

**Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across the
Linguistic Landscapes of Zambia: A Multimodal Analysis**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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Supervisor: Professor Felix Banda

KEYWORDS

Social structuring

Language

Mobility

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Multimodality/Multisemioticity

Resemiotization

Remediation

Recontextualization

Metamorphosis

Globalization

Translocal

Transnational

Regionalization

Lusaka

Livingstone

Zambia



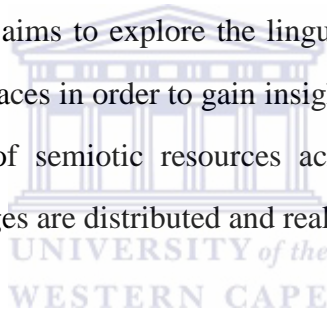
ABSTRACT

Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across the Linguistic Landscapes of Zambia: A Multimodal Analysis

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PhD thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

The current study framed as *Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across the Linguistic Landscapes of Zambia: A Multimodal Analysis*, is situated in Lusaka and Livingstone and their selected surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces (of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata; Kafue, Chongwe, Chief Mukuni's area and stretches between Livingstone and Zimba and Livingstone and Kazungula). The study aims to explore the linguistic landscapes (LL) of these urban, peri-urban and rural spaces in order to gain insight into the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL. This entails an understanding of how languages are distributed and realized across the research sites.



In particular, the study aims at understanding how the regionalization of languages is (re-)produced, contested and maintained in (and beyond) the territories for which they are promulgated for use. Thus, the study foregrounds the mobility of the semiotic resources across the LL. In essence, artefactual material, symbols including languages are, in a multimodal fashion, investigated to see their pliability and mobility from context to context. In the light of the mobility of the semiotic resources, the study privileges both translocal and transnational mobility as the force behind the movement and the dispersal of the semiotic material across ethnolinguistic, formal, informal, urban and rural boundaries. This meant understanding the kind of signs in both urban and rural areas and why they are emplaced in the broader context of sign/place- and meaning making.

In order to achieve the aim and objectives, the study has been foregrounded in

ethnographic research paradigm in which walk, gaze, talk (interview) and photography were of irreplaceable importance. The conflation of walk, gaze (observation), talk and photography in one investigation avails much. Firstly, the walk brought the researcher within the allowable observation range in order to gain an insider impression while, at the same time, maintaining the objectivity required for an unbiased analysis. Participant observation coupled with gaze offered the required positioning for carrying out a multimodal analysis especially in the rural areas which turned out to have the paucity of signage. Thus, by being a participant observer, I keenly observed how sign- and meaning making were accomplished in oral-dominant communities. This meant positioning oneself as a new comer needing direction. It was in such moments when practices of sign- and meaning making were observed and recorded. For example, I would ask: *how do I get to the next village/school/headman?* The reference to ecological features such as trees, hills and streams extended the taxonomy of signs available for use in rural areas. Interviews with business owners about the emplaced signs brought to the fore the hidden narratives often gushing out from individualized orientation and personal experiences, as well as the shared sociocultural knowledge and histories of both the producer and consumers of the multimodal LL. Photography yielded digital images forming not only the quantitative data but also the qualitative one upon which a multimodal analysis was done. The aim was to capture over 1500 of images which were to be processed by the Software Package of the Social Sciences (SPSS). Over 1500 images were collected but only 1157 were coded based on the languages present, materiality, inscription, and emplacement. The quantitative data arising from this exercise provided insight into the social structuring of language and mobility of the semiotic resources across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. These results were later compared with the national census reports. The analysis of images as qualitative data availed much about the multimodal nature of the signage in place.

The analysis of the qualitative data was accomplished by multimodality in its evolved

form. Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) *Grammar of Visual Design*, Scollon and Sollyon's (2003) *Geosemiotics*, and theoretical concepts such as resemiotization, remediation, recontextualization, decontextualization, multivocality and metamorphosis provided a sound theoretical toolkit to analyse the multimodal/multisemiotic signage emplaced across the public spaces of the research sites.

As a result of a robust methodology and theoretical base, the study was able to underpin the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes in a manner too apparent. First, apart from showing the linguistic heterogeneity of the research sites, the study shows that social structuring of languages being experienced is one that is predicated on unpredictability, flexibility, flux and indeterminacy. The results showing the social structuring of English, for example, demonstrate the uneven spread of English across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. In particular, the results go against the normative expectation that the urban centres of Lusaka and Livingstone would have more signs in English. Peri-urban (Kabanana) and rural (Chongwe/Kafue) spaces showed more signs in English. This suggests a disembodiment of language and locality as well as social actors. Moreover, the results showed the co-occupancy of English and local languages in one micro-space/time. This entails the blurring of boundaries between languages of different socio-political statuses. The bilingual signs on which English and non-regional languages occur demonstrate the persistent percolation of minor languages onto the LL. The presence of regional languages, albeit differentially, in and beyond their regions for which they were promulgated reminds us that there is a counter hegemonic narrative going on in the LL of the research sites – in defiance of regionalization (zoning). Thus, the results show that languages in the research sites do not stay put where they are officially put by legislation. The conflation of multiple semiotic resources has further (re-)produced linguistic coinages resulting in what I refer to as a sociolinguistics of amalgamation

predicated on hybridity, fusion and translanguaging. This evidence is framed within the translocal and transnational mobility where both the social actors and the semiotic resources are constantly in circulation. The study observes that mobility is not only restricted to local circulation of cultural materialities from urban to rural and rural to urban, but also a more transnational circulation of semiotic resources. For example, the ubiquitous spread of Chinese signage across the urban, peri-urban and rural LL accentuates the permeating effect of translocal and transnational mobility, leading to the de-territorialization of spaces.

The study further shows the sociocultural narratives in place- and meaning making. Place and meaning making as an agentic act is premised on shared sociocultural knowledge and histories (Kress 2010), but is further exploited and extended by creatively drawing on individualized orientation, experiences and subjective sensibilities. In this regard, the study agrees with Hult (2009) that in order to glean the subjective narrations and re-imagining of space embedded in the emplaced signs, interviews with the owners of the emplaced signs is indispensable. Thus, like Blommaert (2012) aptly suggests, spaces are semiotized as themed spaces. The study has shown how spaces are Christianized, moralized, gendered and anonymized, thus, gaining insight into the forces and meanings behind both the emplacement of and emplaced signs. Further, the reading of artefacts in Livingstone Museum shows how the juxtaposition of the material culture of multilingualism and multiculturalism is a semiotic strategy to double-articulate multiple localities simultaneously: local and global; familiar and unfamiliar; modern and tradition. The transaction of multivocality in a single moment of emplacement and gaze transforms space dramatically and extends the meaning potential of the emplaced signage in micro-space/time. Further, the observable paucity of signs in rural areas forces us to defer to an ecological approach in which oral language mediation, recycling and repurposing of material affordances provide a comprehensive account of the signage and sign-making/consumption in place.

Ultimately, the study contributes to the development and operationalization of multimodality and especially its extended notion of semiotic remediation (repurposing) in non-Western contexts and rural Africa in particular. In using the notion of semiotic remediation, the study shows that irrespective of the limitations of material conditions, people in rural-scapes (like those in urban areas) repurpose available semiotic materials to extend their meaning potential and in the process constantly reinvent the semiotic environment and their relations with it for sign- and place-making.



DECLARATION

I declare the “Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across the Linguistic Landscapes of Zambia: A Multimodal Analysis” is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Hambaba Jimaima (3463671)



Signed: _____ Date: June, 2016

DEDICATION

To Odia my wife and my late sister, Mutinta as well as to mum & dad – Ruth Jimaima & Frank H Jimaima!



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is without difficulty to acknowledge all who have contributed to this accomplishment. Nonetheless, I am particularly grateful to my supervisor, Professor Felix Banda for his unflinching and undivided attention and support during my undertaking of this study. For he not only provided the academic guidance at every stage of the research but also the financial support through the NRF as well as from his personal allocation to the effect that I was able to participate in three international conferences – the insights of which further reshaped this work. Thus, like Isaac Newton, ‘if I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants’. Thank you very much, Prof. Banda for being that giant!

The enabling academic environment in Linguistics Department cannot be overemphasised. The Departmental Chair, Professor Antia and his entire academic and support staff made both my academic and social life easy to bear. Prof Stroud, Prof Kell, Prof Dyers, Dr. Bock, Dr. Ndlayedwa, Dr. Peck, Dr. Williams, Dr. Mawadza, Dr. Tedros, Mr. Duncan, Ms Groves, Ms Coetze, Ms February, Nathalie and Ms Maggie individually and collectively made the department memorable and academically stimulating. The academic stimulation from my fellow PhD candidates, namely, David, Tedros, Stanley, Evans, Lynn and Fiona was very rewarding. Thank you guys! Colleagues and staff at the University of Zambia deserve a special mention as they have influenced my academic pursuits in diverse ways. In mind are Dr. Wakumelo, late Dr. Siamwiza, Dr. Simwinga, Dr. Munatamba, Prof Chanda, Mr. Hirst, Mr. Musonda and Mr. Mundia for having taught me at undergraduate and encouraged me to enrol for my doctoral studies particularly Dr. Wakumelo. I thank friends: Kelvin, Sande, Naomi and Eunice as well as Limbali for their support. The institutional support via the Head’s and Dean’s office cannot be overemphasized, as well as my research assistant, Paul Musambachime.

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Finally, to God who was able to supply all my needs in diverse ways, to him be glory and honour, and praise. For had it not been for the Lord, the tragic loss of two of my immediate family members interspaced by only 11 months during my data collection and write-up would have left me shattered forever. But God raised me up!

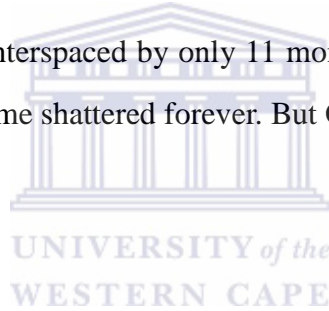


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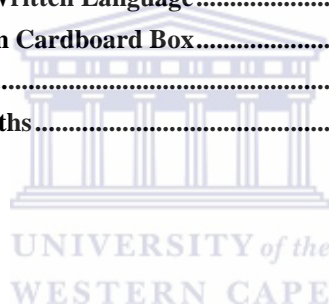
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	Central Business District
CSO	Central Statistics Office
LL	Linguistic Landscapes
MDA	Multimodal Discourse Analysis
ROs	Regional Official Languages



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This Chapter introduces the study conceived of as *Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across Linguistic Landscapes of Zambia: a Multimodal Analysis*, situated in the cities of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces in Zambia. The current study is motivated by two interrelated considerations – first, the potential of linguistic landscape (LL) in understanding and description of the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia and, second, a belief that a study of LL adds a different dimension to the study of multilingualism and language practices in Zambia, which has not yet been captured, as it can be used to demonstrate the social distribution of the different languages and other semiotic resources across regional, formal and informal boundaries as well as ethno-linguistic ones. Therefore, the problem to be studied relates to the mobility of semiotic resources and the commodification of cultural artefacts and symbols across ethno-linguistic, regional and national boundaries for consumption in the multimodal LL. This is predicated on the view that “[r]ather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups and communication” (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 3).

This has been achieved by providing the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia first, thereby situating the study. Recognizing the extent of and the expanse of the subject under investigation, the Chapter has pinpointed in a very clear way the aim, specific objectives, research questions together with the statement of the problem, the motivation, the scope as well as the limitation of the study in order to underpin the overall conceptualization of the study. In what follows, I discuss the sociolinguistic background of Zambia.

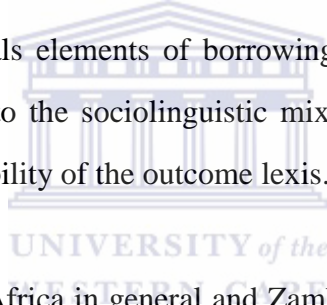
1.1 The Sociolinguistic Background of Zambia

The study is placed and finds its expression in the sociolinguistic landscapes of a multilingual Zambia. Geographically, Zambia is landlocked, covering a total area of 752, 612 square kilometers with a population of 13, 092, 666, according to the 2010 official census report (Central Statistics Office (CSO) 2010). For administrative purposes, Zambia is divided into ten provinces with Lusaka as the capital city. Being part of Central Africa, Zambia shares its borders with Malawi on the eastern side, Mozambique on the south-east, Zimbabwe on the southern part, and Botswana on the south-west, and Angola to the west, Tanzania to the north-east and Congo DR on the northern part.

This geo-political setup of Zambia is important in the reconstruction of the origins and the historiography of the peoples of Zambia, thereby footnoting the linguistic and language situation of the nation. In historicizing the Zambian past, its borders and people, Roberts (1976) conjectures that Zambia was part of the vast mining complex of Southern Africa, giving rise to complex relational ties and histories of the Zambians and those outside of this enclave due to the wave of migrations from such regions as Congo DR and the southern part of Africa, among other places. The earliest settlers are put around AD 1000 who are believed to have been speaking “early forms of languages belonging to the great Bantu family, for the geographical distribution of their sites corresponds very closely to that of the Bantu languages today” (Roberts 1976:23). These Bantu languages account for 72 dialects currently found in Zambia, which are reducible to 26 linguistic clusters based on the degree of intelligibility (Kashoki and Ohannessian 1978; Marten and Kula 2008; Wakumelo 2013). Thus, in the absence of colonial borders (other than natural ones such as rivers), it is unlikely that each of these migrant groups was homogenous, linguistically.

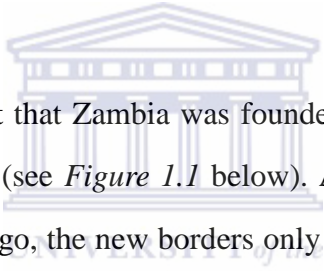
Migrant groups were not only restricted to indigenous Africans. History documents of Arab traders among the Bemba (Kashoki 1975; Roberts 1976); and a complex trade in beads and ivory is reported in the lower Zambezi between the Tonga and the Arabs as

epitomized by the artifacts found at Ingombe Ilede. Portuguese are also written of as having been involved in trade with the Chewa Chief Undi of the present day Eastern Province in what is historically known as the Zambezi-Luangwa complexes (Roberts 1976). All these contacts took place around 1600 and 1800, however left only some linguistic imprints due to language contact for in order to trade in new goods and services meant new terminology was also exchanged. For instance, the word for 'shoes' in Chewa is *sapato* or *nsapato* which comes from the Portuguese 'sapato.' Nonetheless, by 1850 and onwards, Zambia witnessed an avalanche of missionaries from Europe, and, notably they spoke English. And this later wave of population influx has had notable impact on the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia. In this connection, Kashoki (1975), for example, has reconstructed the effects of the language contact firstly of Bemba and Arabic and then Bemba and English, respectively. The study reveals elements of borrowing at lexical level. The contact phenomenon therefore adds to the sociolinguistic mix of Zambia to a less or great extent depending on the durability of the outcome lexis.



The advent of Europeans in Africa in general and Zambia in particular, ushered in an epoch of colonialism. In Zambia, the British were the colonizers. As was the case in many African countries where Britain had extended her political hegemony, English was imposed as the official language during the colonial rule. However, even after independence in 1964, the new Zambian government adopted English as the official language of government and the medium of instruction from Grade 1 onwards (cf. Wakumelo 2013). At the same time, seven Zambian languages, out of the 72 dialects or languages, were given regional status in what is known as language zoning to be used in local courts and limited administrative functions in local government (Banda 1996; Simwinga 2006). Thus, the seven regional languages were identified and legislated. Bemba for Northern, Luapula, Copperbelt and the central part of Central Province – Kabwe urban, Mkushi and Serenje districts; Nyanja for Eastern and Lusaka Provinces; Tonga for Southern Province (excluding Livingstone urban),

Kabwe rural and Mumbwa district; Lozi for Western Province including Livingstone urban and Mambova area; Kaonde for Kasempa and Solwezi districts in North-Western Province; Lunda for Zambezi, Kabompo and Mwinilunga districts in North-Western Province; and Luvale for Zambezi and Kabompo districts in North-Western province (Wakumelo 2013:129-130; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010). These seven languages belong to the Bantu subgrouping subsumed under the Niger-Congo family (Greenberg 1966). The seven languages are fairly related to each other syntactically, phonologically and lexically but are ‘conventionally’ or perhaps politically assumed to be mutually unintelligible (Kashoki 1977; Kashoki and Ohannessian 1978) but in reality they have several degrees of mutual intelligibility (Banda 2015). For instance, for almost all Zambian languages the word for ‘child’ has the following form: *(u-)mu-ana*.



From the above, it is apparent that Zambia was founded on a multilingual landscape which predates independence (see *Figure 1.1* below). At the founding of the present day Zambia, fifty (50) years ago, the new borders only legitimized the geo-political landscape of what was to be called Zambia, but did not in any way ‘monolingualize’ the nation despite adopting English as the official language. Equally important, the new borders remained permeable not only to immigrants of the twentieth and twenty first centuries, but also to sociocultural artefacts and semiotic resources which the current study considers to have been used in the construction of the multimodal LL of Zambia in general and Lusaka and Livingstone in particular. As has been shown in the section about the studies on the sociolinguistics of Zambia in Chapter Two, English was only an addition to the already multilingual environment (Marten and Kula 2008). While it has been acknowledged by many scholars working on the Zambian language situation, especially those considering the interplay between English and the local languages, that English enjoys an unrivalled prestige, and that it is used in formal domains, recent theorizing see its usage not any different from how the local languages are used in both formal and informal situations (cf. Mambwe 2014, Banda

translocal and transnational mobility before and after the political independence of Zambia in 1964 feeds into the circularity of the semiotic resources across ethno-linguistic boundaries. Mobility of social actors can be traced to as far back as the migrations of the eighteenth century that brought different ethnic groups beyond the fringes of the Luapula and Zambezi rivers as well as across hinterlands of the present day eastern and southern borders of Zambia (cf. Roberts 1976) as one often finds non-Zambian languages on the signage. In fact, as Simwinga (2006) reports, the political borders of the present day Zambia did not bring all language groups within the confines of the borders as some of the languages spoken in Zambia are also spoken in the neighbouring countries: Nyanja (Chewa) is spoken also in Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Bemba in DR Congo, Tonga in Zimbabwe and Lozi in some parts of Namibia, Angola and Botswana. No wonder there is a renewed interest in cross-border orthography harmonization (cf. Banda 2015).

The dawn of globalization has nonetheless aided the speed and extent to which translocal and transnational mobility has been executed (cf. Banda 2009; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Mambwe 2014; see Blommaert 2010, 2012 for a discussion). This has not only been visible in capital flows but also in media practices, hence the change in the public spaces (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). Being cognizant of this fact, the study attempts to locate in both (time) and space the circularity of semiotic resources and sociocultural artefacts across regional as well as formal and informal boundaries. By reading artefacts in the Livingstone Museum and the freedom statue as multimodal texts, the study constructs the LL diachronically to show how the social histories of the people of Zambia are reproduced, maintained and contested in time and space with the help of such theoretical notions as resemiotization, intertextuality, metamorphosis, semiotic remediation and multivocality. Further, these notions extend our understanding of mobility as they foreground the movement of text from context to context, from one practice to another.

Seen in this way, the study attempts to ‘destabilize’ the notion about the regionalization of language and thus, building on the recent theorization that sees language as social practice, thereby underpinning the construction of the multimodal LL within such practices that equalize each mode/modality as a meaning making resource readily available to both the sign maker and consumer, in a subjective way due to translocal and transnational mobility (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

1.2 Regionalization (Zoning) of the Seven Languages and its Implication to the Study

The regionalization or zoning of the seven languages in Zambia was based on the assumption that the seven languages were static and bounded in particular homogenous communities and regions. The study conjectures that it would be fallacious to assume that other languages in these regions have remained dormant to the point where only the regional languages are visible, or go unchallenged by the languages which were not accorded the regional status. In fact, Banda and Bellononjengele (2010:108) acknowledge the spreading of language outside of their tribal environs and this “has helped to create a complex relationship between ethnicity, language use, and linguistic grouping” in the multilingual Zambia.

Additionally, they are those that concede to the fact that “although the seven regional lingua franca have been adopted for official use in designated parts of the country and domains, their status is unclear and their use in government is ultimately dependent on political whim” principally because the Zambian Constitution ACT No. 1 (5) provides for the use of English as the official language in Zambia (Wakumelo 2013:130). This state of affairs seems to be of long standing. Siachitema (1992:19), for example, 21 years earlier, had observed that “the prominence that has been given to English language in the national system has rendered the local languages instrumentally valueless.” The problem with these sentiments, however, is that they assume a monoglot model of the language situation, which incorrectly assumes that because a particular language is not used in a classroom it is not used in the community or worse

still, that it is worthless. Such views fail to account for the rich linguistic repertoire and heteroglossic dispensation of urbanizing Africans and landscapes (Banda 2015; Banda and Bellonjengele 2010).

Thus, in the context of this study, with regards to the regionalization of languages and their functional allocation, many questions arise concerning, for example, the nature of language and demographic fluidity of these regions. As Banda and Bellonjengele (2010:108) put it “Zambians are mobile and do not remain put in ‘tribal’ land” due to translocation, trans-tribal, and transnational mobility which are constantly being necessitated by such factors as inter-ethnic marriages, socioeconomic, political and the onset of globalization.” Arising from this recognition, Banda and Bellonjengele (2010: 109) conclude that “[a]ll this makes a very complex sociolinguistic situation. And makes linguistic performativity of identities in multilingual contexts a very creative endeavor and worthy of study.”

Furthermore, regionalization triggers the quest to establish the circularity or non-circularity of language of either regional or non-regional languages across these enclaves, and also the stagnation or fluidity of population (within and across these regions). Further, one wonders whether language users in these enclaves do not adopt communicative strategies to cope with the ever changing social economy as well as the linguistic situations arising from the effects of globalization. Banda and Bellonjengele (2010) and Mambwe (2014) indirectly challenge the sustainability of regionalization as they see late modern Zambians, especially urban dwellers tapping into the linguistic resource available to them in a given situation irrespective of their origins or indeed their ‘mother tongue’. Following these scholars, therefore, it is contested here whether the notion of regionalization of languages by the government is a blatant denial to view/consider language as a resource, and strict allocation of languages to social domains. This would arise from the notion that languages can be partitioned and compartmentalized based on their economic worth (cf. Mambwe 2014;

Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Thus, individuals are seen to be robotic and uncreative – without communicative strategies to meet their communicative needs. Thus, it would be important to examine the extent to which individuals in these linguistic enclaves adhere to regionalization of language in the face of the obvious linguistic plurality of these environs by surveying the LL of these environs. Regionalization also presupposes an imposition of language on the community and that these communities are bound by such imposition, and this would suggest that these regions should reflect a monolingual LL. Thus, the argument by Banda and Bellononjengele (2010: 224) that “privileged positions enjoyed by particular languages in particular contexts and domains are notional rather than absolute and static” has helped situate further this undertaking. These questions rest on the fact that the current study arises from a complex geo-political setting which finds its expression in multi-culture, multi-ethnicity and multilingualism – a nation with about 72 dialects; and also on the fact the Ministry of Education in its recent curriculum review – *Zambia Education Curriculum Framework 2013* – still adheres to the language zones (MOE, 2013: 19). Thus, these questions have motivated and largely shape this undertaking as an attempt at de-regionalization and de-tribalization of language.

1.3 Contextualizing the Study Areas: Translocal Mobility

As it is an undeniable fact, population is not static in whatever sense of the word. People, constantly criss-cross provinces, which, inadvertently or unknown to them, helps frame both their historical and sociocultural trajectories across the public spaces. The situation is even more dynamic and complex when one considers the two most urbanized centres of our study areas broadly and generally. Lusaka as Capital City of Zambia is home to people of diverse linguistic background, indigenous and foreign. As a highly industrialized city, comparatively speaking with Livingstone, its population of 2,191, 225 million people (CSO 2010) can be structured into the upper class, middle class and lower class from one’s casual look at the physical configuration of infrastructure across residencies within the city. However, the nature

of the physical infrastructure can barely be an index of the linguistic distribution unless coupled with language in the public space, which is the preoccupation of this study.

In recent years, Lusaka has witnessed unprecedented influx due to, as pointed out already, its geo-political significance to Zambia and more important the global trends – globalization. Owing to its geo-political significance, many locals from the peripheral provinces come to Lusaka for work, trade and to escape the poverty that characterize some of the forgotten rural areas. Of these, majority are of low earning income and have hence added to the growth of peri-urban townships, and of importance to this study are Kabanana, Chipata and Bauleni Townships. At the same time, flow in both capital and people towards the periphery of Lusaka urban has been witnessed in the recent past, leading to the gentrification of previously rural communities. Additionally, stemming from globalization, Lusaka has witnessed the influx of foreign nationals as well. The growth of China as an economic power house has seen the Chinese taking up residence in Zambia, Lusaka in particular, as business people, financiers and contractors. This, too, has reshaped the sociolinguistic dynamics of the city, as one occasionally finds signage in Chinese.

As a province, Lusaka is made of eight districts: Lusaka central business district, and seven rural districts. Of these rural districts, the study focuses on Chongwe and Kafue. Both these districts have had over the years a demographic composition that is dynamic and in a state of flux due in part to forces triggering off transnational and translocal mobility. The LL of these areas seem to point to confluences of different social actors who have led to the multivocality and heterogeneity as well as to the multimodality of their public spaces as one often finds signage in Namwanga, Soli, and Goba. This is against the backdrop that Lusaka is officially assigned Nyanja as the regional language of wider communication in addition to the official language English. The question is the extent to which this is maintained, reproduced and

contested in the LL of Lusaka.

Livingstone, named after the Great explorer, David Livingstone, the first white man to see one of the natural wonders, which he named Victoria Falls (after Queen Victoria), the local people still call it *Mosi-oa-tunya* 'The smoke that thunders,' is home to many tourists of varied origins. Thus, it is not only bombarded by the linguistic plurality of the local languages, but also of the foreign origin of people who come to view the Victoria Falls (CSO 2010; Liu and Mwanza 2014). It is also important to mention here that while Livingstone is a town in Southern Province where Tonga is the regional official language, Livingstone urban is assigned Lozi as a regional official language due to its population dynamics (Simwinga 2006). Thus, it has been interesting to see how this linguistic dynamism replicates itself in the LL of the town. Beyond Livingstone urban, areas that form Livingstone rural provided a fresh and captivating dimension to how the LL is constructed and consumed as such areas adopt rather unique literacy practices and orientation in navigating their landscape. The areas forming borders between Livingstone urban and Kazungula as well as Zimba districts yielded data that would feed into the circularity of semiotic resources across ethno-linguistic boundaries arising from such factors as translocal and transnational mobility.

The dynamism in the demographic composition of Lusaka and Livingstone being witnessed today stems, in part, from economic as well as political factors, both taking effect at the tail-end of the twentieth century. These are the fall in copper prices (Banda and Bellonjengele 2010) and the re-introduction of the multiparty democracy. In about 1991, the mining industry in Zambia proved unsustainable, and hence a burden to run and unreliable source of income for the Chiluba led-government. Arising from this realization, there was an unprecedented privatization of mines, making the Copperbelt province no better place than others. Lusaka and to some degree Livingstone promised to offer alternative sources of

income and capital investment based on the liberalized economy. And for the same reason, the multiparty democracy of 1991 provided a new outlook not only in the political sense but also in the economic sense as democracy afforded individuals freedoms to exploit their environs and other business opportunities including the provision of private education irrespective of the locality or regions (cf. Carmody 2004). In fact Carmody (2004: 56) argues that “[t]his change of government heralded a new era in the nation’s life with promise of democracy and prosperity through a non-socialist path” and, in the words of Lungwangwa (1994: 1): “[t]he leap into the Third Republic carried a promise for a complete and far ranging re-arrangement of the society and the people’s lives.” I dare add that the re-arrangement of the society included a substantial sociolinguistic re-alignment as social actors became more dispersed in search of livelihood.

Additionally, the new political dispensation of the 1991 coincided with the recreation and reorientation in focus of the regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992 (SADC 2012) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1994 (World Bank 2013), making the borders among the member countries more readily accessible and permeable than at any given time in history as the organizations sought to integrate the economies of the member countries in more sustainable and flexible way. COMESA boasts of a membership of 21 member states with a population of over 389 million and SADC coming slight below with 15 countries as member states (SADC 2012). The two bodies have in a way rejoined and reconnected Zambia in an increased and renewed way to the capital and demographic flows spanning the east, central and southern Africa. Seen in this way, the regional bodies such as SADC and COMESA have aided in de-territorizing space and the blurring of boundaries among the geo-political spaces of the member states to the increase in flow of sociocultural artefacts and semiotic resources across regional and national boundaries as well as formal and informal boundaries as these bodies bring to their member states different languages such as

English, French, and Portuguese. These languages therefore have become part of the sociolinguistic mix already in circulation in Zambia.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

While literature on the sociolinguistics situation of Zambia exists, for example, Kashoki and Ohannessian (1978), Siachitema (1986), Banda (1996), Mwape (2002) and Simwinga (2006) and Mambwe (2014) there is none on the dynamics and interaction between translocal and transnational mobility and LL. Thus, theoretically and methodologically, this ‘disjunction’ provides a research gap and therefore necessitates this undertaking. Then there is a question of social structuring; that is, it is not clear how the social structuring of languages is expressed in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Put differently, following the regionalization (zoning) of languages, it is not known how this phenomenon is maintained, reproduced and contested in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces. Furthermore, nothing is known about the type of signs found in the Lusaka central business district and peri-urban (townships); and the urban and rural areas of Lusaka and Livingstone and let alone why they are placed there in space and time. The diachronic dimension of the LL forces us to go beyond the visible social structuring of language and semiotic material to gain insight into the circularity of languages across boundaries (regional/national) and domains (informal/formal) in space/time. Therefore, the problem to be studied relates to the mobility of semiotic resources and the commodification of cultural artefacts and symbols across ethno-linguistic, regional and national boundaries for production and consumption in the multimodal LL.

Seen in this way, the study stretches beyond the mere quantitative representation of the LL to focus also on the interpretation of the semiotic resources (cf. Weber and Horner 2012), as well as the sociocultural narratives visibly and invisibly displayed. As has been shown in the section about LL (in Chapter Three), such earlier studies

that tended to use the quantitative approach only to the exclusion of the qualitative methodology risked being taxonomic and enumerative, making the whole enterprise simplistic and numerical. Which is why, Weber and Horner (2012:179) make of this situation as difficult to capture since the “whole notion of identifying and counting the ‘languages’ of multilingual signs is highly problematic...” Thus, a more encompassing approach is required in order to underpin both the social structuring of language and the mobility of the semiotic resources across boundaries in the multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces. Ethnography promises to be such an approach as it accounts for the numerical as well as the interpretive representation, construction and consumption of the multimodal LL, which Scollon and Scollon (2003) conceive of as discourse in place, and additionally ethnography offers insight into the origins of the circularity of semiotic resources as it traces the sociocultural histories of the users of these semiotic resources. In this connection, Scollon and Scollon (2003:124) are mindful of the fact that semiotic systems “cannot be “read off” simply from seeing the code choice which has been made but must be subjected to historical and ethnographic analysis”, and these should be based on an “ethnographic understanding of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice” (p.160) as “each of these discourses would have its own history, its own trajectory by which it came to be in that place, perhaps through architectural plans or municipal ordinance” (p.206), or as this research shows, by individualized orientation. I predicate my study on this timely theoretical insight from the Scollons (2003) especially with regard to sign- and place-making.

In the absence of such studies on Zambia, the current study acts as groundbreaking, being the first one on the subject of the linguistic landscape of Zambia. It also differs from other studies on LL by paying particular attention to the circularity of semiotic resources across regional, informal and formal boundaries as well as ethno-linguistic boundaries. The study therefore does not just draw on earlier theorization about LL

such as the one by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), Scollon and Scollon (2003), Leeman and Modan (2009), Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), it also attempts to feed into this theorization by bringing into the LL study the ‘oral-scapes’ that dominate the rural-scapes of Africa as well as gaining insight into the circularity of semiotic resources, sociocultural artefacts and symbols across boundaries spanning informal, formal, regional and ethno-linguistic partly due to translocal and transnational mobility.

1.5 Aim, Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 Aim

The aim of the current study is to explore the linguistic landscape of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces using the multimodal approach in order to address the following research objectives:

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

Considering the rapid urbanization and globalization, the study will be restricted to the following specific objectives:

- (i) To determine the social structuring of languages in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone;
- (ii) To examine how the regionalization of languages is (a) maintained, (b) reproduced and (c) contested in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone;
- (iii) To explore how place- and meaning making on LL of research sites is accomplished;
- (iv) To investigate the kind of signs in urban and rural areas.

Research Questions

- (i) How is the social structuring of languages expressed in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone?
- (ii) How is the regionalization of languages maintained, reproduced and contested in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone?
- (iii) How is place- and meaning-making transacted on the linguistic landscapes of the

research sites?

(iv) What kinds of signs are found in urban and rural areas?

(v) What reasons do sign-makers give for the chosen semiotic resources and emplacement?

Therefore, the idea is to explore the social structuring of language and mobility of semiotic resources, that is, linguistic and cultural artefacts and symbols across ethno-linguistic, regional and national boundaries for production and consumption in the multimodal LL. This has been achieved by focusing on the signage in the public spaces and interviews as well as analyzing documents on the demographic status of the country.

1.6 Rationale

The current study is motivated by two interrelated considerations – the potential of LL in understanding multilingualism and the non-availability of such studies on Zambia. On the first consideration, the study considers LL as it adds to a comprehensive understanding and description of the sociolinguistics situation of Zambia. Second, a study of LL adds a different dimension to the study of multilingualism and language practices in Zambia, which has not yet been captured, as it can be used to demonstrate the social distribution of the different languages due to translocal and transnational mobility.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

While the study focuses on twelve (12) study areas, that is, six from Lusaka and six from Livingstone, the data collected from these study areas represent the LL of these areas, and only make a commentary on the general LL of Zambia. The LL of these areas is believed to be relatively unique given the social-economy of these areas. Moreover, the study is alive to many key players and contributors to, and diverse approaches to LL; albeit, it will conform to the theoretical framework as prescribed in

Chapter four.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized in chapters spanning Chapter One to Chapter Ten. Each Chapter is devoted to specific issues that nonetheless feed into the overall aim of the thesis.

In Chapter One, the aim, specific objectives, research questions together with the statement of the problem are discussed to underpin the overall conceptualization of the study. This has been achieved by firstly providing the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia, thereby situating the study. Recognizing the extent of and the expanse of the subject under investigation, the chapter has pinpointed in a very clear way the motivation, the scope as well as the limitation of the study. The Chapter ends with a brief discussion on the overall organization of the thesis.

Chapter Two extends the discussion about the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia by reviewing relevant literature on the subject. It problematizes how language is looked upon in Zambia, and how multilingualism has been conceived of in view of the selection and adoption of the official language, English. Also, the Chapter contextualizes regionalization of language as a political decision rather than a linguistic one.

In Chapter Three, a review of literature bearing on linguistic landscape has been done. The Chapter starts by providing a definitional matter of the concept of LL, then shifting to studies that have gone before the actual use of the concept in the sociolinguistic literature, hence historicizing LL. The heuristic functions of LL are also discussed in this Chapter, albeit problematized. Equally important aspects discussed in this Chapter are the methodological concerns, signs and code preference in studies about LL.

Chapter Four situates the study within the theoretical toolkit of multimodality in its evolved form. The Chapter brings together reading images: the grammar of visual design, resemiotization, geosemiotics and the history of semiotics (Saussurean semiology and Peircean Semiotics) to help theorize about the possible construction of a multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Additionally, Bakhtinian concepts of multivocality and metamorphosis as well as semiotic remediation are discussed closely with Iedema's resemiotization for the same reason as to produce the meaning making process across modalities and practices within the multimodal LL.

The study adopts an ethnographic approach as its methodology, and this has been discussed in Chapter Five. Aspects pertaining to the research design, data collection procedures and data analysis are presented in this Chapter. Thus, Chapter Five provides detail in a step-by-step fashion on how the study was formulated and conducted from start to finish with regards to the selection of study areas, collection of the data, the sort of data used and the analysis thereof.

Chapter Six is the first among the four analysis chapters. It addresses the social structuring of languages in urban, peri-urban and rural scapes of Lusaka and Livingstone with the view to accounting for their distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization as well as the mobility of semiotic resources across the urban-scapes.

In Chapter Seven, a discussion centres on place-making and meaning making, by focusing on place semiotics - emplacement. The digital images are discussed in respect to their materiality and inscription, and how they are recontextualized and resemiotized from context to context. By examining the kind of signs and their semiotic potential, the Chapter underpins themes such as signs of anonymity and conspicuousness; Christianization and moralization of space, as well as projecting the

liberation struggle as gendered space.

Dubbed as ‘global-local interface’, Chapter Eight is built on two notions: Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) notion of interaction order and Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006) notion of narrative representation. Particularly, the Chapter sees the juxtaposition of semiotic resources in micro-space/time as a semiotic strategy to double-articulate locality as local and global; familiar and unfamiliar; modern and traditional. The semiotic potential of sociocultural artefacts in the museum is discussed to provide a diachronic perspective of Zambia. Seen in this way, the Chapter underpins the semiotic potential of artefacts especially those in museums in perpetuating the socio-political and cultural trajectories of the space and of those producing it. Thus, artefacts read together create a sense of multivocality, thereby (re)producing conflated identities of both the space and the social actors.

In Chapter Nine, a discussion of the Oral-scapes of the rural areas foregrounds repurposing and remediation as alternative theoretical toolkits in understanding the way the social actors in these places engage in the production and consumption of signage, especially unscripted ones or those with the faded semiotic/linguistic resources.

Chapter Ten is the conclusion and summary of the thesis. It discusses the major contributions of the study to the existing theorization about LL, multimodality and space. It underpins the circularity, fluidity and blurring of boundaries between languages, thereby de-regionalizing Zambian languages.

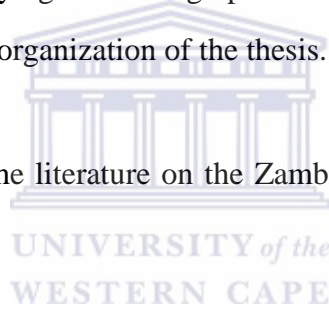
1.9 Summary of Chapter

The Chapter introduced the study as conceptualized within the multimodal LL by situating it in the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia where it arises from as well as by clearly spelling out the aim, objectives, motivation, and scope, statement of the

problem and the limitation of the study.

The Chapter also has problematized the regionalization of language in Zambia by pointing out the flows in both capital and the social actors across these regional boundaries. In the discussion ensuing from the above, it has been established that Zambia in general, and Lusaka and Livingstone in particular, are permeable not only to the flow of social actors but also to semiotic resources due in part to translocal and transnational mobility. The borders are even more readily accessible now than at any time in history principally because of such regional bodies as SADC and COMESA, which have brought about the integration of the economies of their member states. Thus, Zambia is no longer dealing just with the local semiotic resources but also semiotic resources accompanying the demographic flow across regions. The chapter has also provided the general organization of the thesis.

The next Chapter discusses the literature on the Zambian sociolinguistics as it bears on the study.



CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF ZAMBIA

2.0 Introduction

In the quest to contextualize the study within the existing literature, albeit tangentially as there are no studies on linguistic landscapes yet in Zambia, this Chapter discusses, firstly, the studies which foreground the sociolinguistics of Zambia, paying special attention to the regionalization of languages and literacy practices arising from this phenomenon with the view to projecting the kind of linguistic landscape that can emerge out of such literacy practices. Then studies about the multilingual Zambia in which multilingualism has been seen as a problem are reviewed. Beyond this framing of multilingualism, the Chapter draws on recent studies that consider multilingualism as a social practice. It ends with a brief discussion on language ideologies in order to situate the language practices in Zambia. By reviewing the literature about the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia, in this Chapter, I indirectly hint and show that there have not been any studies in Zambia concerning linguistic landscape, which, in a way, justifies the undertaking.

2.1 The Sociolinguistics of Zambia

One thread common to almost all the studies that underpin the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia just after independence up to the early 1990s is the fact that they discuss language in reference to other languages, forcing the language situation in Zambia into Ferguson's (1959) model of diglossia and Kachru's (1990) three concentric circles. That is to say, Zambian languages are discussed in relation to English language to determine, among other things, language attitude and the contact phenomena, and error analysis among school going children (Banda and Bellononjengele 2010). There are also studies which focus on the language-in-education policy of Zambia (see Wakumelo 2013, Ohannessian 1978). Then, there are those that focus on formal linguistics, whose studies are purely

descriptive with regard to the structure of languages in terms of their phonology, morphology, syntax as well as their dialectological characteristics (for example, Miti 1988; Wakumelo 1997; Mwape 2002; Jimaima 2008; Mambwe 2008). However, beyond these scholars, there are those that have theorized language as a social practice and thereby problematizing the notion of multilingualism and identity in the multilingual Zambia (Moody 1985; Banda 2009; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Mambwe 2014). In all these studies language in the public spaces has not comprehensively been used to foreground the sociolinguistic situation of the country. The subsequent portions of this section of the thesis touch upon some in turn.

Until fairly recently, to discuss the linguistic situation in Zambia meant solely depending on Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) *Language in Zambia*. In fact, almost all the studies on the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia have used to a certain degree Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work to foreground their undertaking. This heavy reliance on Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work, points to a dearth in sociolinguistic research in Zambia in recent times. Thus, Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work provides an important theoretical hindsight, and therefore, a spring-board upon which comparative linguistic research could be constructed. Albeit, when it comes to recent theorization in sociolinguistics, Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work can only act as an important theoretical disjunction and, therefore, a point of departure to how language was and now is conceptualized and the methodological assumptions that fed and now feed into the contemporary linguistic thinking as it relates to language study in general and sociolinguistics in particular in the broader context of the sociolinguistic situation in Zambia. With such a background, and while referring to Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work, the study is cognizant of the fact that their work has been overtaken by recent theorization about the language situation in Zambia. And this recognition about how far removed in both time and space Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) work is should act as a caveat to how their contribution should be perceived. This review of their work is therefore merely an

attempt to situate the conceptualization of language in studies that have gone before this study.

As a major contribution to the understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in Zambia, Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) *Language in Zambia* provided what could be summarized as a synopsis of a synchronic language situation in Zambia immediately after independence to the late 1970s, discussed from the perspective of formal linguistics to account for 'between-language communication', or simply put, intelligibility among the 72 Zambian languages (or, dialects). In this connection, the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the languages were meticulously compared to ascertain either linguistic convergence or divergence, and one should hasten to point out here that using this linguistic parameter, Zambian languages were grouped into 26 linguistic clusters (cf. Marten and Kula 2008, Wakumelo 2013). For example, by considering the vocabulary closeness of Tonga, Ila, Lenje, Sala etc. linguists bundled these languages together to form one linguistic group, which later played a significant role in the determination of the regional lingua franca for Southern Province, for example (Kashoki 1978:18; Simwinga 2006).

However, the number of the linguistic clusters into which the Zambian languages are grouped is not clear: Wakumelo (2013), for example, puts the number at 15 as she states that "Zambia has at least 15 distinct linguistic groups and 73 ethnic groups" (p.133). It would seem therefore that most scholars circumvent the question that seeks to address the number of languages found in Zambia by falling back on language groups. As pointed out in the introductory Chapter of the thesis, the question about the number of languages found in Zambia is normally met with consternation as most people associate ethnic groups with language groups to the detriment of the outcome (cf. Marten and Kula 2008; Banda and Bellononjengela 2010; Wakumelo 2013). No wonder, Marten and Kula (2008: 298) concede that "the relation between ethnic grouping and linguistic grouping is complex, and more detailed work on Zambian

languages is necessary to fully understand their distribution and interaction.” What is clear, however, is the fact that there are more tribes than languages in Zambia (Marten and Kula 2008).

Another prominent feature that is substantially covered in Ohannessian and Kashoki’s (1978) work is language-in-education. Serpell (1978) looked upon the comprehension of Nyanja by Lusaka school children while Ohannessian (1978) traced the language-in-education policy from the colonial time to the late 1970s. In his analysis, Serpell (1978:148) noted that “the major socio-linguistic division in urban Zambian society is between English as H code on the one hand and a broad category covering all Zambian indigenous languages as a general L code on the other”. He based his dichotomy on Fishman (1967) and Ferguson (1959), as the distinction between the H code and the L code is said to depend on the functions each code performs in the communicative system of a community. Thus, it can be inferred that by using a model that partition language, Serpell as all the contributors to *Language in Zambia*, looked upon language as a bounded system whose boundaries could be traced and marked. This means that local languages, especially the ones that were not promulgated for official use, are seen to have been consigned to the periphery in which case they are used only in informal situations (Simwinga 2006). In fact, Simwinga (2006: 36) concludes that due to the language policy undertaken by government in the post-independence Zambia, English language has been elevated over local languages.

Thus, the “separatist model” of language use dominant in the 1970s has persisted in some of the 21st Century sociolinguistic literature of Zambia. This becomes apparent when one looks at Kashoki’ (1978) method which he applied to his study to ascertain linguistic intelligibility and to infer the geographical extent of the language, one notices this rigid wall of separation between languages and between speakers. For example, respondents “were asked to indicate, by reference to prominent topographical landmarks such as rivers, hills, roads etc., the point at which the various

languages in the area could be said to be in contact with each other” (p. 16). This approach reflects in a very strong way the governing model influencing these scholars: that language is a bounded system whose structure remains unadulterated despite the contact phenomenon. The other problem is that languages are perceived as being out there rather than as products in people’s interactions and communication needs. This could explain why Kashoki concluded that:

It seems safe to hypothesise that, given the relatively recent migrations of most Bantu language groups into Zambia, languages bordering on one another have not had enough time in which to influence each other in any significant manner. It appears plausible to assume that their genetic relationships continue to play a more significant role than their present geographical relationships. (Kashoki 1978:138).

Reading this conclusion by Kashoki (1978) together with what has been put forward by him elsewhere (and others) in the same volume, one notices contradictions. Commenting on the similarities and parentage of the Zambian languages, for example, Kashoki (1978) guides that “the seven languages belong to the Bantu sub-grouping which, at a higher level is part of the larger Niger-Congo family” (Greenberg 1966), to which Serpell (1978:145) adds that “[t]he structural similarities in grammar among all the Bantu languages is striking and there is also a substantial body of shared vocabulary with only minor variations in pronunciation.” Thus, to insist that Zambian languages had had not enough time in which to influence each other in any significant way despite the shared parentage and geographical proximity would only reinforce our view that language to these scholars was seen to be a bounded system and was never a resource among the social actors (cf. Mambwe 2014, Banda and Bellononjengela 2010). It should be borne in mind that migration has been part of Zambians’ ‘culture’ and as people move they carry with them means to communicate. Also, in the last 30 years since the book was published there have been more rapid movements of people. This means some of the arguments made in the book need to be taken with caution. And the current study whose aim is to account for the circularity and mobility of semiotic resources across boundaries of ethno-linguistics, formal and

informal domains is mindful of the persistent “separatist” ideology of language use permeating most of the twentieth century literature on Zambia’s sociolinguistics.

2.2 Regional Official Languages

In our current study, Ohannessian and Kashoki’s (1978) work is important insofar as they historicize the regionalization of language. Their discussion of regionalization of languages in Zambia helps our study to place it in both time and space by underpinning the prevailing atmosphere at the time, but also the reaction of the people from language groups that were not promulgated as regional official languages.

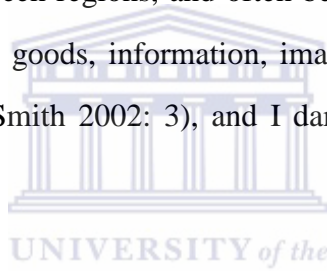
As noted in Chapter One above, after independence, the Zambian government promulgated seven languages as regional official languages out of the 72 dialects as languages of wider communication by province and by district in case of North Western Province. The phenomenon is better captured as regionalization of languages. The distribution is well documented by Wakumelo (2013: 129-130): Bemba for Northern, Luapula, [Muchinga], Copperbelt and the central part of Central province – Kabwe urban, Mkushi and Serenje districts; Nyanja for Eastern and Lusaka provinces; Tonga for Southern province (excluding Livingstone urban), Kabwe rural and Mumbwa district; Lozi for Western province including Livingstone urban and Mambova area; Kaonde for Kasempa and Solwezi districts in North-Western Province; Lunda for Zambezi, Kabompo and Mwinilunga districts in North-Western Province; and Luvale for Zambezi and Kabompo districts in North-Western province.

Kashoki (1978) acknowledges, though by inference, that regionalization was a political move rather than anything else because it was put in place against the natural happenings immediately following independence such as the social and geographic mobility of Zambians as well as measures to integrate the new independent state into “the nation of diverse ethnic groups” (p.125). A decision such as this could only have been made based on the language ideologies which assume that languages are hierarchically arranged in importance as well as the notion that there exists a standard

language where different dialects are spoken. These ideologies are referred to as ‘hierarchy of language’ and ‘standard language’, respectively. Both ideologies favour a monoglot model of language where other languages are seen as mere dialects (cf. Johnson and Milani 2010; Weber and Horner 2012). In fact, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 17) remind us that “regional languages occur in extremely linguistically heterogeneous societies; they are often dominant languages in geographic subareas of the polity. Regional languages receive official sanctions through the education system in some polities which employ three or four language education systems.” True to what Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) say, the seven regions for which the seven regional languages were promulgated as official languages are extremely linguistically heterogeneous.

In the Luapula Province as well as Northern Province alone, for example, one finds over 17 dialects, namely, Aushi, Chishinga, Kabende, Mukulu, Ngumbo, Twa, Unga, Bemba, Bwile, Luunda, Shila, Tabwa, Mambwe, Lungu, Inamwanga, Iwe, Tabo etc. This picture is true for the other six regions. In this language cluster, speakers of Inamwanga are reported to have protested against the imposition of Bemba as a lingua franca for the Northern Province, claiming that Bemba and Inamwanga were not intelligible (Mytton 1978). Such complaints were equally reported among the Tumbuka speakers for whom Nyanja was promulgated as the regional lingua franca in Eastern Province. So was the case with speakers of Ila in Southern Province in the face of Tonga as a regional lingua franca. These protests were more heightened with regard to language in media as many speakers of these minor languages (dialects) felt left out as the broadcast done in a language other than their own was seen not to represent their tribe (Kashoki 1990; Mytton 1978). The protests notwithstanding, however, Mytton (1978: 216) notes that “most speakers of these and other languages not related to any of those broadcast readily admit that they can understand at least one of the languages.” Thus, the protest was based on political (tribal) rather than linguistic reasons.

In the face of the regionalization was also the competing national official language, English as well as increased mobility following independence (Kashoki 1978). However, Serpell (1978) insists that the language situation especially regarding English had remained the same despite the social mobility set in motion by the attainment of independence. For example, Serpell observed that “Lusaka has lived with English as an official language since long before 1964, and the changes brought by independence in that year have probably had relatively little impact on the social conventions governing its usage” (Serpell 1978:147). This study contends that it is rather astounding how languages can be separated from each other based on use and domain given the circularity and mobility of both semiotic resources and social actors. This is so because Arxer (2008: 182) reminds us that individuals “often exhibit multiple loyalties, move between regions, and often become themselves conduits for the increased flow of money, goods, information, images, and ideas across national boundaries” (cf. Shadowski-Smith 2002: 3), and I dare add, across ethno-linguistic boundaries.



On this note, Arxer (2008: 182) further reminds us that a “border [is] a site where diverse culture and histories meet and influence one another” which accounts for “cultural mixing and border fluidity” given the fact that “the advent of globalization, individuals should no longer be understood as isolated within national [regional or tribal] boundaries but deeply and globally interrelated.” Thus, Serpell’s (1978) ‘separatist model’ which sees the use of English only as H code on the one hand and the use of Zambian languages as L code on the other hand, with regard to usage in various domains, demonstrates his belief in the non-integration of languages, and therefore steepens further the earlier argument put forth in the section above that such earlier scholars to consider the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia modeled their studies after formalist thinkers who viewed language as a bounded system (see Mambwe 2014). In fact recent work on language use has dispensed with this proposition (see Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Wakumelo 2010).

While Ohannessian and Kashoki (1978) look upon the distribution, convergence and divergence of languages in Zambia, especially with regard to regional languages and the languages with which they interact in each of these seven environs, and their work has been cited by many scholars working on the languages of and the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia, Kashoki (1978:140) is quick to point out that “it is necessary to caution against accepting the findings of this study either as conclusive or as definitive” due to the constraints imposed by methodological issues especially involving the instruments of data collection and data collection itself in general. In light of the aforesaid, it is prudent to relook at the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia using different approaches in both theory and methodology, and the current study is an attempt at doing just that as the study employs different methodology and theoretical toolkit in both data collection and analysis – a multimodal LL.

2.3 Other Language Groups in Zambia

Another important aspect that Ohannessian and Kashoki’s (1978) study brings to the fore is the acknowledgment of the existence of the “foreign population” in Zambia, for example the Asian community. They trace their population growth from since 1911 to 1969, noting the rise in population from 39 to 10, 785 Asians, respectively. The study largely concentrates on the Indian nationals who were said to have been concentrated in Central, Copperbelt, Southern and Eastern and were predominately business men. Three languages were associated with these Indians: their mother tongue, Gujarati, English and Chilapala (see Graham Mytton 1978 in Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978). This demographic aspect is important to our current study as it places the influx of the non-local in place and in time within the Zambian demographic mix. It seems to suggest that transnational flows are not recent trends in Zambia. They predate our independence. If the Asian community has been around for that long, it would be interesting to see whether their physical spaces (linguistic landscape) reflect and materialize their existence as a symbol of linguistic (group) vitality as is proposed by Landry and Bourhis (1997). The presence of European

population in Zambia has also been acknowledged by Mambwe (2014) who mentions, in passing, the presence of such European and Asian languages, in addition to English the official language, as German, Italian, Dutch, Hindi, French, Urdu, Portuguese as well as Chinese and Japanese, among others.

Marten and Kula (2008:294) also acknowledge the presence of these Europeans but also the presence of the “[s]mall communities of Khoisan speakers living in western Zambia, having fled the civil war in neighbouring Angola, numbering approximately 300-400 speakers.” While Marten and Kula (2008) refer to Khoisan speakers in western Zambia, the 2012 official census report does not mention of the existence of such a speech community unless it has been subsumed under the category of ‘other ethnic groups’ which represent less than 0.1% of the population. Perhaps much research should be directed at this group to ascertain their existence, as well as to determine the extent to which their linguistic and social identity is (re)produced, maintained and contested. Without such a study, their existence may remain just a matter of conjecture. It is important to note that normally, the different official census reports since 1969 are the major sources of this information, except to say that they do not indicate the population size of each of these European nationals by nationality in most cases. It remains to be seen whether such communities have made imprints on the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone.

To reiterated, despite the aforesaid problems associated with the way language was viewed and the limitation of the study imposed by methodological consideration, Ohannessian and Kashoki’s (1978) work laid the foundation for future studies into the theorization about the sociolinguistic situation in Zambia, by pointing out the difficulty there is to pinpoint the number of languages found in Zambia as well as the challenges one may encounter regarding linguistic intelligibility between languages even though such languages were mere dialects of each other. Also, as intimated elsewhere in this discussion, their work brings into the spotlight policy matters

surrounding the selection of English as the official language as well as the promulgation of the seven regional languages as lingua franca used for “purposes such as literacy campaigns, broadcasting, and the dissemination of official information in government newspapers” (p. 26). Thus, the seven regional official languages have enjoyed a long history of literacy practice just as English, except to say, as Serpell (1978:144) observed, English “as the official language with a monopoly of the national press and television, [was used in] most road signs and public notices....” Thus, it will be interesting to see how this long history of literacy practice in the seven regional official languages replicates itself in the multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces.

2.4 Literacy Practices in Zambia as a Result of Regionalization

Following the regionalization of the seven languages in Zambia, in addition to English, grammars of the seven regional official languages have been developed since the days of missionaries. To this end, the seven regional languages have undergone the process of standardization – selection and codification which has translated into what ‘mimics or resembles’ orthography harmonization of 1977 (MOE 1977b). Perhaps this undertaking could be better termed orthography compilation as what one finds in the book is an assortment of different orthographies of the seven (7) regional languages spoken in Zambia. It is the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) (Banda 2001/2008) which has tried to come up with a single ‘harmonized’ spelling system of these seven regional languages including border languages. Thus, the other two stages of standardization, namely elaboration and acceptance are by implication, accomplished. Except to note that acceptance is very subjective, and the reaction that Simwinga (2006) reports about Tumbuka speakers in Eastern Province and Inamwanga speakers in Northern Province may indicate the non-acceptance of the regional languages – Nyanja and Bemba, respectively, in their jurisdictions. This notwithstanding, however, it can be argued following the attempts at orthography harmonization of 1977 that the seven regional lingua franca have had a long

established literacy practices compared to non-regional lingua franca, which entails that there have been more literature developed on these languages and also more literate (users) speakers of the languages.

Carmody (2004: 105) brings into spotlight the fact that while the people, in what is today Zambia, were educated in their own system of education before the arrival of missionaries, they were 'illiterate'. Of course, Carmody's (2004) view of literacy is in many ways limited to the traditional view of literacy which only accounts for knowing how to read and write. I contest this view below following the de-centring of language in approaches that advocate a multisemiotic system. It is argued that the literacy practice was first introduced to the locals in their local languages. This was done in schools, as we have been reminded that "[w]hen [the missionaries] opened schools, they taught people in the vernacular" (Carmody 2004: 105). Manchishi (2004), too, attests to this fact as he observes that literacy practices in Grades 1 to 4 were conducted in local languages and that the Bible and other Christian literature were translated into the local languages. English was at the time not taught as missionaries feared that once the young men and women had become literate in English they would leave the rural areas and migrate to the industrial centres. Thus, this approach to literacy entailed heavy investment in the production of vernacular literature. Even the Colonial Office Advisory Education Committee's commitment to literacy practice in vernacular was unrivalled in 1924 as they stressed that:

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee (Advisory) suggests co-operation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text books. (Carmody 2004: 106).

The vernaculars being referred to above were only four at the time: Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi, and these were the only languages recognized by the government in pre-independence for use in education, following the Annual Report on Native Education, (1927: 12) which expressly stated that:

The Advisory Board on Native Education has agreed to the adoption of four principal native languages in this territory for school purposes namely Sikololo [Lozi] for Barotseland; Chitonga-Chiila for the rest of Northwestern Rhodesia; Chibemba for Northeastern Rhodesia...and Chinyanja for Eastern Rhodesia...” (cited in Simwinga 2006: 39).

However, in the 1929 syllabus for middle schools, English came to be recognized as of value, particularly with regard to preparing people for formal employment. Which meant that “nine periods each week were to be devoted to English language, [while] only one period was allocated to the vernacular” (Carmody 2004: 106). This was an attempt to draw on both the English language and the local languages in the promotion of literacy practices among the Zambian people, especially among the school going children. In years immediately after independence, the four local languages and the zones they represented became the model upon which the three other local languages and zones were decided. Thus, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda were added to the original four zoned languages to make the number seven.

Thus far, it can be argued that the literacy practices in Zambia have officially involved eight languages, namely, English, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde and little is known about the extent of literacy practices in non-regional official languages. This is in part due to the fact that the literacy practices in operation, then (around 1950), meant exposure of a pupil to the language of his or her immediate environment for two years, and then the regional official language for another two years before English took over subsequently (Chanda 1998; Kashoki 1978). Thus, as far as language in-education is concerned, the bulky of the languages in Zambia other than these eight have not formally received literacy practices in as far as literacy is understood traditionally – being able to write and read. In fact, Simwinga (2006: 21) reminds us that while the seven regional languages receive government support, “the minority ethnic ones continue to receive little or no support” rather than remaining “mere entries on ethnicity and linguistic maps” (Mwape 2002: 90-91).

Owing to this observation, Simwinga (2006) and Mwape (2002) concur with Adegbija (1997) who claims that minority languages are not used in public life but are restricted to use in the family domain or within specific ethnic boundaries due to discrimination and stigmatization. Thus the language in-education policy of 1966 consolidated English as a language of wider communication as it opted for English as a sole medium of instruction from Grade 1 to university. Even the subsequent reform policies in education such as the *1977(a) education reform*, *1992 focus on education* and *1996 educating our future* despite noting that local languages were critical in the development of literacy, literacy practices in Zambia have officially been hinged on the eight languages: English, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde – English as the official language, hence permeating all the regions and each of the regional official languages limited to its promulgated region. In media, for example, Kashoki (1978) apportion the media (especially print) along linguistic practices of these seven regions and the following local newspapers were associated with these languages: *Imbila* (Bemba); *Tsopano* (Nyanja); *Liseli* (Lozi); *Intanda* (Tonga); *Lukanga* (Lenje, Bemba) and *Ngoma* (Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale), which left other ethnic groups bitter as they found the broadcast difficult to understand especially the Tumbuka, Namwanga, Luchazi, Nsenga, Lenje, Chikunda and Ila speakers (Mytton 1978).

Since our study is premised on the circulation and mobility of semiotic resources triggered off by globalization as well as the historical migrations, it is unlikely that such claims as made by Simwinga (2006) and Mwape (2002) above, represent literacy and language practices of the late modern urban and rural Africa. Moreover, recent theorization which attempts to de-centre language, proposes a more encompassing definition of literacy, which is: “a person’s ability to make/interpret meaningful signs in a particular representational modality (e.g. print, image, film, etc.)” (Narey 2009: 2) since “communication includes complex discursive practices with different modalities

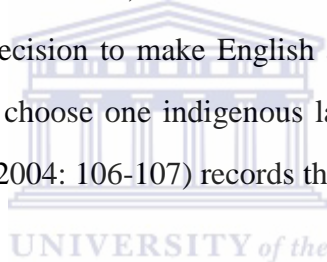
– visual, audio and spatial semiotic systems, besides written – linguistic modes of meaning” (Garcia 2009: 142). Recently, Hornberger and Link (2012: 265) argue that given the provision of sociolinguistics of globalization as framed by Blommaert (2010), “contexts of biliteracy can be understood as scaled spatiotemporal complexes, indexically ordered and polycentric, in which multilingualism and literacies develop within mobile multilingual repertoires in spaces that are simultaneously translocal and global.” In this definition, language as understood in formal linguistics no longer come to bear. As has been discussed in Chapter Four (4) below, language is no longer the only semiotic resource. Photography, movements and material culture are all semiotic resources with which people make meaning. This could explain why Narey (2009: 2) is quick to point out that “[l]anguages can be constructed in a variety of sensory/representational modalities, not limited to human speech and writing.” The inclusion of other modalities unlocks the potential of other languages as meaning-making resources as images cannot probably be associated with only the eight languages mentioned above. Images and other modalities cut across linguistic boundaries but are understood by social actors whose sociocultural history is shared (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

With this brief history of literacy practice in Zambia, I hope to show how it has influenced the production of the LL in Lusaka and Livingstone.

2.5 A Multilingual Zambia

Few would deny the fact that Zambia is a multilingual country just like many African countries with 72 dialects and a host of foreign languages such as French, Chinese, and Japanese, among other languages of foreign origin (see Marten and Kula 2008; Wakumelo 2010, 2013, Banda 2009; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Banda and Mambwe 2013; Mambwe 2014). However, while acknowledging the multilingual nature of Zambia as seen in the works cited above, there has been an over-arching tendency to view multilingualism as a problem and not as a resource. For example, in

the selection of English as the official language, immediately following independence in 1964, government is reported of having problematized multilingualism which Zambia enjoys and had lived with for years. In this connection, Wakumelo (2013) reports that government, at the time, argued that, “Zambia had too many indigenous languages none of which could be accepted nationwide.” Added to this thinking, was the view that “there was no Zambian language at the time that was developed well enough to function as a medium of wider or international communication.” Thus, Wakumelo (2013:133) places the government’s decision to adopt English as the official language in Zambia in the general thinking which accounts for the politicization and tribalization of Zambian languages as she argues that “the choice of languages for use in education and in the public domain is a sensitive and political issue” (cf. Mambwe 2014, Banda 2005, Marten and Kula 2008). At the heart of this policy decision, that is, the decision to make English as the official language rested the failure by government to choose one indigenous language acceptable to all as a national language. Carmody (2004: 106-107) records that:



As in many newly independent countries, the choice of an appropriate national language was one of the most difficult problems which the political leaders of the newly independent state faced. Despite the spirit of nationalism that had led to independence, it was difficult to identify a vernacular language which could act as a medium of instruction in the schools. Without exacerbating intertribal conflicts and suspicions, it would not be possible.

To this end, Kashoki puts forward four possible factors that summarize the language situation in Zambia, and the study is mindful of how they might have influenced the possible trends to the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone, namely:

- (i) political (the question of national unity),
- (ii) educational (the question of what the medium of instruction should be in the national education system),
- (iii) national development and progress (viz., the fear that sentimental attachments to indigenous languages might have a retarding effect on development, more especially in terms of technology, technical expertise, and overall cultural sophistication); and
- (iv) national and cultural identity (the concern that loss of one’s language, or one’s attachment to it, would result in

cultural alienation and loss of national uniqueness). (Kashoki 1971:92).

Seen in this way, multilingualism then was viewed as problem to the policy makers and sociolinguists of the time.

While Marten and Kula (2008) acknowledge the fact that Zambia's linguistic identity is expressed and negotiated with reference to the seven regional languages – Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde – they still compartmentalize language along the lines of function and domain, as they see “languages fulfilling different functions, as languages of home or as languages of wider communication, as languages of insider or newcomers”, and these different languages are “related to a net of regional, social, and ethnic identities” (p 310). Additionally, they entertain a notion of additive multilingualism in which an individual adds another language to his or her linguistic repertoire and can choose between the different languages when confronted with a situation of use. Garcia (2009: 142) has criticized additive multilingualism by arguing that additive model of bilingualism has proven to be “inadequate to describe the linguistic complexity of the 21st Century,” as “the additive model insists on developing a second full language that could be accessed entirely on its own, that is, it results in double monolingualism.” Instead she postulates that “in the communicative complexity of the century, stimulated by the movement of people, information, goods and services that are the result of globalization and rich technology, the concept of a first and second language has also begun to unravel” (Garcia 2009: 142). This could perhaps explain why Banda (2010) reminds us that the notion of additive multilingualism is Eurocentric as it is modeled on western research contexts. Banda (2010) premises his argument not only on Brock-Utn (2009) who equally sees additive multilingualism as western, but also on his own work informatively dubbed *Defying monolingual education: alternative bilingual discourse practices in selected coloured schools in Cape Town*. In this study, Banda (2010), in a subtle way, brings into spotlight the difficulties one is bound to face when one forces additive multilingualism on an in-built multilingual system – a system which naturally

uses multilingualism as social practice. In the light of this, Banda (2010: 233) concludes that “[r]estrictive models that essentialise particular languages for specific domains of use are bound to be irrelevant and unworkable in African multilingual education contexts.” Thus, Marten and Kula’s (2008) view of multilingualism seem to be modeled after Kachru’s (1986:159) definition of multilingualism in which he says it is a “linguistic behavior of the members of a speech community which alternatively uses two, three or more languages depending on the situation and function.” Also, by Van Dyken (1990: 43-44) who asserts that “in the multilingual contexts of Africa children from minority groups often learn three or more languages”:

- (a) the language spoken in their home, the first language;
- (b) the language needed for relationships outside their own ethnic minority, the community language; and
- (c) the language medium of formal schooling which is usually English, French or Portuguese, [and the use of them in speech comes with] such a mix of languages that one never feels proficient in any one but must switch from one to another depending on the subject domain. (cited in Simwinga 2006).

This means that an individual consciously moves from one code to another during the unfolding of (social) interaction and discourse, which is rather artificial and to which Banda and Bellononjengele (2010: 110) caution against by stating that “it is sociolinguistically distorting to analyze multilingual discourses as arising from unrelated autonomous linguistic systems.” To which Canagarajah (2011: 3) would add that “for multilinguals, languages are part of a repertoire that is accessed for their communicative purposes; languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system for them...where multiple languages are negotiated for communication” (cf. Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

2.6 Multilingualism as a Semiotic Resource (Social Practice)

In recent theorization about multilingualism, there has been a general agreement that globally multilingualism is more of the norm while monolingualism may be the exception as trends have shown among language users, globally, that people speak

more than one language (Auer and Wei 2007; Weber and Horner 2012). In Zambia, this trend is not a recent phenomenon either. It is as old as the history of the nation itself following the eighteenth century migrations that brought diverse ethnic groups into contact across the fringes of both the Luapula and Zambezi rivers (cf. Marten and Kula 2008, Banda 2009, Roberts 1976). In recent times, due to globalization and such social practices as intermarriages, individual Zambians boast of speaking at least more than two Zambian languages, the languages of which are tapped into as mere semiotic resources (Mambwe 2014, Banda and Bellononjengele 2010, cf Serpell 1978). Which is why, Auer and Wei (2007:3) add here that "...mixing is prestigious and a matter of course, because the idea of a pure language as a value in itself is neither part of 16th century European culture, nor is it part of the language ideology in most Africa." This is supported by the fact that "the two or more languages of bi- or multilingual speakers provide an additional resource for meaning-construction in interaction which monolinguals do not have at their disposal" (Auer and Wei 2007:8). Thus, in a globalized Zambia it should be apparent that speech forms have been globalized as has been demonstrated by Wakumelo's (2010) sociolect discourse among "call boys" and "minibus conductors", as is discussed below. In this connection, Alim and Pennycook (2009: 102) cite Blommaert (2003:608) that "what is globalized is not an abstract language, but specific speech forms, genres, styles, and forms of literacy practice." Which is why, in defining multilingualism – semiotic resources Blommaert (2010: 102) states that multilingualism or indeed semiotic resources:

should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language', while others belong to another 'language'. The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the idea people have about ways of using, their language ideologies.

Blommaert's (2010) defining of multilingualism introduces aspects of semiotic resources to how multilingualism should be conceived of. By conceiving of

multilingualism in this way, Blommaert forces us to look at languages as mere linguistic resources readily available for use at our disposal, making such language ideologies as language affiliation, language expertise and language inheritance non-consequential at the point of use. He also reminds us that these repertoires are mobile, and in a state of flux due to the fact that they embody resources which are equally dynamic, hence prone to change over time. Arising from this, Weber and Horner (2012: 4) accept the definition of multilingualism “as verbal repertoires consisting of more than one variety (whether language or dialect).”

As a result of distinct linguistic groups mentioned above which are found in Zambia, which form a complex multilingual landscape and hence rich linguistic repertoires, Wakumelo (2010) discusses the existence of a possible urban vernacular among ‘call boys’ and ‘minibus conductors’ in Lusaka, which in a way stands opposed to the earlier conception of languages as separate codes. In *the discourse of “call boys” and minibus conductors in Zambia: a hybrid sociolect of identity*, Wakumelo (2010) analyses the discourse of “call boys” and minibus conductors with the view to establishing its possible categorization. She manages to place the call boys’ and minibus conductors’ discourse within the theorization that feed into hybridity by qualifying their discourse as a hybrid sociolect of identity, where this discourse is seen to shape and strengthen the “call boys” and minibus conductors’ identity as a social group. To arrive at this conclusion, she employs both the interactional sociolinguistic and the positioning theory, and also, samples respondents from bus stations within Lusaka.

Her study is important in as far as it champions the idea of the creation of urban vernaculars following such scholars as Makoni and Meinhof (2003), Ngom (2005) and Camaroff and Camaroff (1991) by which she reminds us how the urban dwellers are able “to mix and draw from different languages and semiotic systems” and that this act of vernacular creation has been the norm in African cities for years

(Wakumelo 2010:131-132). Additionally, her study makes a contribution to the effect that there exists within the sociolinguistic mix of Zambia a hybrid sociolect whose lexicon is an outgrowth of the creation drawn from different languages “mainly IciBemba, CiNyanja and English” (p.132), hence, accounting for the contact phenomenon in metropolitan centres. The current study will be mindful of this sociolect with respect to its manifestation in the public spaces under investigation.

However, while employing the modern theorization about identity as being a social construct during the unfolding of interaction and also up for negotiation, making and remaking (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Gibson 2004, Thai 2007, Auer and Wei 2007), Wakumelo (2010) still advocates the view that language type can be associated with particular individuals and, therefore, delineated along the lines of age, sex, occupation and economic circumstances of the users. Thus, it would seem that Wakumelo (2010) still sees language as a distinct code and not a resource by referring to such concepts as code-switching and code-mixing as well as insisting that “any trade or profession will have its own specialist language or semantic field of vocabulary” (p. 139). Seen in this way, Wakumelo’s (2010) work differs from this study not only in the theoretical application, but also in the area of methodology as the current undertaking uses digital images as data to construct the multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone.

Thus, individual speakers in the multilingual Zambia defy earlier conceptualization about languages as self-contained system by tapping into different languages during the “unfolding of the interaction” for meaning making (cf. Mambwe 2014, Banda 2009, Auer and Wei 2007), and therefore, their social identities and categorization remain open for negotiation and re-negotiation. Thus, the situated use of language in a multilingual setting of Zambia, forces us to view identities as formulations based on the ensuing discourses and contingent on the moment of interaction (cf. Auer and Wei 2007, Banda and Bellononjengele 2010, Banda 2009). In fact, Banda (2009: 108) in

discussing identity in the context of the multilingual Zambia, points out that “in multilingual context of Africa, people use linguistic repertoires rather than drawing on a singular monolingual system to communicate and perform different identity options, including hybrid ones.” Clearly, “the speech of the bilingual goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put” (Heller 2007:11). Studies by Higgins (2009) in Tanzania and Kenya support the notion that boundaries are diffused between languages, dispensing with the view that champions the partitioning and allocation of languages to specific domains. It would seem rather apparent that treating English as H code and the local (Zambian) languages as L code (see Serpell 1978) has been ‘dethroned’ by recent language practices by Zambian language users as they oscillate between different languages with ease during the unfolding of interaction (cf. Mambwe 2014). More so, claims by Simwinga (2006: 36) that “English has remained the language for the elite and not the majority of the citizenry,” stands opposed to Higgins’ (2009) theorization about English as a local language and to more recent work on Zambia, which demonstrates urbanities’ ability to tap into different multilingual repertoires in the creation of different social identities and vernaculars as observed by Wakumelo (2010) and Mambwe (2014). The current study conceived as “social structuring of languages and the mobility of semiotic resources across linguistic landscapes” will be mindful of this standoff.

In problematizing multilingualism, Weber and Horner (2012) and Canagarajah (2011:2) argue that new terminologies have entered into the literature on sociolinguistics such as ‘polylingualism’ (Jorgensen 2008), ‘interlingualism’ (Widdowson 2010), and ‘multiplurilingualism’ (Ehrhart 2010) and ‘metrolingualism’ (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; 2015). All these have come under heavy scholarly criticism as they prove problematic. For example, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) argue that in order to adequately represent the contemporary linguistic practices of fixity as well as fluidity in urban centres ‘metrolingualism’ as a new conceptualization of

multilingualism should be used as it focuses “not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 246). However, their terminology has been met with scholarly resistance as it presupposes and assumes multilingualism as a phenomenon for metropolitan only, as they use the prefix “metro” (Mambwe 2014). In fact Canagarajah (2011: 3) in critiquing the notion of metrolinguistics points out that the “suggestion that crossing and metrolinguistics (translanguaging) practices are postmodern and urban can give a misleading impression, and hide their vibrancy in other places and time.” Using Banda (2009) and Banda and Bellononjengele (2010), Mambwe (2014) also argues that multilingualism is not a preserve of urbanities. Rural dwellers of Zambia are as multilingual as urbanities, as there is evidence to prove that “translanguaging has been practiced in pre-colonial communities and in rural contexts” (Canagarajah 2011: 3). I discuss in detail the urban-rural mobility later in Chapter Three. This argument is important to the current study as the data used were drawn from the LL of both urban- and rural-scapes of Lusaka and Livingstone, respectively.

In the context of a multilingual Zambia, there has been a persistent theorization about English as a foreign language (Simwinga 2006) whose code is distinct, and therefore any departure from what has been codified as acceptable usage is regarded as error and gross linguistic transgression (see Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Banda 1996). In fact, to demonstrate this view, Banda and Bellononjengele (2010) cite Simukoko (1977) and Haynes (1984) who “conclude that Zambian English is nothing more than an aggregation of fossilized (British) English interlanguage”, which view they (Banda and Bellononjengele 2010) dispense with. In her work in Tanzania, Higgins (2009: x) shows how English is a local language by dispensing with traditional “conceptualizations of English as a distinct code, as global language, as an entity bounded by particular domains of use.” She achieves this by turning to the Bakhtinian concept of multivocality, thereby “treating contexts of multilingualism as open-ended and creative spaces of language intersection” in which both the local languages and

English language interface, the result of which is what she terms as the ‘hybridity and linguistic bricolage’ (Higgins 2009: x).

Undoubtedly, therefore, by situating English within the linguistic mix prevalent in a given context, Higgins (2009) takes English as part of the multilingual practice where it ceases to be a variety of ‘the centre English’ as spoken /or used in UK - she instead sees English as intersecting with other languages to create more multivocal forms of language, especially in domains such as popular culture and advertising. This stance by Higgins (2009) stands opposed to Kachru’s (1990/2005) three concentric circles. To which Banda and Bellonjengele (2010:110) add that “mixed codes, rural or indigenous forms of language, urban vernaculars, and English are critical components of the multilingual dispensation which has replaced monolingualism as the norm for communication and information dissemination in late modern African discourses.” Thus, Higgins (2009: xi) advances a linguistic theorization that “treats human agency, contextuality, diversity, indeterminacy, and multimodality as the norm.” This study has substantially drawn on this conceptualization to situate English as a local language owing to the fact that its (English) presence in Zambia predates the creation of the nation Zambia just as many so called Zambian languages. Framed after Mazrui and Mazrui (1995: 93), one sees a complete localization of English in Zambia, as it has begun “to be at least in some respects the language of the market place as well as the classroom, a language of the man in the street as well as the bureaucrat in the office.” In this way, the study differs greatly from earlier works on the sociolinguistics of Zambia such as Serpell (1978) who saw a chasm in language use between English and the Zambian languages.

Strangely, even, while still espousing his ‘1990 three concentric circles’ about the spread of English from the inner to the outer and then to expanding circle, Kachru (2005: 28) concedes that the long history of English use in non-English speaking countries – that is, in the countries which do not belong to what he terms the ‘inner

circle' - especially Asia, has given way to:

a liberated English which contains vitality, innovation, linguistic mix, and cultural identities. And, it is not the creativity of the monolingual and the monocultural: this creativity has rejuvenated the medium from 'exhaustion' and has 'reinvigorated' it in multiple ways.

To which he adds as he concludes that: "I believe that linguistic and cultural hybridity is our identity and destiny" (p. 28).

The concepts of vernacularization, diversity and multiculturalism are also reported in the play parks of the US. Seta Low, Dana Taplin and Suzanne Scheld (2005:3) in discussing urban parks of the United States of America (US), concede that due to an increase in flows of immigrants to the US, local environments are experiencing increased vernacularization but fail to see an evidence of heterogeneity in these public spaces even though they acknowledge the shifting grounds expressed in racial diversity and multiculturalism. They attribute the apparent homogeneity of the patrons to these urban parks to partisan policies as they argue that "[i]f people are not represented in historical national parks and monuments or, most importantly, if their histories are erased, they will not use the park" (2005:4). It has to be recognized that people's histories include among other things language. The assertion by Low, Taplin and Scheld (2005) fails to explain how individuals such as tourists are able to visit sites in far-flung areas that do not represent or keep up with their histories and often times with the language they speak.

Thus, as has been discussed above, in late modern Africa, multilingualism, diversity and multiculturalism are the norm and not the exception, and these have been used to enact negotiated identities (Banda and Bellononjengele 2010). In fact, Kashoki (2003) in commenting on Zambia's 1996 education policy which promotes teaching in local languages, states that in Southern Africa there has been a reverse trend which aims at protecting and promoting linguistic diversity by recognizing societal and individual

multilingualism as a resource as well as a natural phenomenon of human life, which invariably constitutes a cornerstone of democracy and linguistic rights as marginalized languages are promoted as a result. In fact, commenting on minor languages, particularly in commercial spaces, Jaworski (2015: 232) reports that “in recent decades, commodification of language as a marker of authenticity, heritage and localization of mass produced, standardized products has created an opportunity for ‘small’, minority languages and language varieties to gain symbolic and economic value, visibility, and vitality.” Essentially, the multilingualism is not only premised on the so called national languages but also on minority languages.

A sociolinguistics such as Higgins’ (2009) which privileges indeterminacy, multivocality and hybridity is essentially framed within the broader context of globalization. The co-articulation of language and globalization has led to ubiquitous scholarly publications. While each of these publications differs in orientation, they all converge with respect to the effects of globalization on language and language production and consumption. For example, it cannot be contested that globalization has led to the creation of permeable spaces, in which flexibility, unpredictability and mobility are the driving forces of sociolinguistics (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Pennycook 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Pennycook and Mitchell 2009 and Makoni and Pennycook 2007). For Blommaert (2003, 2010), particularly in his sociolinguistics of globalization, globalization has led to a sociolinguistics of mobility framed by increased global flow and mobile linguistic resources. In fact, Blommaert (2010) premises his theorization of a sociolinguistics of globalization on traditional conceptual “tools such as sociolinguistic scales, indexicality, and polycentricity” (Hornberger and Link 2012: 265). Blommaert’s (2010) main point of departure is his emphasis on vertical arrangement of society in which the local is always subject to the global. The ideas of polycentricity and scales both orient most towards locality being a recipient of the global flows so that what is acceptable/or a norm at the local level is not always acceptable/or a norm at a higher scale. Thus, I argue, Blommaert’s (2010)

sociolinguistics of globalization thrives on mobility, unpredictability and flux on the hand and on predisposed scales and multiple centres on the other hand. This entails that while his focus is on “language-in-motion rather than language-in-place”, the adherence to scales and polycentricity contradicts the mobility and the free-floating nature of languages and social actors. In fact in his recent publication, *From Mobility to complexity in Sociolinguistic theory and Method*, Blommaert (2014: 4) foregrounds the fact that

Multilingualism is a feature of sociocultural diversity, often associated with migration, and sensitive to influences at both macro- and micro levels, leading to highly complex, ‘messy’ and hybrid sociolinguistic phenomena that defy established categories.

Thus, if mobility, occasioned by migration leads to ‘highly complex messy’ surely vertical and horizontal multilingualism or anything in between, is a likely occurrence. In fact, given this highly complex ‘messy’, the normative expectation that the global will always affect the local ceases to be a given; rather, like Pennycook (2009, 2007a, 2010b) and Pennycook and Mitchell (2009) have stated, using hip-pop culture, the local produce their own subculture because they are not necessarily passive recipients of the global culture. In the similar breath, in discussing rural spaces, Hedberg and Carmo 2012: 1) are quick to note that “[r]ather than being passive receivers of national and regional transfers, [rural spaces] are involved and connected on their own accounts”, and are often involved in reshaping the urban configuration. Seen in this light, locality is not always subject to the ‘higher scales’. In fact, discourses of translocal and transnational mobility discussed in Chapter Three indirectly dispense with scales and rigid territoriality and forge a theorization which is anchored on de-territorialization.

Further, like Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) and Pennycook (2007a, 2010b), Blommaert (2012) is forthright on how language should be viewed in the face of globalization. For he reminds that

We must see languages, and certainly English, as mobile objects, no longer tied to an ‘organic’ speech community residing in a particular space, but moving around such places and communities in intensive ways, on the rhythm of globalizing

flows of commodities, people, messages and meanings. (Blommaert 2012: 2).

Thus, a sociolinguistics which is being witnessed in postmodern societies is one which regards languages and semiotic resources as being “more fluid, more mobile, much harder to pin down” (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 47, cf. Garcia 2007). In this connection, the current study, framed as *the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes of Zambia*, draws heavily on this framework to foreground its discussion of the multimodal LL, especially in destabilizing the regionalization of languages in Zambia.

2.7 Language Ideologies Influencing Language Practices in Zambia

To appreciate various forces that speak against multilingualism and the possible basis upon which the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia discussed above was formulated, a glimpse of varied ideologies that feed into language practices is provided in this section. Weber and Horner (2012) discuss eight language ideologies drawn from linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. I present only four of these that relate to my study. Framed after Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), Weber and Horner (2012: 16) define language ideologies as “the cultural systems of ideas and feelings, norms and values, which inform the way people think about language.” They further argue that in this definition of language ideologies lies “the potential normative power” as well as social, linguistic and political interest, which may lead to the inclusion and the exclusion of others (p. 16). Following Blommaert (2006) on such ideological constructs as quality, value, status, norms, functions and ownership, Lazar (2010: 121) concludes that “these [ideological constructs] are invested in relations of power and authority, and may involve the stratification and regimentation of language usage, distinguished on the basis of ‘best’ versus ‘less adequate’ language varieties” (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000; Myers-Scotton 2006). These underlying principles influencing the language choice were noted by Gorman (1974: 397) who reminds us that “decisions on language use in a particular society are almost inescapably subordinated

to or a reflection of underlying political and social values and goals...” I now turn to each of the four language ideologies here below.

2.7.1 The Hierarchy of Languages

With over 72 dialects spoken within the borders of Zambia, languages (dialects) have undergone the process of hierarchicalization in order to have, as is often argued, manageable number of languages for governance and communication as well as education. This decision seems to respond to the language ideology of hierarchy. As a language ideology, the hierarchy of languages is:

the belief that linguistic practices can be labeled and divided into ‘language’ or ‘dialect’, ‘patois’, etc., which are then subsumed into a hierarchy with ‘languages’ being looked upon as superior to ‘dialects’ and, additionally, certain languages being given a higher status as the ‘national’ or ‘official’ language of the state or community. (Weber and Horner 2012: 16).

The study sees the adoption of English as the official language of government and administration and promulgating of the seven languages as regional official languages in Zambia, along the lines of this language ideology. It can be seen that the selection of the seven languages among the several other local languages to the regional status was based on the assumption that the rest of the languages in these seven regions were dialects of the one promulgated as the regional language. Thus, going by this language ideology, the status enjoyed by some languages was purely based on political, hence arbitrary decision. No wonder, Blommaert (1996: 217) reminds us that:

Whenever some phenomenon is called ‘a language’, rather than ‘a dialect’, ‘code’ or other derogatory terms, ideology and politics are at play. Whenever we indulge in ‘language’ planning, we should be aware of the fact that we indulge in politics of linguistics.

As noted by Kashoki (1978), the promulgation of regional languages is more political than linguistic as any other language from among those that were not elevated to the status of regional language could have been chosen. It is clear therefore that debates

about language use, choice and promotion are attached with social, economic, political and moral values, and largely shape the language planning and policies.

2.7.2 The Standard Language Ideology

This is a “belief that languages are internally homogeneous, bounded entities” (Weber and Horner 2012: 17). The ideology assumes a purist perception about language, which is reinforced by such rituals as standardization, codification through the writing of grammars, dictionaries and textbooks alongside rigorous pedagogy. The seven regional official languages have equally undergone such rituals of orthography harmonization to the detriment of the other non-regional official languages. The 1977 Zambian orthographic reforms only involved the seven regional languages (MOE 1977b). In fact, Wakumelo (2013) calls for further standardization of these regional official languages. It follows therefore that the seven regional official languages have comparatively developed literacy practices, especially because they are used in education, local courts and for such wider communication as local newspapers, community radio and national television programming in local languages (cf. Kashoki 1978; Banda 1996; Simwinga 2006). Thus, going by the attempted standardization of these regional languages, it will be interesting to see whether the seven regional languages are used in the production of the LL and how their standardization is maintained and (re)produced in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Canagarajah (2011:7) reviews Barbour’s (2002) and Elbow’s (2002) work on literacy, in which they claim that “writing has to always adopt the standard language expected for that context” and that “[l]iteracy as a culture or institution almost always implies just one dialect as the only proper one for writing: the ‘grapholect’”, respectively.

2.7.3 The One Nation-one language Ideology

Weber and Horner (2012: 18) argue that this ideology fed into the eighteenth century European discourse underlying the formation of nation-states which equated language with a territory, “and the link between language and national identity is essential.”

This reflects also well with the decision by the Zambian government to adopt English as the sole official language of government and administration as well as the allocation of one local language to each of the seven regions of Zambia.

However, as has been revealed above through Wakumelo's (2010) *sociolect discourse* among the 'call boys' and minibus conductors in Zambia and as has been noted by Weber and Horner (2012: 18) "transnationals, as well as young people, frequently create their own hybrid communicative repertoires, located outside of the prescriptive norms of the standard language, thus configuring for themselves a "third space" that enables the appearance of new and alternative identity options." This study, too, will show the shortcoming of this ideology not only as it relates to the issue of identity, but also to the permeability of boundaries among regions as well as languages.

2.7.4 The Mother Tongue Ideology

In language-education, especially following the enactment of the language-in education policy borne by 'Educating Our Future' (MOE 1996), and the subsequent policies on language-in education (MOE 2013) that allow teachers to teach pupils in Grades 1 – 4 in the familiar language of the child, the issue of mother tongue has once more regained currency on Zambia's sociolinguistic terrain. This is because familiar language is understood to mean mother tongue among many Zambians. The Central Statistics office also falls prey to this terminology during the capturing of data relating to language use among Zambians.

The mother tongue ideology is premised on the "belief that speakers have one and only one 'mother tongue'" (Weber and Horner 2012:18), a phenomenon which Deumert (2000: 395) is reported to have questioned as it borders on ambiguity. Thus she questions:

Is your mother tongue the language(s) you learned first, the language(s) you know best or the language(s) you use most? Or does the concept of mother

tongue transcend all these definitions based on origin, function and competence? Is it rather to be understood in terms of identity, that is, is your mother tongue the language you identify with?

Thus, language identity in the face of such confusion becomes problematic. It therefore becomes important to focus on language practices that transcend such notions as language affiliation, language inheritance and language expertise in order to locate the social structuring of language, in terms of distribution as well as visibility. And the current study hopes to use the digital images of public spaces that are constantly being (re)produced by the social actors to show the social structuring of language in Lusaka and Livingstone.

2.8 Summary of Chapter

The chapter engaged with the literature about the sociolinguistic studies on Zambia. Precisely, the Chapter has problematized how language is looked upon in Zambia, and how multilingualism has been conceived of in view of the selection and adoption of the official language, English. To this end, it has been shown that language was viewed through formal linguistic lens thereby framing it as a bounded system by scholars working on the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia immediately after independence to the late 1990s. On multilingualism, especially in the face of selecting a national language, multilingualism was seen as a problem and not a resource by the UNIP government led by Kenneth Kaunda. However, recent scholarship into the multilingual practices in Zambia has been influenced by the recent theorization that sees multilingualism as a resource, hence a linguistic repertoire available for meaning making during the unfolding of interaction. This, too, has led to frame identities as social constructs up for negotiation, re-negotiation as well as making and re-making.

Also, the chapter contextualizes regionalization of language as a political decision rather than a linguistic one, by drawing on four language ideologies. In this connection, the selection of the seven languages and their eventual promulgation as

regional official languages was entirely driven by political reasons rather than linguistic ones, as there are cases of unintelligibility among some language clusters such as Namwanga and Bemba in the Bemba cluster on the one hand and Tumbuka and Chewa, in the Nyanja cluster on the other hand as observed by Simwinga (2006). Equally important, the chapter has traced the history of the literacy practices in Zambia, by showing that officially only eight (8) languages have had government support with regard to the development of materials such as grammars, dictionaries and text books to use in schools. This would entail high literacy levels in these eight languages, and this might influence the actual production and commodification of the multimodal LL of the study areas.

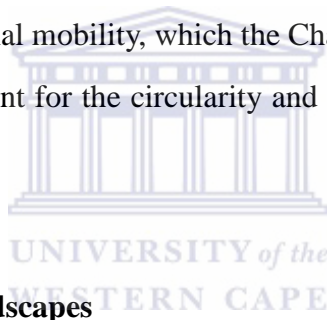


CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL APPRAISAL OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, a conceptual appraisal of linguistic landscape (LL) is provided. In this regard, the Chapter traces the LL studies beyond Landry and Bourhis (1997) in order to historicize, functionalize, and theorize the LL enterprise. It has to be borne in mind that LL has received, to conceivable degree, scholarly consideration in recent years despite the field being relatively new and inconclusive with regard to both methodological and theoretical concerns. Later in the Chapter, I turn to space – the public space in which the LL is commodified, noting that space is as mobile as the social actors themselves. Linked to the mobility of space, is the discussion that feeds into translocal and transnational mobility, which the Chapter also addresses in order to situate the study in and account for the circularity and mobility of semiotic resources across boundaries.



3.1 Defining Linguistic Landscapes

Linguistic landscape (LL) as a concept in (socio)linguistics is attributed to Landry and Bourhis. In their article – *Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study* of 1997 – Landry and Bourhis postulate that “linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region”. This initial definition of LL is further magnified and at the same time delimited in its use by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) as they state that “[t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration”. Thus, by itemizing the individual signage in the definition above, Landry and Bourhis have clearly predetermined what constitutes the LL of a given place. To them, the LL has to be signs in the public space.

Most works on the LL have been informed and reshaped by Landry and Bourhis' (1997) definition of the LL. Backhaus (2006:9), for example, alludes to the fact both Gorter (2006:2) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:14) use the concept of LL in the same way as used by the proponents, Landry and Bourhis. Both Gorter (2006:2) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:14) place emphasis on language in its written form in the public space when defining the LL. In fact, all the contributors to Gorter's (2006) *Linguistic Landscape A New Approach to Multilingualism*, use the concept of LL as used by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Except to say, Gorter (2006), seeing the multiplicity of signage in the shopping centres of the cities, proposes that LL should instead be conceived of as *Linguistic Cityscape*. While Gorter's (2006) proposal to call LL as 'linguistic Cityscapes' brings an interesting theoretical angle to the field, the suggested terminology excludes the LL of sites which may not necessarily qualify as cities. Here, one may think of landscapes such as rural and peri-urban areas. In fact, the current study pays particular attention to areas previously not studied in LL. These areas include the rural- and peri-urban-scapes. Thus, by extending LL studies beyond cities, we implicitly reject Gorter's (2006) proposed terminology as it tends to restrict LL studies to the cities alone.

While the works cited above conform to the initial definition of LL as provided by Landry and Bourhis (1997), different conceptualization of the concept is visible in literature. Gorter (2005), in his review of *Linguistic Landscaping in India with Particular Reference to the New States* edited by Itagi and Singh (2002) for example, makes mention of slight deviation in the scope of LL in that authors in the edited volume expand LL to include printed media clippings and visiting cards, and that LL studies should not be restricted to written language, but to other signs including oral language. Although Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Shohamy (2010) and Gorter (2006:88) insist on "visible language texts on signs in public space...thus implicitly rejecting the much wider definitions of linguistic landscape sometimes used in the literature," there is counter movement that contends that other signs in place including geosemiotics

are important (Thurlow and Jaworsky 2011; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009; Peck and Banda 2014). And recently, in their seminal paper, Shohamy and Correa (2014) charter a movement towards body semiotics. In fact, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) “argue for an inclusive view of LL as all texts situated in a changing public space. Thus they go beyond “written” texts of signs and include verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings” (Shohamy and Gorter 2009: 9). In their data on the LL of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Waksman and Shohamy (2010: 63) include as LL items images, signs, poems, historical anecdotes and photographs in what they term as an ‘expanded view’ of LL. I shall elaborate on this below.

3.2 Historicizing Linguistic Landscape

Backhaus (2007) argues that while the concept of LL is attributed to Landry and Bourhis (1997), a lot of work on language in public space had been done way before this official use of the term. He cites the work of Tulp (1978) and of Wenzel (1996), among other studies, to qualify his argument. Tulp (1978) is said to have examined the languages of commercial billboards in order to show how the language usage patterns on the said signs contribute to the city’s gradual Frenchification (cited in Backhaus 2007). In essence, the study used the language on signs in public space to reconstruct the distribution of French and Dutch in Brussels and the results indicated the dominance of French in the linguistic landscape of Brussels (Backhaus 2007).

With regard to Wenzel (1996), her work also focused on language on commercial signs of the south-east and north-west of Brussels. In her analysis of the 701 collected items, she focused, but not entirely, on “geographic distribution; order of the languages and combinations; and correlations between language and service or product offered” (Backhaus, 2007: 14). The results indicated the high presence of English billboards, which Tulp (1978) did not show. However, on the geographic distribution of French and Dutch the study yielded the similar results as of Tulp (1978) despite the studies being spaced out in time by 15 years (Backhaus, 2007). Again, this

is an important marker of the validity of the results in studies on the LL whether synchronically or diachronically due, in part, to the permanence of the written language in public space. And the current study will be mindful of the diachronic aspect of the LL, especially with regard to semiotics of the museum. Wenzel's (1996) study is important not only in historicizing the LL but also, and crucially so, in showing how language use on signs in public space constructs links between contents of a commercial sign and the languages used. That is, a language can be "for advertising beverages, cigarettes, and clothes" (Backhaus, 2007: 16). The assigning of language to specific domains has been heavily criticized by scholars theorizing language as social practice (see Mambwe 2014, Higgins 2009, Banda and Bellononjengele 2010, Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010b), and being aware of this recent theorization forces us to privilege the circularity and mobility of both the semiotic resources and spaces in which these semiotic resources are produced.

Then there is study by Monnier (1989) in Montreal, Canada, which focused on shop signs – on language in the commercial sector. Backhaus (2007: 17) states that Monnier's study was aimed at "testing in how far language practices in this domain are in line with the legal requirements of the Charter of the French Language". Thus, the current study will benefit greatly from Monnier's (1989) study as it linked policy to the overall manifestation of language on signs in public space. In Zambia, where English is an official language subordinated by seven (7) regional languages, it is yet to be seen the resultant interplay between this language policy and these languages in the LL of the study areas.

Further, by referencing to Coulmas' (2009) work, in their introductory chapter, Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 4) remind us that "linguistic landscaping is as old as writing" as "[t]he beginning of writing...coincided with urbanization..." Thus, for Coulmas (2009), literacy practices upon which LL production is based are intricately tied to the civilization which gave rise to urbanization. He premises his claim on the

evidence drawn from some of the oldest inscriptions such as “the Codex Hammurabi of Babylon, the Rosetta Stone, the Behistu trilingual inscription, the Menetekel-Parsin, the calligraphy on the Taj Mahal and the obelisks from Egypt” (Shohamy and Gorter 2009: 4). In a way, Coulmas’ inclusion of antique inscriptions forces us to regard LL as a useful tool in the construction of the LL either diachronically or synchronically as such inscriptions (on stones, rocks etc.) have indelible effects which can be deciphered as semiotic resources centuries after. In this way, one can historicize the LL of a given place, its literacy practices and semiotic affordances of the time in the same way Coulmas’ (2009) work provides that proof.

Despite the existence of studies that precede Landry and Bourhis (1997) on language use in public space, the study acknowledges that the formal use of the term linguistic landscapes and how it has come to be defined is attributed to Landry and Bourhis’s (1997) work. And this has been acknowledged by many scholars working on LL.

3.3 The Heuristic Potential of Linguistic Landscape Research

Taking after Landry and Bourhis (1997) with regard to the heuristic potential of LL research, Reh (2004: 38) states that the LL “enables conclusions to be drawn regarding, among other factors, the social layering of the community, the relative status of the various societal segments, and the dominant cultural ideals” (cf. Backhaus 2006:10). Thus language in public space can help, in a pictorial way, depict societal relationships. In this connection, Landry and Bourhis (1997) put forth two functions of LL in a given territorial space: an informational function and symbolic function. With regard to informational function, LL “can serve as a distinctive marker of the geographical territory inhabited by a given language community” (1997:25). Furthermore, LL has potential to delineate territorially the extent of language use within a given speech community in relation to other speech communities in the neighbouring region (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). This in turn signals to both members and non-members of the given speech community “the

linguistic characteristics, territorial limits, and language boundaries of the region they have entered” (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Thus, by observing the LL of a given region ‘foreigners’ are somewhat made aware about the language(s) that is used in that region. Therefore, they consciously anticipate to be served in that language. This generalization is however problematic, and therefore deserves further observation as policy in terms of emplacement of signs might not necessarily be in tandem with practice. In fact the study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 7) stand opposed to the notion of vitality, as they argue that “LL items are not faithfully representative of the linguistic repertoire typical of Israel’s ethnolinguistic diversity, but rather of those linguistic resources that individuals and institutions make use of in the public sphere.” Thus, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) by privileging individuals and institutions with regard to the production of the LL, force us to think of LL as a subjective place where power relations are at play.



Furthermore, studies on the LL, as demonstrated by Gorter (2006) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) have potential to reflect the multilingualism of a given territorial space and index the underlying forces involved in shaping the linguistic landscape. In a well framed and reflective title – *linguistic landscape a new approach to multilingualism* – they attempt, especially through the work of Backhaus (in the same volume) to show how multilingualism can be marked by considering multilingual signs. This can be deduced from their study on language use on signs in some selected locations of Jerusalem and Japan, respectively (Ben-Rafael et al 2006; Backhaus, 2006, 2007). However, recent studies have moved beyond quantitative data to multi-semiotic and multimodality, taking into account both the production and consumption of the signage, as well as geo-political and historical factors. This dichotomy is important to the current study in placing the political hegemony (policy matters) in the LL of the study areas as well as in the reconstruction of trends in the placement of the signs – geosemiotics, as referred to by Scollon and Scollon (2003). This is further discussed in the section about the theoretical framework in Chapter Four below. Again, in

counteracting the belief that LL as potential to reflect the multilingual nature of a territory, one only has to remember the “symbolic construction of the public space” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006:7) in which varied factors not limited to policy but the individuals’ interest and preference, literacy practices as well as power relations come to bear in the construction of the LL. But we cannot completely dispense with the idea that LL is a marker of language vitality. To some extent it does especially when minority languages pop up onto the LL.

Moreover, beyond Landry and Bourhis’s (1997) conceptualization of the LL (after which Backhaus 2005, Huebner 2006, Cenoz and Gorter 2006, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006 take), recent works have not failed to expand the conceptualization of LL. In a compelling way, the work by Gorter (2005) and Shohamy and Waksman (2009) call for the inclusion of other semiotic resources in the construction of the LL. Gorter (2005) specifically calls for the inclusion of oral language. As shown above, more recently, there has been a movement towards body semiotics by such scholars as Shohamy and Correa (2014). Specifically, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) in an attempt to expand LL argue for the de-centring of the “written” language as constitutive of signage in the public space by proposing the inclusion of “verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings”, and beyond this, Waksman and Shohamy (2010) add as LL items poems, historical anecdotes and historical photographs and drawings to underpin the connection between the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the Zionist ideology, as well as history. This inclusion is an attempt to create an ‘expanded view of LL as an enterprise. In their conference paper, Shohamy and Correa (2014) discuss the commodification of breast in the Singaporean public space. The ‘merchandization’ of foreign products based on the commodification of human breast. They show how products such as tables, slacks etc. are advertised by privileging (foregrounding) ladies’ breasts in order to attract potential customers to these products. In this way, Shohamy and Correa (2014) argue for the inclusion of other semiotic resources as meaning making potential besides the

written language on the signage. The current study learns from this expansion of LL as the data it uses to account for the circularity and mobility of semiotic resources are not restricted or limited to the written texts in public spaces.

These inclusions or attempts to expand the ‘scenery’ of LL would entail many things ranging from methodological issues on what should constitute as data in the LL to how these data should be collected and analysed on the one hand and which theoretical appraisal should inform such undertakings on the other hand. Normally, the sort of data collected has almost always been influenced by the study area. Evidently, there has been a bias towards urban centres; especially commercial centres (see Backhaus 2006). To justify this claim, it is important to cite some of the trends in the sampling of study areas by the previous studies. Rosenbaum et al. (1977) and El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996) used as their study area one central shopping street in Israel and Jordan, respectively. Equally, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compared two central shopping streets, one in Friesland and one in the Basque country, Spain. In the same vein, Backhaus (2006; 2007) sampled sites right in the heart of the Japanese capital, Tokyo. Studies by Huebner (2006) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) were all based on sites in urban areas – Thailand and Israel, respectively. As a result of this methodological bias on the selection of research areas, the data have been predictable and more or less uniform across different studies on LL (cf. Tulp 1978; Monnier 1989; Wenzel 1996). This would perhaps explain the insistence on languages on public signs, and why there are scant studies which focus on the rural-scapes in Africa. Thus, I discuss some of these issues pertaining to the methodology in Chapter Five.

Studies such as done by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Backhaus (2007) relate the construction of the LL to power relations and the existence of a linguistic group in a given region, respectively. For example, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 7) privilege the sociological theories – Boudon’s (1990) ‘good reason’, Bourdieu’s (1983; 1993) ‘power relation’ and Goffman’ (1963; 1983) ‘presentation of self’ - to account for the

subjective as well as power relations “that eventually exist behind choices of patterns where sociopolitical forces share relevant incompatible interests” in the construction of the LL. Further, Shohamy (2006: 110) links the construction of the LL to the ecology of language in that “the presence (or absence) of specific language items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages with regards to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society.”

In this connection, therefore, Shohamy (2006: 110) maintains that the public space is a stage upon which those with the reins of power use language “to deliver symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others.” Shohamy (2006) anchors her argument by considering LL as a major mechanism for language manipulation by all social actors in a given public space. Such social actors include, among other actors, governments, municipalities, non-governmental organizations, global and smaller companies who are said to use the public space to conduct “their battles for power, control, national identity, recognition and self-expression” (Shohamy 2006:111; Shohamy and Gorter 2009). However, Sebba (2010) dispenses with claims that privilege LL as a marker of linguistic (group) vitality as the LL is produced by such complex combinations of factors ranging from societal literacy practice to language policy matters on the one hand and from economic to the availability of ‘conquerable space’ on other hand. Thus, the visible language on the public signs may be far from being indexical of the existence of the speakers of the represented language – it maybe simply symbolic (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In fact Scollon and Scollon (2003: 119) aptly capture the notions of symbolic and indexical LL by reminding us that “the actual language use – English, Chinese, French, etc. – can either index the community with which it is being used or it can symbolize something about the product or business which has nothing to do with the place in which it is located.”

Sebba's (2010) reference to societal literacy practice may have been influenced by Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) maxims which they claim guide the choice of language in constructing the LL. Spolsky and Cooper write: (i) 'write signs in the language you know'; (ii) 'prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read'; and (iii) 'prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you want to be identified'. Right though the maxims may seem, they present a rather superficial picture of how the LL is normally produced. These maxims presuppose that all those that contribute to the multimodal LL only write in the languages they know. This stands opposed to the symbolic function of the LL (see Ben-Rafael et al 2006; Scollon and Scollon 2003). For example, the case of Quebec, Canada (Backhaus 2009) where the government outlawed the use of any other language other than French in the production of the LL augments the argument that sometimes the language in the public space does not represent the literacy practice of all social actors within the environ. To fit in and to conform to governmental blueprint, new comers to such regulated spaces, in terms of language use, merely use the prescribed language and not the language one knows or one in which they would have loved to be identified. Such arguments present constraints on what the LL may or may not tell us about the group or indeed linguistic vitality.

Further, Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) maxim (no. i) about writing in the language one knows may presuppose that communities which may not (re)produce and construct the LL are illiterate. One may argue here, as intimated above, that knowing a language does not always translate into using it in the construction of the LL. Such factors as advanced by Sebba (2010) which pertain to policy as well as the economy may lay constraint on the use of one language over the other or the use of none at all. For example, Malinowski's (2009) study of the Korean-American businesses attest to the policy constraint on the production and consumption of the signs as business owners were mere appendages to the conventions of the region with regard to language use on public signs. To this end, Malinowski (2009: 108) describes "[t]he author of signs as a

complex, dispersed entity who is only somewhat in control of the meanings that are read from his or her written ‘utterances’.” The conclusion reached by Malinowski (2009) forces us to rethink the role of agency in the production of the LL and also to reinterpret the notion of subjectivity and objectivity with regard to the commodification of the multimodal LL (I have touched upon subjectivity in the Section about *Space* below). The occurrence of many actors in the construction of the LL is also implied in Malinowski’s conclusion. And this may entail varied ways in which the LL is layered or organized. For Malinowski, the authorial aspects of the LL may not always represent the business owner’s intent as some of the signage on the shop might have been emplaced by the previous owner of the shop. Hence, the inherited inscription on the shop should not be interpreted as indexing the current owner’s authorial intent.

Thus, existence of different social actors in the public space has given rise to a dichotomy based on who the producer of the sign is. Following Lefebvre’s (1991) categorization, that is, institutional agencies under the control of central policies on the one hand and individuals, associations, or entrepreneurs on the other hand, Shohamy (2006) labels them as top-down and bottom-up, respectively. On this dichotomy - top-down and bottom-up - Shohamy (2006:115) states the top-down LL is issued by the state while the bottom-up LL is issued by autonomous social actors. And she notes that there is a notable difference in the way the top-down LL and bottom-up LL are produced and the motivation thereof owing to the fact that “while the top-down flow is derived from governmental decisions and public policies, the bottom-up flow responds to the market forces operating differentially in different areas, as well as to self-presentation velleities.” Thus, the binarity of top-down and bottom-up make the public space the place of different languages motivated by varied and sometimes personalized ideologies. No wonder, Shohamy (2006:111) sees language use in the public space “as a mechanism to affect, manipulate and impose de facto language practices in hidden and covert ways” but does not deny the fact that

this mechanism is open for protest and negotiations.

Protests and negotiations among the social actors within the public space may include overriding or ignoring policy pronouncements which may lead to the production of the LL using “‘other languages’ that provide different and contradictory symbols or by preventing the display of any verbal languages in the public spaces, as they perceive it as an imposition on their freedom and/or ideologies” (Shohamy 2006:110). No wonder Shohamy and Waksman (2009) would rather opt for an all-inclusive conception of the LL since the written and the oral language conflate within the landscape by virtue of the diffused nature of social actors within the public space due to non-adherence to policy pronouncements by some social actors.

By alluding to protests and negotiations among social actors within a given public space, Shohamy (2006) forces us to consider Huebner’s (2006) work in Bangkok. Huebner examined the questions premised on language mixing and language dominance in which study he shows the gradual de-centring of Chinese by English as the major language of wider communication in the city. Beyond this revelation, Huebner’s study provides “proof of an emerging Thai variety of English” (Gorter 2006: 4). As a result of this emerging vernacular in Bangkok, Huebner questions the rigid wall of separation seeing to exist between languages as held by formal linguists. He in fact states that his study “calls into question the boundaries of speech communities (commonly defined as a regionally or socially identified group who share a common language or variety) and what constitutes a language itself (Huebner 2006: 50). Equally, Curtin’s (2009) study in Taipei, Taiwan on collective national identity interrogates notions of “Chinese-ness” versus “Taiwanese-ness” “as to their political, historical, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, sociolinguistic, and even geographic import” in the face of transnational identities responsible for “Romanization of Chinese in official signage” (Shohamy and Gorter 2009: 7). The shifting ground being witnessed in Taipei over the use of Chinese and Taiwanese in the public space brings

into the spotlight the fact that “the LL is experienced as an important part of the fluid processes of identification” (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Curtin 2009). In the current study, couched as *social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across linguistic landscapes of Zambia: a multimodal analysis*, Huebner’s (2006) and Curtin’s (2009) observations about the permeability of boundaries between languages and regions become relevant as it promises to be the entry point into the circulation of semiotic resources.

Stroud and Mpendukana (2009, 2010) propose an interesting dichotomy arising from the materiality of signs – sites of luxury and sites of necessity. They base their differentiation of these sites on the material investment (cost), functionality as well as emplacement and information structure on the sign. While their proposal adds to the overall theorizing on the LL, their proposed dichotomy is not without methodological and theoretical challenges. They base their conclusion on what may be referred to as limitations imposed by the paucity of quantitative data in traditional LL studies, which does not usually include views from consumers and designers. Particularly, they do not clearly spell out what constitutes or differentiates necessity and luxury in a business sense. For Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 2) are forthright when it comes to advertisements; they state that “corporations see the public space as a domain for marketing and advertising with huge financial interests at stake.” Thus, one would think that at the back of every advertisement is the notion of necessity rather than luxury. In fact, Shohamy (2006:124) commenting on the construction of the LL by individual actors such as store owners and car dealers, she asserts that “the bottom-up flow responds to the market forces operating differentially in different areas, as well as to self-presentation velleities” which are set in motion by “both the extrinsic and intrinsic factors of power, material interests and other influences.” Besides, Ben-Rafael et al. (2010) consider the LL of a given territory as a gestalt, a place of conflation and spontaneity with regard to the occurrence of language and signage in the public space even though such spaces were regulated. Thus, one hopes to cast

another look at this dichotomy using representative data in the face of translocal mobility and the circularity of semiotic resources.

Edelman (2009) adds another angle to the study of the LL by focusing on proper names in the public space, where she sees proper names taking up considerable space as LL items. In so doing, Edelman proposes a different way of analyzing multilingualism. Drawing on the works by Haarmann (1986), Edelman (2009) reminds us of the existence of impersonal multilingualism, which is similar to Scollon and Scollon's (2003) symbolic use of language in the LL. Here, the language used may or may not index the language spoken or used by the community for which the signage is emplaced. She cites English as an example by pointing out that "[f]oreign languages in Japanese fashion magazines serve to stimulate the reader's feelings and to create a pleasant mood of cosmopolitanism" (Edelman 2009: 142). In her review of literature on the use of proper names in advertisement, Edelman (2009) draws on Piller's (2000: 267) postulation that "[t]he brand name is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad- it is what it is all about." To which the work by El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996) adds that names in foreign languages are associated with quality brand and therefore high cost (more expensive) goods than those with names in local languages. Thus, business owners perpetually use foreign names in the hope to attract customers to their shops, and by implication, therefore, "the language of proper names may contribute to persuading customers to buy" despite the fact that names "do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information" – they appeal to emotions instead (Edelman 2009: 144).

An important aspect which Edelman's (2009: 145) study of proper names in LL brings to the fore is the recognition that

languages have no clear-cut borders: due to genetic relatedness and language contact, many names "belong" to more than one language. Proper names seem to be more readily borrowed or adopted from another language than common nouns.

But she also acknowledges the fact that in some languages like Chinese, names can be translated; but more importantly, names can be context-specific as the case is with such international brands as Unilever's ice cream brand – Heartbrand. Edelman reports that Heartbrand products are sold in more than 40 countries and in each of these countries the Heartbrand assumes a local name – “Algida (Italy), Kibon (Brazil), Langnese (Germany), Ola (the Netherlands), Streets (Australia), Wall's (UK and most parts of Asia)” (Edelman 2009: 145). However, beyond this classification, Edelman reminds us that proper names in the LL can be subjectively read based on the knowledge of individual consumers of the LL, making proper names more of language specific or indeed non-language specific at the same time. Being cognizant of this fact benefits our current study substantially as most of the items in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone privilege proper names as shop signs.

3.4 Towards the Commodification of Spaces in the LL

Finally, the work by Leeman and Modan (2010) bring to the study of LL a unique aspect and insight by underpinning the LL as a commodified and subjective space, respectively. In a well thought-out title, “*Selling the city: Language, Ethnicity and Commodified Space*”, Leeman and Modan (2010: 182) remind us that “a landscape is not a container that holds objects like a picnic basket filled with lunch items...rather, [landscapes are] a topographies that shape and are shaped by the items with which they are collected.” Seen in this way, by Leeman and Modan, the LL is both a product of, and a producer of meaning, the meaning of which is polysemous owing to commodification of space. This is premised on their argument that “in late modernity, much language in the urban landscape is both an outcome of, and a vehicle for, the commodification of space” (Leeman and Modan 2010: 182). Using a contextualized approach to the material manifestations of language, as well as design elements in the built environment in Chinatown, Leeman and Modan (2010) point out that “the language on [the] sign gains its meaning from the extralinguistic phenomena such as the political and economic interests that led to its creation or its location in space, as

well from the language of the other signs around it” (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). Framed in this way, it is not surprising for Kitiarsa (2006: 1) to postulate that “commodifying processes are highly inventive and specifically embedded in the local-global trajectories of the market economy.”

Thus, the commodification of space, language and culture entail a mutual reciprocity between these elements and the goods that are being sold in a given space. For example, Leeman and Modan (2010: 186, 188) argue that “[t]he commodification of culture and marketing of places, goods and services is mutually reinforcing and it takes place at multiple scales”, and, beyond this, “culture is used not only to frame public space and to attract consumers of goods and services, but also to legitimate the appropriation of that space by private and commercial interest.” They remind us that most shopping centres have been interspaced with leisure activity, culture and entertainment spaces in order to make shopping a leisure time rather than a chore. Thus, cultural artefacts in these shopping spaces add value to the commodities being sold just as commodities add value to cultural artefacts accompanying them. Which is why Coupland (2003: 467) argues, in reference to Spanish, that the commodification of language is seen in Spanish Newspaper discourse “as the very processes of globalization which impact on language: interdependence, compression across time and space, disembedding and commodification.”

The idea of juxtaposing goods and cultural artefacts is also reported at restaurants in order to showcase them as ‘experiences’ (Leeman and Modan 2010). Here, it is fashionable to see rock and roll memorabilia intricately enmeshed with the built environment and the foods being sold. Normally, there is a proclivity towards ‘ethnic’ – locally grown or organic foods – associated with “a sense of sophistication or cultural caché” (p. 185). Further, drawing on Boyer (1992), Leeman and Modan (2010: 186) remind us that “[u]rbane areas that integrate historical preservation or other architectural themes with retail and entertainment intentionally aestheticize the

city, turning it into a type of ‘tableau’ where tourists consume the built environment and the place, as well as the food and retail.” Again, this works as a marketing strategy in which there is value addition to the commodities being sold through the accompanying cultural artefacts, edifice and language. No wonder, in discussing language and ethnic commodification, Leeman and Modan (2010: 191) point out that “language’s status as a readily identifiable index of ethnicity and cultural authenticity casts it as a selling vehicle par excellence.” This is readily seen in the face of a foreign language with a different orthography from the language of the target consumer. Such a language is valued based on its ethnicity and aesthetic qualities and not on its semantic content. Chinese in Chinatown works in this way. Its unfamiliar orthography to the viewer is backgrounded while its aesthetic qualities become more accentuated. To which Leeman and Modan (2010: 192) add that “mementos with ‘your name in Chinese’ or ‘your name in Arabic’ that are sold in themed ethnic neighborhoods are cases of language itself being sold, rather than being used to sell another product.”

Thus, the commodification of language in the LL is associated with the marketing strategy in order to enhance particular commodities just as the built environment serves as “vehicles to spatialize the commodification of culture” (Leeman and Modan 2010: 192). Equally important, when tourists visiting a particular place encounter ‘foreign’ or minority language they tend to get the sense of having visited an authentic place (Leeman and Modan 2010). Thus,

Language is a visual index of ethnicity that, when linked to various products, places and experiences, contributes to the commodification of culture typical of the symbolic economy. Inscribed on storefronts, for sale on souvenirs and hanging from ornamental banners that live the streets, written language is anchored to territory and becomes a vehicle both for the spatialization of culture and the commodification of spaces. (Leeman and Modan 2010: 196).

The current study will draw substantially on the notion of commodification as used by Leeman and Modan (2010) to recontextualize sociocultural artefacts as well as semiotic resources across the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone, especially in the face of

non-regional and foreign languages that have gained currency in the LL of these environs.

3.5 Space and Mobility in Multimodal LL

Following, or perhaps stretching beyond Peck and Banda's (2014) and Noy's (2011) mobility and pliability of space, the study argues that space is constantly being reconfigured and recontextualized based on the semiotic resources visible and salient to the user in time and space. Since semiotic resources are socio-culturally and historically dependent, they are constantly being replaced, enhanced or transformed by social actors within these spaces. In this connection, Peck and Banda (2014:1) would thus argue that "it is the people within space who carve out new social practices in their appropriated space". Following Scollon and Scollon (2003), Peck and Banda (2014) view space not just as objects and boundaries – space encompasses language and interactional practices apparent in a community. This therefore makes space to be conceptualized as a conflation of the sum total of such entities as "language, artefacts, cultural symbols, kinds of social interaction as well as sociocultural composition of constituencies in a specific area" (Peck and Banda 2014: 4). While space can be conceptualized as above, Leeman and Modan (2010) are quick to point out that space (LL) should be taken as subjective representations rather than objective physical spaces (cf. Peck and Banda 2014). This stems from the fact that consumers of the signs may not always decipher the sign makers' subjective or indeed objective representation. It would seem therefore fallacious to claim or indeed hope to produce an objective linguistic landscape. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) suggest, both sign makers and consumers are influenced by their ideology in the production and consumption of signs, respectively. Thus, any production and consumption which are built on ideology steepen the notion of subjectivity even more.

Subjectivity allows for the construction of space either synchronically or diachronically. In the work by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), the application of

ethnographic construct brings together the production and consumption of signs, which forced Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) to suggest a dichotomy between sites of luxury and sites of necessity. They arrive at this conclusion as they consider the “social circulation of linguistic forms across commercial signage for ongoing processes of *enregisterment*, the process whereby speech practices become consolidated as repertoires of socially recognized register of forms” (2009: 364). They build their theorization of space on Ben-Rafael (2009) and Shohamy and Gorter (2009), in which they see the “social circulation of languages across spaces and different semiotic artifacts, such as signs, newspapers, books, TV channels, music videos, etc.” (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 364). Thus, Stroud and Mpendukana forge a sociolinguistic of multilingualism capable of constructing space as “flows, processes and social practices” and beyond this conception, they push for an appreciation of “how constructs of space are constrained by material conditions of production, and informed by associated phenomenological sensibilities of mobility and gaze” (p. 364-365). Their work is based on Khayelitsha, a township in Cape Town 28 kilometers from the Central Business District, in which translocality mirrors not only the economics of the place, but also the socio-economic status of individual dwellers, as shown by the built-environment. They argue that this difference is visible in “different practices and discourses of consumption” (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 365). However, while privileging mobility, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) limit the influence of flows of social actors as well as the social circulation of language – hence signage - across the public space by proposing a rigid dichotomy between sites of necessity and sites of luxury. They argue that

economically advantaged spaces, sites of luxury, attract predominantly commercially oriented signage around products and services at the higher-end scale, while spaces lower in the economic hierarchy, sites of necessity, are more predisposed to products of quotidian necessity...the different sites predispose to differences in signage in terms of different strategic choices for creativity, variable language choice, as well as conventions for the use of orthography, grammar and code-mixing. (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 367).

Thus, the dichotomy between sites of necessity and sites of luxury framed by Stroud

and Mpendukana, drawn on Bourdieu (1984), stands opposed to recent theorization feeding into translocal mobility and the de-territorialization of boundaries as Glick Schiller et al. (1992) contend that “‘de-territorialised social spaces’ emerge above and beyond individual concrete territorial spaces.” My study draws on notions that see the blurring of boundaries, hence differs from Stroud and Mpendukana’s (2009) proposed dichotomy.

Peck and Banda (2014) construct their semiotic (linguistic) landscape diachronically by using a longitudinal ethnographic approach to the study of the LL in Observatory’s business corridor of Lower Main Road, Cape Town. This historical perspective brings to the fore the changes in the LL over time and the mobility and pliability of space. The importance of the historical perspective to the study of the LL therefore can be seen in its capacity to trace not only the use of semiotic resources (including language) over time, but also the socio-cultural history of the users of these semiotic resources (Peck and Banda 2014). In this respect, such an approach does not just trace the histories of meaning making, but also the stages and transition of meaning making as espoused by Iedema (2003) in resemiotization (resemiotization has been discussed in detail under multimodality in Chapter Four, here below). Invariably, therefore, Peck and Banda’s (2014) study remind us that any attempt that seeks to reconstruct and historicize space (LL) should go beyond a mere synchronic view to apply a diachronic approach that finds its expression in longitudinal ethnographic approach which views space as both pliable and mobile, and this study draws on this diachronic perspective to specifically understand the sociocultural and political histories couched in artefacts found in the Livingstone Museum.

Noy’s (2011) “*Articulating spaces: inscribing spaces and (im)mobilities in an Israeli commemorative visitor book*” adds to the theorizing about the malleable nature of space. Building on works by Massey (2005), McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington (2009, and Lefebvre (1991), Noy (2011:156) sees space as being “dynamic and

progressive; more than a static “thing”, space is essentially malleable and processual”, and that “it is socially and interactionally accomplished and molded.” This is essentially so because space interacts in a dialogical manner with both language and the social actors, hence making space as both a modality in multimodal environments and multimodality itself as it is open and consumable (Noy 2011). Using McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington (2009, 1998), Noy manages to underpin space as “a site or network of mediated activities, where language, people, artifacts and technologies are entangled together” (p. 156), thereby making space a contested performance based on the notion of “double articulation”. The concept of “double articulation” entails space as both a place of interaction of spatiality and interaction of agents producing it (Noy 2011, Massey 2005). By using a commemorative visitor book to the Ammunition Hill Museum, Israel, Noy (2011) manages to argue for the existence of both physical and imagined spaces, making space a place of remembrance, deep affection, triumph and social trajectories at macro and abstract level as well as micro and concrete level in respect to the emplaced book within the museum upon which different social actors converge to perform their various identities and ideologies. No wonder, Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 9) conceive of the public space not as “neutral but rather a negotiated and contested arena...for interpreting political and social issues, especially in contested societies.” My study borrows a great deal from this conceptualization especially as some of the data are drawn from artefacts emplaced in Livingstone Museum and read as semiotic resources, but also as artefacts that historicize the social and political trajectories of Zambia.

3.6 Transnational and Translocal Mobility

The notion of space and how it is conceptualized is never short of the overall influence of two basic concepts which could be discussed from either geography or anthropology – transnational and translocal mobility. Transnationalism has been conceived of as the “processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through

which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders” (cited in Kelly 2003:209). In this conception of transnationalism, social actors are viewed as “attached to or experiencing two places simultaneously” (Cronin 2006:61). The oscillation between ‘the two worlds’ forces them to construct pliable and mobile identities and spaces. Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) appropriate transnational mobility not so much to the movement of capital and commodities but to the movement of people who are the conduits of capitalism, goods and services. Thus, making transnational and translocal products of both individual agency and social structure just as any social phenomenon is construed in poststructuralism (see Block 2006).

The movement of people across borders has led to the unprecedented creation of multiple spaces. Firstly, there are global spaces which account for the transformation of local places into homogenized and deterritorialized spaces due to the conflation of global economy and flows of capital. Then, there are transnational spaces arising from people crossing borders thereby creating new territorial relationships (Schiller et al. 1992). Finally, there are translocal spaces which are as a result of the affordances of the advanced media technology and migration triggered off by globalization (cf. Kress 2010). This has led to remarkable and conspicuous social changes and reconfiguration of spaces. In fact, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003: 25) project this phenomenal change as the “breakdown in the isomorphism of space, place, and culture” and the creation of “new translocal spaces and forms of public culture embedded in the imaginings of people that dissolves notion of state-based territoriality” (cited in Simpson 2011: 423). That having been said, Chu (2010:34) however, is quick to insert a caveat on the subject of the pristine local and the proposed diffused nation-states which arise from transnational and translocal mobility: he guides that territorial boundaries still matter in an era of transnational and global flows but that the quest for emigration shifts the very grounds of both mobility and enclosure making locality ephemera and hard to produce and maintain (its materiality). Thus, Kress (2010:20)

concludes that "...it might be said that notions such as mobility are the semiotic and informational analogue of social conditions of fluidity."

The conceptualization above of transnational and translocal flows lead us to time-space compression, the idea attributed to Harvey (1989) in which it is asserted that "both physically and virtually people around the world are in greater proximity to each other, and much faster so, than has ever been the case in the history of the world" (Block 2006:16). Arising from this assertion, Block (2006: 16) cites Perlmutter (1991) that the world, as a result of time-space compression, is no longer organized along the nation state (which is the vertical axis), but more often along "communities of shared interests and experiences." In this way, Block (2006) sees communities to transcend nation state boundaries as individuals traverse across societal boundaries.

One aspect, for which there is little debate in the general context of globalization and its effects on the local, is the notion of the 'ever-present but ever-changing locality'. This can be due in part to the fact that space can be appropriated or dominated by human activities (cf. Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2007a). On the appropriation of space, Auer and Schmidt (2010:8) point out that it "occurs when space is minimally modified to serve the needs of humans..." but that "space is dominated when it is transformed by modern technology which introduces new forms, which are often rectilinear, closed, emptied and sterilized." However, framing after Lefebvre (1991), Auer and Schmidt 2010:8 note that in contemporary society, it is rather common to see the appropriation of space accompanied by domination of space. Thus, physical manipulation of space resulting from both the appropriation and domination of space leads to conspicuous gentrification of the public space, which, over a period of time, entails a perpetual reconfiguration and reimagining of the physical spaces social-culturally and historically. However, beyond this appropriation and domination of space, Chu (2010:37) observes that "[l]ocality is not merely the given, stable grounds for identity formation and collective action but also in itself a relational

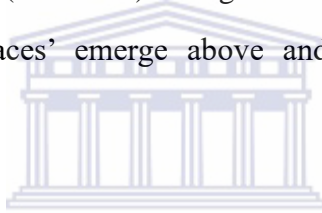
achievement and property of social life.” Thus, locality is space transformed into an arena where upon the translocal and the transnational flows conflate to produce pristine identities epitomized, among other things, by the built environment, languages and differential multi-culturalism. In the study which Chu (2010:45), for example, conducted in China concerning transnational mobility, he reports that “the grounds of traditional and modernity were constantly shifting and contesting as people strategized, adapted, and adjusted life courses in response to material and symbolic transformations of the village landscapes....” This attests therefore to the mobility of space, especially of the public space involving many social actors. In this respect, our current study has been shaped in as far as the translocal and transnational flows conflate to produce contested performances, identities and ideologies, let alone language. But more important, translocal mobility has reconnected the rural and the urban in ways too apparent. For example, Hedberg and Carmo (2010: 1) remind us that rural areas are not isolated; rather, they are interconnected with urban spaces because “[b]oth internal and international migrants contribute not only to a young population structure but also to a qualitative transformation of rural spaces. These are places that are changing through their connections to regional, national and global processes.” Seen in this way, “[r]ather than being passive receivers of national and regional transfers, [rural spaces] are involved and connected on their own accounts” (Hedberg and Carmo 2010).

Still on transnational spaces, new theorizing has distinguished between transnationalism and new transnational social spaces. The former is viewed as a narrower perspective on globalization as it only focuses on the macro level. It is conceived of as “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Pries 2001:18). In fact, one of the proponents of transnationalism has offered a more insightful definition of the concept:

We define “transnationalism” as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin

and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Schiller *et al.* (1997:7).

However, the conceptualization of transnationalism has been heavily criticized for its inherent ties and/or association with the notion of national container society. Critics argue that the perceived 'dual citizenship' of immigrants arising from the unbroken ties between their societies of origin and settlement denies them of the ability to forge new identities (Pries 2001). In fact, the study by Block on immigrants in London settles this problem. Block (2006) acknowledges the fact that while immigrants to London maintain strong economic, social and political ties with their countries of origin, they at the same time engage in forging new identities in the new transnational spaces. Little wonder, Pries (2001: 18) citing Schiller *et al.* (1992) contend that "de-territorialised social spaces' emerge above and beyond individual concrete territorial spaces."



Furthermore, transnational social spaces transcends transnationalism as it brings together "a macro-embedded, meso- and micro-level approaches" in understanding new relationships between the social and the spatial arising from modern systems of communication and transport and not overlooking the avalanche of transnational movement of social actors (Pries 2001:7). Block (2006) links the macro-level with the global forces such as global politics, global market, global ideologies and global media, among other forces, whereas the micro-level is associated with the human element which explains why individuals migrate from their place of origin to their dream place. Such elements may include the desire to improve one's life, encapsulated in individual values and expectations. The meso-level "refers to the various networks that intercede between the macro and micro levels [and] include social ties, symbolic ties and transactional ties" (Block 2006:12-13). In the literature of Bourdieu (1991) the macro and micro/meso levels are captured as cultural capital and social capital, respectively. Seen in this way, transnational social spaces are a

creation by human agency at both ends of the transaction – the desire by an individual to relocate and the assessment of prospects in the new environment which include the surety to be received by the host country (cf. Block 2006 and Blommaert 2010).

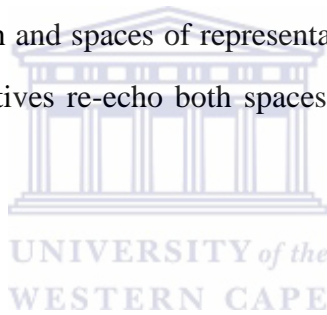
Thus, used as couched by Pries (2001:21) “[t]ransnational social spaces are pluri-local, durable and dense configurations of social practices, system of symbols and artifacts that span places in different countries.” Here, pluri-local accounts for instances where individuals are not bounded to a home setting. Pries (2001) cites an example of a family with children studying far from home during the week but travel home every weekend. Individual family members sustain daily social practices such as greetings using artifacts (telephones) which mediate symbols or representations of meaning. Thus, whereas a pluri-local social space does not inherently have transnational dynamics, the presence of modern communication technology such as mobile phones and the fast transport system enable social actors of these pluri-local spaces to remain mobile and connected to the transnational flows. Thus, relations within the transnational social spaces are not only at macro-level but also at meso- and micro-levels (Pries 2001). The pluri-locality privileged by translocal mobility entails belonging to “more than one locality simultaneously”, in which “the rapid urbanization uproot identities and their ties from their localized cultural foundation”, as well as make these identities “to float free” (Oakes and Schein 2006: i). Seen in this way, translocal mobility “forges an ever changing relationship between sociocultural happenings of one locality with that of another locality producing blurred and flattened boundaries” in which the “rural-urban divide is increasingly undercut by networks that bring urban images, goods, and aesthetics to the countryside while at the same time injecting the city with the often harsh realities of the rural political economy” (Oakes and Schein 2006: xiii).

Seen in this way, space is constantly in motion just as the social actors themselves acting on it, which is why Pandya (1990) conceptualizes space as movement rather

than as container in the same way the human body is in constant movement. In fact, Rodman (2003: 208) stretches the notion of the mobility of space by likening it to voices:

it is time to recognize that places, like voices, are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places. The link in these chains of experienced places are forged of culture and history.

Rodman (2003) brings to the conceptualization of space the idea of subjective experience, a notion which is encapsulated in subjective representation of space by Leeman and Modan (2010) (see Peck and Banda 2014). Which is why, Bridge and Watson (2008:7), add here that “cities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of imagination and spaces of representation.” Thus, as will be seen in the analysis, subjective narratives re-echo both spaces of imagination and spaces of representation.



3.7 Language and Space

Having conceptualized space as mobile as the social actors themselves, it is important to note, briefly though, how the concept of space interacts with language, especially with regard to how language should be conceptualized. Auer and Schmidt (2010) make a very good starting point in this respect. In “*Language and Space: an International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Theories and Methods*”, Auer and Schmidt (2010: v) acknowledge the fact that “the variability of language is in essential ways caused and constrained by the dimension of time and space.” The dimension of time and space in the conceptualization of the variability of language forces us to go beyond the traditional dialectological analysis to include facets from geography, sociology and anthropology in order to show the relationship between geographical space and cultural (social) space. In this connection, therefore, Auer and Schmidt (2010) call for the ‘de-territorialization’ of language supported by the fact

that there has been a shift ignited by the societal ecological forces from more traditional immobile societies to:

personally mobile and electronically delocalized post-industrial life-styles, and from semiliterate, largely oral cultural traditions through, say, the formation and maintenance of immigrant communities and enclaves within multicultural and urbanized landscapes, to the inhabiting of pre-eminently social spaces in the increasingly fragmented and ad hoc milieu of contemporary society. Auer and Schmidt (2010: v).

The assertion by Auer and Schmidt (2010) above, questions the container society in which both the language and social actors are perceived as “caged” within the enclave. They see different languages interfacing with each other as they are distributed across physical, social and cultural spaces producing “a multilayered relationship between language and space together with its historical development” (2010:x). Or what Noy (2011) calls an enmeshment of language with/in space.

Arising from the free flow of both capital and social actors, thanks to globalization, Auer and Schmidt (2010: xi) postulate that there has been the untying of “the body-language-place connection...which accounts for a fundamental shift in the spatial boundedness of life and language.” As a consequence of this, urbanites can be seen exhibiting linguistic repertoires which are made of variants owing to the linguistically heterogeneous speech community in which they find themselves (cf Banda and Bellonjengele 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). And Auer and Schmidt (2010) attribute this heterogeneity to different contact languages set in motion by both translocal and transnational flows. The acquired linguistic repertoires are used in the creation of new identities and mark of belonging. Public spaces are colonized, minority languages are folklorized and commodified; dialects and autochthonous minority languages revitalized as means by which the local presents its unique self to the outsider (Auer and Schmidt 2010). Thus, when the local and international conflate within a given public space, they produce resources “for

creating new regional (“glocalized”) ways of speaking, new (supra) regional styles and lects” (Auer and Schmidt 2010: xii). Higgins (2009) also accounts for language localization arising from the intersection of languages within a given physical space as epitomized by the vernaculars such as swanglish in Tanzania. Wakumelo (2010) too, alludes to these creations as she appropriates a sociolect to a group of “call boys” and minibus conductors in Lusaka, Zambia, shown in Chapter Two, above.

3.8 Language, Space and Identity

From the foregoing, it is becoming apparent that language and space interact in an interesting and productive way producing not only the spatial identity of a given place, but also identities of the social actors. Space (the world) is constantly being constructed in the moment of speech, making the use of language as a form of action (Burr 1995:6). Thus, space can oscillate between different identities depending on the social actors acting on it in the moment of speech, for example, as an English space or African space (cf. Peck and Banda 2014). Gillian Rose (1993) and Suzanne Mackenzie (1989) are cited by Auer and Schmidt (2010) as having freed individuals from socially determined identities based on their position and location; they instead conceptualized identity based on performance. Thus, identity began to be associated with such terms as hybridity, mutability and particularity. The work by Burr (1995) on social construction, contributes greatly to the performativity of identity by suggesting that identity does not exist within individuals but between people during verbal or any kind of exchange. Burr (1995) believes that a person is said to be a speaker of, say, English only when he or she says a word in English in a given speech context. Thus, “each of the versions of “you” is a product of your relationships with others. Each “you” is constructed socially, out of the social encounters that make up your relationships”, by which she concludes:

Instead of people having single, unified and fixed selves, perhaps we are fragmented, having a multiplicity of potential selves which are not necessarily consistent with each other. The self which is constantly on the move, changing

from situation to situation, is contrasted with the traditional view of stable, unchanging [identity]. Burr (1995:20).

Thus, we only become “somebody”, say, a Bemba, or Nyanja speaker in the moment of speech and we normally do not stay with one identity throughout the discourse despite our identities being historically and culturally couched (cf. Banda and Bellononjengele 2010).

3.9 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has discussed literature bearing on linguistic landscape. The chapter has provided a definitional matter of the concept of LL, and then shifted to studies that have gone before the actual use of the concept in the sociolinguistic literature, hence historicizing LL. The heuristic functions of LL have also been discussed in this Chapter, albeit problematized. One of them being that LL can be used to index ethno-linguistic vitality. However, this does not necessarily follow as the LL may be used for its symbolic rather than for its informative nature. Equally important aspects discussed in this Chapter are the conceptualization of space, language and identity. It has been shown that space is pliable and mobile just as the language which is used in it and identities which are constructed by the social actors acting on it, respectively.

In the next Chapter, multimodality as a theoretical toolkit has been discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THEORETICAL APPRAISAL OF MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, linguistic landscape as a conceptual framework has been discussed. In this Chapter, however, I present the theoretical toolkit informing the study – multimodal discourse analysis as used by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) in order to adequately capture, read and construct the linguistic/semiotic landscapes of the study areas of Lusaka and Livingstone in line with the research objectives outlined in Chapter One. Additionally, the study has also drawn on *Geosemiotics* as advanced by Scollon and Scollon (2003), Resemiotization by Iedema (2003), as well as theoretical strands of text analysis and semiosis such as multivocality and semiotic remediation in an attempt to show how sign makers, as well as consumers emplace, reuse, and interpret signs in the multimodal LL of the study areas.

The use of multimodal discourse analysis (henceforth, MDA) has been motivated by the fact that the sort of data which were collected for the study were of multimodal nature - a ‘text’ which consists not only the written language, but also other modes. In fact, the study brings together images, language and space in a complex way to construct meaning. Thus, any linguistic theory which does not account for these elements concomitantly would be unsuited for such an undertaking, which is why Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998: 186) remind us that “language always has to be realized through, and comes in the company of, other semiotic modes” – thus, “any form of text analysis which ignores this will not be able to account for all the meanings expressed in texts.” In the modern era, specifically in late modernity, communication has been transformed rather greatly due, in part, to advances in technology. To which Fairclough (1995: 17) adds that “written texts in contemporary society are increasingly becoming more visual” because they “combine words with photographs.” As a result, the traditional reliance on one mode for the dissemination

of information is slowly being replaced by the combination of different modes on a single text (Iedema 2003; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

Additionally, there has arisen awareness among producers and consumers within the multimodal LL that certain type of information can only be best communicated using images (see Kress 2010). Put together, therefore, language, images, icons or indeed any inscription including sociocultural artefacts as well as ecological features such as hills, trees and the built environment create a coherent whole which invariably produces a text. Silvestre (2008:738) argues that a “[t]ext may be created by other semiotic resources, namely images. This is so because Halliday (1989:10) does not restrict text to the spoken or written mode of language”. But rather, a text should be viewed as language which is functional in context (Caffarel 2006:16). Context here encompasses but not restricted to culture, situation and social aspects in which communication unfolds (Caffarel 2006:16). In this vein, the current study leans on the belief that modernity has witnessed what some scholars refer to as ‘multi- or hypermodality’, which is conceived of as “the dynamic interplay between the verbal, the visual and other semiotic modes in the workings of the sociolinguistic imagination” (Johnson and Milani 2010: 12).

4.1 Semiotics

In this section, I briefly foreground the historical development of semiotics. This enterprise does not promise to give a detailed development of the concept rather to underpin key players in its development and show its links to the modern theorization about semiotics.

Semiotics, whose Greek root is *semeion* and generally conceptualized as study of signs, has a long established history (see Danesi 2004). “Semiotics deals with the way meaning is communicated” (Berger 2010:71). In medicine, Hippocrates (460 – 377 BC) was preoccupied with the association between signs and medical symptoms

while philosophers such as Plato (c. 428 – c. 347 BC) and his pupil Aristotle (384 – 322 BC), St Augustine (AD 354 – 430), and Locke (1632 – 1704) who came after Hippocrates are said to have equally applied signs in their works (Berger 2010, see, Danesi 2004). It was, however Locke, who used the concept semeiotics for the first time and laid out a solid footing for philosophical inquiry with regard to the relation between concepts and reality (Danesi 2004). Despite this attempt by Locke in 1690 to localize semiotics as a body of inquiry in philosophy, the study only received active attention in the late nineteenth century, thanks to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1914) and the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce (1839 – 1914) (Danesi 2004).

As intimated above, despite the long and established history of semiotics, modern semiotics is associated with Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles S. Peirce. Their contribution to modern linguistics, especially Ferdinand de Saussure, is seen in grammars that were formulated based on the semiotic system (see Kress 2010). In fact, Kress (2010) commenting on Saussure's semiology, reports that Ferdinand de Saussure believed that in the twentieth century, linguistics was the most advanced study of any semiotic system. As such, Charles Morris (1901 – 1979) conceived of *syntactics*, *semantics* and *pragmatics* as they are used today based on semiotics. Equally Roman Jakobson (1896 – 1982) advocated the use of motivated signs which are said to be signs often used to represent the world through simulation as result of the preceding influence in field of semiosis. The works by Roland Barthes (1915 – 1980) which show the effective nature of semiotics in unpacking meanings contained in concepts and mundane performances can also be traced back to the nineteenth century theorization about the sign system (Danesi 2004).

Similarly, the work by Halliday (1994) applied earlier theorizing - Saussurean semiology and Peircean, respectively - to linguistics, producing an insightful, analytical working toolkit, which he dubbed as Systemic Functional Grammar.

Drawing on semiotics, Halliday (1994) built a multimodal discourse analysis, which is multidimensional in nature as it brings together ideational, personal and text meanings within one framework. In fact, Halliday (1994: 41) states that “[s]ystemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options.” Further, Halliday (1994: 52) adds that “[t]he systemic network is a theory of about language as a resource for making meaning,” and in doing so, he “follow[s] Saussure in his understanding of the relationship between the system of language and its instantiation in acts of speaking; although not in his implied conclusion.” As shown in the section about multimodality below, scholars such as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) have to a great extent been influenced by Halliday’s (1994) synthesis of semiotics into a grammar. At the time we meet the concept of semiotics in the Hallidayan literature, the concept has been in existence in linguistic literature for over seven decades, thanks to the structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the philosopher Charles S. Peirce.

For the sake of distinguishing between Saussure’s and Peirce’s contribution to semiotics in this thesis, Saussure will be associated with semiology and Peirce with semiotics.

4.1.1 Saussurean Semiology (1857 – 1913)

In the book *Course in General Linguistics*, published posthumously in 1915 from his lecture notes by his students, Saussure postulates that “language is a system that expresses ideas” (cited in Berger 2010). Saussure’s semiology presents a two-part sign. On one hand, a sign is said to have ‘a sound-image’ or signifier; on the other hand, a sign has ‘a concept’ or signified. Thus, in language especially when viewed as a system, one has the signifier and signified, whose relation “is not natural but arbitrary and based on convention” (Berger 2010:5). The notion of arbitrariness allows for change of meaning of signs over time, which is why, in studying signs, Saussure asserts that one can opt for either diachronic approach or synchronic approach (Berger

2010). Further, because the relation between the signifier and signified is based on convention, no sign has inherent meaning by itself but that “its meaning is always a function of its relationship with other signs” (Berger 2010:7; cf. Danesi 2004). Scollon and Scollon (2003) used the term dialogicality to show the dependability of signs on each other for meaning. No wonder, Berger (2010:7) explains how Saussure views words as signs, “and [that] the meaning of a word depends upon the context in which it is found.” Thus, meanings are mobile and not tied to concepts; they are context based. For example, the concept or ‘signifier’ “dog” does not carry any characteristics of the signified animal “dog” in it; it is a matter of convention and arbitrariness.

4.1.2 Peircean Semiotics (1839 – 1914)

Writing independent of Saussure, Peirce proposed a three-tier based semiotic system. Richard J. Parmentier (1994) in, *Signs in Society Studies in Semiotic Anthropology*, provides a comprehensive overview of the Peircean semiotic system and its relevance to studies that are couched in social, historical and cultural phenomena due to the fact that for Peirce, signs are embedded in society which uses them. To achieve this, Peircean semiotics is built on the three-tier concepts: sign, object, and interpretant also referred to as representamen, object and interpretant, respectively (Parmentier 1994:xiv, Danesi 2004:26). The triadic semiotic system of Peirce has an over-arching sense of mediation enabled by the notion of interpretant (Parmentier 1994). Arising partly from this, Parmentier (1994:3-4) argues that

[f]or our cognitions to involve true knowledge...object and sign must be connected in such a way that the former [i.e. object] ‘determines’ – specifies or specializes – the character of the latter [i.e. sign] which represents it. So there must be some kind of principled linkage or reason, what Peirce calls the ‘ground,’ between the two if the sign is to become a mediate realization of the object in this process of constantly developing knowledge-communication.

Thus, Peircean semiotics presupposes semiotic users’ foreknowledge of the relation

between object and sign in order to arrive at the correct meaning of the sign mediated through the interpretant. For example, for someone to correctly deduce the iconicity between a picture and the individual it represents, both the represented individual in the picture and the picture should be familiar to this consumer of the icon. In the same vein, indexicality between a sign and the object should be historically and culturally established within the consumer society, and the same is true for symbols (Parmentier 1994, Danesi 2004).

As shown in preceding paragraph, in Peircean semiotics, a sign “is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity” (Berger 2010:7). His semiotic system differentiates three types of signs: icons, whose signification is by resemblance; indexes, whose signification is by causal connections; and symbols, whose signification is by convention (Berger 2010). The semiotic system of Peirce is replicated in most contemporary studies on sign system. Such works include Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) *geosemiotics* and Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Images*. In both these studies, the three types of signs are discussed. A picture is said to be iconic; an arrow indexical while a flag symbolic. To Peirce (parmentier 1994:6) symbols are

Those signs which are made to be signs, and to be precisely the signs that they are, neither by possessing any decisive qualities [i.e., icons] nor by embodying effects of any special causation [i.e., indices], but by the certainty that they will be interpreted as signs, and as just such and such signs.

While Peirce believed that symbols are arbitrary and conventional, Saussure held the view that symbols are never completely arbitrary – the connection between the symbol and the signified is rudimentary bound because a symbol of justice (a pair of scales) cannot be replaced by a chariot, and still convey its meaning (Berger 2010:14). To this end, Berger (2010:14) points out that “symbols are things with important historical and cultural meanings....symbols are tied to history and play important roles in every society.”

As we conclude on semiotics, it is important to also note some of the notions that have crept into the study of signs as they have a bearing on the current study.

Firstly,

The notion of ‘No sign as a Sign’: This process involves our not getting signs when we expect them, so no sign then becomes a sign. We are led to conclude, then, that in some cases no sign functions as a sign-though we are often at a loss to interpret what the “no sign” response means (Berger 2010: 28-29).

Then,

The notion of ‘Signs within signs’: it is often the case that small signs are part of a larger sign system or collection of signs. – What I call signemes. (Berger 2010:29)

And,

The notion of ‘Signs that Lie’: Umberto Eco’s notion that semiotics is the science that deals with our ability to lie. He says that if something cannot be used to lie, it cannot be used to tell the truth (Berger 2010: 29-30).

This assumes that:

Signs now take on a life of their own and come to be the primary determinants of social experience. Signs and codes replace reality and the world is experienced through images (simulation) to the point where the real as something different from the image disappears. A world of hyper-reality is created in which everything in the world is simulated in the sense that models created by images replace the real. (Berger, 2010: 48).

4.2 The Grammar of Visual Design

To create the grammar of visual images, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 15) in their ‘*Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*’ fall back on Halliday’s three metafunctions espoused in systemic functional grammar. In fact, they argue that

visual design, like all semiotic modes, fulfils three functions. To use Halliday’s terms, every semiotic fulfils both an ‘ideational’ function, a function of representing the ‘world among and inside us’ and an

‘interpersonal’ function, a function of enacting social interactions as social relations. All message and entities – texts – as attempt to present a coherent ‘world of the text; what Halliday calls the textual function.... Whether we engage in conversation, produce an advertisement or play a piece of music, we are simultaneously communicating, doing something to, or for, or with, others in the here and now of a social context.

In this regard, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) formulate the grammar of visual design cognizant of the fact that visual semiotics are situated in the social-cultural practices of their users and makers for meaning-making. As Caffarel (2006:16) applies tenets of systemic functional grammar to French, she also notes that any communicative event, by whatever mode, should not be removed from its immediate social-cultural milieu if its meaning is to be understood (see Halliday and Webster 2009). Also, the realization that “verbal language is being displaced as a communicational mode by images in many sites of public communication” and therefore “...neither linguistics nor sociolinguistics is any longer sufficient as the theoretical enterprise to account fully and plausibly for central aspects of representation and communication” (Kress 2005: 66). Thus, their visual grammar “describe[s] the way in which depicted elements – people, places and things – combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006:1). The depicted elements are the represented participants, and usually, depending on how they are depicted, show varying degrees of social interaction among/between themselves and the viewers. The depiction is governed by, among other ‘modalities’, colour, saturation, and light intensity (as well as foreground and background). In describing the possible interaction between the represented participants, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:41) use a vector, but also a ‘tree’ structure in more complex interaction. This interaction demonstrates the ideational meaning in visual grammar.

On the interpersonal metafunction, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:41) argue that “[a]ny semiotic mode has to be able to project the relations between the producer of a (complex) sign, and the receiver/reproducer of that sign. That is, any mode has to be able to represent a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the

object represented”. To this end, Scollon and Scollon (2003: 96) add that “participants in a picture not only exhibit narrative or conceptual relationships among themselves, but they also establish relations with viewers of the image....” Eye contact between the represented participant and the interactive participant would suggest maximized social interaction while a tilted gaze of the represented participant might signal social distance or absence of interaction but an invitation for detailed scrutiny by the viewer (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:41). It is no wonder Scollon and Scollon (2003: 96) conclude that “[r]elationships between pictured or represented participants and the viewer or reader are of three kinds contact, social distance, and attitude”, following Edward T. Hall (1959, 1965).

With regard to the textual metafunction, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 43) state that “[a]ny semiotic mode has to have the capacity to form texts, complexes of signs which cohere both internally with each other and externally with the context in and for which they were produced”. This leads to the dichotomy in text between centred and polarized, which are the two basic information structures. The polarized is divided into left/right (given and new) and upper/lower or top-bottom (ideal and real). The centered is structured as circular, triptych, centre-margin (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 208, 2006: 41; Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 91). This dichotomy is useful to this study in two important ways. The vertical dimension, that is, the top-bottom is akin to hierarchical structures in which “what is most important or otherwise dominant goes on top, what is less important or dominant is relegated to the bottom’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 57). Thus, the language which will be placed on top on ‘bilingual’ signs will be regarded most salient, and this will lead to the explication of social structuring of languages in the study areas. Then the horizontal dimension – left/right or given and new – will provide insights on what is perceived as given and new in the study areas. Thus, it will be interesting to see how these information structures are reproduced in the LL of the study areas given the fact that the study areas do not belong to the ‘western culture’ for which Kress and Van

Leeuwen's (1996/2006) Grammar of visual design is meant. .

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:47) further postulate that “visual structures do not simply reproduce the structures of ‘reality’. On the contrary, they produce images of reality which are bound up with interests of social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read. They are ideological.” This assertion is important to the study as it encapsulates two principal cornerstones of this investigation –structures of reality and interests of social institutions. If the visual structures can reproduce the structures of reality and also show interests of social institutions, then it will be possible to (re)construct the social structuring of languages in the study areas as these languages will be mirrored on the signs following interests of these social institutions. This is further guided by Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006:56) assertion that “the producers of an image have their interests in making the visual sign, and this makes the meaning of the image quite specific for the producer; it colours in and makes specific the abstract meanings that derive from the inherent properties of shapes and from the histories of their cultural uses.” And Kress (2005: 75) on the aforesaid could only add that “[f]or writers as for readers the sign is thus always inescapably an effect of social factors. Their interest in the matching of signified with signifier is the expression of their social histories, their assessment of present social contingencies and of the communicational environment including relations of power or solidarity.” In fact, in a critique, Forceville (1999:170) points out that Kress and Van Leeuwen “are committed to the idea that pictures reveal ideologies – a notion that is generally shared in an age permeated by the postmodernist awareness that no representation of reality can ever lay claim to being neutral....” This study therefore shall be mindful of the subjectivities and ideological biases embedded in the LL.

Thus Kress's (2005) reference to the communicational environment, social histories and relations of power ties in neatly with Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) argument

on the importance of ideology in the (re)production and consumption of images – the belief that visual structures produce both the structures of reality and reproduce images of reality which are bound up with interest of social institutions that produce them, circulate them and read them. Thus, signs mirror the social histories of both the sign makers and sign users, which would potentially reflect language choices and use in a transformative way within these emplacements. Kress (2005: 76) puts this idea as follows:

The social is in the sign; it is not a question of a correlation between an autonomously existing sign, and an external social reality, of a context around the sign, or around the text as complex sign. The sign is fully social, the social/semiotic agents expressing their sense of the social world at a particular moment, and of their affective response in it.

Having highlighted the major tenets of the guiding theory in this study, it is thus important to comment further on multimodality. Silvestre (2008:738) asserts that “[t]his term is used to refer to the diversity of semiotic resources of various kinds that co-occur, interlay and entangled in the work of textual meaning-making”. This conception is based on the realization that “language is not self-contained system of communication but rather requires reference to other systems to make sense of the world, namely body language and images, among many others”. Here, one envisages texts with images as Kress (2005: 67) acknowledges the “idea that communication and representation always draw on a multiplicity of semiotic modes of which language may be one.” When it comes to such texts, it is important to reiterate and underscore the caution by Silvestre (2008:738) that “...images are not merely illustrations of texts, as they are traditionally understood, but they have their own grammar of constructing meanings, and therefore, they should be understood as a meaning-making process and product in our semiotic system: language.” It is no wonder Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 41) formulated a set of hypotheses, and we list only four here:

(a) Human societies use a variety of modes of representation;

- (b) Each mode has, inherently, different representational potential, different potential for meaning-making;
- (c) Each mode has specific social valuation in particular social contexts
- (d) A written text, involves more than language: it is written on something, on some material... and it is written with something...; with letters formed as types of font, influenced by aesthetic, psychological, pragmatic and other considerations; and with layout imposed on the material substance....

Based on this, Iedema makes a very useful observation about the cause for which to incorporate multimodality in studies that focus on meaning-making. He observes that

the trend towards a multimodal appreciation of meaning making centres around two issues: first, the de-centring of language as favoured meaning making; and second, the re-visiting and blurring of the traditional boundaries between and roles allocated to language, image, page layout, document design, and so on.... This shift and change has been necessitated by a deep realization that our semiotic landscape is becoming more and more populated with complex social and cultural discourse practices. (2003:33).

Iedema recognizes the complex nature of the modes of communication arising from the constant readjustment to the ever-changing society as a result of the increase in “electronic communication, the globalization of trade and commerce, and the increasingly political-cultural mix of countries...” as a critical force in relooking at the text in multimodal aspect (Iedema 2003:33; cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:34).

4.3 Social Semiotic Approach

Kress’ (2010) *Multimodality, a Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication* shifts the grounds of the earlier conceptualization of multimodality yet further by proposing ‘design’ as “a theory of communication and meaning, based – at least potentially – on equitable participation in the shaping of the social and semiotic world.” Kress sees design as a departure from communication as a convention that is socially regulated to communication that fosters agency. This is

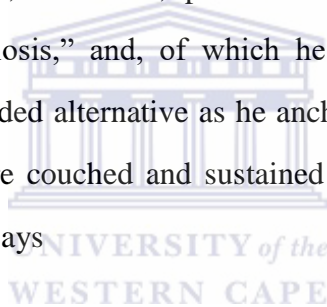
principally because ‘design’ foregrounds the individual interlocutor in realizing his or her “interest in the world” within “a social-semiotic theory of multimodality” (Kress 2010:6). All this comes to bear due, in part, to the entrenched effects of globalization, which have conspicuously led to a shift of many social aspects of life and practices from permanence and stability to provisionality and instability (Kress 2010). The shift is not only in physicality of the environment as can be expressed in gentrification of the place, but also in meaning. Kress (2010:12) relates and implicates globalization by stating that “external factors interact with the meanings, values and practices of the ‘local site’ – differentially therefore in different places. Semiotically speaking, this leads to constant change, transformation, ‘blending’.” The phenomenal force of globalization has, thus, sparked off a metaphor of mobility, which has gained great currency within the modern era of communication as epitomized by such artefacts as ‘mobile technologies’ (Kress 2010).

The notion of metaphor in Kress’ (2010) social semiotics plays a central role in what he calls ‘naming’. He in fact equates signs to metaphors by advancing that

[a]ll signs are metaphors. All signs are always newly made. So metaphors-as-signs are always newly made, in specific environments, for specific audiences and purposes, arising from the rhetor’s interest, the designer’s use of available semiotic resources in an awareness of the requirements of the social environment. (Kress 2010:30).

Again, here as will be seen below, Kress (2010) maintains that signs materialize societal knowledge, beliefs and values for specific audiences and purposes. He cites as an example the notion of multimedia to illustrate how it has been used as a metaphor to represent not only writing, but speech and images. But also problematizes the ‘naming’ itself of multimedia as it may not be clear as to what its signifier may be especially in our contemporary society accentuated by advanced technological affordances.

Further still, Kress' (2010) social semiotic approach to contemporary communication problematizes the notion of meaning-making by decolonizing meaning from the aspect of grammar as previously conceptualized and appropriating it to semiotic resources. This he does because, he conceives of grammar "as fixed and highly constrained regularity" (Kress 2010:6): albeit, he views a semiotic resource as a relatively unfixed resource. By this, Kress (2010), shows a discontentment to the earlier analytical tools used in formal grammar which always treated and viewed communication or, indeed, language as being relatively stable, rule bound, settled and compartmentalized. Arising from his observation and realization of the constraint the traditional conceptualization of grammar has had on communication and language, in general, Kress (2010:7) beckons that "adequate theoretical tools are needed to deal both with the present social, economic, political and cultural situation and the resultant conditions for semiosis," and, of which he believes, his social semiotic approach can provide the needed alternative as he anchors his theory on flexible and malleable resources which are couched and sustained by the culture and history of their users. Little wonder, he says



[r]esources are constantly remade; never willfully, arbitrarily, anarchically but precisely, in line with what I need, in response to demand, some 'prompt' now – whether in conversation, in writing, in silent engagement with some framed aspect of the world, or in inner debate. (Kress 2010:8).

What Kress (2010) is saying forces us to perceive semiotic resources not as pre-arranged creations, but as socially made and couched in the "socially transformative force of interaction" (p. 8). And, also, to recognize in very clear way that individuals are socially formed and use signs "made with very different means, in very many different modes" to construct meanings "using culturally available semiotic resources, which have been shaped by the practices of members of social groups and cultures" (Kress 2010:10). He thus, pulls together society and culture in which he sees society as the ground upon which social actors act and culture as an outgrowth of social (action) practice ongoing in society. As a consequence of this

constant social action, practices are being produced and reproduced and changed by their use. As this happens, Kress (2010:14) argues that meanings are also produced, which are part of culture – a resource which is “made, produced, remade, ‘transformed’... It is ‘the social’ which generates ‘the cultural’ and, in that, ‘the semiotic’.” Additionally, as if to underpin the argument yet further, Kress (2010) conclusively records that “the semiotic work of interaction is always socially productive, projecting and proposing possibilities of social and semiotic forms, entities and processes which reorient, refocus, and ‘go beyond’, by extending and transforming what there was before the interaction.”

Further still, Kress (2010) as many postmodernist thinkers, upholds the notion of subjectivity. He argues that “[t]he subjectivity of ‘consumer’, embedded in market-led conceptions of choices, has fundamental effects on possibilities and practices of communication when contrasted with those of ‘citizen’.” The citizens follow social conventions as provided for in regulatory documents by government or those in power. On the contrary, consumers are oriented to choice, hence the subjectivity (Kress 2010). In effect, Kress’ subjectivity rests on the readers’ empowerment to reorder or redesign the presented material to fit their interest as can be seen in his model that: “material is presented; and readers/viewers shape their ordering of that material” (p.38). He demonstrates this by citing two examples which show consumers’/users’ interests: the visitors to a homepage of the virtue world and the visitors to the museum. In both these instances, the visitors display “principles of selection by transformation – changes in ordering and configurations of elements within one mode; and by transducting – the change from meaning expressed in one mode to meaning expressed in another mode” (Kress 2010:43), and this accounts for provisionality in communication and consumption of the multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone in this study.

What Kress’ (2010) social semiotic approach foregrounds is the fact that different cultures represent, construct and consume semiotic resources differently. Despite this

realization, however, Kress (2010:10) notes that cultures have shared principles: “(1) that signs are motivated conjunctions of form and meaning; that conjunction is based on (2) the interest of the sign-maker; using (3) culturally available resources.” Whereas Kress (2010) maintains the postmodernist thinking of ideology in every production and materialization of signs, the thought which Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) champion and popularize in their grammar of visual design, Kress’ (2010) social semiotics moves away rather cautiously from confining his work to the Western culture only by suggesting that there are shared principles across cultures with regard to meaning-making and semiotic resources. Which is why he (Kress) asserts that in constructing a theory about social semiotics and terminologies to go with, “specific aspects of mode...which capture what is semiotically general to all modes in that society and to modes even across cultures; even though what is general is always articulated distinctively in a specific mode” (Kress 2010:13).

From the foregoing, it is clear that Kress’ (2010) social semiotics does not depart in drastic and remarkable ways from such theorizing as advanced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) on how semiotic resources are constructed, used and can be used in meaning-making. This can be seen from what Kress (2010) holds as the heart of his social semiotics. He concludes that:

the study of modes in multimodal social semiotics focuses on the material, the specific, the making of signs now, in this environment for this occasion. In its focus on the material it focuses on the bodilyness of those who make and remake signs in constant semiotic (inter)action. It represents a move away from high abstraction to the specific, the material; from the mentalistic to the bodily.

Kress’ (2010) emphasis on “now” forces us to conceive of his approach to social semiotic as synchronic rather than diachronic. At the same time, however, his attestation to remaking of signs points us to the historical perspective of meaning making, hence tying his social semiotics to the socio-cultural practices of the society from which these meanings arise (see Kress 2010: 13, Kress and Van Leeuwen

1996/2006). Moreover, the concept of remaking of signs shares, rather tangentially, with the idea of repurposing and re-contextualization, at least as understood in this study. Kress' conceptualization of social semiotics, would thus – conclusively - lead us to associate the idea of 'making and remaking of signs' and the semiotic sequence of attention → framing → interpretation to Iedema's (2003) resemiotization.

4.4 Resemiotization

Iedema's (2003) work is important to this study as it historicizes meaning making through the process of resemiotization. In his conception of resemiotization, Iedema (2003: 41) states that it "is about how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next." Thus Iedema's resemiotization is preoccupied with at least two things: to trace both the socio-semiotic histories and transitions of meaning making across practices. To this end, Iedema (2003: 48) stresses that "I seek to balance the object-analytical intent of multimodality with one that favours socio-historical exploration and understanding of the complex processes which constitute and surround that which is our focus of interest." In essence, Iedema's discontentment with multimodality lies in the fact that most multimodal approaches to discourse analysis ignore the material and historicized dimensions of representation. He calls for the inclusion of these aspects. How meaning is reconfigured and re-contextualized at any given stage of the discourse. He exemplifies this aspect by showing how a child's problem in a classroom situation is finally institutionalized by codification – a situation which was initially between the teacher and the pupil only, but through many stages or practices within the school system, is reconfigured, reinterpreted until finally by management. Such a process converges both the material and socio-semiotic histories which have been referred to as resemiotization.

Of interest, therefore, will be to trace how signs rematerialize history and how the material content of the sign mediates meaning from context to context. Further, it

would seem Bakhtin's (1981) concept of metamorphosis is somewhat linked to Iedema's (2003) resemiotization and studies theorizing re-purposing and mobility of text and cultural artefacts. It is argued that metamorphosis "helps explain how a particular historical event can bring about internal transformations of our concept of an object or idea into a new form" (Yang, 2005: 5). It brings time and space into focus as one considers critical historical development just as Iedema's resemiotization insists on tracing both the socio-semiotic histories and transitions of meaning making across practices.

Thus, Iedema's (2003) resemiotization as couched in this study is seen to be similar to both Bakhtin's (1981) metamorphosis and Bolter and Grusin's (2000) Semiotic Remediation. In fact, Banda and Mambwe (2013:4) in their discussion of *Fighting HIV/AIDS through popular Zambian music* draw upon Prior, Hengst, Roozen and Shipka (2006: 734) as they point out that Semiotic Remediation (SRM) "as a practice, draws attention to the diverse ways that humans' and non-humans' semiotic performances (historical or imagined) are represented and reused across modes, media, and chains of activity." In very precise way, therefore, SRM accounts for the recycling, repurposing and recontextualisation of semiotic resources to produce diverse messages to suit both the context of use and the appropriation of meaning (cf. Banda and Mambwe 2013). And, in this way, SRM will be productive for this particular study especially used together with Iedema's (2003) resemiotization.

Additionally, and arising from the above assertion, semiotic resources read as text are an outgrowth of various ideological and multisemiotic combinations which are constantly being shifted from context to context in what is called re-contextualization/decontextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990). For example, Weiss and Wodak (2003: 15) write that "[a] text is rarely the work of any one individual, but often shows traces of different discourses contending and struggling for dominance." Seen from this perspective, "texts relate to other texts, and relate to

the social and historical conditions of their production” (Blackledge 2010: 146). Moreover, taking after Kress (2000), Blackledge (2010: 146) argues that “not only are texts constituted of other texts, but they are inevitably transformations of those other texts.” While acknowledging a thin line between Blackledge’s view of re-contextualisation and Iedema’s resemiotization, it is important to note some overlapping ideology useful to our study. For instance, our study borrows the idea that “in the process of re-contextualisation, social events are not merely repeated. Rather, they are transformed in their new setting, perhaps through the addition of new elements, or through the deletion of others” (Blackledge 2010: 147), as

Re-contextualisation always involves transformation, and that transformation is dependent on the goals, values and interests of the context into which the discursive practice is being re-contextualized. (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 96).

Thus, the work by Iedema (2003) and Blackledge (2010) converge in an interesting way and promise to offer useful insight into meaning making of signage across the LL, as semiotic materials are constantly being reused, repurposed and circulated from context to context.

4.5 Geosemiotics

Finally, the study of language on signs in public space does not only index multilingualism whether individual or societal, but also, invariably, opens up a very productive field of geosemiotics. Thus, Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) *Discourses in Place: Language in the material world* offers useful analytical toolkits to the study of signs. They have stretched Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Images* by proposing geosemiotics. In their literature, they look upon geosemiotics as “the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:2). They emphasize the fact that signs draw upon their meaning based on how they are placed in the material world – indexicality.

They also, postulate that “once the sign is in place it is never isolated from other signs in its environment There is always a dynamic among signs, an intersemiotic, interdiscursive dialogicality” (2003: 23). The notion of dialogicality somewhat stands opposed to Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) notion of the ‘non-dependence’ of an image on the text for interpretation. One would assume that the co-existence of multiple semiotic resources on a sign should, by interaction, draw on each other’s semiotic potential tangentially or otherwise just as the concepts of multivocality and intertextuality seem to suggest in the Bakhtinian literature with regard to the production and consumption of the text (Bakhtin 1981). Thus, the logical interaction between signs and semiotic resources within a sign should lead to some sort of dependence even though Kress (2010: 1) holds that “[e]ach mode does a specific thing: image *shows* what takes too long to read, and writing *names* what would be difficult to *show*. Colour is used to *highlight* specific aspects of the overall message.”

Additionally, Scollon and Scollon (2003:22) point out that geosemiotics is made of three components, namely, the interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics. The current study will draw upon these three components - interaction order, visual semiotics and the place semiotics. The interaction order focuses on the relations between the represented participants and the viewer; between the represented participants within the picture; and between the producer of the image or semiotic display and the participants which are represented in the display (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 95); while the visual semiotics adopts Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Images*, as discussed above. The third component has to do with place semiotics, which is further divided into code preference, inscription, materiality and emplacement.

With regards to code preference, Scollon and Scollon (2003) distinguish between symbolization and indexicality. They argue that “[a] code may be chosen because it indexes the point in the world where it is placed – this is an Arabic speaking

community – or because it symbolizes a social group because of some association with that group” (2003: 119). They further guide that when more than one code is used in a picture, “...the preferred code is located above the secondary or peripheral codes if they are aligned vertically; if they are aligned horizontally the preferred code is located in the left position and peripheral code is located in the right position” (2003: 120). If the preferred code has been centered, the peripheral code is placed around the periphery. Inscription has to do with the means by which the sign has been written. And this too conveys meaning. Linked to inscription is the concept of materiality. On the conception of materiality, Scollon and Scollon (2003:138) point out that “we would certainly expect permanence and durability to be conveyed through heavier, more durable, and more expensive sign material. It is the material itself producing this indexicality.” It is not clear the extent to which materiality is influenced by economic factors, and this, too, is of interest to the study. Then there is the idea of emplacement - “[w]hen and where language appears on the world also works within a system of meaning, in this case conveying authorization” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:151). Thus, geosemiotics will, especially with regard to code preference and placement, help to systematically show the social structuring of languages, and at the same time, speak to historical factors, globalization, attitudes and policy matters in the general manifestation of the LL of the study areas. Thus as Backhaus (2007: 39) concludes:

Scollon and Scollon’s approach to language on signs highlights the interrelatedness of language and space and how they affect each other in the meaning-making process that is in the linguistic landscapes.

It is worth noting here that studies such as the one by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) draw on the general theorizing of semiotics the origins of which can be traced back to both the Saussurean semiology and Peircean Semiotics (see Culler 1981/2001; Al-Sharafi 2004; Van Leeuwen 2005; Berger 2010).

4.6 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has discussed multimodality as used by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), in which other semiotic resources have been privileged to the effect that language has been de-centred. Images, icons, inscriptions and language all form what constitutes a multisemiotic system. This shift is associated with the advancement in technologies, which have given rise to the multimodal material in any communicative event in late modernity. The creation of signs is also premised on the postmodern ideology of subjectivity which argues for invested interest of the sign-maker, as well as the consumer of the sign. Thus, meanings are subjective and are always being remade based on the consumers' sociocultural histories. This conception has led to think of meaning-making as resemiotization – Iedema (2003) – where meaning-making is historicized from context to context and stage to stage. The remaking of meaning resembles the Bakhtinian notions of metamorphosis and multivocality as well as Bolter and Grusin's (2000) semiotic remediation, where semiotic resources are repurposed and reused for multiple meaning –making for different contexts by different social actors. The Chapter further brings out the contribution of Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotics by which meanings of signs are interpreted based on their dialectical relationship with the location of emplacement and other signs within the locality. The Chapter began by historicizing the notion of semiotics beyond Saussure and Pierce.

The next Chapter, Chapter Five, discusses ethnography research as the research methodology.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH DESIGN

5.0 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, the theoretical toolkit upon which the study rests was discussed. In this chapter, I present the guiding research methodology – an ethnographic approach. The Chapter details in step-by-step fashion how the study was conceptualized, which includes the sort of data used in the study, where the study was situated and by extension, where the data were collected and how they were analysed. It should be mentioned from the outset that a qualitative ethnography was used in the study. However, due to the persistent numerical nature of linguistic landscape tokens, a concurrent nested strategy was adopted which allowed for the domination of ethnography as a guiding research method but at the same time allowed a minimum use of quantitative data to address a specific research objective that feeds into language distribution and visibility. Thus, two types of data were gathered: numerical (digital images) as well as themes/description based on individual generalizations and digital images read as multimodal texts.

5.1 Ethnographic Research

In pursuance of the research objectives presented in Chapter One above, the digital images of the linguistic landscape (LL) of the study areas were collected coupled with interviews and review of policy and demographic reports and these constitute the ethnographic methodology employed in this study. Creswell (2003) look upon ethnographic designs as qualitative research procedures aimed at describing, analyzing, and interpreting a culture-sharing group's shared patterns of behaviour, beliefs, and language that develop over time. In this vein, "[e]thnography units both process and product, fieldwork and written text", for which "[t]here is general agreement that culture is not visible or tangible but is constructed by the acts of ethnographic writing" (Schwandt 1997: 44). This means that the sociocultural aspect of the people emerges from the text about which the society is written. The

implication of this phenomenon is best captured in the submission that the theory, ethnography and writing are intricately linked such that together “they create the conditions that locate the social inside the text” (Denzin 1997: xii). The aforesaid, forces Denzin (1997: xi) to conceive of ethnography as “a form of inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and those written about.” Seen in this way, the ethnographic methodology used in this study hoped to yield four types of data, namely: (a) content of the signage and their semiotic potential (b) neutral (objective) observations by the researcher of the LL by observing signage and the material from which they are made as well as their specific emplacement (c) individual member’s experience (sociocultural and historical) about the production and the consumption of the LL and (d) observer’s interactions with members to foreground language use, distribution and place and meaning making. These four types of data were to neatly address the research objectives about the social structuring of language (distribution and hierarchicalization), the differential effect about the kind of signs between the urban and rural-scapes as well as their emplacement. Thus, the ethnographic data collected in the study related to the mobility of semiotic resources and sociocultural symbols and artefacts across the linguistic landscapes of ethnolinguistic, informal and formal boundaries.

It is important to provide, albeit briefly, a justification for adopting an ethnographic research design for the study. Firstly, we note that the enduring process of data collection in ethnography renders the study valid and reliable. On this matter, Scollon and Scollon (2003: 17) point out that these sort of data collected under extended participant observation over a long period of time at the site “do not only bring concrete and vivid reality but also the validity and reliability of any scientific pursuit” because of the four general steps and procedures followed in any ethnographic enterprise – field work, participant observation, strange making and contrastive observation. Rather than speculating on the happenings, the ethnographer conducts fieldwork usually in a single social situation. That is, the ethnographer selects a real

place with actors and activities, in which place he/she asks ethnographic questions in order to collect ethnographic data by observation, participation and interviews. The data is recorded ethnographically by taking field notes and photographs, among others ways of documenting the observable activities or patterns of the daily life of the community (Spradley 1980). It is in this light that O'Reilly (2005: 3) points out that

[e]thnography at least is iterative-inductive research, drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agent, within the context of their daily lives (and culture), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role, and that views humans as part object/part subject.



Figure 5.1: Family of Methods in Ethnographic Design

The framing of ethnography as a family of methods by O'Reilly (2005) above forces us to draw on both quantitative and qualitative data due to the fact ethnographic methodology collapses different methods together in order to collect a range of authentic data. I will turn to the quantitative and qualitative data as used in this study here below.

In stressing the usefulness of the ethnographic research, Low, Taplin and Scheld (2005:179) point out that the ethnographic approaches “are broader and include the historical as well as the political context of the site as a means of understanding

contemporary sociocultural patterns and cultural groups.” This dimension of the ethnographic research which brings to the study both the political and the historical afforded me the chance to trace the evolution of semiotic resources in the linguistic landscape (LL) of Lusaka and Livingstone in both time and space. The political dimension attests to the influence of the top-down construction of the LL in the public space, accounting for dominance, contestation and perpetuity of established literacy practice of the study area. The historical dimension was resourceful in as far as constructing of the multimodal LL was concerned in diachronic way as well as in underpinning the demographic flows which feed into translocal as well as transnational mobility. In fact, Peck and Banda (2014) employed the ethnographic methodology to historicize the enduring nature of the linguistic landscape of Observatory in Cape Town both in time and space. This principle holds true for this methodological design as well. For example, the artefacts in the museum were read as instances of multisemioticity and juxtaposition while presenting the diachronic perspective of Zambia during the colonial times. These artefacts could only be read as semiotic resources only as the ethnographic approach afforded me the means of understanding contemporary sociocultural patterns and cultural groups that produce these artefacts.

Scollon and Scollon (2003) bring into spotlight how ethnography is able to account for both synchronic and diachronic data. They point out that an ethnographic approach helps situate the study within a scientific paradigm as such an approach is systematic and therefore eliminates or minimizes error in the collection as well as the analysis of data irrespective of time and space. On this observation, Blommaert (2012: 30) adds that Scollon and Scollon see ethnography as systematic “by means of theorization of embodiment in the notion of ‘the historical body’, and by a theorization of space as agentive and non-neutral.” The inclusion of the historical perspective shifts ethnography to “structural and systemic regularities in interpretation” (Blommaert 2012: 30). What this means is that ethnography no longer

restricts itself to synchronic data alone. It has developed the capacity to draw on diachronic data, thereby historicizing space as well as the social actors acting on the physical space. Previously, it was held that ethnography could only be used in research that “depends on data drawn from a bounded set of human encounters in real space and time. The ethnographer and his/her ‘informant’ interact, like all humans, in a contextually specific space-time which...defines the outcome of such interactions” (Blommaert 2012: 30).

Contrary to this overshadowing background, recent theorizing about ethnography has revealed the capacity of this methodology to account for meanings and actorhood removed both in space and time by depending on the data drawn from historically based sources. In this way, the ethnographer has been freed from the constraints of depending on synchronic data alone. Precisely, the recordings, fieldnotes, as well as any form of data collected by any means can be generalized. And this is premised not only on the strength arising from the fact that “ethnography draws its data from real-world moments of intersubjective exchange in which the ethnographer and the informant are both sensitive to the contextual conditions of [the] exchange”, but also on the witty reintroduction of history as a real category of analysis where the ethnographer connects the past and the present (Blommaert 2012: 31). Such an ethnographic analysis which draws on the blend of the past and the present, for example, the interpretation of intertextuality - transcends a mere borrowing and re-using of ‘text’ in the traditional sense of the term. Instead, the text is reshaped, reordered, reframed from one social world of usage into another one. It is this nexus which reshapes and dominates Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) ethnography and by the same token, the current study.

This nexus is premised on the cyclical nature of discourses in which the ethnographic material is resemiotized, thereby extending “historical itinerary of action, practice, narrative, authorization, certification, metonymization, objectivization and

technologization or reification” (Scollon 2008: 233). This explains Scollon and Scollon’s preoccupation about the methodology they hoped to roll out, which is:

a more general ethnographic theory and methodology which can be used to analyze the relationships between discourse and technology but also place this analysis in the broader context of the social, political and cultural issues of any particular time. (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 7).

Seen in this way, Scollon and Scollon’s work, though using a synchronic approach as signage are photographed in a snapshot of one moment in space and time, the nexus is historically loaded because every series of events draw on their sociocultural and historical ‘situatedness’ of use. Framed in this way, Blommaert (2012: 44) concludes that “whenever we ethnographically investigate a synchronic social act, we have to see it as the repository of a process of genesis, development, transformation” and, therefore, both the bodies (actors) and space should be seen as repositories of histories of experience, which are “historically organized, ordered and patterned.”

It is this historical angle of ethnography which privileges the ethnographic research design to produce “a complete cultural description of a site, as well as descriptions of interconnected nonlocal communities and relevant adjacent sites” (Low, Taplin and Scheld (2005:179). By bring in ‘interconnected nonlocal communities’ into perspective, the ethnographic approach enabled me to account for and underpin the presence and the effects of the nonlocal social actors, which the study refer to as transnational and translocal flows within the urban- and rural-scapes of the study areas. The capacity of ethnography to capture the existence of nonlocal communities brings a unique insight into the understanding of the genesis of the circulation of semiotic resources as ethnography promises to place these human and capital flows in both time and space. Being mindful of this unique parameter of ethnography, the researcher was able to collect data that speak to the mobility and circularity of both social actors and semiotic resources, some of which were reducible to sociocultural artefacts.

Additionally, the strength of ethnographic research design can be seen in its capacity to focus on both the group and the individual particularly so because:

Physical space is also social, cultural and political space: a space that offers, enables, trigger, invites, prescribes, proscribes, policies or enforces certain patterns of social behaviour; a space that is never no man's land but always *somebody's* space; a *historical* space, therefore, full of codes, expectations, norms and traditions; and space of *power* controlled by as well as controlling people. (Blommaert 2012: 7).

Framed after Blommaert's (2012) observation about the physical space, studies that foreground LL, the production of the multimodal LL are viewed as both objective and subjective. Thus, by focusing on the group's participation in the production and consumption of the multimodal LL, an ethnographic approach espouses the objective construction of the LL. On the other hand, by focusing on the individual, this type of research foregrounds the individual's subjectivity which is seen in poststructuralism (cf. Block 2006). Normally the individual subjectivity is captured by allowing the individual to tell a story about self using the 'active interview'. The individual is seen as an equal player with the rest of other actors in the commodification of the multimodal LL. As is shown by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), individual sign makers are normally influenced by their personal ideology which oftentimes can be seen on the signage, representing the sign maker's subjectivity. Seen in this way, therefore, our ethnography as applied to this study, conflates together individual agency as well as the social structure in the production and consumption of the multimodal LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. To achieve this, the researcher was mindful of the presence of individualized representation as mirrored on the signs as well as the collective voice or representation of the locals for which the signage is emplaced. This meant adopting data collection methods which allowed the researcher to be part of the research as a participant observer while being objective as discussed below.

The desire to employ ethnography to the study was further accentuated by the benefits arising from the degree of involvement of the researcher. Low, Taphin and Scheld (2005) remind us that the researcher's involvement in an ethnographic research is moderate, hence allowing for objective and impartial judgment/or conclusion. In this vein, conclusions are drawn from observing, in an objective way, individuals or the groups under investigation. As is characteristic of ethnography, the idea of participant observation takes a central role in data collection. Here the ethnographer, albeit detached, becomes the insider who charts face-to-face relationships with the indigenous population in order that the data collected project, in a way, the natives' own worldview (Johnstone 2000). Perhaps, being mindful of Johnstone's (2000) call about the ethnographer's involvement, Gray (2003: 21) footnotes that "[i]n a good ethnographic project the researcher can be said to be entering into a range of dialogues" with the subject of his research and different theoretical perspectives. Such dialogues are accomplished through interviews and research data, respectively. Arising from this critical insight about the moderate involvement of the researcher, it was easy to collect data by means such as interviews as well as taking images of the LL without influencing the outcome. This afforded me the opportunity to construct the LL based on the cultural motivations, norms, values, intentions, symbols and meanings of the signs and their emplacement as provided by the public space and the social actors themselves.

5.2 Paradigm Shift in LL Research Methodology

Until fairly recently, studies on LL were predominately informed by quantitative data. Torkington (2009: 125), for example reminds us that "[t]he study of LL to date has been largely driven by quantitative methods, usually by counting and classifying all the public signs in a specific area of the city according to the language(s) used and the producers of sign." Scholars such as Backhaus (2006, 2007) and Huebner (2006) have all applied quantitative methods yielding such results as to account for, among other things, the spread of English language premised on the fact that English has become a

lingua franca, especially in tourist destinations, but also that it carries a symbolic value as well as being a language of international prestige. Using the hindsight, the current study departs from earlier works by drawing on both the quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data are those formed by the digital images of the LL collected by the digital camera which have been used to feed into the social structuring of language, specifically the distribution and the hierarchicalization of languages. Some of the digital images, interviews as well as policy and demographic reports constitute qualitative data analysed as the multimodal LL.

The justification to include the data from interviews as well as analyzing digital images as qualitative data has been based on the methodological deficiencies that have been noted in LL that of “superficial, ‘horizontal’ and distributional image of multilingualism” (Blommaert and Huang (2010:5) because of the overreliance on quantitative data. They believe, however, (Blommaert and Huang, 2010) that “...signs can tell us a lot about the users of the space, how users interacts with signs, how users influence and are influenced by them”. Additionally, Torkington (2009) reveals that “[w]hilst it is useful to know how much [a language like English] is visible at a given time in a particular public space, it is also pertinent to examine the nature of the texts themselves and to ask why this particular text is in this particular place, at this particular time, in this particular language.”

Thus, the situational context as well as the interactional context in which the LL and the signs themselves are embedded ought to be examined in order to capture what Torkington (2009: 127) refers to as “the collective identities and ideological orientations of the social groups that make up the community in question.” Only qualitative data borne by ethnographic methodology can aptly reveal this as “[q]ualitative methods of research are based on the premise that, when it comes to understanding human experience, the separation between researcher and the researched, between the subject and object, is a ‘fiction’” (Hunter 2004: 2). What this

means is that qualitative methods draw on subjective individual experiences whose meanings are too complex to be understood within the quantitative research design which normally operate on the binary true/false assumptions that are reducible to statistics and percentages. Therefore, following the new trend in LL studies, the proposed study did not only use quantitative data but largely depended on qualitative methodology and analysis to specifically address the research objectives. The new trends that have used (material) ethnography and qualitative data include (cf. Peck and Banda 2014; Blommaert and Huang 2010; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009), among others. Still, the inclusion of qualitative data in LL studies has been re-echoed by a host of scholars in recent years: Weber and Horner 2012: 179; Ben-Said 2010: 65-6; Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 15; Lou 2010 and Malinowski 2009.

Notice also that I use the expression ‘quantitative data’ instead of ‘quantitative methodology’. This use is calculated and theoretically invested. That is, the extent to which the quantitative data have been used in this study does not warrant referring to the methodology used as a ‘mixed method proper’. The quantitative data is only embedded in the overall qualitative-ethnographic driven study. For such unbalanced combination of methods in mixed method research design, scholars have proposed what they term as a ‘concurrent nested model’ in mixed method, of which Creswell (2003: 249) says

Can be identified by its use of one data collection phase, during which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously. Unlike the traditional triangulation model, a nested approach has a predominant method that guides the project. Given less priority, the method (quantitative or qualitative) is embedded, or nested, within the predominant method (qualitative or quantitative). This nesting may mean that the embedded method addresses a different question than the dominant method.

What Creswell (2003) is saying about a ‘concurrent nested model’ within a mixed method design holds true for the nature of the method adopted and adapted for this study, especially as it relates to data analysis. (I discuss this aspect in detail in the section about data analysis). I have used qualitative ethnographic design as the

guiding research design while the quantitative data have only been used sparingly to address specific research questions. Thus, the use has been necessitated by the fact that while the study is informed by (qualitative) ethnography, the study could not resist completely the numerical dimension of the LL tokens in order to get a more objective feel of the LL as it relates to linguistic code choices and preferences in an attempt to account for the social structuring of language; precisely, the distribution and visibility of languages in the research sites. On account of this, it is important to point out that the use of the quantitative data has nothing to do with validating or corroborating findings from qualitative data nor offsetting weaknesses which some scholars think are inherent within one method (Creswell 2003). I believe ethnographic design has evolved long enough to validity its own findings. Rather, as intimated earlier, the quantitative data are used to interpret a specific scenario in the study in a numerical way in order to forge a picture about the concentration of semiotic resources across public spaces in which the study is placed. Thus, the digital images of the LL which have been collected ethnographically are the same tokens which make up both the quantitative and qualitative data but are differentiated based on the analysis.

5.3 Epistemological Consideration

When choosing a research methodology, one is faced with two broad philosophical positions: positivism (post-positivism) and social constructivism (interpretive). The former perceives reality as objective and that this objective reality is independent of the observer (Creswell 2003). Proponents of this epistemological school of thought privilege prescribed, fixed and logical methods in an attempt to accurately capture this reality (Creswell 2003; Phillips and Burbules 2000). Recently, however, there has been a slight shift in emphasis. This shift in emphasis has given birth to post-positivism which “distances itself...from the strict epistemological position that a truly objective reality can be assessed and represented” (Walsham 1993: 5). In its current form, post-positivism is premised on two principal ideas: a) that

“interpretation should be derived directly from data observed” and b) that “data collection and analysis should, in some way, be systematic and transparent” (Walsham 1993: 5). Thus, deeply within post-positivism lies a firm realization that “we cannot be “positive” about our claims of knowledge when we study the behavior and actions of humans” (Creswell 2003: 7). It is under this epistemological position where one finds quantitative methodology, which strictly attempts to reduce any phenomenon to statistics and percentages (cf. Creswell 2003).

On the other hand, social constructivism/interpretive philosophical position stand opposed to positivism (post-positivism). The social constructivist/interpretive view holds that “our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers” (Walsham 1993: 5). What this means to a researcher is that one cannot hope to discover any objective reality out there which can be replicated by other researchers. This is premised on the fact that individual actors in a given social context have diverse personal experiences which, when interpreted, give rise to deeper meaning and multiple realities as opposed to one objective reality. Little wonder, Mafofo and Banda (2014: 3) assert that interpretive paradigm (constructivism) “sees the social world as a process that is created by individuals [in which] social reality...is regarded as a network of assumptions and inter-subjectively shared meanings.” Premised on this realization of the elusive nature of reality, Danzin (2010: 271) concedes that “objective reality will never be captured.” Thus, following social constructivism, qualitative methodologies emerged by the turn of the twentieth century in an attempt to respond to the concerns raised by social constructivists (see Creswell 2003).

Arising from the fact that the study relates to the mobility and the circularity of semiotic resources and sociocultural symbols and artefacts across the linguistic landscapes of ethnolinguistic and informal as well as formal boundaries, I had to lean towards a methodology which is built on a social constructivism/interpretive view and

qualitative ethnographic method was selected as it is couched within the social constructivism. Also, as discussed below, I used the recent technique of ‘walking narrative methodology’ (cf. Stroud and Jegels 2014). Notably, however, ethnographic research as always been about ‘walking’ – enmeshing oneself in the life of the people of whom the research is about.

Thus, framing our ethnographic research in social constructivism meant a rejection of seeing the world completely through prescribed and fixed method couched in positivism but rather seeing the social and symbolic world by “attending to many levels of practice through which meaning is generated, within particular social and cultural settings” (Gray 2003: 22). Equally important was the realization that the world in which social actors live is not predictable, which meant going out there to discover it backed by research questions which were more reflexive than rigid. In fact, Gray (2003: 23) remind us that there is a world hovering over ethnographies as it relates to the real and authentic, and all the ethnographer needs is to listen to and describe what people do in particular contexts so that he or she can get closer to the truth. In light of Gray’s (2003) call, Mafofo and Banda (2014: 3) conclude that “[t]he goal of interpretive research is thus to find the types of articulations or configurations of genres, discourses and styles, that is, the social structuring of semiotic difference or variation in social contexts.” Thus, by conducting interviews and observing the public spaces upon which social actors act, I was able to capture and construct the LL of my research sites based on the observable and recurring articulations in the public spaces.

5.4 Implementation of Ethnographic Research Methodology

Specifically, the ethnographic research methodology which includes methods and techniques used in data collection as well as the detailed selection and description of the research sites and how the data were analysed was implemented in this study to address specific research questions here below:

- (1) How is the social structuring of languages expressed in the LL of Lusaka and

Livingstone?

- (2) How is the regionalization of languages maintained, reproduced and contested in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone?
- (3) How is place-making and meaning-making accomplished across the linguistic landscapes of the urban and rural areas?
- (4) What kinds of signs are found in urban and rural spaces?
- (5) What reasons do sign makers give for emplacement of signs?

Therefore, the problem which this ethnographic methodology was employed to study relates to the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources as well as the commodification of cultural artefacts and symbols across the linguistic landscapes which form part of the ethno-linguistic, regional and national boundaries for consumption in the multimodal LL. This meant going beyond the usual quantitative analysis which so often limits the study to mere taxonomic arrangement and distribution of languages to underpin multilingualism. The ethnographic design which privileges subjective individual experiences, which are qualitative data, opened up a whole new range of meaning making processes embedded in the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone as well as a unique insight into the commodification, circularity and mobility of semiotic resources and sociocultural artefacts across the linguistic landscapes by reading the LL of these environs as a multimodal text. This meant collecting data in both urban- and rural-scapes in order to account for language distribution and visibility, differential effect in the kind (materiality) of and emplacement of signs as well as gaining insight into how regional languages are (re)produced, maintained and contested in the face of transnational/translocal mobility.

5.4.1 Data Collection

For a period of seven (7) months (spaced out as follows: June – September 2014 and November 2014 – January 2015) data (which include both the digital images of the

LL and interviews as well as demographic reports) were collected from the study areas, namely, Lusaka central business district, and the three peri-urban Townships of Lusaka which are Chipata, Kabanana and Bauleni, and two rural districts of Lusaka, Chongwe and Kafue. Outside Lusaka, the digital images of the LL of Livingstone urban and rural (chief Mukuni's area), Kazungula as well as the stretch from Zimba to Livingstone were taken. From each study area digital images of signs irrespective of their sizes were collected. The data were categorized according to these areas. The idea was to collect LL images from 12 sites and build an image data base of 1500 photographs.

5.4.2 The Description of the Location or Study Areas

While cognizant of Backhaus' (2007) observations about the problems that attend the data collection process, namely, the determination of the survey area(s), the survey items, and the linguistic properties, the study did not rely predominantly on use of roads or railway lines as orientation markers; it focused on market places and shopping areas as well as tourist sites for their LL, which the study envisaged to have been rich 'confluences' of languages and were easily delineated. The addition of rural spaces was particularly important to gain insight into the ways the locals produce and consume space, in the broader context of sign/place and meaning making.

The selection of these research sites of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces was backed by the fact that these areas are linguistically heterogeneous due to their geo-political significance to Zambia – Lusaka as capital city and Livingstone as a tourist capital. Thus, broadly, the two spaces promised to be more representative in terms of the demographic and the linguistic composition as they are home to both local and transnational population. The fluidity of the population promised flux, mobility and a unique disposition of the social actors to the languages in circulation. Given the nature of the study, spaces such as Lusaka and Livingstone offered unique impressions and insights into the production and

consumption of the LL. Additionally, but not overly critical was the fact that these spaces are familiar environs to the researcher as places of domicile, hence growth, work and sociocultural acculturation. This familiarity with the research sites, however, did not dissolve away the solid line of objectivity (strange making) during both data collection and data analysis. Rather, the researcher's personal appreciation of the life and cultural materialities of the research sites provided the relevant socio-historical and unique perceptions and impressions about the meaning making processes arising from the interview data, digital images, sociocultural artefacts, documents and observation. The study areas represent both urban- and rural-scapes as described here below.

5.4.2.1 Lusaka

Lusaka is the capital city of Zambia with a population of 1,747,152 according to the official census report of 2010 (CSO 2010). Its geo-political setting makes it as a cosmopolitan city with people of all races, and creed and from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds. In terms of settlement, Lusaka is divided into many townships and districts. Of these townships, the study focuses on three - Kabanana, Chipata and Bauleni. At the heart of Lusaka lies the central business district, which, too, forms part of the study area. Of the districts, the study focuses on Chongwe and Kafue. Chongwe is about 35Km east of the Lusaka central business district, and is home to people whose mother tongue is Soli but because it falls under Lusaka, Nyanja is the regional official language. Kafue is to the south of Lusaka central business district and it shares boundaries with Chikankata district of Southern province. It is equally prescribed Nyanja as the regional official language for the same reasons as given about Nyanja in Chongwe besides the national official language English. All these sites have been selected for their LL since there are some socio-economic and political activities in these areas. All the research sites boast of established business houses ranging from local to nonlocal establishments. This in turn entails a fluid and dynamic demographic composition. Thus, the selection of these research sites was

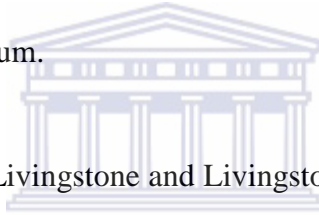
motivated by their potential to address the research questions, and hence, they were purposively sampled. It is important to note that from about 1991, Zambia in general and Lusaka in particular has witnessed unprecedented increase in both capital and human flows from outside its borders. Notably, the Asian world has tripled her interest in the Zambian mining industry as well as in the general business life of the nation. Particularly, the Chinese have permeated the clothing, infrastructure, electronics and poultry business of the country and their presence cannot be ignored or mistaken. The same can be said about the Indians as well as the Somalis, among many others. Lusaka has also to deal with local businessmen and women from different parts of the country, and normally the Central Business district and the market places are the confluences of all these businessmen and women whether local or nonlocal.

Thus, such spaces as described above, promised to yield telling results about the possible LL that one may find in Lusaka. Besides, such an LL was to provide unique perceptions and impressions about the mobility and circularity of the semiotic resources across the LL, thereby underpinning the social structuring of language as well as account for how the regional languages are (re)produced, maintained and contested in these environs.

5.4.2.2 Livingstone

Situated about 472km from Lusaka in the heart of Southern province, Livingstone is famous for the Victoria Falls and thus, home to tourists. In fact, it is Zambia's tourist capital. The 2010 census puts the population of Livingstone at 134, 349. The focus for the study was the LL of the central business district and the tourist resorts, especially within the vicinity of the falls, and the rural parts of Livingstone, namely, Mukuni village, the stretches between Livingstone andimba on the one hand and Livingstone and Kazungula on the other. The signs were collected here, too, since there are socio-economic and political activities in these areas that produce the LL.

As shown in Chapter One above, Livingstone district enjoys a privileged position on the geopolitical arena of Zambia as it is a border town with Zimbabwe besides being a tourist capital. The capital and human flows are thus constant as they respond to the ambience of the town as well as the promising capital investment and returns due to the availability of tourists. Because of this potential confluence of nationals – local and nonlocal, the LL was envisaged to respond to the fragility of the demographics constantly traversing the landscapes. Thus, by selecting these research sites one hoped to tap into the diverse semiotic resources (re)produced and set in motion by the mobile populace. The vicinities of the Victoria Falls promised to provide insight into the meaning making process based on code choice and the materiality of the signs. Equally important was the Livingstone museum. As a research site, the museum's historical perspective was materialized in the artefactual material displayed in different galleries of the museum.



The stretches from Zimba to Livingstone and Livingstone to Kazungula were selected to see whether signage and their semiotic resources could be influenced by borders between districts. These are long stretches of about 60km between them. Thus, by focusing on long stretches, I hoped to gain insight into the mobility and circularity of semiotic resources across the LL, thereby underpinning the social structuring of language as well as account for how the regional languages are (re)produced, maintained and contested in these environs.

5.5 Sampling of Informants

A sample is said to be a “subgroup of a population” (Frey et al. 2000: 125), which is understood as representative “taste” of a group (Berinstein 2003: 17). Both Frey (2000) and Berinstein (2003) imply having a sample that will foster representation. Beyond that, they, by implication, suggest that one may not hope to include the entire population of a given locality in the study. The use of the phrase “taste of a group”, by Berinstein (2003) further instantiates that such a sample should have the prototypical

characteristics of the population being studied. Arising from this, therefore, such a sample should be “representative in the sense that each sample unit will represent the characteristics of a known number of units in the population” (Lohr 1999: 3). Thus, governed by the said principles of what a sample should consist, I looked for a taste of group that would address my research questions using purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling is selecting a sample “on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims” (Babbie 1990: 97), in which the population is “non-randomly selected based on a particular characteristics” (Frey et al. 2000: 132). Thus, using a purposive sampling, semi-structured interviews were conducted to extract information from the business owners, passers-by (consumers), and ordinary people that put up ‘ambush’ advertisements/posters in order to get their impressions about the LL which they construct or consume. As Mugenda (1999:50, 83-84) remind us, “purposive sampling...allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study.” Thus I had to select the most productive sample from the population to respond to the research questions. As it is characteristic of ethnographic research, the ongoing interpretation of the data meant ongoing inclusion of data sources as well as the identifying the missing voice in the already collected ethnographic data. Additionally, sample size in (qualitative) ethnographically driven research is normally decided on the basis that the sample adequately answers the research questions up until new themes, categories and explanations cease to emerge from the data. This meant targeting a sample that was representative in terms of the research questions, and such a sample, therefore, had to be drawn from key stakeholders of the public spaces being studied.

Arising from the aforesaid, purposive sampling yielded a total of 8 informants representing the following population groups: (a) 1 informant from the local government for policy dimension on placement of signs; (b) 1 informant from Zambia

Telecommunications Company (Zamtel); (c) 3 informants from selected shop owners in rural and peri-urban - scapes; (d) 3 informants from business owners in urban – scapes. 15 informants from consumers were randomly selected during data collection.

The 23 informants account for the unstructured interview schedules which were conducted for this study. Specifically, the ethnographic interviews took place in the communities of the participants. This meant going right where these informants live/work, and for consumers, right where they were found during the data collection process by conducting a ‘walking narrative methodology’ (cf. Stroud and Jegels 2014) about the signage in the public space. The idea of conducting interviews with informants in their respective places of work and their active life (with regards to the consumers) was not only meant to foster the comfort needed when conducting interviews, but rather to avoid breaking their normal, established routine which was critical to data elicitation. Their natural environment acted as a natural stimulus. For example, shop owners were more authentic with illustrations arising from the immediate environment of their daily operation. The same was true concerning the consumers. This is premised on the belief that as a method of data collection, “interviews...provide in-depth data which is not possible to get using a questionnaire” (Muganda 1999: 34) and also the realization that “[e]verywhere about us in our day-to-day world we see the discourses which shape, manage, entice, and control our actions” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: x). As such, interviews needed to be conducted in places that would immediately elicit the required data from the informants. Thus the environment just as the text acted as a stimulus. In what follows, I discuss how I incorporated the recent development in (material) ethnography - the ‘walking narrative (interview) methodology’.

Stroud and Jegels (2014: 180) suggest ‘walking narrative methodology’ to account for the complex dynamics of place-making, which they argue, involves “the investment

of social and affective capital of individuals tied to, identifying themselves with or moving through a particular locale.” In turn, building on the work of Thrift (2007) and Pietikäinen et al. (2011), Stroud and Jegels (2014) further propose a methodological turn which emphasizes the performative nature of semiotic landscapes, and in which semiotic landscapes are seen as transmodal and corporeal in nature. They argue that consumption and production of semiotic landscapes is nascent and processual (Stroud and Jegels 2014). Citing Pietikäinen et al. (2011), they note that place making and visual space become consequences of human interactions, which also affect human activities. Thus, data collection involving semiotic resources foregrounds human agency, and sees ‘gaze’ and ‘talk’ as well as ‘walk’ as the indispensable artwork of research.

In executing the walking interview as one of the means of data collection, especially in rural-scapes, I would often ask for direction to ‘some’ known location within the (urban) and rural environs as a way of eliciting information about the construction and consumption of space (Stroud and Jegels 2014). The researcher would note how the individuals were constructing the landscape from socio-cultural and historical knowledge and memory, and to which elements or features they referred in order to navigate the place. Questions such as: “how do I get to the next next/shop/village?”; “how do I get to the chief’s palace/Shoprite/central Police?”; “how do you traverse the landscape without signage?” were used to elicit information from the dwellers of these environs.

Thus, the narration of place, how the direction was given and the features referred to when giving direction, provided useful insights into the production and consumption of signage in place. In essence, the data arose from interaction with the locals while traversing these spaces. The meanings the social actors on these rural-scapes apportioned to different semiotic features such as those without written language were noted during interaction. During such walks, the researcher came face to face with real situations in which semiotic resources in circulation were in use as social actors

interacted with their immediate surroundings as well as the ‘displaced’ environment in both time and space (cf. Stroud and Jegels 2014). In this way, the researcher witnessed and participated in the eventual (re-)construction and consumption of semiotics in place during the enmeshment of space/time, actors and the cultural materialities as well as the physical environment upon which the lived and (re-) imagined experiences and meanings come to bear.

Below I detail how interviews were conducted with business owners, consumers, sign makers, and policy makers.

5.5.1 Business Owners (sign owners)

I distinguished between corporate business and individually owned business on the one hand and urban and rural situatedness on the other hand. This distinction was not only important as it relates to the classification of information but also to help draw on the kind of signs and semiotic resources these businesses use as well as sign emplacement within their physical environment. With this information on the back of the researcher’s mind, it was necessary to conduct interviews right within the precinct of the businesses. Aided by participant observations, some of the premeditated questions had to be reframed to capture deeper meanings embedded in both the built-environment, kind of signage and their emplacement. Further, I often time bent backward to listen to the stories of some of these business owners. While some of the stories sounded more removed from what the study sought to establish, a deeper reflection on them provided deeper insights on the code selection, emplacement and the semiotic potential of the selected codes. In essence, such reflections about the business by business owners not only brought to the surface the chain of events leading to the establishment of the business, but also historicized the semiotic resources used. Thus, the interviews embraced more of open-ended questions in order to allow for deeper and more insightful meanings and reflection from the business owners.

I should also note that while individuals may be more willing to share their success story, it is not always easy to have them do so especially in an interview setting with a stranger. Some in fact thought that the researcher was some journalist who was about his work of reporting on businesses. This was more apparent with foreign owned business houses. However, this had to be resolved through establishing trust and friendship. This meant going to the same shops as many times as was possible.

5.5.2 Consumers

The study had to get impressions from the individual consumers of the LL as it is assumed that they are the ones for which the signs are emplaced in the public spaces. The impressions ranged from their general relation to the LL, use and visibility. It was easier to interview pedestrians than those that were driving. These interviews were meant to be as brief as possible but still meaningful. For all the sites, the urban sites as well as rural sites, the researcher positioned himself near potential confluences of signage. That is, near those places where there were more signs, relatively fewer and no signs at all or in places where there should have been signage. By 'no sign' we mean lack of conventional signs. Therefore, the data which were to be gathered here relate to the consumption of the LL in terms of navigation, meaning making and survival strategies developed by consumers in places where there were no conventional signs. The data elicited from those who drive were more revealing about the consumption of the LL vis-à-vis the emplacement of signs. To initiate the interview in this context was not as easy. This meant excusing oneself, introducing oneself and the project as well as asking if the individual was willing to be engaged. The interview progressed from more general impressions about the LL to specific aspects of the consumer's uptake of the LL.

5.5.3 Policy Makers

The interview was with one of the directors at the Lusaka City Council in-charge of city planning (Branding and Marketing division). The interview took place in her

office. This formal interview was preceded with a more informal interview which took place during the July Trade Fair (Show) in the Lusaka Show Grounds as the Lusaka City Council exhibited their services to the public. The dimensions of the interview were clear as the purpose was purely to get the legal position of the Kind of signs allowed in terms of material and size as well as their emplacement or in fact whether there was any kind of regulatory system about signage emplacement in the city as well as the rural.

5.5.4 Observation

Creswell (2003: 213) defines observation as the means of data collection “in which the researcher takes field notes and behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site”. Framed after Creswell (2003), therefore, as part of participant observation in ethnographic research, the general life of the people, the physical environment as well as the tangible and intangible sociocultural symbols and artefacts were under careful observation in all my research sites. The impression about the language use, the emplacement of signs, kind of signs and the consumption of signs were all recorded as part of my fieldnotes. It should be noted that in order to gain insight into the circularity and mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes, I had to pay particular attention to the kind of semiotic resources I encountered in one research site so that I could account for its absence or presence in the next research site.

5.5.5 Policy Documents and Demographic Reports

In order to gain insight into the institutional beliefs about language use and its distribution in Zambia in general and in the research sites in particular, I reviewed selected policy documents and national census reports. The policy documents concerned were limited to the education policy documents for 1996 and 2013 while the census reports included those immediately after independence to 2012. These were accessed from the Ministry of Education and the Central Statistical office, respectively.

5.6 Data Analysis

As Creswell (2003: 217) rightly points out, data analysis “involves making sense out of text and image data.” Additionally, data analysis “involves preparing the data for analysis, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data, and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data” (Creswell 2003: 217). Creswell’s (2003) view of data analysis resonates well with the practices one finds in ethnographic research. For example, Creswell (2003) refers particularly to the analysis of text and image data the process of which moves from deeper understanding of the data to the interpretation of the data. This shift in the analysis presupposes an iterative approach to data analysis. In this connection Creswell (2003: 217) writes:

Data analysis is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study. It is not sharply divided from the other activities in the process, such as collecting data or formulating research questions.

As argued earlier, Creswell’s (2003) conceptualization of data analysis re-echoes O’Reilly’s (2005: 3) point of view of ethnographic research: that is, “[e]thnography at least is iterative-inductive research...” This forced me to take an iterative approach during the entire process of research formulation and data collection. What this meant was going back and forth: observing – collecting – analyzing – questioning – collecting – analyzing. Put simply, data analysis started during data collection. Most of the themes emerged while collecting data and were only supported or further refined after data collection had ended.

5.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

As intimated in the section about the method of data collection, above, two sets of data emerged from the field based on the research questions: numerical and thematic data. In view of this, a concurrent nested strategy was adopted specifically for data analysis. The concurrent nested model is an approach in which one method is


embedded into another due to a specific research question that may not be adequately handled by the main overriding method (see Creswell 2003). In this case, to analyse numerically motivated data which accounted for the social structuring of languages in terms of their distributive and hierarchical nature, the SPSS was employed. The data of digital images of the LL of the study areas were coded before they could be analysed with the SPSS. Frequencies and tables were generated. As intimated already, this method of data analysis was only used in order to show quantitatively the social structuring of language – that is - distribution, hierarchicazation and visibility of the languages in the LL of the study areas.

The coding of the data was modeled after some of Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006) analytical categories as redefined by Backhaus (2007) and myself which are: Languages contained and combinations; government and private signs; regularities in geographic distribution (emplacement); visual prominence in terms of materiality and inscription; visibility of sign’s multilingual nature; linguistic idiosyncrasies; and coexistence of older and newer signs (faded as well as unscripted). The Codebook (adapted from Weldemichael 2014) here below shows the actual codes as used in the analysis:

Table 5.6.1: Codebook

Variable number	Variable name	Description	Value	Value label
1	ID	Sign identification number	1 2 3000	
2	Area	Survey area	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Lusaka Livingstone Chongwe Kafue Kabanana Chipata Bauleni Kazungula

			9 10 11 12	Zimba Livingstone Museum Victoria Falls Chief Mukuni's area
3	GovPriv	Government or private sing	1 2	Government Private
4	EstabTyp	Type of establishment to which the sign belongs	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	Shop Bank Restaurant Supermarket Learning Institution Bar Barbershop Hair saloon Hospitality Industry Butchery Hospital Telecommunication service Gas station Museum Municipality Sign writer/designer Ntemba
5	ForLocEs	Foreign or Local Establishment	1 2	Local Transnational
6	SignType	Type of Sign	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Name of Establishment Brand Name Street Name Ambush Posters Traffic Sign Graffiti Artefacts/Symbols
7	SignKind	Kind of Sign	1 2 3 4 5 6	Metallic Wooden Stone/Mason Fabric LCD Screen/Digitalized Billboard Polythene
8	Emplace	Emplacement of Sign	1 2 3	Designated area Non-Designated area On the Establishment

			4 5	Building Away from Establishment Clustered
9	Urban	Kind of Sign in Urban	1 2 3	Attractive only Old only Big only
10	Rural	Kind of Sign in Rural	1 2 3	Attractive only Old only Big only
11	NumLang	Number of Language(s) on Sign	1 2 3 4 5	None One only Two only Three only Eighty only
12	LangSign	Language(s) present on the sign 	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16	English only Bemba only Nyanja only Tonga only Lozi only Kaonde only Chinese only Mambwe only Namwanga only Goba only Shona only English and Chinese only English and Nyanja only English and Tonga only English Bemba only English and Namwanga
13	Inscript	Inscription used on sign	1 2 3 4 5	Print Handwritten in Ink Handwritten in Paint Handwritten in Choke Engraved
14	OrdLang	Order of Languages on sign	1 2 3	Official Regional Non-Regional

5.6.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Secondly, for the data which formed part of the qualitative ethnography, namely the digital images, the analysis was based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal discourse analysis within the framework of the grammar of visual design

which advances top-bottom/left-right/centre-periphery information structure and the narrative representation. Beyond this information structure, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design afforded me the tools to trace the subjectivity of the LL as they argue that individual sign makers have their own ideologies which they materialize in the signs they make. Thus, by choosing one semiotic resource over the other, the sign maker informs the world about his/her subjectivity in the construction of the LL. This meant analyzing individual signs focusing on the choices made by sign makers/business owners since the whole process of choosing is premised on the affordances of semiosis as a system of choice.

Finally, the analysis also drew upon Scollon and Scollon's (2003) components of geosemiotics – interaction order, visual semiotics and place semiotics. The interaction order provided a framework to account for how the interaction was ordered among/between the participants on the sign as well as the interaction between the participant on the sign and the consumers (viewers of the signs) with respect to eye contact – inviting or non-inviting gaze, either of which may affect how the consumer/customer scrutinizes the image. This analysis was aided by Rose's (2001: 12) submission that “images work by producing effects every time they are looked at. Taking an image seriously, then, also involves thinking about how it positions you, its viewer, in relation to it.” Visual semiotics accounted for visibility, prominence and the semiotic potential of the signs. The place semiotics was used to account for sign emplacement in the real world and inscription as well as the materiality of the sign. The three dimensions of place semiotics addressed the research questions which relate to the kind of signs, their emplacement as well as their materiality in both urban- and rural-scapes in order to account for any differential effect.

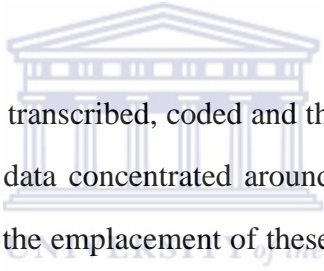
Thus, the data collected in form of digital images from each research sites was analysed on the basis of emplacement, inscription and materiality as well as their narrative potentialities. The numerical significance of the signs in the research sites

was not a factor rather the qualitative reflection of the situation of emplacement, materiality and inscription in these environs where the study was placed. And all these were interpreted on the basis of both the subjectivity arising from the individual sign maker and the collective voice of the consumers about the LL. However, some of the information drawn from the data analysed using the SPSS fed into the analysis about sign emplacement in urban- and rural-scapes of Lusaka and Livingstone presented in Chapter Nine.

The dialogicality of signs as seen in Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotics came to bear in the analysis of conflated signs especially signs on the digitalized billboards (LCD screens) that are slowly but steadily making inroads onto the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Here, I looked at how different signs within the area foster a meaning making process. Here, too, the notions such as decontextualization and recontextualization came to bear on analyzing the interplay between texts as a meaning making process. This was particularly useful for adverts that seemed to be feeding into each other for meaning making. Such texts also helped to historicize the circulation of semiotic resources across the LL.

Thus, as the study sought to gain insight into the mobility and circularity of semiotic resources, application of resemiotization, recontextualisation, repurposing as well as metamorphosis became inevitable. These cognate theories of multimodality were used to account for the endless circulation of semiotic resources and sociocultural artefacts and symbols found in the public spaces including the historical sites such as the museum. As I traced the circulation of texts, symbols and artefacts (material culture) using these cognate theories of multimodality, a clear account of the nature of the LL specifically as it relates to the blurring of boundaries and de-territorialization of spaces become apparent. Thus, different texts/semiotic resources were juxtaposed in order to see their historical as well as sociocultural evolution (trajectories), use and re-use among the population in the research sites. For which, Gray (2003: 129)

informs us that “the text brings to life context of the text, which context includes, the historical, the social and the political as well as the mode of production and the reception of the text.” In this way, the analysis which considered visual images as texts enabled me to siphon historical as well as sociocultural trajectories of the research sites from the text. In fact, Gray (2003: 127) is on point by stating that “[e]xamination of visual texts, for example, early photography, can reveal important patterns of exclusion and domination rendered ‘natural’ in their time.” This meant comparing and reading as texts semiotic resources across the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone in general and the Livingstone Museum in particular. Any semiotic resources that ‘popped up’ in the data from both sites or across research sites pointed to, and strengthened, the mobility and circularity claim the study had set out to underpin.



Data from the interviews were transcribed, coded and thematically analysed (Creswell 2009). Most of the interview data concentrated around the reasons for code choice, materiality of the signage and the emplacement of these signs in material world. Also the interviews with consumers of the LL especially in environs where conventional signs were missing provided insights into the resourceful and creative nature of patrons that navigate such spaces. The interview gave information about the use of geographic features as signs to navigate the public spaces and these have been discussed in Chapter 9. Since some informants opted to tell stories about how their businesses were formed, such narratives were transcribed and coded for the overriding themes, which in turn built on the corpus that fed into resemiotization and repurposing as some of the names/brands had undergone several stages of refinement before they could be emplaced as signs. Thus, the blueprint of the data analysis cycle in qualitative-driven research shown in *figure 5.6.2* below adopted from Creswell (2009) has been used especially to analyse the interview data.

The data from demographic reports were read as texts to gain insight into language

and the population distribution across the research sites. The data gathered from these documents were analysed in the context of the observed construction of the LL. The demographic reports especially as regards language distribution per region were compared with the data obtained from the language use on signage (see Chapter Six below). This, in a way, provided the need validity as result of the corroboration of the findings in the study.

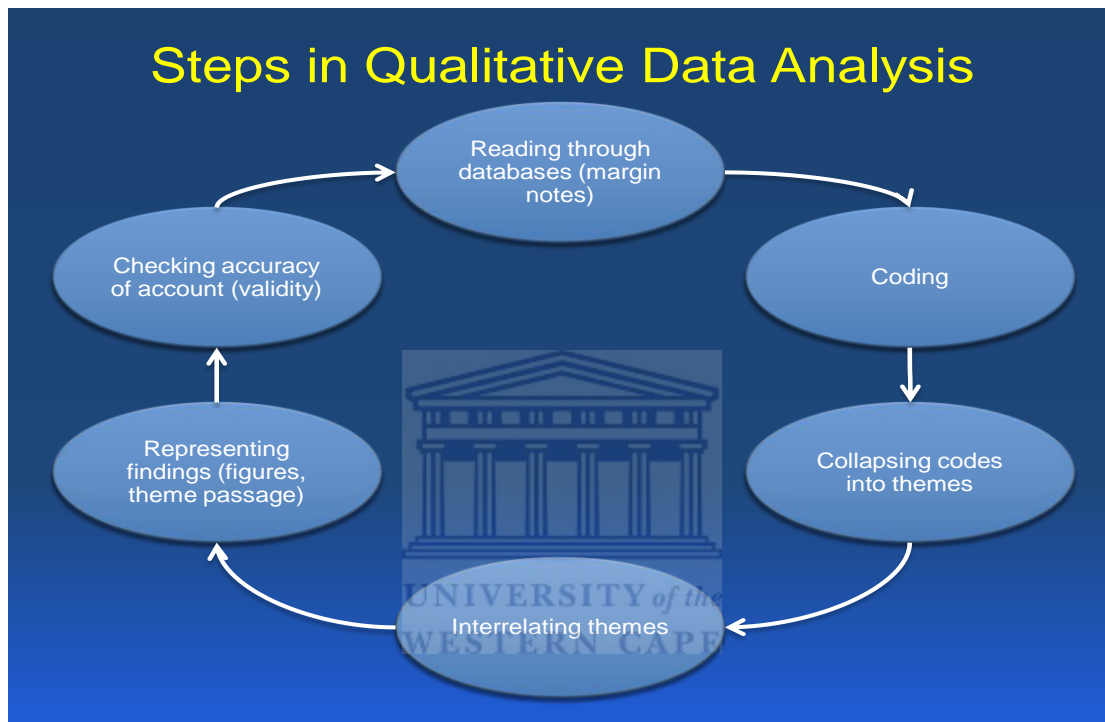


Figure 5.6.2: Steps in Qualitative Data Analysis

5.7 Ethic Statement

Given the fact that the study collected its data from both the people and public spaces, ethical consideration preoccupied the researcher from the outset of the study. Particularly, the researcher sought consent and upheld confidentiality throughout all stages of the study. To ensure the ethics were commensurate to the tenets of research, the study was first cleared by the ethical committee of the University of the Western Cape in 2014. At this committee, consent forms and information card about the study which were meant for the informants were scrutinized before clearance could be granted. It is these consent forms and information form that I used to uphold the research ethics. In short, no amount of coercion or manipulation of the researched

community was used during the study. All potential informants were served with copies of the consent forms as well as asked to read with understanding the nature of the study they were being asked to take part in. It was only upon their consent that they were involved in the study. Equally important was to seek permission before collecting data in premises that ordinarily do not allow the use of cameras. One such place was the Livingstone museum. In order to take footage of the artefacts and symbols in the galleries I had to seek permission, and I am glad I was allowed. See Appendix for Consent form and information card.

5.8 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has discussed ethnography as the overriding methodology used in this study. Particularly, the chapter has provided the characteristics of ethnography stating that it is one of the branches/types of qualitative methodology which seeks to study a community of people sharing culture in order to gain insight into the meaning making processes of the community by examining people's daily experiences, values and practices. Additionally, such a research methodology entails prolonged periods of data collection where the researcher gains the status of an insider. Premised on the assumed role of an insider, ethnographic research relies largely on participant observation and ethnographic interviews to gain a privileged understanding of the community being studied. Aside from this, the Chapter has justified why the current study adopts ethnography as the guiding methodology. One of the reasons is that ethnographic research allows the researcher to draw on both synchronic and diachronic data. In this way, ethnographic research affords one to historicize the meaning making process as well as underpinning the mobility and circularity of semiotic resources across the LL. This means that ethnography can account for translocal flows of semiotic resources, artefacts and social actors in time and space. The Chapter has also couched the methodology into the epistemological position of social constructivism/interpretive which argues against the existence of any objective reality out there since the intersubjective experiences by individuals are far too complex to be generalized. This

resonates well with the study which privileges the subjectivity of the LL in terms of construction and consumption. On the actual methods used for data collection, the Chapter has discussed the use of digital camera, interviews, participant observation and demographic reports. With regard to the analysis of data, the SPSS package was used to underpin the numerical data which fed into the understanding of the social structuring of languages across the LL while the multimodal discourse analysis with its cognate theories was used to gain insight into the meaning making process accentuated by the sociocultural histories of both the signs and sign users. The Chapter concluded with an ethical statement.

In the next Chapter, an analysis of the social structuring of languages is provided.



CHAPTER SIX

THE STRUCTURING AND MOBILITY OF LANGUAGE

6.0 Introduction

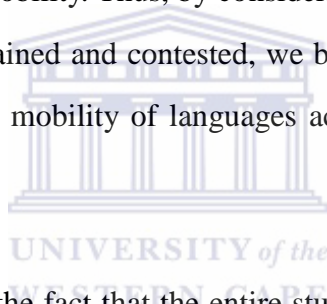
In this chapter I present and discuss the findings which are based on the basic statistical descriptions processed by the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) in order to underpin the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes spanning urban-, peri-urban- and rural-scapes. In essence, the presentation and the discussion of the findings are done simultaneously. The findings feed into the two main objectives of the thesis: the social structuring of language and the mobility of the semiotic resources across the multisemiotic linguistic landscape. These two major themes, that is, the social structuring and mobility of language are predicated on the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010), which thrives on unpredictability, fluidity and mutability of semiotic material. In particular, the Chapter is divided into the following subheadings: unpredictability of English language and its combination, the sociolinguistics of globalization, the contestation of non-regional and regional official languages, and the circularity of foreign languages, and sociolinguistics of amalgamated forms - linguistic coinages.

6.1 Findings Relating to the Social Structuring and Mobility of Language across the LL

In this section of the thesis, statistical data showing the distribution and visibility of languages across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces are shown. Notice that the urban spaces account for the data from Lusaka urban and Livingstone urban. The peri-urban spaces include the LL of Bauleni, Kabanana, and Chipata townships of Lusaka district while the rural spaces include Chongwe, Kafue, stretches between Livingstone and Zimba and Livingstone and Kazungula as well as Chief Mukuni's area.

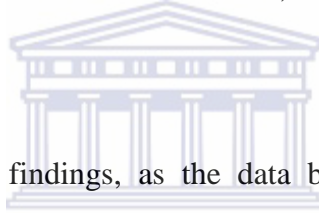
As the leading research objectives of the study, social structuring of language entails an understanding of how languages used in the research sites are (re-)produced, maintained and contested as well as used, layered and projected onto the public spaces. By looking at the linguistic landscapes of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces, patterns of use epitomized by code preference/choice on the signage in the public spaces begin to form. The pattern which emerged helped to plot in a quantitative way the conflation and concentration of languages, thereby underpinning the distributive and hierarchical nature of language use in the study areas.

On the other hand, the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes relates to the circulation of languages as semiotic flows set in motion by both the translocal and transnational mobility. Thus, by considering how the languages in these spaces are reproduced, maintained and contested, we begin to gain insights into both the social structuring and the mobility of languages across the linguistic landscapes (LL).



It is important to underscore the fact that the entire study was formulated against the background that Zambia constitutes ten (10) provinces, which are roughly formulated on their linguistic composition drawn from the 72 dialects which form the multilingual and multicultural mix of the country. Thus, the linguistic composition of Zambia, and by extension of the provinces in which the research sites are situated, rests on heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. In spite of the heterogeneous nature of the provinces, the government promulgated seven languages, aside from English, as regional official languages (ROLs) – Nyanja for Lusaka province and Tonga for Southern province (See Chapter 2). Equipped with this knowledge about the regionalization of language, I launched my research in the hope to gain insight into the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the urban-scapes of urban (Lusaka and Livingstone), peri-urban (Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata) and rural (Kafue, Chongwe, Livingstone-Kazungula stretch,

Livingstone-Zimba stretch and Chief Mukuni's area). It should be remembered that regionalization of languages operates on, and is informed by such language ideologies which assume a monoglot approach to language use in a given locality. Thus, the fact that Zambia has had in force regionalization for close to fifty years now, these spaces could have been 'monolingualized' by now since non-regional languages could have been silenced and suppressed by the ones promulgated for use. On the contrary, the results from the study areas forming the urban-, peri-urban- and rural-scapes show that these spaces have remained and some have even become more heterogeneous than ever imagined before. The results, as shown below, reveal the fact that the urban-scapes, peri-urban and rural-scapes present steepened linguistic heterogeneity, albeit differentially, despite government's imposition of regional languages as official languages for wider communication in education, media and limited government operation in these spaces.




To further contextualize the findings, as the data below show in *Table 6.1*, the languages captured on the public signs are not localized or limited to specific and predictable domains. By this we mean one or two social actors do not exclusively dominate the public space. Rather different actors spanning government, private, local and transnational conflate in the public spaces of urban-, peri-urban- and rural-scapes to contest for space, identity and visibility (cf. Shohamy 2006). Thus, the signage which I considered in order to discursively underpin the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL is drawn from government and private institutions as well as local and transnational establishments (see *Tables 6.1 and 6.1.15* below). Owing to the very diffused nature of actorhood in these public spaces, it is clear that languages presented on the signs mirror a complex interplay of power struggle, politics of preferences and the situatedness of social actors drawn from a diverse socio-economic and geo-political settings, making the data more representative of the happenings in the research sites. As discussed in Chapter 5, the methodology Chapter, shops, chain stores, banks and learning institutions, among

others, constituted objects of study as they continually engage and re-engage in activities that aim at repositioning themselves against other potential competitors in the same spaces. The repositioning takes various forms. Typical of these forms is the marketing of self to the public normally as advertisement. It is these marketing strategies which give rise to the linguistic landscapes upon which the study drew its data.

It is important to note also that the semiotics which form the data span from brand names, names of the establishments to general advertisement emplaced in time and space. The languages in which these labels are written provide insight into language choice and the linguistic layering of the landscape. It is these languages used to produce locality which we present and discuss as languages present on the signage.

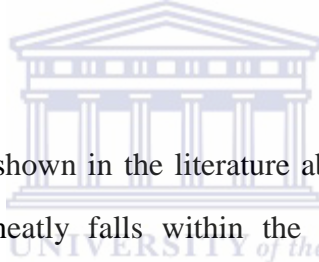
Table 6.1 showing the type of establishments across urban, peri-urban and rural spaces (in percentages)



Type of Establishments	Lusaka	Livingstone	Kabanana	Bauleni	Chipata	Kafue	Chongwe	Livingstone	Livingstone	Chief
Shop	20.5	2.5	38.5	35.1	33.3	48.9	16.5	34.7	43.2	33.3
Supermarkets	7.6	-	-	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bank	5	0.8	-	1.3	-	1.1	1.1	-	-	-
Education	5.3	2.5	11.5	3.9	-	-	11	4	2.5	7.4
Barber shop	-	-	11.5	5.2	6.7	4.3	2.2	4	2.5	-
Bar	0.6	0.8	6.2	2.6	13.3	5.3	-	1.3	6.2	22.2
Telecom	10.8	3.4	4.2	3.9	6.7	7.4	8.8	12	2.5	-
Ntemba	2.6	-	5.2	7.9	-	1.1	1.1	-	-	-
Hardware	6.1	-	5.2	2.6	13.3	3.2	-	-	-	-
Lodges	0.3	24.4	2.1	-	-	1.1	3.3	4	7.4	3.7
Ambush ads	4.1	9.2	3.1	-	-	-	6.6	-	-	-

Religious	0.9	1.7	2.1	2.6	20	-	5.5	-	-	3.7
Bakery	-	-	1.0	1.3	-	1.1	2.2	-	-	-
Manufacturing	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.6	6.7	3.2	2.2	4	6.2	3.7
Watch repair	-	-	2.1	-	-	1.1	1.1	-	-	-
Show cobra	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Restaurant	3.5	7.6	1.0	1.3	-	4.3	4.4	2.7	3.7	-
Butchery	-	-	1.0	5.2	-	3.2	1.1	5.3	2.5	-
Govt Ministry	2	7.6	-	-	-	1.1	11	1.3	7.4	7.4
Hair saloon	0.3	-	3.1	3.9	-	-	1.1	2.7	1.2	-
Hospital	3.5	-	-	-	-	4.3	-	-	7.4	-
Filling station	0.6	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
Museum	0.3	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
municipality	3.5	19.3	-	-	-	3.2	4.4	12	2.5	18.5
Sign-maker	2.3	4.2	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Stationary	1.8	-	-	1.3	-	-	1.1	-	1.2	-
NGO	3.2	1.7	-	5.2	-	1.1	1.1	4	-	-
Car Wash	0.2	0.8	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multipurpose	2.3	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport	2	0.8	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Graffiti	0.6	0.8	-	3.9	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Herbal healers	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Entertainment	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agents/suppliers	2.9	-	1.0	-	-	2.1	-	-	-	-
Political parties	2.3	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Parks	0.8	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residence	-	-	-	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	2.2	4	3.7	-
Security Firm	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Total # of Signs	342	120	96	77	15	94	91	75	81	27

It is worth noting that the establishment which contributes the highest in percentage form to the capital and human flows as well as to the built environment of the LL under examination are the shops. By extension, therefore, shops bring to the linguistic landscape rich semiotic resources when compared to other establishments with which they coexist in the research sites. Apart from shops, the LL is also dominated by the Banks, Restaurants, Supermarkets, Bars, Barber shops, Saloons, Hospitals, Schools, Farms, Parks, government departments and ministries as well as ambush advertisers, among other players. However, from the *Table 6.1* above, it is clear establishments such as Banks, supermarkets and other upper class social amenities are almost always found in the urban centres, and not in rural spaces. This has implication on the kind of agency behind the ubiquitous spread of English in spaces where such establishments are lacking, as there is an assumed association between up class market with English.



Further, as has been already shown in the literature about LL studies, the LL which has been constructed here neatly falls within the framework of Top-down and bottom-up flows as discussed by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). This dichotomy, as will be seen in the section about the circularity of semiotic resources across the LL, is only important in as far as it relates to knowing the producers of and players on the LL. However, in terms of the fluidity of semiotic resources, there is little difference in the use, choices and the meaning making strategies that these institutions adopt whether they are private or public.

It is also important to remember that the collective nature of the LL producers does not obscure the individual subjectivity which comes to bear in the construction of the LL (see Chapter Eight below). While these social actors in the form of establishments are seen to coexist, each of the establishments has its own socio-cultural, economic and historical trajectories. It is being cognizant of these subjective stories and narratives of each of the establishment which makes the reading of the LL productive

and semiotically meaningful (cf. Hult 2009). I pursue this theme in Chapter Eight. It suffices to say here that the rich collective semiotic resources projected by these establishments with different sizes, capital investment and histories provide a window of opportunity to gain insight into the social structuring of languages in order to underpin language distribution, language visibility and language hierarchicalization as well as the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL of research sites.

6.1.1 English across the Three Sites (Urban, Peri-urban and Rural)

In this section, the distribution and visibility of English signs across the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces are presented. The results account for the English monolingual signs. These results are used to foreground the unpredictability of the LL of the ten (10) research sites with regard to the distribution and visibility of English monolingual signs. The urban sites constitute Lusaka CBD and Livingstone CBD. The peri-urban sites are Bauleni, Kabanana and Chipata townships while the rural spaces include Livingstone-Zimba stretch, Livingstone-Zimba stretch, Kafue, Chongwe and Chief Mukuni's area.

Table 6.1.1: English across the Three Sites on Monolingual Signage

Urban-scapes		Peri-Urban-scapes			Rural-scapes				
Lusaka	Livingstone CBD	Bauleni	Kabanana	Chipata	Livingstone-Zimba	Livingstone-Kazu	Kafue	Chongwe	Chief Mukuni
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
61.4	44.2	42.9	66.7	40	44.4	54.7	70.2	51.6	40
337	118	75	96	15	79	70	94	88	27

Table 6.1.1 above shows the distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization of English across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces on monolingual signage. In percentage form, the rural district of Kafue shows the highest concentration of English monolingual signs at 70.2% followed by a peri-urban space of Kabanana at 66.7%

and the Lusaka CBD at 61.4%. Livingstone-Kazungula stretch is at 54.7% while Chongwe stands at 51.6%. The concentration of signage in English in Livingstone CBD stands at 44.2% which is more or less the same as in Bauleni (42.9%), Livingstone-Zimba stretch (44.4%), Chipata and Chief Mukuni's area (40%). These results illustrate two important points associated to the sociolinguistic of globalization (Blommaert 2010), namely, unpredictability and mobility of both the semiotic resources and globalized spaces, which theme I pursue in 6.1.1.1 below.

6.1.1.1 Unpredictability of the Distribution of English across the LL of Urban, Peri-urban and Rural spaces

The results in *Table 6.1.1* above show the unpredictability of the distribution of English across spaces with different political and socio-economic statuses. Ordinarily, urban spaces are associated with globalization, predicated on the use of English in the construction and consumption of the LL. The peri-urban spaces are pitted to local languages just the same way as the rural spaces. However, the results gleaned across these spaces spanning urban, peri-urban and rural challenge the traditional view of predictability, stability and fixity with regard to the extent to which English is distributed. Comparatively speaking, for example, the LL of Lusaka CBD shows English concentration at only 61.4% while a rural district of Kafue stands 70.2%. Similarly, the more rural spaces of Livingstone-Kazungula stretch and Chongwe show a more distribution/concentration of English at 54.7% and 51.6%, respectively, than Livingstone CBD whose English concentration is at only 44.4%. Additionally, the concentration of English in peri-urban spaces is also indicative of this unpredictability. The case in point is the peri-urban-scape of Kabanana with 66.7% of English concentration compared to Lusaka CBD at 61.4% and Livingstone CBD at 44.4%.

The unpredictability of the distribution of English across different spaces becomes even more apparent when we compare sites falling within the same category. In the urban category we have Lusaka CBD and Livingstone CBD. The results are not

uniform despite both these spaces being urban centres. *Table 6.1.1* above puts English in Lusaka CDB at 61.4% while Livingstone at 44.4%. In peri-urban spaces of Lusaka, similar results of unpredictability also abound. The three peri-urban spaces show different distribution of English with Kabanana coming at the top of the hierarchy with 66.7% followed by Bauleni at 42.9% and Chipata at 40%. In the rural spaces, the unpredictability is also witnessed among the five sites investigated. Kafue shows English concentration at 70.2%, the Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 54.7%, Chongwe at 51.6%, the Livingstone-Zimba stretch at 44.4% and Chief Mukuni's area at 40%.

From the foregoing, based on these results, one can argue that it is no longer possible to predict which space might use what resource more in the construction and consumption of space. This phenomenon is largely explainable in the broader context of global and local flows – the mobility of both the semiotic resources and the social actors across the various spaces spanning urban, peri-urban and rural. I will return to these issues below. For now, it suffices to note that the linguistic repertoires expressed in the public spaces are no longer neatly cut along the lines of the demographics - affluent and less affluent, urbanites and rural dwellers in the late modern Zambian geo-political set up. The urban, peri-urban and the rural are home to differentially socialized and educated populace so much so that it is no longer predictable the kind of language one may find in the construction and consumption of the LL. Despite urban centres being known traditionally as containers saturated with the 'educated' population, and establishments which are traditionally known to express their identity by the use of English, the results above remind us that we cannot for sure tell the extent to which the LL of the urbanized centres will be constructed using English. The results showing the presence of English in Kabanana at 66.7%, a peri-urban scape, are illustrative of how a prior judgment about space can be misleading. The expectation that English would be more concentrated along the LL of global routes – urban centres – than in peri-urban and rural spaces is thus an erroneous traditional judgment

which is predicated on “notions of linguistic territorialization in which language is linked to a geographical space” (Makoni and Pennycook 2007: 3). In this section, therefore, the major theoretical and sociolinguistic argument which the results show relate to the unpredictability of the spread, concentration and visibility of English across the urban, peri-urban and rural scapes of the research sites. While the LL of peri-urban and rural spaces are not populated with establishments (for example, chain stores and banks) with transnational and global character, their LL is never short of monolingual English signage in much the same way as the LL of urban-scapes. This entails that English does not always collude with globalization in the Zambian sociolinguistic context. It colludes with a wider range of factors and possibilities as betokened by its presence on small-scale business houses such as ‘*Ntemba*’ (an equivalent to a makeshift shop, but a permanent one). I synthesise this argument in *section 6.1.15*, in which a detailed discussion concerning the globalization of English is done.

Arguably, by constructing the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural using the monolingual signs of English, the social actors reveal something about their conscious and informed decision to be reader as ‘English-knowing producers’, and this in turn, forces us to think of consumers that can semiotically (but not always linguistically) understand these labels as meaning making resources even though they do not read the English language. Thus, English monolingual signs act as discursive and reference points for multiple place- and meaning-making not just among the rural dwellers but also for some of the urbanities. (I have discussed this notion in detail in Chapter Nine below).

Thus, in addressing the objective about the social structuring of language beyond language distribution and visibility but in terms of how people use language geographically, the evidence framed from English monolingual signs remind us that the bond among ‘language, people and locality’ has been broken so that there is a total

disembodiment between the social actors and the language as well as language and territoriality. If the LL of rural can be built on the English monolingual signage just as the urban, there is no longer a 'marriage' between spaces and the semiotic resources in the same way there is no predictable link between a given community of practice and the probable language it may use. Thus, the social structuring of English in urban, peri-urban and rural LLs is predicated on the communicative needs rather than on a priori assignment of the semiotic resources to these localities. As will become apparent in *section 6.1.1.2* below, individual social actors draw on any semiotic resources available in the construction of a multisemiotic LL. So that languages in these spaces no longer exist as isolated entities but rather as enmeshed linguistic resources on a same micro-space/time.

6.1.1.2 The Enmeshment of English and other Languages on the Signage

In Table 6.1.1.2 below are the results which foreground the complementary role of languages arising from the enmeshment of English and other languages, namely, local and foreign languages within one micro-space/time. These results are discussed and implicated against the backdrop of the sociolinguistics of globalization in which I underpin the evidence for the blurring of boundaries between languages. Notably, the results showing the unpredictable combinations of languages on the signage across the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces underscore the nature of the sociolinguistic terrain which does not adhere to territoriality, domain and language boundaries. In essence, this has led to the enmeshment of English and the local languages as well as English and 'foreign' languages in one micro-space/time. Previously, as was shown in Chapter Two above, most sociolinguists working on the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia held the view that English was associated with formal domains only while local languages were limited to few semi-formal and household uses (cf. Simwinga 2006). This meant that it was unusual to find signage with a combination of English and local languages in one micro-space/time. On the contrary, the results below show the unpredictability of the co-occupancy,

combination and enmeshment of English and local languages in both formal and informal domains. The quantitative data in Table 6.1.1.2 below are illustrative of this point. For clarity I have presented the results according to the sites: urban, peri-urban and rural.

Table 6.1.1.2: Unpredictable Language Combinations and Enmeshment

Language combinations	Lusaka	L/stone	Kabanana	Bauleni	Chipata	Kafue	Chongwe	L/stone-Kazungula	L/stone-Zimba	Chief Mukuni
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
English and Nyanja	8.01	5.6	8.3	6.5	13.3	3.2	12.1	2.7	9.9	-
English and Bemba	8.6	6.7	3.1	7.8	-	-	5.5	6.7	2.5	3.7
English and Tonga	1.19	7.5	2.1	3.9	6.7	1.1	8.8	12	27.2	7.4
English and Lozi	0.30	12.5	2.1	1.3	-	-	-	2.7	-	3.7
English and Kaonde	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Luvale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Lunda										
English, Nyanja and Bemba	0.89	-	1.0	-	-	3.2	-	-	-	-
English, Bemba and Tonga	0.59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English, Bemba and Zulu	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Namwanga	0.30	-	-	6.5	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
English and Mambwe	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
English and Tumbuka	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
English and Chinese	4.15	2	1.0	10.4	-	-	1.1	-	2.5	-
English, Tonga and Chinese	-	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and French	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Italian										
English and Masai	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Persian	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Hindi	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Hebrew	-	-	3.1	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
English and Local coinages	3.56	1.7	3.1	2.6	6.7	1.1	2.2	-	-	-
English, Local coinage and Goba		.8		-	6.7	-	-	-	-	-
English, Local Coinage and Nyanja			2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde,	2.6	1.7	-	2.6	-	2.1	-	-	-	-

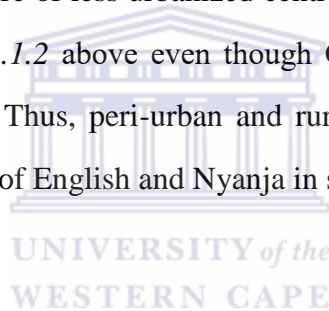
Lunda and Luvale										
Chinese and Tonga	-	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Soli				1.3	-	-	7.7	-	-	-
English and Toka-Leya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	2.5	40.7
English, Soli and Nyanja				1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Swahili				1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zulu/Xhosa				1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and Zulu	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
English, Tonga and Soli	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
Total No. of Signs	337	118	96	75	15	94	88	70	79	27

Clearly, the results across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces in *Table 6.1.1.2* above paint a clear picture of how the sociolinguistic of globalization is made

manifest and actualised in different geo-political settings of Zambia. One sociolinguistic feature of interest across all the research sites is the co-occupancy of English and regional official languages (ROLs) – namely Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda. The results show four common combinations. These are English and Nyanja, English and Bemba, English and Tonga, and English and Lozi. In what follows, I show how each of these combinations is quantitatively realised across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces investigated.

The English and Nyanja combination is seen in nine (9) sites in differing concentration, visibility and distribution. I discuss this combination against the backdrop that Nyanja is the regional official language for Lusaka province in which Lusaka CBD, Kafue, and Chongwe, Kabanana, Chipata and Bauleni fall. Ordinarily, one would expect to find bilingual signage in English and Nyanja on the ascendency when it comes to the construction and consumption of a multisemiotic linguistic landscape in these areas. The results in *Table 6.1.1.2* above somewhat confirm this prediction by putting the highest concentration and distribution of the English and Nyanja combination at 13.3% for a peri-urban space of Chipata, followed by a rural district of Chongwe at 12.1%. Revealingly, the results show Kabanana peri-urban- and Lusaka CBD-scapes at 8.3% and 8.01% while Bauleni and Kafue stand at 6.5% and 3.2%, respectively. The results presented here show the dispersal of Nyanja from the centre to the periphery. Notice the marked difference in concentration of signage with English and Nyanja combination between Lusaka CBD (8.01%) and rural district of Chongwe (12.1%) or indeed Chipata peri-urban (13.3%). The evidence framed by these results point to the fact that despite Lusaka province being assigned Nyanja as a regional official language, in which all these sites discussed above fall, each area subjectively appropriate and differentially determine the degree to which Nyanja in combination with English can be used in the construction of the multisemiotic linguistic landscape. Of importance, the results show that English and Nyanja are highly enmeshed particularly in peri-urban spaces.

Further, outside Lusaka province the presence of signage with English and Nyanja combination further steepen the claim of the blurring of boundaries between English and Nyanja. A notable feature in this regard concerns the 9.9% of signage with English and Nyanja combination in the hinterland of the rural spaces between Livingstone and Zimba (Livingstone-Zimba stretch). The results are not only important in respect to the quantitative nature of these bilingual signs of English and Nyanja in environs where they are not traditionally meant to be, but they are also important in foregrounding the free-floating nature of globalized semiotic resources predicated on mobility and flux. Notice also that while the rural spaces of Livingstone-Zimba stretch show 9.9% of signage with English and Nyanja, Livingstone CBD only account for 5.6%, making the combination of English and Nyanja are more central feature of less urbanized centres, at least from the trend seen from the results in *Table 6.1.1.2* above even though Chief Mukuni's area does not show any sure combination. Thus, peri-urban and rural dwellers are more actively involved in bringing together of English and Nyanja in sign- and place-making.

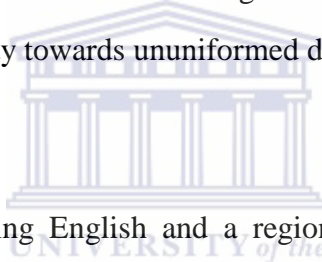


The second combination involving English and Bemba on signage is equally revealing about the enmeshment of the global and the local, but more so about the unpredictability, flexibility as well as mobility of semiotic resources within the broader framework of the sociolinguistic of globalization. Note that Bemba is not a regional official language for any of the sites investigated in this study. Thus, its presence in any one of these spaces ignites interest and pushes the notions such as 'unpredictability' and 'flexibility' yet further in terms of their usefulness in the general sociolinguistic context of the research sites. In exception of Chipata Township and Kafue district, the rest of the sites showed varied levels of concentration, visibility and distribution of signage with English and Bemba as follows (in a descending order): Bauleni (7.8%), Lusaka CBD (8.6%), Livingstone CBD (6.7%), Livingstone-Kazungula stretch (6.7%), Chief Mukuni's area (3.7%), Chongwe (5.5%), Kabanana (3.1%) and Livingstone-Zimba stretch (2.5%). Notice how

English and Bemba are becoming enmeshed. The results in Lusaka CBD, Bauleni and Livingstone CBD forces us to argue that enmeshment and co-occupancy of English and Bemba is not just a phenomenon of peri-urban centres, but of urban and rural spaces as well.

The third combination involved English and Tonga. Tonga is the regional official language for Southern province in which province Livingstone CBD, Livingstone-Zimba stretch, Livingstone-Kazungula stretch and Chief Mukuni's area fall. As the results in *Table 6.1.1.2* above show, the stretch between Livingstone and Zimba had the highest number of signage with the combination of English and Tonga at 27.2% followed by Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 12%, Chongwe at 8.8%, Livingstone CBD at 7.5%, Chief Mukuni's area at 7.4%, Chipata at 6.7%, Bauleni at 3.9%, Kabanana at 2.1%, Lusaka CBD at 1.19% and Kafue at 1.1%. Notably, results of this nature show the unlevelled linguistic landscape as well as the indeterminate degree of enmeshment of English and Tonga across the urban, peri-urban and rural multisemiotic LL. This is to say while majority of the sites in Southern province show a high concentration of signs with the combination of English and Tonga it does not necessarily lead to the preclusion of the presence of English and Tonga combination elsewhere outside the borders of Southern province. The results seen in Chongwe of 8.8% help to demystify the traditional view of looking at regions as containers which parry away other languages that are not originally assigned to them. I will return to these arguments in the *section 6.1.1.5* where I synthesise the findings under the rubric 'the sociolinguistics of globalization involving English'. For this section, however, it suffices to merely note the high degree of the enmeshment of English and Tonga on signs in the rural spaces of Southern province and of Chongwe rural, a district, miles away from the traditionally Tonga speaking spaces.

The fourth combination involving English and a regional official language brings together English and Lozi in one micro-space and time. Quantitatively, the results are of relatively low statistics but that does not obscure the permeating nature of languages across boundaries. The results showing signs with English and Lozi combination are as follows: Livingstone CBD at 12.5%, Chief Mukuni's area at 3.7%, Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 2.7%, Kabanana at 2.1%, Bauleni at 1.3% and Lusaka CBD at 0.30%. The results show that signs with a combination of English and Lozi were absent in four research sites of Chipata, Kafue, Chongwe and Livingstone-Zimba stretch. Additionally, as noted already with other combinations above, the bilingual signs of English and Lozi do not show a predictable and uniform pattern across the six sites where such signs were observed. Rather, the visibility and distribution of signs with the combination of English and Lozi show a high tendency of indeterminacy and proclivity towards ununiformed distribution and concentration.



The last combination involving English and a regional official language involves English and Kaonde. Again, as a reminder, Kaonde is not a regional official language for the areas surveyed in this study. Rather it is a ROL for some of the districts in North-Western province such as Solwezi district. However, we notice its presence in the LL of Lusaka CBD at 0.30%. Statistically, these results look insignificant. However, the very nature of this seemingly insignificance brings into the spotlight many sociolinguistic insights surrounding the force behind the selection of the semiotic materialities involved in the production and consumption of the LL. Such a force is predicated on individual subjectivities of social actors involved in the construction of the LL as well as the linguistic capital associated with some languages.

Below, I show the form which the enmeshment of English and the ROLs takes by looking at two signs. The two signs are drawn from the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ domains.



Figures 6.1.1.2a and 6.1.1.2b: Co-occupancy of English and Regional Languages

What do these results then entail about the linguistic/language boundaries? The co-occupancy of English and the ROLs entails the blurring of boundaries between languages with different official statuses. As was discussed in Chapter Two, most of the literature on the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia argue that languages in Zambia operate on the basis of function and domain, so that English is a exclusively for the official use while the local languages are for less official use. In turn, this leads to an artificial dichotomy in which languages remain put where they are put without contact with each other. Against this background, the results gleaned from the LL of the research sites defy this normative expectation of a ‘separatist model’ between languages. Arguably, *figures 6.1.1.2a and 6.1.1.2b* above, as the rest of the results do, show that languages – in particular English and local languages – are becoming more and more enmeshed for meaning making on the multisemiotic LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. (I have given a full analysis of the two signs below). What this entails is that languages are constantly dialogical – they are always in contact and drawing on each other for accomplishment of any communicative transaction. Clearly, English can no longer offer satisfactory linguistic capital in all spheres of life when used in isolation. Thus, social actors have become aware that a combination of

English and local languages promises to offer a more satisfactory linguistic capital in meaning making, especially in advertisement and place naming. Observably, the combination or enmeshment of English and local languages is not all an exclusive (prominent) feature of the informal sector, but it is an active ingredient for both the informal and formal sectors on the socioeconomic landscape during the construction and consumption of the multisemiotic LL. The co-occupancy of English and the ROLs offers a reliable and undisputable diagnostic platform to argue for the blurring of boundaries between English and the local languages.

Second, the evidence framed by the co-occupancy of English and the local languages for use in both formal and informal spaces further remind us that social actors are not concerned with the artificiality of formal and informal dichotomy. In the signage above, (figure 6.1.1.2a) the Zambia National Commercial Bank (hence forth Zanaco), a commercial bank with about 41% of government shares has allowed the local languages to come to its formal spaces. Banks have always assumed a more formal position as they are always replete with English discourses in spaces where they exist, and this has been the case in Zambia. However, as shown in the signage above, trends seem to be shifting in an attempt to meet the communicative and semiotic needs of the consumers. But also to simply bring to these spaces a fresh breath of creativity aimed at blending business with a sense of ‘play’ and ‘ease’, as can be seen from the choice of words in the signage – *Ponyamo Uwine* ‘Throw in and win’, as if it was that simple to win. If we turn to the signage, *figure 6.1.1.2a*, above, we notice that right at the top, the idealised position according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2003), the sign states: ‘*it’s here...*’ then in the centre, it says ‘*the Zanaco Ponyamo Uwine promotion*’. In this signage, we see the conflation of English and the local language. Further, the signage also shows a coinage *uwine* from the English word ‘win’. The coinage *uwine* strengthens our argument that we are not only witnessing the enmeshment of English and the local language in the public spaces, but also a sociolinguistics of localization of the global within the formal spaces.

Similarly, *figure 6.1.1.2b* above, the signage about *Chigayo* ‘Hammer Mill’, shows how the (formal) official language English has been ‘colonized’ by an informal sector, by creatively blending truncated forms of English and the local language for a transformative and productive place- and meaning-making. We notice the adherence to the English syntax in terms of marking for possession *Ba Shikulu’s chigayo house* ‘Grandfather’s hammer mill house’. We also notice the creative nature of the sign maker in the word *gaya* – *we gaya the best it’s not just the best it’s far beyond the rest try us*. The word *gaya* is a local verb for the majority of the Zambian languages to mean ‘grind’ (in this context). Arguably its deployment as the main verb in a sentence which is 99% an English construction does not obscure both the sentential and the lexical meaning for which the signage is emplaced among the local consumers. Put differently, the locals are readily able to glean the meaning of the sentence despite the resourceful combination of truncated forms of the local languages and English. Thus, by using the word ‘*gaya*’ (grind), as a main verb of a sentence in English, the sign maker has managed to maintain the sense of localness while playing out the global. Thus, a combination and enmeshment of English and the local semiotics has become a common feature for productive meaning making processes among the translocal producers and consumers of these multisemiotic LLs across urban, peri-urban and rural spaces.

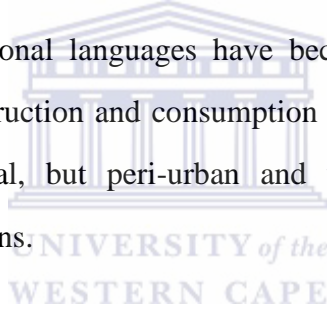
Additionally, what these results entail relates to the fact that spaces in which English and local languages are being used in late modern urban, peri-urban and rural Zambia, however socio-economically different these spaces might seem, are levelled and ungraded spaces. Put another way, there is no longer a sense of and adherence to territoriality, whether between the formal and informal, (peri-) urban and rural, when it comes to language use and uptake of semiotic resources on a fluid and mobile sociolinguistic terrain. As already showed, the sociolinguistics of globalization thrives on unpredictability, flexibility, flux and fluidity. Thus, languages no longer hold each other at bay; rather, languages are ‘willing’ to be used as mere semiotic resources side

by side for meaning making. Invariably, this might explain why English can now be readily used in a juxtaposed fashion with any language, even the local Zambian languages. In fact, as will become more apparent, the options are open-ended in which English can be used. In the section which follows, I show how English is readily (re-)produced on signage together with non-regional languages such as Mambwe, Tumbuka and Soli. In this way, we are witnessing a counter hegemonic and linguistic movement against the popular traditional view which locked up non-regional languages in ‘household gates’ and the fetters of the informal spaces only. Thus, individual language users in Zambia have become aware that languages are not dependent on territoriality – rather, they are dependent on the linguistic capital to which they are put during place- and meaning-making.

6.1.1.3 English and Non-Regional Languages

Another important sociolinguistic insight which results in *Table 6.1.1.2* above foregrounds, relates to the unique combination of English and non-regional languages such as Soli, Namwanga, Mambwe, Tumbuka and Toka-Leya. These results are very telling particularly with regard to the demystification of the belief that non-regional languages are only visible as glosses on linguistic maps and valuable only for domestic use (cf. Simwinga 2006). Rather, in the framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization, there is no longer certitude as what semiotic resource can be used as a linguistic capital in the construction of a multisemiotic linguistic landscape. This is predicated on the notion of ‘indeterminacy’ with regard to what to expect on the LL (Higgins 2009). Furthermore, as the results show in *Table 6.1.1.2* above, there is no end point to the allowable combinations of languages that may possibly be found on the same signage. The global language such as English is as readily amenable to be used together with any language in circulation irrespective of its presumed political or socioeconomic status, even non-regional languages like Namwanga.

The first combination involves English and Namwanga, and is only found in three research sites as follows: 6.5% in Bauleni, 1.1% in Kafue and 0.30% in Lusaka CBD. The second combination is that involving English and Mambwe found on in Kafue at 1.1%. The third combination is of English and Tumbuka at 1.1% in Kafue. The fourth combination involves English and Soli found in Chongwe and Bauleni at 7.7% and 1.3%, respectively. The last combination brings together English and Toka-Leya in Chief Mukuni's area at 40.7%, in Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 5.3% and Livingstone-Zimba stretch at 2.5%. Arguably, these results defy the perceived normative linguistic borders between formal and non-formal boundaries as well as the local-global dichotomy. Just as the regional official languages have made inroads into globalized spheres, non-regional languages, too, continue to strive for space, recognition and co-occupancy with the official national language English in ways too apparent. Thus, the non-regional languages have become commoditised as viable linguistic capital in the construction and consumption of the multisemiotic linguistic landscapes of not only rural, but peri-urban and urban centres in varied and unpredictable ways and patterns.



6.1.1.4 English and the Foreign Languages

The results in *Table 6.1.1.2* above further show the interaction between English and other foreign languages. Notice that English is constitutionalized as the official language of government in Zambia, and thus cannot be classified as a foreign language. In this regard, what we consider as foreign languages are languages which are not yet constitutionally recognized as media of wider communication for government or limited local government transaction. The results show that the co-occupancy of English and Chinese was more distributed and visible in six sites out of the ten sites represented in the Table above. The peri-urban-scape of Bauleni showed the highest signage with English and Chinese combination at 10.4% followed by Lusaka CBD at 4.15%, Livingstone-Zimba stretch at 2.5%, Livingstone CBD at 2% and Chongwe at 1.1%. The other combinations involving English and the foreign

languages are quantitatively lower in percentage form and almost all of them were emplaced in CBD of Lusaka in exception of English and Hebrew. For example, the following combinations were all under 1% in the LL of Lusaka CBD – English and Italy, English and French, English and Masai, English and Persian, English and Hindi. The signage with the combination of English and Hebrew were observed in Kabanana at 3.1% and in Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 1.3%. Besides these combinations, the results show the co-occupancy of English and some of the African languages such as Swahili at 1.3% in Bauleni and Zulu at 1.1% in Kafue.

These results consolidate the transnational mobility actively in force and operating in different local spaces despite these local spaces being urban, peri-urban or rural (see *section 6.1.4 below*). However, one feature of particular interest shown by the results with regard to the distribution and visibility of signage with English and foreign language combination is that the LL of Lusaka CBD enjoys more of the signage with English and foreign languages compared to other sites. This phenomenon could be attributed to the geo-political situatedness of Lusaka predicated on the fact that Lusaka is the Capital City of Zambia, making it more exposed to global flows of both human and linguistic capital. But the results also remind us that transnational flows are not limited to the urban centres only. Rather, the transnational flows of both human and linguistic capital filter through the boundaries of peri-urban and rural spaces as signage with foreign languages were observed in these spaces as well. I return to this point in section 6.1.4 below.

6.1.1.5 The ‘Sociolinguistics of Globalization’ Involving English in Urban, Peri-urban and Rural Spaces of Zambia

Given the results involving English discussed in the sections above, it is important to highlight the sociolinguistics of globalization involving English in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of our study areas. By ‘sociolinguistics of globalization involving

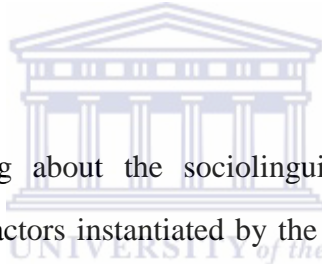
English’ we mean the social, political and economic factors at play in the use and spread of English across regions – urban, peri-urban and rural linguistic landscapes predicated on flexibility, unpredictability, flux and permeability. This is particularly important given the fact that a survey of the majority of the establishments which contribute to the production of the LL in urban, peri-urban and rural are of translocal nature rather than transnational. I use the notion of translocal to foreground the local mobility of social actors across regional, ethnolinguistic, formal, and informal boundaries within the geo-political borders of Zambia. Transnational is used to describe movement or mobility across different ‘nation states’. Equally important is the fact that the government is not at all the dominant sign-maker across all the research sites. What this means is that the locals are the ones dominating the production and emplacement of signs. The fact that there is less of government and transnational presence on the LL of the research sites and yet the LL is constructed by and premised on the English semiotic materiality avails a lot about the subjective choices available to the social actors during the production and the consumption of the LL. In turn, we are forced to conclude the LL of all the research sites are private driven and therefore ‘free-floating’. By ‘free-floating’ we mean the unregulated LL in terms of language policy as well as governmental influence which may be associated with most urbanised centres of western world. Here below, in *Table 6.1.1.5*, I show the extent to which each establishment – government, private, local and transnational – contributes to the production of space by the signage they emplace in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of the research sites.

Table 6.1.1.5: Establishments Contributing to the Production of the LL

Contributors	Lusaka	Livingstone	Kabanana	Bauleni	Chipata	Kafue	Chongwe	L/stone-Ka	L/stone-Zi	Mukuni
Government	12.9	28.6	1.0	0.0	0.0	10.6	19.8	16	18.5	33.3
Private	87.1	71.4	99	100	100	89.4	80.2	84	81.5	66.7
Local	66.1	90.8	95.8	88.3	93.3	94.7	89	88	97.5	96.3
Transnational	33.9	9.2	4.2	11.7	6.7	5.3	11	12	2.5	3.7

The results in *Table 6.1.1.5* show how much the government, private, local and transnational establishments contribute to the production of space. One general trend can be seen from the results; and that is, the domination of the local and private institutions. The government and the transnational establishments only contribute on the average 20% and 21% respectively to the emplacement and production of the multisemiotic signage and landscape in urban spaces of Lusaka and Livingstone. Comparatively, however, Lusaka showed more transnational visibility at 33.9 than Livingstone at 9.2%. In terms of government signs, there were more in Livingstone CBD at 28.6% than in Lusaka CBD which only showed 12.9%. This difference is partly due to the gentrification of Livingstone CBD, which took place in 2012/13 just before the hosting of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). In the peri-urban spaces of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata, government only contributed less than 1% of the signage used to produce the LL. However, there was some visibility of transnational establishments at 11.7% in Bauleni, 6.7% in Chipata and 4.2% in Kabanana. The rural spaces also showed more of government signage than what the peri-urban spaces recorded. For example, 19.7% for Chongwe, 10.6 for Kafue, 16% for Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, 18.5% for Livingstone-Zimba stretch

and 33.3% for Chief Mukuni's area. With regard to the presence of the transnational establishments in the rural spaces, the following were the results: 12% for Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, 11% for Chongwe, 5.3% for Kafue, 3.7% Chief Mukuni's area and 2.5% for Livingstone-Zimba stretch. Thus, in exception of about 7% on average of the transnational establishments present in these rural and peri-urban spaces, the entire LL of the rural and peri-urban spaces surveyed thus remains in the hands of the small scale local business men and women. The argument being framed based on these results relates to the ubiquitous spread of English on the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural despite the unparalleled dominance of local actors, majority of whom occupy the low income and education brackets. In essence, I see the proliferation of signage in English based on factors beyond globalization. Such factors include the historical, political and socio-economic ones discussed below.



These findings are revealing about the sociolinguistics of English in Zambia, predicated on the historical factors instantiated by the political, social and economic situatedness of Zambia. Generally the colonial rule and the subsequent adoption of English as the official language of government by Zambia provide a useful and valid diagnostic toolkit for the understanding the ubiquitous spread of English. As shown in Chapter Two above, English in Zambia pre-dates the creation of Zambia as a nation. Thus, the evidence concerning the high concentration of English in the public spaces under consideration cannot alone be used to project English as a global language. Rather, the evidence points also to the long history of use which English has enjoyed over the past 50 years in Zambia. In fact, in these 50 years English has had the monopoly of being the only official language and the sole medium of instruction from primary (schools in education) to the university education. In light of this monopoly, it is unlikely that the use of English by the producers of the LL in these spaces is symbolic or a mere want to brand and project oneself as the global. I believe the ubiquitous spread of English across these public spaces, as shown by the results, mirrors the extent to which English has been enmeshed into the socio-cultural and

historical life of the nation. No doubt, the spontaneity with which it appears on the signs across the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces may tell us something about the spontaneity with which it is used in the general life of the consumers of these multisemiotic landscapes. Thus how one perceives the presence of English in Zambia is a matter of perception, orientation and the vantage point from which one stands. In this thesis, I privilege the historical factors rather than the modern linguistic theorization which links the spread of English to globalization alone. The study is aware that globalization as understood today is a late 20th century phenomenon, yet spaces such those with a British colonial history have had the presence of English since the later part of the 19th century. In fact, it can be argued that English made its entrance onto the sociolinguistic terrain of Zambia almost at the same time with some local languages like Lozi, albeit in low concentration as only missionaries could use it then. Thus, the globalization of the late 20th century only sped up the process of the spread of English owing to new technologies in the field of communication which are much faster.

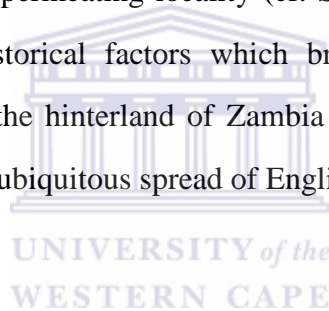


Further, as has been made apparent in *section 6.1.1* above, the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces are all endowed with signage in English yet they are all differently exposed to the global current. Lusaka and Livingstone, for example, are the most exposed centres to the global influence as they are within the global route, so to speak, owing to the fact that they are both cosmopolitan centres. What this entails is an appreciation of various factors which have led to the spread of English across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. Thus, while global factors aptly underpin the reasons for the proliferation of signage in English in urbanized centres of Lusaka and Livingstone, the same cannot be entirely used to explain the presence of the signage in English in rural spaces, as one seldom finds transnational businesses in some of these localities.

Having made these general remarks about the sociolinguistics of globalization of English across all the research sites, it is important to make specific observations about English in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. I start with the urbanized centres of Lusaka and Livingstone here below.

Despite the varied visibility of English in the urban spaces of Lusaka and Livingstone, both these spaces provide a useful diagnostic framework for understanding the importance of the geo-political situatedness of any late modern cities/towns with regard to the sociolinguistics of globalization involving English. First, the quantitative presence of English signage in any locality is an important indicator of the nature of the landscape in which it is located. In this connection, given the geo-political context of the urbanised centres of Lusaka and Livingstone, social actors are always in contact with the translocal and the transnational semiotic and human flows simultaneously. Thus, the mobile social actors and the disembodied semiotic resources within the sociolinguistics of globalization accentuate the unrivalled rapid flow of the linguistic capital across urbanised spaces (cf. Blommaert 2010). The political and administrative nature as well as the geo-demographic situatedness of Lusaka and Livingstone places both the physical space and the social actors in constant circulation and unpredictability. Being the capital city (Lusaka) and tourist capital (Livingstone), it is expected that English permeates the entire fabric of life as a language of formal and informal business, and I dare add, the language of play as most of the establishments which contribute to the built environment opt to pose as transnational, thus global, in order to fit into the commodified spaces instantiated by globalization. As *Table 6.1.1.5* above shows, on average the transnational businesses are about 34% compared to 66% of local establishment in Lusaka and Livingstone, and below 10% for peri-urban and rural spaces surveyed.

The relative rise in transnational establishments seen in the two urban centres may be used to explain, in part, the high distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization of English on the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Most of these transnational establishments often position themselves as translocal and global. Previous studies on LL have shown how English is used as a global language in many spaces (see Shohamy and Gorter 2006, Backhaus 2007). I wish to argue here that in some way, the use of English on the LL of Lusaka reflects trends such as those suggested by, for example, Shohamy and Gorter (2006) that English is a global language. However, unless colonialism is understood as globalization, the presence of English in the LL of these two urban centres and elsewhere for that matter cannot be explained entirely in the light of the effects of globalization even though globalization has increased the speed with which English is permeating locality (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). As pointed out already, the historical factors which brought the white fathers and subsequently colonialism to the hinterland of Zambia before independence offer an alternative explanation to the ubiquitous spread of English.



Thus, English should be understood as being double articulated in these spaces: as an outgrowth of colonialism and globalization. Thus, political, historical and socio-economic factors all come to bear on the ubiquitous spread of English in the urbanised centres of Lusaka and Livingstone. The political factors relate to the administrative functions associated with Lusaka and Livingstone – these are provincial centres (until recently Livingstone has been a provincial headquarter for Southern province). Thus, the conflation of institutions and business houses in Lusaka and Livingstone are closely linked to their geo-political situatedness and this provides the suitable socio-economic milieu for the rapid flow and proliferation of signage in English. The historical factors are associated with the colonial trajectories which handed down English to the pre-independent ‘Zambia’.

In addition, the ubiquitous presence of English in peri-urban spaces deserves a special examination as well. This is due to the fact that government presence was less than 1%, which in turn liberates these spaces of government control and influence. Secondly, the geo-political and socio-economic situatedness of the peri-urban spaces within the broader context of Lusaka is more revealing and adds another angle to the nature of the sociolinguistics likely to be forged especially the one concerning English. In Chapter Two, I made reference to the fact that peri-urban spaces of Lusaka are home to demographically diffused population escaping poverty from some of the forgotten rural spaces of Zambia as well as illegal immigrants from the assortment of war torn countries such as Congo DR. Generally, in the light of this complex political and geo-demographic composition of the peri-urban spaces, the nature of actorhood and the role of the historical body in the production and consumption of the cultural materialities (including English language) feeding into the LL of peri-urban-scapes of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata should be viewed as made from a free-floating multisemioticity occasioned by individualized orientation and subjective linguistic taste. Thus, the observable semiotic and cultural materialities in place are highly reflective of individuals' choices rather than policy or regulation. Thus, the signage in English which dominates these spaces at 66.7% for Kabanana, 42.9% and 40% for Chipata can be said to have been set in motion by individuals' historical forces and choices premised on their local-global taste.

Furthermore, as the results show in Table 6.1.1.5 above, over 80% of the signage in place is emplaced by the local private sector in the peri-urban-scapes of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata. Thus, the local private sector brings to the production of these localities over 80% of the semiotic and cultural materialities. This entails that the observed proliferation of signage in English is locally driven and emplaced. This local domination of the LL presupposes that the socio-cultural histories of the place-makers have made inroads onto the peri-urban-scapes of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata rather than the foreign ones. Undoubtedly, the local-foreign dichotomy with regard to

the contributors to the production of locality is very important in uncovering the subjective forces in motion within the broader context of place-making. The apparent less observable foreign dominance in the construction of the public space in the peri-urban spaces generally entails that the major influence behind the LL of these spaces is locally shaped and spurred.

Most of these locals own small shops selling assortments of goods for daily consumptions (see *Figure 6.1* above). The question which begs an honest answer, then, relates to why the locals, engaging with the fellow locals, choose English over the local semiotic resources in these spaces. It would be misleading to think that the choice of English over the local languages in the production of space in peri-urban areas is a matter of language policy. I have already stated that Zambia has no language policy concerning the language to be used on the signage. Thus, individual shop owners have come to know the value with which English is associated. But also, it is irresistible to argue that the LL dominated with English signs is in some way reflective of the linguistic repertoires of the peri-urban population. For, as pointed out already, the English language in Zambia is as old as Zambia itself. In this connection, peri-urban spaces are not immune to the historical and global flows which constantly put English in circulation across the sociolinguistic landscapes of Zambia in general and the research sites in particular. As the literature shows, in the face of the prolonged use accentuated by historical factors, English has slowly being localized (cf. Mambwe 2014; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Pennycook 2010b; Higgins 2009) as one of the semiotic resources readily available for use by all social actors irrespective of the locality and, to some degree, the socio-cultural histories of the consumers. To this end, the fact that Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata are peri-urban spaces proves the point concerning the permeating effect of English into the daily fabric life of the elite and the non-elite, the urbanized centres and the peripheral townships like Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata.

Moreover, few would deny the fact that many people associate peri-urban spaces such as the ones under study as been predominately ‘colonized’ by the semi-literate and the perceived ‘illiterate’ population whose only daily linguistic capital are the local languages, as most people equate knowing English to being literate. Thus, there is the unwritten assumption that urbanized centres are home to literate speakers of English. Against this backdrop, the proliferation of signage in English in such ‘legitimately’ ‘illiterate’ spaces, as they are (often) mistakenly perceived to be, forces us to ‘disembody’ English from elitism and frame it as a commodity readily available for uptake to differentially socialized and academically diffused population, even of the peri-urban.

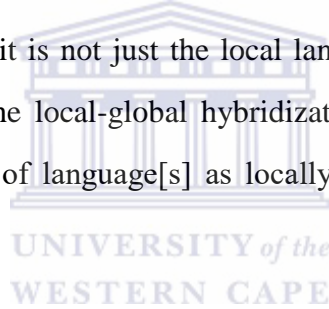
I do not in any way suggest here that all the producers of the LL in Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata can read and write in English even though about 60% of signs are in English. However, the evidence posit by the proliferation of signage in English points to something beyond the symbolic use of English to the indexical use (see Scollon and Scollon 2003) as most owners of the businesses have some basic education, that is, they have gone up to the ninth grade in the education system of Zambia. The reality about their basic education was tangentially uncovered during the walking interview. In this case, business owners have not only used English on the signage, but majority of them can engage in meaning making discourses with the potential customers using English. Thus, the linguistic capital of the English language among the locals of these peri-urban spaces is highly valued. The point being made here is that the more urbanized spaces like Lusaka CBD and the semi-urbanized spaces like Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata Townships are all in the same linguistic loop where semiotic resources are constantly in circulation and flow. The point to remember is that the townships of Lusaka show little differential effect in the number of signs in English and languages which conflate in one space to produce the public spaces with what one finds in the more urbanized spaces like the Lusaka CBD. In this

regard, therefore, English is not an exclusive semiotic resource for the more urbanized spaces. It is a resource for all spaces.

The sociolinguistics of English in rural spaces of the research sites is also quite revealing. English in rural spaces of Kafue at 70.2%, Chongwe 51%, Livingstone-Kazungula stretch at 54.7%, Livingstone-Zimba stretch 44.4% and Chief Mukuni's area at 40% also provides insight about the historicity of its ubiquitous spread and localization. As a way of illustrating, it is important to note, for example, that the stretch between Livingstone and Kazungula is 60Km. What this entails is that the larger part of the stretch is predominately rural compounded by a 10km stretch which is a game reserve area. In the face of the reality that the larger part of the LL between Livingstone and Kazungula is predominately rural, I wish to argue for the vitality of the English language in rural spaces. The vitality of English language in rural spaces shown by the evidence from the signage extends our understanding of how the rural spaces are constantly a part of the larger sociolinguistic web involving English, and are never in isolation. While urban centres such as Lusaka and Livingstone are regarded as being in the global corridor, the historical as well as global trajectories instantiated by mobility and flux have significantly reshaped and reconfigured the rural linguistic and demographic composition so much so that it is no longer surprising to see the multiplicity of signage in English there.

The percentages shown above of the signage in English in the rural spaces of the research sites mirror in a very significant way the connectivity of urban, peri-urban and rural demographics supported by mobility and the permeability of the boundaries between these spaces. The shop owners are always in close linkage with the urban spaces as they come to order goods from Lusaka or Livingstone. This in turn, forces them to replicate the urban multisemiotic LL in their own rural spaces. This replication is not a mere 'copy and paste', per se; it is occasioned by resemiotization

and decontextualization/recontextualization (I discuss in detail these notions in Chapter Seven). This entails, rural dwellers semiotically (meaningfully) use English in these spaces to discursively co-construct locality. They are not just mimicking practices they have no understanding of and control over. This gives the rural dwellers involved in the production of locality using English the required agency – one which positions them as actively aware of the available semiotic resources amenable to be used, of which English is a part. Thus, the fact that the rural spaces are replete with signage in English acts as a timely sociolinguistic reminder that the global language English is a semiotic resource beyond metropolitan centres. The rural spaces are active and fertile landscapes due to the convergence of multiple semiotic resources, of which English is but just one of the many. In turn, rural-scapes produce and are re-produced as hybrid spaces formulated on inter- and intra-connections semiotically and demographically so that it is not just the local languages that are in circulation, but that at any given time the local-global hybridization is the norm based on the undisputable “understanding of language[s] as locally derived” (Pennycook 2007a: 112).



The permeating nature of English being framed by this evidence, presented here, entails that English is fully integrated into the linguistic repertoire of the rural dwellers to the effect that it has ceased to be a language of the urbanites only. Rather, it is now one of the many semiotic options for use in circulation for sign- and place-making. In light of the aforesaid, I wish to argue that beyond just wanting to position and project themselves as the transnational and the global by using English, the rural dwellers of these landscapes merely desire to draw from the readily available semiotic resources. And apparently English is such a readily available semiotic resource to them considering that the majority of the producers of these linguistic landscapes are not entirely ‘illiterate’ even though they live in rural spaces. Some of these contributors to the LL are retired teachers, soldiers, and medical personnel. Thus, English is not at all an alien linguistic capital to them.

In the light of the aforesaid, the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010) witnessed in the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of the research sites is a sociolinguistics of both mobility and tension. Mobility is predicated on flexibility, flux and permeability of geo-political and socioeconomic boundaries as can be seen from the changing and multisemiotic nature of the LL: notably, the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces is always absorbing new semiotic resources and cultural materialities from the assortment of localities and regions. The results have shown that English is not the only semiotic resource on the LL despite its dominance, distribution and hierarchicalization across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. Other languages such as local and foreign ones conflate in these spaces. Seen in this way, the global flow is not a one way traffic – that is, from the ‘centre’ to the local – but it is two way traffic in which the centre as well as the local are both senders and recipients of the semiotic resources simultaneously. The urban centres are sending English into the rural and the rural centres are sending the local linguistic materialities into the urban spaces a result of which is the material culture of multilingualism (Aronin and Loaire 2012). It is this duality of flows which leads to the second aspect of the sociolinguistic of globalization – tension.

As can be observed from the resisting and persistent presence of both local and global materialities (language included) in the same locality - of urban, peri-urban and rural – the sociolinguistics of tension and contestation within the broader framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization cannot be resisted. Pennycook (2007a, 2007b, 2010b) and Blommaert 2010) both agree that the locality is not all a passive recipient of global materialities. Rather, these local spaces still maintain their linguistic/multisemiotic legitimacy while at the same time receptive and responsive to the new sociolinguistic complexities in which other resources become useful for additional meaning- and place-making. Seen in this way, the ‘Blommaertian’ assumption that lower scales are subject to scales on the higher level need not be over generalized. The evidence framed from the sociolinguistic of globalization obtaining

in Zambia across the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural landscapes seem to stand opposed to and go against the normative expectation that the higher scale impose or obscure individual local subjective choices. In fact, in the face of a lack of a rigorous language policy, individual actors and localities alike are seen to prevail over the institutional language requirements couched in regionalization. The local environments in which global flows land are still capable of rejecting, manipulating and reformulating these global semiotic resources to suit the meaning- and place-making standards within these receiving localities. In *section 6.3* below I discuss the linguistic coinages which are a direct result of the tension and contestation arising from the sociolinguistics of globalization.

Essentially, the co-occupancy of English and local languages discussed in 6.1.1 above remind us that in the framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization, to which Blommaert (2010) also subscribes, the local offer useful linguistic resources and practices that cannot be easily given up for the sake of globalization. Invariably, this leads to the ever linguistic juxtaposition, layering, co-existence and complexities – one which allows for the co-occupancy of English and local languages on one micro-space/time. But one which also permits the dominance of either global (higher scale) or local (lower scale) resources in urban, peri-urban or rural spaces as epitomized by the results in the study. The argument I wish to sustain here is that to cling to one aspect of distribution – a vertical one in which the global (in this case English) is seen as always dominating the locality is to deny the very essence and pillars of the sociolinguistics of globalization, expressed as mobility, unpredictability, indeterminacy, flexibility and flux as well as unstable locality. Thus, if linguistic resources are vertically arranged, there should also be room to see them as ‘horizontally’ arranged, for languages or semiotic resources in the global flows are constantly ‘jostled’ against and ‘joggled’ about differentially and unpredictably so much so any outcome of arrangement is possible – horizontal or vertical. I take ‘horizontal’ to imply omni/bidirectional and uncompartmentalized multilingualism. In

this way, the sociolinguistic which emerges is one of ‘*scaleless*’ nature predicated on unpredictability and complexity because it not only English which is mobile but also the local and other foreign languages. Equally important, when the sociolinguistics of globalization is understood in this way, it will allow for the existence of bits or truncated forms of language (Blommaert 2010) as well as un-truncated forms of language in globalized spaces, because unpredictability presupposes an open-ended occurrence of sociolinguistic events, which potentially should be able to admit both vertical and horizontal distribution of amalgamated forms of language as well as full-fledged semiotic resources such as monolingual signage of English and/or local languages.

6.1.2 The Contestation of Regional Official Languages across the Urban, Peri-urban and Rural Spaces

In this section, I examine the objective which sought to establish how the regional languages are (re-)produced, maintained and contested across the environs of their promulgation and beyond. We have already dealt with the combinations in which the ROLs appear together with English. From time to time I will refer to those results albeit sparingly to avoid being repetitive. For clarity, *Table 6.1.2* is provided here below showing ROLs appearing in isolation on the signs across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces.

Table 6.1.2: Distribution and Visibility of Regional Official Languages across the LL

ROLS	Lusaka CBD	L/stone CBD	Kabanana Peri-urban	Bauleni Peri-urban	Chipata Peri-urban	Kafue	Chongwe	L/stone-Kazungula	L/stone-Zimba	Chief Mukumi's Area
Nyanja	-	0.8	1.0	2.6	-	4.3	1.1	-	-	-
Tonga	-	-	-	-	13.3	6.4	2.2	2.7	4.9	-

Bemba	0.30	-	3.1	1.3	6.7	1.1	1.1	-	1.2	-
Lozi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
Kaonde	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Luvale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
Lunda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Signs	337	118	96	75	15	94	88	70	79	27

Table 6.1.2 shows the presence of ROLs across the research sites on monolingual signs. Put differently, these results only account for instances in which ROLs appear in isolation on the signs in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces under consideration. Generally, as can be observed, ROLs appearing in isolation on the signage contribute very little to the overall production of space across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of Zambia even though ROLs have had a long established literacy practice in Zambia. In Chapter Two above, I showed how ROLs have received a considerable amount of literacy practice since before independence. The data in *Table 6.1.2* remind us that however long the literacy practice has been in a particular language, it may not be replicated or reflected on the LL. Clearly, the low concentration of signage in ROLs cannot be attributed to factors hinging on literacy practice of the social actors. Other factors other than literacy ought to be sought for limited number of and the paucity of signage in local languages. I privilege a mere proclivity of the sign makers towards the English language over the local languages during the sign- and place-making.

Essentially, there are very few monolingual signs in ROLs across the study area. As can be seen from the results in Table 6.1.2, the concentration of monolingual signs formed by ROLs is highest in Chipata peri-urban where Tonga shows more dominance at 13.3% and Bemba at 6.7%. An important point to underscore in the light of these results relates to the permeability of regional boundaries. Notice that areas falling within Lusaka province ought to show more of Nyanja dominance as it is the regional official language of the province. However, the results do not support the normative position as one only sees a paucity of monolingual Nyanja signage in all the six sites which fall under Lusaka province. The results stand as follows for these sites: Kafue at 4.3%, Bauleni at 2.6%, Chongwe at 1.1% while Kabanana is at 1.0%. Strangely, Lusaka CBD did not show any Nyanja monolingual signs. Outside Lusaka province, monolingual signs in Nyanja are only visible at 0.8% in Livingstone CBD. The paucity of Nyanja monolingual signs is redeemed when one considers bilingual signs on which Nyanja appears with English. In fact, the entire sociolinguistic picture of the research sites is transformed tremendously upon the inclusion of the bilingual signs as one begins to see the spread of Nyanja beyond its traditional enclave just as the case is with other regional official languages discussed below. Notice as discussed in section 6.1.1.2 above that Nyanja in combination with English is as follows: 13.3% in Chipata, 12.1% in Chongwe, 9.9% in Livingstone-Zimba stretch, 8.3 in Kabanana, 8.01% in Lusaka CBD, 6.5% in Kabanana, 5.6% in Livingstone CBD, 3.2% in Kafue and 2.7% in Livingstone-Kazungula stretch.

For Tonga monolingual signs, the results are highest outside of its traditional enclave at 13.3% in Chipata peri-urban, followed by 4.9% on Livingstone-Zimba stretch, 6.4% in Kafue 2.7% on Livingstone-Kazungula stretch and 2.2% in Chongwe. The notable feature about the monolingual Tonga signage is their absence in the LL of Livingstone CBD, Lusaka CBD, Kabanana, Bauleni and Chief Mukuni's area. However, they become visible only as one considers bilingual signs involving English and Tonga. Thus, the sociolinguistic situation forged by monolingual Tonga signage

obscures the ubiquitous spread of Tonga in most environs. As shown above, the co-occupancy of signage by Tonga and English captures a complex interplay of semiotic resources in circulation distributed as follows: 27.2% in Livingstone-Zimba stretch, 12% in Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, 8.8% in Chongwe, 7.5% in Livingstone CBD, 7.4% in Chief Mukuni's area, 6.7% in Chipata, 3.9% in Bauleni, 2.1% in Kabanana and 1.19% in Lusaka CBD.

Bemba monolingual signs are more distributed in exception of two sites, namely, Livingstone CBD and Chief Mukuni's area. In the rest of the sites Bemba monolingual signs are distributed as follows: 6.7% in Chipata, 3.1% in Kabanana, 1.3% in Bauleni, 1.2% on Livingstone-Zimba stretch, 1.1% in Kafue and Chongwe and 0.30% in Lusaka CBD. However, in combination with English, Bemba shows the following pattern of distribution and visibility across the research sites: 8.6% in Lusaka CBD, 7.8% in Bauleni, 6.7% in Livingstone CBD and Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, 5.5% in Chongwe, 3.7% in Chief Mukuni's area, 3.1% in Kabanana and 2.1% in Livingstone-Zimba stretch.

Monolingual signs in Lozi and Luvale only appear at 1.3 on Livingstone-Kazungula stretch. Only in combination with English does Lozi show a reasonable distribution and visibility in six research sites, and these are 12.5% in Livingstone CBD, 3.7% in Chief Mukuni's area, 2.7% in Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, 2.1% in Kabanana, 1.3% in Bauleni and 0.30% in Lusaka CBD.

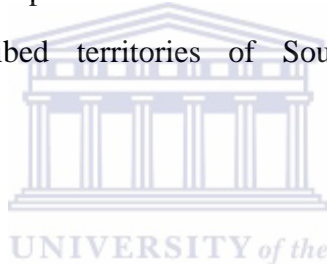
Further, apart from the co-occupancy of signage by ROLs and English discussed in section 6.1.1.2 above, there are interesting combinations which *Table 6.1.1.2* above foregrounds. One such combination resulting in bilingual signs involves Tonga and Chinese at 3.4% in the LL of Livingstone CBD. Additionally, another combination

involves all ROLs on one signage distributed as follows: 2.6% in Lusaka CBD and Bauleni, 2.1% in Kafue and 1.7% in Livingstone CBD.

From the foregoing, therefore, the major contribution which these statistics bring to the fore with regard to how the regional official languages are (re-)produced, maintained and contested is that they do not enjoy any monopoly by virtue of them being the ROLs for a given region. Rather, ROLs are differentially re-produced, maintained and are thus in constant contestation with ROLs for other spaces which, geographically speaking, are far removed. For example, Bemba, Tonga and Lozi are not ROLs for Bauleni Township and yet they are reproduced in these spaces albeit differentially. Similarly, in rural and urban spaces ROLs for other regions are (re-)produced, maintained and contested. The results show that the ROL of a particular region does not put at bay other languages. In fact, it has been seen that in some instances ROLs have been overshadowed by ROLs from other regions. The case in point is Kafue. Despite Nyanja being the ROL for Kafue, its visibility remained at 4.3% compared to Tonga at 6.4%. The high hierarchicalization of Tonga at 6.4% can be attributed to the geographical proximity of Kafue to Chikankata, a Tonga speaking rural district. In fact, the history of Zambia shows that the Tonga speaking people extended beyond the fringes of Lusaka putting Kafue district under the spaces previously occupied by the Tonga people who now occupy Southern province though the language is still spoken in some parts of Central province.

Thus, when one looks at Nyanja the ROL for Kafue in the light of Tonga, one observes contestation for visibility and distribution across the public spaces of Kafue. In essence, the promulgation of language as an ROL for a particular region does not necessarily make it readily dominant and more visible than other languages which are not officially assigned for use in the same space. In this vein, therefore, this evidence points to the mobility of local semiotic resources instantiated by translocal mobility.

In this case, the conflation of multiple linguistic resources in peri-urban spaces of Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata, rural and urban spaces, albeit differentially, forces us to argue for the de-territorialization of spaces involving peri-urban-scapes, rural and urban. Urban, Peri-urban and rural spaces are thus places for which ROLs are reproduced, maintained and contested. I thus, argue that ROLs are part of the mobile semiotic resources in circulation across the different spaces which include spaces beyond their traditional enclaves for which they are promulgated for use. Put differently, the locality within the urban, peri-urban and rural is giving way to the translocal effects and the general mobility of social actors. As the translocal mobility is set in motion, urban, peri-urban and rural spaces become host to multiple linguistic resources. It is no wonder Lozi, Bemba, and Tonga could be found in a Nyanja prescribed territories of Lusaka province in the same way Bemba, Nyanja, Lozi were found in a Tonga prescribed territories of Southern province against the regionalization of languages.



These findings implicate directly the concept of regionalization upon which the language in-education for lower primary in Zambia is formulated and practiced. The insistence by government through the Ministry of Education to teach local languages based on the regionalization of languages model overlooks the key ingredient of any functional community – that is – mobility. As the results show above, regional languages do not stay put where they were originally put by zoning. Instead, these languages are constantly on semiotic move in criss-crossing fashion within and beyond the territories they were promulgated for us. Thus, no one language can fully serve as a regional language in a terrain overly populated with multiple linguistic resources and diffused demographics whose manifestation is unpredictable, unstable, flexible and mobile. In essence, by hanging on to practices predicated upon the regionalization of languages, the government is denying the linguistic/language realities of the late modern world which privileges complexities over monolithic linguistic practices (cf. Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Banda and Bellononjengele

2010; Blommaert 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). In fact Pennycook and Otsuji (2015: 47) are forthright by remarking that languages are “more fluid, more mobile, much harder to pin down”, which is why Canagarajah (2007: 234) reminds, when describing the Asian rural communities, that “local people are so multilingual, interacting with many language-groups in the neighboring villages, that it is difficult to say where one language/group begins and the other ends.” Thus, the results about the contestation of the ROLs in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of the research sites show similar language realities in which boundaries of regional, formal and ethnolinguistic are essentially fuzzy and languages as “elusive and slippery as a bar of wet soap in a bathtub”, to borrow Burridge’s expression about meanings (Kate Burridge 2004:73). Thus, the language practices revealed by the LL defy, and in some way, directly or indirectly, discredit the ‘glorified’ regionalization. Put simply, there is a counter hegemonic narrative being expressed by the criss-crossing nature of ROLs across regions, in and beyond their traditional territories. Blind to these facts, as late as 2013 the government in its educational policy document about the curriculum largely modeled the pedagogical, literacy and language practices for the lower primary on the regionalization of languages (cf. MOE 2013). Thus, while articulating diversity, the government compartmentalize this multilingual phenomena into containers expressed as regionalization or zoning, where multilingualism means seven (7) regional languages each performing its lingua franca role in its own enclave.

6.1.3 The Contestation of Non-Regional Languages across the LL of Urban, Peri-urban and Rural

The contestation of non-regional languages deserves a special consideration. This is particularly so because the regionalisation of languages in Zambia presupposes the silencing and de-centring of non-regional official languages from the mainstream multisemiotic linguistic landscapes in constant construction and consumption even though the social actors are from diffused sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds. On the contrary, the very diffused nature of the social actors – that is, some of the

social actors trace their cultural and linguistic background from non-regional languages and others from the regional official languages – it is unlikely to project unto the LL a predictable and stable language use. It is revealing from the results above and the ones below that the non-regional languages can no longer be de-centred from the mainstream multisemiotic flow and circulation across the LL of the research sites. The evidence framed by the results points to the fact that some of the non-regional official languages have persistently defied their traditional boundaries and status. Some of the results have already been presented in *section 6.1.1.3* in which it has been shown that non-regional languages have been commoditised as they now share the same micro-space/time with English on signs in some selected urban, peri-urban and rural spaces constitutive of the research sites of this study. In this section, however, I show the enduring presence of non-regional languages by foregrounding monolingual signs on which some of these non-regional languages appear in isolation. I privilege the argument that for any language to appear alone on the signage potentially means that such a language has the required linguistic capital amenable for use and deployment in the production and consumption of the mono-semiotic signage as well as the multisemiotic linguistic landscape. Table 6.1.3 details the visibility and distribution of the observable non-regional languages on the LL of the research sites.

Table 6.1.3: Distribution and Visibility of Non-regional Languages

Non-regional language	Lusaka CBD	L/stone CBD	Kabanana	Bauleni	Chipata	Kafue	Chongwe	L/stone-Kazungula	L/stone-Zimba	Chief Mukuni's
Soli	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Toka-Le ya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	-
Namwanga	0.30	-	-	1.3	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
Tumbuka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mambwe	-	-	-	1.3	-	2.1	-	-	-	-
Goba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total signs	337	118	96	75	15	94	88	70	79	27

The results in Table 6.1.3 above show that only four (4) non-regional languages were present as monolingual signs on the LL of the research sites. Soli was only found in two sites of Bauleni and Chongwe at 1.3% and 1.1%, respectively. The monolingual signs of Toka-leya were only found on the LL of Livingstone-Zimba stretch at 2.5%. Namwanga showed more distribution and visibility at 1.3% in Bauleni, 1.1% in Kafue and 0.30% in Lusaka CBD. Mambwe monolingual signs were found in two localities at 1.3% in Bauleni and 2.1% in Kafue.

While Tumbuka and Goba were productively part of the bilingual signs on which they appeared with English, they were never used to form monolingual signs. Statistically, these figures as shown in Table 6.1.3 above seem insignificant. However, the insight they provide is qualitatively more revealing. That is, they provide us with insight about the availability of social actors who, though few in number, are nonetheless willing to launch out the non-regional languages into the general semiotic flow amenable for consumption by anyone. Moreover, the mere presence of monolingual signs of non-regional languages forces us to demystify and demythologise these languages as mere household languages, thereby locating their linguistic potential for place- and meaning-making beyond what they were previously meant or known for. Put differently, the presence of the non-regional languages in formal spaces as well as informal ones has directly lifted these languages from a bounded and restricting confinement to a more open-ended semiotic space where they can be re-deployed for various and potentially infinite purposes such as place- and meaning-making. For example, *Figure 6.1.3* below demonstrates the linguistic capital associated with Soli. In the signage we notice a deliberate use of Soli as the sole locus and bearer of the meaning to travellers to (and from) and patrons of these spaces. In turn, we are forced to acknowledge the fact that the emplaced sign is serving fully the purpose for which it was emplaced – that is, there are people who can read and understand Soli.

Thus, the use of the non-regional languages in the formulation of monolingual signs is predicated on the belief that such a language has both the human urgency and currency within the immediate and spatially and temporally displaced spaces. It is this knowledge that non-regional languages can be productively used to construct and consume both a mono-semiotic signage and a multisemiotic linguistic landscape which liberates traditionally marginalised (minor) languages and projects them unto a platform for contestation, circulation and consumption. Thus, the observed monolingual signs of non-regional languages help us to disembody the non-regional languages from mere glosses on the linguistic maps and from predominately

household use to non-specific domains predicated on the notions of unpredictability, flexibility and flux. Notably, in this connection, the evidence gleaned from these monolingual signs of the non-regional languages stand against historical trajectories of normativity which constantly aim at de-centring languages that have not been accorded the official status. We now know that languages need not have any ‘status’ to imprint their linguistic capital on any linguistic landscapes, thanks to the enduring presence of some of the non-regional official languages on the LL (cf. Shohamy 2006).



Figure 6.1.3: Soli “Mwende Cena” (Travel safely) and Mambwe “Leza Akapela” (Its God who gives) – Non-regional Languages

Further, a point has already been made concerning the co-occupancy of signage by the non-regional languages and English, the official language of government business in Zambia. It is the case that any increased interaction of English and the non-regional languages should signal the permeability of formal and informal boundaries as well as language boundaries. Additionally, this co-occupancy as well as monolingual signage incontrovertibly offer some irrefutable evidence for the linguistic vitality of the non-regional languages. In what follows, therefore, I advance an argument for the linguistic vitality of non-regional languages.

In illustrating the linguistic vitality of non-regional languages, I draw on the visibility of the non-regional languages in Bauleni Township. The results in Bauleni Township

show that three non-regional languages form part of the LL of Bauleni Township, namely, Mambwe, Namwanga and Soli. These languages first appear alone on the signs with the following percentage of distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization: Namwanga at 1.3%, Mambwe at 1.3% and Soli at 1.3%. However, in combination with English and these instances where they appear alone, their distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization shifts to 7.8% for Namwanga, 3.9% for Soli and 1.3% for Mambwe. Aside from the argument about the blurring of boundaries and the mobility of these semiotic resources across the LL which I have already made, I would like to use the evidence here to argue for linguistic vitality of the non-regional languages. I am mindful about the extent to which the LL can be used to mirror the linguistic vitality of a given language. Despite the shortcoming of LL as an index of group and linguistic vitality (cf. Shohamy 2006), the evidence produced by the LL of Bauleni Township concerning the percolating nature of the non-regional languages in peri-urban-scapes compels me to ignore this criticism. I argue that the fact that these non-regional languages can be used in isolation on the signage should suggest and point to their linguistic capital as well as counter hegemonic narratives, in which they resist erasure from the LL by languages with official statuses such as English and ROLs. That is, they can be used for meaning making without being aided by other languages. This therefore may speak to their linguistic vitality and their enduring potential for recognition as languages in their own right rather than being considered merely as dialects. In light of this argument, I wish to suggest here that the use of these non-regional languages on the LL of Bauleni Township does not just reflect the symbolic linguistic capital to which these languages are put but rather, the use points to the indexical function of these languages (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). That is, there exists a community of speakers of these non-regional languages in Bauleni Township as confirmed from the interviews with the owners of these establishments holding out these semiotic resources.

With respect to Soli, the evidence gleaned from the geographical situatedness of

Bauleni Township with the Soli community in Chongwe, points to the constant semiotic flows between these areas. The proximity of Bauleni Township to Chongwe, a Soli speaking community, makes us attribute the presence of Soli on the LL of Bauleni Town to the translocal mobility between these spaces. Secondly, the presence of Soli on the LL of Bauleni Township can be explained within the general socio-historical context of the area which puts Lusaka in general as a Busoli speaking area. Thus, the presence of Soli on the LL of Bauleni is not surprising as Lusaka is historically a Soli speaking area. What should, however, be surprising instead is the diminishing visibility, distribution and hierarchicalization of Soli in its 'own' socio-cultural and historical landscapes. While I resist the temptation of pushing the argument further in this direction, I wish to underscore the fact that the evidence of the diminishing visibility and distribution of Soli can be historicized by studying the LL of not only Bauleni Township but also of Lusaka in general as Soli may in the foreseeable future be a mere figment of imagination to the 21st century dwellers of a late modern Lusaka who may not know the sociolinguistic history of Lusaka. But for the interest of the current study, it suffices to argue here that the fact that Soli still appears on the LL of Bauleni Township is sufficient evidence that Soli contributes to the sociolinguistic mix in circulation in Bauleni and Zambia in general.

From the foregoing, therefore, the contribution which the LL of Bauleni Township makes to the understanding of the state of the non-regional languages across the LL in general and the peri-urban-scapes in particular relates to the fact that they have not remained dormant as 'minor languages' rather they have shown more visibility and distribution than even ROLs such as Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda. The overshadowing of these ROLs by the non-regional languages in the peri-urban-scapes of Bauleni Township helps us to argue for their potential for recognition as languages for wider communication beyond their tribal and traditional enclaves. In most cases non-regional languages are said be confined only to the household use. Against this gloomy background, the evidence forged here lifts these non-regional languages

beyond household use and places them within the general sociolinguistic mix of the nation in general and the peri-urban-scapes in particular as languages for public engagement just as English and the ROLs.

6.1.4 The Circularity of Foreign Languages across the Urban, Peri-urban and Rural Spaces

In section 6.1.1.4 above, I showed how the foreign languages co-exist with English on the signage – bilingual signs. In this section a comment is made on their circularity across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces in order to foreground the translocal and transnational mobility occasioned by historical inter-government ties and globalization. The evidence from the results showing monolingual, bilingual and multilingual signs involving foreign languages will be used to foreground the discussion.

Table 6.1.4: Distribution of Foreign Languages across the LL of Research Sites

Foreign Language	Lusaka CBD	L/stone CBD	Kabanana	Bauleni	Chipata	Kafue	Chongwe	L/stone-Kazungula	L/stone-Zimba	Chief Mukuni's
Chinese	4.2	2.5	-	1.0	-	-	1.1	-	2.5	-
Arabic	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hebrew	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
Persian	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hindi	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
French	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zulu	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xhosa	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

Swati	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.7
Swahili	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shona	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
Total signs	337	118	96	75	15	94	88	70	79	27

The results shown in *Table 6.1.4* above show the foreign languages contributing to the construction of the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural albeit in varied concentration and visibility on monolingual signage. In *Table 6.1.1*, I showed how these foreign co-exist with English to form bilingual signs. This means that when one adds instances in which these languages appear on monolingual and bilingual signs, their concentration and visibility is enhanced. However, one thing that is clearly shown is the presence of 12 different foreign languages namely, Chinese (Mandarin), Arabic, Italian, Persian, Spanish, Hindi, French, Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Swahili and Shona. In terms of the concentration and visibility, the LL of Lusaka CBD is home to six foreign languages distributed as follows: Chinese at 4.2%, Arabic at 3%, Italian 1%, Persian, Spanish, Hindi and French at 0.3% each. Livingstone CBD on the other hand only accounts for one foreign language, Chinese at 2.5%, despite being the tourist capital of Zambia. I discuss this discrepancy later on in this section. The LL of peri-urban scapes of Kabanana and Bauleni are also home to foreign languages. The LL of Kabanana revealed the presence of Hebrew at 4% while the LL of Bauleni had Chinese at 1%, Zulu, Xhosa, and Swahili at 1.3% each. Thus Bauleni was the only peri-urban to have four different foreign languages. The rural spaces of Chongwe had Chinese at 1.1%, Livingstone-Kazungula stretch had Shona and Hebrew at 1.3% each, and Livingstone-Zimba stretch had Chinese only at 2.5% while Chief Mukuni's had Swati at 3.7%. In what follows, I synthesise these findings in order to underscore not only the sociolinguistics of globalization but also some explanations feeding into the

ubiquitous spread of Chinese across the multisemiotic linguistic landscapes under reveal. In order to offer some explanation about the spread of Chinese, I will refer to two specific research sites – Lusaka CBD and Livingstone CBD. As shown in *Table 6.1.2*, Chinese also appear in combination with English and Tonga, making it as the most visible foreign language.

In terms of distribution of foreign languages, these results show that there is more Chinese concentration on the LL of the Lusaka CBD than the other foreign languages. I attribute the higher concentration of Chinese across these public spaces to the renewed ties between the two governments of Zambia and of the People's Republic of China which has set in motion the unparalleled capital investment in Zambia. As one would often observe, the construction industry in Zambia has seen more of the Chinese investment than any other nationals in the past 15 years. Constructions of roads, hospitals, schools and housing complexes across Zambia and Lusaka in particular have left imprints of the contractors' language on these construction sites. The data collected along the Great East Road, for example, provided insights into the prevalence of the Chinese businesses involved in the construction of roads, bow holes as well as making and supplying of building materials such as the quarry dust, blocks and the assortment of fittings as the Chinese language was used to name these businesses. It is important to underscore the point that the concentration, the distributive and the permeating nature of Chinese across the LL of Zambia and particularly in the Lusaka CBD is likely to increase in the foreseeable future following the inclusion of Chinese language as a subject in the school curriculum. The potential of this circulation of Chinese across many public spaces is supported yet further by the University of Zambia's decision to establish the Confucius Centre right on campus, which has seen the introduction of a bachelor's degree programme in/of Chinese.



Figure 6.1.4a: Confucius Institute at the University of Zambia (UNZA)

Thus, the Chinese language status has evolved from being a mere foreign language to being a language in education, business and inter-governmental agreements and transactions within the general linguistic capital of the nation.

The above realities about Chinese in Zambia provide a contrastive picture about the low concentration and distributive capacity of other foreign languages across the site under discussion. If we take for example the concentration of French in Lusaka CBD, we observe that French, despite having been introduced in the sociolinguistic mix of Zambia by 1888 by the missionaries and later into the school system as ‘French as a Foreign Language’, it has not made notable inroads onto the LL of Lusaka in general and Lusaka CBD in particular. The results show French at 0.3% sharing the bottom slot of the hierarchy with languages such as Spanish, Hindi, Zulu, and Masai. Thus, I argue that the huge capital investment in such business ventures as road constructions has given unprecedented linguistic capital to the Chinese language over the other foreign languages with which it co-exists in the public spaces of Lusaka CBD. This evidence, as will be seen later in the discussion, replicates itself also in the urbanized spaces of Livingstone. This evidence and explanation holds true for Arabic (2.9%) and Italian (1%) as well. The relatively huge investment in businesses about consumption has led to the proliferation of Asian and Italian shops dealing in clothing and food, respectively. Such establishments use their respective languages to name their businesses or indeed their products in the case of Italian food outlets where Italian names are used to name yogurt and different consumable flavours.



Figure 6.1.4b: Italian Ice cream and Yogurt Flavours in Lusaka CBD

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Rather surprisingly, the only foreign language visible on the LL of Livingstone CBD is Chinese. I expected to find a lot more foreign languages in these spaces as there are tourists from the assortment of linguistic backgrounds. In fact the 2011 Zambia Tourism Sector Profile provides insight into the diverse demographics of tourists who visit Zambia and that over 90% of these also visit Livingstone.

Table 6.1.4b: Tourism Sector Performance (2005-2009)

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total Number of Arrivals	67,000	757,000	897,000	812,000	710,000	823,000
Total Annual Percentage changes		13.2	18.6	(9.5)	(12.5)	15.9

Liu and Mwanza (2014) estimate that about 74.9% of these foreign tourists traverse the landscape of Livingstone, which puts the daily flows of tourists at 6000. Despite the diversity in the demographic flow of tourists English has remained the more neutral language to serve the diverse linguistic needs of these tourists even though Chinese is making attempts at becoming a linguistic capital synonymous with tourism as can be seen in the built environment of the tourist capital Livingstone. Below are two five star hotels belonging to a Chinese national Xuan Yabiao. The names of the hotel are written in Chinese and the English equivalent right below the Chinese writing.



Figure 6.1.4c: Emplaced Chinese signage on the Built Environment in Livingstone



Figure 6.1.4d: Signage Giving Direction to One of the Chinese Owned Inn

Thus, the proliferation of Chinese hotels and lodges especially following the awarding of the contract to the Chinese contractors to rebuild Livingstone town in 2012/2013 in readiness to host the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) General Assembly scheduled to take place in August 2013, gave rise to the circulation of Chinese language in the public spaces of Livingstone CBD. More Chinese nationals gained access to land on which they built hotels and lodges.

With this background, it is not surprising why Chinese appears on the LL of Livingstone CBD. Specifically, Chinese appears on its own on the signs at 2.5%, in combination with Tonga at 2.5% and in combination with English and Tonga at 3.3%. In total therefore, Chinese's visibility is at 8.3%. This is twice more than what Lusaka CBD showed. The uniqueness with which Chinese is produced in Livingstone CBD on monolingual, bilingual and trilingual signs may suggest the degree of the linguistic capital with which it is becoming associated. I already pointed out that the proliferation of signage in Chinese as found in Lusaka CBD is attributed to the huge capital investment in infrastructure development but also the introduction of Chinese as a subject in high schools and university following the construction of the Confucius centre at the University of Zambia. But rather than seeing the use of Chinese here in Livingstone CBD in the same light as used in Lusaka CBD, I would like to argue that the presence of Chinese on the LL of Livingstone is a business strategy by Chinese business houses to attract customers. There is a socio-cultural belief among the Zambians which associates Chinese language with affordability and bargaining (Banda and Jimaima 2015).

Thus, the use of Chinese here can be paralleled with what Leeman and Modan's (2010) postulation about how Chinese is used in Chinatown - US. They remind us that "in late modernity, much language in the urban landscape is both an outcome of, and a vehicle for, the commodification of space" (Leeman and Modan 2010: 182). Framed in this way, it is not surprising for Kitiarsa (2006: 1) to postulate that "commodifying

processes are highly inventive and specifically embedded in the local-global trajectories of the market economy.” Moreover, the fact that Chinese can now be used on the same signage with Tonga presupposes a direct appeal to both the local and transnational communities some of whom are the Chinese themselves. In fact, the 2015 Post Magazine puts the number of Chinese tourists visiting Livingstone at 67, 000 in the year 2013 alone. Here, the geosemiotics as advanced by Scollon and Scollon (2003) becomes useful to understand the interplay and the co-occupancy of Chinese and Tonga on the signage. They remind us that “the language on [the] sign gains its meaning from the extralinguistic phenomena such as the political and economic interests that led to its creation or its location in space, as well from the language of the other signs around it” (Leeman and Modan 2010: 183). In the context of the current study, I see the emplacement of Chinese together with English and Tonga as a meaning-making strategy the aim of which is to underpin the Chinese language as both global and local (see Chapter 8). In this case, English is used to appeal to the global while Tonga appeals to the local. The extralinguistic phenomena which Leeman and Modan (2010) refer to takes Chinese right at the locus of the political economy of Zambia as a semiotic resource for inter-governmental discourses at the political front and a semiotic flow for engendering business among the common citizenry.

The presence of Hebrew at 4% in the LL of Kabanana peri-urban deserves special mention also. Hebrew is written in the (Latin) English script. By the English script we mean that Hebrew has not been written using its traditional graphemes. Rather, the writing is scripted using the English writing system. See the signage below in *Figure 6.6* and *6.7*:



Figure 6.1.4e: Signage in Hebrew “EL-Shadai” in Kabanana

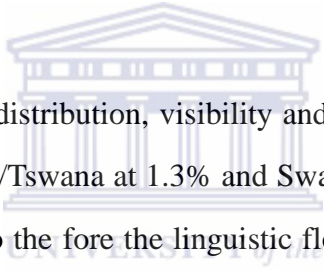


Figure 6.1.4f: Signage in Hebrew (Lyrics from Roni Roni Bat Zion)

While the presence of Hebrew on the LL of Kabanana adds to the semiotic flows in circulation, and quantitatively to the number of languages which form part of the peri-urban-scapes of Kabanana Township, it is highly doubtful that Hebrew is consumed in the same way that local languages and English are (consumed) by the majority of the social actors on the LL of Kabanana. I argue that rather than seeing Hebrew in the indexical sense here, Hebrew should be seen performing a symbolic function. In fact, in one of the signs where Hebrew appears, as in the above signage, it has been used to underpin the religious affiliation of the owner of the establishment. See a detailed analysis of the Christianization of space in Chapter 7 below. Thus, the use Hebrew in these spaces is in line with what Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to as symbolic function of the LL. It has only been used to symbolize the act of belonging and also the instance of reminiscing about the musicological semiotics as the other sign on the shop constitutes lyrics from a Hebrew song. In this way, the owner of this

sign projects himself as one who knows the meaning-making potential of Hebrew as it appeals to his musical mind. Nonetheless, the Christianized discourses involving Hebrew can be said to be indexical. Many Christians use such phrases as “EL-Shadai” (Lord) semiotically and linguistically – meaning they have come to know both the semiotic and linguistic signification of the word/phrase “EL-Shadai”.

Whatever the plausible explanation about the meaning-making potential of Hebrew to the consumers of the semiotics emplaced in time and space on the LL of Kabanana, what is clear from the results is that Hebrew, like Chinese, has made inroads into the sociolinguistic mix of Kabanana and adds, in a substantial way, to the linguistic heterogeneity of the place.



Further, the results about the distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization of foreign languages in Bauleni put Zulu/Tswana at 1.3% and Swahili at 1.3%. These results are important in that they bring to the fore the linguistic flow from within Africa in case of Zulu/Tswana and Swahili. The presence of Swahili on the LL of Bauleni Township is forged by the business trajectory between Zambia and Tanzania. In fact the owner of the shop indicated that the selection of Swahili as a language by which his establishment should be known was motivated by his frequent business trips to and the association with Dar es Salaam. The linguistic trajectory which brings Zulu/Tswana into the linguistic mix of Bauleni is framed by the 2010 World Cup hosted by South Africa which put on the market the famous ‘local trumpet’ – the vuvuzela.



Figure 6.1.4g:Image showing the the Zulu semiotics ‘Vuvuzela’

Thus, the football world helped in the distribution of the semiotic resource across the LL of Bauleni Township for consumption by the social players on these landscapes. I argue therefore that foreignness and transnational mobility are not only preserves of urbanized spaces; rather, they defy normative expectations and traditional boundaries. As Leeman and Modan (2010: 182) aptly remind us, “a landscape is not a container that holds objects like a picnic basket filled with lunch items....Rather, they are topographies that shape and are shaped by the items with which they are collected.” This entails that the LL does not immobilize languages so that languages may stay put where they are put. Instead, landscapes and the languages they contain are always mobile and in the state of flux, responding to the ever fluid and shifting linguistic corridor set in motion by mobile social actors in these micro/macro-spaces and time. Thus, the conflation of foreign and local semiotic resources in one micro/macro-time/space forces us to argue for the de-territorialization of spaces and circularity of semiotic resources on the LL of Kabanana instantiated by the constant mobile historical bodies in the broader context of globalization and translocal agency.

6.2 Comparing the LL Data and Census Data on Language Distribution and Visibility in Lusaka and Livingstone – a Synoptic View

The picture forged by the LL data on language structuring, particularly with regard to language distribution and visibility stand opposed to the evidence instantiated by the national census data. The most striking difference in the two sets of data is seen with respect to the distribution and visibility of English. In all the spaces spanning urban, peri-urban and rural, English on the signage is above 80% when we combine English monolingual and bilingual signs. In fact, when we combine instances in which it appears with other languages such as the seven regional official languages, its visibility on the LL shoots up strikingly. The census reports, however, put English at 6.1% in Lusaka and 1.0% in Southern Province where Livingstone urban, Livingstone-Kazungula, Livingstone-Zimba stretch and Chief Mukuni's area are situated. The overall national statistical data about the consumption of English is put at 1.7% for the 2000 and 2010 national census reports (see Tables 6.2a and 6.2b below).

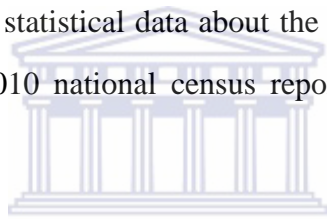


Table 6.2a: Percentage Distribution of the Population by Predominant Language of Communication and Province (CSO 2012: 66)

LANGUAGE	ZAMBIA	LUSAKA	SOUTHERN
Bemba	35.5	17.6	2.8
Tonga	11.4	4.3	74.7
Soli	0.3	1.7	0.0
Ila	0.7	0.1	3.7
Toka-Leya	0.5	0.0	4.0
Gowa	0.1	0.4	0.4
Luvale	1.5	0.2	0.4
Lunda	1.9	0.1	0.1
Kaonde	1.9	0.2	0.1
Lozi	5.5	1.3	4.0
Chewa	4.5	1.2	0.2
Nyanja	14.8	61.9	7.0
English	1.7	6.2	1.0
Lala	1.8	0.1	0.0
Lamba	1.8	0.1	0.0

Lenje	1.2	0.6	0.1
Nsenga	3.0	1.6	0.2
Ngoni	0.7	0.4	0.2
Tumbuka	2.6	0.4	0.1
Senga	0.7	0.1	0.0
Mambwe	1.3	0.3	0.1
Namwanga	1.2	0.2	0.0
Other Languages	4.7	3.1	1.2

Table 6.2b: Percentage Distribution of Major Language Groups, Zambia 1990, 2000 and 2010(source: CSO 2012: 66)

Language Group	1990	2000	2010
Bemba	39.9	38.5	41.0
Tonga	14.8	13.9	14.5
North Western	8.8	7.7	6.6
Barotse	7.5	6.9	6.3
Mambwe	3.4	3.2	3.2
Nyanja	20.1	20.6	23.3
Tumbuka	3.7	3.2	3.3
English	1.1	1.7	1.7
Other	0.8	4.3	0.3
Total	100	100	100
Total Population	7,001, 936	8, 702, 932	11, 126, 992

The marked difference in the distribution and visibility of English in the two data sets is understandable. The census report reflects the household language situation rather than the *free-floating* linguistic diversity in the public spaces. The interview with one of the Directors at the Central Statistical Office (CSO) revealed that the questionnaire seeks to capture what they term as the mother tongue of the household. In this regard, only heads of the household are asked to provide information about the language used in the home. Thus, irrespective of the language diversity evident in the home, particularly as occasioned by the children, the heads of the household would rather privilege their ‘mother tongue’ over other languages spoken in the home. In fact, individuals are not asked to provide language(s) of play or of business outside the confines of their homes.

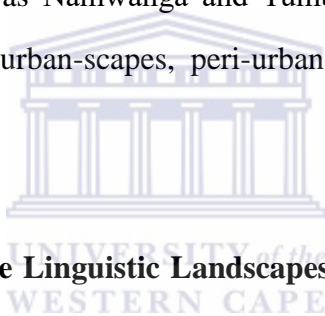
Further, data from the census report lacks detail with regard to foreign languages. In the reports of 1990, 2000 and 2010 foreign languages are merely recorded as other languages at 3.1% for Lusaka and 2.1% for Southern province. This vague linguistic accountability obscures the real language (and linguistic) situation on the ground. Against this background, however, the LL data presented in this study clearly shows the foreign languages that have made inroads unto the LL of selected research sites of Lusaka and Southern province.

With regard to regional and non-regional languages, the data from census reports over a twenty-year period, that is, from 1990 to 2010, seem to suggest a rigid linguistic situation. For example, nationally, Bemba has remained distributed at 38-40%, Nyanja at 20-23% and Tonga at 14%. While I do not wish to suggest that these percentages are non-reflective of the realities of the late modernity, especially in urbanized centres such as Lusaka and Livingstone, the evidence gleaned from the LL study of these spaces might force us to question the stability which the census reports seem to forge. For example, the LL data in Lusaka show that Bemba contributes more to the construction of the LL than Nyanja (see 6.2.1.1 above), and in some cases Tonga also tends to overshadow Nyanja on the LL as was seen in Chipata and Kafue.

Arguably, the complex nature of the LL of these two urban centres of Lusaka and Livingstone, point to a diffused and linguistically disembodied LL where, as established in most linguistic literature, heterogeneity and multilingualism are a norm rather than the exception (cf. Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Auer and Wei 2007; Weber and Horner 2012). In fact, Auer and Wei (2007:3) are forthright on this matter: "...mixing is prestigious and a matter of course, because the idea of a pure language as a value in itself is neither part of 16th century European culture, nor is it part of the language ideology in most Africa." We can argue that the census reports hardly account for mixing, the translanguaging practices of the contemporary society. This is understandable because "the enumeration of speakers of a language is founded

on a monolingual norm of speakerhood”...and that “[a]t the heart of such language enumeration is the same census ideology that has been such a cornerstone of the colonial imaginary” (Hill 2002: 128, and Makoni and Pennycook 2007: 11).

However, what the census report brings to the fore is the general linguistic diversity of the country, and also the acknowledgement of the permeability of ethno-linguistic boundaries as their data show that languages do not stay put where they are originally put. “Instead of functioning as distinct objects enclosed inside a territory,...material manifestations of language in the built environment constitute key elements in shaping city spaces as urban places imbued with social meaning” (Leeman and Modan (2010: 182). The census reports, just as the LL data in this study, show that non-regional languages such as Namwanga and Tumbuka have ‘translocated’ from their traditional environs to urban-scapes, peri-urban and rural spaces of Lusaka, Livingstone and beyond.



6.3 Linguistic Coinage in the Linguistic Landscapes: Towards a Sociolinguistics of Amalgamation

Due to the situatedness of the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces within the confluences of the global semiotic and human flows, the LL which is emerging in these spaces is constitutive of the linguistic coinages. The evidence provided by the results in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces reveal an important linguistic creativity which has contributed about 6% to the production of the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone CBD, and 2.2% for rural district of Chongwe, and Kafue. I have called this phenomenon linguistic coinage or amalgamated forms arising from linguistic convergence and tension within a micro-space and time. Thus a sociolinguistics of amalgamation is about blending of linguistic repertoires in circulation. Thus, it is a sociolinguistics of hybridity and fusion predicated on creativity and appropriation of local subcultures in sign- and place making. I have made a distinction between those creations which are more English-like and the ones which are more local-like. For

example the advertisement by Zamtel such as *Zamtelligent* – a combination of ‘Zamtel’ and ‘intelligent’ in *figure 6.3a* below – fit into the English morphological framework while renditions such as *chadibadiba* (*figure 6.3c*) – a creation from the idea of disco or indeed the clamour within spaces of entertainment – fit into the morpho-phonology of the local languages. It is these linguistic items which I call linguistic coinages and provide an insight into the sociolinguistics of truncated forms of language. Statistically speaking, therefore, at 6%, these new linguistic coinages are more concentrated on the LL than local languages appearing in isolation.

It is worth noting that linguistic coinages or amalgamated forms of language on the LL of Zambia have been made more visible by telecommunication companies such as Airtel, MTN and Zamtel. Due to a heightened competition among these companies expressed by the desire to have more subscribers, these companies have resorted to high tech-design of signage some of which showcase young stars in total control of their space. But most important, these companies have shown proclivity towards a creative manipulation of linguistic/language tokens in which amalgamated forms of language are used in sign- and place-making. The bits of language are drawn from the assortment of languages within and beyond the sociolinguistic terrain of Zambia. The messages borne by most of these signs resonate with the post-modern thinking of freedom, independence and unrestricted identity performance as well as the spirit of wining predicated on aspects of consumerism. In short, there is this utopian and fantasy world which is created by the signage emplaced by telecommunication companies so much so individual subscribers or potential subscribers are constantly made to aspire for. In an attempt to create such worlds of fantasy for a multilingual space like Zambia, these companies have continually but manipulatively configured and reconfigured languages. In most cases they pick up already amalgamated forms in circulation. In turn, the signboards become replete with bits and amalgamated forms rather than one language in order to respond and meet the various sociocultural and historical trajectories of the consumers.



Figure 6.3a: 'Zamtel it' and 'Zamtelligent'

One of the manipulative messages is one which projects the subscriber as 'intelligent'. *Figure 6.3a* is the best example in point. By creatively blending two truncated forms of language – 'Zamtel' and 'ligent' (from intelligent), the sign makers have successfully associated their services with intelligence. What this means is that one only makes an intelligent choice when one becomes a Zamtel subscriber. This is predicated on the assumption that Zamtel services are comparatively cheaper and more efficient. Thus, in an effort to allure a million more subscribers, languages have paid the price: they have unpredictably truncated and later amalgamated for a more persuasive transmodality and multisemioticity. In turn, more verb-like forms have been created from the blend 'Zamtel'. One of them is 'Zamtel it', in which phrase 'Zamtel' is the verb and 'it' is the noun phrase. The two signs are dialogical: that is, once the subscriber has been made 'Zamtelligent', they can now 'Zamtel it' to other potential subscribers. In this way, the signs are telling a story progressively to the consumers. The story of becoming intelligent and telling it to other people.

Linguistically, these bits are not haphazardly conjoined in the formulation of phrases seen on the signboard; rather, they follow a morphological and syntactic pattern of a known grammar. Observably, the coinages in the two signs above are modeled after the English language, morpho-syntactically and semantically. To this end, ‘Zamtel’, an acronym for ‘Zambia telecommunication’, has been semiotized – given extra syntactic and semantic capacity to metamorphosize into an adjective in the case of ‘Zamtelligent’ as well as the verb of the phrase in ‘Zamtel it’. Thus, reading these bits of language from this perspective brings into the spotlight the productive way in which the English grammatical architecture influences the creation of the semiotic resources with which the signage, and by extension, the LL are constructed. We are thus not just dealing with a sociolinguistics of languages but of amalgamated forms of language in an effort to respond to a multilingual consumer base.



Figure 6.3b: Airtel signage ‘WINA BIG’

In *figure 6.3b*, Airtel Zambia has used rather productively the amalgamated forms of language to tap into and appeal to the ‘spirit of winning’ as well as the financial taste of the subscribers. In the signage, the idea of winning is borne by an amalgamated

form – ‘win’ and ‘a’ – from English and local languages, hence *wina*. The *wina Big* ‘win big’ semiotics are superimposed on the supposed house which is to be won during the promotion. Then there is the highly emotive accompanying semiotics ‘go for it’ in the ideal position (the lower section of the signage). Seen from this perspective, the sign makers have in a subtle way accomplished their goal – to evoke the sense of winning which leads to financial freedom. This particular signage thrives on the idea that owning a modern house in a posh neighbourhood is almost everyone’s dream. Thus, tying the buying of airtime to the grand dream of owning a house of your own makes the whole transaction effortless and highly probable, thanks to creatively truncated yet amalgamated language forms such as *wina big* and ‘go for it’ as well as the high-tech visual semiotics of the actual house to be won.

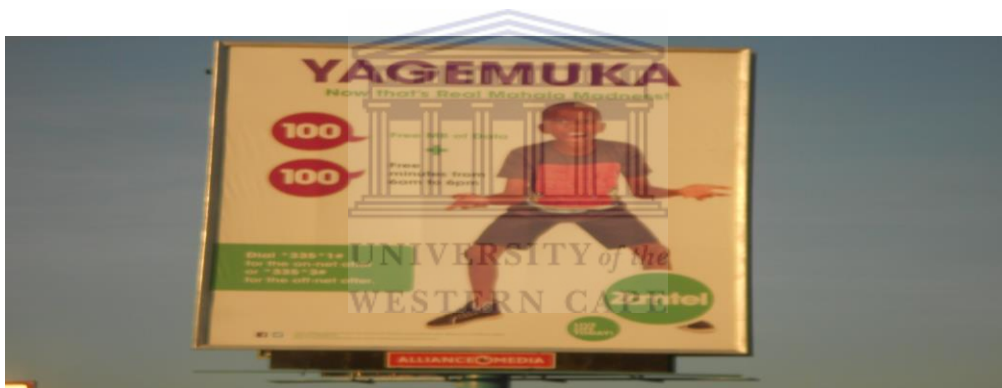


Figure 6.3c: Zamtel Advert *YAGEMUKA* in Lusaka CBD

An important note to make concerns the linguistic input which these coinages receive at creation. Or put differently, the languages to which these amalgamations belong. In the sociolinguistics of globalization, Blommaert (2010) would fairly refer to these as truncated forms or bits of languages which are conjoined to formulate complex semiotic structures amenable for meaning- and place-making. If we take *Yagemuka*, for example, one observes that etymologically the word is a localized version of the English phrase ‘game on’. Using creative ways supported by some aspects of borrowing, the phrase ‘game on’ has undergone feature changing rules, phonologically speaking, in order to fit into the phonotactics of the local languages.

Note that the noun ‘game’ is localized into *-gemuk-* a verbal stem in nearly all the local languages. Thus the ‘*ya*’ and ‘*ka*’ in *yagemuka* are the verbal forms in which ‘-a’ in ‘*ya*’ is a tense marker morpheme on its own whilst the ‘*y*’ is the subject marker morpheme ‘i-’ for nominal class 9. Similarly the ‘-a’ in ‘*ka*’ is final verbal suffix morpheme on its own. It is interesting that when one of the respondents from Zamtel, in fact the director of marketing, was asked in what language the word *yagemuka* was, she made a very revealing remark about the non-language specificity of the word. She said it belonged to any language of the one reading it. In her own words, she said

When a Bemba is reading it he or she will read it as Bemba. When it is a Nyanja speaker he or she will read it as Nyanja. I believe the same is true about a Tonga speaker, not so? (asking for approval from the researcher who is also a Tonga speaker). you know...when selecting languages to put in an advert we try to go for words that are found in all languages or at least some of the common languages that people understand.

It is clear, at least to the producer of the LL that most local coinages belong not to one language but all languages. This is in line with what Pennycook (2009: 205) suggests that “it is not so clear that signs are in a specific language at all.” In this regard, Pennycook privileges Makoni and Pennycook’s (2007) rejection of the notion of discrete languages as separate entities; he embraces the idea that languages are mere linguistic resources used to evoke different worlds and different possibilities in which people engage. This fluidity of the linguistic coinages helps us to gain insight into the multiple identities of spaces and the circularity of semiotic resources across the LL. Thus, framed after this claim, it can be argued that local languages conflate in one space, such as the advert about *Yagemuka* to produce multiple locality and prisms of languages crafted by human ingenuity. In fact Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 314) stress the fact that “LL provides a prism of languages embedded in societies and situated in humanistic, social, and political ecology of those who share, form, influence and are influenced by it.” Thus, languages used in the LL can be viewed as mixed, hybrids and fusions. In this regard, linguistic coinages in the LL are

constitutive of the LL as a social construct based on human manipulation, perception, politics, language, rhetoric, feeling and sentiment which come alive when social actors become conscious of the public spaces they actively produce around them (cf. Cannadine 2000: 188; Pennycook 2009: 308).

Furthermore, following the observable linguistic amalgamations in place across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces, albeit quantitatively varied, we see a counter movement of semiotic resources as well as the human creativity across urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. Evidently, the results showing linguistic coinages in rural spaces such as Chongwe augment the argument that hybridity, fusion and localization as they relate to language are not exclusively urban phenomena. The fact that Chongwe is a rural district and yet permeated by these linguistic creations entails that spaces, whether rural or urban, are more or less experiencing the shift in locality at the same time, degree and rate. During data collection in these typical rural spaces, it was not uncommon to find individuals engaged in discourses about phone technology making references to the products by telecommunication companies spattering their locality like *Yagemuka* 'game on', *Siliza* 'finish', '*Mahala*' 'free', *Chadibadiba* 'abundantly plenteous', *fastele fastele* 'fast fast'. Thus, these promotional slogans such as *Siliza* and *Mahala* have become the 'airtime mantra' among many mobile subscribers and consumers in Zambia.

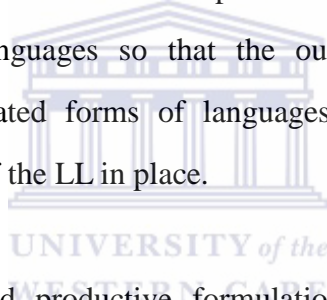
Thus, the rural are actively involved not only in the consumption but also in production of hybrid, and localized language posit in this study as linguistic amalgamations.



Figure 6.3b: Linguistic Coinage - Chadibadiba

The evidence framed from these linguistic coinages feed into two theoretical strands: the sociolinguistics of tension involving multiple semiotic resources, leading to the amalgamation of languages in order to create linguistic forms such as those in the signage above. As observed above, bits of languages are picked from the assortment of languages conflating in one space so that the end products of this semiotic and ‘creative packaging’ are seen as not belonging to any specific language. If we take *figure 6.3b* above, *chadibadiba* ‘abundantly plenteous’, formulated on the onomatopoeic of the disco clamour, we notice that these forms arise from highly charged sociocultural environments such that anyone with a ‘Zambian upbringing’ would fairly identify with the coinage. For it is not uncommon to hear most people describing highly crowded and even entertaining events as *chadiba*, and a kind of reduplication *chadibadiba* to point out the ‘non-stop’ ecstasy accompanying such events. Arguably, therefore, these amalgamated forms of language transcend linguistic boundaries as well as ethnolinguistic affiliations since anyone can read them without consciously factorizing the linguistic tag they bear.

In the case of *'Zamtelligent'* or *'Zamtel it'*, while these amalgamated forms can be read of based on the English phonemics and morpho-syntax, as shown above, they cannot be defined entirely based on the English lexicon. Rather, they are semiotically deciphered by understanding socioeconomic and linguistic dynamics at play during their creation. However, if one looks upon them as English signs, on account of their morpho-syntactic pattern which is similar to English, we then should further argue that languages are permeable to the extent that their lexicon is easily expandable by not only those who claim to be 'centre' communities (native), but also by any social actors using the resource communicatively. In this way, the linguistic judgment on whether such coinages or amalgamated forms meet the expected standards set by the 'centre communities' becomes immaterial. Thus, the dialogical interplay of multiple linguistic resources in an environment has the potential to induce tension which gives way to the blending of languages so that the outcome of the interplay is a sociolinguistics of amalgamated forms of languages which are discursively and semiotically transformative of the LL in place.



Secondly, the successful and productive formulation of amalgamated forms of languages (linguistic coinages) which are meaningful and accessible to the many social actors reminds us that policy documents, grammars and lexicons do very little about the subjective choices of individuals in the production and the eventual uptake of languages on the LL. While grammar books, dictionaries and language policy documents may not allow for and readily accept such amalgamated forms of language, the results indicate that the localities from which these amalgamated forms of languages are produced can never be policed by such theoretical documentations. Further, we cannot underestimate the popularity and linguistic capital associated with these new forms of hybridity and fusion. The fact that giant multinational companies such as Airtel and MTN as well as commercial banks are productively tapping into these amalgamated forms of language suggests that such forms are not alien to the locals and thus, cannot be ignored or de-centred as semiotic resources only for a

certain class of people. We now know from this study that these amalgamated forms are distributed across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces, not because technology has moved them into these spaces but that technology has only made them more apparent for everyone to see. Therefore, it would be sociolinguistically distorting to assume that these forms are a creation by the mobile communication technology of the 21st century (at least in the Zambian context). Rather, these forms have been part of the communicative repertoire of the majority of the Zambian population from years back. No wonder, the formal and the informal, urban and the rural spaces, are all manifesting similar sociolinguistic trends with regard to the use of hybridized forms. For example, Zambia telecommunication (Zamtel) company is a public institution tasked to provide telecommunication services to the nation. In its re-imagining as a business entity, it does not show any differential effect in the kind of semiotic resources used on the signage with those telecommunication companies which are privately owned like MTN and Airtel. All these telecommunication companies use assortment of amalgamated and localized semiotics. As seen in the signage above, phrases such as the following are associated with each of these companies: *Yagemuka. Siliza, mahala* (Zamtel); *wina big* (Airtel Zambia) and *chadiba, Chadibadiba* (MTN Zambia) - among many other phrases. These examples show that the public and the private, at least in as far as telecommunication companies are concerned, do not show marked difference in the choice, use and circulation of semiotic resources. The non-official and the official linguistic renderings find expression on the same signage in the public spaces in spite of the linguistic flows of the spaces they occupy.

6.4 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has presented and discussed the findings which relate to the two overriding objectives: the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL. The urban, peri-urban and rural spaces examined above have brought into the spotlight the following sociolinguistic insights about language in these spaces: first, the idea that the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces are home to

linguistically heterogeneous LL, not only to local semiotic resources but to non-local semiotics. Second, the fact that these non-local and local languages filter through the regional and ethnolinguistic boundaries, entails that the urban, peri-urban and rural LLs are part of the translocal and transnational mobility. Third, the translocal and transnational mobility being witnessed in these spaces further situate the semiotic resources into the general semiotic flows of the national sociolinguistics. The conflation of different languages therefore means that languages are in constant circulation and contestation. This circulation makes languages such as English to be disembodied from elitism, making it a resource to both the elite and the non-elite who are differentially distributed across the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. Based on these observable linguistic trends in the 10 research sites, spanning urban, peri-urban and rural spaces, I argue that it would be linguistically misleading to compartmentalize spaces along linguistic boundaries because "...we are looking at a world that can no longer be neatly divided into clear and transparent categories..." for the sociolinguistics being witnessed is one of "mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" (Blommaert 2010: xiv). In fact, to see, for example, peri-urban and rural spaces as entirely local spaces on the assumption that only local and non-elite population live in these spaces would lead to a distortion of the linguistic reality on the ground. The evidence as framed from these spaces shows that peri-urban and rural spaces are linguistically indeterminate just as the urban. Which is why Higgins (2009: xi) advances a linguistic theorization that "treats human agency, contextuality, diversity, indeterminacy, and multimodality as the norm." One cannot for sure be certain of what to expect in the LL of these spaces. The conflation of multiple languages as led to a sociolinguistics of truncated forms of language on the LL of urban, peri-urban and rural spaces, which thrives on hybridity and fusion.

Further, the results used to frame the evidence concerning the circularity of semiotic resources – particularly English – in these localities previously seen as belonging to

the locals only opens up possibilities to argue for a ‘scale-less’ semiotic landscape. The evidence framed in our study stands opposed to the typical locus of the sociolinguistic of globalization (Blommaert 2010) which holds that “social actions take place across multiple, stratified, or hierarchically structured spaces: likewise, linguistic resources operate at differently ranked scale levels, from most global to the most local, with a number of intermediate ones: neighbourhood, town, city, region, nation state, and so on” (Jaworski 2015: 220). The conflation of English and the local languages within the same micro/macro-spaces and time defies the apparent ordering of landscapes into discernible scales. The production and eventual consumption of the LL in urban, peri-urban and rural spaces under consideration does not follow or adhere to either global or local flows in a uniform and predictable manner; rather, the creation is formed from what I term ‘double articulation’ in which I privilege spontaneity and simultaneity as the guiding principle. What this means is that the English language is not always imported from the outside to these spaces, rather, the English language used to create and produce the LL is part of the myriad of the multisemiotic and cultural materialities in circulation within these localities. In this regard, or seen from this angle, the flow is not from the global to the local, but from the local within the locality. Where the flow emanates from the outside, it does not necessarily offset the locality as the locality is equally predisposed to the same semiotic currency beforehand. I argue that what has been termed global influence in late modernity with regard to the spread of English should be re-contextualized in the face of the use of English in Zambia in general and in the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces of Lusaka and Southern province in particular. Individuals have had a rich and extended use of English for their personalized and shared socio-cultural communicative effect since before independence. This might explain why Aronin and Ó Laoire (2012: 8) are forthright in pointing out that “the material objects [on the LL] reflect not only interests and needs, but also skills, wider community ideologies, the individual’s assumptions, beliefs and habitual behaviours” seeing that the semiotic resources with which we construct space “are repositories of family and personal

narratives...artifacts are active voices which present our attitudes and behavior” (p. 9). Thus, the English language, just as the local languages, is a semiotic resource with which the local producers of these peri-urban-scapes double articulate their localities, interests and acculturation.

As reminded above, English has been in the sociolinguistic mix of Zambia since before independence. Thus, the effects of globalization of late modernity cannot in isolation fully explain the place of English in the urban, peri-urban and rural spaces. Instead, the historical and socio-cultural as well as demographic situatedness of these spaces seem to offer a more satisfactory explanation. This situatedness places the urban, peri-urban and rural scapes in the semiotic circuit, thus linking all of them albeit differentially to both the historical linguistic narratives and globalization. Majority of the Zambian population escaping the poverty of the often forgotten rural spaces find the peri-urban spaces economically supportive of their limited capital and means of survival and at the same time, the urban centres provide a complete economic loop for these rural ‘escapes’. In this continued exchange of human capital between the rural, peri-urban and urban, these spaces are constantly being impacted and re-impacted and re-configured by the linguistic forces from the peri-urban, rural and urban centres with a similar degree of simultaneity and spontaneity. This double articulation – or should we call it ‘triple articulation’ – affords a diminishing effect of the global flows over the local. Rather, the situation is more mutual and balanced as flows of multisemiotic and multicultural materialities are better seen as from multiple directions. Thus, it is unclear whether the global affects the locality or locality affects the global (see Oakes and Schein 2006). To this end, we are reminded that “people and institutions have come to be translocal, that is, to belong to more than one locality simultaneously” (Oakes and Schein 2006: ii).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL NARRATIVES IN PLACE AND MEANING MAKING

7.0 Introduction

In Chapter Six, the results underpinning the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the multimodal LL were presented and discussed. In the current Chapter, the production of space and meaning making is discussed based on the interviews as well as the actual signage in place which form part of the socio-cultural narratives in place making and meaning making of the research sites. In undertaking the analysis, I privilege the idea that “it is ... through narratives that we order our experience and try to make sense of it” because narratives are “among many ways of finding meaning in an overwhelmingly crowded and distorted chronological reality” (Harre, Brockmeier and Muhlhausler 1999: 70). Specifically, the Chapter shows the LL as a themed space (Blommaert 2012), namely, Christianization of space, moralization of space, lived and imagined spaces, gendered spaces as well as space anonymity. In particular, the chapter addresses the objectives which relate to the place- and meaning-making foregrounded in reasons behind the production and emplacement of signs.

The narratives, emplacement of signage as well as the meanings associated with these emplaced semiotic material in place form a composite whole of a multimodal LL in place and time. By interrogating the emplaced material and the sign makers/owners, the socio-cultural as well as political history of the LL begin to emerge. This is in line with the timely call by Hult (2009: 94) that LL studies should go beyond mere examination of the visible signs in place to “focus on what takes place behind the scenes, what makes an individual choose to create or interpret a linguistic object in a certain way” as it may “prove to be an especially illuminating perspective since there is surely a story behind every object in any linguistic landscape.” It is this

socio-cultural history which instantiates, and directly feeds into, the place making and meaning making strategies employed by place makers in these public spaces. The data below in each of the sections of this Chapter will clearly show how the socio-cultural and the political histories are instantiated, managed, negotiated and (re)produced by the social actors acting on these highly contested spaces.

7.1 Individualized Orientation and the Production of Space and Meaning Making

One of the observable trends in the production of space and meaning making in the study areas was the tendency by the social actors to construct their space based on their individualized orientation. This individualized orientation pointed to the belief systems, habitual social engagement such as football, as well as a general moralization of space. Clearly, this approach to place and meaning making steepens the subjective nature of space, and brings into the spotlight the liberties as well as constraints in the choice of semiotic material and emplacement of signage in the physical space.

While the results gleaned from the sign makers show that place making is a collaborated effort from business owners and professional designers of signs, the entire process is largely an unbalanced. Sign owners initiate sign making by providing their business philosophy and semiotic resources with which to construct signs to the professional designers of signs. Thus, however latitude designers of signs may have in constructing signs, in terms of idiosyncrasies and particularities of their artwork, they are at the mercy of sign owners. It is these subjectivities of the sign owners which lead to the creation of themed spaces which I discuss in what follows.

7.1.1 LL as a Themed Space: Christianization of Space

In this section I present and discuss the data arising from the socio-cultural histories which hinge on the belief system of the social actors engaged in the construction of the public space. *Figure 7.1.1* shows how the Christian orientation has led to the proliferation of semiotic material set in motion by a long religious acculturation of the

producers as well as the pronunciation of Zambia as a Christian nation. But this pronunciation is yet to be constitutionalized.



Figure 7.1.1a: Fipelwa Na Lesa

Figure 7.1.1b: God Bless us



Figure 7.1.1c: God is Able Wigs

Figure 7.1.1d: God with Us



Figure 7.1.1 e: God is Able Restaurant

Figure 7.1.1 f: Tusole Shop Leza Ngupa

Figure 7.1.1: Christianized spaces

As intimated already, *Figure 7.1.1* (7.1.1a, 7.1.1b, 7.1.1c, 7.1.1d, 7.1.1e and 7.1.1f) above shows a socio-cultural investment in the production of space. As can be seen from the six (6) signs above, in each sign is reflected a belief and a typification of the supernatural as the power behind the business acumen and success. Thus, when

potential customers read the multimodal LL of the study area, they are forced to consume it based on the belief system of the people producing it as well as having a glimpse into their metaphysical world. From the data above, one begins to see the projection of God as the ultimate power. In this vein, the data points to the Christianization of spaces as commodified spaces using religious discourses such as “God is able”, “Leza Ngupa” (it’s God who gives), and “God bless us”. These pieces of discourse are highly contextual and socio-culturally situated. First, the pronouncement of Zambia as a Christian nation provides latitude. This entails liberties and political tolerance associated with individuals living within the borders of Zambia. It is not surprising therefore to find an avalanche of ‘Christianized signs’ across the LL. Arising from this political and constitutional accommodation of religious liberties, most spaces in Zambia are infiltrated with an assortment of religious groupings which directly or indirectly privilege and propagate religious-based discourses some of which find expression and space in the LL of the study areas as can be seen from the signs in *Figure 7.1.1* above. Second, but related to the first reason, the proliferation of ‘Christianized’ discourses can be attributed to the fact that the areas in which the study was situated have long established history of Christianity. Southern province, for example, has enjoyed over a century of Adventism since the arrival of the missionaries in 1903 at Rusangu Mission in Monze (Anderson W.H 1918; Anderson G.H 1999).

Thus, the construction of space is propelled by lived experience and this therefore, is in line with Kress’ (2010) social semiotics which sees signs as products of shared socio-cultural histories of not only the sign-makers, but also of the consumers. Beyond that, the evidence above strengthens the argument that signs are metaphors arising from a prolonged use among the people (Kress 2010). The indexicality of these ‘Christianized signs’ is commensurate with the belief system of both the producers and the consumers of these signs. Thus, the metaphorical meanings which are borne by these semiotic resources are easily accessible to the social actors on these landscapes as they, too, tap from the same pool of religious discourses for their day to day causal

talk as one often hears such responses as “I’m blessed” when one is greeted. Thus, Kress (2010) is on point with regard to the production of signs and by extension, space. I argue here that LL studies, especially the ones which relate to place making and meaning making do not only underpin the language situation of the area in terms of multilingualism, but largely mirror the socio-cultural histories in place necessitating the choice and constraint on what can be used for meaning making. As observed from the data, the Christian belief system in place somewhat pushes the religious semiotic system beyond the confines of the church to domains which are traditionally capitalistic and profit making. As argued in Chapter Six above and established in linguistic/semiotic landscape studies (Massey 2005; McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington 2009; Lefebvre 1991 and Peck and Banda 2014), semiotic material and resources are certainly mobile and never fixed to one space so that reading a shop sign does not differ from reading a religious liturgy at church. Thus, we are witnessing an enmeshment of space, semiotics and actorhood within one macro-time/space.

The Christianization of space being witnessed in these spaces has been predicated upon notions such as semiotic remediation, resemiotization and intertextuality as well as recontextualization, all working together for meaning making. Oblivious of these notions, the producers of these sign-spaces draw on religious discourses some of which directly from the Bible and emplace them on their shops for consumption. Pieces of discourse such as “God is able” and “God bless us” are directly ‘book-lifted’ from scripture, hence the reference to decontextualization, recontextualization and resemiotization of texts. Decontextualization is in effect when discourse material is taken out of its context while recontextualization is redeployed to modify the decontextualized discourse material so that it fits the new context (Bauman and Briggs 1990). With resemiotization, there is an apparent shift of meaning from one context to another (Iedema 2003). Thus, as one reads these signs, one re-imagines the scriptural text from which the piece of discourse emanates. One such biblical text with similar wording is Ephesians 3 verse 20 or Romans 14 verse 4. The texts carry the semiotics

“God is able” to reference to his enabling power to save and bless. Thus, the producers of these signs have appropriated and recontextualized these ‘spiritual meanings’ to their immediate business context in order to authenticate their business and project themselves ‘Christians’, hence noble just as Zambia is a Christian nation. It is this calculated intertextuality that ties these producers of such ‘Christianized signs’ with the Christian belief system.

While such chunks of discourse are crafted from the Christian literature, I see the manipulation of such discourses to suit the shop owner’s ideological and individualized ‘marketization’ strategies. Thus, the material undergoes a simultaneous processing of resemiotization (Iedema 2003) and semiotic remediation (Bolter and Grusin’s 2000). Re-semiotization “is about how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next” (Iedema 2003:41). Thus Iedema’s resemiotization is preoccupied with at least two things: to trace both the socio-semiotic histories and transitions of meaning making across practices. Following Iedema (2003), I argue that chunks of discourses such as “God is Able” have been resemiotized as they have been shifted from a religious context to a business one and from one stage of practice to the next. It is not hard to see that the religious circle denotes a different practice from the business one. Thus, the semiotics “God is Able” has shifted both the context and the practice so much so that the meanings associated with it in the former context have somewhat been broadened or narrowed in the later context. In fact, from the narrative which follows here below, from the shop owner, it becomes clear that the idea of “God is able” ceased to be a mere figment of belief once the business venture kick-started – it became a reality. Thus, the meaning of the semiotic resources “God is able” changed from abstraction to tangibility. Thus, as Blommaert (2012: 34) puts it, “it is not just about borrowing and re-using ‘texts’ in the traditional sense of the term, it’s about reshaping, reordering, reframing the text from one social world of usage into another one.”

Linked to the idea of resemiotization, is the notion of semiotic remediation (Bolter and Grusin's 2000). This notion relates to how semiotic resources are used, reused and repurposed. Again, the sign-makers in *Figure 7.1.1* above have employed successfully the notion of repurposing as the material initially used for spiritual edification are reemployed to re-engage and accomplish a different function as a profit making strategy. If we take the sign "God with us" in *Figure 7.1.1d* above, we notice how it has been appropriated to signal the presence of God in the business and therefore speaks to a rare privilege and the blessings bestowed upon the shop owner so much so that the consumer has no doubt in the dealings and the services provided by the shop owner. Thus, by repurposing of the religious discourses the shop owner has managed to forge various meaning potentials in the minds of the consumers. Note that in its biblical sense the phrase "God with us" has but one strict meaning – "Emmanuel". But here in a repurposed sense, the phrase has multiple meanings which are subjectively constructed as individual consumers come into contact with the signs (see Pennycook 2009). Thus, Pennycook (2009: 308) concludes that "our linguistic landscapes are the products of human activity not merely in terms of the signs we put up but also in terms of the meanings, morals and myths we invest in them."

7.1.2 Narratives in the Christianized Spaces

Apart from reading the signs and providing an analysis as has been done in *section 7.1.1* above, it was important to hear subjective stories from the producers of these themed spaces which had Christianized discourses following Hult's (2009: 94) plea that knowing what takes place in the production of signs "may also prove to be an especially illuminating perspective since there is surely a story behind every object in any linguistic landscape." The interviews provided the narratives used in this section. While I had sets of interview questions, the responses tended to take more of a narrative form in which business owners historicized their businesses from their inception to the present (time of interviews). I present only one narrative in this section dubbed A.

Narrative A - “God is Able Restaurant”

Situated alone the Zimba-Livingstone stretch is a restaurant with the semiotics resources “God is Able Restaurant”. The interview sought to know about language choice and the selection of the semiotic resources and their emplacement.

Interview

Q: Why did you choose English for your sign?

A: It is a long story...I had to change it from Tonga to English

Q: What was the initial name?

A: *Katukede Tulye* Restaurant ‘Let’s sit and eat’ Restaurant

Q: Why did you change it?

A: The initial name didn’t capture what I went through to secure this space. I suffered a lot. I tried to rent some other shops but the owners could just wake up one day and ask me to leave their premises until I found this one.

Q: And so how does the new name capture your experience?

A: You know I’m a Christian...I go to church. So I used to pray every day for my own shop. So after a lot of prayers I found this shop which was being used as a storeroom by the shop owner of the shop next to this one. I realized that it was God who blessed me with this shop. So I changed the name from *Katukede Tulye* Restaurant to God is Able Restaurant.

Q: Why didn’t you use Tonga... say *Leza ulakonzya*? say ‘God is Able’

A: I didn’t think about that...I only thought about my experience and what I wanted to communicate

Q: Did you think about the people who read the signs?

A: Mmhm...yes especially the travelers. Not all read Tonga. So I chose English

Q: Why didn’t you put up a signpost away from the shop so that people can know about the restaurant from afar?

A: My dear...mmmhm...it is very expensive to pay rent for the billboard. The city council collects levy on each billboard you see here. So the best is to just write on my shop

Q: So you don't pay any levy because your advert is writing on your shop?

A: No.

Narrative 'A' above brings to the fore critical insights about place making and the subjective meanings instantiated by the signage. These insights may never be known by the consumers traversing the landscapes including the individuals that patronize the restaurant. First, the narrative historicizes the stages through which the semiotic resources had passed before the current one could be used. The narrative confirms that the initial semiotics were written in Tonga but had to be changed to capture the individualized orientation of the business owner. Even though there are no physical traces to indicate such semiotic shift, the narrative confirms the individual's subjectivity in the construction of space and meaning making. Further, the narrative collaborates with the analysis done above about resemiotization, repurposing and intertextuality. The data from the narrative confirms that the text which now is emplaced on the shop is drawn from the Christian belief system necessitated by personal experiences during the initial stages leading to the execution of the business plan. The narrative demonstrates that the religious discourse has been shifted from one context to the other, from one practice to the other. This shift reflects in a unique way the underlying individualized orientation upon which the sign-maker draws for her business ideological strength. Thus, the discourse in place (Scollon and Scollon 2003) with regard to this signage, does not only mirror the sign-maker's ideology in a generalized sense, but rather points to an up-close and personal socio-cultural beliefs and the economic conditions prevalent during the orchestration of the business plan.

Further, the narrative shows the dialogic nature of meaning. First, the sign speaks directly to the sign-maker's belief system. The narrative reminds us that the choice of language was reflective of what the sign maker had gone through. So that the semiotics "God is Able" is directly linked to the sign maker's personal feelings and experiences as well as entrenched beliefs as argued above. Second, the sign is used to

appeal to long distance travelers whose semiotic consumption is instantiated by the English language in which the signage is written. The dialogic nature of meaning, therefore, entails that meaning is never fixed or exhausted in a single moment of interpretation because the language as the conveyor belt of meaning is equally dialogical with ‘heteroglot’ meanings reacting on one another (Bakhtin 1981).

7.2 Themed Spaces: The Moralization of Space

Linked to the idea of the Christianization of space is the notion of moralization of space. The concept of moralization entails the projection of space as morally authentic spaces. This is done by the use of discourses in place aimed at legitimatizing owners of these spaces as morally ‘upright’ people and their business thereof. The data thus show that the construction of space as well as the meaning making is a heavily invested enterprise. The strategy used here disembodies the business owners from corrupt deals associated with many businesses in Zambia. Thus, by moralizing spaces, the business owners forge a new identity. As will be seen in the data below, the meanings communicated by the signs are readily accessible for the same reason that they arise from the shared socio-cultural histories of both the sign makers and the consumers of these signs. Consider *Figure 7.2* below.



Figure 7.2a: Kaliyangile



Figure 7.2b: Kazipalile



Figure 7.2c: Penga Ujane Butchery

Figure 7.2d: Sebana Wikute Butchery

Figure 7.2: Moralization of Space

In *figure 7.2 (a, b, c, and d)*, the producers of these themed spaces moralize their spaces as spaces produced from hard work rather than chicanery and corruption. In *Figure 7.2a and 7.2b* the sign owners use *Tonga Kaliyangele* and *Nyanja Kazipalile*, respectively, both of which make reference to the bird pecking at or searching for food in the sand. Literally translated as ‘peck/search for yourself’. In *Fig 7.2c and 7.2d*, we notice a hint on hard work again: *7.2c Penga Ujane* Lit. ‘suffer in order to gain’ is a Tonga adage used to eulogize pain associated with gain. In *7.2d* a Bemba adage *Sebana Wikute* Lit. trans. ‘be a laughing stock in order to be full’ is used to encourage oneself in the face of a looked-down upon business.

In all the four signs, space has been themed as *moral* stemming from the notion of hard work, sacrifice and perseverance. What we notice is the transporting of culturally based adages that rebuke laziness into the public spaces to magnify the legitimacy of these businesses. The meanings associated with these socio-cultural adages are shared by the consumers of these signs in much the same way as the producers. Thus, by tapping into the social and the cultural milieu in the construction of spaces, sign owners manage, in a subtle way, to project these public spaces as local and therefore authentic as well as safe since such spaces are projected as products of hard work. In doing this, the sign makers/owners succeed in moralizing the spaces, thereby adding

value to these spaces. In turn, the intended semiotic effect is projected onto the LL as more people associate hard work with truthfulness and moral uprightness. Thus, to the consumer, it is hard to imagine that such themed spaces – moralized spaces – can be diabolical and corrupt.

The narrative below about *figure 7.2* is more revealing. The owner of the shop in *Fig. 7.2b Kazipalile* situated in Chongwe makes the following narrative about his themed space – a moralized space:

Q: Why did you choose Nyanja for your sign?

A: Because I'm from eastern province

Q: what is the meaning of Kazipalile?

A: Kazipalile means work for yourself, just as chickens go round pecking and searching for food

Q: Why did you choose such a name?

A: It is simple my brother...I want people to work for themselves just like I have done# You know some people just want to steal# they don't want to work hard# I'm telling them to go and search for themselves#.

Q: And so how does the name capture your personal experience?

A: My brother, I started from the scratch# no capital, no nothing# but I had to start something# little by little my business started to grow# as you can see now it's a big business#

Q: So the name...?

A: Yes, I coming to that# the name Kazipalile shows how it all started# As I said from the scratch# I had to work hard, my brother.

Q: Did you think about the people who read the signs when you chose Nyanja?

A: Yes, most people understand Nyanja, but it was for my personal reasons ... what I went through

Q: Why didn't you put up a signpost away from the shop so that people can know about the shop from afar?

A: It's clearer on the shop, everyone sees it. Sometimes blacksmith vandalize metallic billboards to make pots, pans...

Q: Did you think about the council levy required for every sign?

A: Yes, you have to apply and if you don't pay they would come and uproot your billboard.

Again, the narrative brings to the fore the hidden semiotic force behind the moralization of space – the personal, individualized orientation. The personal experience leading to the start of the business largely shaped the choice of the semiotic resources which are used to theme the space as moralized space. Like the narrative 'A' above, themed spaces in this study are resemiotized spaces. As can be seen from the narrative, the shop owner has recollected how events have evolved and therefore meanings have been created alongside the evolution of events and practices. Eventually, the shifting of events as well as meaning making has given rise to a more telling sign which has two trajectories – the historical and futuristic one. Thus, as observed from the narrative, individual business owners historicize and project their business trajectories by the semiotic resources they select from the available options within the semiotic system. For example, the semiotic resources used by this shop owner compress various meanings; first, the sign reminds him of his personal experience. Second, the sign speaks to the consumer the moral lesson of hard work. Third, the sign indexes the shop owner's demographics, as one from eastern province where Nyanja is spoken. Fourth, the sign projects his present (and future) business philosophy of continued hard work so long the signage remains unchanged. All these meanings are embedded in the simple sign *Kazipalile*. It is doubtful that all these meanings can be deciphered simultaneously by the consumer unless one asks from the owner. Thus, the narratives in the LL studies uncover potentially infinite number of possibilities and meaning potential of signs used to project the LL as themed spaces. It is in light of the aforesaid that Harre, Brockmeier and Muhlhausler (1999: 70) remind us that "[i]t is by the linguistic and cognitive structures of the narrative discourse that

we make sense of the wider, more differentiated and thus more complex texts and contexts of our experience.” Invariably, therefore, both the linguistic and cognitive structures producing the narratives in the LL are neatly superimposed on the signage by the sign makers/owners, so that it is not only the multilingual nature of the text that we see, but the emotional as well as the belief system of the LL producers.

7.3 Themed Spaces as Imagined Spaces: Discourses of Football

In this section of the thesis data relating to themed spaces as imagined spaces are presented and discussed. The evidence is drawn from signage formed around the football discourses. The major argument the section presents relates to the production of space as both lived and imagined spaces. Individuals engaged in place making are seen oscillating between these two worlds of the lived and the imagined spaces through mediated performances such as football. As the evidence will soon show, these place makers of the themed spaces as imagined/lived spaces instantiate a subtle mobility at the mental level so that they project their immediate world as ‘other spaces’ which are imagined due to media mediated discourses. Consider *Figure 7.3* below.



Figure 7.3: Imagined Home of Manchester United

Emplaced few yards away from the establishment it indexes, in the public spaces

along the Livingstone-Kazungula stretch, the sign “OLD TRAFFORD BAR, HOME OF MANCHESTER UNITED” foreground the notion of lived and imagined spaces. It is lived space in so far as Manchester United fans converge in these spaces to drink and watch premier league football weekend in and weekend out. Discourses which dominate these spaces with regard to football project these spaces as lived and ‘experienced’ spaces. Such discourses as “we have won”, “we have bought a new play”, “our coach didn’t get the combinations right” as well as the emotions associated with losing or winning all speak to themed spaces as lived spaces. The proprietors along with patrons to these spaces have psychologically evolved to the extent that they feel as shareholders of Manchester United Football Club. The use of the inclusive “we” when making reference to the developments in the team index a lived experience so that it is befitting that the space should be referred to as a “Home of Manchester United. In fact patrons to these spaces are so emotionally involved so that losing breaks their heart in the similar ways as supporters in Manchester city itself.

As the owner intimated in an interview, the typified Manchester United in these spaces draws together many Manchester United supporters so much so that the space mirrors the actual OLD TRAFFORD STADIUM. But it is also themed as an imagined space because the whole experience is a mere creation in which reality is based on the mere appropriation of name and love of the Manchester United FC. In a way, the sign owner has recreated the OLD TRAFFORD STADIUM into his own imagined space by dropping STADIUM and replacing it with BAR. Thus, the only semiotics which link this space to the real OLD TRAFFORD STADIUM is the Manchester United *logo* and the caption HOME OF MANCHESTER UNITED otherwise the entire space has been appropriated with the new meaning BAR. In essence, they are trying to replicate the charged atmosphere of Old Trafford Stadium in the bar. The point being made here is that place making can be instantiated by imagination. In this case the imagined space is mediated through televised football during which time spaces that are far removed in time and space are mediated as present and lived when the owner/patrons are in the

process of watching football. However, impressions about such spaces linger on in the consumers mind and get projected in the real physical spaces as lived spaces. Thus, practices and individual experiences come to be replicated in place making to the extent that a single space can both be lived and imagined space.

The argument above is further supported by the following signs which forge space as both lived and imagined. The Chelsea supporters in Kafue district do not just imagine the space they project they also try to live it. Here below are three signs which show the semiotic force arising from individuals' lived experiences.



Figure 7.3b: Appropriation of Chelsea FC to Lived and Imagined spaces

Again, *Fig. 7.3b* above demonstrates the power of individual lived experiences in theming spaces as lived and imagined spaces. The shop seen in *Fig 7.3* does not trade in any sporting equipment nor is the shop used for watching football and yet it projects itself as football centre. In the other two signs in *Fig 7.3*, we notice an attempt to appropriate meaning to some building used as commercial viewing centre of football by naming it after Chelsea. These signs bring to the fore the extent to which

individualized orientation as personal narratives get projected onto the lived and imagined spaces. The meanings associated with these spaces are socially constructed as they are based on habituality set in motion by the associations of the ‘watched experience’ (mediated through the television) and the lived/imagined spaces in which the ‘watched experience’ is re-enacted by framing the space as “Home of Chelsea”. We notice the shift in meaning from the football context to the business context. This simultaneous application of decontextualization and recontextualization is well invested as a business strategy. It is undeniable that projecting one’s space as Chelsea Centre appeals to the majority of the Chelsea supporters within the area who in turn associate themselves with the themed space. Thus, transporting of text or semiotic resources from one practice to another – in this case from the football context to the shopping context - works as a marketing strategy subtly constructed to work within the shared socio-cultural histories of the social actors in these environs. Suffice to say here that place making transcends the objective creation of space and privileges individual marketing strategies which almost always index the sign owner’s subjective ideologies and preferences (see Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). In this connection, therefore, these themed spaces are used as markers of identity – “I’m a Chelsea Fun”. Thus, construction of space does not only project the socio-cultural trajectories of the people but also signify in a very subtle way lived and imagined spaces as well as constructed identities of the people involved in place and meaning making.

7.4 Themed Spaces as Gendered Spaces

Another theme which the study brings to the fore in the broader context of place-making as well as meaning making relates to how some of the public spaces are themed as male dominated spaces. I use the data about the freedom statue (struggle). In the signage below, the positioning of the male gender against the female gender projects the Zambian liberation struggle as a male gender space. Iconography, the use of images and symbols to represent ideas, brings to the semiotic analysis rich insights about the reinversion of meanings and space by examining practices that have

persistently been used to form part of the historical gender trajectories in Zambia. I show that the relative position which the males and females takes in any iconography directly speaks to the gender narratives prototypically espoused by an emplacing culture.



Figure 7.4: Male Gender at the Centre of the Liberation Struggle

Emplaced right in front of the Government Complex, is the statue depicting freedom. As can be seen, the male figure is used to historicize the liberation struggle and the freedom associated with the independence epitomized by the broken chains hanging in both hands of the male sculpture atop the platform. In front of the statue is the word “FREEDOM”. Running from the hands of the male figure is the cloth typifying the national colour also found in the national flag. The backgrounded sides show female figures holding out placards with various inscriptions some of which championing Kenneth Kaunda as the hero of the liberation struggle. See *Figure 7.4b* below for details. Thus, reading this artefact in *Fig. 7.4* above as a multimodal text helps us to theme the liberation struggles as male dominated spaces. The fact that the women are backgrounded in this artefact is very revealing about their place in the struggle. One meaning which can be uncovered relates to the fact that the struggle was male centred and women’s role was peripheral. In fact, seeing that the statue has gone unchallenged with regard to how it positions men versus women in light of the struggle only

strengthens the argument that the spaces of the liberation struggles are socio-culturally and historically themed as spaces of masculinity rather than femininity. The narratives projected from the signification of the male gender as the breaker of chains of bondage and colonialism is apparent in the LL of Zambia. These meanings are reechoed fifty years after independence in the golden jubilee celebrations which were held on the 24 October 2014. The signage in *Figure 7.4c* below shows that society associate the liberation struggles with the male gender.



Figure 7.4b: Women as Mere Appendages to the Liberation Struggle

Figure 7.4b clearly shows how women are positioned in relation to the male gender in the face of the struggle. In the signage above, the backgrounded side of *Figure. 7.4b* above, women are associated with the voices rather than the action or combat. Here we see them as human trumpets of slogans and ideologies. Some of the inscriptions read “We trust Kaunda of UNIP”, “Forward Ever Backward Never”, “Kwacha Ngwee” and “Africa is our mother land for ever and ever”. The inscription “WE TRUST KAUNDA OF UNIP” forces us to frame these discourses as male dominated discourses as they attempt to place the male figure “Kaunda” at the centre of the liberation struggle, thus

de-centring the female gender. The multimodal text presented here helps us to uncover meanings embedded in these semiotic resources. While the male gender is typified as ‘the chain breaker’, the female gender is showcased as mere ‘whistle blowers’. The placement also of the female gender in the text here demonstrates that they were deemed insignificant compared to the male gender placed atop the podium with broken chains while women are backgrounded with placards carrying semiotics which centre the male gender. The information order according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) is so significant as it tells us more about what is important and that which is less important. As shown in Chapter Four, the preferred information is either centred or placed on the top (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). In our Freedom Statue above, the male gender is placed on top while the female gender is placed below on the backgrounded sides of the mounment. Clearly, the ideology to magnify the male gender in the liberation struggle is unmasked in this artefact. Thus, by reading this statue as a multimodal text we are forced to acknowledge the socio-cultural and historical trajectories of the Zambian liberation struggles, and such trajectories theme the liberation struggles as male dominated liberation struggle.



Figure 7.4c: Male Dominated Discourses in the Liberation Struggle 50 Years Later.

While *Figure 7.4c* has been used to advertise one of the soft drinks – *Apple Max* –

within the spaces afforded by the Zambian Golden Jubilee Celebration, the semiotics used to anchor it within the broader context of the celebrations are drawn from the historical and political trajectories which place the male figure at the centre of liberation struggle. Using the Bakhtinian intertextuality, the male figure seen on the *Freedom Statue* (in Fig. 7.4 above) has been transported and placed in a new context about “*Apple Max*” advertisement. The intertextuality which has given rise to the signage in Fig. 7.4c has in a way maintained and perpetuated the discourses which de-centre the female gender from the liberation struggle. The male gender has once again dominated the semiotic resources used to frame the spaces of the liberation struggle. Thus, 50 years later, spaces in Zambia that are reserved to narrate the freedom struggle still privilege the male gender over the female one. Once again, as argued by Kress (2010), signage is a creation from the dominant and prevailing socio-cultural and political discourses. The use of a male gender – specifically a man shown breaking chains – is iconic of the liberations in Zambia. Any attempt to use any other image (other than the man breaking the chain) would render the representation meaningless and decontextualized because there has been a repetitive male symbolization of the struggle and freedom since independence - in 1964.

Thus, discourses and the meanings associated with the male figure shown as breaking chains on the Freedom Statue do not only mirror the socio-cultural significance of the male gender in Zambia, but also point to the arbitrary nature of images in time and space (Danesi 2004). I argue here that the data in this section demonstrate that spaces can be read based on the visible narratives in time and space. In this connection, spaces such as the one pertaining to the liberation struggle is constructed by the dominant ideology which places man at the centre of the struggle while the woman is perpetually de-centred. Note that these narratives have been preserved as socio-cultural histories of the Zambian liberation struggle as some of the statues are emplaced in the museum.



Figure 7.4d: Freedom Statue Emplaced in Livingstone Museum

7.5 Themed Space:Space Anonymity

Stretching Peck and Banda's (2014) notion of brand anonymity, place making on the multimodal LL of the study areas has been framed as anonymized spaces using semiotic resources such as colour schemes which project these spaces as belonging to other agencies. What space anonymity entails here is the creation of one's space using branded colour schemes to the extent that the space which is created does not project the owner of the space but the owner of the branded colour scheme. I argue here that while names of these spaces are emplaced, observers or consumers of these spaces are likely to first see the colour scheme before seeing the name of the establishment as the colour scheme used is more foregrounded and therefore more striking (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006; Scollon and Scollon 2003). Thus, in reading or consuming these spaces, individual consumers are more likely to attach meanings associated with the colour scheme used rather than the actual meanings associated with the business activities going on in these anonymized spaces. Three colour schemes were noted to have been frequently used to anonymize space: green, red and yellow. Green is the brand colour for Zambia Telecommunication company (ZAMTEL), red for AIRTEL

and yellow for MTN. See *Figures 7.5a, 7.5b and 7.5c* below.



Figure 7.5a: Space Anonymity Instantiated by Zamtel colour

In *Figure 7.5a*, is a shop called “PM General Dealers” situated along the Zimba-Livingstone stretch. On the left side of the name is the “Zamtel” logo. The first impression one gets when one is in these spaces is that the shop is a Zamtel outlet. This is arrived at by the Zamtel colour scheme “Green” and also the ‘logo’. During my walking interview, I walked to this shop in the hope to buy Zamtel airtime. To my dismay, the shop did not have any airtime for sale and had never stocked any airtime for sale since its inception. This mismatch in the projected space and the actual lived space prompted me to probe further. The narrative below was given by the shop owner.

Q: How come your shop is painted in the Zamtel colour and yet you don’t sale Zamtel airtime?

A: Whenever Zamtel is doing some promotion around here they ask who ever wants their shop to be painted in their colour. So I wanted my shop to be painted. As you can see this was recently done. Even those two shops were painted at the same time with my shop. They too don’t deal in airtime.

Q: Do they explain why they paint using their colour green?

A: Yes, they tell us we want people to see that you use Zamtel and that Zamtel is everywhere.

Q: I can see other shops are painted in red and others in yellow. Why didn't you choose either red or yellow?

A: Hahahah...choosing, there is nothing like choosing. It depends on when you want your shop to be painted. When I wanted my shop to be painted only Zamtel was available in the area. If any other company was in the area like Airtel or MTN, I would have painted my shop in any of those colours. Depending on which company is around..

A: Do people change colours?

Q: Yes. Whenever there is new paint regardless of the colour or company people change. In fact some even use two different colours of paint on one shop...like that one there...he used Airtel and MTN colours.

The narrative above hints on how space anonymity is constructed. The shop owner narrates that there is no relationship between the colour scheme used in place making and the type of business one is involved with. In essence, the Zamtel colour green and its logo do not index Zamtel related transactions in the space. Rather, the colour scheme is used to anchor the visibility of Zamtel in the broader context of the Zambian business terrain and not to the business activities taking place in the locality. The lack of correspondence between the projected space and the lived space leads to the creation of 'anonymized' spaces.

Secondly, the narrative brings into the spotlight how choices are made concerning the semiotic resources used in place making. In the narrative, the shop owner is limited by the material condition such as the availability of free paint. What has come out of the narrative is the fact that individual colour preferences do not take precedence over the need to paint. It would seem that the preoccupation of the shop owners is to beautify their environment regardless of the meanings which the type of paint activates in the

mind of the consumers. This lack of control over the meanings projected by their themed spaces forces us to think of such spaces as associated with ambivalent semiotic potential which leads to ambiguity as well as the multiple spatialities with respect to potential consumers. Space anonymity therefore de-centres the core business activities associated with the themed space and centres the projected brand which may be removed in both time and space. In the signage above, what has been projected in the themed space by the colour scheme “green” is the Zamtel Company whose operations does not immediately materialize in these local spaces but are removed in both time and space. This disjunction in the projected versus the materialized frames these spaces ambiguous and therefore anonymous.

Further, it is tempting to argue that these ‘anonymized’ spaces are imposed spaces. However, since individuals have a choice on whether to paint their shop or not disqualifies the assertion that these spaces are products of imposition. It would seem that the choice which the shop owners do not seem to have is only limited to the type of colour to use at a given time as these companies can only give their brand colour and do not make promotions in the same space at the same time. Hence shop owners paint their spaces based on which network provider offers to provide them with paint. We can only infer that paint is used as some payment to secure space for advertising. Thus, owing to the fact that these shop owners have a choice on whether to paint or not, means the colour they choose to be identified with becomes their projected identity as consumers often make reference to the brand colour the shops are painted in when navigating the landscape. However, as pointed out already, the same Zamtel colour used to identify the space renders these same spaces anonymous as the projected space instantiated by the colour scheme does not often correlate with the lived space since they do not sell any of the projects associated with the colour scheme in which the space is painted. The meanings therefore associated with the selected colour scheme are subjectively calculated and interpreted against the lived experience as individual social actors become aware of the realities on the ground – that it is just

the colour scheme and it has nothing to do with the signified.

Figure 7.5b and 7.5c below further accentuate the disjunction between the meanings associated with projected identity and the operations on the ground.



Fig. 7.5b: Bar Themed as an Airtel Outlet Fig. 7.5c: Shop Themed as MTN Outlet

In both these spaces, the identity projected by the colour scheme is not replicated in the goods and services sold. In *Fig. 7.5b* the only merchandise sold is the locally brewed beer. As a researcher I was stuned at the discovery. In *Fig 7.5c* the same is true. Thus the projected space is far from telling us what goes on in these spaces. The actual happenings can only be known when one gets into these spaces physically. Thus, without belabouring the point yet further, it is clear that in the research sites individual producers of space make very subjective choices when constructing space. Some of these choices lead to space anonymity as seen through the data and the analysis above.

7.6 Chapter Summary

In this Chapter, an analysis of place making and meaning making has been done under various broader themes, namely the Christianization of space, the moralization of space, themed spaces as both lived and imagined and themed spaces as gender spaces as well as space anonymity. In all these instances, the data have shown that place making is subjectively constructed from various options within the socio-cultural and historical setting available to both the place maker and the consumer. The crucial point which the Chapter makes is one that relates to Kress' (2010) social semiotics which

privileges the shared socio-cultural histories as the material from which signs are constructed and consumed. Within the broader context of the shared socio-cultural histories specific artefacts appeal to individual place makers based on their individualized orientation and experience. Individualized orientation and personal experience of the sign maker are well referenced to by Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their discussion of the historical body. In this way, the multisemioticity projected on the signs reflects subjective meanings emanating from the sign makers' worldview. Which is why, in the face of this subjective creativity and the appropriation of meaning to language objects as sign, Jaworski (2015: 82) cautions that "[a]s signs, their meaning potential may not always be entirely transparent or stable but their astonishing abundance suggests their potential for (self-) styling of social actors as contemporary citizens-consumers." Thus, in order to underpin the replicated individual's socio-cultural experience in the sign, notions such as intertextuality, resemiotization and repurposing have been applied in this Chapter. Evidently, it is compelling to argue that place making as well as meaning making are not always instantiated in a predictable and straightforward way. Rather, individual choices, material conditions (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) and the socio-cultural histories (Kress 2010) all come together as selection criteria in the semiotic resources which the individual place maker finally uses in creating themed spaces. It is therefore abundantly clear that public spaces are semiotized and themed (Blommaert 2012), occasioned by uni-directional flow of cultural materialities but most importantly, social actors who more often than not privilege subjective tastes, hence personal ideologies in the construction of space. In the final analysis, therefore, since these spaces are constructed based on the individuals' subjectivity, only narratives from the place makers themselves can unravel the hidden meanings in the selected semiotic resources and will thereby explain why such semiotic materials are used and emplaced as such.

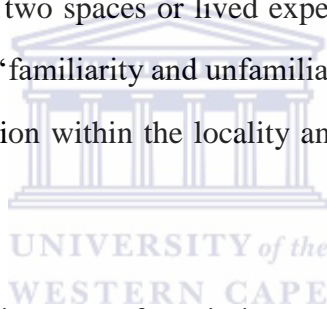
In the next Chapter, I discuss the global-local material culture interface.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GLOBAL-LOCAL MATERIAL CULTURE INTERFACE: TOWARDS AN INTERACTIONAL ORDER

8.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, I present and discuss the data relating to the projection of space as both global and local by focusing on the (semiotic) material culture around the Victoria Falls and in the Livingstone Museum. In particular, following Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of interactional order and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of narrative representation, the Chapter shows how the juxtaposed semiotic resources in these spaces can be read as global and local narratives in the same micro/macro-space and time. In this regard, the Chapter shows how juxtaposition is a semiotic strategy for creating two spaces or lived experiences simultaneously so that the place 'oscillates' between 'familiarity and unfamiliarity'; 'modernity and tradition' to both the translocal population within the locality and the transnational consumers who are mostly tourists.



Thus, the Chapter sees the alignment of semiotic resources in Livingstone Museum and the Victoria Falls area not as translations *per se*, but as language-specific (translingual) renditions aimed at projecting the convergence of two different socio-cultural and historical trajectories of place in which the particularities of the semiotic resources in interaction and circulation instantiate the place as both local and global based on the point of view of the consumer. While I use Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) to foreground the discussion, the Chapter draws and extend Stroud and Mpendukana's (2009) notion of material ethnography and Aronin and O Laoire's (2012: 2) notion of material culture of multilingualism in which everyday life objects as well as "physical items, produced by humans as well as events and spaces interconnected by and with local and global materiality, culture, tradition and social life" become critical components in LL studies. Thus, the Chapter addresses the objectives which relate to the emplacement of semiotic resources such

as artefacts and symbols and how such artefacts are productively used to produce multiple localities.

I begin with the linguistic materialities in these spaces. Later, I move to artefactual materialities such as curios, statues and traditional artifacts. Essentially, the discussion shows how different cultural materialities converge in one micro/macro-space/time to project onto these spaces multiple localities, predicated on unpredictability, flexibility and mobility. As will become clear, museum galleries are not spaces of passivity but arenas of re-lived tension and historical contestation as well as contrasted and contradictory ideologies in place.

8.1 The Juxtaposition of Linguistic Semiotics as Semiotic Strategy of Global-Local Instantiation

In this section, I endeavour to show the juxtaposition of linguistic forms as a semiotic strategy to produce the duality of space as a multilayered space, reconfigured in this manner to instantiate both the “sense of locality and the sense of globality” (Jaworski 2015: 220). By extension, therefore, emplacement of languages in one micro-space/time leads to a production of the material culture of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The major argument being that the juxtaposition of linguistic forms from two or more languages with the sameness of meaning in one micro/macro-space/time is not necessarily an act of translation. Arising from this general theoretical underpinning, I see the co-occurrence of English and the local languages in one micro/macro-space/time as a subtle attempt by makers of places to maximize on one space/time and yet producing multiple localities read as global and local simultaneously by ‘craftily’ juxtaposing cultural materialities from two or more worlds. Further, as shown in Chapter Four, the theoretical framework, Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) notion of interactional order and Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006) notion of narrative representation avail much in situating the arguments about the juxtaposition of different semiotic resources and artefacts as a semiotic strategy to double-articulate space as local and global. The data below are thus discussed from

this theoretic position.

8.1.1 Livingstone Museum – Onomastics in place as Global-Local Interface

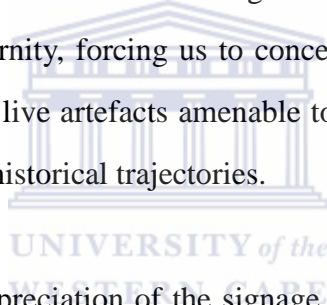


Figure 8.1.1: Signage about Livingstone Museum

The signage in *figure 8.1.1* above carries the name of the museum – The Livingstone Museum - centred and in upper-case letters. The writing in pearl is quite visible. On the sides is a depiction of the pre-historical life of Zambia, in which the hunters and gatherers and an animal representing the wild animals which were hunted are foregrounded using the red scheme colour. And in the foreground are stones littered about, which dramatically transform the signage. In the background is the actual museum building, painted white.

First, I would like to suggest that the sense of localness is borne by the stony- and rocky-like plate used as the signage. Undoubtedly, the materiality of the signage is emblematic of the stone-age period discernible in the cultural narrations encapsulated in the stone-age represented participants. For at close inspection of the design of the signage, one notices the attempt by the sign-maker to inscribe a sense of the stone-age civilization predicated on caves and non-sedentary lifestyle. The contours and ridges

on the sides of the concrete plate forming the signage rematerialize the historicity of the representation being forged. We read off the old, uncivilized and pre-history in the general materiality of the signage. Second, the cultural materialities forming the represented participants such as spears and shields, body disposition and display, all, once again, point to the pre-history of Zambia. The represented participants exude pre-historical innovations and civilization. This is embodied in the type of weaponry and the well-hinted upon social economic life instantiated by a nomadic lifestyle. Thus, by juxtaposing the pre-historical cultural materialities – hunters and wild life on the one hand and the rocky foreground/background on the other hand – the sign-maker has semiotically managed to project onto these spaces re-lived and historicized experiences and localities. Essentially, therefore, in consuming these cultural materialities, traceable historical meanings and way of life of the pre-history get reincarnated in late modernity, forcing us to conceive of artefactual materialities not as dead ensembles but as live artefacts amenable to retell their individual stories, and thus, their socio-cultural/historical trajectories.



Further, a deeper semiotic appreciation of the signage above reveal the fact that, the centred semiotics – ‘the Livingstone Museum’ – has successfully been made to interact with pre-historical socio-cultural materialities of the area, so that modernity is seen to coexist with pre-history. As will become more apparent, this juxtaposition of cultural materialities from different time-space is productively transformative of locality. In what follows, I discuss the name Livingstone as both local and global semiotic material.

It is worth noting that the Livingstone museum is situated in the heart of the tourist capital, Livingstone district, on the Mosi-ao-Tunya road. Established as the David Livingstone Memorial Museum in 1934, the Livingstone Museum stands as the largest and oldest museum in Zambia. In trying to project these spaces as local, the original name of *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum* was changed in 1966 to *Livingstone*

Museum. The change in onomastics relates to the general concept of repurposing and rebranding in order to appeal to the local consumers. Paradoxically, however, the museum's name change did not give way to a more *indigenized* name but rather, retained the name *Livingstone*. I was intrigued by this paradox and wanted to know what makes *Livingstone* more local than *Rhodes*, yet both these names index, or are at least associated with, white supremacy at the height of colonial and imperial subjugation of Africa. Startled by this paradox in the apparent semiotic resource in place, I engaged the tour guide (TG) in the museum over the sense of 'localness' perceived in the name *Livingstone*. With information off the top of his head about this matter, the guide remarked:

TG: You know Livingstone was a missionary while Rhodes was the mastermind behind colonialism. We associate anything good to missionaries such as education, hospitals and end of slavery. The same cannot be said about Cecil Rhodes. His name reminds us of colonialism and the oppression of Africans. We have respect for David Livingstone, as you can see this town is named after him, so is this museum.

From the narrative above, it is clear that the meaning potential of names in the semiotic landscape, like any other semiotic resources *in place*, is built on the shared socio-cultural and historical perspectives instantiated by common as well as individual lived experiences (cf. Kress 2010). Thus, I argue that the historical narratives about the name change point to the fact that the name "*Rhodes*" 'silences' the sense of locality as it magnifies the sense of 'foreignness' riddled with colonialism and subjugation. The propensity of the name '*Rhodes*' to overshadow the sense of locality was greater to the extent that these spaces as reservoirs of historical artefacts and chronicles of heritage risked being read as colonial monuments and preservers of the ugly Zambian colonial past, to which spaces only those that endorse Rhodes' activities would go. Further, the juxtaposition of Rhodes and Livingstone in one name projects the semiotic ambivalence as the two names are associated with two opposing philosophies. That is, one name is deeply associated with the colonizing philosophy while the other with the de-colonizing philosophy. Had the two names

been maintained, these opposing philosophies would have been projected, making the space to be read as both colonizing and de-colonizing. A minor point of comparison, this act by the Zambian Government to erase the symbols of colonialism parallels the ‘Rhodes Must Fall movement’ at the University of Cape Town where students dislodged the statue of Rhodes. In essence, the erasure of colonial symbols and artifacts from the LL is thus a more Pan African ideology.

Note that the narrative above attributes emancipation, education and religion to the name Livingstone. These qualities associated with David Livingstone form part of the shared socio-cultural and historical trajectories of the consumers of the cultural materialities embodied in the Livingstone Museum. In this way, the name Livingstone resonates with the sense of locality. In fact, it is not difficult to see that David Livingstone is more *localized* than Rhodes. Because of David Livingstone’s long enmeshment with the local populace, he was given a local name *Munali* after which some prominent geographical features and educational institutions have been named – for example, ‘Munali Hills’ and ‘Munali Secondary School’, respectively, in memory of him. It is this sense of localness associated with the name Livingstone which makes the Livingstone Museum to have a more sense of locality rather than of global from the perspective of the majority of the Zambian translocal consumers. The sense of localness with which the name Livingstone is associated has even permeated semiotics about consumerism and the construction of spaces so that the name is now reproduced even in consumables such as coffee as can be seen from *figure 8.1.1* below. It is therefore, safe to argue that the emplaced *Livingstone Museum* in place exudes familiarity, localness as well as a ‘sense of one of us’ so much so that reading these graphemes in place does not immediately project the place as ‘foreign’ to the local consumers.



Figure 8.1.1b: Munali Café – a Local Rendition of David Livingstone

To the transnational consumers, however, the name Livingstone is consumed with its ‘sense of globality’ as they associate Livingstone with white missionaries to Africa during the nineteenth century. The tourists read these graphemes against their socio-cultural and historical background so that they privilege those associative meanings which make Livingstone a global figure rather than a local one. Thus, one place using one semiotic resource is read as both local and global simultaneously by translocal and transnational consumers, respectively. This duality in meaning makes the place to appeal to diverse demographics differently, forcing us to see the use of the said semiotic/graphemes/name as the marketing strategy. In this connection, therefore, it is safe to argue that the Zambia Tourism Board have commodified and objectified the name *Livingstone* so that it is both an object and the means by which the space is consumed by translocal and transnational consumers simultaneously.

Rather than using one name to project multiple localities, the Victoria Falls have been associated with multiple semiotic resources to underpin its sense of localness and its

sense of globality. *Figure 8.1.1c* below shows how the socio-cultural histories as well as the British hegemonic history imbue the place with meaning which are both local and global.



Figure 8.1.1c: Juxtaposition of Local Name and Global Name of the Victoria Falls

In *figure 8.1.1c* above is the site model of the Victoria Falls bearing both the local semiotic resources *Mosi-Oa-Tunya* and the more global semiotics 'Victoria'. Before analyzing the linguistic material, it is important to comment on the model itself. First, the notion of remediation finds a productive space in discussing this site model. What one notices is the change of media from the actual river base where the falls are situated to a concrete site model. As is often the case with remediation, the site model in *figure 8.1.1c* has productively transformed our understanding of the falls by shifting its nature from the real world of water and cliff to an imagined representation. The medium of a model has recreated a highly complex expanse of the falls into a more consumable and readily interpretable semiotic. Thus, for a fuller appreciation of the depth, expanse and topographic features of the Victoria Falls, a remediated Victoria Falls encased as a site model is a more ideal semiotic material. In fact, the site model can be said to be an act of repurposing as the reimagined Victoria Falls

have now acquired labels, different colour sheds as well as rescaled and resized in shapes and features. The blue shed representing water and the green shed typifying the flora around the falls are all driven by our semantics which thrives on reference. For we have come to associate wavy blue lines with water and green backgrounds such as the on the site model with the vegetation. In essence, our interpretation of these symbols is largely driven by our shared and lived material culture which is all around us. In this way, in the repurposed form, the site model can shift and change the functions to which it can be put – from being a mere site model to being a teaching aid and explanatory point by the tour guides. The multiple functions assumed by the site model make it to be more transformative and resourceful semiotic material in place.

Additionally, the juxtaposed linguistic forms forming part of the names on the site model transform the signage even more dramatically into two notable localities. The name ‘Victoria’ indexes the queen of England after whom the falls are named. Clearly, the semiotic resources ‘Victoria Falls’ displace the sense of localness by placing this natural wonder right into the English hegemonic space. Thus, the rendition ‘Victoria Falls’ imbues the falls with the meaning of displacement and alienation, hence a sense of globality and of detachment from the locality. However, it can be argued, in an attempt to reclaim the sense of locality, the Zambian government appropriated the falls with a local name – *Mosi-oa-tunya*. The local rendition *Mosi-oa-tunya* comes from the socio-cultural histories of the Lozi speaking community whose presence in Livingstone dates back to 1830s. The naming of the falls was premised on its physical appearance against the geo-ecological experience of the Lozi people with regard to smoke and thunder. In fact the name *Mosi-oa-tunya* means ‘the smoke that thunders’, and hence resonates well with the ecological situatedness of the falls. I argue therefore, that by re-imagining the falls as ‘the smoke that thunders’, *Mosi-oa-tunya*, the local actors have constructed and appropriated the sense of locality to the falls. In a sense, they have made claim of ownership of place as opposed to the Eurocentric historical

tradition which privileges a white-led discovery of the area. In this vein, the semiotic resource *Mosi-oa-tunya* foregrounds the sense of localness in which the translocal population using Lozi linguistic and cultural history consumes these spaces.

The permeability of the name *Mosi-oa-tunya* into formally regulated spaces and municipal discourses brings to the fore at least one issue concerning language policy as well as privileges of some communities within the public space (cf. Shohamy 2006). Note that Livingstone district is under Southern province whose regional official language is Tonga. One would think it would have been more appropriate to use the semiotic material from the Tonga socio-culture to name the falls. Instead, a Lozi name was appropriated for a feature situated in the predominately Tonga speaking space. I noted, however, that the Tonga speaking people in these spaces equally appropriate the falls with their local name *Shungu na mutitima* and yet this name has not been accorded official recognition in the public spaces. During my data collection, particularly during my walking interviews, the local people, most of whom spoke Tonga, referred to the falls as *Shungu namutitima* or simply the ‘Victoria Falls’ and not *Mosi-oa-tunya*. I want to argue following Shohamy (2006: 110) that the LL mirrors in clear but oftentimes subtle ways “symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance, and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others.” What we see in appropriating the falls a Lozi name rather than a name from the immediate local communities surrounding the falls area such as Toka-Leya or indeed Tonga, is an act of symbolic and power dynamics within the broader historical context of the Lozi-Tonga hegemony in Livingstone district which led to the assigning of Lozi as regional official language within the urban spaces of Livingstone and Tonga to the rural spaces of Livingstone district (cf. Simwinga 2006).

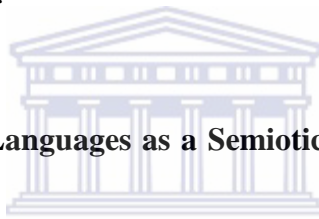
While the case maybe so, the local population has not been inhibited by the non-official recognition of *Shungu namutitima* in their daily construction and

consumption of their LL. The shop in *Figure 8.1.1d* below makes this productive negotiation within the wider context of place-making as she re-imagines the falls as a local natural wonder beyond the Lozi socio-cultural history. She rather re-imagines the falls as a Tonga/Toka-Leya space. From the spelling, one observes this ambivalence between the Tonga rendition *Shungu namutitima* and the Toka-Leya one *Syungu namutitima*. This juxtaposition of the Tonga (plateau Tonga) orthography and the valley Tonga or Toka-Leya orthography forces us to see the reclaiming of the falls as the Tonga/Toka-Leya space. I note here that, the legislated and codified names of places do little with regard to individual preferences and meaning making. It can be argued from the illustration above that the multivocality instantiated by the official names of the falls is not limited to only Lozi and English, but that the multivocality of localities is also accomplished by Tonga/Toka-Leya linguistic juxtaposition, a clear signification of a counter movement which attempts to re-colonize the falls as a local space. Thus, the three names given to the falls, namely, Victoria Falls, *Mosi-oa-tunya*, and *Shungu namutitima*, do not only articulate the multiple senses of globality, localness and immediate local, but also materialize a productive instance of multilingualism and multisemioticity arising from one single moment of reference.



Figure 8.1.1d: Re-imagined Tonga/Toka-Leya Falls

Clearly, the juxtaposition of linguistic forms in place, as pointed out already, accomplishes dynamic semiotic goals and possibilities so that in the case of *Mosi-oa-tunya*/Victoria Falls, we see multiple localities being projected by the use of different names. The projection of the immediate local is accomplished by the Tonga/Toka-Leya rendition *Shungu/Syungu namutitima*, the wider local by the Lozi rendition *Mosi-oa-tunya* while the global by the English ‘Victoria Falls’. I am alive, however, to the fact that some local patrons to the falls never use any of the local names to refer to the falls. To such, I argue, the English rendition ‘Victoria Falls’ resonates with the sense of locality as the name has been in circulation for a long time so that it does not label the space ‘foreign’ despite the ‘foreignness’ of the name ‘Victoria Falls’, predicated on belief that names do not belong to specific cultures and languages (cf. Edelman 2009).



8.1.2 The Juxtaposition of Languages as a Semiotic Strategy to Create Multiple Localities

The juxtaposition of linguistic forms from *different languages* or semiotic resources in order to project multiple localities within the same micro/macro-time/space becomes even more apparent as one considers the alignment of artefacts within the museum. Remember, the projection of multiple localities is only possible if we take the juxtaposition of the various linguistic forms in one place not as instances of translation, but rather as instances of multivocality instantiated by multiple linguistic resources, as pointed out already. *Figure 8.1.2* below makes the point with regard to this multivocality performed by the juxtaposed linguistic forms. I use multivocality as it relates to the “different ‘voices’ present in a single utterance as well as the *bivalent* syncretism of language mixing, where multiple meanings are conveyed simultaneously” (Higgins 2009: x), since as Higgins reminds us, “[m]ultivocality establishes *multiplicity* as a starting point for the analysis of language, treating contexts of multilingualism as open-ended and creative spaces of language intersection” (Higgins 2009: x).

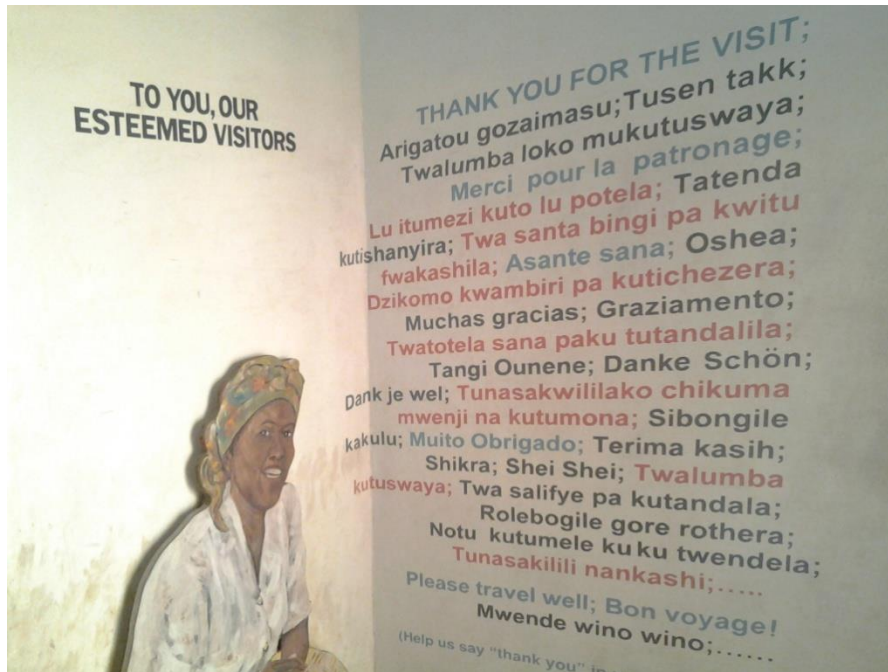


Figure 8.1.2: Multivocal Signage in Livingstone Museum about ‘Thank You’

Figure 8.1.2 is a mural built on two modalities - the visual and linguistic resources. The visual semiotics has been used to make a statement about the customs and traditions governing the womenfolk in Zambia – that is squatting as one says ‘thank you’. The woman in the mural has been positioned as ‘cultured’ and highly ‘respectful’. First, the material culture of her veil resonates with the local materiality of *chitenge*, a cloth of about two metres long and one metre high often worn by women to signify decency and a sense of being cultured. Secondly, the woman has been presented in a squatting position, a normative gesture for showing respect in Zambia’s gendered social structuring of statuses. Already, by creating a more Zambian-cultural semiotic scenario, the place is articulated as Zambian. And to know that the linguistic resources to the left of the woman also contain the seven regional official languages, forces us to take the represented participant – the woman – as a symbolic figure of all the traditions encapsulated in the seven local languages. Thus, the woman is an idealized image of a typical cultured Zambian woman (Banda 2005). Seen from this perspective, the sign maker has, by foregrounding the imagined essential characteristics of the Zambian material culture, projected onto the public

spaces of the museum the sense of localness, in which a cultured Zambian woman is seen to be posture-semiotically performing ‘thank you’.

When one considers the linguistic materialities with which the woman is juxtaposed, the global-local trajectories being to form. Clearly, *figure 8.1.2* attempts to appeal to various consumers drawn from different semiotic backgrounds. In fact, the last line in the signage alludes to this attempt as it reads ‘help us to say ‘thank you’ in your language.’ In the signage, the producer has made a calculated semiotic blending or simply semiotic juxtaposing so that the place appeals to multiple localities simultaneously. The signage has placed English at the top followed by Japanese, Norwegian/Swedish, Toka-Leya, and French...etc. so that one instance of emplacement projects the place as belonging to multiple localities in which the sense of locality is voiced by both English and the local languages to the Zambian translocal population while the sense of globality is instantiated by English to the transnationals and the sense of foreignness is borne by such languages as Japanese, Norwegian, French, Portuguese and the rest of the unfamiliar tongues to the Zambian translocal consumers. However, to a Japanese speaker/national, Japanese emplaced in these spaces exudes the sense of locality and familiarity even if Livingstone is far removed from Japan. This is so following Modan (2007: 326) who reminds us that “community is defined through social networks; it is possible to be a member of a geographical community without actually living in the geographical terrain. Likewise, it is possible to live in a neighbourhood without being part of the community.” Clearly, therefore, a Japanese national who comes merely as part of the transnational flow would identify himself or herself with this space as ‘our space’ even though he/she did not ordinarily live around these spaces. Suffice to note that the language in place provides to this newcomer affective qualities of familiarity and belonging. It is the language familiar to him/her which positions him/her as an insider in the moment of semiotic consumption. I argue therefore that these different languages juxtaposed in one micro/macro-space/time aptly anchor different consumers patronizing these

spaces as both local and non-local; familiar as well as unfamiliar at the time they attempt to read the sign-posted semiotics. Thus, by emplacing signage with multiple linguistic resources, the sign-makers have produced this micro/macro-time/space with multiple localities by aligning and juxtaposing multiple semiotic resources which are consumed subjectively by social actors against their individual socio-cultural as well as linguistic histories and backgrounds. Thus, the multivocality of the signage creates a useful semiotic strategy against which places ‘metamorphosize’ into potentially infinite localities depending on the number of the languages represented and the consumers of these languages thereof.

Further, the interspersed nature of the local and foreign languages on the signage, that is, the manner in which the local and the foreign languages have been interwoven, one after the other, on the signage, from top to bottom, brings to the fore a deliberate attempt by the sign maker to interlock locality with globality as inseparable entities enmeshed within the socio-cultural histories of the two frontiers. Perhaps inadvertently, the different colour schemes have been used to mark out locality and globality. Notice how the local semiotics have been presented using the red colour scheme while blue and black colour schemes have been used to inscribe ‘foreign’ languages. Remember, Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006) grammar of visual design incontrovertibly reminds us that prominence is usually occasioned by bright colours as a way of foregrounding a particular entity within the broader context of the representation. In this vein, locality has been made more salient using the red colour scheme over the other languages associated with foreignness, which have been backgrounded by the use of black or blue. I want to argue that, the two semiotic frontiers instantiating the sense of locality and the sense of ‘transnationality’, (or globality) on the signage in *figure 8.1.2* above, aptly locate the linguistic as well as the sociocultural trajectories of the visitors to these spaces. This is made more apparent by the call the sign maker makes - “help us to say ‘thank you’ in your language” - which is visibly inscribed in the bottom, ‘real’ position of the sign, and

this forces us to conclude that the languages on the signage represent individuals with different linguistic endowment and nationalities who have visited the Livingstone Museum just before the signage was emplaced. Thus, the signage stands as a beacon to conspicuously signal to the museum patrons as to ‘who has been’ to these spaces rather than ‘who must visit’, even though this is also implied. Therefore, we do not have to guess the fact that the number of languages on the sign represents the different nationalities which have come to this museum just before this signage was emplaced. From the count, 30 languages are represented; thus, in exclusion of the eight local languages – Toka-Leya, Tonga, Bemba, Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde, Lozi and Nyanja - 24 different countries have had their nationals come to these spaces, at least from the meanings gleaned from the mural.

Furthermore, rather than privileging the multilingual nature of space in its vertical form, the signage above, goes beyond the mere projection of the multiplicity of semiotic resources in place to capture the fluidity of space as it oscillates between multiple localities – local and global; familiar and unfamiliar; ours and theirs. As intimated above, the local languages make Livingstone Museum a more familiar and more local space – ‘our space’ - while languages like Portuguese, Japanese and French shifts the locality and the familiar into the foreignness and the unfamiliar – ‘their space’. This is all tenable thanks to the juxtaposition of multiple semiotic resources in the same micro/macro-space and time. The narrative each of these languages brings to life underpins the unique language/linguistic and sociocultural trajectories of the patrons to these spaces. In fact, the interview with one of the directors reviewed how the injection of local cultural and linguistic materialities in the semiotic/linguistic landscape of the Livingstone Museum was an attempt to position the museum as local with the view to attracting more of the translocal population to these spaces. See the narrative below by the Director (D):

D: we have tried out two things to attract the local people to come and see their natural heritage. Firstly, we introduced the ethnography section which captures the

general way of life of our people from prehistory, and most of our pieces/artefacts have been labelled in our local languages as well as English. This was to facilitate the locals to identify with the environment more easily. Secondly, we have low entry fee for the locals at only K2. The foreign tourists still pay \$5. But still, very few Zambians come to our museum. Most Zambians that come here are on research like yourself and pupils from some schools on general tour of the museum.



Figure 8.1.2b: Entrance Fees to the Livingstone Museum

Using a different lens, and without sounding repetitive and contradictory, at the same time, the narrative above, confirms that the local languages in place were employed as means to attract more of the local consumers rather than as an imprint of the local resulting from visiting the museum. Thus, the local semiotic resources and cultural materialities in place are reflective of the sense of localness in order to appeal to the local consumers who were generally apprehensive about the unfamiliarity of the museum made apparent by the dominance of the ‘foreign language’, ‘English’. Thus, I argue, the seven regional official (local) languages and one non-regional language (Toka-Leya) signposted on the sign above are used to create a sense of familiarity among the local population in order that when they are in these spaces, they should not feel ‘out of place’, as being in ‘their place’, instead, they should always feel as being in ‘our place’. Thus, the locals did not have to come to the museum in order to leave behind their linguistic mark on these precincts as the case was with the

foreigners whose languages are only written as they visit the museum. Arguably, the presence of the seven regional official languages on the sign in the Livingstone Museum was occasioned by ‘linguistic courtesy’ of the sign maker. In this connection, beyond framing the museum as a local space, the inclusion of the eight local languages is a way of showcasing the linguistic plurality of the nation rather than indexing the patrons to these environs.

In what follows, I show the juxtaposition of languages in the naming of artefacts and other cultural materialities in place as a material culture of multilingualism (Aronin and O Loaire 2012). Thus, I create a collage of images in *figures 8.1.2b -8.1.2i* below. As was revealed by the informant(s), only languages accessible to the collector of the artefact(s) were used to describe and name the said artefacts. Also, in most cases only the languages of the practicing communities of particular cultural artefacts/traditions are used to identify the artefacts. This is not surprising as most of these cultural materialities are culturally derived and driven, hence language specific. Put another way, the non-practicing communities in most cases might not have developed the vocabulary for the artefacts in question making it impossible for the museum to describe or name such artefacts in languages other than those the artefacts arise from. Thus, language or semiotic specificity of the cultural materialities in place specify and locate locality in ways that are too apparent. To this end, it can be argued that the limiting possibilities to name the artefacts using foreign semiotic resources come in particularly handy in appropriating the ambience of localness within the museum. Frankly, because some of the artefacts could not be named in English, local languages have thrived on this ‘cultural inadequacy’ of English to name predominately Zambian-grown cultural materialities. It would seem logical, therefore, to argue that local languages re-invented themselves as sole semiotic and meaning-making resources in circumstances where English could not be deployed. Thus, the local languages did not enter these spaces by design only but by circumstances beyond the control of the powers that are. This ‘*accidental triumph*’ of the local languages over

English, as one may call it, has however contributed immensely to the making of the Livingstone Museum more local, indigenous and familiar.

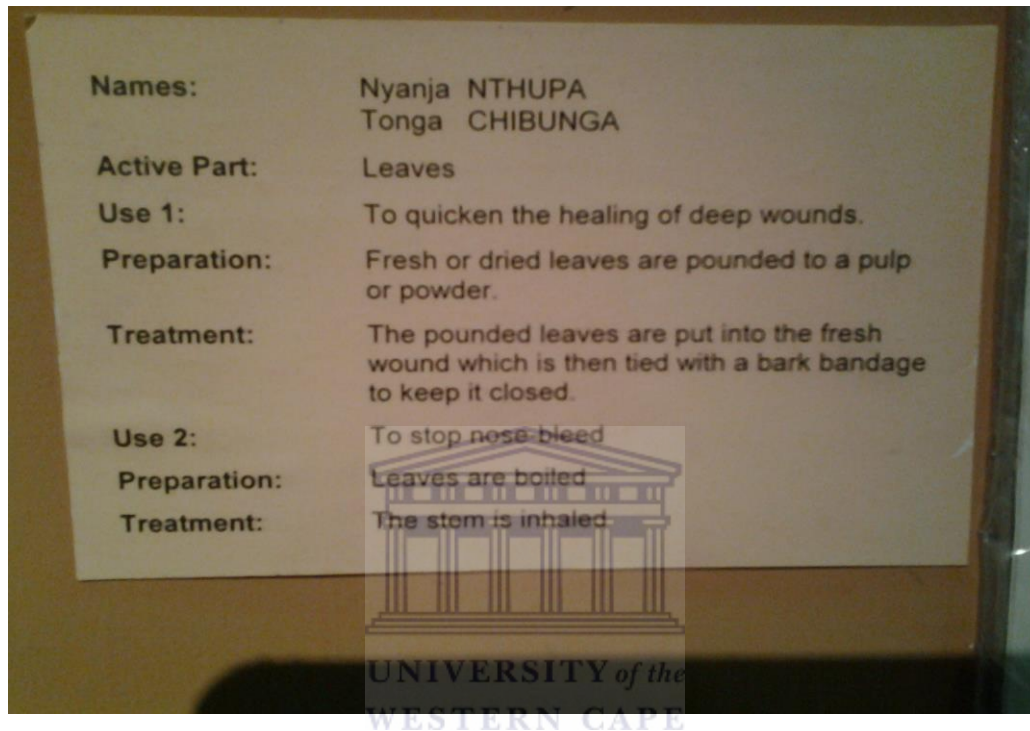


Figure 8.1.2b showing names of medicine in Nyanja and Tonga only

As noted above, lack of knowledge of the English names of these leaves in *figure 8.1.2b* forces the museum to deploy only Nyanja and Tonga names while English is used to describe the procedure involved in preparing the leaves as medicine.

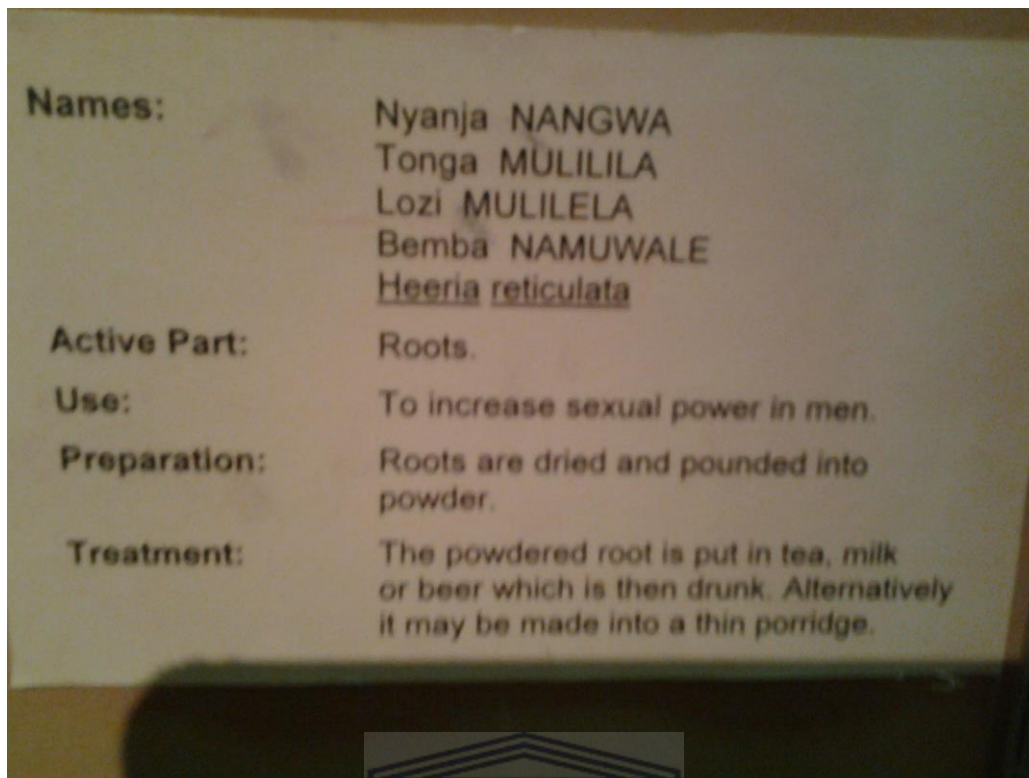
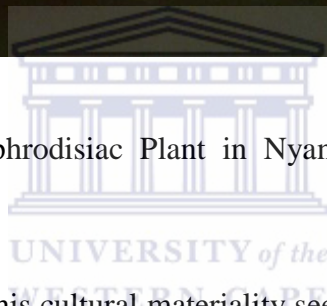
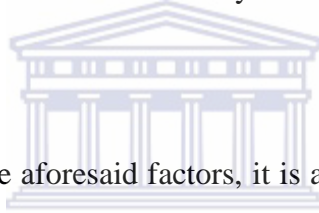


Figure 8.1.2c: Names of Aphrodisiac Plant in Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Bemba and Scientific Name (generic)



Here, the one who collected this cultural materiality seems to have been familiar with four languages in addition to the generic name of the plant. As argued above as well as below, these languages have monopolized the space thanks to the lack of knowledge of the name of the plant in other languages. *Figure 8.1.2d* below follows a similar fashion. Only the two local languages have been privileged to name the plant – Tonga and Nyanja. The same is true for all *figures 8.1.2e – 8.1.2i* below. Only the local languages have been used to name the cultural materialities in place. Using another semiotic lens, it is not difficult to see that in all these signs, what has been depicted is assumed to be exclusively Zambian-based materiality whose medicinal efficacy seems to be readily appreciated among the locals rather than the transnationality or the global. Thus, the non-availability of the English names for these cultural materialities in circulation to the museum staff affords the local languages currency and exclusive potential to underpin the spaces in which these

artefacts are emplaced as local rather than global. Arguably, English has been muted out as a signifier of the signified artefacts. Its role has been restricted to providing procedure one needs to follow when preparing medicine from the leafy or root part of the plant. Incidentally however, English seems to occupy larger portions of the signage. Thus, while the sign makers are devoid of the English names for the cultural materialities they have emplaced, they substantially draw on the English semiotics to describe the process of herbal-medicine making. The motivation for this choice is said to have been backed by two important factors: first, the difficult faced by the sign maker in choosing one of the local languages from the two or four local languages present on the signage to describe the procedure. Thus, English was seen to be more neutral and representative. Second, English was seen to be more accessible to the majority of the patrons of the museum than any of the local languages used on the signage.



Premising my argument on the aforesaid factors, it is abundantly clear that English is used to appeal to a larger consumer base than any of the local languages in the Livingstone Museum in spite of using these local languages to name artefacts. Thus, the portion where English is used shifts the sense of localness into the global. In fact, it would seem that the uses to which these leaves are put outweigh their signification (naming). Thus, the most important aspect of the artefacts – their medicinal value – has received a ‘global treatment’ while the less important aspect – the name – has received a ‘local signification’. The importance of this strategy then lifts these artefacts beyond their immediate locality as they have been described using English, a global language. I therefore wish to suggest here that the juxtaposed semiotic resources (of local languages and English, respectively) are fulfilling two important semiotic strategies: (1) to anchor the artefacts within their immediate local semiotic environment instantiated by local names used and (2) to frame these artefacts’ medicinal value as global semiotics owing to the English language which has been used to describe their efficacy. Moreover, the use of generic (scientific) names

alongside the local ones, further articulate their globality in ways more apparent. Generally, generic names are of Latin/Greek origin. Therefore, these plants cannot be said to be exclusively Zambian. Since they have generic names, they are obviously more internationalized. Thus, the generic names further broaden the semiotic frontiers to which these plants can be associated. Essentially, the generic names lift these artefacts from the confines of the local circulation unto the global-herbal-semiotic flows. Again, this is only tenable due in part to the semiotic strategy of juxtaposition. See the figures below.

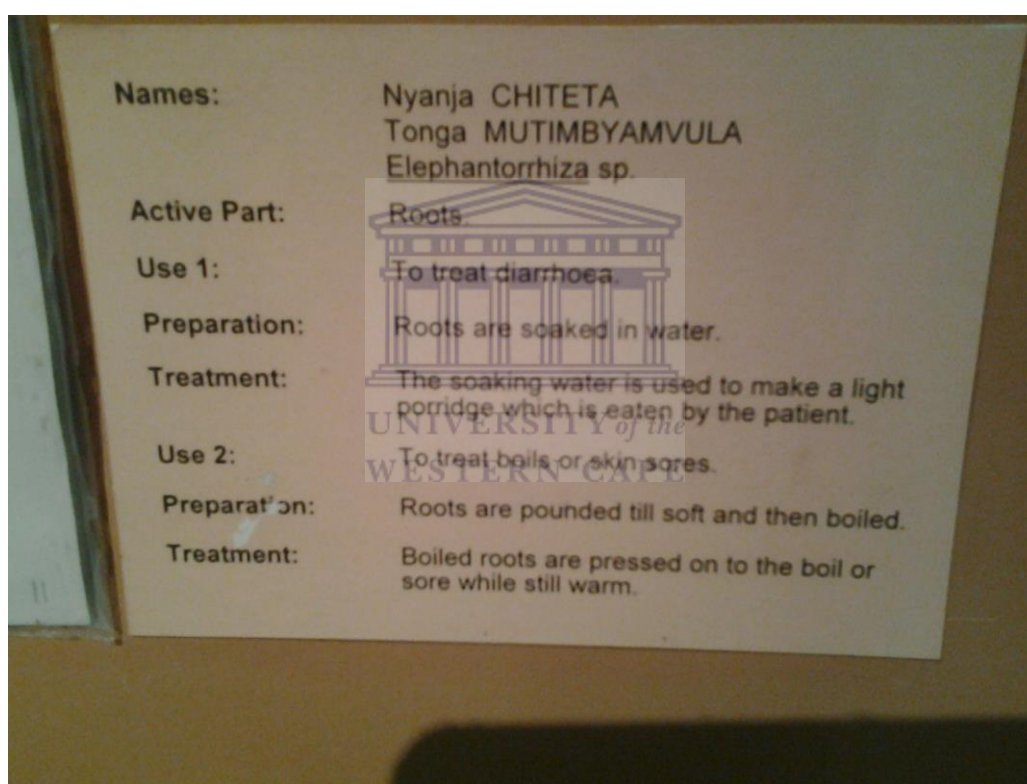


Figure 8.1.2d: Nyanja and Tonga Names of a Plant in Museum

In figure 8.1.2d is the juxtaposing of Nyanja *Chiteta* and Tonga *Mutumbyamvula* as well as the scientific name *Elephantorrhiza*, a plant used to treat diarrhea. The rest of the discourse is rendered in English.

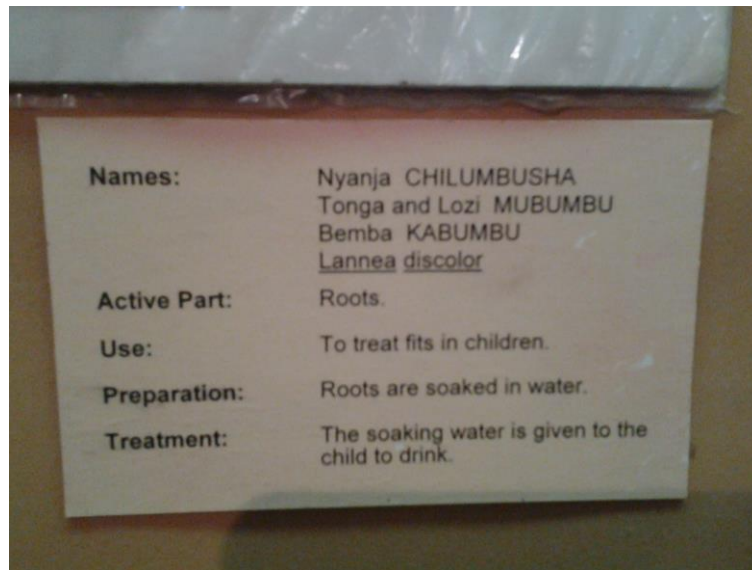


Figure 8.1.2e: Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi and Bemba Names of a Plant

In Figure 8.1.2e four languages are used to name the medicinal plant. Nyanja *Chilumbusha*, Tonga/Lozi *Mubumbu* and Bemba *Kabumbu*.



Figure 8.1.2f: Names of Plant in Tonga and Lozi

In Figure 8.1.2f only two Zambian languages have been used: Tonga *Itati* and Lozi

Likeka as well as the generic name Aloe. However, the larger part of the discourse has been given in English.



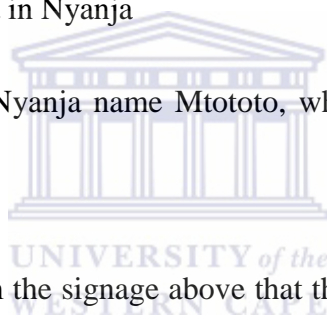
Figure 8.1.2g: Names of Plant in Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Bemba and English

Figure 8.1.2g shows names of plant in Nyanja *Mchelekete*, Tonga *Mongololo/Mulundu*, Lozi *Mushakashela*, Bemba *Ndale* and 'English Snake Bean Tree'.



Figure 8.1.2h: Names of Plant in Nyanja

Figure 8.1.2h shows only a Nyanja name Mtototo, while the rest of discourse is in English.



Clearly, one can observe from the signage above that the lexicon constraints have led to the ubiquitous presence of local languages on artefacts in the museum. By the same token, out of the seven regional official languages only four seem to feature prominently – namely Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi and Bemba. Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde are muted out from the semiotic/linguistic landscape of the Livingstone Museum. Perhaps, this reflects the earlier literacy practice obtaining in the country just before independence. As discussed in Chapter Two, only four languages, namely, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi were legislated for literacy practice in the colonial period. And this manifestation of the four in the Livingstone Museum could be tied to the historical biases in place. However, as posited above, the non-availability of these three regional languages in locating locality is due in part to the limited linguistic and lexical endowment among the museum staff of these languages as was revealed by the informant. Inadvertently, however, these inadequacies avail much about the reality concerning the lack of the language policy in the museum. This lack of a practical

language policy makes the museum to be read as space for exclusively the four local languages in addition to English. I therefore argue that the sense of localness instantiated by these four local languages is made so to the exclusion of other local population from within Zambia whose languages are not represented. What this brings into the spotlight is the unbalanced representation of locality. While the four languages in and of themselves have the potential to underpin the place as local, which socio-culturally arises from the geo-political situatedness of the speakers of these languages, these four languages, however, cannot fully mirror the complex linguistic trajectories of all the Zambians. It follows, therefore, that the sense of localness which could have been projected by Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde is conspicuously silenced and eschewed, making Shohamy's (2006: 110) point about power, significance and relevance or irrelevance of certain languages on the LL abundantly clear with regard to the symbolic nature of the linguistic landscape, and might tangentially manipulate or impose "*de facto* language policy and practice." Evidently, "the presence (or absence) of specific languages items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages with regards to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society" (Shohamy 2006: 110). Quite certain, and in the light of Shohamy's (2006) assertion above, the three languages' – Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde – conspicuous absence might be seen to have been advertently (or inadvertently perhaps) orchestrated by the linguistic insensitivity of those entrusted to emplace and name the cultural materialities in place. To this end, it can be said that "by using the powerful languages, those of high status, LL has the potential to reaffirm the languages and group in power while marginalizing the groups that are not" (Shohamy 2006: 125).

Indirectly, the evidence displayed above demonstrates that in the face of constraints such as the non-availability of or lack of knowledge for concepts in English language that can be used to name some of the cultural materialities in place, the government does not show any differential effect in the choice of semiotics from how the private

firms do it. They act just as the bottom-up flow, which normally responds to the market forces by deferring to the unofficial semiotic resources. We would have expected to see only English names for each of the artefacts since the museum is government owned. This is also reflected in the LL of the Victoria Falls area, as discussed below.

The construction of locality, especially imbued with the sense of the localness emanating from the socio-cultural materialities of the immediate community of practice, is made more apparent in the naming of trees within the precincts of the Victoria Falls. The Zambia Tourism Board seems to have ‘ignored’ all the other local languages but Tonga in naming the plants in these spaces. In fact, the old signage show some combination of English, Tonga and Lozi, but the new signs, emplaced in 2012, in readiness for the World Tourism Conference of the UN, show complete proclivity towards Tonga, even though this might not be so. The differences between the two sets of signage are markedly revealing just by looking at their materiality. The old ones are written in white colour paint on a black metallic slate while the new ones are inscribed using a white paint on a green metallic plate, as can be seen from the *figures 8.1.2i/8.1.2j* and *8.1.2k* below. The new emplaced signs’ materiality, particularly the green colour scheme, provides a natural blend between the signs and the environment they name.



Figure 8.1.2i: Lozi –English

Figure 8.1.2j: Lozi, Tonga and Eng



Figure 8.1.2k: Tonga and Scientific Names Only



Figure 8.1.2l: Tonga and Scientific Names Only

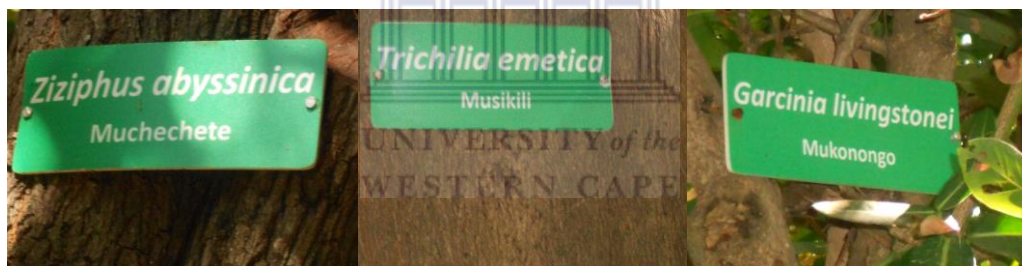


Figure 8.1.2m: Tonga and Scientific Names

If we look at the signage above, particularly figures 8.1.2j and 8.1.2k, about *Mubuyu* signage, we notice an interesting attempt to dismiss the language borders in the new signage. The old sign show that *Mubuyu* is both a Tonga and Lozi name for Baobab tree. However, in a resemiotized and recontextualized signage, so to speak, the detail about this duality of application has been left out. Rather than seeing these new signs as act of monolingualizing the public space after the Tonga semiotic capital, I argue that the new signage responds to multiple semiotic application and opens up varied possibilities for linguistic consumption. Put another way, by simply emplacing the names without indicating the language from which the name is derived, the signs acquire more semiotic potentialities and possibilities so that they are no longer

restricted to project only one or two localities as the case was with the old signs. Rather, the consumption and meaning making has been left to the social actors who might consume these same names in the light of their languages other than Tonga and Lozi. This is premised on the linguistic evidence that Bantu languages, especially spoken in Zambia, share a great deal of vocabulary. Thus, while I read these names as Tonga names because of my restricting and imposing socio-cultural and linguistic background, a lozi speaker has a similar chance of reading these names as Lozi names, as demonstrated by the *Mubuyu* signage. Thus, Edelman (2009: 145) reminds us that

languages have no clear-cut borders: due to genetic relatedness and language contact, many names “belong” to more than one language. Proper names seem to be more readily borrowed or adopted from another language than common nouns.

Edelman (2009) above is abundantly clear that proper names in the LL can be subjectively read based on the knowledge of individual consumers of the LL, making proper names more of language-specific and non-language specific at the same time.

Arsing from the aforesaid, therefore, the important insight gleaned from the data above is one that relates to how a tourist space is re-imagined and re-constructed as local by using local names, but also made global by the use of generic names. As can be seen from the signs above, generic (scientific) names have been used in addition to the local names. And this is to allow for an open-ended consumption of the semiotic material in place by both the translocal and transnational social actors, which invariably transforms, as noted about the cultural materialities in the museum, a local space into a more global space and vice versa. The generic names semiotically re-configure these spaces as more de-centred spaces accessible to multiple social actors.

8.2 Artefacts in David Livingstone Gallery: Addressing the Global, the Local and the Private

In this section, energy is directed at describing and analyzing the semiotic resources in *David Livingstone Gallery* of the Livingstone Museum. By undertaking to describe the artefacts emplaced in this section of the museum, it is hoped that one may address the global, the local and the private dimension of this locality. Beyond that, but in line with the objective of the study which envisaged to historicize the Zambia past, I read the artefacts about David Livingstone against the backdrop of the Ethnography Section, in order to (re-) construct and make a statement about what it meant by being in the pre-industrialized 'Zambia'. This analysis is being done with a full appreciation that artefacts like any other semiotic resources in place are an embodiment of histories and therefore have the potential to open up semiotic possibilities of interpretations, thereby providing tools with which to re-engage and re-image space and actorhood in spite of them being removed in both time and space. Just as photographs, artefacts (mural) freeze time and moments of historical and cultural materialities, amenable for consumption at any given time.



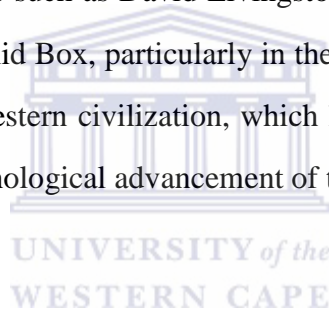
Figure 8.2a and 8.2b: David Livingstone Gallery



Figure 8.2c: David Livingstone's Personal Effects (chattels)

The gallery of David Livingstone dramatically transforms the locality into global and private space as well as local. The personal effects or chattels of David Livingstone are all emplaced in this room of relatively big size. Encased in a glass cabinet are his jacket (coat), cap, gun, umbrella (*figure 8.2c*) and numerous correspondences between him and his home government in Scotland, among other chattels. Alongside his image, in *figure 8.2a* is an image of his local steward or acclaimed friend. These artefacts, in isolation and collectively, project this section of the museum as global, local and private. The global is achieved by the semiotic saturation of the gallery with discourses framed in English only, the presence of an English name and personality – the historical body. In *figure 8.2a* above, apart from the naming of the gallery after the English missionary, for whom the gallery is constructed, the labels, descriptive notes about all personal effects of David Livingstone displaced in the gallery are all in English. Thus, there is no apparent intentional and systematic attempt to decolonize the space by juxtaposing the English language with the local languages as the case is with the artefacts in Ethnography Section reviewed above. As can be seen, from the first signage, *figure 8.2b* above, the place has been defined as a ‘David Livingstone space’. In fact, the person of David Livingstone is re-imaged and re-enacted in a well spelt manner by the signage in *figure 8.2b* showing the image and the written re-visualization of David Livingstone. In particular, the words ‘*Dr. Livingstone I presume!*’ set the ‘spatial tone’ about the nature of the rest of the semiotic resources that one would encounter throughout the gallery. Further, the sense of globality and the western culture are well wrapped up in the literacy skills deployed in the letters of David Livingstone. As would be expected, none of the letters is written in local languages. This re-enforces the displaced nature of the gallery as no local language finds expression on these artefacts. Aside from the letters, the gallery is littered with the topographic representation of the journeys of David Livingstone. The accompanying notes and illustrations are all in English. This too, adds to the projection of this space as global rather than local. Additionally, the entire personal effects of David Livingstone displayed in this section, when placed in time, and read

with the hindsight of the 1800 African civilization, speak to foreignness and globality because in 1855, or around that time, such personal effects could not be readily acquired by the local population. Such artefacts as guns contrast sharply with the traditional African weaponry built around spears and club. Also, the presence of a First Aid Box (*figure 8.2c*) markedly contrasts with the herbal medicines displayed in the Ethnography Section of the museum, making David Livingstone's Section more foreign and global as well as technologically advanced than the sections which depict local life and the experiences of the pre-industrialized Zambia. Thus, reading the artefacts as semiotic resources in *David Livingstone gallery* against those in the Ethnography gallery, afford analytical and semiotic potentialities to historicize civilization as well as the peculiarities of the material culture of the pre-industrialized Zambians and of missionaries such as David Livingstone. The meanings associated with coats, guns and a First Aid Box, particularly in the 1800 would shift locality into globality, but also into the western civilization, which had a head-start in technology compared to the African technological advancement of the same period.



Further, the personal letters of David Livingstone to his government back in England (Scotland) reconfigures what one initially uptakes as a public space into a more private and personal space. The letters in this section do not only stand in sharp contrast with the literacy levels prevalent in pre-industrialized Zambian society of the time, but rather, deeply, they pour out mental/psychological trajectories of David Livingstone as he sojourned across the African space. These letters forge one of the private and personal narratives about how David Livingstone imagined and re-imagined both Europe and the African spaces he constantly traversed. The meanings he attached to the geo-political activities and personal encounters within the African spaces are resemiotized into the written narratives some of which crossed borders and oceans and got filed even by the Queen of England, Victoria, especially following the naming of the Victoria Falls after her. In framing these spaces as

private, I argue that personal narratives some of which hinting on personal pain and suffering, failure and successes, all transform a public gallery into a more personalized space of reflection and admiration as well as sympathy. David Livingstone is not only projected as an invincible explorer of the nineteenth century, but also as a man of sorrow. The signage in *figure 8.2d* below is on point on this matter, for everyone to see. The signage shows the untimely death of David Livingstone. Thus, in a dramatic and graphic way, the signage speaks to the private nature of David Livingstone's life. Thus, the gallery could be seen to be changing shades, shapes and narratives – from a more public engagement of David Livingstone's life to a more private and personalized one.

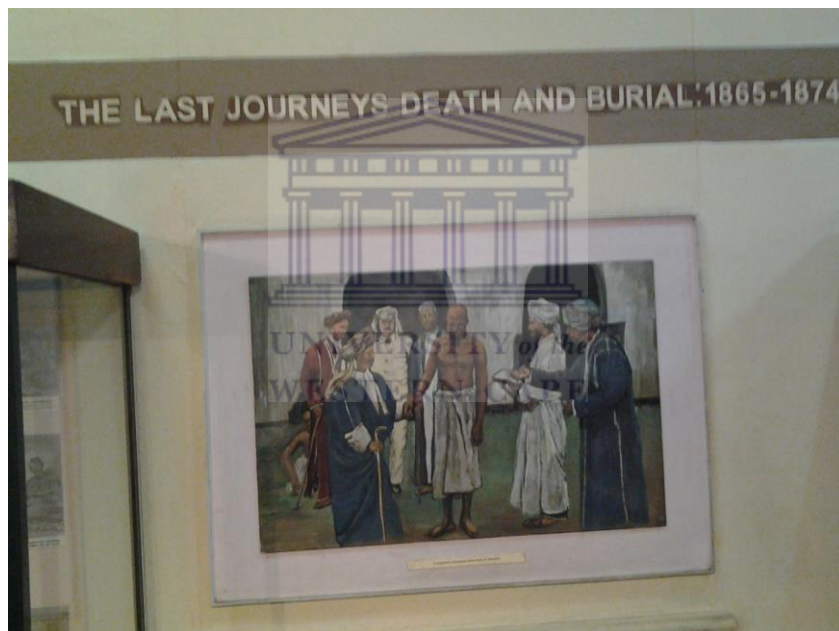


Figure 8.2d: Death and Burial of David Livingstone

The positioning of the African man against the rest of the represented participants in *figure 8.2d* foregrounds him as the focus of the narrative representation. With a downcast face, the African man appears more sorrowful than the rest of the represented participants, and is understood as a more natural African response to loss and tragedy. Ironically, the rest of the represented participants seem to be whites. In this signage, therefore, the sign makes footnotes in ways too apparent the extent to which the African man, David Livingstone's personal friend and helper, gets affected

by the death of David Livingstone. Reading this signage from a social semiotic vantage point, one begins to sense the attempt by the sign maker to create, contrastively, the socio-cultural divide between the western world and the African mystical world in the face of death. The ease with which the whites, in the signage, seem to bear the news of death contrasts sharply with the seriousness and grief with which the African man has borne the same loss. Thus, the meanings of the signage are motivated and transformative of the represented participants as well as the space upon which the signage is emplaced. In the signage, we read and notice the death of David Livingstone as a loss to the African man, whose entire life, up until this point, evolved and revolved around David Livingstone. On the other hand, we decipher the concealment of emotions by the whites in the signage. Thus, following Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of interactional order, which privileges gaze and interaction among the interactive participants, we see the convergence of the entire narrative representation on the African man. All the represented participants seem to look at the African man. In the absence of David Livingstone, therefore, the African man becomes the centre and the locus of narration and consolation. Thus, artefacts – images and graphemes – in the David Livingstone Gallery narrate and historicize an ever ending journeys of the Africans and whites not only during David Livingstone's life, but more so after his death.

Apart from the memorization of David Livingstone with regard to his personal and private life as well as framing the space (gallery) global due to the ubiquitous presence of English signage and more western oriented artefacts such as a gun and umbrella, *David Livingstone Gallery* has formulated a subtle narrative about the sense of localness and African technological situatedness of the 1800. Primarily, as demonstrated in the backgrounded image in *figure 8.2b* above and *figure 8.2e* below, the sense of localness is well articulated by the presence of a bow and arrow and the local population forming the David Livingstone's exploring party. Few would deny the fact that a bow and arrow was the mainstay of the pre-industrialized African

arsenal and weaponry. Therefore, a bow and arrow cannot be easily read as ‘out of place’ in an African museum like the one under discussion. Thus, while artefacts such as an exotic coat and a gun might warrant the reading of the *David Livingstone gallery* as western, the presence of artefacts such as a bow and arrow foreground the place as local and relatively less technologically advanced during the time of David Livingstone. In fact, the juxtaposition, or foregrounding of David Livingstone and backgrounding of an unnamed African in *figure 8.2b* above forces us to semiotically surmise that David Livingstone is made more prominent, hence superior and the an unnamed African less prominent, hence inferior. The contrast presupposed in the signage can be extended to apply to the relative superiority of David Livingstone’s cultural materialities over the backgrounded unnamed African in both civilization and technological advancement.

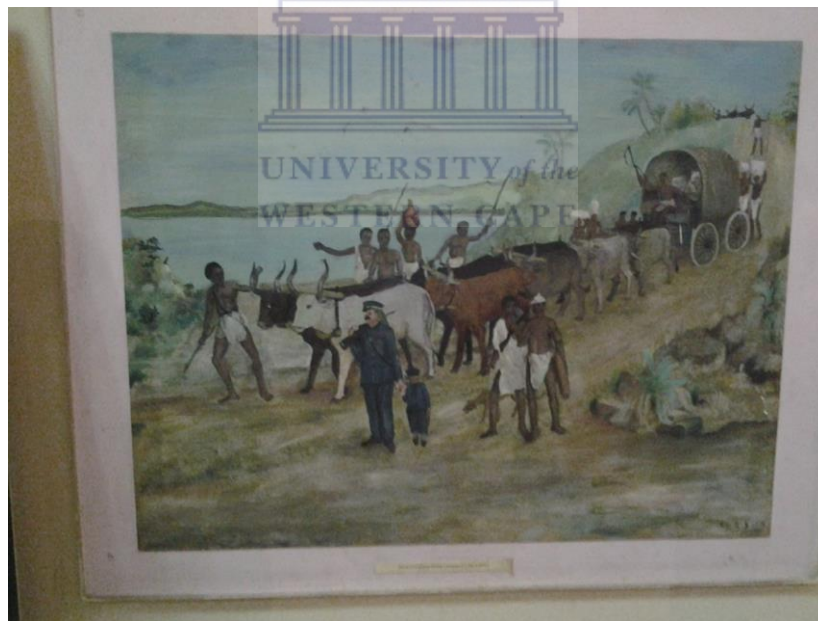
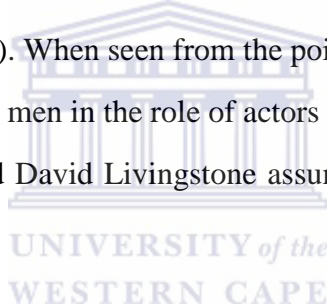


Figure 8.2e: David Livingstone and his Exploration Party on Ox-drawn Cart

As can be seen in *figure 8.2e* above, the African men functioned as ‘wheels’ or drivers of David Livingstone across the spaces he sought to explore. Reading such an act as an instance of semiotic and identity performance, the signage brings to the fore apparent meanings and actorhood associated with the European-African relations of the pre-independence era. Particularly, the signage provides indisputable portraiture of

European dominance. Note how the African men are depicted in the signage. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of narrative representation and Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of interactional order, we begin to see the signage as being dynamic and dramatic, depicting transactional relations between David Livingstone and the African men. Note, while David Livingstone seems to be leading the way, the African men are portrayed as vulnerably under control and oblivious of their personal existence. In the signage, some of the African men are busy driving the ox-drawn cart while David Livingstone is shown as carrying a gun in his hand which he has rested on his shoulder. The interactional order (Scollon and Scollon 2003) brings to the fore the distinctive roles played by the African men and David Livingstone. Thus, two broad identities based on the positioning of the social actors in the signage emerge –that is - the leader versus the led; the actor versus the goal (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). When seen from the point of view of actor versus goal, the signage places the African men in the role of actors – as the ones doing the deed of driving the ox-drawn cart and David Livingstone assumes the role of goal, - the one for whom the deed is done.



Clearly, by foregrounding David Livingstone the sign maker has made attempts to systematically narrate and construct various identities being performed by the social actors thus shown. One such narrative underpinned by the interactional order and the narrative representation which have been framed in the signage relates to dominance and the centrality of David Livingstone in the story that the sign maker intends to tell. The colour scheme and the central positioning of David Livingstone make him more conspicuous than others, hence becoming the locus of the narrative representation. In this way, as was seen in Chapter Seven concerning the gendering of space, here too, the African men have been de-centred in order to foreground David Livingstone. There is no attempt by the sign maker to enact an interaction between David Livingstone and the African men. In fact, even the other two African men to the right of David Livingstone are portrayed as mere guards and protectors of David

Livingstone. For example, a closer look at the signage reveals small dogs moving just by the two men, forcing us to frame their positioning against that of David Livingstone as guards. They are not seen or represented as engaging with David Livingstone at all. Thus, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 48) abundantly show, “there are two types of participant involved in every semiotic act, interactive participants and represented participants.” The interactive participants are usually shown to engage in some act of communication between or among them while the represented participants constitute the subject matter of communication. What we have here in the signage under analysis are represented participants – merely constituting the subject matter of communication and discussion by the consumers of the signage. Observably, there is no verbal or non-verbal transaction between David Livingstone and his African entourage. Thus, the depiction of the represented participants is that of discernible social distance and deference between David Livingstone and his recruited African escort party. However, there seems to be an active transaction among the Africans themselves. Firstly, they interact quite visibly with the oxen and second between themselves as can be seen from the two men to the right of David Livingstone.

Premising our argument on the visualized representation, it is apparently irresistible to place the muted nature of David Livingstone, so to speak, within the western socio-cultural context in which individuals privilege isolation over communal engagement and interaction. The active engagement seen among the African men in the signage could invariably point to their deep-seated philosophy of co-existence, inclusiveness and participatory societal situatedness. Thus, just a mere narrative representation, like the one in the signage above, can avail much about the cultural and social histories of the represented participants.

Furthermore, focusing on the material culture of the people in *figure 8.2e* above brings into the spotlight the complex socioeconomic dynamics of the social actors in

place. David Livingstone is seen clad in exotic apparels while the accompanying party is in clothes of inferior quality and barely cover the ‘essential parts’ of their bodies. Thus, as is held within the broader context of artefactual semiotics – “the branch of semiotics that focuses on the meaning of material objects and artifacts” (Danesi 2004: 179) – clothes are signs which stand for things such as “the personality, the social status, and overall character of the wearer” as well as his or her attitudes and political beliefs (Danesi 2004: 178). Framed after Danesi’s (2004) artefactual semiotics, the interactional order of the signage above between the superior and the inferior with regard to personal effects or chattels, foregrounds David Livingstone as a master while the African men are represented as servants. Clearly, the clothes worn by the represented participants reveal they are of two distinct social statuses and, therefore, belong to two different group affiliations. In fact, the attire of David Livingstone (re)presents him as a military personnel rather than a Christian missionary. It is hard to visualize a man in a ‘military-like uniform’ with a gun in his hand as a Christian missionary unless one is told so. Thus, the representation of David Livingstone *displaces* him from the missionary work and associates him with aggression, power and dominance in the pre-colonial Africa because no representation is meaningless – as noted already, clothes as signs “evoke a broad range of meanings across the world’s culture” (Danesi 2004: 205). Arguably, the identity and meanings ascribed to David Livingstone are purely framed after and premised on the examination of his disposition, deportment and decorum relative to his immediate surrounding within the broader context of Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) interactional order.

Undoubtedly therefore, basing our memorization and remembrance of the 1800 ‘Zambia’ on artefacts from the Livingstone Museum brings to the fore the unparalleled inequality with regard to personal (clothes) effects or chattels between the missionary and target communities of the missionary work. The meanings afforded by examining the signage are invariably rich so much so that the represented world’s cultures are remarkably distinguishable, thus creating a system of

signification that mirrors a sociocultural divide between the west and the north. In this way, therefore, the signage above conflates diverse recollection and memorization of the 1800 African space and aptly retell narratives of cultural dominance and unequal partnership of the social actors concerned. Arguably, Karp (1991: 16) is on point by reminding us that “exotic objects displayed in museums are there only because of western imperialism and colonial appropriation, and that the only story such objects can tell is the history of their status as trophies of imperial conquest.” Thus, the emplaced signs are not only constructing space as local or global, but are also historicizing and monumentalizing the unbalanced social and economic forces witnessed by the African past in ways too apparent.

Arising from the aforesaid, therefore, it is abundantly clear that all the interpretations and meanings concerning the sociocultural and economic differences between David Livingstone and the locals are all embedded in just images rather than words. Truly, as acknowledged by many (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006; Kress 2010; Shohamy 2006; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Scollon and Scollon 2003) images embody a manifold of meanings than words can possibly capture. In fact, both Saussurean semiology and Peircean semiotics (cf. Danesi 2004; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006) remind us that signs do not speak of themselves. Rather, signs index or symbolize entities/things other than the signs themselves. Framed after this claim, therefore, the evidence gleaned from the signs in *David Livingstone Gallery* points to the ingrained power and semiotic potential of artefacts and symbols in the museum to re-image and re-visualize the past and to occasion clear glimpses of the spatialization and delineation of place as local and global, as well as private simultaneously. Thus, cultural materialities in place avail much about the meanings associated with those they represent or index, as they can point both to the past and prefigure the future narratives of the social actors concerned. I thus agree with Bronner (1985: 131) that artefacts are “a mirror of culture, a code from which the researcher can infer beliefs, attitudes, and values”, because “artefacts are active voices” which represent our

worldview and thus “repositories of family and personal narratives” (Aronin and O’Laoire 2012: 8, 9).

Thus, juxtaposing David Livingstone Gallery with the material culture in the Ethnography section reveals a sharp contrast not only in terms of the linguistic resources used to footnote the artefactual semiotics in place but also the artefacts themselves. In *figure 8.2f* below are masks of the Nyau and mubunda traditions which sharply contrast between the Christian ideals embodied by the artefactual materialities of David Livingstone and the Zambian traditions. Thus, a museum is a contested space, one which oscillates between modernity and tradition; Christianity and the African mystical world, as well as the politics of control and the controlled.



Figure 8.2f: Chadzunda Nyau Mask and Initiation Costume

8.3 Artefacts of Internationalism

Within the precinct of the Livingstone Museum are iconic artefacts which can be read from the point of view of multisemioticity as artefacts of internationalism. Owing to the ubiquitous emplacement of sculptures of personalities with international accreditation and firm, I argue that these artefacts, inform these spaces of their internationalism and global nature. Particularly the sculpture of the UN Secretary-General (*figure 8.3a, below*) lifts these spaces beyond the confines of Zambia, thanks to the fact that Mr Ban Ki-Moon is an international figure. In fact, the written discourse on the statue links travel and tourism to fostering of world peace and development. The following are the words written on the statue:

THIS TOURISM CENTRE AND ONE STEP SHOP WAS OFFICIALLY OPENED ON 26TH FEBRUARY, 2012 BY MR BAN KI-MOON, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, IN RECOGNITION OF THE INPORTANT ROLE OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM IN FOSTERING WORLD PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT.

Thus, the iconicity of the emplaced statue transforms the locality – the museum – into a semiotic capital for fostering world peace and development. Evidently, the deployment of and the choice of the personality to objectify globality and world peace into a statue is a highly calculated and semiotically invested enterprise. The Zambian Tourism Board is cognizant of this fact in choosing Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations as the transformative strategy of the locality. In a way, the importance and the internationalism associated with Ban Ki-Moon all crystallize in this space. Consequently, the precincts of the museum have been constructed as being more authentic and global. This is, arguably, due to that fact that the statue of the Ban Ki-Moon has been commodified and his ‘person’ objectified as an embodiment of authenticity with regard to the fostering of world peace and development, thanks to his international standing and/or the position he holds. Thus, it is semiotically compelling to argue for the fact that the status symbol of the represented participant is constantly replicated in the semiotic currency and flow of the environment each time social actors read or see this statue. In this way, the act of consumption, involving a re-imagining and re-visualizing of the represented participant, transforms the locality into internationality and sense of globality.



Figure 8.3a: Ban Ki-Moon

Below, in *figure 8.3b*, a similar semiotic strategy has been deployed in constructing the precincts of the museum more than just a platform for memorization and historical narratives, but also as spaces of globality and convergence of diversity. The meanings associated with Emil Holub, author of the first map of the Victoria Falls of 1875, in the signage below transcend the sense of locality. In the narrative provided on the statue, the represented participant is linked to three worlds: Czech Republic as his country of birth; Southern Africa as his space of travel and exploration; and Austria as his place of death. Thus, by emplacing him in these spaces, the sculptor does not only narrate the interwoven historical and geo-political situatedness of the represented participant, but also makes a commentary on the convergence of diversity in terms of nationality and identity as well as the transformative sense of globality with which he is associated.



Figure 8.3b: Emil Holub, a Traveller and Explorer of South Africa

With his eyes directly in contact with the potential consumers of the sculpture, the artefact or signage is in perpetual dialogue with the social actors within its sphere of emplacement. As Scollon and Scollon's (2003) interactional order suggests, a direct gaze of the represented participant entails an engagement of the represented participant and the reader of the signage. Thus, the sculpture above may be read as one talking back at the reader about its travels and accomplishment in southern Africa. For example, the inscription narrates that Emil Holub is the author of books on Lozi, Mbunda, Tonga, Ila, San and Ngwato history, ethnography and culture as well as Southern Africa ornithology. In short, semiotically, the sculpture above is not a passive historical figure atop the stand, but rather, it is semiotically charged with discourses that historicize travel, exploration and authorship. This dialogue in place, brings together or should I say, takes readers to diverse places within one instance of interaction and gaze.

In the figure below, *figure 8.3c*, is a fairly revealing discourse of convergence of multiple identities and nationalities as a result of Holub's interwoven and

interconnected life and historical trajectories. During the unveiling of the statue three governments are represented, not by coincidence but by obligation. The Provincial Minister of Southern Province (Zambia), Ambassador of Czech Republic and Ambassador of the Republic of Austria. The presence of three different national governments on one statue places the statue into three different localities simultaneously, and by extension, it transforms locality dramatically into multiple localities. Arguably, therefore, the emplaced statue does not only mirror the historical travels and exploratory work that the represented participant undertook, but it also crystallizes multiple demographic and international trajectories in one micro/macro-space/time. Clearly, the data reveal that the global-local interface is achievable when semiotic materialities in place are selected on their socio-historical and geo-political and demographic situatedness relative to their immediate environment. In the case of *figure 8.3b*, the reading of the written linguistic resources avails to the consumer the multiple demographic and geo-political trajectories embedded on one statue. Incidentally, such trajectories cause or set in motion mental and emotional mobilities of the consumers as they re-imagine and re-visualize the multiple localities and (national) identities which the represented participant embodies. Consequently, the re-visualization and re-imagination of the embodied localities and identities as well as the trajectories of the represented participant by the social actors invariably contribute to the mobility and the pliability of place as local and global, simultaneously, during the uptake of the artefact (statue).



Figure 8.3c: Details about the Unveiling of Emil Holub's Statue

8. 4 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has discussed the global-local interface from the point of view of Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of interactional order and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of narrative representation. It took all instances of juxtaposition as a semiotic strategy by the sign-maker to 'double-articulate' multiple localities, particularly the emplaced cultural materialities from multiple linguistic resources such as English, Tonga, Bemba Nyanja and Lozi when crystallized in one micro-space/time as one a signage. Using spaces around and within Livingstone Museum and the Victoria Falls area, the Chapter has argued that the deployment of artefacts with multiple semiotic resources – local and global ones – instantiates place into multiple localities and shifts spaces into the familiar and the unfamiliar as well as the global and the local simultaneously. Names and material cultures alike imbue spaces with various meanings. In point are the different sensibilities evoked by the names such as *David Livingstone* and *Rhodes* on one hand and *Victoria Falls* and *Mosi-Oa-Tunya* on the other hand with regard to the sense of localness and the sense of globality; also, it has been shown that personal effects (clothes) have the potential to historicize the

sociocultural and economic unbalance among the represented participants on the signage. Equally important aspect addressed in the Chapter relates to artefacts of internationalism. Within the precincts of the Livingstone Museum are statues which semiotically transform and ‘lift’ locality into globality. It has been argued here too that the selection of personalities to objectify globality and universally entrenched principles such as world peace is a highly calculated and semiotically invested enterprise.

In the next Chapter, I discuss the LL of oral-dominant spaces of the rural-scapes



CHAPTER NINE

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN ORAL-LANGUAGE DOMINANT CULTURAL CONTEXTS: AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

9.0 Introduction

The Chapter focuses on the rural areas of the research sites in order to gain insight into the kind of signs in places. To achieve this, I briefly compare the kinds of signs found in urban and rural spaces. Thus, in *Section 9.1* of the Chapter, I restrict my discussion to the materiality, inscription and emplacement. *Section 9.2* takes up the implication of the dearth and paucity of the signage in the rural areas. The Chapter shows that the paucity or limited ‘visible’ signage in rural areas does not necessarily impede sign production and consumption as rural dwellers repurpose the limited resources. Lastly, I propose an ecological framework to linguistic/semiotic landscapes in which oral language mediation, recycling and repurposing of material affordances in the communicative contexts, are socio-cultural and discourse practices on which signage is produced and consumed.

9.1 Kind of Signage in Urban and Rural: Materiality, Inscription and Emplacement

In an attempt to address the objective which sought to examine the kind of signs in urban and rural spaces, this section provides some quantitative description of the signs found in urban and rural spaces of the research sites. *Table 9.1* below shows the kind of signs that were found in rural and urban spaces.

Table 9.1a: Kind of Signs in Urban and Rural Spaces

Kind of sign	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
Professionally made	67.4	25.5
Unprofessionally made	31.4	60.2
Defaced/unscripted signs	1.0	14.3
Total	883	269

Table 9.1 shows a strikingly difference in the kind of signs found in urban and rural spaces. There were more of unprofessionally made signs in the rural spaces at 60.2%. The urban scapes recorded only 31.4% if unprofessionally made signs. With regard to the professionally made signs, urban spaces showed more of these signs at 67.4% compared to 25.5% for the rural landscapes. But more striking was the presence of defaced or unscripted signs. The urban showed 1% compared to 14.3% found in the rural spaces. The judgments about whether a sign was professionally made or not were based on the material and the inscription used to build the sign. This entails that about 60% of the signs found in the rural spaces of the research sites were handwritten in paint or ink and sometimes using charcoal. The 25.5% of the professionally made signs found in the rural spaces were mainly billboards/placards by telecommunication companies such as Airtel, MTN and Zamtel as well as those emplaced by transnational companies especially along the stretches between Livingstone and Kazungula/Zimba. In exception of these, the social actors in these spaces mainly creatively redeployed recycled material such as rusted iron sheets and cardboards as will be seen in the discussions below (*section 9.2*).

The 67.4% of the professionally made signs found in the urban ranged from neon lights and LCD billboards which now have become quite commonplace in the CBD of Lusaka and Livingstone. Such high-tech design of signage is yet to be found in the rural spaces. *Figure 9.1* shows an LCD billboard in emplaced in Lusaka CBD.



Figure 9.1a: LCD Billboard

In *figure 9.1a* is an LCD billboard emplaced in Lusaka CBD. One of the noticeable semiotic potential of such billboards is their ability to articulate multiple identities and meanings sequentially as can be seen above. In one moment of emplacement, the LCD is able to produce multiple messages depending on the number of adverts it is programmed to handle per a minute. One informant, an agent of the company emplacing these LCD billboards reported that depending on the demand, 60 different adverts can be displayed in a minute. This is to say every second a different semiotic resource(s) is being articulated, making such urban LL more dynamic and sophisticated. The dynamism brought to the LL by LCD billboards entails that space is continually under construction. The spontaneity with which discourses appear on such technologically mediated signage forces us to argue that one moment of gaze by a consumer leads to the consumption of myriads of semiotic resources built from multiple modalities. Thus, in terms of inscription, signage in urban spaces tended to have high-tech driven inscription instantiated by printing, graphic design and in the case of LCD billboards, lighting effects and motion made the inscription even more prominent. And this is what Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) refer to as sites of luxury. However, this does not mean unprofessionally made signs do not feature on the LL of urbanized centres.

On the other hand, the rural areas surveyed, did not have signage such as LCD billboards as most rural spaces are not electrified. As will be seen in the discussion

below, majority of the signs in the rural areas, if not emplaced on the establishment, are repurposed from iron sheets and environment. But this does not in any way lay constraint on sign production and consumption.

There is one feature of commonality, however, between the urban and rural spaces surveyed: the act of emplacement. There is a tendency to emplace signs on the establishment itself rather than away from the establishment even though the rural showed more of the signs emplaced on the establishment. Table 9.1b shows the trend in emplacement of signage in both urban and rural spaces.

Table 9.1b: Emplacement of Signs in Urban and Rural

Emplacement	Percentage	
	Urban	Rural
On Establishment	60.87	90.5
Away From Establishment	26.31	9.5
Within the Premises	12.59	-
Non-Designated (Transgressive)	10.24	-
Total	883	269

The results in *Table 9.1b* are illustrative of the emplacement of signs in urban and rural areas. I should hasten to mention that it was difficult in rural areas to capture information relating to whether the sign was emplaced in the designated or non-designated area because for most rural spaces there were no planned roads, and therefore no municipal control or policing. As for the urban spaces, emplacement of signs is policed by the City Planning Department so that it is easy to make judgments on whether the signage is emplaced in a designated place or not. However, from the interview with one of the Directors for planning at Lusaka City Council, the policing of signage emplacement is not aggressively done even in the central business district of Lusaka, as one often finds transgressive signage on trees, buildings, electrical poles and pedestal of street lights. The common feature for both the urban and rural about

emplacement is that majority of the signs were emplaced on the establishments. In rural areas 90.5% of the signs were written on the establishments, often on the top part of the shops. In the urban areas 60.87% of the signs were written or emplaced on the establishment, 12.59% were emplaced within the precincts of the establishment and 26.31% were emplaced away from the establishment. Shared reasons were given for the emplacement of signs within or on the establishment; namely, council levy, lack of space and fear of vandalism of signs which is quite common. For example, one shop owner said: *it is very expensive to pay rent for the billboard. The City Council collects levy on each billboard you see here. So the best is to just write on my shop.* Thus, cost and land ownership laid constraint on the emplacement of signs in municipally policed spaces. However, the contents of the signage are never policed as there is not an implicit law with regard to the messages or semiotic resources which can be used for sign making. And for these signs which were emplaced away from the establishments, they were emplaced very close to the road and so close to each other that one consumer, a motorist remarked: *there is no way I can read these adverts that are so close to each other unless during pick hour when traffic is slow# These signs are just making our roads dangerous# I can't see the other side of the road# I'm obstructed.* Figure 9.1b shows how enmeshed the signs are in Lusaka, Great East Road.



Figure 9.1b: Signs Along the Great East Road – Emplaced in Between Dual Carriageway

Thus, it is highly improbable the intended consumers – the motorists – of these emplaced signs productively engage in meaning making with the discourses on the billboards given the speed with which they drive on these roads. It would seem therefore, emplacing of signs on the shop/establishment building turns out to be more productive and efficient in meaning making as the signs are isolated from the cluster.

9.2 Sign- and Meaning-Making Strategies in Rural Areas

Given the statistics in *Table 9.1a* about the kind of signs found in the rural areas, I provide some of the sign- and meaning-making strategies which I observed the rural dwellers deploy to compensate for the paucity of the signage. As noted in *Section 9.1* above, I observed that some of the signs were defaced, unscripted, and for those with written language on them, they were often not referenced to by reading the messages. These observations about signs in the rural areas suggest a different way of sign- and meaning-making, in which oral linguascaping is indispensable.

The findings used in this section are based on the interviews and participant observation in which I was positioned as one of the travellers traversing the rural landscapes. Thus, the data arose from one simple question: *how do I/you get to the (next) village/school/chief/main road?* (among other possible locations within the rural spaces). The some of the responses are provided in the Table below:

Table 9.2: Common Responses

Question: <i>How do I/you get to the next village/school/chief/main road?</i>
Common Responses:
You'll see a sign post (but the respondent does not say what is written on the sign)
You'll see a big tree
You'll see a house with a roof of iron sheets
Just after crossing the stream
You see a lot of mango trees
You'll see a board with faded/no markings to your left

The results presented in *Table 9.2* show that in most cases, the rural dwellers defer to

oral remediation during the uptake of signage in the oral dominant LL. It is also interesting that in some cases the written language albeit in local languages was ignored in giving directions, with people opting to give their own oral linguascaping of the environment based on particular landscapes in the environment.

9.2.1 Oral Linguascaping and Place Semiotics

Based on the results in *Table 9.2*, in which navigation of the landscape is based largely on oral remediation, signs in rural areas are re-imagined and linguascaped in oral language narration. The lack of marking, for example, is repurposed as a point of reference ('You'll see a board with faded/no markings'). The reused material would range from 'discarded' wood to metallic (iron) sheets. Metallic sheets made out of leaky roofing material or cut out of vehicle body parts are often repurposed for signposts as in *Figure 9.2.1*. While these signs might be described as depicting the poverty of the area or the owner of the farm, to the locals such material forms part of the semiotic material to which navigation references are made. The reference to such signs included descriptive adjectives such as 'You'll see a rough-edged/metal with teeth.' *Figure 9.2.1* is an example of a sign with a place name on a repurposed piece of metal sheet from the body of a vehicle.



Figure 9.2.1: Place Name – Mabombo Rainbow Farm

The emplacement of the sign is ‘supposedly’ right on the farmland it indexes – the ‘Mabombo Rainbow Farm,’ but which is nowhere in sight. Thus, its indexicality is symbolically expressed by Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) geosemiotics and what I shall term ‘out of place’ semiotics in that the farm is not in the vicinity of the sign. The sign is also used as a reference point for other farms and villages in the vicinity. I found a number of such signs which appeared divorced from the place they indexicalized, until one listened to the oral language mediation, which realigned the sign and place.

Further, the sign in *Figure 9.2.1* is supported by three small poles which match the materiality of the immediate environment. The small poles were appropriated from the surrounding bushes. Not much extra information is supplied by the sign with regard, for example, the direction one may take to get to the owner of the farm. In fact, the sign has not been emplaced anywhere near the feeder road into the farm. Observably, one can argue that the sign is designed to be an appendage of oral information which brings it to life and gives it meaning and direction. In line with Aronin and O Laoire’s (2012) idea of semiotic landscapes as material culture, I found that a person who wants direction to the farm will be told to look out for a metal with ‘rough-edged /metal with teeth,’ and which direction to take from there and for how long. In this idiom, it is unnecessary to say look out for a signpost written ‘Mabombo Rainbow Farm’ since it is the only sign of its kind in place along the stretch of the road. Given that it is in a rural area, chances are also that some of the interlocutors may themselves not be able to read let alone spell out what is written. It could be argued that the sign has been used to merely name the place, hence stamping a symbol of ownership and by implication a deterrent to any potential encroachment. If one goes by what Scollon and Scollon (2003) say about the materiality of the sign with regard to durability and permanence, one might conclude that the emplaced sign above is temporary. However, the patrons of these landscapes confirm that the sign

has been emplaced in space and time as far as they can remember. The repurposed weathered materials used for the signage are testimony to its age. Thus, the idea of durability and permanence is as subjective and relative to other representations in space, as well as the power of re-imagination and re-visualisation of semiotic material by interlocutors in the social construction of space. Even if the sign was to fall off, people would find another use for it, such as refashioning it into a frying pan or charcoal burner, which I found was common practice in this rural-scape. If it is discarded by the roadside, they would find another way of describing it ('You'll see a rusted metal by the roadside').

9.2.2 Place-Making as Social Construct

Pennycook (2009, 2010c), Stroud and Mpendukana (2009, 2010) and Stroud and Jegels (2014) have argued that place and contexts are not static backdrops to which images and written signage are attached. They are dynamic and amenable to change with the meanings being generated. Interlocutors' imagination and re-visualisation of 'unsigned' semiotic material or faded signage are critical components of oral linguascaping. The signs with faded ('defaced') inscriptions as one below were observed in the rural-scapes of the study areas. The one below was on the Livingstone – Zimba road. The sign's inscriptions have long been erazed by nature – harsh weather conditions. Like the sign above, *Figure 9.2.2* looks unplanned and has blended in with the natural environment in which it is found. At closer examination, however, the sign looks as though it has been overlaid with another layer of paint. Or perhaps, it had never been written on before. Whatever the correct circumstance that may be attributed to this sign, one thing is clear about the linguistic/semiotic landscapes of this rural-scape - the presence of meaningful signs and signboards without the written language. While Scollon and Scollon (2003) have pointed out that inscription conveys meaning, Pennycook (2009, 2010c) suggests that it is people who reinvent the environment and infuse meaning to the objects and artefacts in it. The lack of inscriptions on *Figure 9.2.2* does not necessarily take away its value as a 'sign'

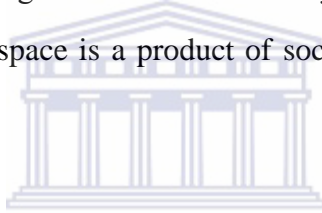
and its qualities of indexicality. I want to argue that the absence of definitive inscriptions provides a ‘blank’ space opening up the possibility of multiple meanings to be created around it by interlocutors through oral language mediation. Thus, using Bakhtin’s (1981) metamorphosis or indeed Bolter and Grusin’s (2000) semiotic remediation notions, can be argued that the sign with faded inscriptions constantly re-evolves to assume different semiotic functions to which it is *repurposed* as determined by interlocutors.



Figure 9.2.2: Faded Signage

From interviews with locals, it also became apparent that the sign which was meant to be read, slowly transformed into an oral-visual semiotic that indexes ‘meaningful’ space in more than written words could have potentially accomplished to the mobile users navigating to various places. To some it is the meeting point; to others it is a reference point for traversing the space to other places. The multiple meanings attached to the sign are illustrative of the pliability and mobility of oral language, which is used to give shape and meaning to the figure during the process of place construction and narration. The shared sociocultural histories and memories of the dwellers of these landscapes have given rise to a shared use of this sign without

inscriptions in a dynamic and resourceful way. One informant, a patron of the area noted that the sign is used to mark out the area and that people use the sign to give multiple directions to visitors. In his own words, the informant indicated that, in any case, *‘Even when the sign has inscriptions on it, we do not refer to the inscriptions but the signpost.’* This was confirmed by participant observation which revealed the productive use of signs but without ‘reading’ the words on them. The words are ‘translated’ and ‘transformed’ and together with other inscriptions, are given new meaning in the discursive imagination and re-visualisation of place by interlocutors. The translation and interpretation of meaning from the inter-relations and co-occurrence of verbal inscriptions, artefacts and objects in the environment, is a function of socio-historical knowledge and cultural materialities. This is in line with Pennycook’s (2010c: 143) argument who cites Soja’s (1989: 79-80) that “the organisation and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience.”



The sign in *Figure 9.2.2b* below augments this claim further. Supported by two pillars built out of locally baked bricks, the sign stands conspicuous to the consumers of the linguistic/semiotic landscape. The sign-concrete is painted green and is of relatively big size with the potential to carry multiple semiotic or multimodal signage. Strangely, however, the sign does not contain any verbal or iconic semiotic inscriptions on it despite having been standing in place for over a year. Conventionally, the sign does not fully index the school for which it was emplaced. To the left of the sign, in the foreground (not shown in the picture) is a path to a school and this sign should have had inscriptions about this particular school. In its current form, the sign is symbolic of the socioeconomic dynamics of the school, a typical sign of necessity (cf. Stroud and Mpendukana 2009). I was told funding ran out before something could be written on the concrete, and that there are more pressing needs for the school such as buying textbooks. However, as argued above, the signage does not need written language on the concrete to direct one to get to the school. The researcher found his

way to the school without difficulty using the ‘Green Concrete’ as a point of reference to directions given orally. The above reasons notwithstanding, the sign, like that in *Figure 9.2.2*, keeps undergoing the process of repurposing so that it is not just the embodiment of the sign itself (‘You’ll see a green concrete’) which is used for oral meaning making, but more so how it is re-used in relation to other objects and artefacts for different meanings and placemakings. The meanings associated with it differ depending on what interlocutors want to communicate, ranging from being a sign to index the presence of a school to symbolising the presence of a clinic or villages nearby.



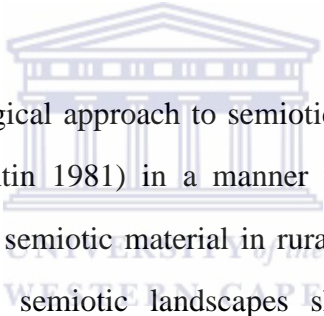
Figure 9.2.2b: Sign without Any Written Language

From the above illustrations, one can postulate that the lack of written language on signage does not impair signmaking; if anything it makes the act of placemaking a very creative endeavour in which the written words, if available, are ignored or become additional semiotic material on which oral linguascaping is produced and consumed. Conventional signs, especially those with written words become part of an aggregation of semiotic material in the invented ecology on which new meaning is

constructed. Thus, space as a social construct is as dynamic as the oral language used to narrate or create it. Drawing on Pennycook's (2010c) metaphor of movement and visibility illustrated by Tibetan buddhist prayer flags being kept in motion by breeze, water or by hand motion, it can be argued that objects and artefacts which constitute the semiotic choices for signmaking, are mobilised and given meaning through oral languascaping. In this idiom, it is not the placement of trees, objects and cultural materialities, but it is the oral language reshaping trees, objects and cultural materialities into imagined visual 'realities' to make different meanings 'visible'.

Respondents said that trees, rivers, mound, anthills, buildings and prominent personalities within these rural-scapes are used as semiotic resources (see Table 9.2 above). I was informed that through oral languascaping, landmarks are made visible and salient within the terrains, and hence are used to index the different meanings being referred to. Thus, in the context of this study, people in these rural-scapes construct their linguistic/semiotic landscapes by oral languascaping that makes visible and salient particular ecological features for meaning making. However, these features are constantly being reconfigured, enhanced and replaced by both nature and human agency. Some trees are cut, and over time twigs turn into big trees; anthills are eroded, galleries turn into streams. This prompts producers and consumers to constantly change or repurpose semiotic resources in place-making. These changes in time and space are drawn upon as the new or additional semiotic material in the ever-changing environment. The 'system', which gives meaning to the ecosystem/environment, is thus equally dynamic and is constantly changing with different constructions of space, that is, reconstruction of the environment/ecology. Pennycook (2010c: 142-43) cites Cannadine (2000: 188) that "landscaping is produced not only by planting, cutting, diverting and shaping (landscaping) but is also 'the process whereby those trees, rivers and flowers become invested with meanings and morals and myths and that the process is as much a matter of perception and politics...'" In rural Livingstone, one respondent recalled how long ago they used to

locate the place of worship by referring to the open fields but now the burial site has replaced the open fields. They now locate the church by referencing to the burial site and/or ‘where there used to be open fields.’ In Chongwe, outside the city of Lusaka, one informant reported of how the same place is referred to by many signs/points of reference - [‘Where there are many mango trees; where there are vicious dogs; where the house has iron sheets; etc.’]. This illustration shows the subjective nature of the representation of space (cf. Pennycook 2009, 2010c; Peck and Banda 2014; Stroud and Jegels 2014). Each of the semiotic resources is invoked based on the individual’s ideology, experiences and oftentimes, preferred reference points. The reference to ‘the vicious dogs’ might be influenced by fear of dogs or previous encounter with these dogs while referencing the place by use of the sign ‘mango trees’ leads us to think of love for the mango fruit.



I want to argue that an ecological approach to semiotic landscapes brings to life the notion of dialogicality (Bakhtin 1981) in a manner too apparent, as well as, the importance of repurposing of semiotic material in rural-scapes for meaning-making. The ecological approach to semiotic landscapes should seek to unravel how interlocutors re-imagine new inter-relationships across the various objects, whether natural or manmade, to produce and consume different meanings. The significance of the ‘walk in city-scapes’ and ‘gaze’ in landscaping has received attention in recent literature (Stroud and Jegels 2014; Pennycook 2009, 2010c). The oral re-alignment of the ‘dialoguing’ semiotic objects, artifacts and cultural material in place gives meaning to both the walk and the gaze, and hence to the social construction of place.

However, it seems obvious that a ‘walk in city-scapes’ and a ‘walk in rural-scapes’ entail different experiences and accounts in narrations of space, a point surmised in Stroud and Mpendukana’s (2009, 2010) argument, that construction of space is constrained by material conditions. As implied above, and as illustrated further below, we can also contend that through recycling and repurposing semiotic materials at hand,

people transcend constraints imposed by material conditions to extend semiotic material use beyond what they are known or were originally designed for. Like what looks like a metal signboard cut from a body of vehicle in *Figure 9.2.1*, *Figure 9.2.2c* is made from cardboard cut out of a box.



Figure 9.2.2c: Signage Made From Cardboard Box

Thus, *Figure 9.2.2c* speaks to both the materiality and minimalist approach to inscription and signmaking in rural-scapes. The material conditions as deduced from both *Figures 9.2.1 and 9.2.2c* could be taken to indicate poverty or lack of ‘literacy,’ but both look ‘professional,’ not in the sense of Western/European materialities of neon lights and ‘factory’ measured signboards, but in a marketization/selling sense as seen in the use of different colour contrasts, font sizes and types, which also suggests levels of ‘literacy.’ Orchestrated by the interplay between the concept of business necessity and the socioeconomic situation, the rural chicken farmer constructs the LL using repurposed material within his milieu. The visibility and salience has been borne by the use of the upper case letters and an ‘educated,’ and hence, required elevation to keep the sign in sight of motorists. The use of the icon (arrow) is equally productive to index the direction in which the chickens are sold. In this oral linguascaped environment, the arrow is also *reversible* to index the other farm on the

opposite side ('The farm is in the opposite direction to where the arrow is pointing'), and to the local village communities in the vicinity ('You'll see a signboard with an arrow pointing left, but go straight ahead another 2 kilometres and the village is on the left 1 kilometre from the main road').

Following Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design particularly regarding informational order on the sign, the semiotic resource that bears the central message in *Figure 9.2.2c* has been centred while the agency has been accentuated by the inscription just slightly to the right caged in drawn square 'NOW AVAILABLE'. Being on the village 'highway,' the inscription 'NOW AVAILABLE' is designed to appeal to speeding motorists that stopping over will be worth their while, and perhaps that they are guaranteed about the availability of 'village priced' (affordable), in the local lingo, chickens at the farm. The next question is why a semi-commercial farmer who can afford a professionally done signage reused a discarded cardboard, glue and rusted wire from a chicken coup wire-mesh for a signboard. I found that in these rural areas (perhaps like anywhere else) people are resourceful and nothing gets thrown away, as people are in the habit of *repurposing* (Bolter and Grusin 2000) material at hand. Also, commercially done signboards are associated with luxury and high cost, and hence with the idea that the chickens are equally as expensive – which would be bad for business.

The oral nature of sign making is also seen in *Figure 9.2.2d* below which has no written sign. *Figure 9.2.2d* not only illustrates the mobility and pliability of oral linguascaping, but also Pennycook's (2010: 143) argument that objects and cultural materialities on which signmaking is created are "not only about placement, but also [about]... the construction of meaning from the movement." Depending on real or imagined activities that take place at the space, it is described as a market, a bus stop or a football field.



Figure 9.2.2d: An 'Open Market'

Thus, the image I have named an 'open market' in *Figure 9.2.2d* points to openness of space and the non-restrictedness in the normative creations of oral-linguascapes. More important, *Figure 9.2.2d* illustrates how space is appropriated and reinvented by individuals, and arguments that the environment is endlessly under construction (Pennycook 2009, 2010c). The open market is also seen by the fact that small-scale businesses that were observed operating at the site had no price tags on the merchandise forcing consumers and business owners to transact prices orally in a language familiar especially to the consumer. Lack of any sign to index the sort of business being conducted can be said to be a result of temporary conquest of this space by the vendors. Any time, I was told, with the arrival of boys from the surrounding areas, the space can be reconfigured into a football field, or a busstop with the arrival of a bus. Indeed, the kinds of bags hanging on the fence and lying on the ground suggest that the place is also used as a 'long distance' bus station as testified by an informant. But for now attention of consumers is on what is being sold at the market. On the edge of the image is box on which lie dried pumpkin leaves, a delicacy cherished by travellers from urban areas, where it is in short supply. Stack against the wall are Grade 7 and what appears to be Grade 9 study materials, all for

sale. In the background behind the wall are glimpses of modern structured houses and at least two of the well-tended trees in the yard appear exotic. The image does not depict a picture of poverty and deprivation often associated with rural Africa.

As noted earlier, linguistic landscaping is not merely about emplacement of the fauna, flora and other objects in the environment, it is also about the conscious acts of investing them with meanings (Pennycook 2009, 2010c). *Figure 9.2.2e* draws our attention to - and accentuates how shrubs and trees as well as elevated skyline, that is sky-scapes, are re-imagined for signmaking and meaning through oral linguascaping.



Figure 9.2.2e One of the Rural Paths

As the image above shows, there are no scripted signs – billboards, road signs, place names – in this landscape to which patrons of the area can refer. But thanks to the locals who provide oral information about the kinds of trees, position of tree branches, grass and shrubs and outlines of hills and mountains in the distance in relation to one another; they construct an integrated environment in which directions are given with consummate accuracy. For example, from the point where I stood to take this picture, the thick shrubs and tree in the distance, and a slightly visible protruding rock ‘with a mouth’ were reference points to reach the next village.

It was also interesting that even where there was written language on a signboard, people (including those able to read and write) would often ‘read’ their own message, or add more information to it rather than refer to what was written on it. Thus, they produced their own statements or narrations of space (Pennycook 2010c; Stroud and Jegels 2014). As a way of illustration, the researcher asked two young women and a primary school learner in Nyanja the local language on a road bordering urban and rural Lusaka Province towards Chongwe District about how to get to the ‘Monastery of St Clare.’ They all looked at him bewildered and they said they did not know the place. However, when he said: ‘Kwamene kuli masistas’ [Where sisters/nuns live], they were able to narrate the place thus: ‘Muyende cabe apo [pointing direction] pafupi. Muzapeza ci-bodi [signboard], muyende ku-right. Muzaona mitengo ya mango ku right na ma-flowers ku left. Two-three handeredi [hundred] meters ninshi mwafika. ‘[You go that way, it is not far. You’ll see a (sign)board and turn right. You’ll see mango trees on the right and flowers on the left. Two-three hundred meters you’ll find the place]. What is interesting is that they referred to a signboard without saying what was written on it. The signboard had ‘Monastery of St Clare’ clearly written on it. However, through oral-linguascaping they created an environment using the ‘empty’ signboard, trees and flowers and distance, which were pretty accurate. Thus, the fact they seemed oblivious of the words on the signboard did not affect the quality of the information they gave as the researcher was able to make out from their oral input that the ‘empty’ signboard, trees and flowers and distance all led to the ‘Monastery of St Clare.’ Evidently, to the locals, that the signboard is written has little communicative value as the real power of communication lies with the spoken word, which is used to ‘re-sign’ the different semiotic materials to create ‘ecosystems/environment’ for various directions.

9.3 Synthesizing an Ecological Approach to Linguistic Landscapes

One can conclude that place making is a dynamic and ongoing endeavour as space is continually imagined, re-imagined, created and re-invented as people draw different

meanings out of the semiotic material in place as mediated by needs, memory, sentiments and perceptions of producers and consumers. Salience and visibility of signage are not necessarily determined a priori, as they are determined by producers and consumers' communication needs. What has been shown is that in the rural areas studied, oral languascaping enables people to recycle and repurpose ideas, socio-cultural knowledge and materialities, and other semiotic materials in place for meanings and utility functions they are not known or designed for. In this idiom, landscapes and signage are not mere consequences of emplacement, their meanings whether written, iconic or as objects or artefacts in space or in ecology, are products of discursive re-integration and re-invention of the environment. Particularly, in oral language dominant societies, salience and visibility are defined by the oral-language input and mediated by perceptions, socio-cultural history and memory and interlocutors' (re-)imagination and (re-)visualization of place. Of course, this can be said to be true of societies with a strong written culture, but it is also true that oral language dominant rural communities have to rely on the expressive pliability of oral language to create 'imagined' images, that is, 'draw images' of place; translate and transform written words and inscriptions into oral language, and to accentuate the interrelations of semiotic material (e.g. how far apart objects are) in the mind of the receiver in order to make meaning.

Approaching LL and semiotic landscapes from an oral languages-scaping in relation to human and environmental ecology, suggests that the material conditions in place are not an end in themselves, but offer endless meaning potentials, which are realized during landscaping (landshaping). Invoking the idea of repurposing enables us to explain how even in the context of limited material, people use their human creativity to rework semiotic material at hand for different meanings and purposes. To borrow from Pennycook (2010c: 143) following Milon (2002), the expressions that construct the landscapes are not mere verbiage that "cover up" the semiotic material in place, "whose interpretation is complete ...; [they are] part of the mobile expression of the

changing [spatial] face.” In line with the idea of space as a social construct, the language of landscaping is just as mobile as the meaning potentials of the semiotic resources in place. These potentials are further extended through repurposing semiotic material and re-voicing of prior discourses for new uses and meanings. It can be said then that space is perpetually under construction in which people’s memories, imagination and linguascaping skills are at play.

This study gives new meaning to Sebba’s (2010) argument that mobile signage such as that found on buses, product labels, brochures and bank notes, to name a few, should be ‘read’ as ‘fixed’ texts on street signs and billboards. Although I agree with Sebba (2010) that “mobile texts require ‘reading’ in the same kind of way as fixed texts,” I want to add that in oral linguascaping, the written texts such as found on a bus, are used together with the bus in transit (where it is going or coming from) or parked and the other co-occurring semiotic resources in place, as reference points and anchors of different meaning potentials. Thus whether fixed or not, semiotic material becomes etched in the memories of the life-worlds of interlocutors to be relocated in time and space alongside other semiotic material in place in the social construction of space, to evoke particular meanings.

Approaching LL and semiotic landscapes from oral language-scaping and ecology viewpoints, provides a noteworthy perspective to the production and consumption of signage. Both producers and consumers of signage are seen as active managers of the ecological or environmental ‘system’ created through discursive construction of semiotic relations of materials in the environment. This is in line with Pennycook’s (2009: 310) argument that landscape is “not a canvas” but an “integrated and invented environment’ which is “constantly under production.”

The ecological approach enables appreciation that production and consumption of signage involves dynamic spatial and time frames, as well as the meaning potential of

the material affordances of the wider communicative semiotic landscape. The approach thus focuses on social (co)(n)textual and environmental factors in meaning-making. These factors provide the material affordances and opportunities for interlocutors to use oral language to mediate the various meaning potentials. The agentic nature of sign-making in rural areas as described above means that LL is individualised and participatory at the same time, and it involves creativity in the reusing of semiotic material that facilitates sign interpretation in oral-language mediated meaning-making. In this regard, LL is understood against the backdrop of varied contexts and varied available and/or recreated semiotic affordances. Since the affordances are mediated through oral language and the kind of interaction between interlocutors, meanings generated by particular affordances may vary from individual to individual. It is possible for two individuals to provide different directions based on one sign. However, the potential points in the affordances at which interlocutors are known to diverge in interpretation or meaning-assigning, become zones of proximal development (Gutiérrez 2008) at which interlocutors negotiate meaning and come to a solution. In short, an ecological approach to linguistic/semiotic landscape promises to provide a more dynamic, active and less linear and less rigid analyses of semiotic landscapes.

Using an ecological approach enables us to move beyond the idea that signs need to be 'visible' (to the naked eye) to a more process-material approach (cf. Pennycook 2010c; Stroud and Jegels 2014), in which through oral language mediation signage is made visible and salient by drawing on, and semioticising socio-historical knowledge and reflections of semiotic material from resources in the environment. This study shows that tree linings, over-hanging branches, different kinds of paths – single human tracks, two-tracks made by ox-drawn carts as well as different kinds of soil and related flora and fauna are potential semiotic affordances and hence reference points in the semiotic landscaping (cf. Pennycook 2009, 2010c). In this regard, the study of LL is more than a study about what we read and see in signage; it should also

be about the dialogicality and/or interaction of the various semiotic material, visible or invisible, in the immediate or outside the contexts, but which are brought to life through negotiated meaning-making between interlocutors as they make sense of the co- and inter-relationships of various semiotic material, of which they are also a part, in the construction of particular meaning.

Therefore, I propose that an ecological approach provides a different way to understand how environmental semiotic resources impact on the production and consumption of LL and signage generally. The ecological approach taken together with the notion of semiotic remediation enables us to appreciate the significance of repurposing in the production and consumption of signage. I saw examples of prior signs and existing semiotic material being repurposed and redirected to mean new things and to give different directions. Old and faded signs are renewed through the oral input, which is used as mediator to align different semiotic material into referents. In this conceptualization, the removal or absence of known referents becomes the new point of reference ('Turn right at the sign on which was written Sipalo Butchery') in the discursively (re)constructed environment. Thus, the sign or sign-making does not disappear with the invisibility of written language or signs, as new referents, some of which are recycled from old signs, are made use of in this dynamic meaning-making process.

If as argued by Pennycook (2009: 308), "trees, rivers and flowers become invested with meanings" during landscaping, their narration is a discursive act of spatial realization of place. In this connection I have introduced the notion of repurposing to account for how producers and consumers of signage rework the spatial environment in order to transcend the material conditions and limitations through strategic selection of semiotic material for deployment of meaning. Thus, through strategic selection, re-alignment and shifting of semiotic material, over-arched by years of socio-cultural solidarity and complex histories which thrive on repurposing and of

re-adaptation of semiotic material, interactants are able to recreate place, contexts and related meanings.

The ecological framework and oral linguascaping of semiotic landscapes suggest a different and somewhat extended taxonomy of 'signs' and place making in which for example, the name of the farm appears to be nowhere near the farm itself, but functions as a boundary marker with other unnamed farms and as a reference point for directions to the many villages in the vicinity. The predisposition of people to use existing or past physical attributes of the environment could be said to be common even in urban areas. However, in oral linguascaping there is evidently an additional need to account for mutual relationships between interactants themselves, and with their environment, as the semiotic relationships are re-imagined and re-visualized discursively to make meaning. In this regard, the Chapter has showed the ways in which faded orthographies, names and texts, and removed objects and socio-cultural materialities (e.g. 'What used to be a graveyard/Sipalo Butchery') are remembered or re-imagined, and how linguistic and scripted signage (including icons and shapes of letters and characters) are reworked together with other kinds of semiotic material for place and sign-making. The expanded taxonomy of 'signs', therefore, can be said to include boundary markers (e.g. fences, hills and mounds, ditches (man-made or natural), concrete posts, names of farms) and beacons (salient topographical features, major junctions, street names or names of shops (used as points of orientation, etc.)). Here, I would like to add that even the few street names or farms names found are reused as co-reference points with other semiotic material to other farms, villages and places of significance.

9.4 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has shown the kind of signs found in urban and rural areas. In particular, the Chapter has discussed the materiality, inscription and emplacement. While the urban is flooded with signage some of which are electrically powered like the LCD

billboards, the rural areas are yet to have such kinds of signs. The Chapter has further shown that the paucity of signs and the presence of defaced signs in rural areas do not necessarily impede sign production and consumption as rural dwellers creatively defy to oral remediation as well as the deployment of repurposing of the available ecological materialities for sign- and meaning-making. Ultimately, the Chapter proposes and shows how the ecological approach provides a comprehensive account of the signage and sign-making and consumption in oral dominant LL.

In the next Chapter, I conclude and show what the study has achieved and the contribution it has made to the LL theorization and multimodality.



CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

10.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, conclusions and the contributions of the study to the general theorization of LL are being presented. In the section about the conclusion, I relate the findings discussed in the four analysis chapters above to the objectives of the study, pointing out exactly what the study has achieved. The section about the contributions of the study foregrounds the study within the existing theoretical and methodological paradigms of LL, as well as footnoting the contribution which the study has made to the general theorization and conceptualization of LL and to the specific contextual understanding of the semiotic resources in circulation contributing to the production and consumption of the trans/multimodal LL of Zambia in particular.

10.1 Conclusions

Following the main objectives of the study, summarized as the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes, as well as sign- and place-making, the study has shown that many languages posited as semiotic resources conflate in the public spaces of the research study, not as immobile, fixed and stable entities, but as itinerant, unfixed and unstable cultural materialities amenable to uptake by unpredictable social actors drawn from multiple localities and socio-cultural as well as multiplicity of semiotic resources in time and space.

A general picture arising from the data collected from the 12 research sites indicate the presence of over 56 languages over the landscapes of Lusaka and Livingstone, Kazungula-Livingstone stretch and the Zimba-Livingstone stretch. The significance of the data to the overall theorizing about language distribution in these environs can be summarized in terms of the geo-linguistic flows which account for the circulation of languages beyond the perceived tribal and regional as well as formal and informal enclaves. In this regard, the data underscore the permeability of ethnolinguistic

boundaries not only as it relates to the official language, English, but also to regional and non-regional languages as one observes from the data the persistent percolation of Namwanga, Mambwe, Soli, Toka-leya and Tumbuka in spaces which are traditionally ‘supposed’ to have been dominated by regional official languages. Thus, the evidence which this thesis frames about language distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization does not only privilege the quantities with which these languages manifest on the LL but the qualitative enduring presence of these languages.

Significantly, the data demonstrate the social layering of languages across the LL of the research sites – the hierarchicalization of language. Here we see English occupying the top slot on the hierarchy while the rest of the languages share slots at the bottom-half of the hierarchy. With regard to language visibility, the results indicate the silencing of some of the regional official languages on the LL of the study areas. Of importance is the apparent invisibility of Lunda on the LL of the Capital City in a significantly quantitative manner. This stands in contrast with the visibility of non-regional languages such as Namwanga, Mambwe and Tumbuka in the public spaces of the Capital City. In turn, therefore, I argue for their linguistic capital and vitality. Lastly, the data as presented and analyzed in this study speak directly to the distributive nature of languages across the research sites. The data collected show that languages do not stay put where they are put. Rather, just as the users of this valuable semiotic resource are mobile and fluid so are the languages. Primarily, the distributive nature of languages in Zambia as captured in this study adds to the theorizing about both the de-tribalization and the de-territorialization of spaces and the blurring of boundaries.

In what follows, I specify the findings and how they address the research questions.

10.1.1 Social Structuring of Language

As one of the leading objectives, social structuring of language entailed the

understanding of the distribution, visibility, and hierarchicalization of languages on the LL predicated on language zoning. To gain insight into the social structuring of languages, data processed by the SPSS generated frequencies and percentages of the languages present on the signs across the urban, peri-urban and rural scapes. The results show that English is more distributed, visible and highly hierarchicalized across all the research sites, appearing in isolation, and in combination with the local languages, as well as some of the foreign languages, like Chinese. Essentially, social actors seem to have a high proclivity towards the use of English in the construction of the multimodal LL.

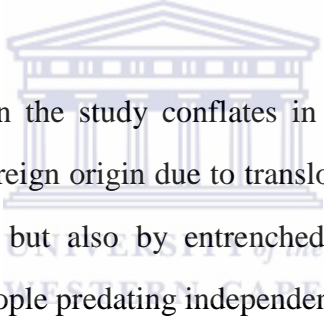
Similarly, regional official languages (ROLs), namely, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale show varied patterns of distribution, visibility and hierarchicalization across the urban, peri-urban and the rural-scapes of the research sites. One feature common to all these languages regarding their social structuring, is their unpredictability. This entails that social actors – producers and consumers of the LL – are not predisposed to the kind of languages amenable to use in sign- and place-making. In fact, even though the study uses words such as hierarchicalization, it is mindful of the fragility of these hierarchies. What this means is that, while in one locality a certain language might show more visibility, distribution and hierarchicalization, in another it may be moderately represented. This is partly because the social actors using these languages are not bound by any societal regulations to use specific languages in particular localities despite the regionalization of these languages; rather, these social actors like the semiotic resources are positioned as free-floating so much so that they oscillate between/among different semiotic resources in potentially endless ways. In fact, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 5) are on point when they remind us that “...the unity of languages is a social construct, a product of theory and of social and cultural histories. When the borders of (a) language are not policed by academies, and when languages are not homogenized by education systems and mass media, people quite freely combine elements from the

languages they know to make themselves understood.” In a way, the co-occupancy of languages on signage demonstrates the social actors’ freedom to shuttle across semiotic resources, making languages as mere resources readily available to all for meaning-making.

Thus, the value, attitudes and use attached to languages are more contextual rather than perpetual. This is clearly brought into the spotlight by the evidence gleaned from the townships and rural districts of Lusaka and Livingstone. The study has shown that while Nyanja was promulgated for Lusaka province as a language of wider communication, it does not enjoy any linguistic monopoly on the LL. Evidently, other languages, ROLs and non-regional languages alike, are expressed in the LL of Lusaka urban, peri-urban and rural, albeit differentially. In fact, the levels of visibility, distribution and hierarchicalization of Nyanja vary across the LL of Lusaka due to the presence of other ROL such as Bemba, Tonga and Lozi. A similar picture as observed in Lusaka obtains in Livingstone, and stretches between Livingstone and Zimba district as well as Livingstone and Kazungula. Tonga does not hold other languages at bay, nor does Lozi in the urban spaces of Livingstone. Rather, other ROLs of other regions including non-regional ones such as Toka-Leya project their visibility, distribution and hierarchicalization onto the LL in a manner too apparent.

Thus, we can no longer predict or foretell what to expect to find on the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone including their rural-scapes in terms of the semiotic resources amenable to use in the production and consumption of the multimodal LL. Framed on this evidence, the study concludes that while the government still upholds the regionalization of languages (as seen in MOE 2013 curriculum), individual languages in these spaces show a ‘marked defiance’ of this regulation. Precisely, the study notes that Zambia is not just linguistically heterogeneous, but that this heterogeneity is highly distributed, visible and hierarchical across the LL, especially of the research sites. In this connection, the results compel us to argue that ROL languages do not

stay put where they are officially put during zoning (or regionalization) (Heller 2007). Rather, ROL are reproduced and contested but not uniformly maintained in their enclaves. What this entails is that, while one sees Nyanja in Lusaka, or Tonga in Livingstone, it does not mean their production, visibility and distribution is purely based on their being regional languages for these environs. Contrariwise, their survival depends largely on their constant contestation with other languages including non-regional ones - Soli, Tumbuka, Namwanga, Mambwe, Toka-Leya etc. - which are all semiotic contenders on the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone. Thus, the objective about the social structuring of language helps to foreground and to bring into the spotlight the the dynamic nature of multilingualism and the sociolinguistic situation of Zambia instantiated by human agency during the production and consumption of the LL.



The multilingualism forged in the study conflates in one space multiple linguistic resources of both local and foreign origin due to translocal and transnational mobility occasioned by globalization, but also by entrenched socio-cultural and historical trajectories of the Zambian people predating independence.

10.1.2 Mobility of Semiotic Resources

Aligned with the social structuring of language is the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL of the study areas. As one of the major objectives of the study, mobility of semiotic resources meant to gain insight into the circularity of resources (language inclusive) across boundaries of formal and informal, regional and ethno-linguistic. As data from each of the research sites were analysed, using the SPSS, linguistic tokens and semiotic resources, as well as artefactual materials from diverse regions, formal, informal and ethno-linguistic settings were observed. As a result of this convergence of semiotic resources from multiple domains and localities in one micro/macro space and time, the study located both translocal and transnational mobility. The results have shown that languages do not get constrained by human built boundaries such as

those relating to formal, informal, regional and ethno-linguistic (Blommaert 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010).

The mobility of semiotic resources and symbols across formal and informal spaces has been shown by the emplaced signs using local languages in places which were previously regarded as formal, where formal was synonymous with English. Such spaces included but not restricted to banks and government establishments. The results show that local languages are no long consigned to the peripheral or the informal sector of the economy when it comes to the production and consumption the LL. Similarly, formal languages such as English have not remained marooned in formal spaces only. The study has aptly demonstrated the encroachment of the informal spaces by English in the construction and uptake of the multisemiotic/multimodal LL. The co-occupancy of English and local languages on signs is just one of the many examples of the permeability of formal and informal boundaries. Further, the evidence also emerged from the LL of the peri-urban-scapes and rural-scapes of the study areas. Thus, there is no longer any differential effect in the use of formal and informal semiotic resources during the eventual construction and consumption of the LL due to the mobility and the re-circulation of semiotic resources across the LL.

The idea of the permeability of boundaries as a result of translocal and transnational flows has not only broken down the 'walls of partition' between the formal and informal, but has also disembodied languages from individuals and ethnic enclaves. Arising from the free flow of both capital and social actors, Auer and Schmidt (2010: xi) postulate that there has been the untying of "the body-language-place connection...which accounts for a fundamental shift in the spatial boundedness of life and language." As a consequence of this, urbanites and rural dwellers can be seen exhibiting linguistic repertoires which are made of variants owing to the linguistically

heterogeneous speech community in which they find themselves (cf. Banda and Bellononjengele 2010). The results gleaned from the study reveal that English, for example, is no longer an elitist commodity among the social actors on the LL of 12 sites investigated in the study. In point are the peri-urban spaces which are traditionally viewed as containers of 'illiterate' vernacular-driven populace. On the contrary, the ubiquitous spread of English signage in place points to the free-floating nature of English across multiple identities and differentially educated social actors in these spaces. If the English discourses emplaced as signage is anything to go by, one could infer that languages such as English are no longer associated with and preserves of the educated only, but, as the data suggest, such languages are readily available to any social actor within the semiotic flow. In this regard, English in the broader context of the semiotic flows on the Zambian LL, cannot be associated only with the transnational mobility; rather, and this is important, it ought to be largely accounted for by the local actorhood predicated on the translocal mobility as few of transnational establishments and historical bodies were found in places such as Kabanana, Bauleni and Chipata as well as the rural spaces between Livingstone and Kazungula/Zimba.

Moreover, the study has abundantly shown that mobility is not unidirectional but Omni-directional following scholars such as Pennycook (2009, 2010b), Oakes and Schein (2006). In this vein, the study demonstrates that it is not only the global (urban) which affects the rural; the rural also affects the global (urban) in a manner too apparent. The analysis in Chapter Six aptly illuminated the symbiotic interplay between the rural and the urban by arguing that while the urbanized centres such as Lusaka and Livingstone are injecting English into the rural semiotic flow due to the translocal mobility of social actors, the rural is equally introducing its semiotic resources within the urban semiotic current. This is particularly so because, translocal mobility entails belonging to "more than one locality simultaneously", in which "the rapid urbanization uproot identities and their ties from their localized cultural foundation", as well as make these identities "to float free" (Oakes and Schein 2006:

i). Seen in this way, translocal mobility “forges an ever changing relationship between sociocultural happenings of one locality with that of another locality producing blurred and flattened boundaries” in which the “rural-urban divide is increasingly undercut by networks that bring urban images, goods, and aesthetics to the countryside while at the same time injecting the city with the often harsh realities of the rural political economy” (Oakes and Schein 2006: xiii). I dare add here that it is not just the harsh realities of the rural political economy which is redeployed in urban centres by the rural, but also diverse semiotic resources and cultural materialities predicated on the material culture of multilingualism. Thus, the proliferation of local languages – ROL and non-regional ones – in the urban centres of Lusaka and Livingstone is an observable attestation of this reality. Thus, the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010) which champions flexibility, fluidity, unpredictability and instability with regard to sociolinguistics – language in context - should also provide room for omni-directional mobility and simultaneous effects on the local and the global, as rural spaces are not passive recipients of the free-floating semiotic flow from the global (Hedberg and Carmo 2012; Pennycook 2007a, 2010b; Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2003). Therefore, the evidence gleaned from the presence of regional official languages in spaces where they are not traditionally promulgated for use points to the de-territorialization of spaces and the mobility of semiotic resources across the LL. I have argued like the forerunners to this debate such as Heller (2007) that languages cannot stay put where they are put. In fact, Blommaert (2014: 3) remarks that multilingualism associated with migration leads “to highly complex, “messy” and hybrid sociolinguistic phenomena that defy established categories.” Invariably, therefore, the sociolinguistic forged as a result of migration is one which responds to flexibility, instability, dynamism, mobility and layering of the LL and semiotic resources as shown in this study. In this connection, the language ecology on the LL of Lusaka and Livingstone and their surrounding peri-urban and rural spaces are in a state of flux and circulation. In fact, these local languages have reached a level where they have been ‘de-tribalized’ as they have spread beyond their perceived

traditional and tribal enclaves.

Finally the presence of foreign languages on the LL of Zambia in both rural and urban spaces frames the evidence that feeds into translocal and transnational mobility in ways too apparent. In point are the Chinese transnational mobility set in motion due, in part, to the huge capital investment in mines and infrastructure development in Zambia in general and particularly in Lusaka and Livingstone. These investments have left linguistic imprints on the LL of these spaces. Further, the proliferation of foreign business houses of nationals from Italy, India, Somalia, France etc. along Cairo Road and Kamwala area (Lusaka) have also added to the linguistic heterogeneity of the public spaces. The semiotic resources across borders such as was observed in Bauleni Township concerning a Zulu/Xhosa artifact “Vuvuzela” demonstrate that transnational mobility of both social actors and semiotic resources are not constrained by national boundaries. This is predicated on the fact that the conceptualization of transnational and translocal flows lead us to time-space compression, the idea attributed to David Harvey (1989) in which it is asserted that “both physically and virtually people around the world are in greater proximity to each other, and much faster so, than has ever been the case in the history of the world” (Block 2006:16). Arising from this assertion, Block 2006: 16) cites Perlmutter (1991) that the world, as a result of time-space compression, is no longer organized along the nation state (which is the vertical axis), but more often along “communities of shared interests and experiences.” In this way, Block (2006) sees communities to transcend nation state boundaries as individuals traverse across societal and national boundaries.

Thus, translocal/transnational spaces, as the ones discussed in this study, are as a result of the affordances of the advanced media technology and migration triggered off by globalization (cf. Kress 2010) as well as entrenched historical migrations which predate the independence of Zambia. Observably, this has led to remarkable and conspicuous social changes and reconfiguration of the urban and rural spaces of

Lusaka and Livingstone. Following Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003), this phenomenal change has led to the “breakdown in the isomorphism of space, place, and culture” and the creation of “new translocal spaces and forms of public culture embedded in the imaginings of people that dissolves notion of state-based territoriality” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 2).

10. 1.3 Place- and Meaning-making

In addressing the objective which relates to the type of signs available for place- and meaning-making, the study, particularly in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, has shown how the social actors draw on various cultural materialities and discourses. In point, were the types of signs and narratives used in the production of space and meaning-making. Following Kress (2010), it has been shown that place- and meaning-making is accomplished by and almost always based on the shared knowledge of the sociocultural and histories of the social actors. Thus, the making of signs, selection of semiotic resources and manner of emplacement of signs are all subjectively accomplished. In fact, the study proves Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (2006: 12) assertion that “sign-makers...are guided by interest, by that complex condensation of cultural and social histories and of awareness of present contingencies.” Moreover, “it is the transformative action of individuals, along the contours of social givens, which constantly reshapes the resources, and makes possible the self-making of social subjects” (p. 13).

From the foregoing, therefore, an analysis of place- and meaning-making has revealed that the public spaces are themed, semiotized and socio-culturally narrated (Blommaert 2012). In particular, the discussion brought into the spotlight that place- and meaning-making in Zambia is predicated on the fact that the choices of semiotic resources lead to the Christianization of space, the moralization of space, themed spaces as both lived and imagined and themed spaces as gender spaces as well as space anonymity. In all these instances, the data have shown that place-making is

subjectively constructed from various options within the sociocultural and historical setting available to both the place-maker and the consumer. The crucial point which the study makes is one that relates to Kress' (2010) social semiotics which privileges the shared sociocultural histories as the material from which signs are constructed and consumed. Within the broader context of the shared sociocultural histories specific artefacts appeal to individual plac-makers based on their individualized orientation and experience.

Individualized orientation and personal experience of the sign maker are well referenced to by Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their discussion of the historical body. In this way, the multisemioticity projected on the signs reflects subjective meanings emanating from the sign makers' worldview. Which is why, in the face of this subjective creativity and the appropriation of meaning to language objects as sign, Jaworski (2015: 82) cautions that “[a]s signs, their meaning potential may not always be entirely transparent or stable but their astonishing abundance suggests their potential for (self-) styling of social actors as contemporary citizens-consumers.” Thus, in order to underpin the replicated individual's sociocultural experience in the sign, notions such as decontextualization/recontextualization, intertextuality, resemiotization and repurposing have been applied in this study. Evidently, it is compelling to argue that place making as well as meaning making are not always instantiated in a predictable and straightforward way. Rather, individual choices, material conditions (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) and the socio-cultural histories (Kress 2010) all come together as selection criteria for the semiotic resources which the individual place maker finally uses in creating themed spaces. It is therefore abundantly clear that public spaces are semiotized and themed (Blommaert 2012), occasioned by omni-directional flow of cultural materialities but most importantly, social actors who more often than not privilege subjective tastes, hence personal ideologies in the construction of space. In the final analysis, therefore, since these spaces are constructed based on the individuals' subjectivity, only narratives from the

place makers themselves can unravel the hidden meanings in the selected semiotic resources and will thereby explain why such semiotic materials are used and emplaced as such. In the light of the aforesaid, the methodology which privileges interviews as one used in this study becomes naturally suited for such an undertaking in order to unravel the hidden ideologies and tastes behind the emplaced signage (cf. Hult 2009).

The analysis of sign- and place making in oral-dominant communities of the rural spaces has further shown the kinds of signs available in these spaces. While the urban spaces are endowed with conventional signs such as LCD billboards, the rural spaces defer to ecological features such as trees, hills and skylines for sign- and meaning making as well as to oral remediation. The study has shown that the paucity of signage in the rural areas does not necessarily impede sign- and place making.

Further, the study has shown that juxtaposition of semiotic resources/languages in one micro/macro-space/time is a productive semiotic strategy to double-articulate multiple localities. The cultural materialities in Livingstone Museum do not only articulate meanings about remembrance and memory of the Zambian past, they also project affordances about the sense of localness and sense of globality by aligning local languages with foreign ones. Thus, one single space can be read as both local and global simultaneously.

10.2 Contribution of the Study to the General Theorization about LL and Multimodality

By virtue of the fact that the study focused on the LL of Zambia, where no such studies have been done on such large scale, the study helps to shift the theoretical and methodological grounds for the study of language in Zambia in general and sociolinguistics in particular. This is predicated on the fact that the current study deployed 'newer' theoretical and methodological toolkits in unravelling the language situation in Zambia. In this respect, the study provides another window through which

the sociolinguistic and language situations of Zambia can be seen and investigated. By privileging LL and multimodality in capturing the fluid nature of actorhood and semiotic resources in place, the study has helped to unravel the intricate interplay between various languages – regional, non-regional, official and foreign languages – on the LL of the 12 research sites in a manner too apparent. The nature of a sociolinguistic projected in these spaces is one that mimicks horizontal multilingualism. In a way, the taken-for-granted regionalization is no longer as predictable – it is in a state of flux due to mobility at both translocal and transnational levels. The uniqueness of these realities have thus been made apparent in this study which conflates language structuring and mobility in one single investigation.

Moreover, by examining signage with linguistic coinages which essentially represent amalgamated forms of language, the study adds to the theorization about the sociolinguistics of hybridity, localization and ‘truncated’ forms of languages already in circulation. In particular, the ‘airtime mantra’ (slogans) such as ‘Zamtelligent’, ‘Zamtel it’, ‘chadibadiba’, ‘mahala’ are all indicative of an established sociolinguistics of hybridity and amalgamated forms from which these mobile companies draw. For if these amalgamated forms were just ‘off-the-top-of-the-head’ creations, most subscribers would have had difficulties to semiotically appropriate them. On the contrary, because these forms arise from the shared sociocultural knowledge and histories of the consumers, companies merely turn them into dramatic and transformative linguistic capital for their businesses. Thus, the LL is only a mirror of the dynamic sociolinguistics being played out by the social actors not only from the urban, but also from the peri-urban and rural spaces.

Further, the study consolidates evidence about the realities of mobilities in late modernity which have led to unparalleled eschwing of boundaries between languages, formal and informal, urban and rural as well as ethnolinguistic ones. What the study buttresses is the idea that languages do not respect regionalism, formality/informality,

and individualism (elitism, illiteracy or literacy). Thus, the disembodiment of language (cf. Makoni 2007; Pennycook 2009, 2010b; Higgins 2009; Oakes and Schein 2006; Heller 2007; Banda and Bellononjengele 2010; Blommaert 2014).

By focusing on the place- and meaning-making, the study further authenticates studies which privilege the production and consumption of a multimodal LL (Mpendukana and Stroud 2009; Peck and Banda 2014; Jaworski 2015) and opens up semiotic possibilities available to the oral language dominant rural communities (Banda and Jimaima 2015). Thus, I take the exploring of the semiotic ecology of LL in oral dominant rural communities as the major contribution which the study makes to the general theorisation on linguistic/semiotic landscapes. In particular, the study noted that the semiotic landscapes in the rural oral dominant communities investigated suggest a somewhat different taxonomy of 'signs' for place making compared to urban areas. Thus just like "the parameters of the local urban ecology are reflected in the design and placement' in urban areas (Stroud and Jegels 2014: 187), it can be argued that the local rural semiotic ecology determines the semiotic material in place in rural communities.

No doubt the predisposition of people in the rural-scapes discussed in the study to use existing or past physical attributes of the environment can be said to be common even in urban areas. However, with few or no manmade public signage in these rural areas, there is an additional need for creativity in how oral narration is deployed to account for mutual relationships between interactants themselves, and with their semiotic environment. In this regard, I showed the ways in which faded orthographies, names and texts, and removed objects and socio-cultural materialities (e.g. 'What used to be a graveyard/Sipalo Butchery') are re-imagined, and how linguistic and scripted signage (including icons and shapes of letters and characters) are translated and reinterpreted with other kinds of semiotic material for sign- and place-making.

The study suggests an extended taxonomy of ‘signs’, which includes boundary markers (e.g. fences, hills and mounds, ditches [man-made or natural], concrete posts, names of farms, beacons [salient topographical features], major junctions, street names or names of shops [used as points of orientation, etc.]). The extended repertoire of semiotic materials together with the notion of repurposing highlight the multisemiotic nature of, and the different processual characteristics of meaning making in multimodal linguistic/semiotic landscapes even in oral language dominant rural communities that have limited or do not have emplaced public signage in place.

Ultimately, the study contributes to the development and operationalization of multimodality and especially its extended notion of semiotic remediation (repurposing) in non-Western contexts and rural Africa in particular. In using the notion of semiotic remediation, the study shows that irrespective of the limitations of material conditions, people in rural-scapes (like those in urban areas) repurpose available semiotic materials to extend their meaning potential and in the process constantly reinvent the semiotic environment and their relations with it for sign- and place-making.

10.4 General Conclusion and Future Research

Finally, I hope the discussions in this thesis, framed as *the social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes: a multimodal analysis*, have adequately highlighted the language situation in Zambia, particularly with regard to regionalization as well as showing the place of English, regional and non-regional languages on the LL of Zambia with the semiotic flow.

Given the paucity of signage in the rural areas, I believe, a lot of research energy should be directed at the analysis of the LL of rural spaces across Africa, in order to create reflective corpus of the linguistic realities in the broader context of the Global South.

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Appendix: Ethical Form



University of the Western Cape

Department of Linguistics PhD Research Consent Forms

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR PhD RESEARCH

Date: 3rd June 2014

Study Title or Topic: Social Structuring of Language and the Mobility of Semiotic Resources across Linguistic Landscapes: A Multimodal Analysis

Researcher: Hambaba Jimaima, PhD candidate, Linguistics Department, University of the Western Cape.

Purpose of the Research:

I, Hambaba Jimaima, am a PhD student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. For this degree, I seek to investigate the linguistic landscapes of Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia and Livingstone, a regional administrative centre, which is also the tourist capital of Zambia as it is in the vicinity of the Victoria Falls.

My supervisor is Professor Felix Banda in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He can be contacted at +27 21 959 2380 or fbanda@uwc.ac.za.

My contact details are as follows: Hambaba Jimaima, Linguistics Dept., UWC, phone: +27613098659 / +260977668980 or [hjaima@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:hjimaima@yahoo.co.uk)

I would therefore like to request you to form part of my research study. If this permission is granted, the following will be required of you, individually:

1. **Business Owner/Police Maker:** As a participant, you will be required to answer

questions about language in the public space in terms of language choice/use on signs, placement of signs. Or,

2. **Consumer of signs:** As participant, you will be asked to explain how much you rely on the signage and the type of signage that you use to navigate your landscapes.
3. Each interview session will last for not more than 30 minutes.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Should you decide to withdraw from the study; all data generated as a consequence of your participation will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and, unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored and only the researcher will have access to this information.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent that you _____ can participate in the study entitled: **SOCIAL STRUCTURING OF LANGUAGE AND THE MOBILITY OF SEMIOTIC RESOURCES ACROSS LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES: A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS** in Lusaka/Livingstone by Hambaba Jimaima. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Participant

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Researcher