protection throughout my duration and, most importantly, I thank Him for believing in me and for giving me strength when I wanted to give up during the duration of this thesis.

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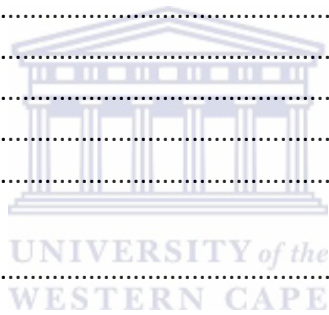


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# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.0 Introduction

South Africa's history, particularly during the apartheid regime, is one that is known and lamented across the world. Amongst other insufferable scars caused by the apartheid regime to humanity of all colour, the legacy of linguistic bruises still lives on in the current day. To mend fences with the past, each language that exists within South Africa had to be recognised as important as any other, just like each individual that dwells in South Africa and their heritage are important as any other. As Pujolar (2007: 77) remarks, 'language is no longer a territorial issue, but a "civil rights" issue'.

Out of a vast number of languages and dialects that exist within South Africa, only eleven of those languages were given official recognition as the official languages of the state. Although the South African constitution recognises the existence of many more non-official languages and emphasise their importance as much as the official languages, only the official languages of the state can be used for official use. Subsection 3 of chapter 1 of the South African constitution proposes: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, Sesotho sa Leboa, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga as official languages of the Republic of South Africa. As an act formed to safeguard the use of official languages of the state, the act declares the following:

- As official languages of the state these languages should all enjoy equal status; therefore should be promoted equally
- Wherever practicable citizens have the right to use any of the official languages for formal and informal use
- Regional differentiation in terms of language policies and practice is allowed

Thus most language policies fashioned by the national language policies act are similar in some way but also have significant differences. They all pose as fronts to promote the use of languages as equal partners while at the same time advance particular languages over other. Some scholars believe it is only fair to have a common language for communication across linguistic borders. However, Alexander (2002) believes this is nothing but an installed ideology. Community of language is not an essential attribute of the nation; [] the crucial issue is the capacity of the citizens to communicate with one another effortlessly, regardless

of the language in which they do so (Alexander, 2002:88 in Kaschula, 2004:2). According to Kaschula (2004), drawing from Alexander's premise, it is fair to assume that South African citizens do not communicate effortlessly because "English has become entrenched as the language of politics, economy and trade [because] those who control the economy do so through the medium of English" (Kaschula, 2004:2), thus leaving everyone else (adequately proficient in English or not) in a 'must adapt' situation. The situation as it stands is not fair to some citizens because "language needs to be used in order to create greater intersection between communities and thereby, greater economic parity between South Africans", not drive a wedge between the different language groups involved in this language and power struggle (Alexander, 2002:88 in Kaschula, 2004:2).

In fact, the language policy recommendations of the Language Plan Task Group (Langtag) are in opposition to what the language situation in South Africa is currently. Beukes (2004:10) states that the congregation on the Langtag first conference on 9 November 1995 prescribed the following objectives that should be addressed by the South African language policy:

1. All South Africans should have access to all spheres of South African society by developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice.
2. All South Africans should have access to the learning of languages other than their mother-tongue.
3. The African languages, which have been disadvantaged by the linguistic policies of the past, should be developed and maintained.
4. Equitable and widespread language services should be established.

Bamgbose (1991:111) in Kaschula (2004:3) observed that "no matter how good language policies are in Africa, they are characterised by, *inter alia* declaration without implementation". It is evident in the preceding discussion that multilingual language policies recognise the existence of vast numbers of languages existing in a state, province, each public and private institution, on the other hand, they deny that these languages can and are being used together and not as competitors as multilingual language policies would portray them to be. Grin (1999) presents a very fitting case with the situation of Switzerland. Switzerland is known as the state with 'model multilingualism'. This quadrilingual state (German, Romanche, Italian and French) is 'known' to utilise all four languages for official and non-official purposes in a multilingual fashion, that is, utilising all languages present in a state

without inserting boundaries between the languages. Grin's findings however contradict this perception: his research proved that all four languages are being utilised autonomously in all spheres, as if the other three do not exist. "Switzerland may be quadrilingual, but to most intents and purposes, each point of its territory can be viewed as unilingual. Correspondingly, living in Switzerland means living entirely in German (with a diglossic pattern comprising standard German and the local Swiss-German dialect), in French or in Italian" (Grin, 1999: 3). This means the language policy in Switzerland fosters multi-monolingualism instead of multilingual dispensation in individuals, which entails the use of multiple languages in one context without the manifestation of boundaries between them (Cruz Ferreira, 2010). This is in fact achievable in the case of linguistic landscapes; languages can be used fairly and equally in linguistic landscapes.

Recent studies in the field of applied linguistics such as Alexander (2002) and Kaschula (2004) have emphasised the role played by multilingual language policies on language use in society. They claim that language practices within society do not just become the way they are; language policies play a major role in how people use languages, that is, whether they are talking casually, formally, or writing as in linguistic landscapes around cities. In fact, most studies based on language practices in South Africa have pinned the gaps found in language practices on the failure of the language policy's implementation (cf. Alexander 2002, Kaschula 2004). The question then is what are the implications of the national language policy for the language policies of the three main universities of the Western Cape? In particular, to what extent is national (and also provincial) language policy implemented visually through the linguistic landscapes at the three universities?

### **1.1. Background to the study: the histories of the University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch University and University of Cape Town**

According to Banda (2012) the history of South Africa, and most importantly, the history of the three universities, laid foundation to the language policies of the three institutions respectively, thus inherently laid foundation to the language practices within the three universities in the current day. The policy behind the founding of the three universities was meant to retain and highlight the social, political, and financial hierarchies between the different racial groups that dwelled in South Africa prior and during the apartheid regime. The University of Cape Town was mainly for English speaking White people; the University

of Stellenbosch for the Afrikaans Whites; and the University of the Western Cape was for the ostensibly Afrikaans-speaking Coloured community (see Wolpe, 1995).

The University of the Western Cape is situated in Bellville, a small suburban area within the city of Cape Town<sup>1</sup>. It was founded in 1960 for the so-called Coloured community only (Mafofo, 2010). The University of the Western Cape (UWC), fondly known as “Bush” amongst its students, lecturers and Cape Town residents, is one of the three South African universities located in the Western Cape Province. The name “Bush” could be said to have begun as a derogatory name which the university acquired in the early stages of operating in the “Bush” between the “modern” University of Cape Town (UCT) and Stellenbosch University (SU). Due to lack of funding, “Bush College” was not operating autonomously as a college. It was a university college that existed under an umbrella of the University of South Africa. Meant to cater for the marginalised groups and fitting to its function, the University of the Western Cape had minimal facilities compared to Stellenbosch University and University of Cape Town. It was meant to provide education and training for so-called Coloureds in particular restricted fields which were “relative to occupations in the middle rather than the upper reaches of the stratification system” (Wolpe, 1995: 283).

Victoria College was founded in the year 1865, and was reformed in 1918 as the University of Stellenbosch (Banda, 2012). According to Gerhart (1978) the founding of Stellenbosch University was purely a depiction of independency by the White Afrikaner elite breaking away from the White English elite following the feud between the two groups. Banda (2012) adds, even though the White Afrikaner and White English were in conflict, the University of Cape Town and University of Stellenbosch were better equipped than the University of the Western Cape and other universities that were marginalised during that period. Stellenbosch University is situated in Eerste River, a suburban area on the outskirts of Cape Town. The Stellenbosch University is divided into four campuses: Stellenbosch campus, Bellville campus, Tygerberg campus and Saldanha campus<sup>2</sup>.

The oldest University in South Africa by far, the University of Cape Town was established in 1829 as the South African College. It has three campuses existing in the suburbs of Rondebosch, Rosebank and Mowbray in Cape Town<sup>3</sup>. The University of Cape Town was founded as a boys’ college for White people only and later developed into the University of

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<sup>1</sup>[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University\\_of\\_the\\_Western\\_Cape](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_the_Western_Cape)

<sup>2</sup>[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stellenbosch\\_University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stellenbosch_University)

<sup>3</sup>[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University\\_of\\_Cape\\_Town](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Cape_Town)

Cape Town in 1918, funded by Alfred Beit, Julius Wenher and Otto Beit (Banda, 2012). Banda (2012) states that the university continued to be a ‘Whites only university’ until the 1920’s when the university started accepting Coloured and Black students. However, the number of Black and Coloured students accepted at the University of Cape Town was restricted until the end of the 1980’s (Banda, 2012).

## 1.2. Problem statement

Linguistic landscapes are more than just displays on the side of the road; they depict the history of the location they are occupying, the diversity of occupants and languages they speak and most importantly, they depict languages of importance within the area they occupy (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Gorter, 2006; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Heubner, 2006 and Dagenais, Moore, Lamarre, Sabatier and Armand, 2008). The University of the Western Cape, University of Cape Town and University of Stellenbosch are set within the Western Cape Province, a province known for its history of favouritism towards Afrikaans and English during the apartheid regime (Wolpe, 1995). IsiXhosa, on the other hand, was marginalised as language, let alone recognised as one of the three languages in the province with majority speakers during apartheid.

The three institution’s’ language policies tried to match the provincial and national language policies’ proclamations. That is, treating official languages of the state and that of each province as equals. However, each of these universities makes its own language policy regarding the medium of instruction. Hence all three universities are very strategic in how they aim to ‘balance’ the three languages in practical contexts. The University of the Western Cape proclaims to encourage all students to develop proficiency in all three languages of the Western Cape through enrichment programmes. It also promises to make significant information, such as rules, available to students in all three languages and many other relevant declarations<sup>4</sup>.

It is clear from their language policy that amongst other objectives, developing multilingual awareness and multilingual proficiency is of importance to the University of Cape Town. The

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[http://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCgQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uwc.ac.za%2FDocuments%2FLanguage\\_Policy\\_C2003-3.pdf&ei=oYKbUuXIPleohAeYtoG4Dw&usg=AFQjCNE\\_r39AW57Zak3F4of52WyF4w9wcA&bvm=bv.57155469,d.Yms](http://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCgQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uwc.ac.za%2FDocuments%2FLanguage_Policy_C2003-3.pdf&ei=oYKbUuXIPleohAeYtoG4Dw&usg=AFQjCNE_r39AW57Zak3F4of52WyF4w9wcA&bvm=bv.57155469,d.Yms)

university intends to make this proclamation possible with the help of academic programme conveners, teachers, language and literature departments, the Centre for Higher Education Development, and CALSSA (The Centre for Applied Language Studies and Services in Africa).

The University of Stellenbosch emphasises its commitment to the use and sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context. Moreover it recognises English and isiXhosa as local languages and languages of academic use. Although the university understands the importance of embracing and promoting isiXhosa and English as official languages of the Western Cape and that of the state, it also highlights the importance of Afrikaans as part of the university's history and heritage, and how important it is to the university to preserve that history and heritage.

Achieving these objectives could be tricky if the three universities are experiencing the same glitches as the nation at large. As different scholars already problematised, it is confusing that the government claims to be using all of its resources to promote all eleven languages of the state, but seem to be putting a lot of effort in promoting one language, English (Kaschula, 2004 and Ngcobo, 2009). The medium of instruction is basically a preferred language for teaching and learning. If the three universities were determined to grant equal status and respect to the official languages of the Western Cape, outside the classroom, linguistic landscapes are just the perfect tool to achieve that. As stated in the language policies of the three universities, the only context where the universities could not use the three official languages of the Western Cape together or interchangeably is inside the classroom. Therefore the problem investigated is whether the three universities of the Western Cape are working towards contributing to this country-wide campaign through linguistic landscapes. Thus the question is whether the distribution of languages in signage depicts equal partnership. Since isiXhosa was previously marginalised, is it being given the same recognition as English and Afrikaans in signage? Is it being promoted to match the visibility of English and Afrikaans in terms of official use within the three universities? In light of the above, the purpose of this study is to explore the practice of multilingualism in signage within the three main universities of the Western Cape. Focusing on isiXhosa translations, the study highlights the distribution and the quality of languages in signage at the three universities.



### 1.3. Research questions

1. How does signage within the three universities relate to the Western Cape Provincial Language Policy and National Language Policy?
2. How visible are isiXhosa signage within these three mentioned universities?
3. Where and how is the signage placed?
4. How does placement or non-placement of particular signage affect how the target receivers consume it?
5. Does the placement or non-placement of signage affect how the different language groups within these universities consume it?
6. Does the signage carry the same message in all the three languages?
7. Is isiXhosa signage translated accurately?
8. Does the signage designed by the government and that designed by each of these institutions differ in terms of language distribution?



### 1.4. Objectives

The study is limited to the following objectives:

1. To explore language practices in the linguistic landscapes of the three universities.
2. To investigate whether placement of particular signage affects how the target receivers consume the three languages.
3. To explore the mobility of information and messages across the three languages in the linguistic landscapes.
4. To explore the visibility of isiXhosa in signage found at the three universities.
5. To explore the quality of isiXhosa used in signage found at the three universities.
6. To determine if the signage designed by the government differs from that designed by each institutions in terms of language distribution.

### 1.5. Thesis structure

Chapter two discusses literature on the notion of linguistic landscape and other notions that recent studies have incorporated in linguistic landscapes studies. The chapter takes its point of departure by discussing multilingualism and language policy implementation in South

Africa. In this section, the chapter reviews different scholars' take on the national language policy's commendations and faults. Thereafter, the chapter discusses different scholar's views on the definition of linguistic landscape, the three main functions that mould the notion and the role played by linguistic landscapes in ethno-linguistic vitality. Finally, the chapter reviews how the notion of language used to be seen as the only factor in communication and how some scholars, like Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), have proven that language can be void in some contexts. Thus multimodality and some of the constituents for multimodal analysis will be introduced.

Chapter three is a discussion of some of the bedrock theories for translating and translation assessment. The chapter begins with defending the role of translation in multilingual signage, discussing how recent studies are now considering it an important factor in such studies. Furthermore, the chapter reviews various definitions of what translation is and what it entails. It reviews three approaches to translation studies: linguistic approach, text-linguistic approach and functionalist approach. Serving within the above-mentioned translation approaches are the translation strategies; these are reviewed as well. Moreover, the controversial concept of translation equivalence will also be discussed using relevant literature. Lastly, the chapter discusses Reiss (1971), Koller (1979) and Nord (1991) set of tools for translation assessment.

Chapter four is an outline of the study's methodology. This chapter takes its point of departure from defining and describing the study's research paradigm, research design and research methodology. In this chapter the period and methods of data acquisition, participants, the sites, the apparatuses, are outlined. Lastly, all frameworks used in the analysis are described in detail.

Chapter five employs a similar framework for quantitative analysis to most studies in the field of linguistic landscape (Gorter, 2006; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Edelman, 2010; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, and Barni, 2010, etc.). The distribution of all three languages of the Western Cape in signage found within the three institutions is compared in three statistical tables: combination of languages in signage, order of languages in signage and top-down (government) versus bottom-up (institution's own).

Chapter six adopts a conventional framework for assessing translation across incomparable language structures and cultures (similar to the framework employed by Mpolweni, 2005). In this chapter selected signage is put under the scrutiny of micro (finer, inner and technical

aspects of the text: grammar, lexical options, spelling and orthography, omissions and additions) and macro structural analysis (overall structure aspects of target text in comparison to the source text: style of text and layout). Macro structural analysis also draws on multimodality to analyse multimodal signage.

Chapter seven considers the role of the audience in signage; this chapter presents a thematic and discourse analysis of interviews with the target audience of the signage at the three universities. Moreover, the chapter presents the views of the two specialists in the field of translation, isiXhosa translation in particular, from the University of the Western Cape and the University of Stellenbosch.

Chapter eight is a conclusion. To determine if the study's objectives were achieved, this chapter reviews the study's objectives in comparison to the analysis and findings in chapters five, six and seven. Lastly, this chapter discusses the study's recommendations.



## **Chapter Two: Multilingualism, Language Policy and Semiotic/Linguistic Landscapes**

### **2.0. Introduction**

The chapter takes its point of departure by discussing relevant literature on multilingualism, language planning and language policy in South Africa. Moreover the chapter discusses relevant literature on linguistic landscapes starting with the three main functions of linguistic landscapes (Bourhis, 1997 and Hicks, 2002) and the link between linguistic landscapes and linguistic vitality of different linguistic groups existing in a multilingual setting. Finally, the chapter takes into consideration the role played by multimodality in signage.

### **2.1. Multilingualism**

The term multilingualism has come to mean more than just the phrase “more than two languages”. In fact, many scholars have tried to seek an accurate description of what multilingualism is in form but none prevail due to the problematic nature of this notion. Scholars such as Heller (2007) and Pennycook (2010) argue that an accurate description of the notion is hard to pin down as the notion refers to ever changing sets of practices governed by context and time rather than a fixed entity that can be employed in a similar pattern at all times.

Most scholars assess the notion of multilingualism “as if languages were floating in a vacuum, ‘ready-made’ within a system of phonetic, grammatical, and lexical forms and divorced from the social context in which the speech is being uttered” (Nakata, 2007: 37 in Pennycook, 2010: 6). According to scholars like Nakata (2007), Banda (2009) and Pennycook (2010), this perception is not only narrow but it is specious, because “we need to account for both time and space, history and location” (Bourdieu, 1997 in Pennycook, 2010: 2). When we communicate we do not apply contexts and time to language, we apply language to the above-mentioned entities. Languages change whenever context (setting, participants, their relationship, etc.) or time, as is referred to within the context (the past, the present and the future), changes.

According to De Schutter (2007), previous studies based on multilingualism focused on linguistic distinctness i.e. they viewed “the world to be a neat patchwork of separate

monolingual, geographical areas almost exclusively populated by monolingual speakers” (De Schutter, 2007: 3 in Petrovic 2010: 206). This view is certainly not practical; most societies i.e. universities, are occupied by individuals fluently speaking multiple languages. Apart from individuals being multilingual, the society itself is multilingual because people come from different parts of the world and come to join in societies that are already multilingual, adding on the languages spoken in those societies.

De Schutter’s premise echoes Appadurai’s (2000) take on issue of multilingualism.

*“It has become something of a truism that we are functioning in a world fundamentally characteri[s]ed by objects in motion...This is a world of flows...It is also a world of structures, organi[s]ations and other stable social forms. But the apparent stabilities that we see, under close examination, are usually our devices for handling objects characteri[s]ed by motion.”*

(Appadurai, 2000: 5)

Diasporas occurring around the world in the present day result in people coming into contact with people from other parts of the world. This result to blurring of languages as distinct systems, and eventually the development of newly formed dialects (Heller, 2007 and Higgins, 2009). The notion of multilingualism as localised social practice acknowledges this fact; hence it views languages not as made from autonomous systems but as resulting from contact in formal and informal contexts, as well as in written or spoken texts. It is due to the above premise that Pennycook (2010) questions the numerical focus (focus on the number of languages employed in signage) on languages displayed in linguistic landscapes rather than the qualitative (meaning displayed in signage). The number of languages in linguistic landscapes designed in multilingual fashion has no functions if the meaning displayed in all languages is not the same or does not have the same effect on their target readers. This means Heller (2007) and Pennycook (2010) do not view multilingualism as a practice focusing on language’s presence in shared or contested linguistic landscapes spaces, but as a practice focusing on the relationship of uniformity depicted in the messages conveyed by all languages presented in contested linguistic landscapes. Thus an accurate translation of the message in the source language and source culture to the target language and source culture is a necessity rather than an accessory.

Languages are not set, autonomous, bounded entities that their nature cannot be disrupted; they are flexible entities that can be reformed, re-arranged, and recreated to fit into new

contexts of communication. This is line with Nakata (2007) view on the issue, Nakata laments that linguists “separate language from the people; [they] separate the act of speaking from what is being spoken” (Nakata, 2007:37). One cannot divorce the role played by factors that come with the act of speaking from language because “language is a product of social action, not a tool to be used (Pennycook, 2010:8). This premise highlights the importance of the role played by speakers of different languages across the world to creatively produce ‘new languages’. Pennycook’s take on the notion of language echoes that of Heller’s. Heller (2007) views “language as a social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action” (Heller, 2007:1).

The above views on multilingualism relate closely to Banda’s (2009) take on how the notion of multilingualism is perceived and depicted in the post-colonial era’s studies. Banda (2009) laments that a number of scholars investigating the field of multilingualism consult the field (he made this view with regards to a multilingual classroom context) with a preconceived idea of what ‘ideal multilingualism’ should be like. According to Banda, this perspective is specious as it is not always possible to find compatible multilingual practices in contexts that possess diverse linguistic background - what the situation is in one multilingual classroom context, will not be the same in another. In his study he illustrates this premise by comparing Western and African bilingualism and multilingualism situations. In most African cultures, a child is ‘raised by a nation’ rather than their own parents, thus the child is introduced to various languages used interchangeably from infancy. By the time the child goes to school they are already multilingual; these replica situations are occurring across different times and spaces. Apart from having an advantage of acquiring languages spoken in one’s community, ‘sister languages’ result to one having first languages instead of first language i.e. someone that is proficient in isiXhosa is reasonably proficient in isiZulu, siSwati and isiNdebele due to compatible phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic structures of these sister languages (Mesthrie, 2006). In Western cultures the situation is reversed, as one acquires his or mother-tongue (the languages spoken at home can be either or both parent’s’ first language) prior to acquiring alternative languages; alternative languages are acquired at a later stage, i.e. at school, during excursions, from friends etc. which then makes the concept of ideal multilingual hollow.

Cruz-Ferreira (2010) addresses what most scholars fail to address: she argues that multilingualism has to do with people not language, because languages cannot be multilingual. In fact, she states that scholars cannot identify the difference between

multilingualism and multi-monolingualism. In most studies conducted in the field of multilingualism and monolingualism, scholars expect multilinguals to behave like monolinguals, have a 'neat and clean' pattern of languages used parallel to one another when speaking, whereas, she argues, multilinguals cannot speak like monolinguals; unlike monolinguals they have the option to switch between languages.

### **2.1.1. Language planning and language policy in South Africa**

As a headstart to restoring equity in languages within South Africa, a few language development initiatives were launched on the day of the Language Plan Task Group conference (Kaschula, 2004). The initiatives included bursary schemes to serve as encouragement to study indigenous languages, thus creating career opportunities in these respective languages. Additionally, terminology advancement programmes were launched. These programmes would be responsible for creating terminology for the various fields of studies in indigenous languages: law, commerce, education, science, health, etc. (Kaschula, 2004). Finally, language and development centres were also launched as part of the government's initiative to preserve, maintain and advance indigenous languages. Such centres would be responsible for researching and coining new terminology, to better advance the indigenous languages, making them employable for formal and official use. According to Kaschula (2004), this initiative qualifies as the basis of the implementation process.

Ten years later it seems the implementation process has not taken effect yet:

*We find that our 10-year-old democracy has been the greatest enemy of indigenous languages. All the lofty pronouncements made in the early days of transition seem to have been thrown out of the window and the authorities have paid token attention to the issue. The work of government is conducted virtually entirely in English and the language of our culturally diverse Parliament is almost exclusively English. Many senior politicians stay away from African language radio stations, presumably because they perceive those audiences as not sophisticated enough. .... Universities are battling to keep African language departments open as student numbers dwindle ... book publishing in indigenous languages is on its deathbed, and ... the use of these languages among native speakers is becoming unfashionable (the Sunday Times in Beukes, 2004: 3).*

Beukes (2004) laments the role the government is playing in fulfilling the objectives of the national language policy. In an attempt to highlight the importance of each and every one of the national official languages, in her argument she foregrounds all matters that led to a language policy of this nature to be drafted. She draws on the apartheid regime and the legacy of misfortunes it left behind, particularly linguistic misfortunes. She highlights incidents preceding the drafting of the language policy and during its drafting stage. She's adamant that it is the duty of the language practitioners and 'language stakeholders' to see that the language policy of South Africa is implemented accordingly. However, she adds, the government neglected this role for a period of two full decades.

Beukes (2004) argues that the desire to have a constitution that treats languages as equals remained only in principle as no measures have ever been taken to implement it. As part of the expert panel that were selected to guarantee that the principle of a multilingual language policy sees the day, Beukes (2004) provides her account of the whole process. In essence she states, a formal committee of researchers, and the Language Plan Task Group (Langtag) were brought on board to identify the voids and faults of the previous language policy in actual contexts. After conducting research over a very extensive period of time, their findings pointed out the following as evident (adapted from Beukes, 2004: 12).

- A general disregard for the principle of language equity from Parliament to all three levels of government
- A lack of commitment in the Public Service to implement a policy of multilingualism and to a discernable trend towards monolingualism among the political, business and educational leadership (DACST 1996a: 156).
- The ongoing legitimisation of monolingualism and found that arguments regarding the superior position of English as an international language were popular and the access that the language offers through its "technological advances" and "trade benefits", as well as the perceived "cost advantages" of using a language "which all South Africans understand"(DACST 1996a: 156).

Moreover, Beukes (2004) argues that even though the state was made aware of the problems of the prior language policy and the steps the state should take to avoid repeating the same malfunctions, it has become evident years later that the state has neglected to implement Langtag's recommendations from their research report in the previous year. "In



fact, language planners have pointed to significant gaps between language policy and implementation, a situation that has more often than not been attributed to government's ineffective management of language matters" (Alexander, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Moodley, 2000 and Heugh, 2003 in Beukes, 2004: 13) and "the inadequate congruence between government's language policy statement and real language practice" (Verhoef, 1998 in Beukes, 2004: 13).

Mesthrie (2006) commends the South African state for recognising and accommodating the vast linguistic diversity it possesses. Mesthrie (2006) states that although the South African national language policy proposes to promote all official languages of the state equally for both formal and informal use, it does not specify how it is going to implement this principle. This then results in a problem when it comes to eliciting the actual practice the language policy is based on when the principle fails in theory already. The role of a language policy is to steer linguistic practices in the right direction; that is the state/the governing institution's desired direction. The question is: if the state cannot provide a prospective plan on how the desired results will be achieved, how does the state/governing institution expect to achieve viable results in actual practice?

Most scholars that reviewed the South African language policy commend it for its unique and vastly diverse linguistic nature; however, Ngcobo (2009) argues that it fails dismally in principle, thus hindering it from achieving what it was fashioned to achieve, i.e. to mend the linguistic mishaps of the past. Ngcobo laments that the language policy prescribes an abstract plan, leaving the rest of implementation stage (which is still part of the planning and structuring of a perfect multilingual society) in the hands of the citizens. He pinpoints a few glitches embodied in the government strategy evident in the language policy. Firstly, he identifies the implementation stage as entirely the government's duty; the government has to lead by example, which translates into providing all the state's information in all eleven official languages from a national order down to the regional level. In due time the citizens will blatantly and without restriction use any of the national official languages wherever and whenever. Secondly, he troubleshoots the sort of mediums employed to secure the use of languages in both an interactive and non-interactive sense, and their role in fostering 'some' of the official languages instead of all. He questions the infinite favouring of English in mediums the government uses to reach the masses, i.e. television, radio, newspapers, the internet, etc. He believes if all eleven official languages were to be used for, example, on an

internet news site, the public would identify the language as prominent, thus worthy to be used even in “cool” contexts, to use the urban youth lingo.

According to Jernudd (2001: 3) in Ngcobo (2009: 5), “finding a shared language is a language problem, how to learn a language, any language, is a language problem; but requirements that a particular language must be known or used or displayed (for commerce, access, etc.) may reflect another kind of problem”. This is exactly the problem South Africa is facing currently. Yes, the government can promote language use (for all the official languages of South Africa), but the government is being selective in doing so (Ngcobo, 2009). The citizens are being blamed for neglecting their native languages whereas the government officials are the ones that promote the use of English when they are in consultation with the public (Ngcobo, 2009). According to Boudreau (2005: 337) in Ngcobo (2009: 6), “the belief that a language is inappropriate for communication in a given situation leads to it being used less, despite any legal framework that supports it”. Though there might not be proof, this blatant use of English only sends a subliminal message to, for example, any young person witnessing the government officials interact with their uneducated parents through an interpreter, as much as it does to an uneducated non-English speaking parent struggling to keep up with the speaker. The original message comes in a language they are not adequately proficient in, making them think the only way to acquire knowledge is through proficiency in English and English only, as other official languages are not deemed fit to transmit knowledge. They therefore feel justified and encouraged to send their children to English first language schools.

Contrary to the reviews of Beukes (2004) and many other scholars on the issue of the South African language policy implementation, Kaschula (2004) adopts a more optimistic approach. Kaschula (2004) profusely outlines the evidently constructive traits of the South African constitution, such as “the unity in diversity” we pride ourselves in, “the renewed sense of pride and identity” the constitution has allowed each and every individual within this country to indulge in as basic human right rather than a benefit (Kaschula, 2004: 1). According to Kaschula (2004) the above attributes, and more, are what differentiate South Africa from other countries that went through the same stumbles as South Africa in the past.

## **2.2. Linguistic landscapes**

Gorter (2006) defines *linguistic landscapes* as written language exhibited in public domains that are visible and (can be) viewed by the members of the public. On the other hand, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define linguistic landscapes as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings.” Based on the premise that signs (particularly signs that can be fit into the definition of linguistic landscapes) have been in existence before the term linguistic landscapes was coined, it can be said that “linguistic landscape” is not an entirely new phenomenon as humans have been studying signs since time immemorial.

Edelman (2010) states that Gorter (2006) coined the term ‘multilingual cityscapes’ to avoid using the term ‘linguistic landscapes’, because the term linguistic landscapes connotes ‘countryside’ whereas collections of signs are customarily found within cities. Even though the term ‘city’ is somewhat accurate, Edelman (2010) argues that the term ‘multilingual’ divorces the possibility of encountering monolingual or even bilingual landscapes before the researcher consults the field. Thus identifying what constitutes a linguistic landscape (sign) is important for a quantitative study in linguistic landscapes (Edelman, 2010).

### **2.2.1. Functions of language in public spaces**

According to Bourhis (1997) language in the public space has two fundamental functions to the members of the public: to serve as informational makers, and as symbolic markers of the area being studied or observed. Kotze (2010) notes that recently Hicks (2002) expanded on the functions of linguistic landscape by adding the mythological function.

#### **2.2.1.1. Informational function**

Kotze (2010) views the informational function as the most basic function of the linguistic landscape because it gives information to the viewer/reader of the signage and it serves as a marker of linguistic boundaries. A fitting example for linguistic landscapes as markers of linguistic territory can be observed in South Africa; the state’s eleven official languages were distributed across all nine provinces, but only a few of the official languages are used in each province’s linguistic landscapes. Moreover, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25-29) in Kotze (2010), state that the informational function “gives information on the sociolinguistic composition of various groups in the area, as well as the power and status relations between

them”. Tarkington (2009) agrees with Landry and Bourhis (1997), by stating that linguistic landscapes informs people about “linguistic characteristics, territorial limits, and language boundaries of the region they have entered” and can be used to present the language used for exhibition of that particular linguistic landscape as the language used “to communicate and to obtain services within public and private establishments” in that particular geographical area (Tarkington, 2009: 124).

Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) discovered the same in their studies on linguistic landscapes. Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) in Kotze (2010), point out that linguistic landscapes do not always reflect accurate representations of a linguistic situation in a given area; sometimes they fail to acknowledge languages that exist in the area they are occupying. Thus Puzey (2009: 1) states that “road signs are a point of reference for travellers: the sign, as a material object fixed in place, is where the place-name itself meets the landscape. Road signs instruct and inform, and they are therefore symbols of authority; of the dictates of authority and of the terms of reference that authority employs”. Thus, as much as signage in general have the power to locate travellers to their destined locations (if the message is accurate and decipherable to its target audience) they have the power to mislead travellers if they are inaccurate or, as mentioned above, give the wrong the idea about languages spoken in the area.

In conclusion, Kotze (2010: 27) notes “the dominance of a specific language in the LL indicates the power and status of a majority or strong minority group over other groups”. Thus languages with greater status are more often found in signage than languages with less prominence (Kotze, 2010), and more importantly, languages with greater power are always placed on top in signage, followed by semi-prominent, and lastly, the least prominent (Eldeman, 2010).

#### **2.2.1.2. Symbolic function**

Kotze (2010: 28) states that “the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape lies in the choice of message, and more specifically the choice concerning language, on public signage” and where and how each language is placed on the signage. Landry and Bourhis (1997) add that linguistic landscapes are not apparent signs displayed for public benefit but are in fact “instruments” that carry intention and information. This means that linguistic landscapes can

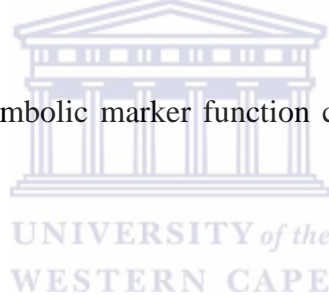
be manipulated to reflect the creators of the signage's intention rather than the 'truth' about a particular geographical area. This view is echoed by Puzey (2007).

*Another feature of an area that its linguistic landscape can represent particularly well is linguistic diversity. While this could arguably be part of the informational function, the fact that the 'official' linguistic landscape is rarely an accurate reflection of the truly diverse linguistic composition of society means that this aspect is more closely connected to the second function of the linguistic landscape: the symbolic function (Puzey, 2007: 11)*

Hence Scollon and Scollon (2003) state:

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

Kotze (2010) states that the symbolic marker function carries two main issues: power and status, and identity.



#### **2.2.1.2. (a) Power and status**

According to Kotze (2010) governing institutions/bodies have a way of compelling language use in public spaces; one of the means used to compel and dictate language use within an institution, province, state etc. is drafting and enforcing language policies that stipulate the governing institutions'/bodies' desired outcome. This way everyone will have to abide by the language policy. Scollon and Scollon (2003) present a very fitting example of Quebec, where sign makers were compelled (by the language policy) to place French above every other language existing in the city.

Kotze (2010) argues that the languages of those in power can easily be favoured by linguistic landscapes; in fact, this is always the case. Kotze (2010) further states that linguistic landscapes hold more power in society than just being displays: they can send ideological messages to those whose language is favoured, reassuring them about their position in society. This then makes those with less power rebel against this pattern by use of graffiti and/or less preferred languages in their private institutions.

Hence Shohamy (2006: 110) in Kotze (2010: 29) notes:

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

#### **2.2.1.2. (b) Identity**

The symbolic function of the linguistic landscapes is linked to ethno-linguistic vitality because it “contribute(s) to a positive social identity of the group whose language is used, by affirming the value and status of that language and leading the group to feel included in the society” (Kotze, 2010: 29). Landry & Bourhis (1997) in Vandembroucke (2010) define ethno-linguistic vitality as “the sociostructural factors that affect a group’s ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective identity within multilingual settings”.

There’s a flipside to including a selected number of linguistic groups, excluding other linguistic groups (Kotze, 2010). In fact, various studies question the idea that multilingual linguistic landscapes act as a reflection of true multilingualism in the society because it is selective in terms of which languages will represent the reflection of the whole society and how those languages will be presented (Kotze, 2010). The same allegation made about linguistic landscapes has been made in various studies about the source of linguistic landscapes; multilingual language policies. Multilingual language policies (or rather the creators of such policies) have always been accused of promoting multi-monolingualism instead of multilingualism because they make languages compete in principle (the drafting stages of the language policies) and thereafter compete in practice (i.e. signage). This means then that less powerful languages lose the contest in the drafting stages; by the time language policies are implemented as linguistic landscapes, less powerful languages are no longer a factor.

#### **2.2.1.3. Mythological function**

The mythological/folkloric function is a relatively newly introduced in the field of linguistic landscapes. Hicks (2002) in Kotze (2010) states that researchers have now shown interest in recognising place names as linguistic landscapes because “people intrinsically feel that the names on the landscape are identifiable with community and nation” (Kotze, 2010: 30). Kotze (2010) presents an example of a community that has suffered genocide, to the surviving members, the place’s name holds a sentimental value, in a sense that it may be the only remaining link to the tragic incident. So even if the name of the place of the tragic incident is acquired by another place as a memorial, to the survivors, the new place marks a sense of belonging. In South Africa various similar cases can be observed; the post-apartheid government(s) names residential areas/ streets/ schools/ hospitals after our fallen apartheid heroes; that way their efforts to achieve a ‘democratic and free’ country to all give a sense of belonging to all.

### **2.3. Ethno-linguistic vitality and linguistic landscape**

Weber and Horner (2012) reject and troubleshoot the link most scholars in the field of linguistic landscapes make between ethno-linguistic vitality and linguistic landscapes. They state this premise (the link) does not adequately explore the concept of reception; that is not shedding light on how the addressed audience views the linguistic landscapes, whether or not the presence or absence of a particular language in a multilingual signage affects the ethno-linguistic vitality of a particular linguistic group in a multilingual setting. This notion would be easily accessible through interviewing the audience of the linguistic landscapes; they are the only ones who could articulate how the absence or presence of a particular language could affect their view of that particular language. Hence Weber and Horner (2012) believe that the researchers’ take during the assessment of the linguistic landscapes cannot account for the audience’s take on linguistic landscapes.

Landry & Bourhis (1997) in Vandembroucke (2010), define ethno-linguistic vitality as “the sociostructural factors that affect a group’s ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective identity within multilingual settings”. Vandembroucke (2010) believes this is the limitation of most studies on linguistic landscapes. Moreover, Vandembroucke (2010) states that such studies tend to focus more on “the context of production of signs” thus neglecting “exploring the concept of reception” (Weber and Horner, 2012:187). So the question here is how are we supposed to know the societal attitudes towards languages

presented on linguistic landscapes if we never consulted the society and hear their take on the matter? Also, to what extent are our assumptions as researchers on the societal attitudes towards languages presented on linguistic landscapes adequate for a full scale research project to hinge on utterly?

## **2.4. Multimodality**

Language has always been seen as the key component of communication; however communication is too complicated to rely on language autonomously (Iedema, 2003; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006 and Jewitt, 2009). Considering the premise that a limited number of individuals accurately share the same schema, language norms, personality, cultural norms, etc. it is safe to argue that one cannot rely on language alone in order to achieve relatively satisfying outcomes in a communication process. In a communication process the initiator of the message has the responsibility of constructing and delivering the message in a manner that will be identifiable and recognisable by the receiver of the message in order to achieve the desired outcome. It is due to the above motivation that when we communicate daily, we incorporate other modes of communication to language to get the message across. According to Kress (2010) modes are semiotic resources used for making meaning.

Communication that incorporates different modes is said to be multimodal. “The term multimodality, as used here, is a technical one aiming to highlight that the meaning work we do at all times exploits various semiotics” (Iedema, 2003:11). Iedema’s take on the notion of multimodality is that the point of communicating is to make meaning; in order to make meaning people use language. However, he notes that language is not enough: modes such as facial expressions, gestures, postures, etc. are part of making meaning in the communication process.

Iedema further notes that multimodality does not only highlight the inadequacy of language as a single or prime component of the communication process and the significance of incorporating other modes in a communication process, it also highlights how language works well as a communication component when amalgamated with other modes. Gestures, voice tone and facial expressions can play a significant role in the communication process between individuals who have different languages and cultural backgrounds, i.e. they play significant roles in situations where sarcasm is involved. In situations such as the above,



language is not a prime mode as the communication in this regard relies entirely on the non-verbal modes.

Jewitt's take on the notion of multimodality is that language is not the core component of communication, representation and interaction. "Multimodality approaches representation, communication and interaction as something more than language" (Jewitt, 2009: 1). Jewitt's notion is closely related to Iedema's - even though they do not deny language's role in communication, interaction and representation, they state that language is equally as important as other modes in communication, representation and interaction. In some cases language plays a minor role in these three means of meaning making.

To emphasise, Jewitt (2009) further states that "the starting point for multimodality is to extend the social interpretation of language and its meanings to the whole range of representational and communicational modes or semiotics resources for making meaning that are employed in a culture-such as image, writing, gesture, gaze, speech, posture" (Jewitt, 2009: 1). This means that multimodality takes into consideration other modes and social conventions that those modes are being used in, i.e. different gestures have different meanings across cultures.

"Multimodality, it could be argued, strictly speaking refers to a field of application rather than a theory" (Jewitt, 2009: 2). The general perspective on the study of multimodality is that it is the study for analysis of multimodes incorporated in a communicational event and not the study of how these multimodes should be amalgamated in a communicational event. This means that instead of giving guidelines in terms of how to employ multimodes in a communicational event, multimodality as a field of study provides us a basis with regards to how to elicit meaning from these modes when incorporated.

Jewitt (2009) states that the study of multimodality has always been perceived as a study that attempts to marginalise language as a communicational mode. Thus Jewitt (2009) makes it clear that this is not the case in reality. Jewitt (2009) argues that Scollon and Scollon provide ways in which language becomes influenced by other communicational modes in a communication event and *visa-versa*. This means multimodality is a platform on which language can play hand in glove with other communicational modes in amalgamated fashion.

#### **2.4.1. Are visual artefacts readable?**

For a long period of time language has not only been considered the only form of communication, but the word grammar was specially used for a set of rules used to govern language use. It was until Kress and van Leeuwen questioned the generic view of what grammar is and what qualifies each system of expression as a grammar in their book *Reading Images: the grammar of visual designs* (2006) that the meaning of what grammar is, changed. As stated in the book:

*In this book, contrast, we will concentrate on 'grammar' and on 'syntax', on the way in which these elements are combined into meaningful wholes. Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual grammar will describe the way which depicted elements - people, places and things - combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:1).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 1) argue that the elements they identified about visual grammar are elements of conventional grammar. They state that “grammar has been, and remains, ‘formal’. It has generally been studied in isolation from meaning”. Moreover, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state that even though linguists often deny it, they are merely describing what people do with language and some turn these descriptions into sets of rules. In fact they insist that:

*Grammar goes beyond formal rules of correctness. It is a means of representing patterns of experience...it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them* (Halliday, 1985: 101 in Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 2).

Amongst other ‘grammatical’ aspects, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) identify as compulsory rules of reading visual texts, the following are relevant to this study.

#### **2.4.2. Saliency**

Some elements of an image may appear to be more visible than others due to the following aspects: size, focus, colour, and distance within the image. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), this is called saliency. Elements of an image that are bigger than other are considered more salient because they are more noticeable. Elements that are presented in bolder, brighter and more concentrated shades of the same colour are more salient than elements that are presented in less bright, bold and concentrated shades because they are

more vibrant. Elements that have more focus on the image than others are considered more salient because they are more ‘attention grabbing’ and ‘centred’ in comparison to the others. Finally, elements that are shot from a closer distance are considered more salient because they are more ‘in your face’, hard to miss therefore it is easy for the viewer to engage in and be part of it than elements that are shot from a far distance - elements that appear to be from a different setting or ‘world’.

### **2.4.3. Colour**

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), colour can be used to ‘group’ elements of an image together, meaning colour can be used as a frame. Moreover, colour can be used to depict mood and/or feelings according to the context of an image. Thus one colour or shades of the same colour can have different connotative meanings according to their context of use.

### **2.4.4. The reading path**

As already established in the introduction section of Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework for reading images, images can be read as ‘normal texts’ due to all the preceding constituents of the framework. The above discussed are what make multimodal texts equivalent to ‘normal texts’ because they are the *glue* that make a multimodal text coherent. In the Western culture the reading path for verbal texts (words only) is from left to right/top to bottom. However in images the reading path is rather different, when reading images one starts from the most salient aspects of an image and then move to the less salient in descending order. As discussed above, salience in aspects of images is determined through size, focus, colour, and distance. These aspects are what determine whether or not an aspect of an image is “eye catching” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

## **2.5. Conclusion**

This chapter discussed different scholars’ take on the notion of multilingualism and language planning with regards to the South African National Language Policy. Furthermore, the chapter discussed relevant literature on linguistic landscapes, starting with the basic notion of a sign, the three main functions of linguistic landscapes as defined by Bourhis (1997) and Hicks (2002), and the link between linguistic landscapes and linguistic vitality of

different linguistic groups existing in a multilingual setting was explored. Finally, the role played by multimodality in semiotic landscapes was explored.



## Chapter Three: Translation Studies as an Approach to Linguistic Landscape Research

### 3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the relevance of translation to this study. Thereafter it discusses the three major translation approaches and translation strategies that exist in the field of translation. Moreover it will introduce the notion of translation equivalence and simultaneously discuss different scholars' views on the notion. Finally the chapter will review Reiss (1971), Koller (1979) and Nord (1991) compulsory tools for a translation evaluation.

### 3.1. How is translation relevant to this study?

The study of linguistic landscape is still a growing field in terms of research. Most studies in this field focus on the distribution of languages in multilingual signage without acknowledging other fields in play, i.e. multimodality (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Gorter, 2006; Heubner, 2006. etc.). In their studies the above-mentioned scholars compared the contestation of space and distribution of languages in multilingual contexts. Many of such studies traditionally employ representation of quantitative results i.e. counting of individual signage. This tradition has become inadequate because the study of linguistic landscape needs to account for other semiotics in place including buildings, which means drawing on qualitative approaches (Banda, 2012). It also needs to be noted that the field has grown to such an extent that multiple disciplines are now being employed in the study of linguistic landscape. Gorter (2006) notes:

*It will be clear that the study of linguistic landscape can be done from multiple perspectives. The list could be elaborated further to include the fields of landscape architecture, communication studies, discourse studies as well as media and cultural studies and disciplines dealing with the theory, practice and aesthetics of visual design. All those fields can have a lot to tell us about signs. It looks promising to combine a number of these perspectives for a more inclusive approach to the study of multilingualism (Gorter, 2006: 88).*

Gorter's premise is indeed apt; recently the focus has shifted with scholars treating linguistic landscape as the main field of investigation but acknowledge other fields in play (Backhaus, 2006 and Cenoz and Gorter, 2006). In most cases when translation is ever incorporated in a linguistic landscapes study, is through Reh (2004) "four types of multilingual information arrangement" perspective (Backhaus, 2006). Reh's (2004) four types of combinations of codes in a multilingual fashion are: duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary (Reh, 2004 in Wielfaert, 2009). Some consider language planning and language policy as important factors in linguistic landscapes studies (Dagenais *et al.*, 2008). Some consider how language in public spaces affects each social, racial and linguistic group in the society (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Puzey, 2007; Lou's, 2009; Hoffman and Walker, 2010 and Kotze, 2010).

This study did not only focus on how the three official languages of the Western Cape are used in signage within University of Cape Town, University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University but it also looked at the translation of isiXhosa signage within three institutions. To do this the study had to look at universal translation theories and methods set to guide translators and translation evaluators. In this study, the translation approaches and strategies best suitable for isiXhosa-English translation are employed.

## **3.2. Background to the three main approaches to translation: linguistic approach, text-linguistic approach and the functionalist approach to translation**

### **3.2.1. The Linguistic Approach**

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars came into collaboration to create a new field of study; that was when translation studies came into life. To validate the authenticity and credibility of the field, the scholars had to invent principles that defined it. Operating under the first ever approach to translation, the linguistic approach, Jakobson (1959) introduced the concept of equivalence as one of the tenets in the field. What the concept entailed at the time was not specified, hence there had been theoretical quarrels between scholars in the field battling to define what the concept actually meant.

Dynamic equivalency and formal equivalency were two of the first concepts to be associated with translation. Nida points out that dynamic equivalency “aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture” (Nida, 1964/2004: 156). That is identifying the essence of dynamic equivalency as completely laying in the creativity of the translator and his/her ability to transfer the gist of the source text into the target language and culture. In contrast, formal equivalency is identified in Mabeqa (2005:12) as “the message in the receptor’s language should match as closely as possible the different elements of the SL (source language)”. Henderson and McWebb’s (2004) take on and distinction between the formal and the dynamic equivalency transgresses that of Mabeqa and Nida. They identify the dynamic equivalence as sentence by sentence translation and the formal word by word translation (Henderson and McWebb, 2004).

According to Schaeffner (2001) and Mabeqa (2005), the linguistic approach views an accurate target text as a replica of a source text. Schaeffner’s (2001: 8 - 9) states:

*Studies conducted within a linguistic-based approach to translation concentrated on the systematic relations between units of the language systems, but often abstracted from aspects of their contextual use. A chosen TL-form may well be correct according to the rules of the language system, but this does not necessarily mean that the text as a whole appropriately fulfils its communicative function in the TL situation and culture.*

As one of the scholars that firmly believed in the linguistic-based approach, Newmark (1991:11) in Mabeqa (2005:12) argues that “for a translation to be regarded as a good translation, it has to be as literally accurate as possible”, that the target text has to resemble the source text, not only syntactically but semantically too. Clearly Newmark’s argument leaned more towards two language structure compatible languages. However in the case of isiXhosa and English this is not possible at all times as the two languages differ morpho-syntactically and phonologically.

### **3.2.2. The Text-Linguistic Approach**

Due to advancements made in the field of sociolinguistics and the linguistics field in general, the field of translation advanced as well. Scholars such as Katharina Reiss started to view the assessment of the relationship of the source and target text on purely linguistic

aspects as inadequate, thus gave life to the text-linguistic approach. This approach transgresses the then prescribed method of tackling the art of translating; it focuses on translating the entire text in context as opposed to the linguistic approach which focused on matching and finding equivalence on the lexical and grammatical aspects of the source text and target text. Many text-linguistic approach theories on translation (Longacre, 1958; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958; Hatim and Mason, 1990/1997; Kussmaul, 1995; Nord, 1997; Hatim, 2001; Matthiessen, 2001; Mabeqa, 2005) are extrapolated from Halliday's notion of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which "views language as a social semiotic resource people use to accomplish their purposes by expressing meanings in context" (Ming 2007: 1). Thus scholars who favour the text-linguistic approach often emphasise translation as a field that language has no boundaries; they emphasise that the role of a translator is to exhaust language as a semiotic tool in order to find the balance between the source text and target text but also the context and language each text exists in. Thus the balance or rather the translation equivalence between the source text and target text does not dwell on morphological and syntactical structures of the source text, but dwells on fitting the message conveyed in the source text into the context of the target text, target language and target culture.

The text-linguistic approach to translation was introduced as a top-down approach. The top-down approach stipulates that a translator should start by scrutinising the text as a whole, to each paragraph, each sentence and then each word (Mabeqa, 2005). This view exposed the inadequacy of the methods employed in translation tasks in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. It forced theorists and practitioners in the field of translating to adopt and incorporate other means of translation into the established means within the field (Reiss, 1971/2004). Neubert (1985) views this take as apt, most particularly when the aim is to achieve functional equivalence between the two texts.

The linguistic approach treated texts as divorced from context, as though they were autonomous entities existing in a void with no link to human interactions whatsoever. However, the text-linguistic approach challenges this take on texts. Mabeqa (2005: 14) states that "the reali[s]ation that translations are never produced in a vacuum, resulted in a shift away from a normative and prescriptive approach towards a functional or a descriptive approach to the study of translation".

The text-linguistic approach takes into consideration the fact that culture changes and this enables the translator (as the link between the target text and its audience) to be flexible as



possible, thus making the end product (the target text) more accessible in more respects than one to its target audience (Reiss,1971/2004; Hatim and Mason, 1990/1997 and Mabeqa, 2005). Reiss (1971/2004) argues that the purpose of translating the text and a text in its target culture are the vital aspects of a translation task as they determine the function of the target text to its target audience.

According to Nida and Tabber (1969) the text-linguistic approach challenged the linguistic approach because the act of translating individual sentences is not enough; a translator should focus on the paragraph, and to some extent on the text as a whole. Different languages have different language structures and meanings for words. For some languages, the meaning of words change according to context and thus it is not possible to translate the syntactic structure or morphological structure of one language into another. One should analyse the text as a whole, then translate it according to context. For example, one cannot translate the sentence “I came back yesterday” as “*mna ndibuye izolo*” in isiXhosa in response to the question “when did you come back?” The notion “I” does not exist in Bantu languages; instead there is “me” which is always attached to the verbal group. Thus, the morphemes “*mna-ndi-*” in the above example is unnecessarily repetitive or overemphasis of “[it’s] me”, which is completely different from the sense carried in the English version. An expected answer for the above is “*ndibuye izolo*”. The above illustrates that language structures are not always the same; the English sentence consists of a pronoun I separated from the verb came back followed by an adverb yesterday. In the Xhosa version I (essentially “[it’s] me”) and came back are fused together as one word (*ndibuye*), and then followed by yesterday (*izolo*). IsiXhosa, like other Bantu languages, tends towards agglutination while English is isolating in terms of morpho-syntactic structure (see Miti, 2006 for detailed analysis). Thus, a translator has to contend not only with cultural issues, but also with morpho-syntactic issues in translating between IsiXhosa and English texts.

### **3.2.3. The Functionalist Approach**

The functionalist approach is set on the belief that the function of the target text should be the fundamental element of the translation task as “texts are produced and received with a specific purpose or function in mind” (Mabeqa, 2005:17). In 1984, Reiss, Vermeer and Holz-Manttari set a new foundation to the translation spectrum: the functionalist approach to translation. Nord notes that this approach views translation as “a communicative action

carried out by an expert in intercultural communication (the translator), playing the role of a text producer and aiming at some communicative purpose” (Nord, 2001: 151). Reiss & Vermeer saw that there was something lacking in the theories that were already established at the time. To bulldoze renowned frameworks such the text-linguistic approach and the linguistic approach, Reiss & Vermeer knew it would take more than just a few critics to succeed. In 1984 they made a breakthrough, the SKOPOS theory was born.

### **3.2.3.1. The SKOPOS Theory**

The preceding theories focused on putting the translator as the core element in translation. They focused on acknowledging the role of the translator as the art transmitter, they acknowledged the role of the target culture and context into the outcome of the target text (the text-linguistic approach), and some viewed mainly the source text as core (the linguistic approach). However the SKOPOS theory, functioning under the functionalist approach, disregards the role of culture, the translator and the source text as core elements of the translation task. Although it does not completely dismiss the input of the above-mentioned elements on the end product, which is the target text, nonetheless this theory proposes that texts are sent for a specific purpose and that purpose should be the fundamental element in a translation task.

The SKOPOS theory is set upon the following rules:

- The target text is always determined by its SKOPOS: Mabeqa (2005) views the SKOPOS rule as contained in the translation brief. Nord (1991:6) in Mabeqa (2005) specifies “the brief is the set of instructions given by the client, who may be an initiator, when ordering the translation”.
- The target text cannot always be reversible: due to the fact that there is no guarantee that the purpose of the source text on the source culture will be the purpose of the target text on the target culture, thus tracing a target text back to its original elements as the source text is not always attainable.
- The target text has to be coherent; that is, not retaining the linguistic structure of the source text while presented in the target language and culture especially if the two languages in question do not share similar language structures.

- There should always be link between the source text and target text; even though a single text can reproduce multiple other texts with varying purposes, there should always be link between the original text and its replicates.

### **3.3. Translation strategies**

According to Krings (1986:18) translation strategy is defined as the “translator’s potentially conscious plans for solving concrete translation problems in the framework of a concrete translation task”. Loescher (1991:8) on the other hand views translation strategy as “a potentially conscious procedure for solving a problem faced in translating a text, or any segment of it”. Similarly to any procedure translation strategies are there to provide a basis for the actual process of transferring a text from a source text to a target text. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) argue that many translation strategies can be employed when doing a translation job but they can all be condensed to seven.

These translation strategies recognised by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) are divided into two groups: the direct translation technique and the oblique technique. There are three translation strategies existing under the direct translation technique. These translation strategies are literal or direct translation, calque and borrowing. These translation strategies are applicable in contexts where structural and conceptual elements of the source language can be transposed into the target language. Under the oblique translation strategy there exist four types of translation strategies, namely: modulation, transposition, equivalence and adaptation. These translation strategies work in opposite situations as the direct translation strategies, they are applicable in contexts where structural and conceptual elements of the source language cannot be transposed into the target language. This means that texts cannot be translated without being presented in a form that is applicable and acceptable in a target language and target culture (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/ 1995).

#### **3.3.1. Direct translation strategies**

The word calque, derived from the French verb “calquer” means ‘to copy’. Calque is a special kind of borrowing where a language borrows a word or an expression from another language and translates literally each of its elements (Venuti, 2004: 129). This type of a translation strategy exists in two ways: the lexical calque and the structural calque. The lexical calque adopts or follows the syntactic structure of the source text. An example of a

lexical calque would be *isikhenkcezisi*, a refrigerator. This term is coined according to the function of the refrigerator; it makes ice (*yenza umkhenkce, iyakhenkcezisa*).

Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) view the structural calque as giving a new construction into the language. Their argument is that this type of calque does not aim to make a target text resemble the structure of the source text but arranges the target text in such a way that it suits the context and situation of the target culture. The above argument is demonstrated by the following example: ladies and gentlemen translated as *manene namanenekazi* (gentlemen and ladies) in isiXhosa. The arrangement of this particular statement differs according to the hierarchies that exist within each of the cultures in this context and according to the most valued gender in each of the two cultures: the culture of the source text (English) and the culture of the target text (isiXhosa). In Western cultures women are the most valued members in the society and households; they hold much power than men do hence the example favoured them. On the contrary, in African cultures men are the heads of the families: they hold much more power than women do; their status and women's status differ according to the roles they play in the society and households. As men are the decision makers in African cultures they are therefore favoured by the above-mentioned isiXhosa example.

According to Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004), literal translation refers to a translation strategy that can be used when the source language and the target language share parallel structures and concepts. This strategy allows transposition of each element of the source text into the target text as they are as long as the product message is still the same as contained in the source text. A translator employing this strategy must use it only in cases where applicable because the target text can only carry the imprint of the source text if the source and target language share a similar language structure. In the case of English and isiXhosa literal translation is not always possible, but in some cases it can be employed. The following example will demonstrate exactly how that takes place: 'I am going', translated as *ndiyahamba* in isiXhosa. The above Xhosa example depicts resemblance to the English one, all syllables contained in the English one are present in the Xhosa one (*ndi-I am, yahamba-going*). In the case of the example "it is raining cats and dogs" literal translation is not possible. A literal translation of the above would be "*kuna iikati nezinja*" suggesting that when one goes outside they would find cats and dogs falling from the sky in the same fashion as the rain does. A suitable substitution of the above English idiom would be "*ayinethi iyadyudyuza*", meaning it is raining to a great extent.

Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) view borrowing as the easiest translation strategy because it is basically adopting words of another language and uses them as words of the target language. Some borrowed terms have sunk in and become part of the standard version of the target language. This strategy results from the absence of words for new objects, objects that are foreign to the target culture and target language. The above demonstrated situation leads to the adoption of the original term of the object from the source language of an object into the target language. Examples of this type of strategy are *itafile* which is a term deriving from Afrikaans term *tafel*.

### 3.3.2. Oblique translation strategies

Transposition, as recognised by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) “involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message” (Venuti, 2004: 132). This translation strategy can be viewed as paraphrasing, as it aims in achieving resemblance of the source text semantically but still following the target text’s language structure. Different languages have different language structures, therefore it is not always possible for a target text to have the same grammatical structure and still maintain its semantic aspect. In some cases, in order for the meaning to remain the same, the grammatical structure has to change - this is called transposition. The following example will demonstrate how this occurs: “suddenly the train appeared”, to demonstrate this suddenness, the translator has to find a way to convince the target reader that the train appeared unexpectedly. Therefore instead of saying “*kwathi gqi uloliwe*” which might not carry the same effect as the actual statement in the source text, they would say “*gqi uloliwe*”. The second statement maintains the effect it was meant to produce because it is presented as an occurrence that occurs now, the suddenness and unexpectedness of the train is presented in the present instead of the past.

Modulation is viewed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) as the “variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view” (Venuti, 2004: 150). This strategy is applicable in contexts where a presentation of a text (written or spoken) though grammatically correct is perceived as unsuitable, awkward, or unidiomatic in the target language. A translator translating such text will have to find a manner in which they will present the text and make it acceptable in the target language. The following example will demonstrate exactly how this takes place. In English, when a female mammal is

expecting a baby they are referred to as pregnant but in isiXhosa a distinction is made. In the case of an animal they would say *imithi* (it is pregnant), but in the case of a human being they would say *ukhulelwe* (she is pregnant). The above terms basically mean the same thing but are not applicable in the same contexts because the other term would be impolite when applied in the context of the other (*umithi* in the context of a human) and the other would be too polite or unlikely when applied in the context of the other (*ikhulelwe* in the context of an animal).

Equivalence is controversial in two ways; how it is achieved and how it is demonstrated in a given text. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) argue that this strategy is reader based. When a translator translates a text hoping to achieve equivalence, they should fully attend to their target reader's culture and language. To elaborate; a translator should not only achieve and deliver on the grammatical aspect of language but should attend to the semantic aspect of the language. That way the effect of the target text on the target readers will be the same as the effect of the source text in the source text readers. An example of the above would be the onomatopoeic sound a dog makes when it barks. In English we would say "a dog woofs" when barking, on the other hand, in isiXhosa when a dog barks we would say "*inja ithi haw-haw*". A reader who is only proficient in isiXhosa would only understand a text that says "*inja yathi haw-haw*" instead of a text that says "*inja yathi woof-woof*"; visa-versa.

The last oblique translation strategy recognised by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) is adaptation. Adaptation occurs in contexts where the situation addressed by the source text is unknown to the target culture. Therefore, the translator has to create a suitable situation that can be considered as equivalent. For example the statement "he kissed her in front of everyone" as is would be acceptable in English but not in isiXhosa. Therefore the translator would have to provide a suitable 'substitute' or equivalent statement that will not only serve its purpose grammatically but also semantically, at the same time appealing to the target readers because kissing in public is taboo in Xhosa culture. A suitable translation in this context would be "*wamanga phambi kwawo wonke ubani* (he hugged her in front of everyone)". Even though the target reader of this text will not get the same effect as the reader of the source text, the target text reader, they will get the same idea as to how much or how far the characters engaged in public display of affection. This is referred to as 'situational equivalence'.

### 3.4. Translation equivalence: a problematic term

Shapiro once noted:

*I see translation as the attempt to produce a text so transparent that it does not seem to be translated. A good translation is like a pane of glass. You only notice that it's there when there are little imperfections—scratches, bubbles. Ideally, there shouldn't be any. It should never call attention to itself.* (Venuti, 1995:1).

Between a source text and a target text exists a relationship of equivalence (Kusssmaul, 1995). Even though the above is a shared belief within the field of translation, there is minor agreement of how equivalence in translation is depicted. Some scholars argue that equivalence is depicted when the semantic structure of the target text resembles that of the source text, some argue that equivalence can only be if the syntactic and morphological structure of the target text and target language is one and the same as that of the source text and source language (Longacre, 1958; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958 and Kusssmaul, 1995).

The term equivalence is defined in the Collins Dictionary of the English Language (1991:526) as “the state of being equal or interchangeable in value, quantity, significance, etc., or having the same or similar effect or meaning” (Collins Dictionary, 1991 in Halverson, 2006: 2). The controversy of the term equivalence within the field of translation is prompted by such definitions as the above definition. Due to the above definition, translational theorists and practitioners aim to prove their approach to translation as accurate as they make it a priority that it consists of the above-mentioned (on the definition) components of equivalence.

Viewing translation equivalence according to the above definition would be to some extent specious; not all the above-mentioned translational components can be evident in a single translational work in all contexts. I will use these following elements of this definition of equivalence “the state of being equal in quantity” and “having the same or similar meaning” to demonstrate how this. When translating a Xhosa text into English or *vice versa*, it is not always possible to find the above examples in a single sentence. If one (a translator) aims to translate words as they appear in the source language text focusing on the quantity of words, it is not always possible for a target text to consist of the same or similar meaning as contained by the source text. The above is demonstrated by the following example: *ndiya*

*ebhayi ngomso* (isiXhosa version), I am going to Port Elizabeth Tomorrow (English version). Looking at the above there exists a difference, the isiXhosa version consists of only three word characters and the English version consists of seven word characters, therefore proving that the definition of translation above is not accurate and cannot apply in all contexts. In most cases there can only be one of the components contained in the definition in each translation work.

Bell (1991) argues that most practitioners (including scholars) in the field of translation incorrectly expect translation equivalence to be achieved in a single method. As a result, they try to prove their methods of achieving translation equivalence as accurately as possible. However, the 'equivalence' in translation is not as straightforward as most expect and assume it to be; it is much more complicated than that. Translation equivalence is not always achieved in a single manner. Translators have to take into consideration the relationship between languages involved (are they languages of a parallel structure or not?). From there they have to consider an appropriate method in order to achieve that equivalence and so on and so forth. Moreover, there is also the problem of how to translate 'culture' across languages. During the process of a translation where there are two different cultures involved, especially where in one of the cultures certain topics cannot be discussed out in the open, where some issues may be considered taboo; those issues will have to be concealed and that is done through sensitive and careful translating to achieve the same the effect as the initial (source) text but not in the exact meaning itself.

According to Longacre (1958) every practising translator is well aware that one can only translate a text in context, not each word autonomously. Different languages have different language structures and meanings for words, to some languages words change according context, therefore is not possible to translate the syntactic structure or morphological structure of one language to another. One should analyse the text as a whole, then translate it according to context. If one were to translate each word autonomously the text translated will not be decipherable as it would not contain meaning. Direct approach to translation or translation of syntactic structures is only possible in cases of languages that have a similar language structure. In the South African context an example of such languages are English and Afrikaans. The following example is a demonstration of how the above occurs: "the dog barks - English"; "*die hond blaf*"- Afrikaans. In the above examples occurs a substitution of each word as it occurs in the source language.



Vinay & Darbelnet (1958) argue that in situations where there are no synonyms for a particular word in a target language, direct translation results in indecipherable texts. Therefore, translating texts in contexts once again becomes an accurate choice. In most situations even synonyms in a particular language do not have the same function and effect in a sentence. This then suggests that the possibility of the above occurring in a translated equivalent (same word in another language) is much greater than when it occurs in synonyms within the same language due to culture differences, use of particular words in context etc. Such synonyms are death (English) and *ukufa* (isiXhosa). In a context of a text informing people about the death of respected member of the society, the above equivalents are not exactly equivalents. In English the sentence might be something along the lines of the following “Mr. Smith died in a car accident on Thursday afternoon”. The isiXhosa version would be “*uMnumzana Smith ubhubhe ngengozi emvakwemini ngoLwesine*”. The word *ukufa* would not be applicable if used in this context; it is usually applicable in the case of an animal that had died or in contexts where a person who is nuisance or malicious to the members of the society dies. The use of the word “*ufile*” in this context would be metaphorical - simply symbolise that the deeds of the individual in question were nearly as malevolent and devious as that of an animal.

Jakobson (1971) and Kade (1968) proposed that bilingual dictionaries are not much help to translators since they do not normally explain words in context. They argue that it is important for translators to not only be bilingual but be bicultural as well. When a translator is bicultural it means they understand not only the language of the target text but the culture of the target text readers therefore puts them at an advantage. Bicultural translators are at an advantage of knowing their target readers, knowing what is acceptable in the target culture and language and how all the above-mentioned can be applied in context. Bicultural translators that are introduced to Xhosa culture are always aware of how to phrase certain things in isiXhosa to make them more acceptable to Xhosa target readers. This is evident on most HIV and AIDS educating pamphlets where issues of sexual intercourse are explicitly demonstrated and stated; Xhosa bicultural translators find means to make such texts acceptable to its target readers by making it more relevant in terms of the language spoken and understood by its target readers and less offensive. For the above to be possible it all depends on the strategies they employ to achieve it.

Mpolweni (2005) realises that translation should accommodate the target readers and reflect familiarity with the target readers as it will be presented in a target language. This is

important to a large extent: if a translator translates a document that contains words that are seen as taboo by the target language readers. The translated document may not be attended to by the people it was meant for because they would take it as an act of offence and disrespect from the translator's side or trying to convert them into something they are not. For example, in a scenario of people living in a rural area where tradition and customs are still strong, a love Life poster stating that 'HIV loves sleeping around', literally translated as '*ugawulayo uyakuthanda ukulalana*' would be counterproductive as it would likely offend its target readers (Bok, 2009). A translator translating such text would have to coin something along the lines of '*ugawulayo ufumaneka kakhulu kubantu ababelana ngesondo nabantu abaninzi*', which is "HIV is most likely to get people that have more than one sexual partner". That way the purpose will be served without having to offend the target readers.

### **3.5. Reiss (1971), Koller (1979) and Nord (1991) compulsory tools for a translation evaluation**

Nord (1991) states "translation criticism requires a theoretical frame of reference i.e. a set of criteria for the assessment of the translation". A translation assessment framework is more than just a comparison of the target text to the source text, it functions as a set of reference or rules if you like, that a translation evaluator employs to determine if the translated work is admissible to the target language and the target culture (Nord, 1991). Nord (1991) argues that these set of rules or guidelines the evaluator employs are the same set of guidelines the translator is supposed to employ when embarking on a translation task.

Reiss (1971) and Koller (1979) in Nord (1991) suggest the following as the vital components in translation criticism/assessment.

- TT (target text) has to be compared to ST (source text)

It is not possible to assess the target text-source text relationship by assessing the target text only, therefore the source text play a vital role not only to shaping the target text but to assessing its faithfulness (to the target text receiver and to the source text) as well. However the notion of faithfulness in translation has been hard to pin down as there are no prescribed components of a completely faithful target text

- TT has to be fitted into the target-cultural norms of language and literature

This component relates to translation equivalence which is rather a complex issue in the field of translation. Fitting a source text into target-cultural norms of language and literature has been by far the most apt method to achieve translation equivalence, especially in a translation situation involving languages that with unparalleled language structures (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958 and Nord, 1991).

- Assessing the suitability of translation strategies and methods used by a translator to produce the target text

Nord (1991) states that it is important for an assessor (researcher) not to merely rely on comparing the target text to the source text and fitting the source text into the target-cultural norms when conducting the evaluation on the target text. She proposes that an assessor should assess the appropriateness of translations methods and strategies employed by the translator during the translation process.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

This chapter discussed how the notion of translation is not an easy notion to carry out in practice. It proved that choosing a translation approach and strategy or strategies can be very difficult as all three translation approaches and seven translation strategies may seem suitable in most contexts. One can only assess validity and appropriateness of a translation strategy in a particular context by exploring the different options (strategies one can choose from) bearing in mind the issue of semantics, culture, morphology, syntax, the reader, the ST and TT. Moreover the notion of equivalence in translation studies is to a large extent confusing, to some cases it may seem as a clear cut and easily achievable but that is not necessarily the case in all contexts. Translations theorists and practitioners argue as they are all trying to prove which approach is suitable in order to achieve this notion of equivalence in translation studies. It is evident on the discussions above that there is not a single approach to achieving equivalence that is suitable at all times and all contexts. The discussion demonstrated that translating texts in to contexts which they exist does to a large extent achieve this notion of equivalence. Texts translated into context may consist of sentences that are direct translated (translation of sentence structure) but still carry meaning and sentences that are simply semantically translated. The above therefore means in some cases direct translation is applicable but some may require translation not of single words but of entire sentences or

even the text as a whole to make sense. Finally, the chapter reviewed Reiss (1971), Koller (1979) and Nord (1991) compulsory tools for a translation evaluation.



# Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology

## 4.0. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology employed in the study. As mentioned in previous chapters, this study is not only interested in my point of view (as researcher) on how languages are used in linguistic/semiotic landscapes within the three universities but it is also interested in how the target audience perceive these sets of practices. Due to that motivation the study is of multiplicitous nature, thus methods of data acquisition and data analysis that often go with this type of study were adopted. All methods of data acquisition, the methodology adopted and data analysis used will be discussed in the chapter sections.

## 4.1. Research paradigm and research design

The research process consists of three main dimensions, namely: Ontology, epistemology and methodology (TerreBlanche and Durrheim, 1999). Ontology is the study of what exists and how things that exist are understood and categori[s]ed (O’Leary, 2010: 5). Epistemology is how we come to have legitimate knowledge of the world: rules for knowing (O’Leary, 2010: 5). Furthermore, O’Leary (2010) states that the main questions addressed by ontology and epistemology are “what type of things actually exist? What are the rules for discovering what exists?” to achieve an answer to these questions one has to have a strategy and that strategy is called methodology. According to TerreBlanche and Durrheim (1999), “research paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practice and thinking that define the nature of enquiry along these three dimensions”.<sup>5</sup>

A research paradigm is defined as “a broad view or perspective of something” (Taylor, Kermode and Roberts, 2006: 5). Moreover, Weaver and Olson (2006: 460) view the research paradigm as underlying patterns of beliefs and practices that provide “lenses, frames and processes through which investigation is accomplished”. Thus it is important for the researcher to outline their research paradigm before describing the methods used for data acquisition and data analysis.

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<sup>5</sup>[http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204\\_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf](http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf)

To present my perspective, as well as that of the audience/readers of the signage, this research adopted both positivist and post-positivist approach. The positivist approach is known as the scientific paradigm set on viewing the world in an ‘objective’, unchanging and ‘truthful’ point of view. Positivists believe that there is one objective reality. Their approach is mostly motivated by hypotheses and justified by quantitative findings. However, post-positivists believe that there can be many ‘truths’ and perspectives to a single situation. Their approach is mostly justified by interviews, case studies, focus groups, observation, etc. Most researchers studying linguistic landscapes incorporated with multilingualism, translation and multimodality adopt the positivist approach i.e. they often focus on counting the number of languages/codes in each signage, the number of signs translated, the number of signs consisting of multimodal aspects, etc. In this case both approaches complement each other because the interviews conducted present the ‘truth’ about language use in signage within the three universities from the point of view of the audience and the statistical presentation of language practices, signage and descriptive analysis of text translation present from my point of view (the researcher).



## **4.2. Triangulation**

Triangulation, in the social sciences, can be said to be “the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or stand points cast light upon a topic” (Olsen, 2004: 3). Triangulated studies proved to be more advantageous than single approach studies, because neither qualitative nor quantitative methods can justify the viewpoints of all studies when used autonomously (Olsen, 2004). The debate about which of the two methods is valid still continues (Olsen, 2004). Some researchers argue quantitative methods as more valid than qualitative because they believe “statistics are facts that speak for themselves” (Olsen, 2004: 9). On other hand, other researchers swear by qualitative methods because they believe “the interpretation of social statistics from a more thoughtful, critical and reflexive standpoint could reach a more acceptable version of objectivity than the above proposed viewpoint (Olsen, 2004: 9).

### **4.2.1 Methodological triangulation**

“The mixing of methodologies e.g. mixing the use of survey data and interviews, is a more profound form of triangulation” (Olsen, 2004: 3). Methods used for this particular study

include interviews and collection of camera documents (photographs of semiotic/ linguistic landscapes).

#### **4.2.1.1 Research sites**

Due to the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University comprising more than one campus, a choice had to be made with regards to the “sites” to be studied. Main campuses of every institution comprising more than one campus operate as the heart of the institution, a place where everything is set and based. Due to this it was reasonable to choose the main campus of the University of Cape Town (Groote Schuur Campus in Rondebosch) and the main campus of the Stellenbosch University (Stellenbosch campus) in order to get a fair comparison with the University of the Western Cape comprising of a single campus.

#### **4.2.1.2 Sampling**

The nature of the data sampled for the study is dual: linguistic/semiotic landscapes and interviews. A total of 461 semiotic/linguistic landscapes were collected on all three sites mentioned above. Additionally, 14 individuals from the three institutions were interviewed with sets of questions designed to elicit their take on the language use in signage within the three universities. Assuming that the target audience is everyone that comes into consultation with the three universities, subjects included students and- / staff (i.e. language specialists, lecturers in relative fields of studies, security guards, cleaners, etc.).

The decision to have varied subjects for the study was deliberate because they all have an important contribution to the study. Even though the varied audience/readers get the same view to the signage, they all look at it from different perspectives of ‘equality’ in terms of representation of all three official languages of the Western Cape. Language specialists might look at it from a technical perspective; they may compare all constituents of the signage represented in the three languages (language, text, colour, font, etc.). The students might look at it from the perspective of seeing (literally) all three languages in signage as stated in their language policy (those who are aware of the language policy and what it states) and with English being the medium of instruction at two of the three universities, some might view it from the perspective of whether or not the translated text makes sense, i.e. leaning on their first language and second language skills, they would read the isiXhosa text and translate it into English, and *vice versa*. General workers i.e. the security guards, might look at it from

the perspective of having their preferred option made available to them: if they are Afrikaans first language speakers and their second language is English, they do not have to read the English text if they are not adequately proficient in English, because they are given the option to read the message in the language they are most proficient in. If their preferred language is not one of the given options they choose the next best option.

### **i. Signage**

The question of what constitutes a sign is the first thing that comes to mind to a researcher faced with the task of sampling signs (Gorter, 2006). Gorter (2006) argues that although it may seem easy, this is a very complex question to give an accurate answer to as linguistic landscapes are much more than just ‘objects that mark the public space’; in fact, answers vary according to the focus of each researcher. Although they are technically linguistic/semiotic landscapes, temporary signage such as stickers on cars, a special poster in a restaurant, a list of students’ course-work marks, etc. are often not convenient to include when sampling signage. Permanent or long-term signage, on the other hand, are convenient in a sense that they grant a researcher the ability to recheck, make sure and justify a few technical requirements, i.e. if the same sign is captured more than once or if it is a replica spread across different places.

Backhaus’s (2006: 55) in Edelman (2010: 10) definition of signs, according to his/her study, demonstrates just how the definition changes according to the focus of each researcher:

*A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards. Also such items as ‘push’ and ‘pull’ stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered to be signs. Each sign was counted as one item, irrespective of its size.*

Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 71) in Edelman (2010: 10), describe what a sign is with regards to sampling in their study:

*[I]n the case of shops and other businesses each establishment but not each sign was the unit of analysis, that is, it was considered ‘one single sign’ for the analysis. So, when a bank or a shop had its name on the front but also a number of advertising posters on the windows it was considered one sign.*



I share the same viewpoint as Gorter (2006) thus the sampling of signage for this study was mainly on permanent signage.

## **ii. Students**

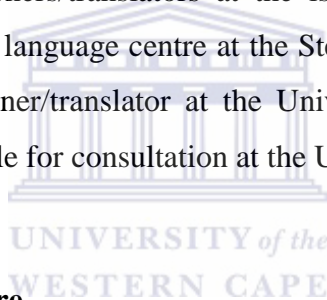
To get different views from different individuals, students were scouted from different parts of each campus (from the student centres, libraries, lawns, campus entrances and exits, etc.).

## **iii. General Workers**

The general workers from all three of the universities were varied (some were cleaning staff, security guards, and personnel from the campus stores) as they were randomly approached and interviewed.

## **iv. Specialists**

To get a professional perspective about the use of languages in signage around the three universities (mainly the University of the Western Cape and the University of Stellenbosch), I consulted two language practitioners/translators at the isiXhosa language centre and one general practitioner at the central language centre at the Stellenbosch University. Moreover I consulted one language practitioner/translator at the University of the Western Cape. No language practitioner was available for consultation at the University of Cape Town.



### **4.2.1.3 Documents and procedure**

The instrument used for the acquisition of the documents was a digital camera (a canon 12.1 megapixels digital camera with times 12 optical zoom). Compared to alternative cameras, i.e. a phone camera, this camera allowed me to obtain photographs from a far distance (photographs that were not perfectly viewable by the naked eye due to being extremely far and were not reachable unless one uses such instruments that would capture them perfectly) as though they were at a much closer distance.

For the first visit to the sites I had all the necessary tools for data acquisition of this nature (camera, adequate batteries, notepad, pen, pencil, etc.). As the aim was not to limit the study in terms of data, the number of photographs set for the study was a minimum of 250 photographs of all photographs combined. As 250 was the target minimum number of photographs, 461 photographs of semiotic/ linguistic landscapes were obtained. The type of photographs obtained during field-work included various types of linguistic landscapes i.e. building names, directory signs, warning signs, etc.

Even though a researcher consults the field/site with all necessary instruments there is always a possibility of missing something that would be interesting with regards to the study. I therefore consulted the sites more than once to ensure that I acquired enough photographs or I have not overlooked something that might enhance the rationality of my arguments in the analysis section.

#### **4.2.1.4 Interviews and procedure**

The procedure for interviews was different from the preceding section, because it included living research subjects/participants. The necessary rules and procedure dictated by research of this nature were followed. Most researchers require the participants' personal details even though they would not disclose those details in their research paper; however I was more interested in the views of the participants and not their identities. This did not only help when explaining the aspect of safety and anonymity to the participants but it also guarantees it because without the names of their participants, the researcher has no choice but to use pseudonyms.

All 14 participants/subjects were of legal age, thus the need to consult their guardians for permission was not necessary. Also all participants consented to be recorded and for their views to be used in this research project. They had every right to agree to what information should be included as part of the study and what information should be left out. Moreover, the participants were informed to answer the interview questions to the best of their ability and they were not obligated to answer any question they felt they were not comfortable with.

The preparation for the interviews was similar to that of the above-mentioned preceding procedure. Prior to consulting the site, I went to the site with a fully charged tape recorder and a notepad to make notes when I needed to. The interviews were conducted on the same sites as that of the photographs of the linguistic/semiotic landscapes: the University of the Western Cape, the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch. Participants were approached randomly from wherever they were located at the time of interviews.

#### **4.2.1.5 Observation**

Observation is as much an essential process of data collection as the main method of data collection, because during analysis the researcher relies on the data he/she collected and their

recollection of their setting and context of the data during the data collection term. During both of the data collection terms I observed specific things that would be of importance in the forthcoming analysis sections. Another important essential during data collection is recording ideas and observations in a notepad because one can only recollect past events to a certain extent.

#### **4.2.2 Data triangulation**

“The mixing of data types, known as data triangulation, is often thought to help in validating the claims that might arise from an initial pilot study” (Olsen, 2004: 3). As mentioned in the introductory section, the study aims to present the reader/audience’s take on the use of languages in linguistic/semiotic landscapes within the three universities and the researcher’s point of view, thus the data acquired for this study is twofold: interviews and photographs of signage.

##### **4.2.2.1 Documents**

The documents collected are photographs of linguistic/semiotic landscapes collected from the three universities over a period of two months. This decision was mainly influenced by the desire to acquire enough and satisfying photographs for analysis.

#### **General coding of signage**

Signs were coded according to the following groupings, resembling that of the previous studies’ coding system (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2004; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006 and Edelman, 2010).

#### ***Types of signage***

##### ***(a). Institution/Faculty/Department Name Or Internal Directory Sign***

- The actual building names (faculty names, department names, stores names, etc.)
- The internal director signage (directory sign about a building, etc.)
- Toilet signs

- Welcome signs

The logic behind presenting the above signage as a collective is because the directory signs (apart from generic road signs) are situated close to or in front of the institutions the signs are directing the audience to. In this regard the directory signs do not only serve a similar function as any other directory sign out there, which is to direct the receiver to their desired destination, but it serves the function of being the more “in your face” version of the building name sign.

### ***(b). Street sign/road signs***

The street signs in this regard are the generic street signs created by the government to guide drivers and pedestrians on the roads; such signs include traffic signs, street names, etc.

### ***(c). Security signs and notices***

This coding comprises the following type of signs:

- The generic security signs/warnings
- Legal inference warnings on buildings
- The generic notifications created by the institution to alert students, staff and the public members who consult the universities on a regular basis.
- Parking warning signs

The reasoning that motivated the above coding is that all these types of signs in this section are designed to alert the receiver to the consequences of neglecting the transmitted message. Generally the consequences of neglecting these types of signage are undesirable. All these types of signs are of imperative form, meaning they usually instruct instead of state.

### ***Top-down Versus Bottom-up Signage***

Edelman (2010) differentiates between government signage and private institution signage. She states that government signage usually employ official languages as opposed to private signage which usually employ a variety of languages, including non-official languages. Top-down and bottom-up signage in this context are governed by language policies, thus the study

aims to draw similarities in the linguistic/semiotic landscapes and not differences. An example of a government sign would be those security signs that can be found anywhere in the country and a private sign would be an institution's own name sign.

### *Languages in order of appearance in signage*

For the purpose of investigating equal promotion of the official languages of the Western Cape within the universities, language order of appearance in signs had to be explored. The system used to determine the preferred code for reading signage is the reading order of Western culture. The reading order in Western cultures stipulates reading from the left side of the text to the right and from the top part of the text to the bottom (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). They argue that in vertically arranged text the preferred code will be the one on the left side of the text and the one on the right side of the text is by default secondary. In horizontally arranged texts, the code at the top is presumed to be the favoured code and the code at the bottom of the text is presumed secondary. Lastly, they state that the code in the centre of the text is the preferred code and the one on the margins is secondary. Edelman (2010) notes that this premise becomes void in cases of scripts written in Arabic and Hebrew; these scripts are written from the right side of the text to the left side.

On her study, Edelman (2010) further explores the following aspects:

- Presence or absence of languages in a sign, presence or absence of translation and presence of code/language mixing in a text

Presence and absence of codes in signs, presence or absence translation and code mixing in a text is coded. Presence of a code in a sign is important as the aim was to discover which codes are used religiously and which ones are neglected. For this section translations and code mixing is coded in terms of word-for-word translation, free translation, partial translation, and no translation compatible with Reh's (2004) four types of multilingual writing.

### *Font size of a text in signage*

For the benefit of the research aims, it is crucial to check if the font size is consistent in all languages employed in a sign. Edelman (2010) states that the preferred code is usually

presented in bigger, bolder font and brighter colours, and secondary codes are usually presented in a smaller, more ‘ordinary’ font so that the preferred code stands out.

#### *Amount of text in a sign*

The amount of text presented in a particular code in a sign can also depict which of the codes is the preferred code. Edelman (2010) states that most researchers usually account for the number of characters each code has in a text. She further notes that this method is not always fair as there are languages that have incompatible language structures i.e. isiXhosa as opposed to English. For the purpose of this study, this method will focus more on the amount of information each code presents as opposed to the number of characters. In some multilingual signage the caption (if there is) is usually presented in a single code; for the purpose of this study such codes will be treated as the preferred code.

#### **4.2.2.2 Interviews**

According to Bock (2007) the preparation of audio data for analysis begins with transcribing it. Furthermore she states “the process of transcribing the data from the audiotape is necessarily a selective one” (Bock, 2007: 122). She notes, a transcript should only consist of the necessary information, meaning only some features of the audio data will be transformed to autographic form. I share Bock’s premise. Out of the fair number of interviews acquired in all three research sites combined, only a few were prepared for the purpose of analysis because only those few seemed to relevant in the process of analysis.

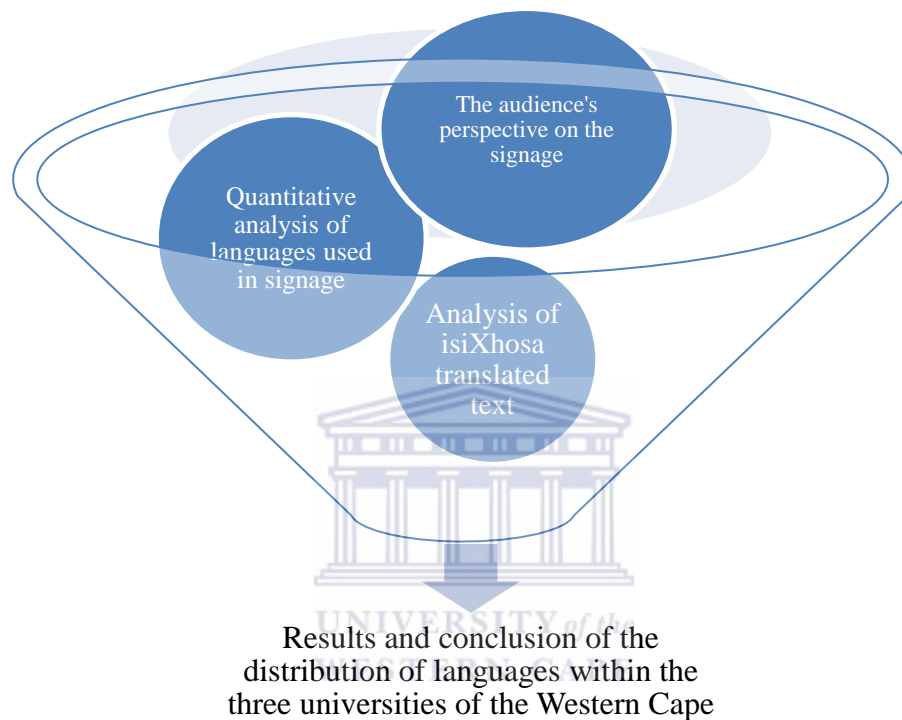
Edwards (2001: 324) in Bock (2007: 123) states:

*Transcripts should be easy to read and that notations and conventions drawn from every day and literary uses of language and orthography are useful as readers are accustomed to reading information presented in this way. Edwards (2001: 322) also notes that transcription is an open-ended process and that a transcript may change as the researcher’s insights are progressively sharpened.*

Moreover, Bock notes that transcriptions differ according to what it is that the researcher is looking for in a text i.e. because the participant’s feelings played a significant role in her study, her transcriptions used conventional punctuation constituents such as commas (,) to indicate “breathing time”, three dots to indicate short hesitations, number of seconds to

indicate the time each pause took, etc. In this case, the emphasis is put on how they say certain things instead of what they say (what they do not say, in which case the researcher has to infer meaning).

### 4.2.3 Methodological triangulation



**Figure 4. 1**

The diagram is fashioned by a funnel, an apparatus traditionally used to distil and filter unclean liquids in hopes to achieve a cleaner version of it as an outcome. The diagram is simply a metaphoric demonstration of the data analysis process of this study and the outcome: that is the findings and conclusion. The analysis section is divided into three chapters. The first chapter of analysis, chapter five, resembles the studies of Gorter (2006), Tarkington (2008), Bruyèl-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009), Edelman's (2010) etc. Their studies focused precisely on statistical tables of different languages present in different signage, the number of languages / codes in signage, the order of languages / codes as they appear in linguistic landscapes, etc. This study will specifically feature statistics tables under the following headings: codes/languages as they appear in linguistic/semiotic landscapes, placement order of the official languages of the Western Cape in linguistic/semiotic

landscapes, and top-down versus bottom-up linguistic/semiotic landscapes. All of the above tables will be accompanied by analysis.

The second chapter of analysis, chapter six, adopts a more technical approach of assessment. It dwells on examining the quality of isiXhosa translation, methods employed by the translators of a selected number of signage (including the multimodal aspects of both source text and target text) and identifying ills embodied in some translation methods when applied in situations of languages existing in incompatible cultures. This section strictly adopts a method similar to that of Mpolweni (2005). A dual translation framework analysis, based on her study of the reader centredness of translated financial texts into isiXhosa; the macro and micro structural analysis of translated text.

Lastly, chapter seven looks at the audience's perspective on the signage around each of the institutions in question in comparison to the institutions' multilingual language policies and the language policies' view on multilingualism in practice. To elicit the audience's perspective on the signage in comparison to the language policies of the institutions and the policies' view on multilingualism, the study will employ thematic and discourse analysis.

#### **4.2.3.1 Methods for quantitative analysis**

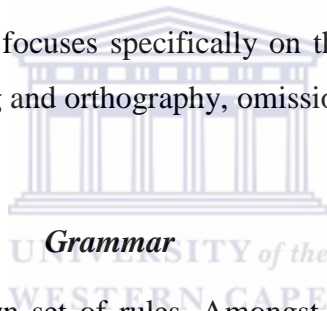
The method adopted for quantitative analysis in this study resembles that of Gorter (2006), Tarkington (2008), Bruyèl-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009), etc. For their studies, these scholars employed tables as their quantitative method of data analysis as opposed to other representation of quantitative results, such pie charts, graphs, etc. which have limitations in terms of presenting a variety of categories simultaneously. I chose this particular method of quantitative data analysis because it allows one to depict multiple findings simultaneously i.e. through this method I was able to include a category for codes used in signage, the three universities each presented in its own column, percentages and number of signage. Apart from these advantages that this method grants, there are other advantages that one gets the luxury to exploit, i.e. in the case of the above-mentioned scholars, their studies were based on a much broader context than this particular one; their studies were spread across cities, meaning their studies required more space for presentation and this method gave them that ability to present all those findings simultaneously. Though the above-mentioned methods had an influence on this study, it precisely adopted Edelman's (2010) technique of analysis for quantitative analysis of signage.



#### **4.2.3.2 Macro and micro structural analysis of translated isixhosa signage**

The study also employs a more structured theoretical framework of analysis, the macro and micro structural analysis of translated text employed by Mpolweni's (2005). Macro structural analysis is set as one of the most important rules of translation; what is done in the source text should be applied into to the target text. This does not necessarily mean transferring the constituents and rules of the source text into the target text, but it means the translator should do justice to the broader spectrum of the target text as it was done to the source text by the author of the source text. In this regard, other fields of studies get to be incorporated into the analysis, i.e. multimodality. As an assessor, when looking at a target text in a broader spectrum, one has to look at things like colour and the different meanings they possess in each context, look at whether or not the translator has used the same shade of colour as used in the source text, if not, what are could be the reasons for that?

Micro structural analysis of text focuses specifically on the inner constituents of language: grammar, lexical options, spelling and orthography, omissions and additions.



Language as a code has its own set of rules. Amongst other constituents of language or rules I can mention a few: grammar, lexis, semantics, syntax, morphology, phonology, phonetics etc. The above compulsory language sets of constituents are what differentiate languages from another. In a translation task - whether it is an educational pamphlet, a book, advertisement, signage - it is important for a translator to attend to these rules at all times as negligence to these rules may result into indecipherable translations/target text. Following Mpowleni's (2005) method of analysis in this regard, the assessor checks if the translator has followed the necessary grammatical rules of the target language when translating. Her grammatical evaluation includes checking if the following grammatical constituents are used correctly: prefixes suffixes, word order, subject and objects, concordial agreement, etc.

#### ***Lexical options***

Almost every word in a language has a synonym (Mpowleni, 2005). Although some synonyms may be considered equivalents, this is not the case with all words. Some word

substitutes are context dependent, thus one cannot treat them as parallels in all contexts. In this section, the evaluator examines the different options a translator has within a language and whether or not the choices they made during a translation job were the best in that context.

### *Spelling and orthography*

Like any other component of language, spelling and orthography are crucial. In translation, it is important that a translator spells words correctly because incorrect spelling influences the semantic content of the word and how it is perceived by its target audience and an incorrect spelling of one word may change the entire text's meaning. This section assesses spellings of each word in the target text and how it influences the entire text.

### *Omissions*

Though a target text cannot be a replica of the source text at all times, there are traces of the source text that should be in the target text. Due to a variety of reasons, some translators do what is called "semi-translation", transferring some aspects of the source text into the target text. This section looks at the tiniest important details the translator did not care to include into to the target text.

*Additions:* even though they are bound by theoretical assumptions, translators are expected to be as creative as possible, thus supported by renowned theories they can alter a few conventions to give justice to the target text. This then means a translator does not have to include every aspect of the source text into the target text even if the linguistic rules of the target text do not allow this occur. In this section, the evaluator examines the translation to elicit the translation strategies adopted by the translator; the translation strategies a translator uses in a translation job expose the creativity and skills of the translator.

### **4.2.3.3 Thematic analysis and discourse analysis**

#### *Thematic Analysis*

The Thematic analysis method is one of the methods used in qualitative data research analysis. In this method the data is organised according to themes that it falls under, therefore

only small portions of data are used to illustrate or argue the main point of the theme. Even though there may be countless numbers of data fitting into a single theme, only the data that best depicts the argument of the theme is employed in this regard.

Braun and Clarke (2006) note:

*Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic. (Braun and Clarke, 2006:4)*

### ***Discourse Analysis***

“Discourse can be anything from a grunt or single expletive, through short conversations and scribbled notes right up to Tolstoy’s novel, War and Peace, or a lengthy legal case” (Cook, 1989: 7). He or she further states that discourse is not discourse because it conforms to the rules of grammar, but because it transmits the message successfully and it is recognised by the receiver(s) in a communication process as coherent.

“Impeccably well-formed [language] is typical of casual spontaneous speech” (Halliday, 1985:35). The meaning established is that spoken language, in contrast to what people tend to believe tends to have a high degree of clause complexity. The following example from Huang and Snedeker (2009) from their study “Semantic meaning and pragmatic interpretation in five-year-olds: Evidence from real time spoken language comprehension”, depicts how this occurs in an unconstructed context:

(1) Child: Can I please eat the cake?

Mother: You can have a slice.

Huang and Snedeker (2009) argue that, in this case, the child has requested “the cake” (this does not necessarily mean a slice), and the mother has granted the child permission to “eat a slice”, but did her statement forbid the child to eat the whole cake? It is possible that the statement was meant to express that desire, however that desire was not expressed explicitly in the message. This is evident in the following example.

(2) Mother: Did you eat a slice of the cake?

Child: Yeah, I ate a slice. In fact, I ate the whole thing.

*Semantics refers to the aspects of the interpretation that can be directly calculated from the meanings of words and the structural relationships between them. In contrast, pragmatics refers to the aspects of interpretation that are inferred through an analysis of the context and the communicator's goals. (Huang and Snedeker, 2009: 2).*

Different discourse analysts argue that discourse does not exist in a vacuum (Cook, 1989; Bock, 2007 and Gee, 2011). Gee (2011) states that the task of a discourse analyst is not just looking at the physical features of the discourse (transcribed version of the data) but looking at the data and what context it exist in. His explanation of context goes beyond the tangible surroundings, i.e. chairs, tables, ruler, in the case of data acquired in academic context. Characteristics such as the relationship between participants/subjects, shared knowledge between the participants/subjects, gazes, gestures, etc. are all part of context. The question to ask is: how is it possible to figure all of these characteristics in audio recordings of data?

Gee argues that we (discourse analysts) do not have to know all of this information about the participants. He argues that the very thing that often tricks discourse analysts into believing the data they captured is clean, raw and/or natural (audio recorded data), is the very thing that strips off most of the context the data exists in, making it unnatural, unclean and unreal. Think about it - for data to be clean, real and natural, all of its characteristics will have to be intact. Thus Gee (2011) introduced the 27 tools of discourse analysis for discourse analysts to infer context onto the data using the information they have. Bock (2007) states that discourse analysis can be realised at micro structural analysis level and macro structural analysis level: by identifying social discourses the data manifests through lexical choices made by participants and their meaning (in context and in general) and “conduct a close linguistic analysis (micro-level analysis) of the text in order to explicate its effects and provide linguistic substantiation for the analytical arguments they wish to make” (Bock, 2007: 117).

Martin and Rose (2003: 214) in Bock (2007: 119), state:

*Analysts should focus on what is foregrounded and what is co-articulated when analysing a text. By foregrounding, they refer to those choices which are highlighted against the system as prominent or unusual. By co-articulation, they refer to those systems which are working together to produce a particular effect,*

*for example, the way in which statements of negation, concession and continuatives work to introduce and oppose different positions.*

### ***Advantages of thematic analysis and discourse analysis***

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), one of the advantages of using thematic analysis is that it is more flexible than other more structured and strictly set qualitative research methods, i.e. discourse analysis. In fact Holloway & Todres (2003) believe that thematic analysis should be seen as the bedrock of the qualitative strand of research analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) believe that though many studies often do not acknowledge using this method, thematic analysis is in fact a widely and frequently employed qualitative research method compared to other methods belonging to the same strand. Additionally, Braun and Clarke (2006) state that this method is often employed with other methods. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, takes into account the role of context, coherence and cohesion in ‘real talk’. Analysing the data from interviews goes beyond searching for themes; it involves real situations, real people, and therefore real talk. Searching for themes and ignoring the contexts in which those themes exist in would be unjust to a study. Thus this study will be best served with the combination of both research methods. Moreover, Gee (2011) views thematic analysis as part of discourse analysis; in his book “How Do Discourse Analysis; A Toolkit”, thematic analysis is listed as tool number eleven.

### **4.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has taken its point of departure by defining and describing its research paradigm. It has outlined the nature of multiplicitous research by describing the research process in detail, from acquisition of semiotic/ linguistic landscapes to acquiring ‘supplementary’ data (the interviews), the duration of data acquisition, and describing the site and participants. Finally it has outlined the theoretical frameworks and analysis methods that are employed in the three upcoming chapters of analysis.

## Chapter Five - Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic/Semiotic Landscapes within the Three Institutions

### 5.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the quantitative analysis of the collected semiotic/ linguistic landscapes in the three universities of the Western Cape. Divided into three sections, this chapter's method of analysis is influenced by various studies' frameworks for quantitative analysis (Gorter, 2006; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, and Barni 2010; Edelman, 2010, etc.). The first table is a numerical coding and presentation of language combinations as they appear in signage. The second table is a placement order of languages coded in signage, and the third table is a bottom-up versus top-down table (government signage versus institution's own signage); this comparison is depicted in three tables (each for each institution).



### 5.1. Presentation of codes used in the linguistic/semiotic landscapes

The below table is a representation of groupings of signage according to languages/modes/codes that were evident in each signage. The total number presented at the bottom of each of the institution columns is the total number of signage, rather than the number of pictures captured during the process of data collection. In some instances a single signage appears in more than one picture. This is due to the initial picture not comprising all the elements of the signage because the signage was too broad and lengthy for all elements to be captured accurately in one picture, the initial picture being blurred or that particular signage occurred in more than one location.

To achieve fair and reasonable results, I viewed the concept 'the system of using signs' as more than just language, meaning the languages and other modes employed occupy the role of a code. Early studies in semiotics proposed that signs can either be verbal (presented in the form of words) or non-verbal (not presented in form of words). Modes such as arrows were therefore treated as non-verbal signs. Although modes such as arrows are social signs, meaning they share the same characteristic of arbitrariness with words (their semantic constituent is acquired rather than automatic, because it relies on social conventions), they are not presented in a verbal form (Chandler, 2004).

INSTITUTIONS						
codes used in signage	University of the Western Cape		University of Cape Town		Stellenbosch University	
	Number of signage	%	Number of signage	%	Number of signage	%
isiXhosa and English	2	1.98	0	0	0	0
English and Afrikaans	16	15.84	7	4.2	32	16.6
Afrikaans and isiXhosa	0	0	0	0	0	0
English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans	10	9.9	0	0	33	17.1
isiXhosa only	0	0	0	0	0	0
English only	19	18.8	98	58.7	9	
Afrikaans only	5	4.95	0	0	50	25.9
English and non-verbal	27	26.7	39	23.35	4	2.1
Afrikaans and non-verbal	0	0	0	0	5	2.6
isiXhosa and non-verbal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-verbal only	12	11.8	16	9.65	16	8.3
English, Afrikaans and non-verbal	5	4.95	0	0	8	4.14
English, isiXhosa and non-verbal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afrikaans, isiXhosa and non-verbal	0	0	0	0	0	0
English, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and non-verbal	5	4.95	7	4.2	34	17.6
Other languages, acronyms etc.	0	0	0	0	2	1.03
Total signage	101	100	167	100	193	100

Figure 5. 1

Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006) in Kotze (2010), argue that linguistic/ semiotic landscapes sometimes neglect other languages in the society. Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out that this is in fact deliberate; signage represents struggle for control amongst social groups in that particular society “because they are systems of choice and no choices are neutral in the social world” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 7). The University of Cape Town is a perfect example of the case argued by Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006). Table 5.1 shows that on the basis of language use in signage English, used with or without other languages/codes is by far the most used language in signage at the University of Cape Town, relegating Afrikaans as the secondary used and isiXhosa as the least used.

Although the numbers are not compatible, it is fairly evident that like in the University of Cape Town, signage at the University of the Western Cape promotes English more than Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Afrikaans retained second position while isiXhosa had the least signage. In fact there were only few signage that had isiXhosa in it, combined with other languages/codes and autonomously. This is in fact no coincidence (in both the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town) because when one language dominates it often translates to highlighting language of preference (Kotze, 2010).

Unlike the above two universities, Stellenbosch University on the other hand depicts more linguistic diversity. In fact, when compared to the University of the Western Cape and University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch University had a reasonable number of signage with Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. However, in the midst of this recognition of all three languages, there is an obvious extra nurturing being given to Afrikaans. Signage that consists of Afrikaans with and without other languages/code precedes the number of isiXhosa and/or English used with or without other languages/codes. The use of Afrikaans in signage at this university goes beyond the informational function and symbolic function, it serves a mythological function. Chapter one consists of a brief review of the history of this institution and its language policy; in both I learnt that Afrikaans is part of the university’s history and heritage. Kotze (2010) points out that signage that carry this function present some sense of belonging to the people occupying that particular area, as Afrikaans does to the University of Stellenbosch.



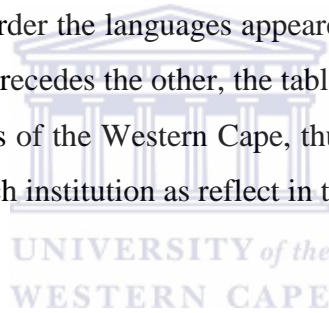
Another important factor that came to my attention is the use of non-verbal signs in the semiotic/linguistic landscapes. Arguably non-verbal signs are not assigned to a particular group of people, ethnicity, race, class, etc. It is a 'language' used to communicate across linguistic borders. In the table above, one would notice that in the University of Cape Town and University of the Western Cape the dominant language used is English and it is used mostly combined with non-verbal signs. Although this strongly suggests that the other two Western Cape official languages, namely isiXhosa and Afrikaans, are not given the attention these languages deserve, it also means that the non-verbal signs are used to mend fences resulting from difficulties to read English. This therefore means, *to a limited extent*, individuals that are unable to read the English presented signage are accommodated by the non-verbal signs in the signage. The reason why I emphasise the phrase "to a limited extent" is because not all signage presented in English comprise non-verbal signs, and even though some of these signage include non-verbal signs, there is no guarantee that the message in these signage is being perceived and received adequately and correspondingly by the English speakers who are catered for by the English language and non-English speakers who are catered for by the non-verbal signs. Also, the non-verbal code might just be arrows and no images portraying what the signage is meant to communicate, thus making it null and void to those who are not proficient enough to decipher the English code. Non-verbal signs, just like any other language, are arbitrary; they have to be learnt in order to be understood and applied in everyday situations. This means non-verbal signs in this regard do not accommodate those who are unable to read English signage and unable or not familiar with those specific non-verbal signs employed in the signage. This assumption then takes us back to the initial proposition; the need to include all three official languages of the Western Cape in semiotic/linguistic landscapes.

## **5.2. Placement order of the official languages of the Western Cape in linguistic/semiotic landscapes**

According to Landry and Bourhis (1997) the notion of linguistic landscape is closely linked to the notion of language-planning. The number of languages and the order in which they are displayed in signage is imprinted in language policies. Eldeman (2010) and Kotze (2010) expatiate on how the assertions of the language policy transpire in signage; languages of prominence are often placed on top, followed by the secondary prominent and then the least

prominent. This is reinforced by the writing and reading systems common amongst the Western cultures, reading from top to bottom, and from left to right (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). Although arguably one would imagine that it is simple to start from the bottom to top when reading signage without being subjected to other languages' presentation of the same signage as much as starting from top to bottom, because other cultures have different reading and writing systems, e.g. Arabic - reading from right to left. Some of the members of society within South Africa may share this reading and writing system for formal use. However, any reading and writing system other than the one proposed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) would be regarded as transgressive because this writing and reading system is being utilised for all formal use and being *taught* at the beginning stages of formal education in South Africa. Also this writing and readings system is applied in many if not all South African languages, hence applying this option in signage written in any of the South African languages is redundant.

The table below is a presentation of languages as they appear in signage; the presentation is according to the order the languages appeared in. In order to detect which one of the official languages always precedes the other, the table only considered signage that had two or all three official languages of the Western Cape, thus the numbers on it do not match the total number of signage in each institution as reflect in table 5.1.



<i>Order in which the three official languages of the Western Cape appear on the signage</i>	Institutions		
	<b>UWC</b>	<b>UCT</b>	<b>US</b>
English, Afrikaans then isiXhosa	12	6	5
English, isiXhosa then Afrikaans	2	1	0
Afrikaans, English then isiXhosa	0	0	67
Afrikaans, isiXhosa then English	0	0	0
isiXhosa, English then Afrikaans	0	0	0
isiXhosa, Afrikaans then English	0	0	0
English then Afrikaans (isiXhosa absent)	13	5	6
Afrikaans then English (isiXhosa absent)	11	2	29
isiXhosa then English (Afrikaans absent)	0	0	0
isiXhosa then Afrikaans (English absent)	0	0	0
English then isiXhosa (Afrikaans absent)	2	0	0
Afrikaans then isiXhosa (English absent)	0	0	0

**Figure 5. 2**

In the signage found at the University of the Western Cape, one would notice that English dominantly precedes Afrikaans, and then followed by isiXhosa. In their language policy, the University of the Western Cape claims to make important information available in all three official languages of the Western Cape, it is reasonable to assume that the information carried in linguistic/semiotic landscapes is important. Thus it would make sense if the university used them to “avail important information” as they claim in the language policy. Afrikaans, on the other hand, is not neglected as much as isiXhosa is at this university; the number of signage where Afrikaans precedes all other languages followed by English is almost compatible with the number of signage where English precedes other languages followed by Afrikaans. This means that even though English is given first preference at this university, Afrikaans still enjoys its status as an official language of the Western Cape at this university; isiXhosa, on the other hand, is not being promoted as much.

In the Stellenbosch University column, one would notice that Afrikaans is the dominant language; it precedes all other languages in the signage. This pattern was visible to all the ‘internally designed signage’ (linguistic/semiotic landscapes such as building names, faculties name, department names, etc.). However, all signage that were not internally designed or signage that the university would not have power over designing, such the national/government warning signs, English is always the prime language followed by Afrikaans then isiXhosa. As stated in the language policy of the institution, although the university intends on promoting isiXhosa and English, the university specifically emphasises being committed to promoting the use and development of Afrikaans.

As it was visible in table 5.1, in the University of Cape Town, English is the prime language. Although this was already established in the table for overall signage in the University of Cape Town, the depiction of the table of signage comprising of two or more languages gave more assurance on this. Compared to the other two universities, the University of Cape Town appears to be playing a minimal role in achieving what their language policy hopes to achieve.

### **5.3. Top-down versus bottom-up linguistic/semiotic landscapes**

Landry and Bourhis (1997) make a distinction in terms of top-down language use in signage and bottom-up language use in signage. Their study was based on government (as the top-down) and private sector linguistic/semiotic landscapes (bottom-up), in their studies the

bottom-up signage was not bound by the government/city's language policy because the signage reflected the owner's right to freedom of speech, thus the signage reflected more linguistic diversity. In this case however, both bottom-up and top-down signage is regulated by language policies. Considering that educational institutions' language policies are extrapolated from the national language policy and that of the provinces within which the institutions are located, practices within educational institutions are expected to be in line with language practices on a national level. However as individual institutions, each of these universities has their own stipulations, different from the national and provincial language policies (see chapter one). The following tables look at how the top-down (the government's created) signage from each of these institutions is different from the bottom-up (institution's own) signage.

University of the Western Cape		
	Government/external signs	Institution's own
Monolingual signs	7	44
Bilingual signs	2	21
Multilingual signs	8	7
Total signs	17	72

**Figure 5. 3**

Language use in top-down versus bottom-up signage at the University of the Western Cape depicts perfect imbalances. Monolingual top-down signage secures an estimated 41% of the total number of top-down signage, whereas bottom-up sits at 61%. Bilingual top-down signage occupies 12%, less than a half of the bottom-up signage percentage of 29%. Multilingual signage have an extreme difference in percentage as the top-down signage sum up to a total of 47% in estimation and bottom up in 10%.

University of the Cape Town		
	Government/external signs	Institution's own
Monolingual signs	14	123
Bilingual signs	4	3
Multilingual signs	7	0
Total signs	25	126

**Figure 5. 4**

The comparison of top-down versus bottom-up differs in the case of the University of Cape Town from that of the University of the Western Cape. Top-down monolingual signage occupies an estimated 56% of the overall number of external signage, whereas bottom-up secures a great 98%. Top-down bilingual signage is 16% and bottom-up is 2%. An interesting case is depicted in the case of multilingual signage comparison: top-down signage is an estimated 28% and bottom-up are perfectly non-existent.

Stellenbosch University		
	Government/ external signs	Institution's own
Monolingual signs	6	64
Bilingual signs	5	35
Multilingual signs	4	63
Total signs	15	162

**Figure 5. 5**

Although top-down signage is marginal in comparison to bottom-up signage, language use in signage within the University of Stellenbosch depicts some level of consistency in terms of percentage when compared to the University of the Western Cape and University of Cape Town. Top-down monolingual signage share exactly the same percentage as the bottom-up: they are all 40% of the overall signage. Bilingual signage, however, have a little more than 10% difference in comparison to the top-down bilingual signage, which secure a 33% of the total average and the bottom-up bilingual signage is 21%. Multilingual signage share a similar difference of percentages with the bilingual signage: the top-down signage 27% of the total average and the bottom-up are 39% of the total average.

#### **5.4. Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the quantitative analysis of collected semiotic/ linguistic landscapes in the three universities of the Western Cape. Using quantitative analysis in semiotic/ linguistic landscapes studies, I can conclude that the three main universities of the Western Cape do not treat Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as equal partners. In the Universities of Cape Town and the University of Western Cape, English is evidently the most promoted language, relegating Afrikaans to second place and isiXhosa as the least nurtured language.

In the University of Stellenbosch, however, the situation is different; although all three languages are nutured, Afrikaans proved to be given extra nurturing.



## **Chapter Six – Micro-Analysis and Macro-Analysis of Selected IsiXhosa Signage**

### **6.0. Introduction**

This chapter puts isiXhosa selected linguistic landscapes under the scrutiny of the translation framework assessment in two ways: the micro and macro structural analysis. The micro structural analysis examines faithfulness of the target text to the source text by looking at the internal structure of language - grammar, lexical options, spelling and orthography, omissions and additions. Macro structural analysis of the target text, on other hand, compares the overall structure of the target text to the source text, style of the text and layout. Moreover, throughout the analysis, the chapter will highlight the distinctions between the source language and target language in question.

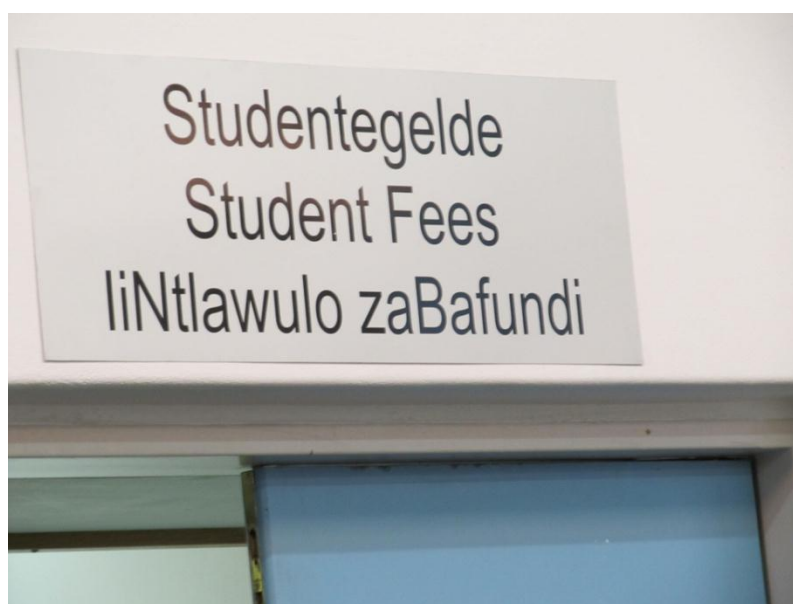
### **6.1. A micro and macro structural analysis of the target text**

The technique adopted to assess the integrity of translated isiXhosa texts in this study is well-known amongst the text-linguists and the functionalists (Hatim and Mason, 1990/1997; Hatim, 2001; Nord, 1997; Matthiessen, 2001, etc.). Both of these spheres, autonomous within the field of translation, believe translation is more than just an act of transferring the source text into the target language for the mere formality of creating a target text. They believe that the audience, culture and purpose of the text play a major role on the outcome of the text (both source text and target text).

#### **6.1.1. Micro structural analysis of the target text**

##### **6.1.1.1. Grammar**

Grammar is one of the constituents of language, along with lexis, semantics, syntax, morphology, phonology, and phonetics. These compulsory constituents are what differentiate one language from another. The task of the translator is to check if the target text and target language have been done justice. This is done by profusely checking that the following constituents of grammar are used correctly: prefixes suffixes, word order, subject and objects, concordial agreement, etc.



**Figure 6. 1**

The translator (of the signage in Figure 6.1) seems to be unfamiliar with isiXhosa orthography. In the above signage the translator treated the morpheme (*ntlawulo*) as a proper noun (a name of a person, place or thing), hence the use of upper case letters in both the pre-prefix (i) and the stem (*ntlawulo*). This does not only corrupt the morphological aspect of the word “*iintlawulo*” but corrupts the semantic aspect of it as well. According to Gxilishe, de Villiers and de Villiers (2007), there are 15 noun classes in isiXhosa which each consist of their own prefixes and all nouns in isiXhosa fall under respective noun classes (Gxilishe, de Villiers and de Villiers, 2007). Noun prefixes are what differentiates the word classes and at the same time giving meaning to the word (Gxilishe, de Villiers and de Villiers, 2007). Moreover, “noun classes dictate the agreement marking that accumulates on the verb stem” (Gxilishe, de Villiers and de Villiers, 2007: 1).

Let us look at a more practical example to demonstrate this premise: the word umntu (a person) has a plural of abantu (people). The underlined are the noun pre-prefixes combined with prefixes in both words. These pre-prefixes and prefixes do not only serve as markers of singularity and plurality but they serve as markers of word classes. If we were to strip the word “*umntu*” of its prefix “*um-*” the remaining morpheme would be *-ntu* which does not carry meaning on its own, nor does it qualify the morpheme to any noun class; the same applies when stripping the word “*abantu*” of its pre-prefix “*-a*” and prefix “*-ba*”. From observing the source text and the rules in play, one would see that the translator was trying to



apply the rules of the source language in the target text. In the source text “S” and “F” in “student fees” are in upper case letter; that is exactly what the translator has tried to do in the target text, but the language rules in isiXhosa do not permit this. Without the pre-prefix *-i* and prefix *-i*, the word *iintlawulo* (noun class ten) loses its meaning, therefore it does not qualify as a word, nor does it belong to any noun class. A word is defined as “the smallest meaningful unit in the language” (Mambwe, Banda, Gxowa-Dlavedwa and Kunkenyani, 2013:144). By this definition (due to being stripped of its semantic aspect) the morpheme “*ntlawulo*” without its prefix (*ii*) is not a word but a stem (morpheme).

According to Mpolweni (2005), this is pardoned by the capital letter rule in the Xhosa Terminology and Orthography (1972: 27), which reads “where the prefix ends in a nasal it is this nasal that is capitali[s]ed”. However, the same pattern is applied in the case of the adjective *zabafundi*. The morpheme *-bafundi* began with an uppercase letter even though it is preceded by the possessive concord *za-* (indicating possessive pronoun). Although *zabafundi* is usually a possessive pronoun, in this case it plays the role of an adjective; it names an attribute to the noun (fees-*iintlawulo*). It identifies what kind of fees they are other than identifying who the fees belong to (students-*abafundi*). The use of an upper case letter means the translator treated the morpheme *-bafundi* as a proper noun (a word), but in this case it is a morpheme within an adjective. *Bafundi* can be a word on its own, for example, in contexts where the students are being addressed directly - “*molweni bafundi... greetings students*”. In the above example the noun agreement *ba-*, of noun class two, qualifies *bafundi* as a word belonging to noun class two, i.e. when we speak of *abafundi... the students*, we say, “*abafundi balambile...the students are hungry*”. Evidently the application of the capital letter rule was a coincidence in the case of *iintlawulo* other than the translator being conscious of the capital letter rule. Another possibility would be that the translator was trying to adapt to the stylistic representation or pattern already set by the source language text, the use of uppercase letters in the beginning of each word. This again emphasises the premise established in the above examples and highlights the fact that the translator treated “*ntlawulo*” and “*bafundi*” as proper nouns, hence the use of uppercase letters in the beginning of the stems (morphemes) instead of the actual words as in the following “*Iintlawulo Zabafundi*”, matching the pattern employed in the source language “Student Fees”.

### 6.1.1.2. Lexical options

Lexical options are choices of words that exist within the target language that a translator has to choose from in order to translate the target text. Lexical options are not necessarily parallel options. Thus a translator has to choose the most suitable words to present the source language text in the target text language. Due to the fact that these signage exist within institutions of learning, the expected code or language variety the translator was meant to employ when translating the signage is the standard language. Yule (2006: 194-5) argues that standard language is usually the language employed for formal writing. Formal writing includes textbooks, lecture notes, and newspapers.



Figure 6. 2

In the above signage the translator had few standard language options they could have employed to translate the phrase “no naked lights” i.e. *ukulayitwa kwayo nayiphi na into enomlilo ingakonzakalisa*, “*lumka! musa ukulayita nayiphi na into enomlilo*”, etc. Instead the translator chose to translate it as “*ayikona layita*”, a Pan-African phrase. The expression “*ayikona*” or “*aikona*” is widely used among the urban youth as an expression of negation<sup>6</sup>. Apart from the evident transgression of employing non-standard language to serve the purpose meant by a standard language, the problem with what I would like to call ‘instantly

<sup>6</sup><http://www.thefreedictionary.com/aikona>

constructed' lingos is that these lingos are usually not used across the different age groups, languages groups etc. Thus it is reasonable to assume that it is not understood by everyone; although to some extent the same can be said about standard language, in this case the two arguments are not equivalent. The university is required to use standard language; that is one of the defining factors of being an institution of formal learning. On the other hand, using informal language would be defying those parameters. The translation audience is who the message is meant for; translation texts found within the universities (i.e. security texts) are meant for everyone that is in the position to see the text, not just the students. Thus the chances of the above expression being recognised by all its target audience are minimal. With the key word on the instruction not entirely successful, the purpose of the verb "*layita*" becomes void or it could induce the opposite of what the instruction what meant to serve. When one removes the phrase "do not" in the expression "do not set the house on fire", remains "set the house on fire" as an expression thus the opposite of the instruction yields.

Similar choice has been made in the phrase "*akekho ovunyelwe ukungena lapha*" on the bottom of the signage. The word "*lapha*" (here) is a Zulu demonstrative, its perfect equivalent in isiXhosa is "*apha*". Due to mutual intelligibility between isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele and siSwati, speakers of these languages can engage in a conversation, each using their respective language to understand each other without the need of a translator, thus making the translator's choice to use "*lapha*" instead of "*apha*" not entirely subject to criticism. In light of the fact that this is a top-down signage (a government created signage), it is possible that the sign is created by an isiZulu proficient translator.

The "*akekho ovunyelwe ukungena lapha*" reads "no one is allowed in" in English, meaning even the authorised personnel is not allowed in too, which is not what is stated by the source language text. This technique is not so much of a problem as it only depicts the translator's flexibility. It shows that the translator's aim was not to be bound by the source text but to deliver the gist of the message in a way that is fitting with the target audience and the target language. The bottom line was to keep everyone that is not authorised to operate in that particular field out of that door and the translator has achieved that, even though it also instructs those who are authorised not to go through.



**Figure 6. 3**

In Figure 6.3, in the case of the University of the Western Cape name sign two options are possible, “*Idyunivesithi*” and “*Iyunivesithi*”. *Iyunivesithi* is the standardised term, whereas *idyunivesithi* is known among some speakers of isiXhosa and is acknowledged in some of the old isiXhosa books (novels and dramas). The decision to go with the latter option was the safest the translator could opt for because it is not only known to many but it is permissible by the language policy of the institution, language policy of the province and the national language policy.

### **6.1.1.3. Spelling and orthography**

Spelling and orthography are one of the most important factors in translation. Translators should acquaint themselves with orthography in both the source language and target language. The below signage depicts what the effects would be on a target text if a translator is not familiar with the target language’s orthography.



Figure 6. 4

Institutions of higher education are not just open to those seeking to pursue careers in their respective fields; they are open to their staff members (from the governing panel in descending order to civil servants such as the cleaners and security guards), and other members of the public, such as parents. All the above-mentioned respective types of individuals differ in terms of their level of education. For a rector of a university, the above signage is most likely to make sense in all three languages used or two languages rather, because the isiXhosa supposed translation is not isiXhosa (or the other three of the four Nguni sister languages). However, in the case of a cleaner whose competence in any of the three languages leans on spoken language, and a parent who is only able to read in isiXhosa, the above signage may as well not exist. Extrapolating from the English part of the signage, I assume that “*ingosi*” is meant to be “*ingozi*” (meaning danger). However, a monolingual isiXhosa speaking lacking linguistic skills does not have the option to draw meaning from other languages on the signage. This signage carries an important message to a learned being as much as it does to an uneducated being. Its failure to deliver the message may have costly consequences for the target audience. Just like any other public institution, universities are not immune to unfortunate incidence of danger threats, which means signage like this one

would come handy in those types of situations. To a person who is afforded the ability to choose between the three languages, a person who is proficient in at least one of the other two languages, the incorrect isiXhosa translation might not be an impediment. To a monolingual isiXhosa speaker the implication is different: they need the translation to be there and they need it to be accurate. A perfect example would be a case of a person in a threat whilst close to that door. Due to the fact that the place seems vacant and adequately safe and the message written on it is not decipherable to them, therefore not threatening, any person seeking refuge would undoubtedly open the door.

#### 6.1.1.4. Omissions

This is one of the constituents of translation introduced by the text-linguists and functionalist theorists when they discovered that a text cannot always be transferred into another language without interrupting its syntactic and semantic structure. They also discovered that texts can be transferred into different contexts: a text that means one thing in one language can mean a different thing in another language. The aim of this constituent was to make translators artists, being able to create the target text in the contexts that it exists in, create it without having to make it a replica of the source text. The below signage depicts just how omission occurs.



Figure 6. 5

The isiXhosa translation “*akungenwa kwezakhiwo/kulomhlaba, ilungelo lokungena ngesicelo*” in the above signage is not semantically compatible to the English version of the message however it is compatible in structure. The semantic aspects of the phrase “private property” as it is translated in the above; “*akungenwa kwezakhiwo/kulomhlaba*”, seems fairly represented in the target language. However, the second aspect of the message is not as justified as the first part. The second part reads “*ilungelo lokungena ngesicelo*” lacks the verb aspect “*lifumaneka*”. The message should read “*akungenwa kwezi zakhiwo / kulo mhlaba, ilungelo lokungena lifumaneka ngesicelo / ngemvume kuphela*”. The missing elements make the message almost indecipherable to the target reader. However, for the target reader (isiXhosa speaker) who has competence in English and/or Afrikaans, the intended message still gets to be received because they are able to draw meaning from the English and/or Afrikaans representation of the message.

The semantic aspect is not the only aspect the above translation falls short on. In isiXhosa, demonstrative pronouns are separate entities to the words they are meant to demonstrate. “The demonstrative is a distinct part of speech and hence must be written separately” (The Xhosa Terminology and Orthography, 1972: 29 in Mpolweni, 2005: 30). In the above case, the translator neglected to acknowledge this fact in the words “*kulomhlaba*” and “*kwezakhiwo*” as the demonstratives *kulo* and *kwezi* were treated as parts of the words they were meant to demonstrate.

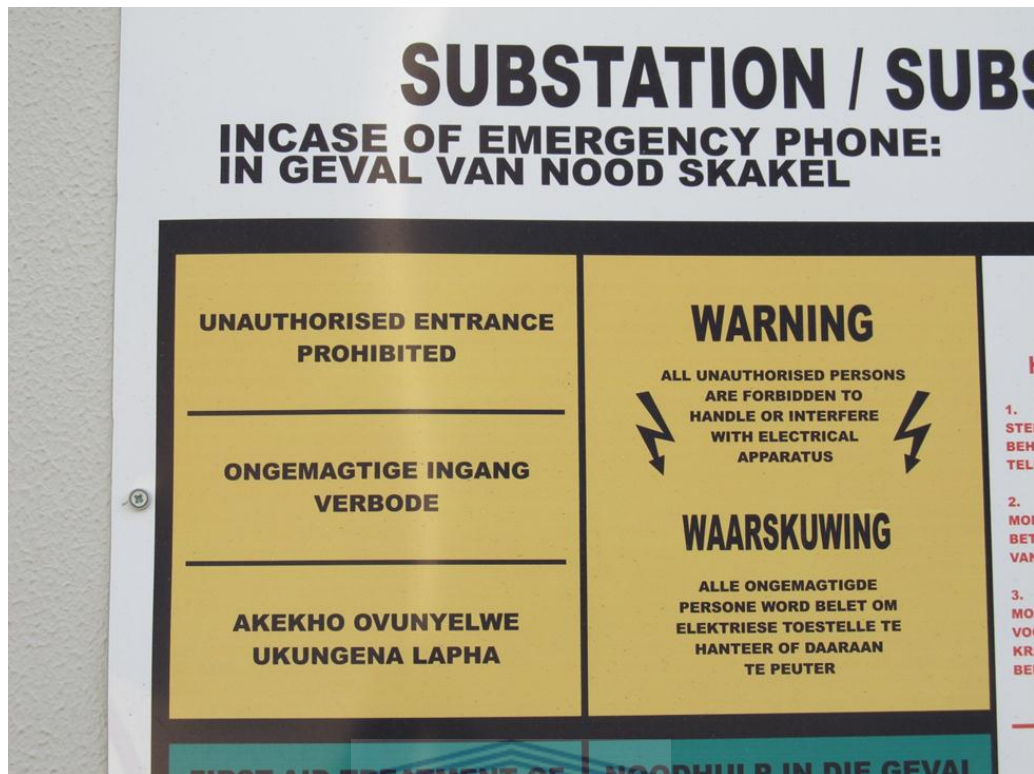


Figure 6. 6

According to Mpolweli (2005), absence of a translation is considered as much of a shortfall as an incorrect translation, because it exposes the translator's lack of experience and lack of exposure to different fields of studies, i.e. the inability to translate electrical engineering jargon/terminology on the above signage. Above, the absence of the message in isiXhosa may not only affect the translation, but may have negative implications for the target audience. In the source language text, the initial message forbids the target audience from entering, and then it elaborates to answer the main question - any person who has been forbidden to consult a specific place would ask: "WHY". There is electrical apparatus that would cause ruin to their health if they were to consult it. However, the target language text somehow fails to address this question. Where does this leave the audience of the target language? Is the message not meant to benefit them as well?

#### 6.1.1.5. Additions

Additions are the flipside of omissions. If translators are given free rein to omit some aspects of the source text to make a target text, they should also be allowed to add new



information to make the target text fit into the target language structure and more acceptable to the target culture.



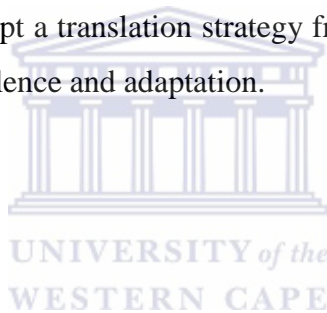
Figure 6. 7

By studying the above signage, one is able to view that the translator may not have been competent in the source language or the target language or they may not have had the skills that should be possessed by a trained translator. This is visible in the translation approach strategies they used to translate the above text, or rather in some cases, an approach and strategies depicted on the target text by default. Even though a translator may have not chosen a strategy for translating due to lack of training thus lack of acquaintance with the translation strategies and approaches, their translation work may still depict a translation strategy.

Out of the minimal isiXhosa translations in signage found at the University of the Western Cape, the above is one of them. By looking at the above signage, it is visible that the translator employed the literal translation strategy. According to Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) and Venuti (2004), literal translation strategy stipulates that each elements of the

source text can be reassigned into the target text without disrupting the message carried by the source text and function of the target text. Mpolweni (2005) states that inexperienced translators try by all means to fit every aspect of the source text into the target text even if the target language or culture forbids that type of a transaction. In the above signage, the translator translated the phrase “may be” as the word “maybe” (*mhlawumbi*). The translation of “may be” as “*mhlawumbi*” (meaning “maybe” in isiXhosa) depicts that the translator’s language competence in the source language may be limited. The correct substitute for the phrase “may be” in this context in isiXhosa is “*zingathi/bangathi*” or “*kungenzeka*”.

The message contained in the target text (isiXhosa translation) depicts that the translator transferred each element/word into the target language in the order the words are presented in the source text. This deed would not have been a stumble if the two languages involved in this ‘exchange’ process were parallel in linguistic structures. IsiXhosa and English do not share parallel linguistic structures, thus the translation in this case needed a bit of flexibility, meaning the translator had to adopt a translation strategy from the oblique strategies namely, modulation, transposition, equivalence and adaptation.



English version

Warning

“Vehicles parked under or people walking in the vicinity of trees may be damaged or injured by the falling branches and other materials”

IsiXhosa version

*isilumkiso*

*“izithuthi ezithe zemaphantsi okanye abantu abahamba yemithi, mhlawumbi zonakale, okanye benzakale ngokuthi kuwe amasebe, okanye ezinye zezixhobo”*

There are a few strategies that would have been suitable in this case, but literal translation does not qualify as one. Some of these strategies would have retained the essence of the message, that is, transmitting the effect of the message, and some would have transmitted the message without the effect, at the end of the day the audience would have got the gist of the

message. Literal translation in this case does not do justice to both the effect and the gist of the message.

Suggested translation

*Isilumkiso/lumka*

*Izithuthi ezime phantsi kwemithi kunye nabantu abahamba phantsi kwemithi, bangathi babesengozini yokuwelwa ngamasebe emithi nezinye zezixhobo ezingathi zibenobungozi*

Or

*Isilumkiso/lumka*

*Izithuthi ezime phantsi kwemithi kunye nabantu abahamba phantsi kwemithi, kungenzeka babesengozini yokuwelwa ngamasebe emithi nezinye zezixhobo ezingathi zibenobungozi*

For the above translations, I employed a combination modulation and equivalence translation strategies. The purpose of the modulation strategy is to retain the idiomatic essence of the message whereas the equivalence is to maintain the semantic relevance to the source text. The above translation carries every semantic element carried by the English version (source text); at the same time it is fitting with the isiXhosa (target text) linguistic structure.

### **6.1.2. Macro structural analysis of the target text**

Contrary to micro structural analysis, this section views the target text in comparison to the source text from a broader spectrum. In evaluation, the overall structural aspects of the source text will be compared to that of the target text. This section is divided into two main sub-sections: the style of text and layout. The three constituent mini sections - order of languages, consistency in ordering of information, and consistency in overall text constituents and use of illustrations in multimodal ST-TT relationship - collaborate to make the layout section. This section employs multimodality for the analysis of the overall text, particularly sections that employed different modes to transmit messages.

### 6.1.2.1. Style of the text

Similarly to other fields of studies, translation has its own set of compulsory tools that serve as foundations to the field. These tools are not only applicable when a translator embarks on a translation task, but they can also be employed as theoretical assumptions when assessing the integrity of translations. As part of translation bedrocks, Hatim and Munday (2004) identify two types of translations: direct and indirect translation. Direct translation is defined as the type of translation “where he [the translator] has to stick to the explicit contents of the original” and indirect translation is “where the translator is free to elaborate or summarise” (Hatim and Munday, 2004: 62). The two types of translations identified above are identified by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995) and Venuti (2004) as the direct translation technique and the oblique translation technique (see chapter three). This section seeks to investigate the type of translation employed by the translators in the below signage, possible factors that might have influenced the translator’s choice of translation type and how this affects how the text may be perceived by its target audience. This will be achieved by comparing the target text (isiXhosa text) to the source text (English text).



Figure 6. 8

When assessing a technique used by a translator on a target text, it is just to look at the context of the text and how it affects the options that a translator has, i.e. language choice, as

this affects the fate of the target text. In this case, the target text seems more direct as opposed to being indirect translation. This is depicted by the translation strategies employed by the translator when translating this signage. The type of direct strategy employed by the translator on this signage is calque, both lexical calque and structural calque. Venuti (2004: 129) defines lexical calque as “a special kind of borrowing where a language borrows a word or an expression from another language and translates literally each of its elements” (see chapter three). The study of psychology originated from the ‘Western world’ thus making it a relatively new ‘thing’ in isiXhosa and the broader community of indigenous African languages. The translator(s) who had the duty to coin this term’s equivalents in indigenous African languages had to find terms or phrases that better defined the study, simultaneously the term or phrase had to be fitting to the target language and its culture in order for it to be identified by the speakers of the language the term was about to be reconceived in. In isiXhosa the phrase “*izifundo zengqondo*” literally means the study of the brain. In this case the function of the study was transferred to the target language to make a concept.

The sentence structure appears to have adopted the type of direct translation strategy known as the structural calque. Although it literally translates the elements of the source language depicted on the source text, the structural calque gives a different construction to the target language (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/ 1995 and Venuti, 2004). Although all the elements of the source language appear to be present in the target text, the translator fitted them into the target language sentence construction. When reversing the literal elements of the sentence “*iziko lezifundo zengqondo kwezemfundo*” to the source language in the order they appear in when presented in the target language, it reads “unit for psychology in education”. This shows that though the translator was flexible in the translation, they were able to retain the essence of the message in the target text.

Mpolweni (2005) argues that most translators, especially untrained translators, customarily employ literal translation. A translator using literal translation has two options, semantically reasonable and an indecipherable one. A semantically reasonable literal translation of the sentence “unit for educational psychology” in isiXhosa would be “*iziko lezemfundo lezifundo zengqondo*”. An indecipherable literal translation of the sentence “unit for educational psychology” in isiXhosa would be “*iziko le zemfundo izifundo zengqondo*”. The first example of literal translation may be semantically reasonable, however, it is not an equivalent of the source language version of the sentence compared to the choice made by the translator in this case. Due to the fact that the translator of this signage could have used these two options of

literal translation strategy explored above, but opted to use the calque strategy, this depicts that the translator is a trained translator who is aware of translation rules and how to apply them in context.

### **6.1.2.2. Layout**

#### **i. Order of languages**

In her study, Mpolweni (2005) hypothesises that languages that appear first on the brochures have more advantages than other languages, because it is the first language the reader gets to view on the brochure, thus becoming the reader's first choice. This is not necessarily true; the first language to appear on the brochure may not be a language the reader is proficient in, in which case they would move on to the next page. This argument would have more depth if she claimed the first language on the brochure is the preferred language by the creators of the brochure and not the reader. Based on her hypothesis, in her study English appeared to be the main choice on the brochures she studied, followed by Afrikaans then isiXhosa. Her premise is that paging through to seek one's language of choice can be tiring, hence the target audience of isiXhosa opts for the first options they see when opening the brochure, thus automatically making English the preferred code, Afrikaans the second preferred one and isiXhosa the least preferred code. In the case of signage, languages are presented in a clustered fashion (the target audience of each language is able to view all languages at the same time) thus making the situation slightly different from that of brochures.

“The preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the [centre] and the marginalised code is on the bottom, on the right, or on the margins” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 120). Though originated in the Western culture the tradition of reading from left to right, top to bottom has become part of a vast number of different ‘worlds’, to an extent it is considered the ‘normal’ system for writing and reading. Any other system in this case would be perceived as transgressive or abnormal.

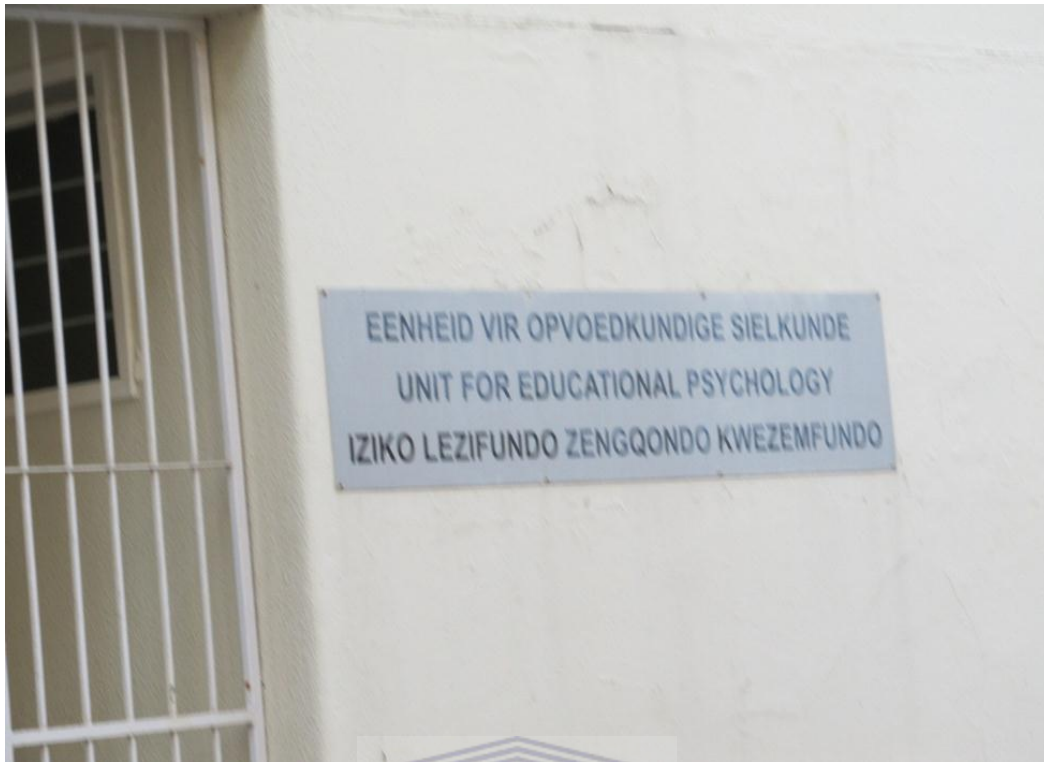


Figure 6. 9

To depict this premise, I will explore the message/s contained in the above signage (Figure 6.9). If we were to study the above signage from top to bottom that would be considered conventional because we would be applying established tradition. However, if we were to study it from bottom to top, that would be considered ‘unlikely’ but not impossible because the message is still decipherable; the only thing that would be keeping us from practice is the word “tradition”. Similar results are achieved when studying the signage from left to right; however, the case changes when we study the signage from right to left because the message becomes indecipherable.

On the other hand, Malinowski (2009) states that comprehending dominance in linguistic landscapes can be a very complex task for scholars studying the signage and the public as the receivers of the messages contained in these signage. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), Backhaus (2005) and Malinowski (2009), the positioning of languages in a linguistic landscape can be confusing to determine which one is more dominant in cases involving two or more languages. They propose that this is what they encountered in their studies in Hong Kong and Quebec. During these studies they discovered that the size of a code in a text makes it easier to determine the dominance of a language in a signage compared to the

placing of a code in that particular signage. In cases where there are different sizes/fonts for each code, it is easier to determine which of the codes is dominant in a particular signage.

**ii. Consistency in ordering of information and consistency in overall text constituents**

Translation equivalence between the source text and the target text is not limited to lexical aspects of the two texts, other aspects of the text such as headings, sub-headings, font type, size, and colour can result into one language being perceived as the preferred code in signage. Inconsistency in presentation of headings, sub-headings, font type, font size and colour in a target text when compared to a source text may result in unfair advantage of whichever text has bolder headings, sub-headings, font type, font size and colour. Similarly, in the case of ordering information in a signage, information that is represented in one language is expected to be represented in other languages within the same signage. The task in this section is also to look at how the message is distributed in all three languages<sup>7</sup>.



**Figure 6. 10**

<sup>7</sup> NB// The focus on this section is not on grammatical aspects of the text, as this is already dealt with in the micro structural analysis



The caption “*Universiteit van Stellenbosch*” is presented only in Afrikaans. Conventionally a caption/title is the most important aspect of any figure i.e. newspaper articles, advertisements, books, etc. as it’s meant to grab attention. In this case, the caption is the most salient aspect of the signage: it is written in white over red highlight and the other constituents of the signage are written in black over white. The presentation of the other constituents on the signage is more of a conventional manner of presenting ‘official writing’ if you like, we see this convention in our day to day routines; - contracts, newspapers, books, etc. This gives the other constituents on the signage a “nothing new” atmosphere, making the audience feel acquainted with it already, therefore there is nothing interesting about it. Creators of such texts (multimodal texts) often do this deliberately to foreground other constituents of a text, making others less noticeable (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). In the case of the caption, the colour red, amongst other things, is conventionally exploited as the ‘caution colour’ (the stop signs, traffic lights, danger site signage, etc.), thus it contributes that “attention please!” aspect on the signage as a whole.

Apart from the caption of the signage being presented in Afrikaans, Afrikaans is the only language on the signage that presents a full amount of information that the signage is meant to transmit. IsiXhosa and English, on the other hand, only get to present a portion of that information. The signage was meant to inform the audience about the name of the institution, about the right of the institution to decide who must or must not be let in, and lastly make the audience aware of departments close to the signage. The information is not equally transmitted across the three official languages of the Western Cape. Firstly, the signage deprives the isiXhosa and English speakers of the most important information on it, it fails to inform them of what institution the sign is located in (their location by the time they view the signage). Arguably the key word “Stellenbosch” is still retained in the signage and it can hint the audience about the information the signage is meant to communicate. Languages may have words with similar or replicable morphological structures but that does not mean the semantic aspect of the words is the same, a fitting example is the word *kusasa*, this word has exactly the same morphological aspects in isiXhosa and isiZulu but differ in semantically, in isiXhosa *kusasa* means early in the morning, whereas in isiZulu it means tomorrow, therefore whether or not everyone understands what “*universiteit*” means is still a mystery. To a lost non-Afrikaans speaker who has never come into contact with Afrikaans, the word “*universiteit*” might as well be anything. In most cases, educational institutions stand out from their surroundings; it is therefore easy to spot it, however, the setting of the

Stellenbosch University does not do much justice to a lost individual trying to find their way to the institution because it resembles most private residential abodes around it and there is no fence separating the institution from the private dwellings. The second information not transmitted in all three languages is the “history department” name and the “centre for regional and community media”.

### **iii. Use of illustrations in multimodal st-tt relationship**

The point of using illustrations in a text targeted at a diverse audience is to enhance the essence of the lexical message, simultaneously making it easier for the audience to have a firm grasp of the message; most importantly there should be coherence and cohesion between the illustrations and the lexical elements of the text. Cohesion is the way in which constituents of a text bind together as a unified whole (Halliday and Hasan, 1976 in Eggins, 2004). Coherence is the text’s relationship to its extra-textual context (Halliday and Hasan, 1976 in Eggins, 2004). If the illustrations used in signage fail to maintain their function, it is considered a malfunction in translation (in this case the illustration functions as a facilitation for three languages, English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans, thus if the illustrations are not in line with the three fundamental functions mentioned above, the malfunction will be treated as a malfunction of both the source language and target language, not that of the translator of the target text).



**Figure 6. 11**

The above photograph reinforces Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Backhaus' (2005) premise: they argue that the size of a text makes it easier to determine which code is the preferred code in signage. When taking a cursory view on the “no smoking” signage in the above photograph, it is reasonable to state that one is more likely to understand the message conveyed by the signage as a whole by beholding the non-verbal sign in the signage, therefore squinting in order to read the small text around the sign forbidding smoking in the building would not be necessary.

In this regard, the size of the sign is not the only aspect of the entire signage that makes the sign of the cigarette take precedence over the written text. The coherence and cohesion of the entire signage lies in the image. This means the meaning of the image relies on the audience's schemata: the image is a non-verbal social sign invented on the basis of societal conventions i.e. the red cross over the cigarette. Depending on the context, a cross over something is usually interpreted as wrong, forbidden, i.e. a cross over an answer means the answer is wrong.

Similarly with images, the use of colours in a signage is never innocent; there is always a meaning behind it. The saturation of a colour is just as important in multimodal analysis: the more saturated the colour, the stronger the message behind it (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Depending on the context, the colour red is usually associated with danger, passion, urgency,

heat, or blood (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The use of the colour red on the signage could be interpreted as urgency, intensity, or passion (seriousness) behind the message, “smoking is forbidden”, moreover red could highlight the “dangerous” consequences of smoking in that building. The act of exploiting the ‘widely known conventions’ in this case was successful in terms of achieving the three main functions of using illustrations in signage mentioned in the opening paragraph of this section. The sign is easily understandable and accessible even to individuals whose linguistic abilities are not supported by the languages in the signage.



**Figure 6. 12**

In the case of this signage (Figure 6.12), the implication is reversed: the signage lacks textual cohesion and coherence. On this particular signage, the target audience has to rely on the lexical aspect of the message in order to get the gist of it. The sole clue to grasp the message lies on the cross over the cigarette, without it, the optic may as well be obsolete. Contrary to the previous signage, which has a red cross over the burning cigarette, to an illiterate individual or a person that deliberately ignored the lexical aspect simply because there is an optic option, this signage could easily translate to permission to smoke inside the building.

### 6.3. Conclusion

The chapter has looked at selected signage from the three universities' micro and macro structural analysis of translated text as employed in Mpolweni's (2005) study. The micro structural analysis of translated text looked at the internal constituents of language, i.e. grammar, lexical options, spelling and orthography, omissions and additions. The macro structural analysis of translated texts looked at the broader aspects of the text: style of the text and layout (order of languages, consistency in ordering of information and consistency in overall text constituents and use of illustrations in multimodal ST-TT relationship).



# **Chapter Seven: The Viewer/Receiver's Perspective of Linguistic/Semiotic Landscapes within the Three Universities of the Western Cape**

## **7.0. Introduction**

This chapter provides a thematic and discourse analysis of the viewer's perspective on language use in signage within the three major universities of the Western Cape. To achieve this, I conducted interviews with random participants within each of these institutions' major campuses. Although the questions differed according to the nature of each interview, essentially participants were asked the same questions to determine their take on language use in signage within the three institutions.

## **7.1. Reliving the apartheid legacy through linguistic/semiotic landscapes**

Puzey (2007) states that linguistic landscapes do not only serve as informational markers of the area they are occupying, but they also serve as 'tools' by which information about attitudes a particular society has on a particular language can be detected or a mirror that reflects linguistic diversity in the society. Theoretical assumptions underpinning this premise are that by studying linguistic landscapes, one can view information about linguistic groups occupying a particular geographical area and from these very linguistic landscapes, one can detect societal attitudes with regards to specific languages. Weber and Horner (2012) believe that this function of linguistic landscapes is redundant without the assessment of its viewer aspect, also Malinowski (2009) states that the only people's perspective/attitudes detectable on linguistic landscapes are those of everyone that had an influence in the creation of the linguistic landscapes. The two functions are not completely null and void because the viewer's perspective on linguistic landscapes can be obtained from the viewer.

The issue of language inequalities cannot be avoided, especially in a classroom context. As much as they try to live up to the national language policy's declarations, educational institutions consist of language policies of their own as guides to what languages should be used in which domains. This makes promotion of multilingualism somewhat limited in a classroom context, however the limitation does not extend to linguistic landscapes. Given the history of this country, the three universities should make amends with regards to the 'extra

nurturing' that English gets within the classrooms at the University of the Western Cape and University of Cape Town and University of Stellenbosch, and Afrikaans at the University of Stellenbosch (see chapter one). In fact, the three universities should use linguistic landscapes as a platform not only to exhibit just how much they embrace and promote multilingualism, but also as a platform where the three official languages of the Western Cape get to enjoy equal status, after all, linguistic landscapes are meant to reflect linguistic diversity in society (Landry and Bourhis,1997). Moreover, their function extends to carrying intention and information; in this case the intention would be the languages the governing institutions/bodies meant to have represented in the linguistic landscapes.

### **7.1.1. Equal use of the three languages of the Western Cape is nothing more than “window-dressing”**

When asked about linguistic landscapes where all three languages were distributed evenly, most participants at the University of the Western Cape claimed there were not that many, in fact, some of them could not recall if they ever observed any linguistic landscapes with all three languages altogether, let alone one that consisted of isiXhosa. However, Siphosiso specifically identified the signage below as the only one with isiXhosa. According to him one would not usually find isiXhosa in the University of the Western Cape's linguistic landscapes because “they mostly use English, you would find isiXhosa only by the University of the Western Cape / Cape Peninsula University of technology intersection entrance” (turn 18 in interview 11).



**Figure 7. 1**

When entering the University of the Western Cape from the intersection between the University of the Western Cape and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (Bellville campus), this is the first signage one gets to view. Irrespective of which direction one approaches when arriving at this entrance, one gets a perfect view of two sides (the most). Due to the shape of the signage (a square), a just assumption when viewing the two sides of the signage, comprising two of the official languages of the Western Cape, is that one of the sides must contain the remaining official language of the Western Cape and the other must be blank or contain another language different from those already presented on the signage. To this Siphso, this signage stood out because the languages are positioned in ‘fair’ contest with one another; each one of them can only be seen from a specific angle, the font, amount of information, colours, salience of all aspects in the signage are equal, thus making them equal rivals in competition for viewers’ attention.

The perception of the participant would however change if they were to notice that English is in fact presented on two sides of the signage, thus making it by far a winning contender in the contest to compete for a viewer’s attention. This is in fact no coincidence, as the participant stated: English is part of the university’s history and this is well articulated in the language policy of the University of Western Cape, that English shall be used as language of communication in most domains of communication, whereas isiXhosa and Afrikaans may be used where “practicable”. By that declaration the equal use of Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English was not ‘practicable’.

Siphso (a student at the University of the Western Cape) believes the language policy of the University of the Western Cape is rigidly set in the history of the university and also that it is fashioned according to what the language policy prescribes. According to him, “when reading about the history of this university it is known information that this university was not meant for Black people, it was meant for Coloured people during apartheid regime” (turn 38 in interview 11). Traces of this university’s history are manifested across various aspects within the university, i.e. linguistic landscapes. Normally a statement such as ‘having traces of its history’ would be applauded. However, in this case the connotations are negative because of the South African history and that of this university. The university began as an Afrikaans medium institution due to most of its staff being Afrikaans speaking Whites from



Stellenbosch University, and then later changed to an English medium institution to ‘accommodate’ a more diverse population. Although the change of mediums would somewhat be a solution to having a language that represented the apartheid system to a language that is to some extent deemed ‘neutral’, to a person who had experienced the wrath of the apartheid system, English and Afrikaans represent the same thing, thus in their eyes the university did not change medium of instruction as much as it was playing dress-up.

The university’s motto, before it was changed to “a place of quality, a place to grow from hope to action through knowledge”, was “*respice, prospice*”, a Latin phrase meaning “look back and look forward” in English. Arguably, the motto was set as a reminder of the ills of the past but also as a reminder to keep us from repeating those ills or to let the past govern our present and future. As an institution with such a rich history, the University of the Western Cape is expected to have its history manifested through some of the aspects within it, however there should be a difference between celebrating history and reliving it. Siphon believes, the University of the Western Cape proved to be reliving the history instead of celebrating it, through linguistic landscapes.

The situation at Stellenbosch University is not different from that of the University of the Western Cape, only the language of prestige is different. In fact Stellenbosch University is a perfect equivalent of the case Mesthrie (2006) problematises about South Africa. He commends it for recognising and accommodating this vast number of languages it possess but he laments that the same language policy that prides itself about language equality is determined to put specific languages before other. With many institutions in the country being English medium institutions, the University of Stellenbosch seems to be trying by all means to retain one of the core things that defined it in the past - Afrikaans. Although Stellenbosch University is a predominantly Afrikaans medium institution, it is still a dual medium institution. Due to the university’s new identity, being known as a dual-medium institution somehow ‘strips off’ the power of Afrikaans as one of this university’s defining aspects. Therefore linguistic landscapes seem to be the perfect tool to restore that loss of identity. This is reinforced in the institution’s language policy; it openly states that Afrikaans will always take precedence over English and isiXhosa, although the university will promote English and isiXhosa too.

The situation at the University of Cape can be compared to the case Ngcobo (2009) makes about the ills of the South African language policy. He states that the language policy prescribes an abstract plan on how it aims to achieve its desired language equality. The

University of Cape Town prescribed a similar abstract plan, all of the methods it proposes to employ for promotion of multilingualism are classroom centred; meaning if the community is interested in learning in or about languages other than English, they would have to sign up for it, thus leaving the heavy lifting to the hands of its community. This is nothing more than an escape route to the obligation of actually promoting the official languages of the state equally or at least the official languages of the province in one domain or more.

### **7.1.2. Languages of power**

Institutions of higher education such as the University of Western Cape, University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch are open institutions; scholars from various provinces, countries, even continents come to these institutions seeking education in their desired fields of studies. Arguably it is impossible to detect societal attitudes towards particular languages from linguistic landscapes displayed in these institutions because the society in this regard (students, lecturers, parents, guardians and everyone else that the institution is open to) has no direct influence on making decisions, such as choosing languages for presentation of signage; the institutions' governing panel makes these decisions (Malinowski, 2009).

The drawback of choosing to promote one language over another is unmindfully relegating other languages (Kotze, 2010). This sends the wrong message to the 'viewer': in their minds the one language that's given prestige over another has to be in a sense 'special'. Even though they did not overtly express it, most participants at all three universities are somehow convinced that English is not only a language known by everyone but it is also generally superior to isiXhosa and Afrikaans. For example, in an interviews with Jessica (a woman working at one of the stores at the University of Stellenbosch) she applauded the University of Stellenbosch for 'promoting' Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa equally and making use of English in their signage because "English is good you know, even Afrikaans speaking people do understand English" (turn 12, interview 5). The assumption here is that everyone speaks and understands English; also the parameters for acquiring English as an additional language are different from that of acquiring any other language as an additional language. However the reality is; not everyone can speak or understand English and parameters for learning English as an additional language are the same as learning any additional language. These three institutions also played a major role in installing these ideologies. Generally, one of the

functions of the linguistic landscapes is believed to be the depiction of societal attitudes towards languages within the area they occupy (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Tarkington, 2009 and Kotze, 2010), but in this case linguistic landscapes seems to be one of the factors that influence the favoured languages' social standing within the three universities.

Afrikaans is one of the historical elements the University of Stellenbosch would like to preserve. Mr Bambiso (a translation specialist working at the isiXhosa language centre at Stellenbosch University) believes this is one of the elements that the university exudes and that is what attracts people who are looking for an institution with such traits to this university. Like Sipho in interview 11 (the student from the University of the Western Cape), the participant feels Afrikaans is one of many other inherent aspects of the university. Therefore, it is mandatory for everyone that comes into contact with the university (students, staff, contracted staff, etc.) to accept its standing within the university. He states “the majority within the university speaks Afrikaans, even if you trace back the history of the institution you would find that Afrikaans has been one of the aspects that define the institution, thus as a language it will always be nurtured within this institution” (turn 38 in interview 4). Although Mr Bambiso's perspective is only based on general use of languages within this institution, this 'neat and untainted' use of languages is mainly retained in linguistic landscapes. Apart from the obvious division between languages in signage, i.e. a line in between the different languages in one signage, different font for each, size, amount of information, etc., each language presents the same information to a limited extent, the source text of all signage appears to be Afrikaans. Most signage found at this institution with all three languages only have the completed message in Afrikaans and only aspects of the message in English and isiXhosa, in some cases no isiXhosa at all (see chapter six). As one of the people responsible for creating the signage within Stellenbosch University, Mr Bambiso made a compelling case.

Although Afrikaans is openly promoted over isiXhosa and English at the University of Stellenbosch, English seems to have an unfair advantage as a generally known language. Although some participants did not overtly express it, this seems to be the generic view across most if not all of the participants. Even Mr Bambiso referred to English as “a language of compromise” (turn 33 in interview 4) within the university. Moreover he stated that “Afrikaans dominates at this institution not because people do not want to speak English, they do not speak it because they cannot speak it”. The participant's phrasing depicts that he believes that everyone at Stellenbosch University only speaks Afrikaans because they cannot

speak English, and not being able to speak English is the reason they chose to study or work at an Afrikaans medium institution. In his view, if the people within Stellenbosch University could speak English they would opt for a mainly English medium institution because it is unnatural not being able to speak English.

This perspective seems to be the same at the University of the Western Cape. For example; Siphon understands that English is the medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape and that all three languages should be distributed equally in the signage. Although they noticed that English is predominantly used in signage within the University of the Western Cape, he finds it appalling that Afrikaans would be given the same respect. In turn 39 the participant states:

*“During apartheid regime Xhosa people [Black people] were not accepted in this university...Even before enrolling here I knew this is how things would be, you would notice that most lecturers and students often switch to Afrikaans in class, excluding everyone else that is not proficient in Afrikaans...If the roles were reserved i.e. if a Xhosa mother-tongue lecturer would teach math in isiXhosa everyone else would complain.”*

In the opening paragraph about language use at the University of the Western Cape (see 7.1.1), Siphon mentioned that there are language differences in signage within the University of the Western Cape and he mentioned that English is used more often than the other two official languages of the Western Cape, but the only time he made the link between the university's history, apartheid and language use was when he mentioned the use of Afrikaans during teaching sessions. However, the participant failed to recognise that English is also part of the university's history and apartheid legacy; both English and Afrikaans were promoted during apartheid in different periods. At its beginning stages, the University of the Western Cape took off as a teaching institution with most of its staff from Stellenbosch University, thus the medium was Afrikaans. As the university began acquiring more staff (non-Afrikaner staff) English was then introduced as a medium of instruction to 'accommodate' multiracial staff and students: rendering English as a 'neutral language'. This then installed English as a neutral and dominant language. From the participant's point of view it is evident that this participant believes that because English is a universal language, it should be treated as such and with more prestige than our local languages.

The case at the University of Cape Town with regards to this ideology the case is slightly elevated compared to the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University. The university's linguistic landscapes are almost all in English (see chapter 5), meaning the language the viewer gets to see around them all day on campus is English. Miranda (a student at the University of Cape Town) stated that seeing English in signage everyday within the University of Cape Town influences how one sees the three languages against one another because English is a dominant language. Kotze (2010) notes that languages do not just become dominant on their own; they are made dominant through linguistic landscapes and many other methods for language promotion. Thus 'languages with more prominence' are more often found in signage than languages with 'less prominence' (Kotze, 2010), moreover, languages with 'greater power' are always placed on top in signage, followed by 'semi-prominent', and lastly, the 'least prominent' (Eldeman, 2010). In this case English is not so much dominant but being made dominant by the institution.

Although most participants (from all three universities combined) claimed that seeing any of the three languages being favoured in these institutions does not affect how they view these languages in comparison to one another, there seems to be a recurring theme in the way they expressed themselves in their answers. A very fitting example would be Amanda (a student at the University of Cape Town); she did not overtly admit that English is used more than isiXhosa and Afrikaans in signage within the University of Cape Town. However, when she was asked what languages were used in signage, she announced "English" (turn 2 in interview 3) and when I asked what other languages are used, she stated "they use English and another language" (turn 4 in interview 3). The quantitative analysis of signage in chapter five depicted that the number of other languages, other than English, are almost non-existent. Unless one is looking for signage in other languages (i.e. myself as researcher), the only visible and 'in your face' signage at the University of Cape Town are in English (see chapter 5 for actual statistics). Moreover, the expression "English and another language" could indicate, the manner in which "the other language" is displayed in the signage is not visible or bold enough for it to be memorable or even noticeable.

The idea of English as the only visible language in linguistic landscapes at the University of Cape Town proved to be unnatural to some participants. This was evident when they were asked to identify the languages see on campus on a daily basis and they claimed Afrikaans was used just as much too; the statistics in chapter 5 disproves this. Moreover, the tone of voice that some of the participants used when they identified all the languages indicated that

they relied on their general knowledge to answer the questions and not their observation. In most of the interviews, participants identified all three languages as used equally in signage without hesitation and in some cases, participants identified English without hesitation, then Afrikaans with some hesitation and then guessed isiXhosa would automatically follow. Arguably, participants' guesses that isiXhosa would be the third language used on the linguistic landscapes depended entirely on their knowledge of the provincial language policy prescribed, that all three languages should be used as parallels in such cases.

## **7.2. The role of played by language watchdogs in creating linguistic/semiotic landscapes within the three universities**

Mpendukana (2009) notes that watchdog bodies emerged to police and safeguard the promises of the state's constitution. Established as the chief overseers the Pan South African Language Board, simply known by its abbreviation PANSALB, was given the duty to endorse and create conditions for language use and development, most importantly official languages for official and non-official use. However, the Pan South African Language Board is not the only role player in language development and promotion as it should not be. Language practitioners in general should assume the duty to promote and develop languages in society in formal and informal capacities. Each of the three institutions of higher education in question is somewhat equipped with individuals specialising in language development and promotion fields. The question here is what is the role of the watchdogs within each of the institutions in the creation of multilingual signage within the three institutions?

To answer the above question, one has to consider the preceding chapters' discussions in review. Chapter five depicted that there is no parallel distribution of messages across all three languages of the Western Cape in signage found in all three institutions and chapter six proved that the insignificant amount of isiXhosa signage found at each of these institutions were not given the same effort as the English signage (as the source language) when they (it) were created. At the University of the Western Cape there were only a few signage with all three languages at the same time. Even though linguistic dispensations on multilingual signage at the University of the Western Cape were marginal somehow the University of Cape Town managed to make that look almost acceptable. The University of Cape Town has the least isiXhosa signage, Afrikaans was also almost non-existent, in fact almost all the signage in their upper campus is in English. To a certain degree the University of

Stellenbosch, seemed fair when weighed on the same scale; nonetheless, it has inadequacies as well. In most signage at the University of Stellenbosch, Afrikaans seems to be the only language that carries a complete message; the translated versions are only translated to a certain extent.

The Stellenbosch University has one of the language development role players; known as “the language centre”. This centre has a major house and three constituent houses operating under it. The major house is responsible for language use within the institution and national level and each of the constituent houses is responsible for promoting each of the official languages of the Western Cape. Each constituent house is known as “language services centre” for the language they are promoting i.e. language services centre for Afrikaans. Moreover, all three institutions offer translation studies and related studies. This qualifies every lecturer offering lessons in these respective fields as an apt evaluator of translations prior to officially issuing them to the audience. Considering the above facts, one would wonder why such shortfalls occur within these institutions.

In review of chapters five and six, only two of the universities seemed to translate their own signage: the University of the Western Cape and the University of Stellenbosch. The only isiXhosa translated signage at the University of Cape Town were top-down signage (they are general government translated signage, i.e. warning signs that can be found anywhere in the country). I felt it was reasonable to conclude that the University of Cape Town has absolutely no hand in translating the very few isiXhosa translated signage found within the campus. To get an expert’s perspective on the translations of isiXhosa signage within the University of the Western Cape and University of Stellenbosch, I asked isiXhosa translation specialist within these institutions to give their evaluations on the signage within the two campuses.

### **7.2.1. Fighting a losing battle**

The individuals that institutions such as the University of Cape Town, the University of the Western Cape and University of Stellenbosch trust to enforce the wishes of the institutions’ language policies are to some extent language ‘life guards’ employed to safeguard language ‘safety’ and survival. If the idea is to promote languages, make them grow and become richer, looking at the situation of language inequality at these universities, one would wonder why capable and qualified individuals are never put to use in situations where languages may

drown. The answer is simple; the battle is already lost at drafting stages of the language policy.

The language policies of three universities serve as public promise to promote all three official languages of the Western Cape. In their declarations, they all express the measures that will in effect promote the medium of instruction, i.e. it will be used for teaching, for issuing of all formal documents, for all communication with the university staff regarding each respective course (unless it is a course offered in other languages), etc. They are however, tactful in how the other two official languages will be promoted. This then means the medium of instruction has already assumed an unfair advantage by the language policy and the individuals hired to enforce the proclamations of the language policies have no grounds to ever change this, because they are expected to respect to abide by the terms of the language policy. In fact, the statement 'English is a language of compromise' made by Mr Bambiso has a twofold meaning; Afrikaans is the alpha language for most if not all uses however those that are not proficient in Afrikaans can use English because it is somewhat the neutral language that is known by everyone. This is a recurring theme in all of the three institutions' language policies: they all emphasise that the medium of instruction is the alpha language. That is why at the University of Cape Town the representation of languages other than English in signage is almost none-existent. The University of the Western Cape also does not have a fair representation of Afrikaans and isiXhosa in comparison to English on their signage. Although the University of Stellenbosch recognises all three official languages of the Western Cape, it somehow limits two of the languages so they would not compete with Afrikaans as a long standing 'emblem' of the university. This then means even though the institutions claim to promote English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa as equal partners outside the classroom, whoever is meant to safeguard that promise does not have free reign to do so. The question is: how do the three institutions expect to achieve what the language policies aim to achieve when the language policies themselves are set to oppose the very thing they are meant to achieve?

Apart from the language policy counteracting equal promotion languages within each of these institutions, when the institutions ever attempt to promote the languages, they rarely put as much effort as they do promoting the medium of instruction or so called languages of power. According to Ms Mbutho (a lecturer specialising in translation and a professional translator in isiXhosa) the translation in signage all around the campus of the University of the Western Cape appear as though they were not translated by trained translators, especially



figure 6.7. Her reasons for this claim are that most of the isiXhosa messages on the signage are indecipherable and those that are decipherable, are products of unlikely translation strategies in those cases. In turn 4, interview 1 she states, “it seems like they employed anyone who is able to speak isiXhosa to translate the signage... the translations are in word-for-word translation”. The issue of language compatibility is one that every translator should know; not all languages share a parallel linguistic structure. Nida and Tabber (1969) argue that, in some cases, translating individual words in a sentence is not always a requirement, especially in cases where it is not possible to do so. Different languages have different structures and meanings for words. For some languages words change according to the context and therefore it is not possible to translate the syntactic structure or morphological structure of one language to another. As demonstrated in some of the examples in chapter 3, isiXhosa and English do not allow word-for-word translation. Hence the translator found word-for-word translation strategy unfitting in this particular case.

She hypothesises that one of the problems that face language development and promotion is that everyone that speaks a language (irrespective of their competence in that particular language) assumes they can translate as accurately as a trained translator, a suitable example would figure 6.7; a signage with a message that is not only indecipherable to its target audience (isiXhosa target readers) but cannot be reversed to source language (English). Trained translators have the opposite view; as experts in their specialty, would like to think they are the only people qualified to translate texts. Moreover, as makers of the target text they would like to think they are the most familiar with the rules of text transference, therefore feeling their assessment of any translated text is the ‘correct assessment’. Although her argument was based on how technical the act of translating is, assuming that ordinary people are not as thorough when creating a target text is debatable; people have been translating texts since the beginning of time and still are, some prevail and some do not due to their incompetence in the language or lack of technical knowledge the text required. Therefore only the translator’s proficiency in source language and target language, the type of the text being translated and the context it exists in can determine whether an untrained translator is out of their depth.

Nevertheless, I understand where they coming from; different spheres of studies are there to be employed should there be a need to. When one is sick, they consult a physician; when there’s a need to consult about one of the distinct spheres within linguistics, one is expected to consult a language specialists in that particular sphere. Choosing a translation strategy is

the most significant task of all. A translation strategy does not only reflect the translator's competence in the field of translation and accompanying fields, but it reflects their confidence in the strategy they have picked. In order to settle into a translation strategy (and translation approach) to carry out any translation job, one needs to possess five fundamental skills (Mpolweni, 2009). As prescribed in most translation theories, a translator should possess linguistic competence, cultural competence, textual competence, domain or subject specific competence, research competence and transfer competence (Neubert, 1994; Neubert, 2000 and Mpolweni, 2009). If one of the above skills is neglected or corrupted in the target text, the transference skill is by default deficient. The above expected skills can be regarded as the essence of a vast number of theories in the field of translation (see chapter 3). Even though some theories differ in principle, in the end they all can be summarised to match the above skills. This sort of knowledge is predominantly acquired via scholarly channels, thus a translator who has not gone through proper training would neglect to take note of these fundamental skills or laws simply because they would not be aware of their existence.

### **7.3. Conclusion**

The language policies of the three universities proclaim to promote the three languages of the Western Cape as equal partners, the statement translates to nurturing these languages equally in most, if not all respects. Achieving this remains a conundrum when the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town make it their mandate to use English as the main language of communication, and the University of Stellenbosch emphasise the use of Afrikaans as the main language in almost all domains of communication. The review of arguments in this chapter proved that reconciling both these contradicting objectives on a practical level is indeed an enigma. In most viewers' accounts, there are imbalances between the three languages within the three institutions. Most of these imbalances grew into ideologies about which language is more superior and, most importantly, the universities are responsible for installing these ideologies. Finally, practising translators at the University of Stellenbosch and University of the Western Cape gave their accounts on isiXhosa translations within the two campuses, their view on translation as a field of study and the influence of language policies in language imbalances within the three universities.

## **Chapter Eight: Conclusion**

### **8.0. Introduction**

This chapter draws the main conclusions to the study. The main themes of the study and findings obtained in the three analysis chapters will be summarised. This chapter will take its point of departure by reflecting on the study's objectives. To see if the objectives of the study were achieved, I will check each objective against the findings obtained in chapters five, six and seven.

### **8.1. Distribution of the three official languages of the Western Cape in the main universities in the Western Cape**

The study aimed to achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore the language practices in the linguistic landscapes of the three universities.
2. To investigate whether the placement of particular signage affect how the target receivers consume the three languages.
3. To explore the mobility of information and messages across the three languages in the linguistic landscapes.
4. Considering the history of marginalisation, to explore the visibility of isiXhosa in signage found at the three universities.
5. To explore the quality of isiXhosa used in signage found at the three universities.
6. To determine if the signage designed by the government differ from those designed by the institutions in terms of language organisation.

Language practices extend to more than just the language use within the classroom; there are a vast number of language practices within each of these institutions of higher education. However, the study aimed to focus on language practices in signage. As the language policies of the three universities propose to promote the official languages of the Western Cape equally where possible, the study aimed to investigate how these languages were distributed in the linguistic landscapes. Looking back at the previous chapters, the distribution of the three official languages of the Western Cape in signage proved to be uneven. Chapter five presents statistics of how the three languages are used with and against one another in signage at the three universities. In most cases at the University of the Western Cape and

University of Cape Town English is the most used language, either alone or with other languages. Although the pattern was similar at the University of Stellenbosch, the language of priority was different – Afrikaans being the dominant language here.

The second objective was to investigate whether or not the placement of signage affects how the viewer/audience perceives the three languages of the Western Cape. In chapter seven the audience's take on this is looked at. It was clear that the institutions somehow foster ideologies about which official language of the Western Cape should be given first preference. By looking at the placement of signage, one can tell which of the official languages of the Western Cape is mostly favoured and this tradition appears to have influenced the audience's take on the three languages and their social standing. Using discourse analysis, I was able to elicit some of the information the participants did not give freely. In cases where the audience would deny or negate that how languages are placed in the signage affects their take on which of the languages is seen as 'supreme' to the other; how they spoke about the languages in comparison to the other gave that information away. Of the three languages, the viewers seemed to have noticed that English proved to be the preferred language in signage at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town. At Stellenbosch University viewers seemed to be conflicted as to which language is used more in signage because of the existing power struggle between English and Afrikaans for overall uses; with Afrikaans as the installed language of preference within the institution and English's unfair advantage as the universally supreme language of academia and global business, the participants' observation was steered in both directions.

The third objective was to explore the mobility of information and messages across the three languages in the linguistic landscapes. At the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town there was not much mobilisation of messages across the three languages; most of signage in both universities is in English. The University of Stellenbosch, on the other hand, has almost all of their signage in all three official languages of the Western Cape. However, Afrikaans seemed to be the only language that presented the whole message in each signage, i.e. in most signage the university's name is only in Afrikaans and then the rest of the message would be in all three languages.

Considering isiXhosa's history of marginalisation, the fourth objective was to explore the visibility of isiXhosa signage at the three universities. Chapter five has a clear depiction of whether or not there is much isiXhosa signage at these institutions. Considering the reading of the statistics in that chapter, Stellenbosch University is the only university that had visible

isiXhosa signage. In fact, out of the three universities, Stellenbosch University recognises the existence of English and isiXhosa as the other two official languages of the Western Cape, although most of the signage at this university had complete messages in Afrikaans, giving Afrikaans an advantage over isiXhosa and English. The statistic tables in chapter five depicted just how few isiXhosa signage is available at the University of the Western Cape. The few that exist are often poorly translated. The University of Cape Town has the least isiXhosa or Afrikaans signage. The signage at this university is mainly in English.

The fifth objective was to investigate whether or not the translations of isiXhosa signage within the three universities were done accurately. Chapter six, mainly dealt with the analysis of isiXhosa as the target language and English as source language, I acknowledge that this is not the procedure at Stellenbosch University because signage in that university is always translated from Afrikaans then English and isiXhosa (see chapter six). However I, as an evaluator used English as a source language in all three institutions for consistency and credibility, because I am not adequately proficient to translate in Afrikaans and I am not trained in isiXhosa-Afrikaans or Afrikaans-English translation. Nevertheless, the evaluation reflected that most translations at the three universities are either incorrectly translated or consisted of an incomplete message. Translation equivalence was assessed using micro and macro structural analysis of text methods. When I made comparisons between the source text and the target text in selected signage at the University of the Western Cape, the findings reflected incorrect judgment on the translators' part. Signage such as figure 6.7 depicted that the translator was untrained; the target text did not only reflect the use of an unsuitable translation approach and strategy, but it also reflected that the translator had no knowledge of how to transfer the message or effect of the source text to the a target text with an incomparable language structure. The technique of the translations at the University of Stellenbosch showed that the translator/s were equipped with the necessary skills and tools for translations, particularly translations across cultures. However, the target texts at this university also reflected the university favoured Afrikaans more than English and isiXhosa; this was shown by the fact that Afrikaans was the only language with a complete message throughout the university's signage, whereas isiXhosa and English had incomplete messages. Macro structural analysis of text treats this as a faulty translation. The University of Cape Town, on the other hand, had almost no isiXhosa translations at all, the only signage present was either incorrectly translated (figure 6.4) or they were top-down signage (government signage).

The last objective was to determine if the signage designed by the government differed from that designed by the institutions in terms of languages organisation. Chapter five has a designated section for this particular objective: the top-down versus bottom-up comparison table. According to Landry & Bourhis (1997) top-down signage is always not compatible with bottom-up signage in terms of language diversity. They believe bottom-up signage usually has more language diversity due to the right to freedom of speech the owners of the establishments the signage occupy get to enjoy. However, these three institutions have language policies of their own and all three language policies are fashioned by the language policy of the province and that of the state. Therefore the bottom-up signage in this case was expected to resemble the top-down signage. But the table depicts differently; the percentages of the bottom-up signage were not compatible to that of the top-down signage in all three universities. The University of the Western Cape has more bottom-up monolingual and bilingual signage than top-down. With regards to multilingual signage however, the top-down has more. At the University of Cape Town the case is slightly different; top-down monolingual signage is less than bottom-up signage. Whereas the top-down bilingual and multilingual are more than bottom-up, in fact multilingual bottom-up signage is non-existent. Finally, Stellenbosch University has fairly reasonable percentages; the top-down and bottom-up monolingual signage share the same percentage, top-down bilingual signage is a little more than the bottom-up and the multilingual signage share a similar difference of percentages with the bilingual signage, except in this case the bottom-up is more than the top-down.

## **8.2. Recommendations**

In light of the findings of the study I recommend the three universities in question and policy makers ensure equality between the three official languages of the Western Cape. That is; using linguistic landscapes to distribute all three languages evenly, meaning the universities have to do more than just having all three languages displayed in signage. The policy makers have to ensure that the message is clear; all modes used are uniform (style of text, fonts, colours, optics if included etc.) and most of all, all the target text should be translated properly. In essence, the universities should employ trained language practitioners for all language related matters i.e. employ translators for translations. I am aware that it could be argued that students who go to these institutions are at least bilingual so that it is unnecessary to have all three languages. My argument however is that as a symbolic gesture

to various speakers, government and institutions' own language policies, there is a need to have all the three languages featured equally in the linguistic landscapes of the three universities.



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