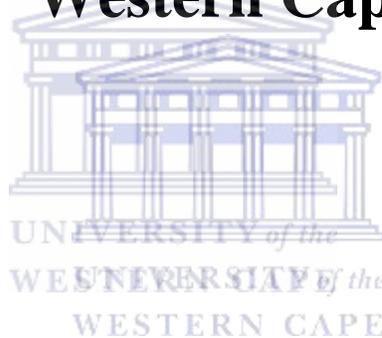




**Towards Urban Multilingualism:
Investigating the Linguistic Landscape of
the Public Rail Transport System in the
Western Cape**



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

22 June 2012

Supervisor: Professor Felix Banda

Keywords

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Public space

Multilingualism

Language

Geosemiotics

Ethnography

Multimodality

Transgressive semiotics

Metrorail

Code preference



Abstract

Towards urban multilingualism: Investigating the linguistic landscape of the public rail transport system in the Western Cape

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This study explores the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape, South Africa. The Western Cape is a diverse, multicultural society with a history of colonialism and imperialism. For this reason, the language/s on signage was explored to reveal differences/similarities between the various groups and cultures within society. This kind of investigation entailed consideration of the signage displayed on trains, stations and other railway infrastructure. Thus, data was collected over a three-month period during 2010 which coincided with the FIFA Soccer World Cup, hosted by South Africa. A combined quantitative and qualitative approach for the analysis of data was supplemented with a multimodal, multi-semiotic approach. In addition, interviews were conducted of a cross-section of commuters as a way to give meaning to the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data. The analysis explored the extent to which multilingualism and multiculturalism are reflected in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail.

The focus of the study was on the degree of visibility of the official and non-official languages on signage, as faced by Metrorail commuters. The findings of the study reveal that the interplay between power relations, prestige, symbolic value, identity and vitality in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail results in a somewhat limited display of multilingualism. The findings also reflect the changed language attitudes and perceptions, the maintenance of power relations, the expression of identity, and the desire to be perceived in a certain way, in a broader South African context. Furthermore, the data reveals that the actual linguistic reality does not accurately reflect the aims of the Western Cape language policy in terms of promoting multilingualism. Moreover, it reveals that English is the preferred language of wider communication and it is also the dominant language on the official and non-official signage in the public space. Although

the indigenous African languages, along with Afrikaans, are generally neglected in the public space, these languages are widely spoken by Metrorail commuters. The linguistic landscape of Metrorail therefore does not accurately reflect the linguistic reality of the various speech communities in the Western Cape. The linguistic landscape of Metrorail serves to index the broader social developments of the transformed sociolinguistic South African identity.



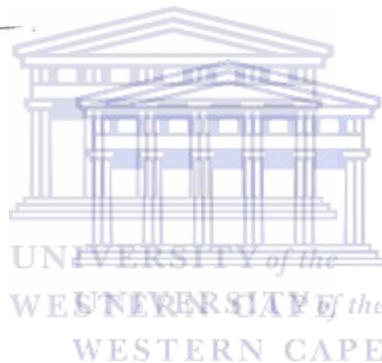
Declaration

I declare that *Towards Urban Multilingualism: Investigating the Linguistic Landscape of the Public Rail Transport System in the Western Cape* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full Name: Ian Lyndon Johnson

Signed: 

Date: 22 June 2012



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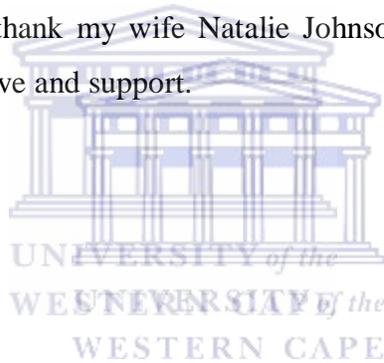
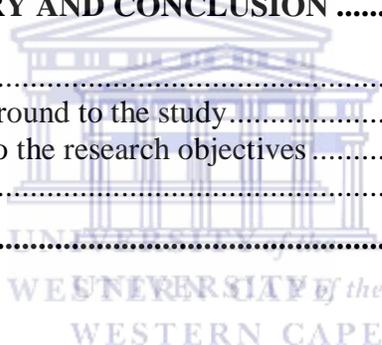


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Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.0 Introduction

This study examined the linguistic landscape of selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region of South Africa. In particular, the study explored and analyzed the written language on signage that marks the public space in the different research sites visited. In this chapter, I firstly discuss the background to the study which includes the geography and economy of the Western Cape, some important historical and demographic information about the Western Cape and its people, and an overview of the language policies of South Africa at national and provincial level, respectively. Secondly, I give an account on the spread of languages in South Africa and an overview of the development of rail transport in the country and then provide a brief discussion on the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup which coincided with this research. Thirdly, I provide the objectives and rationale behind the study. As a point of departure, I begin with the background to the study.

1.1 Background to the study

Different languages come into contact in the public space. People use language to display various types of texts in these public spaces such as place names, shop signs, posters, notices and graffiti. This is what constitutes linguistic landscaping (LL). Landry and Bourhis (1997:23) are widely credited with coining the term “linguistic landscape” which essentially describes “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs”. Scholarly interest in linguistic landscape has grown in recent years and there have been many publications on the topic, for example, Gorter (2006b), Backhaus (2007) and Shohamy and Gorter (2009). Various international linguistic landscape workshops and conferences have been held in recent years, for example, the

Israel one held in 2008, Italy in 2009, France in 2010 and the USA one in 2011. These developments in linguistic landscape studies may have resulted for a number of reasons. For instance, urbanization has led to many people all over the world moving from rural areas into the cities, resulting in increased diversity in the urban built-up environment. Additionally, the influence of globalization has resulted in commercial advertising becoming increasingly multilingual phenomena. Therefore, the use of different languages on signs in the linguistic landscape serves as an indicator of societal multilingualism brought about and enhanced by globalization.

Technological advancements in recent years, such as the digital camera, have enabled researchers to capture large volumes of multilingual data in the linguistic landscape with ease. Researchers are therefore allowed to effectively explore and analyze the languages displayed on multilingual signs in the public space. This is what has immensely contributed to the development of the field of linguistic landscaping.

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural society with a unique language policy that aims to promote multilingualism in all spheres of life. It is in this vein that the background information needed to interpret the linguistic landscape of Metrorail Western Cape is discussed in this section.

1.1.1 The geography and economy of the Western Cape

In terms of the 1996 Constitution, South Africa is divided into nine provinces, each with its own legislature, premier and executive councils. The provinces of South Africa include the Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Limpopo, North West and Western Cape. In Map 1 below, the Western Cape Province is situated at the southernmost tip of the African continent.



Map 1: The Provinces of South Africa (Map of South Africa 2011)

According to the National Census of 2001 (SSA 2001) the Western Cape Province is home to about 10.1 percent of South Africa's population. As reported in the Community Survey of 2007 (SSA 2007) the province increased by 16.7 percent, from 4.5 million in 2001 to 5.3 million in 2007. This is the highest population increase compared to that recorded by any of the other provinces. In terms of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (1998), the Western Cape is divided into five district municipalities, with the City of Cape Town classified as a metropolitan municipality. The municipalities of the Western Cape include the West Coast, Boland, Central Karoo, Eden and Overberg (Pauw 2005:2). About two thirds of the population lives in the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality. The Boland district has the second largest number of residents with 14.2 percent, followed by Eden and the West Coast with 9.8 percent and 8.5 percent, respectively. The Overberg and Central Karoo are home to 3.8 percent and 1.5 percent of the population respectively. The majority of all racial groups live in Cape Town (68.9 percent of Africans, 56.1 percent of Coloureds, 88.8 percent of Asian and

72.8 percent of Whites) Pauw (2005:3). Coloured people make up more than 50 percent of the population in every district, and 58.9 percent overall.



Map 2: Western Cape Municipalities (Map of the Western Cape 2011)

Table 1.1 shows the number of people in each district municipality by racial group. The vast majority of the population (89.6 percent) lives in urban areas. This figure is relatively higher compared to the national average with a 63-37 urban-rural split. The highly urbanised Western Cape population is relatively well off compared to the rest of South Africa. However, the inequalities that exist in the rest of South Africa also occur in the Western Cape, although to a lesser degree. The African and Coloured population in particular, face high poverty and unemployment rates compared to Whites, where there is virtually no poverty by comparison to the other racial groups (Pauw 2005).

Municipality	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Total	%
City of CPT	613 549	1 318 002	21 783	526 654	2 479 988	62.2%
West Coast	32 014	268 043		40 014	340 071	8.5%
Cape Winelands	138 482	327 877	2 742	97 170	566 271	14.2%
Central Karoo	1 043	55 752		1 093	57 888	1.5%
Eden	84 001	287 484		18 621	390 106	9.8%
Overberg	21 182	92 439		39 728	153 349	3.8%
Total	890 271	2 349 597	24 525	723 280	3 987 673	
%	22.3%	58.9%	0.6%	18.1%		100.0%

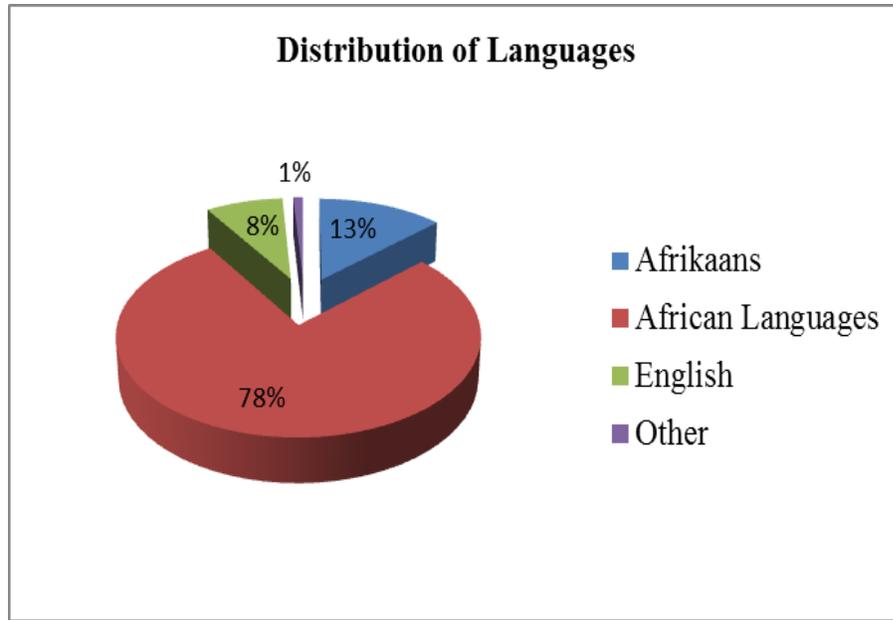
Table 1.1: Population by district municipality and racial group (Pauw 2005:7)

The province has the lowest unemployment rate in the country at 22.2 percent which is lower than the national average of 23.2 percent. Information and communications technology is one of the fastest-growing sectors in the province. The clothing and textile industry is the most significant industrial source of employment in the province. Agriculture accounts for about 40 percent of all export revenue and employs about 200 000 people in the Western Cape. The Western Cape has a wealth of agriculture and fisheries. The protected valleys beneath the vast mountain ranges are home to export-grade fruits which include apples, grapes, olives, peaches and oranges. A large variety of vegetables is grown along the eastern parts of the Western Cape. The Western Cape is renowned as one of the world's best grape-growing regions and many of its wines have received the highest accolades internationally. Wool and mutton products and pedigree Merino breeding stock are farmed in the inland Karoo region, around Beaufort West and the Overberg district, around Bredasdorp. Some of the other animal products farmed in the Western Cape include broiler chickens, eggs, dairy products, beef and pork. The Western Cape is the only province that exports horses which contributes significantly in terms of foreign revenue. The Western Cape is also a leading exporter of ostrich products such as meat, leather items and feathers to various destinations throughout the world. The West Coast is a premium fishing area and is protected by legislation from overfishing by foreign vessels. The Western Cape is home to many of South Africa's major financial institutions such as insurance companies and banks. Cape Town is the

economic hub of the Western Cape and encompasses major industrial areas. Many of these industrial areas are serviced by the Metrorail network, for example, Woodstock, Ndabeni, Bellville, Stellenbosch and Wellington. The Saldanha Steel Project along the West Coast has led to increased economic activity in the region. Interestingly, the Saldanha Steel Company is the main supplier of train wheels to the rail industry in the Western Cape. Many suppliers of goods and services to the rail environment are based within the Western Cape. Exploring the linguistic landscape of Metrorail is a useful way to reveal insights about the language choices of commuters within the Western Cape who comprise the main workforce of industry in the region.

1.1.2 The spread of languages

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural society. This diversity is the result of the influx of various groups of people to the region over many centuries. The first groups of people who inhabited the Southern African region were the Khoi and San people. In about the 12th century the Bantu people migrated to the south. In about the 17th century, other people began to sail to South Africa from Europe (Portuguese, Dutch, French, Germans, and British) and also from the East (Malaysia, Indonesia and India). For this reason South Africa has such a diversity of cultures and languages. About 25 languages are spoken in South Africa by about 44.8 million people (SSA 2001). The distribution of languages in South Africa is illustrated in Graph 1 and Table 1.2, respectively.



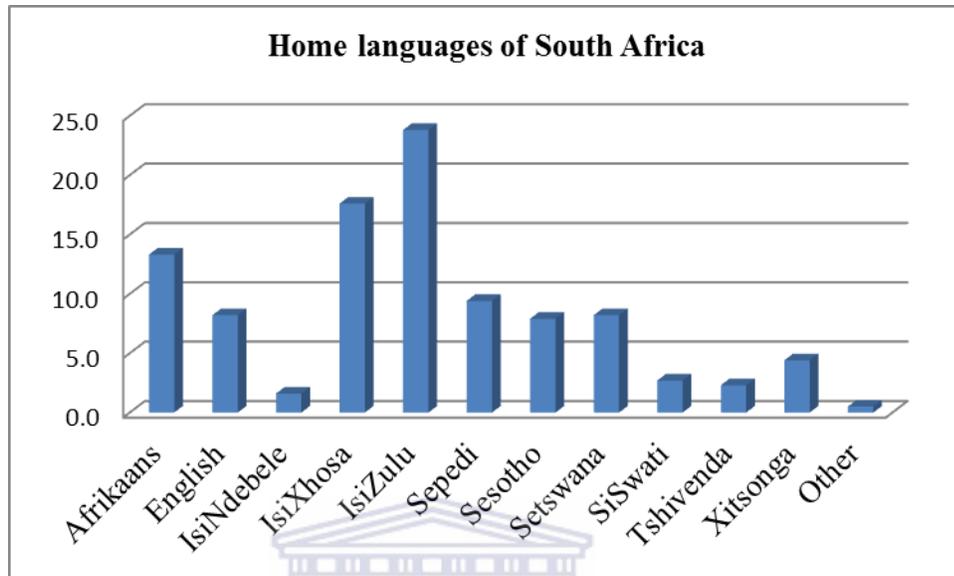
Graph 1: Distribution of languages in South Africa (SSA 2001)

Languages	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
Afrikaans	0.7	79.5	1.7	59.1	13.3
English	0.5	18.9	93.8	39.3	8.2
IsiNdebele	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	1.6
IsiXhosa	22.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	17.6
IsiZulu	30.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	23.8
Sepedi	11.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	9.4
Sesotho	10.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	7.9
Setswana	10.3	0.4	0.0	0.1	8.2
SiSwati	3.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.7
Tshivenda	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3
Xitsonga	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4
Other	0.3	0.2	3.8	1.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 1.2: Home language by population group (percentages) (SSA 2001)

According to the 2001 census (SSA 2001), almost 80 percent of South Africans use an African language as their home language. IsiZulu is the mother tongue of 23.8 percent of South Africa's population, followed by isiXhosa at 17.6 percent, Afrikaans at 13.3 percent, Sepedi at 9.4 percent, and English and Setswana each at 8.2 percent. Sesotho is the mother tongue of 7.9 percent of South Africans, while the remaining four official languages are spoken at home by less than 5 percent of the population respectively. IsiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele are collectively referred to as the Nguni languages and have many similarities in syntax and grammar. The Sotho languages - Setswana, Sepedi and Sesotho also have much in common. Afrikaans is home language to 13.3 percent of the South African population and has its roots in 17th century Dutch, with influences from English, Malay, German, Portuguese, French and some African languages. Varieties include Eastern Cape Afrikaans (Oosgrensafrikaans, which became Standard Afrikaans), Cape Afrikaans (Kaapse Afrikaans) and Orange River Afrikaans (Oranjerivierafrikaans). Afrikaans was initially known as Cape Dutch and was largely a spoken language for people living in the Cape. The proper Dutch language was the formal, written language. Afrikaans developed alongside the rise of Afrikaner identity. It became an official language with English in South Africa in 1925. Afrikaans became symbolic of Afrikaner nationalism after 1948 and is characteristic of minority white rule during the apartheid years in South Africa. The proposed use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in African township schools resulted in the June 1976 school uprising which became a turning point in the country's political and social history. Afrikaans is spoken mainly by white Afrikaners, Coloured South Africans and some sections of the African population. According to the 1991 census (SSA 1991), about 45 percent of the population had some knowledge of English. English is an influential language in South Africa across the country's diverse society. English replaced Dutch as the official language of the Cape Colony in 1822. When South Africa became a Union in 1910, English became the official language of South Africa alongside Dutch. Afrikaans replaced Dutch in 1925. Today, English is the lingua franca of South Africa. It is the main language used by the government and business. English is a compulsory subject at school level and is the preferred medium of instruction at most tertiary

institutions throughout South Africa. The home languages of South Africa are illustrated in Graph 2 below.



Graph 2: Home languages of South Africa (percentages) (SSA 2001)

English is home language to 8.2 percent of the population. Varieties include Black South African English, Indian English, Coloured English and Afrikaans English. Most of the Asian and Indian people in South Africa are largely English-speaking. However, many people in these groups also retain their languages of origin. South African English is an established and unique dialect, with strong influences from Afrikaans and the country's many African languages. IsiXhosa is the second largest language in South Africa. It is also known as the Southern or Cape Nguni and is closely related to isiZulu. IsiZulu is home language to 17.6 percent of the population, making it the largest spoken home language in South Africa. It is spoken mainly in the former Transkei, Ciskei and Eastern Cape regions and is one of the four Nguni languages. Similar to isiXhosa, IsiZulu is a tonal language and is governed by the noun which dominates the sentence. IsiMpondo (isiNdrondroza) is the most distinct variety with other dialects including Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondimise, Rharhabe, Gcaleka, Xesibe, Bhaca, Cele, Hlubi, Ntlangwini, Ngqika and Mfengu. There are provincial variations in the distribution of languages in South Africa. This distribution is largely dependent on the geographical

location. For example, isiXhosa is spoken by more than 80 percent of the population in the Eastern Cape whereas about 80 percent of the population in KwaZulu-Natal speaks isiZulu. IsiZulu is the most widely spoken home language in the Gauteng Province. According to the 2001 census (SSA 2001:16) the predominant home languages of the population in the Western Cape are Afrikaans (55.3 percent), isiXhosa (23.7 percent) and English (19.3 percent).

1.1.3 Official language policies

Being a multilingual country, South Africa has eleven officially recognised languages. The 1996 constitution, Chapter 2 Section 6 (RSA 1996) guarantees equal status to the eleven official languages to cater for the country's diverse people and their cultures. The official languages include Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga. There are also a number of other African, European and Asian languages spoken in South Africa. The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established in 1995 to promote the official languages and also the Khoi, Nama and San languages as well as Sign Language. PanSALB is also tasked to promote respect for other languages used in South Africa such as German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu, and also the languages used for religious purposes such as Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit. English is generally understood across the country, being the language of business, politics and the media. Although the lingua franca of South Africa is English, the language ranks joint fifth out of the eleven official languages as a home language.

The Western Cape language policy gives effect to sections 6 and 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), section 5 of the Constitution of the Western Cape (Act 1 of 1998), the Western Cape Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998), the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995) and the National Language Policy Framework (2003). The Western Cape language policy aims to promote the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English and also to promote multilingualism. According to this policy, all official

notices and advertisements must be issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Private enterprises are encouraged to develop and implement their own language policies in accordance with the framework of the Provincial Language Policy. The policy also makes provision for all government signage to be displayed in the three official languages of the Western Cape. The Western Cape Language Committee was established in terms of legislation to monitor and review the extent to which the formal language responsibilities are met and to support the administration in meeting its language objectives.

1.1.4 The development of rail transport in South Africa

In the late 1850s the first railway systems in South Africa were developed by private enterprise. In 1860, a 3.2 km railway line was opened between Market Square and the Harbour Point in Durban. In 1862, a railway line was opened between Cape Town and Wellington, via Eersterivier. In 1867 the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley became a catalyst for the further development of the railways. The South African Government acknowledged the significance of the railway system and by 1877 the railway systems in the Cape (Western Cape) and Natal (KwaZulu-Natal) had become Government property. The Cape Government Railways was the government-owned railway operator in the Cape Colony from 1874 until the creation of the South African Railways (SAR) in 1910. The 'Muizenberg Flyer' was introduced in 1880 on a wide gauge track to increase the speed of trains. The South African Railways later standardised the narrow gauge track which was not suitable for high speed trains. At about the same time when the Kimberly railway system was developed, gold deposits were discovered in the Transvaal Republic (Gauteng). The first passenger commuter train to operate in the Transvaal (Gauteng) area was introduced in 1890 and operated between Braamfontein and Boksburg. During the same year a rail passenger service was opened between Lorenzo Marques (Maputo) and Pretoria (Tshwane). Railway lines in other provinces started later and by 1898 a national link-up was established thereby creating a national transport network. The period after the discovery of gold saw conflict between British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalist resistance which culminated in the Anglo-Boer

War (South African War) between 1899 and 1902. In 1910 the four provinces merged and South Africa became a Union under British control. The railway lines across the country were also merged. The South African Railways and Harbours (SAR and H) became the government agency responsible for the rail system, under the direct control of parliament.

Railway lines were extended outside of South Africa, as far north as Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia). The electrification of the railways began in the 1920s with the building of the Colenso Power Station for the Glencoe to Pietermaritzburg route. The urbanization of struggling farmers and people suffering after the war (and also during the Depression of 1929-1933) sought work in the towns and cities. This vast urbanization stimulated the need for more efficient rail passenger services. Industrialization and commercial development in and around cities presented many job opportunities which attracted large numbers of people. The existing railway lines were improved and longer train sets were introduced to meet the increasing demand for commuter train services by workers. By the 1970s the pace of urbanization exceeded the development of the railways. In 1981 the South African Railways and Harbours changed its name to the South African Transport Services (SATS). It restructured and started to operate according to sound business principles. In 1990 SATS transferred its functions to a newly formed public company called Transnet. Transnet comprised of Spoornet, Portnet and the South African Airways (SAA). Spoornet, a division of Transnet, operated the rail system. Transnet soon discarded its commuter rail services and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) was established. The SARCC became a government agency under the National Department of Transport. The SARCC was responsible for commuter rail services and inherited all commuter rail services assets, land and properties. In 1992 Intersite Property Management Services (IPMS) was formed to manage the property portfolio.

In 2004 government announced plans to consolidate existing passenger rail entities into a single passenger rail entity. The main reasons for the consolidation were to address the poor-performance of passenger rail services and the urgent need for efficient public

transport during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In 2009 the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) was formed. The agency was a consolidation of state-owned passenger rail entities (Metrorail and Shosholoza Meyl), a road-based bus passenger carrier (Autopax) and an asset management entity (Intersite). The agency created a platform from which these business units could deliver high-quality and low-cost transport services to the masses. PRASA is tasked with transforming South Africa's public transport system. PRASA transports more than 645 million passengers per year across Metrorail (95 percent), Shosholoza Meyl (2.5 percent) and Autopax via 468 stations in cities and throughout the country. The presence of buses within PRASA gives it flexibility to respond effectively to passenger demands with options to provide feeder and distribution services. PRASA invested R7 billion in the refurbishment of 2000 coaches in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Of these coaches, 780 were dedicated to servicing commuters during the tournament. PRASA also supplied buses to transport the 32 participating soccer teams from around the world. During this same period PRASA also built and upgraded 50 stations throughout South Africa. In the Western Cape, Cape Town station received a major upgrade. New stations that were built in the region include Chris Hani and Century City which are included in the analysis in this study. PRASA is the culmination of a long process in government's efforts to transform public transport in South Africa. Transport policy, specifically the Public Transport Strategy, sees rail passenger transport as the backbone of integrated mass rapid public transport networks in South Africa. In this context, inter-modal facilities and the optimization of performance of the entire public transport system in South Africa defines the essence of PRASA.

1.1.5 Passenger rail transport in the Western Cape

About 637000 passengers are conveyed daily by Metrorail in the Western Cape. According to a PRASA customer profiling survey done in 2011, Metrorail commuters are diverse in terms of demographical composition. However, the majority of Metrorail commuters in the Western Cape are African and Coloured males. Although English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans, respectively, are home languages to many commuters, English

is the preferred language of communication of the majority of Metrorail commuters. Metrorail transports significantly more passengers than those carried by other modes of transport such as busses, minibus taxis and private vehicles. Rail offers significant benefits over road based travel particularly with respect to safety and time saving as it has a dedicated right-of-way. The rail network penetrates extensively in the middle to high income areas as well as low income areas. Rail transport therefore has ready access to a wide range of commuters with a rich cultural and linguistic diversity. The Metrorail railway network in the Western Cape has four main areas. These service areas comprise Area South (Southern Suburbs and Cape Flats) which falls within the Cape Town Metropolitan. Area Central (Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain) and Area North (Northern Suburbs) extends to the Winelands and the Overberg respectively. Area iKapa comprises Cape Town and the area along the foreshore. There is also a Malmesbury-Worcester route which penetrates the West Coast and Central Karoo areas respectively but this area does not form part of this investigation. The main reason for this decision is that this investigation focuses on the busiest stations in the region in terms of daily commuter volumes. The latter route has a limited service with low commuter volumes by comparison to the other four main service areas. The four main service areas are illustrated in map 3 below.



Map 3: Western Cape Rail Map (Metrorail Map 2010)

With reference to map 3 above, the Southern Suburbs Line moves southwards and passes through Rosebank which is adjacent to the University of Cape Town. The line passes the world-famous Newlands stadium which is home to Western Province rugby and also passes the famous cricket oval on the opposite side of the tracks. Further on it passes Kenilworth which is world-famous for its horseracing. As this line approaches the sea, it runs adjacent to the coastline along Muizenberg and the fishing village of Kalkbay. The line ends near the naval base in Simonstown. The Cape Flats Line also moves in a southerly direction and has 11 stations. It passes major industrial areas along Maitland, Ndabeni, Athlone and Lansdowne. The Central Line moves in a south easterly direction and comprises sites up to and including Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain respectively. The Central Line passes through the major Black and Coloured townships that were established during the apartheid years. Stations along this line pass the Black townships of Langa, Nyanga and Khayelitsha.

The Khayelitsha line was recently extended to include a new station, Chris Hani, named after the assassinated ANC struggle hero and former leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP). This line also passes through major Coloured townships, such as Bontheuwel, Heideveld and Mitchells Plain. A section of this line was also extended to include a new station Kapteinsklop, where this specific section of the line ends. The Northern Line passes major industrial areas, such as Goodwood, Stikland, Parow and Bellville. The line has a section that extends towards the north east and passes through farming areas all the way to Wellington where this section ends. The line also has a section that extends in a south easterly direction and passes through Somerset West and ends in Strand. The Malmesbury and Worcester Line stretches in a north easterly direction. The line has a section that extends from Fisantekraal which runs along the farming areas of Klipheuwel and ends at Malmesbury. It has another section which extends from Soetendal and passes through farming areas in Tulbach and ends at Worcester.

1.1.6 The influence of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup

From 11 June to 11 July 2010, South Africa made history as the first African country to host the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, one of the world's greatest sporting events. Thirty-two countries participated in the tournament which was held across nine host cities throughout South Africa. Five new stadiums were built and five existing stadiums were upgraded for the tournament. More than 300000 tourists visited South Africa during this period. The majority of these visitors came to South Africa to attend the Soccer World Cup tournament. Eight matches were held in Cape Town, including a quarterfinal and semi-final match. The average attendance per match was 63000 people. Preparations and infrastructural development for the event included the construction of a new 68000 seat stadium, public transport and electricity infrastructure upgrades, and city beautification. Part of these preparations included the removal of graffiti from the public space, particularly along public transport routes and the Metrorail network. New signage was erected at the airports, bus routes and at some of the Metrorail stations. Public rail transport was the main mode of transport used to travel to matches. About 40 percent of fans travelled by public transport and about 13 percent walked to see matches which exceeded the national target of 50 percent by 3 percent for the use of public and non-motorized transport to the stadium. Many aspects of the Soccer World Cup were of great benefit to South Africa. The investment in public transport, particular rail transport, is one of the most significant. The significance of the investment in passenger rail transport discussed in this section is that many of the stations included in this study were upgraded as part of the preparations for the Soccer World Cup. The analysis in chapters 4 and 5 explores the signage displayed at selected Metrorail sites. More specifically, the focus of this study is on the written language on signage in the linguistic landscape as experienced by Metrorail commuters in the Western Cape during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup.

1.2 Statement of purpose

The study of linguistic landscape (LL) is a relatively recent field of study that follows the work of Landry and Bourhis (1997). The available literature primarily covers the linguistic landscape in the United Kingdom, Europe and Asia. However, there is a growing interest in LL research on the African continent, particularly in South Africa. The concept of LL is used for the description and analysis of the linguistic reality in a defined geographical area. LL studies explore the presence of multilingualism within a defined geographical area (Gorter 2006a1). Modernity, globalization and multiculturalism which are the main factors influencing LL are at the forefront of our daily lives (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006). The character, composition and status of places are shaped by commercial activity, professional identities and demographic development, all of which find focus on the LL in place. Amid this, the relations between the authorities and society at large are constantly changing. The linguistic landscape of an area can be interpreted as a representation of the influence of language on our daily lives. For this reason it is interesting to explore the symbolic and functional values of languages on signage which forms part of the LL of a given area. As pointed out above, approximately 637000 people from different linguistic, socio-cultural and economic backgrounds use public trains daily as the primary mode of transport in the Western Cape. The study of the linguistic landscape of Metrorail is therefore an interesting way of revealing the linguistic and social stratification that exists within the Western Cape. In light of this, the current study focuses on the languages displayed on signage at selected sites along the Metrorail network. This is important as it could reveal useful insights about the linguistic, socio-cultural and economic characteristics within the Western Cape as a whole.

1.3 Aims of the research

The primary aim of the research was to present an empirical study of the linguistic landscape of selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region. Considering provincial and national government's official policy to develop multilingualism in all spheres of

life, the focus of the study was to explore and to analyze the written language on signage that marks the public space.

The study was limited to the following objectives:

1. To investigate the written language that appears in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region.
2. To analyze languages and signs produced by the authorities and individuals respectively, for their functional and symbolic value.
3. To discuss the degree of visibility and/or invisibility of the official languages and signage in the face of the presence of graffiti and other non-official signage at these sites.
4. To explore the nature and place of multilingualism as social practice in the public space.

1.4 Rationale

This study explored the written language displayed in the public space against the backdrop of a rich social history, a developing political environment within a linguistically and culturally diverse society. It aimed to contribute to the existing body of research on the linguistic landscape within South Africa, thereby expanding the field of LL studies on the African continent as a whole. The study also contributed to the development of a coherent methodology of the field, through the comprehensive research parameters and coding scheme developed within a South African context.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study was limited to signs collected at selected sites along the Metrorail rail network in the Western Cape. Although there were many signs found that displayed icons and pictograms, only the signs containing written text were considered. The approach used in this study differs from previous LL studies in South Africa (Kotze

2010; Mpendukana 2009) which included only signs displaying any of the eleven official languages of South Africa. In the current study the presence of any of the eleven official languages displayed on signs in the LL were considered and any foreign languages found were also included. The stations selected for this study were those that recorded the highest number of daily commuters according to the SARCC (2008) report. These stations were selected from each of the four main Metrorail service areas, respectively.

1.6 Research methodology

This study used both a quantitative and qualitative approach in the collection and analysis of signs displayed along the Metrorail network in the Western Cape. The research methodology and design used is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

Chapter 1 begins with a brief account of studies about linguistic landscapes. This is followed by the background information about the Western Cape and the development of passenger rail transport in South Africa which places the study in context. In addition, a brief overview is given of the influence of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup in South Africa that coincided with this study. The chapter concludes with the research objectives, the rationale and the methodology applied in this study.

Chapter 2 is the literature review. The notion of LL is introduced and the definition of the concept linguistic landscape is discussed. The theoretical frameworks that inform this study are explored in the context of previous case studies. In particular, the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality is explored. This is followed by a discussion about the main functions of the LL. The methodological considerations are then clarified, followed by a summary of the main issues covered in the chapter.

Chapter 3 clarifies the research methodology applied in this empirical study. The chapter begins with a discussion about how the data was collected and analyzed. The methodology applied in previous LL case studies is then reviewed and discussed in the context of the current study, followed by a detailed description of the general methodological issues considered.

Chapter 4 showcases the quantitative results of the study and gives an account of the various languages displayed on signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The discussion of the results is supported by illustrative data tables and graphs, as well as photographic images. A detailed description of the LL contributions in the survey area is given, followed by a discussion of the distribution of the different languages and combinations of languages on signage. The LL items are analyzed in terms of the official and non-official agency.

Chapter 5 describes the qualitative results which focus on code preference in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The chapter begins by clarifying the methodology used to distinguish code preference as informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of geosemiotics. The different sociocultural compositions within the survey area are also clarified. This is followed by a discussion about the patterns of language use in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The chapter highlights the differences in the choices of language use in the public space, as influenced by official policies and pragmatic and symbolic considerations.

Chapter 6 is a summary and recapitulation of the key issues that were discussed in the study. An overview of the main findings is given and conclusions are drawn. The chapter gives answers to the research objectives and concludes with a discussion about possibilities for further research in linguistic landscape studies.

In the following chapter, a discussion of the literature available in the area of linguistic landscaping is provided.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a review of the literature pertaining to the study of linguistic landscaping (LL). The chapter is organized in six sections. In the first section, I introduce the notion of LL and in the second section I discuss the definition of the concept linguistic landscape. In the third section, I explore the theoretical frameworks that informed this study in the context of previous case studies and in particular, I explore the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality. The fourth section deals with the functions of the LL while the fifth section clarifies the methodological considerations used. The final section summarizes the main issues covered in the chapter.

2.1 The notion of linguistic landscape

Backhaus (2007) and Spolksy (2009) note that studies involving the use of language displayed on public signage as a source of information can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s. Landry and Bourhis (1997) are most widely credited by scholars as being among the first researchers to explore the linguistic landscape. Landry and Bourhis (1997:23) argue that the aim of LL studies is to explore “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region.” The focus of LL studies is on the written language that marks the public space. Following the seminal paper by Landry and Bourhis (1997) many scholars have explored the LL from various different perspectives such as language policy, sociolinguistics, language contact and discourse analysis (Backhaus 2007; Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, Barni 2010).

Backhaus (2007) describes various earlier studies that discuss the notion of the LL in his comprehensive survey of previous LL research. Backhaus notes that a number of these previous studies were overlooked mainly because of a lack of summarizing terminology. Further, Backhaus explores the languages displayed on signs in monolingual, bilingual and multilingual places in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. The survey includes a study by Rosenbaum *et al.* (1977), who counted the number of English and Hebrew signs in Jerusalem, Israel as part of their study to determine the spread of English.

In another case study Tulp (1978) explores the languages on commercial billboards in Brussels, Belgium. Monnier (1989) conducted a survey of language use on shop signs in Montreal, Canada. Calvet (1990) compared the LLs of Paris and Dakar. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) investigated the language on the signs in the Old City of Jerusalem. Spolsky and Cooper's contributions are discussed in more detail below. These earlier studies contributed to the development of the theoretical and methodological foundations for LL studies as a sub-field of sociolinguistics (Backhaus 2007).

The case studies discussed in Backhaus (2007) are valuable for the insights that it gives into the history of the various approaches to LL studies. It also clarifies what can be considered as falling within the scope of linguistic landscapes and what should not be included. Most of the studies in Backhaus (2007) entail observing and quantifying the distribution of fixed public signs. Backhaus develops a system for categorizing multilingual signs. He uses the framework of code preference by Scollon and Scollon (2003) and the study of the typology of multilingualism by Reh (2004).

With the increased interest in LL studies, there have been numerous advancements in theoretical and methodological approaches. For example, Gorter (2006) defines the scope of LL research. He addresses a number of methodological issues and challenges posed by the sampling of empirical data, the complex task of defining a unit of analysis and subsequently devising categorization and coding schemes of the signs studied.

Furthermore, the publication by Shohamy and Gorter (2009) contributed to the development of a consistent theory and methodology. It also highlighted a number of shortcomings.

The four structuration principles presented by Ben-Rafael (2009) give a sociological framework for LL studies, these are elaborated on below. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) developed three conditions for language choice on public signage. In Spolsky (2009) these conditions are further clarified. The theoretical and methodological frameworks used by Ben-Rafael (2009) and Spolsky (2009), respectively, contributed to qualitative aspects of the LL research by providing the relevant framework within which other research studies could be developed.

Thurlow and Jaworski (2009) explore how the LL creates meaning by impacting on three areas of scholarly interest. These areas include language and visual discourse, spatial practices and global capitalism. In a broader context they explore textual/discursive construction of place. The case studies illustrate how written discourse interacts with other discursive modalities such as visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment. Thurlow and Jaworski (2009) suggest that linguistics is only one element in the construction and interpretation of place. They take the title of their book *Semiotic Landscapes* to mean “any public space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making” (Thurlow and Jaworski (2009:2). The conceptual frameworks they apply range from sociolinguistic to discourse analysis.

Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni (2010) explore the LL in present-day urban settings. The basic methodology that is used to collect data in LL studies involves taking photographs of the relevant LL items which are then subjected to analysis. With the technological advancement the widespread use of digital cameras in LL studies enable researchers to create a more complete data corpus (Backhaus 2007; Gorter 2006b). Another technological advancement is the development of the Sociolinguistic Data Collection Mobile Laboratory that enables a triangulated approach to the study of LLs

(Barni and Bagna 2009). This approach uses a system of geo-referencing that enables a synchronic and diachronic analysis of LL data. Despite these methodological advancements Shohamy and Gorter (2009) argue that an independent theory of the field is needed as the study of the LL intersects with various other academic disciplines, for example; geography, education, politics, sociology and economics. In this regard, Shohamy and Gorter (2009) suggest that because the study of the LL is interdisciplinary, it requires a multiple theory approach.

Therefore the study of the LL is an interesting way of revealing the linguistic and social stratification that exists within society. Thus, scholars of the LL are concerned with exploring the meanings and messages communicated by the written language that marks the public space (Shohamy and Gorter 2009).

2.2 Defining linguistic landscaping

The most widely used definition of the linguistic landscape is that used by Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) which states:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

The definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997) has been adapted by various scholars to suit the scope of their own specific research (Edelman 2010). For instance, Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006:14) define the LL as “any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or private business in a given geographical location”. This definition includes signs that are located on the inside of buildings also. While, Dailey *et al.* (2005) include advertisement brochures and flyers, the spoken language heard outside in the neighbourhood, on television and in the classroom.

Gorter (2006) argues that the LL is simply about the written text that is displayed in the public space. Shohamy and Waksman (2009) suggest an alternative definition of LL that includes all types of text. In their view, the LL includes all discourses in the public space. This broad view includes written or spoken texts, images, objects, sounds and even videos displayed on the inside or outside of buildings. This view also includes the internet and cyberspace. The internet and the related technologies have become a fundamental part of modern life. The reality is that language is evolving into a variety of new forms. People are also included as being part of the LL because meaning is constructed by language and other modalities (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Shohamy and Waksman 2009). However, Backhaus (2007) cautions that such a definition makes the LL too broad a field to study effectively.

Shohamy and Waksman (2009) argue that the evolving notion of ‘public’ and ‘private’ calls for the redefining of the LL. Backhaus (2007:10) notes the distinction between the noun “linguistic landscape” and the gerund “linguistic landscaping”, citing Itagi and Singh (2002). However, Backhaus argues that Itagi and Singh (2002) do not suggest any direct explanation of these terms. Backhaus posits that the inferred meaning of the term in the gerund form refers to “the planning and implementation of actions” relating to language use on signs (Backhaus 2007:10). He explains that the term in the noun form “denotes the results of these actions” (Backhaus 2007:10). Backhaus uses these terms in his study and provides useful insights about the linguistic situation of Tokyo. According to Edelman (2010:9) many scholars prefer the term “linguistic landscape”. She points out that the term “linguistic landscaping” has also been used by Backhaus (2009), Barni and Bagna (2009) and Coulmas (2009).

Furthermore, Gorter (2006a:1) introduces the term “multilingual cityscape”. He argues that this term describes the field more accurately. Gorter suggests that urbanization and globalization contributed to the fact that most of the previous LL studies were done in the urban built-up environment within cities. He adds that signs that display written texts are generally found in built-up urban areas. Although the term ‘multilingual cityscape’ is probably a more specific term than ‘linguistic landscape’, the term ‘cityscape’

excludes studies conducted in rural areas or on the inside of buildings. According to Edelman (2010), the term ‘cityscape’ excludes the possibility of monolingualism. A critical question that follows then is whether the LL is multilingual or monolingual, even in multilingual contexts.

In subsequent studies to that of Gorter (2006a), ‘linguistic landscape’ or ‘linguistic landscaping’ has been the preferred term used by many scholars (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010). In the study of linguistics, the term ‘linguistic landscape’ or ‘linguistic landscaping’ refers to a language situation in a specific geographical location (Edelman 2010). For example, Du Plessis (2009:188) writes about “the changing face of the South African linguistic landscape”, in a paper about the need for moving from a bilingual to a multilingual South Africa post 1994. In a seminal paper Banda (2010:1) compares and contrasts “linguistic landscaping and identity at three Western Cape Universities”. The gerund is used by Backhaus (2009) and Coulmas (2009) in their studies, following Itagi and Singh (2002). Barni and Bagna on the other hand use the noun form of the term in their study. Gorter (2006c) gives a more detailed discussion on other possible uses of the term.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) link the notion of the LL to the language-planning field. They cite examples in Belgium where the LL was used to identify the geographical locations of Dutch and French-speaking communities. Another example is that of Quebec, Canada where linguistic locations were identified by the language used on public signs (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Following Leclerc (1989), Landry and Bourhis distinguish between signs displayed by government authorities and those signs displayed by private initiative. The languages displayed on public signs are regulated by legislation whereas the languages on private signs are usually considered to be part of an individual’s freedom of speech (Edelman 2010). Although private signs generally display more linguistic diversity than government signs, the languages and content on private signs are regulated through legislation as well. The present study is limited in scope to the definition of the LL that is used by Landry and Bourhis (1997). The term

'linguistic landscape' is the preferred term and is used in reference to a language situation.

2.3 Ethnolinguistic vitality

Landry and Bourhis (1997) link the notion of linguistic landscape to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. Ethnolinguistic vitality contributes to group identity in users of a particular language. The relative strength of different language communities in multilingual settings is an important factor that influences the use and maintenance of languages. The languages displayed in the LL index specific linguistic communities. It also performs a symbolic function in that it increases its value and status. This is particularly true for the languages displayed on official government signage. The presence and dominance of one language over others could indicate the relative demographic and institutional power of one ethnolinguistic group over another. Oppressed groups in society may be ideologically removed from public view. An example of this is the general absence of most indigenous African languages from the South African linguistic landscape prior to 1994.

Giles *et al.* (1977) developed taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality to describe the role of language in relation to ethnic groups. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles *et al.* 1977:308). Drawing on Giles *et al.* (1977), ethnolinguistic vitality can be influenced by political, historical, economic and linguistic factors. These variables comprise a taxonomy which can be used to describe the context of a particular intergroup situation. The relative vitality of an ethnolinguistic group can be determined by three main factors which comprise status, demographic and institutional support variables. Status variables include economic status, social status, socio-historical status and language status. Demographic variables include group distribution factors such as national territory, concentration and proportion. It also includes group number's factors such as birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration. While, institutional support variables include the extent to which a language

receives formal and informal support in institutions such as the mass media, education, government services, industry, religion and culture. An ‘objective’ account of group vitality can be made using status, demographic and institutional support data, such as census information, for example.

Bourhis *et al.* (1981) caution that perceived vitality is equally important as an objective account. The reason for this is that group members may either underestimate or exaggerate the ethnolinguistic vitality of their own group or that of other groups. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality accounts for how speakers perceive the relative vitality of their language community. In this respect, Bourhis *et al.* designed a questionnaire to measure subjective vitality. This questionnaire included all of the status, demographic and institutional support variables constituting the taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality. However, the authors argue that ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ vital information should be combined to better account for the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in multilingual settings. I draw the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality as discussed by Bourhis *et al.* (1981) and Giles *et al.* (1977) for the purposes of this study.

2.4 Theoretical considerations

As alluded to earlier, the study of the LL is interdisciplinary and therefore intersects with various other academic disciplines (Shohamy and Gorter 2009). Therefore, researchers have used different theoretical frameworks which include, inter alia, sociological, sociolinguistic, economic, and ecological, multimodal and geosemiotic approaches. In this section, I discuss some of the previous LL case studies in the context of how they inform this study. I explore these previous case studies in terms of the various theoretical approaches that can be applied to the research of the LL.

Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, *et al.* (2006) use a sociological framework in their study of the LL of Israel which is expanded in Ben-Rafael (2009). The study presents a comparison of patterns of language use in Israel. It focuses on the degree of visibility of the three major Israeli languages on private and public signs. These languages include Hebrew,

Arabic and English. In this case study, the researchers found that the LL does not necessarily accurately reflect the diversity of languages in Israel. They found that the LL could be explored in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. Moreover, that it could also reveal identity markers of communities and differed in attractiveness to the various readers of signs. The LL is therefore a symbolic construction of the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006). Ben-Rafael (2009) suggests four structuration principles that shape the LL to explain the diversity. These principles include 1) presentation of self, 2) good reasons, 3) power relations and 4) collective identity.

Ben-Rafael (2009) takes the notion of presentation of self from Goffman (1981) where social agents attempt to achieve their desired goals by presenting themselves favourably to others. An example of how they do this is through their linguistic choices. According to Edelman (2010), signs in the LL compete for the attention of the intended readership. The authors of signs would therefore aim to present themselves positively through the messages they display in the LL (Edelman 2010). In this vein, the principle of presentation of self suggests that languages that have prestige will be displayed in the LL (Edelman 2010). Additionally, Ben-Rafael (2009) argues that under the good-reasons principle, the authors of signs in the LL attempt to influence the public by accommodating their values and tastes. This is achieved by focusing on the anticipated attractiveness of the signs to the audience. The languages that are valued as positive by the public are displayed in the LL (Edelman 2010). The principle of power relations refers to the degree to which the authors of signs impose social or political regulations on others through the languages displayed on signs (Ben-Rafael 2009). Therefore, the official language displayed on public signs is an example of the power relations that exist within society. The languages of the dominant group would be more visible in the LL than the languages of subordinate groups (Edelman 2010).

Lastly, the principle of collective identity (Ben-Rafael 2009) indicates to which group the authors of signs in the LL belong. For example, shops that display the words 'halaal' or 'kosher' would probably attract Muslim and Jewish customers respectively because

of their shared religious backgrounds (Edelman 2010). This would be particularly relevant to the multicultural societies prevalent in the Western Cape. Ben-Rafael (2009) suggests that the more tolerant a society is about the socio-cultural differences between groups, the more the LL would allow for the expression of different identities. The languages of minority groups are therefore also present in the LL (Edelman 2010).

According to (Barni 2006; Barni and Bagna 2009), the LL should be interpreted using a triangulated approach. Essentially, the interpretation of the LL of an area entails the analysis of demographic information, administrative information and the historical background context. This encompasses the consideration of the strength of the different sociolinguistic communities in an area, the language policies and the various authors involved. It also entails consideration of the socio-political situation. Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) sociolinguistic framework also addresses the use of languages in the LL. They formulate three conditions for language choice in public signage which includes:

1. Sign-writer's skill condition: Write signs in a language you know
2. Presumed reader condition: Prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read
3. Symbolic value condition: Prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified

Spolsky (2009) expounds on these rules and suggests that the 'sign-writer's skill condition' requires a certain level of literacy in a language for that language to be displayed in the LL. He argues that the absence of a language in the LL could be attributed to the lack of speakers of that language. This would particularly affect minority languages. The 'presumed reader condition' describes the communicative goal of signs. According to Spolsky, signs displayed in the LL could include the dominant language of an area, the language of a literate minority, or it could include the language of foreign tourists. He argues that the 'symbolic value condition' describes the language use on a sign that emphasizes ownership. An example of this could be a sign displaying

the name of a building. This could describe the order of languages that are displayed on multilingual signs. It could also explain the use of a language in advertisements that refers to certain associations with stereotypes about its speakers or a country. Spolsky illustrates the 'symbolic value condition' by using an example of the use of French for perfumes and Italian for foods. All three of these conditions may relate to any sign. Thus, the 'sign-writer's skill condition' is essential and applies to all signs. The 'presumed reader condition' and 'symbolic value condition' are characteristic and ordered. For example, both conditions could be applied to a sign but the weighting affects which condition will have the main influence on the communicative goal. In multilingual signs the communicative goal may be achieved by the choice of languages, whereas the order of the languages may be used to signal symbolic value (Spolsky 2009).

Huebner (2008; 2009) also uses a sociolinguistic framework for analysing LL items. He uses Hymes' (1972) ethnography of communication and Hymes' 'SPEAKING' pneumonic which describes the components of a speech event in terms of the setting or scene, participants, ends or goals, act sequences, key, instrumentalities, norms and genre. Huebner uses this framework to analyze LL items in terms of genre (Huebner 2009). (Huebner 2008) argues that the LL is merely an overlooked source of data for the study of multilingualism as opposed to it being a new approach to the study of multilingualism in society.

Kallen (2009) explores the LL of Ireland in the context of tourism. In his analysis of four urban tourist sites in Ireland, he argues that linguistic choices in the LL entail more than simply choices about language use.

Kotze and Du Plessis (2010) explore the LL of a rural township in the southern Free State, South Africa. Their study investigates the responsiveness of the LL of rural areas to socio-political changes compared to that of urban LLs. They argue that the LL reflects societal changes by creating and maintaining power relations and collective identities. The researchers suggest that public linguistic choices are influenced by

pragmatic and symbolic considerations. For example, the political transformation of South Africa in 1994 produced changes in various domains in the country. From this point of view, Kotze and Du Plessis (2010) point out that a remnant of the previous political regime is the ethnolinguistically divided neighbourhoods which were demarcated into white, coloured and black residential areas. I confirm and explain this fact in more detail in the findings of the current study. The various population groups in South Africa make individual contributions to the LL. These contributions are motivated by their different socio-economic compositions and their new roles within the transformed society.

Cenoz and Gorter (2009) suggest an economic perspective to the study of the LL. In their study they argue that language has economic value. They use the Contingent Valuation Method which was previously applied to environmental economics. By applying this method Cenoz and Gorter (2009) suggest that the economic value of LL research can be determined by focusing on the non-market values of the LL. They show how the LL can be linked to linguistic diversity and to the economy of language as an emerging area of research.

Furthermore, according to Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) the study of multilingual landscapes aims to introduce a new perspective into theories and policies of multilingualism and to provide important information for a politics of language. They argue that the theorization of space and language fundamental to the notion of linguistic landscape does not encapsulate the various complexities of transnational multilingual mobility that is typical of many late-modern multilingual societies. Mpendukana (2009) proposes a material ethnography in his study on advertising billboards in the linguistic landscape of Khayelitsha, a Black township located on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. He contends that “a material ethnography” basically refers to the ways in which relationships of semiotic production, circulation and consumption are layered into material artefacts, such as signage, that can be analyzed linguistically (Mpendukana 2009:94). In his study he argues that the linguistic landscape is a form of linguistic re-contextualisation of resemiotizations in the public space. Mpendukana (2009:94) draws

on Bourdieu (1984) for his analysis of multilingual commercial billboards as “sites of luxury”, “sites of necessity” and “sites of implosion” in Khayelitsha. Therefore, the LL gives an indication of the distribution of multilingualism in society.

Blommaert and Huang (2010) draw on Kress (2003;2009), and Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their construction of a materialist theory of signs. Essentially, they argue that signs are material forces which have measurable effects in social life.

Drawing on the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996;2006), Sebba (2010) argues for a multimodal approach to the study of linguistic landscapes. He highlights the need for further research of multilingual texts that comprise prominent visual elements such as advertising, posters and internet web pages. In support of his argument Sebba (2010) offers a proposal for a typology of multimodal, multilingual texts through his illustrative example of how this can be applied to the analysis of a multilingual internet website.

The ethnographic approach proposed to LL studies entails consideration of the present and past histories of the linguistic landscape in place. In a seminal paper about signage in the same township, Dyers (2010) notes that English has replaced Afrikaans as the dominant language on signs in a post-apartheid South Africa. The question that arises is whether this change in the LL could be attributed to Spolsky’s (2009) ‘symbolic value condition’ which relates to language choice on signs. The researchers find that certain information on signage, such as the prices of goods and commercial slogans, are processed selectively.

Hult (2009) uses ecology of language theoretical framework in which aspects of multilingualism are explored through individual language choices in their social environment. Hult (2009) uses LL analysis and nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2003) in his study of multilingualism and language policy in Sweden.

Scollon and Scollon (2003) developed ‘geosemiotics’ which essentially focuses on the analysis of language use on signs in terms of their physical placement and social

context. Geosemiotics draws on the study of Goffman's (1981) interaction order, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) visual semiotics and place semiotics.

Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that texts can only be interpreted by analysing the social and physical context in which the texts are displayed. The focus of geosemiotics is on indexicality which can also be applied to studies of the LL. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the language on a sign can either index the community where it is used, or it can symbolize something about the product or business that is unrelated to the place in which it is located. They term the first example 'geopolitical indexing' and the second one as 'symbolization based on sociocultural associations'. For example, the use of English in the LL can symbolize foreign taste and manners, as opposed to indexing an English-speaking community.

In relation to this, Banda (2010) explores the LL of three Western Cape Universities. He draws on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotics and the emerging linguistic landscaping theories in Shohamy and Gorter (2009). The paper showcases preliminary data on languages in spaces and places, as well as placement of signage as social semiotics that produce meanings that contribute to the different identities of the three universities. Focusing on place semiotics and visual semiotics, the paper emphasizes how the placement of signs contributes to the discourse in the material world of the institutions. The author argues that, this in turn, gives the institutions social meaning and different identities.

Backhaus (2005a) explores the presence of linguistic diversity in a perceived monolingual society in Tokyo. Backhaus (2005b) deals with the presence of layering of signage as used in the sense of diachronic linguistics. Layering is the gradual changing or replacing of older signs and usually stems from a political or language regime changes. It refers to coexisting older and newer signs (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Backhaus (2007) finds an increasing presence of multilingualism in Japan in his investigation of official and non-official multilingual signs. He illustrates the differences between these signs in terms of the languages used and how they are arranged on the

signs. The notions of power and solidarity are used to interpret these differences. He finds that non-Japanese languages in top-down signs are used to express and reinforce power relations as opposed to bottom-up signs that index solidarity. He concludes that official signs reveal the power relations at play whereas non-official signs which are mostly in English reflect solidarity among different cultures. It also reflects the influence of globalization. Backhaus (2007) focuses on linguistic diversity in Tokyo. He explores code preference to show how language hierarchies are displayed on signage through spatial and graphical features. In this case, Backhaus develops coherent research parameters aimed at answering the following questions: Linguistic landscaping by whom? Linguistic landscaping for whom? Linguistic landscape *quo vadis*? The first question refers to the authors of the signs or the concept of agency. Therefore, a basic distinction is made between official and non-official signs or “top-down” and “bottom-up” signs (Backhaus 2007:57). The geographical distribution of the signs and the commercial domains in which they are used are also explored under this question. The second question refers to the readers or the intended recipients of the messages on the signs (Backhaus 2007). The third question refers to the relationship between the languages and scripts displayed on signage. It also refers to the changing patterns of language preference or code preference on signs over a period of time. Backhaus concludes that over time there has been an increase in the number of non-Japanese languages displayed in the LL. He also notes that there has been a similar increase in information content that signs convey. He summarizes that the city of Tokyo is experiencing an on-going process of linguistic diversification despite its perceived monolingualism (Backhaus 2007).

In summarizing this section, there are multiple theories that can be applied when studying linguistic landscapes. These theories intersect with various academic disciplines which can be referenced in the analysis of the LL. The applications of the theoretical frameworks that are described in the current study are negotiable within the context for which they are to be applied.

2.5 Functions of the linguistic landscape

The LL is said to perform a number of different functions. Landry and Bourhis (1997) suggest that the LL has an informational and a symbolic function while Hicks (2002) adds the mythological function. Further, Hornsby (2008) suggests that the LL could also possibly have a commercial function. The main functions of the linguistic landscape in the context of the current study are discussed in more detail below.

2.5.1 Informational function

The basic function of the LL is that specific signs display specific information. The LL is essentially about the written text that marks the public space. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997) the informational function has two aspects. Firstly, it marks the language boundaries between speech communities. Secondly, the sociolinguistic composition of a territory can be determined by the diversity of language on signs. The language on signage can also indicate language dominance and serve as an indicator of relations of power and status between languages. The dominance of a specific language indicates the power and status of one group over another (Reh 2004). It can also show that a particular language can be used for public and private signage in a specific geographical location. Furthermore, Scollon and Scollon (2003:117-120) explore the informational function as the “indexicality of the geopolitical world”. They investigate how the language displayed in the LL can index a particular society. The LL is an indication of the expected language use in a specific geographical location. The LL creates language expectancy and also indicates the extent of linguistic diversity in a specific geographical location.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) suggest that the LL reflects the difference between official language policy and the linguistic reality. According to Huebner (2006) differences in official language policy and the actual linguistic reality are indexed by the patterns of language use. Extra and Barni (2008) and Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) notes that the LL does not necessarily reflect the linguistic reality of an area. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006)

argue that the LL is merely a reflection of the linguistic resources used in the public space. Moreover, Backhaus (2006; 2008) explores the differences between top-down and bottom-up signs. He finds that the purpose of signs displayed in English or more than one language is done to give the impression of ‘foreignness’. It does not actually address the linguistic requirements of foreigners in an area per se. The LL therefore does not necessarily accurately reflect the linguistic reality of an area.

2.5.2 Symbolic function

The symbolic function is associated with power, status and identity of the speakers of a particular language in a specific area. Landry and Bourhis (1997:28) suggest that the LL can “symbolize the strength or weakness of competing ethnolinguistic groups in the intergroup setting”. Ben-Rafael (2006), Shohamy, *et al.* (2006) analyzed public signage in Israel and developed a sociological framework for the symbolic construction of the public space. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003) the presence of an individual’s own language on signage creates the belief that the language has value and status. They argue that the authorities exercise socio-political control over society through the discourses displayed in the public space.

During the apartheid years in South Africa, for example, Afrikaans was the preferred language of government communication. Based on my personal observations in the Western Cape, specifically, official signs were sometimes translated into English and isiXhosa as well. In this case, Afrikaans would usually be displayed at the top of multilingual signs and sometimes alternated with English. The isiXhosa translation would be placed at the bottom of the sign with English in the middle. These translations were mostly used on warning or prohibitory signs. For example, high voltage electrical facilities would display warning messages in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa as ‘Danger’, ‘Gevaar’, ‘Ingozi’, in this particular order on the sign. According to Edelman (2010) government authorities easily dominate the official signage domain. This enables authorities to display ideological messages that could influence society. The private domain can be used to protest by either displaying or excluding certain languages on

signs. Thus, according to Coulmas (2009:14) writing “embodies the dialectics of power and resistance”. An example of such resistance and protest is the presence of graffiti in the LL. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) noted that non-Israeli Palestinians in Eastern Jerusalem did not use Hebrew in bottom-up signs. In doing so, they denied the official language of Israel any status at that level. Furthermore, Shohamy (2006:110) suggests that the LL is a language policy mechanism and argues that “[t]he display of language transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent”.

Additionally, Barker and Giles (2002) argue that the LL contributes to the changing attitudes of host communities towards other communities that are present within a given area. Related to this, the LL is also used to create identities (Curtin 2007). More so, some studies argue that in some areas multilingual signage is merely tokenism and that it does not accurately reflect the linguistic reality. For example, Brown (2007) questions whether the use of Belarusian on public signs in Belarus reflects a genuine effort to preserve the national language.

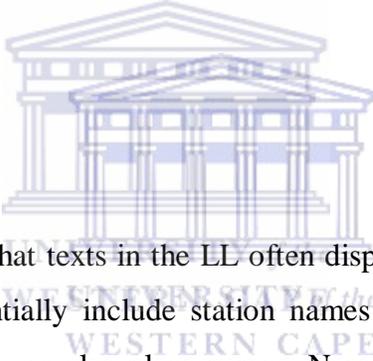
In another study, Hornsby (2008) explores whether the use of the minority language, Breton, on public signage in Brittany increases the use of the language in other informal domains. He argues that the use of Breton on public signage is associated with tourism and commoditization and therefore does not actually contribute to increased use of the language. Another example is given by Lou (2009) and Leeman and Modan (2009) respectively. These two case studies illustrate how a bilingual Chinatown in Washington, DC is transformed into a commodity.

2.5.3 Mythological function

Hicks (2002) analyzes the Gaelic revitalization in Scotland and adds the mythological function to the LL. He suggests that place names reflect the traditional culture of ethnolinguistic groups through their associations with myths, stories and folklore. The signs displayed in the LL can therefore function as a means to preserve history, bygone

cultures and other related beliefs. In this regard, place names have symbolic value in that they can serve as remnants of traditional cultures (Edelman 2010). In this way, place names that have mythological content function in that they give the in-group a sense of place and belonging to a particular area. These place names are significant to indigenous cultures, especially in South Africa, where people suffered racial segregation during the apartheid years. The same would be true for many other parts of the world where people have suffered genocides and other atrocities. In many cases, the surviving place name is all that remains of a particular culture. Place names, therefore, serve as a marker of traditional culture in the LL. It also demarcates present and past linguistic boundaries. From this perspective, Hicks (2002) finds that names in the LL serve to identify communities and nations. Thus, the replacing of an existing name with a new name takes something away from the community and adds to the language group from which the new name originates.

2.6 Place names



Edelman (2010) explains that texts in the LL often display proper nouns. Proper nouns in the current study essentially include station names and commercial brand names. Some of the station names are also place names. Names play an important role in the LL, especially place names and commercial brand names. Many of the signs found in the LL are advertisements. According to Piller (2003) advertisements typically consist of a headline, illustration, main text, slogan, product name, and standing details such as the address of the business or organization. Piller (2000:267) notes that “[t]he brand name is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad”. Expounding her study on language contact phenomena in advertising, Piller (2003) finds that the product name is the part of the text which is most often displayed in a foreign language. Salih and El-Yasin (1994) explored the aim of using foreign names in shops in Jordan. They interviewed customers about their attitudes toward shop names in foreign languages. They found that most customers associate foreign names with high-quality and expensive products. Edelman (2010) suggests that the language of proper names could influence people to buy a commodity. She argues that proper names appeal to the

emotions and do not necessarily give factual information; therefore an important function of proper names in the LL is to convey an emotion. In this study, the names of stations, place names, advertising signs, brand names and other commercial names, such as the names on shop fronts are included in the analysis of LL items.

2.7 Transgressive semiotics in the LL

The term 'transgressive' can be defined as "to break a rule or law", "to go beyond a restriction or limit" (*The Oxford Student's dictionary* 2002:1122). Therefore, transgression is about behaviour that transgresses rules and goes beyond social and cultural norms (Pennycook 2007). Based on this, Scollon and Scollon (2003) develop transgressive semiotics. For them, transgressive semiotics entails the study of any sign that is in the 'wrong' place. In this respect, a sign that is in the wrong place has to do with the idea of authorization. Therefore, graffiti falls within the realm of unauthorized signs in that it is seen to be transgressive. The reason for this is that, despite the fact that the graffiti is in place, it is not authorized. These types of signs are usually prohibited by the authorities. When and where language appears in the world also works within a system of meaning in the case of conveying authorization. However, what is 'transgressive' at one time can become itself a semiotic system that can be used symbolically at another time or in another place (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Commenting on graffiti, Pennycook (2007:302) suggests that graffiti is a "transgressive global art". He argues that graffiti is a component of worldwide hip-hop culture. It is also an element of "global transcultural flows and subcultural practices of space" (Pennycook 2007:302). The graffiti in the LL could reflect the social attitudes of a particular community (Stocker *et al.* 1972 in Gonos, Mulkern and Poushinsky 1976:41). However, Gonos *et al.* (1976) argue that the relationship between graffiti and the ideals of dominant groups in society could vary inversely with the incidence of graffiti. Further, Halliday (1976:576) describes transgressive semiotics as an "anti-language". He suggests that it is a "means of realization" for individuals that use it for self-expression. Thus, transgressive semiotics, such as graffiti, can be regarded as a form of

anti-language. It goes against the accepted conventions in society. According to Halliday (1976:576), the existence of an anti-language (graffiti), implies “a preoccupation with the definition and defence of identity” through the daily functioning of hierarchy in society. It may also imply a certain notion about a specific awareness or knowledge. Halliday therefore suggests that graffiti is the language of an anti-society. An anti-society is defined as a “society that is set up within another society as a conscious alternative to it” (Halliday 1976:571).

Some of the features of graffiti are that it uses many abbreviations and that it deliberately deviates from spelling and other grammatical conventions. Graffiti also makes use of numbers in the representation of words. According to Halliday (1976) conversation is an important factor in the maintenance of reality. The incidence of graffiti may index a conversation that is taking place between the writer and the intended readership which maintains a particular reality.

There are a number of types of graffiti and some of the common types of graffiti displayed in the LL include, bathroom/toilet graffiti (Ferris 2010), political graffiti, tagging and gang graffiti (Adams and Winter 1997). Graffiti in the LL is usually displayed on walls. It may also occur on pavements, fences, buildings and even on vehicles such as trains, as in the present study. Spray paint is the preferred medium for writing graffiti. Other mediums such as paint and ink pens are also used to write graffiti. Adams and Winter (1997:338) point out that the backdrops or canvass for graffiti are known as “walls”, irrespective of where the graffiti occurs. An appreciation of the fixed vocabulary used in graffiti writing is necessary to interpret the text.

According to Stanchfield (2006) graffiti is a component of the hip-hop youth culture that developed in North America in the 1970s and notes that graffiti is the visual art that complements the hip-hop music and dance. Hip-hop is a street culture that developed as a means for self-expression among the impoverished American youth (Stanchfield 2006). Graffiti is usually associated with urban decline and gangsterism (Arsene 2010). Stanchfield (2006) identifies three basic types of graffiti which include the ‘tag’, the

‘throw-up’ and the ‘piece’. Tags are painted where the writer has limited time and is usually done in a difficult area to write. Adams and Winter (1997) argue that the main aim of tagging is for exposure and acknowledgement within the subculture. Throw-ups are done when the writer has more time and is in a more secure place. The term ‘piece’ is an abbreviation for the word masterpiece. A masterpiece refers to a graffiti mural that entails detailed spray painted artwork.

Pennycook (2010) explains that the tag is the most basic form of graffiti. Tags include the writer’s logo or stylized signature. A throw-up refers to a hastily painted work with one layer of spray paint and an outline or bubble letters. A ‘buff’ is described as the removal or covering up of graffiti. A ‘blockbuster’ consists of large, square letters. A ‘bomb’ is done to cover tags, throw-ups, buffs and pieces (Pennycook 2010). According to Pennycook (2010:2) graffiti in the LL forms part of the four main components of the wider hip-hop culture which comprises “rapping, scratching, and break-dancing”. However, he argues that graffiti can be seen as a distinctive subculture in its own right. The presence of graffiti in the LL could serve as an expression of socio-cultural or socio-political ideals. Pennycook (2010) argues that graffiti is generally regarded as transgressive in the public space whether graffiti artists are commissioned to do legal work or not. Graffiti artists argue that billboards and other legal advertising displayed in the LL are more of an eyesore than graffiti. The central questions that arise are as follows: Who should have access to display texts in the public space? Who decides what texts in the LL are transgressive?

Metrorail experiences huge challenges with graffiti along the railway network throughout the Western Cape. Millions of Rand are spent annually for the removal of graffiti. The incidence of graffiti in the LL is a regular item on the agenda at Metrorail management meetings and rail commuter forums. The Western Cape, particularly the city of Cape Town, offers tourists to the Mother City various well-known attractions, such as the cable car trips to Table Mountain, the open-topped bus rides along Chapman’s Peak Drive and the boat cruises to Robben Island, to name but a few.

However, despite its notoriety, one of the lesser-known attractions is the city's 'urban art', graffiti (Arsene 2010).

2.8 Methodological considerations

Edelman (2010) argues that LL studies pose various challenges to researchers because the LL is usually multimodal. Language and text represent only one of various modes available in the public space. As such, various methodological and theoretical issues come to the fore. These issues influence the quality of the studies and make comparison between studies difficult. Some of the key issues are discussed in Backhaus (2007), Gorter (2006), Pavlenko (2009), and Spolsky (2009). The main challenges encountered include the sampling, the unit of analysis and the categorization of signs. According to Shohamy and Gorter (2009), there are various theoretical shortcomings and no consistent methodology at present. Despite these shortcomings, a number of common factors are nonetheless present in many of the previous studies. Gorter (2006b) and Backhaus (2005a) highlight three key methodological aspects that must be taken into account when undertaking LL research. Firstly, the survey area must be identified and must be linked to the main aims of the study. Secondly, the unit of analysis must be clearly defined in terms of what constitutes a sign. Lastly, the categorization or grouping of the signs must be determined.

Backhaus (2005a:56-60) poses three fundamental questions which relate to Ben-Rafael's (2009) four structuration principals and Spolsky's (2009) three conditions for language choice on signs:

- i) Linguistic landscaping by whom – the authors of signs.
- ii) Linguistic landscaping for whom – the intended audience.
- iii) Linguistic landscape *quo vadis* – the changing patterns of language use in the LL.

Observations about the sign writers could be explained in terms of the principle of presentation of self, as well as the condition to write in a language you know. The good-

reason principle and Spolsky's (2009) presumed reader condition refers to observations about the intended readership. The question about linguistic landscape *quo vadis* is linked to the aims of the study. Spolsky's (2009) symbolic value condition and Ben-Rafael's (2006) third and fourth principles, collective identity and power-relations, could be used to clarify observations.

2.8.1 Quantitative versus qualitative approach to linguistic landscaping

Previous studies of the LL applied various methodologies. Some studies used quantitative approaches while others used qualitative approaches. There are also a number of studies that used the mixed method approach. Essentially, quantitative studies entail the selection of the survey area, the collection of data and the description of data. Some of the previous studies used detailed descriptions of the LL items as opposed to using photographs (Brown 2007). Hanauer (2010) used advanced robotic photographic equipment to capture the LL items whereas Barni and Bagna (2009) used a triangulated approach with the aid of computer technology. The triangulated method combined photographs with descriptions and recorded locations where the photographs were taken. This method enabled a more detailed analysis of the LL items found.

The analysis of LL items involves counting the signs and grouping the signs into various categories, such as the distribution of languages on signs and the various types of signs found. The taxonomy and classification of signs facilitate the analysis of the patterns of language use in the LL when doing a quantitative analysis. Most often, the methods used by researchers for the categorization of signs include grouping signs into the languages on the signs in terms of whether the signs are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. Signs are further grouped into the types of signs in terms of agency/authorship (official or non-official). Signs may also be grouped into function and use, such as place names, shop signs, advertisements, warnings, street names, etc. Signs may also be grouped in terms of code preference (Backhaus 2007; Scollon and Scollon 2003). Signs may be grouped in terms of the material from which they are manufactured which could enable the researcher to distinguish between permanent or temporary signs (Reh 2004; Spolsky

and Cooper 1991). Signs can be stationary or mobile in terms of spatial mobility of the sign carriers (Reh 2004). Official surveys and language policy documents may also be used in the analysis of the LL items.

Qualitative studies describe signs in terms of spatial, linguistic, and content analysis. This usually relies on more details and variables than the categorization of signs that are available to a researcher. A few examples would include the colours used on signs (Malinowski 2009), the direction of the text (Scollon and Scollon 2003), the intended meaning of the message (Curtin 2007), the images and the perception of the area or sign (Shohamy and Waksman 2009). Qualitative studies may also include interviews with the intended readers of signs and the authors of signs. Qualitative-only studies may provide limited insight into the LL because of potential bias in the selection of the sample for the analyses. It is also difficult to identify trends and dynamics in the LL based solely on qualitative data. The LL is multimodal and therefore requires a mixed method approach in the analysis of LL items. This study therefore relies on a combination of statistical data through quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis to yield more reliable research findings.

2.8.2 Synchronic or diachronic approach to linguistic landscaping

Most of the previous LL case studies discussed in this chapter are synchronic in nature and capture the language situation as it was at the time of data collection only. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) use a diachronic approach in their analysis of signs in the streets of Jerusalem. They found that languages, their order and translation on signs were subject to change depending on who was in power. Backhaus (2005; 2007) also uses a diachronic approach in his study of Tokyo. He compared older signs with newer ones to illustrate the changes in signage over time. Backhaus (2007) suggests a diachronic approach because it enables the researcher to capture the dynamic nature of the LL within a given area. This approach also enables the researcher to assess changes in the LL and to interpret the aspects that influence those changes. This is because language in the public space serves as a platform for power struggle and affirmation and also

linguistic and ethnolinguistic conflicts. It is also a platform for the expression of identity and beliefs of individuals and groups in society. According to Backhaus, synchronic studies of the same areas done at different intervals do not reveal these dynamic trends as effectively as diachronic studies do.

2.8.3 Survey area in linguistic landscaping

Most of the previous LL studies were done in urban built-up public spaces. The study by Kotze and Du Plessis (2010) is an exceptional example of a LL study that was conducted in a rural village public space in the Free State Province of South Africa. A public space is defined as “every space in the community or the society that is not private property, such as streets, parks or public institutions” (Ben-Rafael 2009: 40-41). According to Edelman (2010) the criteria for the selection of a survey area in any space will depend on the purpose of the study. However, Gorter (2006b) and Gorter and Cenoz (2008) argue that clarifying the survey area is not sufficient. They stress that language representation is also important. Backhaus (2005a) supports this view and suggests that in addition to defining the survey area, the geographical spread of language trends must also be taken into account. He includes the concept of sign density which basically refers to the average number of signs per metre for each area. However, for some LL studies, it may not be necessary that the survey area be representative (Cenoz and Gorter 2006). In such studies, a complete quantitative inventory of all the signs in the area would enable a researcher to do a reliable analysis of the linguistic situation.

2.8.4 Unit of analysis in linguistic landscaping

Backhaus (2007:66) defines a sign as “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame”. He counts all the signs in a photograph as one item whereas Cenoz and Gorter (2006) count each individual sign as a unit of analysis. Texts in the LL can be displayed on stationary and mobile objects (Reh 2004). Texts can also be displayed on temporary and permanent signs (Spolsky and Cooper 1991). Another important aspect is the text size or font size. For example, Hult (2009) used photographs that

would be visible to readers at street level. According to Huebner (2009) equal consideration must be given to all signs in the survey area, irrespective of the size and placement of the text on the sign. Arguably, the definition of the unit of analysis is a methodological consideration that requires further development. There are various approaches used as criteria to determine which texts are included or excluded in a LL study. The unit of analysis and which texts will form part of a LL study must therefore be clearly defined in the research methodology. This is what this study did.

2.8.5 Categorization of signage

Related to the unit of analysis, there are also various approaches for the categorization of signs. The categorization of signs will generally be determined by the focus of the research. According to Gorter and Cenoz (2008) it is difficult to compare some LL studies because of the different types of coding schemes used by the various researchers. The majority of LL studies focus on the spread of the dominant and/or minority languages in society. For example, Backhaus (2007) focuses on the emerging multilingualism in Tokyo and developed a methodology to distinguish between monolingual and multilingual signs in the LL. Reh (2004) categorized texts according to the arrangement of information on multilingual signs. According to the classification of texts by Reh (2004), duplicating writing gives an exact translation of the entire message into other languages whereas fragmentary writing involves the translation of selected parts of the text. Overlapping writing is where one part of the text is displayed in two or more languages and other parts are given in different languages while complementary writing presupposes a multilingual author. There is no overlapping of information given in different languages (Reh 2004).

2.8.6 Agency in linguistic landscaping

A basic distinction is made between top-down and bottom-up signs in LL (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006). The definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997:26) clarifies the differentiation between private and governmental signs in linguistic landscape studies as follows:

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

Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006:10) define top-down signage as signs displayed by “institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local and central policies” whereas bottom-up signs are displayed by “individual, associative or corporative agents who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits”. According to Calvet (in Backhaus, 2005a:41) the significance of these distinctions is that it presents “two different ways of marking the territory”. Thus, top-down and bottom-up signs contribute differently to LL. Top-down signs are generally regulated by official government policy and legislation. Although bottom-up signs are authored by private individuals or organisations and enjoy a certain degree of freedom of expression, they are also in some way subject to government regulations. However, Landry and Bourhis (1997) argue that bottom-up signage display greater linguistic diversity than top-down signage because it is generally less controlled. This is particularly true in democratic societies where the freedom of expression is governed by legislation (RSA 1996). Bottom-up signage should therefore generally more accurately reflect the sociolinguistic make-up of an area than top-down signage.

2.8.7 Code preference

The selection or development of a suitable coding scheme for the analysis of LL items enable researchers to determine code preference. Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) system of geosemiotics is generally used as a framework for this purpose. The languages on multilingual signs do not share the same space. For example, one language will always be displayed in a more prominent position on the sign and the other. The placement of languages on a sign therefore usually gives an indication of which language is the

preferred code. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that in most Western contexts, texts displayed on top, the left, or in the centre of signs are usually more prominent within a geosemiotic framework. They argue that a choice must be made regarding which language will take the dominant position on a sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) note that for languages written from left to right there are basically three possibilities. Firstly, if the languages are aligned vertically, the preferred code is located above the secondary code. Secondly, if they are aligned horizontally, the preferred code is located in the left position and the secondary code is placed in the right position. The third possibility is that the preferred code is located in the centre. The secondary code is placed on the margins of the sign. They point out that salience can offset this code preference. For example, the language in the lower position of a sign is displayed in large letters or more prominent font than the language in the top position.

In addition to the placement of the text on a sign, the different fonts or letter forms, the shape, size, colour, accompanying images and repetitions must also be considered in determining code preference (Scollon and Scollon 2003). According to Huebner (2006) the placement of language on signs must be compared with the amount of information given in a language to determine code preference. The placement of text and font size can be offset by other features such as the colour, images and amount of text on the sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the type of material used and the medium of inscription can indicate permanence or temporality. The incidence of layering can also indicate temporality. Layering refers to “coexisting older and newer signs” (Scollon and Scollon 2003:137). Layering is also discussed by Backhaus (2005b) in terms of diachronic linguistics. According to Reh (2004) the arrangement of languages and scripts on multilingual signs can also be used to determine code preference.

As part of their framework of geosemiotics, Scollon and Scollon (2003:205) discuss the notion of the “dialogicality of language”. They argue that all signs in the linguistic landscape function collectively and that there is always dynamism among signs. Each individual sign indexes a discourse that authorizes its placement. However, once the sign is in place, it is not isolated from other surrounding signs. In a sense, the signs in

the linguistic landscape ‘speak to each other’. The analysis of code preference in the current study is informed by Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) framework of geosemiotics.

2.9 Multimodality and the influence of globalization in the linguistic landscape

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) introduced a new approach to reading visual images with the publication of their book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. They argue that visual images can be read as ‘text’ and that the metaphor of ‘grammar’ can be applied to the study of visuals. In this view, ‘grammar’ is a set of socially constructed resources for the construction of meaning, as opposed to being a set of rules for the correct use of language. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) this ‘grammar’ can be used by individuals to shape the subjectivities of others. They suggest a concept of the 'semiotic landscape' which has boundaries, a history, specific features, and landmarks. They believe that visual design, like language and all semiotic modes, is socially constructed. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) provide a framework for interpreting visual semiotics in terms of categories such as left- right, up-down, front-back, centre-margin, colour and saturation. This framework is useful for the study and analysis of multilingual signs in the linguistic landscape. The technological advancement in visual communication in recent years has significantly impacted the semiotic landscape. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) suggest its importance could be attributed to the cultural diversification that has transpired within Western societies, along with the effects of globalization.

According to Spolsky (2009) there is a distinction between local and global signs. Global signs are basically reproductions of international advertisements as used worldwide. According to Spolsky (2009) the languages used on these signs would seem immaterial. However, according to Edelman (2010) proper nouns and brand names affect the results of LL studies and reveal important information of the linguistic situation. Many scholars have investigated the prominence of English in the LL. Backhaus (2006:56-57) attests to this:

Owing to both its wide communicative range and its high prestige value worldwide, English is the language omnipresent in virtually all of the linguistic landscapes, irrespective of whether or not it is actually spoken by any sizable share of the population.

Therefore, the prevalence of English in most LL studies can be attributed to globalization. English in the LL can be found at various sites, such as tourist attractions or urban locations that have mixed sociolinguistic groups. In these instances English serves as the lingua franca. Huebner (2006) argues that the perception that English in Bangkok is aimed mainly at tourists and other foreigners is not necessarily accurate. Backhaus (2007) concurs with Huebner regarding the use of English in Tokyo. While, Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) suggest that in Israel, English is used for tourism and it also indicates prestige. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) posit that English is used because it has the status of the language of international communication. In their research that presents an economic approach to the study of the LL, Cenoz and Gorter (2009) point out the benefits of using English within the context of globalization. They argue that throughout the world, multilingual signs tend to include English which can be associated with “markets of production, consumption, international orientation, modernity, success, sophistication and fun” (2009:57-58).

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the theoretical frameworks that inform the current study. Although a number of earlier studies of the written text on signs in the public space were conducted prior to the late 1990s, most LL studies were done in the 21st century. The notion of LL was discussed as an approach to research in multilingualism. The definition of the LL by Landry and Bourhis (1997) forms the basis for most LL studies conducted in recent years. It has been revealed that studies of the LL are interdisciplinary and therefore require a multiple theory approach. Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) are particularly interested in the construction of the LL by different agents. Ben-Rafael (2009) contributes to the field by presenting four sociological principles of

structuration. Spolsky (2009), following earlier research by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) addresses the motivations behind language choice on signs. The relationships between language groups may be expressed in the LL as a whole, but also on individual signs. Regarding the choice and placement of languages on signs, the ideas of Reh (2004) and Scollon and Scollon (2003) were introduced. The role of proper names on signs was also discussed in the context of the current study. Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) contribution to the analysis of multimodal texts is discussed, followed by a summary of the influence of globalization and the role of English in the LL.

In the chapter that follows, I discuss the research design and methodology.



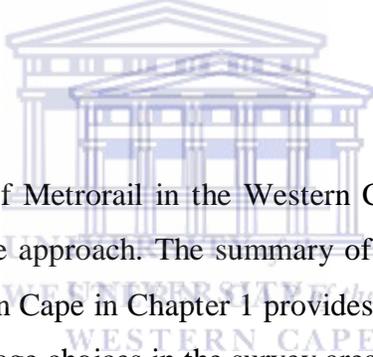
Chapter 3

Research design and methodology

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I give a detailed description of the research design and methodology used. The chapter offers a discussion on the research design employed in the study, the survey area (research sites), the research methods used to collect the data and the procedure of data analysis. The discussion is informed by the methodological issues highlighted in previous LL case studies as summarized in Chapter 2.

3.1 Research design



The linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape has been explored using a quantitative and qualitative approach. The summary of the historical and demographic composition of the Western Cape in Chapter 1 provides the background for the analysis and interpretation of language choices in the survey area. The demographic information, taken from census data, places the study into a broader context. The main methodological aspects entail the identification of the survey area, the unit of analysis and the categorization of the LL items (Gorter 2006b; Backhaus 2005a) which are further discussed below. For quantitative analyses, taxonomies and classifications enable the researcher to determine the patterns of language use in the linguistic landscape.

Therefore, this study follows the methodology used in previous LL research in that it entails consideration of the choices of the individual languages in which texts are displayed on signage. In as much as previous LL studies used various methodologies in their approach to LL, for example, there are quantitative-only studies on LL and qualitative-only approaches. There are also a number of studies that use a combined

approach. Scholars generally accept that quantitative and qualitative aspects of scientific investigation are complementary. A combined quantitative and qualitative approach enables a researcher to create a defined corpus and allows for observations about language use in the public space. It is in this regard that the empirical study conducted of the signs displayed along the Metrorail network in the Western Cape relied on both a quantitative and qualitative approach.

3.1.1 Quantitative research

When doing the quantitative research, the taxonomy and classification of signs facilitated the analysis of the patterns of language use in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The signs that were found along the Metrorail network in the Western Cape were captured on digital camera, counted and categorized into top-down and bottom-up signs. The signs were then further sub-divided into genre, function and the distribution of the different languages on the signs. The quantitative results were analyzed by compiling statistical graphs and tables which enabled the researcher to extrapolate information about the language spread in the Western Cape.

3.1.2 Qualitative research

The qualitative research described the signs found in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in terms of the spatial and linguistic content. In addition, a sample of commuters were randomly selected and asked what their views were about multilingualism at Metrorail sites. Essentially, the qualitative analysis was done to reveal insights into the differences in the patterns of language use in terms of code preference in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. In addition to the code preference, the functional and symbolic values of the languages on the signs were analyzed to explore the identities and power relations that influence and shape the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape.

3.2 Description of the survey area and sampling procedure

Metrorail in the Western Cape was selected as a research site because it is the backbone of public transport services to commuters in the province (SARCC 2008). More than one million passenger trips are undertaken by commuters per day in the region. Metrorail commutes significantly more passengers than those carried by all other modes of transport, such as busses, minibus taxis and private vehicles combined. It is estimated that rail has a 53 percent public transport modal share, while minibus-taxis and busses have 29 percent and 18 percent respectively. The main reason for this preference therefore is that rail transport is the most cost effective mode of public transport in South Africa. Also, rail travel offers benefits over road-based travel in terms of safety and time saving because it has a dedicated right-of-way. The Metrorail network penetrates extensively in terms of middle to high income areas. It also caters significantly for low income areas. Thus, rail transport has ready access to attract a wide range of commuters.

The signage displayed along the Metrorail railway network serves to indicate the dynamics shaping the linguistic landscape in the Western Cape region. The Western Cape comprises five district municipalities and the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (SSA 2007). Each area has its own unique sociolinguistic and ethno-cultural compositions. The individual sites selected for this study are used by nearly half of the total number of daily Metrorail commuters in the entire Western Cape. These commuters account for approximately 25 percent of all commuters across the various modes of transport available in the region. The significance of this information is that it places the survey area into a broader sociolinguistic context.

Given the huge area that Metrorail covers, sampling becomes a critical issue. In this vein, sampling is done when the entire survey area cannot be covered through comprehensive data collection. It is important to note that sampling could result in over-generalizing the findings (Backhaus 2007; Gorter 2006b). Sampling in this study was purposive as all the signs found in the selected sites in the study were sampled. The

research sites selected for this study included those stations which had the highest numbers of daily commuters, according to the Metrorail customer survey results (PRASA 2008). Given that these sites were used by the majority of the daily Metrorail commuter population in the Western Cape, ensured that the findings were representative. It was found necessary to sample out signs from the survey area for the analysis. The data of the LL items sampled in the survey area were used for the quantitative analysis in chapter 4. The geographic spread of linguistic trends was taken into account and the sites included in this study were explored separately to analyze their respective and combined contributions to the LL in detail.

In addition to the sampling of signage, a cross-section comprising of about twelve Metrorail commuters were asked for their opinions on how they perceive signage along the railways. This was done to gain insights about how commuters view signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail.

3.3 Data collection

The method of capturing signs as developed by Backhaus (2005a) was followed. The data were collected over a period of three months from the beginning of May to the end of July 2010. This period coincided with the month during which the FIFA World Cup Soccer Tournament was held in South Africa from the 11th of June to the 11th July 2010. A synchronic approach was used and only items that displayed written text were considered. Although there were instances of signs with only pictures, emblems, pictograms or numbers, these signs were not counted because this study is primarily concerned with the written text that marks the public space. The LL items included in this study were legible and visible at street level and the specific station platform level. The method of data collection involved taking photographs of the official and non-official signs displayed in the LL and also asking a cross-section of about twelve commuters to comment on how they perceive signage along the railways. The equipment used for capturing signs for this study was a Pentax 5.0 megapixel digital camera. More than 800 photographs were taken during the period of data collection,

covering a distance of more than 400 kilometres of railway track. Unclear, incomplete and duplicated images were not included in the final analysis. Photographs of the same sign were included in the analysis more than once, only in cases where there was text on the sign in a different language or different combination of languages. In the end, a total of 401 separate photographs were distinguished and included for this study.

3.4 Determining the unit of analysis

The unit of analysis has been defined in various ways by researchers of the LL (Cenoz and Gorter 2006; Coulmas 2009; Spolsky 2009; Huebner 2009). Backhaus (2005a:96) defines a sign as “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame” and counts all the signs in a photograph as one item whereas Cenoz and Gorter (2006) on the other hand, count each individual sign as a unit of analysis. Given that the focus of the present study was on the distribution of languages displayed along the Metrorail network in the Western Cape, the exposure of rail commuters to languages in the survey area was of primary importance. Shohamy and Waksman (2009) suggest that studies of the linguistic landscape should include all written text displayed in the public space. However, scholars of the LL argue that this view is problematic because it is too inclusive. The focus of this study was therefore on the distribution of the language of written texts displayed on signs in the public space. These signs are relatively permanent. Also, all readable texts on individual signs at the selected sites in the survey area are included. Following Cenoz and Gorter (2006) each individual sign is counted as a unit of analysis. Signs can be stationary or mobile in terms of spatial mobility of sign carriers (Reh 2004). Given that the survey area incorporates the Metrorail network, stationary signs as well as mobile signs on trains, were included for the purposes of this study.

3.5 Data analysis

Data analysis involved doing the following based on the photographs taken: categorizing of signs, identifying agency by distinguishing between private and public

signs, establishing languages present/code preferences and the quantification of the data. In the sections that follow, I explain and show how each one of them has been used in the analysis.

3.5.1 Categorization of signs

There are various approaches for the categorization of signs. The categorization of signs is largely determined by the focus of the research. The coding scheme developed for the categorization of official signs in this study was informed by the old SARCC signage guidelines (2007) and the new PRASA Public Wayfinding Guidelines in PRASA (2010). The official sign categories comprise station names, information, identification and regulatory-prohibitory-warning signs. The coding scheme for the non-official signs is informed by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006). The non-official sign categories comprise shop fronts, billboards, posters, other advertising signs and graffiti. The code preference is also taken into account and is informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) system of geosemiotics.

3.5.2 Identifying agency in the linguistic landscape

Landry and Bourhis (1997) distinguish between private and government signs. Government signs are displayed by official authorities while private signs are displayed by private initiative (individual, group or corporate). Generally, LL researchers refer to top-down and bottom-up signs (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, *et al.*, 2006). The two types of signs differ in terms of autonomy in sign design and language usage. Official signs are regulated by legislation. On the other hand, private signs tend to be more representative of the actual sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic diversity and roles of languages in the area. The main reason for this is that the authors of private signs have a greater degree of freedom than those of official signs. Barni and Bagna (2009) propose the development of a broader classification based on a continuum scale, as opposed to simply top-down and bottom-up signs. Given that there is currently no scholarly consensus in terms of further developments in the top-down and bottom-up

dichotomy, the LL items in this study are categorized as top-down and bottom-up. The analysis of agency is informed by Ben-Rafael (2006).

3.5.2.1 Top-down signs

As alluded to above, the focus of this study was on the signage displayed along the Metrorail railway network in the Western Cape. The official top-down agency in this study is Metrorail, a division of the PRASA. PRASA is a government agency that resides within the National Department of Transport. It is important to note that Metrorail is not the only government agency that displays signs in the survey area. The signs displayed at the Railway Police premises are also top-down signs. These signs are displayed by the South African Police Services (SAPS) and not by Metrorail. The signs displayed by other government agencies are included in the analysis in the official sign categories. This approach follows previous LL studies that counted all signs authored by governmental organizations as official signs.

Although top-down signs in the LL perform various functions, the top-down signs along the public railway system are displayed with the aim to largely perform an informational function in the LL. In this study, top-down signs display information about trains and the related infrastructure. However, the top-down signs also serve to mark station names, identify objects, facilities or infrastructure, display information, warnings and prohibitions or give directions. In a South African context, regulatory-warning-prohibitory signs generally have specific properties in that they are more likely to be multilingual. Given the South African government's inclusive language policies that take cognizance of multilingualism, multiculturalism and ethnolinguistic diversity, it is ironic that many of the LL items found in some of the other top-down sign categories tend to be largely monolingual.

3.5.2.2 Bottom-up signs

Bottom-up signs in the LL include commercial signs on shops and businesses, commercial advertising and billboards, and other commercial signs (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Bottom-up signs are displayed by private individuals or businesses, with relative freedom of autonomy and within legislation Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006). In the study by Backhaus (2007) non-official signs are mostly in English. Backhaus argues that the use of English in bottom-up signs reflects solidarity among different cultures. It also reflects the influence of globalization. The non-official bottom-up sign categories in this study include shop fronts, billboards, posters, other advertising signs and graffiti.

In most LL studies, signs in the bottom-up domain account for the majority of signs found in the LL. Cenoz and Gorter (2009) focus on the economic value of language whereas Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) and Mpendukana (2009) discuss consumerism in the LL. The categorization of the bottom-up signs in this study allows for the analysis of the various target markets or intended readership of the bottom-up agents operating in the LL. For example, Coca-Cola as a brand is pervasive in the LL of Metrorail. Related to the top-down signs, the bottom-up signs also largely serve an informational function. It also serves to mark the territory, for example buildings, organizations or brands. It also aims to persuade or influence the behaviour of the intended audience, for example, to buy a product or service or to change behaviour.

3.6 Languages present

The general methodological approach was to categorize the signs into the languages represented on the signs. The official languages on signs according to the Constitution of RSA (1996) were generally easily identified. South Africa, especially the Western Cape is a diverse, multicultural society with a history of colonialism and imperialism. For this reason the presence of foreign languages in the linguistic landscape were also taken into account. The station names were counted according to the languages in which the station name is displayed on the sign. Although the actual name of the station is

displayed in a specific language, other information may be displayed alongside the station name on the same sign but in another language. In cases where the actual station name was in more than one language, the sign would be counted into the appropriate bilingual or multilingual category. This methodology follows some of the previous LL case studies which generally ignored the presence of multilingualism on place names (Kotze 2010; Edelman 2010).

3.7.1 Identifying code preference

The methodology used to distinguish code preference in this study is informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of geosemiotics. Usually one language is perceived to be displayed in a more prominent position on bilingual and multilingual signs. The placement of languages on signs can therefore be used to determine which language is the preferred code. In this study, the texts displayed on top, the left, or in the centre of signs were considered to be more prominent, depending on the type of sign. The different font size, colour, accompanying images and repetitions were also taken into account. The focus of the coding scheme is on the choice of languages and the manner in which they are displayed in the LL. The four research sites have unique sociolinguistic compositions which make different contributions to the LL.

3.7.2 Identifying multilingualism

For the purposes of this study the signs are categorized as either monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. The monolingual signs are grouped into the specific language displayed on the sign, for example, English or Afrikaans or isiXhosa and so on. The bilingual and multilingual signs are grouped according to the various combinations of monolingual languages displayed on the sign, for example, English-Afrikaans or English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa. The boundaries between languages are clear. With this in mind, language dominance and the various types of multilingualism were taken into account. The focus of this analysis is on the distribution of languages across domains in the survey area and also the types of multilingual combinations present. Similarly to Kotze (2010), the

incidence of the various bilingual and multilingual combinations of signs is more significant than the order of appearance of the actual individual language on the signs.

3.8 Temporary signs and layering

The type of material used and the medium of inscription can indicate permanence or temporality (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The temporality of a sign is also determined by the manner in which it is affixed. For example, signs that are affixed with some form of adhesive substance, wire or cable ties can be considered temporary. The incidence of layering can also indicate temporality. Although temporary signs were noted in the survey area, the signs were not grouped as a separate category. Instead, temporary signs and incidents of layered signage were classified and counted in the respective top-down or bottom-up categories to which they belonged.

3.9 Quantification and analysis

The data was quantified and presented according to the criteria discussed in the preceding sections in this chapter. The research parameters which include agency, readership and dynamics clarify the analytical framework. A combined quantitative and qualitative approach was used in the analysis of LL items. The quantitative analysis statistically mapped the linguistic reality faced by Metrorail commuters in the Western Cape. The quantitative analysis reveals information about the language spread in the region, more specifically, the distribution of languages on signage in the survey areas. The qualitative analysis reveals insights into differences in the patterns of language use in the Western Cape.

In order to answer the research objectives, I needed to determine what languages were represented on the various signs and how those languages were used. To facilitate the effective analysis of the LL data, I used Microsoft Excel to create the data tables and statistical graphs for this study. In addition to the above, the analysis of LL items involved counting and grouping the signs into various categories, such as the

distribution of languages on signs and the various types of signs found. The taxonomy and classification of signs facilitate the analysis of the patterns of language use in the LL for the quantitative analysis. The data were presented in terms of the languages displayed on the signs and whether the signs are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. The data were grouped in terms of agency which consists of top-down and bottom-up contributions. The signs were also grouped into function and use, for example, station names, shop fronts, billboards and so on. In this vein, the data were analyzed in terms of code preference, temporality and layering.

3.10 Conclusion

The main aim of this research project was to present an empirical study of the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape region. Considering provincial and national government's official policy to develop multilingualism in all spheres of life, the focus of the study is to explore the written language on signs in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. In this chapter, I delineated the boundaries of the survey area and I explained the quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. More specifically, I clarified decisions concerning the unit of analysis, the categorization of signs and the analysis of the data.

Chapter 4

The languages displayed in the LL of Metrorail

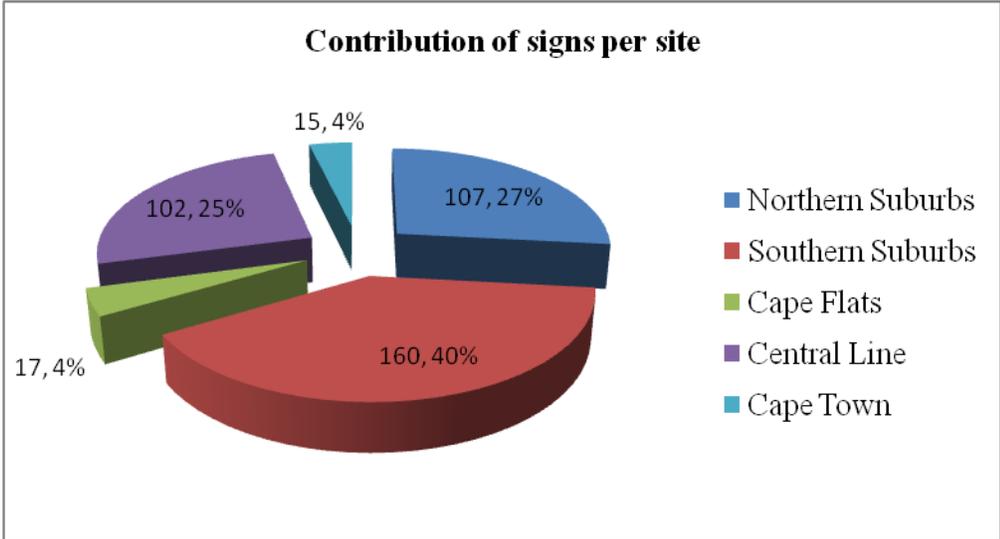
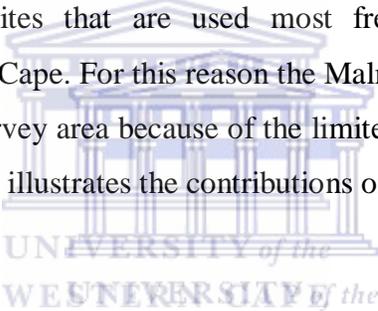
4.0 Introduction

The results of the empirical study conducted are presented in this section. I do this by firstly presenting the quantitative data in terms of the LL contributions in the survey area. Secondly, I discuss the distribution of the different languages and combinations of languages found in the survey area in terms of the categorization of the signage. Thirdly, the LL items are discussed in terms of the official and non-official agency. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the main findings of the quantitative analysis. I make use of statistical data tables and graphs to illustrate the distribution of the language used on signs in the LL of Metrorail. The qualitative results are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 LL contributions in the survey area

The Metrorail network in the Western Cape comprises four main service areas with a total of 125 stations. The LL items included in this study were selected from 58 (46 percent) of the total number of stations in the Western Cape. For the purposes of the analysis, Cape Town station is reported as a service area on its own, although it forms part of the Area iKapa service area. The reason for this decision is that all the other service areas converge at Cape Town station which is the final station in the Metrorail network for commuters travelling into the city. It therefore makes the study more meaningful to report the LL items sampled at Cape Town station independently in the context of the broader study. The methodological approach that was used for this study involved taking digital photographs of the official and non-official signage that was displayed at the selected sites. This resulted in a sample size consisting of more than 800 digital images in total. Many of the signs, particularly in the official signage category, had the same or similar signs displayed at various sites along the Metrorail network as

required by legislation. As a result, in many instances more than one photograph was taken of the same sign. I later decided to include the same sign more than once only in cases where the text was in a different language or different combinations of languages on the specific sign. Unclear, obscured or illegible signs were discarded. In the end a total of 401 separate signs were distinguished for analyses. The Southern Suburbs (Area South) contributed the largest proportion of LL items with 160 signs (40 percent) in total. This was followed by the Northern Suburbs (Area North) with 107 items (27 percent) and Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain (Area Central) with 102 items (25 percent). The Cape Flats (Area South) and Cape Town (Area iKapa) contributed 17 (4 percent) and 15 items (4 percent), respectively. Of all the linguistic landscape items included in the analyses, the top-down and bottom-up items constituted 192 signs (48 percent) and 208 signs (52 percent), respectively. This study focused on the linguistic landscape of Metrorail sites that are used most frequently by the majority rail commuters in the Western Cape. For this reason the Malmesbury-Worcester service area was not included in the survey area because of the limited train services and commuters in this area. Graph 3 below illustrates the contributions of signs in the survey area.



Graph 3: Contribution of signs per site

4.2 The languages on signage in the LL of Metrorail

The first research objective was to explore the written language displayed on texts in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region. This section provides a general overview of the linguistic landscape along the Metrorail network in terms of the languages and the combinations of languages displayed on signs. The languages on the signs are grouped into monolingual, bilingual and multilingual combinations. Table 4.1 below illustrates the languages found on signs in the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape.

Languages	Total	%
Monolingual	286	71.3%
English	255	63.6%
Afrikaans	15	3.7%
isiXhosa	12	3.0%
French	2	0.5%
Dutch	1	0.2%
Italian	1	0.2%
Bilingual	51	12.7%
English-Afrikaans	24	6.0%
English-isiXhosa	20	5.0%
English-isiZulu	4	1.0%
English-Latin	1	0.2%
English-Japanese	1	0.2%
English-Arabic	1	0.2%
Multilingual	17	4.2%
English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa	16	4.0%
English-Afrikaans-Dutch	1	0.2%
Graffiti	47	11.7%
Total	401	100%

Table 4.1: List of all the different languages found on the signs

Table 4.1 above shows the presence of 11 different languages that were found in the linguistic landscape with their corresponding distributions. Of these, 6 of the languages are displayed on monolingual signs. The remaining languages are displayed on bilingual and multilingual combinations respectively. All the bilingual items display combinations

of English and another language. The multilingual items display English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa and English-Afrikaans-Dutch combinations respectively. The English language is present on 321 (80 percent) of the total number of signs included for the analysis. The incidence of graffiti in the LL was noted. Graffiti is difficult to count as a language therefore it is counted as a separate genre instead. Monolingual signs in the LL accounts for 286 (71 percent) of the total number of signs whereas multilingual signs make up 68 (17 percent) of the total number of signs. Graffiti accounts for 47 (12 percent) of all the signs in the LL. Interestingly, Afrikaans and isiXhosa have a similar distribution in the LL. There are 15 (4 percent) monolingual Afrikaans signs and 12 (3 percent) monolingual isiXhosa signs. The bilingual English-Afrikaans signs have 24 (6 percent) LL items and the English-isiXhosa combination have 20 (5 percent) items. Not surprisingly, the presence of English dominates the LL for both monolingual and multilingual signs. Monolingual English signs account for 255 (64 percent) of the LL items. There are 51 (13 percent) bilingual English combinations and 17 (4 percent) multilingual English combinations. Monolingual signs displaying minority languages in the LL include French (2), Dutch (1) and Italian (1). Other minority languages displayed in the LL occur as bilingual combinations with English and include English-isiZulu (4), English-Latin (1), English-Japanese (1) and English-Arabic (1) bilingual combinations respectively.

Two of the minority languages are displayed on official signage in the category for station names. These station names include 'Faure' (French) and 'Stellenbosch' (Dutch), respectively. These station names are characteristic of South Africa's colonial past, where the French Huguenots (settlers), who were mainly farmers, settled in the fertile farming areas in the Northern Suburbs. Also, the Dutch settlers occupied vast areas in the Northern Suburbs that is today known as the Cape Winelands in the Stellenbosch area. The Italian language is displayed on a billboard advertisement of 'Fattis and Monis Spaghetti' which is a subsidiary of the Tiger Brands Group of companies, one of the largest food producers in South Africa. Interestingly, the English-Latin bilingual language combination is displayed on an official information sign as illustrated in Photo 4.1 below.



Photo 4.1: Information sign at Cape Town station in English and Latin

Although Latin is not a spoken language in South Africa, it is often used to display the motto of an organization and is used predominantly on official signs in a South African context. The Latin phrase ‘Spes Bona’, meaning ‘Good Hope’ is displayed on the above official sign at Cape Town station. This phrase is recognized as the motto displayed on the oldest municipal emblem in South Africa, namely, the emblem of the original Cape Town coat of arms. This particular sign dates back to around 1874-1910 when the railway in the Cape Colony was operated by the Cape Government Railways, under British rule. The sign is based on Jan Van Riebeeck’s coat of arms, with the anchor included as a symbol of ‘Good Hope’. This sign was preserved on Cape Town station during the major renovations that were done in preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, hosted by South Africa. The sign is coloured in shades of blue red and brown mosaic tiles and is situated on the floor of Cape Town station concourse. The colour blue represents the sky and the sea and the red and brown represents the land. The name ‘Cape Government Railways’ is inscribed at the top of the sign. This particular sign presently serves as a historical information sign at Cape Town station. It was preserved by PRASA to serve as a heritage monument to reflect information about the history of the Cape Colony and the period when the railways were operated by the

Cape Government Railways. In this way, the presence of this particular sign in the LL is symbolic of the identity and power relations that existed between speakers of English and other indigenous South African languages at the time. Landry and Bourhis (1997) link the notion of linguistic landscape to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality which contributes to group identity in users of a particular language. The presence and dominance of English and Latin on this sign indicates the relative demographic and institutional power of the British over other groups in the Western Cape during the 1800-1900s. The dominance of English on signs in the linguistic landscape has remained largely unchanged to this present day which is illustrated further on in this study. This is despite the fact that South Africa's Constitution boasts the most inclusive language rights policies in the world.

4.3 Categorization of signage

Table 4.2 below represents the categorization of signage in the survey area.

Agency	Category		Sampling
Top-down	1	Station names	193 (48%) of all items are top-down
	2	Information	
	3	Identification	
	4	Regulatory-prohibitive-warning	
Bottom-up	1	Billboards	208 (52%) of all items are bottom-up
	2	Shop fronts	
	3	Posters	
	4	Shop fronts	
	5	Graffiti	

Table 4.2: Categories of linguistic landscape items and sampling criteria

With reference to the categorization of the signage in Table 4.2, when comparing the new PRASA signage guidelines with the old SARCC signage guidelines there were some differences in the categorization and the unit of analysis for the signage. For example, the SARCC categories include ‘identification’, ‘information’, ‘regulatory-warning’ and ‘directional’ signs (SARCC 2007:19). On the other hand, the new PRASA categories include ‘facility identification and travel navigation’, ‘facilities navigation and informative’, ‘exit directional’ and ‘regulatory and prohibitive’ (PRASA 2010:3). Some signs in the categories ‘information’ and ‘identification’ were accompanied by directional arrows. The SARCC signage guidelines group these individually as separate signs under the categories ‘information’, ‘identification’ and ‘directional’, respectively. However, the PRASA guidelines, group these as ‘facilities navigation and informative’ and ‘facility identification and travel navigation’. These differences in categorization and the unit of analysis could result in the signage being interpreted differently which could also influence the results of the analysis. In addition to the differences between the SARCC and PRASA categorization of signage, other discrepancies in the official signage in the linguistics landscape were also noted. For instance, there was a general lack of uniformity in the types of signage found at the various sites. More specifically, four of the stations in the survey area displayed station name signage dating back prior to the 1980s.

These signs were etched in concrete as illustrated by the sign on the right hand side in Photo 4.2 below. This type of sign dates back to the period when the railway was operated by the South African Railways and Harbours. Some station names were displayed in black ink on white plastic signage boards which were erected during the 1980s as illustrated by the sign on the left hand side in Photo 4.2. Most of the other station name signage was displayed on yellow plastic signage boards in black ink that dated back to the 1990s when the railways were operated by Spoornet, a division of Transnet. Of the 58 stations sampled, 50 stations displayed the old yellow and black Spoornet signage boards that were implemented during the 1990s as illustrated in Photo 4.3 below.



Photo 4.2: SATS and SARCC signage



Photo 4.3: Spoornet signage

The newer dark blue and white signage boards illustrated in Photo 4.4 below were commissioned by the Western Cape Government and do not form part of the official PRASA (2010) signage guidelines. This type of signage forms part of the public transport modal interchanges that were constructed in preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. A number of these interchanges were built, not only in the survey area but also throughout South Africa. The presence of this type of signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail Western Cape is significant in that it could index the political strife that exists between the ANC-controlled National Government and the Western Cape Government which is controlled by the opposition Democratic Party (DA). This sign can be compared with the finding by Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, *et al.* (2006) where they found that the LL could be explored in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. The use of monolingual English in the sign in Photo 4.4 supports the notion that the LL is a symbolic construction of the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006).



Photo 4.4: New version transport interchange signage

The most recent signage that is listed in PRASA (2010) was found to be displayed at only two stations in the survey area. This signage was found displayed at Century City station in Area Northern and at Cape Town station, respectively. The text is aligned left and is white in colour, on a light blue plastic signage background. On the far right-hand side of the sign is the PRASA logo, with the name 'PRASA' displayed in lowercase lettering next to it. An example of this type of sign is illustrated in Photo 4.5 below.



Photo 4.5: Latest PRASA signage

The discrepancies in the station name signage boards are significant because it relates to the informative function and also the symbolic function of the LL. Place names in the LL perform an informative function in that it marks a particular territory. According to Edelman (2010) place (station) names can be written in a language that is not used or fully understood by the audience. Place names can also be used for the presentation of self or for the display of collective identity. The reason for this is that the presumed reader condition (prefer to write signs in a language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read) is not that important when reading place names. Place names can also perform a symbolic function in that it could be used to indicate the status or

hierarchy of languages in the LL. It could also reference power relations that exist between sociolinguistic communities and the role of government in regulating the public representation of languages (Edelman 2010).

In a South African context, the different types of signage used for station names in the LL can be associated with the change in the government of the country. This is particularly true for the signage that was changed from 1994 onwards after the end of the apartheid era. In 1994 the National Party (NP) government was ousted by the ANC. Prior to 1994 Afrikaans and English were the only two official languages of South Africa. With the onset of a democracy in South Africa, the 1996 Constitution, Chapter 2 Section 6 (RSA 1996) guaranteed equal status to eleven official languages to cater for the country's diverse people and their cultures. However, public and private institutions are often governed by practicality and not only by language policy desires.

4.3.1 Signs produced by the authorities and private initiative

The second research objective was to analyze the signs produced by the authorities and private initiative respectively and to explore their functional and symbolic values. Given that the Metrorail network is an official site, it is surprising to find that bottom-up agents are the main contributors throughout the LL along the railways in the Western Cape. Bottom-up agents contributed 208 (52 percent) of the signs in the linguistic landscape. This is slightly more than the top-down agents which contributed 193 (48 percent) of the signs. This can, in part, be explained by the fact that revenue is generated by the PRASA group through the leasing of advertising space to private and government organizations. The presence of commercial and other advertising signs along the railway network serves as a useful marketing tool for private business organizations and government. About 637000 commuters travel by train daily (SARCC 2008). The Metrorail network therefore attracts a large volume of potential readers of signs in the LL. All signage displayed along the railway network are also subject to official government control and regulations.

4.3.2 The degree of visibility of official and non-official languages

The third research objective was to discuss the degree of visibility and/or invisibility of the official languages and signage in the face of graffiti and other non-official signage at these sites. In this section a closer look is taken at the official and non-official signs that were found in the linguistic landscape. Top-down signs are grouped into four main categories. These categories include station names, information signs, identification signs and regulatory-prohibitive-warning signs. The non-official signs are also grouped into four categories. These categories consisted of billboards, shop fronts, posters, other advertising signs and graffiti. Overall, bottom-up agents are the main contributors to the LL despite the fact that the entire Metrorail network is a government-controlled site. However, in four of the five research areas, top-down signs are the main contributors to the LL, with the exception of the Southern Suburbs, where the main contributors are bottom-up agents. The contributions of both the top-down and bottom-up domains in all the research areas are examined in more detail in the section below. This is because a distinction of only agency is too broad to accurately account for this tendency.

4.4 Official signs

The official signage categories include station names, information signs, identification signs and warning-prohibition-regulatory signs. A summary of the quantitative results for the official signage categories is given below which is followed by a more detailed discussion of the main findings per category respectively.

4.4.1 Station/place names

The actual station names photographed for this study represents about 46 percent of the total stations comprising the entire Metrorail network. The category for the station names contributed 58 (14 percent) of the total number of LL items that were captured. Of the monolingual station names found in the linguistic landscape, 53 percent are

English, 17 percent Afrikaans and 12 percent isiXhosa. Interestingly, 3 percent of the place names are French and 2 percent are Dutch. Not surprising, bilingual and multilingual place names include combinations of English and another language. These combinations comprise 3 percent English-Afrikaans, 3 percent English-isiXhosa and 2 percent English-Afrikaans and Dutch. However, English is the preferred language. I found that similar to the Dutch and French place names in the linguistic landscape, Afrikaans and isiXhosa are used marginally compared to English.

Hicks (2002) includes the mythological function to the LL and suggests that place names reflect the traditional culture of ethnolinguistic groups through their associations with myths, stories and folklore. Therefore, the signs displaying station names in the LL of Metrorail function as a means to preserve history, bygone cultures and other related beliefs. Edelman (2010) suggests that place names can serve as remnants of traditional cultures. In this way, station names in the LL of Metrorail have mythological content function in that it gives the in-group a sense of place and belonging to a particular area. Station names are significant to the indigenous cultures in the Western Cape. Station names therefore serve as markers of traditional culture in the LL of Metrorail. It also demarcates present and past linguistic boundaries.

Station names in the LL also serve to identify communities. There is a strong relationship between names and identities because a name is a symbol of identity, a station name in a minority language therefore has symbolic value. This may explain the reasons behind the on-going debate about the changes to place names in a post-apartheid South Africa. For example, the name 'Cape Town' was translated into Afrikaans as 'Kaapstad' on both official and non-official signage during the apartheid era. From my own observations during the apartheid era, the signage at Cape Town station was also translated into Afrikaans. However, with the subsequent renovations done at Cape Town station in preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, the Afrikaans translation was discarded. The main reason for this is that English is the preferred lingua franca of government. The name 'Cape Town' is presently displayed in English only as illustrated in Photo 4.6 below.



Photo 4.6: Cape Town station name signage in English

Further, the results of this study show that in the survey area, there is a difference with regards to the languages used between signs displaying station names and signs displaying other text. For instance, signs with station names are linguistically more diverse in that they more frequently include languages such as English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa than signs with other text. This finding is supported by Edelman (2010) who argued that place (station) names are used as a display of the identity and power relations at play in the linguistic landscape.

Khayelitsha is a typical South African apartheid township that is situated on the outskirts of Cape Town's affluent areas. With the advent of democracy in 1994, the challenge of rebuilding the country began. One of the significant challenges was to transform townships, such as Khayelitsha, into successful and sustainable communities. Particular attention was given to public transport services in the area with the building of a new Metrorail line extension. This rail extension enabled a shuttle service to operate from the Khayelitsha train station to two new stations that reach the parts of Khayelitsha that were not serviced prior to 2009. The Khayelitsha rail extension project forms part of a public transport planning process that started in 1984 but was delayed for various reasons, inter alia, the changes in the socio-political landscape of South Africa. The new stations that were built include Chris Hani station, which services the areas of Nkanini and Makhaza, and Kuyasa station which services an area by the same name. The name

‘Chris Hani’ is displayed on the old Spoornet signage format, in black ink on a yellow background. This is ironic, given that Chris Hani was a key anti-apartheid activist and the leader of the South African Communist Party. The irony lies in the fact that the memory of Chris Hani is honored on an apartheid-era signage board whereas it would have been more appropriate to display his name on the latest light blue and white signage boards as illustrated in PRASA (2010). The Chris Hani station name sign is illustrated in Photo 4.7 below.



Photo 4.7: Chris Hani station name displayed on the old Spoornet signage format

4.4.2 Information signs

A total of 68 information signs are included in the analysis. The information signs account for about 17 percent of the total linguistic landscape items sampled. Of the monolingual items, 84 percent are in English, with 1 percent Afrikaans and isiXhosa, respectively. There are about 8 percent bilingual items in this category. Bilingual items include 6 percent English-Afrikaans, 1 percent English-isiXhosa and 1 percent English-Latin combinations. The multilingual combination includes 4 percent English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa items. Photo 4.8 below is an example of a monolingual English information sign. This sign was found displayed at the Kuyasa station in Area Central, near Khayelitsha. The text on this sign is in English despite the fact that indigenous African languages are the most spoken in this area. The use of English on the signage displayed in this area shows that the LL does not necessarily reflect the diversity of languages in the survey area. This is similar to the finding by Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, *et*

al. (2006) in their study of the LL of Israel. They found that the LL could be explored in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. It could also reveal identity markers of communities and differed in attractiveness to the various readers of signs. The use of monolingual English in the sign in Photo 4.8 supports the argument that the LL is a symbolic construction of the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; see also 2004; Gorter 2006a).



Photo 4.8: Monolingual English information sign

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4.4.3 Identification signs

A total of 29 identification signs are included in the sample. The identification signs represent about 7 percent of the total of all the linguistic landscape items sampled. 80 percent of the items are in monolingual English. Bilingual items include 3 percent English-Afrikaans, 3 percent English-isiXhosa combinations. The multilingual combination includes 13 percent English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa items. The signs in this category follow a similar trend as in the previous category, where the identification and directional signs reveal that English is the preferred language. The sample shows a higher proportion of multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa signs when compared with the bilingual English-Afrikaans and English-isiXhosa signs. An example of a multilingual sign is illustrated in Photo 4.9 which displays the word 'Toilets'. The

English text on this sign is placed at the top of the sign, followed by an Afrikaans translation ‘Toilette’, with an isiXhosa translation ‘Indlu Yangasese’ placed at the bottom of the sign. Drawing on Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) system of geosemiotics, English is the preferred language on this sign.

The sign also displays icons depicting a man and a woman, as well as an icon of a person in a wheelchair which gives information that ablution facilities are available for physically impaired persons. The sign displays an arrow pointing to the right, indicating the direction of the toilets. Photo 4.9 is an example of a multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa identification sign.



Photo 4.9: Multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa identification sign

4.4.4 Regulatory-prohibitive-warning signs

A total of 40 signs are included in the sample. This represented about 9 percent of the total number of linguistic landscape items sampled in this category. Of the monolingual items, 45 percent are in English, with 3 percent Afrikaans and isiXhosa, respectively. The bilingual combinations include 16 percent English-Afrikaans and 13 percent English-IsiXhosa items. The multilingual combinations include 21 percent English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa items. Not surprising, the results for this category also show that English is the preferred language of official communication. The ratio for the use of English is somewhat lower than the results in the previous categories. The main reason

for this could be attributed to the stronger proportions of the other language combinations found in the survey area for this category. More specifically, the bilingual English-Afrikaans and English-isiXhosa and the multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa combinations are proportionately larger in this category by comparison with the previous categories. An example of a bilingual English-isiXhosa regulatory-prohibitive-warning sign is illustrated in Photo 4.10 below. This sign has an informational function. It informs the reader firstly, in English, followed by an isiXhosa translation that ‘no dangerous weapons are allowed’ on Metrorail premises. This particular sign also has an English-Afrikaans variation.



Photo 4.10: Bilingual English-isiXhosa regulatory-prohibitive-warning sign

4.5 Non-official signs

The non-official signage categories include billboards, shop fronts, posters, other advertising signs and graffiti. The quantitative results for the non-official signage categories are summarized below. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the main findings per category respectively.

4.5.1 Billboards

A total of 35 advertising billboards are included in this category. The billboards represent about 9 percent of the total number of all linguistic landscape items that were sampled. Of the monolingual items, 83 percent are in English, with 6 percent Afrikaans, 3 percent isiXhosa and 3 percent Italian signs, respectively. The bilingual combinations include 3 percent English-Afrikaans and 3 percent English-isiXhosa items, respectively. The billboards are mostly commercial in nature. However, there are some billboards that display public information from government authorities and information from private organizations as well. Sites of luxury host billboards in what Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to as authorized spaces, which, in Khayelitsha, comprise areas enclosed in barbed-wire, such as schools and hospital grounds, as well as main squares and busy shopping centres. The products and services on offer, such as health and education, are only available through professional service-providers. These billboards entail significant material and economic investment in terms of the complicated production processes that involves various stakeholders. The production and placement of these billboards are closely monitored by local government authorities in terms of content and design. The location of these billboards in 'up-market' and economically up-scaled places, sites of mobility (e.g. train stations and public transport modal interchanges), attracts a readership that focuses with a sort of appreciation on the composition. Related to the findings by Mpendukana (2009), these types of billboards present complexities in terms of design and context that are used by bottom-up agents to convey meaning through colour and spatial positioning as illustrated in Photo 4.11.



Photo 4.11: Bilingual English-isiXhosa billboard

Photo 4.11 is a billboard advertisement of a well-known local product 'Eno', an antacid powder which is mixed with water to produce remedy for the relief of heartburn and indigestion. The text on this bilingual sign is displayed in isiXhosa and English. The isiXhosa word 'akusheshwe' translates to 'hurry up' in English and is placed at the top left-hand corner of the sign. The rest of the text 'Don't let a quick bite slow you down' and 'Fast life. Fast relief' is written in English, in the middle of the sign and at the bottom right-hand corner, respectively. The basic message that is conveyed by this sign is that 'Eno' relieves heartburn and indigestion fast. There is also a subliminal message in the phrase 'Don't let a quick bite slow you down' which is probably a reference to the side-effects of unhealthy eating habits, such as suffering from heartburn and indigestion as a result of eating too much fast food. The isiXhosa word 'akusheshwe' is probably intended as a pun. On the one hand, it could mean that a person suffering from heartburn or indigestion needs 'Eno' in a hurry. On the other hand, it could also be a reference to a fast-paced lifestyle in that people are constantly in a hurry and therefore cannot afford to be slowed down by heartburn or indigestion. This sign is located at Claremont station, a busy public transport interchange along the South Suburbs line. The intended readership requires an understanding of isiXhosa and English. According to Edelman (2010) signs

in the LL compete for the attention of the intended readership, the authors of signs therefore aim to present themselves positively through the messages they display in the LL. Also, the principle of presentation of self suggests that languages that have prestige will be displayed in the LL. In this particular sign, the presence of isiXhosa alongside English indexes isiXhosa and English-speaking commuters.

4.5.2 Shop fronts

This section provides some general characteristics of Metrorail in the Western Cape in terms of the languages and their combinations on the fronts of business houses, more specifically shop fronts. With reference to Table 4.5, a total of 39 shop fronts are included in the sample of all linguistic landscape items in this category. The shop fronts represent about 10 percent of the total of all the linguistic landscape items that were sampled. Of the monolingual items, 77 percent are in English. The bilingual combinations include 15 percent English-Afrikaans, 3 percent English-IsiXhosa and 3 percent English-Arabic combinations respectively. A shop sign is considered monolingual if the written text it had was exclusively in one language only. Texts in the linguistic landscape often contain proper names. It may well be the case that this category of words is written in a foreign language also. Proper names contribute greatly to the multilingual appearance of the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. As argued in Chapter Two, proper names such as shop names and brand names can easily be written in a language that is not necessarily used or fully understood by the intended readership. The reason for this is that proper names do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information. The language of proper names could influence people to buy a product or commodity because proper names appeal to the emotions. Proper names that are displayed on shop fronts in the LL of Metrorail serve the purpose of presentation of self or for the display of collective identity as illustrated in Photo 4.12. This is because the presumed reader condition (prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read) is less important for proper names in the LL. Signs with proper names in the LL of Metrorail are linguistically more diverse than

signs displaying only other text. The bilingual English-Arabic shop front sign in Photo 4.12 was found displayed at Lansdowne station, along the Cape Flats line.



Photo 4.12: Bilingual English-Arabic shop front

From my personal knowledge and experience, the population residing around Lansdowne station is predominantly a coloured, Muslim community. The text on this sign has the number '786' placed at the top left-hand corner of the sign, followed by the phrase 'Amina's Halaal Take-Aways'. The number '786' on this sign denotes that this is a Muslim-owned shop because it is common knowledge to residents of the Cape Flats that this particular number is associated with the Islamic religion. In addition, the name 'Amina' is a Muslim female name and indexes the Islamic faith. The word 'Halaal' is a further reference to the Islamic faith. 'Halaal' is an Arabic word which means 'lawful' or 'permissible'. In the context of the sign, it means that food sold at this particular shop is lawful for consumption by Muslims. The number '786' and the Arabic word 'Halaal' on this sign are good examples of Spolsky's (2009) symbolic value condition and Ben-Rafael's (2006) third and fourth principles of collective identity and power-relations in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. More specifically, the use of Arabic on this sign functions to specifically index Muslim people in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in this area.

4.5.3 Posters

With reference to Table 4.5, a total number of 21 advertising posters were included in the sample. This represented 5 percent of the total number of linguistic landscape items that were sampled. Of the monolingual items, 76 percent were in English. The bilingual combinations included 5 percent English-Afrikaans and 14 percent English-IsiXhosa. The multilingual combination consisted of 5 percent English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa. An example of a multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa poster is illustrated in Photo 4.13 below.



Photo 4.13: Multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa poster

Ben-Rafael (2009) argues that under the good-reasons principle, the authors of signs in the LL attempt to influence the public by accommodating their values and tastes. This is achieved by focusing on the anticipated attractiveness of the signs to the audience. The languages that are valued as positive by the public are displayed in the LL (Edelman

2010). In this particular sign, the text is predominantly in English. However, the name 'Ingwe' is isiXhosa for leopard. The letter 'i' in the logo of name 'Ingwe' is designed to resemble the spots on a leopard as can be seen in the sign. Translated into English, the Afrikaans word 'boerewors', refers to barbequed sausage on a bread roll or bun. The Afrikaans word 'boerewors' is derived from the white Afrikaner culture in South Africa. The 'Ingwe Heath Plan' is a medical aid plan offered by the Momentum Health Insurance Company to foreign students studying at South African tertiary institutions. The type of sign is symbolic of the multilingual and multicultural South African society as reflected in the national and provincial language policies of the country.

4.5.4 Other advertising signs

A total number of 66 signs are included in the category for other advertising signs as illustrated in Table 5. This category represents 16 percent of the total number of linguistic landscape items that were sampled. Of the monolingual items, 79 percent are in English and 3 percent are isiXhosa. The bilingual combinations include 2 percent English-Afrikaans, 9 percent English-IsiXhosa, 6 percent English-isiZulu and 2 percent English-Japanese items. Similar to the previous category, the results reveal that the use of bilingual English-isiXhosa items in this category have a notably higher proportion than the other languages. An example of a bilingual English-isiXhosa sign is illustrated in Photo 4.14 below. The text 'halala' has a variety of different meanings in the indigenous African languages, depending on the context in which is used. For example, 'halala' could be an ululation or it could mean 'welcome', 'hail' or 'praise'. This text is difficult to translate accurately although it is evident that it serves as a type of greeting in African culture. According to an informant, 'halala' is translated into isiXhosa as 'congratulations'. I will rely on this definition for the purposes of the analysis. The text is written in bold capital letters across the centre of the sign. IsiXhosa can be regarded as the dominant language on the sign because of its placement in the primary position on the sign (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The English text that follows takes the secondary position on the sign and the font size is notably smaller which makes it the subordinate language on the sign.



Photo 4.14: Bilingual English- isiXhosa advertising sign

4.5.5 Graffiti

A total of 47 items of graffiti are included in this study which represents 12 percent of the total sample of all the linguistic landscape items. Prior to the start of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Tournament in South Africa, Metrorail was tasked by the City of Cape Town to remove graffiti from its trains and related station facilities. Metrorail was expected to remove all the graffiti before the end of May 2010. According to Metrorail internal reports, train coaches and the related infrastructure are illegally sprayed with graffiti. Metrorail commuters perceive the service as unsatisfactory because graffiti impacts negatively in terms of a cleanliness and comfort perspective. In preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Tournament, Metrorail embarked on an extensive graffiti removal program in the Western Cape. The aim was to remove all graffiti from trains, stations and fencing. Despite this coordinated approach to remove graffiti, the incidence of graffiti in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail remains largely unchanged to this day. I found that graffiti was prevalent mostly along the Southern Suburbs line. This finding is confirmed by Metrorail. The incidence of Graffiti is illustrated in Photo 4.15 below of a train that operates in the southern suburbs.

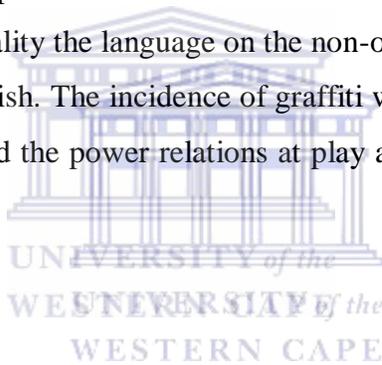


Photo 4.15: Graffiti on the outside of train coaches

In the linguistic landscape of Metrorail, graffiti is typically placed on public and private property in the public space. For example, I found graffiti on the inner and outer sides of trains and even at the front of trains, at subways and stations and on boundary fencing. In Photo 4.15 the word 'TOE' is an acronym for 'Terms of Engagement'. 'Toe' and 'Sure' are the pseudonyms of two graffiti artists in Cape Town. According to their internet blogs, they have been painting graffiti on streets, highways and trains since 2006. They identify themselves as members of the '40Hk crew', a group of graffiti artists operating in and around the Southern Suburbs line. To these graffiti artists, their graffiti is all about self-expression and art. However, to Metrorail, the incidence of graffiti is a crime and is regarded as vandalism. Metrorail commuters regard graffiti as symptoms of rampant urban decay and the lack of cleanliness and comfort. The graffiti illustrated in Photo 4.15 is another good example of Spolsky's (2009) symbolic value condition and Ben-Rafael's (2006) principles of collective identity and power-relations at play in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The principle of collective identity is relevant because graffiti artists usually belong to graffiti crews and gain recognition among their peers through their writings. The issue of power relations relates to the antagonism that exists between the Metrorail authorities and graffiti artists.

4.6 Summary of research findings

The predominant home languages of the population in the Western Cape are Afrikaans at 55.3 percent, isiXhosa at 23.7 percent and English at 19.3 percent (SSA 2001). This data is contradicted by the linguistic reality in terms of the distribution of languages found on Signage in the survey area. The languages found in the survey shows that English dominates the linguistic landscape, followed by Afrikaans and then isiXhosa. In addition, the actual linguistic reality does not accurately reflect the aims of the Western Cape language policy in terms promoting multilingualism. According to this policy, all official notices, signs and advertisements are supposed to be issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English but this is not necessarily the case as reflected in the data. Furthermore, private enterprises are tasked to adhere to the framework of the Provincial Language Policy but in reality the language on the non-official signs found in the survey tends to be mostly in English. The incidence of graffiti was discussed in terms of how it marks the public space and the power relations at play as reflected by official and non-official signage in the LL.



4.7 Conclusion

This chapter was divided into four sections. The first section presented the quantitative data in terms of the LL contributions in the survey area. The second section, discussed the distribution of the different languages and combinations of languages found in the survey area in terms of the categorization of the signage. The third section discussed the LL items in terms of the official and non-official agency. The fourth section concluded the chapter with a summary of the main findings of the quantitative analysis. This chapter made extensive use of statistical data tables and graphs to illustrate the distribution of the language usage on signs in the LL of Metrorail.

The next chapter discusses multilingualism as a social practice in the Western Cape.

Chapter 5

Multilingualism as a social practice

5.0 Introduction

The fourth research objective was to explore the nature and place of multilingualism as a social practice in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region. This chapter deals with code preference in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The methodology used to distinguish code preference in this study is informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of geosemiotics. Geosemiotics entails consideration of the placement of languages on signs, the text size, font type, and colour and material qualities to determine code preference. Also, the amount of text in a language can be used to determine code preference (Huebner 2006). The differences in the choices of languages used by top-down and bottom-up agents could be influenced by official policy or by pragmatic and symbolic considerations. It was noted that the different sociocultural compositions within the survey area present differing patterns of language use which is analyzed in terms of code preference in this section.

5.1 The languages displayed on multilingual signs

As alluded to in Chapter 4, the languages on multilingual signs do not share the same space because one language is always displayed in a more prominent position than a different language on the same sign. The first feature indicating code preference is placement (Scollon and Scollon 2003). According to Scollon and Scollon (2003) in most Western contexts, texts displayed on top, on the left, or in the centre of signs are usually more prominent within a geosemiotic framework. If the codes are aligned vertically the location of preference is on top, if they are aligned horizontally the preferred code is on the left, or the preferred code could be situated in the centre. A choice must be made

regarding which language will take the dominant position on a sign. Huebner (2006) compares the placement with the amount of information in order to determine the dominant language on a sign. In addition to the placement of the text on a sign, the qualities of the inscription further indicate code preference. The different fonts or letter forms, the shape, size, colour, accompanying images, and repetitions can produce different meanings in the sign (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In cases where size and order express conflicting preferences, size outweighs order.

Within a South African context, English is generally considered as the language of wider communication by government. In the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape, English appears on its own and also in combinations with other languages on top-down and bottom-up signage in the survey area. Monolingual English signs are displayed mostly in the commercial domain in the survey area. The results for code preference in the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape are summarized in the Table 5.1 below.

<i>n</i> = 401	Td		Bu	
English only	128	31.9%	127	31.7%
Afrikaans only	12	3.0%	3	0.7%
isiXhosa only	9	2.2%	3	0.7%
English-Afrikaans	15	3.7%	9	2.2%
English-isiXhosa	9	2.2%	11	2.7%
English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa	15	3.7%	1	0.2%
Other languages	5	1.2%	7	1.7%
Graffiti	0	0.0%	47	11.7%

Table 5.1: Code preference by agency

With reference to Table 5.1, it is evident that monolingual English signage dominates the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in both the official and non-official signage categories. This finding concurs with Dyers (2010) who notes that English has replaced Afrikaans as the dominant language on signs in a post-apartheid South Africa. This

finding also supports the notion that changes in the LL could be attributed to Spolsky's (2009) symbolic value condition in terms of the language choice on signs. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) point out that English is widely used in the LL because of its status as the language of international communication. My observations as outlined in Table 5.1 confirm the ubiquitous presence of English in the LL of Metrorail. For this reason I tend to agree with Backhaus (2006) who found English to be the universal language in most linguistic landscapes. However, according to census data in SSA (2001), English is home language to only 19.3 percent of the population of the Western Cape, with Afrikaans at 55.3 percent and isiXhosa 23.7 percent, respectively. English is home language to mostly the white population in the Western Cape whereas the home language of the majority of the population in the region, who comprise coloured people, is Afrikaans (SSA 2001).

The Western Cape language policy states that all official notices and advertisements must be displayed equally in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English in the public space. Non-official signs displayed by private enterprises must adhere to the framework of the Provincial Language Policy. However, from the results in Table 5.1, the requirements of this policy framework which aims to promote multilingualism in society, is evidently not reflected in the linguistic reality of Metrorail Western Cape. From the data presented in this section, it is evident that English is the preferred language in the LL of Metrorail. English is displayed on 315 (79 percent) of the total number of LL items in the sample. There are 128 top-down and 127 bottom-up monolingual English signs, respectively. The majority of the non-official signs is in English and comprises signs indicating the business name and general information. English is preferred as the language used to identify the 'self'. The choice of English is therefore symbolic because it does not necessarily index speakers of the English language. Also, values of prestige and globalization are invoked by the use of English on non-official commercial signage. In doing so, the 'self' is expressed favourably as belonging to elite group and also offers potential customers to share this identity.

The various other languages that were found in the linguistic landscape are rarely used on their own on monolingual signs. For example, Afrikaans and isiXhosa monolingual signs represent 4 percent and 3 percent, respectively, of all the languages displayed on the linguistic landscape items in the sample. The other two official languages of the Western Cape, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, are more-or-less equally neglected by top-down and bottom-up agents in the LL. These languages are used predominantly on warning signs and prohibitory signs. These languages are also generally used in combination with English on signs. For example, warning signs on electricity boxes tend to be multilingual. In Photo 5.1 is an illustration of an official multilingual sign displaying the words ‘Danger’ in English at the top of the sign, followed by translations in Afrikaans ‘Gevaar’ and isiXhosa ‘Ingozi’, respectively. All the text is written in the same colour and font size. The three different languages are aligned in the centre of the sign, from top to bottom, followed by the universal symbol for high voltage electricity.

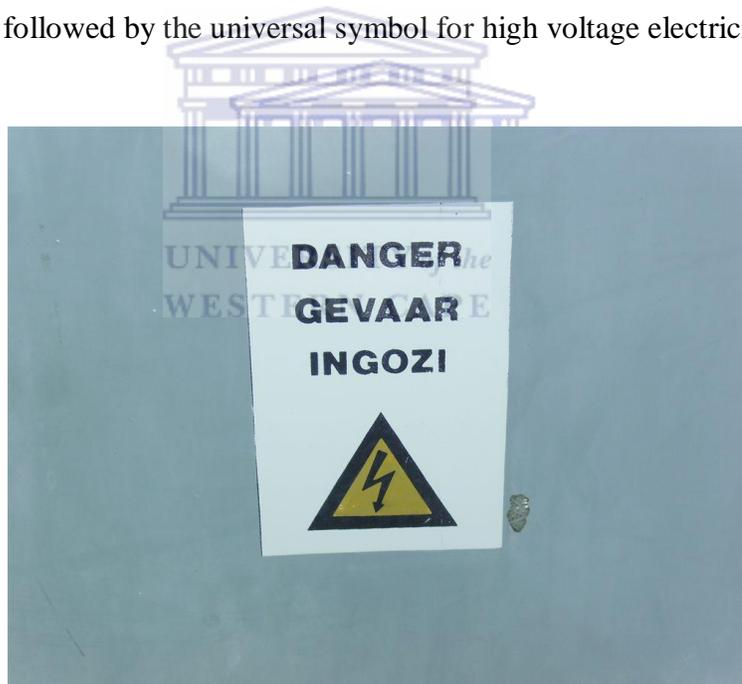


Photo 5.1: Multilingual warning sign in English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa

The placement of the languages on the sign serves to indicate the dominant language or the preferred code (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In this case, the preferred code or dominant language is English because it appears on the top of the sign which is the primary position. It is followed by Afrikaans in the secondary position and then lastly by

isiXhosa translation. This observation is consistent with the finding by Kotze (2010) in her LL analysis of signage in a rural Free State town in South Africa. She found that English was the dominant language on multilingual warning and prohibitory signs, followed by Afrikaans and isiXhosa translations, in this specific order on the signs. The dominance of English in the LL of Metrorail is symbolic in that it serves to indicate the power, status and identity of speakers of English, as opposed to indexing purely an English-speaking community. It is also considered symbolic because English is the preferred language of communication of government. This finding agrees with Landry and Bourhis (1997:28) who suggest that the LL can “symbolize the strength or weakness of competing ethnolinguistic groups in the intergroup setting”. Also, the presence of a language on signage, in this case, English, supports the belief that English has value and status in the LL (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Photo 5.2 below is an example of an official bilingual English-Afrikaans regulatory-prohibitive-warning sign displayed in the LL of Metrorail. The English phrase ‘Access to these premises is subject to’ is translated as ‘Toegang tot hierdie perseel is onderhewig aan’ in Afrikaans on the sign. The rest of the text on this sign is also a direct translation from English to Afrikaans. This sign is an example of duplicate multilingualism (Reh 2004). The English message is displayed at the top of the sign and takes the primary position in terms of placement on the sign. This placement gives the English language prominence over the Afrikaans translation which is placed in the secondary position below English, at the bottom half of the sign (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The regulatory signage in Photos 5.2 and 5.3 is official Spoornet-era regulatory signage displayed at the entrances of most stations in the Western Cape. The purpose of this type of signage is to warn commuters that access to the station is regulated by legislation (Access to Public Premises and Vehicle Act 1985) and that a valid ticket is required to access the station.



Photo 5.2: Regulatory sign in English and Afrikaans



Photo 5.3: Regulatory sign in English and isiXhosa

In Photo 5.2, the complete text on the sign is displayed firstly in English at the top half of the sign, followed by a complete Afrikaans translation at the bottom half of the sign. The text is written in black using the same font type and size. The background colour is white and the sign is framed within a red border. In most western cultures, the use of the

colour red can be associated with danger or urgency. The colour red is known to promote quick decisions or responses whereas the white background and the use of black for the text on the sign can be associated with power and formality. As illustrated in Photo 5.3, an English-isiXhosa variation of this sign is also displayed in the LL. An isiXhosa translation follows the English text on the sign which is similar to the English-Afrikaans variation of the sign. This is consistent with the finding in Chapter 4 section 4.2, where I found that all the bilingual signs in the LL displayed combinations of English and another language. By using English as the preferred language on official signage in the LL of Metrorail, government exercises socio-political control over society through the discourses displayed in the public space. The choice of English as the preferred language on official signage in the LL of Metrorail differs from the LL during the apartheid years, where Afrikaans was the preferred language of government communication as pointed out by Dyers (2010). This finding supports the argument by Edelman (2010), in that government authorities can easily dominate the official signage domain. In the LL of Metrorail, authorities are able to display ideological messages in English and thereby influence society to use more English. In addition, the dominance of English on official signage in the LL of Metrorail contributes to the changing attitudes of the local community towards other communities within the survey area. This finding concurs with Barker and Giles (2002) who argue that the LL contributes to changing attitudes of host communities towards other communities that are present within a given area. Related to the findings by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), signage by bottom-up agents in the LL of Metrorail can be used to protest, by either displaying or excluding certain languages on signs. In doing so, they are able to deny languages any status in the linguistic landscape.

5.2 Language expectations in the survey area

Given the different sociolinguistic compositions of the Western Cape, the language expectations differ in the various areas covered along the Metrorail network. For example, it would be reasonable to expect a higher incidence of indigenous isiXhosa in Area Central. This expectation is supported by the fact that Khayelitsha, Langa,

Gugulethu and Nyanga, which account for the main black African townships in the Western Cape, are located within this specific research site. It was expected that top-down and bottom-up agents would cater for the community or express their identity by using an African language, for example, isiXhosa which is the dominant language in this specific research site. However, the LL items sampled reveal that this is not necessarily the case. Not surprisingly, the majority of the signs throughout the survey area are in monolingual English. Monolingual English signs comprise about 64 percent of all the linguistic landscape items in the entire survey area. The second largest group has a considerably lower ratio of 6 percent for bilingual English-Afrikaans combinations. This is followed by 5 percent English-IsiXhosa combinations. When analysing the data in this table it is clear that English is the preferred language of communication on signage in all of the Metrorail service areas that form the survey area. The majority of all racial groups live in Cape Town (68.9 percent of Africans, 56.1 percent of Coloureds, 88.8 percent of Asian and 72.8 percent of Whites) Pauw (2005). Coloured people make up more than 50 percent of the population in every district, and 58.9 percent overall. I therefore expected to find a higher incidence of Afrikaans text on signage as opposed to English in the Northern Suburbs because the population in this area is predominantly Afrikaans speakers. In Area Central on the other hand, I expected to find that isiXhosa would be the predominant language displayed on signs as opposed to English because the demographics of the area show that mostly isiXhosa speakers reside along this Metrorail service area.

An example is illustrated in Photo 5.4 of a shop front sign found at Khayelitsha station in Area Central. This sign indexes a hair salon that specializes in traditional African hairstyles. Despite the fact that this salon caters exclusively for Black customers, the signage is in monolingual English text. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the language on a sign can either index the community within which it is used or it can symbolise something about the product or business that has nothing to do with the place it is located.



Photo 5.4: Shop front in English

In Photo 5.4, English is used to symbolise foreign taste and manners, rather than to index an English-speaking community. Backhaus (2007) argues that even if language use is symbolic, on a higher level it may index a preference for foreign language use by the non-foreign population as illustrated in Photo 5.4. This trend can probably be attributed to the lack of perceived value of African languages in the official and public domains, especially when compared to the prestige of English. The pervasiveness of English in the LL is strengthened by the incidence of monolingual English signage, especially in terms of the bottom-up domains.

5.3 Multilingualism in the LL of Metrorail

In terms of the incidence of multilingualism on signs, signs are categorized as either monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. As pointed out in Chapter 4, monolingual signs are grouped into the specific language displayed on the sign, for example, English or Afrikaans or isiXhosa and so on. Bilingual and multilingual signs are grouped according to the various combinations of monolingual languages displayed on the sign, for example, English-Afrikaans or English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa. The focus of the analysis is on the distribution of languages across domains in the survey area and also the types of multilingual combinations present.

The incidence of the various bilingual and multilingual combinations on signs is considered more significant than the order of appearance of the actual individual languages on the signs. For multilingual signs, English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa combinations are more prevalent in the official signage categories. This is particularly the case in the categories for regulatory-warning-prohibitive signs and identification signs. This language choice could possibly be influenced by the language policy of the Western Cape. It could also be influenced by the legal requirements of the National Railway Safety Regulator Act of 2002. Bottom-up multilingual signage is found mainly in the commercial domain where it is mostly used in the category for shop fronts and other advertising signs. The main multilingual combinations are English-Afrikaans and English-isiXhosa. In both cases the consideration could probably be more pragmatic in nature than symbolic. From a commercial perspective, multilingual signage attracts a wider audience because it caters for multiple language groups. However, similar to the top-down categories, bottom-up commercial signage is generally monolingual.

The incidence of monolingual top-down signage is higher than that for bottom-up monolingual signage. Monolingual signage for official communication evidently dominates the linguistic landscape of the survey area. Monolingual English on information and identification signage is the dominant language used by the top-down agents. The dominance of English in the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape is confirmed. In terms of bilingual and multilingual combinations, the most prominent combination is bilingual English-Afrikaans signage, followed by the English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa combination. Most of the latter combinations comprise warning and prohibitory signs, whereas the English-Afrikaans signs are present throughout all the domains. An example of an Afrikaans-English combination on signage is illustrated in Photo 5.5.



Photo: 5.5 Pre-1994 bilingual Afrikaans-English information sign

The sign in Photo 5.5 is a good example that shows the dominance of the Afrikaans language on official signage during the apartheid era in South Africa. On this particular sign, the text on the top half of the sign ‘Volgende trein na Kaapstad perron’ is given in Afrikaans. In this sign, Afrikaans takes the primary position. The Afrikaans translation for Cape Town, ‘Kaaipstad’ which came into use on official signage during apartheid, is displayed on this sign. A direct translation of the Afrikaans text is given in English as, ‘Next train to Cape Town platform’, is placed at the bottom half of the sign in the secondary position. According to the classification of texts by Reh (2004), duplicating writing gives an exact translation of the entire message into another language. In this example, the Afrikaans text is translated directly into English. This sign is another example of Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) system of geosemiotics which argues that for texts that are read from left to right, the language of the text placed on the top of the sign is considered the dominant language whereas the subordinate language is placed at the bottom of the sign. The dominance of the Afrikaans language on this particular official railway sign is a grim reminder of the power and status of the Afrikaans-speaking white minority group during the apartheid era in South Africa. This particular sign in the LL of Metrorail has survived the fall of apartheid and the various changes of control over of the railways from SATS, to Transnet to SARCC to the present-day PRASA. It is probably safe to assume that this sign was erected during the apartheid era, as it is

unlikely that the present dispensation would erect a sign with Afrikaans taking the primary position on the sign, given that English is the preferred language of government communication.

Photo 5.6 below is an example of a multilingual sign. This particular sign has the English word 'Exit' placed at the top of the sign in the primary position, followed by an isiXhosa translation 'Phuma' in the centre and an Afrikaans translation 'Uitgang' at the bottom of the sign. The texts in all three languages are aligned left on the sign. According to Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotics, in a sign such as this one, where the texts are all in the same size font and colour, the text that is placed at the top of the sign indicates the preferred code because it takes the primary position. The reasoning behind this is that the text on this sign is read from top to bottom and from left to right.



Photo 5.6: Multilingual identification sign in English-isiXhosa-Afrikaans

In Photo 5.7 below, the Afrikaans text 'Hoofpassasiersdienste' is placed above the English translation 'Mainline passenger services' on the sign. Both texts are aligned left on the sign but the Afrikaans text takes the primary position and English is in the secondary position. This particular sign dates back to the early 1990s when passenger rail services were controlled by Transnet. This sign was probably erected during the

apartheid era when Afrikaans was the preferred language of government communication, also, Afrikaans and English were the only two recognized official languages at the time.



Photo 5.7: Bilingual Afrikaans-English information sign

The various bottom-up and top-down agents exercise different choices with regard to language use. This could be attributed to differences in the respective language policies and also pragmatic or symbolic considerations. For example, top-down agents are governed by the language policy of the Western Cape whereas bottom-up agents may apply their organization's internal language policies vis-à-vis the official language policy of the region. Although the bottom-up agents' language policy would naturally have to be aligned to government policy, it could differ in terms of whom the specific target audience is, given the various commercial advertisements present in the LL. Given their different sociocultural compositions, the various sites along the Metrorail network also exhibit differing trends with regard to linguistic preference.

Top-down agents are more likely to use multilingual signage than the bottom-up agency. Most of the multilingual top-down signs are warning signs. The main trend of multilingualism, however, is bilingual Afrikaans-English signs, notably in the governmental domain, especially information signs. Language choice might be influenced by pragmatic considerations, as English is the language of wider

communication and the lingua franca. Multilingual signage in the bottom-up domain occurs mostly in the commercial domain. The main combination here is also Afrikaans-English. In both cases the consideration is probably more pragmatic than symbolic. Bilingual commercial signage is more inclusive and caters for more language groups, which is, of course, beneficial to the business owners. In general, however, signage in the commercial sphere tends to be monolingual.

5.4 Layering of signage

Layering refers to coexisting older and newer signs in the LL (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In the LL of Metrorail, instances of layering are easiest to observe with regard to an increase in the number of languages used, particularly on official signs. Metrorail usually replaces older signs only when required to do so by law, when the signs have become hard to read, defaced, stolen, or as part of its facilities improvement programs. In some cases, newer versions of signs are simply attached next to the older ones. As a result, a number of multilingual signs in the survey area were found to coexist with counterparts of an older date, such as station name signs, rail maps, information signs and various other types of signs. In most cases, the newer editions are monolingual English signs or combinations of English and isiXhosa or English and Afrikaans combinations, in this particular order. Illustrative examples of coexisting older and newer station name signage found at Unibell station can be seen in the photos 5.8 and 5.9, respectively.



Photo 5.8: Old SATS signage

The sign in Photo 5.8 shows the sign of ‘Unibell’ station cast in concrete. This particular version of the sign was erected during the period when South Africa was ruled by the British. Evidence of this is the British Imperial measurements on the sign which shows the unit of measure for the distance to Cape Town in English in ‘miles’ and the altitude in ‘feet’. This particular sign can be contrasted with the later Spoornet version of the sign which is displayed on a yellow plastic board as illustrated in the Photo 5.9 below.



Photo 5.9: Newer Spoornet signage

The presence of these two signs at the same site contrasts two very different periods in South African history. On the one hand the sign in Photo 5.8 symbolizes the British colonial era whereas the sign in Photo 5.9 is symbolic of the dominant, minority Afrikaner community during the apartheid-era in South Africa.

Backhaus (2007) points out that the incidence of layering can also indicate temporality. A number of temporary signs were found in the survey area. These signs are layered chronologically and inform about the changes in the LL over time. In some cases, as many as three different versions of signs are present. This is particularly relevant in the official signage categories for station name signage at the various stations. Instances were noted at some stations where the station name is displayed on the older Spoornet signage and also on the newer SARCC signage. At some stations Spoornet, SARCC and

PRASA signage was found. The same can be said for the other categories in terms of identification, information and warning-prohibitory-regulatory signs. The incidence of layering was also noted on shop fronts displaying the Coca-Cola logo which is one of the most well-known brand names both locally and internationally. There were various versions of the Coca-Cola logo found at different stations throughout the survey area. Two examples of variations in the Coca-Cola logo are illustrated in the photos 5.10 and 5.11 below.



Photo 5.10: Coca-Cola signage 1

During the apartheid era, Coca-Cola was endeared to those loyal to the South African government who controlled the wealth of the country. This was despite the fact that competitors such as Pepsi withdrew their products from South Africa because of economic sanctions at the time (Spivey 2009). The approach taken by Coca-Cola during the apartheid years ensured that in a post-apartheid environment, Coca-Cola remained the leading soft drink brand enjoyed by all South Africans. Today, Coca-Cola continues to follow the strategy it used during the apartheid years which entailed sponsoring local events such as band competitions, sporting events and other local celebrations. By using the principles of collective identity (Ben-Rafael 2009) and symbolic value condition (Spolsky 2009), Coca-Cola succeeded in assuming the appearance of a 'local' brand during an apartheid South Africa (Spivey 2009). As a result, Coca-Cola continues its

dominance in South Africa, as is evident in the pervasive presence of its signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail.



Photo 5.11: Coca-Cola signage 2

PRASA aims to have all its station facilities adhere to international industry standards of visual communication. This standard provides guidelines for the selection and use of a recognizable set of iconography and the use of the English language on all official signage. In preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, this standard has also been used at facilities for other modes of transport. For example, this signage standard is used by the bus services in Cape Town and also at all the airports throughout the South Africa. Another example of layering in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail is the signage for the ticket offices as illustrated in photos 5.12 and 5.13 respectively.



Photo 5.12: Old multilingual English-Afrikaans-isiXhosa sign

In this particular Spoornet-era sign which dates back to the 1990s, the three official languages of the Western Cape are displayed on the sign. The English text is centred and is displayed at the top of the sign, followed by Afrikaans and isiXhosa translations, respectively, in this specific order on the sign. The languages on this sign illustrate a good example of duplicating multilingualism as discussed by Reh (2004). All three languages are written in the same font type and size. The English text takes the dominant position on the sign according to Scollon and Scollon's (2003) system of geosemiotics, followed by Afrikaans and then isiXhosa at the bottom of the sign.

WESTERN CAPE

In the latest PRASA version of this sign, all the text on the sign is written in monolingual English as per the PRASA Public Wayfinding Guidelines manual (PRASA 2010). This sign is also displayed on the latest version PRASA blue and white plastic signage boards, with the bottom section in yellow. The sign also has directional arrows which indicate the direction of the ticket office. The coexisting older and newer versions of official signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail index South Africa's apartheid past and the dominance of the Afrikaans language during this period. With the end of apartheid and the beginning of a new, democratic South Africa in 1994, the linguistic landscape along the public railway system started to change. More specifically, the isiXhosa language which was once virtually absent from the linguistic landscape was now being displayed on other official and non-official signage, as opposed to it merely being displayed as tokenism on regulatory signage in the past.

However, with the establishment of PRASA in 2009, the English language secured its place as the preferred language of official government communication as illustrated in the text on the signage in Photo 5.13.



Photo 5.13: New monolingual English sign

5.5 Temporality as an indication of language preference

Scollon and Scollon (2003) suggest that the type of material used and the medium of inscription can indicate permanence or temporality. They also identify the materials used for signs as an aspect indicating code preference. The temporality of a sign can also be determined by the manner in which it is affixed. For example, signs that are affixed with some form of adhesive substance, wire or cable ties can be considered temporary. Temporary signs are found in both the top-down and bottom-up domains in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. Temporality indicates perceived readership and also expresses socio-economic power. In the survey area I found signs in the various categories that were made from paper, cardboard and plastic sheeting.

An example of a temporary sign is given in Photo 5.14 below. This particular non-official sign is written on a blue plastic canvas with black paint. The sign is affixed to the Metrorail boundary fencing with plastic cable ties which is an indication that this sign is not permanently affixed. The text on this sign is written in English and isiXhosa.

The sign advertises a 'Gospel festival revival' in English. The names of the performing artists 'Thembinkosi' and 'Salman & Sikade' are written in isiXhosa and are foregrounded on the sign. The sign appears to be more about a music festival as opposed to a gospel revival. This is a contradiction in the sign itself. The sign is ambiguous because it contains mixed messages. As a whole, the sign is a marketing tool for the 'Assemblies of God' church. The words 'venue', 'date', 'time' and the rest of the text on the sign are written in English and is further evidence that this sign indexes the music event that will be taking place. The sign is a temporary sign in the LL because of the type of material it is written on and the manner in which it is affixed to the fence. Huebner (2006) suggests that the placement of language on signs must be compared with the amount of information given in a language to determine code preference. Also, the placement of text and font size can be offset by other features such as the colour, images and amount of text on the sign. In Photo 5.14, only the names of the performing artists are written in isiXhosa whereas the rest of the text on the sign is written in English. English can therefore be considered the preferred code on this temporary sign found at Mbekweni station, near Wellington in the Northern Suburbs. Related to the findings in Chapter 4, the use of English on this sign confirms that the LL does not necessarily reflect the diversity of languages in the survey area because the local population in this area is known to comprise predominantly of Afrikaans and isiXhosa speakers.



Photo 5.14: Handwritten temporary sign in English

Another example of a temporary sign is illustrated in Photo 5.15. The material used to construct the signage is a small discarded piece of hardboard. The background is painted white and divided into two columns. On the left-hand side of the sign, the text displayed is ‘coins 4 cash’, ‘gold 4 cash’, ‘diamond[s] 4 [cash]’ and is written in red paint. The text displayed on the right-hand side of the sign is ‘gold 4 cash’, ‘coins 4 cash’, ‘silver 4 cash’ and ‘exchang[e]’ and is written in green paint. The use of the colours red and green for the text on the sign is possibly done for emphasis or to contrast and distinguish between the two columns of text. The author of the sign uses the number ‘4’ in place of the word ‘for’, evidently this is done because of the limited space on the sign. From the text on this sign, it can be deduced that the aim of this signage is to advertise an informal business that offers cash for jewelry and valuable coins. This sign was found at Khayelitsha station in Area Central.



Photo 5.15: Handwritten temporary sign in English

It is interesting that such an informal sign, in this particular area, is written in monolingual English. Ideally it would have been expected that this type of sign be written in a language indigenous to the area in which it is displayed, such as isiXhosa, for example, as opposed to it being written exclusively in English. According to Spolsky

(2009) signs displayed in the LL could include the dominant language of an area, the language of a literate minority, or it could include the language of foreign tourists. In the case of the signage in Photo 5.15, I found that the signage is written in English because the author is a foreign African national, who probably has no knowledge of any of the indigenous South African languages. The intended readership would most likely comprise locals and other foreign African nationals who are able to read and speak English. Also, it can be safely assumed that the author of the sign is able to speak and read English, given that the sign is written in English. This finding confirms Spolsky's (2009) argument that the 'symbolic value condition' describes the language use on a sign that emphasizes ownership. Lastly, the communicative goal of this particular sign may be achieved by the choice of English on the sign whereas the presence of English also signals symbolic value (Spolsky 2009) in that it indexes the ownership of the sign. Similarly to the sign in Photo 5.14, the sign in Photo 5.15 also aims to sell a product.

5.6 English as the language of international communication

Following Spolsky's (2009) distinction between local and global signs, Edelman (2010) argues that proper nouns and brand names affect the results of LL studies and reveal important information about the linguistic situation. The prevalence of English in most LL studies can be attributed to globalization (Backhaus 2006). English serves as the lingua franca in a South African context. The perception that English is aimed mainly at tourists and foreigners is not necessarily accurate Huebner (2006). English has the status of the language of international communication (Cenoz and Gorter 2006). Throughout the world, multilingual signs tend to include English which can be associated with markets of production, consumption, international orientation, modernity, success, sophistication and fun (Cenoz and Gorter 2009). The pervasiveness of Coca-Cola as a brand in the LL of Metrorail is noted. The expansion of international businesses, such as Coca-Cola, has become visible as their presence is pervasive in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. English continues to spread, not only as a global language but also as one of status and power, not only in the Western Cape but throughout South Africa.

Interesting examples of Coca-Cola branding in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail was presented in Photos 10 and 11 above.

A small group of commuters were randomly selected and asked how they perceive multilingualism along the Metrorail network. The general response from these informants was that English is their preferred language of wider communication, particularly when interacting with government organizations such as Metrorail. The fact that English is seen as the preferred lingua franca in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail does not necessarily imply that other languages in South Africa, such as the indigenous African languages, are in decline. Although many of the local African languages might not be displayed in the linguistic landscape, from my observations on Metrorail trains and at stations, these languages are widely spoken languages by the majority of Metrorail commuters. A typical example is the 'Kaaps' language that I hear spoken on trains on a daily basis, however, I have not seen the language displayed on signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail.

5.7 Summary of findings and discussion

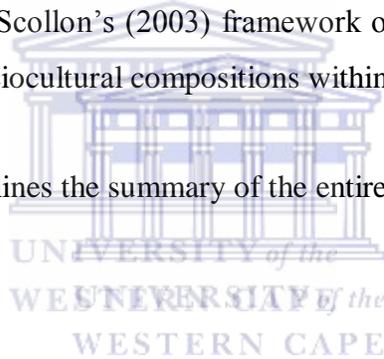
In this chapter the qualitative results were discussed in terms of code preference. The incidence of layering and temporality was also explored. The fourth research objective was to explore the nature and place of multilingualism as a social practice in the public space. The incidence of multilingualism was also discussed in this chapter. For the interpretation of the results, I drew on Ben-Rafael's (2009) structuration principles and Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) conditions for language choice. The use of language proved to be a powerful indicator of identity and revealed how the actors view themselves or prefer to be viewed. It also illustrated the level of importance the actors ascribe to their background compared to their aspired identity which was particularly evident in the official signage categories. The linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape can serve to indicate or index change in a broader South African context, or even the lack thereof. The ethnolinguistic compositions of the survey area are reflected in the linguistic landscapes to some extent. However, minority languages have

a relatively limited presence. Apart from the languages spoken by the various speech communities, other factors play a role, such as power relations, prestige, symbolic value, identity and vitality. The interplay of these factors in the LL of Metrorail has resulted in a somewhat limited display of multilingualism. The results of the data obtained from the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape can be interpreted within a broader South African context which is explored further in chapter 6.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter addressed objective four of the study, thus it discussed the qualitative results in terms of code preference in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. It began by highlighting the methodology used to distinguish code preference in the study as informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of geosemiotics. It then went on to discuss the different sociocultural compositions within the survey area.

The following chapter outlines the summary of the entire study.



Chapter 6

Summary and conclusion

6.0 Introduction

In this thesis I have investigated the linguistic landscape of selected sites at Metrorail in the Western Cape. Through quantitative and qualitative methods, (capturing of photos, observations, statistical quantification of data analysis and cross-section interviews), the study achieved its objectives. Those objectives included: (1) to investigate the written language that appears in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region, (2) to analyze languages and signs produced by the authorities and individuals respectively, for their functional and symbolic value, (3) to discuss the degree of visibility and/or invisibility of the official languages and signage in the face of graffiti and other non-official signage at these sites and (4) to explore the nature and place of multilingualism as social practice in the public space.

In this final chapter, I summarize and recapitulate the study of the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape. I do this by presenting an overview of the main findings and conclusions of the empirical study that was conducted. Firstly, I present a summary of the background to the study. Secondly, I present a summary of answers to the objectives and finally, the conclusion is presented.

6.1 Summary of the background to the study

Scholarly interest in the linguistic landscape has developed significantly in recent years, with numerous publications by various authors. Also, various international conferences and workshops about the study of the linguistic landscape were held over the last few years. The developments in the study of the linguistic landscape can be attributed to the phenomenon of urbanization throughout the world which has resulted in increased linguistic and cultural diversity within cities. In addition, commercial advertising has

become increasingly multilingual as a result of the influence of globalization. Displaying different languages on signs in the linguistic landscape serves to either index a multilingual society or is done merely for pragmatic reasons. The languages displayed on multilingual signs in the public space can be more effectively explored with the help of a digital camera.

South Africa is a multilingual, multicultural society with a unique language policy that aims to promote multilingualism in all spheres of life. With this in mind, I explored the written language on signs in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. The background information needed to interpret the linguistic landscape of Metrorail Western Cape was presented in chapter 1. The historical and demographic information about the Western Cape and its people proved important for the interpretation of the results and findings. Also, an understanding of the language policies of South Africa at national and provincial level facilitated the effective interpretation of the results and findings. The discussion about the development of rail transport in South Africa and the brief overview about the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup placed the study into a broader social context. South Africa has seen major social transformation since 1994. The perception of the self across socio-cultural groups, as well as language attitudes in South Africa has changed. As a result of these changes, English has become the language of wider communication and the preferred language of government communication. English has also become symbolic of power, status and upward mobility. The changed roles of Afrikaans, English, and the Black communities' languages, and the different contributions by top-down and bottom-up agents in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail were explored. In the context of this study it revealed interesting insights about the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape.

The public railway system in the Western Cape is operated by Metrorail, a subsidiary of the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA). PRASA is a government agency that was formed in 2009 under the auspices of the National Department of Transport. A study was conducted on selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape. It was pointed out that the official languages of the Western Cape include English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa.

Although Afrikaans is the mother-tongue of the majority of the population in the Western Cape (SSA 2001), English plays an important role in the linguistic landscape of the region. The public space is essentially the place where various languages come into contact. Different languages are used for texts displayed on signage found in the public space along the Metrorail railway network. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997:23) the linguistic landscape describes “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs”. The study of the linguistic landscape is a relatively recent development in the research of multilingualism in society. Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) define the concept of linguistic landscape as:

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

In the linguistic landscape of Metrorail, a sign was considered to be “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame” as defined in Backhaus (2006:55). Ben-Rafael’s (2009) four structuration principles were used to explain the diversity in the linguistic landscape in terms of the presentation of self, good reasons, power relations, and collective identity. I also used Spolsky and Cooper’s (1991) and Spolsky’s (2009) three conditions for language choice on signs which include the sign-writer’s skill condition, the presumed reader condition and the symbolic value. I drew on Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) system of geosemiotics which addresses the choice and placement of languages on signs. Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) illustration of how code preference is expressed by the placement of languages on signs also proved useful.

It is acknowledged that there is a lack of consistent methodology in previous LL research which makes comparison between studies difficult. However, there are a number of methodological similarities between the present study and other previous LL case studies. For example, the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape was explored using both a quantitative and qualitative approach which follows a similar methodology to case studies in Backhaus (2007), Shohamy and Gorter (2009), Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni (2010) and also Edelman (2010). The summary of the

historical and demographic composition of the Western Cape in chapter 1 provided a backdrop for the effective analysis and interpretation of language choices in the survey area. In addition, the demographic information, taken from census data, also helps to place the study into a broader context. The main methodological aspects entailed the identification of the survey area, the unit of analysis and the categorization of the LL items as discussed in Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), Backhaus (2007), Shohamy and Gorter (2009) and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, Barni (2010).

6.2 Summary of answers to the research objectives

With regards to the first research objective concerning the written language that appears in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region, the predominant home languages of the population in the Western Cape are Afrikaans, followed by isiXhosa and English respectively, in this order (SSA 2001). However, this data is contradicted by the linguistic reality in terms of the distribution of languages found on signage in the survey area. The languages found in the survey shows that English dominates the linguistic landscape, followed by Afrikaans and then isiXhosa. The findings reveal anomalies between census data and the LL results. The majority of the Western Cape population is Afrikaans-speaking but the lack of Afrikaans signage could be interpreted to suggest the opposite. In contrast to this, English dominates the LL despite the fact that it ranks third as a home language among the Western Cape population. This finding concurs with Backhaus (2006) who argues that English is pervasive and has high prestige worldwide whether it is spoken by the majority of people in a community or not.

The second research objective deals the languages and signs produced by the authorities and individuals for their functional and symbolic value. Various factors that come into play were identified, for example, the type of actor, such as government, who generally use the official languages of the Western Cape, whereas private agents tend to use a wider variety of languages. The actual linguistic reality does not accurately reflect the aims of the Western Cape language policy in terms promoting multilingualism.

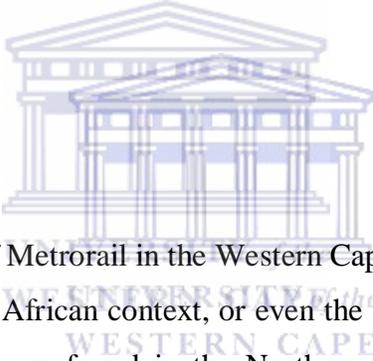
According to this policy, all official notices, signs and advertisements are supposed to be issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English but this is not necessarily the case as reflected in the data. Furthermore, private enterprises are tasked to adhere to the framework of the Provincial Language Policy but in reality the language on the non-official signs found in the survey area tends to be mostly in English. Exploring the symbolic function of the LL revealed the dynamics shaping the language situation explained above. The LL of Metrorail is used to express and maintain power relations. It is also used to express and create identity. The position of Afrikaans in the public space has declined since the end of apartheid. The limited presence of the indigenous African languages could be interpreted as a lack of power in the African population in the Western Cape. However, this is obviously not the case given that the African National Congress is the government of the country. The LL of Metrorail is therefore significant because it illustrates that there is a strong tendency by official agents to identify with English.

The third research objective dealt with the degree of visibility of the official languages and signage in the face of graffiti and other non-official signage. The incidence of graffiti was discussed in terms of how it marks the public space. Also, the power relations at play as reflected by the presence of transgressive art in the face of the official and non-official signage in the LL were explored. Although graffiti is displayed at Metrorail sites throughout the Western Cape, it is particularly endemic to the Southern Suburbs. Graffiti is prohibited in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail. In the eyes of commuters and authorities, the presence of graffiti essentially indexes urban degeneration. This view contrasts the intended messages of graffiti artists, who claim to express inter alia collective identity and to challenge the power relations in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail.

The fourth research objective was to explore the nature and place of multilingualism as a social practice in the public space at selected Metrorail sites in the Western Cape region. The methodology used to distinguish code preference in this study is informed by Scollon and Scollon's (2003) framework of geosemiotics. It was noted that the different

sociocultural compositions within the survey area presented differing patterns of language use. The use of language proved to be a powerful indicator of identity. For example, the results show that the LL is used by the African population to create a new identity by power of association with English. In doing so, they deliberately marginalize their own languages in the public space. The use of language on signage in the LL of Metrorail illustrated how the official and non-official agents view themselves and how they prefer to be viewed. Also, the level of importance these agents assign to their background compared to their desired identity was particularly evident in the official signage categories. A good example is the pervasive presence of English and the virtual absence of indigenous African languages, particularly at stations in Area Central. The findings concerning the power relations at play and the concepts of identity illustrate that the LL is indeed a “symbolic construction of the public space” as argued by Ben-Rafael (2009:41).

6.3 Conclusion

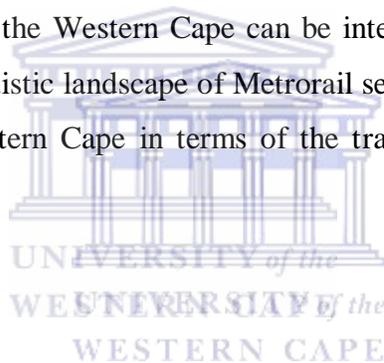


The linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape can be interpreted as indexing change in a broader South African context, or even the lack thereof. A good example is the Afrikaans-English signage found in the Northern Suburbs that dates back to the apartheid era. However, a possible reason for the presence of this type of hybrid signage is due to the slow roll-out of the new monolingual English PRASA signage. I have seen a few samples of the new PRASA signage which is presently being erected at Metrorail sites throughout South Africa. This new signage will be predominantly in English with some isiXhosa translations. Ironically, the once dominant Afrikaans language has now been completely removed from the new railway signage.

The ethnolinguistic compositions of the survey area are reflected in the linguistic landscape to some extent. However, minority languages have a relatively limited presence in all Metrorail service areas. This was particularly the case for non-official signage where the use of English was preferred. In addition to the languages spoken by the various speech communities, other factors such as power relations, prestige,

symbolic value, identity and vitality also come into play. The interplay of these factors in the LL of Metrorail has resulted in a somewhat limited display of multilingualism. The linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape was explored bearing in mind that the LL reflects society and also helps shape it. Although English is the preferred language on signage in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail, many of the indigenous African languages are widely spoken by the majority of Metrorail commuters. Notably, the 'Kaaps' language is probably the most commonly spoken language in the linguistic landscape of Metrorail in the Western Cape.

Essentially, the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape was found to relate to changed language attitudes and perceptions, the maintenance of power relations, the expression of identity, and the desire to be perceived in a certain way. The results of the data found in the LL of Metrorail in the Western Cape can be interpreted within a broader South African context. The linguistic landscape of Metrorail serves to index the socio-political developments in the Western Cape in terms of the transformed sociolinguistic South African identity.



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