Exploring linguistic landscapes in selected South African universities: A case study of the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape

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Abstract
This study explores issues of language policy and language practice in the linguistic landscapes (LLs) of two South African universities located in the Western Cape province, namely the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It analyses language forms or modes as they are utilised in disseminating information in the public spaces of the higher institutions of learning, in line with Kress's (2012: 205) assertion that modes are interactive channels of communication. This article specifically examines the modes of communication used in the selected universities, the influence of cultural overtones on language use and choice, and the depiction of power relations in the LLs of these universities. An in-depth, qualitative study was conducted using the explorative case study design. Data was collected in the form of photographs, and analysed thematically using Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodality. The findings of this study reveal some contrasts between the National Language Policy of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996–2018, and the language practice portrayed in the public spaces of the selected campuses. They unveil incongruence between the espoused policy and policy in action. We examined the mode of presentation of the observed languages with regard to the language population of the institutions, authorship, and signage approaches (bottom-up and top-down placements). These presentation modes were considered in terms of their implications for practice and the move towards achievable racial and linguistic integration in these culturally, historically, politically, and linguistically diverse institutions. The study recommends a consistent implementation of

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language practice that is in harmony with the institutional, and the nation's, language policy in a bid to ensure inclusivity in South Africa's higher institutions of learning.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Multimodality, language policy, bottom-up, top-down, racial integration, linguistic landscaping

1.   Introduction

Languages are everywhere around us, and are significant in creating a lasting impression (Kasanga 2012: 1). They are doors that open other doors using available modal resources. This explains Mühlausler's (2003) assertion that languages are not isolated systems but interact with other systems outside linguistics, such as symbols, signs, culture, politics, and the environment. An attempt to dissociate language from signs thus automatically restricts the adequate comprehension of texts (Pennycook 2007: 49). The use and display of signs in various private and public spaces – including on posters, in shops, and windows (Gorter 2008: 1) – serve to disseminate vital information. Languages and symbols may also be used differently in various instances, and for different reasons and purposes. For instance, Stroud and Mpendukana's (2009: 364) study of linguistic landscapes (LLs) and their contextual interactions found that space is essential to a productive presentation of items and ideas.

LLs are thus publicly-used signs which enable an understanding of what one place stands for in comparison with another (Ben-Rafael 2009: 40). Bourhis and Landry (2002: 23) term this "language that is visible within a given area or space". LLs enhance an understanding of contextual influences on texts (and vice versa) through an appraisal of their communicative values in relation to society, events, and the audience. Research into this aspect of sociolinguistics is conducted especially in multilingual settings (Coulmas 2009: 14) as texts are historically, socially, and politically significant tools of communication (McGregor 2010: 2). LLs reveal the given and new intertextual aspects of texts (Mpendukana 2014: 475). "Intertextual", in this instance, refers to how particular wordings or images are used or recycled across different communicative texts, and how meanings evolve and assume different connotations as messages move over time and space (Mpendukana 2014). This ensures an adequate examination of LL in terms of languages' existence, hierarchy, use, and power in communities. It is interesting to see how these features manifest in this study's data, and how they led to further exploration of various societal dynamics. In this article, both formal and informal signage present in the LLs of two South African universities located in the Western Cape province, namely the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC), were examined and analysed for this purpose. We thus extracted and analysed products of text producers from vastly different contexts, such as government-controlled/-authored texts as well as self-authored texts.

2.   Literature review

The term "linguistic landscape" was first used in 1997 by Landry and Bourhis, and was later explored and developed by language, sociology, and ethnography researchers (Moriarty 2012). However, this phenomenon has more recently been receiving much attention. It is said to have a deep-rooted connection with sociolinguistics, social psychology, geography, media studies, and sociology (Sebba 2010: 17). LL has recently been observed by various researchers as it is believed that a community's language usage is reflected in the texts displayed in its public spaces

(Pavlenko 2009, Shohamy and Gorter 2009). Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define linguistic landscaping as language used in public places, on posters, billboards, and streets, amongst others. An investigation into LLs enables comprehension of the nature of the relationship between language and society (Mpendukana 2014: 467), as well as the role one plays in the other. It also provides adequate knowledge of the functional business of linguistics and discourse in an organisation and in society at large, and, more importantly, increases our knowledge of the intended meanings of texts.

Similarly, LL indicates language presence, choice, usage per region, and the reasons for usage (Barni and Bagna 2009: 129). For instance, studies have reported that English is widely and consistently used in LLs in Tokyo and Bangkok (Heubner 2006), as well as in Donostia-San Sebastian and Ljouwert-Leeuwarden (Cenoz and Gorter 2006). This may imply that English is dominant in such communities, while other existing languages may be used at home and in other informal settings. Reactions to the excessive usage of English abound, as seen in Papen's (2012: 56) example of Germany's use of English in a mono-directional way. On this note, researchers (for instance, Heyd 2014: 489) claim that linguistic landscaping deals mainly with English texts and famous terms or slogans. This is debatable, however, as texts which are written in other languages are displayed in public spaces, and can also be studied on the same scale.

In addition, Gorter (2006) explains that the definition of LL can also extend to the description of the history or knowledge of languages which focus on the written language that is used in public spaces. LL thus contributes to the construction of sociolinguistic contexts, as publicly placed signs often disparately affect and influence the linguistic behaviours and language use of people who reside in particular communities. For instance, the languages which are approved and practised as the official language of a country or institution can be a clear indicator of the language policy of that region. That is, the signage used on the landscapes of a society contextually reveals the language ideologies of that government and the population/occupants of that space. A lack of such depictions may birth inconsistencies between the language policy of a community, the publicly used signs (Abongdia 2013), its people's identities, and other present languages (which are often considered minority languages). In other words, identities are fashioned (Stroud and Wee 2007) and hugely impacted upon using language practices.

The implication of this is that the selected languages used in public spaces often suggest the significance of that language in the region. It may then be noted that the language used in open spaces implies an acknowledgement that such a language is spoken or exists in the community. The inference of this would also be that available but unused languages are not duly recognised by the government, community members, or visitors. This accentuates the importance of linguistic landscaping as the society's lingual mirror which detects monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism, and – as Pavlenko (2009: 247) puts it – "the expression of language conflicts". LL research therefore has a significant impact on society.

Many credible studies have been conducted on linguistic landscaping, for instance, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) studied selected words displayed on street signs, their gradual change, and the influence of political variation on LLs in Jerusalem. Landry and Bourhis (1997) also examined bilingualism, linguistic attitudes, and the beliefs of minority language speakers in Québec. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) researched the variations of linguistic landscapes in Jerusalem, while Cenoz and Gorter (2006) conducted an analysis of the linguistic landscaping of Friesland (a street in the Netherlands) and the Basque Country. They examined the role of the power dynamics of English,

and minority and national languages on utilised signs. These indicated that language and context have a symbiotic relationship and are therefore inseparable (Heller 2007: 1, Pennycook 2010: 8). Their dependent status, coupled with the language policy, sign authorship, and space then impact on the nature of signage/text that is produced and displayed in public places.

The terms "signage" and "text" are used interchangeably in this article. "Text" includes all means of communication such as verbal, non-verbal, written, appearing inside and outside buildings, on the internet, as well as in the physical environment (Shohamy and Waksman 2009, Waksman and Shohamy 2010). The signs found at universities or within the vicinity of universities, for instance, can be referred to as "texts" as they are also forms of communication and are meaning-bearing. Kallen (2009: 108) defines "signage" as a confined speech act which occurs at a site where signs are placed. They are deliberate attempts at invoking interactions between authors and audiences. According to Backhaus (2007: 4), signs are categorised under two sections: semiotic signs (signs which indicate linguistic or product presence/availability), and public signs (inscribed or figurative signs which give instruction or information). In a bid to adequately capture these thoughts, opinions, and views, and convey them to a target audience, texts are transmitted via multimodal means and displayed in public spaces. They are, therefore, inclusive of "the spoken, drawn, perceived, articulated thoughts of people and their lived experiences" (Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 214).

2.1   Linguistic landscaping: The South African situation

It is important to study the public use of some languages when they are used in preference over others, as well as the influence of this usage on language policies in African contexts. This is in a bid to detect and reveal issues of language inequality which eventually lead to truncated identities in communities. It also enables the ample preservation of language and history. For instance, most African countries – e.g. Rwanda, Nigeria, and South Africa – are typical examples of places with landscapes which have deep and memorable reference to past events, heroes and their achievements. These LLs are also intentional depictions of their cultural, religious, political, and linguistic distinctness and similarities.

South Africa is racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse, and this nation's diversity and its acknowledgement thereof span across many (non-)academic institutions. Post-apartheid South Africa is also distinctive as a result of the promotion of the country's 11 indigenous and most spoken languages (South African Government 2019) to the status of official languages (Moloi 1999). The effective implementation of this policy, however, remains a seemingly insurmountable challenge (Du Plessis 2011), hence the focus on language usage and practice from time to time.

Researching the South African LL over the years has yielded significant results (Du Plessis 2010, Kotze and Du Plessis 2010) such as the detection of imbalance, and the creation of awareness thereof through research findings which may have impacted on language use. There have been notable changes with regard to the language used in public spaces over the years. One such language change is linked to English and Afrikaans due to the 1994 regime change. This change led to the international acknowledgement (Martinéz-Roldán 2004) of many South African languages, raised socio-political concerns, influenced LLs all over the country (Coupland 2011), and enhanced migration (Barni and Bagna 2010). An example is the drastic transformation in the LLs of some neighbourhoods in Cape Town since 1994 (Deumert and Mabandla 2006). Language

shift and the public portrayal of modal resources are, therefore, two interesting themes that cannot be ignored in this study. Dyers (2008) also confirms this developing linguistic shift in South Africa which is viewed from the perspective of languages over time being overthrown or dominated by new languages which have been chosen by community members. This is also sometimes evident in the language displayed in selected spaces. When languages become redundant, lack development, or are relegated to subordinate positions under others, the users of such languages sometimes opt for the more dominant language.

A reason for the aforementioned transformation could be the influx of western principles, knowledge, and languages into the country. Although Murray (2008: 145) states that westernisation and glamourisation have been recorded in South African landscapes since the end of apartheid in 1994, the massive shift towards English started before then. However, there may be obvious differences between the current and previously used LLs in the nation due to language use and dominance. In their study of the LLs of a university in South Africa, Weber and Horner (2012) found that English is mostly used on this university's premises (and other formal settings) even though most students are not mother-tongue speakers of this language. This connotes that English is the most noticeable language at that university, which Ricento (2006) terms "commonsense placement". This ideology suggests that linguistic and discursive awareness is constructed in the interest of a specific group of language users (Kroskrity 2000: 8) who, in this instance, are the first-language users of English while the "others" are excluded. This is non-compliant with the language policy of the university and with South Africa's National Language Policy (NLP) (South African Government 2018). Such findings are not completely unusual in studies of LLs as landscapes mostly present the available norms, cultures, practices, and language forms in a community.

LLs, while reflecting language shift, also reveal political influences on language use and change (Pavlenko 2010: 148). In other words, a dominant language in use is usually a result of power dynamics and the ideologies of current policy makers. Hegemony is thus of continuous interest in the study of language and LLs, as some languages have been identified as more dominant than or inferior to others. An example is the spread and use of English in landscapes, which is a major concern for researchers (Phillipson 2003). It emphasises the issues of power and language inequality in bilingual and multilingual settings (Phillipson 2003). It also confirms Ricento's (2006) ideology of "commonsense placement" of languages and Du Plessis' (2011) assertion that, although LL is similar to language perceptibility, there has been no correlation between the official language policy that was propagated before and after 1994. Since the language policy of an institution is supposedly revealed by its LL (Pavlenko 2009), it is worthwhile to conduct a sociolinguistic study of the existing LLs and language policies with a view to establishing the extent of the accommodation of cultural and linguistic diversity and inclusivity in public and private establishments. One of the ways of ensuring a linguistic balance is through the observation of languages used in public places and, in this case, within two academic institutions.

In an attempt to understand the ways in which universities identify themselves in their natural settings, this paper examines the LLs of UCT and UWC. It discusses "glocal" literature on LLs and language policy in relation to the information gathered at the selected research sites.

2.2   UCT's and UWC's geographical locations and people

UCT and the UWC are both located in the Western Cape province which is largely dominated by Afrikaans speakers. However, the presence of other South African indigenous-language-speaking students and staff at these universities cannot be overlooked. This highlights the level of diversity that could be exhibited via the LLs of these universities, even though it may be expected that only the languages which are spoken in such environments and approved in the institutional and/or national language policies are practised and promoted at these universities. UCT's Upper Campus comprises the faculties of Science, Engineering, Commerce, and Humanities, as well as Smuts Hall and Fuller Hall residences. Located in Jameson Hall and housing the famous Chancellor Oppenheimer Library, Upper Campus was built in two years (1928–1930) and hosts several important activities such as graduations, official ceremonies, and examinations. Data collection was completed on 15 September 2018, starting from the entrance to the campus. For UWC, data was collected on 14 September 2018, starting from the gate. UWC's campus is in Bellville, a suburb north of central Cape Town, and is the university's main campus where courses offered include Public Health, Physics, and Chemistry, amongst many others.

Large numbers of students are admitted annually to UCT. The number and percentages of students enrolled per year, as well as their various racial groups, are highlighted in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Student enrolment by population group 2009–2013, showing percentage growth on base (University of Cape Town 2015, South African Government 2019)

	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**Growth (%)**	**Total (%)**	**Staff (%)**
SA Black	5068	5323	5744	6012	6199	6813	28.67	25.23	4.5
SA Coloured	3623	3653	3687	3530	3573	3601	0.73	13.34	4.5
SA Indian	1630	1681	1671	1701	1714	1813	11.6	6.72	7.9
SA White	8984	9183	8992	8814	8434	8093	-10.69	30	54.1
International	3821	4171	4268	4802	4708	4674	19.57	17.32	5.2
Other	886	1003	1146	1191	1488	1993	73.28	7.39	-
Total	**24012**	**25014**	**25508**	**26505**	**26116**	**26987**	**-0.32**	**100**	**100 -(768)**

At UCT, English is the language of teaching, learning, and administration. However, the institution's language policy emphasises the multilingual nature of the institution and the nation at large (University of Cape Town 2003), thereby ensuring that diversity and multilingualism are embedded in the university's academic and social activities. UWC, on the other hand, was founded in 1959 specifically for "coloured" students (Mafofo 2010), and was for the "sidelined" who enrolled for restricted courses (Wolpe 1995: 283). UWC gradually transformed to embrace diverse cultures and races. This could not have been achieved without various student protests (from 1970–1975) for more appreciation of diversity and language freedom after the first 20 years of the university's establishment. To date, UWC continues its pursuit for a more open, diverse, and inclusive environment and academic system for its staff and students. The university houses seven faculties, namely Arts, Community and Health Sciences, Dentistry: pre-clinical, Economic and Management Sciences, Education, Law, and Natural Sciences. These faculties comprise students of different racial backgrounds and nationalities as detailed in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Percentage of students and executive staff population by race at UWC (Pillay and Hoffman 2009)

Students (15 074 in total)	%
Coloured	46.5
Black	38.4
Indian	7.5
White	4.3
Other	4.3
International students	9
Students from other African countries	7.2
Executive staff (7 in total)	**%**
Coloured	42.8
Black	14.3
Indian	14.3
White	28.6
Other	-
International students	-
Students from other African countries	-

UWC is committed to excellence and is driven to encourage cultural diversity and knowledge of the official languages primarily used in the Western Cape, namely isiXhosa, English, and Afrikaans. While implementing and encouraging the use of isiXhosa and English, Afrikaans is still largely an important part of the institution in a bid to preserve UWC's history and legacy. This university has also committed to organising culturally enriched programmes and translating books from other languages into these three languages in order to enable students to become familiar with these languages. The university has been ranked sixth in South Africa, seventh in Africa, and 885th in the world (University of the Western Cape's Institutional Advancement 2013). UWC's language policy focuses on the assurance of fairness, social growth, as well as multilingual and cultural respect and acknowledgement (University of the Western Cape 2003) of and by both staff and students.

2.3   The National Language Policy and language practice

For this study, an understanding of the language policies of the selected universities and the linguistic groups of the students they serve is relevant in order to determine the values of the provided services (academic, social, and linguistic). Furthermore, it is important to consider the provisions of the South African Census (Statistics South Africa 2011) and the NLP which are highlighted below:

    i.   South Africa's official languages are Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga.

    ii.   All indigenous languages must be used, elevated and advanced since they were once historically disadvantaged.

    iii.   (a) At least two official languages may be used in a province by the government of a province and these languages must be used by the national and provincial governments specifically considering the province, pragmatism, cost, requests

and choice of the people living in that community. (b) Municipalities are to acknowledge the language use and choice of the people living in that province.

iv.   Governments (National and Provincial) must judicially control and amend the used official languages. The provisions of subsection (2) [which states that all official languages must be acknowledged and must receive equal treatment and respect] must be adhered to at all times.

(South African Government 2019)

Provision (i) specifies the approved official languages in South Africa, and Provision (ii) mandates the compulsory usage and advancement of all indigenous languages as a result of their disadvantaged history. Provision (iii) dictates the compulsory use of at least two of the spoken languages in the province, while also placing emphasis on people's use and choice of language in the space. The languages spoken in the Western Cape province are Afrikaans (49.7%), isiXhosa (27.7%), and English (20.3%) (Census 2011: 23). Provision (iv) expresses the Government's role in ensuring that these official languages are pragmatically controlled and improved, and that they must be used at an equal level.

In addition, the Language Policy of Higher Education (LPHE; see South African Government 2018 and South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2017) identifies the presence and significance of multilingualism in South Africa's higher education. This policy was designed for the advancement of multilingualism in higher education (South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2017), and for the purpose of the transformation of higher education as well as promoting previously marginalised South African indigenous languages. As with the NLP, the LPHE acknowledges all of South Africa's indigenous languages alongside languages of communication in higher education (South African Government 2018, South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2017). It also emphasises the development of multilingualism for scholarly, economic, and social development. Higher education institutions are thus encouraged to embrace and effect the policy.

3.   Theoretical issues

This study utilised a two-pronged theoretical framework, namely Multimodality (MDA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a multidisciplinary theory which reveals complexities that exist in the interactions of texts (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 448) as well as the imbibed social values, socio-cultural distinctions, and observed power dynamics (Van Dijk 1993: 252). This explains why CDA can be used as both or either a method of analysis and/or a theory (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 16) as it describes and interprets discourses socially, and explains the processes and workings of discourses (Rogers 2004: 2) per context (Lucke 1996: 12). MDA, on the other hand, is similar to Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (Constantinou 2005, O'Halloran 2011) as it explains that texts have more in-depth meanings than what they appear to mean (Halliday 1994: 339). MDA thus necessitates a further movement from linguistics to social semiotics with an intention to account for and describe various modes of communication (Martin and Rose 2003: 255) such as gesture, image, and music, among others. These multimodal resources are meaning-making (Kress 2010b) and change-creating during or after interpretation. This indicates that language is, in effect, not the core of communication (Iedema 2003). Kress (2010: 105) provides a basic definition of MDA as "the making of a sign, its shaping, available discourses and genres and their usage, texts, modes and their togetherness, the symbolic and communicative functions of signs, the uniquely diverse semiotic means of

modes and their framing". This means that a due interpretation of texts is largely dependent on other surrounding elements or factors, which is why it was important for us to study collected texts using both MDA and CDA to interpret and detect power issues, respectively.

3.1   Methodology

For this study, the Case Study design was utilised, as the purpose of the research was to collect and analyse language forms/modes in the form of LLs as they were employed in disseminating information in the public places of two South African higher institutions of learning. Data was collected qualitatively and analysed thematically using CDA and MDA. Quantitative methods were also employed mostly during the analysis as it became necessary to ascertain and make comparisons between modes, their appearances, and their uses. A camera (Voyager digital) and a phone camera were used to take pictures of the sighted semiotic resources (such as posters, warning signs, pictures, images, and billboards) on the campuses. Apart from the data collected on site, we also retrieved data from the universities' websites, especially with regard to ascertaining the vision, history, and mission of the selected institutions of learning (see University of Cape Town 2015 and University of the Western Cape's Institutional Advancement 2013). As a result of the target number of signs we aimed to collect, it was important to determine the types of samples to collect bearing the aim of the research in mind (stated above). The camera was used to collect random, on-site, intra-campus data at the universities. Data was collected on site by taking photographs starting from a few kilometres from the entrance gates of UCT's Upper Campus, and UWC's main campus. Other semiotic resources such as brochures, marketing profiles, website information, and promotional videos were also downloaded from the institutions' webpages. Additionally, some of these semiotic resources were found in lecture venues, restaurants, and toilets. The language used, arrangement, colour significances, as well as font sizes of texts were noted. Four hundred modes (200 from each university) were purposively collected, however, some (about 20 pictures) were blurry and unclear, and had to be excluded from the data. For each sign, the researchers took as many pictures as possible, and the best pictures in terms of picture quality were then selected. Two hundred data (100 for each campus) were eventually selected for analysis as they were deemed suitable for the study's aim and questions.

3.2   Data analysis

As previously mentioned, MDA and CDA were utilised as both theoretical frameworks and methods of analysis in the detection and exploration of the observed and existing power, social, political, and linguistic dynamics in the LLs of both universities. MDA was used to analyse the visual data (images) while CDA was used for the written data that was collected in person as soon as all ethical clearances had been granted. Just as CDA was used to detect and analyse language-related issues, MDA was used to analyse texts which contained images and other sighted visual aids such as symbols and cartoons. The texts were then analysed thematically to determine any and all themes as they emerged from the data. The occurrence and re-occurrence of modes were categorised, and CDA aided the detection of hidden and obvious themes. Identifying the used modes in relation to their placement and ordering enhanced an understanding of existing language ideologies, and further prompted an exploration of the language population in contrast to and similarity with present languages. Textual and contextual implications of the data were thus considered during the interpretation of the collected signage. Data was categorised according to themes (as suggested by McGregor 2010: 3) and then coded.

Rigorous data description and interpretation (in line with Rogers et al. 2005: 371) were ensured in order to prevent over-analysing or misinterpretations, after which collected modes were critiqued in ascertaining language dynamics. Gorter's (2006) suggestions on profitable coding with the aid of vital data collection strategies were utilised, as we aimed to identify (i) the available modes, (ii) the utilised modes and possible reasons for usage, and (iii) the location, presentation, ordering, and arrangement of modes.

As expected, the purposive collection of 400 units of data from both campuses is likely to prevent some level of generalisability (Flick 2014: 542). Purposive sampling, however, seemed to be the best approach for us to use in this situation based on the fact that 200 pictures (100 from each university) were eventually selected for analysis in the study. The purposive selection of these samples happened to be the most realistic way of staying within the scope of the research and gathering strictly suitable and useable data. Thus, it was anticipated that should generalisability not be achieved, reliability and validity would be paramount for the study. We anticipated that since the institutions are public universities, their policies would be in sync with those of the national Government. One would assume that LLs are shaped by language policies which in turn are shaped by politico-ideological realities. Thus, the aim of the study was not to support or negate any previous claims made by researchers, but rather to determine by using a linguistic lens the present situation of events with definite relation to past occurrences.

4.   Findings and discussion

Based on the findings of this study, some of the specifications of the language policy are not met. The LLs of both campuses defy the framework that represents the language population and categories in the Western Cape province. Our findings reveal that the languages represented at the universities are English (majorly), Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (minimally). In this case, and based on language usage and choice, English comes first, followed by Afrikaans and then isiXhosa. English appeared in 83% and 61% (see Table 3 below) of the LLs of UCT's Upper Campus and UWC's Main Campus, respectively. This automatically places the other minimally-used languages in the minority on both campuses. Research into LLs often reveals issues such as inequality in terms of language use and representation in public spaces. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) opine that, with regard to minority languages, LL reflects the existence and positioning of language in the society. This sort of intentional language use is also termed "late capitalism" by Duchêne and Heller (2012) which, as Da Silva and Heller (2009) posit, has made language more an economic than linguistic symbol. This therefore provides some insight into the issues of language positioning, and its impact on a community and its members.

Our findings support previous studies on language representation and positioning (Cenoz and Gorter 2006, Heubner 2006). The dominant usage and positioning of English in the UCT LLs were also noticed at UWC, and this appears to be a generic practice at both institutions (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: A representation of observed languages in the LLs of the institutions

	UCT		UWC	
	No. of Signs	%	No. of Signs	%
English	83	83	61	61
Afrikaans (and English)	10	10	22	22
IsiXhosa (and English)	5	5	11	11
IsiZulu (and English)	2	2	6	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
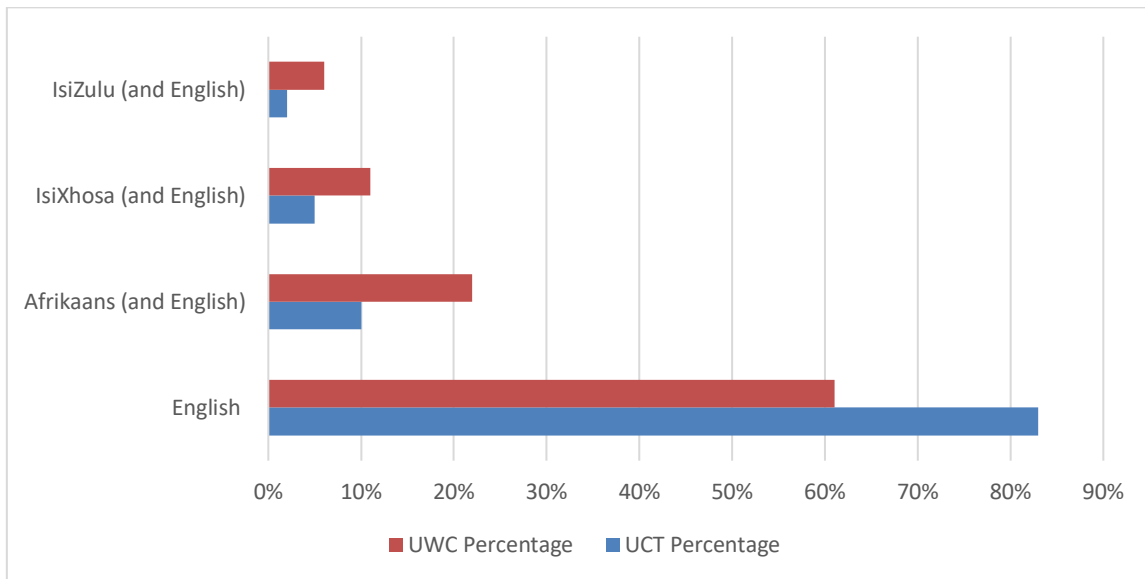
Figure 1. Observed languages in the LLs of the universities

Figure 1 above illustrates the number of signs that appeared in English, isiZulu, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa on both campuses. At UCT, only 10% of the signs on campus were in Afrikaans and other languages, 5% in isiXhosa and other languages, and 2% in isiZulu and other languages, with English being the majority at 83%. At UWC, on the other hand, 22% of the signs were in Afrikaans and other languages, 11% in isiXhosa and other languages, and 6% in isiZulu and other languages, with the usage of English again being the majority at 61%. The excessive usage of English in both institutions' LLs confirms the status of this language as one of acceptance by or recognition at the universities, and a result of changing student body demographics.

Despite the historical emergence of English in many African countries, it is indisputable that it is a language of wider communication, and can reach more consumers without a serious need for translation. This may be the reason for its preference on the campuses in this study, while the other indigenous languages "take a backseat". Papen (2012) describes this as a powerful display of language strength, similar to the case of France where certain languages are lawfully required to be seen in public places (Blackwood 2009: 179). One may assume that English-language usage and display also benefit a wider group of people, which in this case, besides the first-language speakers of English, would be second- or third-language English speakers (including international students from non-English speaking countries such as France and the Democratic Republic of Congo) and other non-English speaking audiences. Ustinova and Bhatia (2005) derived similar results where the reasons for the preference of English over

indigenous Russian was a result of the former being viewed as a language of sophistication and globalisation, and symbolising modernity and westernisation.

English thus appears to be some authors' preferred language. Some may interpret this dominance of English as an attempt to ensure that the intended audience is not detached in the process of communication, and that university communities are becoming more multicultural and multilingual as a result of the variously developing dynamics of internationalisation and nationalisation (Archer 2011: 131). Hence, the language is perceived as a "must learn" or "must use" in the settings where it is displayed. It is, however, pertinent to understand that this also implies dawdling developmental processes for other so-called "official" languages, and is in fact a social justice issue. Table 4 below gives a breakdown the authorship of signs on the campuses.

Table 4: Authorship of signs at the institutions

	Authors of signs							
	UCT				**UWC**			
	Management	**%**	Non-Management	**%**	Management	**%**	Non-Management	**%**
Monolingual	91	91%	1	1%	65	65%	14	14%
Bilingual	1	1%	1	1%	6	6%	3	3%
Multilingual	3	3%	3	3%	9	9%	3	3%
Total	95	95%	5	5%	80	80%	20	20%
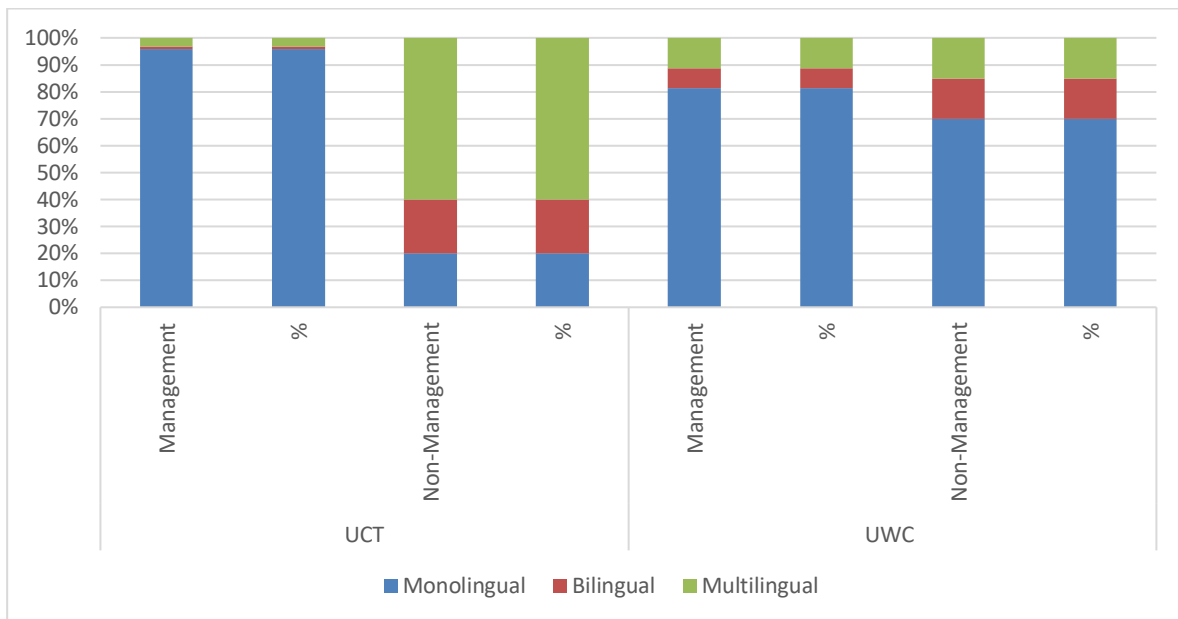
Figure 2. Authorship of signs at the universities

The percentages in Table 4 and Figure 2 denote the number of signs that were posted by the universities' management and those posted by individual authors. At UCT, while 91% of the monolingual signs on campus were the management's, 1% of the signs were non-management signs, 1% were bilingual signs from both sections, and multilingual signs constituted 3% of the signs from both management and non-management. Similarly, at UWC, 65% of the monolingual signs were posted by management, 14% by non-management, 6% of bilingual signs were posted

by management, and 3% by non-management, while 9% of the multilingual signs were posted by management and 3% were authored by non-management. Several top-down signs, which appeared to have been placed in strategic spaces by the Government or the universities' management, were found on both campuses. This made most of the signs somewhat monotonous in nature as almost similar styles, wordings, and approaches were used in their designs and presentation. This finding supports Landry and Bourhis' (1997: 23) assertion that top-down signage is incomparable with bottom-up signage in terms of linguistic diversity. Bottom-up signs usually possess more variety (such as language and spacing) as a result of their authors' linguistic autonomy.

However, from this study, it can be deduced that the attempt at internationalisation may favour South Africans who speak English as a mother tongue as well as some international students/audiences (members of English-speaking countries) over others (members of non-English-speaking countries). The result is that an obvious preference for a language may be equated to the preference of its speakers as well as the inherent political and economic styles over others. Nonetheless, other students, staff, and visitors who do not fall within this bracket may be disadvantaged. Torkington (2009) pinpoints an aspect of language dominance in her study where English was found to be more dominant in relation to Portuguese, which she ascribed as being a deliberate commercial move by certain sectors. In this case, language is thus a valuable instrument in the commercialisation of products (Papen 2012: 56). In our study, English appears to be the predominantly used language on both campuses, which confirms Weber and Horner's (2012) findings in their study of the LL of a South African university. They found that despite the fact that most of the students at the university are not first-language speakers of English, English is the most depicted language on the university's premises. It also means that the "commonsense placement" (Ricento 2006) of languages on both campuses intentionally benefits a specific group of people (Kroskrity 2000: 8) who, in this instance, are first-language users of English, while "others" may be disadvantaged. This is similar to the cases of Portugal (Torkington 2009) and Russia (Ustinova and Bhatia 2005) where English is gradually subverting these major indigenous languages. The "sophistication" of English is indeed evident here in its intentional usage.

Unfortunately, this finding indicates that not much of an implementation of the NLP has been actuated since Weber and Horner's (2012) aforementioned results. The rare usage of the prescribed indigenous languages (or partial adherence to the NLP) at the two campuses indicates the influence of language "controllers", management, as well as the language speakers/users in these spaces. This raises curiosity about the fate of absent or present but unused languages, as well as that of the students, staff, or visitors who expectedly speak one or more of those un-/under-recognised or minimally-represented languages. It also confirms Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna's (2004: 61) assertion that modal resources which are used in public spaces may not necessarily speak to the linguistic and cultural diversity therein. The usage of a particular language more than others in a given space certainly has some semantic connotations with regard to its relevance, acknowledgement, presence, and practice within the space.

4.1   Spatial ordering of signage and language dominance

Eldeman (2010) opines that languages with greater acknowledgement are mostly used in LLs, and the less acknowledged ones are used minimally. As a result of language domination and subordination in linguistic settings, language users' identities are mostly affected by various forms of power dynamics (Pujolar 2007, Lefebvre 2009, Coupland 2011, Duchêne and Heller

2012, Weber and Horner 2012, Edelman 2014) which may come in various dimensions. Space is thus sociolinguistically depicted as it is easily detected and accepted (Lefebvre 1991), and it represents policymakers' and authors' views on and perceptions of phenomena (Trumper-Hecht 2009: 237). This implies that signage approaches enable signs to be categorised based on their linguistic usage and arrangements. Signs are examined in terms of their designs as either top-down or bottom-up, and both were sighted at the campuses thus prompting exploration into the spatial ordering of the collected signs. At both UCT and UWC, there were only a few bottom-up signs, which were mostly in English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa, and a prominence of top-down signs on display, most likely from the Government which has major control over the political, social, linguistic, and historical resources of the country as well as the institutions' management. Additionally, most of the signs were either monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual. While UWC's Figure 3a and UCT's Figure 6b below show a mix of Afrikaans and English, the majority of the texts (such as UCT's Figure 3a and UWC's Figure 8c) were monomodal.
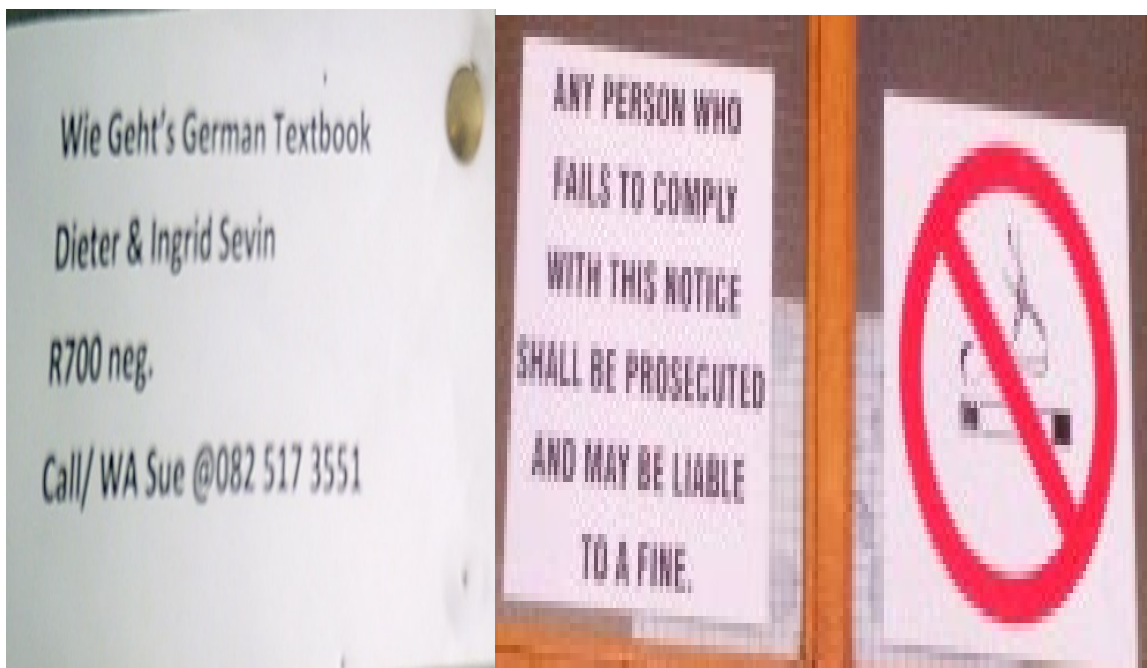

Figure 3a. Bilingual signage (UWC)   **Figure 3b.** Monomodal signage at UCT

It is interesting to see the spatial arrangement of languages in the collected data, where English was given the upper position on the campuses followed by Afrikaans, and then isiXhosa, with sporadic usage of isiZulu (see Figures 5a-d below). This could imply that isiZulu is the least acknowledged language on both campuses, which would not be of much concern in this study as isiZulu is not one of the provincially approved languages of use (Provision 3b of the NLP – South African Government 2018). As depicted in Table 5 below, there were some instances where a language was placed in the upper position, and another in the lower position on both campuses. This may be an intentional depiction of language hegemony in these spaces.

Table 5: Placement of signs

Presence and arrangement of language(s)	Institutions	
	UCT	UWC
English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans	2	2
English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa	2	4
English, Afrikaans, isiZulu and isiXhosa	0	2
English and Afrikaans	2	4
Afrikaans and English	0	2
English and IsiXhosa	0	3
Afrikaans	2	4
English	89	75
isiXhosa	1	0
English, Afrikaans and isiZulu	1	2
English, isiZulu and Afrikaans	1	2
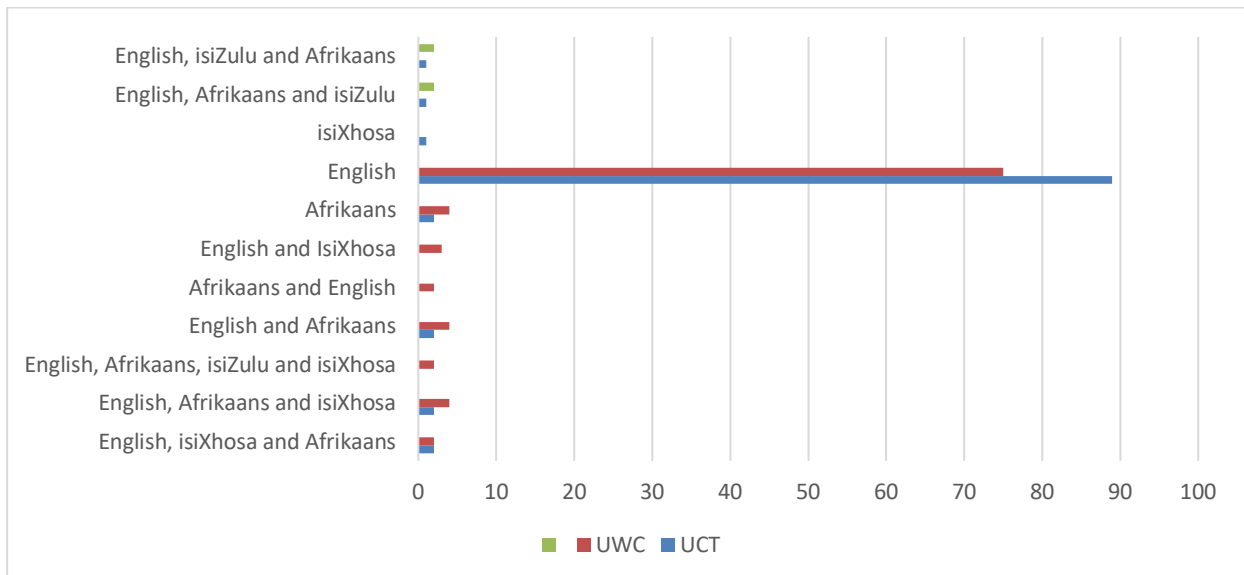
Figure 4. Placement of signs

In some cases where English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa (and isiZulu) were used together, the arrangements were fixed, with English always at the top while the other two languages were swapped, that is, Afrikaans took the second position while isiXhosa took the third position, and vice versa on rare occasions (see Figures 5a-d below).

| **Figure 5a.** | **Figure 5b.** | **Figure 5c.** | **Figure 5d.** |

Language positioning at UWC

There were also similarly ordered and presented types of LLs at UCT. "Upper Campus" in Figure 6a below is emboldened in order to highlight to passers-by the section of the university that they are in. Besides this is the use of language on this board and at the institution as a whole. Various boards and posters on this campus depict the dominant use and positioning of English.

Figure 6a. Multilingual signage (UCT)   **Figure 6b.** Bilingual and multimodal signage (UCT)

Figure 6c. A rug with translations of "University of Cape Town"

On some of the posters in this study, English and Afrikaans or English and isiXhosa were the only languages used alternately (e.g. Figures 5a-d and 6a-c above, and 7a-c below). The same applies to the substituted use of English, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans on posters and billboards.

Figures 7a, b, and c. The intentional use of language at UWC

The spatial arrangement of concepts and languages at the institutions appears to be a prominent power dynamics revelation of language relevance and positioning, with the usage of English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and (in rare instances) isiZulu in a recurrently specific order of appearance in the LLs. Two instances of this are the "No Smoking" and "Exit" signs which were seen almost everywhere at UWC (see Figures 8a and c below).

Figure 8a.
No Smoking sign at UWC

Figure 8b.
Biko Day sign at UWC

Figure 8c.
Exit sign at UWC

In Figure 8a, in addition to the symbolic "cancelled" cigarette which is mostly used to indicate that smoking is not allowed in the places in which these symbols appear, the "NO SMOKING" text also appears and is then translated into "ROOK VERBODE" (Afrikaans), and "AKUTSHAYWA" (isiZulu). The same applies to the "Exit" signage in Figure 8c ("EXIT–UITGANG–PHUMA"). This emphasises certain persistent, underlying issues of power and language inequality in bilingual and multilingual settings (Phillipson 2003). This raises the following questions: (i) What is the implication of the usage and arrangement of the selected languages?, and (ii) Are there more English-speaking students and/or staff and academic resources in English in comparison to Afrikaans- and isiXhosa-speaking students and/or staff and academic resources in these two languages?

The influence of politics cannot be excluded from the domineering arrangement and positioning of English at the top, while other languages are alternately positioned beneath it. It is perhaps a play of politics, with specific emphasis on the issues of power and language inequality (Phillipson 2003) as well as the commercialisation of language in bilingual and multilingual settings. This is in line with Abongdia's (2013), Kamwangamalu's (2000), and Brumfit's (2006) findings in their African LL studies, where they each lamented that despite the available and remarkable language policies, there is still an imbalance of language policy and practice in Africa. Coupland (2011: 79) terms these uneven policies "hopeful" but "dogmatic". The South African non-binding policies are indeed problematic, and may in fact be inadequate to deal with language inequality and elevating all indigenous languages using the same scale.

On the other hand, interchanging the position of languages in the rare bilingual/multilingual signs at the institutions is related to Coupland's (2011: 85) "parallel bilingualism", where two languages are made to seem as though they are of equal status. That being the case, it portrays

the institution as understanding and accommodating of available and present languages with regard to their alternation on the landscapes. However, apart from the linguistic arrangement and positioning of texts/signs with regard to language practice on the campuses, there is no observed modification in the font sizes used on the posters. All words appear in the same size and colour, which may send a message of equal acknowledgement, but this is hardly enough in any linguistically diverse nation.

In addition, the findings reveal how LLs point to or index linguistic influence and social values of communication modes, that is, how languages and their positioning relate to power attribution. Hence, language, rather than being a tool of unification, becomes a weapon of segregation in society (Muth 2014) when portrayed unevenly. Language usage impacts upon people's identities and the communicative values of that language. These results support Kotze and Du Plessis' (2010: 27) claim that when a language is more frequently depicted than other available languages in the landscapes of a community, it gains some dominance over those languages. Such situations are sometimes dependent on the LL's expected audiences, such as the cultural groups of students and staff on campus versus the language policy of the institutions and province or country. It may also be expected that the preferred languages on the signs are those of the language "controllers", i.e., the universities' management boards. These officials are mostly perceived as the authors of signage or the financiers of both the authors and signage, as the case may be, who would know the level of acceptability of languages as well as the presence or absence of language users in their institutions. This is not always the case as these officials are also at liberty to present a language however they deem fit.

4.2   Implications for authorship

Our findings indicate that there is no encouragement of the usage of languages other than English by the authors or language "controllers" of these institutions. Almost all of the signs posted by the institutions' management and non-Government authors were in English (see Figures 9a-d below).
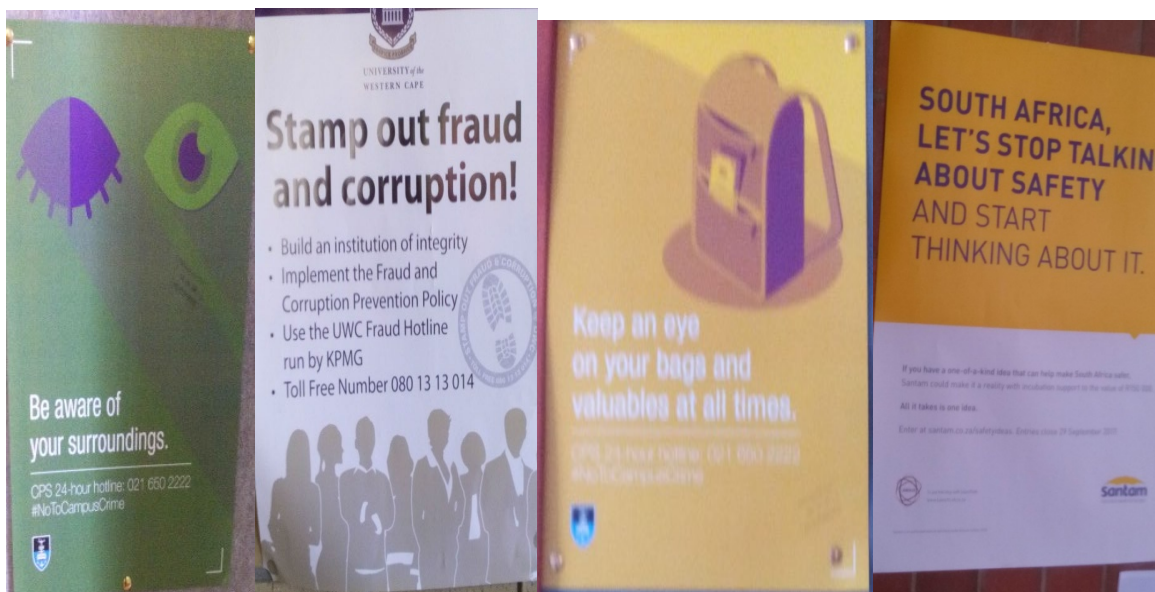
Figures 9a, b, c, and d. Messages from campus security at UCT and UWC

Only a few self-authored signages were noted on both campuses and these were either business- or profit-driven, with the ideas also conveyed solely in English (see Figures 10a-d below).
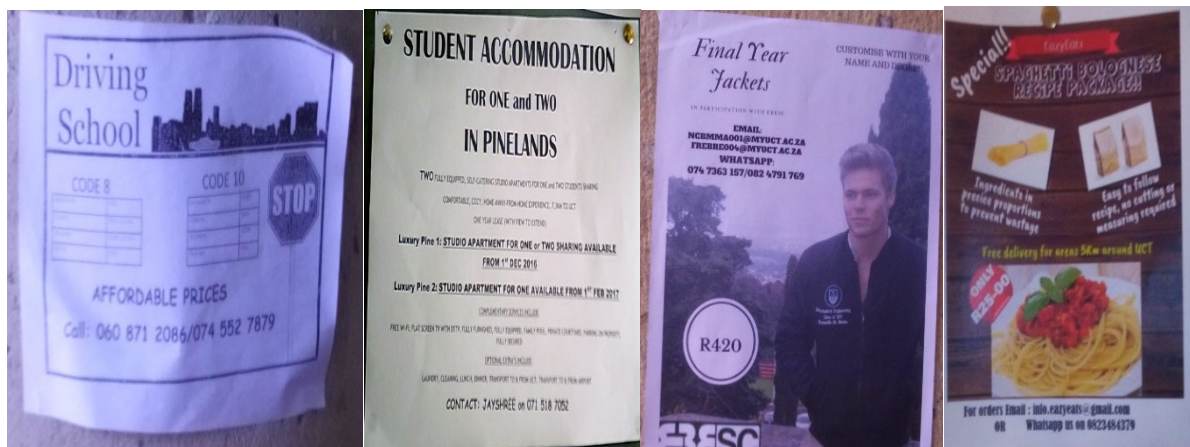
Figures 10a, b, c, and d. Business-driven monolingual signage at UCT

This confirms Boudreau's (2005: 337, in Ngcobo 2009: 6) assertion that both the government and the citizens of a country should be blamed for the failure of language policies. Some governments and/or language "controllers" have been accused of selectively promoting choice languages (Ngcobo 2009) to the detriment of other indigenous languages. Furthermore, citizens should be blamed for not using and promoting their indigenous languages as they should (Ngcobo 2009). For instance, the use of indigenous languages on business advertisements or posters made by non-management authors could be a noble move in the right direction. A consequence of the non- or partial usage of a language is that it gradually loses its value and suitability by both speakers and non-speakers. When a language is deemed unsuitable for certain communicative purposes, its growth and sustainability will automatically be affected.

From the usage and positioning of languages on each of the university campuses for this study, it may be deduced that English is the most preferred language at the universities, followed by Afrikaans, and then isiXhosa. English is used expressively on both the Government/institutional signs, and the few non-Government/institutional signs at both universities. This paves the way to a somewhat partial exclusion of other languages such as Afrikaans and isiXhosa due to their limited and inconsistent representations in the campuses' LLs. Moreover, despite the high population of other indigenous language speakers in the province, and the fact that English may not be the first language of the larger populace, it still appears to be the most used, the most visible, and the most preferred. This finding aligns with those of Adetunji (2013), Coupland (2011), and Sebba (2011). The contextual eminence of a language is indeed subject to a variety of factors besides the ethnolinguistic dynamism of its users (Barni and Bagna 2010, Jaworski and Thurlow 2011), and a text is dependent on its context (Mheta 2011: 69). This raises questions about the effectiveness of the institutions' language policies in relation to their language practices. The overriding use of English in the LLs of these universities is certainly not representative of their respective populations, and, as Dibetso and Smith (2012: 8) put it, provides a clear image of South Africa's social milieu:

a.   Provincial and institutional language policies are possibly only serving pacification or consolatory functions, with English still being the most used and apparently the most embraced on both campuses;

      b.   There still exists an unequal distribution and practice of language as a result of marginalisation of all sorts; and

      c.   Communication problems might not be completely eradicated due to language accommodations (Dibetso and Smith 2012) and the exclusion of language minorities (Blommaert 2005) in South Africa.

The current attitude towards language policy and practice, especially towards Afrikaans and isiXhosa, in the Western Cape province is quite morbid. The overriding usage of English in the top-down signs, as illustrated in Tables 3 and 4, suggests that all readers are expected to understand the language if they are to also comprehend the signs. This may not be the exact goal in most cases, but it can hinder profitable communication and integration in any community. Bamgbose (1996) terms this "language endangerment". If partial language usage is not understood, and results in a gradual and deliberate weakening of linguistic forms, affected languages are indeed endangered, alongside their users, identities, and cultures.

On another note, whether monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, the multimodal nature of some of the signage cannot be ignored. In Figures 9a-d, the sign producers attempted to sensitise the audience about the need to be safe physically and financially. They also took a step further, from making this an institutional phenomenon to being a national plague by directly addressing South Africa at large in the signage (Figure 9d above). In Figure 9b, beside the boldly written "Stamp out fraud and corruption!", there is an image of a shoeprint. This shoeprint emphasises a visual or literal interpretation of how seriously the sign's author wants corruption and fraud stamped out. Emphasis of the textual meaning via accompanying imagery is also seen in Figure 9c, where the image of a bag emphasises the message of the text "Keep an eye on your bags and valuables at all times". Similar textual and visual emphasis is also illustrated in the multimodal signs found on UWC's campus, displayed in Figures 11a-c below, via the images of the dangerously empty water gauge (11a), the dustbin (11b), and the "cancelled" cameras (11c).

Figures 11a, b, and c. Multimodal signage (UWC)

In addition, the fonts used in the signs also makes clear what might be important to the signs' authors. While showing the major themes (safety, corruption, and environmental care) in bold,

other supporting aspects of the signs are written underneath and in smaller fonts. The use of colour is also significant. For instance, in Figure 9a above, green is used as the background colour, which mostly signifies the environment, ecology, nature, freshness, or greenness of the earth and how it must be retained ("[being] aware of your surroundings"). This is not to say the colour may not be variously interpreted, for instance, green can also denote money, prosperity, and fortune, amongst other things (Lynch 2016). Generally, texts such as these are mostly context- and intent dependent.

5.   Methodical and theoretical implications

Using CDA and MDA as methods and theories aided the fine-tuning of data collection and analyses in line with the study's scope, while also enabling rigorous interpretations of both written and graphic (symbols, images) data. For example, it is easy to overlook Figures 5b, 6b, 7a, and 8b, among other similar texts, as multimodal texts that contain words and images (symbols) which convey the same idea. Using MDA and CDA as analytical tools aided the analysis of the texts' multimodal natures (for instance, font and positioning) as well as observing and detecting existing power dynamics in relation to language use and presence within these spaces. This makes the message behind each of these texts as much deliberate as they are emphatic. We were thus able to work with the collected texts to make context- and content-specific interpretations of each group of data. Power dynamics and the institutions' stances on language practice were also detected with a focus on the NLP, both institutions' language policies and language practices, and the ethnic population of these spaces. However, it is presumed that more intriguing findings may have been gathered had the data collection method included interviews, i.e. actual interactions with selected members of the campuses about their views on the utilised modal resources, forms of presentation, and language issues, and were not solely based on our interpretations. This aspect is open to further research into LLs, especially that which aims to attain a level of generalisability.

6.   Conclusion

From the findings derived from this study, it was deduced that language is not the only form of communication; it is in fact one of several other modes used in communication. Thus, language and other modal components are intentionally (or unintentionally) infused with diverse forms of influences such as (social, political, linguistic, and economic) hegemony, premeditated and evolving metaphorical silence, as well as policy issues. The study's objectives helped to fine-tune the scope of data collection and analysis in line with the identified themes (the institutions' positions on language prominence, absence, dominance, choice, as well as language policy and practice). The sociolinguistic dynamics of the LLs at these institutions helps the reader to understand that text and context are interrelated, and one may not be judiciously explored without the other, especially with regard to language, history, power relationships/struggles, views, and prejudices. Power dynamics are positioned and presented in not-so-obvious dimensions such that they may go unnoticed if texts are not carefully scrutinised. The study's findings also visualised the significance of further LL research as a way of further probing into linguistic, social, and power dynamics in texts that are made available in public spaces.

Furthermore, this study's findings revealed inconsistencies in the linguistic structures of both campuses with regard to the observed language practices, in comparison to the recommendations of the NLP pertaining to the acknowledgement and use of the 11 official

South African languages. Three of these official languages – English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa – are accepted in the language policy of the Western Cape province in which both universities are located, yet we found that Afrikaans and isiXhosa were still sparingly utilised in the LLs of both campuses. The same applies to the use of an additional language, namely isiZulu, which was also very rarely seen. All the provincially approved languages but one (English) were sighted on a few occasions in the LLs of both campuses despite the specifications of the institutions' language policies. This indicates that language in South Africa has a political undertone, as the LLs reveal an exclusion of the other official and approved languages in the province under study. It is therefore an erroneous assumption that signs are not sufficient modes through which language practice and hegemony can be examined in society. Language use and choice are functional in the expression of views, preferences, stances, politics, history, and all other discursive forms. LLs indeed help in positioning language in relation to identity and symbolic inferences such that superiority and inferiority are detected as they are disseminated and depicted. Exploring the LLs of both campuses in this study also highlights the significance and evaluability of arrangement and spacing of signs and languages such that the most conspicuous or overly used appear to be more important than other less-displayed linguistic modes. Additionally, it is unjust, unsustainable, and ironic that an Afrikaans- and Xhosa-populated province has so many more signs in English than in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The existing gap between the NLP and its effective implementation at South Africa's public institutions may, in actuality, impede national growth and racial integration in affected spaces.

7.   Recommendations

It is important that studies on LLs are approached with the readiness to understand and analyse texts with consideration of their authorship, contexts, audience, and modes of transfer. This is due to the significance of the constant scrutiny of the functional role of language in detecting socio-economic and political ideologies. Acknowledging the impact of such actions on marginalised identities and languages is essential to building a sustainable society.

Hence, the NLP requires a constant check, such that it is binding, and a complete implementation in the bid to achieve genuine racial integration. This study's findings, like those of Prinsloo (2011), suggest that practicality should be evident in language planning and language policies so that what is advocated, namely language equality and freedom, is indeed practised. In other words, the policy of social equity should be more pronounced than it is currently (Cross 2004: 389) and should be visibly expressed in LLs. The Government has a role to play, not only in the declaration of policies, but also in ensuring that these policies are binding. This will also be a step in the right direction. Language policies are inadequate and non-existent if they are not implemented. The realisation of language presence and the number of language speakers in institutions or organisations should be considered when planning and drafting language policies.

More importantly, the management of institutions should ensure that the displayed languages reflect both the mandates of the NLP as well as the ethnic groups represented on campus. Language practices at South Africa's universities should also be reflective of the linguistic presence of the language users who occupy the space. By so doing, there will be outright prevention of language inequality and (non-)deliberate exclusion of languages, as linguistic and cultural inclusion will be consciously encouraged and ensured. Consequently, languages and their users' identities will eventually be preserved, no matter how long or slow the process is.

Universities should not be viewed as sites where sociolinguistic and power dynamics cannot be scrutinised. This study makes known the significance of practising what is preached and ensuring that it is in accordance with the Constitution of the land and the rewards of the historical struggles and victories that are spoken of today. A definitive promotion of genuine language practices that are in accordance with the language policy of the country and the provinces in which the universities are located should therefore be ensured, as constant monitoring and reformation of language practices at higher institutions of learning are crucial in exploring power dynamics, authorial autonomy, and unbiased and equal linguistic representations.

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