Linguistic diversity in a rural Northern Cape municipality:

A sociolinguistic investigation of Gamagara local municipality

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Linguistic landscapes (LLs) have primarily been investigated within urban areas. This thesis focuses on the diverse rural communities of the Gamagara Municipal area, located within the Northern Cape where the primary means of employment is mining. Large mines have contributed to the population growth in the area and currently people from all over South Africa and neighbouring countries call this municipal area their home. In this study, I investigate the public signage of four towns within Gamagara whilst also investigating the linguistic repertoires found within the area. The study puts the data gathered from the public space in conversation with data from people's personal reflections on language, in order to gain a better understanding of diversity and of language ideologies.

Data collection for the study included two steps: the first involved taking photographs of public signs along the physical space of Olifantshoek, Kathu, Siyatemba and Sishen mine, all situated in Gamagara. The second step involved gathering data on people's linguistic repertoires residing in the area and working at Sishen mine by means of narrated language portraits (Busch 2010, 2012) and biographical information questionnaires. The study is predominantly qualitative and aims to discover how language use in the LL reflects (or not) diversity implied by language profiles and how these expose language ideologies.

Through a thematic analysis (Miles and Huberman 1984), I found that the LL reveals a predominance of English in the physical space of Gamagara Municipality that contrasts with the actual language practices of most residents in the area. Furthermore, the findings indicate linguistic repertoires that are very diverse, and shaped and constrained by a number of factors. This thesis ultimately shows the contribution that an approach to linguistic diversity which includes more than one form of data collection can make. It also points out that language ideologies exhibited in public spaces do not necessarily conform to language ideologies in private spaces. It is suggested that more research needs to be done on rural settings, and between the interplay of public and private.

OPSOMMING

Taallandskappe (TLe) word hoofsaaklik binne stedelike gebiede ondersoek. Hierdie tesis fokus egter op ’n diverse, landelike gemeenskap in die Gamagara Munisipale area, wat binne die Noord-Kaap geleë is waar die primêre vorm van werk, die mynbedryf is. Groot myne het bygedra tot die groei van die populasie in die area en tans is daar mense van regoor Suid-Afrika en buurlande wat hierdie munisipale area as hulle tuiste beskou. In hierdie studie, ondersoek ek die publieke tekens van vier dorpe binne Gamagara terwyl ek ook die taalrepertoires ondersoek. Die studie plaas die data van die publieke ruimte, in gesprek met data uit mense se persoonlike refleksies oor taal, om diversiteit en taalideologie beter te verstaan.

Datainsameling het twee stappe behels: Eerstens het ek foto’s geneem van publieke tekens langs die fisiese spasie van Olifantshoek, Kathu, Siyatemba and Sishen myn, almal binne Gamagara. Die tweede stap was die insameling van data oor mense se taalrepertoires wat in die area woon en by Sishen myn werk. Die data is ingesamel deur middel van taalprotrette (Busch 2010, 2012) and biografiese informasie wat deur agtergrondvraelyste verkry is. Die studie is hoofsaaklik kwalitatief en het as doel om te ontdek hoe die taallandskap en taalprotrette diversiteit weerspieël (of nie), en die tipe taalideologieë wat hieruit sigbaar is.

Deur ’n tematiese analise (Miles en Huberman 1984), het ek gevind dat die LL hoofsaaklik Engels is, wat anders is as die taalpraktyke van die inwoners van die Gamagara Munisipaliteit. Verder, wys die bevindinge dat die taalrepertoires van die deelnemers baie divers is en gevorm is deur ’n aantal faktore. Die tesis wys dus uit watter bydra gemaak kan word tot die ondersoek van taaldiversiteit, indien meer as een vorm van datainsameling gebruik word. Dit wys ook uit hoe die taalideologieë wat in die publiek vertoon word, nie noodwendig verteenwoordigend is van die taalideologieë in private ruimtes nie. Ek beveel dus aan dat meer navorsing oor landelike gebiede gedoen moet word en ook oor die interaksie tussen publieke en private ruimtes.

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INTRODUCTION

1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

This study investigates linguistic diversity in the Gamagara Local Municipal area within a very large yet sparsely populated province, the Northern Cape, within South Africa. From my own experience, linguistic diversity and diversity in general in rural areas are usually underestimated. For instance, in the Northern Cape town of Concordia, where I am from and grew up, the language found at schools and heard in the streets is Afrikaans but quite a number of households speak Nama fluently. Since completing my Honours Degree in 2014, I have been living and working in the John Taolo Gaetsewe District first at one of the mines from 2014 to 2015 and then in the rural town of Olifantshoek, where I found myself temporarily teaching from 2015 to 2017. During my time in the area, I observed that the linguistic repertoires of most of my colleagues, students and people within the area were quite diverse. I then found myself wondering about the linguistic diversity within this area and if there is in fact more diversity that what an outsider would expect.

When I started interacting with learners at one of the local dual-medium Afrikaans-Setswana High Schools, I soon realised that about 40% of the learners would identify themselves as first language speakers of Angolan languages. I interacted with most of these learners because I was responsible for teaching them Afrikaans Home Language. I soon realised that the school had more learners that spoke Portuguese than there were learners that spoke Setswana, which of course is an official language in South Africa. At the school, learners could only choose between selecting Afrikaans Home Language and Setswana Home Language, while neither is of course the home language of these learners. Furthermore, at the nearby mining giant, Kumba Iron Ore Sishen mine, where I had worked, employees predominantly make use of English as the language of business; however, Afrikaans and Setswana are spoken between peers.

My personal observations led me to review the literature on diversity in rural settings to further my academic understanding of the phenomenon. What I found however was that most studies on multilingualism and on linguistic diversities focus on cities or other large urban areas (Backhaus 2007; Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael 2015; Gorter and Cenoz 2015) although there are exceptions very few studies focus on multilingualism and how it is used in rural areas (see

Mokwena 2018; Nahayo 2017; du Plessis 2012 for exceptions). A problem in the literature was also the way in which "rural" is defined, with many studies not giving a clear definition. My theoretical interest was thus triggered by the shortcomings and gaps in the literature. This study will assist in filling this research gap by investigating linguistic diversity in the rural Northern Cape municipality of Gamagara. The study will be embedded within the larger framework of sociolinguistics. In the next section, I will briefly discuss how researchers have distinguished between rural and urban, and will motivate why we have to investigate rural areas. I will then give a thorough understanding of the research context, which is required in any sociolinguistic study.

1.1.1 THE RURAL VS URBAN DILEMMA

According to Tacoli (1998: 147), for descriptive purposes is not possible to escape making a distinction between urban and rural. By making a distinction between the two, it creates the impression that there is some kind of clear-cut way to say that an area is either rural or urban. In large-scale surveys such as censuses the distinction is made in terms of size (bigger is urban, while smaller communities are rural), or by the type of economic activities the communities are involved in. Tacoli (1998: 147) states that "agriculture is assumed to be the principal activity of rural populations whereas urban dwellers are thought to engage primarily in industrial production and services". The reality is actually not as clear-cut. This is because the way in which nations define urban or rural differs, and many rural communities may be involved in activities other than agriculture. Furthermore, there might be a lot of migration between urban and rural areas which means the numbers are never stable (Tacoli 1998: 147). To give an example of how urban and rural areas are defined differently, Tacoli (1998: 148) refers to how the Philippines makes the distinction based on population density, and Benin makes the distinction based on the number of inhabitants.

Mokwena (2018: 4) states that before 1995, rural in South Africa meant "all households not living in formally declared towns". Mokwena (2018: 4) cites the Rural Development Framework, which refers to a rural area as "the sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources, including the villages and small towns that are dispersed through these areas". In essence, though, Mokwena (2018) argues that development seems to be the key factor, with the Rural Development Framework admitting that there might be functionally rural areas in large areas that would usually be considered urban. As there is not really consensus on what is rural and what is urban, the following approach is taken in this

thesis- the area selected is considered rural because it is sparsely populated and many of the activities that people engage in can traditionally be classified as urban. However, as Tacoli (1998: 149) suggests, the households in this area "can be defined as multi-spatial, combining farm and non-farm activities".

I will argue that it is important to get to know more about rural communities and their linguistic practices. Rural communities are often taken as in need of development (Mokwena 2018), however the development efforts need to take into account the specific needs of the community. If all the knowledge we have of linguistic practices are based on urban centres, we cannot create development needs for communities specifically living in rural areas. Additionally, we will also gain more theoretical knowledge about linguistic practices in different contexts and how this might lead to decreased or increased linguistic diversity.

1.1.2 BACKGROUND OF GAMAGARA MUNICIPAL AREA, ITS POPULATION AND THEIR LANGUAGE USE

The background of this municipal area cannot receive full justice without contextualising the area more broadly within South Africa. South Africa consists of nine provinces each with a diverse population and with different languages being the dominant language used in that province. South Africa has 11 official languages in its language policy. Wright (2016: 6) says:

> the aim of language policy is to move language practice in directions deemed desirable by those in power. Usually such attempts are applied through legislative measures ('policy') and allied material provision ('planning') to different social and political entities, such as geo-political regions, organised economic alliances, nations, provinces, industries, school systems, government departments, businesses and so forth.

The Northern Cape, where this study is located is South Africa's largest province, taking up about a third of the country's total land area. However, the land is only populated by about 1.2 million people (statssa.gov.za). In the Northern Cape, the dominant language is Afrikaans, as recorded in the Census of 2011 and on the website of Statistics South Africa (statssa.gov.za). About 68% of the province's population speak Afrikaans as L1 followed by Setswana, isiXhosa and English.

Daubney (2014) highlights a key factor that should be considered, when using census data within multilingualism research. Although it gives insight into language demographics and

language use across time, it is important to remember that these are subjective responses (Daubney 2014: 1). Respondents could give the answers they think people want, or mistake home language for dominant language. Furthermore, the Census does not make provision for multiple home languages. Thus, the need for more qualitative research on linguistic diversity.

The geographical location of the Gamagara Local Municipality can be seen in the map below in Figure 1:

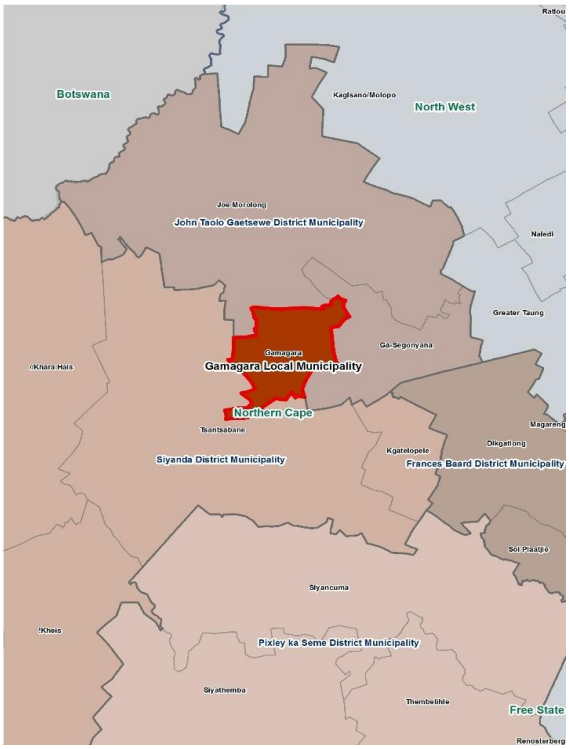


FIGURE 1: MAP OF THE GAMAGARA LOCAL MUNICIPAL AREA

1.1.3 LANGUAGE HIERARCHY IN GAMAGARA

After looking at language distribution results (statssa.gov.za) it was clear that Afrikaans is identified as being spoken by most households, followed by Setswana, Other, English, isiXhosa and finally Sesotho. John Taolo Gaetsewe had the highest proportion of people who spoke Setswana in the district for the years 2001 and 2011, with 83, 6% and 75, 6% respectively (http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-01-72/Report-03-01-722011.pdf: 29).

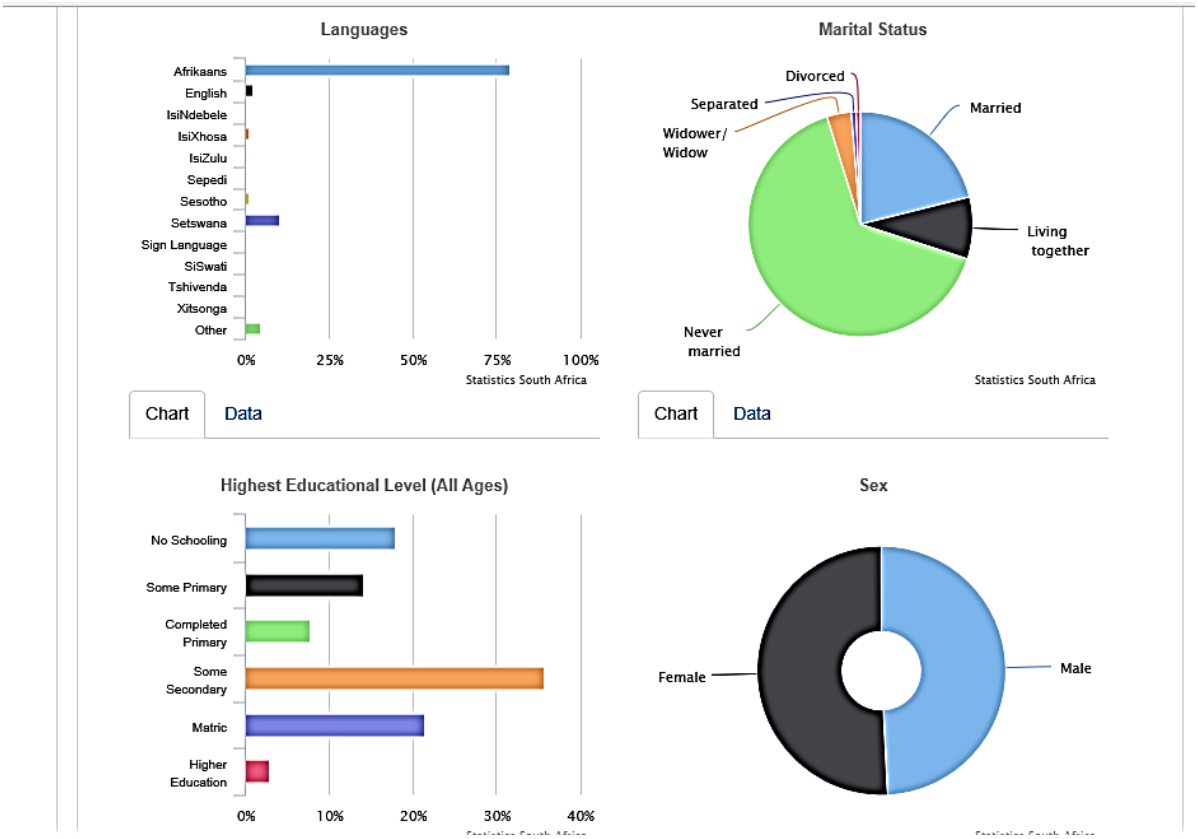


FIGURE 2: CENSUS DATA TAKEN WITHIN THE COMMUNITY BY STATSSA.GOV.ZA

1.1.4 GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE LANGUAGE USE AND POPULATION

Gamagara Local Municipality comprises an area of 2 619 square kilometres and is located in the north-eastern sector of the Northern Cape on the N14 between Upington and Vryburg. It is approximately 200 km northeast of Upington and 280km north-west of Kimberley.

The municipal area of Gamagara consists of five towns: Kathu, Sesheng, Dibeng, Dingleton, and Olifantshoek, which is a farming area and a considerable mining area. The adiministrative centre and the largest town in the municipality is Kathu. Olifantshoek is the second largest town and Dingleton is the smallest of the five towns and is located in the centre of the mining activities directly south of Kathu. Gamagara Municipality has grown from 23 202 people in 2001 to 41 617 people in 2011 (Census 2011: statssa.gov.za). During 2001 to 2011, Gamagara local municipality in John Taolo Gaetsewe district recorded the highest increase (79, 37%) (http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-01-72/Report-03-01-722011.pdf: 22). Two factors attributed to this increase in numbers is the inclusion of the town of Olifantshoek in 2006 in this municipality and more mining activities in the area. During the last decade, the

population has almost increased two fold. This can be attributed to the high numbers of people coming to the municipal area, in search for employment or better living conditions, due to the booming mining activities.

TABLE 1: CENSUS DATA OF POPULATION GROWTH FROM 1996 – 2011 BY STATSSA.GOV.ZA

NC453: Gamagara	1996			2001			2011		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0–4	1 185	1 163	2 348	1 168	1 110	2 278	2 032	1 902	3 934
5–9	1 216	1 217	2 433	1 119	1 162	2 281	1 736	1 677	3 412
10–14	1 324	1 351	2 674	1 202	1 253	2 455	1 700	1 545	3 245
15–19	981	1 096	2 077	1 193	1 188	2 380	1 541	1 610	3 151
20–24	1 048	989	2 036	1 146	1 082	2 229	2 642	2 060	4 703
25–29	1 082	905	1 987	1 156	989	2 144	3 333	2 283	5 616
30–34	845	912	1 757	990	924	1 915	2 623	1 858	4 481
35–39	802	908	1 710	800	894	1 694	1 892	1 432	3 324
40–44	683	718	1 401	823	893	1 716	1 405	1 037	2 442
45–49	512	581	1 093	700	607	1 307	1 106	1 023	2 129
50–54	402	362	764	483	466	949	996	871	1 866
55–59	257	252	508	346	290	636	773	591	1 364
60–64	185	214	400	191	214	405	467	395	862
65–69	122	147	269	141	166	306	209	225	434
70–74	94	124	217	79	125	205	113	160	274
75–79	78	85	163	62	91	153	65	118	183
80–84	35	41	76	42	53	94	40	60	100
85 +	30	43	72	16	41	57	37	60	97
Total	10 878	11 106	21 983	11 656	11 546	23 202	22 710	18 907	41 617

The Gamagara municipal area has experienced a lot of inward migration that is mostly the result of economic opportunities created by the exploration of iron ore and manganese deposits within the JTG District municipal jurisdiction.

Kathu, 'the town under the trees', was founded because of Iscor's iron ore mining activity in the Kalahari. The town was awarded municipal status during July 1979. Kathu has good connections to bigger urban centres such as Kimberley via rail as well as by road to Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Windhoek and Cape Town. Originally, the municipality consisted of two towns namely Sishen and Kathu. Iskor started developing the town of Sishen in 1953 – south of the mining area. The name Sishen was changed on 23 June 1990 to Dingleton (http://www.gamagara.gov.za/index.php/39-home/top-blocks/1-home-security).

Due to the identification of high quality iron ore beneath the town of Dingleton, Kumba Iron Ore negotiated with the Gamagara Local Municipality and residents of Dingleton to resettle the residents of Dingleton to Kathu, to the Siyathemba settlement. The group of families were moved to Siyathemba in 2015 and currently only 23 households remain in Dingleton. Images

three to eight show Dingleton after the resettlement of residents to new Siythemba community in Kathu. The remainder of the houses and structures have been left empty and abandoned.

FIGURE 4: IMAGE OF DINGLETON

FIGURE 3: IMAGE OF DINGLETON

FIGURE 6: IMAGE OF DINGLETON

FIGURE 8: IMAGE OF DINGLETON

FIGURE 7: IMAGE OF DINGLETON

Sesheng is located to the west of Kathu and was planned as, a high-density residential area for mine workers, without families or any social structure. It consists of group housing units that belong to the mine to the west, with small pockets of other houses to the west thereof. The larger residential housing component of Sesheng is located nearer to Kathu in the form of single residential houses (Ext 5). The area to the east of Sesheng is the fastest growing residential area outside of Kathu (http://www.gamagara.gov.za/index.php/39-home/top-blocks/1-home-

security). In my time living in the area it was clear that although Sesheng is listed as a ‘town’ it is seen as more a part of Kathu than viewed as a separate town. People working at the mines or in town live in Sesheng but due to the growth of Kathu over the years they see the area they live in as part of Kathu.

Dibeng started off as a small settlement on the banks of the Gamagara River which provided water for the small-holdings that run the full length of town. The residential areas are characterized by the river in the centre of town and the rocky limestone outcrops directly east and west of the river. Dibeng consists only of single residential houses but can be split into a low-density area to the west and higher density and less formal houses to the east. Dibeng was means "first drinking place". Residents have to provide their own water and every property has its own wind pump, therefore Dibeng is sometimes referred to as "the sunflower town"(http://www.gamagara.gov.za/index.php/39-home/top-blocks/1-home-security). Dibeng also known as “Deben” is so rural that most of the working-class population travels the few kilometres to Kathu and back each day as the town itself has very limited opportunities. The town has primary and secondary schools, a clinic and churches but prospects for jobs are few.

Olifantshoek is the only town lying at the foot of the Langeberg; it is a farming town close to two game ranches on the Namakwari Route. Founded in 1895, the village is called the ‘Gateway to the White and Roaring Sands’, 78km south of the town. The town was founded in 1897. Olifantshoek is still very much a rural area but due to the growth in the mining sector around the town and the spike in economy many people have managed to establish well-functioning businesses in the area. So much so that the town has three primary and three high schools, a clinic, doctor’s office and even two major filling stations.

At the time of my study, I contacted the Olifantshoek local municipality as well as the Gamagara municipality in Kathu for a more up to date population estimation of the town of Olifantshoek but was told that there were only that of the 2011 Census. I however having a lot of background knowledge of the towns and the area know that since 2011 the population estimation spiked in numbers as the mining industry picked up.

The Gamagara Local Municipal area is a host to various mines, the most profitable being Anglo American Kumba Iron Ore’s Sishen (Kathu) (www.angloamerican.co.za) followed by Assmang Khumani mines sites King and Bruce mines as well as other smaller mines such as Dirro and Tshipi mines. Most of these mines primarily mine Iron Ore and have various

contracted companies that they contract to ensure production flows and ore is shipped out. More recently, Solar Panel Plants have opened within the area, creating job opportunities of thousands.

Due to the success of the mines and solar plants within the area population numbers spiked as newly employed individuals from all over South Africa, and some outside the borders of South Africa, seek housing. To explain even more about how many people, relocate to the area and why I look at Anglo American Kumba Iron ore and Assmang mines individually.

Anglo American Kumba Iron Ore's Sishen mine is the largest open cast mine within Africa and one of the world's biggest competitors in producing high quality iron ore. Sishen mine is regulated by Kumba Iron Ore that forms part of the South African business units that are owned by Anglo American, a London (UK) based company. The bulk of Kumba's iron ore production comes from Sishen mine, near Kathu. Sishen Mine was opened in 1947 and is Kumba's flagship operation and one of the largest open-pit mines in the world. Currently Sishen mine employs over 4000 permanent employees and over 6000 employees who are on contract. The service provider basis at Sishen mine grows daily and the procurement of employees are at a capacity of 85% to date. Of the over 10 000 employed at Sishen mine, most are not from Kathu.

As can be seen from the description of the context above, the Gamagara local municipality is not monolingual. It is the aim of this thesis to investigate the extent and the qualities of the linguistic diversity found in Gamagara municipality.

2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Multilingualism is usually investigated in urban centres. Rural areas are assumed to be monolingual and therefore are not thoroughly investigated in terms of linguistic diversity. In this thesis, this research gap will be filled by investigating the Gamagara municipality an area which mostly consists of rural villages, and small settlements founded to serve the mines in the area. Specifically, the municipality will be investigated by looking at signage in the public space, and by considering a selected number of participants' linguistic repertoires. This will be used to get a better understanding of the kind of linguistic diversity found in the area and how this diversity is exhibited (if at all) in the public space. Furthermore, the study will also give insight into the language ideologies people hold within a linguistically diverse rural area. The

study will thus provide insight into linguistic diversity and the interplay between the public and private sphere.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions will guide the research

1) Which linguistic varieties are displayed and observed in selected areas in the public space in the Gamagara local municipality?

2) How are linguistic varieties displayed in the public space?

3) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected participants within the Gamagara local municipality?

4) Which language ideologies are evident in the public space and in the opinions held by participants?

4 RESEARCH AIMS

1) To investigate which linguistic varieties are displayed and observed in the public space in the Gamagara Local Municipal area and how it is displayed

2) To survey the linguistic repertoires of selected participants within the Gamagara local municipality.

3) To investigate the language ideologies which are evident in the public space and in the opinions of the participants.

5 THEORETICAL APPROACH

This study is located within the sociolinguistic framework and uses certain concepts to explore linguistic diversity in rural towns. More specifically, concepts such as linguistic landscapes, linguistic repertoire and language ideologies will be discussed, here in brief, while they will be expanded upon in the theoretical chapters.

5.1.1 MULTILINGUALISM AND DIVERSITY

Aronin and Singleton (2008) in their influential paper on multilingualism as the new "linguistic dispensation" ascribes the main reasons for multilingualism as due to the current social,

political and economic developments that are taking place as a result of globalization, increased transnational migrations, and advancement of new technologies, together with post-colonialism. Although linguistic diversity has always existed in South Africa, there are some similarities in what Aronin and Singleton (2008) describe, in that in Gamagara, social and economic developments led to the migration of families from, for example, Angola to this rural area. The multilingualism that these speakers now living in Olifantshoek and Kathu have is best described as "the ability to function in more than one language without reaching the same degree of grammatical perfection in all the languages known by the individual" (Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou, 2009: 461). This is thus the way in which multilingualism will be viewed in this thesis.

5.1.2 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES (LL)

Landry and Bourhis's (1997: 25) definition of LL is by far the most cited definition of LL. They refer to the LL as "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs of government buildings". The combination of these forms the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration". Since the development of this definition, the field of LL has grown, and the original definition has been expanded on.

Barni and Bagna (2015) gives a good overview of the development of research in LL in their paper. By making use of Landry and Bourhis's definition as basis and drawing from studies done by Barni and Bagna (2015), Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), Gorter and Cenoz (2015), Blackwood (2015), Shohamy (2006) among others, I will look at the dynamic LL within the Gamagara municipal area and if it confines to the notions set out in some of these studies.

5.1.3 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

Gumperz (1964: 137) defines linguistic repertoire as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". In this case, a social significant interaction refers to any communicative interaction. Linguistic forms used in these communicative interactions are the languages or language varieties a person possesses. In reference to a person's possession of a language or language variety, linguistic repertoire does not refer to level of proficiency required. Prasad (2014: 52) states that the "focus is not on developing equal proficiency in all languages per se, but rather, on speakers' ability to negotiate a range of communicative activities by drawing on the full range of their linguistic abilities and

awareness." Busch (2017: 342) states that "the focus here is not on how many and which languages speakers have available to them, or how 'proficient' they are in their L1, L2, or Ln. The question is rather how linguistic variation can serve to construct belonging or difference, and above all, how such constructions can be experienced by speakers as exclusions or inclusions due to language."

In an age where global mobility is prevalent, and more and more people have access to travel and migration opportunities or to multilingual interactions one would think to find that many people have complex repertoires no matter how rural the area. In a diverse area such as the JTG area, due to various individual backgrounds, it is critical to look at linguistic repertoires of speakers in the area in relation to the LL referred to above.

5.1.4 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

The definition of language ideologies which will be followed in this thesis, is that of Silverstein (1979). He defines language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). Language ideologies are described by Busch (2017: 348) as having some power to influence how we feel about languages and how we behave towards them. She further states "that they are used to construct social, ethnic, national, and other affiliations and exclusions".

Linguistic ideologies formed by the LL and individual repertoires of individuals is an important notion to look at in this study. Certain language ideologies are formed when languages come into contact.

6 METHODOLOGY

In this study, I followed a linguistic ethnography approach, combined with the use of language portraits as my main methodological tools. Linguistic ethnography defined by Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Barwell, Creese and Lytra (2004: 2) investigates language as it is used in everyday interactions since language and social life influence each other. More specifically, I use material ethnography (Stroud and Mpendukana 2010), focussing on public signage. The ethnographer's goal is to provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting (such as a classroom, neighbourhood, or community), the outcome of their interactions, and the way they understand what they are doing (the meaning interactions

have for them.) (Watson-Gegeo, 1988: 576). Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) propose an ethnographic approach to LL, which accounts for both production of signage and reception of messages. They state that because we live in a consumer centralised society there are consequences. These consequences allow the market to shape or constructions of reality and allow us to shape the market through what we perceive as appropriate. "Living in such a social context has repercussions in that individuals embody and are embodied by the market through symbolic displays of what selfhood is or how selfhood is reflected" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 366).

While material ethnography "requires a particular perspective on the sociolinguistics of multilingualism that in turn dictates approaches to space in terms of flows, processes and social practices" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2010: 355). They go on to argue that when doing an ethnographic study on diversity one should pay attention to how "constructs of space are constrained by material conditions of production and informed by associated phenomenological sensibilities of mobility and gaze" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2010: 355 – 356).

I will be investigating the linguistic landscape of three main sites for this study, Kathu, Sishen mine, Olifantshoek and Siyathemba. In Kathu, I will be investigating the main street area as this is the central area for advertising. The reason Kathu is a good representation of data is because it is the largest town as well as the centre of Gamagara local municipal area; it is also within this town that Sishen mine is located.

Secondly, I will be looking at LL data from Sishen mine, located in Kathu, as it is the largest mining company in the area and has been functioning the longest. The majority of residents within the JTG area are either working for the mine or in some way linked to the mine (either by a family member working there or them having done business with the mine). I will collect data as a separate area although the mine is located in Kathu.

I chose Olifantshoek as it is one of the rural villages that have grown significantly due to the mining activities in the surrounding area and it is the area where I have had an opportunity to have key observations in. It is also in this town that I noticed the presence of the Angolese languages most, mainly because of the interactions I had with individuals from the area.

I will be investigating the settlement of Siyathemba, mainly because it is the newest settlement in the JTG area but also because it is within this settlement that some of the oldest living

residents of the JTG area reside, having been moved from Dingleton. This area is also very common for having diverse residents, as contractors working at nearby mines or solar parks reside within the backyards of families that rent out their premises at a much lower rate than accommodation in Kathu itself. It will be interesting to see if the LL data differs in this settlement as the settlement only came to be in 2015.

My main data collection method for the LL data will be photography. I will divide the data collected into the three areas investigated and look at it independently and as a collective. I will also make notes of particular interesting aspects and add my knowledge of the context as an insider.

In order to gain more information on the linguistic repertoires of participants in the study, language portraits will be done with each participant. Participants were chosen based on their affiliation with Sishen mine as this is the largest operating mine in the province and mining is the primary source of employment in the area. The number of participants was kept low, in keeping with qualitative research design. Instead of recruiting large numbers of participants with the aim of generalising, instead I will use 10 participants, and give rich thick descriptions of their portraits. As this part of the thesis focusses on individual and private perceptions of language, the small number of participants are not seen as a disadvantage.

Language portraits were used to look at the linguistic repertoires individuals have as well as how individuals feel toward their various repertoires. Language portraits was originally developed by Gogolin and Neumann (1991 as cited in Busch 2010). Language portraits is a multimodal biographic method used to investigate an individual or society's linguistic diversity by asking participants to create language portraits of themselves. This is done by colouring-in a human body silhouette using any colours of their choice to represent different elements of their linguistic dispositions (Busch 2012). Busch (2012) notes that when studying linguistic repertoires, it is impossible to ignore language ideologies and metalinguistic interpretations of speakers. Busch (2012:8) goes on to explain language portraits as a very successful way of investigating linguistic repertoires. The method has been used within many different settings, although originally developed in education. It has also been used with both children and adults.

7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Within my study, I will mostly make use of data and information that is available in the public domain and for which no permissions or ethical clearance are needed. I have however obtained

permission for pictures taken at Sishen mine from Kumba Iron Ore's Corporate Communications Manager (see Appendix A for letter of permission). For me to use the data collected from participants I had obtained written as well as verbal consent from participants, attached in the Appendix B of this study is an example of the consent form.

I also applied for ethical clearance at Stellenbosch University as stated within the ethical clearance policy of the University. Ethical clearance was also granted.

8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Succeeding this chapter, Chapter 2 pays attention to the conception of societal diversity by looking at the notions of Linguistic Landscape, Language Repertoires and how these have been investigated in different historical periods and in different theoretical frameworks. It also focuses on language ideologies and how they feed or deprive society of language diversity. This study aligns itself with the postmodern approach towards investigating the complexity of a diverse multilingual society. The chapter concludes with a review of how these very different notions line up to describe diversity in a multilingual society.

Chapter 3 contains the selected instruments used for data collection, the participants in this research and how they were obtained. It also explains the chosen methodology as well as the analytical tools which were used during the data collection in this study.

In Chapter 4, the data analysis for this study will be presented. The analysis will distinguish the different data sets, drawing on thematic analysis to best attempt in encapsulating the intricacy of the data. The results of the LL data and the biographical language portraits will be presented in a discursive style, and I will use sociolinguistic concepts such as 'language ideologies', and 'linguistic repertoire' to interpret my data. In concluding this study, Chapter 5 will present a synopsis of the conclusions drawn from the data to bring together the study. It will further provide recommendations for future research objectives.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give an overview of the literature that has been used, structured the study and, informed the theoretical framework. This chapter will discuss multilingualism as a reflection of linguistic diversity and will focus on both individual and societal multilingualism. A number of concepts related to multilingualism, such as 'plurilingualism', 'translanguaging' and 'linguistic repertoire' will also be discussed. In this chapter, I will also explore the literature on the field of linguistic landscapes, specifically looking at how the field has expanded over the years. Finally, I will discuss language ideologies as one of the central concepts used in this thesis, which is related to individual and societal multilingualism, and to linguistic landscapes.

2.2. MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

As discussed in Chapter 1, multilingualism is used in this thesis to refer to, "the ability to function in more than one language without reaching the same degree of grammatical perfection in all the languages known by the individual" (Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou, 2009: 461). Franceschini (2009: 33) defines multilingualism as "the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life". With these two definitions of multilingualism, one can note the distinction these theorists made between individual multilingualism and the presence of multilingualism within society. Singer and Harris's (2016:166–167) definition encapsulates the occurrence of both types of multilingualism as they define multilingualism as "a person's ability to use more than one language" or "the fact that more than one language is used among a group of people."

Throughout time, multilingualism within society has been brought on by many factors, whether it was due to colonialism or slave trade in the earlier years, or through migration or economic, religious or social factors. Cenoz (2013: 4) states reasons for multilingualism as "globalization, transnational mobility of the population, and the spread of new technologies". Cenoz (2013: 5) refers to individual and societal multilingualism as separated although one may find that an individual may speak many languages within a society known for its hosting of many official

and non-official languages or that some monolingual individuals live in a multilingual society for instance.

Individual multilingualism is at times also referred to as plurilingualism (Cenoz 2013:5). Plurilingualism is defined by the Council of Europe as the "repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use" so that "some individuals are monolingual, and some are plurilingual" (Cenoz 2013: 5). In more recent studies (Moore 2006; Garcia, Bartlett and Kleifgen 2007; Dagenais and Moore 2008; Zarate, Lévy, and Kramsch 2008) the notion of plurilingualism has been established to "describe individuals' complex repertoires of languages and linguistic competences". Whereas the concept of multilingualism has traditionally been used to describe a speaker's development of equal levels of proficiency in a number of distinct languages (so-called balanced bilingualism or multilingualism), the emerging plurilingual paradigm suggests that individuals develop an interrelated network of a plurality of linguistic skills and practices that they draw on for different purposes in a variety of contexts (Prasad 2014: 52). The concept of plurilingualism takes into account the fact that some language user's proficiency in one language or linguistic variety may be more developed than it is in another, yet the underdeveloped language or variety still makes up an integral part of the language user's linguistic repertoire. So much so that it would influence the person's skill to successfully communicate within a specific context or situation negatively if one should not see the underdeveloped variety as part of their repertoire. Plurilingualism consequently focuses not on developing equal proficiency in all languages per se, but rather, on the speaker' capability to exchange a variety of communicative actions by drawing on the full range of their linguistic abilities and awareness (Prasad 2014: 52). Prasad (2014) mentions a case of plurilingualism where students speak different languages at home, in their communities, and at school, these same students' plurilingual repertoires are not traditionally acknowledged in the classroom. She notes that the consequence of "ignoring the resources that culturally and linguistically diverse students bring to their learning is that schools more often produce monolingual graduates rather than plurilingual citizens" (Prasad 2014: 52).

Many authors seem to use multilingualism and plurilingualism interchangeably referring to the same sociolinguistic phenomenon. However, those who prefer plurilingualism insist that, plurilingualism is more focused on an individual's competence to having different inimitable languages and language varieties coincide in their day-to-day interactions. Plurilingualism however, is not used as frequently as multilingualism. Jeoffrion (et al. 2014) argue that

plurilingualism captures certain phenomena better especially when your focus is on the individual's influence on diversity. Jeoffrion et al. (2014) gives a definition that focuses on the interconnectivity of language abilities established by an individual, it also looks at the importance of accepting different levels of proficiency of the language learned. The individual is fore-fronted in this definition and in the end, one needs to first accept that it is the individual that forms the society and thus one should not only note multilingualism but plurilingualism as well. Although there is much discussion on the difference between multilingualism and plurilingualism, in its recent use multilingualism is quite similar to the way in which plurilingualism is used (see Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou 2009 cited definition above). In this thesis, the preferred term will be multilingualism, as this is more commonly used in South African research. However, it will be used in a way in which it is also consistent with plurilingualism.

Where societal multilingualism is discussed, it often focuses on the level of the nation and consequently on the dynamic between a national language and indigenous languages as a whole" (Singer and Harris 2016: 167). Whether or not the multilingualism in a given context (society) is influenced by the national language(s) will be determined by many factors such as the power of the national language over the indigenous languages. Another determining factor might be the various language ideologies formed in that specific society towards the national language(s).

When looking at a multilingual society it is important to note that there are cases where one language dominates and in such cases individuals might either adapt and learn to use the dominant language in harmony with their first language or they might master the dominant language to the expense of their first language, thus replacing their first language with that which enjoys societal popularity. Cenoz (2013: 6-7) refers to this as additive and subtractive multilingualism. Additive being the case when the dominant language and first language is added to the linguistic repertoire of the speaker while the first language continues to be advanced. Subtractive multilingualism is the opposite of this. Additive multilingualism is more likely to be found in individuals who acquire more than one language but whose first language is the dominant language in the area they reside in (Cenoz, 2013: 6 – 7). They will therefore not need to be as proficient in the language they acquire because their first language is seen as foremost or is used for communication and commercial purposes. This is not the case for individuals whose first language is a minority language and that need to acquire a language

that is used more often than not in the area they reside. In a South African context, it was in your favour to acquire Afrikaans and English in the Apartheid era because these were the official languages. African languages thus remained underdeveloped and lacked in status.

The languages we speak or language varieties we possess mostly influence to which groups we belong in society, as asserted by authors such as Edwards (2009), Finegan (2004), Joseph (2004), and Watt, Llamas and Johnson (2010). Thus, they link language to identity. The language(s) and/or language variety the speaker chooses as dominant, especially, within in a diverse speech community can establish or seclude them from social interactions and structures. According to Bailey (2007: 257) different languages (including language varieties), position speakers in the social world differently and, as a result, different identities are constructed. The fact that languages shapes its speaker is just as much evident as the case is that speakers or society constructs language.

Bourdieu (1991) theorizes identity as being constructed by social interaction and social structures. These structures constrain the identities of individuals because of the unequal power relations between them. Examples of such structures include government institutions (schools, municipal areas, company language policies) as well as private institutions, churches as well as households. Society thus not only influences our choice of language use through the language it deems as more important, but it also prescribes how we should use it to be seen as part of society or as an outcast. The identities people form due to this is at times visible in their actions or attitude but in some cases not.

2.3 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES AND TRANSLANGUAGING: APPROACHES TO STUDY MULTILINGUAL INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

When investigating linguistic repertoires, it is important to look at one of the earliest definitions by Gumperz (1964: 137) as he defines repertoires as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". It is important to note his choice of words when referring to it as 'linguistic forms' instead of as languages. One can thus have a complex repertoire by only possessing the language Afrikaans yet speaking different varieties of Afrikaans. He goes on to explain that a person's linguistic repertoire "contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey" (Gumperz 1964: 138). It is the speaker's choice to select between what language or linguistic

variety to use in different situations. The speaker also has the freedom to use more than one part of their repertoires in one situation. Although it is up to the speakers to make decisions about the use of linguistic resources, their freedom to choose is still bound to both grammatical and social constraints (Busch 2017: 344). One cannot for instance create your own form of communication without having it understood by another party or within society. Busch (2017: 344) states that "the repertoire is understood, comprising those languages, dialects, styles, registers, codes, and routines that characterize interaction in everyday life". It is not a system that consists only of languages but instead one can say it is the puzzle pieces that makes that language a whole. One language has different varieties and dependant on the situation the user will activate the needed or preferred variety.

A person's linguistic repertoire is inevitably influenced by the linguistic community he or she finds himself or herself a part of. According to Busch (2017: 345) Gumperz locates the linguistic repertoire in a linguistic community rather than in the speaking subject partly due to the fact that the subject, from an interactional point of view, is not a stable category, but is constantly being reconstructed (and co-constructed) in interaction with and in relation to others. Busch (2017: 348) explains that "personal attitudes to language are largely determined by the value ascribed to a language or language variety in a particular social space". The social space in this instance referring to Gumperz's mention of the influence of the linguistic community.

Blommaert and Backus (2011: 9) further point out that linguistic repertoires are not fixed, and that they do not remain static throughout a person's life, it can expand in accordance to a person's development and some resources in the repertoire can diminish and disappear if in disuse. They go on to state that a person expands their repertoire so that it allows them to operate within the norms and expectations that govern social life (Blommaert and Backus 2011:23). Busch's 2012 study on linguistic repertoires does not have translanguaging as a focal point but shows how the concepts 'linguistic repertoire', and 'translanguaging' are related. Busch goes on to note that some authors openly (Blommaert 2010) use the concept repertoire, others use it more tacitly (Wei 2011; Blackledge and Creese 2010). In his 2011 study, Li Wei (2011: 1222) develops a repertoire-like concept called "translanguaging space, a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging". This links to the idea that linguistic repertoires are something owned, and we store our possessions in a space (place) and with our repertoires, we create a certain community within a social space.

'Translanguaging' unlike 'linguistic repertoire' is a more recently introduced concept. It "is related to and includes doing translations and code-switching, but such concepts still presuppose alternation of two languages or codes as separate entities." (Gorter and Cenoz, 2015: 56). This concept instead views language practices as a single language repertoire instead of different unrelated linguistic features. It sees the users of language to be the regulators of their own language who can choose the language form or language tool according to the context. More so, it relates to the dynamic nature of changing between languages or language forms and does not distinguish between language forms as divided entities. It can be found in many contexts such as classrooms, companies, meetings, etc. Many studies have looked at it predominantly in classroom settings (Krause and Prinsloo 2016; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Canagarajah 2011; Hornberger and Link 2012; Lewis et al. 2012; Velasco and García 2014). Others like Gorter and Cenoz (2015) have started investigating translanguaging in contexts other than education, such as the LL, which will be discussed in the next section.

In South Africa, a number of researchers have used linguistic repertoires as a fundamental concept in their research (Busch 2010; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012; Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen 2014). Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012) used a survey to collect quantitative data on university students' repertoires in the Vaal Triangle region in South Africa. In total, data was gathered from 1100 participants. The data was analysed statistically to determine frequencies. The participants reported high levels of multilingualism. This multilingualism is not to the detriment of participants' home languages. Instead what is found is "a pattern of complex language maintenance in which features marked as "modern" and "Western" (represented by the recognition of the importance of English today) and features marked as "traditional" and "African" (represented by the acknowledgement of the functions that are performed by home languages) co-exist (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012: 114). The studies of Busch (2010) and Bristowe et al. (2014) are located within the educational domain. These two studies also use the language portrait approach, which is also used by the current thesis. Both studies point out how the schooling system often reduce students' multilingualism. Whereas they enter the school with a wide repertoire, the school only values English and/or Afrikaans. Busch (2010: 293) puts it in the following way: "Learners who enter school with multilingual repertoires and desires corresponding to their heteroglossic life worlds are within the education system reduced to an either–or monolingualism".

2.4 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE (LL) STUDIES IN SOCIOLINGUSITICS

The seminal work on LL, that of Landry and Bourhis (1997) refer to road signs, names of sites, streets, buildings and institutions, as well as texts on public billboards and shops as part of the LL. Their work has been the basis of many other LL studies and can be seen as the work that started the LL evolution. However, some have criticised this seminal definition for not conceptualising LL as dynamic (Barni and Bagna 2015). Landry and Bourhis are human geographers, but the greatest growth of LL studies has been in sociolinguistics, where it has become a very popular area of investigation. Within sociolinguistics the traditional focus of LL studies has shifted. Shohamy (2015) proposes that LL has been extended to studies other than the traditional focus on signage. She states

> other findings show that language in public spaces is not limited to written words and multiple languages but rather encompasses a broader construct, that of multimodality. Most LL studies nowadays incorporate additional components such as images, photos, sounds (soundscapes), movements, music, smells (smellscapes), graffiti, clothes, food, buildings, history, as well as people who are immersed and absorbed in spaces by interacting with LL in different ways (Shohamy, 2015: 153-154).

In recent work, it is acknowledged that the LL is dynamic in the way it changes throughout time. It is not fixed in design and can change in longer and even over short periods of time. Blackwood (2015) reasons that changes in the ownership of premises, the ephemeral nature of some signs, the evolution in language beliefs, and economic trajectories all play a role to the changeability of the public space over a relatively short period of time. This can be seen in some other studies that look at LL over a time-period (Blackwood 2015; Barni and Bagna 2015; Peck and Banda 2014).

Especially during earlier research, LL studies were also linked to language policies. According to du Plessis (2012: 196), regulating the linguistic landscape normally forms part of the language policy dispensation of a country. In his study on LL in the Xhariep district in the South African Free State province, he found that the pre-1994 language visibility on regulated public signs largely was bilingual Afrikaans/English while the post-1994 language regime, language policy alignment no longer seemed to be essential. Instead, his study concluded that the removal of Afrikaans from the public space is the primary objective of the post-1994 regime

(du Plessis 2012: 220), and that instead of reflecting the de jure language policy, the de facto ascendance of English was reflected.

Barni and Bagna (2015: 12) note that one of the evolutionary features of LL is that it has the capacity to engage with other disciplines, both linguistic (ecology linguistics, language policy issues, semiotics) and non-linguistic (sociology, economics).

LL also has the property to portray more than just what language can be found in the area but also what languages are on the top of the food chain as one could put it. It has been found that within LL studies that "the choices people and institutions make about displaying specific languages in public spaces — on shops, names of buildings and streets, announcements, warning signs, etc. — do not necessarily correspond with the languages they know and use on a daily basis." (Shohamy 2015: 153). Thus, Shohamy (2015) expresses similar sentiments to that of du Plessis (2012), that linguistic landscapes is often an expression of language ideologies, rather than a reflection of language policy. In another South African study, Dowling (2010) looked at signage in Cape Town and found that there were not many signs in isiXhosa, besides that which is put up by the provincial government. Often isiXhosa only appeared in warning signs, and there are errors with translation and spelling. Dowling (2010: 208) argues that this conveys language ideologies about isiXhosa.

Peck and Banda (2014) reminds us that "the emplacement of signs is also critical to understanding spatial "ownership", power relations and interpretation of fissures and contradictions in social structure. For this purpose, space, artefacts and texts are not viewed as static elements of the LL but are seen as mobile and constantly open to resemiotization and recontextualization" (Peck and Banda 2014: 304). Resemiotization introduced by Iedema (2003: 50) is seen as important in LL study as it gives insight to "…the social unfolding of the processes and logics of representation". To holistically and successfully understand any LL in an area one should have knowledge of the social context. Peck and Banda (2014) do this by looking at the LL of a post 1994 Observatory, Cape Town. The time and place will therefore influence the LL just as much as the person/persons and the language/languages. For instance, the post-apartheid Observatory had a very dominant English LL and Afrikaans was absent (see Peck and Banda 2014).

In the investigation of LL and how it constructs language use within a community it is important to take into account that these LL is mediated by different social actors. These actors

each have a specific purpose behind the way they construct and position LL. "People are the agents of public spaces, those who turn 'spaces' into 'places' by filing them with objects, artefacts such as written signs, photos, music, roads, high-rise buildings, and other people." (Shohamy 2015: 154). It is these people's choice to use a certain language or symbol, and they do this according to the identity or discourse they wish to reveal either about their business or about themselves. They also choose it according to the identity they think the community can relate to or identify with.

According to Shohamy (2015: 155) individuals fulfil a number of roles in public spaces. Sometimes they are passers-by who might be granted access in certain spaces and denied access in others, at other times they might be part of the structures who design spaces or policies and thus partially determines how and where people move into and out of spaces. "People are those who hang signs, display posters, build houses, design advertisements, draw graffiti and build fences (Shohamy, 2015: 155)". In this role, people are the LL creators or architects, but they can also be on the other side of the glass window, becoming the interpreters of the LL displayed. They then change from being the agent or actor to be the subject onto which the action (referring to the sign or LL is intended for) projected.

> … people are also those who read, attend, decipher and interpret LL or choose to overlook, ignore, erase and protest it; they serve as observers and activists who read the space, contest, critique, oppose and/or negotiate it via demonstrations and the cyber space, calling for alternative policies in order to make the public places more inclusive, just and fair (Shohamy, 2015: 155).

The subject is therefore not just a neutral part of the interaction that merely receives the intended message as per the agent's intent. The subjects are much more agentive and either accepts or rejects the intended message according to their own personal preferences or aversions.

Peck and Banda (2014) notes how it is possible to exhibit 'ownership' through displaying certain symbolism or linguistic varieties within the LL of a space. The purpose is not for the reader to understand the sign or for the interpreter to be able to read the sign but rather to show that the owner is from a certain language community. They refer to Chinese writing on a shop sign in Observatory. Although they analyse this to mean that the owner of the shop might have used this due to the popular association that has been made with Chinese clothing or products

being cheap, one could also look at it as the owner referring to his/her heritage. Thus, language choices can merely be a reflection of the linguistic repertoires of people but might also have symbolic connotations (Peck and Banda 2014: 314). It can be symbolic as to the political stance of the area or as to the transformative nature of the area it is displayed in.

2.4.1 TRANSLANGUAGING WITHIN A DIVERSE LL

Within a particular LL, it is not only possible that the codes of LL may be multimodal but also multilingual. Backhaus (2007) reasons that in his research, these multilingual signs that displays a translation or have been designed in a multilingual format is done so that it accommodates people with a foreign background. As can be seen from this conclusion, this study was done in a context where one language is clearly dominant, and not a multilingual context such as South Africa. If a sign makes provision for only one language for instance in his study, the absence of translation on signage in Tokyo Japan indicated that the implied reader was Japanese. While if the signage were predominantly Japanese and English it would have meant that the intended users were either English or Japanese or both.

The reason one could say people use translanguaging in signage is to help overcome language gaps between different cultures and ensure that instead of catering for a fixed language population, other language users are also catered for. Gorter and Cenoz (2015) propose that the linguistic landscape itself is a multilingual and multimodal repertoire, which is used as a communication tool to appeal to passers-by. Signs or languages displayed on these signs are also strongly influenced by government agencies and dependent hugely on the language policy of the area. The signs will be in one official state language only and in other cases they are bilingual or multilingual (Gorter and Cenoz 2015: 59).

Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) follow Bourdieu's (1984) approach to sites and distinguish between sites of necessity and sites of luxury within the linguistic landscape of the Western Cape township, Khayelitsha. They differentiate between the two sites as economically advantaged spaces built or constructed with modern or digitalized products (sites of luxury) versus the signage built around available technologies and materials found in the township (sites of necessity). Signage in sites of luxury revolves around products and services at the higher-end scale, while sites of necessity, are more motivated by products of absolute necessity (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 367).

They also make way for another site, as we know societal conducts are ever changing and so even the symbolic constructs it embodies. As many opposites within society are crossing boundaries or evolving into the comforts of its reverse so is the LL's of society. Influenced by this notion of mixing things up, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) identify another site within the LL of Khayelitsha, one that surpasses the distinction between luxury products and quotidian products. Sites of implosion "combines and juxtaposes semiotic conventions of signage typical of sites of necessity with features of signage found predominantly in sites of luxury of necessity" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 367). Within their study, they conclude that the reason for using sites of implosion within an area, especially a township or more rural area, is to show that the area is a site of economic and social transformation.

2.4.2. INVESTIGATING LL AS A FIELD WITHIN A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

Earlier studies of LL looked at the languages or linguistic varieties of signage displayed and in later studies it became apparent that this investigation method was not nearly enough to encapsulate the multifaceted system that LL is. Barni and Bagna (2015) give an overview of the ways in which LL data collection and interpretation has been reshaped throughout the years following Landy and Bourhis's (1997) study on LL. They state that in the years following the ground-breaking study by Landry and Bourhis "it soon became clear that there was considerable scope for analysing the LL with different and often interdisciplinary approaches — semiotic, sociological, political, geographical, economic — that draw not only on quantitative but, above all, on qualitative research methods" (Barni and Bagna 2015: 7).

Barni and Bagna (2015) observe that LL studies need to be instigated by ethnographic approaches so that they provide a profounder understanding of the setting the LL is located in as well as the reasons behind the production and possibly how these signs will be received. Secondly, the whole notion of identifying and counting 'the languages' of multilingual signs is highly problematic" (Weber and Horner 2012: 179). They do suggest that at times a purely quantitative LL study is valid if such a methodology is suited to the goal, but it could fail to provide a deeper understanding of what is really going on the particular location (Barni and Bagna 2015: 14). By delving deeper into the background (whether political, economic or societal), one could determine whether some of these stimuli or backgrounds may have an important role to play on the LL.

Barni and Bagna (2015: 8) found that LL "was becoming a powerful (though not exclusive) indicator of diversity and was hence reflecting the visibility of languages very dynamically and more quickly than the time required for new words of foreign origin to be included in dictionaries". Contemporary LL research does "not mean limiting oneself to counting the languages present in it, but involves contextualizing the analysis, broadening it to encompass the actors who shape or use the landscape and the factors which have contributed to its formation over time." (Barni and Bagna 2015: 14).

Shohamy (2015: 154) argues that because LL in public spaces are unique due to the fact that they consist of ample components which interact with one another and because they are dynamic, constantly evolving, creative, interactive and directed towards a large number of people. One should look at the study of LL in public spaces through a wider lens to capture and incorporate all the features that it holds.

2.4.3 LL IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

As stated in the introduction, the majority of LL studies occur in urban settings. A few studies have however been conducted in rural settings. I will review these studies here. In South Africa, Kotze and du Plessis (2010) investigated the three rural towns in the Xhariep district, in the Free State. They surveyed all three towns, in-depth, by capturing the public signage in all the neighbourhoods in these towns. Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology, they found that there was a discrepancy between the linguistic profile of this area and the public signage. English was pervasive across the board in all neighbourhoods and that ethnolinguistic identity did not seem to feature in the linguistic landscape. They conclude that recent socio-political changes are to some extent reflected in the LL. Some of the government signs where displayed in the official languages of the Free State, reflecting language policy changes after the adoption of the new constitution in 1996, while increased tourism in the area is hypothesized to have played a big role in the large number of English signs found (Kotze and du Plessis 2010: 94).

In a recent study, Mokwena (2018) investigated two rural municipalities in the Northern Cape. Mokwena's study shows overlap in the area investigated in this thesis, although the methodologies differ. Whereas, the current thesis has linguistic repertoires and language ideologies as important theoretical considerations, Mokwena instead focusses on remediation and resemiotisation as key theoretical and analytical tools. Building on Banda and Jimaima

(2015), Mokwena (2018: 51) uses an interesting approach in that she does not only focus on written features of the landscape, but also what she terms "oral linguascaping", or the creation of signage through oral language. For example, there is one particular space in her dissertation that is referred to by residents as the "hikespot", there is no signage that indicate it as such, but through passing this knowledge down orally, this space is known as such. Banda and Jamaima (2015: 643) was the first to point out that rural communities that may have more of an oral tradition can use a "system of signage to transcend the limitations of the material conditions in the rural-scapes by redeploying memory, objects, artefacts and cultural materialities in place to new uses, and for extended meaning potentials".

Nahayo (2016) investigated the linguistic identity construction of communities in rural villages in Busia Town in Kenya and Uganda. Although linguistic landscapes were not the main focus of her study, she did provide LL data as well. She found that translanguaging practices were only evident in bottom up signs and not top down side. Typically, in her study she found signage in English and Lusamia in Busia Uganda, and signage in Swahili, Lusamia and English in Kenya. Nahayo (2016: 171) concludes, "It is clear is that the signs put up by the community members themselves (bottom-up signs) are more mixed, in the sense that different languages are usually used in the same signpost. By contrast, the signs that are put up by the government and Non-Government Organizations (top-down signs) adhere to the ideology of keeping the languages separate".

2.5 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES FORMED IN A DIVERSE MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

Silverstein (1979: 193) argued that language ideologies are "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use". Language ideologies refers to how speakers think about a language and how it should be used in a specific space it is thus thoughts about language by the language's speakers (Kroskrity 2004: 496). Gal (2005: 24) argues that "language ideologies are never only about language. They posit close relations between linguistic practices and other social activities and have semiotic properties that provide insights into the workings of ideologies more generally". In other words, by studying language ideologies we will also uncover more general information about people's belief systems. We will also learn how language, can in fact be used as a proxy to discuss other issues. Gal (2005: 25) very interestingly links language ideologies with the private/public distinction and argues that this distinction is a result of language ideologies. Referring to Hill, Gal (2005: 25) gives four dimensions that frame interactions in the public or

private in the US- this includes the space in which interaction occurs, the topics under discussion, the speaker and the speech style. In terms of speech style, public and private are associated with different ideologies, "light talk and joking are prototypically private, associated with places of intimacy and they are prototypically vernacular, associated with persons of a type whose talk would be unlikely to have public significance" (Gal 2005: 26).

In the study of language ideologies, it is critical to draw a clear line between what is a language ideology and what is a language attitude as it is easy to get the lines blurred. Dyers and Abongdia (2010) draw such a clear-cut line between these two notions in their study on Francophones within Cameroon. They state that while attitudes are an individual based phenomenon, ideologies are more societally bound. A person's attitude towards a language is much more indirect and not as overtly visible as language ideologies. Ideologies are replicated in how we use language in practice in how we talk or what we say about language or even what language variety or form we use. Ideologies even surpass the boundaries of linguistic features in having the power to portray socio-political positioning about languages. In their findings, Dyers and Abongdia (2010) conclude that in most cases, a person's attitude is directly influenced by the language ideology within society. The ideologies formed will either cause a person to favour or dislike a language or language variety in accordance to popular belief.

Singer and Harris (2015) declares that "language ideologies are likely to play an important role in situations of high linguistic diversity". They argue that because of the political nature of these ideologies a person from outside might be naïve to the political plays within a certain area. Someone with direct association to the politics will be more likely to grasp the sociolinguistic nature of the society.

2 6. CONCLUDING THE CHAPTER

Linguistic Landscapes and linguistic repertoires have rarely been examined together or within the same studies. The two concepts can however inform us about linguistic diversity in different and similar ways. Both are very much dynamic in the sense that they are subjected to change over time; they also both reflect and constitute their linguistic environments and their owner's predisposition. An influential force that has great power over the LL of a space as well as over an individual living in this space is language ideologies. Thus, linguistic landscapes, linguistic repertoires and language ideologies are often interrelated phenomena in multilingual societies.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, I will discuss the methodology followed in this thesis. Firstly, the brief rationale to the study context will be given, as more extensively discussed in Chapter 1. I will then discuss the general data collection instruments and the way in which participants were recruited. Finally, I will discuss thematic analysis in accordance to Miles and Huberman (1984), as this was the main analytical tools used. I will also touch on the ethical considerations of the study and how they were taken into account.

3.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

I have extensively discussed the research context in Chapter 1. Here, I will just briefly point out important aspects about the context again. The areas of investigation that make up the study are situated deep in the Kalahari. From personal observation, I also know that the Gamagara municipal area is home to many Afrikaans, English and Setswana mother tongue speakers and intriguingly also to some native Angolese languages mother tongue speakers.

The main industry in the area is mining and it is due to mining that villages in this area have evolved into the areas that they are today. Initially, my study focused mostly on LL literature and data collection but as the study grew, I found that I would have to investigate more than just the LL to get a holistic view of the LL and the language ideologies formed due to it. Another part of the study that changed as the investigation process grew was the areas under investigation. First, I was aiming at investigating the LL of three towns (which started off as villages), namely Kathu, Deben and Olifantshoek. Along the way, I found that the LL data in Deben and that of Olifantshoek were very similar and adding Deben would not add any extra significance to the study. I then found myself interested in the LL of a new area that was formed following a very sensitive resettlement in order to expand Kumba Iron Ore's flagship operation, Sishen mine. The area, known as Siyathemba, was erected by Anglo American Kumba Iron Ore after geological tests had found that the ground beneath the town of Dingleton was rich in Iron Ore. This discovery led to many negotiations, discussions and even court battles. Within a 5-year period the majority of residents have accepted the mine's offer to buy them out and to relocate them to an established house in a Kathu area, Siyathemba. Siyathemba, meaning "We

Trust" in isiXhosa now is home to about 90% of Dingleton residents, as about 28 families have declined Kumba's offer and do not want to relocate (see https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/northern-cape-families-resist-mining-companys-efforts-to-move-them-20170130). My intention with the study is not to get involved or take sides in this ongoing resettlement issue between residents and the mine but rather to see what I can gather from the LL data found in this new settlement of Siyathemba. Due to this case's atypical nature it would be interesting to see how LL data is formed and whether ideologies formed by social actors in this area has any influence on the LL data.

Due to Sishen mine's huge influence on the areas in the Gamagara I could not completely isolate the study from it (see Chapter 1). The mechanics of the mine's ownership sparks a number of study opportunities in itself and is a good research area for LL data collection.

3.3 GENERAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY

LL studies from a qualitative approach has received much attention as LL studies has grown, and so has the tendency of investigating it from in the field of ethnography. Linguistic ethnography is key to LL studies because it aims to "describe and analyse the complexity of social events comprehensively" (Blommaert 2007). Rampton et al. (2004: 2) further elaborates that linguistic ethnography generally holds that "language and social life is mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity".

In my study, I use a material ethnography. Stroud and Mpendukana (2010: 363) argue in favour of a material ethnography in a post-apartheid South Africa. They argue that the "more refined notions of space coupled to a material ethnography of multilingualism could provide a theoretically more relevant and methodologically refocused notion of (multilingual) linguistic landscape" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2010: 363).

3.4. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

As pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, the focus of the investigation was originally on LL data and as the study grew, I knew I had to include data that could successfully portray the ideologies that could have and had possibly influenced the LL of the area. To gather

LL data, I started by walking and taking photographs of numerous signs with a Canon digital camera as well as on my cell phone. The photographs mostly consisted of signs displayed outside of buildings/stores as well as street names. To be able to take photos at Sishen mine, I formally had to apply for consent from the company to take photos as they are a privately-owned company governed by many brand policies and by an intellectual property clause, and as I am an employee of the company I am also governed to do so by my contract with them. The photos were taken outside of the mine, as this is the area most employees, service providers, visitors and the public are greeted with when visiting the mine. As someone who has lived in the Northern Cape, almost my entire life and who works at the mine, I also drew on my own insights. I used my personal knowledge and observations made about the area in my descriptions of the LL. This is in keeping with a (material) ethnographic approach to research. I also used documents in the public domain such as newspaper articles and information brochures to add to my description and understanding of the context.

In order to investigate the linguistic repertoires of selected participants, I used Busch's biographic approach (refer to Chapter 2) and her use of language portraits (Busch 2010, 2012). Language portraits have been used by a number of studies besides that of Busch in a number of different contexts (see e.g. Bristowe et al. 2014; Prasad 2014; Singer and Harris 2016). I made use of A4 grey outlined language portrait silhouettes, which are available online (http://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html) and presented in Appendix C. These included three different shapes of the human body, the difference being in the position of the arms and hands. I approached participants by randomly selecting a few employees from within the organisation and asking them for their voluntary participation via email. The employees that responded were then approached by me setting up a meeting with them to better explain the process and to verbally gain consent before sending them another email with instructions, the consent form, a link to the online background questionnaire and the portraits. In total, 10 participants completed the language portrait task. More details about the participants are below in Table 2. During the meeting, I explained to the employees that if they felt uncomfortable in completing the process of the study in any way along the way they were free to withdraw and that their data would be destroyed if they decided to do so. In the email sent to employees, they were instructed to first read the consent form and then have a look at both the portrait instructions and the background questionnaire.

	Participant	Age	Gender	Mother tongue language	Second language	Other languages spoken or understood	Highest qualification	Home town and Province	Occupation
1	**EA**	36	Female	Afrikaans	English	Setswana; Spanish	Undergraduate Degree	Free state - Hennenman	Social worker
2	**TW**	32	Female	English	Afrikaans; Portuguese	Setswana	N6 – Management Assistant	Namibia - Swakopmund	Admin assistant
3	**DF**	41	Female	Afrikaans	English	Setswana	N6 – Business Management	Northern Cape - Springbok	Supervisor
4	**MJ**	26	Female	Setswana	Afrikaans; English	none	Undergraduate Degree	Northern Cape - Kuruman	Communication intern
5	**TM**	41	Female	IsiXhosa	English	Setswana; Sesotho; IsiZulu	Honours Degree	Eastern Cape – Fort Beaufort	Section Manager Communications
6	**SP**	37	Female	Afrikaans	English	none	N6 – Business Management	Northern Cape - Kuruman	Airfield assistant
7	**TK**	31	Male	Setswana	English	Afrikaans	Grade 12	Northern Cape - Kuruman	IT Technician

8	**AA**	43	Male	Afrikaans	English	Setswana; Fanakalo	Masters Degree	Northern Cape - Kimberley	Section Manager Long Term Mine Planning
9	**ES**	44	Male	Setswana	Afrikaans; English	none	Grade 12	Northern West - Mahikeng	Transport coordinator
10	**VV**	28	Male	English	Afrikaans	none	N4 – Electrical Engineering	Northern Cape - Kimberley	Fitter

TABLE 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Based on their understanding and comfortability to continue the study they could then make an informed decision either to complete the consent form, giving their permission or to decline the application for them to participate in the study. Short online background questionnaires were used to determine personal data, mother tongues and languages exposed to when growing up. This was sent to participants to do in their own privacy and time to eliminate the feeling of them having to answer "correctly". By doing the questionnaire without the presence of me as researcher, the participants were given the freedom to express themselves. The questionnaire used more open-ended questions to which the participants could respond to in their own words instead of having prescribed answers to which they had to conform. The background questionnaire consisted of only ten questions, four choice options and six own response questions. The focus of the questionnaire was on the biographical information and language background of the participant.

After completing the questionnaire participants were instructed to reflect on all the different languages they know and also to think of why they use the language and how they use it. They were then instructed to assign each different language or language use a colour of its own and colour it into the drawing (see Appendix D). After colouring in the silhouette, they were asked to give short explanations or stories to explain why they used different colours to colour in different areas and why the area or colour is linked to the language specified. The language portraits and clarifying notes were used to carry out a detailed inquiry of the linguistic repertoires of the participants, as well as how they use these repertoires.

Participants were given the choice of choosing which of the three body silhouettes they were more comfortable with and they were given the freedom to choose whether they wanted to use colour pens, pencils or even highlighters. By choosing the participants randomly throughout various departments, it minimized the possibility of them using the same clichéd responses when doing their portraits.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The study used thematic analysis as a first way of organising the data. The approach used is that of Miles and Huberman (1984). Huberman proposes three stages to his analysis which is the reduction of data, the display of data and conclusion drawing. In order to reduce the large amount of data, I went back to the aims of my study and realized that I was interested in linguistic diversity. For the LL data, I thus decided to focus more on the data where there is a language other than English present and to pick out recurring themes in this data. I made a similar decision for my linguistic repertoire data. I will summarize the other data, but only briefly so. This form of data analysis is very common but as in most studies that use qualitative approaches, there are some criticisms against this approach (Pavlenko 2007). Pavlenko (2007) notes that repeated ideas or themes show up in thematic analysis and that the risk of this kind of analysis is that the data can be presented in a superficial way. Pavlenko (2007) proposes a thematic analysis should be guided by a theoretical framework. To avoid the possible pitfalls to a thematic analysis I will combine Miles and Huberman's (1984) approach to thematic analysis with the theoretical framework that I put forward in Chapter 2. I will use concepts such as 'language ideologies' and 'linguistic repertoire' within the sociolinguistic framework to avoid a superficial interpretation of the data.

In the following Chapter, I will present and analyse the data. The patterns recognised will then be discussed in relation to the literature to draw conclusions about the data.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will address the research questions as presented in Chapter 1 of this thesis. The first part of this chapter will address the first two research questions, namely:

1) Which linguistic varieties are displayed and observed in selected areas in the public space in the Gamagara local municipality?

2) How are linguistic varieties displayed in the public space?

I made use of the thematic analysis data reduction method to narrow down the amount of LL data obtained from the four research areas. I will briefly discuss the LL of all the areas but as I am more interested in what the LL depicts about the diversity of Gamagara, I will concentrate more on selected cases that I found to be captivating, and which speaks more to diversity. I then grouped the data according to each area. As data is presented, I will discuss the conclusions drawn from the LL in each area and in the next Chapter, I will draw the conclusions for LL displayed within Gamagara as a whole.

After presenting the data analysis to answer the first two research questions, I will present data collected for analysis of the linguistic repertoires of participants. This will aim to answer the second last research question:

3) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected participants within the Gamagara local municipality?

Once I have drawn conclusions from all data collected I will answer the last research question by using the notions of language ideologies as discussed in Chapter 2. The last research question being:

4) Which language ideologies are evident in the public space and in the opinions held by participants?

4.2. LL IN GAMAGARA LOCAL MUNICIPAL AREA

4.2.1. LL OF OLIFANTSHOEK

I managed to capture 58 images of the LL in Olifantshoek and here I focused most on the town area (Main Street) as most people do business here, are employed here or attend school here. I included a map (below in Figure 9) to show where exactly the photos were taken and to show how much of the town these areas encompass. 48 images were taken in Main Street. Table 3 shows a breakdown of the three official languages.

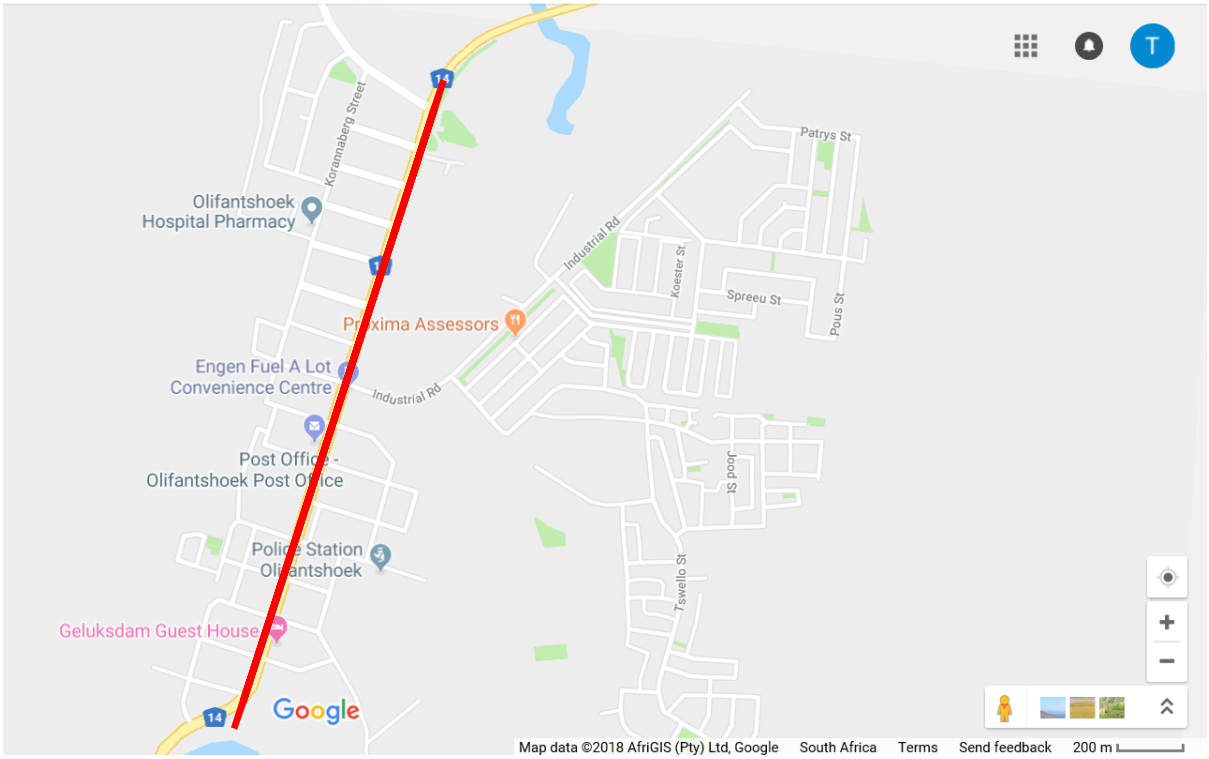


FIGURE 9: GOOGLE MAP OF OLIFANTSHOEK HIGHLIGHTING MAIN STREET AREA

TABLE 3: A BREAKDOWN OF THE THREE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN MAIN STREET, OLIFANTSHOEK

English	25 out of 48
Afrikaans	19 out of 48
English/Afrikaans bilingual	4 out of 48
Setswana	0 out of 48

I also looked at two of the neighbourhoods in the area (in figure 10). These two neighbourhoods are second to the town when it comes to business locations or signage. The two neighbourhoods have very limited LL data as the number of signs put up here are low. This is similar to Mokwena's (2018) findings. Mokwena, therefore focusses on how people also talk about place. This is however, outside of the scope of this thesis, and the focus will be on actual physical signs. When combined, I retrieved ten signs from the LL. It would be expected that the residents would take more ownership of their LL, but I found only two out of the eight signs to be in Afrikaans and put up by residents. The areas investigated are shown below.

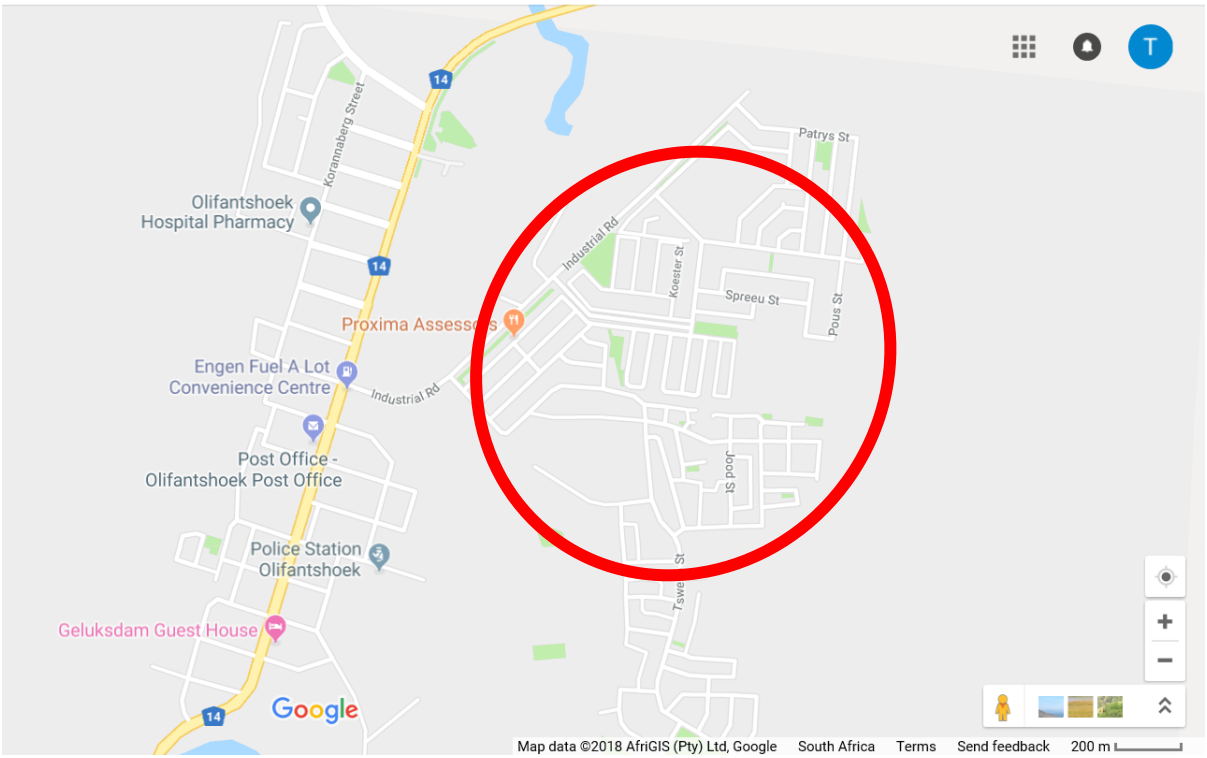


Figure 10: Google map highlighting Welgeleë and Diepkloof neighbourhoods

As I mentioned earlier and referring to the problem statement in Chapter 1, the main aim of the study has to do with the diversity in the area and how it is depicted. In Chapter 1, I mentioned that I observed some Portuguese (Angolese) language varieties in Olifantshoek, yet no trace of this language was found in any of the LL of the area. English made up the majority of the LL of Olifantshoek but having worked and interacted with people from the area I knew that this was not due to a lack of other languages. Instead, I was equipped with the knowledge to understand that the reason for the preference of English went deeper.

Most of the signage was either put up by government (see figure 11), government stakeholders (see figure 12) or Sishen mine (see figure 13) and other smaller mines (see figure 14). The actors are thus usually authority figures.

FIGURE 11: GOVERNMENT SIGN

FIGURE 12: GOVERNMENT STAKEHOLDER SIGN

FIGURE 13: SISHEN MINE SIGN

FIGURE 14: SMALLER MINING COMPANY SIGN

Although my interest is not as much on why English is the dominant language in the area, it is transparent that the sign makers seem to see English as the Lingua Franca of this area or they are trying to embed their own language ideologies onto the people in the area. While some LL data have traces of the language most used in the area, Afrikaans, one cannot help but wonder how successful these LL agents were in conveying their messages in English.

I also focussed on the small number of signs where the actors, where more local people by investigating the signage of small businesses (figures 15 to 18). The majority of small businesses' signage use Afrikaans, as can be seen in figures fifteen to eighteen on the following page. These are signage put up by the owners who were possibly born, grew up and still live in Olifantshoek. I also managed to capture some notices put up by the community at the local supermarket (figure 19). This is a central point for the community to advertise and put up notices they would want the rest of the community to see and take note of.

FIGURE 15: SMALL BUSINESS SIGN

FIGURE 16: SMALL BUSINESS SIGN

FIGURE 17: SMALL BUSINESS SIGN

FIGURE 18: SMALL BUSINESS SIGN

FIGURE 19: NOTICES AT LOCAL SUPERMARKET

The notices captured in figure 19 are designs that are clear sites of necessity (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) as they are printed on plain A4 paper without any industrialised printing processes. While some are advertising local events taking place others advertise products being sold by community members. Three of the seven notices are in English and make use of more industrial like design techniques, photos and specialised layouts. This links to the ideology that in order for something to be professional or "business like" it needs to be presented in what most see as the language of business, English. In addition, while the target market for these notices are your normal community members who according to statistics (see Chapter 1) are predominantly Afrikaans speaking, they still choose to advertise and invite people to their events in English. The other four notices seem to have taken into account that the majority of the community knows and use Afrikaans and therefore included Afrikaans into their notices.

One of the notices in Afrikaans advertises a *Potjiekos* competition. One possible interpretation is that it is in Afrikaans due it being the language of the community, it is also possible that unconsciously the person wanted to act out a sense of spatial ownership (Peck and Banda 2014). *Potjiekos* is food associated with Afrikaans-speaking people, this is even demonstrated in the name of the dish.

The advert put up to advertise a fun run in the area portrays more diversity in how it has been constructed. The different colours, fonts and font sizes speak to this without even having to look at the language used. The language links to this as the owner of this notice chose to use translanguaging practices by switching between English and Afrikaans. The notice also gives evidence to the language form of Afrikaans used in Olifantshoek by using informal sentence structure in the sentence "*Moet nie dit mis nie*". The standard Afrikaans would structure the sentence as "*Moet dit nie mis nie"* and yet this notice does not. The sentence is grammatically acceptable in Afrikaans as it makes use of the double negative to show negation and it has an object ("*dit"*), verb (*"mis"*) and an indirect empty subject (refers to the reader). Yet is not seen as standard Afrikaans sentence structuring. This is evidence of how the other languages in the area, not seen in the LL, has an influence on the variety of Afrikaans that is used in Olifantshoek.

At the local primary school, Noord-Kaap primary school, the language of instruction is dual medium Afrikaans-Setswana. The LL data collected from the school formed another picture than to what the school aims to instruct.

FIGURE 20: OLDER OLD MUTUAL SIGN

FIGURE 21: NEWER SISHEN MINE SIGN

The signage in figure 20 is an older sign that was put up by Old Mutual a few years before the board in figure 21. Although Old Mutual is also a very global company and also largely English the signage in figure 20 is in Afrikaans, most likely due to the school's language of instruction or the political atmosphere of the time when it was put up. The sign in figure 21 was put up by Sishen mine around 2009 – 2011 when Kumba adopted most of Anglo American's brand specifications. It is interesting to note that even though the school is dual medium Afrikaans-Setswana, Setswana features nowhere in the LL. Instead, it seems as if the school is Afrikaans-English medium.

4.2.2. LL OF KATHU

In Kathu, I only looked at the main road, which is quite a popular area due to the people having to use it when driving to Sishen mine, other smaller mines situated outside of Kathu and to gain access to the airport that has daily flights to and from Johannesburg. The total amount of images captured here amounted to 82 images. The breakdown of languages is represented in Table 4.

TABLE 4: A BREAKDOWN OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN MAIN STREET, KATHU

English	68 out of 82
Afrikaans	12 out of 82
English/Afrikaans bilingual	0 out of 82
Afrikaans-English-Setswana	2 out of 82

The above shows that the majority of the LL is English, followed by Afrikaans and only three instances of Setswana is observable. Because I focus on diversity within the LL, I will only look at some of the signs in English and Afrikaans that stood out.

FIGURE 22: SUPERSPAR BILLBOARD AT ENTRANCE OF KATHU

The Superspar billboard is the first large sign picked up when entering Kathu (figure 22). This part of Kathu was developed between 2012 and 2018. While Superspar is situated in an area developed long before this specific area where the billboard is located, the decision to advertise here was a good one, as most people do not care to drive into areas other than the main road. People living in Kathu know exactly where Superspar is, but it is clear that the intent with this billboard was not for people that are from Kathu necessarily. We can deduce this from the fact that the billboard clearly gives the distance to Superspar (4km) from where the billboard is put up. The next few lamp pole billboards following this billboard all have the same two things in common (see figure 23 – 33). Namely, all of the signs are in English and make use of the same advertising company, goBigmedia. goBigmedia is a Johannesburg based company that provide

advertising to all of South Africa. Their personnel are 66.6% white, with only three non-white employees, of which none is in a management position. The absence of African languages in the billboards are very obvious and it is possible argument to make that the sign producers believe that everyone in Kathu and visiting Kathu is able to read and understand English. Another possibility is that the clients to the sign-producer requested it to be so. Whatever the case may be, in doing so they do not see the need to add any other African language onto their billboards. Having knowledge that John Taolo Gaetsewe have the highest proportion of people who speak Setswana in the district and that more households use Afrikaans, and English was one of the least spoken languages, it might not have been the ideal presumption that the sign-producers made. This is a typical example of Stroud and Mpendukana's (2009) site of luxury.

FIGURE 23: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 24: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 25: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 26: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 27: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 28: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 29: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 30: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 31: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 32: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

FIGURE 33: GOBIGMEDIA LAMP POLE SIGN

Almost all of the signs found on the LL in the main road advertise items that can be classified as luxury items and are not essential. This area seems to be central for advertising more so than it is for relaying information. The following table (Table 5) gives insight into how many of the signs recorded were for information purposes and how many were for advertising purposes. I made the distinction between defining the two categories by drawing from the overall purpose of LL in the area.

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF SIGNS FOR INFORMATION AND ADVERTISING PURPOSES

Information driven LL	24 out of 82
Advertisement driven LL	58 out of 82

It seems that the main road has been marked as a space where established businesses advertise their products instead of where small businesses or NGOs and government signs are visible. These sign-producers has marked territory so much that there is no space on any lamp pole for other businesses to advertise. It is either you choose to pay goBigmedia to advertise in this space or you will have to advertise your products elsewhere, less visible to the community as tourists. The signage in Kathu's main road is more commercially constructed and non-commercial signage is almost invisible.

The signs that do have less commercial like designs seem to be the signs that fit into the site of necessity (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009). These signs, as seen in figure 34 to 36, are driven by the need to inform the community and possible tourists. They also seem to be put up by the local municipality that is guided by a language policy. The main goal of these signs is to ensure people take note or are aware of something within the immediate environment. These signs are very clear-cut, to the point and consist of short messages. In the signs for commercial purposes the messages were longer, more emotive and aimed to invoke a desire to make use of a product or service. The signs in figure 34 – 36 just want people to quickly grasp the message as they drive by.

FIGURE 34: INFORMATIONAL SIGN

FIGURE 35: INFORMATIONAL SIGN

FIGURE 36: INFORMATIONAL SIGN

As mentioned, signs that are in Afrikaans are very limited and these are either very old signs or just a translation of a previous sign. The state of these Afrikaans signs contributes to the assumption that these signs have been in the area for well over 20 years or so. When a sign is put up the intention is for it to be able to withstand any weather circumstances and to be timeless. However, over a number of years signs do fade or become corroded (see figure 37). These are typical of the Afrikaans signs that were noticed in the area and it was clear that the corrosion did not happen overnight but that it took a great number of years for it to become as it is today.

FIGURE 37: CORRODED AFRIKAANS SIGNAGE

FIGURE 38: WORN AFRIKAANS SIGN

The sign in figure 38 has started to tear with time. This particular sign welcomes readers to Kathu, indicating that this is where the town started when this sign was put up. But when visiting Kathu now this sign is positioned over more than 1km into the town, having been preceded by among others, a golf club, equestrian club, shopping mall, three fast food restaurants, a living complex and a filling station. All of these having been erected post the construction of this particular welcome sign. This is this a sign of the "old Kathu", both in terms of the spatial demarcation of the town, and in terms of the language. Afrikaans in commercial spaces in Kathu, seem to also be a sign of the old town.

One could argue that signs such as seen in figure 37 and 38 were erected in a time when Afrikaans was still a very big part of government and private institutions' language policies. This is also why Afrikaans is less visible today, most of the signs have been replaced with English following the inception of the post-Apartheid government. Du Plessis (2012) addresses this matter in his study when he determined that the removal of Afrikaans from the public space is the primary objective of the post-1994 regime. One would expect to see more African languages present, more so Setswana since it is the most spoken African language in the Gamagara area. However, the only signs that make use of some Setswana together with English

and Afrikaans are warning signs (see below, figure 39).This is similar to Dowling's (2010) findings on isiXhosa in Cape Town. It seems that similar kinds of language ideologies about the dominant African language in the area exists as with isiXhosa.

FIGURE 39: MULTILINGUAL WARNING SIGN

Taking into consideration Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) rules of signs that the language used first in a multilingual sign is either the language of preference or it is a language that the sign-producer identifies with or it is the language assumed the reader would identify with most, it is interesting to note that Afrikaans is first on the sign in figure 39 above. In this case, it is arguable that because Afrikaans is the language most people understand and speak the sign-producer used it first so that the warning message sinks in immediately.

The predominantly English signage in Kathu is unquestionably linked to the primary employment sector within the area that is the mining industry. Although Afrikaans might be the language most spoken within the mines, the language preference of the business is led by a very different incentive, that of economic growth.

4.2.3. LL OF SISHEN MINE

When doing the LL of Kathu, it is necessary to look at the LL data of Sishen mine, as it is the largest operating company in this area, as discussed in Chapter 1.

FIGURE 40: SISHEN MINE DIRECTION BOARD

FIGURE 41: WELCOME SIGN AT SISHEN MINE

The first signs signalling the way to the mine (see above, figures 40 – 41) and welcoming visitors to the mine are in English, as is all the other signs that lead to Sishen mine. The incentives that lead the language use in the LL of the mine are purely economic. English is seen as the global language and the use of English in the mine signage symbolises that the sign-producers agree with that. The producers of these signs also take on the assumption that all people working within the mine or visiting the mine has some proficiency in the language and will thus understand the language. In some ways, this might be true as the majority of individuals employed at the mine need to have some sort of basic education in order to be

employed there. Even the cleaners should at least have had some form of secondary education to be employed within the mine.

Another ideology that might have influenced the sign-producers use of only English is the ideology that professionalism is linked to uniformity. This is further indicated by the use of a specific blue background, white text and the same font, Arial to be specific, throughout. Having a bit of knowledge on the policies and brand guidelines that govern any form of Communication in Anglo American business units, I am well aware that the decision to use the abovementioned techniques are not coincidental.

The signs are governed by these brand policies and any sign that Sishen mine or a business unit within Anglo American puts up anywhere, whether at a local school or at a parking space at the mine, will be in the same font. These signs and all other notices are approved by brand ambassadors that are trained and appointed to look at signs specifically to create uniformity across the board.

4.2.4. LL OF SIYATHEMBA

The signage in Siyathemba promised to be very insightful as the area was established following a very sensitive resettlement process headed by Anglo American. In collecting the LL data, I was well aware that some strong resistance ideologies might have shaped the LL in the area. I was also aware that LL data would most likely be inclusive of mostly street signs, church signs and a possible Spaza shop here and there, as most businesses are located in Kathu and community entrepreneurs mostly received funding to grow their business and move to office premises in central Kathu instead of having to put up shop at home.

Considering the amount of data collected in the area and the type of LL that showed to be more diverse I decided to look only at the street signs in Siyathemba. I found that English is used in only one of the 23 street names, the majority are in Afrikaans. Another observation was that some of the street names were the names of iconic struggle icons that fought for black empowerment and equal employment rights during and following Apartheid. Iconic names like Chris Hani, Steve Biko and Peter Mokaba (see figures 42 and 43). In South Africa it is a very popular practice to use names of Apartheid struggle figures to name historical buildings, government institutions like schools, clinics and hospitals, residential areas and streets. Thus, not making the LL of Siyathemba a unique case.

FIGURE 42: STEVE BIKO STREET SIGN

FIGURE 43: CHRIS HANI & PETER MOKABA STREET SIGN

The only English street name was the street name "Harmony" (figure 44). The use of this specific name could symbolise many things. First, it could simply symbolise that the sign-producer has the idea that people in this area should live harmonious and not have any ill feelings toward one another. It could also indicate that although there were great tensions between the mine and the residents relocated to Siyathemba (see research context in Chapter 3) the people are now able to finally live in harmony after all the relocations had happened. Whatever the case may be it could not be a coincidence that the only English sign in this entire area is named "Harmony".

FIGURE 44: ENGLISH STREET NAME

The other street names speak to the language actually used most in the community of Siyathemba, Afrikaans. The community of Siyathemba most likely has an influence in this as many community meetings were held to establish things such as new street names and how the area would be developed. The community was represented by a forum chosen by them known as the Dingleton Post Resettlement Working Forum. The members of this forum had the job of consulting the community to, among other things, get suggestions as to what street names they liked.

The theme picked up from the different Afrikaans street names is that they are all linked to bird species, more specifically birds that can be found in the Kalahari (see figures 45–48). The sign-producers most probably assumed that people would be more inclined to remember or like the street names if they are all linked to a simple theme.

The great presence of Afrikaans might also be a symbol of the community's silent resistance to conform to Anglo American's English ways. Most people in the community felt like they had no actual choice in the relocation and that they were forced to move (see Chapter 3) and when one is forced to do something, and you know there is no point in fighting it, it is common to show signs of silent rebellion. The rebellion in this instance is not as brute or as direct but instead they make use of their freedom to choose the language of their LL as a form of resistance.

FIGURE 45: KWIKSTERT ST. SIGN

FIGURE 46: TARENTAAL CRES. SIGN

FIGURE 47: VALK ST. SIGN

FIGURE 48: PADDAVRETER ST. SIGN

The sign-producer did however overlook the other languages spoken in the area and that is the Angolese languages. The community of Siyathemba have accepted the Portuguese community to such an extent that the local churches even translate their sermons into Portuguese.

Having looked at the LL data as a whole it is apparent that a large proportion of the public signage in the LL is written exclusively in English. In the signs found that are either bilingual/trilingual, English appeared in every sign in conjunction with other languages and was almost in every instance the opening language displayed in the sign. That is to say, there was no multilingual sign that did not include English and that English seemed to have the highest status to the sign producers. This directly reflects Laundry and Bourhis's (1994) reference to a diglossic situation. They state that in this situation, the language visible in the LL is high-status languages, possibly an official language and in this case, the language that holds the ideological believe of being the most communicated language. Low-status languages in this case can be seen as Afrikaans and other African languages, because although they are included they are not as prominent.

The use of Afrikaans street names in Siyathemba reflects Peck and Banda's (2014) idea of 'spatial ownership'. In the investigation of Siyathemba's street names and having a broader knowledge of the area's socio-political stance I can conclude that the motivation for the LL in Siyathemba was not communication but rather to show that the owner is from a certain language community.

4.3 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF SELECTED PARTICIPANTS

This part of the chapter will focus on the analysis of the data from the language profiles of the 10 multilingual adults residing within the Gamagara municipal area who took part in the data collection. All of the participants work at Sishen mine in different levels of employment.

An online background questionnaire (see Appendix D) was done with participants to give some insight into their backgrounds. This together with the language profiles promise to give a more enlightened view of each participant's linguistic diversity as well as the collective linguistic diversity of the area. I will first discuss some general points that occurred across all the portraits and will then discuss each of the portraits individually.

4.3.1 GENERAL THEMES

The portraits will be discussed based on the explanatory notes given by each participant as well as according to the answers given in the questionnaires. Four of the participants in this study are male and six are female. Out of the 10 participants that participated in the study, only eight completed the task as per the guidelines and instructions given (see Appendix D). The participants are all between the ages of 27 to 41 and are multilingual in that they generally speak two to six languages respectively. Between them, they speak nine linguistic varieties including Afrikaans, English, Fanakalo, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Portuguese, Sesotho, Setswana and Spanish. Of the nine official South African languages, six are present.

The participants all show a very positive perception towards most of the languages they included in the portraits, although they have mentioned to be stronger in some of the languages than in others. The languages they have shown to have the most loyalty or pride attached to is generally their mother tongues. Most of them brought in the ties that this language has with their upbringing, their family and overall what makes them the people they are. Some of the notes referring to their mother tongues included:

EA (female): "… Afrikaans is my heart language."

AA (male): "Mother tongue, first love, Afrikaans is in my blood."

TW (female): "My mother tongue. The language we all can talk and communicate with..."

DF (female): "My hart is Namakwaland en jou hart is waar jou huis is" (My heart is Namaqualand and your heart is where your home is) referring to her Namaqua dialect of Afrikaans.

MJ (female): "I use Setswana as my home language as my comfort and calm zone… Means love and caring being raised by my mother and the community of Tswana speaking people…"

ES (male): "My roots, my beautiful culture…"

TK (male): "…As I owe my being to my Tswana parent…"

Other common themes include an importance linked to English as a language of work and social mobility, but also the importance of learning more languages to fit into society and to communicate with more people in work and social spaces. Participants also show awareness that they do not know all the languages in their repertoires to the same extent and make reference to varieties of language (such as Fanakalo) which are not standardised, recognised languages.

I will now discuss each of the portraits individually.

4.3.2 EA'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

The participant is an Afrikaans mother tongue speaker that has through her work managed to acquire some Setswana and a mix of Spanish-English-Afrikaans, as she puts it. She feels a deep connection to Afrikaans due to it being the language she communicates with her loved ones in. The extract below supports that:

EA (female): "At home and between my friends we think, feel and talk Afrikaans.

On the following page one will one will see EA's language portrait (figure 49) where she coloured in the body of the silhouette but did not mention or comment as to why she used that part but one can derive that she sees this part of the body as the part that "feels" the most and her reference to the language being her heart language also gives insight as to why she coloured the upper part of the body in to fit Afrikaans.

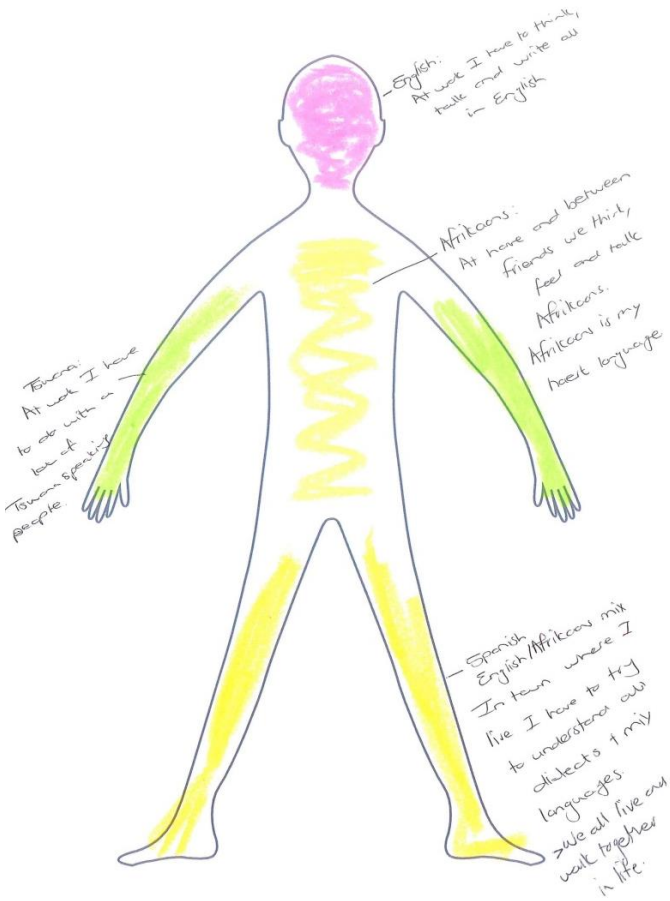


FIGURE 49: EA (FEMALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

Her explanatory comment on her use of other languages other than her mother tongue makes one understand that she might not be using these languages as willingly as she is using Afrikaans. The repetitive use of the words "have to" when explaining her use of the other languages is evidence to abovementioned and that she feels obliged to use these languages for some or other reason.

The participant clearly sees the importance of learning other languages in order to bridge communication gaps and to ensure better interaction across cultures. She mentions Tswana and Spanish as some of the languages she had to acquire to help her communicate better. She makes an indirect reference to the diverse linguistic society she lives and works in.

EA (female): "In the town I live I have to try and understand all dialects and mix languages. We all live and work and together in life."

Her reasons for growing her linguistic repertoire seems to be linked very much to her career. This is not an uncommon feature as growing your career leads to economic growth. This is

interesting in the sense that the LL of both the wider municipality and the Sishen mine might make it seem as if English is enough. From the above description, it seems as if multilingualism is something that is valued within the workplace.

4.3.3 AA'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

Another participant that saw the necessity in acquiring a language for career purposes is a middle management employed male.

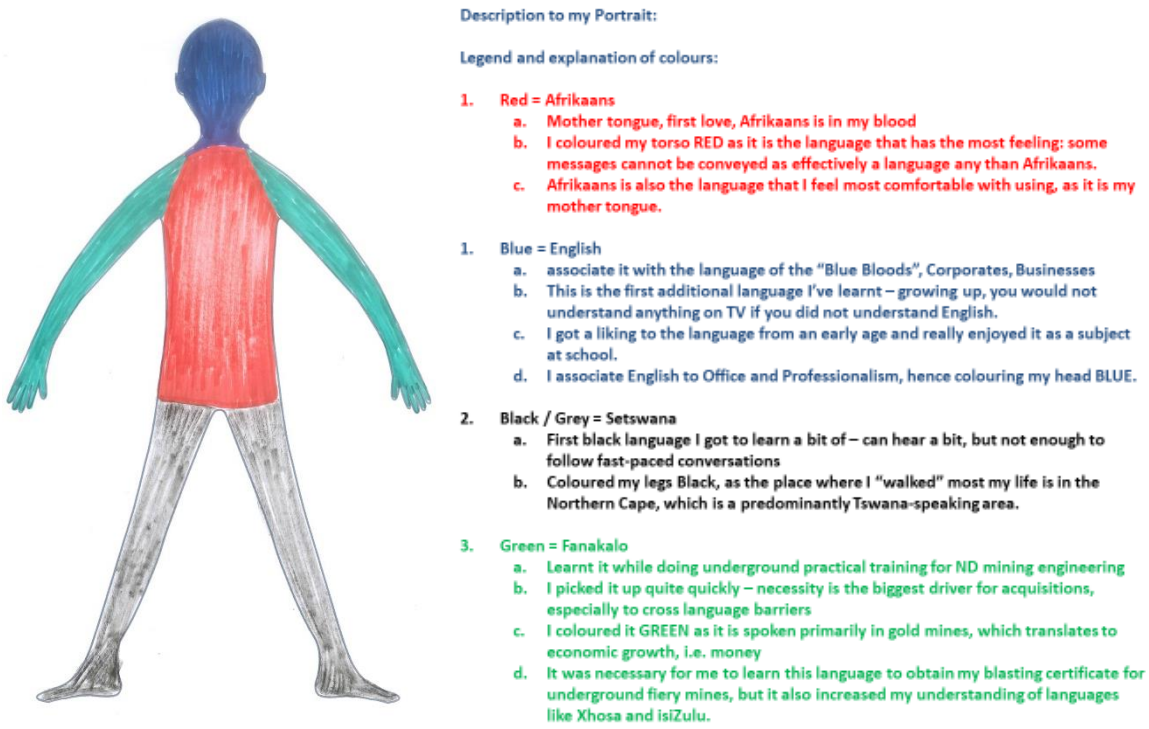


FIGURE 50: AA (MALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

Figure 50 shows how the participant coloured in most of the silhouette in the colour he links to his mother tongue and mentioned that it is the language he feels most comfortable with using, and that some things can simply not be said as well in another language.

His use of English is so well put in his explanatory notes. He sees it as the language of business and mentions that he sees it as the language that is professional. His perception of English is a common language ideology held by society. Where English is seen as the language that powers professionalism and growth within the business world and that it you are not able to proficiently use it you will seem as uninformed or unprofessional.

The participant refers to Setswana as a "black language" which indicates the societal ideology has influenced his stance toward African languages a lot. Instead of referring to it as an African

language he links ethnicity to it. In South Africa most people who speak Setswana is black but the linkage of it to black people is a very Apartheid driven ideology. Just like it is to attach Afrikaans to white "Afrikaner" people. By inoffensively referring to Setswana as the first black language he acquired the participant unknowingly feeds the aforementioned ideology.

Fanakalo is the fourth linguistic variety the participant has proficiency in. His acquisition thereof was fed by his desire to be successful in his career:

AA (male): "Learnt it while doing my underground practical training… translates to economic growth, i.e. money... It was necessary for me to learn this language to obtain my blasting certificate…"

His desire for acquiring this language variety was without a doubt economically motivated as he overtly mentions. This is as mentioned earlier a very great motivator for why people acquire more languages or language varieties. It is not uncommon for someone to see Fanakalo as a good tool to have when working within the mines, as it is a known contact variety between speakers of different African languages. Once again, from the portrait the necessity to use linguistic varieties other than English is emphasized.

4.3.4 TW'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

This participant was born in Namibia and now lives in Kathu. Her mother tongue is English unlike the previous two participants who were Afrikaans mother tongue speakers. She claims to think in Afrikaans while it is not her mother tongue. This can possibly be attributed to the area she now stays in that has shown to have more Afrikaans speaking households than any other language. It is possible that because she had more contact with Afrikaans individuals her way of internalising and producing her language has changed. She uses Afrikaans to give the explanatory note, as almost to give evidence that she is proficient in it (see figure 51 on following page).

Her reference to English is that it is a language everyone can talk, and it is used by everyone in the world. Thus, giving it the status of global lingua franca. It is thought-provoking that she chose to use the widespread arms to symbolise English as this directly connects to her view of it being a very wide spread language.

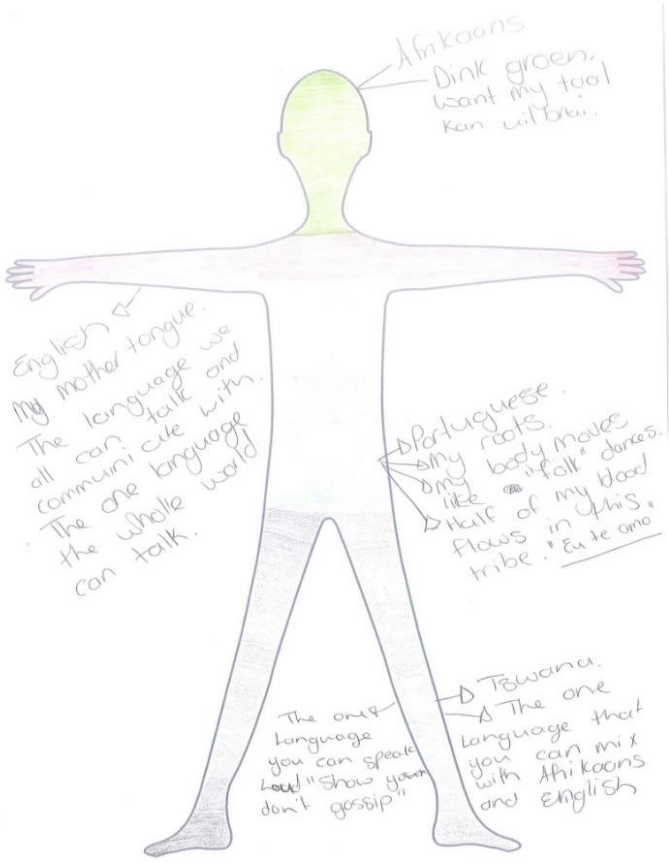


FIGURE 51: TW (FEMALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

She refers to Portuguese as a language which contains half of her roots. It is not apparent whether this participant has one parent that has Portuguese as L1. What is apparent though, is that TW definitely has strong, intimate connections to the language. She states for example:

TW (female): "My body moves like 'folk' dances. Half of my blood flows in this tribe…"

She further also uses the phrase "*En te amo"* which means, I love you in Portugese. It is clear that even though she now lives in a predominantly Afrikaans/English area that her Portuguese background will always be distinctly a part of her being.

Her reason for acquiring Setswana seems to be linked to a societal belief that people who speak a language that others do not understand will most likely use it to badmouth or gossip about that person or persons. It might also have happened to the participant and that motivated her to learn the language. Her drive was therefore not economic or politically motivated but rather socially inspired. It is arguable that she acquired the language to avoid being excluded from conversations or to be feel more a part of the social groups formed by Setswana speakers.

4.3.5 DF'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

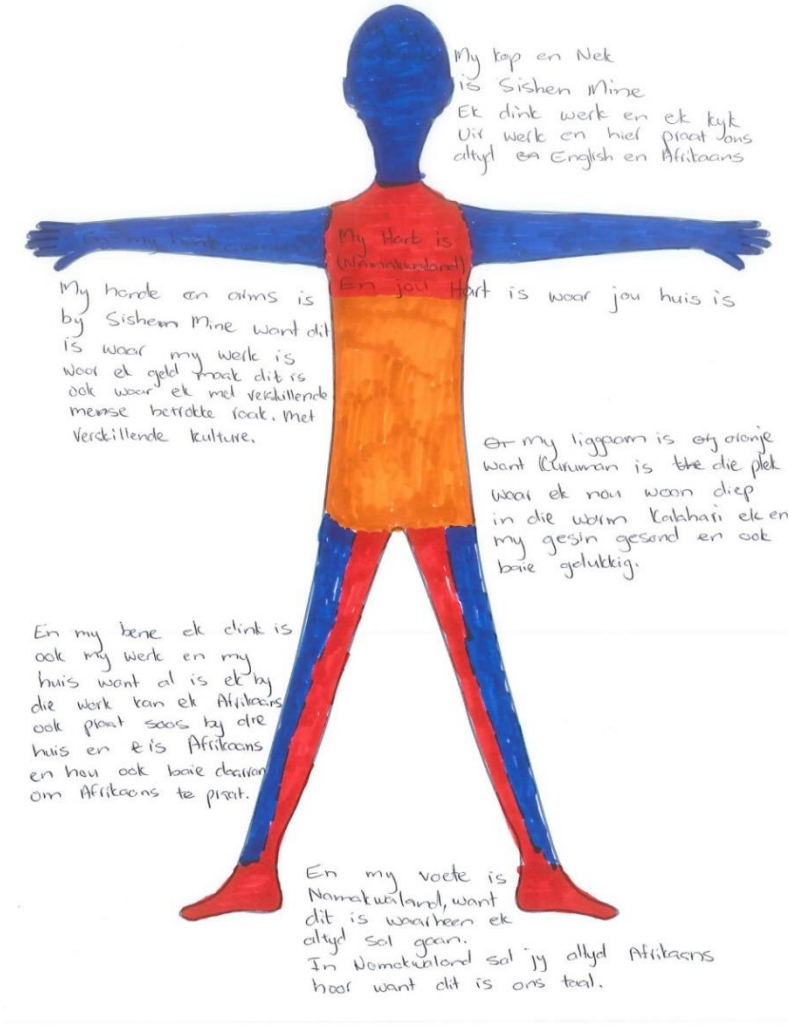


FIGURE 52: DF (FEMALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

DF's portrait, seen in figure 52, is interesting, in that she linked specific parts of her body to specific places- and these places to languages. Afrikaans occurs in the space reserved for home, but also in work, since she can use the language in workspaces as well. She only refers to two languages in her repertoire- English and Afrikaans in different spaces. While she received her instructions and all other material to do the study in English, she chose to respond and write her explanatory notes in Afrikaans. It is evident that she cares deeply about Afrikaans and specifically about the variety that she speaks, coming from Namaqualand. Within the Namaqua district, 98% of schools are monolingual Afrikaans. The speakers here are known to use the Namaqua dialect of Afrikaans.

4.3.6 MJ'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

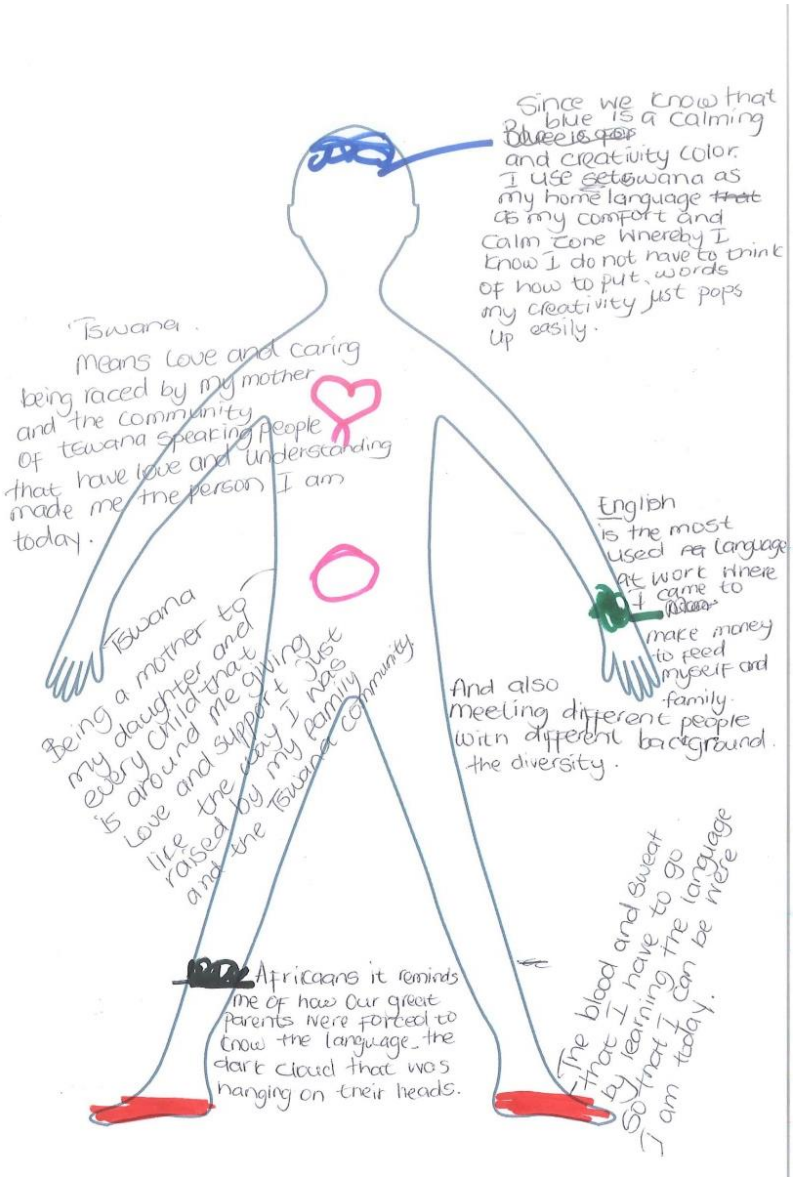


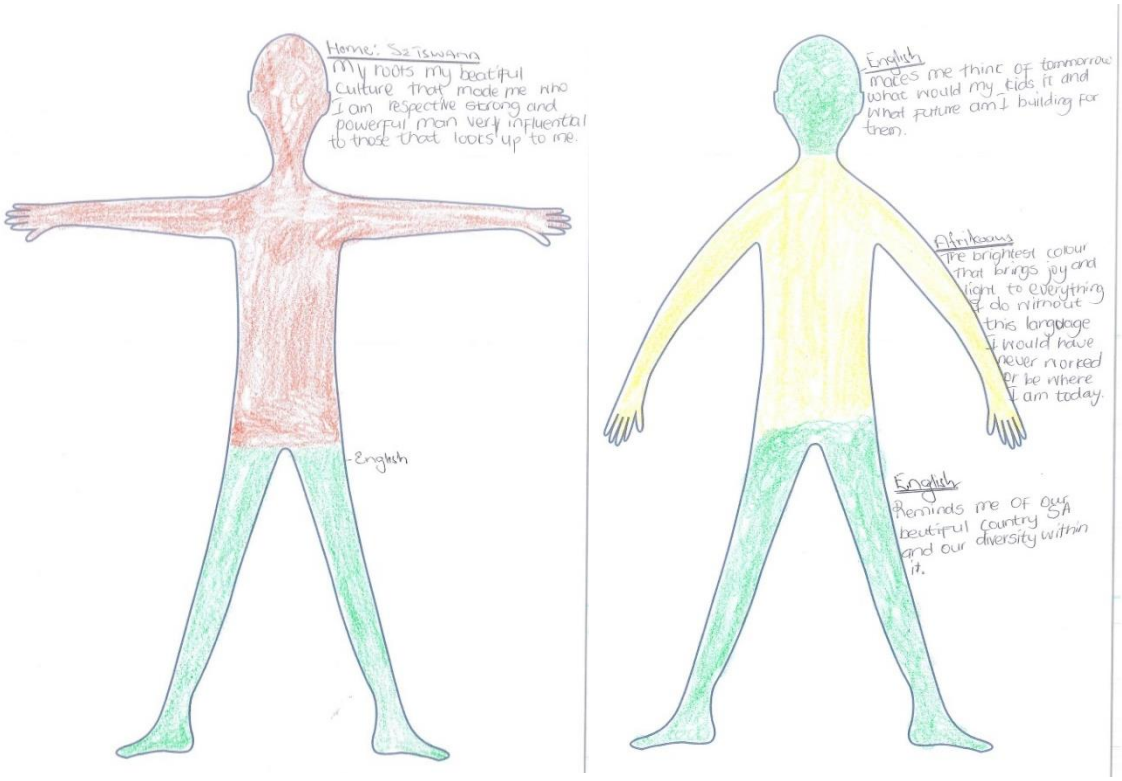
FIGURE 53: MJ (FEMALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

The participant's devotion towards her family is very significant in her choice of language use. Her being a Setswana mother tongue speaker and mother seems to drive her language acquisition and use. Interestingly, she uses more than one colour for Setswana to symbolise different things- both love and calmness and creativity (figure 53). She notes that she has went through a lot to learn the Afrikaans language so that it enables her to be where she is today. However, she does not seem to feel that she had much of a choice; she refers to the fact that her grandparents were forced to acquire the language. The 'dark cloud' she mentions in her description is most likely the Apartheid era that South Africans had to experience. This shows that although she knows the language and can use it she is not very positive in using it.

In contrast to her negative connotations towards Afrikaans, she has very positive references toward her mother tongue Setswana. She links it to her family, friends and community.

Her use of English is clearly to acquire wealth in order to care for her family; she uses green to associate it with money and growth. She also sees it as the language known to everyone and as the main language to enable diversity. This links to the belief that English is the best language to communicate in when trying to bridge communication gaps between different language groups.

4.3.7. ES'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE



A) **B)**

FIGURE 54: ES (MALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

Participant ES is a Setswana mother tongue speaker and he completed two portraits instead of choosing one and completing it. His language portrait can be seen in figure 54. ES's response as to why he chose to complete two silhouettes was that the he feels his language profile for home and at work should be separate since he is two different beings when at home and at work. He explained that silhouette A) reminded him of the freedom and openness he feels when at home while silhouette B) reminded him of the stance he aims to take at work, approachable

yet still on guard for any safety or personal threats. The analysis will however be treating the data as one representation. His portrait depicts his solid allegiance to his mother tongue that is perhaps why he chose to do it on a separate portrait.

He sees English as important towards securing a better future for his family, symbolising his acceptance of the ideology that English opens more doors globally. He also mentions that English reminds him of diversity. Afrikaans seem to have a very high stature in the participant's repertoire due to it having allowed the participant to get a job. He describes it as "the brightest colour that brings joy and light to everything". The participant is of the older aged Setswana mother tongue speakers of the area and has been working for the mine for over 20 years. When he applied for employment at the mine, the majority of managers were still predominantly white Afrikaans speaking. His ability to understand and speak Afrikaans thus opened up doors for him and has allowed him to build his career within the mine throughout the years.

4.3.8 TK'S LANGUAGE PORTRAIT AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

This participant is also a Setswana mother tongue speaker, but he has only been working at the mine for about five years and is still in his late 20s. His relationship with Afrikaans is a bit different than that of the previous participants' (evident in figure 55 below). Although his use of Afrikaans is also guided by his work, he does not owe his being employed to his ability to use Afrikaans. Instead, he sees Afrikaans as a tool or a vehicle that guides better interaction and integration between cultures. He believes that the ability to use Afrikaans within the Northern Cape allows for prosperity, love and unity. His description of it being a language that makes him think of milk tart, braaivleis and sunflowers is also very positive. He used more than one colour to represent Afrikaans. He subscribes his use of English as a way to connect across all cultures. In his explanatory notes, he mentions that English will help South Africa to move forward as a nation. He unintentionally positions the ability to use English as global lingua franca.

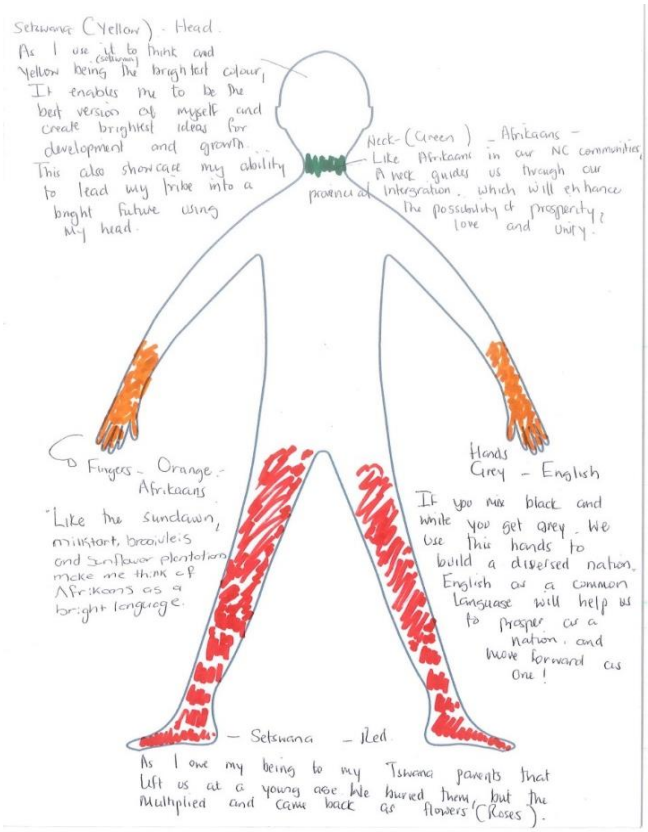


FIGURE 55: TK (MALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

FIGURE 55: TK (MALE) LANGUAGE PORTRAIT

He portrays overall positivity towards his mother tongue and when he gives his explanatory notes for Setswana he uses first person nouns, while with Afrikaans and English he talked of "us" and "we". The use of the first-person narrative indicates that he owns his mother tongue more than what he owns Afrikaans and English. His descriptions of the usages of Setswana becomes much more personal, not only through his use of nouns like "I", "me" and "myself" but also in the way he narrates it. He brings in personal development, family and his own future. This is enlightening as it is suggestive that he identifies more with his mother tongue than with the other languages in his repertoire.

4.4 DISCUSSION OF MAIN FINDINGS

The LL is overwhelmingly English, despite the fact that English is not the most widely-spoken L1 in this area. In the LL, it seems that two factors shape the LL- the agent/actor who put up the sign and the time when the signage was put up. In the case of time, older signage tends to be in Afrikaans, with some of the signs being quite worse for wear. Newer signage tends to be in English only. Pavlenko and Mullen (2015: 129) argue that time considerations should play a more prominent role in linguistic landscape studies. They argue that sometimes it is

impossible to determine "the functions of individual signs and the reasons behind the choices of language" if one just investigates the LL at one point at time without a consideration of the history of the particular area. They give as example countries, which formerly was part of the Soviet Union and the changes that took place in the 1990s, especially with the removal of Russian from public signage despite the fact that people still spoke the language. They argue that the silences should also be investigated- so which languages are not visible. By paying attention to time in LL, Pavlenko and Mullen (2015: 129) argue that we can also investigate the LL as "a site of social, political and economic change." This seems indeed to be the case in my thesis, as changes in the position of Afrikaans occurred, but also changes in the socio-political landscape, the spatial organization of the town, and in the economy. This seems to be reflected in the linguistic landscape.

The second factor, which seems to play a big role, are the actors in the environment- from my perspective especially who the sign-makers are. Big business, the municipality, the mine etc. seem to favour English signage. Where the communities play a bigger role in establishing the signage e.g. in the case of small business and where the community had input in the signage (e.g. Siyatemba settlement), the signs are more likely to be in Afrikaans. As Shohamy (2015: 156) state "people have multiple roles in public spaces", they can "choose to overlook, ignore, erase and protest it; they serve as observers and activists who read the space, contest, critique, oppose and/or negotiate it via demonstrations and the cyber space". In the area I investigated, it is clear that people can display these multiple roles. People choose not to protest the way in which the commercial signage is English, but did in the case of Siyatemba choose to negotiate when and where they will move and what the linguistic landscape will look like once they moved there.

Another important finding is the predominance of the same kind of commercial signage since they all use the same advertising agency. In the case of Sishen, all the official signage also have to have the same colour and font size and type. It seems in this area as if officialdom and professionalism is associated with uniformity. Diversity is more commonly found in the signage put up by small business owners with different font sizes and types and even languages used on the same signs. I link this to Gal's (2005) idea of public and private language ideologies. It seems as if the more public sphere is linked to a particular style of language, which is English, and in a particular type of font and type. This contrasts with the private language ideologies as reflected in the language portrait data.

The language portrait data reveals that while it is clear that English is perceived as the lingua franca of both the corporate world and general society, multilingualism is valued. Afrikaans had a very prominent position in the language representations of participants in the Gamagara area with it being the most widely spoken language in the Northern Cape and Gamagara households. Besides the fact that the participants identify that being able to speak English or Afrikaans could possibly open more doors for them, almost all participants overtly and emotionally place their home language above the lingua franca due to the link it has with their family or heritage. This shows that because we acquire our home language at a young age without explicitly expecting to gain something from it, we feel it is effortlessly a part of our being. While the other languages we acquire tend to be guided by various motives. It is clear that they use their languages for different purposes in a variety of contexts (Prasad 2014). They are all also very much multilingual in accordance to Singer and Harris' (2016) definition as mentioned in Chapter 2. Bailey (2007) mentions that in multilingual societies it is possible for different languages (including language varieties) to position speakers in the social world differently and in turn construct different identities, this is also the case in my data. There is one participant, who even completed two different portraits- one to portray his work life and one his home life. Some participants also chose different colours for the same linguistic varieties- to signal the different functions and emotional attachments they ascribe to the same linguistic variety. As Busch (2018: 11) states "representations of, attitudes to and positionings towards particular languages and language use, which are in turn subject to linguistic-ideological assessments, can be expressed invoking variously structured metaphor-frames". This gives both the internal perspective of the participant and the external perspective- of how attitudes are linked to language ideologies. One example of this, is Afrikaans. The attitudes towards Afrikaans is linked to linguistic practices and ideologies. Mostly, Afrikaans is favourably assessed because it is used so extensively in the Northern Cape, so it is seen as a language of wider communication. It is also seen as useful in the workplace and linked to favourable cultural activities (such as having a braai). Only one of the participants made an indirect reference to it being an oppressive language, this respondent being the youngest of all and not having lived in the Apartheid era herself.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, I will start by summarising the analysis of the LL data collected within Gamagara as a whole. Hereafter I will place the LL data and language portrait data in comparison to see whether the LL data is reflective of the repertoires within the area. Lastly, I will identify and briefly contextualise the ideologies observed throughout the study. In closing this chapter, I will make recommendations on further studies within the area.

5.2 LL OF GAMAGARA AS A WHOLE

In the previous chapter, it was established that there is a clear predominance of English signage in all of the research areas and that this is largely guided by the belief that English is a universal language. The clear dominance of English in public signs noted allows for possible misinterpretation and communication barriers, as statistically the area is more Afrikaans. Not only is a great percentage of the LL observed and analysed written in English alone, but it is also noticeable that where one does find multilingual signs it always includes English. No translanguaging was found without the presence of English. Another feature of the LL that is striking is the substantial absence of indigenous African languages. For a country that claims to promote the use of indigenous languages our government has surely failed in ensuring that it is just as promoted in the LL. On paper, we seem to be able to comply using it but in practice, this is most definitely not the case, especially not in the Gamagara municipal area, where Setswana is supposedly the official language. This is also the case for official signage posted by the government. Pavlenko and Mullen (2015) alerts us to the fact that absences in LL is just as important as what is present.

On commercial signage diversity even in the case of design, layout and font choices are not embraced, instead uniformity is favoured. Sign-producers obviously favour the use of English due to the ideologies which establish it as the language for economic, politic or social growth, and as a language that can unify people. Afrikaans is used only in older official signage. Although Barni and Bagna (2015) had found that LL has become a powerful indicator of

diversity and has been reflecting the visibility of languages very dynamically, it is not the case in the LL of Gamagara. Instead, what seems to be evident is that the LL of Gamagara is reflective of the dominant ideologies about what languages belong in public spaces, and what languages are seen as professional business languages, with the answer being- English. In cases where private actors can play the role of sign-maker, Afrikaans is much more prominent, but Setswana remains invisible.

5.3 LL OF GAMAGARA VS LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES WITHIN GAMAGARA

The census data shows that Afrikaans is widely used by the people of Gamagara and the linguistic profiles obtained aligns with the census results. However, the LL data paints another picture. Within Gamagara the official varieties of English, Afrikaans and Setswana is noted yet other languages and language varieties are present due to the nature of the area. People from very diverse backgrounds gathered here to work at the mines and some of them are not even second language speakers of English.

What seems to emerge in the area is a distinction between private and public spaces. In public spaces, English is favoured, while in private spaces diversity and multilingualism is embraced. This can be seen from the data in two ways: Firstly, by simply comparing the LL data with the language profile data. Secondly, also through a more fine-grained analysis. Within the LL data one also gets this distinction- where local actors try and to make connections with their audience, they tend to go for Afrikaans, or a mix of Afrikaans and English, but big commercial enterprises only use English. Even within the language portrait data there is a distinction between private and public, with the language of work seen as English and with Setswana, Afrikaans, and other languages being the languages of intimacy and connection. Although English is valued for its ability to connect people and other linguistic varieties (such as Fanakalo and Afrikaans) are also valued for its usefulness in the workplace, it is predominantly the case that there is a distinction between the "professional", public language, and the private multilingualism that people use to connect to others.

5.4. LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES WITHIN GAMAGARA MUNICIPAL AREA

The view of English as a professional language shapes the LL of Gamagara and the individual linguistic repertoires of participants. In an area which the census data reveal is mostly Afrikaans and which I know from personal experience is quite diverse, this is not the picture that is painted by the LL data (with some exceptions). The erasure of African languages is part of enforcing

the ideology of English dominance. Gal (2005: 27) refers to erasure as "forms of forgetting, denying, ignoring or forcibly eliminating those distinctions or social facts that fail to fit the picture of the world presented by an ideology". In order to support the ideology that English is the only language suitable for business, African languages are eliminated. Fractal recursions are also pointed out by Gal (2005) to be an important part of establishing language ideologies. Fractal recursions refer to "repetitions of the same contrast but at different scales" (Gal 2005: 27). So, even in the language portrait data, English and its power are mentioned in the business sphere, on the individual level. From the LL it also seems as if Afrikaans is also going through a process of erasure. Although Afrikaans is used the most in this area it is disappearing from the LL. The language portraits data does point out that it is associated with good things, like job creation, bridging communication gaps and even crossing cultural boundaries, but is still contrasted to English, as the language of money and opportunity. What emerges from these processes of fractal recursions and erasure is a language ideology which positions multilingualism as useful (especially for private interactions and for establishing social relationships) but English as the most important language for work interactions. What is also erased through this ideology is the importance of relationships in the work context- although occasionally the importance of Afrikaans or Setswana in establishing bonds for work purposes are brought up by the participants.

5.5. SHORTCOMINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The LL of Gamagara is much more complex than just the signs displayed for public consumption and due to the limitations of being able to investigate signage displayed privately by government, businesses and more so the mine, I was unable to unpack its complexity in way that does it justice. Thus, my first recommendation would be to look at signs not displayed publicly but signs displayed for the consumption of internal audiences. I believe it might give us a better insight into the diverse language demographic of the area. Mokwena (2018) has done interesting work in her study, but studies which even further cuts across the public and private distinction can be even more informative. Furthermore, a study, which actually asks for people's perceptions on the LL, can very useful.

Another interesting approach to LL research guided by Ivković and Lotherington (2009) is to use online LL as data. This field has not received as much attention, yet it would be interesting to look at it from within a rural research context. Nowadays even rural businesses have access to either their own websites or some or other social page where they advertise their products

or raise awareness, etc. Sishen mine in itself could guide further research. Instead of just focusing on Sishen mine one could investigate the linguistic diversity within the mining environment of the Northern Cape. Furthermore, taking into consideration Pavlenko and Mullen's (2015) thoughts on a temporal perspective of LL, a study, which draws from historical documents and items in museums, can give a glimpse on what the LL under investigation might have looked like in the past, which can serve to more thoroughly explain the current LL.

Investigating, the linguistic diversity in a rural community has shown that he dominant global ideologies of English cannot be escaped. However, in a rural community English co-exist with powerful local languages, such as Afrikaans and Setswana (although perhaps only in the private sphere) which makes integration easier. The linguistic repertoires of participants also give glimpses of the kind of migration that can occur even in rural areas, which points out that multilingualism is not only a feature of the big, densely populated, urban centre. More studies on rural linguistic diversity is thus needed to paint a more complete picture of multilingualism.

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APPENDIX A: LETTERS OF PERMISSION

AngloAmerican

EXTERNAL

IRON ORE
KUMBA IRON ORE
Sishen Iron Ore Company (Pty) Ltd
SISHEN MINE

MEMO

To Sinah Phochana

From Tracy Vollmer
Communication Practitioner

Date 6 November 2018

Inquiries Tracey Vollmer

Subject **ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPLICATION FOR MASTERS STUDIES: MS TRACEY BATES (6105839)**

1. PURPOSE

The purpose of this memorandum is to apply ethical clearance for data collection in the form of signage and information displays at Sishen mine by Ms Tracey Evette Bates (6105839). The data collected will be used for the completion of her thesis in her Masters in General Linguistics at the University of Stellenbosch.

2. BACKGROUND

- Tracey Bates is appointed Team Assistant Public Affairs but assists strongly with Communication and Public Relations within the Department as she is skilled and competent in these fields. She has a Post Graduate Degree in General Linguistics and is completing her Masters in General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University.
- The employee has signed a confidentiality clause in her employment contract and will therefore not use any sensitive information and will protect the company's image in all ways.
- The data collected will not be collected within red permit or operational areas within the mine and will therefore not impact any production.
- The data collected will only be used for academic purposes and will not be published on any social media site.
- The data collection process will follow the procedure set out by the Approval to take photos at Sishen mine (Form 251).
- A summary to the study has also been attached in the appendix of this memorandum.

3. RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that permission is granted to Ms Tracey Evette Bates (6105839) to complete her data collection at Sishen mine on the terms that the data collected be approved by myself before any submission to any institution.

Ghrethna Kruger
SPECIALIST COMMUNICATION
Head Office

AngloAmerican

APPROVED:

Sinah Phochana
MANAGER CORPORATE COMMUNICATION

6/11/2018
DATE

APPENDIX

Problem statement:
Multilingualism is usually investigated in urban centres. Rural areas are assumed to be monolingual and therefore are not thoroughly investigated in terms of linguistic diversity. In this thesis, this research gap will be filled by investigating the Gamagara municipality an area which mostly consists of rural villages. Specifically, the municipality will be investigated by looking at signage in the public space, and by considering a selected number of participants' linguistic repertoires. This will be used to get a better understanding of the kind of linguistic diversity found in the area and how this diversity is exhibited (if at all) in the public space. Furthermore, the study will also give insight into the language ideologies people hold within a linguistically diverse rural area.

Research questions
1) Which linguistic varieties are displayed and observed in selected areas in the public space in the Gamagara local municipality?
2) How are linguistic varieties displayed in the public space?
3) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected participants within the Gamagara local municipality?
4) Which language ideologies are evident in the public space and in the opinions held by participants?

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Tracey Evette Vollmer from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because you are residing within the Gamagara local municipal area and working within the mining environment.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

I will be looking at the languages portrayed within the public space, the different languages / language varieties residents in the area speak and how it affects or impacts the ideologies formed as well as the opinions of individuals.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to:

- Colour in a language portrait to indicate the different languages or language varieties you can speak or understand.

- A language portrait is a body silhouette that is filled in, coloured and commented on.
- Different colours can be used for different languages, varieties or linguistic resources that you have various levels of knowledge of and emotional affiliations to.
- You may make use of position, choice of colour, use of symbols and the accompanying written comments to communicate information about your linguistic repertoires

3. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

As individual the participation in this study will have no benefit or risk to you in any way.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payment will be received or given for participation in this study.

5. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by keeping all participant data anonymous. The data will be highly confidential and only be used and published for academic purposes. No participant will be identified in the final research report.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if your contribution is of no relevance to the study.

7. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Tracey Vollmer (researcher) at 084 893 0924, and/or the supervisor Marcelyn Oostendorp (supervisor) at 082 085 0521

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

9 DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Tracey Vollmer.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

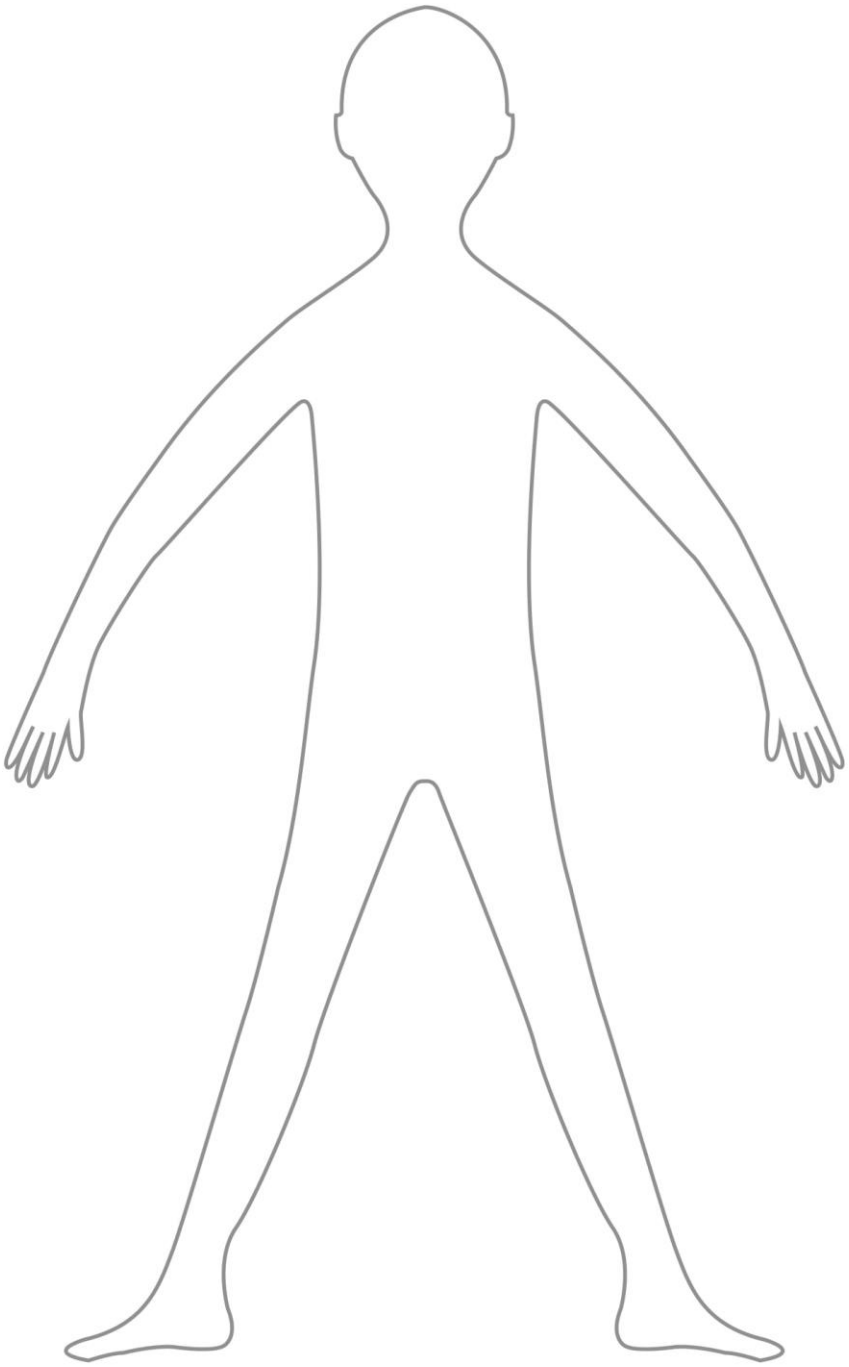
As the **principal investigator,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**

APPENDIX C: LANGUAGE PORTRAIT SILHOUETTE



APPENDIX D:

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE AND INSTRUCTIONS

Biographical information

Linguistic diversity in a rural Northern Cape municipality: A sociolinguistic of Gamagara local municipality

1. Age

2. Gender

- (•) Male
- ( ) Female

3. Level employed at the mine

- ( ) Executive level
- ( ) Senior management
- ( ) Middle management and administration
- ( ) Entry level

4. Area/department employed in

5. My mother-tongue language is ...

6. Language I use most at work...

- ( ) English
- ( ) Afrikaans
- ( ) Setswana
- ( ) Other

7. Language I use most at home...

- English
- Afrikaans
- Setswana
- Other

8. I was born in ...

9. I grew up in ...

10. Languages used in the area I grew up in

LANGUAGE PROFILES INSTRUCTIONS:

Before attempting to complete the blank silhouette given please do the following:

- Think about different languages/language varieties (as explained verbally) in your life and the different way or different instances (situations) you would use them.
- Now assign each different language or language use a colour of its own and colour it into the drawing
- After colouring in your silhouette give short explanations or stories to explain why you used different colours to colour in different areas and why the area or colour is linked to the language you specified.

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

21 November 2018

Project number: 1608

Project Title: Linguistic diversity in a rural Northern Cape municipality: A sociolinguistic study of Gamagara local municipality

Dear Miss Tracey Bates

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on **08 November 2018** was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
21 November 2018	20 November 2021

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number **(1608)** on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Proof of permission	Permission to conduct LL research	07/11/2018	2
Research Protocol/Proposal	RESEARCH PROPOSAL Tracey November 2018	07/11/2018	3
Data collection tool	Biographical information questionnire	07/11/2018	1
Data collection tool	Language portraits (summary)	07/11/2018	2
Data collection tool	LANGUAGE PROFILES INSTRUCTIONS	07/11/2018	1
Informed Consent Form	Written Consent form template_16351355	07/11/2018	2
Data collection tool	Methodology	08/11/2018	3
Data collection tool	Language portraits Figures_A4_grey_lines	08/11/2018	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham