

https://dspace.org/

Linguistic landscape and the local : a comparative study of texts, visible in the streets of two culturally diverse urban neighbourhoods in Marseille and Pretoria.

Kelleher, William

2014-07-25
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/15010

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

University of the Witwatersrand

Linguistic Landscape and the local: A comparative study of texts visible in the streets of two culturally diverse urban neighbourhoods in Marseille and Pretoria.

By William Kelleher

Student number: 566746

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for Master's by Dissertation

Sociolinguistics

Supervisor: **Tommaso Milani**

March 2014

ABSTRACT

The thesis concerns the linguistic landscape (LL) of two neighbourhoods, one in Pretoria, South Africa, and the other in Marseille, France. This is a longitudinal study whose data was collected over two years of site visits. LL are explored in terms of both space and place. In terms of place, they are seen to be constitutive of a sense of place, allowing insights into memory, aspiration, and familial and cultural networks. Spatially, they are seen to realise a politics where design and distribution of LL are markers of power and modality. Analysis takes its point of departure in geosemiotics. Artefacts of LL are interpreted as sites of encounter of four cycles of discourse: the interaction order, habitus, semiotics of place and visual semiotics. The focus is on understanding LL artefacts, their production and reception, as a nexus of practice. Methodologically, walking - as a creative practice, and as an actualisation of the place and space of the neighbourhood - is chosen for photographing LL, for observing interactions and for meeting participants to the research. In examining habitus, the discourses, literacy and narratives of the people who live, work and pass through the site are compared. Deep social and economic similarities are noted between the two sites. Exploration of the semiotics of place brings to light regularities in the features of formal and informal LL, the nature of participation with and subversion of these texts, but also disparities among producers and receivers in terms of literacy, access, the socio-cultural and the socio-economic. Visual semiotic analysis continues these findings and it is noted that global and local discourses of identification, aspiration and self-stylisation circulate transversally in the sites. LL are taken to realise a politics of space when multimodal analysis of composition and modality is extended to the streetscape, as LL ensemble. A key facet of the research is the interpretation of informal LL. Their inclusion challenges existing LL methodologies by flagging the necessity to ground quantitative findings ethnographically.

KEYWORDS

Linguistic Landscape; ethnography; geosemiotics; nexus of practice; visual semiotics; multimodality; place semiotics; interaction; habitus; Pretoria; South Africa; Marseille; France; walking; neighbourhood; discourse

To Lucie, for your courage, your voice and for staying with me through it all.

Very special thanks to my supervisor Prof. Tommaso Milani, to everyone at the IFAS, and to Di, Clive, Kira, Sophie, Michel, Jean-Christophe, Mohammed, Danny, Fred, my uncle Victor and my parents for their advice and inspiration.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. All citations, references and existing research have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that I did not use an external editor. I further confirm that none of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____

Student name

_____

Date

Table of contents

Introduction 11

Aims 12

Where does this research fit in? Why LL? Why the local? 13

Chapter overview 16

Chapter 1 –Linguistic Landscape research: analysis, structuration and cycles of discourse 18

LL analysis 19

Structuration of LL 21

Discursive analysis of LL 23

Chapter 2 – Methodology: habitus, interaction order, semiotics of place and discursive analysis 29

My historical body 30

Ethnography: habitus 35

Ethnography: interaction order 37

Categories for quantitative and qualitative analysis: place semiotics 43

Multimodal discourse analysis: visual semiotics 48

Chapter 3 – The interaction order 49

The Marché du Soleil 49

The Bosman site 57

Conclusions for this chapter 65

Chapter 4 – Habitus 66

The Marché du Soleil site 66

People, language and literacy of the Marché du Soleil site 72

The Bosman site 76

People, language and literacy of the Bosman site 81

Conclusions for this chapter 88

Chapter 5 – Semiotics of place 89

Layering: superposition and subversion 93

Emplacement: producer and realisation 99

Code, reference, and interpretation 112

Conclusions for this chapter 126

Chapter 6 – Visual analysis 127

The global, the local and the transactional 128
A politics of space 142
A sense of place 153
A combined vision of the LL of each neighbourhood 164
Conclusions for this chapter 167
Chapter 7 - General conclusions 168
References 174
Appendix 1: Ethics clearance, interview sheets, formats and transcriptions 190
1.1. – Ethics clearance 190
1.1.1. – Ethics approval 190
1.1.2. – Ethics application 191
1.1.4. – Neighbourhoods and routes for data collection 202
1.1.5. – Choice of language for interviews 203
1.1.6. – Participant information sheet 204
1.1.7. – Informed consent forms 206
1.1.8. – Interview format 208
1.2. - Interview format for the family owning a signage shop 210
1.3. – Participants interviewed during research 215
Interviews in the neighbourhood - Marseille 215
Interviews in the neighbourhood - Pretoria 215
1.4. - Transcriptions of interviews 217
1.5. - Prosodic notation 223
Appendix 2 - Texts concerned by interviews and field notes in Marseille 224
Appendix 3 : Texts concerned by interviews and field notes in Bosman 226
Appendix 4: Photographs 1 to 4 of Marseille and Pretoria 228
Photographs 1 – View of Marseille 228
Photographs 2 – View of Belsunce 228
Photographs 3 – Church Square 229
Photographs 4 – View of Paul Kruger St 229
Appendix 5 : Texts that exemplify aspects of format, language, content and position 230
Government texts 230
Formal texts 231
Informal ad hoc texts 236

Informal vendor texts 239
Fortuitous texts 241
Appendix 6 : Functional and multimodal analysis for a selection of texts for each site ... 242
6.1. - Discourse analysis of Marché du Soleil 242
6.2. - Discourse analysis of Bosman site 247

List of figures

Figure 1. An example of a text advertising 'safe' abortions in the Bosman site. 46
Figure 2. List of genres in English (standard international), translated into French (standard France), Arab (standard international) and isiZulu (Gauteng). 47
Figure 3. Map of Marseille showing town centre with respect to regional dynamics, transport and development axes. (reproduced from Douay, 2009). 50
Figure 4. Map of Marseille's centre by 'Arrondissement' showing the 3rd Arrondissement in black. (Reproduced from Jourdan, 2008). 51
Figure 5. Aerial view of Marseille showing the 'Marché du Soleil' research site (Google Earth). 53
Figure 6. Plan of the 'Marché du Soleil' field study site by street and shop name showing walking route (by author – 30 June, 2011). 54
Figure 7. Aerial map of Pretoria which shows town centre (CBD). (Reproduced from Corten and van Dun, 2009). 58
Figure 8. Map for ward 60, Pretoria, within which the Bosman site is located. (Reproduced from City of Tshwane website – www.tshwane.co.za, accessed 16 April 2012). 59
Figure 9. Aerial view of Pretoria showing the 'Bosman' research site (Google Earth). 61
Figure 10. Plan of the 'Bosman' field study site by street and shop name (by author - 25 April, 2011). 62
Figure 11. Photographs of certificates that can be written out for marriages, academic achievement, birthdays and the like (by author, 01 July, 2011). 75
Figure 12. Photograph of Henry's newspaper 'stand' at the corner of Kruger and Scheiding streets (photograph by author, 11 April, 2012). 82
Figure 13. Recapitulation of newspaper sales in the Pretoria site per day as given in an interview with Henry on 12 April, 2012. 83
Figure 14. Photograph of an informal trader reading (by author 28 April, 2011). 86
Figure 15. Photograph of a job vacancy at the Low Side Bar on Scheiding Street (by author, 27 April, 2011). 86
Figure 16. Photograph of a flattened cardboard beer container that is used to mark taxi runs at the corner of Bosman and Scheiding streets (by author 29 April, 2011). 87
Figure 17. Schema showing LL as a site of engagement with an outline of place semiotics. Adapted from Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 10). 89
Figure 18. A series of texts from the Marseille site (photograph by author, 01 July, 2011). 91
Figure 19. A series of texts from the Pretoria site (photographs by author, 25 April, 2011). 92
Figure 20. Superposed texts that refer principally to a Comorian traditional 'twarab' evening and the Muslim Eid festival (photograph by author, 30 June, 2011). 94
Figure 21. Text of figure 18 rendered in a notation that is sensitive to format as an indicator of boundary marking. 95
Figure 22. From left to right and top to bottom, examples of alterations that effect LL texts in Marseille and Pretoria. 'Chaussures' (shoes) (taken 01 July, 2011); 'La suite'

(continuation) (taken 30 June, 2011); room share notice (taken 25 April, 2011) and Knorrox poster with detail (taken 25 April, 2011). 96
Figure 23. Graph that presents a percentage count of those texts which have been superposed over others and those texts that are tagged or graffed. 99
Figure 24. Charts adjusted for percentage that show counts as to position, materials used, format and language features of the LL texts in the neighbourhoods of Bosman and the Marché du Soleil. 102
Figure 25. Breakdown by category of the quantity of LL in the streets of Bosman and Marché du Soleil. 103
Figure 26. Some characteristics of governmental texts in both sites. 106
Figure 27. Some characteristics of formal texts in both sites. 107
Figure 28. Some characteristics of informal texts in both sites. 108
Figure 29. Some characteristics of informal vendor texts in both sites. 110
Figure 30. Some characteristics of fortuitous texts in both sites. 111
Figure 31. Monolingual texts (not in the dominant language of each site) and multilingual texts presented first as a percentage of total sample of LL and then as percentage per category. 114
Figure 32. Metaphoric and situational language use as percentage per category. 115
Figure 33. Graphs showing subject matter of LL texts in the two sites. 117
Figure 34. Table recapitulating the key features of each category of text. Illustrative examples of texts are given in Appendix 5. 118
Figure 35. Overt and implied references in the two sites. 119
Figure 36. Photographs of typical street signs in each site (by author). 121
Figure 37. Interview with Chantal from 10' onwards. 123
Figure 38. Interview with Chantal from 14'20'' onwards contrasted with Interview with Fernando from 5'30'' onwards. 125
Figure 39. An adaptation of figure 17 which now highlights visual semiotics and a multimodal analysis of LL (adapted from Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 10). 127
Figure 40. Image 15, appendix 5, SA Breweries billboard for Hansa beer (photograph taken on 25 April, 2011, by author) and image 32, appendix 5, photograph of the shop front for 'Black, Blanc, Beur' (taken on 30 June 2011 by author). 130
Figure 41. Second SA Breweries billboard for Hansa beer (photograph taken on 28 April, 2011, by author). 132
Figure 42. Breakdown of permanent and temporary media in LL by site. 134
Figure 43. Image 65, appendix 5, Dante's sign for traditional medicine (photograph taken on 26 April, 2011, by author) and image 71, appendix 5, a sign written by a seller of perfumes and DVD's in the Camille Pelletan street (photographed on 02 July, 2011). 135
Figure 44. Image 65, appendix 5, Dante's second sign for traditional medicine (photograph taken on 11 April, 2012, by author) and a detail of the stand of the perfume and CD / DVD seller in the Marché du Soleil (image 73, appendix 5). 136
Figure 45. Image 69, appendix 5, overview and detail of a pirate DVD stand in Bosman (photographed on 28 April, 2011). 137

Figure 46. Image 13, appendix 5, detail (photographed on 25, April, 2011), and image 30, appendix 5, shopfront for 'Jimmy 25' in the Marché du Soleil site (taken on 30 June 2011)..... 138
Figure 47. Image 60, appendix 5, round tables and events in commemoration of the Algerian war (photographed in June, 2011); image 47, appendix 5, poster for May Day events in Atteridgeville (photographed in April, 2011) and image 28, appendix 5, shopfront for Saree Bollywood (photographed in July, 2011)..... 140
Figure 48. Image 32, appendix 5, shopfront of the Black, Blanc, Beur shop (taken in June, 2011), and an earlier photograph from March, 2010..... 143
Figure 49. Two examples of formal texts in the 'ideal' position from the Bosman and Marché du Soleil sites. Image 11, appendix 5 (by author, April, 2011) and image 27, appendix 5, (July, 2011). 144
Figure 50. Two texts (images 54 and 80 of appendix 5) photographed near the park on Camille Pelletan St, (04 July, 2011). Text a) translates, "Human rights: France, neither liberty, nor equality nor fraternity" and is a direct reference to the motto of the Republic. Text b) is a torn newspaper extract of which the headline reads, "(I) renounce none of my convictions"..... 146
Figure 51. Image 63, appendix 5, a series of graffs by the 'Zoo project' that involved some neighbourhood graff artists and several children from the local school (photos by author, 30 June, 2011). Text a) translates, "It's easy to take the child out of the street, it's harder to take the street out of the child." Text b) translates, "Vote naked !!!"..... 148
Figure 52. Photograph of a shopfront in the Bosman site (by author, April, 2011). 149
Figure 53. Two texts from the Marché du Soleil (images 5 and 61, appendix 5) and two texts from the Bosman sites (images 3 and 47, appendix 5). Photographs by author, April and July, 2011. 150
Figure 54. A text from the Marché du Soleil and three texts from the Bosman sites (images 33, 20, and 68, appendix 5).Photographs by author, April and July, 2011. 152
Figure 55. Change of texts over time in both sites, percentages of total counts per day..... 155
Figure 56. Two formal LL texts from the Marché du Soleil (images 25 and 26, appendix 5) photographed by author, June – July, 2011, and two details of image 14, appendix 5, photographed in April, 2011. 156
Figure 57. Formal LL texts from Daisy Dee at Bloed Mall (by author, February, 2012)..... 158
Figure 58. Governmental LL texts from the Marché du Soleil site (image 7, appendix 5) by author, July, 2011, and from the Bosman site (image1, appendix 5) by author, April, 2011..... 159
Figure 59. Seven texts from the Marché du Soleil site and two texts from the Bosman site (images 42, 43, 52, 57, 58, 59, 74, 72 and 62, appendix 5). Photographs July and April 2011 by author. 161
Figure 60. Example of an entry in a functional and multimodal analytic grid. 166

Introduction

This research is an exploration of the place, and space, of two neighbourhoods: the Marché du Soleil neighbourhood in Marseille, France, and the Bosman neighbourhood in Pretoria, South Africa. I wish to understand how the formal and informal texts that are visible in the street (the linguistic landscape, or LL) are revelatory of subjective experience, local and non-local discourses, as also broader social processes. This is to say that studying the production, reception and placement of these texts is a way of exploring not only power and access as these apply in the space of the street, but also migration, education and literacy, cultural belonging and empowerment.

The reason behind this research is both personal and professional. As a teacher working mostly in disadvantaged inner-city secondary schools in Europe and Africa, throughout my career I have been confronted with the problem of understanding the identity and social imaginary[1] of the neighbourhoods within which I have worked. The fabric, the sense of neighbourhood, its interactions and space have always seemed to me to merit theorisation, especially given their significance for the people living, working and passing through. Indeed, the importance of the local has been repeatedly pressed upon me. On many occasions it has been through knowledge of shared understandings, wordings, cultures and the way they are expressed, received and actualised in the places that I have worked, that teaching - seen as an ability to discuss, to share and to learn - has been rendered possible.

The two sites that have been chosen for this research are both places in which I, as a teacher, have met, talked to and eaten with the people who give the neighbourhoods life and flavour. As a passionate walker (see de Certeau, 1984, and Mayol in de Certau, Giard and Mayol, 1994) and explorer of city streets, I have spent hours timing my footfalls to music that blares from shop loudspeakers or reading texts that are displayed on walls, stores and streetlamps. The Bosman and Marché du Soleil sites represent very different places of confluence and intermingling. Immigration and commerce are relevant to each, both are constructed around important thoroughfares and both figure in the talk of the inhabitants of the city as specific, identifiable, places - neighbourhoods. However, whereas the Marché du Soleil site is in the global North, with a strong civil society and a commercial activity that reposes on a shared sense of origins, cultural and religious networks, the Bosman site is in the global South and still undergoing a radical process of political, ideological and socio-economic change. The exploration of the similarities in the 'discourses in place' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) in the two sites despite differences in dominant language, cultural origins and geopolitical situation is what underpins the research model.

[1]The set of values and symbols through which social actors represent their collective life.

In researching LL and neighbourhood I will be relying on geosemiotic analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, Pietikainen, Lane, Salo and Laihiala-Kankainen, 2011, Hult, 2009 and Dowling, 2010). This approach reposes, principally, on a threefold conception of mediated social action (a 'nexus' of practice – see Scollon, 2001) that moves from an ethnographic understanding of the person with her or his historicity, habitus, interest and attention to a Goffmanian (see Goffman, 1959) interpretation of social interaction and a multimodal social semioitic (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001, and Kress, 2010 a and b).The analysis of LL, as a site of encounter, includes four interlocking systems or 'cycles' of discourse: habitus, interaction order, place semiotics and visual analysis. I have chosen this research model, firstly, because it allows the two sites to be compared on several different levels (the subjective, the social, the interactional and the discursive) in order to obtain a complex, nuanced, image of each. Secondly, its emphasis on place, on the motivations, constraints and affordances of production and reception, on the meanings that arise because of a text's interaction with other texts, is particularly well suited to an exploration of the local and of neighbourhood.

Whilst a significant trend in LL studies is to consider predominantly the texts of shop fronts and governmental institutions (see Landry and Bourhis, 1997), this research will include in its dataset all of the kinds of texts that are visible in the space of the street. Muth (2013) uses the terms 'informal' and 'transgressive' texts (following Scollon and Scollon, 2003) to refer to the plethora of small and large posters, notices, graffiti and tagging that are visible in city streets. The inclusion of such texts in an LL dataset is valuable when grounding analysis through qualitative techniques such as interviews or a focus on the narratives, practices and literacies of the research sites (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, and Mbodj-Pouye and Ven den Avenne, 2008). The inclusion of such texts also tends to dispel a homogenised vision of the neighbourhood and to take account of the complexity of interpretation of LL, its polysemy and 'excitability' (see Milani, 2013) at even a very local level.

Aims

In this thesis I will research local neighbourhoods through LL. I will explore the discursive cycles relevant to both sites and analyse a corpus of interviews with people met in the sites in addition to field notes and photographs of LL that include informal and transgressive texts. My aims can be framed in terms of three key axes:

- To examine formal, informal and transgressive LL: their modes, media, subject matter, positioning, temporality, production and semiotic expansion;
- To understand how these LL inform and are informed by the interaction, habitus and discourse of the people who live, work and pass through the neighbourhoods of the Marché du Soleil and Bosman;
- To consider the space of the street, power and discourse, in interpreting LL.

Where does this research fit in? Why LL? Why the local?

A linguistic landscape includes texts produced by shop owners, government institutions, private individuals, informal vendors, graffiti artists, associations and collectives, to name just some of the actors that are responsible for the posters, notices, shop fronts, banners, tags and adverts that line city streets. By linking ethnographic research to the study of these LL it is possible to examine many aspects of our contemporary, heterogeneous and changing society. A first example would be the articulation and actualisation of discourses on consumerism, aspiration, religious or cultural behaviour, since LL texts are above all texts that are displayed publicly and visibly – raising the question of the nature of the public sphere and people's participation. Another example would be education, and access, since LL are mediated texts in which literacy comes very much to the fore. A final example could be the networks of belonging that give meaning to LL for their producers. Whether it be through owning a shop, and integrating the 'formal' space of the street, or on the contrary through transgressive LL such as tags and graffiti, there is meaning in these actions for both producers and receivers of LL texts. A meaning that, in many instances, reveals profound social realities and processes.

That these processes should be analysed at a local level, has very much to do with the impetus for this research, that was partly funded by the IFAS (the French Institute in South Africa). The IFAS' focus on place and community, on ethnographies of migration and belonging, has been very important. IFAS' themes seek to account for city dynamics in a post-modern, technological world subject to rapid demographic and socio-political change. The questioning of the meaning of the local rejoins the work of Appadurai (1996), and the requirements of institutions that must formulate policies that account for and cater to these circumstances. At the time of writing, IFAS, in association with WISER, was finalising a three year investigation - the Yeoville Studio project (Didier, Benit-Gbaffou, Smithers and Lebonel, 2009 – 2012, Benit-Gbaffou, 2011) - into how city space can be understood through photography and personal narrative. Although the IFAS projects are not providing any direct data or parameters for this research, there is a clear inspiration in the valuing of local understandings. It is also the comparative nature of the present research project (France and South Africa - global North, global South) that is encouraged by the IFAS.

Linking the two places, over and above my personal and professional experience of Marseille and Pretoria, are their shared characteristics within a globalised world in change. As sites of encounter (where the four cycles of discourse, that give shape to this research, intersect) they have many more similarities than differences. They are messy, unruly, organic, anarchic, places where the buildings, the street, and the LL reflect diverse origins, the intermingling of the global and the local, and the dynamics of the cities where they are found[2]. By researching sites such as this, by deliberately moving the focus from metropolises such as London, Paris or New York, I wanted the research to take account of

[2] As will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

LL in contexts of neighbourhood relations, pedestrian flow, and commerce as these are given expression in out of the way, non-centric, often overlooked places that it is a key aim of this thesis to bring forward and to value.

In South Africa, in Johannesburg (Nuttall and Mbembe, Eds., 2008) and in Durban (Wardrop, 2006), for instance, case studies increasingly emphasise how activities such as buying and wearing clothes, cooking and selling food – activities that are comparable to the act of producing and receiving LL in their public display of private processes –allow many of the dynamics of a city to be understood. These sociologies of community and of the processes and understandings that frame people's lives within the spaces of the city, recall the work in France of de Certeau and Mayol (de Certeau, 1984, and de Certeau et al, 1994) that take the 'everyday' to be key in understanding both micro and macro social organisation.

This research current is gaining momentum, and recently was adopted explicitly in a European framework document – the European guidelines for modern language teaching and assessment (Conseil de l'Europe, 2000) which is a benchmark for curriculum development. In this framework, the study of LL constitutes a pedagogy for allowing students to document and understand the diverse cultures, origins and languages that are present in and around their school – their everyday (see also Sayer, 2009, and Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre and Armand, 2009). The emphasis is on LL as a link to the community and in turn as a trace of migration and plurilinguism.

The momentum that the everyday, the local and that LL is gaining, can also be seen in the initiatives that are promoted by cities themselves. Marseille – who won its application for European Capital of Culture 2013 based in large part on these themes - has several projects in and around the Marché du Soleil site that are very relevant to this discussion. The most significant of these is the Friche of the Belle de Mai (see Andres, 2006) which is an artists' collective. In what is an old tobacco factory space, on the fences around the building, the Friche explicitly encourages LL, graffiti, that have a message for youth and for social insertion. Several of the resident artists' projects focus on experiences of immigration, education, one's place in society, and literacy. The Friche also encourages an exploration of the space of the street, questioning this through projects that undermine proprietary interests, or that subvert existing LL. An example is the initiative that reproduced fake street signs, in paper, that could be glued over the official signs – radically changing the meanings and geography of the city. The fake signs become a visual trace of a contested personal and public history. One need only consider the debate over street name changes to gain a feeling for the importance of such LL in South Africa as well (see Liou, 2012, and Semono, 2008).

LL research can throw up the contradictions and fragilities of modern society, especially in South Africa. Dowling (2010) notes the symbolic hegemony of English and Afrikaans over isiXhosa in a study of informal signage in Cape Town. She notes the 'semantic fragility' of LL, where official signs that originate in institutional settings are subverted and

recontextualized, but also where languages of lesser prestige than English or Afrikaans are both mistranslated and misrepresented. Her conclusions are wide-ranging but it is important to note that against a background of institutional indifference to isiXhosa[3] and its resulting fragility Dowling notes the vivacity and pertinence of informal signage. Her examples include corrections that are penned on to signs, the cultural affordances such as a desire to discuss ('Siyathethana!' 'We speak with each other'- Dowling, 2010, p. 202) that find their way onto signs, in addition to cultural symbols and a sense of community.

One of the findings that emerges very clearly from her study is directly relevant to this thesis, "People have something to say – something direct[…]" (Dowling, 2010, p. 199). Dowling's study pinpoints the specific advantage of LL research to places such as Khayelitsha, or the two sites chosen for this thesis. A focus on LL sheds light on public spaces but also on the institutional and the personal, the cultural and the pragmatic as these aspects combine through medium and mode, agency and discourse.

Milani (2013), through the person of the researcher, examines the place of queer theory, gender and sexuation with respect to LL research. In doing so he raises a point that is essential to both this research and the LL field more generally: namely the 'excitability' of LL signs. The excitability of language refers to its performative function and therewith to the coexistent phenomena of targeting, or interpellation, as well as to the, "the activation of deep-seated normative beliefs." (Milani 2013, p. 14). This is one of the key contributions of LL to understandings of both public space and locality, since much LL research uncovers the mechanisms by which texts visible publicly are not, "reducible to a passive reflection of a pre-existing sociological division" but also actively bring a specific order into being.

Through the gaze of the researcher and through interviews Milani challenges the 'domain of representation' of LL texts. This is to say that he does not base his analysis purely on what signs show but also compares subjective understandings and contrasting points of view. This is again an important rationale as to the orientation of this thesis, since a critical reading of LL must bring actual production and consumption into account. It is a point understood by Stroud and Jegels (2013) for whom:

> […] central to a theorization of semiotic (linguistic) landscapes and how to research them is an understanding of the situated social dynamics of multivocality in local places, manifest in the contesting lives of multiple publics – multilingual, multicultural and multiracial. (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 2)

It is this multivocality that I would like to bring to the fore in the present research. I want to understand how the space of the city can be appropriated through LL for expressions of cultural belonging but also very personal political, religious and cultural convictions. I

[3]See also du Plessis (2010) who uses LL to consider language policy at the municipal level. By extending the definition of LL to 'temporary' texts (labels and notices for example) his approach allows conclusions as to civil society within and around institutional settings.

would like to explore, through LL, the deep similarities in experiences of immigration, education, place in society, and literacy of the two sites. I wish to examine how global discourses circulate in local spaces such as neighbourhoods and how exactly power is expressed in the space of the street.

Chapter overview

Chapter 1.**Literature review**. This thesis is situated within the field of linguistic landscapes. Three currents in linguistic landscape research are identified: LL analysis *per se*, structuration principles and discursive analysis. A geosemiotic approach is discussed and the four cycles of discourse relevant to a nexus of practice introduced.

Chapter 2.**Methodology**. The implications for methodology of a geosemiotic approach are drawn out. My historical body is presented and what this implies – a focus on neighbourhood and the everyday. Ethnography is introduced as a means of understanding the habitus of participants and the socio-economic, cultural, religious and educative contexts of the sites. Participant observation is presented as this applies to the interaction order. I discuss walking as praxeology and as actualisation of neighbourhood place and space. I also introduce categories for quantitative and qualitative analysis of LL, since these will be necessary for investigation of place semiotics and for visual analysis. A multimodal social semiotic will be used for visual analysis itself.

Chapter 3.**Interaction order**. I investigate the interaction order of the two sites, through walking. I discuss the physical environment, time, perceptual space (visual, auditory, olfactory, thermal and haptic), interpersonal distance and personal front. The sites are seen to be divergent with implications for formal and informal LL.

Chapter 4.**Habitus**. Through secondary sources, field notes, and interviews with people met whilst walking the streets of the two sites, but also through longer interviews with a family running a signage shop in Pretoria, I discuss habitus, literacy and the narratives and languages of people and place. The approach is both diachronic and synchronic, and deep similarities are seen to exist between the two sites in terms of experience of conflict, immigration, the role of religion and access to education.

Chapter 5.**Semiotics of place**. A centripetal approach to neighbourhood place is applied in terms of the categories introduced in chapter 2. I examine layering, change of state and transgressive LL, I provide counts as to format, media, syntax, language choice and subject matter in addition to position and temporality. I conclude with a discussion of legal framework, and the interpretation of overt and implicit references. Complex intersemiotic networks of meaning are seen to exist through the interaction between formal, informal and transgressive LL and the discrepancies in interpretation that are noted lead to conclusions of socio-economic stratification in both production and interpretation of LL.

Chapter 6.**Visual analysis**. In this chapter an exploration of the modes and media of LL texts is used, firstly, to examine the ways in which discourses circulate in the space of the street and among all categories of LL. Then, by expanding a multimodal approach to the ensemble of the street (the streetscape) I regard the street as being a space of power and discourse – a politics of space. This interpretation finds support in the social stratification that was noted in chapter 5. Thirdly, three conceptions of place –temporal, tactical and liminal – are applied to understanding LL texts, and the way place is actualised in the linguistic landscape. Finally, a multimodal analytic grid is discussed as a heuristic for actualising the discourse of the multimodal ensemble, in each site.

Chapter 7.**Conclusions**. I discuss findings and their implication for LL research, neighbourhood and policy.

Chapter 1 –Linguistic Landscape research: analysis, structuration and cycles of discourse

The field of Linguistic Landscape (LL) research, as noted in the introduction, is a relatively new one, which explains the tendency of many authors to overtly re-delimit and thereby redefine both what constitutes the field and what theory and methodology are most appropriate. This has the effect of creating an area of study composed of some clearly foregrounded research orientations within which several other lines of inquiry (literacy, gender, economic valuation etc.) find their place. A first orientation to research is provided by the link between language visibility in LL artefacts and considerations of prestige, policy and ethnolinguistic vitality. A second research orientation consists in finding principles that account for LL as a structured, rather than chaotic, social phenomenon. The term 'structuration' is employed by Ben-Rafael (2009) to refer to research perspectives that theorise how and why a corpus of LL may be considered ordered, rational and explicable in terms of choices as to language, format, placement and content. A third orientation concerns discourse, a research orientation that examines the way in which artefacts of LL are both shaped by - and constitutive of – knowledges, beliefs and understandings concerning, *inter alia,* culture, socio-economics and identity.

In the following discussion the acronym 'LL' will refer both to the field of research of 'Linguistic Landscapes' but also to a specific, visual and tactile ensemble of artefacts. Whilst the terms sign, artefact, token and text will all be used in this thesis they are not analogous. 'Token' connotes a quantitative approach through counts of features of LL, 'artefact' refers to a sociological understanding of LL and to the social processes and conditions of production and reception, contestation and reproduction. 'Sign' can be understood in both a colloquial sense such as in 'shop sign', a genre, in which case 'sign' supposes other genres such as notices, posters or billboards, but also in a linguistic sense as a signifier, where a 'sign system' is essential to semiosis[4]. In both nexus and multimodal approaches 'signs' may include words, images, gestures, elements of the physical environment etc (see Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. vii). LL signs or artefacts are multimodal ensembles comprising at least five modes (materiality, colour, font, layout and framing) but often many more (image, angle, dimensionality, permanence, temporality, emplacement, etc.) in this they are 'texts' that may be analysed discursively. In order to give depth to a consideration of a textual, discursive, analysis of LL however, it is necessary to first engage with the first two research orientations sketched above.

[4] Sign, signifier and semiosis recall a structural (see de Saussure, (1915 ed. 1986) or post-structural (see for instance Barthes, 1985) orientation to much of the work that includes multimodality. However, Kress (2010 b, pp. 32 - 53) explicitly rejects many of the tenets of structuralism and emphasises that signs are motivated, active expressions of a person´s being in the world in a process of designing and redesigning meaning.

LL analysis

For Hult (2009) 'LL analysis' *qua* approach is the analysis of code choice in public signs to reach conclusions as to language prestige, domain of use and as a channel of cultural and ethnic values. As Milani (2013) succinctly notes:

> [The] disciplinary origin of Linguistic Landscape [is] a radical offshoot of research on language attitudes (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) and language policy (Shohamy, 2006), two strands of sociolinguistic inquiry which have traditionally been less concerned with gender and sexuality than with other forms of social categorization such as ethnic and national identity. (Milani, 2013, p. 3)

The term 'Linguistic Landscape' itself stemmed from the Landry and Bourhis article abovementioned which continued their work on ethnolinguistic vitality. This latter field supposes that indicators such as: relative position on an urban-rural continuum, domains in which the language is used, frequency and type of code switching, social outlook regarding and within the speech community, language prestige and access to a stable and acceptable economic base, are determinant in deciding the future growth and orientation of a language. From this perspective it is obvious that LL has several advantages: the tokens are quantifiable, commercial texts indicate domain of use, whilst frequency and type of code switching are immediately observable.

Of the numerous articles devoted specifically to this theme the work of Barni and Bagna (2009, and 2010) is a particularly apt example of a methodology that uses counts (tokens) to draw wider-ranging conclusions as to the demographic and cultural context of the LL. The authors capture both the image and the site of an LL token and its use of a specific language. Counts concern the languages and the combination of languages so as to, "gather and analyse the characteristics of the new plurilingualism seen in the Italian linguistic space […]" (Barni and Bagna, 2009, p. 130). Key words are also correlated so as to provide information as to field of reference and prestige, thus allowing the study to address what economic and social domains are actualised and associated with which language. The approach also draws conclusions as to the presence of immigration groups (Barni and Bagna, 2009, p. 137) by noting a language with which these groups are associated.

The attitudes of readers of signs (Aiestaran, Cenoz and Gorter, 2010) reveal, however, some of the issues that need to be addressed in adopting a quantitative paradigm. Having carried out a wide-ranging count of public signs that combined languages (monolingual, bilingual, multilingual signs), questionnaires and interviews revealed that, in Donostia-San Sebastian, Basque and Spanish speakers had very different perceptions not only of the composition of the LL (Spanish dominated, Basque dominated etc) but that these perceptions tied in with the language preferences of the respondents. The Aiestaran, Cenoz and Gorter study is one of the few research initiatives that, whilst still adopting a 'hard' quantitative methodology, deals directly with the importance assigned by people

to LL. It also clearly integrates questions of language visibility, civil society and language policy.

Many other studies link a quantitative approach to other, ethnographic strands of investigation. Torkington (2009), for instance, plots the area under study and proceeds by a percentage count of English as compared to Portuguese. Her conclusions extend from there however to an ethnography of the sites and conclusions as to the discursive function that the dominance of English in certain commercial sectors implies. Muth (2013) in an exhaustive study of Chisnau's LL in the ex-Soviet state of Moldova (two corpuses of over two thousand texts) shows that institutional LL and informal LL differ dramatically in the communicational value they accord the ex-hegemonic language of Russian, with informal texts predominantly choosing the later. In another ex-Soviet state, Latvia, Marten (2010) also notes the predominance of Latvian when compared to Russian but points out the rising influence of English with its connotations of modernity and chic. Marten however raises an issue that should not be ignored – 'legal hypercorrection'. Basing the findings on interviews with participants, one factor promoting the presence of Latvian in the LL is a state of uncertainty about language policy, and an erroneous feeling by producers of signs that Russian is not allowed, even though it actually is.

In each case, whether the focus of the study be language policy[5], language dominance[6] or what language use signifies[7], what is at issue is the value of the tokens used in quantitative counts and the validity of conclusions. One drawback in this approach, for instance, concerns the symbolic value of certain languages. Because languages are not just used for communication, but can also be chosen to signify, inter alia, globalisation, chic, or authenticity (as mentioned above) it is often just simply not the case that a language noted in a token of LL can be interpreted as concrete proof of the presence or dominance of a specific speech community. Another drawback concerns the huge diversity of LL artefacts[8] – there is no common measure between a billboard that represents powerful institutional and commercial interests and a small hand-painted sign, and yet both count as a single token. Street signs for instance are one of the few unproblematic genres of LL in terms of what exactly counts as a single token. Other genres of LL such as shop windows are often dazzling in their overlapping, diversely formatted and multi-focal texts. Some studies (for example Pan, 2010) count the entire shop as a single token, whilst others will count tokens according to subject, format or media and not specify the exact textual boundaries of tokens retained. Other caveats

[5] Backhaus (2009) compares Tokyo and Quebec, the regulations in place regarding public signage and the measures that target either corpus (place names, alphabet etc) or status (use, combination and prominence). Sloboda (2009) and Blackwood (2010) examine regulation and use of regional heritage languages.

[6] Dal Negro (2009), Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) and Trumper-Hecht (2010) focus on LL in what it reveals about the lives and integration of cultural and ethnic groupings *despite* or *in dialogue with* relevant public policy.

[7] The economic model of Cenoz and Gorter (2009) is a case in point. Using a contingent valuation method (CVM) their study seeks to attribute a market and non-market value to the linguistic diversity of LL.

[8] See Heubner (2009) for a further discussion of this point.

concern the permanence, expense and complexity of signs that show their importance for the producer, or indications of importance for the user.

What must be retained from this approach is that whilst quantitative counts are highly useful in summarising features of what are sometimes very large corpora and that whilst conclusions as to language use do provide an indication of shifting cultural, demographic and subjective expression, affiliation or contestation, quantitative counts must be read against the subjectivities and understandings (the terms often used are the habitus or historical body – see Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 15) of both producers and receivers of LL artefacts. Not only this, but analysis must be cautious as to reliance on counts. They offer a broad indication of some key aspects of LL, and of trends, but any robust analysis must also confront the artefacts themselves and integrate visual analysis within the research model.

Structuration of LL

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the term 'structuration' comes from Ben-Rafael's work on LL (Ben-Rafael, 2009, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael, 2010 a, and Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni, 2010 b) and refers to a research standpoint that sees LL as a coherent sphere of social action for which ordering principles may be found. Paraphrased, for brevity and clarity, the structuration principles are that i) different codes in LL reflect top-down and bottom-up power relations, ii) that producers of LL are aware of the public's rational and instrumental interests, iii) that perception is subjective and that the public is not uniform thereby influencing LL actors who aspire to seduce, and iv) that LL mark collective identities and categories of clients (Ben-Rafael et al, 2010 b, p. xvii).

The conception, in particular, of LL as being subject to power relations and as being divisible into two flows has been has been very influential, being widely adopted [9] whilst serving as framework for discussion in still more studies[10]. The 'top-down' flow designates, "public bodies of different levels – governmental, municipal, public/organisational or associative – that produce signs and LL texts to designate agencies or diffuse information directly depending on those bodies." The other flow is 'bottom-up' and designates, "LL items that are produced and presented by countless actors who – as individuals or corporate bodies – generally sprout from the public and address it on behalf of what they offer." (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 49). Through 'flows' research into LL can focus on the bodies of theoretical knowledge that are best suited to describe and account for each type of social process: that pertaining to hierarchical organisation and institutional discourse on the one hand ('top-down') and, on the other, that relating to interaction in a public space marked by proprietary interests and constraints of participation ('bottom-up').

[9] See Waksman and Shohamy (2010), Heubner (2009), Lanza and Woldemariam (2009).
[10] See for instance Kallen (2009, 2010), Malinowski (2009, 2010), Stroud and Mpendukana (2010), and Pennycook (2009).

The ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ distinction is not without criticism however. Firstly, it sees LL as “competing within the same structural space” (Coupland and Garrett, 2010, p. 11) – a space that is insensitive to subjective differences not only as to perception (this *is* recognised in principle iii) but also as to what production/reception means as a social activity. Secondly, “all linguistic landscape texts [can be regarded] as generated in a ‘top down’ manner, in the sense that there is always a degree of strategic planning and design in linguistic landscaping, however strongly or weakly institutionalized.” (Coupland and Garrett, 2010, p. 11). A third argument could be added, based on the previous objections, that this approach favours studies of those LL that can be clearly assigned to one or the other of the two flows. Whilst governmental signs and shop signs are easily distinguishable, there are many other LL texts that blur the distinction. Graffiti that contests a politico-institutional message is a ‘bottom-up’ text that, nevertheless, is addressing the public and the institution with regard to information that depends on that institution. Many bottom-up texts also ‘sprout from the public’ but include institutional support and references in the form of logos, financing or elements of format.

LL is a phenomenon requiring description that is sensitive to the complexity of processes, actors and environment. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) examine, for instance, how LL texts interact with each other (intersemiotic expansion) and with their context (resemiotisation). The example they give is of a Cadbury’s billboard that can be interpreted in conjunction with the other billboards in the Cadbury’s advertising campaign but also with local practices (such as SMS writing) and use of pan-Africanisms or English that produce complex meanings. These meanings partake of both local and global discourses of aspiration, consumerism and stylisation of the self. This, in turn, questions the viability of postulating collective identities and subjacent communities of language or practice, as is done by principle iv).

Scollon (2001) emphasises that in studying a ‘site of engagement’ (such as that of an artefact of LL) what is important is the multiplicity of linkages between several divergent practices and the dynamics of these linkages. Scollon sees communities of practice as being an objectified, or technologized, understanding that *arises* from a ‘nexus’[11] of practice and emphasises that it is crucial is to:

> […] understand how an internally complex and often contradictory set of practices and mediational means produces situations of complex identity production by social actors who are negotiating equally complex identities across overlapping nexus of practice and communities of practice. (Scollon, 2001, p. 10)

Methodologically and theoretically the change in LL research orientation that is announced by a ‘structuration’ approach has many positive and thought-provoking repercussions that need to be deepened, complexified, rather than abandoned. As

[11] The term ‘nexus’ refers to, “both the point of connection between practices as well as the overall set or pattern of connections […]” (Scollon, 2001, p. 147).

against a focus on quantitative data (LL analysis), a consideration of the nature of public space, power and production processes etc. plunge the gaze of research into subjectivities and competences such as literacy, memory and personal narratives – questioning individuals' articulation within community and that community within society as a whole.

Discursive analysis of LL

The aim of this thesis is to draw out the lived, local space of a neighbourhood as it is reflected in LL. Structuration principles, although providing a theorisation of LL that goes beyond the quantitative, do not sufficiently take into account the interplay between artefacts of LL and their context and the expansions in meaning that result. Nor do they provide a means of accessing the thoughts, feelings, perceptions and beliefs of producers and receivers of LL since analysis is not grounded. In speaking of LL as an autonomous phenomenon[12], research can too easily miss what is said - the fundamental, human, message of a text - in its preoccupation to draw out the conclusions of code choice or structuration.

Stroud and Jegels explicitly move away from a structural, representational, account of linguistic landscapes:

> Because we need to know not just how signage is read, but how it is embodied, enacted, re-narrated and performed, merely representing what there is does not capture what is imagined to be, nor how what there is, is transformed and transmuted and 'read' in alternative ways in situated interactions. (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 6)

They emphasise the importance of bodily practices and negotiation of affect in place making (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 3). Using residents from several zones in the township of Manenberg and a praxeological and transmodal approach to walking, to narration and to enactment of place they show how, "social discourses and processes of place making are both reproduced, organized by, and projected onto aggregates of semiotic artefacts and people's interactions with them" (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 21). They name their approach a material ethnography, and (in Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009, p. 363) LL is presented as being, in this light, "re-semiotized, socially invested distributions of multilingual resources, the material, symbolic and interactional artefacts of a sociolinguistics of mobility."

[12] One may, in this light, reconsider the true import of Ben-Rafael's comments as to the autonomy of LL as social activity (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 44) – i.e. that LL can be studied, in isolation, as a phenomenon in its own right. This echoes Foucault's analysis of the modern *episteme* and the submerging of the human below a solipsistic study of language. Foucault notes that the concept of the person and the human sciences was rendered possible by a fragmentation of classical discourse and by the rise of three new surfaces of study: biology, economy and language (Foucault, 1968, p. 347). In this process language left the realm of representation to become an objective study. Foucault then posits the possibility of a new dispersal of man beneath the preoccupation with language (Foucault, 1968, p. 375).

This problematizes the ways in which we interpret language and textual artefacts as they are 'materially placed in the world' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) and the discourses that, as Stroud and Jegels noted, are 'reproduced, organized by, and projected onto aggregates of semiotic artefacts'. How do people interact with LL? How does the placement of an artefact of LL change or reactualise its meaning? With what habitus or historical body do we come to interpret the very individual meanings that we undoubtedly do have of artefacts of LL? In a geosemiotic approach, these questions again raise the nexus of practice:

> We need to ask of the stop sign the same four questions we would ask of a person: Who has 'uttered' this (that is, is it a legitimate stop sign of the municipal authority)? Who is the viewer (it means one thing for a pedestrian and another for the driver of a car)? What is the social situation (is the sign 'in place' or being installed or worked on)? Is that part of the material world relevant to such a sign (for example, is it a corner of the intersection of roads)? (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p.3)

Geosemiotics is a 'preliminary grammar' of the situatedness of signs in the world (Scollon and Scollon, 2003 : viii) that extracts the key units of analysis from theories of social interaction, multimodal analysis and from theories of ethnography. Interestingly, many of the authors that are referred to in geosemiotics - such as Bourdieu or Goffman - are relied upon in Ben Rafael's work. However, the purpose is not the same. Whereas structuration principles seek to account for linguistic landscapes as a phenomenon that can be explained in its own right, independently, geosemiotics seeks to understand and to analyse how the meaning of signs is 'indexable' i.e. referential to the real world and to real world interactions[13]. The focus is therefore on dynamic linkages between the following four systems of meaning:

- the social actor and his or her habitus,
- the interaction order,
- the visual (and other discursive) semiotics available for appropriation, and
- the place semiotics which necessarily includes all of the regulatory, infrastructural, commercial, and even transgressive discourses positioned in that place. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 198)

I would like to introduce the essential analytical units of these systems and then very briefly consider some expansions that will be necessary given the specific aims of this study.

[13] Many of the insights that stem from geosemiotics concerning orientation in time, the context-dependancy of deixis, and the co-referentiality that is expressed through anaphora and determination are similar to those explored in grammars of enunciation (see for instance Souesme, 2003, that furthers the work of Culioli).

Scollon views habitus as being essentially equivalent to the historical body as this was theorised by Nishida (Scollon, 2001, p. 9) comprising an individual's experience of social actions. As such habitus may be considered to be, "bundles of histories - of language, of discourses, and experiences, of social and political performances." (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 15). The point is that both our actions and interpretations in the world index our habitus and radically change the meaning that a sign (an artefact of LL) will have for us and (in the case of producers) the way in which it is interpreted by others. This, of course, is exactly the point that was made above, in discussing a material ethnography.

Scollon and Scollon do not offer a systematised set of semiotic resources with which to analyse habitus but there is extensive literature on the subject. It should be remembered that 'habitus' as such was simply the rhetorical position in classical oratory (see Barthes, 1985) and Bourdieu's use of the term is well known and extensively commented. Karl Maton (2008) emphasises the fact that habitus is an ongoing relation between a person and the systems in which s/he is plunged. In Bourdieu's studies of Algeria (Bourdieu, 2008) and in the example of the changing relation of villagers to the wheat mill, he sheds light on economic choices and systems. In de Certeau's (1984) account of Bourdieu's work, which commences with his own distinction between 'strategy' and 'tactic' a twofold link between practices is identified: a proper place (a proper, an institution) and a collective principle of administration. This supposes an absence of strategic intention at the level of the subject and thus a gap between practices and structures. Habitus is the mediation between organising structures and dispositions. Put differently it is the interiorisation of structures in a person and the exteriorisation of subjectivities in practices.

The conception of the individual as a social *actor*, as a body in the world, leads on to the second strand of Scollon and Scollon's theory, which is the interaction order. This term designates the ways in which the body and behaviours index real world meanings that are in interaction with the meanings of LL. The theory behind the term, 'interaction order' is Goffmanian in that what is considered is the 'presentation' of self, what is given off by a person, what a person expresses etc. Four resources are identified by Scollon and Scollon that systematise interpretation: the sense of time (urgency, monochronism/polychronism); perceptual spaces (visual, auditory, olfactory, thermal, haptic); interpersonal distances (intimate, personal, social, public) and personal front. Particularly in the sense of time, and interpersonal distance, geosemiotics allows dynamic interpretations of the interactions between people.

Analysis of visual semiotics relies on multimodal discourse analysis (MDA). MDA represents in many respects the application of Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (Constantinou, 2005, O'Halloran, 2011) to texts that combine diverse signifying elements ('modes') such as image, colour, format, size, font or support. For instance the MDA understanding of polarised composition (given – new, ideal – real) draws on Halliday's analysis of tonic prominence in the prosodic realisation of sentence structure. MDA in

many ways continues the Hallidayan emphasis on text as actualisation, "Because it has this potential, a text is not a mere reflection of what lies beyond; it is an active partner in the reality-making and reality-changing process." (Halliday, 1994, p. 339). Kress, too, (Kress, 2010 b) insists on the creativity of meaning making and of the design 'cycle' in the production and interpretation of signs. Meaning is not absolute, within this view, but subject to expansion and resemiosis. On the one hand there is expansion, since the sum of semiotic resources - when combined – is greater than the parts, and on the other, there is resemiosis as the receiver inserts text and discourse into his or her own communication frame, as has been discussed above for habitus.

> In the model of communication sketched here, three concerns are in focus. One is social interaction and interchange around meaning, oriented to the processes of *making* and *remaking* meaning through the making of signs – simple or complex – in *representation*. Sign-makers and their agency as social actors are in the foreground and with them the social environments in which they make signs. The second concern is with *resources for making meaning* – on *modes* and their *affordances*. The third deals with conditions and means for *disseminating* meaning – the media and their facilities. (Kress, 2010 b, p. 34, emphasis in original)

A multimodal approach allows the *creativity* of the local to be examined since it places the emphasis of analysis on the interaction between participants to communication. It also moves analysis out of the dyadic relationship of sender and receiver (see for instance Jakobson, 1960) and reintegrates linguistics within a broader approach that places all modes on an equal footing. What is important for multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is of course the metafunctions of message, exchange and representation but also the material experiential function, since this allows analysis to include the bodily hexis, the material way in which we move within and perceive physical meanings and extend them through metaphor (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 11).

Materiality is highly pertinent to LL, since LL texts use and adapt the space of the street. A walk through the street is also a reading path through the hundreds of LL artefacts that adorn, even constitute, walls, posts and pavements (as will be seen in chapters 5 and 6). MDA sees meaning as being fluid within ensembles of modes that are 'designed' by the persons whose interaction produces communication. In this light linguistic landscapes (or streetscapes) are very definitely semiotic ensembles.

> [complex signs and their discourses] appl[y] to all environments in which we lead our lives – large or small, brief or persistent, permanent or transient. Cities and their streetscapes have such constant, insistent and irresistible effects. Streetscapes constitute both curricula and pedagogies […]. I often try to imagine the kinds of affect, the kinds of life which are projected, and the lives which could or could not be led in the 'scapes' of the different places I encounter. (Kress, 2010 b, p. 168)

A consideration of the materiality and of the framing of meanings also brings multimodal analysis very close to the work of de Certeau (1984, and de Certeau et al, 1994) through the idea that even 'everyday', 'banal', arrangements of colours, textures, objects and materials embody discourses (see also Milani, 2013, for a discussion of the 'excitability' of the banal). The local, the everyday, is the focal point of this research and it is fascinating to see how similar MDA is to the philosophy of the everyday, particularly as concerns practice. Social transformation is perceived in a certain respect as a remaking of signs, a change in their meanings and referential content[14]. This echoes de Certeau's review of technè and of the need for the practices of living, walking, telling stories and cooking to again become arts that are recognised and valued in terms of their sense and significance.

Principal analytic categories in MDA are: represented participants and objects and their narrative or conceptual (symbolic) role within the multimodal text; modality (colour saturation, differentiation, modulation, depth, brightness, etc); composition as either centered (circular, triptych, center-margin) or polarized (given – new, ideal – real). Modality refers to the perceived truth-value of a text where, for instance, colour saturation indicates whether an image should be taken to represent real people, places and things or whether the depiction is fictional, as imagined, fantasist or caricatural (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 161). Composition is linked with salience, reading paths and framing vectors – it allows the viewer to decide what information is thematic, important, marked as 'new' etc.

Multimodal discourse analysis must also refer to the interaction of a particular sign with other signs in place and the discourses that therefore can be considered to circulate within that place. An important part of this aspect of geosemiotic theory (the 'place semiotics') is code choice on signs and the prestige of a code as revealed by its compositional placement (centre–margin, top–bottom, left–right)[15]. Another very important aspect of place semiotics is how signs interact physically and semiotically through layering and other additions. Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 129) refer to this aspect of the semiotics of place as 'inscription'. What comes to the fore at this point is the manner in which font, material qualities (such as permanence or temporality) and changes in state of a sign actualise discourses that are relevant when interpreting another artefact, or sign, of LL. The authors define place semiotics as:

> […] the ways in which the placement of discourse in the material world produces meanings that derive directly from that placement. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 22)

Place, in this respect, continues Goffman's work into 'staging' and may either be 'frontstage' (public) or 'backstage' (private) and the discourses that may circulate in these

[14] See chapter 5 for a discussion of reference.
[15] In this geosemiotics continues much work done in the LL field (see for instance Lou, 2010) and demographic shifts as revealed through code choice or preference.

places are either regulatory, infrastructural, commercial or transgressive (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 167).

The four aspects of geosemiotics as discussed so far, that together constitute a 'nexus' of practice, namely: the social actor and his or her habitus, the interaction order, the visual (and other discursive) semiotics available for appropriation, and place semiotics, form a very powerful means of accessing the meanings of LL. Nevertheless, geosemiotics has not been widely adopted in the field of LL research. This could, perhaps, be for three reasons. Firstly, the ethnographic work that the theory requires is a grounded one that is sensitive to change over time of LL and to the change of state of artefacts in order to fully draw out an interpretation of the discourses they actualise. Secondly, it is a particularising rather than a generalising theory in that each artefact of LL, in order to be fully analysed, requires detailed knowledge of production and reception that it is not always either possible or desirable to reconstitute – as mentioned above under 'structuration' LL has, in a majority of cases, been studied as an isolable visual phenomenon that is perceived as an ensemble of signs. Thirdly, the dataset that is required for a quantitative approach includes 'informal' LL (Scollon and Scollon refer to these as 'transgressive' signs) and would include counts as to placement, font, and reference in addition to counts as to language use. The theory, in fact, represents a major extension of LL research – making it highly adapted for the subject and focus of this thesis which is the articulation of neighbourhood and LL.

LL, from the perspective of geosemiotics and with a focus on the local may be studied either 'centripetally' or 'centrifugally'[16]. If studied centrifugally a particular discourse as actualised in an artefact of LL would be followed through other artefacts, places and institutions to examine the way in which the discourse is realised at all levels of society and of sign production. If studied centripetally, then habitus, interaction order, place and visual semiotics are studied to understand the constitution and organisation of a place. This thesis will adopt a centripetal approach and in many ways can be understood, simply, as the application of geosemiotics to the LL of two neighbourhoods. In exploring both LL and neighbourhood, geosemiotic theory will itself also be explored, and adapted, to the constraints of the study. A first point, for instance, that will need to be theorised in greater depth is the conception of public space and neighbourhood – its place, but *also* its space - and what this implies about social interaction, in particular the liminality of neighbourhood streets. A second point that needs closer theorisation is literacy. This is raised by Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 148) but will need to more closely linked to the realisation of LL artefacts. Finally, a clear methodology will need to be defined in order to investigate the cycles of discourse as these apply to the two neighbourhoods. It is to this task that we now turn.

[16] Scollon and Scollon borrow these terms from Bakhtin.

Chapter 2 – Methodology: habitus, interaction order, semiotics of place and discursive analysis

The methodology that I have adopted in this thesis reflects the foregoing discussion. The dataset for each site comprises interviews with producers and receivers, field notes - concerning inter alia the interaction order - and secondary texts in addition to photographs of the LL. Within the time constraints of Master's research, I have tried to make this study as longitudinal as possible - two years for each site. In essence therefore, this is a mixed-methods approach, but not one that is widely used in the LL field[17]. Differences between my methodology and more usual approaches concern the way in which participants to the research were met and interviewed, through walking, the photographing of absolutely all LL that I could see, while walking, and the two year time frame that allows this research to note and analyse changes of state in LL, but also appearance and disappearance of artefacts over time.

The field trips in the Marché du Soleil site extended from 30 June to 05 July, 2011, and again from 17 to 22 December, 2012, in addition to the four years that I spent in the neighbourhood as a teacher. 354 LL artefacts were photographed and counted for position, language use, format and content on the first field trip. These were completed by 172 photographs of new LL: changes of state, additions, layering, LL that were newly displayed etc. A further 350 artefacts were photographed on the second field trip. I conducted 24 meetings and interviews. The Bosman site was piloted on 07 April 2011, with the same methodology as that used for the Marché du Soleil, whilst a field trip extended from 25 April to 30 April, 2011. 690 artefacts were photographed and counted. This corpus was completed by a further 178 photographs of artefacts that were changed, replaced, added to or newly displayed. I continued visiting the Bosman site on a regular basis throughout 2011 and 2012, conducting 23 meetings and interviews, and photographing another 48 LL[18]. Additionally, from September to November, 2011, I had the opportunity of participating in the activity of a signage shop in Bloed Mall in Pretoria - a very similar neighbourhood to Bosman - and conducting much longer, recorded, interviews with the members of the family that ran it.

The four cycles of discourse that form the substance of this thesis each have their own methodological slants. Analysis of the habitus of producers and receivers necessitates ethnographic research in combination with secondary texts (articles, historic, demographic, religious and socio-economic information). The Interaction order is best captured through participant observation of the neighbourhood, its inhabitants, passers-through and its physical contours. Place semiotics will in this thesis be examined through photographs and field notes in addition to secondary texts (legal framework as concerns

[17] See appendix 1.1 for ethics application.
[18] LL artefacts referred to in interviews are given in appendices 2 and 3.

display of LL, etc.) and qualitative and quantitative analysis of the characteristics and positioning of LL artefacts. Discursive, visual, analysis will draw principally on a multimodal analytic perspective.

In this research, the person of the researcher – *my* person, the 'I', the voice of this thesis – is both a participant in the research site[19] and yet also responsible for the choice of site, the photographing of texts, the interviewing of participants and the analysis of LL. This voice, my voice, my historical body, is subjacent to my presentation of the discourses and historicity of the research sites, the understandings and opinions of the people who live and pass through those sites but also in analysing the texts of the LL that are produced and received at those sites. This is a point that is clearly made by Milani (2013) and which will be addressed immediately below. This chapter on methodology therefore presents four key sections: the historical body of the researcher, a discussion of ethnography as methodology to understand habitus as a cycle of discourse, a consideration of participant observation and the interaction order, and finally a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative approach that has been adopted for semiotics of place and discursive analysis.

My historical body

Milani's point is simple. Research into LL, as with any other field of research, reflects the 'historical body' of the researcher:

> The 'historical body' is a concept which aims to encapsulate the deeply personal and ideological trajectories of academics' lives — paths which forge the ways in which we choose certain theories (and not others), ask certain questions (and not others), and interpret the world by foregrounding some aspects whilst backgrounding others. (Milani, 2013, p. 2)

Milani uses this argument to address LL research's tendency to ignore the ''gendered and sexualised nature of public space'' (Milani, 2013, p. 2). Other research tackles similar questions of the person of the researcher from different perspectives. Kira Erwin (2011) for instance, places the personal trajectory, life and convictions of the researcher at the forefront of her work since she feels it is only by so doing that considerations of race and belonging can enter academic institutions and inform their discourses. This thesis seeks to value the local, and will be using LL as one means of discursively analysing neighbourhood space. That is what I seek to achieve. My voice is less strongly forefronted that in Milani or Erwin's work, yet the orientation I give to my research is as tightly bound to my 'historical body' as that of any other.

In a life marked by travel and displacement, the neighbourhood is for me, first and foremost, a space of temporary belonging. I grew up in a small town in the Midlands,

[19] See Junker (2004) for a discussion of participant observation and Bourdieu (2003) for a consideration of how the researcher into sociology must view his/her own person and affect.

England, where – in the seventies – shops still sold hand-cured rashers of bacon, where there was a policeman to help people across the road, and where there was that familiarity with houses and inhabitants that marks the neighbourhood. That phase of my life dissolved when – prompted by divorce – my parents returned to the South Africa of the late eighties. The anomie of life there which was marked by exclusion and lack of shared public space created great unhappiness in me, as did the ideological reach of Apartheid and its influence on school and university curricula. At university, the sight of the vast inequalities in the South African landscape opened me to the teachings of Prof. Frost on cosmopolitanism and instilled in me the hope that across boundaries of nation and of race, a better life was possible. It all sounds so idealistic now, yet when I worked as a voluntary teacher in Dar es Salaam, the relative peace and social cohesion of Tabata – that part of the city where I stayed and taught – meant more to me than the harsh living conditions or the absence of infrastructure.

I did not manage to stay in East Africa. I returned to England to study to be a teacher, and then continued my working experience in Paris and in Barcelona. In each of these places a specific neighbourhood reached out to me, seeming to offer the richness of life, a depth of flavour that I found irresistible. In Paris, the Aligre quarter holds a market that is probably the busiest I have ever seen. Even the markets of Cairo and Amman do not offer even remotely as tight, a brimming-over, bounty of ripe fruit, spices, hats, umbrellas and Moroccan faience as Aligre. The flat I found there looked over the Lyon railway station and the Coulée Verte, a metro line converted into a park, which cut a swathe into the centre of town. In Barcelona, I lived in Gracia, an old worker´s quarter where in the tiny squares and shadowy confines of the heavy Catalan architecture, people talked, ate tapas, and got together in associations to change the world of a Spain doped up on European grants, liberalism and a post-Franco regionalism. Barcelona gave me the first feeling of what it meant to be *in the world*. Walking down the Via Laietana with millions of other protestors against the war in Iraq prepared me for the reach of emotion that I would experience when I obtained my CAPES[20] and could work in France as a government employee in the poorest neighbourhood of its poorest city – Marseille.

I was thirty-two when I was posted to the Belle de Mai – the larger neighbourhood which contextualises the Marché du Soleil research site. Incredible poverty, drug-abuse, cheap ghetto housing, informed the pervading lack of hope expressed by the children I taught. The four years I worked in that school made me realise how true my ideals had been, and at the same time grounded them in the life of a neighbourhood that I also loved for its Roma influences, the loud-mouthed carelessness of its people and its shards of exuberant joy, that scattered through the squares during any kind of a public happening: theatre, a concert, the end of Ramadan. What made teaching possible in my school – where boys got their teeth knocked out and girls were aggressed sexually in a dark corner when a supervisor was absent – was the community that lived and breathed in the space of the

[20] The CAPES is the examination to become a teacher in France. It is run on a competitive basis with several thousands of applicants for only a few hundred places.

neighbourhood. Several associations were active but one especially worked between Durban, South Africa, and the social structures of the Belle de Mai. The 'Pas Perdus' association organised places of artistic expression for the children and informed social action with a coherent discourse on the place of art in fostering creativity and alleviating the effects of poverty. This echoed the discourse of the residents themselves, who all wished that their children didn't have to turn out that way. I have heard that the town council is busy revoking the lease on the Pas Perdus' locale – fairly typical for a city overrun by mafia and concerned with the big business of urban renewal[21].

That this research should deal with a neighbourhood in Marseille is therefore very closely bound to my professional experience and to my understanding of what it means to teach. I would like this thesis to have an impact, to be read by the people with whom I have worked in Marseille, and to be a tool for reconception of neighbourhood space. That it should be a comparative work, spanning across Africa to reach a neighbourhood in Pretoria is also bound up with my personal, professional and intellectual trajectory. This is because I have always felt bound to South Africa. I felt like a traitor when I left East Africa to move to Europe. I was convinced that the struggles of South Africa were emblematic of their era, as those of Chile under Pinochet or that of Spain under Franco. That my work would be relevant to South Africa was not in doubt. That it should be relevant to Pretoria is harder to explain.

Much has been written about the South Africa of the second millennium. In terms of language policy, in particular, I have felt very relevant – as teacher – to the struggle that this country is going through in terms of a modernity that presents itself in English, but which tries to hold on to its sense of identity. This identity is largely manifested through African languages and a valorisation of 'Africanness'. The situation on the ground, in schools, is very different to the image one could get through policy documentation however. My first post back in South Africa was in Pretoria, in the Bosman neighbourhood that has been chosen for this research. I saw my students struggling with English but forced by pragmatic factors such as later university entry to choose it as their 'home language' despite the difficulties this implied (see Kelleher, 2012, for a discussion of this aspect of education). I also saw a neighbourhood whose LL was almost entirely in English. The language however, seemed to fit in well with the vibrancy of a town centre as I could never have imagined it. Throughout my first year in this neighbourhood, I met newspaper sellers, waitresses, DVD touters and listened to Maskandi[22] and Jazz as it exploded from the speakers of the informal entrepreneurs who were part of the social fabric of the block on which my school was situated.

[21] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CEg1jMeTIjQ&feature=player_embedded for a documentary that reveals much about Marseille's 2013 European Capital of Culture and the people whom are reached by its proposal for urban reform.

[22] Maskandi is a form of acoustic, predominantly isiZulu, poetry that is accompanied on a steel string guitar.

Certainly, a South African neighbourhood is not like a European one. The wide roads, the low-rise architecture, the dust, the heat and the sharp shadow lines of arcades under which the people walk do not evoke the sense of community that is immediately obvious at a square in the Belle de Mai for example. However, on my first pilot study of Bosman I was accompanied by a student who seemed to say hello to everyone. I myself too had already formed fairly close bonds with many of the participants who are interviewed in this research. Neighbourhood – despite years of Apartheid social engineering – did exist, and not just in the plots marked out in Mamelodi or Ga Rankuwa. Conclusions such as these are reached by Erwin in her study of Albert Park, Durban (Erwin, 2011) and made me want to investigate Bosman from a similar angle – its discursive creation through the words and understandings of its inhabitants and passers-through. Bosman is perhaps also an improbable neighbourhood, much like the Marché du Soleil. I say improbable because so much is always written about 'world' cities (see Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004) such as Johannesburg, or about places that are marked for one reason or another – as being sites of conflict, or icons of regional identity. The fact that Marseille had been ignored for so long was mirrored in the quiet streets of Bosman, where nothing ever really seemed to happen, and where my conversations were with people beached on the tide of lives gone subtly astray.

The similarities of the two neighbourhoods, despite their differences of language and continent are what made this research so passionate and so worthwhile. If quantitatively and qualitatively the LL of the two sites gave rise to similar findings, points of comparison, similar insights into space and place, then this would give significant evidence of the pertinence of the approach. I also loved Bosman as I had loved the Marché du Soleil. I loved walking through its streets, discovering its back alleys and hidden shops, loading bays, bars and secret struggles. Having a sack of pirate CD's thrust into my hands as the police came by, being told, ''Look after this for me!'' brought me face to face, for instance, with the daily fight for survival of many of the immigrants who look so impassively out at the world from behind a cardboard box or from underneath a ragged green tarpaulin.

In my arrivals and departures, then, neighbourhood perfectly represented the affective middle space where one can feel familiar, but not constrained, involved in the social fabric of a place, but in a general, non-particularising, way. This is exactly the conception of neighbourhood that is discussed by Oppenchaim (2010) or by Mayol (in de Certeau et al, 1994). The neighbourhoods chosen as sites have a strong affective tie with my role as educator, and in addition they represent fascinating examples of places where discursive research into LL can have a real, valuable, outcome both for myself – *as educator* – and for the neighbourhoods themselves. They are touching places, outside of the usual centres of academic preoccupation and filled with people who have life stories that are equally out-of-place. I think particularly of 'John' who left Nigeria with his brother to set up shop in Paul Kruger Street, in Pretoria. He speaks three languages, has a wealth of personal experience that spans Africa but has absolutely no historical link with Pretoria,

nor with Bosman, and yet thinks of the neighbourhood as his home, knows everyone, can organise the friendly customer (myself) with anything from a car to a house.

The strength of these ordinary places, and the lives lived there that are in some way extraordinary, brings this discussion round to the major theoretical and methodological stance of this thesis, and one that is a fundamental part of my historical body. Having known for some time that the aim would be to let the words of the people who live in the research sites ring with a new, calmer, more poetic light, I felt a sense of illumination when I read *The Practice of Everyday Life*[23]. The work seeks an epistemological foundation that gives both places and people's lives within those places a rhetorical, discursive function. In reading the work one is reminded of Paulo Freire (1972, 1985) and indeed de Certeau did a great deal of the ethnographic work for his volume in South America.

The idea that popular culture, ordinary language, constitutes a reserve for both research and theorisation is linked, in de Certeau's work, to a study of the history of artisanal production, and what is lost (and gained) in the process of industrialisation. The insight relevant for this research is that even in a world of manufactured items (huge billboards for instance, in the case of LL) people continue to be creative in their consumption, and subversion, of these commercial productions. A beautiful analysis concerns walking, where the space of human geography is compared both to narrative and to discourse through the work of Augoyard (see Augoyard, Sevin and Voilmy, 2009) on the tropes of synecdoche and asyndeton[24]. The substitution and logic that is inherent in such tropes is compared to the choice of route and to the actualisation of the city as text. In much the same way as speech actualises language, walking actualises the possibilities of the lived environment. The rhetorical turn emphasises that walking often deviates from the 'literal' meaning of the city through shortcuts, meanders and the private introspection of the walker.

These two themes: creative practice, and walking as actualisation of the city, are the insights that, more than any other, inform this thesis. They are overlaid by various other approaches. Walking, for instance, in the context of LL research, is more directly indebted to Muth (2013) than to de Certeau. Ethnographic approaches and the interviews carried out with participants in this thesis owe more to Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez (2001) or to Stroud and Jegels (2013) than to Augoyard; yet as part of my 'historical body' de Certeau is very relevant to the contextualisation of LL within the local, and to a valorisation of the local within the context of this research.

[23] The first volume of this work by de Certeau (1984) is translated into English by Steven Rendall. The second volume is not translated into English. It contains contributions by de Certeau, Pierre Mayol and Luce Giard (de Certeau et al, 1994) and seeks to extend the philosophical framework established in the first volume to all the aspects involved in our daily living.

[24] A key concern of classical rhetoric is style. Tropes involve substitution and displacement of signifiers in a text. A well-known trope such as metaphor consists in the interchange of attributes. Synecdoche reposes on substitution of a part for a whole. Asyndeton is the name given to the absence of logical connectors between propositions (see Bergez, Géraud and Robrieux, 2008).

Ethnography: habitus

Geosemiotics formulates explicitly what several studies suppose implicitly, namely the necessity of a grounded approach to LL. Curtin and Trumper-Hecht for instance, both include ethnography within their methodology. Curtin (2009) studies the intermingling of Chinese and other alphabets in the LL of Taipei. Her 'emic' approach consists of ten months of interviews with local people of varying backgrounds in order to reach conclusions as to social identity. Trumper-Hecht (2009) investigates LL and the transmission of national identity in Israel. She uses ethnographic techniques to solicit the discourses and practices of political activists and their interpretation of the LL. What emerges from these studies is that what is sought is not the reconstitution of the habitus of each of the countless individuals that would be concerned by the study of a place, but rather an understanding of the broader relations of actor to environment and the discourses of people and place that in turn influence the meaning and interpretation of LL. Pietikainen et al (2011) make this very clear. Through a 'nexus' approach, they investigate the LL of seven villages in the Arctic Circle. Their conclusions show that LL actualise 'nested' discourses that contain elements of present constraints (a synchronic structure) but also traces of past processes and future orientations (a historical or diachronic interpretation).

In many ways, what is at issue is a reinterpretation of ethnography in the new field that is constituted by LL research. Ethnography is a broad term, but essentially constitutes the close study of a group of people through long observation by the researcher in order to obtain, "organised knowledge of social reality." (Shutz, 2004, p. 213). Some initial ethnographic studies were ground-breaking in the detail that they brought to light and in their theorisation of social forces. Foote Whyte's study of 'corner boys' - young unemployed Italian immigrants who played an equivocal role in their neighbourhood (Foote Whyte, 1969 and 2004 a, and Foote Whyte, Richardson and Denzin, 2004 b) - for instance, is well-known for its theory of the effects of social prestige and its vision of neighbourhood space as containing overlapping networks of loyalty and belonging.

The work of Bourdieu in Algeria is also important for its theorisation of actor to field. The ethnographies of his *Algerian Sketches*[25]look at the structures and orientation of the home, the change in economic relations between households and the giving and taking of charity as Algeria moved from pre- to post-colonialisation. The studies of the Chicago school often similarly concern the insertion of actors in changing social contexts. Frederick Thrasher, for instance, in his study of gangs in New York (Thrasher in Tonnelat, 2003, p. 64) proposes a theory of gang operation that relies on a centre/periphery model where gangs take advantage of a lack of social control that is – paradoxically – prevalent in city centres. According to Thrasher's analysis the members would behave very differently in the tightly controlled social spaces of the neighbourhood.

[25] *Esquisses Algériennes* (Bourdieu, 2008)

These studies raise the question of how ethnography can be applied to linguistic research. A first response is given by the ethnographies of communication of researchers such as Brice Heath (1983). Methodologically her study uses both quantitative and qualitative techniques. On the one hand there are many correlated numerical tables of the nature and frequency of playground stories, evaluations as to cognitive ability and situations of use of specific speech events and turn taking. On the other hand however, the contextualisation of this study through participant observation is profound and thought-provoking. Brice Heath paints the lives and interests of the communities of South Carolina that she studies with rare sensitivity and forefronts a qualitative methodology of field notes, researcher participation in events such as church services, and formal, recorded, interviews.

Mbodj-Pouy and Van den Avenne (2008) give another example of ethnography that is applied specifically to LL. Their focus is on the 'everyday' writings that give sense to social realities such as city. They use commented (recorded) walking with participants, researcher observation and interviews (see de Klerk and Wiley, 2010, and Todd Garvin, 2010, for a similar methodology). Their conclusions show how, in the street signs of Mopti, Mali, World Bank directives (a discourse of globalisation) filter through to local government and municipality level, ignoring how local people note addresses and understand them. Ethnography brings out both language practice and place. It is the implicit lack of esteem and relative powerlessness of the local practices that allow for them to be challenged and supplanted by the structural constraints of World Bank directives.

The methodology of this thesis follows works such as this. I wished, through field notes and interviews with producers and consumers of LL, and with people working and passing through the neighbourhood, to gain a personal contact and to understand both the social reality of the research sites as well as structural constraints. By habitus therefore, what I have sought to capture is the religious, cultural, educational and economic field of the sites, and people's views of this, their discourses. It is a slight reinterpretation of the term as understood by Scollon and Scollon, but it does emphasise the intersecting trajectories of people, practices and discourses that is the essence of a nexus approach. In this I follow the conception of ethnography that is proposed by Heller for whom:

> […] ethnography is most focused on what happens, hence the notion many people have that it is primarily about description. As a first step that is certainly true: the first ethnographic commitment is to discover what is going on (without assuming beforehand that we know). But it is important not to stop there; the second key dimension of data collection has to do with what will help us explain why things happen the way they do, in the circumstances in which they occur. (Heller, 2011, p. 42)

I did also feel, though, that a more detailed understanding of the habitus of individuals – as opposed to solely an understanding of field and of site – was necessary. The fact that I

was working in the Bosman site and in regular contact with this neighbourhood led to identification of a shop in Bloed Mall, Pretoria, that specialised in the production of many of the kinds of texts that I had photographed. Informal interviews and visits took place throughout the months of September to November, 2011, and these led to recorded, interviews. Although I initially adopted an interview schedule (see Kelleher, 2012, and appendix 1.2) it often seemed that what was said – in a relatively informal way - between participants during research visits was more valuable as concerned an approach both to choices informing LL and to the dynamics of the neighbourhood[26]. This explains why an approach to ethnography taken from educational research – a funds of knowledge approach (see Moll et al, 2001) was applied in researching the shop.

A 'funds of knowledge' approach focuses on 'fields of skill' (such as printing, laminating, photocopying, ICT work on desktop publishing) and those observable practices that take their shape in and around the household; involving 'multi-stranded' relationships of learning and practice. The study of a family of producers of texts which was in fact an extended household, therefore looked at the attitudes and inferences of the participants, the nature of the home environment, the household and the nature of the multi-stranded relations that obtained between members. A funds of knowledge approach also places emphasis on 'borderlands' areas where different nationalities, familial structures and norms rub up against each other (see Mermann-Jozwiak and Sullivan, 2005).

In this thesis I have therefore sought the dynamic and intersecting, human, lived, experience that in its complexity, ambivalence and quintessential irreducibility chases away the flattening of statistics and other quantitative data. This current is well exemplified in ethnographies such as Kira Erwin's study of race and belonging in Albert Park Durban (Erwin, 2011) but also Wardrop (2006) that studies informal food spazas. Both of these studies' primary objective is to go behind the scenes and to reveal the private understandings that enable the public manifestation.

Ethnography: interaction order

Scollon and Scollon's aim in referring to the interaction order is:

> […] what is indexable – what language can point to – in the embodiment of language. To put this another way, our first purpose is to return to the classic nonverbal research to see that indexicality in language must necessarily make reference to such semiotic systems. Then we will move on […]to examine how these somatic systems are at the root of much of the visual semiotics of image and graphic design. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 48)

[26] See Pennycook (2009, p. 305) for a similar discussion with respect to the aspects of a situation of production that merit attention.

By the non-verbal, the somatic, the authors refer (as noted in the previous chapter) to: a) the sense of time; b) perceptual space - the visual, tactile, thermal and auditory distinctions that identify, for instance, the public or the personal; c) interpersonal distance – intimate, personal, social and public - that indicates whether producers and receivers are to be understood singly or as a 'withs'[27]; and d) the personal front – the impression that one gives of oneself, the "active dialectic between psychological selves and the material worlds of our lives" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 55). From an LL perspective these distinctions can be rephrased as two questions: What meanings are present in the production of LL? What meanings are relevant to interpretation?

Production of LL could, for instance, contain images that indicate intimacy, a sense of urgency, etc. These somatic meanings would be present in the LL and would be interpreted according to cultural affordances and constraints. On the other hand, verbal markers in an artefact of LL such as operators of deixis, refer to people, objects and events in the real world, and their interpretation is dependent on the perceptual and personal space from which individuals view or read the artefact of LL:

> Discourses in place take their meaning in no small part from the physical copresence of others in that same place. The embodied actions of any social actor are produced not only out of internal and personal motivations and meanings, but also in reference to and in conjunction with the actions of others within that same space. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 59)

The issue here, of course, is how these meanings can be accessed by the researcher. Participant observation – the involvement of the researcher in the personal and perceptual space of producers and receivers of LL – is necessary, but how is this to be done? Walking, as noted by Stroud and Jegels is suited to a praxeological approach, that views, "place as a socially accomplished and embodied *practice*" (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 6) since walking is also an "an active mode of perceiving the urban environment assisted by all the senses (multisensorial) (aural, olfactorial, visual, touch)" (Lee, 2004, cited in Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 7). Walking is thus suited to an exploration of many elements of the interaction order as given by Scollon and Scollon. It is also an 'everyday' practice (de Certeau, 1984, and de Certeau et al, 1994). Through walking, I can participate in the research site and meet the people that reside, work and move through the site, like myself – on foot.

Trumper-Hecht (2010) deepens what walking signifies. She views walking as a method of accessing the 'lived' space of the city. This is to use the space which for Lefebvre is the, "'space' of 'inhabitants'. It is the space that is experienced by the people who live their

[27] Goffman in earlier work subsumed social activity to team work, whether that team be composed of several people or 'single member'. Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to later work (Goffman, 1983) and differentiate between 'singles' and 'withs' to capture instead isolated individuals (singles) and people that may be said to be together as a team (withs).

everyday life in it and who experience that space through symbols and metaphors that appear in its landscape." (Trumper-Hecht, 2010, p. 237).

Walking, in studies such as that by Muth (2013, p. 9) that includes, "informal and transient signs such as placards, notes, graffiti and other transgressive signs." is a manner of slowly discovering and situating these informal LL. The choice of walking is justified in that it allows exhaustivity, time and the occasion to study the surrounding context of the LL; these being aspects that are important in a discursive interpretation. It is this advantage of walking, its slow move through both time and space, that prompts Todd Garvin to adopt it as a method of actualising and investigating the, "dynamic processes of interaction and the co-construction of knowledge mediated and stimulated by the LL." (Todd-Garvin, 2010, p. 255). Through walking the participants to the study interact with the LL and it is this interaction that reveals how the LL, "reflects the complex patterns of communicative life in an urban space and indexes language practices, ethnic cultures, values and the history of a community." (Todd-Garvin, 2010, p. 254).

Of course, on a very physical level, walking allows the researcher and the participant to move from one token of LL to the next, but in the Todd-Garvin study, walking, above all, is the possibility to construct that, "safe space sought for in postmodern interviewing," in that it is the act of walking together that reduces space between the interviewer and interviewee, creates confidence, and opens up their interview to rich meanings that were made possible by, "social interaction in concert with the material, multimodal text [viz the LL]" (Todd-Garvin, 2010, p. 266). Mbodj-Pouye and Van den Avenne (2008) adopt a similar perspective. The walking that takes place in the context of their study allows inhabitants of the city time to talk about the signs that concern them whilst at the same time taking the researchers through their pedestrian 'map' of the city. It also allows municipal officials to walk with the researchers and therefore to offset policy against the practical realities on the ground.

Stroud and Jegels (2013) invite walkers to accompany the researcher and to record their reactions to the LL on the walking route chosen. Again, the walking route itself is as important as the recorded reactions because here walking has the function of revealing habits, familiarities, areas of danger … briefly put, the lived space of the city.

> Walking [is] an epistemological and methodological tool, and the procedure of narrated walking in particular, allows the ethnographer-linguist to monitor the enactment of discourses of place as they evolve over time and across landscapes through the perspectives and affectual stances of narrating walkers. (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 7)

Walking - as an act and as an art – actualises the city. By looking at how people walk, the soundscapes that they record as they walk and inhabit the neighbourhood, what walking signifies for the walker, Augoyard (Augoyard et al, 2009) created an approach to neighbourhood that opposes the institutional discourses of urbanism with the local, the

personal and the lived. It was the modality by which interviewees recounted their walking that was important:

> "I don't ask you anything; I come back in 15 days, in 15 days you tell me where you have walked. What interests me above all, is how you walk. What is the city like for you? These simple questions turned the whole methodology around, because some interviewees had made a written journal, others told me everything in detail, each had his or her own techniques."[28] (Augoyard et al, 2009)

Mayol (Mayol in de Certeau et al, 1994) is pertinent to a consideration of walking in this light. The context of his study is the Croix Rousse neighbourhood in Lyon, the disappearance of the silk-weaving industry and the resulting urban transformation. The city of Lyon responded to the changing economic and demographic situation by moving towards denser housing and more modern transport networks. His study is linked to two emblematic streets and the relationships between people as they walk and meet in places such as the neighbourhood fountain, or talk in the local bar. Mayol directly relates the walking path of his participants to tropes such as metonymy or litote and studies the meaning of people's interaction from the perspective of discourse analysis. The framework for his research is the philosophy of the everyday. This philosophy (see de Certeau, 1984) as discussed above, endows normal everyday practices with a creative, artistic potential and thereby gives significance and relevance to the 'ordinary' things that people do. Walking – as a practice – is conceived of as opening up an enunciative space.

> Unrecognised producers, poets of their own affairs, trailblazers in the jungles of functionalist rationality, consumers produce something resembling the 'lignes d'erre' described by Deligny. They trace 'indeterminate trajectories' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 35)

Walking therefore:

> […] has a triple 'enunciative' function: it is a process of appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and it implies relations among differentiated positions, that is, among pragmatic 'contracts' in the form of movements (just as verbal enunciation is an 'allocution', 'posits another opposite', the speaker […] puts contracts between interlocutors into action). (de Certeau, 1984, p. 98)

[28] « *Je ne vous demande rien, je reviens dans 15 jours, dans 15 jours vous me direz où vous avez marché. Ce qui m'intéresse surtout, c'est comment vous marchez. Comment est la ville pour vous ? ». Ces questions simples inversaient toute la méthode, parce que certains enquêtés m'ont fait un journal écrit, d'autres me racontaient en détail, chacun avait un peu ses techniques."*

Walking has been used for data collection, not only because it is a practical way of photographing LL (see Muth, 2013) but above all because it provides a means of actualising a neighbourhood. I wanted a research method that would take account of the fact that linguistic landscapes change over time and are altered (the sense of time). Through walking and through pauses in those walking routes to view, observe, talk and participate, I could begin to see how the sites acquired their distinctive characteristics as to people, places, objects and LL. For this thesis I repeatedly walked the key streets of each neighbourhood and noted changes to the LL over time – such as alteration, tagging, change of posters and shop fronts, the appearance of new notices etc.

But what then of research frame? Interaction does not exist in a vacuum; it is circumscribed by *place* and *space* – either social or geographic. The neighbourhood, as frame for this research, introduces the theme of the next section of this chapter which will investigate a discursive and semiotic understanding of LL. Neighbourhood crystallises both an interactional and a discursive space in which ordinary people may take their marks, frame their daily interactions. This is what is noted by Mayol (in de Certeau et al, 1994) but also by Garces (2006). For Garces, it is around the construction of familiar spaces and practices within semi-formal meeting points such as shops that acculturation, through sharing of cultural and socio-economic resources, operates. Secondly, neighbourhoods have a mnemonic function, since their physical outline – their convexities, concavities, buildings, hollows, fullnesses and interstices literally frame and recall the events that occur within them. Their proper names serve as markers, tags, prompts for narratives about the city (see Massey, 1995, Tonnelat, 2003, and de Certeau in de Certeau et al, 1994). Thirdly, the possibility of neighbourhood space is in itself a marker of the accessibility and existence of the 'public'. This is a point made inter alia by Tonnelat (2008) i.e. that the private / public distinction implies an understanding of one's role and expectations in a given space and a capacity to interact with a heterogeneous and wide-ranging diversity of notices, behaviours, written and unwritten prescriptions etc.

Neighbourhood as frame for research into LL is therefore characterisable in three ways: a) circulation of discourses, b) the public and the private, and c) a mnemonic function. This prompts clarification of the terms 'place' and 'space' that will be used in this thesis. These terms are best understood as being mutually embedded. In the first instance 'place' corresponds to a location, a building or a part of the city and in many ways can be thought of as a two-dimensional point on which people situate both themselves and others[29]. Place, from this standpoint, is therefore embedded in 'space' since it is the latter term that refers to the fuller material envelope of the city, to its volume and its height – to a three-dimensional conception. This use of the term 'space' is also relevant when talking of discourse. Discourses are felt to traverse place, and to give place a dynamic,

[29] Human orientation can be considered to take place on a 'two-dimensional' plane. Labov (in de Certeau, 1984, pp. 115 - 130) notes that in talking of what are in fact three-dimensional spaces, people adopt a two-dimensional 'flow'. Indications such as 'left', 'right' and 'straight on' are indicative of this.

fluid, characteristic which is best rendered by the term 'space'. However, this second conception of space is embedded in 'place' because the discourses that traverse a space are anchored in affect, memory and social organisation to which the term 'sense of place' is most applicable.

This double articulation of space and place is captured by Jaworski and Thurlow:

> One of the central interests in this re-theorising of space is the notion of the social construction of place and people's 'sense of place'. In these terms, space is not regarded as something purely physical or neatly bounded. Rather, it is a 'multiplicity'. As people and cultures are located in space, it is particularly the idea of 'home' (understood as points of origin and belonging) that is inevitably bound up with specific geographical locations which we come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discoursal construal. We create our identities in part through the process of geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others, however subtly and fleetingly, for example, as strangers in a large city. (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009, p. 6)

The neighbourhood is firstly a 'place'. It is a place that is familiar to its participants and with which their lives are bound. As a 'space' however, neighbourhoods have clear geographical markers (parks, avenues, railway lines etc) and character due to the disposition of shops, houses and services in addition to resources and economic activity[30]. They are a middle term between the public and the private, a place imbibed with the affective ties, claims, discriminations and constructions of the people that live and pass through their spaces. This in fact is fundamental for a study of LL – or at least a study that includes informal texts such as personal notices, tagging, subversion etc. An effort to reconstitute the discursive cycles of the LL would be pointless were it not for the capacity of LL to capture both the public discourses operating within the space of the research site, but also texts that hint at the private discourses of the people living in, and with affective ties to, that place. Discursively then neighbourhoods are both places that encapsulate the subjectivities of their inhabitants and passers-through, but also spaces within which wider discourses circulate. As against 'global' discourses of commercial production and consumption, the neighbourhood is to be associated with the 'local'. It is in its ability to open up this study to discourses that are not just from 'place' but also from without and within - that traverse 'space' – that neighbourhood is so relevant and central to this thesis.

The methodology that I adopted for researcher observations, notes, interviews with people and collection of LL corpora reflects the above discussion. I sought what are in

[30] See Tonnelat (2003 and 2008), de Certeau et al (1994), Harvey (2008), Nuttall and Mbembe (Eds.) (2008), Bourdieu (1989), Bélanger (2005), and Bennett (2005).

effect modified random samples within the frame of the neighbourhood. Through repeated walking of the neighbourhoods in question, I could perceive and respond to their changing rhythms and conjunctures. Streets in both sites were first mapped in terms of premises names. These streets were then revisited several times and as many texts as were observable to the researcher as the 'passer-by' were photographed. While walking I met and interviewed other pedestrians, shop keepers and informal vendors. A wide scale sampling of LL within the reduced frame of two comparative street sites has the advantage of providing a corpus that may be analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of both formal and informal LL, and that may be read against both researcher and participant observations of the interaction order and habitus of the neighbourhoods in question. The maps of the walking routes that I adopted are given in figures 6 and 10.

Categories for quantitative and qualitative analysis: place semiotics

The methodology of this section represents what is perhaps the most significant departure from the framework for investigation that is proposed by Scollon and Scollon. This is, firstly, because the methodology as discussed in the previous two sections renders certain distinctions unnecessary. The choice to adopt walking, for example, means that all the LL artefacts photographed are 'front stage'[31]. Secondly, some distinctions as between the regulatory and the commercial, to again take just an obvious example, are not fine enough for the LL of the two neighbourhoods. It would be counterproductive to subsume the LL of shopfronts and those of an informal vendor with their huge differences in literacy, realisation and socio-economic weight under one single category of 'commercial' LL. I would therefore like to look at Scollon and Scollon's arguments regarding place semiotics more closely and see what can be retained and what needs to be adapted to the twin foci of this study – LL and neighbourhood.

As a first step, the aim of place semiotics as a cycle of discourse must be clearly understood. What is sought, is to examine regularities within a dataset of LL and thereafter deduce what LL say (or index) about the place in which they are displayed. The first indexation discussed is that of code choice. This is, in many respects, a return to LL analysis *per se* as that was discussed in the previous chapter. Monolingual, or multilingual, LL it is argued, index code preference and thereby a putative speech community. Whilst I have already discussed the advantages and disadvantages of this methodology it is important to note the grounded, ethnographic approach that Scollon and Scollon adopt. They also retain the understanding that language use may be either metaphoric or situational; accepting that, "LL can either index the community within 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." (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 119). I will be retaining code preference as a category for analysis but will refer it to an understanding of formal and informal texts as this will be explained below.

[31] In the Goffmanian analysis that has been used by Geosemiotics, 'front stage' refers to those aspects of social performance that are visible publicly, whilst 'back stage' refers to those that are not.

The second indexation discussed is 'inscription', which is, "all of the meaning systems that are based on the physical materiality of language (but also other code systems) in the world." (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 129). Essentially LL are interpreted in light of their media (their realisation), their temporality, and modes such as font, colour etc. This is a highly productive area of analysis since so much can be deduced about producer, literacy, socio-economics and culture from a multimodal analysis of LL. The extension of LL research to include these elements is a principal reason in adopting a geosemiotic framework for this research and the dataset of LL will be analysed using these distinctions. What changes however is, again, the principal categories under which these features will be discussed.

This is because a geosemiotic approach maintains its emphasis on place seen as the intersection of meaning systems and in this diverges from the aim of this research that is also to explore the lived, affective and discursive space of neighbourhood. Therefore whereas subsequent distinctions such as those pertaining to reference of an artefact of LL (exophoric, situated, decontextualized and transgressive) or those concerning front (frontstage or public - display, passage, special use, private – and backstage) are relevant, they do still need to be inserted within a categorisation that takes account of actor and proprietary interests.

Briefly put, I would like to reorient geosemiotic analysis to considerations of power and to see the space of the street as politicised, revelatory of both social reproduction and contestation. In adopting a view of LL that considers power, I am in fact returning to the work of Kress (2010 b) who notes that the processes of design, interpretation and re-design are a function of power and the position in the world of the producer and receiver of a sign or a text. This represents an extension of many of the 'critical' insights in the field of linguistics[32] and will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter. Here what is necessary is to decide on categories that whilst allowing analysis to engage with the discourses that Scollon and Scollon identify (regulatory, infrastructural, commercial and transgressive) will allow their extension to the other considerations as outlined in the previous sections such as literacy, memory, the global and the local, in addition to other discourses such as health, virility, aspiration. An important insight, in terms of power, is the liminal space between and within institutional settings (see Rampton, 1995) and this will also be examined more closely in the final chapter.

At base, Ben-Rafael's (2009) distinction between the top-down and the bottom-up is intimately tied to power and to the capacity of certain producers of texts to represent, enact or subvert governmental, institutional and legal constraints. Muth (2013) provides a very similar distinction between 'formal' and 'informal' as does Dowling (2010) between the 'institutional' and the 'informal'. However this distinction also represents a dichotomy. One that I would like to accept, but also nuance. An account of the different

[32] See Janks (1998 and 2010 b), Fairclough (1989 and 1995), Thompson (1984 and 1990) and Pennycook (2001).

places through which one moves in walking along a street is also the account of a trajectory through and among different actors responsible for different texts. By focusing on this aspect of LL, the advantage is that quantitative analysis takes account of the context of use of a token of LL (its situatedness or on the contrary its decontextualized, transgressive placement).

The categories for quantitative, and qualitative, analysis given below – government texts, formal premises texts, informal ad hoc texts, informal vendor texts, fortuitous texts – take account of principal actors in the space of the street. They also capture the difference between the formal and the informal, where the informal is linked above all to a 'transgression' (to use Scollon and Scollon's term) of the formal space of shops and governmental installations. Finally, these categories also aid in later discursive analysis since they capture the neighbourhood as a space in which different discourses lodge - the discourses of government, of shop owners, and of pedestrians, to name but some of the actors relevant to a study of neighbourhood.

- '*Governmental texts*' originate from national, provincial, regional and town departments and mandated governmental agencies. The places of such texts are the innumerable installations, boxes, infrastructures, service and control points established by the government in the heart of a city's neighbourhoods.
- '*Formal texts'* are texts displayed on owned premises and installations which clearly show (by being situated in the interior of a shop window, by being affixed to the shop wall etc.) that the owners or managers of the premises are either the producers of the text or are aware of and approve the text. This category also includes LL texts that are displayed in installations such as billboards or bus stops.
- '*Informal ad hoc texts'* are those texts that have been affixed or applied to a surface on the street that has no proprietary relationship to the person responsible for the text. Examples of these texts are pasted photocopied flyers, posters and even banners or billboards. This category also includes graffiti and tagging where there is a measure of appropriation but also of the opportunistic, the subversive, the graphic etc. Examples are scrawled initials, paint-bombed slogans but also subversion of posters through layering or inclusion of words etc.
- '*Informal vendor texts'* refer to texts originating from sellers that operate temporarily in the space of the street. Sellers of illegal pirated DVD's or stolen items are one example of this category but so too are small stalls that have some degree of stability and recognition in town bylaw. Texts that are on display include products, packaging, pricing and even texts such as laminated menu items for stalls that sell food.
- '*Fortuitous texts'* are those texts that can be encountered on a street pavement such as loose newspaper sheets, waste packaging or discarded products, etc.

As an example, one could take the artefact of LL in figure 1 below, that is just one of many texts of this nature in the Bosman site. This is a decontextualized, commercial, artefact of

LL that is frontstage in that it is displayed publicly. However, it is also giving a message that Goffman (1959, pp. 141 - 166) would term 'discrepant'[33]. It announces clean, hygienic and qualified personnel for a 'safe' abortion. Yet there are many aspects of format, colour and wording that require interpretation. The gaudy reds and blues, for example, stand out in relation to more usual medical publications. There is also its position, on a lamppost, and the fact that only a cellphone number is given. A legitimate doctor, with proper premises, would simply not need to post this kind of advert on a street lamp and he or she would have a landline. This can be understood more broadly, in terms of the place of the *institution*. This kind of advertising should normally be taking place within institutional channels (such as catalogues, inter-professional recommendation etc). It is a good example of an informal text in its subversion of both content and format, but also in its realisation and placement that through its temporary, cheaply produced qualities, can be differentiated from formal or governmental texts.



Figure 1. An example of a text advertising 'safe' abortions in the Bosman site.

Finally, the categories listed above also give sense to other choices such as genre. It is because whoever displays a token of LL on a lamppost, or the side of a shop premises is operating under constraints of visibility, time and money that further explain the genre adopted. Genres can therefore be linked to the means at the disposal of the actor and the space in the street that that actor occupies. Formal texts such as Government or premises texts will, for instance, tend to be more permanent, or use materials such as plastics and neon's. Informal texts for the same reason will be temporary, smaller, less brilliant etc. Genre and discursive framing (see for instance Kallen and Dhonacha, 2010) have been very important in analyses of LL since a genre, "[…] sets up a particular set of expectations as to type of topic/content, form of register, attitudinal stance, and interactional roles

[33] This, in fact is the corollary of Goffman's theory of the presentation of self. On the one hand teamwork and the creation of a front is necessary for the success of ordinary life, but on the other hand, these same tools can be used to fraudulently present a divergent, cynical or false impression of reality.

that are appropriate to a given occasion […] and orientates interlocutors to the production of an appropriate local semiotic. Genres manifest (parts of) discourses or discourse frames." (Stroud and Jegels, 2013, p. 12). In the discussion that follows I will also be referring to genre and, following Heubner's (2009) argument, I have tried in interviews and discussion with people I met in the neighbourhood to be sensible to local nomenclature. Some genres useful to my research are given in figure 2 below.

English	**French**	**Arab**	**isiZulu**
advertisement	publicité	اشهار ich'har	isikhangisi
banner	oriflamme	راية ملونة raya moulaouana	iduku lombuso / lamabutho
billboard advertisement	panneau-réclame	لوحة إشهارية laouha ich'harya	-
flyer	encart libre	طار مجاني للنشر itar madjani lil'nachr زاوية مجانية للنشر zaouia madjania lil'nachr	ophiwa kona ngesandla
graffiti	graffiti	كتابة على الجدار kitaba aala el-djidar	-
handbill	affiche à la main	ملصق يدوي moulassaq yadaoui	-
leaflet	feuillet / dépliant	فحة / مطوية ص saf'ha/ matouia	icembe leqabunga
notice	notice	وثيقة إشعار ouathikat ich'aar	isaziso
placard	placard	لافتة lafita	isaziso esisephepheni elikhulu
poster	placard (de publicité)	لافتة الإعلان lafitate el-ïalan	iphepha lezaziso
programme	programme	برنامج barnamedj	uhlelo
public notice	notice publique	وثيقة إشعار عمومي ouathikate ich'aar oumoumi	isaziso somphakathi
business sign	enseigne	شعار chiaar	uphawu
(traffic) sign	signal	إشارة ichara	isithikithana
sticker	autocollant	ورقة لاصقة ouaraka lassika	into enamathelayo
tag	tag	شعار chi'aar	isilengiso

Figure 2. List of genres in English (standard international), translated into French (standard France), Arab (standard international) and isiZulu (Gauteng).

Multimodal discourse analysis: visual semiotics

Geosemiotics, adopts the aspects of multimodal theory (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) that several other studies in the field of LL[34] have found useful. The aim of MDA within the approach is, initially, to investigate:

- the representation of real-world actions in visual images,
- the problem of how visual images index the real world in which they are placed,
- the problem of how social actors index these images which are so abundant in our world, constructing ongoing social performances as part of the social situation front. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 84)

Scollon and Scollon (2003) move very quickly beyond these initial questions however, and use multimodal analysis to examine composition and information value, modality and thereby aspects of LL such as code preference, lettering and temporality. Given the foregoing discussion and in reference to the work of Stroud and Mpendukana (2009 and 2010) and Stroud and Jegels (2013) I would like to replace, or complement, the above questions with three others that apply directly to the aims of this thesis, namely: What world are we talking about – the world of local production and knowledge or the global, commercial, world of non-local production? What subjectivities are reflected in LL? and, (in reference to Kress, 2010 b) How is the space of the street structured through LL? These questions take the ambit of this research beyond a consideration of social front and emphasise the place and space of the neighbourhood in its complexity and lived experience. They also prompt an investigation into the discursive coherence and interpretation of LL as a multimodal *ensemble* within the space of the street and the need for a technique to access this discourse.

I will, in attempting to answer these questions, also be examining LL through the prism of a visual analysis that reposes firstly, on a consideration of image and of participants (represented and interactional). I will, though, be extending visual analysis to the artefact of LL as a whole, to its font, layout and colour scheme among other aspects of design and realisation, so as to draw conclusions concerning information value (given and new, ideal and real) and the modality - or truth value - of modes such as colour, depth and brightness. In so doing I will adopting a methodology that is now familiar in LL research – analysis of photographs taken and their interpretation within the three other cycles of discourse; relying on field notes, interviews and mapping.

[34] See for instance Malinowski (2009).

Chapter 3 – The interaction order

This chapter will examine the two sites of Bosman and the Marché du Soleil through walking. Moving from the city to the neighbourhood to the streets of the research site I will be examining their perceptual spaces (visual, auditory, thermal and haptic) and then move to a consideration of the personal fronts and interpersonal distances that are relevant to interpretation of LL. The units of the interaction order will also be discussed for the two sites. In doing so, I will be mixing my personal impressions and interactions, with those that I observed as I walked the site.

The Marché du Soleil

My first arrival in Marseille was by train from Barcelona. I had passed my CAPES[35] and was preparing to move to this city where I had been given a post as teacher. As I got out of the train and stood at the top of the iconic stairs to the city that lead down from the Saint Charles station, I was amazed by the 'bordel' (literally, the mess) that seemed to inhabit every single space of the city. The rubbish collectors were on strike. Stinking dustbin bags piled up. Public works were everywhere. In fact, the sound of jackhammers was drowned out only by the aggressive honks of drivers frustrated to be stuck on the half lane of road that was allocated to them in the midst of the carnage. I had been reading about Marseille in preparation for the move, and knew that it was the place from which Edmond Dantes had been taken to the Chateau d'If[36]. I also knew that it was one of the poorest cities in France, and a city moreover that was shrinking demographically since its population had been in continuous decline for the last two decades. It was the primary site for immigration from North Africa, and Arab was the unofficial second language. What I did not realise was how overrun by Mafia interests it was, and the repercussions of this on things as simple as one´s arrival into the city. Compared to the rest of France with its clear administrative purity and direct access to autoroutes or train lines, Marseille was an anomaly (see figure 3).

[35] The CAPES, as mentioned in the introduction, is the competitive entry examination that gives right to teach in the colleges and lycées of France.

[36] The Count of Montecristo by Alexandre Dumas (1844 ed. 2002) is a popular classic with an almost iconic status in France and in Marseille, since the plot revolves around many of the most famous monuments of this port city. The Chateau d'If itself is a plague-holding fort that closes the mouth of the old port, but Dumas depicts it as a prison in his book. Dumas is also a fascinating literary character whose authorship is surrounded by scandal, gambling and a string of ghost writers.

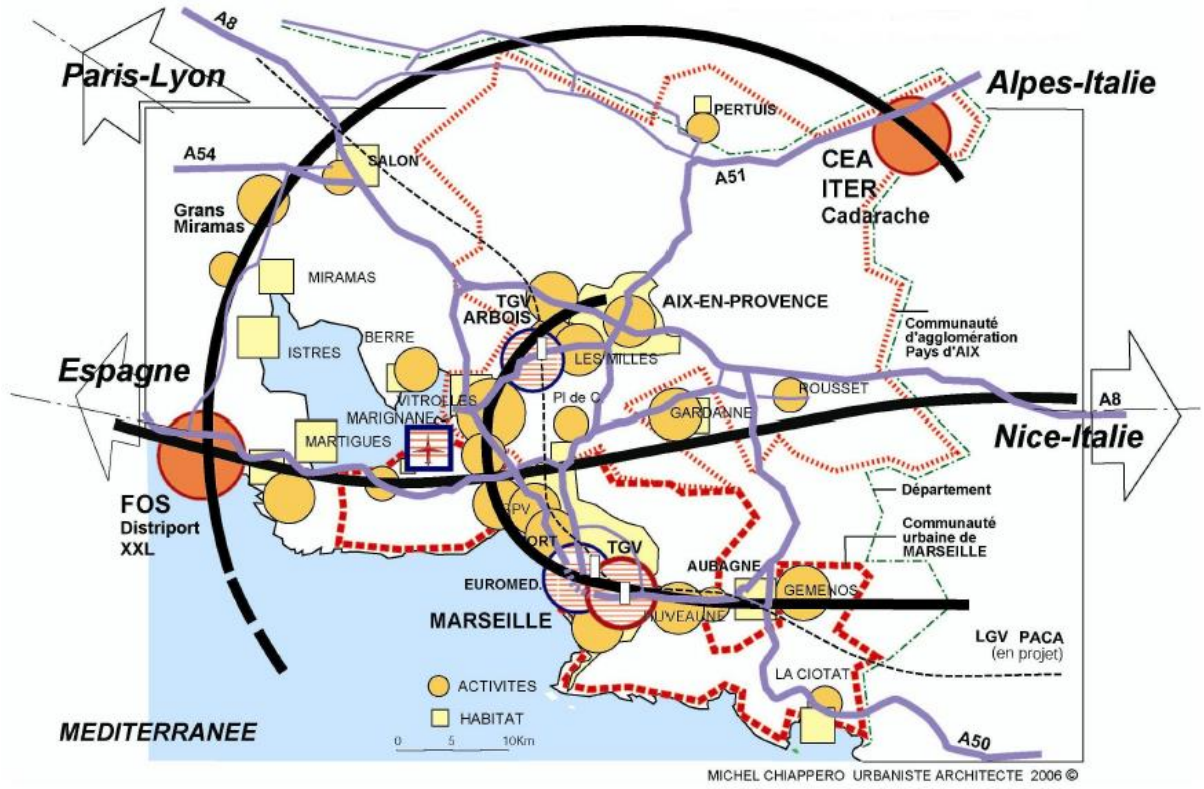


Figure 3. Map of Marseille showing town centre with respect to regional dynamics, transport and development axes. (reproduced from Douay, 2009).

Even its division into arrondissements[37] abandoned the snail shape of other cities such as Paris or Bordeaux and seemed to offer no coherent form (see figure 4). Of course, I would soon hear about its infamous long-reigning major Gaston Deferre, and the political manoeuvring that had given the city its shape.

[37] Arrondissements are administrative circumscriptions which correspond approximately to the city wards of more Anglophone countries.

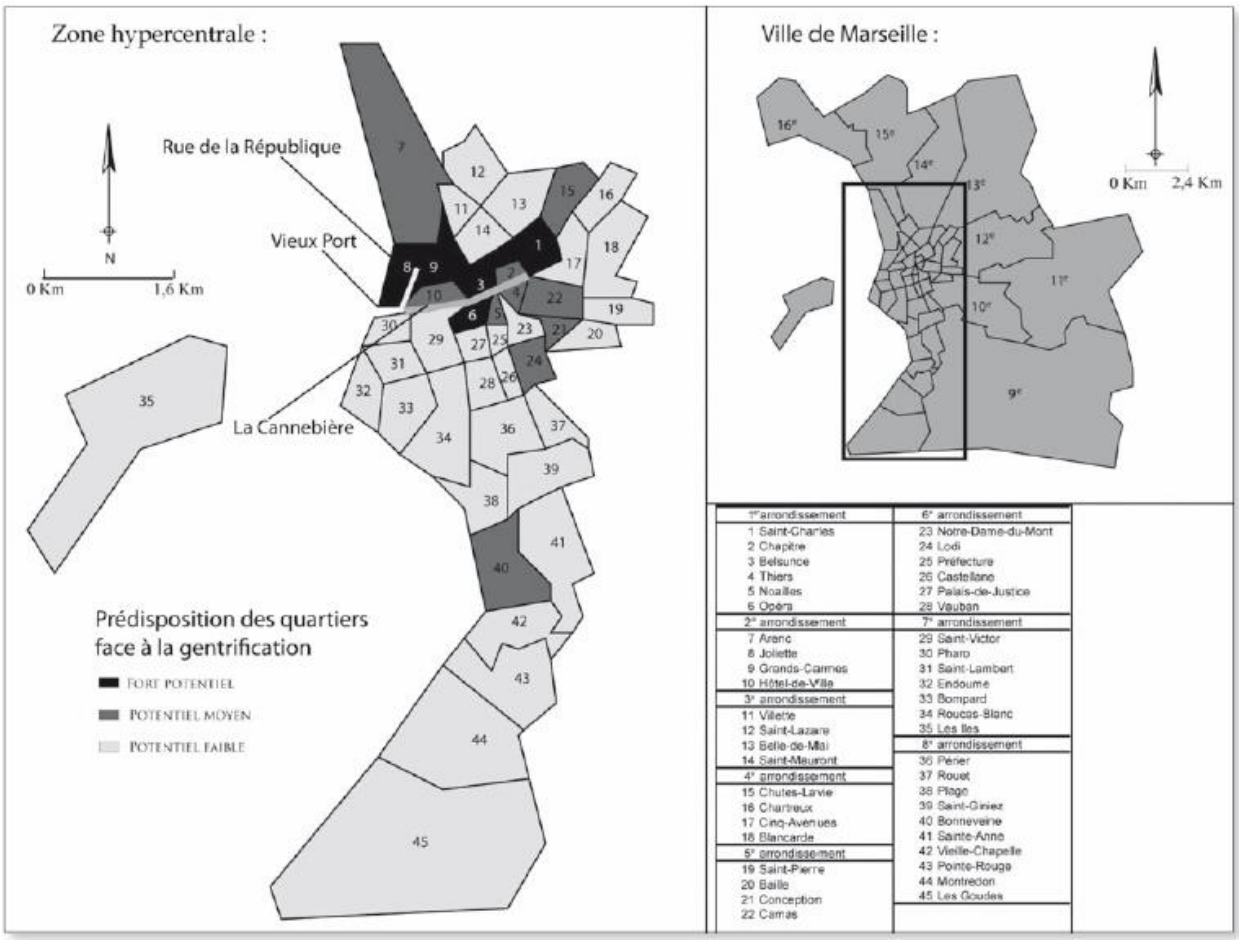


Figure 4. Map of Marseille's centre by 'Arrondissement' showing the 3rd Arrondissement in black. (Reproduced from Jourdan, 2008).

I was surprised by the beauty of the city though, its freshness and radiant sense of light. The freshness comes from a strong sea wind that alternates with another from inland, the 'Mistral', that more often blows through the narrow streets walled in by darkened limestone. Surrounded by white chalky cliffs and low scrub, Marseille has not forgotten its Greek origins[38] and colonial past (cf photos 1 c and d, appendix 4) but its modernity – marked by resistance, the war with Algeria, its target as immigration – has bestowed Marseille and its football team, the Olypique de Marseille, with mythical status. Marseille speaks of contestation and integration, of the triumph of boys like Zinedine Zidane[39] from the housing projects, of emigration and unemployment, of drugs and arms traffic and even of potent mafias from Italy or Morocco. Marseille smiles at the world with the gold-filled, medallion-hung smile of the Roma people and the Roumanians, the beat of Raï[40] fills its alleys during street parties and in its markets are sold plantains and spices from West Africa.

[38] The ´Massilia Snack´that will be referred to below is a direct reference to Phocaean origins.
[39] Zidane led the French football team to victory in the World Cup of 2006 and in the European Cup of 2008.
[40] Raï is a hybrid musical form with synthesised pop influences that are calqued over more traditional Arabic voice and music arrangements.

Oriented from South East to North West the centre is constructed for the most part in the Haussmanian style of five storey buildings whose inner stairs ascend from behind huge wooden doors at street level and whose large rooms at second and third floor gradually reduce to the old servants' quarters of fifth floor. The city gravitates around the port and the Cannebière (see figure 4 and photo 1b appendix 4) – the avenue which dates back to 1666 and whose name stems from the market in hemp ('chanvre') which distinguished that part of town. No depiction of the city omits the Saint Charles railway station and the steps that descend from its plateau to the boulevard d'Athènes. It is the railway that also cuts the town in half, separating the poor, unemployment ridden 'Northern quarters' (the site for this study is in the 3rd Arrondissement) from the richer Southern neighbourhoods. Walking from the Cannébière to the Marché du Soleil, one passes signs of the changes being wrought in the city centre. From the cours Belsunce (photograph 2a) which has been given a tramway and a regional library – the Alcazar – the street that does still lead to Aix-en-Provence – the rue d'Aix - mounts past sweet meats, pizza, couscous, shoe and music shops to the Regional Government offices, the Music Conservatory and the Arc de Triomph (photographs 2b and c).

The Arc de Triomph at the centre of the Place Jules Guesde (see figures 5 and 6) marks the entrance to the neighbourhood, the Marché du Soleil, that will be the focus of this research. This is a poor neighbourhood and somewhat at odds with its sometimes grandiose architecture. Tuberculosis is prevalent and there is a clinic dedicated to this disease just off the rue d'Aix. There is a small uneasy park at the foot of the Arc de Triomph where old men and women take the sun and near the metro station a poor informal market sells odd shoes and broken toys. Signs of a tight-knit and religious community are very present though. The Grand Mosque which is the earliest to have been built in Marseille – in 1976, photos 2e and f, appendix 4 – managed in 2008 to avoid closing by finding the funds necessary for the repair of its roof (Libé Marseille, 2008). Similarly the Marché du Soleil (photos 2g and h) which dates from 1989 has survived fire (Le Caignec and Leroux, 2008) to continue to offer a space that in many ways defines the neighbourhood. It is an indoor market of fabrics, clothes and household goods that, although accessed through a large doorway (see photo 2 g) quickly becomes a labyrinth of gleaming mirrors, white satins and mezzanines. Just beyond the research site is the Polygone Etoilé – a collaborative cinema in the heart of the housing project adjoining the Marché du Soleil.



Figure 5. Aerial view of Marseille showing the 'Marché du Soleil' research site (Google Earth).

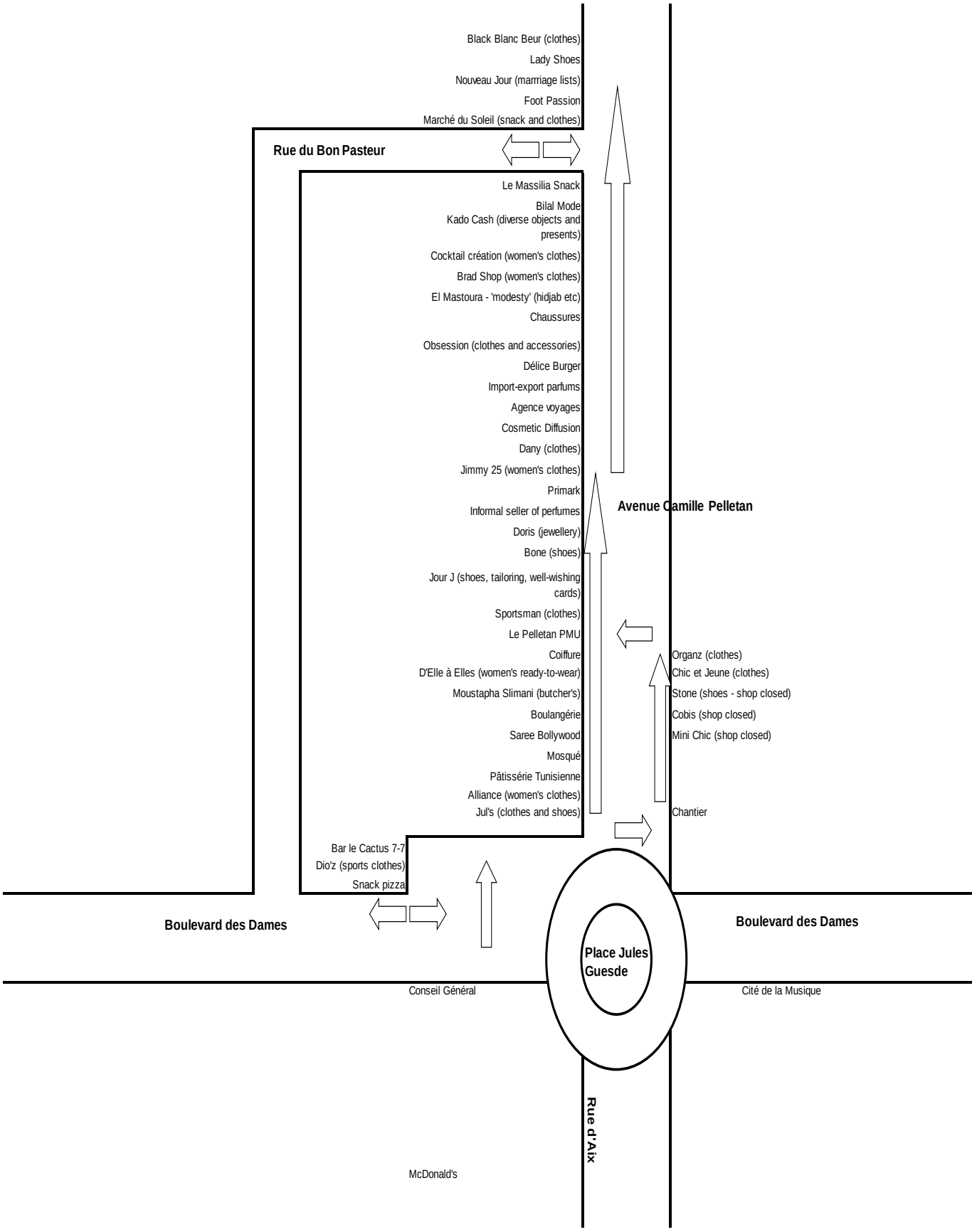


Figure 6. Plan of the 'Marché du Soleil' field study site by street and shop name showing walking route (by author – 30 June, 2011).

Visually the Avenue Camille Pelletan, that is the main street through the neighbourhood, forms a solution of continuity with the rest of the city. Haussmanian buildings, sullied limestone, narrow streets and an impression of dirt, piling rubbish and bustle. The pedestrian traffic that I counted on my first field trip was 710 pedestrians /hour[41]. The pavements at only 2m wide constrain this traffic and a first decision on walking the route that is given in figure 6 is which side of the street to walk on. This aspect of the visual perceptual space is highly important in interpreting the LL of the Marché du Soleil. Because of the narrowness of the streets, informal texts such as graffiti, notices and stickers that are displayed on lampposts, low walls, electric transformers and telecommunications boxes, for instance, are very visible. Formal texts – especially shop signs – are much less so, since they are a little too high to be viewed easily from the same pavement. This results in one's eyes being drawn across the street to the opposite side and indeed many of the photographs for this thesis were taken in this way. The result is that LL are seen more coherently – framed to their left and right by the other shops that precede or follow (according to the sense in which the street is walked) and the colours, formats, and references are seen in context, as an ensemble. Visually therefore there is a tendency to see small, informal, texts up close hand whilst many formal texts (excluding those displayed in shop windows) are seen from approximately 10m to 15m away – this being the width of the street.

Auditory and olfactory perception serves to differentiate certain spaces in the streets walked. At each end of the Avenue Camille Pelletan – Boulevard des Dames and Rue Bon Pasteur – there are snack bars, of which the Massilia, run by Sherif, in particular, is a rallying point for many who come to the market. In each case these olfactory distinctions – the smell of pizza, lamb kebabs and seeded sesame bread – signal also wider spaces, markets and, thanks to the reduced pressure of other people, a change in the haptic. Whereas at other parts of the street one is constantly brushing against other people, allowing the hand to run along the low cast-iron fencing that both protects the pavement and prohibits parking, or avoiding posts and other signs of municipal infrastructural interventions, at these junctures the space of the body can expand and the quality of the light changes too, with the sky unobstructed by awnings and the facades of the buildings.

This has repercussions on interpersonal distance and front. In figure 6, the Cactus Bar, The Pâtissérie Tunisienne and the Massilia Snack all have patios with chairs and tables where one can drink and eat. In these places the interpersonal distance is greater, a social distance, but it must be remembered that France generally, and Franco-Arabic culture specifically, is much more physical than that to which a South African would be accustomed. Men embrace and kiss each other whilst retaining a hand on the shoulder, and talking for several minutes before sitting down and resuming a social, not an intimate distance. This kind of bodily expression is found in visuals and references of LL as will be discussed in chapter 6 (Mustafa Slimani, image 33, appendix 5, being a good example).

[41] Whilst walking the site I periodically stopped to count pedestrian traffic.

Personal front is far from being open and welcoming however. This is a close-knit neighbourhood and this aspect of interpersonal distance is clearly felt in a personal front that is moderately hostile, eyes looking down, body turned away from passers-by, shoulders often hunched. This is a 'cold' city in many ways, aggressive, unwelcoming. Until one is known, and welcomed, hand gestures are large, voices loud, and the transition from a social to an intimate distance is often made for intimidation, provocation to fight and to ward off importunate regards. When photographing the Twarab poster that is discussed in chapter 5 (image 51, appendix 5), I was menaced by a group of people who thought that they had been included in the shot. I had to hastily explain to them that I was just taking the poster but it is a very good example of ethnographic mistakes such as that with which Bourgois (2003) begins his study of Harlem – running for his life from the crack house where he had just succeeded in humiliating the boss, Ray. I should have gone to the group and explained what I was doing long before taking out my camera.

Perception, interpersonal distance and front influence the sense of time. The people, narrow streets, reduced bodily space and the multitude of olfactory and auditory signals (hooting cars, shouts, raised voices) makes the Marché du Soleil a street in which one walks rather hurriedly, without taking too long to stop or read. Of the people I observed, many walked with their head down, raising it only from time to time to orientate and sometimes to greet acquaintances or shop owners that they knew. In fact these walkers are a very good example of the civil inattention that is a large constituent of public space and that is discussed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) but also by Tonnelat (2008). In the interviews that will be central to the next chapter this also came to the fore. My interview with Sonia, an ex-colleague whom I met by chance, was conducted while we hurried along together and I helped her carry her plastic shopping bags. Many other people whom I met brushed me off with a quick phrase or a light quip and continued their business. This sense of time varied however, and at the three places mentioned above where there was more space, chairs and tables, people were freer to comment and linger. My interview with Jeunesse Doree was interesting in this regard – he had the time to really look at the informal posters displayed on the walls of the small square at the entrance to the market. In the street however, informal LL especially, jump out at the walker with phrases and images that are quickly assimilable. Length, syntax and content of LL will be more fully discussed in chapter 5.

This raises the question of the units of the interaction order. The vast majority of those I observed in the site were what Scollon and Scollon label 'singles', people who mostly conserve a social distance and who are not in 'teams'. Their reading of LL would therefore take place without discussion and would be subject to their habitus as this will be discussed in the following chapter. Interaction units change with the changing of neighbourhood. I first walked the Marché du Soleil site during the 'Worldwide' Marseille

Pétanque[42] Championship. There was excitement in the air as this is a huge event – Marseille being filled with over 500 temporary pétanque playing strips and as a result conversational encounters increased in frequency – taking the typical form for these interactions in Marseille: a shout, a swear word tossed to the wind and then a quick rebuttal.

The month of July, just before the long summer holidays, is also, more generally, the date when those from the Maghreb living in France return to North Africa to visit family. This involves buying of presents and household articles and also often leads families to plan marriages for these months. The purchases are stocked in canvas bags and cars laden to the brim with people, clothes and presents either take the ferry from Marseille to Algeria or follow the highway along the coast to Spain, and then all the way down to Cadiz and the ferry to Morocco. In a trip that I and a friend made, following the Roma trail of the Guadalquivir from Grenada to Cadiz some years ago, we met with the tail end of this huge caravan that empties millions of people from Europe. The interaction units of the Marché du Soleil change in consequence and there are more service encounters linked to celebrative events. Some of the LL that will be discussed in the following chapters make direct reference to wedding dresses and DJ´s that can be hired for fêtes. This is also an aspect of the neighbourhood that is relevant to Saturday, market day, when both the Jules Guesde square, the pavement in front of the Cactus Bar and the Avenue Camille Pelletan fill with informal vendors of perfume, Cd´s and more culturally specific goods such as Korans and prayer mats. Market days also signal the appearance of 'glaneurs'[43].

In conclusion one may say of the Marché du Soleil site that the elements of the interaction order that are most pertinent for subsequent analysis of LL are a hurried sense of time with, however, lapses at café places where bodily space and proxemic distance increase. Visually, the gaze alternates between a close-at-hand reading of informal LL and those formal LL that are displayed at eye-level, but a more distant view of the ensemble for shop signs and other LL that are above eye-level. Interaction units are singles with conversational and service encounters. Personal front alternates between a quiet intractability and displays of intimacy and familiarity with the people and places of the neighbourhood.

The Bosman site

As can be seen from figures 7 and 8, the grid pattern of Pretoria is characteristic of a first, decisive, planning of the urban that is the proper of pioneer cities. The city runs East West, North South, following the Apies river valley, and in this case was plotted by Dutch architect Sytse Wierda under then president Paul Kruger in the 1880's. Its contemporary

[42] In English 'boules' is used to talk of this game. But 'pétanque' is the correct term to refer to Marseille's passion for throwing steel balls in teams of three at a 'cochonet' while drinking glasses of pastis (Cassanis or Janot de préférence) under the 'soleil dru' of the French midi.

[43] A 'glaneur' is someone who collects discarded food and bric-a-brac. It is also the subject of a beautiful film *Les Glaneurs et la Glaneuse* by Agnès Varda.

incarnation is as a city carved out and then reared in concrete, and as such it is far from the organic complexity of slightly lopsided sandstone borne by places like Marseille. However, just as Marseille was marked by the end of the war in Algeria, so too was Pretoria irreversibly changed by the end of Apartheid. The resulting flux and reflux of people, language and aspiration have made Pretoria what it is today – pertinent to many of the observations made previously concerning Marseille.

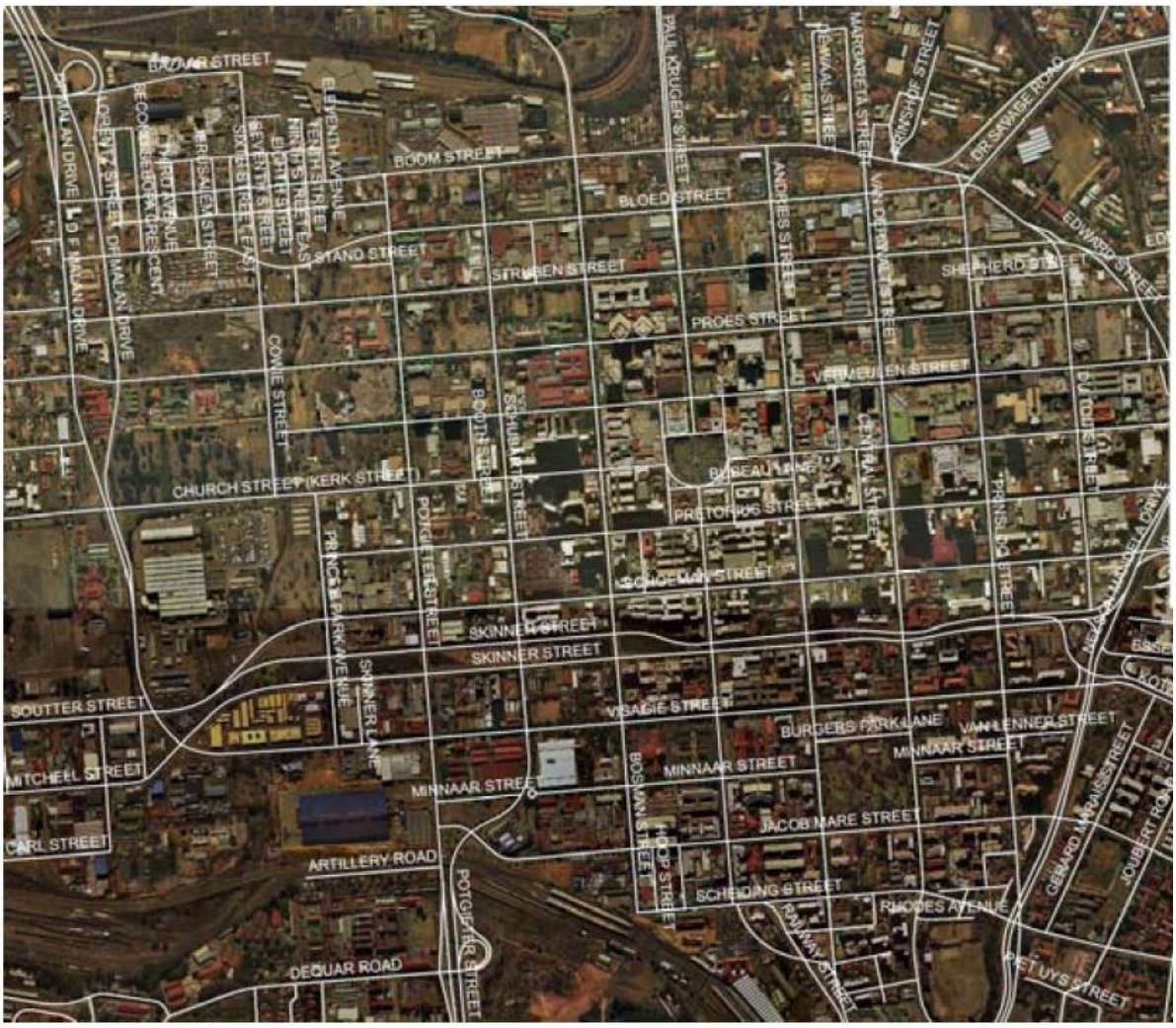


Figure 7. Aerial map of Pretoria which shows town centre (CBD). (Reproduced from Corten and van Dun, 2009).

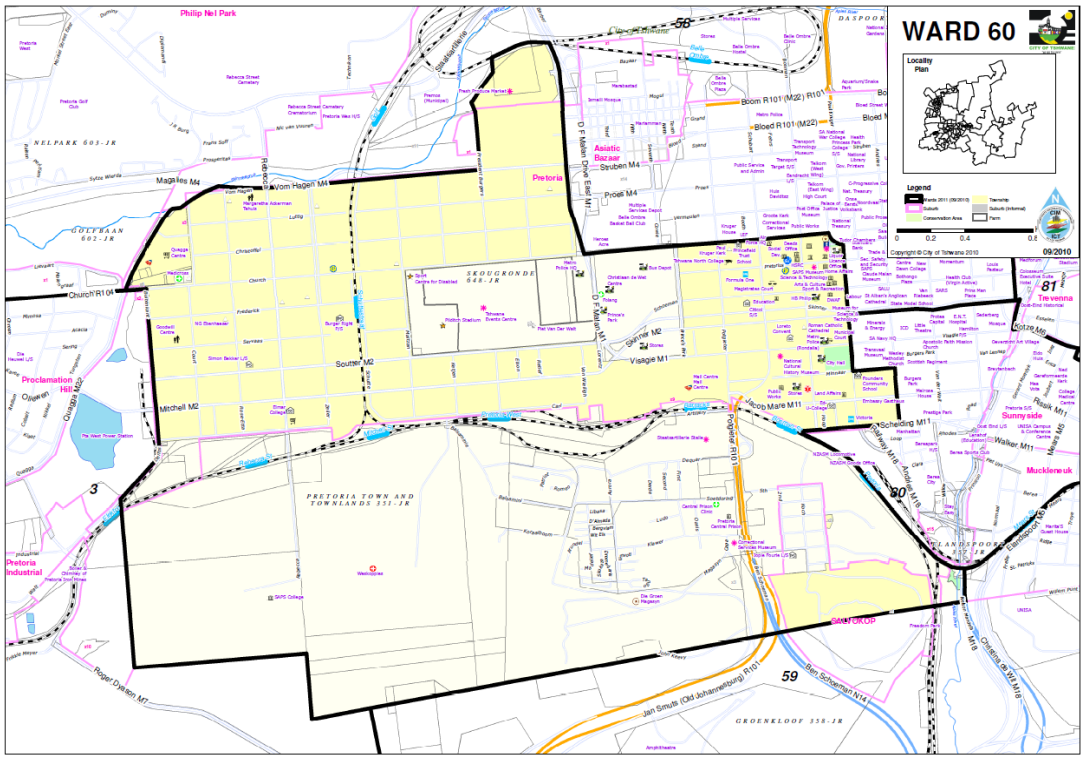


Figure 8. Map for ward 60, Pretoria, within which the Bosman site is located. (Reproduced from City of Tshwane website – www.tshwane.co.za, accessed 16 April 2012).

A first, visual, perception of Pretoria stems from the national and regional governmental implementation of the post-Apartheid transition. This, as concerns us here, lies in the streets and monuments, their connotations and their discrepancies. At the time of starting research in the site, many street signs bore the names of the Afrikaans heroes from the time of the war against England. These names lay without the resonance of either memory or recognition – as mere place markers in a city whose demography had changed radically since the mid-nineties. As the research progressed the city council won, then lost, then finally won (see Semono, 2008, and Liou, 2012) an application to change the names of the streets. They were then replaced with the names of ANC struggle heroes. There were errors touching the spelling of names - Frances Baard was rendered as 'Francis' in the revolutionary topology – and many of those chosen were long and without evocation. Concerning the city, there has been much debate about a name change to Tshwane in honour of the original inhabitants of the site. This debate has still not been satisfactorily resolved.[44] The discourse of a new city space, representative of a struggle for democracy, has therefore been muddied and confused.

[44] I do very much believe in the necessity for name change, however, in this thesis I have not been able to adopt a consistent approach in this respect. The photographs and interviews that formed the base of my research into the Bosman site took place current 2011 and 2012, and the previous street names are what participants talk of in their interviews. Similarly I refer to the city as Pretoria since this, for most, is still the name of the city itself, and Tshwane the name of the region (Despite a 2005 ruling by the South African Geographical Names Council - SAGNC). In any case, only one street at the research site has changed name: Jacob Maré is now Jeff Masemola Street.

As executive capital, Pretoria – despite the relatively small size of its city centre – concentrates the head offices of several instances such as the Presidency (the Union Buildings), education (UNISA, Department of Basic Education, Department of Higher Education), the Air Force, the Reserve Bank, Home Affairs, the National Library and Land Affairs. Long associated with elaboration of the policies behind Apartheid, the lingering taste of exclusion summoned by the manicured nostalgia of the purple Jacaranda blossoms has been dissipated by the opening of borders and Pretoria's relative proximity to Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and by extension the Congo. Pretoria *could* therefore now seem to represent a new vision of government and institutional administration, but like the street names, old statues and buildings persist that tell another story; a story of incomplete change and of a past that gestures in cast bronze. Church Square is a case in point, its statuary renders homage to the heroes of the great trek[45] and nowhere acknowledges either the end of white rule nor the incredible transformations of South Africa since 1994.

Church St (now divided into several sections) and Paul Kruger St (unchanged) provide reparable axes both historically and physically that converge on Church Square (Corten and van Dun, 2009) with its statue of Paul Kruger himself (photographs 3a, b and c of appendix 4). Church St used to run all the way through the city and joined it to the townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. Mamelodi, incidentally, which is one of the nicest places in the Gauteng to enjoy Shesa Nyama[46] or a drink, takes its name from the Sesotho term for whistling and refers to President Kruger's imitative whistling of the birds of the region. Paul Kruger St takes one up to the Town Hall (photo 3d). The site chosen for this research lies at the end of Paul Kruger St where it converges with Scheiding St (photos 4 a and b). This is a recognisable neighbourhood marked out by the Pretoria Station, the Dairy Mall taxi rank (photo 4 c), the Victoria Hotel (photo 4 d and e) and Burgers Park with a gospel church that is famous for its choir.

The Victoria Hotel (see figures 9 and 10) marks entry to the site that I researched. It is eminently colonial, and echoes the Burgers Park residence that has been converted into a museum. It is the oldest hotel in Pretoria - being established in 1894 - but marks the transition from Dutch (Afrikaans) power to English domination since its original name was the Hollandia Hotel. Its low guest register recently allowed it to be bought up by the family that owns the Blou Bulle meatmarket and many of the other buildings in the neighbourhood (and who participated in this research). Its arcades are filled with the placards and products of an internet café, a traditional healer, a clothes and homeware shop. The Pretoria Station designed in 1910 by Sir Herbert Baker, the same person who drafted the Union Buildings (Andrews, 1999), offers a similar perspective of anachronism. For most of Apartheid its austere architectural lines formed the point of arrival for workers who under pass laws would disembark, only to hurriedly disappear into the fabric of a city that did not recognise them. Today, it is still served by the Metro railway line and

[45] The mass migration of farmers from the Cape to escape British domination in 1835.
[46] Literally 'hot meat' this term refers to taverns that offer self-service barbequed meat.

the Bosman taxi rank but politics of segregation seem engrained in the walls, fences and turnstiles that so effectively separate out the different spaces of the station.



Figure 9. Aerial view of Pretoria showing the 'Bosman' research site (Google Earth).

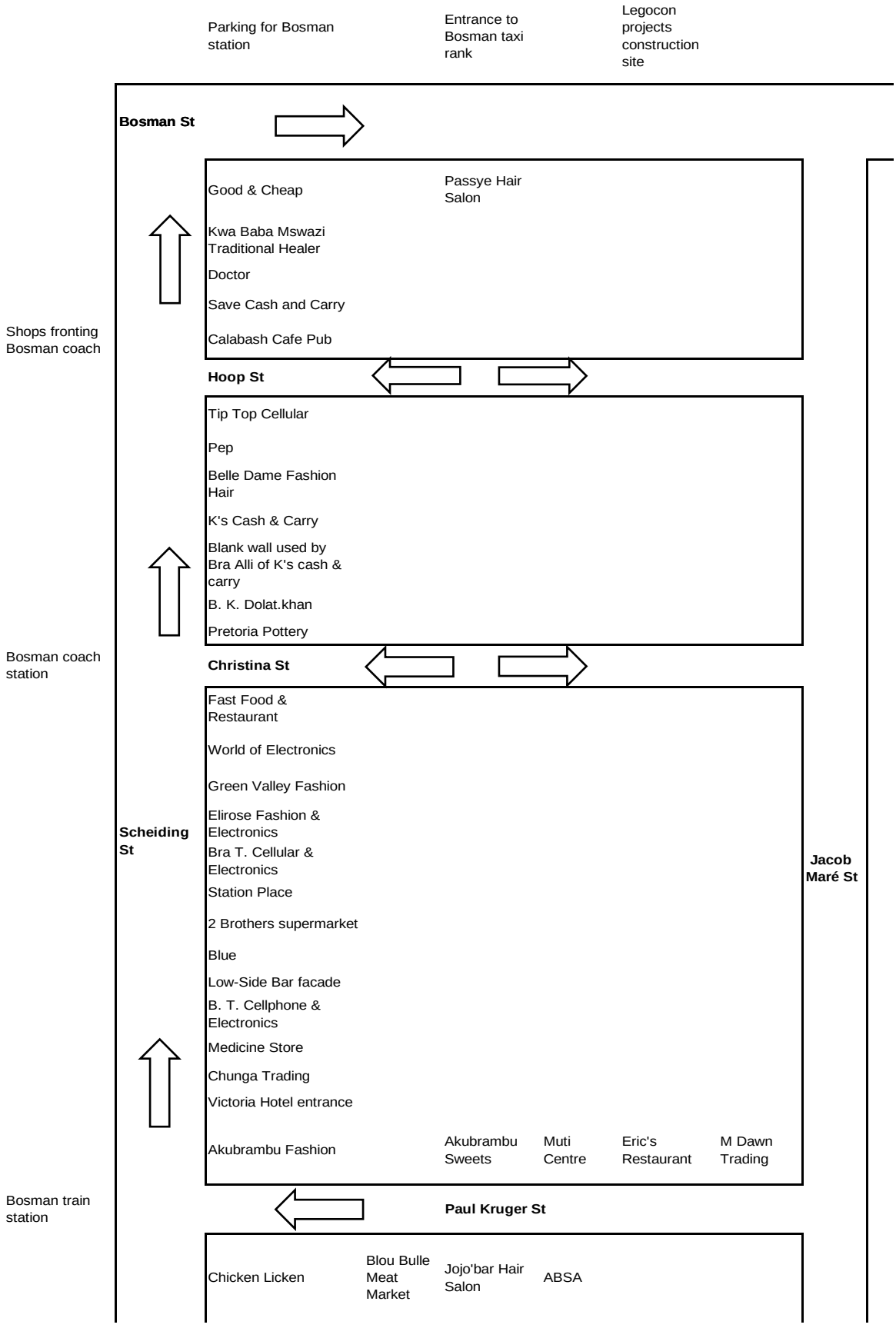


Figure 10. Plan of the 'Bosman' field study site by street and shop name (by author - 25 April, 2011).

These monuments persist despite their connotations of English rule, Afrikaans nationalism and Apartheid. Notwithstanding its modern steel structure (van den Heever, 2006) and blaring taxis, even the Dairy Mall taxi rank is not really different. In most people´s lips it is simply called the 'Bosman' rank after the street in which it is found. Yet Bosman was in fact a Dutch Reformed Minister serving from 1876 to 1926 whose past in the Irene Boer concentration camps (Andrews, 1999) has little to do with the daily toil of commuting and public transport. These structures seem at odds with a town centre that is now a low-key joint for Congolese hair extension parlours, pies, Zimbabwean prostitutes, pirate DVD runners and Ghanaian kaftan sewers. The ambiance, now, is fuelled by a thriving house music scene (see for example House 22) which throbs through the taxis and mixes well with the gospel and maskandi blaring out of saturated speakers on the street. But for the people I met, walking through the neighbourhood, these buildings seem still to serve a primary mnemonic function of demarcation – offering a visible guide with which to situate the Bosman neighbourhood:

> William: And other landmarks around here? The hotel, the station? Have you seen any change? Do you like these places?
> Henry: Yah, I like this places, because, ah, it's a many people, and I'm a, aah, friend, aaah, friendly with the people, I like to talk, I like the places, the Paul Kruger, Victoria Hotel. I like to work here, to sell newspapers.
> William: And what do you think about the people who live here. You know, Zimbabwe, Nigeria …
> Henry: Nigeria, Uganda, yah, see, these people is a good people, see, she has respect, she respects each others, and also I respect her,
> William: Do they stay here do you think?
> Henry: Yaah, she live here in the flats. But some of them she live Sunnyside, some of them live these places, um, Station Place[47].
> (*Interview with Henry, 12 April, 2012)*

The Bosman site, and Pretoria generally, can therefore be conceived of as a contradictory place of residential buildings of up to fifteen storeys, brought to life by street level shops, boutiques, bars, informal sellers and fast food restaurants but marked by historical monuments whose ignored past runs counter-current to daily lived experience. It presents a lively, gregarious but very heterogeneous atmosphere of informality, bustle and music to the taste of the 'sephatlo' or quarter of white bread stuffed with chips and a russian. The seeming lightness of life at street level does though, belie serious issues of change and poverty. An example of this is the controversial Schubart Park housing project (see Mbanjwa, 2012) that though now declared unsafe has not been able to be either vacated or repaired, and is the site for repeated physical and legal attacks by both residents and police.

[47] Station place (see figure 6) is a City Property development as is the Legocon projects construction site. The cheap gentrification of the city centre that City Properties reposes mostly on security, gated buildings, with small renovated living spaces. The texts of the Legocon project site and City Properties will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

Auditory perception, more than either the visual, the olfactory or the haptic, demarcates the spaces of Scheiding St along which I walked (see figure 10). In the stalls fronting the station a seller of CD's blares out gospel music, and occasionally some African jazz. Bra T Cellular and Electronics plays Hindi music, next door the Low Side Bar has a dukebox on which are mostly chosen Kwaito and House hits by DJ's like Black Coffee. This music provides a sense of rhythm to one's interaction with the heterogeneous origins of the people who animate the neighbourhood but it is also identificatory. A House DJ for instance is photographed in the Hansa Beer advert that will be looked at in chapter 6. As I continued walking, these musical themes were repeated, by the Calabash Bar and at the end of the street by an informal seller of CD's who played some Bebop (Parker, Adderley …).

The roads in the neighbourhood are wide, three-laned swathes of tarmac, double the width of those in Marseille and pavements are also very wide – up to 8m. Pedestrian traffic is lower than in Marseille with an average of 400 /hour[48]. As a result one's bodily space is unconstrained, there is little contact either with the physical environment or with other people. This is reinforced by the heat of the place, the sun that carves shadows in sharp outlines of dark black and brilliant white. The light in Pretoria is warm but strong, yet strangely shops do not put up awnings. This is perhaps the reason why people gather under the arcades of the Victoria Hotel and why there are so many informal vendors of fruit and DVD's at this point. In the rest of the street people who walk either use a piece of cardboard as a temporary sunblock or bright, colourful umbrellas under which they incongruously continue the evocation of Victorian England begun by the hotel at the corner.

The space, the music, the welcoming dark of many of the shops and bars with their varied ambiences – the Low Side bar for instance is a place for getting drunk, playing pool and eating a cheap meal – create a much slower sense of time that is additionally more uniform. The street unfurles in a slow heat wave with sometimes mirages on the road. The width of the pavement allows shopfronts to be captured in their entirety and they often present ensembles of LL whose variations in colour, layout and font demarcate them one from another. The time allows details to be captured, such as the storefront of Green Valley Fashion that has, handwritten in white, an entire quote from the Bible.

Interpersonal distance does vary however. The arcade under the Victoria Hotel is comparatively cramped, with people moving close to each other. All along the street too there are informal stalls. As will be noted in the next chapter, the informal sector is encouraged and legalised in South Africa, and there are several permanent stalls that line the edge of the pavement selling fruit and vegetables, clothes, sweets, loose cigarettes, superglue and cockroach powder. In the early morning this changed interactions as spazas were unpacked and cardboard boxes erected to house the women cooking 'amagwinya' (small 'vetkoeks' or deep fat fried dumplings). It was also to feel, in the

[48] While walking the site, I periodically stopped and counted pedestrian traffic.

penetrating cold of a street that will soon lie under a searing sun, unspoken discourses of precarity and affection. The sellers are often at intimate distance to one another, and interactions with them is either at a polite, impassive, social distance or, in the case of sellers of clothes and DVD's much closer where the proxemic distance is part of the selling technique – putting the buyer under pressure, reducing space to think. Although for the most part interpersonal distance is polite, social, the personal front is very friendly. People smile readily, conversations are carried on loudly, there are shouts of greeting across the road.

This aspect of the Bosman site was beautiful to observe and participate in. I think of Henry, the newspaper seller quoted above who was so eager to talk that the interview went on for almost an hour. But many other people joked with me, jumped in front of the camera when I was capturing LL or posed in front of shopfronts. Despite the gregarity however, the most common interaction units were singles, passing through to take the train, the bus or a taxi and stopping at shops or stalls for service encounters. Unlike the Marseille site there are no market days or municipally organised events at Bosman. Those events that I did witness had to do with promotion of Vodacom or First National Bank, when some singers were brought in to draw attention. An event that did mark the neighbourhood was the organisation of the Municipal votes which involved posting of voting posters and setting up of the IEC station down Paul Kruger street at the Town Hall. This event quickly added many new LL texts in the space of a few days.

Finally, the visual width of the pavement and the extended interpersonal distances between singles can be seen to affect informal and formal LL. Unlike the Marseille site where informal texts such as notices and stickers are seen close-up, in the Bosman site, these texts are not at first so visually impacting. In fact it was only through my familiarity with the place that I picked up on LL such as those that will be discussed in chapter 5. As I note there, these texts continue the personal front of those with whom I interacted in the site, displaying messages (for rooms to let, of services offered such as rental of private cars) that in their trust in the public sphere were touching.

Conclusions for this chapter

In terms of sense of time, perceptual space, personal front and interpersonal distance the two sites researched are dissimilar. Only in terms of the units of the interaction order (singles, service encounters) is there any real comparison. The differences noted have an effect on both formal and informal LL. Informal vendor texts, particularly, are numerous at Bosman whilst informal ad hoc texts are not, similarly formal LL such as shopfronts have a disposition that reflects the perceptual space in each site. Similarities between the LL of the two site, which there undoubtedly are, must therefore reflect comparable social processes and comparable subjective positions of both producers and receivers. These will be explored further in the next chapter on habitus.

Chapter 4 – Habitus

This second cycle of discourse relies strongly on the words of participants themselves. These participants allow me to situate the sites diachronically (their shifting socio-economic, cultural and religious history) but also synchronically in terms of the discourses of those who live, pass through and work in the neighbourhoods. Most participants were met while walking through the sites, some participants come from a shop in Pretoria that very kindly allowed me to sit in and interrupt their work of text design with my questions. I also include in this chapter some observations of literacy practices that do much to reveal the habitus of those who live, work and pass through the sites.

The Marché du Soleil site

The discourses of the people I met, centre firstly on an image of Marseille as a cosmopolitan place, a place of mixing, and of different cultures that run side by side if not actually intermingling. Karim, an informal seller of perfumes and jewellery on the Camille Pelletan street, is a very good example of someone who notices Marseille´s richness in this respect[49]:

> Marseille is the gateway to Africa, it's a big city, cosmopolitan, there are all kinds of social categories, they rub up against each other, aaah, all the social categories rub up against each other, there are blacks, Arabs, Muslims, Jews, Christians, … in general, everyone´s got a belief. (*Interview with Karim, 05 July, 2011*[50])

It is not my intention to overly gloss what participants say. I would like to rather let their words speak for themselves – avoid what de Certeau would see as a reinterpretation through theorisation. Nevertheless, it is clear that there are two very important elements to Karim's discourse about Marseille. On the one hand, people do mix, they are all there in the same city, living together. But then straight away he recognises the important role religion plays in terms of identity. This is a central aspect of Marseille´s life and extends to eating practices (halal, kosher etc.) but also to socialisation. Drinking alcohol for instance is not widely appreciated in many of Marseille's neighbourhoods, and is replaced by coffee, or strong mint tea. This is an aspect of the city that was echoed by many of the participants. Nourredine, for instance, makes this clear:

> Because here in Marseille, it´s almost, close to – I don´t know how you say that in English – close to the Algerian people. It´s true, daily life in Algeria is almost like

[49] Interviews here have been rendered as continuous speech with slight editing and with exclusion of researcher questions since what is important is the 'what' not the 'how' of what the participants say. In a further chapter, when looking at the interpretation of LL specifically, I will adopt a more rigorous transcription style.

[50] All of the interviews in Marseille took place in French. See appendix 1.4 for the original in French.

> Marseille. Do you see ? Especially in town centre, there where there are neighbourhoods, what they call 'popular' neighbourhoods. Almost. Even in who I talk to, most of the time, I talk to, most of the time, Arab people, you know, foreigners, as they say, immigrants. (*Interview with Nourredine, 04 July, 2011*)

Nourredine notes what could be seen as a positive side to the city – the fact that it has achieved what few French cities have, a sense of familiarity for those people, who, because of immigration, displacement or travel contain within themselves the reverberations of cultures and identities whose origins are elsewhere. He is, however, very quick to talk of the people – for whom Marseille is home – in the othering discourse of the ministries of police and home affairs. Anyone who knows anything about France will be aware that all of its presidents from de Gaulle to Sarkozy have been embroiled in terrible scandals concerning xenophobic and even racist discourses. Sarkozy himself was rendered infamous for his allusions to the 'noise' and 'smell' of immigrants. The popular riots of 2004 (which, tellingly, hardly affected Marseille) were sparked off by his comments concerning immigrant ways of life and the need to 'clean' them with a power hose. Le Pen's National Front, extreme right wing party, regularly gets more than a third of the vote in elections. The list goes on. Through its hasty deportation strategies, the holding camps in both the South and the North of the country, and the brutal action of its CRS security force[51], France has repeatedly shown to have very little administrative tolerance or sympathy to other cultures and identities. This was perhaps seen most recently in the law forbidding Muslim women to wear the veil. Such discrimination, and attendant ghettoization, is something that came across strongly in interviews.

> There´s discrimination, because, myself, personally, since I've been living in Marseille, I haven't had to go to South Africa to see what a ghetto is. It's enough to go to the northern quarters to see them, and, ah, it's a shame for a powerful country, which calls itself democratic, 'liberty, equality and fraternity', to, to foster that kind of ghetto. From there on in, it's true that it creates problems : drugs for example. (*Interview with Karim, 05 July, 2011)*

In linking France to the apartheid politics of South Africa, Karim does so not just in terms of discrimination, and the othering discourses that were referred to above, but also in terms of the ghettoisation that immigrants suffer[52]. Any contextualisation of Marseille must take this into account. Housing projects are a very prevalent face of France's inner city and are overtly integrated into people's discourses about life. Many of the rap and hip hop songs that have made Marseille famous musically, talk of this aspect of growing up. In Marseille, the projects are also a regular theme for newspaper headlines (see for example Fessard, 2013) but contrary to most French cities they are in the centre, not the

[51] The CRS is a special branch of the police force that is mandated directly from the Ministry of the Interior. It was established during the French Revolution by Fouché (the 'guillotiner of Lyon') and under Sarkozy's term as Minister acquired a reputation for brutality and intolerance that led to the 2004 riots.

[52] These comments can be borne in mind when analysing the texts of chapter 6. What Karim says here is directly relevant to the text of figure 50 (image 54, appendix 5).

periphery. The Marché du Soleil neighbourhood borders three huge housing projects in various states of repair. To see how the discourses of cultural mixing, religion, familiarity, immigration and ghettoization apply to the research site it is necessary to look more closely at the dynamics that frame this specific part of the city.

The Algerian war (1954 – 1962) is fundamental in understanding Marseille. Whilst most of North Africa was administered by France, some countries such as Algeria *became* French and gave right to French citizenship. Under this administrative dispensation Algeria was peopled by French colonialists, the 'Pieds-Noirs' ('black feet') that also included Spanish and Italian speakers from Corsica, Malta, Andalusia and the Baleares, and Sephardic Jews whose roots stretched back over 3000 years. These peoples mixed with the Arab, Berber and Kabyle populations who had previously been administered under the Ottoman empire.

The events of WWII had already seen immigration into Marseille of Spanish dissidents after the Spanish civil war of 1936. Immigration from Italy had swelled under Mussolini and in the context of post-war poverty. But in 1962 when a referendum made it clear that Algeria would become independent, more than a million people repatriated to France whilst provision had been made for barely a third of that number. This led to many of these North African repatriates living in makeshift camps (such as that at Point Rouge) for many years and to a climate of unease and contestation in the face of a lack of recognition by France of the undertakings negotiated in the post-war process. Neighbourhoods such as the Marché du Soleil site house many who consider themselves French (a factor picked up in interviews) but whose familial and cultural networks extend to North Africa. This is a factor even when one considers the mayor, Gaston Defferre, who governed from 1953 to 1986 and who is attributed with forever changing the face of Marseille. He had been associated through his wife, Andrée Aboulker, with the liberation of Algeria. In 1962 however he openly opposed the repatriates.

It is perhaps the echoes of this opposition that have engendered the turning away of Marseille from its own town centre and poorer quarters – isolating them through infrastructure development and urbanism. An isolation that is only now being reversed. A comprehensive study of Marseille's centre in three volumes (INSEE, 2002) revealed that one in five people live under the poverty line and that 19% of households earn less than 621 Euros/month. 60% of these families live entirely on social security and of the single parent families where children stay with the mother 96% are in this situation. Marseille has a startling ratio of 1:23 between the 10% poorest and 10% richest households and this image is reinforced by the loss of 15% of its population between 1975 and 1999 giving rise to 35,000 vacant lodgings in the centre (Ronai, 2009). This brings out two things. Firstly the high degree of unemployment emphasises the importance of the informal sector, black market activities and informal undeclared jobs, such as babysitting, in allowing residents to make ends meet (see Bourgois, 2003, for a similar analysis of the informal economy in Harlem). This first aspect is an important factor in contextualising LL

in the neighbourhood, since the informal sector *is* so vibrant[53]. Secondly, as a result of Marseille's 'slump' there is a friction between the city of Marseille and its surrounding municipalities (Douay, 2009) which leads to opportunity costs for the centre.

Several projects bear this stamp: the construction in the seventies of an alternate port at Fos sur Mer for the oil refineries; the elevation of freeways that dissect and obscure the Northern quarters already cut off by the railway lines (a decision directly attributable to Defferre) and the Euromed projects that impulse gentrification and exclusion (Ronai, 2009, and Jourdan, 2008). Interestingly in the Euromed the state is a direct actor and has annexed 480 hectares in the area between the port and the Saint Charles station (where the research site is located). Renovation of the rue de la République has increased price of lodging, infrastructure development is continuing in and around Jules Guesde and spins off speculative projects such as "Le Village" which adopt an enclave-like, security, approach.

Finally, even initiatives that could diversify opportunities in the area, improve employment and education, do not always turn out as one could expect. The unification of the Marseille and Aix-en-Provence universities in response to a call for tender for the 'Campus' label (centres for excellence in France) was successful and did lead to an increased enrolment by students residing in the 3rd arrondissement (between 7.5% and 15% of students – INSEE, 2002). However, success at university is mitigated for children who come from this quarter and second-year failure rate is high (Beaud, 2002). Similarly Marseille's being elected as European Capital of Culture 2013 has led to provincial competition, disparate responses to transport and funding, even 'crisis' in terms of the mobilisation or upliftment of the greater metropolitan area and the centre (Sevin, 2011).

These dynamics give rise to conflicting discourses - on the one hand a recognition of poverty, of a need for integration, on the other a pride in one's community and a feeling of being French, of claiming that identity. The resolution to this equivocal position is sometimes incredible pride in the city itself. Marseille is, in some people's eyes, a cause for endless pride, ceaseless allegiance and overwhelming contentment. As I noted earlier, this attitude touches its football team with its motto, 'Straight to goal'[54] but also all the other quirks and peculiarities of the city. Below, in the words of Golden Youth, the intonation that he gives Marseille and the South of France seem to ring with an almost tireless capacity for evocation. Indeed, this status seems to rise above the contradictions of the city in terms of crime, or perhaps is fuelled by them. As concerns crime, and lack of money, one of the participants in this research, Sonia, was quick to note that the Marché

[53] I am here referring to this economic sector as 'informal' in the sense that Bourgois gives this term – as not recognised in the fiscal structure of the country, as being unregulated at an administrative level. This is not to say that this sector does not respond to a fascinating structuring of social, geographic and symbolic spaces as writers such as Vigouroux point out (Vigouroux and Mufwene, Eds., 2008).

[54] The rise to fame of the Olympique de Marseille is worth a study of its own, with infamous managers like Tappie who still make headlines for their shady billion dollar dealings. The motto of the club in French is 'Droit au but' that contains a play on words between 'straight' and 'legal, right'.

du Soleil, where she was doing her market shopping, was a poor neighbourhood, that people were relatively uneducated.

> As I was taking out my camera and microphone I was warned that I should be careful, that the place was not safe, lots of poverty, unemployment, lots of stealing. I asked about the neighbourhood and was told that it was a poor place, that people were simple. (*Field note for 02 July, 2011)*

Nevertheless the capacity for pride in one's community - whilst still recognising the disadvantages of unemployment and lack of education - remains very poignant. This was brought home with particular irony on my second field trip when I conducted an interview outside the Massilia snack with the self-styled Golden Youth ('jeunesse dorée'). The Massilia is run by Sherif, he is president of the Marché du Soleil market, and a figure in the neighbourhood, a father to many of those youths who find the passage from school to working life very hard. 'Jeunesse dorée' has been rendered here as 'Golden Youth' but its connotations in French contain a sense of glamour, of ease, very much at odds with the threadbare coat and the miniscule unemployment benefit to which this participant must have had access. To get him talking I asked him for five key words about the neighbourhood and the people who live in it. He begins with single words but quickly veers off into a poetic vision of both the youth and the gift of inspiration that they carry inside:

> Hello, I'm the Golden Youth […] so, to really reply to your question, five key words [...] there's the word 'youth', there's the word 'lost', 'we can't hear the sea', 'they know what they want', but that comes from higher above, it's not us, you see, it's those above who reach out their hand to us, without that there are no words.
>
> I am a child of this place […]
>
> I come here because I know uncle[55], I drink a coffee […] I've known uncle since I was small, it was him who educated me at the Mosque, it's him who helps me with money […] it's the Marché du Soleil, it's a little like Barbès, like Marrakech, like Thailand, like, look, there are lots of little streets where there are little shops, but look, I think that Marseille is a city where there should be more things like that […] Marseille is as beautiful as anywhere else, it's the South, you know what Marseille is, it's Venice from afar, you know what I mean ? If you climb to the top, top, top, top, on the Pharos[56], when you look at Marseille the houses are like Venice, if you look carefully you'll see, and that comes from someone who was born here […] Venice is inside us. (*Interview with Jeunesse Dorée, 19 December, 2012)*

[55] 'uncle' refers to Sherif, the owner of the Massilia
[56] A outcrop of rock on which is built a church and fortifications.

I feel that Golden Youth emphasises two points. Firstly, when he states that the youth in Marseille are, 'lost' his point is that they do not find a place, that their lives are circumscribed by poverty and lack of opportunity – very much like the ghettoisation that was mentioned in the previous section. This is a result both of immigration and of failed schooling, but also the politics of the city that, as outlined above, have failed in implementing pertinent strategies in neighbourhoods such as the Marché du Soleil. Secondly, the fact that Marseille is, 'Venice from afar' and that we carry, 'Venice inside us' points to a sense of equality and of possibilities that seem to be within reach when viewed panoramically but which reveal themselves as chimeric from near-at-hand. This is something that I myself felt very strongly in Marseille and seems to pervade the very fabric of the place. Finally, Golden Youth reveals something about the neighbourhood itself in his relations to his 'uncle' and in the fact that he comes to the Massilia to see Sherif. What is emphasised here is the sense of home, of family networks, and of the force of culture in binding people together and in giving them support.

Of course, Golden Youth speaks as an insider. His life is reminiscent of the lives of the Italian 'corner boys' that Foote Whyte studied in the late fifties (Foote Whyte, 1969). What is fascinating is that the same discourses of belonging in the face of hardship are grudgingly recognised by people from outside the neighbourhood, who come there to do their shopping. Janine for instance (who admittedly, grew up in a family of 'pieds noirs') is intriguing in the value she accords the sense of community. The following extract is quite a good example:

> Um, let's say, I'd like to explain. If you come to this neighbourhood, it's that it's really, really full of people from North Africa, lots of people, but, finally, you see, I would almost, somehow, be more at ease in coming here than in walking in the city. Maybe I'll have my bag stolen, whilst here, where they feel at home with each other, they won't do it, because maybe they'll be noticed, be caught, you see ? (*Interview with Lily and Janine, 19 December, 2012*)

The shopkeepers in the Marché du Soleil are aware of the history of the neighbourhood and the symbolism that attaches to the colonial past. The owner of Bône makes this clear:

> William : Why call you shop Bône ?
> Michel : Because of the town from where I come, originally, in Africa, Algeria. Before, when Algeria became a French department, it was called Bône. The town now is called Annaba.
> William : Do you think that people understand ?
> Michel : Yes, there are lots of 'pieds noirs'. When they see it, it reminds them of the country.
> *(Interview with Michel, 01 July, 2011)*

But I feel that the nostalgia to which Michel refers is only part of the discourse of immigration and exile that traverses the space of this neighbourhood. For many, a sense

of identity is at once French, but also not French. Since not completely at home in France, nor with the French way of life, it is against this way of life that other cultural norms are valued. And yet, when people like Nadir 'return' to a place in which they do not live, they feel foreign, ill-at-ease. The term for this in Marseille is the 'double absence' and, more than any other, represents a discourse that is subjacent to many of the texts of the Marché du Soleil site. The following extract is emblematic:

> I was born in Algeria. I arrived [in France] at the age of six. I discovered life here, I, I did my schooling here. I returned on holiday, in ninety one, for the first time that I was back, I was lost on arrival, I didn't understand anything. I came back, and there you go. It's from time to time, that I go, I never stay longer than two weeks, because, because it extends, … extends, … the time.
>
> There are signs that I don't understand down there, when I'm there, I don't understand, I ask a cousin , if he's seen, what that means, so when I'm in France, I understand, I did my schooling here. (*Interview with Nadir, 05 July, 2011)*

What Nadir is referring to, specifically, is the fact that he is unable to read Arabic script and therefore orient himself in the physical and commercial space of Algeria: he cannot read road signs, shop signs or simple directions. This, however symbolises only one aspect of what it means to have grown up in a place whose networks of belonging, pride and identity are multiple, heterogeneous and polyphonic.

People, language and literacy of the Marché du Soleil site

Narratives such as that of Nadir, reveal much about the discourses that animate the Marché du Soleil site. But people's paths are also like their discourses; revelatory about themselves and the space through which they move. I have focused, until now, on some of the discourses that animate and traverse the site that I am studying. I would like at this stage to focus more particularly on the people I met in the neighbourhood, on the languages they speak, and their personal narratives. This work follows a survey that I conducted in the vicinity of the Marché du Soleil. Of thirty people surveyed about the languages that they spoke and their sense of belonging, the panoply of languages and origins were stunning. Participants cited Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Armenia, the Comores, Italy, Morocco, Senegal and Tunisia as places of origin. These origins were places to which they felt attached culturally and were either those of their birth, or of one or both of their parents. Languages understood or spoken included those of the countries cited but also German, Spanish, Hebrew and Russian.

The importance of personal trajectory was emphasised by this survey. Less than a quarter of respondents felt that their children shared their origin. This raises the question on the one hand of the 'success' of France's educational policy, that accords almost no place to the acceptance of second languages or of other cultures, on the other it brings to the fore the need to directly access what the people in this neighbourhood say about their origins

and their lives. The first point ties in with literacy, with understanding what people *do* with language. The argument that literacy is more than a simple ability to read and write has been made with success (see Street, 1993, 2008, and Gee, 1996). Literacy studies raise issues of environment, value and cognition. In the Marché du Soleil site, what emerges very strongly at this level is the loss of an ability to read Arab script and the way this is then inserted into a value system. This is relevant to the interview with Nadir above, but is visible in the further extracts below:

> I speak French and Arab. But reading and writing is in French, because I only speak Arab, I don't know how to read Arab or write it. Arabic writing, I know a friend who can write in Arab, I like it, the writing, I like it. I would also like to know how to write it myself. (*Interview with Nadir, 05 July, 2011)*

> I speak English, French, Arab, but not literary, not literary Arab, only, ah, how would you say? Colloquial Arab. I speak Arab very well, I speak English very well, I speak French very well, that's already not too bad hey. The calligraphy, the style of writing, of course. It's two things that are completely different, and, ah, then, French is a very rich language, and Arab too, and, ah, I do still prefer the style of writing, the calligraphy of Arab, which is, well, better wrought. […] I only know colloquial [spoken] Arab, really don't know written Arab, it's a language that is very difficult to learn and, unluckily, I wasn't lucky enough to learn it. (*Interview with Sonia, 02 July, 2011*)

For many this loss of the ability to read Arab script is a key factor in articulating multiple identities, it also aids in creating the double absence that I mentioned earlier concerning the simultaneous fact of being and *not* being French. The rift between those for whom Arab script is an acquired skill and those for whom its loss represents part of a transition in origins is illustrated in this segment of an interview with Sherif:

> William: So, just quickly, what languages do you speak?
> Sherif: Arab, French, so, uh, Arab, it's what you would expect, it's my native language, and, after that, French, my second language, and then a little Italian and a little German.
> William: Okay. And what language do you write the best?
> Sherif: Uh, the best, the best, the best, it's Arab, definitely. I read in French and in Arab, but the language I master, if one can say that, more or less well, is Arab.
> William: Okay. And do you ever read books …
> Sherif: Of course, of course …
> William: … in Arab?
> Sherif: I've been to school you know …
> William: … no, but, I mean, ha ha.
> Sherif: Ha ha ha. Yes. I read in Arab.
> William: In Arab.

> Sherif: And now, at the moment, I'm beginning to read in French. It helps me to transmit my ideas to people.
> (*Interview with Sherif, 01 July, 2011*)

Sherif, as mentioned, is a very prominent actor in the Marché du Soleil. He is president of the market, and his snack bar serves as rallying point for many different people. It is a natural rendezvous for those who are in the area and the man himself is both convivial and yet to a certain extent taciturn, severe, inspiring of respect. Here he insists rapidly on his education, and in a half joking fashion reminds me that of course he reads. The fact that he deliberately misinterprets my question is not anodyne. It reinforces the value he places on his ability to read, and the place in that value system for his understanding of the Arab script. His position in terms of literacy is diametrically opposed to those immigrants of first or second generation, educated in France. He reminds me of my own insecurities when learning to read and transact in French, and his deliberate efforts to choose French novels, summon up my own struggles to integrate such a rich and self-reflexive culture. This is because reading in French is not a simple act of understanding plot and character, it is also to consciously enter into all the subtle references to other works, history, icons and facts of language that continue to breathe vitality into the French creative imagination.

To talk with Sherif about his life was to evoke a rupture with his infancy in North Africa. This was a rupture that was echoed in particular by Nourredine. Nourredine, whom I interviewed twice, had studied to degree level in Algeria, but alluded to problems finding work, and the pressure on him to marry in his hometown. He therefore left for Marseille, but his life has been perhaps less fortunate than that of Sherif. Unable to obtain a visa, he has lived clandestinely for over seven years. He cannot open a bank account, nor find any other work than that of cashier in an internet café. He does not think of leaving Marseille, to take the highway is to risk being apprehended by a police patrol, nor can he return now to Algeria where the constraints on his personal situation have worsened. Deeply religious and very wise on matters of the Koran, his presence is nevertheless a silent one in the neighbourhood; reinforcing the informal, clandestine nature of much of the economic and familial networks that hold for this place.

A final encounter allowed me to see that silence, rupture, really were a corollary to the vibrant mixing of culture, artefact and music that had formed my first impressions. And that this obverse, this backdrop, did not just apply to people from North Africa. While waiting for a bus, taking photographs of LL and noting observations on the Marché du Soleil, I was accosted by a young Roma girl. I tried speaking to her in Spanish, but she seemed to come from Romania, rather than from among the Spanish Roma with whom I had worked as a teacher. In a very limited French she started asking me what I was doing, why, and was curious to see the pictures I had taken. However, we had not been talking for more than a few minutes when her mother came. The girl was instantly hushed up, tidied away into the arriving bus, effaced from memory. I was left with the certainty that

what had been perceived by the mother was a security breach, a penetration into lives that had to be kept secret from police and the glances of others in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps it is because of the silence that envelops this darker side to multicultural places, that there is poignancy to those manifestations of pride and success when they *are* encountered. Figure 11 represents a literacy practice, that of having well-wishing certificates made up to celebrate the successes of life such as school exams, birthdays and marriages. It mirrors a similar practice noted in my interviews with a family associated with the Bosman site. The conclusions that I draw there (see Kelleher, 2012) are valid for the Marché du Soleil. In my opinion such practices illustrate a difficulty with written language and the need for mediation in the relationship between sender and receiver. But there is also a value given to writing in these circumstances. Writing serves to consecrate, to mark, to place the sign of permanence on what is a fleeting moment in life. This also, perhaps, is one of the functions of LL.



Figure 11. Photographs of certificates that can be written out for marriages, academic achievement, birthdays and the like (by author, 01 July, 2011).

The Bosman site

In Bosman there is a double movement of transition that concerns both the physical environment and the people that now live within that environment, especially in town centre. Bourgois (2003, pp. 48 - 76) discusses poverty and crime at both a politico-economic and an ecological level. In his analysis people as agents are acted upon by the system in which they move, but the place in which they live has its own dynamics and is productive of similar phenomena despite epoch or population group. Whilst it would not be true to draw out a pre-1994 analysis of the Bosman site as being in any way similar either demographically, economically or culturally to the site as I found it in 2011 and 2012, it is true that the changing physical environment of Pretoria has set up constraints that offer a profound corollary to the effect of political or economic change post-1994.

Politically, from the founding of the Umkhonto we Sizwe[57], South Africa could be said to be at war in a very real sense. It is the network of alliances and interests from this period that still link the parliament at the Union Buildings with countries such as Zimbabwe. Furthermore the Apartheid government's politics of destabilisation led to a fragmentation of the economic and social fabric of countries like Mozambique that has promoted emigration. Following the transition to democracy in 1994 dynamics such as these have generated complex trade relations and immigration policies between South Africa and its neighbours and trading partners. An indication of the continuing relevance of South Africa internationally are the 114 Embassies that are present in Pretoria (Department of Corporate International Relations, 2012) or the queues of people outside of the Home Affairs department, which has four bureaux in Pretoria. Immigration is a potent source of friction and has exploded more than once, giving rise elsewhere in the country - particularly in Johannesburg - to race riots and killings during 2008.

Porous borders also have implications for trade, and dumping, in a competition for products that matches the influx of people. The post-Apartheid period generated huge needs in terms of clothing and household supplies to match the incredible socio-economic and demographic changes that traversed the country. Chinese and Indian products were thrown at this emerging market freed from the constraints of economic sanctions. These huge volumes of traded goods were often accompanied by the establishment of family-owned stores that are a visible and pervasive feature of centres such as that of Pretoria. In and around the research site three restaurants and two clothes/household goods shops are Chinese-owned whilst ten shops are Indian and Pakistani owned. Against this backdrop the second generation Portuguese-owned meat market and restaurant cut an almost conservative, 'traditional' feel. In fact, the owner of the Blou Bulle meat market, who seemed to be more than a little prejudiced against the changes wrought in Pretoria, commented wryly on the neighbourhood as it is now.

William: Have you noticed any changes in the kinds of shops you get?

[57] The armed wing of the ANC founded between 1960 - 1961.

Fernando: Changes? They cater for the market. You can't cater for … it's not our market.
William: Obviously your shop, but have you seen new shops happening?
Fernando: They cater for the market. That's in the area. […] Thirteen hairdressers in two blocks? Thirteen hairdressers in two blocks?
William: So, the hairdressers. Anything else?
Fernando: The Muslims. (*Interview with Fernando, 12 April, 2012)*

In terms of the built environment, it is necessary to consider the role of local government in regulating and promoting urbanisation projects that bear on the flows of people and resources in the town centre. The research site falls under ward 60 (see figure 8). Local government agencies which depend on rates and payment for services such as water and electricity are poorly equipped to deal with questions of social justice. They no longer control many of the portfolios such as infrastructure, transport and education that now are managed at a regional or provincial level. This means that they must rely on private investment and use only its levered income as any kind of motor for service delivery or redistribution of resources (Mabin, 2005). This is doubly negative for town centres in the post-Apartheid era where most developments are flowing to the urban 'edge', leaving town centres behind to cope with degradation, neglect and the consequences of the implantation of so many government offices in the heady pre-2000 days of constitutional reform.

The discussion so far frames the double movement that was alluded to in introduction of this section. It consists in this: that racial segregation continues in the fleeing of the Apartheid-formed middle class to the suburbs and urban edge whilst the hoped-for repopulation of the centre that began initially has been short-changed through the triple action of a) emulation of suburban life in Pretoria´s North and South; b) lack of infrastructure and transport; and c) the effects of urban degradation in terms of services, and maintenance (see Nuttall and Mbembe, Eds., 2008, Mabin, 2005, and Nyalunga 2006). It is this dynamic that accounts for the rapid and affluent expansion of the Haartbeespoort Dam and Menlyn areas combined with the sprawl of townships such as Atteridgeville and Mamelodi. Population in the Pretoria CBD – and therefore the Bosman site - underwent two consecutive and deep-seated shifts, firstly an influx of 26.23% new residents[58] but then a sharp drop of those living in town centre in favour of the periphery[59].

The result is of course a feeling of neglect that is exacerbated through cultural affinities and antagonisms. Extracts such as this from Chantal, are revelatory of the sentiments and

[58] This can be seen sharply in the period covered by the censuses of 1996 and 2001. Census 2001 gives 'black' residents as being 77.63% (Frith, 2001) whereas statistics for 'white' and 'black' in ward 60 for 1996 give 51.4% and 41.3% respectively (STATSSA, 1996).
[59] This drop in city centre residents occurred despite the Tshwane region's growing at a fast 18.3%. From 1 982 235 to 2 345 908 between 2001 and 2007 (STATSSA, 2007) and by 367,076 from 2006 to 2011 (STATSSA, 2011).

discourses of many of the participants to this research. They are, in what is finally a critique of the contemporary, not far from the points raised by Dlamini in his *Native Nostalgia* (Dlamini, 2009) where he analyses what it means to reminisce about a life shaped by Apartheid.

> William: What was this area like before 1994?
> Chantal: It was alright.
> William: But who lived here, what kind of people lived here?
> Chantal: They were rich, rich people living here. White and blacks, Indians everyone.
> William: Before 1994?
> Chantal: Yeah, before 1994.
> William: Okay, and after 1994?
> Chantal: After 1994 there was a big difference. Most of whites they just go around in their suburbs. They stay there.
> William: So the whites left. Did anyone else arrive?
> Chantal: They. Those who arrived are the Chinese, and the Pakistanians. *(Interview with Chantal, 12 April, 2012*)

I would like to deal more fully in the following section with the contribution to this research of people like Chantal. They are not alone, however in their negative evaluation of the city. I have briefly discussed the Schubart Park projects. Corten and van Dun (2009) highlight the poor repair of a majority of central buildings, and note that this phenomenon can hide spiralling rent. It is useful to compare the R1500 – 2000 that one would pay for a tiny flat in the Bosman site with the R400 for a room and cooking area in the townships. This creates the opportunity for implantation of immigrant communities that rely on the centre and the suburban for proximity to economic activity and as a way of avoiding the stigma that attaches to them in the closer-knit peri-urban areas (Ga Rankuwa, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi).

These very processes that touch the physical and economic environments have been accompanied by a preoccupation with the symbolic rather than the pragmatic in terms of urbanisation projects. Taking sense from the preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Pretoria and Johannesburg are being merged in a bid to create a wider metropolitan area. The figurehead of this development thrust is the Gautrain that arrives at Pretoria Station (see photo 4f, appendix 4) and that cuts down the two hour Metro train run to 40 minutes. This does little to address the perennial problem of a secondary transport infrastructure (Strydom, 2007) which remains informal. Again, this is reflected in the colossal car parks that accompany the Gautrain stations and which fail to integrate this train within local social fabric.

In terms of urbanism, mention must be made of the informal trading sector. Whereas in the Marseille site this is openly repressed by the arrival of the police (field note of Tuesday 5th July, 2011, records the hurried packing up of all sellers in the Jules Guesde

square) in Pretoria, and South Africa generally, the informal sector is represented as a solution to unemployment. The local authorities furnish tables, awnings and other facilities for street vendors (Ligthelm and van Wyk, 2004) but if the situation in Durban is anything to go by there is also an equivocal attitude in that police try and suppress informal selling since it leads to illegal products such as pirated DVD's, the investing of neighbourhood pavements by illegal immigrants and negative reactions from shop proprietors (Skinner, 2008). At the Bosman site there are many sellers present, who, for an emplacement pay R107.95 /month (Tshwane City Management, 2011).

The contradictions – again that word – of a regional policy that ostensibly promotes an informal sector whilst simultaneously seeking to prevent either its becoming a market for illegal goods or an access point for illegal immigrants, are best looked at through the eyes of Mary. Mary was a seller of pirated CD's and DVD's that she obtained - being Harare-born herself - from a Zimbabwean pusher downtown (probably Marabastad taxi market). When selling her goods she fitted in fine with the other touters of haircuts, amagwinya[60], sweets, cigarettes and newspapers that one can find on Bosman's corners. I made two visits to the flat that she shared with her husband. The first visit on 16th July 2011 was at my insistence and allowed me to see the interior of one of the several ten-to-fifteen storey blocks that constitute the short-term housing offer. Her room, for which she paid R1500 / month was big enough just for a double bed, a television set and a small table. The floor was parquet painted-over with red floor enamel, and from her window the view was of the interior of the block. Its buildings pushed pelle-melle against the rear walls of the bigger low-rises on Jacob Maré Street (now Jeff Masemola). On the second visit however, she asked me to come up since the police were patrolling and they were actively looking for sellers – like her – of illegal stock. In fact, in my subsequent walks through the neighbourhood I sometimes saw people hurriedly stashing away the box on which they sold DVD's. I then understood the gesture of these immigrants which contrasted so significantly with the attitude of South African informal sellers who kept their table and their produce in plain view.

It would be wrong, though, to think of the informal economy as sharply demarcated between 'legit' and 'illegal' activities. A culture of inter-aid prevailed. Dante, the 79 year old seller of medicinal herbs from Lesotho for instance, stocked away his table and sign under the tarpaulin of a neighbour selling cabbages. These kinds of exchanges typify for me the discussion so far concerning the social and economic relationships of the site. On the one hand there is an overt discourse of change and development. This discourse is seen both in the physical space of the street (change of name, new government department buildings etc) but also in the documents that are available. The street name change particularly has been accompanied by a large advertising campaign that recapitulates a struggle rhetoric. It is a discourse that is also seen in transport

[60] A dumpling that is cooked in deep-fat frying pans over small charcoal or paraffin burners by women who often set up a temporary stall in big cardboard boxes that protect the fryer and allow the seller to heat herself.

infrastructure, the promotion of employment in the informal sector, and the sense of freedom that is undoubtedly actively promoted in Pretoria as a whole. In contradistinction to this discourse there is however an underlying lack of job security or welfare support, especially for the people who have entered the country and find themselves in the no man's land of Home Affairs visa applications. There is also a lingering of the past both physically in terms of the urban environment, but also in terms of the degradation and disenfranchisement that people still suffer.

This last point raises the question of the new educational dispensation, and the opportunity that is conveyed by this most powerful of institutions. To date English has been promoted as language of learning and teaching in a large majority of establishments (see Department of Basic Education, 2010). This seems to be due to a confluence of factors such as prestige, a pragmatic approach to book availability, offer in terms of teaching personnel and institutional constraints (Alexander, 2003, Lafon, 2006 a and b, Rubagumya, 2009). Certainly in the neighbourhood both the Prestige business school and the Ed-U-College high school that are on Jacob Maré street are English medium, and higher education campuses such as the University of Pretoria or the Tshwane University of Technology are majoritarily so. This situation obviously generates questions as to equality of opportunity, but also a sincere worry as to self-esteem and the place of African languages in South Africa.

A final word must be dedicated to the pandemic that is HIV / AIDS. The Bosman site is home to two local doctors' practices or 'surgeries'. Both seek to broaden their clientele by advertising their presence in Sesotho and English, both employ personnel that are fluent in these languages. Both also have clearly been targeted by governmental and NGO policy documentation concerning spread of the disease. And yet neither can really be said to be efficient in terms of what I would consider the basics: free condom distribution, an open and informed attitude, an encouragement of screening, counselling and readiness to administer PEP. There are some incredible AIDS initiatives in the Gauteng - Zuzimpilo, the Themba Lethu centre, which run on US funding - but neither of the 'surgeries' in Bosman could be considered part of what makes those projects successful. Instead, this site, which is home to intense through flow thanks to two transport hubs, in addition to its position close to the N14 freeway, and which could be doing so much to curb the ravages of transmission, offers an alarmingly apathetic attitude. Bosman is literally littered with LL that portray a gendered take on sexuality (penis enlargement notices, cosmetic surgery for women, adverts for free abortions and herbal creams for sexual performance). I will be discussing this LL in the next chapter. The relation of social actor to field that applies thereto is clearly heteronormed; providing interesting points of comparison with the Marché du Soleil site.

People, language and literacy of the Bosman site

Census documentation that has been collated and analysed in depth (those of 1996 and 2001) provide an interesting breakdown of South Africa by official language. As collated by Paralieu in Lafon (2006 a, p. 34) these documents show a nationwide profile where members of the Nguni group (isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele) have more than 20 million speakers and far outrank all other languages in terms of 'first home language'. The Sotho-Tswana group (Sesotho sa leboa, Sesotho, Setswana) follows with less than 15 million and these languages are in turn more widespread than Afrikaans (more than 5 million), English (less than 5 million), Xitsonga (less than 2 million), Tshivenda (one million) and a proportion of 'other' languages. In the Gauteng, which would apply directly to the research site, the three most popular 'first home languages' are Afrikaans, isiZulu and Sesotho.

There are severe problems however with statistics such as these[61]. Firstly there are persistent drawbacks with the manner in which STATSSA implements the reduced sample in the context of census surveys – which continues to apply in the more recent survey of 2011 - 2012. This concerns both the size of the sample and the format of questions, and is pointed out by Lafon (2006 a). There is also a focus on 'first home language' and on 'official South African' language which fails to distinguish between languages used institutionally (in commerce, education etc) and those languages that are spoken by immigrant communities.

I therefore thought it more appropriate to consider the dynamics outlined in the above section and to draw out their implications through researcher observation and the responses of participants. From this perspective the picture of the site changes dramatically and the number of languages spoken increases significantly. It has already been mentioned that several shops are owned by people from India, Pakistan or China. There are also Portuguese and Congolese-run shops and people of many different origins that lodge in the residential blocks. Many in the neighbourhood therefore use other languages and dialects in addition to South African official language(s) or English. English does however seem to be a constant, and from participant responses was either learned in school, was a second language in the country of origin, or was learned upon arrival in South Africa. For many it also represented a post-Apartheid transition and below I will look further at the language and literacy practices of some of the people that I met in the street.

The incredible diversity of the Bosman site was recognised by almost all the participants. In many cases it was a given, an understood dimension of the site. For instance, when I was talking to Mary about her apartment building and mentioned some of the kinds of

[61] Apart from the problems mentioned in this paragraph, the census also insists on adopting the racial categories of the Apartheid administration. In a neighbourhood containing immigrants from Central Africa, Francophone Africa and countries on the border of South Africa, I find the terms 'black', 'white', 'indian' and 'coloured' to be of almost no use at all.

people who could live there, she casually continued my list for me and threw in, haphazardly, at least a half dozen more languages that could be spoken in her block[62]. The diversity of culture was also evident in other ways. Chantal, for instance, who was referred to above, can speak more than seven languages and uses them in her day to day transactions. Languages and culture also leave other traces. Some of these traces are the result of affiliations and identities that as Appadurai (1996) points out can create a sense of the local, of the familiar, that has little to do with the actual, present, delimited space. For Appadurai locality is merely an actualisation of other bonds between people to which he gives the name 'ethnoscapes'. Locality in this view is, "primarily relational and contextual rather than […] scalar or spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts." (Appadurai, 1996, p. 178).

Reflections such as this are very relevant for the Bosman site, where people trace paths that allow one to glimpse the existence of fleeting preoccupations and identities. An example is the newspaper they buy. During one interview with Henry, the newspaper seller whose headlines appear in figure 12, he suddenly embarked on a recapitulation of weekly newspaper sales. It was a beautiful moment, reminiscent of Foote Whyte's bowling scores (Foote Whyte, 1969, pp. 14 - 25) which indicated changing prestige within the corner boys. These newspaper figures reveal both language and origin but also factors such as the search for employment or the big stake.



Figure 12. Photograph of Henry's newspaper 'stand' at the corner of Kruger and Scheiding streets (photograph by author, 11 April, 2012).

The Sowetan is a Jo'burg tabloid that focuses mostly on daily-life stories, it is in English. Pretoria News dominates the headline space in the city, it is written in English and carries job want ads on Wednesdays. Isolezwe is written in isiZulu and (like the Sowetan) focuses on daily-life stories but with the advantage of having a beautiful, scantily clad, Zulu maiden on facing page 3. The Beeld is written in Afrikaans and has a mid-range choice of

[62] ChiShona, isiNdebele, Kalanga, kiSwahili and Shangaan.

stories including some politics and business. The Citizen is written in English and can be compared to the New Age which is also in this language and which carries politics, business and stories of national import. The Sun and The Star are in English and up just a notch from the Sowetan. The Zimbabwe finally, carries stories from, well … Zimbabwe but is written in English. Henry's recapitulation is given in figure 13.

Newspaper	Language	Sales per day	Exceptional days
Sowetan	English	20 – 25	
Pretoria News	English	10	Wednesdays (job day) 15
Isolezwe	isiZulu	5 – 6	
Beeld	Afrikaans	2	
Citizen	English	15	Wednesdays and Fridays (horse race days) more than 30
Zimbabwe	English	10 / day even though a Thursday weekly	
The Star	English	2 - 4	Wednesday (job day) 15
New Age	English	2	
The Sun	English	60	

Figure 13. Recapitulation of newspaper sales in the Pretoria site per day as given in an interview with Henry on 12 April, 2012.

The readership figures above emphasise the popularity of The Sun and of the Zimbabwe as well as the relatively low sales of Isolezwe and the even more pronounced lack of sales of the Beeld. Even more interesting than these figures are the reasons that Henry gives. Pretoria News for instance has difficulties piercing the taxi-going market because it's a broad-sheet and so too big. The Sowetan is written in 'chopped' English, which pleases the Gauteng crowd. The Star, finally, does seem to have the last word in racy eye-catching headlines. For myself, researching the site, and given the plethora of potential languages that could be spoken, I was disappointed not to see copies of more culturally representative newspapers like those that come from Angola or Mozambique. It seemed to me that once again English trumped the local linguistic scene, due perhaps to the weight that the ANC has given to its pro-English stance (see Lafon, 2006 a and b). I asked Henry about this aspect of language vitality.

> William: Why do you think it's [the promotion of African culture, languages etc.] not happening? Why do you think that everyone's using English?
> Henry: You see, people, you see, uhm, another thing, neh, let me say this again, I'm not undermining people, but I see, aaah, most of the, aah, child, neh? The child from South Africa, the problem is, is smoking Nyaope[63], and where do you buy it? You buy it from those guys from Nigeria, […] smoking drugs, Nyaope, the

[63] Any kind of cheap synthetic drug mixed with marijuana or other aggregate.

> child living in South Africa. That is the problem, that is why you have no home, not participating the, the, the dramas… (*Interview with Henry, 12 April, 2012*)

Henry, surprisingly – and in contradiction to his previously stated appreciation of the neighbourhood – gives here an interpretation that seems to align itself more with Fernando's views as noted above. Of course, there is perhaps an element of truth in what Henry says. He is on his corner from five in the morning to five at night, and he has met, and knows a huge number of the actors and passers through. What bothers me is the way in which he simultaneously accepts and rejects the multi-cultural place that Bosman has become. To illustrate this, it is nice to reproduce an extract from a Nigerian, John, the owner of a homeware shop just three doors down from where Henry runs his stand. John is a deeply religious man. Whilst this interview was taking place both he and myself were sitting on two loudspeakers pouring soulful reggae into the heart of the street and sharing a glass of coca cola.

> In terms of, in terms of, like, friendship, relationship, you understand, in my place [Nigeria] it's something like relationship. Relations is very, very important in my place. We value, relationship. You understand, because, it's word of God, you must love yourself as your equal. But here, you make love someone, you may like someone as, as your friend or whatever, and he turns around and does, I mean, I mean. He can do what he like in this place. Because in our place, that's why I say we have got culture, you must drop all your mind, all your spirit to that person, whoever. Even if it's a man, a woman, whatever, to show him or her that there's love there. But this place, when you talk of friend, they say, no, I am not your friend, because nobody trust each other. (*Interview with John, 12 April, 2012)*

The fact that Henry's words can be so easily contradicted by an extract such as the one above, points, I feel, to a more deep-rooted cause for the marked failure of many producers of LL on the Bosman streets to do more to promote a multi-linguistic, multi-cultural space. I asked Henry, along with several other participants, why they did not use their own languages on the LL for which they were responsible. Henry replied that he did not feel it was something that he *could* do – that it would attract trouble from police and shop owners. Others replied that it was not something they wished. This aspect of the Bosman site recalls work on ethnotheories regarding literacy. Ethnotheories are the, "implicit, taken-for-granted ideas about the 'natural' or 'right' way to think and act" (Jegels, 2011, p. 9) and are particularly relevant to literacy when viewed as a social practice, as what people *do*. I would like to examine this aspect of the discourses in place at the Bosman site through three people, Chantal, Dante and Hlengiwe.

Firstly, it must be understood that Bosman, from all the contacts, meetings and interviews that I conducted with participants, emerged as a poor place. People are not rich either in terms of cash or in terms of intellectual capital such as literacy skills. As people talked to me for instance I realised the struggle it was to read, to be viable economically, to take advantage of South Africa's growing service industry and to escape

from the very small-scale economy within most of the participants were trapped. An example of this would definitely be Chantal. Chantal is a lady who works in a snack bar on Paul Kruger street. She wears thick violet fard with silver outlining, has a wide smile and says she speaks many of the key languages in South Africa to a very high level of fluency (she lists seven of the official languages of South Africa). She has been in the Bosman neighbourhood for almost twenty years, first as a student in a business school in Bosman street, and then as worker in her current position. She has her Matric, and a post-Matric diploma. Though educated in formal institutions, her confrontation with the aléas of demands on literacy lies in a transition first from an African language (Setswana), to Afrikaans which was the lingua franca of commerce and employment in Pretoria during the eighties. This was then followed by a second transition to English post-1994. Both of these transitions, and the relationships of power and access within which they occurred have disadvantaged her enormously. She spoke in her interview about her inability to find suitable employment because of these demands.

Dante provides another example of the kinds of relationships that take place within the Bosman neighbourhood and which say so much about language and identity. I mentioned earlier that Dante stocked his stall and sign for the traditional medicines that he sells under the tarpaulin of a neighbouring informal trader. Dante is 79 years old, can barely see, and has also been in the neighbourhood for almost twenty years. He is a passionate advocate of his remedies. One in particular, a bitter root that is boiled up – Lerumo la madi – was particularly popular with clients and himself. He assured me on our first meeting that he could still have an erection 'every day I'm telling you!'. Dante could read with difficulty, but could not write. He was very clear and open about this and immediately told me that he had had the signs of his stall made up for him. What I found fascinating was the fact that the first sign of his that I photographed (see discussion in chapter 6 and figures 43 and 44) was so erratic in terms of font, layout etc. The second sign was much more 'professional' and had been made by a worker at the PEP stores outlet on the street front behind him. Neither font nor layout seemed to disturb him, and he stocked the sign under the tarpaulin, as he would any other product that he sold at his stall.

Both Dante and Chantal are examples of what could be termed a 'grassroots' literacy[64] (see Blommaert, 2002, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005, and Vigouroux, 2011). It translates into a discourse about modernity that would simultaneously accept the necessity of literacy skills such as fast reading, accurate writing, but would also relegate them to a domain with which the person was not in immediate contact. This in fact is exactly the kind of observation that is relevant to a 'scalar' interpretation in which the literacy of people such as Dante or Chantal are relegated to the periphery, a lack of symbolic power and a continued marginalisation (Jegels, 2011, p. 12). Similar examples are given in figures 14, 15 and 16 below. Figure 14 is of a seller of 'tops and tails' (chicken

[64] This was also the theme of an exhibition of these texts that I prepared for the Museum of Ethnography of Bordeaux (Kelleher, 2011).

heads and feet) who was reading a newspaper in English (figure 14). What is pertinent here is the date of the newspaper: it was the 20th April, 2011 and this photo was taken on the 28th! In the interview with her, she explained that English was not her first or even her most fluent language and that she read to learn. Of course, this is not a strictly English phenomenon because just at the other corner of the block a morning seller of amagwinya[65] was reading an Afrikaans paper for the same reason.



Figure 14. Photograph of an informal trader reading (by author 28 April, 2011).



Figure 15. Photograph of a job vacancy at the Low Side Bar on Scheiding Street (by author, 27 April, 2011).

[65] As mentioned above, amagwinya are deep-fat fried dumplings.



Figure 16. Photograph of a flattened cardboard beer container that is used to mark taxi runs at the corner of Bosman and Scheiding streets (by author 29 April, 2011).

The job vacancy sign in figure 15 shows an ambivalence between Afrikaans and English in the spelling of vacancy, or at least a hesitancy with the written code that gives this sign particular prominence. Its use is to advertise for waiters but there is something more, it signals the standing of the bar, the kind of people who manage the place and the kind of person that they are looking for. I did not have the opportunity to speak with the author of this sign, but I have been to the Low Side Bar several times and it lives up to its want ad. As I mentioned in the previous chapter its darkened interior lends itself to loud music on saturated speakers and games of pool. Behind the advert in the photograph there is a grill for cooking. In the evening there is a feeling of quiet melancholy that goes well with the passengers in transit to Bosman coach station that cross the road at this point.

Figure 16 shows taxi in and out times for runs. This is a requirement for the taxi association but what is so striking is to see the taxi drivers filling out their times and consulting what is in fact an old, recycled, beer carton. This last example brings up a further interesting point concerning the uses of literacy (see Breier, Taetsane and Sait in Prinsloo and Breier, Eds., 1996) – that they are not intrinsic to the support on which they are written but to the intention of the participants. In all of these examples what is fascinating is to note how post-Apartheid Pretoria is busy reinventing its semiotic spaces, and how, within those heterogeneous spaces, language and literacy practices are a part of this reinvention (see Vigouroux and Mufwene, Eds., 2008, p. 248).

To conclude this section I would briefly like to recap one of the interviews that I conducted with the family of producers of texts concerning their literacy practices. Of the three key participants that I interviewed in their shop I feel that the responses of Hlengiwe concerning how and what she reads are the most pertinent to the discussion at

this point. Hlengiwe has been to university to study civil engineering and accounting and is serious, very hard-working and deeply spiritual. What is fascinating is the fact that, like Chantal, despite her education there is really only one book in her flat, the Bible which she uses for prayer, contemplation and in which she regularly glosses notes. In fact she confided to me that for her it is a daily evening ritual to read and annotate a passage from the Bible. This kind of meditative, deeply personal literacy practice subtends the LL in the Bosman site.

Conclusions for this chapter

This chapter has shed light on the socio-economic, religious, cultural and discursive construction of the two sites that were first explored from the perspective of their interactions and physical geography. Behind the differences in street architecture, personal front, and perceptual space lie deep similarities in the sense of place. What comes to the fore is social exclusion and uncertainty, aspiration and cultural belonging, what it means to live well, have respect, to mix with others and to be seen as different: rupture, survival and continuity.

The similarities between the two sites concern, firstly, their multiculturalism, the intermingling of peoples that is framed against the aftermath of civil war and rupture of social fabric. In the case of Marseille this was the Algerian war, in South Africa the struggle against Apartheid and the changes post transition to democracy in 1994. These are both poor places, where many live under the poverty line and where urbanisation projects give rise to contradictory results. Employment and educational initiatives are not unproblematic and come up against constraints in terms of language, culture and reach. Continuity in lives stretches across the lines of the nation state, but also across time and changes in political and social economy. In each site it is a continuity that is tinged with nostalgia for an unreachable past or sense of origin and that is dogged by the spectre of social ill. In the Marché du Soleil this takes the form of religious and cultural discrimination, ghettoization, whilst in Bosman discourses of virility and of gender are haunted by HIV and the failure of local governmental instances to deal with immigration and changing demographics.

As I review this chapter, Mandela's death occurred just two days previously. The dream of a strong, united and free country that informed the first democratic presidency of South Africa seems distant from these sites where mediated practices, such as those encapsulated by literacy, bring into sharp focus educational, linguistic, cultural and religious aspects that demand a more detailed understanding of text and public sphere. This, essentially, will be the work of the next chapter.

At this point, it is helpful to recap the discussion so far. This thesis is adopting a geosemiotic approach. In this respect, when studying LL "three broad systems of social semiotics are interconnected at any site of social action – the interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 7). These systems locate language in the material world - a world of social action and meaning making which, here, concerns the production and reception of LL texts by social actors. Chapter 3 discussed the units of the interaction order while looking at the haptic, olfactory, thermal, visual and auditory spaces of the two sites, in addition to time, personal front and interpersonal distance. In chapter 4 I presented the sites under study, and the people who live, work and pass through them, so as to understand habitus: the relation of actor to field. What particularly interested me in chapter 4 were the subjectivities, discourses and literacy of the people I met while walking the sites. This chapter will examine place semiotics. Figure 17, below, recapitulates this thesis visually and gives the main areas of investigation of this chapter.

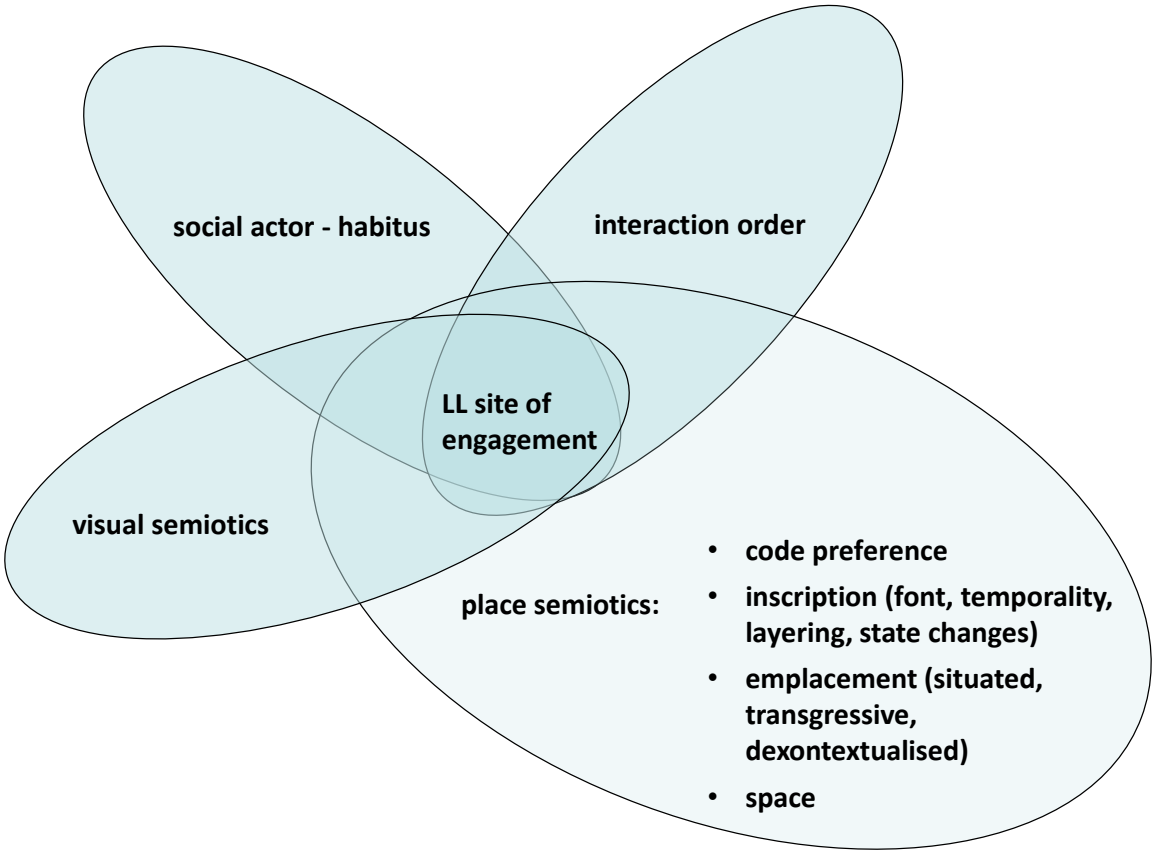


Figure 17. Schema showing LL as a site of engagement with an outline of place semiotics. Adapted from Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 10).

This chapter, therefore, will examine the relationship and meanings that are established between artefacts of LL and the place (understood physically and socially) in which they are displayed, for Hult this would include:

> […] social conventions about language use on signs, language choices based on who the intended audience of linguistic objects might be, the genre of a sign (e.g., a nameplate, banner ad, or warning), *de jure* and *de facto* language policies that govern language use in public spaces, expectations about official *versus* unofficial signs, among many other possibilities. (Hult, 2009, p. 94)

Hult's observations must also recognise that production and interpretation of LL take place within a nexus of practice which is, "[…] the social actions, discourses and mediational *means* that are *relevant to the participants*" (Pietikainen et al, 2011, p. 281, emphasis added and in original). Means here must be understood as, "semiotic tools ranging from language to material objects" (Pietikainen et al, 2011, p. 280) which also implies the 'messiness' of LL resources:

> […] the cross-cutting, crisscrossing and mixtures, whether they be related to mixtures of various languages or border-crossings between the linguistic resources and other modes and modalities, notably visualities. (Pietikainen et al, 2011, p. 280)

Semiotics of place can be drawn out in three key ways for a study such as this that aims to analyse both the larger artefacts of LL such as shop signs, but also the smaller artefacts such as notices and tagging. Firstly, a fundamental question is the ways in which texts physically interact, how they are superposed, added to, subverted or encroached on. Secondly, it is important to understand what features of texts may be considered usual in a site: the formats, positions, typefaces, colours, layerings etc. that are unmarked choices. It is against this that a particular text of LL may be considered and the particular choices of that text appreciated. Finally the subject matter and references of different artefacts of LL will also have an effect on each other. These three aspects can be seen more clearly in the two examples that follow.

The operation of the text of figure 18 is so blunt and yet so subtly humorous that it constitutes a perfect example of how texts may interact physically (through superposition in this case), in terms of format and realisation, but also in terms of content and reference. The text which lies under the glued leftovers of a trade union march that took place about two months before my photographing of the LL should read, "Gare SNCF"[66] and refers to the central train station of St Charles. There are two senses however to the word 'gare' – one is the noun 'station' and the other is a verb which means, 'watch out'. The banner from the march could be loosely translated as, 'Capitalism on an old age pension' and refers specifically to the measure adopted by Sarkozy at that time to extend pension contributions to 42 years of uninterrupted work. Physically these texts are a

[66] SNCF is the national railway company – Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer.

lovely counterpoint of hard reflective treated aluminium and of temporary glued paper and in themselves illustrate very well the semiotics of place that are predominant at the Marseille site.



Figure 18. A series of texts from the Marseille site (photograph by author, 01 July, 2011).

The SNCF text represents prominence, security (through height, size and placing) and order (the formal black and white of government texts) and is openly opposed by a text that represents disorder, demonstration and contestation through a mockery of the formal black and white and use of an irregular typography. Even the punctuation is beautifully combined since the trade union text has two periods at the end which combine with the pre-existing SNCF text to create suspension marks. The contestation between the institutional and the contra-institutional (infrastructural and transgressive discourses) is therefore a story that will be continued. It is highly pertinent to de Certeau's work on creative consumption and on the 'strategies' of the institutional that are opposed by the 'tactics' of the everyday (de Certeau, 1984).

In terms of content and reference what contributes to the humour is the way in which French uses determination (in this case the definite article) where English uses none, giving these short texts a pithy, hard-hitting tone. It is not just capitalism, it is '*le*' capitalism, not just retirement but '*la* retraite' But what is even more relevant to the humour is the way the trade union text has encroached on the other to change its sense. Through the combination of elements it now could be taken to read, 'watch out! Capitalism on an old age pension, this way!'. This is just one example of the kinds of discourses and inscriptions that create the semiotics of place, and so could not therefore be taken to be entirely representative. However it is through counts as to layering and state changes, transgression, reference, subject matter, position etc that a site can be more globally understood and a beginning of an understanding of the LL norms and mediations relevant to participants.

This point can be approached in terms of another example. The two texts of figure 19 were not photographed anywhere near each other. The 'penis enlargement' text is on a

municipal electrical condenser at the corner of Scheiding and Bosman streets whilst the abortion text is some twenty meters further away on a municipal electrical post. They are neither juxtaposed nor contiguous, yet these two texts are a very good example of place semiotics, of how artefacts of LL have regularities that inform the site as a whole. The abortion text has already been referred to in chapter 2 (figure 1) as being decontextualised. It is decontextualised because its subject matter, and interpretation can only apply within the boundary of the A4 poster. It is not displayed in a hospital or doctor's premises where its position in the material world would relate it to its context, but rather on an electric post. The penis enlargement text is similar – it has been glued to a municipal installation that has nothing to do with creams, penises nor strong erections. In this the two texts are linked, they both encroach on spaces in the city that have little to do with their production and reception.



a)


b)

Figure 19. A series of texts from the Pretoria site (photographs by author, 25 April, 2011).

The two texts are also obviously linked through subject matter and reference. This link exceeds the rather crass observation that the one supposes the other. No, here what is even more important is the reference to sex, to the importance of sex in the daily lives of the people living in and passing through the Bosman site. Sex, as reference, is of course not directly included in the subject matter of either text, but it is there, subjacent to both texts and mediated through very different understandings of the act for men and women. There is value attached to male virility and the possibility of access to professional care. What is pertinent at this point in the discussion is the way that across two texts a discourse is actualised in the place of the neighbourhood. And this discourse is reflected not just in position and reference, it is also there in the choice of medium and elements of format.

Both adopt an A4 photocopied format. Both choose large block capitals. Both have an image in the centre of the text. It is true that the image is less visible in the photograph that I have taken of the abortion text but it is a line drawing in the right hand, 'new' space of the text, of a young girl holding both hands to her pregnant belly. In the penis enlargement text, the image is of a pot of cream. Both texts include a cellphone number

that is reproduced at the foot of the text, in very similar fonts and sizes for both artefacts of LL. Interactions such as these – where one text picks up and plays with the elements of realisation and positioning of another text - traverse the sites under study. They must be understood in terms of the nexus of practice and the discourses that can be analysed in terms of texts taken singly or together.

Layering: superposition and subversion

This first section will examine what may be understood as the physical elements of a semiotics of place – the layering through add-ons, extensions and state changes (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 130). As I walked through the research sites, it seemed that certain areas had been informally demarcated for display of posters and notices. Some of these areas were privately owned (garage doors, shop window shutters etc.) but more often they were government infrastructural elements such as lampposts, water and electric access points etc. These spaces contained many artefacts of LL glued, strung up and pasted over each other. They were stunning when seen with an aim to photographing and counting artefacts of LL. Superposition was of course a vital aspect of this interaction, but some texts were also ripped – reminding one of De Quincey´s palimpsest[67] (see Dillon, 2005, and De Quincey, 1845 ed. 2006) - in that multiple layers of paper posters were visible in a partial fashion. When this was the case, the topmost artefact of LL would be ruptured, and reveal through a breach in its syntax and wording or through a tear in its visual and colour, another text, another subject matter, a more emphatic font, diverse visual elements.

As figure 18 shows, this type of layering can combine diverse subjects in one new ensemble – giving a changed relevance to originally disparate events and cultural manifestations. Figure 20, for instance, shows uppermost a poster that is glued outside the Cactus bar. The poster advertises a Twarab, an evening of cultural performances organised by the different Comorian villages that are represented in Marseille. I was invited to one of these evenings when teaching in Marseille and was amazed by the number of participants and the strength of the ties that bind these people together despite the demands of their lives in Marseille, so far from the islands that many obviously still saw as home. There were many such posters at this place in the research site and the dates that are still legible show a long chain of pride and togetherness that is nevertheless unobtrusive, faded as these posters often are by rain and sunlight.

[67] De Quincey, a contemporary of Wordsworth and other romantics, used the image of a palimpsest to highlight reflections of a metaphysical nature. A palimpsest is a sheet of lumen used by monks of the mediaeval period, its particularity is that in order to conserve materials that were expensive to produce, the original writing on the lumen was effaced chemically. Centuries later the effect of time would allow the ink to reappear and the lumen sheet would therefore have several layers of writing, superposed one upon another.



Figure 20. Superposed texts that refer principally to a Comorian traditional 'twarab' evening and the Muslim Eid festival (photograph by author, 30 June, 2011).

Where, however, this poster originally catered for a large block-printed date to call attention to itself, this date is completely overshadowed by the heading of a previous – subjacent - poster advertising the Eid ('Aïd'). Eid is a convulsive celebration in the neighbourhood since it requires the buying and slaughtering of a lamb and it is quite at odds with the discrete advertising of the Twarab evening. The two posters are not incompatible since both represent different aspects of Muslim culture – its Africanisation and its dispersal through the Maghreb and the Indian Ocean – but the echoes of one poster that subsist in another allow a later discursive interpretation to take account of the co-existence of discourses in artefacts of LL, and the way in which they mutually inform each other. In my opinion, this kind of layering also points to heterogeneity and the structuration of a neighbourhood. For reasons of brevity I would not like to dwell too long on this aspect, but whilst the neighbourhoods I have researched present a dense, overlapping, vibrant context for LL, in other, wealthier, places in the city the LL thins out, is separated, artefacts are clearly demarcated etc[68]. This could provide support for analyses such as Harvey's (see Harvey, 2003, 2008) that regard the space of the city as being interpretable in a Marxian light, as offering places that are subject to forces of production and consumption.

[68] Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) provide a very insightful consideration of the differentiation between sites of 'luxury' and of 'necessity'. I will be referring to their analysis in much more detail in the following chapter.

In order to represent just the textual element – and not the multimodal ensemble - of these artefacts of LL it is tempting to see in them a phenomenon analogous to the turn taking of an oral conversation. Finding a means of noting the textual element will be necessary in the following chapter when undertaking discursive analysis of a series of texts. Notation of oral conversations proceeds by tone group whilst overlaps and interruptions are presented in square brackets (see appendix 1.5 for prosodic notation). Such a notation allows the emphasis, shortening and irregular debit of oral performance to be represented on the page. In a similar light the bolding, capitalisation, emphasis through choice of colour, and placement needs to be represented. Posters and similar LL texts carry out an important aspect of their syntax through framing - the way in which different elements of the message are placed on the medium. As an example the successive lines of figure 18 are certainly meant to be taken as separate units of sense with final phrase boundary marking (double backslashes in the prosodic notation of appendix 1.5). Similarly in figure 20 the date, the association organising the evening and what they present are best taken as non-final, minor, phrases (represented by single backslashes)[69]. Such texts could be presented as follows:

// LYON//
// S^{T} CHARLES//
// Gare S.N.C.F. / [LE CAPITALISME A LA RETRAITE //
// Cité de la Mu (…) //

Figure 21. Text of figure 18 rendered in a notation that is sensitive to format as an indicator of boundary marking.

This kind of superposition leads to a consideration of what is added, changed or subtracted from the original text, or, in Scollon and Scollon's terms,

> […] how do we construct meaning when the pictures/texts cut across other systems of meaning, and the problem of situated semiotics – how do we construct meaning out of the relationship between the text/picture and the material and physical placement of the sign in the world? (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 147).

Both sites had examples of this kind of text and in almost all cases that I observed, the additions and changes revealed profound signs of what it means to be human, to walk in a neighbourhood and to be an active receiver and interpreter of the LL with which one is surrounded. I would like to discuss this point in reference to the five texts of figure 22, below.

[69] A prosodic notation, interestingly, hints at the ellipsis and syntax that characterise short texts, as these are interpreted by Halliday (1994, p. 392).



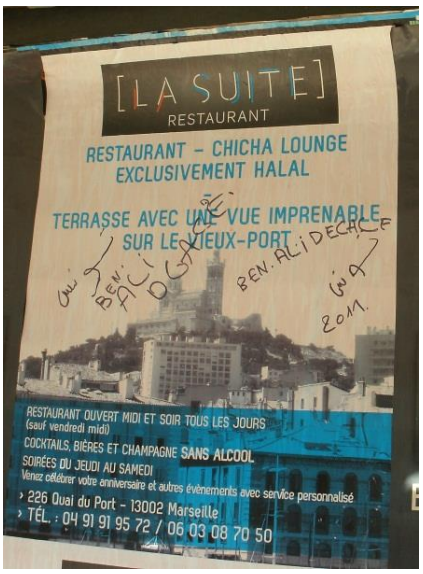








Figure 22. From left to right and top to bottom, examples of alterations that effect LL texts in Marseille and Pretoria. 'Chaussures' (shoes) (taken 01 July, 2011); 'La suite' (continuation) (taken 30 June, 2011); room share notice (taken 25 April, 2011) and Knorrox poster with detail (taken 25 April, 2011).

The first text of the above examples is a sign in wood outside of a shoe shop. This text is interesting in at least three regards. Firstly, it is posed on the pavement outside the shop. I observed many such texts whilst walking through the neighbourhoods in both Marseille

and Pretoria, sometimes they are propped against a wall, on placards or sandwich boards, or simply leant against a trestle. What is fascinating though, is that in almost all examples they were unkempt, dirty, and their function was clearly considered in a perfunctory manner. This leads to the second point, that even though this text is taken out every morning and tidied away every evening, nothing has been done to redress the tagging – which would seem to suggest complicity of the owner of the premises with the subversion of the sign. Finally, the tagging reposes on a phonetic similarity but an orthographic difference that displays a sense of belonging that plays out on several different levels.

In the previous chapter, the Olympique de Marseille football team was mentioned as being in many ways emblematic of the city – it has suffered many financial scandals, several of its key players have come from the northern quarters, and its successes in both national and European leagues generate a sense of pride in the city and the mixed origins of its inhabitants. Here, in the text the / ɒ / sound in 'chaussures' is what gives rise to the scrabble-like continuation into OM, but, in fact, the missing letter is an 'a'. This could, of course be a simple example of artistic licence in the service of a display of loyalty to the local team. I do however think that there is also room to see in this a real error of spelling in which the /ou/ vocalic combination is confounded with the /au/, which in turn translates a malaise with written French – a subject that was also raised in the previous chapter.

The 'La suite' text is a relatively unobtrusive text that is consistent with those general features of this kind of textual production that will be discussed in the following section. In the centred visual, and against the backdrop of Marseille's skyline, someone has scrawled the name of the then president of Tunisia 'Ben Ali', then 'Tunisia' in Arab script followed by 'dégage' which is French slang for 'get out'. This tagging partakes of the Arab spring movement, and can be read against other posters of political contestation in the neighbourhood that combined different codes. What is interesting here, of course, is the way in which Marseille as represented visually is combined through this tagging with an Arab movement that sought an alternative to the post-colonial hegemony proposed by Ben Ali. Through interposition of a transgressive discourse the habitus, or historical body, of many people in the Marseille site is actualised. It is this aspect of place semiotics – discourses that are forcibly inscribed on the surface of other LL texts - that in my opinion is one of the most thought provoking. It was fascinating to see that similar operations were at work at the Bosman site.

The 'looking for a guy to share a room' has been subverted rather subtly. The 'u' of 'guy' has been given an upper loop that changes the entire significance of the notice and places its producer whose telephone number is given in the 'real' section of the ad (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) in a rather compromising situation. The delicacy of the alteration is rather surprising given its context in the street, on one of the pillars of the arcade of the Victoria Hotel, and there is a play here on sexuality and on male bravado

that fits in rather well with the other texts on penis enlargement or breast and hip surgery for women. This text, more than any other, summons an understanding of the street as a scene, a forum, where LL texts can be played with, appropriated and thwarted from their original goal in a spirit that is very much in accord with Dewey's writing on the public sphere (see Tonnelat, 2008). An important aspect of the 'public', so to speak, for Dewey, is the fact that it is understandable and accessible. Were this not the case then it would not, in fact, be public.

The 'Knorrox' poster is, finally, a very good example of alteration not of the written, verbal element of a text, but rather of its visual, iconic representation. The Knorrox cow is well-known, and joins, in the window of this shop on Scheiding street, other household brands such as Omo and Glen Tea. Yet, here its iconic status has been brought down to a fundamentally human level (Ecce *OMO*!) through the addition of tears and a reference to the defunct Tupak Shakur's social movement[70] that was started in the early nineties but which is still very popular with the youth of Pretoria and of Johannesburg. I find this new, composite text rather troubling. It contains many references that are inexplicable to me, and to other people in the neighbourhood that I questioned on its subject. Why was the head of a cow chosen to represent 'thug life'? What has 2Pac (a shorthand for Tupak) been written as 3Pac? Why tears, and not rather an iconography more in tune with social contestation? The only answers that I can summon (and this only tentatively) concerns the brand itself. It is the brand that represents familiarity, and a certain economy of cooking, that has been subverted to become another brand – that of Tupak's mediatised contribution to gangster rap. It is this interchange of branding that is, arguably, at the centre of the transgressive discourse that is taking place in this example.

All of the subversions, layerings and inscriptions that have been discussed above illustrate a very physical aspect of LL. The way in which artefacts of LL are apposed over others, the way in which passers-by tag and scrawl their own messages, signs and visuals is what is at issue. This is a fairly prevalent aspect of place semiotics, especially in the Marché du Soleil, and figure 23 gives relevant percentage counts.

[70] Tupak Shakur was an American musical artist (1971 – 1996) who, subsequent to his arrest, imprisonment and release, started a social movement called 'thug life' that centred on countering the structural and racial origins of poverty and abuse.

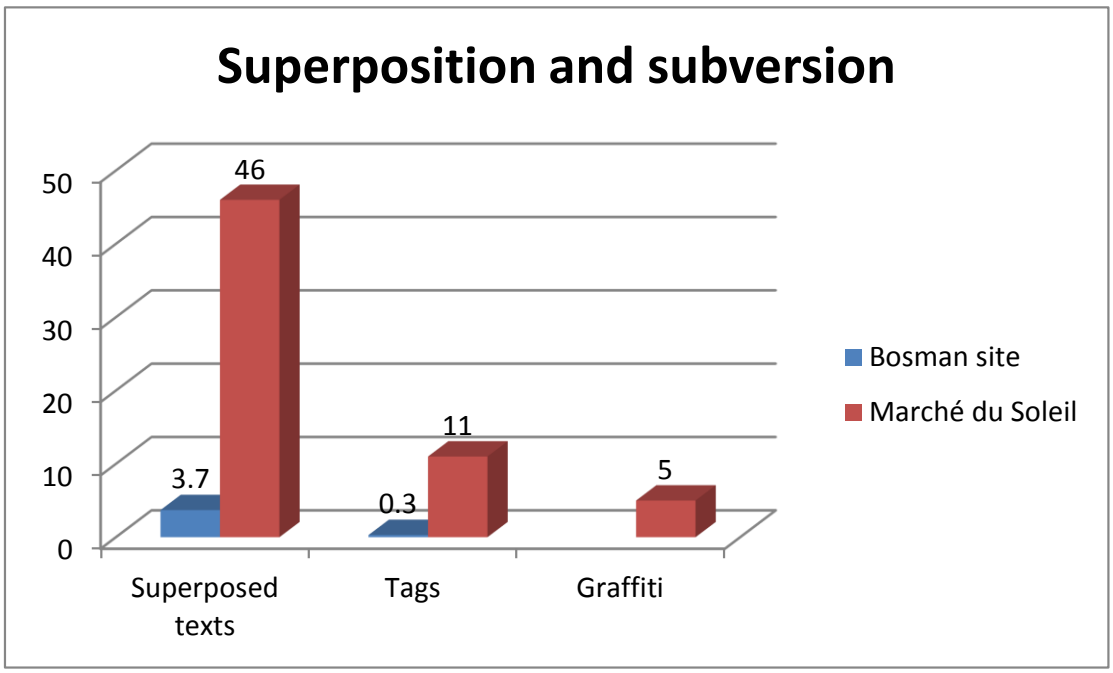


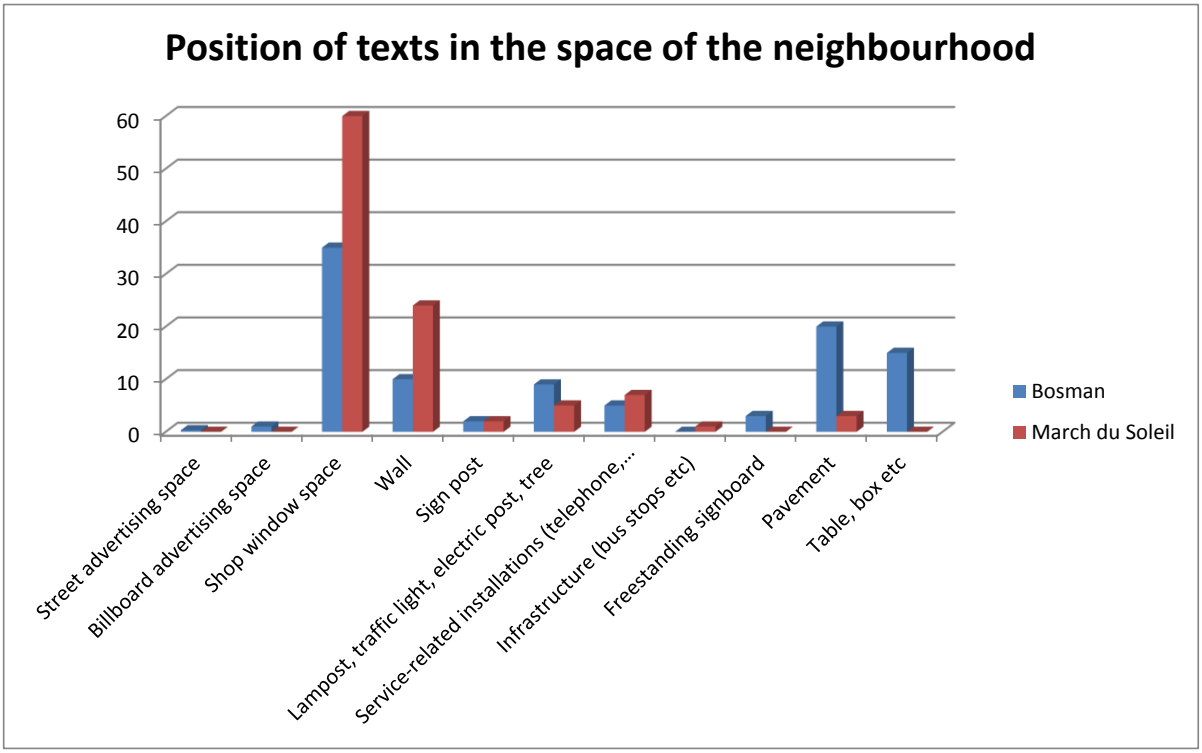
Figure 23. Graph that presents a percentage count of those texts which have been superposed over others and those texts that are tagged or graffed.

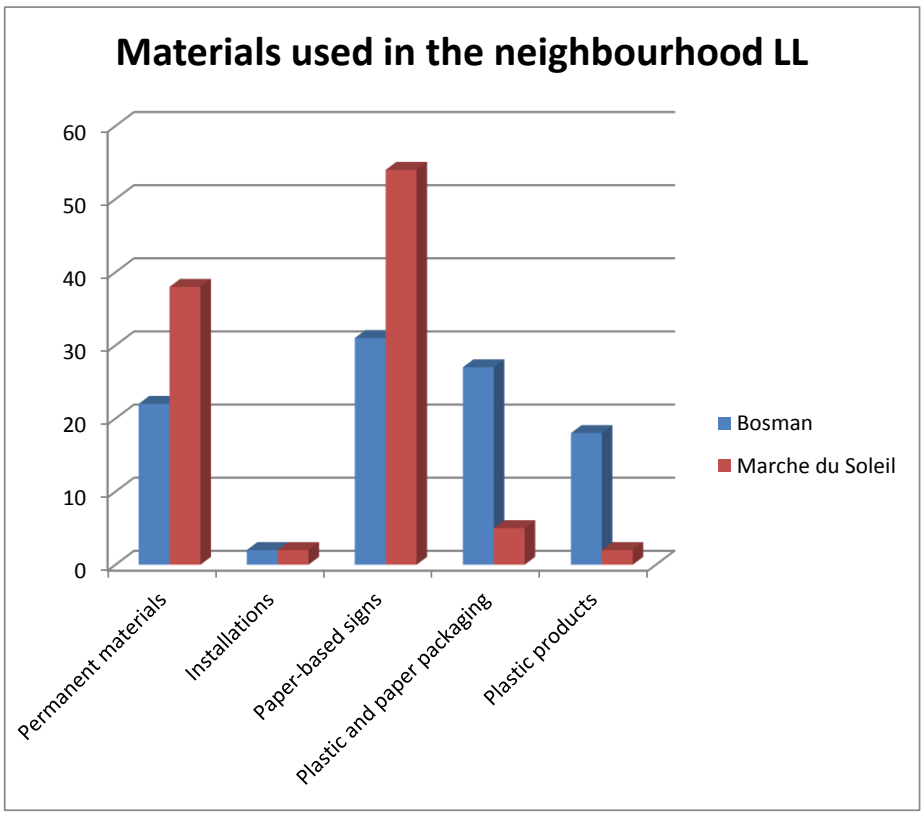
The above graph highlights a fairly significant difference between the two sites. That Bosman has so few examples of tagging and superposition says much about the socio-economics and the socio-cultural dynamics of LL production and reception. The reserve shown by passers-by, workers and inhabitants of the neighbourhood (as discussed in the previous chapter) is indicative of the place, in terms of both literacy and a sense of belonging as citizen. In Marseille the much more prevalent recourse to tagging and graffiti could be interpreted in terms of familiarity with written artefacts and a sense of empowerment of the person with respect to his or her urban environment. This in turn testifies to the denser living conditions in Marseille (its interaction order), to the ready availability of print production techniques and to a more significant number of producers of LL.

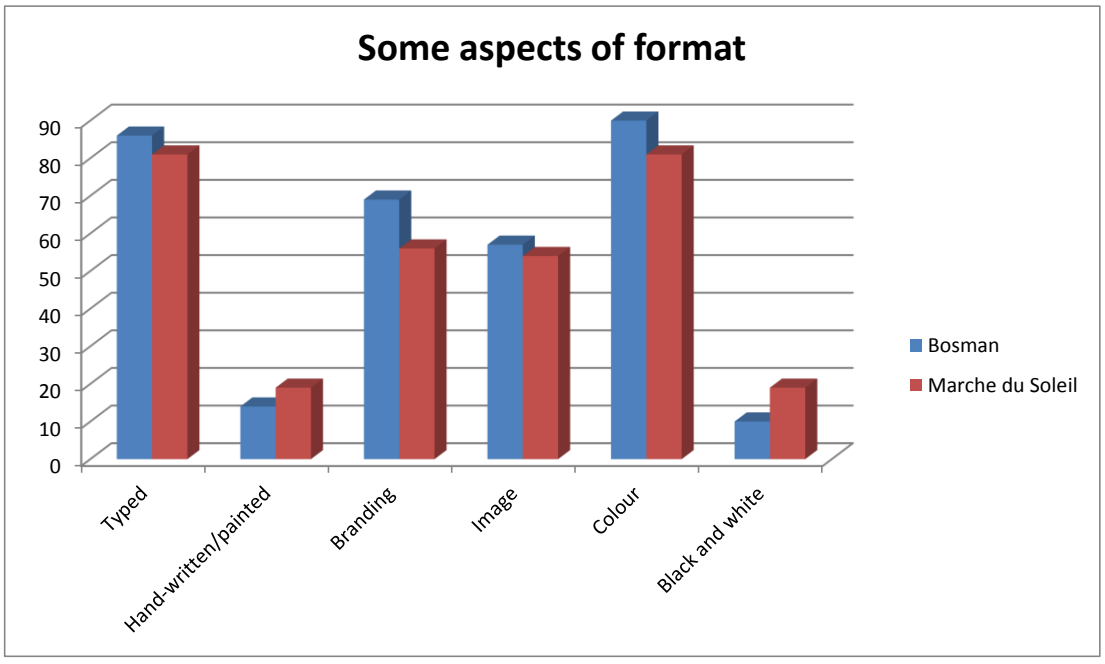
Emplacement: producer and realisation

The previous section examined the ways in which, through state changes such as deterioration, ripping, and layering such as superposition and subversion (transgression) one text carried out a rupture, an addition or a reinterpretation with respect to another text. LL, examined from this perspective, illustrate one aspect of the semiotics of place – relationships between people, institutions, brands, commercial texts and the kinds of systemic and personal freedoms and preoccupations which they bring to the fore. This section will go some way to reconstructing an overview of the features of LL texts in each site since, “When and where language appears on the world also works within a system of meaning,” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 151). Through quantitative counts I would like to examine regularities in emplacement, materials and language features.

Whilst all the LL photographed for this research are 'frontstage' or public, they can be found in formal emplacements such as shop windows, or in more informal positions such as pavements and lampposts or service-related installations (condenser boxes and telephone cable housings etc). Positioning (see figure 24 below) is a dynamic part of the semiotics of place since it reflects more than anything else the relative formality or informality of the neighbourhood, and the norms of production and reception. Bosman shows a high percentage of informal LL texts that are to be found on the pavement, on posts, trees or on walls but also an elevated proportion of formal texts in shop windows. Marché du Soleil has a much more pronounced percentage of texts in shop space and on building walls but much less on other spaces. Similarly the Marché du Soleil site has a higher percentage of what could be considered conventional LL – permanent and temporary signs in materials such as plastic, metal and paper. Bosman - in a trend that mirrors its relative informality – has a significant number of LL texts that are on packaging, or on products themselves such as CD's or DVD's that are sold by informal sellers.




Materials used in the neighbourhood LL
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Permanent materials
Installations
Paper-based signs
Plastic and paper packaging
Plastic products
Bosman
Marche du Soleil


Some aspects of format
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Typed
Hand-written/painted
Branding
Image
Colour
Black and white
Bosman
Marche du Soleil

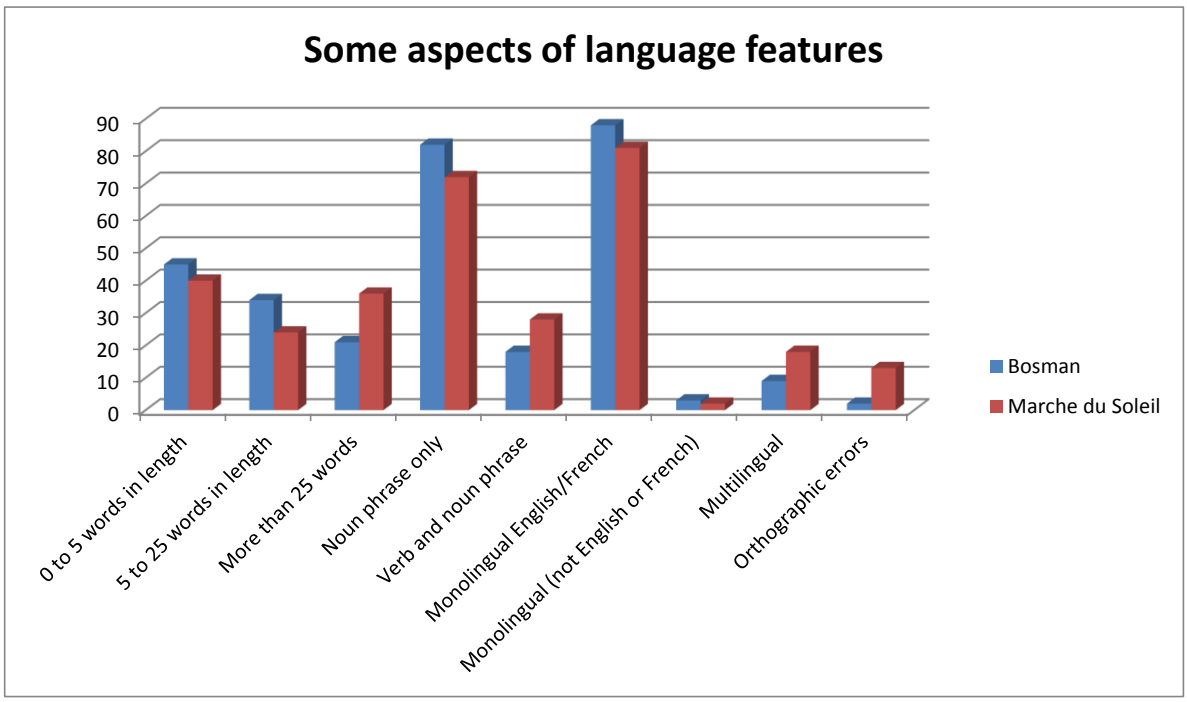


Figure 24. Charts adjusted for percentage that show counts as to position, materials used, format and language features of the LL texts in the neighbourhoods of Bosman and the Marché du Soleil.

Turning to the language features and formatting of the texts - I find the correlations between the sites very interesting. It was one of the objectives of this study to see in what respect the two sites would be similar. Such a clear correlation between sites does give more support to the idea that producers of LL texts respond to a similar habitus and to perceived norms concerning presentation and content. This in turn supports theories of interpretation that emphasise the social nature of production and interpretation (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). As Kress and van Leeuwen note, access to word processing has radically changed the ways in which people make meaning, and this is reflected in LL texts. Walking through the research sites I was struck by how this could be as simple as printing a text on a coloured piece of paper, or altering the key words of a notice with the 'wordart' application available from Microsoft for many years now. The prevalence of colour was a surprise as was its correlation to typing. One would expect hand-written texts to be more easily coloured. This was not the case. Almost all hand-written notices were in black and white and indeed many tags and graffiti too. Images, were far more readily available in typed, machine-produced formats than by hand where often representation was clumsy - lacking flair or impact. Surprisingly, whilst colour and typing of LL texts seems to be widely adopted, not all LL texts contain either images or branding such as logos. In fact, far from it, approximately 40% of texts do not contain either. Similarly a large proportion of LL texts are not designed for easy visibility, with approximately 30% of texts in both sites being more than 25 words in length. Finally, a very telling feature of LL texts in both sites is the slight percentage of syntactically complete grammatical composition - less than 30% of texts contain verb phrases.

Figure 24 provides a convenient recapitulation of the key elements of inscription in each site. In terms of the percentages shown above it would be unusual, for instance, for an artefact of LL to be written in a language other than English or French. Similarly, in a context where colour typed texts are the norm, black and white handwritten texts are a marked choice that carries particular connotations. These kinds of results are a first step in the reconstitution of the semiotics of place pertinent to producers and receivers of LL.

All of the features noted in the above graphs, though, gain an additional relevance when associated with the conditions of their production. An orthographic error for example, has a very different meaning when found on a government text than when encountered in a small notice pasted by an informal seller. The categories that were discussed in chapter 2 nuance a dichotomy between formal and informal by separating out governmental and private formal actors, whilst the category of 'informal' texts distinguishes in addition between those LL that are posted in an ad hoc manner on walls and posts etc. and those that are related to the spaces appropriated by informal vendors on the street. Fortuitous texts such as wind-blown flyers, packaging and forlorn posters that are found on the pavements of any city and that constitute a significant aspect of the LL have also been isolated. Figure 25 gives the relative proportions of these categories in the two sites.

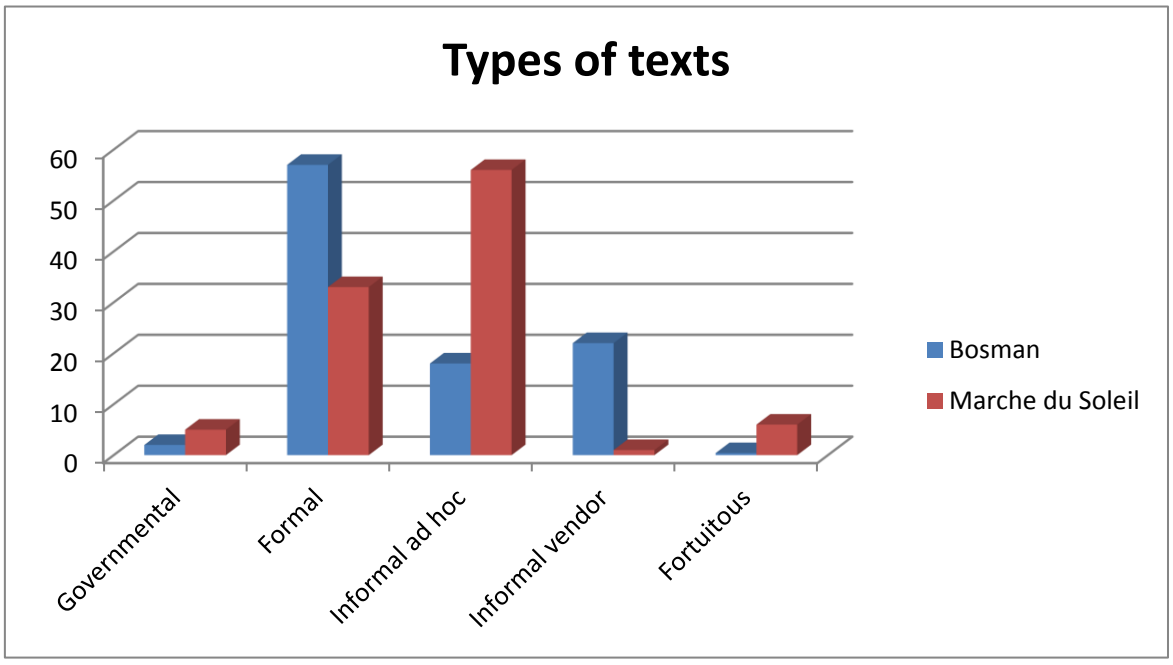


Figure 25. Breakdown by category of the quantity of LL in the streets of Bosman and Marché du Soleil.

The increased presence of governmental actors in the Marché du Soleil site is perhaps due to two reasons which both have an effect on LL in this site. Firstly there is a greater degree of infrastructure including bus stops, service points, informational and prescriptive texts. Secondly, local governmental instances are very active in promoting regional events and programmes. On a different note the texts that are associated with informal vendors are 20% more prevalent in Bosman. Whilst in South Africa the informal business sector is

encouraged, in France it is only tolerated. In Marseille such sellers are present on Saturdays and other festive or market days – as discussed in chapter 3 - but otherwise their presence is only allowed where public works, scaffolding or other features form a rupture in the controlled space of the street. In both sites sellers of pirate goods are more or less illegal but again there is a difference between sites. In South Africa the police will seize the pirated DVD's, for instance, but leave the seller alone; in France it is the sellers themselves who are in contravention. This leads to a very irregular presence on site in Marseille for informal sellers who will generally target days of high pedestrian traffic. On the day retained for these statistics there were none present.

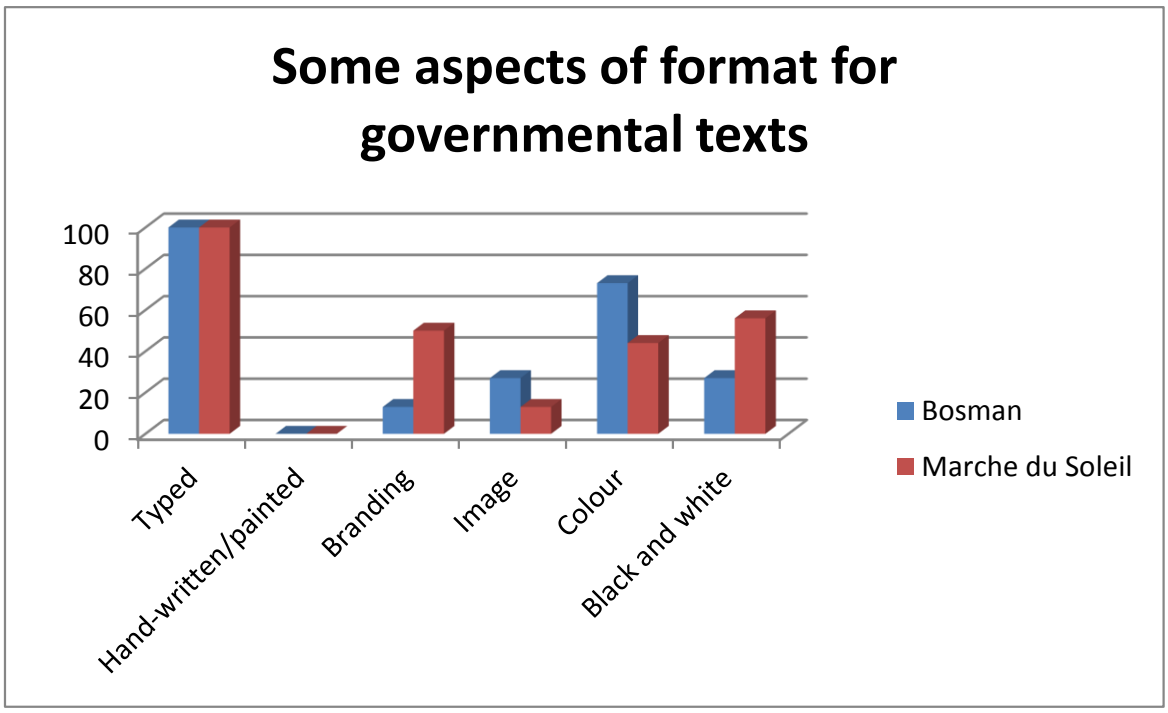
The Marseille site does however express its individuality and transgressive character in other ways. Graffiti, tagging, posting and subversion of existing texts (as discussed in chapter 3) is much more prevalent at the Marché du Soleil than the Bosman site, as are other types of informal ad hoc texts. Often of a high quality, well-worked and expressing entertainment, social or political concerns, this type of text which is so popular in Marseille is almost totally absent at the Bosman site where the formal category dominates.

Finally, another link between socio-economic context and LL is revealed by the category of fortuitous texts. Whereas Marseille has many examples of fortuitous texts of all types, Bosman has very few. In fact, despite poor waste management (few bins or waste disposal points) Bosman is incredibly clean. There are perhaps two reasons for this discrepancy. In Marseille there are regular strikes by Municipal workers who pile up huge mounds of rubbish to protest against wage restrictions. Marseille is, as a result, often inundated for months at a time by rotting rubbish and in this resembles other Mediterranean cities like Naples. Further, since it is the Municipality that does the collection there is a sense of contestation in not throwing one's litter away. Both of these dynamics are absent at the Bosman site. On the contrary, rubbish collection there represents one of those terrible calculations of base poverty for which Africa can be so famous. It is women, red gloved and rubbish bag in hand, who in the evenings are temporarily employed by the municipality to collect any waste. It seems that generally people are aware of this fact and are therefore careful. This is despite cheap packaging, flyers and plastic bags etc. actually being more prevalent[71] at the Bosman site than they are in the Marché du Soleil. They are however less often identified with branding than the personalised bags available in Marseille.

These counts provide a very good indication of what kinds of texts interact with each other and of the broader context within which each artefact of LL is inserted, not just in terms of its modes, but also its materiality. The characteristics of each category will be briefly recapitulated below. Appendix 5 gives examples of texts that illustrate these categories and the summary table given in figure 34 provides a global recapitulation of the characteristics of each category.

[71] At the Bosman site plastic bags are given out almost forcefully by sellers. It is tantamount to rudeness to refuse what is obviously perceived by the sellers as an act of courtesy.

Governmental texts (see figure 26) do not occupy a very large proportion of the LL (less than 5% of the total) but their format and language features are quite surprising. That all of the texts are typed is to be expected, but their variation between sites in terms of branding (regional and departmental logos, etc.), use of image and colour is less so. The lack of branding means that government and governmental agencies are an unnamed actor, identified through function and familiarity and only rarely through explicit reference. It is interesting to note the spread between either very short texts of less than five words and much longer texts of more than 25 words. Here one could remark that whilst the common sense opinion of these texts is that they are prescriptive in nature ("Do this!" "Don't do that" etc) in fact in both sites, there are many more texts composed exclusively of noun phrases, that label, name and indicate much more than they interpel. Finally, Bosman - which should have applied national and regional language policy – is clearly dominated by English only signs. There are no monolingual texts in languages other than English, and multilingual signs occupy only 10% of the total. In the following section I will discuss both code choice and reference in greater detail.



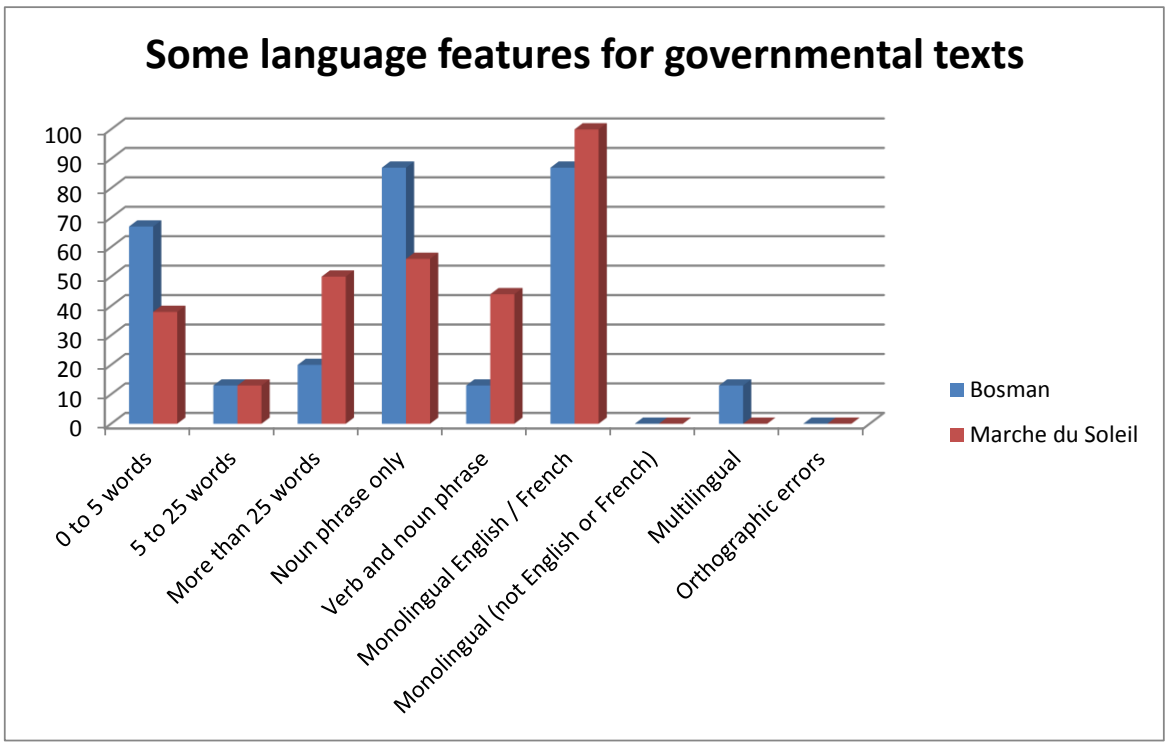


Figure 26. Some characteristics of governmental texts in both sites.

In contrast to governmental texts, formal texts (see figure 27), that are displayed on premises such as shops, agencies and institutions, are much more homogenous across the two sites. There is a significant proportion of handwritten notices (approximately 20%). Hand-written texts are especially present in the Bosman site where they contribute to the discussion in chapter 4 on literacy and empowerment. A high proportion of formal texts contain neither branding nor image. This is interesting in view of the undoubtedly commercial nature of this category. Texts are overwhelmingly short (approximately 60% being less than five words long) and almost exclusively noun phrases. Again, they are French and English dominated, although here there is a greater percentage of multilingual texts than in governmental texts; reinforcing both Stroud and Jegels' (2013) and Dowling's (2010) point about how producers adapt localised strategies in their sign making. For such multicultural sites, orthographic errors in formal texts are low (less than 5%).

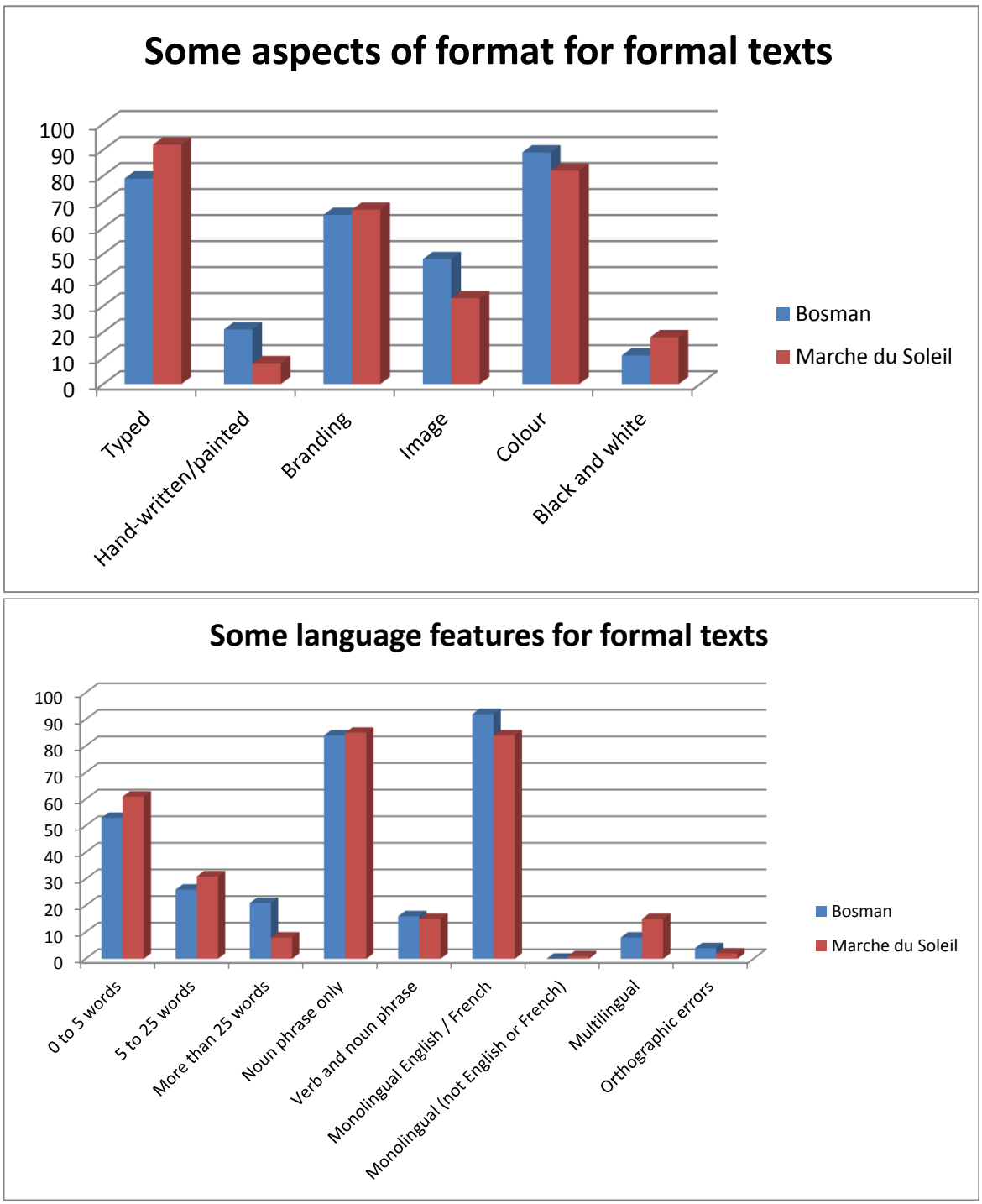


Figure 27. Some characteristics of formal texts in both sites.

As concerns informal texts (all the posters, notices, fly-by-night promotions, political rallying calls, tags and graffiti), it is again fascinating to note their relative homogeneity between the two sites (figure 28). It would be to go beyond the bounds of this thesis to overly emphasise this point, but in my opinion, this homogeneity points to the strength of civil society and to the very nature of public space (see Tonnelat, 2008). Informal texts are an incredibly vital part of place semiotics (representing approximately 35% of the total across the two sites). Not only do they reflect more than any other kind of texts the preoccupations and subject matters that are important to everyday passers through the neighbourhoods in question – specifically because of their informal, ad hoc nature – but

they are also more susceptible to change and thereby to reflect the dynamics of societal issues.

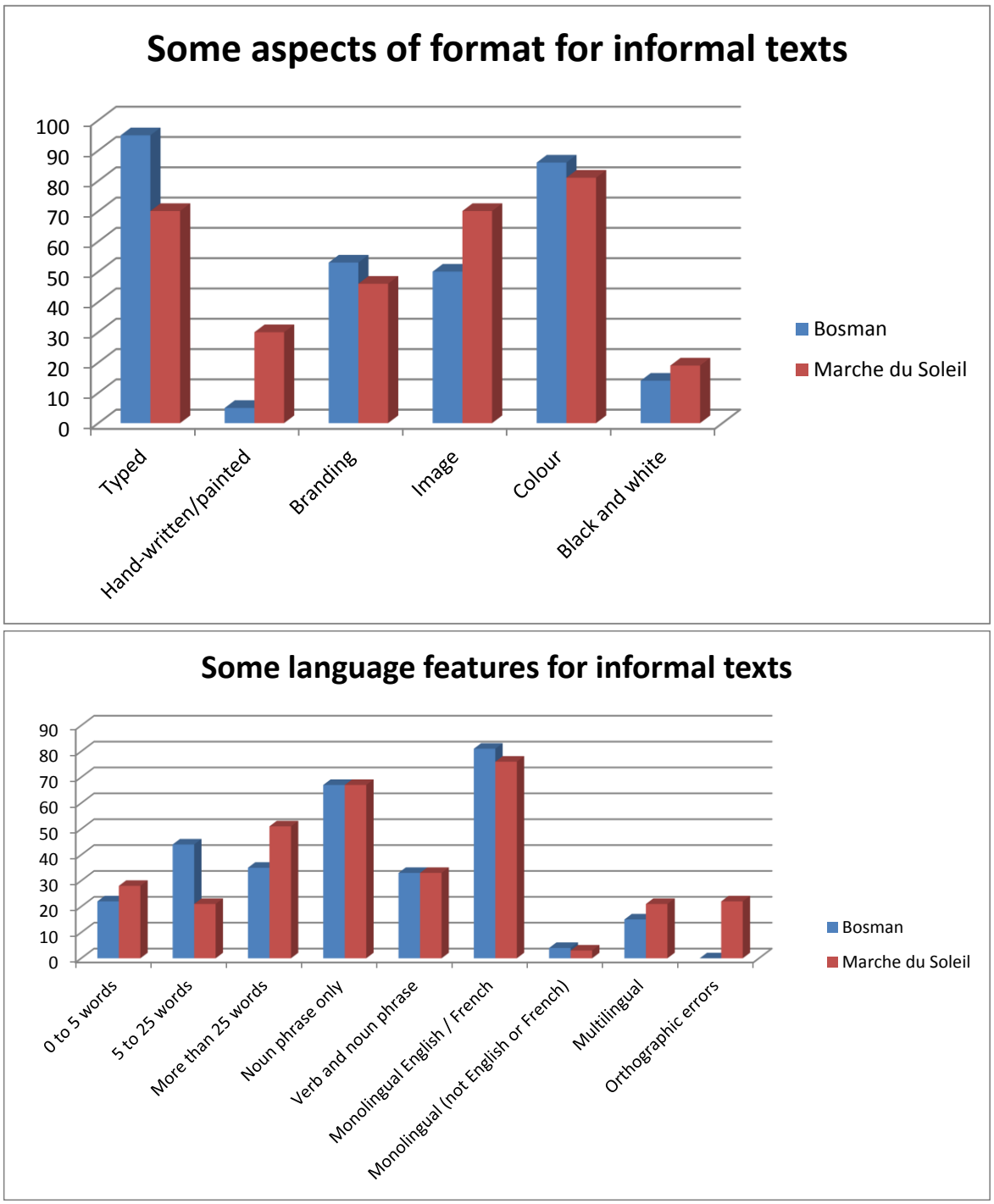


Figure 28. Some characteristics of informal texts in both sites.

The Marseille sample is far more politically orientated than that of the Bosman site. The hand-written texts that feature in Marseille are mostly black and white tracts and A4 posters that respond to the events of the Arab Spring and other movements in France. Through their use of format and colour they have a seriousness that is totally at odds with the colourful 'breasts-hip-bum' or 'penis enlargement' notices that are their counterpart at the Bosman site. Given the stricter legislative environment at the Marseille site these texts are often unbranded, but in Bosman supposedly 'authentic' product and trade

names abound. This category also includes tagging and graffiti. In Marseille this was rich, concerning aspects such as education, right to the city, messages of outrage and hope in formats sometimes covering whole pans of a wall. Images were startling and often ironic (see image 63 in appendix 5). The counts that are presented challenge common-sense understandings of LL but support the conclusions reached in chapter 3, under interaction order. Informal texts, for instance, have a high proportion of branding (logos, marks, associative stamps etc) and are predominantly in colour. Almost 40% (combined average) are long, being over 25 words in length. They also have the highest proportion of all categories for inclusion of verb phrases – indicating a phrastic structure that talks rather than labels – and there are more multilingual texts than in any other category.

The sample for informal vendor texts (figure 29) was small in the Marché du Soleil neighbourhood, which makes comparison across sites rather unreliable. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note similarities in format and length of these texts. Since many of these texts are the packaging and products that are sold by the vendors it is rather intriguing to note how long many of these texts are. In Bosman the overwhelming majority of these products were American cultural imports with a significant percentage of Chinese oriented or marketed products and only a lesser percentage of cultural content directly linked to the neighbourhood under study. In the Marché du Soleil products reinforced links with North Africa and the Arab World. To conclude remarks on this category, the packaging and products noted above do fulfil one's preconceptions of commercial production: they are branded, colourful, typed and all have some sort of an image.

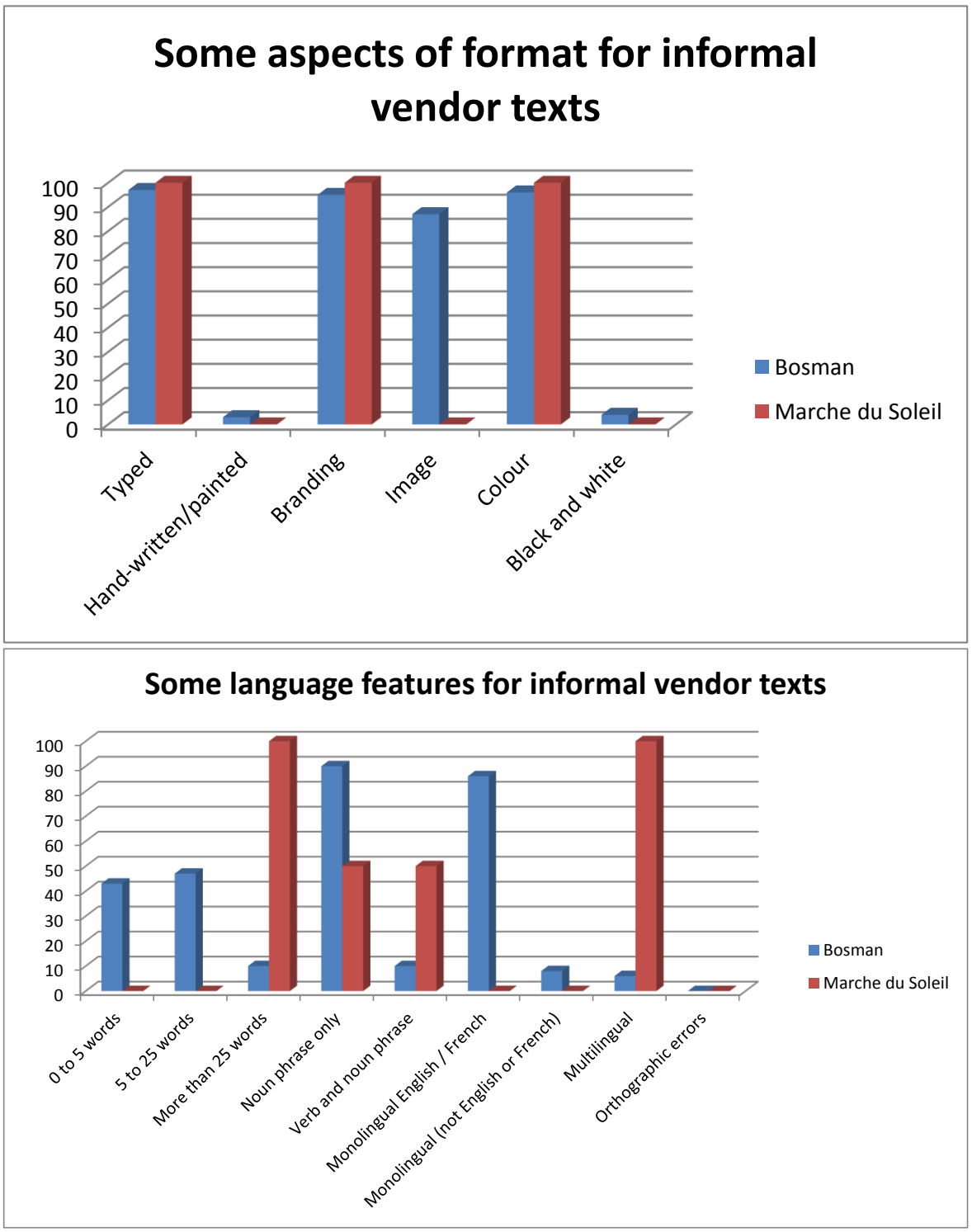


Figure 29. Some characteristics of informal vendor texts in both sites.

Finally, in turning to fortuitous texts (figure 30) I feel an odd sense of personal implication. These are not texts that are deliberately displayed, nor are they really attached to either walls or other spaces in the street. They are however clearly visible on the pavement which is as legitimate a space as any in the ecology of the street. For anyone like myself who walks whilst watching their feet (a necessary precaution in most of the cities where I have lived) this category is in fact one of the most visible parts of the linguistic landscape. The Bosman sample is very heteroclite since it is composed of widely varying texts: newspaper sheets, packaging, products, signs, etc. However, I find it

notable that even here monolingual texts dominate, as does heavy nominalisation and branding. Perhaps this category more than any other, represents capitalism, from the bottom up (so to speak) or at least its detritus – a wasteland of logos and slogans that heap up pelle-melle.

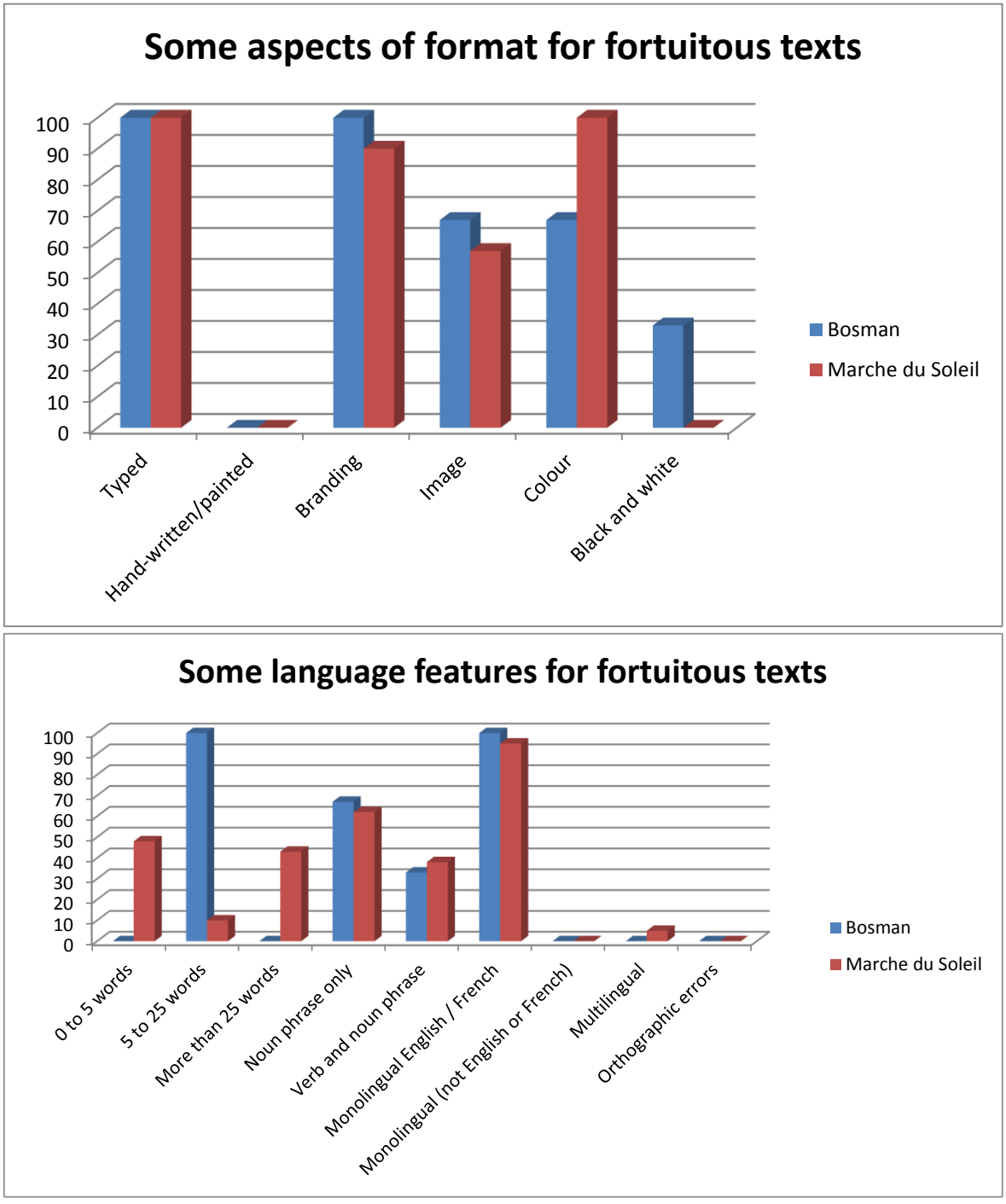


Figure 30. Some characteristics of fortuitous texts in both sites.

From the above discussion, two important findings emerge: firstly that in many instances the two sites are comparable across samples, which points to the importance of similar social processes; and secondly that the above statistics challenge common sense understandings of what features are characteristic of formal and informal texts. Branding, for instance, or multilingual texts, word length, etc. are often not where one would

expect them to be, and certainly not where much of LL research has been focusing. Formal texts (shop signs, and business names etc.) are only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the vivacity and originality of LL artefacts.

Code, reference, and interpretation

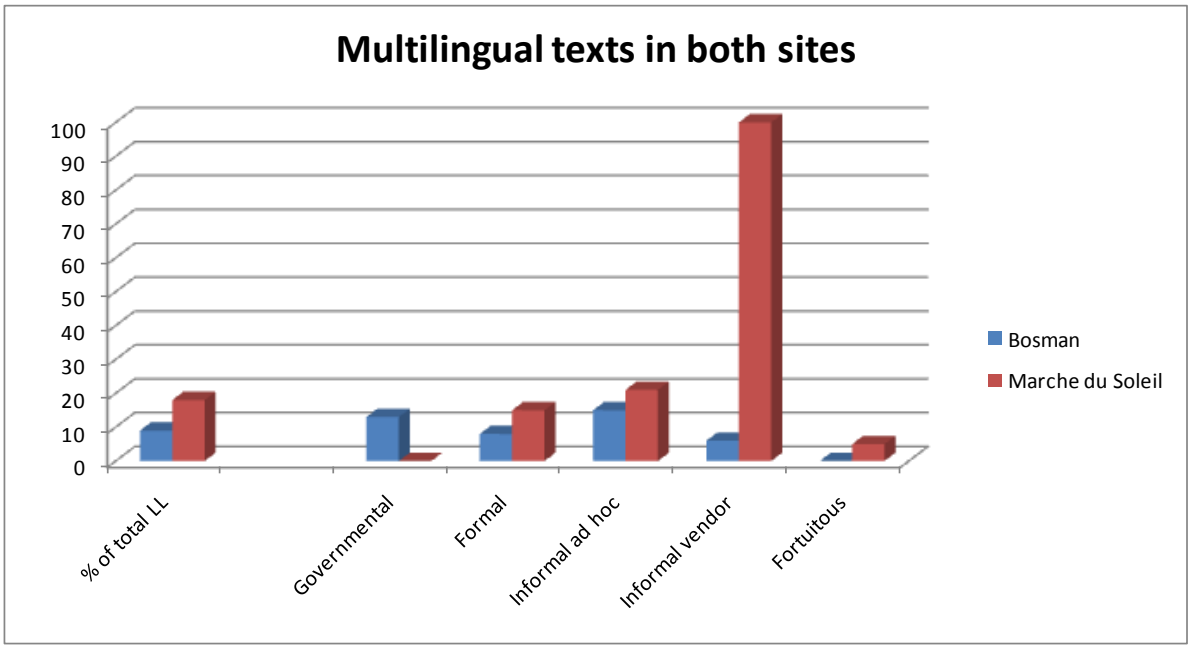
A very important facet of both LL research and geosemiotics is code choice. Whilst code preference – as this is revealed through placement of code in the composition of the text (top, centred, etc) - will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, under visual analysis, here I wish to investigate the implications for code choice in the semiotics of place of the two sites. Figures 31, below, show the proportions of multilingual and monolingual texts as a percentage of total LL, and then give a breakdown per category. They are, in fact, relatively rare. Multilingual texts represent approximately only 10% of the total, whilst monolingual texts that introduce a language other than English or French represent less than 3%. In discussing code-switching, Hult (2009) continues Scollon and Scollon's distinction between indexical and symbolic code use but prefers the terms 'metaphoric and 'situational'. I will be adopting Hult's terminology since it allows analysis to include the motivated choices of participants:

> Situational code-switching reflects instrumental communicative choices based on, for example, who interlocutors are and what the setting is. Metaphoric code-switching reflects stylistic choices that are meant to evoke a certain idea or abstract concept that is associated with a given language. In a basic sense, situational code-switching can be said to governed by the situation, whereas metaphoric code-switching contributes to shaping the situation. (Hult, 2009, p. 98)

These distinctions mirror other distinctions in the field of LL research that refer to 'ideological' (see Yanguas, 2009) or 'economic' functions (see Cenoz and Gorter, 2009). Briefly, what is at issue is the reason why the maker of the sign departed from the language that is dominant at each site and what the choice of language itself signifies. I have adopted Edelman's (2009) analysis and consider the case of proper names to be context dependant – being allocated to one language or another depending on the presence of elements such as a translation or how they are inserted into the structure of the text as a whole. An example would be 'Belle Dame', for instance (see image 13, appendix 5) that I have considered to be an example of metaphoric code-switching into French since the rest of the shopfront is in English and the name of the shop reflects both connotations of Congolese savoir faire in the hair and beauty sector, in addition to the origins of the shop's owner.

Examination of the graphs below (see figures 31 and 32) justifies many of the conclusions that have been reached in research into LL. Government texts are not written in a language other than that dominant at each site except in a very few examples of parallel (translated) texts at the Bosman site. Additionally, governmental texts at the Bosman site had translations of English in only the prestige languages of South Africa at the time (pre-democracy) namely English, Afrikaans, isiZulu. The fact that this situation has not

significantly changed post-democracy is directly in line with what Dowling (2010) has noted concerning the fragility of African languages. Formal texts are more often multilingual than monolingual. In practice this means the inclusion of words and phrases from other languages within texts that are mostly written in the dominant language at the site. Whilst formal texts at both sites included language spoken at the site, or languages relevant to the region[72] at the Bosman site a fairly common example of multilingual texts was packaging that often included Chinese, French and Spanish and that indicated the place of manufacture of industrial products. Informal vendor texts reflected a similar logic in that what constituted monolingual or multilingual use was the boxes, packaging and labelling of the products themselves. In Marseille this then testified to the North African, Chinese or Eurozone origins of the products whilst in Pretoria many labels and packaging came from either KZN or the Western Cape (and therefore used English and Afrikaans). The informal sellers of CD's and DVD's however, had products in languages as diverse as Shona and Yoruba.



[72] At the Bosman site multilingual texts included English, Afrikaans and isiZulu but also Sesotho, Sesotho sa leboa, and slangs such as Tsotsitaal. At the Marché du Soleil site languages included Arab but also languages from the Eurozone such as Italian and Spanish.

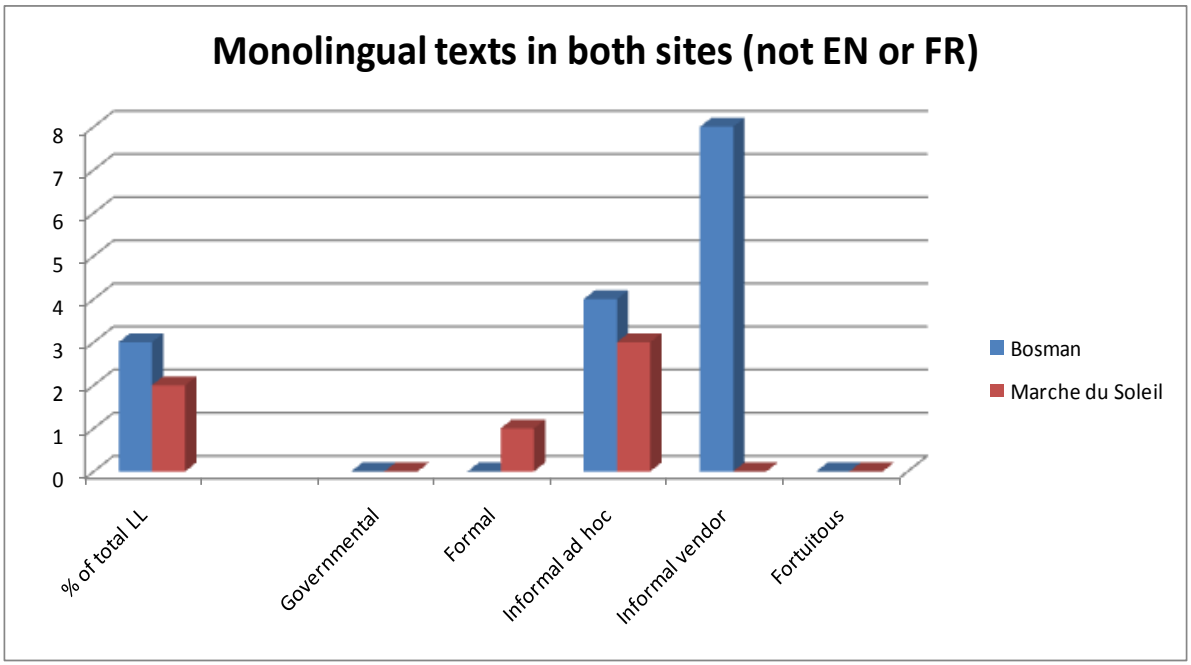
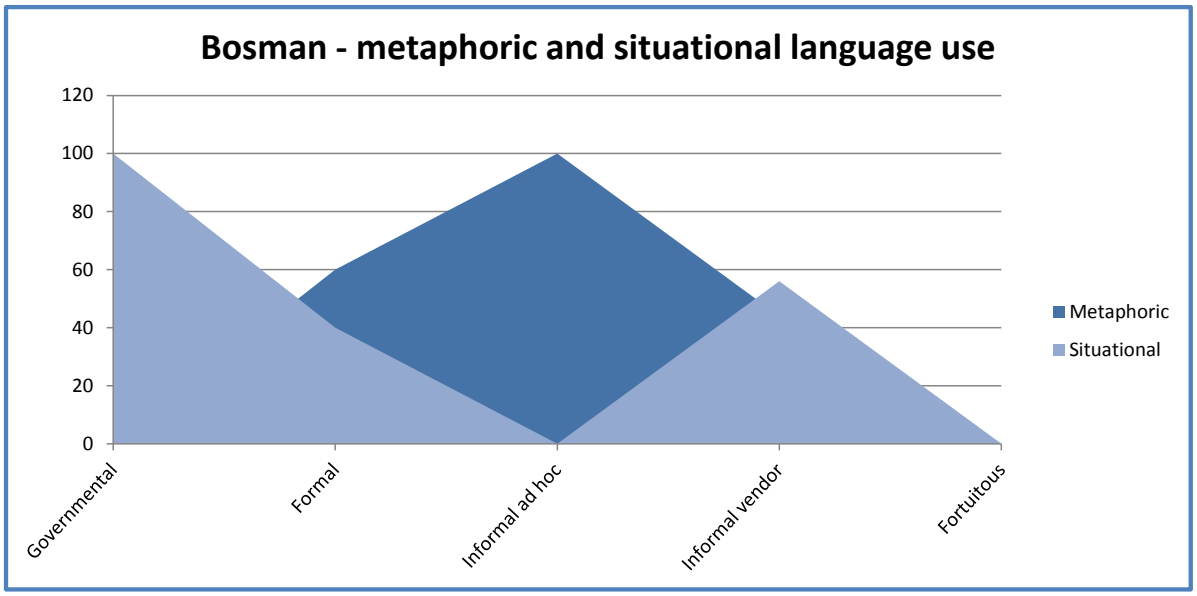


Figure 31. Monolingual texts (not in the dominant language of each site) and multilingual texts presented first as a percentage of total sample of LL and then as percentage per category.



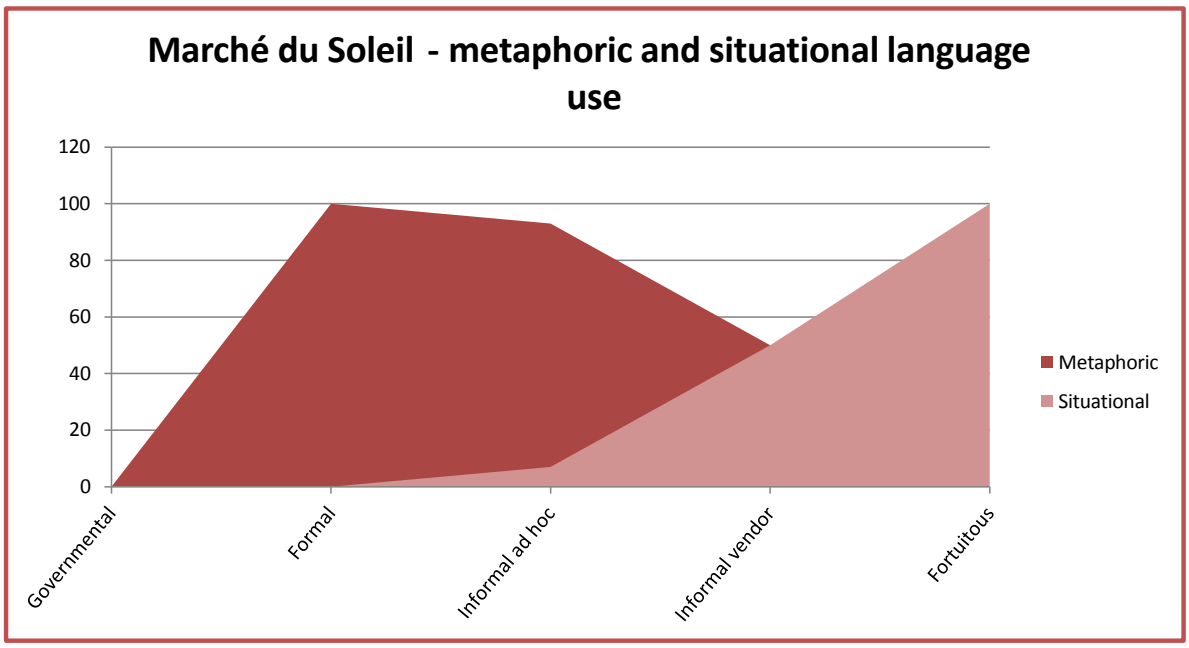


Figure 32. Metaphoric and situational language use as percentage per category.

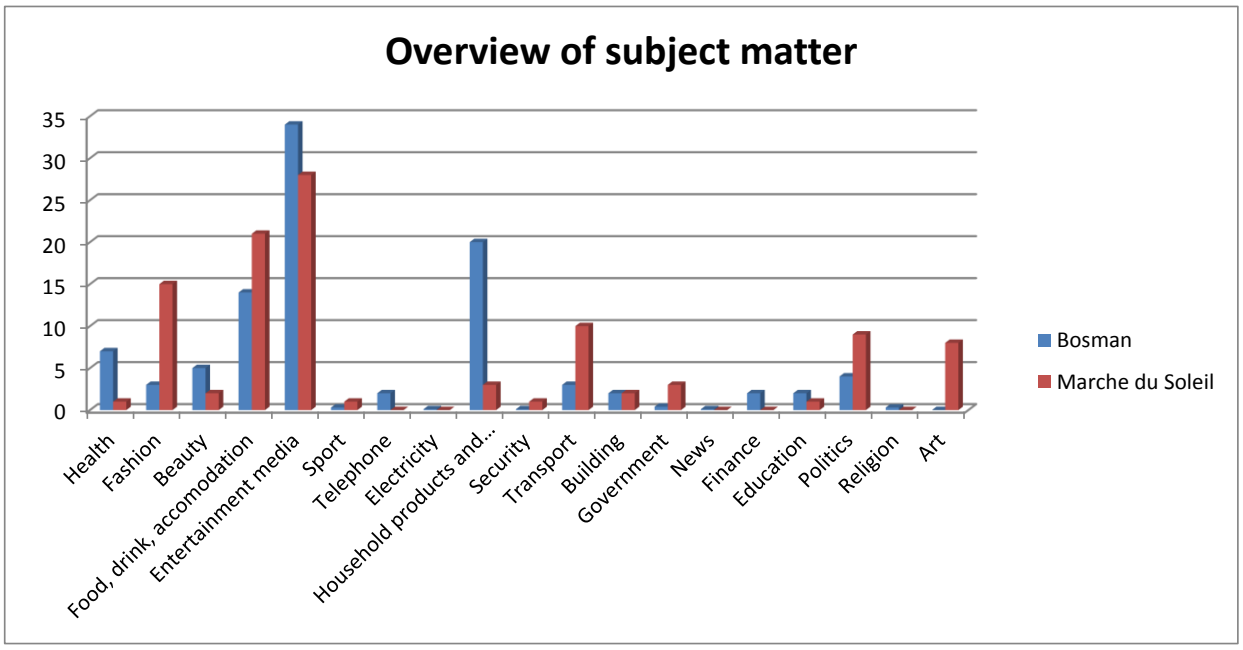
The richest category in both sites in terms of language use, was that of informal texts. These texts often reserved different messages for different languages within the frame of a single text, providing examples of translation, transliteration and code switching. At the Bosman site, Afrikaans, isiZulu, Sesotho sa leboa were used in addition to English, but at the Marché du Soleil informal texts represented the diversity and dynamics of the neighbourhood. Languages with North African, Comorian, Kurdish and European origins were noted and represented almost 20% of the texts of the category.

The difference between 'metaphoric and 'situational' language use can be resumed as a difference between strictly communicational imperatives or the need to signify something 'through' language use, such as belonging to an in-group, or the actualisation of specific connotations linked to a language (such as the sense of chic associated with French for example). At opposite ends of the graphs above it is to be noted that whilst Bosman had multilingual governmental texts that were all examples of situational use, the Marché du Soleil had no multilingual governmental texts at all. Similarly, whilst the fortuitous texts that were noted in the Marché du Soleil contained several languages whose situational context was in accord with European legislation (languages of the Eurozone), in the Bosman site, no fortuitous texts included examples of multilingualism. This, prima facie, reflects language policy in the two sites, but, as will be discussed below, in neither site is this language policy understood or enacted in a banal, unproblematic way.

Metaphoric meanings attach strongly to the formal and informal categories. In the formal category the inclusion of words and phrases often had an evocative function – recalling origins, cultural events and orientations, religious meanings etc. The same can be said of informal texts for both sites. In addition, however, many informal texts included whole passages of key information in specific languages (such as Arab, or Kurd) that specifically

targeted members of in-groups. The use was 'metaphoric' given the political and social-contestatory messages of these texts.

Code choice is linked to category therefore, but also to subject matter in that the content and references of an artefact of LL are part of both the situation of use and the overall message of a text. Figure 33, below, presents an overview of the subject matter of LL texts in the two sites and then a breakdown for formal and informal texts. Entertainment and media, and food and drink, are the subjects of a significant proportion of texts. It was surprising to note how the formal texts of the Marché du Soleil emphasise fashion – nuancing one's perception of what an Islamic religious outlook implies within a neighbourhood. The Bosman site's formal texts though, in foregrounding household products, do seem to support one's understanding of the place as bound up with transport and with end of the day shopping. Subject matter changes quite startlingly between formal and informal texts. In the Bosman site informal texts concern primarily health and medical notices. In general though, in both sites, informal texts touch on politics, but also beauty, financial matters, and original services such as van rental or legal advice.



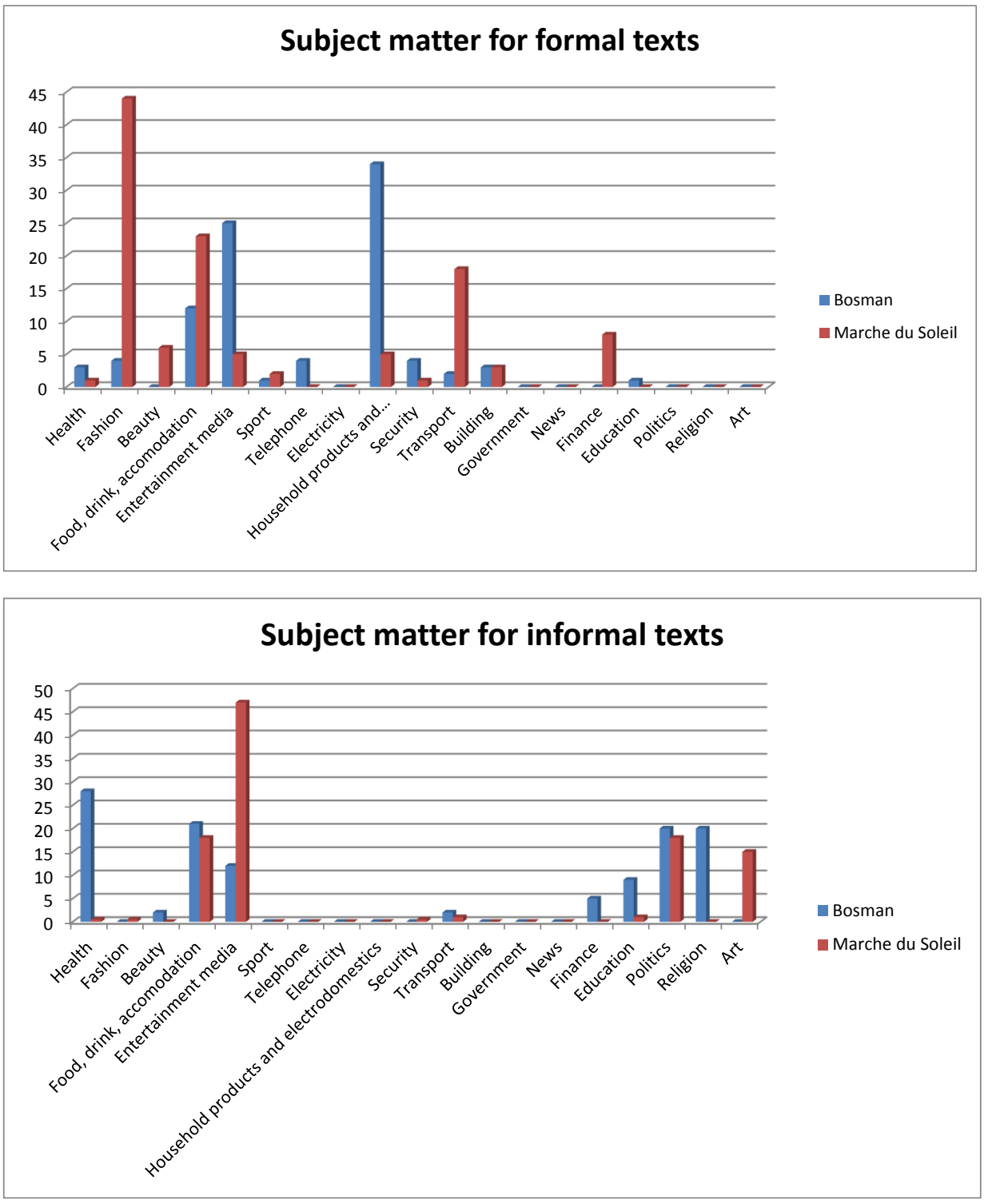


Figure 33. Graphs showing subject matter of LL texts in the two sites.

Subject matter, format, language features, length and positioning offer a detailed image of the LL of each place and a prima facie indication of discourses. In combination with the features discussed in the previous two chapters one can gain an accurate impression of many of the important elements of place semiotics. Taking only the most prevalent trends and rounding up percentages it is possible to offer a recapitulative table that presents the LL of the two neighbourhoods in a very synthetic form. This table is given below in figure 34. Examples of texts that resume the findings of this chapter are given in appendix 5.

Type of text	*Relative weighting*	*Format*	*Position*	*Language features*	*Subject matter*
Governmental texts	1	Typed, in colour sometimes with branding or image.	Signposts, walls and service points	Short, noun phrases, monolingual	Transport, infrastructure, health, city and regional government
Formal texts	9	Typed, in colour, mostly with branding, sometimes with an image	In the window space of premises, or on the wall around the window, only rarely free-standing or situated on the pavement	Short, mostly noun phrases, mostly monolingual, rarely multilingual or containing orthographic errors	Services to the person, fashion, home and household, entertainment and beauty, sometimes reference to transport or financial services
Informal ad hoc texts	7	Typed, mostly in colour and accompanied by an image, only rarely handwritten or in black and white	On walls, lampposts, the pavement or service points, sometimes in window space	Often of 25 words or more, mostly noun phrases but also a significant proportion of verb phrases, mostly monolingual but a significant proportion of multilingual texts	Politics, religion, health, entertainment, services to the person and sometimes transport or financial services
Informal vendor texts	2	Mostly packaging or products like CD's and DVD's, typed, almost always with branding and in colour	On a table or box or on the pavement	Mostly under 25 words in length, noun phrases and monolingual	Media, health, or service related
Fortuitous	1	Packaging. Typed, colour, branding and image.	Service related space and pavement.	Less than 25 words, mostly noun phrases but often also verb phrases, monolingual	Services to person, household, fashion and beauty, entertainment, news, government and transport

Figure 34. Table recapitulating the key features of each category of text. Illustrative examples of texts are given in Appendix 5.

Subjacent to the discussion so far is the question of contextualisation and reference. The difference between 'situated' and 'decontextualised' LL has, to a very large extent (as discussed in chapter 2) been included in the categories adopted here. Formal texts are contextualised since they are displayed in emplacements that are both licit, and which form a cohesive interplay of reference. To choose as an example once again the Belle Dame salon (see appendix 5, image 13), not only are all the LL of this shopfront chosen and displayed by the same producer, they all refer to the services the salon offers. On the other hand informal ad hoc texts are decontextualized because they are displayed in positions that have no link to the producer of the sign nor to its exophoric references. However, reference needs to be examined further, since it is not reducible to subject matter but is, much rather, a function of individual subjectivity and understanding. In the 'Blou Bulle' meat market (image 10, appendix 5) this sign has as subject matter the selling of meat and other foodstuffs yet the image of the Blou Bulle refers to the local rugby team in Pretoria. In order to discuss reference I have, in figure 35, adopted the rather ungainly titles of 'overt' and 'implicit'. These counts show the number of texts that obviously did have recourse to some aspect of cultural knowledge (such as the 'Blou Bulle' meat market) or some aspect of realisation linked to cultural values and norms (arabicised handwriting for instance).

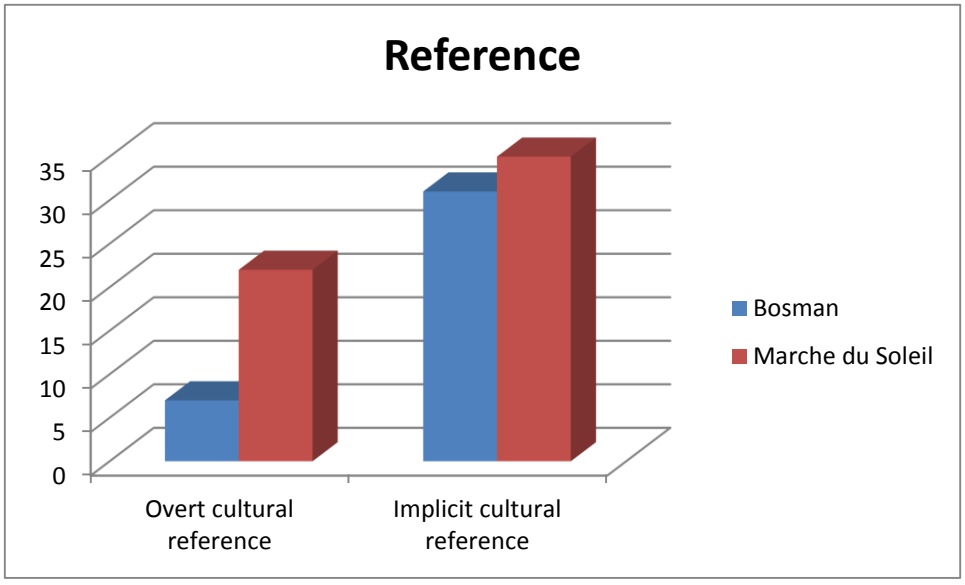


Figure 35. Overt and implied references in the two sites.

In the Marseille site, the references that were most obviously a part of the intertextuality of the LL in the neighbourhood concerned Arab culture and religious observance. Arab culture was very often represented through choice of font. This is an aspect of LL that has been dealt with in fair detail. Image 56 (Appendix 5) is a good example of the flicks and serifs that arabicise a poster. This aspect of much of the LL in the neighbourhood was remarked on by participants, but not always positively. Golden Youth for instance, felt that this iteration of Arab culture was a cheap tactic (his words) to pull clients. Turning to Arab religious observance, image 38 is a travel poster to Mecca that obviously builds on the popularity of Haj. In a similar vein, images 31 and 55 are witness to other aspects of

Muslim religion. The shop sign of image 31 translates as 'modesty' and refers to the veiling of women's faces in public. Image 55, in listing the selling points of the restaurant mentions that it is 'halal'. Image 61 is a good example that, whilst not referring to Arab culture overtly, implies a knowledge of the Palestinian situation and the antipathy that Israel provokes in the neighbourhood.

The play of references in the Bosman site was more diverse, cutting across several different cultures and affinities. References to male virility have already been mentioned in discussing figure 19 above, it was also bound up in many other texts in an off-hand way. Image 65 for instance, emphasises Leru La Madi as chief among the traditional remedies being offered for sale by Dante – this is also an enhancer of male potency as Dante himself had assured me! (see chapter 4). Colour is also used as an inter-textual reference. This is overt in political posters (images 47 and 48)[73] but more implicit in the case of an evening promoting legends from the Zimbabwe music scene (image 49) since, whilst posters referring to Zimbabwe cultural events often had recourse to reds, yellows and black this was not an invariable rule.

An interesting use of colour is provided by images 12 and 13. Both of these are Congolese hair parlours. According to the participants to this research, these salons are popular in the neighbourhood since the Congolese women have a reputation for being both good and cheap. They use yellow as a reference in addition to the more obvious use of French in their business signs. The play of reference in the Bosman site seemed to be something that one could investigate almost infinitely. Popular icons for instance played a huge role in the formatting of many artefacts of LL. Rihanna is a good example. Rihanna in her changing incarnations - a woman whom for many of the people that visit Bosman is a condensate of sex, beauty, glamour, success and good music but also of the call for the global North - featured in almost all of the texts on the site that dealt with beauty. Indeed, hers is the face that advertises the 'Belle Dame' salon in image 13 of appendix 5.

Questions of language use and of reference are closely tied to each other in that both introduce the role of interpretation and of comprehension of the text by the receiver.

These are fascinating aspects of place semiotics, and again show how relevant it is to understanding local dynamics and discourses. However, as already mentioned, the interplay of reference is something that is both very contingent and highly subjective. I would like to look at this in relation to three examples. The first example concerns the interpretation people make of the French legal framework for LL. The following two examples illustrate how easily, overt cultural references can be misconstrued.

The interviewees in the Marché du Soleil neighbourhood were under the firm impression that French should be used in all artefacts of LL, that this was a question of law. As

[73] Where the Inkatha Freedom Party, a political party with strong isiZulu affiliation, consistently adopted black, reds, and greens, whilst the Democratic Alliance with a political stronghold in the Cape, consistently adopted white and blue.

Blackwood (2010) discusses, the Toubon Law of 1994 does apply to advertising and commercial texts, but that is all. In other respects people are free to choose the language that they feel most appropriate. In fact, a much more restrictive act is that of 79-1150 dated 29 December 1979 as amended[74] which contains the following: "Article 5 – Any advertising must mention, as the case may be, the name and address or the company name or trading name of the natural or legal person who displays the advertising or who commissions its display." French law in fact is much more concerned about legal form and environmental impact rather than linguistic content. The sentiment of interviewees is in this case a good illustration of legal hypercorrection (see Marten, 2010). What this example shows is that the linguistic landscape at a referential level such as the symbolic use of a language or script (see Malinowski, 2009) can be perturbed by what is in fact an erroneous assumption.

The second example concerns an almost total failure by participants to identify the references of what is a very dense and cohesive network of street signs in both sites. In Marseille, the famous blue enamelled plaques (see figure 36) of the city's 65,000 streets follow the Greek commemorative tradition and carry names that are chosen by an annual committee before being manufactured by the Lacroix Workshops in La Barasse. The research site in Marseille counts the: *rue du Bon Pasteur* (Street of the Good Shepherd) which refers to the 16th century political turmoil in France and to the citadel of the same name near Lyon; the *Avenue Camille Pelletan* who was a Senator of the region and who died in 1915; the *Boulevard de Dames* (Boulevard of the Ladies) who defended the city (again in the 16th century) from within a bastion of the same name, and the *Place Jules Guesde* which refers to the French socialist who was a contemporary of Lafargue (see Lafargue,1848 ed. 1998) and who gave rise to a famous quote by Marx himself, "If they are Marxists, then *I* am not a Marxist". Without delving too deeply into onomastics, it is clear that there is deliberate mobilisation of memory in these names which refer to the history of the city, French socialism, civil war and patriotism.



Figure 36. Photographs of typical street signs in each site (by author).

[74] The act of 1979 was amended firstly by the 'Barnier' act of 02 February, 1995, to introduce a declaration by the advertiser. A 2000 revision of the environmental code (Book V, Title VIII, Art L581-1 to L581-45) aimed to reduce the impact of advertising on pollution and nuisance and this was given further effect by a declaration dated 30 January, 2012, concerning use of lighting and size.

In Pretoria, the research site counted *Jacob Mare St*., *Bosman St*., *Scheiding St*., *Christina St*., *Hoop St.* and *Paul Kruger St*. Bosman, was a Dutch Reformed Minister who was mentioned in chapter 3. Jacob Mare was a leading business man and founder of the city. I could not restitute the references to Scheiding, Christina and Hoop streets but it is safe to say that they refer to the Afrikaans cultural history in Pretoria as this is borne out by *Paul Kruger Street*. Paul Kruger was four times president of the Transvaal and played an important part in negotiations with the British. He has given his name to many places, Mamelodi for instance, the township to the East of Pretoria refers, as already mentioned, to his capacities for whistling. When the second Boer War broke out, he was forced to leave South Africa entirely and – in what is the most incredible link between these two research sites – boarded a Dutch man-of-war which took him to … Marseille! Again memory and time are at work in this actualisation of a neighbourhood through clear cultural references.

However, neither of these networks of reference are understood or valued by the participants to the research. In Marseille, when I questioned participants on the meaning of the street names, they often made courageous attempts to reconstitute the references that had us laughing. In Pretoria, not only are these references not understood (at least by the participants that I interviewed) but they are ideologically out of kilter with contemporaneity as mentioned in chapters 3 and 4. Figure 37 reproduces a segment of the interview with Chantal that shows the kind of misunderstanding that the street names in Pretoria gave rise to. (R and C refers to the researcher and to Chantal).

…

1. R: I mean / do you like the Victoria Hotel ?
2. C: I like … Manhattan Hotel too much //
3. R: Why hey ?
4. C: I went there before / it was luxury / they have to change / Victoria Hotel must be changed
…
5. R: And what does this name / Manhattan / mean for you ?
6. C: Manhattan ?
7. R: [yeah
8. C: I don't know //
9. R: If I said to you / that Manhattan / was an area in New York / America / did you know that?
10. C: I didn't know /
11. R: [okay
12. C: it's my first time to hear that //
…
13. R: And /do you know who / Paul Kruger is ?
14. C: [sorry?
15. R: Paul Kruger //
16. C: I know / Paul Kruger Square //
17. R: So / who is Paul Kruger ?
18. C: I don't know / I just see the statue there /
19. R: [so
20. C: the statue of him //
21. R: So you see the statue … / So did you know that / he was the first president of … of the … of
…
22. where are we here now / this is the Transvaal hey / [
23. C: yah / the Eastern Transvaal // (…)
24. so he was the first president / of the … Transvaal hey /
25. C: [oh
26. R: [yeah
27. C: I didn't know /
28. R: [okay
29. C: Oh sorry //
30. R: Umm // what about Bosman / Who's Bosman ?
31. C: I don't know … Bosman / also /
32. R: [uh huh
33. C: I just know the streets / the way it is / yah //
…
34. R: Are there any names / in this place / that you know / you know what they mean ?
35. C: Mandela Drive //
36. R: Yah / You know that / obviously hey //
37. C: Um / I know it // … And Jacob Mare I don't know //
38. R: Jacob Mare … / he used to be a very … / important businessman //
…
39. C: And what about Andries Street / and down there ?
40. R: I don't know / I don't know that hah / hah /
41. C: [hah
42. C: Whew / I thought maybe you know //
…

Figure 37. Interview with Chantal from 10' onwards.

The interview in figure 37 also raises the question of the transparency of even 'banal' references. 'Manhattan', for instance (lines 2 to 8), is not understood by Chantal any more than are the names of the streets. I would like to insist that this is not a question of education. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Chantal speaks several languages fluently, and has completed her matric. Neither can one say that this failure to pick up references in LL texts is a function of use of English or Afrikaans. Whilst in talking of 'Simunye Furniture' (image 9, appendix 5) Chantal is indeed quick to capture the reference to a popular isiZulu idiom – see lines 1 to 10 in figure 38 below – she shows a completely erroneous familiarity with 'Kwa Baba Mswazi' (image 16, appendix 5) that she renders as 'eManzini'. This needs some explanation. The shop itself shows ambiguity between the language of Swaziland (Kwa Baba Mswati) and the culture (Kwa Baba Mswazi). Chantal renders 'eManzini' which would have the isiZulu meaning of 'in the water'. She is therefore carrying out a linguistic calque, on a terrain of familiarity.

…
1. R: This is like um / Simunye Furniture / do you know what that one is / do you know what it means ?
2. C: Simunye / [
3. R: yah
4. C: We are / we are / one / one / [
5. R: so / Simunye / means / we are one / [
6. C: yah / all together /
7. R: in what language / what language ?
8. C: Yah / one language //
9. R: In what language is that ?
10. C: IsiZulu //

…
11. C: Like / Blue Bulle / what about Blue Bulle ? [
12. R: bulle
13. C: it's a / it's a / it's a cow / ha ha / ha / ha [
14. R: ha ha
15. R: Which cow ?
16. C: That … cow / with / that/ sometimes it's got something here / on the back // yah / it's Blue Bell // a bell //
17. R: Okay / a bell / Blue Bell / [
18. C: yah
19. R: So / if I said to you / that Blue Bulle / was the name / of the rugby team / [
20. C: yah / it's also
21. R: in Pretoria//
22. C: Yah / … I know it //

…

…

1. R: But if you think about it … / I mean here in / in Pretoria / the / the big language groups are the Sotho /
2. you know / the Sotho-Tswana groups / you know / how come the signs aren't in Sotho-Tswana / you think ?
3. F: They know how to speak English //
4. R: … Yah //
5. F: So why would you do it / if they know how to speak English?
6. R: Yah I know / but this is what I'm looking into / I mean / if /
7. F: [it doesn't make business sense to do it /
8. R: [yah
9. F: it's all about business //
10. R: Yah / it wouldn't make business sense /
11. F: [it wouldn't make business sense //
12. R: [okay /
13. but look at your sign /
14. F: [because you're only catering / for that market // what about the other people /
15. that are also in that area ? // they speak in English / and they come and visit us // like the tourists /
16. that come off the station // what about all the people / going into the station / all the Greyhound buses /
17. all those tourists / they don't speak that language // … doesn't make business sense //
18. R: Right … / Yah but / but there is this thing of // what I'm looking into specifically / is this thing of /
19. the affective bond / you know I mean / the fact that you guys / have chosen / the Blou Bulle /
20. isn't an accident / you know / why did you chose that sign ?
21. F: This is Pretoria //
22. R: Uh huh //
23. F: Yeah / and because this is a common name / that everyone knows // … and obviously they've /
24. got supporters … so //
25. R: You get support from them?
26. F: You get support because / a lot of people like the Blou Bulle / so you get the support /
27. so you get the business / it's all based on business /
28. R: Okay / and / but who do you think / likes the Blou Bulle / I mean do you /
29. F: [The Afrikaans people in Pretoria
30. R: And your clients here / now / do you think / they support the Bulle ?
31. F: Some of them do … //
32. R: Some of them do hey / … they wouldn't be more like / kind of Orlando Pirates /
33. Kaizer Chiefs / kind of people //
34. F: They would / but I mean they don't just concentrate on just the football /
35. they concentrate / on other aspects of the province //

…

Figure 38. Interview with Chantal from 14'20'' onwards contrasted with Interview with Fernando from 5'30'' onwards.

In view of these examples I feel rather that what is at issue is the transversality of cultural references and their appropriation. This can be made clear by looking at what both Chantal and Fernando say about the cultural reference of the 'Blou Bulle' in figure 38. Many of the participants in the neighbourhood did not manage to identify the reference to the Pretoria rugby team and Chantal is no exception, in line 16 particularly, she shows an adaptation of the English realisation of the phoneme in 'bell' to the Afrikaans orthography but also an assimilation of the icon to an isiZulu cultural symbol[75]. Fernando on the other hand (lines 25 to 35) is convinced that his choice of business sign is a singular proof of business acumen and that it is partly responsible for the popularity of his shop. The question, here, is of a socio-economic fracture in South African society that is

[75] The nguni cow is what gives its name to the Nguni language grouping.

reinforced culturally – largely as a result of Apartheid. The structuring of neighbourhood space along lines of power, and access, will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

The symbolic and the referential, then, is something that must be analysed with great care. In contradistinction to studies such as that by Barni and Bagna (2009) that directly equate use of a language and specific references with the presence of a speech community and a one-to-one equivalence between signifier and signified, I feel strongly that accurate interpretation is only possible given a sensitive approach to local dynamics and understandings. Milani (2013) raises this point in a different way. In his examination of LL, gender and sexuality there are several moments when seemingly 'banal' references such as those discussed above are 'queered' and that a queer investigation of public signage:

> […] should also entail a sensitivity to the experiences of those people who have created, pass through or live in those spaces, and thus make sense of them on a daily basis. Such an approach is particularly apt to unearth grassroots understandings of the relationships between space, politics, identity and desire […] (Milani, 2013, p. 21)

I feel that this point is as valid to a consideration of place semiotics as it is to a phenomenology of urban texts.

Conclusions for this chapter

This chapter has shown that an interpretation of LL is necessary to and dependant on an understanding of the physical and social context as this has been sketched in chapters 3 and 4. The deep correspondences across the two sites that were brought out, particularly in the previous chapter, are not only present in the LL, but further, in discussing the regularities and constraints relevant to LL artefacts, LL has been seen to be integral to the 'sense of place' of the two sites. Through an examination of layering, operation of time and change of state, transgressive LL give expression to union movements, sexuality, the Arab Spring, cultural manifestations of togetherness and youth culture.

Within categories, there was a high degree of correspondence across the two sites, that both supports an interpretation of LL as being a visual and physical phenomenon that is sensitive to social processes whilst also justifying conclusions as to similarity of the contexts of their production and reception. Regularities in terms of position, realisation, situational and metaphoric language use also point to the cohesion of the categories used for analysis and to fundamental differences between formal and informal texts, in terms of contextualisation but also in their use of code, position, syntax, format and media. The interpretation of LL, finally, was also shown to justify an approach through cycles of discourse and to reveal the profound divergences that can exist in people's habitus, in the ways in which artefacts of LL can be understood subjectively.

Chapter 6 – Visual analysis

This chapter will present the last cycle of discourse, the last broad system of meaning that is relevant, from a geosemiotic approach, to LL as a site of encounter. The key aspects of a multimodal approach as discussed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) are given immediately below in figure 39. As explained in chapter 2, I will be expanding multimodal discourse analysis, MDA (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001, and Kress, 2010 a and b) beyond only images, to the design and realisation of LL artefacts as a whole, and to the multimodal ensemble that LL artefacts form in the space of the street.

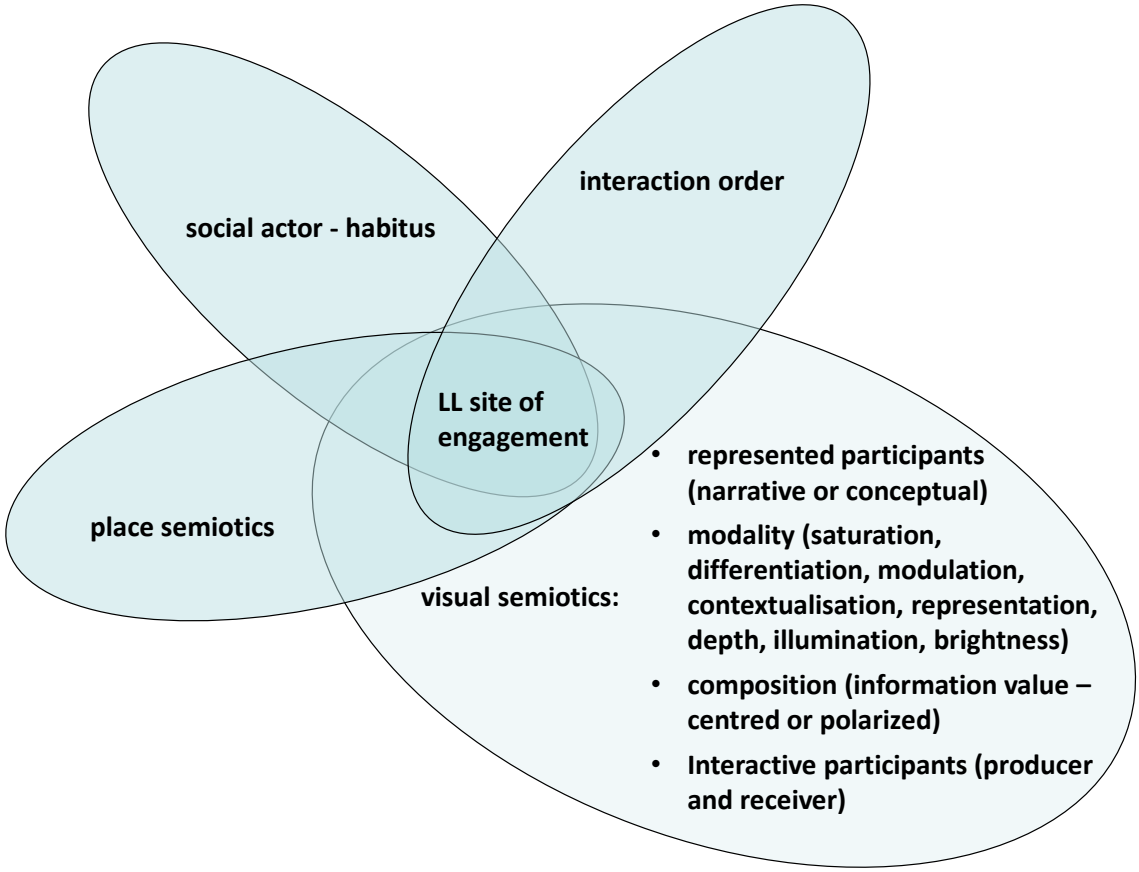


Figure 39. An adaptation of figure 17 which now highlights visual semiotics and a multimodal analysis of LL (adapted from Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 10).

My aim is to return the emphasis of this thesis to the lived experience and the dynamic physical and social conditions as I explored them, through walking, in the two neighbourhoods, and to answer the questions I raised in chapter 2 of this thesis: Of what world is it question when LL artefacts index the 'real' world (see Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 84). Is it the world of local production and knowledges, or the global, commercial, world of non-local production? What subjectivities are reflected in LL? and, in reference to Kress (2010 b): How is the space of the street structured through LL?

The global, the local and the transactional

A first insight into the way linguistic landscapes can operate at a local level is at once a distinction between categories of texts, but also between the subjectivities that are actualised within these categories. Stroud and Mpendukana (2010) adopt a multimodal perspective to discuss consumption and the genres of subjectivity that are actualised by top-down commercial LL artefacts that juxtapose the local and the global, and by locally produced (bottom-up) commercial representations that are mostly transactional in nature (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 473). Their analysis is important for this thesis because it examines the way in which non-local discourses interact with local discourses:

> These two competing and contrasting multimodal (sub-)genres [viz the top-down and bottom-up] organize practices of language into identifiable repertoires in different ways, determined by the material and socioeconomic constraints of their production and consumption. Of particular importance is whether local products and services are semiotically packaged in and by local community networks of production and consumption, or whether the representations are assembled non-locally. This results in different signage being structured differently with respect to available multilingual and multimodal resources […]. (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 473)

Crucially, since "commercial linguistic landscapes in the form of adverts comprise particular genres for the organization of repertoires of subjectivity, offering important mediated narratives of self, consistency, and authenticity" (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 472) non-local discourses such as those actualised by top-down commercial signage also inform a a 'politics of aspiration' (Nuttall, 2004 a and 2008, cited in Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 470) where identities are framed around access to, and consumption of music, fashion items, entertainment and even linguistic styles (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 470). In a previous article by the same authors, (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009) non-local commercial signage was also seen to respond to considerations of place and space. Discourses that juxtapose the local and the global are displayed in, and in many ways represent, 'sites of luxury' that are at a remove both physically and discursively from the context of the neighbourhood (or the township, in their study). What therefore emerges is an image of top-down signage that may be considered representative of a 'politics of aspiration' and that traverses the space of the neighbourhood whilst bottom-up signage is concerned with transactions that refer to the place of the neighbourhood, again both physically and discursively.

However, as discussed in chapter 2 the terms top-down and bottom-up refer to flows and to the function of LL artefacts. Top-down texts emanate from public bodies, agencies and institutions and refer directly to these producers; diffusing information relating to them (see Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 49). Bottom-up texts, meanwhile, are texts that are produced by countless actors in the public domain who address it on behalf of what they offer. Since this thesis has adopted a proprietary categorisation of LL texts, where 'formal' texts are linked to their producers (displayed in 'authorised' positions such as shops and billboards)

and ‘informal’ texts encroach on these places through ad-hoc signage, photocopied flyers or graffiti etc., top-down / bottom-up flows touch both formal and informal texts. I would therefore like to expand Stroud and Mpendukana’s analysis and consider the ways in which all the categories of texts examined in chapter 5 respond to the global, the local and the transactional.

The category of formal texts in both sites provides several very good examples of commercial signage that juxtapose the global and the local, offering a representative matrix that caters for a politics of aspiration. I would like to discuss two such examples below. Figure 40 shows a billboard that dominates the Bosman site and that reaches across the street to provide a double faced call for Hansa. Figure 40 also shows a large shopfront from the Marché du Soleil site. The Hansa billboard is differentiated from its context both by its position, and by its production and design. Its size and production identify it as being a non-local artefact of LL. The mode of colour, especially as concerns the background wash, provides a cohesive compositional element that connotes beer and the brewing process. This is reinforced by the logo of Hansa pilsner that – accompanied by a hop flower – is round, like a bubble in beer, whilst the background wash is modulated, darker at the edges, much like a glass of beer itself in the way it catches the light. The hop flower forms part of the logo, and even the slogan reads the ‘irresistible kiss of the Saaz hop’ but I doubt that many would be able to identify a hop at all, much less a ‘*Saaz*’ hop. Rather, this is an example of global discourses of ‘luxury’ and of branding. The commercial ploy of the advert is highlighted by the red colour that is used to enhance the ‘irresistible kiss’. The advert is given a sensuality that is taken up by the exaggeratedly pouting lips of the man holding the bottle of Hansa and who, in his early thirties, and can serve as an aspirational target who can be identified with, through consumption.



Figure 40. Image 15, appendix 5, SA Breweries billboard for Hansa beer (photograph taken on 25 April, 2011, by author) and image 32, appendix 5, photograph of the shop front for 'Black, Blanc, Beur' (taken on 30 June 2011 by author).

The non-local production of this advert is reinforced by other aspects of composition such as layout and font. The layout is divided into four clear sections. Firstly, the man and the bottle of beer on the right, are in the 'new' space of the text. They provide a specific instantiation of the attributes of the brand but are also integrated into the ensemble by the slanting bottle of beer that, although pointing to the out-of-frame creates a directional vector that ties in with the slogan and also the cohesive colour scheme. Secondly, the logo whose closed circularity and etched rendering place it 'behind' the rest of the text, as a watermark. Thirdly, the slogan is salient, in given position, rendered in deep red and bold typeface. Finally the banner at the bottom warns against alcohol abuse is isolated from the rest of the text by its white colour, linear structure and the fact that it runs along the whole of the bottom of the ad. In fact the banner is best conceived as being distanced from the ad itself – a disclaimer that is there to comply with regulation. It is distanced because it is at odds with the sensual individuality that the ad is there to promote. The slogan in this case offers support to the sensuous red by using a wide spaced, angular, bolded font with no grounding and an upright, vertical orientation. In a similar vein, the mood of command 'savour' is in an 'ideal' position, representing the

aspirational. This text therefore functions very well as a multimodal ensemble that through its production and composition holds up a sensual, aspirational relationship to the Hansa beer brand that impacts on the neighbourhood through the size and positioning of the advert, but that is also targeted at those who drive through the neighbourhood – literally a discourse that traverses the space of the site.

The global discourses of brand and aspiration of this advert also contain however elements of the local, in a way very similar to that noted by Stroud and Mpendukana (2010, p. 481). Although there is no Zulu king seen drinking the bottle of Hansa, immediately below this billboard is the 'Low Side' side bar, where Hansa bottles are stacked in the fridges behind the pool tables (see figure 6, and image 11, appendix 5, additionally a text from the Low Side bar was discussed in chapter 3, figure 15). Further along the street the 'Calabash' bar also provides an example of very local drinking habits. The owner of the Calabash told me that he was in the process of changing the name of the establishment to 'Kalabashi' to reflect a more authentically 'African' feeling (field note of 25, April, 2011). There is therefore a juxtaposition of the local and the global in this advert that is achieved through its positioning (its distribution) as well as through the composition of the text. It may be inserted into the dynamics of the neighbourhood as these were sketched in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

The Hansa advert also partakes of, "[…] chains of resemiotized signage of an intertextual/interdiscursive nature, where, in order to fully comprehend or interpret the message, the reader needs to be familiar with other occurrences of the advert in other modalities" (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 481). For Stroud and Mpendukana (following Nuttall's analysis of the politics of self-stylisation, see Nuttall, 2004a and 2008) advertising such as the Hansa advert is a significant part of the restructuring of South African identities and in particular the articulation of new identities within practices of consumerism. The first point can be clearly seen when it is noted that throughout my field visits this billboard was regularly changed with new adverts for the Hansa brand. As such the billboard became the site for a constantly re-actualised discourse of beer consumption and its place within the social tissue of South Africa. Figure 41 is a photograph of the same billboard just three days later.



Figure 41. Second SA Breweries billboard for Hansa beer (photograph taken on 28 April, 2011, by author).

In the new advert, many of the features of the preceding text are reproduced. There are again four frames (the logo, the caption and copy, the image and the disclaimer), the image is again of a man in his late twenties or early thirties who is well-dressed, emulable, and the slogan again revolves around the 'kiss of the Saaz hop'. There are however important differences in the discourse that these elements actualise. Firstly the copy refers to prominent Dj's on the house scene and it is one of these Dj's that is shown in image in the 'new' space of the text. Secondly, the logo has been moved to the 'given' position in the advert and is now much more salient (through the use of a saturated red). The centre of the logo has also been changed and now a new slogan makes direct reference to the Dj's that are enumerated in the copy (the slogan reads, 'legends in the making'). The red used in the caption is darker, less saturated and therefore could be seen as adopting a more informative modality and the caption itself is now clearly in the ideal space of the advert. The mood is still a command, but here the 'special ingredient' seems to refer to the image of the man who is using his beer bottle as a microphone and whose fingers literally point towards the caption.

The above examination of the two adverts provides one answer to Scollon and Scollon's (2003) questions regarding visual analysis:

> […] how images represent the real social world, […] how images mean what they mean because of where we see them, and […] how we use images to do other things in the world. (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 84)

Taken together the LL of figures 40 and 41 articulate a discourse in which drinking Hansa beer is part of what it means to be a successful, enjoyable, musically and sexually[76] complete member of the modern (post-modern?) South African society in which English is

[76]This is a little out of the way but has justification given the connotations of kiss, and the rather sensual composition of figure 40.

the de-facto language of communication and in which consumerism (of particular brands) is one of the paths to formation of identity.

Discourses such as this pervade not only the design but above all the production of these adverts - their glossy, high quality reproduction for instance, or the expense of their structure. In fact in view of the shape of the metallic structure and the fact of its proximity to the transport points of the train, coach and taxi station, there is a justifiable sense of a *gateway* in the transverse arch and uprights. In this case the medium could be construed as connoting a message of welcome and belonging. Its position, incidentally, shields it from many of the physical interactions (tagging, subversion, superposition etc.) that were noted in chapters 3 and 5.

The shop front for 'Black Blanc Beur' is one of the most prominent signs at the Marché du Soleil site. As outlined in chapter 5, French law is concerned with the environmental impact of signs and there are no billboards in residential areas such as the Marché du Soleil. The production uses specialised, commercial, shopfitting techniques, branding is present, colour provides a unifying structural modal element, and there is emphasis on the aspirational, a politics of self stylisation, that can be understood as a 'global' discourse of branding and fashion. There is also a juxtaposition in this sign with the local, but to see that, it is necessary to have a quick glance into the functioning of French slang. From the post-war period, but gaining in predominance since the early seventies, slang in France revolves around the displacement of syllables in a word. It is called 'verlan' and this word is in itself a good example of how the system works: l'envers ('reverse' in English) gets its constitutive syllables swapped around to make 'verlan'[77]. This shop front however uses a *double* verlan. The word 'arabe' is first swapped around to give 'rebeu', this is then again swapped around to give, 'beur'. As such the shop front reads 'Black White Arab' and is a direct reference to two things that are immediately relevant to the discourses of the Marché du Soleil as discussed in chapter 4. From the mid-eighties many of the first and second Arab immigrants formed a student movement called the 'Marche des beurs' to protest against their marginalisation from French society. This became highly polarised due to the Pasqua Act that sought to control immigrant rights and marriage. In turn would see its cause championed in 1998 when France, on the way to winning the football world cup, became not the 'Bleu Blanc Rouge' team (the colours of the French flag) but the 'Black Blanc Beur' team in reference to the North African origins of the players, particularly Zidane, who were on the field. This sign then has particular relevance to a neighbourhood like the Marché du Soleil and is a properly 'local' example of LL that, nevertheless, plays with the conventions and production techniques of bigger, more commercial, brands.

As noted, there are many such examples of commercially produced texts in both sites that juxtapose a discourse of the global and the local. Figure 42 presents a breakdown of the media of LL texts in the two sites by category. The left hand section of the graph shows just how high a percentage of texts (especially in the Marché du Soleil site) are

[77]See also Doran (2004).

permanent texts that, in most cases, are commercially produced. Rather, however, than seeing a clear dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up texts, I prefer to see a circulation of global discourses within the local. The 'Black Blanc Beur' sign, for instance, is a formal text (displayed by its owner) but it would, in Ben-Rafael's terms, be a bottom-up text since it was produced by the owner of the shop. It is more 'local' than global. Figure 42 further shows that there are far more temporary texts in both sites than there are permanent ones, a huge proportion of which are displayed informally, or by informal vendors. Temporary texts, by their very nature, take advantage of specific events and dynamics within a neighbourhood, they have a 'phatic' element (by their position, the advantage they take of urban physical space) that in many cases is transactional[78]. However, I would like to explore the other discourses they actualise, examine whether the articulation of the global and the local is not a transversal characteristic of LL texts that represents a key facet of their discursive interpretation.

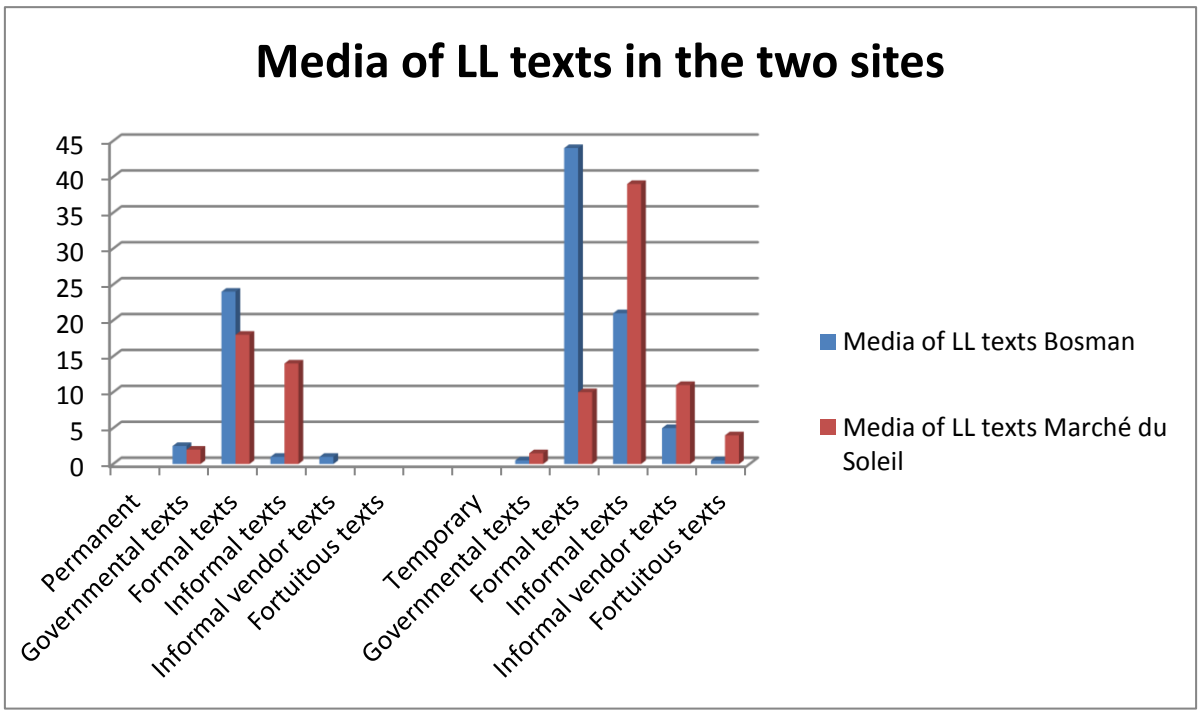


Figure 42. Breakdown of permanent and temporary media in LL by site.

The discourses of local LL do often indeed place the accent much more heavily on transaction and on the person of the seller and in this can be distinguished from commercially produced LL with discourses of brand identification and aspiration.

> The [locally produced] signage is an example of personalized transaction because its features are designed to highlight the presence of a unique product or service that can be identified with a particular individual salesperson in the local context of the informal economy. (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010, p. 475)

[78] This is especially true of texts that have cut-out tags with telephone number and contact details that can be torn off by a passer-by.

Their analysis is borne out in the present research. The stamp of local production can be clearly seen in relation to LL artefacts such as Dante's first spaza sign and the sign written by the seller of perfumes in the Marché du Soleil site (see figure 43 below). Comparing the two, it is easy to see differences in terms of control of diction, but also similarities in their length, their use of black and white, handwritten presentation, and their media – a piece of discarded plywood in one case, and a piece of cardboard packaging in the other. Colour particularly, that is used deliberately as a structuring element for the multimodal ensemble of the Hansa advert or the 'Black Blanc Beur' shop sign is absent in both of the texts of figure 43. Both have a very phatic element (the interpersonal metafunction in a Hallidayan analysis) that directly addresses the passer by, in an offer of goods and services that relies - in the case of the Marseille text - on the second person and the mood of command. These are certainly transactional texts that emphasise the person in the context of an informal economy and as such focus this analysis on interactive participants (see Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 95).



Figure 43. Image 65, appendix 5, Dante's sign for traditional medicine (photograph taken on 26 April, 2011, by author) and image 71, appendix 5, a sign written by a seller of perfumes and DVD's in the Camille Pelletan street (photographed on 02 July, 2011).

Locally produced LL are a dynamic, complex phenomenon that it has been a key aim of this thesis to draw out. On a field visit almost a year after the date of figure 43, I could photograph a second sign made for Dante by a friend who worked at PEP[79] (field note that accompanied the photograph of 11 April, 2012). In figure 44 colour as mode is more coherent, font is more regular, information is better framed and product names (given salience through bolding and blocked capitals) occupy the 'ideal' field of the text mirroring the aspiration that is mobilised by any brand. Above all, this example of LL openly appropriates the production conventions of 'special offer' placards in modern, consumer commercial stores and gives what is a locally produced artefact of LL many of the connotations linked with the modern, the global. It is further evidence of the local character of this sign that (as noted in chapters 4 and 5) Dante stores this sign away under the tarpaulin of a neighbouring informal seller during the night and continues to treat it

[79]PEP is a large South African chain store specialising in reasonably priced clothing, household linen and telephony.

with a certain amount of pragmatism. What he sees as its key attribute is that it has his telephone number written on it, so that people may take it down. His failing sight and poor memory for numbers would make giving out his contact details a difficult operation, were it not for the sign.







Figure 44. Image 65, appendix 5, Dante's second sign for traditional medicine (photograph taken on 11 April, 2012, by author) and a detail of the stand of the perfume and CD / DVD seller in the Marché du Soleil (image 73, appendix 5).

Figure 44 also shows a detail from the perfume seller and CD / DVD stand of figure 43. The seller responsible for these texts was a charismatic and vocal man (field notes for 02 July) who did not want to be recorded but who enjoyed being interviewed. The sound of the music his stand played accompanied us as I talked to him, much like my interviews with John in Pretoria. His stand was a more permanent affair since he was in front of a shop that was undergoing building works and he was protected by the scaffolding of the street. At the end of our interview he gave me a copy of the CD shown in detail in figure 44. The composition of both of his stands reflect a choice and a calculation in disposition. The CD's are arranged from DJ sets at the bottom to more classical, iconographic Arab singers and religious recordings at the top. There is a clear sense of pride in Arab, Maghreb culture which recalls the text of the 'Black Blanc Beur' shop since the reference

to football in that text was also based primarily on the mixed Arab, Maghreb, Camerounian origins of its players.

Referring to the text of the CD in figure 44, 'Maghreb' is salient in a saturated red, whilst images are symbolic, explicative, and the Algerian flag is also shown, bottom right in 'real' position. The high definition of the images, the composition of the ensemble, evocative elements such as the red lips etc. recall many of the comments made of the Hansa advert in figure 40. The composition emphasises the identificatory and the aspirational, it juxtaposes the global (although certainly not a Western vision of the global, rather one based on Arab culture and diaspora) with the local context of Marseille and the Marché du Soleil, especially since the DJ shown at an oblique and low angle – an offer, rather than demand, that realises an attitude of power (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 97) - is the seller's son and the seller himself participated in the production and editing of the tracks. The point, for both of the texts in figure 44 is that these are local products that actualise many of the features of non-local, commercial LL texts within a transactional context.

The case is similar for figure 45, although more complex. Here, in terms of composition and design, there is no link between the seller, the neighbourhood and the product. Van Damme (a Belgian actor) is the represented participant (see Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 86) whose demand gaze insists on affiliation with norms of Western masculinity but also with the importation of cultural products from the United States. However, the *production* of this LL artefact is decidedly local. It has been produced by a Zimbabwean network specialising in the pirating of DVD's (interview with Mary, 11 April, 2011) and as such is decidedly a local product – seen in its packaging, its presentation, its price etc. Here again, whilst within a transactional context there is a politics of aspiration and a global discourse.



Figure 45. Image 69, appendix 5, overview and detail of a pirate DVD stand in Bosman (photographed on 28 April, 2011).

A further example of local production that mirrors commercial, non-locally produced signage is constituted by image 13 (appendix 5) a detail of which is given in figure 46. The 'Belle Dame' salon certainly contains many of the elements that Stroud and Mpendukana

(2010) identify as being prevalent in the local. Almost the entire store front is handwritten. Colour is used 'spatially' rather than 'structurally' to differentiate the separate sub-units of text, lastly there are 'ludic' spaces on the peripheries of the signs of the storefront that emphasise originality and creativity rather than the functions of the interpersonal and of aspiration that dominate in non-local signs. Nevertheless, the 'Belle Dame' salon also incorporates a highly proficiently produced backlit neon sign.



Figure 46. Image 13, appendix 5, detail (photographed on 25, April, 2011), and image 30, appendix 5, shopfront for 'Jimmy 25' in the Marché du Soleil site (taken on 30 June 2011).

This sign and the shopfront were mentioned in the previous chapter in relation to its code preference (use of French), unifying colour and reference to Rihanna, but it is useful now to look at the sign discursively. Not only does its production create a clear message of chic and elegance, but its design mobilises many of the attributes of the Hansa advert. Colour here is used as reinforcement of the business name and is given vectorial tension through its use of paintbrushed oblique red stripes. The name itself ('Belle Dame') is now in 'ideal' position and accompanied by caption and copy. Elegant models (Rihanna is on the right) form a triptych and the name of the salon is salient. The models' connotations of the global and of the modern, the cosmopolitan, are clearly emphasised and juxtaposed with

a very African preoccupation with weaves and with a reference to the Congolese origins of the owner of the salon through the use of French. The photo selected for Rihanna, as also the other photo on the left, uses a 'demand gaze' that interpellates the viewer directly. The ensemble therefore works on the aspirational, the emulative in creating a vision of self, and a politics of stylisation much in the same way as the Hansa advert. However, there remains a transactional, local element to the sign that is the arrow pointing directly to the entrance of the shop and that brings the viewer once again down to the plane of the transactional and to the person of the advertiser.

A final example, from Marseille, shows a very different instantiation of the global and the local. The text for Jimmy 25 uses most of the techniques that characterise graffiti art and in particular tags (see Carrington, 2009). In terms of production it uses paint sprays, which in Marseille are known as 'graffbombs'. In terms of design the font uses flicks and extenders that, combined with the use of colour, provide a 3D effect, and above all, the text is applied directly to the surface on which it is painted, taking advantage of the reliefs and textures of the shop emplacement. The discourse of this shopfront is therefore very succinctly one of 'the street', wherein the products that the shop sells are shown to be both trendy and subversive. Whether this is in fact the case (a brief glance at the clothes in the window would indicate otherwise) this texts highlights a different globality and a different aspiration – one of counterculture and of transgression that draws its sources from the local, and a politics of identity that moves in a very different direction from that of global commerce.

Not only are local discourses taken up and resemiotised in the global, but the modes of salient, large format and expensively produced texts such as the Hansa advert that was discussed initially, provide examples of design and production that are reinterpreted and imitated locally. In doing so many of the discourses that characterise the global – especially as concerns commodification of culture and a politics of self-stylisation are reactualised in local productions of LL. Additionally, within the context of the neighbourhood, and of locally produced texts (both formal and informal) there is a circulation of discursive, design and production features from the formal to the informal and vice versa. Indeed, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, p. 72) refer to this as 'importing'. Elements of the global and the local extend right down to even the transactional level within neighbourhoods and are at the heart of one of the functions of LL – to articulate the place of the neighbourhood within the space of broader, global, discourses. This is a vital aspect of the discursive content of these texts.

From the above discussion, and with regard to the neighbourhoods under study, three conclusions need further treatment here. Firstly, a circulation of discourses regarding the global, the local and the transactional within the neighbourhood shifts the emphasis of a discursive interpretation of LL towards *all* categories of texts. Informal texts, in particular, often have a clearly articulated discourse that is particularly relevant to considerations of the global and the local whilst combining this with a transactional, phatic function. Secondly, and stemming from this first conclusion, very significant differences in both

local and global discourses can be noted in the two sites. Thirdly, a full understanding of these texts is really only possible given a knowledge of the context, history and dynamics of the two sites as discussed in chapters 3, 4, and 5. I would like to examine three LL texts that are informal and that, in very different ways, illustrate these conclusions (given in figure 47 below).

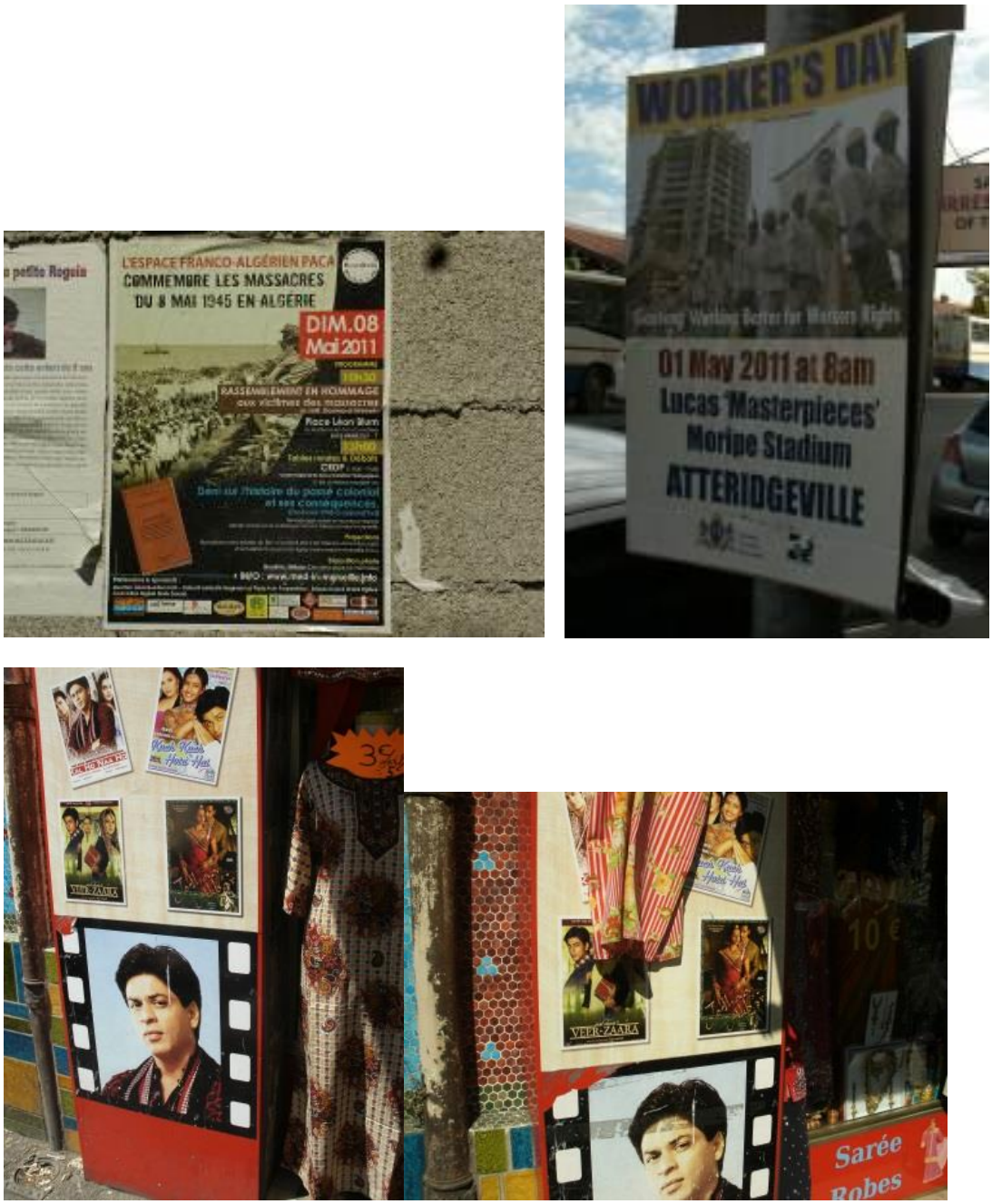


Figure 47. Image 60, appendix 5, round tables and events in commemoration of the Algerian war (photographed in June, 2011); image 47, appendix 5, poster for May Day events in Atteridgeville (photographed in April, 2011) and image 28, appendix 5, shopfront for Saree Bollywood (photographed in July, 2011).

The first text of figure 47 commemorates massacres of civilians during the Algerian war, in which France has been accused of war crimes. Given in the text is a (symbolic) image of one of the massacres and in new the details of the round tables and events that will mark

their commemoration. Within the space of the street, and concerning both formal and informal texts, this text can be read against other LL artefacts that introduce discourses about Arab culture, or an informal text (such as that of image 61 in appendix 5) that contests Israelo-American intervention in the middle east. Here the local is very much linked to the personal histories of many of the immigrants to the Marché du Soleil that were discussed in chapter 4. This text also contains reference to broader, global, dynamics such as the decolonialisation of North Africa and the place of Arab peoples in French and European discourses on immigration and employment.

In its dates and times (the principal date being given salience through use of red) this poster also introduces a phatic element – directly addressing passers-by and requesting their presence at the round tables. There is a play here on mood that needs to be explicated. The header reads, "The Franco-Algerian space commemorates the massacres of 8th May 1945 in Algeria", but the subject of this phrase is deemphasised through a pale, unsaturated red that makes it less noticeable than the bolded black of the rest of the sentence that, in French, can also be read as a command, "Commemorate the massacres …". In the Bosman site, The Worker's Day text operates similarly. It introduces a political discourse about workers' rights that concerns an international day, May 1st. The text is clearly divided between ideal and real, where in ideal is the theme of the poster and an idealised image of a strike, whilst in real the local character of this discourse is emphasised by reference to the place (Atteridgeville, a township contiguous with Pretoria's CBD).

Maghreb cultural affiliations contain some interesting echoes of an elsewhere, not all of which were unpacked in chapter 4. One of these is the fact that for a long time, the only foreign films that were openly approved by the governments of Morocco and Tunisia (probably for reasons of modesty, wearing of the veil etc) came from India. The links between the Maghreb and Bollywood go back several generations and have influenced ideals of elegance, marital behaviour and even the sonorities of some Rai songs[80]. In analysing the composition of the Saree Bollywood shopfront the 'demand' gaze of Shah Rukh Khan is in the real, given space, and accompanies the details of the kinds of dress and eveningwear that the shop offers. I had a long conversation with the owners, who were amazed that I could be doing a comparison between this neighbourhood and one in South Africa. The joking about Sandton and international centres of commerce did not undo, however, what they felt to be the central message of their streetlevel advertising that was fashioned from extracts, posters and the packaging of the products they sold. Internationalism, and connotations of a filmic chic was the essence of what they spoke about and aimed to achieve through the composition of their shopfront (field note of 01 July). In reference to figures 31 and 32, theirs would be a metaphoric use of language.

It would not be possible to give a detailed account of every single text in the corpus of texts that serves as basis for this thesis. Nevertheless, the broad characteristics of each site can be discussed from the perspective of a circulation of discourses across categories

[80] 'Rai' a Maghreb musical genre, was discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

with reference to the texts discussed here and to those of appendix 5. The Marché du Soleil, at a local level, is host to a wide range of texts that emphasise North Africa through both discourses of pride in culture and religion but also through discourses of contestation. Globally, a politics of aspiration follows oriental rather than occidental models with frequent references to pan-Arab discourses. A street counterculture is emphasised both directly through tagging and graffiti but also through mimicking of fonts and modes (as in the example of Jimmy 25 above) but also in the placing and design of informal texts. These themes are recirculated at a transactional level not only in formal texts (image 38, appendix 5 is a package travel deal for the Haj) but also in the products and packaging of informal vendor texts that refer to cultural and religious specificities of North African Arab culture.

In Bosman, global discourses are aligned along western, commercial, lines such as in the Hansa advert and the Belle Dame sign discussed above, but there is also frequent reference to an 'Africanism' that can either be local such as in the Calabash bar front (image 21, appendix 5) or more international as in the poster for a Zimbabwe music group (image 49, appendix 5). Whilst not 'global' in the strict sense of the word, non-locally produced LL make frequent reference to the multiculturalism of South Africa or the socio-politico-economic realities of the country (telephony, health, education, pregnancy, employment, voting etc.) Often these LL are overtly religious in character (image 42 of Winnie Mashaba, a gospel singer in Sesotho). Texts that have a phatic, personal, transactional function are marked culturally in a very different way to those of the Marché du Soleil. In Bosman, internationally branded products (see image 67) vie with traditional medicines and the necessities of daily life but also with numerous references to male virility and to the female form. This is perhaps a local, African, discourse, rather than a global, commercial preoccupation but I dare not venture to state this too baldly.

A politics of space

The previous section examined how a circulation could be seen in the way LL texts realised discourses of the global, the local and the way in which these texts actualised transactional relationships. But what of the position of these texts? How is the very location of a text within the space of the street an element of meaning making? The media and position chosen for a particular artefact are facets of research into LL that needs more discussion. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) refer to Bourdieu (1984) and to Scollon and Scollon (2003) to examine LL texts from the perspective of authorised sites of 'luxury', and, on the other hand, the sites of 'necessity' that are relevant to township environments. This is also a theme that is explored by Torkington (2009) who examines, inter alia, the impact of large billboards or by Pennycook (2009) who examines graffiti as the transgression of the space of the street.

A first implication of the application of MDA to the context of the street and of LL concerns salience and framing. Salience is discussed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) under two headings: composition and modality. In terms of composition, salience determines what is *topical* in a multimodal text – the central theme around which the rest

of the text turns. In terms of modality, salience (particularly colour saturation, differentiation and modulation) can determine the truth value of a text, the degree of reliability which it is accorded by the person receiving it. Framing refers to the articulation of different elements within a multimodal ensemble. Elements of framing such as dark lines, different perspectives, different colours and layouts aid in determining the reading path of a text and the way in which its elements cohere. When considering how an LL text is produced (industrially, by hand, using permanent or temporary materials that are glossy or matt etc) the change over time of the linguistic landscape affects both salience and framing. This is because they are affected by other texts over which (in all categories except for informal vendor texts) the producer of a text has little or no control. An example from the Marseille site is indicative of this (figure 48).



Figure 48. Image 32, appendix 5, shopfront of the Black, Blanc, Beur shop (taken in June, 2011), and an earlier photograph from March, 2010.

In the photograph from 2011 the snack outlet next to the shop has closed and the Black Blanc Beur's saturated purples and gloss, laminated, finish is salient when compared to the Lady Shoes shop to its left. However, a year previously this same shop presented a much more cohesive production when compared with the Snack Pizza outlet that used blue neons on a red background (blue and red produce purple) and a personalised, angular font. These considerations are similar to those concerning intertextuality of the previous chapter, but their effect is slightly different. The specific characteristics (length, use of image, etc) of the Black Blanc Beur's shopfront is unchanged, only its salience – the respect to which a receiver of this text would accord it attention (noting it as a topical theme in the context of the street) is changed. Changed too is its truth value. As part of a cohesive whole the shop front actualises a high modality. Isolated, in 2011, at the end of the street, it seems gaudy and detached from its immediate surroundings. Framing raises similar comments. Seen in 2011, Lady Shoes and Black Blanc Beur offer a diptych with stark contrasts in modes and media. Seen in 2010 the same shop is part of a triptych and the transition between texts offers a more cohesive ensemble.

In the examples of figure 49 below, the two texts are best considered in terms of the axis separating 'ideal' from 'real'. The ideal is the aspirational, the generalised essence of the text (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 193) whilst the real is the down to earth, practical information. In the examples discussed so far (e.g. figure 47) this division of ideal and real takes place on a horizontal plane within the text, but in many other examples of LL it is the street itself that may be considered divided along this axis. The examples of figure 49 clearly show this. The Low-side Restaurant has been sponsored by Coca Cola as occurs in many African cities. For the owner it is an opportunity to have a new, more salient, sign whilst for Coca Cola the advantages are obvious. What is interesting here is that the original sign subsists, but in a position that is below that of the Coca Cola sponsored sign. The aspirational, content of the new sign is obvious, accompanied as it is by a beautiful woman refreshing herself (in 'new' position within the text). In the sign from the Mosque of the Marché du Soleil, the Arabic inscription of Allah within the crescent moon and star of the season associated with Eid and the period of fasting and celebration - by being placed in 'ideal' position - reinforces the religious motif of the ensemble and the significance it has for the Muslim population of the site.



Figure 49. Two examples of formal texts in the 'ideal' position from the Bosman and Marché du Soleil sites. Image 11, appendix 5 (by author, April, 2011) and image 27, appendix 5, (July, 2011).

The repercussion of this view for analysis of LL texts relates to power and vertical angle (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 146). The 'critical' component of MDA relates (as discussed in chapters 1 and 2) to the making of signs, and to the position with respect to social structures that this implies. Power in single texts, when analysed from an MDA perspective, consists in the relation to the viewer that these texts encode. In a perspectival image for instance, power comes from the 'high' angle of representation that portrays the represented participants as being above the viewer. In the context of the street, both of the examples in figure 51 also encode positions of power, since the position they occupy in the street is literally, and figuratively, above the viewer. When combined with the clear tendencies of the categories of texts analysed in chapter 5 to occupy regular positions in the street (see figures 24 and 34 of the previous chapter) this explicitly draws a link between MDA and critical approaches to which it is quite near in

terms of its ontological stance. Thompson (1984, 1990) for instance, sees meaning as being socially structured.

> The social location of individuals, and the entitlements associated with their positions in a social field or institution, endow them with varying degrees of 'power', understood at this level as a socially or institutionally endowed capacity with enables or empowers some individuals to make decisions, pursue ends or realise interests. (Thompson, 1990, p. 59)

What is at issue is the degree to which different actors - in virtue of their differing positions in the street – mark their discourses with varying degrees of power. This is especially relevant given the number of pedestrians that walk through each site. The average for the Marseille site on a non-market day - as mentioned in chapter 3 - was 710 pedestrians an hour. To make this point clear, I would like to turn to two examples of texts that were photographed in the Marché du Soleil in the course of my fourth day on the site and that concern an informal text and a fortuitous text (figure 50). Fortuitous texts are an interesting phenomenon. As Kress notes, "Every act of discarding a sweet wrapper by dropping it on the ground is in that sense an act of marking and communicating boundaries of public and private." (Kress, 2010 b, p. 52). There is also the respect in which the LL multimodal ensemble that is actualised by the person within the space of the street must include those fortuitous ensembles that may exist even for just an instant.


a)



b)

Figure 50. Two texts (images 54 and 80 of appendix 5) photographed near the park on Camille Pelletan St, (04 July, 2011). Text a) translates, “Human rights: France, neither liberty, nor equality nor fraternity” and is a direct reference to the motto of the Republic. Text b) is a torn newspaper extract of which the headline reads, “(I) renounce none of my convictions”.

It is notable that the author of 50 a) has deliberately placed on street level the slice of chipboard on which he or she has penned a subversive message concerning the French motto. Similarly the text of 50 b) was lying on the pavement immediately next to the text of a). What is fascinating is that in terms of a functional analysis both of these elliptic clauses function as message and exchange and represent a fortuitous example of paratactic extension. The subject ‘I’ of b) could therefore be linked thematically with ‘human rights’ and ‘France’ (the given), whilst ‘convictions’ could then be linked in rheme with liberty, equality and fraternity (the new). The situation would have been very different if either of these texts had been in a different level of the street, or if they had represented different categories of texts. What allows them to cohere, even if only temporarily, is their position in the street – at ground level, that allows them to be captured in the same glance, the same movement. Their media has more sense in this regard. The piece of chipboard that has been recuperated from a skip or from some other

place of disposal rhymes well with the discarded and torn newspaper page that is marked with fat and lies abandoned on the cover of a gutter.

What I have sought to show is that positioning works as an element in meaning making, and is pertinent to a multimodal analysis. Conceived of as a transversal element that is mobilised in different ways by different artefacts of LL, it is an aspect of MDA that can be used to gain a vision of the streetscape as a cohesive ensemble that may be analysed discursively. Put differently, this brief analysis points to the conclusions of Pennycook (2001) and to what is a fundamental point relevant to an MDA approach – namely, that there is no 'escape' from discourse. The very space of the street is structured in discourse. This is also relevant to an interpretation of figure 51 below. One of the things that makes this graffiti so startlingly memorable is the fact that a permanent medium (paint) is used for an *informal* text in a place that is usually reserved for *formal* texts. The graffiti is playing with the spaces of ideal and real; deliberately placing its visual message in an 'ideal' space and in doing so transgressing the proprietary space of the wall on which it is painted.

These conclusions also apply to reading paths. In looking at the texts in figure 51 what is important is to see how they have been placed and how the wall on which they are painted contributes to their interpretation. Walking along Camille Pelletan street from the Place Jules Guesde, at first only 51 a) is visible. This is a large graffiti painting that occupies the entire pan of the remaining wall where the adjoining edifice has been demolished and is conscious of its vertical power, as the rendering of the head with its eyes looking down on passers-by and on the stomach of the represented participant. It is a striking example of street art for which it would be possible to analyse the image in terms of the vertical and horizontal axes of 'given/new' and 'ideal/real' as done in the previous section. As one walks past this example of informal LL, one can notice a series of graffiti by the same collective that occupy different positions on the fractured beams and partitions of the same wall. What is interesting is that 51 b) has been deliberately placed in a position that is above eye-level and that it is only visible when adjacent to the first pan of 51 a). Additionally, whilst the reading position for 51 b) implies a foreshortening of 51 a) it is also sensitive to the paintings of school children that are displayed on a low concrete wall (image 51 c) that is immediately behind and facing 51 a). In many ways these graffiti are sensitive to the movement that is implied in walking and represent a reading 'path' that relies on the reader's attention and own ordering of the information presented, much as is discussed by Kress in terms of reading-as-design (Kress, 2010 b, p. 38).



a)



b)


c)

Figure 51. Image 63, appendix 5, a series of graffs by the 'Zoo project' that involved some neighbourhood graff artists and several children from the local school (photos by author, 30 June, 2011). Text a) translates, "It's easy to take the child out of the street, it's harder to take the street out of the child." Text b) translates, "Vote naked !!!".

In the linguistic landscape therefore reading path is not only an aspect of MDA that is relevant to individual texts but also to the manner in which the composition of the streetscape is perceived. Reading path is discussed as a function of the framing, salience and positioning of the elements of a text (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 218 – 223). What the above reflections show is that reading path for linguistic landscapes is also structured by the architectural, physical environment of the city (as discussed in chapter 3). This is shown by one final example given in figure 52 below in which the name of the shop (a series of adjectives that refer to an infamous joke in commercial circles[81]) is repeated in both streets but changes what is listed in 'real' position – therefore offering an identification of the shop name with a wide range of products and offers that are fully visible only when turning or crossing the street; taking account of the reading paths of pedestrians and drivers. In this study, the reading path respects the movement of walking and gives pertinence to the maps of the sites and the marking of the reading path that was adopted in figures 6 and 10.



Figure 52. Photograph of a shopfront in the Bosman site (by author, April, 2011).

Examining the neighbourhood from this angle (both literally and figuratively) gives rise to a very different discursive image of the space of the neighbourhood. It becomes a 'politics' where information value, composition and modality are an intrinsic part of meaning making and when they are appropriated as such. The large majority of governmental and formal texts are in the 'ideal' position. Informal texts are most often in the centre of the vertical axis of the streetscape and as such have a 'topical' function. Informal vendor and fortuitous texts - being situated on the pavement space - can be considered to be in the 'real' space of the street. Texts such as graffiti, or tagging as noted above often subvert the ideal space of formal texts by inserting contestatory messages in what is often a proprietary discourse of service etc. This can be seen in the examples below (figure 53). The first text in figure 53 was discussed in the previous chapter – the adjunction of the tag is given a sharper edge by being in the ideal space of the street, with a high vertical angle (a vertical angle that can be seen in the photograph). The 'Boycott Israeli Apartheid' sticker is affixed to guttering between the Bône shoe shop and the Doris Jewellery shop (see figure 6). In the centre of a vertical axis and between the given of 'Bône' and the new of 'Doris' its discourse is informed with the references to Algerian decolonisation of Bône and the construction work that covers the Doris shopfront. The

[81] The saying goes: "Good, Fast, Cheap : choose any two. If it's good and fast it won't be cheap, if it's cheap and fast it won't be good and if it's good and cheap it won't be fast."

bar code of the sticker, that represents consumerism, and that has been transformed into a caricature of the wall in Jerusalem, finds a visual echo in the scaffolding bars of the Doris shop. The 'Bosman' sign endows the reference to Afrikaans cultural heritage with a high vertical angle and a strong modality (truth value) of black and white. Finally, the Worker's Day poster that was discussed in the previous section was cut down overnight (field note for 27 April, 2011) after just one day of display and replaced by a poster for the Inkatha Freedom Party. The fact that position is a matter of politics is clearly shown by this example of the LL texts of a political party appropriating the position that had been taken by the Worker's Day poster. The reason for this appropriation is surely that there had already been an IFP poster above the Worker's Day poster, and by putting a second IFP poster underneath both ideal and real positions could realise a cohesive discourse.



Figure 53. Two texts from the Marché du Soleil (images 5 and 61, appendix 5) and two texts from the Bosman sites (images 3 and 47, appendix 5). Photographs by author, April and July, 2011.

As concerns each site, I would like to draw some general discursive characteristics as concerns the physical space that the texts there occupy. In the Marseille site Mustapha Slimani (figure 54) is a good example of what has been discussed. It is a family-run franchise that overtly associates itself with both the colours of Algeria and with ideals of hospitality and religion as transmitted through Islam. This shop, come Eid, announces its sales of lamb and sheep through loudspeakers set up in the street. The text has an image

of a portly, welcoming Algerian in given position, that is also salient through being somewhat 'out-of-frame'. The entire text is divided into the colours of the Algerian flag. The family name in red, the slogan ('trust as well') in green. These colours mirror (in given and new positions) the reading path that would cross the text from the image at left to the slogan at right. The gaze of the represented participant is direct, engaging, and is an example of the function of offer of services and products. Finally, the vertical angle of the ensemble (the represented participant literally looking down on the interactive participants) reinforces notions of trust, confidence, power etc that are associated with the family-name-as-brand of the shop. Allusion to origin is common in the Marseille site as are signs that actualise cultural, religious or social discourses (some examples of which have been discussed above).













Figure 54. A text from the Marché du Soleil and three texts from the Bosman sites (images 33, 20, and 68, appendix 5).Photographs by author, April and July, 2011.

In Bosman the space of the ideal (dominated almost entirely by shop fronts) is very strongly linked to power and aspiration. The size and quality of realisation of the City Property[82] 'Urban Renewal' billboard is very salient when compared to the LL texts with which it interacts. Stark, bold print and a saturated red that contrasts with the black of contact numbers and logo actualise a company 'identity' and a very clear discourse about property refurbishment and 'gentrification' that is introduced by the adverb in phrase onset, "another urban renewal project". Ideal position, and the absence of other LL texts in the immediate environs of this example illustrate what is a recurrent theme of the Bosman site (and to a lesser extent the Marché du Soleil) site where power is space: the absence of competitive discursive elements, a salience that comes from isolation, a clear framing of the text.

Aspiration, in this site as in the Marché du Soleil, concerns personal narratives of immigration and belonging. The M. Dawn Trading shopfront was painted by John and his brother (field note and interview of 11 April, 2012). John – as explained in chapter 4 – comes from Nigeria. For him the success of his business was a point of pride, and also meant the possibility of being able to pay for his wife, still in Nigeria, to come to South Africa. The business did not function profitably however, and since March of 2013, the shop has been closed and John has become an informal seller of fruit and vegetables on the pavement in front of the shop. This move from the ability to post LL texts in an ideal position to that of the real position of the pavement is a very good example of what position means and reinforces what can be noted about the other discursive elements of this shopfront – its fragmented colour scheme, irregular font and extension but also the space (within the frame of the text) that is reserved for the trader's name in a clearer blue and white. There are many such shopfronts in the Bosman site, and through the interviews I conducted could be held to be very similar to that of M. Dawn Trading. The texts included quotations from the bible, references to family, lists of all the products that were on offer and in all cases a very personal engagement of the owner in the venture that the shop represented.

It is a poignant view of the 'real' discourse of the Bosman street that is offered by the photograph taken of informal stalls early in the morning. There is a hard edge of necessity and pragmatism that combines with a touching element of trust that emerges from this photo (the second to last in figure 54 above). A trust that no one will take products overnight and that they can be left, secure, covered only by the edge of an unfolded

[82] City Property is a property investment consortium that is buying up swathes of residential and office buildings in the CBD's of South Africa's major cities. Taking advantage of the lack of confidence in the property market due to inflation, the changing demographics of the CBD (immigration, the relocation of people and offices to complexes on the periphery of the city as explained in chapter 4, the frequent failure of sectional title schemes) City Property buys these buildings, refurbishes them rapidly and then rents them out again with the addition of selling points such as security and guaranteed water and electricity. For a further discussion of security and bounded spaces see Bremner (2004).

cardboard box. My contacts with the sellers themselves reflected this sentiment. I was joked with, looked at uncomprehendingly, but some sellers also posed with me as I took photographs of the texts that adorned their stands. There was a very real sense of the temporary. Some of the sellers I never saw again. On some days there were almost twenty stands, on others only two or three. Many of the sellers were illegal Shona immigrants from Zimbabwe who specialised in the black market DVD trade mentioned above. Other sellers were from Mpumalanga and spoke Xitsonga. In all cases however, as for formal LL, the language of lingua franca communication was English.

The stall run by Henry (introduced in chapter 4) is an example of this use of English. Interesting here is the use of colour. Black and white (high modality) are used for news of sports and politics. Blues and reds are reserved for cars and for a small story about urban crime. The bolding is usual for 'screamer' print (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 229) and despite their position on the pavement the newspapers have a conservative layout, traditional for English language newspapers. The discourse actualised by these texts could be referred to as the shock value of everyday life, and their position at the corner of Paul Kruger and Scheiding streets, in front of Akubrambu stores (see figure 10) inserts these texts into the flow of pedestrians walking towards home or work and to the other activities, and knowledges, of *their* daily lives.

A sense of place

Whilst the two previous sections have examined the discourses of the LL in both sites, the social framework for a multimodal interpretation has only been touched on, rather than fully brought into analysis. What is at issue here is how LL texts inform a sense of place – a discursive function that is realised through LL and that refers to the local socio-economic, cultural, personal and political context of the neighbourhood. This represents, in geosemiotics the extension of, "the framework of visual semiotics to examine the placement of signs in the material world, showing how their meanings derive from time, space, and the social worlds indexed by language." (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, p. 98).

I would like to look at these, social, personal and cultural, aspects of the street through three, complementary, conceptualisations of what the street signifies and of the role of LL within this signification. Firstly, studies such as that by Massey (1995) point to a signification that is both a function of the global and the local, but also of the past in the present. This 'sense of place', that was discussed in chapter 2, looks at the social relationships, the aspirations and temporal movements that inform LL texts in the two neighbourhoods. Massey (1995, pp. 186 – 187) examines how the past may be present in a place either 'materially' through the survival of buildings and physical artefacts or how it may be present in 'resonance' through artefacts of memory such as words, language and names. This, in many ways, recalls work into the 'spectacle' of the city (see Belanger, 2005, for a discussion of the spectacular imaginary of Montreal) and the understanding that people are active in constructing the meanings of places.

Secondly, the notion of time and memory as factors in place also raises the arguments of de Certeau (1984) and Mayol (in de Certeau et al, 1994) concerning the street, the neighbourhood, as a middle ground between the private and the public, as a 'tamed' (apprivoisié) place. In de Certeau´s argument, and as discussed in chapter 2, place can either represent the institutional, the 'proper', or on the contrary represent the use that ordinary people and language make of that place – a 'tactics' of appropriation:

> The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix)[83]

Finally, the street can also be regarded as a 'liminal' space. The 'liminal' was originally related to ritual practices and was thought of as a transition, "a sort of social limbo which has few … of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent [ordinary] social statuses or cultural states …" (Turner in Rampton, 1995, p. 194). Liminality is extended in Rampton's work to those instances where ritual (understood essentially as social norm) is suspended or forefronted, evoking 'sociolinguistic horizons' (Rampton, 1995, p. 205) that are marked within the routine of ordinary life. At a minimum the street represents a physical transition between two rule-bound settings such as the home and an institution or place of work for example. Transitory, spatial, freed from many of the constraints of everyday life and containing within its length places of differing, contrastive and sometimes contestatory practices, the street can certainly be regarded as a liminal space. This is also the conclusion that Oppenchaim (2010) reaches, from a different stance, in seeing in the street a space for teenagers' learning of social norm. It is also very relevant to urban studies such as Tonnelat´s (2003) investigation of interstitial areas that refers to Thrasher's sociology of adolescent gang organisation in the early 19th century.

These three concepts – the materiality and resonance of the past, a tactical incursion of the creative within the 'proper' and the liminal space of social questioning and contestation will frame the discussion that follows. A first understanding of the role of time with respect to LL can be gained from figure 55 below. The change over time of informal texts is markedly more pronounced than formal texts. The temporality of these texts, the advantage they take of shifts in the dynamics of the sites under study is shown graphically in the figure. Also shown is the low rate of change of governmental and formal texts where most of the changes noted for formal texts concern not the principal business signs but rather the incidental posters and advertising that are displayed in shop windows.

[83]Two notes are necessary here. Firstly, the distinction between strategy and tactic concerns consumption and the way in which consumers appropriate the codes and matrices of commercial, capitalistic consumer forms in a creative way (which was relevant to understanding the circulation of discourses of LL texts in the previous section). Secondly, De Certeau's analysis also refers to Foucault and to his study of disciplinary procedures. Foucault comments, in his study, on the transition from agrarian to proto-industrial socio-economic organisation in which the economy of illegality changes. The bourgeoisie reserves for itself an illegality of 'rights' (Foucault, 1975, p. 103).

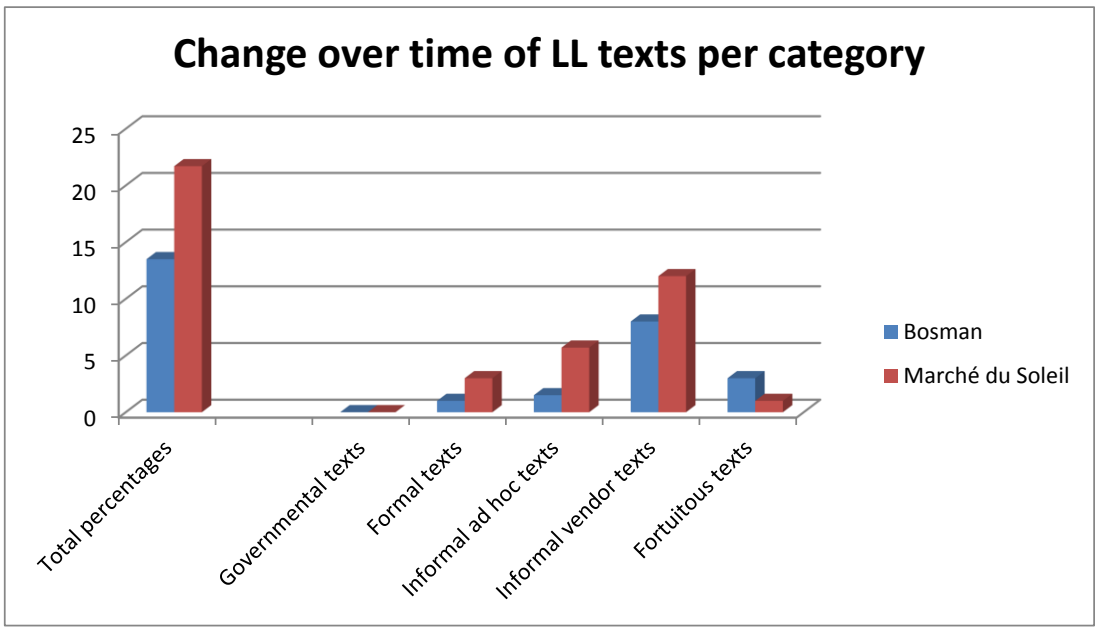


Figure 55. Change of texts over time in both sites, percentages of total counts per day.

The role that proper names, and particularly the proper names of formal texts such as shopfronts have in a neighbourhood can be seen in figures 6 and 10 (chapter 3) where the neighbourhood can literally be mapped through the names of the shops and where, as de Certeau points out, they have the function of:

> Linking acts and footsteps, opening meanings and directions, these words operate in the name of an emptying-out and wearing-away of their primary role. They become liberated spaces that can be occupied. A rich indetermination gives them, by means of a semantic rarefaction, the function of articulating a second, poetic geography on top of the geography of the literal, forbidden or permitted meaning. They insinuate other routes into the functionalist and historical order of movement. (de Certeau 1984, p. 105)

In both sites shop fronts regularly represented (as noted in the previous section) a sense of achievement and the realisation of aspiration. In Marseille, I referred in chapter 4 to the Bône shoe shop, which translated a direct link with the 'pieds noirs' of Algeria. I also referred in the previous section to John's 'M. Dawn Trading' shopfront. Shop signs (as Malinowski, 2009, and Lou, 2010, point out) project a personal, affective link into the space of the street that also serves a mnemonic function. All of the shop owners whom I interviewed related the making of their sign as an endeavour involving family and their own understanding of place. The 'Dio´z' shopfront in figure 56 below is an example. The sign was made with the brother of the shop and is a shortcut for 'grandiose' which is given the slang form 'dio'z'. In addition, this shop owner made the proprietary relation very clear. He refused that I continue interviewing him unless I gave him money saying, that ''time is money my friend'' (field note of 02 July). This shopfront presents a coherence in composition very much in accord with the attitude of its owner. The black and silver design connotes an elegance that is continued in the widely spaced 'etched' impression of the font.



Figure 56. Two formal LL texts from the Marché du Soleil (images 25 and 26, appendix 5) photographed by author, June – July, 2011, and two details of image 14, appendix 5, photographed in April, 2011.

The same can be said of many other formal texts. The doorbell labels (second image in figure 56) at the Marché du Soleil signify not only a sense of place, but also the transition and demographics of the neighbourhood. 'Brassier', 'Rachid', 'Benchikha', 'Menaa', 'Grimaldi', 'Rezak', 'Amar', 'Medjouba-Heras' are names that evoke Italy, the Maghreb, the East of France. Beautifully evocative, this text is also a good example of the social understanding that is necessary to an MDA approach. Not only are the uppermost names in the informational space of the ideal, they refer to people who live on the more prized, quieter, upper levels of the building as opposed to those who live down on street level since the doorbell buttons run left to right, top to bottom, per floor.

At Bosman the owner of the Calabash bar who was in the process of changing the name of the establishment to 'Kalabashi' reinforced this discourse of 'Africanness' with images of the calabash that are used traditionally to serve Umqombothi[84]. The role of a past in the present is also reflected in the interview I conducted with the current owners of Bra Alli general traders who are not actually responsible for the LL artefacts of the shop. Whilst the LL reflect a parity between English and Sesotho, and a love for many aspects of

[84]African beer, brewed with maize and yeast.

South African culture – for example the hand rendered painting of the makarapa[85] in Coke and Fanta cans - the present owners demonstrated an attitude completely incompatible with these LL artefacts (field note of 26 April, 2011). They stated that the signs had been up before they bought the shop and that they had kept them because Sesotho was something that "had to be done". Findings such as this recall 'AstroTurf' as opposed to 'grassroots' literacy (see Vigouroux, 2011) where it is part of the tactics that are used to be *doing being African* and thus conform to sociocultural stereotypes.

I explored some of these themes in more depth in the interviews that I conducted from September to October, 2011, with the owners of a signage shop in Bloed Mall, a large taxi rank complex on the North of Pretoria, but which is in many ways similar to the Bosman neighbourhood[86]. I even helped make a sandwich board for the shop, trying out my skills at the heat press, sewing and gluing the material onto the board (see figure 57 below). What emerged clearly through my research is how much the name of the shop and its sign, 'Daisy Dee', meant to Masia and her cousins Nosibusiso and Hlengiwe. In the first place the capital for the investment came from the inheritance of their grandmother Daisy Dee. But this woman also provided all of the participants with common references of homeland (Swaziland) and of ways of knowing and learning (see Kelleher, 2012) since all had at one time or another spent time on her farm. The texts in the windows of the shop all used photographs of family members as examples of what could be printed on t-shirts, mugs, signs and stickers. The personal investment in the shop was high. It stood for a dream of making money, of being able to provide for the extended family (just as it was for John and his brother's shop in figure 54 above) and the logo and slogan in figure 57 represent hours of doodling and dreaming on the part of Masia. A funds of knowledge approach (Moll et al, 2001) brought to light the hands-on way in which the actual processes of printing and production were conducted, the slight shifts between the family members and the way they interpreted the wishes of the clients.

What lies behind the signs in figure 57 is therefore a tight web of familial knowledge and investment. But there is also the consideration, which cannot be shown in these photographs, of how this shop also represented a far wider network of knowledge and of production. Fetching the boarding, taking it to the commercial printer for lamination, fixing it to the wooden struts provided by the mall … At each phase in the process there were negotiations and compromises that in the end gave rise to the final product. The aspiration behind these signs can be seen in the choice of a 'company identity' in the unifying orange that picks out the logo and the slogan, in the layout which mobilises very well the information value of top and bottom, centre and margin and in the wording used: 'trading *enterprises'* for instance.

[85] A makarapa is a customised hard hat worn at football matches and that is shown here with antelope horns and the colours of the Kaizer Chiefs (a football team from Soweto). In this sign the person wearing the makarapa repeats in an English speech bubble the information that was given in Sesotho on the green backed metal plate soldered to the fence, i.e. that all items on display are available inside the shop.

[86] Particularly in terms of its function as transport hub and place for buying the many different items of daily life before beginning the (sometimes long) ride home.



Figure 57. Formal LL texts from Daisy Dee at Bloed Mall (by author, February, 2012).

What then does the past, and its materiality or resonance, indicate with respect to the two sites? For the Marché du Soleil, LL artefacts translate a sense of family and origins – North Africa, Algeria – and a sense of pride in the city. The present interacts with LL largely through a cultural expression that reinforces religious and cultural themes but also social contestation. There is also a sense of the modern, of consumer culture in texts such as that of image 35, appendix 5. For the Bosman site traces of apartheid structures are present in place names, in the use made of African languages, in the overlay of the traditional and the modern. The present is one of aspiration and uncertainty with arrival of new cultures and ways of being. Access to health and abortion facilities, goods and services, virility, frame models of consumerism.

A sense of place can also be part of the institutional, the 'proper' (de Certeau, 1984, pp. xi - xxiv) of governmental texts that in turn suppose a place for tactic and a creative consumption. The plaque for Jules Guesde square photographed in Marseille (figure 58) is a good example. Its blue is the colour of the city, a theme that is taken up in the given, ideal space of the text by the city crest. 'Square' is topical and capitalised, thereafter the particular square in question is given in small type for phrase onset. The arrondissement is ideal but not salient – it is written in small type and abbreviated. Even a sign as small as this mobilises discourses about city, and the socialist origins of French identity (Jules Guesde, as mentioned in the previous chapter was a socialist reformer). There are also signs of social contestation on this plaque that, through their presence, also say much about the place in which this text is displayed. The stub of paper that is left testifies to the tactics of workers strikes and demonstrations that regularly pass through this square. Similarly the road sign from the Bosman site has changed the name of the airport. It is now Oliver Tambo (ANC cadre), that is in 'new' position as against the route information that is 'given'. The font is lighter, more condensed, with a slightly increased vertical orientation. This name change recalls the name changes of the streets and even the of the metropolitan region that were discussed in chapter 4 – there is a specific discourse about place that is being actualised. What is interesting, of course, in the South African context is that this move to an identity based on the terms of reference of the ANC, and

not of Afrikaans nationalism for example, should be accompanied by a move to increasing use of English (see Lafon, 2006 a for a discussion of ANC policy in this regard). Indeed, the use of English here has a symbolic, metaphoric value (see Lanza and Woldemariam, 2009, or Hult, 2009) that also indicates a specific socio-political economy. In both these examples a discourse of place is realised by the format and wording LL texts but also by their position and their media that are instances of the 'proper', the institutional.



Figure 58. Governmental LL texts from the Marché du Soleil site (image 7, appendix 5) by author, July, 2011, and from the Bosman site (image1, appendix 5) by author, April, 2011.

It has, however, been the work of this thesis to open up LL research to the neighbourhood and the traces informal LL texts leave of social processes – the view that they offer of a creative, tactical, relation to place. The change over time of informal LL is something that is unique. The manner of interaction with these texts, firstly, shows their temporary nature (see figure 55). Whilst formal texts can be subverted or tagged, informal texts are often ripped down, or defaced as in the example of the 'Politiquement Correct' text (figure 59) that has been ripped away to reveal the text underneath (as discussed in the previous chapter under 'interaction') but also changing what can be considered 'given' and 'new'. This is perhaps the reason that in both sites informal texts are displayed in series so as to obtain a composition that reinforces the texts and as is illustrated by Chico Trujillo and Winnie Mashaba (also in figure 59 below). The ripping and pasting of informal texts indicates more of a transgression of public space, a contestation of others' views not through dialogue (as in the case of tagging or subverting texts) but by their removal, either partial or complete, from the public sphere.




Winnie Mashaba
MODIMO O NA LE NNA


COME ON
I WANNA BE YOUR MAN
I JUST WANNA MAKE LOVE TO YOU
THE LANTERN BY THE TOLGO






SILVAIN
MARCHE POUR L'ÉGALITÉ
MARSEILLE 02 JUIL


Maroc
Boycott
constitution



Figure 59. Seven texts from the Marché du Soleil site and two texts from the Bosman site (images 42, 43, 52, 57, 58, 59, 74, 72 and 62, appendix 5). Photographs July and April 2011 by author.

The temporary nature of these texts says much about the neighbourhood in which they appear. Chico Trujillo is a South American artist who plays Cumbia, a type of music that is very popular with one of the local radio stations, Radio Nova. This poster is entirely in Spanish and reads, 'Drier than a hippie's towel' (i.e. a never been used, totally new approach to Cumbia). That this poster should be in the Marché du Soleil neighbourhood and entirely in Spanish says as much about the place as being one of transition, of movement as it does about the symbolic or pragmatic value of Spanish (see figure 32). Texts concerning entertainment and media represent a huge proportion of the linguistic landscape in Marseille.

The Winnie Mashaba poster is a very nice illustration of language use focused on an in-group. English is adopted as lingua franca for mass-marketing, but the target who understands the literacy event in its entirety are those who speak Sesotho sa leboa and who can read "God is with me"[87]. This poster, that is of a gospel singer with religious connotations (continued in the gold and red colour scheme), was soon replaced by another series of four posters announcing an evangelist pastor's prayer meeting. The Bosman site had many informal texts that dealt either with gospel music or church gatherings (religious texts account for 20% of the total – see figure 33) and this contributes enormously to the sense of place in a way that is different to formal texts since being focused not on general offers but on specific events and cultural manifestations.

[87] In the text the name of the CD ('God is with me') is given in Sesotho as 'MODIMO O. NA LE NNA'.

Informal vendor texts are a good example of a tactical play with time. In my research notes I often recorded a reticence to speak on the part of informal sellers. When they did it was to evoke their origins which framed personal narratives that were at once foreign to the sites, but strangely familiar, fitting, to the place and to the times they chose to sell their goods. An example would be a seller I met (field notes for Marseille, 30 June, 2011) who came from Senegal, an ex-French colony. He had remained in France illegally for seven years. He spoke Arab and French and was more at ease writing Arab. He liked the Marché du Soleil neighbourhood for that reason and was a practicing Muslim. I also met a woman selling hats (field notes for 05 July) who began to explain to me her origins that spanned Morocco and the Comoros but the interview was interrupted by the arrival of the police and the hasty packing away of her products and her rapid disappearance as she transformed herself into just another, inconspicuous, pedestrian. The 'COME ON' text was being sold by a Chinese woman (field notes for 02 July), who took advantage of the proximity of the large Chinese warehouses of the nearby Belsunce quarter.

The fact that this belt is hung on a fence that runs around the adjoining parking lot says much about the informal, unsanctioned nature of this commercial activity. It literally reads, "with fire satisfaction, get off of my colud, dhe […] oogoldham, the lantern by the tougo, COME ON, I wanna be your man, I ust wanna make love to you, guys eave you seen." Bold type, capitalisation, patterning and the contrast between the black of the print and the pink of the belt are for purposes of composition – a fashionable item. The positioning of the only coherent phrase, 'COME ON' at the centre of the text, is a direct, phatic, invitation to buy and to wear. There is a use of tactic here. where English is no more than a commercial tool, a resource to be tapped into when appropriate, a view of English as a commodity (a prestige language with an economic value – see Cenoz and Gorter, 2009, for a discussion of language economy) and as being open to subversion and play, as being accessible and malleable… "I ustwanna make love to you." Similarly the packaging for 'Sensible Lady' (the fifth text of figure 59) shows use of a commercial tactic that is well adapted to the neighbourhood. Here again English is being used as a prestige code, but the tactic goes further. The connotations of the word 'sensible' are not those of the English but rather those of the French (the language of the reader) and correspond much more to the word 'sensitive' (i.e. soft, caring, empathic etc). This text therefore actualises a discourse of luxury then, and of femininity, that is accompanied by a pastel rendering of a modestly inclined naked woman.

Clear links to identity are shown by the last example of what I consider to be a 'tactical' incursion into the space of the neighbourhood which reads "Walk for equality". The discourse of this artefact of LL is clear. It deals with gay and lesbian rights and does so through use of a coherent colour scheme (pink background, rainbow colours for the presentation of the face divided into so many different markers of gender, socio-economic and ethnic identity) but also through reference to the organisers of the 'Pride Factory' that will be hosting debates, parties and forums. The position of this text is in the 'real' of the street, and its given and new (outside the text) are all the other entertainment events that are taking place in Marseille on or around 01 July, 2011. As

such, the theme of the poster, in given position, is the preparation of Marseille for 2013, year in which Marseille will be hosting the European Capital of Culture. The wall on which this poster is affixed is also a place where there are many posters for cultural events and this poster is neither particularly salient nor framed in such a way that it cannot be read together with the other posters. What this creates is an additional discourse in which gay rights are considered to be a normal, everyday part of the cultural activity of a city and their display, unproblematic. The producer of this text is an association, whose sponsors include the city of Marseille and the region – merging the lines between a strategic and a tactical interpretation of its message.

Seen as places of tactic and creative consumption within the proper of institutional discourses, the Marché du Soleil and Bosman sites differ quite substantially. In Marseille the governmental discourses of place repose on a shared heritage that – as discussed in the previous chapter – is no longer really shared, at least not by the current inhabitants of the quarter. Socialism, the efficiency of governmental services (see images 5 and 6 of appendix 5) or the insertion of Marseille within wider circumscriptions of governmental organisation are discourses that are disturbed, unbalanced, by references to perfume, fashion, football, marriage, oriental evenings and refutation of policy both nationally and internationally. Tagging is much more common in the Marseille site, as are posters that call for demonstrations of civic strength and solidarity (see images 52, 53 and 61, appendix 5).

In Bosman, discourses of regime change (see images 1 and 3, appendix 5) are supported by posters such as those of 47 and 48, appendix 5. The tactical texts – that take advantage of time and of occasion – have almost no connection with civil society or of a contestation of governmental discourses (the text of image 47 was cut down overnight, image 43 was unique in using tagging to discuss politics). Rather, informal, temporary texts such as those of figures 42, 43 or 49 above celebrate the religious, the musical, or everyday needs such as buying of food, a pirate film, taking an educational course, renting transport or finding accommodation. Memory of place and origin (an intrinsic part of what 'tactic' means in de Certeau's interpretation) often mobilises networks of belonging however, much as in the Marché du Soleil. Image 49, appendix 5, for instance refers to the heyday of Zimbabwean independence musical production and to the sons of those legends who carry on holding the torch of musical creativity.

Phenomena such as code switching are more fruitfully analysed – at least in my observation of the two sites – as an instantiation of the tactical. The seventh text in figure 59 below is an example. It was posted by an Arab Spring association (the Movement of 20th February) militating against the new constitution in Morocco. A discourse of contestation is actualised through the raised fist (in real, new position) but also through code switching. Several languages: Berber, Kabyle, literary Arab, slang Arab and French are present. The discourse is therefore that the many different peoples and cultures concerned by the Moroccan constitution should unite to challenge its passing. This text is not an example of 'crossing' since, in Rampton's analysis, speakers of an out-group cross

into a minority language, but it is closely related especially in the way it challenges relations of dominance and intelligibility. It is affixed to a telephone booth, where many in the Marché du Soleil would call home to Morocco or Algeria. This use of the street, as a place whose characteristics can be mobilised in a certain kind of freedom that is not offered by other forums introduces the theme of liminality.

Adolescent exploration of the space of the street, a liminal space that permits such exploration, is shown in the last two examples from figure 59. I taught the boy, Yanis, who is responsible for the first tag. He was suspended from the school (the BDM – the Belle de Mai) for violence but I met him later and he was making good progress as an apprentice car mechanic. The fact that he should want to tag his name and his school on a wall, is very illustrative of the process of adolescence and a discursive interpretation of a text like this, written in jagged, hurried capitals, must take account of the fact that a neighbourhood is also an intermediary ground between close family networks and the wider, more anonymous city (see Oppenchaim, 2010). The 'vote ANC' text was also produced by adolescents whom I taught and who leave the rear exit of the school in Christina Street. Tagging here provides these adolescents with room for expression that they would never be able to find[88] elsewhere. This text mobilises the informational values of centre and margin with a message that also employs bolding and use of colour. In the margin are 'ludic' messages about (sic), "solder deserve to die is part of my job", "read carefully", and "warning do'nt trust a man on street". These marginal entries are distinguished by orthographic differences and quotation marks. Given the tone and realisation of the other entries one could imagine that the instruction to "vote ANC 4 life" is ironic, but whether this is so matters little. What counts is that this text problematises the municipal elections that were taking place at the time and introduces a political discourse, a nascent social contestation, that is quite atypical for the Bosman site. This tag was the only one of its kind that I photographed over many months of field visits. That the two sites should be so different in this respect – in one a paucity of social questioning, in the other a plethora of tags and posters (such as that of figure 50) – signals the relevance, once again, of a social contextualisation in the interpretation of LL.

A combined vision of the LL of each neighbourhood

This chapter has explored, firstly, the circulation of discourses within the space of the street. Discourses were seen to juxtapose the local and the global in diverse ways - framing subjectivities and a politics of aspiration across all categories of LL texts and even in respect of informal vendor texts that could be thought of as largely transactional in nature. Secondly, the physical space of the neighbourhood was approached multimodally and the street was seen in terms of the information value, composition and design of texts that played on the ideal and real spaces of the streetscape but also on vertical power and modality. Finally, the street was discussed as a place of social exploration, contestation and aspiration through the concepts of time, tactic and the liminal. A key

[88] Except perhaps on the liminal space of their school desks where they engrave much the same kind of messages in the freedom from the Foucauldian discursive and bodily constraints of the class! (see Dixon, 2004, for a discussion of these latter issues).

focus of this last section was the aspiration and familial networks behind many formal texts, the social exploration supposed by tagging and graffiti but also the tactical play of many other texts such as those displayed by informal vendors.

These three sections allow a reinterpretation of much of the work in the field of LL. For instance a language ecology approach that looks at code switching and its situational or metaphorical use can also be seen as the juxtaposition of the local and the global, as Hult himself mentions, "it seems that it [the use of English] serves more of a symbolic purpose such as indexing values associated with globalisation." (Hult, 2009, p. 100). Similarly the emphasis of many studies concerned with formal LL signs can be explained by their permanent, ideal position and their vertical power when compared with the shifting, impermanent and real characteristics of informal vendor texts (see figure 28, and 34). Further, studies such as that by Malinowski (2009) as to authorship of LL gain more sense when the place of the street is seen socially, as a function of aspiration and the relationship to neighbourhood of many shop owners but also of social contestation and exploration (through informal LL such as graffiti and tagging) through the tactical play of informal posters and notices.

A key focus of this chapter has been to see how all categories of LL texts participate in relationships of both space and place. The question remains: Is it possible to gain a cohesive, global vision of the discourses of each neighbourhood? This question is vital because it would allow the discourses of the LL of a neighbourhood to be contrasted with other discourses relevant to these sites: the institutional discourses of schools, for instance, would benefit from a deeper understanding of the discourses applicable to the place of the home and out-of-school lives of their students.

The recapitulative tables of figure 33 are interesting in that they reveal the subject matter of the LL of each neighbourhood. In Marseille there is a strong tendency for informal texts to deal with art, politics and entertainment whilst formal texts deal with fashion, food, drink and accommodation and transport. In Pretoria informal LL concern religion, health, finance and education in addition to food, drink and accommodation and entertainment. Formal texts there deal with the more mundane issues of food, drink and accommodation, entertainment media and household products. These recapitulations can be read against those of figure 24 that show, for both sites, a tendency towards language dominance (English and French) and nominal phrases that are often short (70% of texts being 25 words or less). A discursive interpretation must include overviews such as this, but also deal with real LL texts and the particular way they interact with the space and place of the neighbourhood.

A heuristic that can be used in discourse analysis is the preparation of tables that resume key elements of the text under examination[89]. The uniqueness of linguistic landscapes resides in the fact that they are composed of many texts, by many different actors in

[89] Janks (1998) provides a very good example of a critical analytic grid that resumes the features of a text in terms of Thompson's work on language and ideology.

many different positions of the street. Selection of representative texts – as has been done in appendix 5 – reduces this number. Each text can be analysed in terms of its linguistic content – looking at cohesive features as is done by Halliday (1994, pp. 308 - 339) with respect to reference, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical organisation. Next, texts can be analysed with respect to their media – their position in the street, their permanence, the materials that are used that convey many of the aspects discussed in the previous sections of this chapter such as the information value of the text within the context of the street and what the text reveals about its place (permanence, aspiration, global and local discourses etc). Finally, the modes of the text (the design, the composition, what information is salient within the frame of the text) allow analysis to cover the role of image, the way in which the discourse of the text is actualised etc. An example is given below in figure 60.

Text of artefact of LL	**Textual cohesion between artefacts**	**Media of artefact**	**Modes of artefact**

// LYON//
// ST CHARLES//
// S.N.C.F. Station/
CAPITALISM
ON AN OLD AGE PENSION //
// Music conservatory (…)//
	Reference: directions, structures and transport points in the city
	(Tagging: the trade union fight for pensions).
	Ellipsis:
	Conjunction: apposition.
	Lexical cohesion: St Charles.
		Position: ideal.
		Support: traffic signal post – deictic.
		Reproduction techniques: permanent enamelled aluminium and temporary glued paper, workshopped lettering
		(Tagging: handwritten).
			Lexical organisation: nominative and functional, proper names that serve as place indicators.
			Colour: colour-coded: blue for highway, green for highway direction, black and white for city locations.
			Image: symbolic for highway in given position.
			Layout: vertical list from the 'ideal', to 'real' where the conservatory is only 30m from the foot of the sign.
			Font: blocked, spaced uppercase letters and spaced rounded lowercase letters, functional, with no flicks, grounding or extenders.
			Finish: reflective, permanent (**Tagging:** matt, temporary).

Figure 60. Example of an entry in a functional and multimodal analytic grid.

Appendix 6 provides an analysis such as this applied to a series of texts from appendix 5.

For the Marché du Soleil site, a discourse of place through LL texts shows that there is cohesion on many levels. When LL texts are captured in this way what emerges is that lexis and reference cohere around the theme of Marseille the city, through both its emblematic places such as the Old Port, but also the city itself. Its colours (blue and white) are taken up in many of the texts that, in addition are often laminated, permanent, glossy. The division between the formal and the informal is traced in a clear split between the ideal and real positions of the text, and I feel that this echoes the sentiments of the

interviewees in chapter 4, who were at once proud of their city, but also crushed by a sentiment of poverty and a lack of opportunity. Typefaces and words are often arabicised and recurring references to cultural and religious events are often related to Islam, cultural practices and the Arab Spring. Colours and images are symbolic, often recalling Algeria, but also, surprisingly, femininity. There is a significant amount of code switching that undoubtedly reinforces a sense of cultural belonging.

For Bosman, what is at once noticeable is that lexis and reference by themselves provide almost no cohesion at all. Only the colour red is repeated, due, probably to the emphasis through saturation that it provides. The green of Tshwane, the blue of the rugby team, or the yellow of certain fonts and outlinings do not constitute a cohesive feature of the site. This certainly reflects a more heterogeneous place than the Marché du Soleil. What is interesting is that fonts are often vertically extended, given 3D effects, symmetrical layouts and accompanied by symbolic and classificatory images that often allude to stars, or other easily identifiable, positively connoted references in ideal position. Logos are also more present that in the Marseille site and counterbalance the absence of image. Images, where present, do though underline the religious and cultural facets of the site. What is also remarkable is that the majority of texts are in real position in the site, often on shutters, posts or the pavement and this seems also to be taken up in the code switching that occurs. Languages other than English are displayed in the form of well-known phrases that are used as markers of cultural belonging.

Conclusions for this chapter

In looking at how LL combine to form a multimodal ensemble in the space of the street, this chapter has moved from specific artefacts of LL, and a perspective that values the particular, to the words and experiences of producers and receivers, to the general, the transversal. Firstly, this has prompted examination of local and non-local LL and argued that in this respect LL illustrate the ways in which a politics of aspiration, of identification, translates a filtering down (and up) of global commercial discourses, through the space of the neighbourhood, to and from very local productions. Secondly, a multimodal analysis has been expanded to the composition of the ensemble as actualised in the street and questioned whether LL can be understood as a phenomenon that is structured in power, in socio-economic divisions, and that represents aspiration in a different way – not that of identification, but rather that of production, of action, in the public sphere. This led, thirdly, to a reconsideration of the public sphere itself, and to its social functions as middle ground, liminal space, between the institutional and the tactical, the personal and the public and between the past and the present. Finally, functional and multimodal analysis were combined in a heuristic to access the discourse of ensembles of LL – a discourse that can be compared to those discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 7 - General conclusions

This research has represented an attempt to fully explore the four cycles of discourse that comprise a geosemiotic approach to LL. In the process it has said as much about the local as it has about LL. I have hoped to show the incredible richness and variety of neighbourhood space and shed light on the functioning and discourses of LL as also the habitus, discourses and interactions of their producers and receivers. I feel that the principal aim – which was to value LL as a site of encounter – has, in the process of its exploration, revealed so much more than I intended at the commencement. I have taken the email addresses of the key interviewees and I will be sending them a copy of this thesis in the hope that it will contribute to a valorisation of their neighbourhoods, to a reconceptualisation of their spaces.

Before jumping ahead however to the very end of the process, what exactly has been the fruit of this research? This question, can, I think, be answered in three ways: as concerns research into LL, as concerns study into neighbourhood place or space, and finally, as concerns implications for policy.

As concerns LL, this thesis has shed light, firstly, on how important all cycles of discourse are to interpretation. The ethnographic work that was the subject of chapters 3 and 4 allowed nuanced findings in subsequent chapters, and for the understandings of the researcher to be read against those of interviewees. Additionally, whilst many studies into LL have focused on visual analysis (colour, composition and code choice) the study of place semiotics in the two neighbourhoods led to what is perhaps the most interesting finding of this research –the way in which the street can be understood as actualising a politics of space.

Indeed, chapter 5 noted regularities of language use, format, position and subject matter for the categories adopted in this research – governmental, formal, informal ad hoc, informal vendor, fortuitous – that pointed to LL as being reflective of shared socio-cultural and socio-economic processes in the two sites. This found support in the previous analysis of layering and subversion that had pointed to LL as representing a very physical, meaningful participation in the space of the neighbourhood. The discussion of the street signs in the sites, and of the Blou Bulle sign (image 10, appendix 5) showed how production and interpretation were dependant on habitus, literacy and access, but also indicated a divide between categories as to the relative power of producers of formal and informal texts. In chapter 6, an extension of visual analysis (multimodality) to the street as a whole, threw into relief how features such as salience, framing, reading path, modality, given and new, ideal and real, could be understood to apply to the ensemble of LL texts (the streetscape) and were meaning making resources that were mobilised by producers.

An example of this latter point would be the tendency of formal LL to consistently occupy positions of vertical power in the streetscape – positions that are often accompanied by permanence in materials chosen for production, and by high modality in choice of

colours, brilliance etc. On the contrary, informal ad hoc LL encroach on the space of the street – being displayed on posts, walls, and other infrastructural elements. Often too their discourses rely on these positions; rely on the interaction with formal LL. This is certainly the case for tagging and graffiti, whose often contestatory messages result from the subversion not only of other texts, but also of the space of the street in which they are displayed.

To approach the street as a politics of space is also to realise how important informal texts are to any interpretation of LL. This has been noted at several points in this thesis. In chapter 5, I observed that informal LL deal with specific cultural manifestations such as the Eid. In chapter 6, I analysed informal LL as revealing the liminal or the tactical. The text concerning 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' (figure 50, appendix 5) is a very good example of how informal LL insert discourses into the space of the street that concern, simultaneously, both belonging and contestation.

Emphasising the importance of informal LL in analysis is not, however, to hold that formal LL are somehow less revelatory, or less meaningful, than they have been shown to be in much existing LL research. On the contrary, formal LL, in addition to providing insight into the discourses of institutions (the example of the street signs in chapter 5) also allow research to encompass memory, the creation of place, and the role of aspiration. Aspiration, was a subject that emerged repeatedly in the case study and the interviews that I carried out in the neighbourhood, and is best approached comparatively – realising what informal LL *are not*, and what formal LL *are* … What it means for a producer to be able to erect a permanent sign, to integrate the formal (proprietary) space of the street.

A focus on the producers of LL texts and on visual analysis informed by an ethnographic understanding of the two sites, brought to light another key finding of this thesis – namely the way in which global consumer discourses interact with the local. Put differently, this is to understand how a neighbourhood, through LL, articulates its relation to the world. This articulation is seen to be both spatial and discursive. Global, commercial LL are differentiated from local LL in their position, materials, permanence and size but also in their discourses of identification, aspiration and self-stylisation that are distinguishable from the transactional local LL centred on the person of the seller. However, much as informal LL encroach on and subvert formal LL in the spatial politics of the street, local LL were also shown to have many of the design features of non-local, global LL as these can be identified in series such as the Hansa adverts discussed in chapter 6. The resulting understanding of the neighbourhood is one of a circulation of discourses, of a transversality in design and production rather than a dichotomy.

That the two sites should have such different actualisations of these discourses shows that artefacts of LL must be read as part of a whole, as an ensemble that can be captured by analytic grids such as those that I have included in appendix 6. In the Marché du Soleil, commercial discourses of aspiration, as actualised across categories, tended towards the Arab World and North Africa, whilst in the Bosman site pan-African and South African

realities dominated – albeit, perhaps, in the post-colonial, post-Apartheid, sense of these terms.

Finally, the above conclusions as to space and discourse, the global and the local, call into question quantitative counts of tokens of LL. I hope that this thesis has convincingly shown that a correct interpretation of LL is dependent on an understanding of their physical and social geography. Whilst it may be thought that a large billboard actualises a discourse that is both more visible and more impacting on its surroundings (through use of saturated colours, size of font etc) than, say, a small notice, what this thesis has shown is that even stickers (such as that of image 61, appendix 5) in a tight haptic space, displayed in a position that is obtrusive to passage of pedestrians and that actualise a discourse with which persons identify (their habitus) will be as relevant to a study of LL.

But the questioning of quantitative methods does not stop there. Even in respect of analogous LL (similar category, genre, conditions of realisation, etc) findings must be cautious. This research has discussed several examples of LL that refute straightforward interpretation: the Blue Bulle meat market (image 10, appendix 5), for instance, of which both the language and the reference proved problematic to some participants as already mentioned, or the Sesotho signs at Bra Alli (image 15, appendix 5) that had been kept from a previous owner years after their initial production and which would prompt false conclusions as to language choice. This is why, in this thesis, the quantitative approach that I adopted centred on isolating broad trends and on discerning regularities in features rather than on attempting to defend the idea of clear-cut code preferences or using quantitative counts to directly justify conclusions of ethnolinguistic vitality

As concerns study of neighbourhood place and space, I want to emphasise the efficiency of geosemiotics as a research framework. Though little used in LL research, each cycle of discourse prompts the researcher to complexify and nuance findings reached in the precedent cycle. For this thesis, whilst the interaction order as sketched in chapter 3 seemed very different in each site – with repercussions on frequency and positioning of informal LL as well as the perception and realisation of formal LL such as shop signs – these variations belied deep similarities not only in the social processes, subjectivities and discourses of the two sites as revealed by the ethnography of chapter 4, but also in many of the characteristics, affordances and constraints of LL across all categories as discussed under semiotics of place in chapter 5. A study of place semiotics gave rise to findings concerning layering, emplacement, code usage, realisation and reference that in correlating so strongly across the two sites, gave a lot of support to the capacity of LL to be a reliable tool in the exploration of social phenomena such as literacy and immigration. Visual analysis (chapter 6) of LL taken discursively and as a phenomenon of place again revealed similarities between the sites, but reflected also the differences in habitus and interaction order that had been sketched in preceding chapters.

Thus, to the infrastructural discourses of government texts, for example, were opposed informal LL, but whilst at the Marché du Soleil this was a result of overt trade union action, in the Bosman site the trade union poster was quickly ripped down, leaving only

some examples of tagging to challenge governmental LL that bore, in addition, signs of alteration during the regime change of the middle nineties. Tagging and posting in each site also revealed analogous perceptions of public space, but divergent expression. So, whilst there was a high degree of correlation in the characteristics of the LL, subject matter varied widely – Marseille favouring political and social commentary, and Bosman services, religion, music and health (sex) related texts.

It could be argued that ethnographic methods such as those used in chapter 4 suffice, that LL research does little more than ratify, or reinterpret, findings that had been reached already or that could be reached through other techniques. I would like to state, very openly, how great a value added LL research provides. Firstly, LL allow a temporal, diachronic, understanding of neighbourhood which complexifies the discourses and understandings of place as these are accessed in the present. Formal LL such as the Bône store front (image 24, appendix 5) are signs of a past that continues to breathe *because* of LL. Informal texts, such as the trade union pasted paper sign (image 5, appendix 5) that perdured the entire time of my presence in the research site (two years) continue to actualise discourses that although now decontextualized physically *and* temporally do still give a very clear 'sense' of place. LL are texts, visuals, signs, but they are also artefacts of the physical and social processes that give them life. They give physical, tangible, form to names, origins, narratives of immigration, emigration, humble beginnings, elsewheres that anchor the people who read or produce them in their present.

Secondly, LL, in being mute, silent, conversely have a function of *breaking* the silence, the taboo. In the Bosman site, LL raise discourses of male virility and sexuality that it would be hard to broach in an oral encounter. They also give expression to peoples whose culture continues to thrive in the interstices of modern society, such as the Comorian immigrants who celebrate Twarab evenings (image 51, appendix 5), or the Zimbabweans who commemorate the Sons of the Great musicians of the time of Zimababwe's liberation in the eighties (image 49). It is through the plethora of LL, the multiple discourses that coexist, that research into neighbourhood can access the 'movement networks' (Rampton, 1995, p. 10) through which individuals are mobilised around specific themes and rallying calls that cut in and out of their fragmented, post-modern lives. This is true for both sites, where LL raise questions of youth culture, religion, beauty, political opposition and labour movements.

There is a sense of the forum, (or to play with the latin, a viarum), that enables actors – producers and receivers – to share preoccupations, worldviews, their sense of subjective reality that exists in no other communicative space, not even ICT-mediated social platforms. This is, perhaps, because of the manner of interaction with LL. Tagging, ripping, defacement and superposition are physical, meaningful gestures that capture the physicality of LL, its bodily politics. And it is this characteristic of LL that aids people to theorise their neighbourhood to themselves. I think of Golden Youth who was disparaging of what he felt was the scam of arabicised font. Or of Fernando who resumed the Bosman neighbourhood to a motley collection of hair and beauty parlours. The fact is though, that

it was through LL that Fernando could come to this conclusion – through the discourses and references that touched on beauty that he saw every day in coming to work. I disagree with Fernando in his appreciation however. Care of the person is, for me, a touching and evocative subject that is given expression in the plays of words of signs like the 'Jojo'*bar*'.

Finally, LL have an important role in socialisation, in exploration of the public sphere. Particularly for adolescents, taggings such as those discussed in chapter 6, that take place in the liminal space of the street, are an essential part of what it means to grow up, to have a voice, and to learn to let it free.

This raises the question of policy. What are the implications of this research for urbanism, language and educative policy? As concerns education, I return to the European policy documentation (Conseil de l'Europe, 2000) that I mentioned in introduction to this research. LL, as has been shown throughout this thesis, in responding so sensitively to questions of origin, culture, religion and place, should be valued as a means not only of exploring the public sphere, but also of *learning* the public sphere. Simple educational projects destined for pupils aged 14 to 17 are outlined in the European documentation and include surveys, onomastics, redesign of LL such as posters and notices. Through these projects pupils could learn so much about the discourses, of consumerism and of belonging, that surround us as we walk through the street. But they need to be promoted at institutional level.

Their lack of promotion is perhaps tied in with a fundamental opposition between the institutional discourses of learning[90] and the heterogeneous, dynamic and contested space of the street as it emerges from this study and many other studies into LL. In some ways, this opposition is also one of language since France and South Africa both represent countries in which the lingua franca that is supported at government level is often not adhered to in the home, or other out-of-school contexts. This is a debate, more than anything else, about the space for difference and diversity in our modern societies and that is taken up too eloquently elsewhere (see for instance Lafon, 2005, or Alexander, 2003) for me to rehash it here. What I *would* like to stress is that LL does have a clear role to play in framing debates of language, culture and identity.

This brings me to my last point in this conclusion. At the time of writing, and as I mentioned in chapter 3, both Marseille and Pretoria were undergoing 'urban regeneration' policies. The Jules Guesde square has seen the implantation of its first gated community, whilst Bosman has seen a large parcel of its post-democratic-transition urban flux remodelled around the Taxi Rank Mall. In each case clean lines, smooth walls,

[90] In both South Africa and France, there is an essentialism in curricula that is quite at odds, in neighbourhoods such as those studied here, with students' lived experience of uprooting and change. In France, the study of French language and culture is mandatory. In South Africa, Shakespeare's plays are still included in the Matriculation examination, whilst Afrikaans is the de facto second language that becomes obligatory if a student has resided more than five years in South Africa at the time of writing. For a discussion of in-school and out-of-school literacy see Hull and Schultz (2002) and Stein (2008 a).

glass and steel replace more organic, 'messier', environments. This is something that challenges the capacity of cities to respond to the lived, but it is also something that excises informal, decontextualized, contestatory, LL. This does away with an important means of expression. To conclude where this thesis began, with de Certeau, one could note that,

> More than utilitarian and technocratic transparency, it is the opaque ambivalence of its strangenesses that makes the city liveable[91]. (de Certeau and Giard in de Certeau et al, 1994, p. 191)

[91] "Plus que sa transparence utilitaire et technocratique, c'est l'opaque ambivalence de ses étrangetés qui rend la ville habitable."

References

Aiestaran, J., Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2010). Multilingual cityscapes: perceptions and preferences of the inhabitants of the city of Donostia-San Sebastian. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 219-234). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Alexander, N. (2003). *Politique Linguistique Educative et Identités Nationales et Infranationales en Afrique Du Sud [Educational linguistic policy and national and infranational identities in South Africa]*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

Andres, L. (2006). Temps de veille de la friche urbaine et diversité des processus d'appropriation: la Belle de Mai (Marseille) et le Flon (Lausanne) [A time of waiting for abandoned factory space and a diversity of appropriation processes: Belle de Mai (Marseille) and Flon (Lausanne)]. *Géocarrefour, 81*(2), 159-166.

Andrews, T. E. (1999). *Ten walking tours through Pretoria's historical past*. Retrieved from httppassthrough.fw-notify.netdownload049929httpwww.emagameni.co.za10%20Walking%20Tours%20Through%20Pretorias%20Historical%20Past.pdf accessed 2012/04/16.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory culture society, 1990*(7), 295-310.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalisation*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Aronin, L., & Singleton, D. (2010). Affordances and the diversity of multilingualism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*(205), 105-129.

Augoyard, J.-F., Sevin, J.-C., & Voilmy, D. (2009). Entretien avec Jean-François Augoyard [Interview with Jean- François Augoyard]. *www.ethnographiques.org/2009/Augoyard,Sevin,Voilmy#7* retrieved 2012/04/08

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Backhaus, P. (2009). Rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping: a comparative perspective. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 157-172). New York: Routledge.

Barni, M., & Bagna, C. (2009). A mapping technique and the linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 126-140). New York: Routledge.

Barni, M., & Bagna, C. (2010). Linguistic landscape and language vitality. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 3-18). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Barthes, R. (1973). *Mythologies*. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.

Barthes, R. (1985). *L'Aventure Sémiologique [The semiologic adventure]*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Beaud, S. (2002). *''80% au Bac'' et après?: les enfants de la démocratisation scolaire ["80% for the Baccalaureat" and then what?: the children of school democratisation]*. Paris: La Découverte Collection ''Textes à l'appui. Enquêtes de terrain.''.

Bélanger, A. (2005). Montréal imaginaire urbain [Urban imaginary of Montreal]. *Sociologie et sociétés, 37*(1), 13-34.

Benit-Gbaffou, C. (2011). Yeoville studio: negotiating the line between research and activism. In N. Edjabe & E. Pieterse (Eds.), *African cities reader II: mobilities and fixtures* (Vol. 2). Vaeberg, South Africa: Chimurenga and the African Centre for Cities.

Bennett, S. (2005). La scène spectaculaire de Toronto. *Sociologie et sociétés, 37*(1), 109-123.

Ben-Rafael, E. (2009). A sociological approach to the study of linguistic landscapes. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 40-54). New York: Routledge.

Ben-Rafael, E., & Ben-Rafael, M. (2010 a). Diaspora and returning diaspora: French-Hebrew and vice-versa. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 326-343). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., & Barni, M. (2010 b). Introduction. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. xi-xxvii). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bergez, D., Géraud, V., & Robrieux, J.-J. (2008). *Vocabulaire de l'analyse littéraire [Vocabulary for literary analysis]*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Blackwood, R. J. (2010). Marking France's public space: empirical surveys on regional heritage languages in two provincial cities. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 292-306). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, J. (2002). *Writing in the Margins: Notes on a Sociolinguistics of Globalisation*. Paper presented at the Working Papers on Language, Power and Identity number 13, Gent.

Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication, 25*, 197 - 216.

Bogatto, F., & Helot, C. (2010). Linguistic landscape and language diversity in Strasbourg: the 'quartier gare'. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 275-291). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological theory, 7*(1), 14-25.

Bourdieu, P. (2003). Participant objectivation. *Journal of the royal anthropological institute, 9*(2), 281-294.

Bourdieu, P. (2008). *Esquisses algériennes [Algerian sketches]*. Paris: Liber, Seuil.

Bourgois, P. (2003). *In search of respect: selling crack in El Barrio* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Breier, M., Taetsane, M., & Sait, L. (1996). Taking literacy for a ride - reading and writing in the taxi industry. In M. Prinsloo & M. Breier (Eds.), *The social uses of literacy (SoUL): theory and practice in contemporary South Africa* (pp. 213 - 234). Bertsham, South Africa. Philadelphia, USA: Sached Books (Pty) Ltd. John Benjamins Publishing.

Bremner, L. (2004). Bounded spaces: demographic anxieties in post-Apartheid Johannesburg. *Social Identities, 10*(4), 455-468. doi: 10.1080/1350463042000258908

Brice Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: language, life and work in communities and classrooms* (16th printing 2009 ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (Ed.). (2005). *Reclaiming the Local in Language Policy and Practice*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Canagarajah, S. (2007). Lingua Franca English, Multilingual Communities, and Language Acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal 91*(July 0026-7902), 921-937.

Carrington, V. (2009). I write therefore I am: texts in the city. *Visual Communication, 8*(4), 409-425.

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2009). Language economy and linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 55-69). New York: Routledge.

Chéron, M., Flintham, R., & Girard, G. (2003). *Grammaire: cours [Grammar: lessons]*. Vanves: CNED.

Conseil de l'Europe. (2000). *Un Cadre Européen Commun de Référence pour les Langues: Apprendre, Enseigner, Evaluer [Common European reference framework for languages: learn, teach, evaluate]*. Paris: Didier.

Constantinou, O. (2005). Multimodal discourse analysis: media, modes and technologies. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 9*(4), 602-618.

Corten, J.-P., & van Dun, P. (2009). History in progress: future perspectives of Pretoria's historical core. Tshwane: Heritage Field Academy.

Coupland, N., & Garrett, P. (2010). Linguistic landscapes, discursive frames and metacultural performance: the case of Welsh Patagonia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*(205), 7-36.

Curtin, M. L. (2009). Languages on display: indexical signs, identities and the linguistic landscape of Taipei. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 221-237). New York: Routledge.

Dagenais, D., Moore, D., Sabatier, C., Lamarre, P., & Armand, F. (2009). Linguistic landscape and language awareness. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 253-269). New York: Routledge.

Dal Negro, S. (2009). Local policy modeling the linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 206-218). New York: Routledge.

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life* (S. Rendall, Trans.). Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

de Certeau, M., Giard, L., & Mayol, P. (1994). *L'invention du quotidien, 2, habiter, cuisiner [The practice of everyday life, 2, living, cooking]*. Paris: Editions Gallimard.

de Klerk, G., & Wiley, T. G. (2010). Linguistic landscape as multi-layered representation: suburban Asian communities in the Valley of the Sun. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 307-325). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

De Quincey, T. (1845 ed. 2006). The palimpsest of the human brain. *Quotidiana*. Retrieved from <http://essays.quotidiana.org/dequincey/palimpsest_of_the_human_brain/>.

de Saussure, F. (1915 ed. 1986). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, Payot.

Department of Basic Education. (2010). *The Status of the Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) in South African Public Schools*. Department of Basic Education, Pretoria, South Africa.

Department of Corporate International Relations. (n.d.). *Embassies and consulates Pretoria*. Retrieved 2012/04/16, from http://web.up.ac.za/default.asp?ipkCategoryID=7549

Department of Education. (1997). *Language in Education Policy*. Department of Education, Pretoria, South Africa.

Didier, S., Benit-Gbaffou, C., Smithers, M., & Lebone, G. (2009 - 2012). *Yeoville Studio*. Retrieved 2012/04/08 from http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/ebe/archplan/4876/yeovillestudio.html

Dillon, S. (2005). Re-inscribing De Quincey's palimpsest: the significance of the palimpsest in contemporary literary and cultural studies. *Textual Practice, 19*(3), 243-263.

Dixon, K. (2004). Literacy: diverse spaces, diverse bodies? *Literacy learning: the middle years / English in Australia, 139*(Feb), 50 - 55.

Dlamini, J. (2009). *Native Nostalgia*. Auckland Park: Jacana.

Doran, M. (2004). Negotiating between bourge and racaille: 'verlan' as youth identity practice in suburban Paris. In Pavlenko & Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 93 - 124). Clevedon, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters.

Douay, N. (2009). L'émergence des politiques métropolitaines marseillaises: entre conflits et apprentissages [The emergence of Marseille's metropolitan politics: conflict and learning]. *Cybergeo : European Journal of Geography (on line)*, 2-14.

Dowling, T. (2010). 'Akuchanywa apha, please' No peeing here please. The language of signage in Cape Town. *Southern African Journal of African Languages, 30*(2), 192-208.

du Plessis, T. (2010). Bloemfontein/Mangaung, 'city on the move'. Language management and transformation of a non-representative linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy, E.

Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 74-95). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dumas, A. (1844 ed. 2002). *El conde de Montecristo [The Count of Montecristo]* (C. de Arce, Trans.). Madrid: Punto de lectura.

Edelman, L. (2009). What's in a name? Classification of proper names by language. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 141-154). New York: Routledge.

Erwin, K. (2011). *Place, race and belonging: a case study in Albert Park, Durban.* Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Durban.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Longman.

Fessard, L. (2013, mercredi, 30 janvier). BAC Nord: les ripoux sont réintégrés ... pas le lanceur d'alerte, *Mediapart*.

Foote Whyte, W. (1969). *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (12th impression of 1943, 1955 ed.). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Foote Whyte, W. (2004 a). First efforts. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (pp. 217 - 220). London: Routledge.

Foote Whyte, W., Richardson, L., & Denzin, N. K. (2004 b). Qualitative Sociology and Deconstructionism: An Exchange. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (pp. 491-504). London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1968). *Las palabras y las cosas: una arqueologia de las ciencias humanas [Words and things: an archaeology of the human sciences]* (E. Cecilia Frost, Trans.). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Foucault, M. (1975). *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison [Survey and punish: birth of the prison]*. Paris: Gallimard.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.

Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education* (D. Macedo, Trans.). Hampshire and London: Macmillan.

Frith, A. (2001). Census 2001 collation Retrieved 2012/04/16, from http://census.adrianfrith.com/place/77612097

Garces H., A. (2006). Configuraciones espaciales de lo inmigrante: usos y apropiaciones de la ciudad [Immigrant spatial configurations: uses and appropriations of the city]. *Papeles del CEIC (Centro de Estudios sobre la Identidad Colectiva), 20* (March), 1-34.

Gee, J. P. (1996). Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses (2nd of 1996 ed.). New York: Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (original re-edition ed.). New York: Anchor Books, Random House.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction ritual. *American Sociological Review*(48), 1 - 19.

Guilat, Y. (2010). 'The holy ark in the street': sacred and secular painting of utility boxes in the public domain in a small Israeli town. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 37-56). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Gumperz, J. J. (Ed.). (1982). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar: Second Edition*. London, Melbourne, Auckland: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, D. (2003). The right to the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(4), 939-941.

Harvey, D. (2008). The right to the city. *New Left Review, 53*(Sept Oct 2008), 23-40.

Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to post-nationalism: a critical ethnography of language and identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Heubner, T. (2009). A framework for the linguistic analysis of linguistic landscapes. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 70-87). New York: Routledge.

Hull, G., & Schultz, K. (Eds.). (2002). *School's Out! Bridging Out-Of-School Literacies with Classroom Practice*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Hult, F. M. (2009). Language ecology and linguistic landscape analysis. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 88-103). New York: Routledge.

INSEE. (2002). Région Urbaine Marseille, Atlas des métropolitains: le territoire, les habitants, activité et emploi [Marseille Urban Region, metropolitan atlas: territory, inhabitants, business and employment]. Paris: INSEE.

Jakobson, R. (1960). The Speech Event and the Functions of Language. In L. R. Waugh & M. Monville-Burston (Eds.), *On Language* (1990 ed.). Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Janks, H. (1998). Reading womanpower. *Pretexts: studies in writing and culture, 7*(2), 195-211.

Janks, H. (2010 a). "Language as a system of meaning potential": the reading and design of verbal texts. In T. Locke (Ed.), *Beyond the grammar wars* (pp. 151-169). New York: Routledge.

Janks, H. (2010 b). *Literacy and power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2009). Introducing Semiotic Landscapes. In A. Jaworski & C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: language, image, space*. London: Continuum.

Jaworski, A., & Yeung, S. (2010). Life in the garden of Eden: the naming and imagery of residential Hong Kong. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 153-181). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Jegels, D. (2011). *The literacy orientation of preschool children in a multilingual environment: the case of post-Apartheid Manenberg.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of the Western Cape.

Jourdan, S. (2008). Un cas aporétique de gentrification: la ville de Marseille [An aporetic case of gentrification: the city of Marseille]. *Méditerranée (on line), 2008*(111), 85-90.

Junker, B. H. (2004). The field work situation: social roles for observation. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (pp. 221 - 225). London: Routledge.

Kallen, J. (2009). Tourism and representation in the Irish linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 270-284). New York: Routledge.

Kallen, J. L., & Ni Dhonnacha, E. (2010). Language and inter-language in urban Irish and Japanese linguistic landscapes. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 19-36). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2001). Ethnicity and language crossing in post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 152*, 75-95.

Kelleher, W. (2011). Contribution to exhibition on 'Ecrits quotidiens'. Université Bordeaux Segalen ▪ Musée d'ethnographie, Bordeaux.

Kelleher, W. (2012). A case study of out-of-school language practice. *Lesedi, IFAS research newsletter, 14*(July), 9 - 14.

Kress, G. (2010 a). A grammar for meaning-making. In T. Locke (Ed.), *Beyond the grammar wars* (pp. 233-253). New York: Routledge.

Kress, G. (2010 b). *Multimodality: a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: the grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.

Lafargue, P. (1848 ed. 1998). *El derecho a la pereza [Right to laziness]*. Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos.

Lafon, M. (2005). *The future of isiZulu lies in Gauteng: the importance of taking into account urban varieties for the promotion of African languages.* Paper presented at the The Standardisation of African Languages in South Africa.

Lafon, M. (2006 a). Linguistic diversity in South Africa: will a historically divisive factor become a hallmark for transformation? In A. Wa Kabwe-Segatti, N. Péjout & P. Guillaume (Eds.), *Ten years of democratic South Africa. Transition accomplished?* (Vol. IFAS Working Paper Series, pp. 141-170). Johannesburg: IFAS Research.

Lafon, M. (2006 b). *La linguistique africaine: sa place, ses enjeux au XXI siècle [African linguistics: place, gains and losses in the 21st century]*. Paper presented at the Etudes africaines - état des lieux et des savoirs en France - 1re rencontre du réseau des études africaines en France, Paris [African studies in France].

Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. W. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 16*(1), 23-49.

Lanza, E., & Woldemariam, H. (2009). Language ideology and linguistic landscape: language policy and globalisation in a regional capital of Ethiopia. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 189-205). New York: Routledge.

Le Caignec, A., & Leroux, R. (2008, 1 July). A Marseille, le marché du Soleil rouvrira-t-il ses portes? [In Marseille, will the Marché du Soleil reopen its doors?], *Rue 89*. Retrieved from http://www.rue89.com/marseille/a-marseille-le-marche-du-soleil-rouvrira-t-il-ses-portes accessed 2012/04/16.

Lee, J. (2004). *Culture from the ground: walking, movement and placemaking*. Paper presented at the Association of Social Anthropologists conference, Durham, UK. http://www.abdn.ac.uk/anthropology/WrittenPapers.php accessed 09/02/2014.

Leeman, J., & Modan, G. (2010). Selling the city: language, ethnicity and commodified space. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 182-198). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution* (R. Bononno, Trans.). San Antonio, Texas: University of Minnesota Press.

Libé. (2008, 18 novembre). Arrêté de fermeture pour la mosquée de l'avenue Camille Pelletan à Marseille [Order to close the mosque of Camille Pelletan avenue in Marseille], *Libé Marseille*. Retrieved from http://www.libemarseille.fr/henry/2008/11/arrt-de-fermetu.html accessed 2012/04/16.

Ligthelm, A. A., & van Wyk, A. M. A. (2004). Second draft report. Informal trading in Tshwane: regulatory, spatial and economic framework. City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality: Bureau of market research, University of South Africa.

Liou, J. (2012). South Africa's capital renames streets for anti-apartheid heroes. *Yahoo! South Africa - AFP http:www.yahoo.co.za* retrieved 2013/05/23

Lou, J. J. (2010). Chinese on the side: the marginalisation of Chinese in the linguistic and social landscapes of Chinatown in Washington, DC. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 96-114). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mabin, A. (2005). Suburbanisation, segregation, and government of territorial transformations. *Transformation*(57), 41-63.

Malinowski, D. (2009). Authorship in the linguistic landscape: a multimodal-performative view. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 107-125). New York: Routledge.

Malinowski, D. (2010). Showing seeing in the Korean linguistic cityscape. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 199-218). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Marten, H. F. (2010). Linguistic landscape under strict state language policy: reversing the soviet legacy in a regional centre in Latvia. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 115-132). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Massey, D. (1995). Places and their pasts. *History workshop journal, 39*(Spring), 182-192.

Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: key concepts*. Durham: Acumen.

Mbanjwa, X. (2012). Schubart Park eviction unlawful - Concourt. *News 24 http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ConCourt-Schubart-Park-eviction-unlawful-20121009* retrieved 2013/10/09

Mbembe, A., & Nuttall, S. (2004). Writing the world from an African Metropolis. *Public Culture, 16*(3), 347-372.

Mbodj-Pouye, A., & Van den Avenne, C. (2008). L'opération d'adressage à Mopti: administrer par l'écrit, administrer l'écrit [The operation to give street addresses in Mopti: administering through writing]. *Écologies et politiques de l'écrit*. Anthropologie de l'écriture IIAC/EHESS-CNRS: agence nationale de la recherché [French national research agency].

Mermann-Jozwiak, E., & Sullivan, N. (2005). Local Knowledge and Global Citizenship: Languages and Literatures of the United States-Mexico Borderlands. In S. Canagarajah (Ed.), *Reclaiming the Local in Language Policy and Practice*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Milani, T. M. (2013 (accepted and in press)). Sexed signs - queering the scenery. *IJSL - International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Milani, T. and Zabrodskaja, A. "Signs in context: multilingual and multimodal texts in semiotic space", special issue).

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (2001). Funds of knowledge for teaching: using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice, XXXI*(Spring 2), 132-141.

Mondoloni, L. (2009). *Des (petites) enseignes qui en disent long ... [Some (small) signs that say much ...]*. Paris: Les Xerographes.

Muth, S. (2013 (accepted and in press)). Informal language use as an expression of multilingualism in Chisinau – How individuals shape the public space of a post-Soviet capital. *IJSL - International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Milani, T. and Zabrodskaja, A. "Signs in context: multilingual and multimodal texts in semiotic space", special issue).

Nuttall, S. (2004 a). Stylising the self: the Y generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg. *Public Culture, 16*(3), 430 - 452.

Nuttall, S. (2004 b). City forms and writing the 'now' in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 30*(4), 731-748. doi: 10.1080/0305707042000313988

Nuttall, S. (2008). Stylising the self. In Nuttall & Mbembe (Eds.), *Johannesburg the elusive metropolis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Nuttall, S., & Mbembe, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Johannesburg the elusive metropolis*. Johannesburg: Wits University press.

Nyalunga, D. (2006). The revitalisation of local government in South Africa. *International NGO Journal, 1*(1).

O'Halloran, K. L. (2011). Multimodal discourse analysis. In K. Hyland & B. Paltridge (Eds.), *Companion to discourse*. London and New York: Continuum.

Oppenchaim, N. (2010). Foules, espaces publics urbains et apprentissage de la co-présence chez les adolescents des quartiers populaires d'Ile de France. *Conserveries mémorielles, 8*, 2-17.

Pan, L. (2010). Dissecting multilingual Beijing: the space and scale of vernacular globalization. *Visual Communication, 9*(1), 67-90.

Pedhazur, E. J., & Pedhazur Schmelkin, L. (1991). *Measurement, design and analysis: an integrated approach*. Hillsdale New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: a critical introduction*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pennycook, A. (2009). Linguistic landscapes and the transgressive semiotics of graffiti. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 302-312). New York: Routledge.

Pietikainen, S., Lane, P., Salo, H., & Laihiala-Kankainen, S. (2011). Frozen actions in the Arctic linguistic landscape: a nexus analysis of language processes in visual space. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 8*(4 November), 277-298.

Prinsloo, C. (2011). *Linguistic skills development in the Home Language and First Additional Language*. Paper presented at the Paradigms and practices of teaching and learning in Foundation Phase language classrooms in Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces, University of Pretoria.

Prinsloo, M., & Breier, M. (Eds.). (1996). *The social uses of literacy (SoUL): theory and practice in contemporary South Africa*. Bertsham, South Africa. Philadelphia, USA: Sached Books (Pty) Ltd, John Benjamins Publishing.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents*. New York: Longman Publishing.

Ronai, S. (2009). Marseille: une métropole en mutation [Marseille: a changing metropolis]. *Hérodote, 4*(135), 128-147.

Rubagumya, C. M. (2009). Language in Education in Africa: Can Monolingual Policies Work in Multilingual Societies? In J. Kleifgen & G. Bond (Eds.), *The Languages of Africa and the Diaspora*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Sayer, P. (2009). Using the linguistic landscape as a pedagogical resource. *ELT Journal, 64*(2), 143-154.

Schutz, A. (2004). Concept and theory formation in the social sciences. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (pp. 207 - 216). London: Routledge.

Scollon, R. (2001). *Mediated discourse [the nexus of practice]*. London and New York: Routledge.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (2003). *Discourses in place: language in the material world*. London and New York: Routledge.

Seale, C. (Ed.). (2004). *Social Research Methods, A Reader*. London: Routledge.

Semono, N. (2008, 02 October). Pretoria street-name debate turns nasty, *Pretoria News*.

Sevin, J.-C. (2011). Culture in/and crisis. *UNECC 27-28 October*.

Sevin, J.-C. (2012). *Marseille 2013 CEC - Que créent les quartiers créatifs [Marseille 2013 European Capital of Culture - What creative neighbourhoods create]*. Avignon.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.

Shohamy, E., Ben-Rafael, E., & Barni, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Linguistic landscape in the city*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Shohamy, E., & Gorter, D. (Eds.). (2009). *Linguistic Landscapes: Expanding the Scenery*. New York: Routledge.

Skinner, C. (2008). The struggle for the streets: processes of exclusion and inclusion of street traders in Durban, South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 25*(2), 227-242. doi: 10.1080/03768350802090709

Sloboda, M. (2009). State ideology and linguistic landscape: a comparative analysis of (post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 173-188). New York: Routledge.

Souesme, J.-C. (2003). *Grammaire anglaise en context [English grammar in context]*. Paris: Ophrys.

STATSSA. (1996). Population census 1996 Retrieved 2012/04/16, from http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/Census96/HTML/default.htm

STATSSA. (2007). Community Survey 2007, basic results: Gauteng. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

STATSSA. (2011). Statistical release P0302, mid-year population estimates 2011. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Stein, P. (2008 a). Literacies in and out of school in South Africa. In B. V. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education Vol 2: Literacy* (2nd ed., pp. 309-320): Springer Science & Business Media LLC.

Stein, P. (2008 b). How do I smile in writing? Transformations across modes *Multimodal pedagogies in diverse classrooms* (pp. 44 - 74). London and New York: Routledge.

Stöckl, H. (2005). Typography: body and dress of a text - a signing mode between language and image. *Visual Communication, 4*(2), 204-214.

Street, B. V. (1993). Introduction: the new literacy studies. In B. V. Street (Ed.), *Cambridge studies in oral and literate culture 23: cross-cultural approaches to literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Street, B. V. (2008). New literacies, new times: developments in literacy studies. In B. V. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education Vol 2: Literacy* (2nd ed., pp. 3-14): Springer Science & Business Media LLC.

Stroud, C., & Jegels, D. (2013 (accepted and in press)). Semiotic landscapes and mobile narrations of place: performing the local. *IJSL - International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Milani, T. and Zabrodskaja, A. “Signs in context: multilingual and multimodal texts in semiotic space”, special issue).

Stroud, C., & Mpendukana, S. (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 13*(3), 363-386.

Stroud, C., & Mpendukana, S. (2010). Multilingual signage: a multimodal approach to discourses of consumption in a South African township. *Social Semiotics, 20*(5 November), 469-493.

Strydom, C. C. (2007). *Infrastructure Analysis: literacy enhancement centre.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Thomas, R. (2003). Quand le pas fait corps et sens avec l'espace: aspects sensibles et expressifs de la marche en ville [When steps are linked bodily and cognitively to space: sensorial and expressive aspects of walking in the city]. *Cybergeo : European Journal of Geography (on line)*. Retrieved from http://cybergeo.revues.org/4304 ; DOI : 10.4000/cybergeo.4304

Thompson, J. B. (1984). *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press and Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Thompson, J. B. (1990). *Ideology and modern culture*. Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell.

Todd Garvin, R. (2010). Responses to the linguistic landscape in Memphis, Tennessee: an urban space in transition. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 252-274). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Tonnelat, S. (2003). *Interstices urbains: Paris - New York. Entre contrôles et mobilités, quatre espaces résiduels de l'aménagement [Urban interstices: Paris – New York. Between control and mobility, four residual spaces resulting from urban restructuring].* Unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris XII and CUNY Graduate School, Institut d'urbanisme de Paris.

Tonnelat, S. (2008). *The sociology of urban public spaces*. Paper presented at the Sino French Urban Planning Conference (SFURP), Nanjing University. http://cnrs.academia.edu/StephaneTonnelat/Papers/268990/The_Sociology_of_Urban_Public_Spaces accessed 2012/04/07.

Torkington, K. (2009). *Exploring the linguistic landscape: the case of the 'Golden Triangle' in the Algarve, Portugal*. Paper presented at the Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics & Language Teaching, Lancaster University.

Trumper-Hecht, N. (2009). Constructing national identity in mixed cities in Israel: Arabic on signs in the public space of upper Nazareth. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes: expanding the scenery* (pp. 238-252). New York: Routledge.

Trumper-Hecht, N. (2010). Linguistic landscape in mixed cities in Israel from the perspective of 'walkers': the case of Arabic. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 235-251). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Tshwane City Management. (2011). *Annexure F18, informal/formal business compliance regulation, monthly tariffs - informal trade stalls*. Pretoria: Tshwane City Council Retrieved from

http://www.tshwane.gov.za/AboutTshwane/CityManagement/CityDepartments/Financial%20Services accessed 2012/04/16.

van den Heever, A. (2006). *Field: public space infrastructure*. unpublished professional master's thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

van Leeuwen, T. (2006). Towards a semiotics of typography. *Information Design Journal + Document Design, 14*(2), 139-155.

Vigouroux, C. B. (2011). Magic marketing: performing grassroots literacy. *Diversities, 13*(2), 53 - 70.

Vigouroux, C. B., & Mufwene, S. S. (Eds.). (2008). *Globalisation and language vitality: perspectives from Africa*. London: Continuum.

Waksman, S., & Shohamy, E. (2010). Decorating the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa for its centennial: complementary narratives via linguistic landscapes. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 57-73). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Wardrop, J. (2006). Private Cooking, Public Eating: Women street vendors in South Durban. *Gender, Place & Culture, 13*(6), 677-683. doi: 10.1080/09663690601019927

Yanguas, I. (2009). The linguistic landscape of two Hispanic neighborhoods in Washington D.C. *Revista electronica de linguistica aplicada*(8), 30-44.

Appendix 1: Ethics clearance, interview sheets, formats and transcriptions

1.1. – Ethics clearance

1.1.1. – Ethics approval

Wits School of Education
27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 • Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717-3007 • Fax: +27 11 717-3009 • E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za • Website: www.wits.ac.za

STUDENT NUMBER:
566746
Protocol:
2011ECE083C

21 June 2011

Mr. William Kelleher
The Highlands
1091 Arcadia Street
Pretoria
0083

Dear Mr. Kelleher,

Application for Ethics Clearance: Master of Education

I have a pleasure in advising you that the Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has agreed to approve your application for ethics clearance submitted for your proposal entitled:

Linguistic and cultural diversity as reflected in the urban public sphere.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

Yours sincerely

MMabeta

Matsie Mabeta
Wits School of Education

Cc Supervisor: Ms A Ferreira (via email)

1.1.2. – Ethics application

HREC - EDUCATION (2011)

APPLICATION TO THE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (WITS SCHOOL OF EDUCATION) (NON-MEDICAL), UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, FOR CLEARANCE OF RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

Please complete this checklist prior to submitting your application form. Attach the completed checklist to the **FRONT** of your application form. Any incomplete applications will be returned.

NOTE: Applications are most often turned down by the HREC because basic instructions and hints have not been followed. Please read pages 7-10 of this form very carefully as the list of common errors and hints toward completion of appendices will assist in completing the application. Please also ensure that all your documents look professional, i.e. check for language and spellings errors.

NOTE: Copy of GDE Application Form to conduct research in a government school is generally obtainable from your supervisor.

THREE COPIES OF THIS APPLICATION FORM AND ALL SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS NEED TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE ETHICS OFFICE (If the application form is completed in detail, no research proposal needs to accompany the application. However, if the committee feels there is insufficient information provided in the application then a copy of the research proposal may be called for. This could lead to a delay of several months for clearance to be granted).

		TICK or N/A
	FORMAT OF APPLICATION	
1	**Have you completed the HREC (Education) 2011 application form?**	**√**
2	**Has the application been signed by the supervisor?**	**√**
	INSTITUTIONAL CONSENT	
1	**If research is at a GDE School has application for consent been applied for/given? A copy of the application/letter of permission must accompany this application**	**N/A**
2	**If research is at WITS has consent been given by the authority in question?**	**N/A**
3	**If research is at independent school has consent from school been obtained?**	**N/A**
4	**If research is outside SA has consent been obtained from relevant Ministry?**	**√**
	PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEETS (do not refer to participants as subjects)	
1	**Are interviewees assured that their role is voluntary?**	**√**
2	**Is there a guarantee of anonymity or confidentiality?**	**√**
3	**Are there rights of withdrawal with no fear of consequences?**	**√**
4	**Are the participants under 18? Information and consent letters for parents and minors?**	**N/A**
5	**Does the consent form have sufficient information for the participant to know what it involves?**	**√**

	RESEARCH DETAILS	
	Is there adequate information about who and when interviews will happen?	**√**
	If interviewees are vulnerable what can be done to protect them?	**N/A**
	How will confidentiality be preserved?	**√**
	AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPING	
	If there is to be audio or video taping is there adequate justification?	**√**
	If there is to be video taping is there a separate consent letter?	**N/A**
	POST RESEARCH INFORMATION	
	Will the data be kept safely and securely?	**√**
	Will the information be destroyed after 3/5 years? How?	**√**
	ISSUES OF PROFESSIONALISM	
	Have you carefully checked for spelling and grammatical errors in documents that go out to the public?	**√**
	MORE COMPLEX ETHICAL ISSUES	
	Is there a conflict of interests - how will this be dealt with?	**N/A**
	Do any of the participants stand to be severely prejudiced or placed at risk? Are there measures to protect them?	**N/A**
	Does the research topic particularly deal with invasive issues? Are there measures to deal with this?	**N/A**
	Is this a high risk application?	**N/A**
	Are there any legal implications?	**N/A**

HREC (2011)
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

APPLICATION TO THE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL) FOR CLEARANCE OF RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

Unless applications are received by the 15th of the month, they will be carried forward to the following month for consideration. Please note incomplete applications will NOT be considered at all.

PROTOCOL NUMBER (for office use only): _____

This application must be electronically completed and three hardcopies of the application and ALL appendices submitted to the Committee Secretary.

NAME : Prof/Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms/Miss	Mr William KELLEHER
STUDENT NO.	566746
DEPARTMENT/INSTITUTION	University of the Witwatersrand, School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures
FULL TIME OR PART-TIME	Part-time
TELEPHONE NO. AND EXTENSION	078 488 6715

E-MAIL	willkelleheremails@yahoo.co.uk
POSTAL ADDRESS	Flat 13, The Highlands, 1091 Arcadia St Hatfield, Pretoria CODE: 0083
Name and Tel number of Supervisor	Ana Ferreira Tel: 0117173179

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT:
Linguistic and cultural diversity as reflected in the urban public sphere.

Is this research for degree purposes? If so, for what degree, and has it been approved by the relevant higher degrees committee or other relevant unit?
This research is for a Masters by Coursework and Research Report (AELS7015/1, AELS7021/1 and AELS 7013/1) with the School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures.

WHERE WILL THE RESEARCH BE CARRIED OUT?
I will be comparing two neighbourhoods in two different cities: Pretoria (South Africa) and Marseille (France).
In Marseille the "Camille Pelletan - Rue d'Aix" site is near the main railway station, in an inner-city commercial zone which favours linguistic and cultural diversity.
In Pretoria the Bosman, Paul Kruger site is very similar being articulated around the taxi-rank and regional railway station.
I will be photographing and analysing texts visible in the public domain in these two sites (posters, billboards, shop signs, flyers, signposts, graffiti and advertising) and I will be interviewing people (pedestrians, shop owners, informal sellers, shoppers and passers-by) on their own linguistic histories and attitudes and their reactions and understandings of these texts.
The research will focus on the street, and on texts visible in the street. I will not be looking at texts worn by people (printed T-shirts, bags, caps) nor will I be looking at texts printed on vehicles (taxis and buses). This study will focus on the physical, built environment of two neighbourhoods and people's interaction with that built environment through signs, graffiti, posters and flyers. Both the production and use of texts will be considered.

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH (Please list)
Questions of linguistic and cultural diversity are important in considering education and literacy, access to information, citizenship, government policy and the experience of immigration. This research aims to clarify an important aspect of such issues, namely:

- To what extent do cities' formal and informal textual environments reflect the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of people who live in and frequent these spaces?
- What is the nature of the texts that are visible in the public sphere?
- How do formal and informal texts visible in the public sphere reflect cultural and linguistic diversity?
- What kinds of subjectivities and identities are constructed by such texts?

WHO ARE THE RESEARCHERS AND WHO WILL SUPERVISE THE PROJECT?

Researcher:
Supervisor: Ana Ferreira, Lecturer, English Education, School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures

Protocols submitted to the Committee must have the information that will enable it to judge the safety of procedures or confidentiality of information for research on participants.
The following questions have been designed for this purpose and should therefore be answered as fully as possible.

---

1. GIVE A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH INCLUDING A DEFINITION OF PROCEDURES.

This research is concerned with investigating text, language, culture and identity.

Texts surround us continually in our everyday lives: whether at work, in educational institutions, through advertising or in media such as newspapers or magazines. This research focuses on one aspect of these texts: the texts visible in the street.

The reason for this focus is the specific way in which people interact with these texts. Texts in a city display an enormous range of formats (billboards, posters, signs, graffiti, packaging) of locations (shop windows, lampposts, walls, bus stops) and functions (advertising, informing, rallying) on numerous subjects (health, hostelry, music, religion). There is also the question of voice since texts visible in the street combine governmental, private, corporate and individual actors.

Through choices linked to language, subject and location a city is literally characterised by its texts. Writers such as Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter refer to this characterisation of the city as its 'linguistic landscape'. They use a consideration of street signs to see what languages are represented in a city and to compare this to demographic and linguistic research.

The aim of my research is to arrive at a theorised understanding of how all kinds of texts visible in the street reflect people's differing cultures, identities and literacies. To do this three processes are vital:

a) definition of a theoretic framework in order to allow decisions as to place and manner of study;
b) elaboration of a corpus;
c) analysis, isolation of variables and testing of hypotheses.

A comparative approach will be adopted for several reasons. Firstly, the demographic and cultural environments of France and South Africa are very different and through comparison I hope to arrive at variables that are universal as opposed to being country-dependant. Secondly, the amount of content available on texts in these two places differs widely. Thirdly, the methods of production, consumption and interaction also differ widely. Through comparison I hope to be able test my hypotheses in a more rigorous manner.

Properly speaking ethics clearance is not necessary for much of my research since I will be photographing texts in the public domain for which no authorisation is necessary. I do though also want to interview consumers and producers of these texts in order to contrast their opinions and reactions to analyses based on textual content.

To clarify this, let us take a closer look at the above procedures to be adopted:

a) The theoretic framework reposes on a fundamental consideration: that linguistic research into speech acts (the language used, the message conveyed, the context, and the way speaker / listener are connected) can be applied to texts visible in the street. This leads to a rich literature both on analysis of content (Halliday for instance looks at the functions messages perform) but also as to choice of language (Rampton examines how 'crossing' from one language to another reveals much about relations of power and roles of language). Further research into the speech act also concerns how 'tactics' are employed. M. de Certeau for instance discusses how additions to texts (a word scribbled on a poster, graffiti sprayed on a wall) reveal much about collective memory and understandings. He also discusses how, by choosing what is read, where, what route is taken through the city, consumers construct their own interpretations. This raises the important question of manner of study.
   I will adopt an ethnographic procedure of personally investing the area to be studied. By repeatedly visiting the neighbourhood, by regularly walking along the chosen route (see Appendix A) I will be able to observe and note texts, other people's behaviours, their interactions with texts, and changes in the texts themselves (new posters, new graffiti, changes to signs).
   More specifically research would take the form of a walk through the city. The glance, the encompassing of a text in a single movement through place would constitute the point of view for photographing and recording each example of urban text (sign, billboard, poster, graffiti, page of newspaper, packaging). This walk would be repeated at different times, giving rise to different situations and contexts and giving a richer view of the neighbourhood and the nature of the texts in the neighbourhood.
   The research will build up a layered view of texts. Each time I visit the neighbourhood I will be able to add new meanings, understand new contexts and see the evolution of texts over time as they are read, interacted with and altered.

b) Since the focus of this research is primarily the texts in the street, data collection will be as follows:
   - I will photograph the route walked several times. Photographs will only concern examples of texts. I will try to be as exhaustive as possible in order to gain a clear understanding of all the different kinds of texts that compose the street's textual environment.
   - These photographs will be indexed and analysed both quantitatively (for instance counts as to subject and location) and qualitatively (content, function, layout etc).
   - While I am walking the research route I will take field notes concerning the texts, their disposition, location and culturally specific properties such as proper names and specific references.

- Photographs and field notes will constitute the bulk of the corpus.
- Since I will be investing the area studied (similarly to a participant observer in ethnography) my presence will not go unnoticed as neither will my photography of texts in the street. Interaction with other passers-by, shop owners, sellers, consumers and producers of texts will be encouraged. Appendices A to E provide further information as to how I will present my study, how I will ask for consent to talk to and interview people met. Appendix B in particular details how I will deal with people who do not understand either English (Pretoria) or French (Marseille).
- Interviews:
    i. These will be short, of a maximum of fifteen minutes.
    ii. Producers. This study concerns texts in the street and so producers are mostly shop owners and sellers but there are also individuals who put up signs, posters and graffiti and who alter texts already present. I will approach these people directly, I will present my research and I will invite them to participate in the study. Interaction with texts present will be encouraged as will interaction with other adults who will be invited to give their opinions, their reactions and their understandings.
    iii. Consumers. These are passers-by, sellers and shoppers who read texts (packaging, signs, posters, notices). In the course of my walk through the research area I will meet with these people who are either present in the area or also walking through it. Some will display interest, others will not. Since my interview format is non-structured, non-invasive and seeks above all to provide secondary information to support the study of texts, I will only continue with people who seem interested by the study. I will present myself and my research, I will ask them to sign a consent form and I will then conduct an interview around the themes of text content, format, language use, cultural and individual identity.
    iv. In all cases interviews will be necessarily random, open-ended, concerned with adult's linguistic histories, cultural backgrounds, their interaction with texts in street. Interviews will be relatively unstructured (Appendix E provides a guide to possible questions) and conducted in a relaxed, non-intrusive and entirely voluntary manner.

c) Analysis will consist of:
    - Analysis of photographs of texts visible in the street both qualitatively and quantitatively
    - Analysis of field notes and interview notes
    - Transcription and analysis of interviews

Procedures can thus be resumed as follows:

- Photographing of texts visible in the street
- Researcher's field notes
- Researcher's notes of interviews with consumers and producers

- Researcher's audio recording of interviews
- Analysis of photographs of texts
- Transcription and analysis of pertinent interviews

---

2. What type of information is to be gathered? Where a scale, questionnaire or interview schedule will be used, please attach a copy.

- photographs of texts visible in the street (billboards, posters, signs, signposts, graffiti, notices, displays, newspapers, packaging)
- field notes that reflect on the context, situation and cultural specificity of texts observed during regular walks for data-collection through the neighbourhood under study (Appendix A gives a map of the data-collection route in Pretoria)
- notes of interviews with consumers and producers met with in the course of my walk through the neighbourhood under research (Appendix B gives precisions as to languages used whilst Appendices C, D and E detail consent forms, researcher information and possible interview questions)
- audio recordings and transcripts of interviews (Appendix D2)
- interviews will be short (a maximum of fifteen minutes), qualitative, seeking both to reflect on the use and content of texts and to work with a producer or consumer of a text (for instance the reader of a newspaper or the author of a sign) in reflecting on his/her own motivations in choosing, using or crafting a specific text in specific language.

---

3. If you intend videotaping participants, please provide a full motivation why such a procedure is considered necessary. Letters of consent should also indicate the necessity of using a videotape. It needs to be stipulated what the end-use of the videotape will be.

I do not intend to videotape.

---

3. How will informed consent be obtained?

All interviews will be with adults and either in the public domain or at their place of business. No interviews will involve or bear upon either institutional or governmental actors.
Access to interviewees will be obtained through information sheets and informed consent forms.

I have prepared a participant information sheet (Appendix C) which outlines the nature and importance of my research. Appendices D1 and D2 give the consent forms I will be using for interviews and for audio recordings. Appendices D1 and D2 also give the form I will remit to an interviewee with my personal details and the interviewee's right to member check.

In the event that an interviewee declines to participate, the interaction will not be transcribed and will not form part of the data for analysis. This will be made clear to the interviewee as will the fact that they can decide to withdraw their participation in the research at any time without fear of consequences. I will be handing the information sheets and consent forms to interviewees. I will orally explain the information on the sheets and make myself available for questions

Research will take advantage of the interest that texts in the street elicit. I will be asking people to reflect on texts in the public domain and on their own personal histories and interactions with these texts. I will give them my contact details and make clear the fact that I am a student at the University of the Witwatersrand.

3.1 Please attach participants' information sheet, informed consent form(s) and questionnaire or interview format if any.

These forms have been added in appendices B through E to this document.
Appendix A: detail of the research site and the research route
Appendix B: note as to choice of language used in consent forms
Appendix C: participant information sheet
Appendix D1 and D2: interview consent form and audio recording consent form
Appendix E: a guide to possible questions

---

4. Who will the participants be?

Participants will be adults met on the research route (Appendix A) who are either producers or consumers of texts visible in the street.
The researcher will meet these people in the course of his research into texts and his photographing of signs, posters, billboards, graffiti and displays.
Participants will be interviewed and audio-recorded. They will be asked questions during a short interview of a maximum of fifteen minutes which seeks to reflect on the use and content of texts in addition to interviewees background, reactions and understandings.

4.1 State the age ranges of the participants.

All participants will be adults between the ages of 18 and 65.

4.2 How will the participants be selected and exactly what will they be told when asked to participate in the research?

Participants will be formally invited to participate in this study through an information sheet which includes consent forms for each aspect of the research project (Appendices C and D).
The theoretic framework for this study is the comparison of texts visible in the public sphere (signs, posters, billboards, graffiti and displays) to a speech act (the language used, the message conveyed, the context, and the way speaker / listener are connected).
Interviews with participants will focus on this aspect and so interviewees will be selected on three criteria:

a) they will be present in the neighbourhood under research at the same time as the researcher. The researcher will regularly walk the research route (Appendix A) and will meet producers and consumers of texts in the course of this walk;

b) they will be actors in the neighbourhood either because they are producing texts (signs, graffiti, annotations to existing texts) or because they are consuming or using texts (reading signs, opening newspapers, studying notices etc);
c) they show a willingness to participate in the study and share their reactions and understandings of texts with the researcher.

4.3 Are the participants considered to be vulnerable individuals (including pregnant women, orphans etc.)?

No.

---

5. Will the research be of any direct benefit to the participants?

No. But I do sincerely feel that my research will have important implications as a way of understanding and accessing linguistic and cultural diversity as well as language use.

If 'YES' elaborate briefly.

---

6. Are there any risks involved for the participants? (For example – legal, psychological, financial or physical risks) If "yes", please identify them and explain how they will be minimized.

No.

---

7. How is confidentiality to be guaranteed?

Each research participant will be given a pseudonym and will be labelled as such throughout transcriptions and written outputs. The audio recordings will only be listened to by the researcher, the transcriber and the supervisors. Thus recorded data will not be used in any public forum. Presentations of the research data will rely on transcripts utilising pseudonyms.

---

8. Has permission been obtained from the relevant authorities: e.g. Gauteng Dept of Education? (Please attach copy).

This is research taking place in the public sphere and concerning adults. These participants will be informed of the voluntary nature of interviews (Appendix C), will be invited to participate and will sign a consent form (Appendix D). There is no specific authority that needs to grant its permission. Research in France replies to similar criteria. I will prepare translations into French of all required consent forms and information sheets. I am a citizen of both France and South Africa. This research is financed in part

through a small grant from the IFAS (Institut Français de l'Afrique du Sud) which is the delegation of the CNRS (French National Research Council) operating through the French Ministry. Data collection is thus approved in France. Appendix F is a ccopy of the research mandate with the IFAS.

---

9. What is to be done with the raw research data after completion of the project? (Specify the end-use of audio tapes and/or video-tapes as well.)

Photographs, transcriptions, and audio recordings will be labelled and archived in a locked cupboard at my house and destroyed after 3-5 years by shredding (transcriptions and notes) and blanked re-recording of audio material.

---

10. How will the end results be reported and to whom?

The end results will be reported in my Masters by coursework and research report. The results will also be written up in a research report for the IFAS, in academic conference papers, scholarly journal articles and book chapters.

- **In signing this form, I, the supervisor of this project, undertake to ensure that any amendments to this project that are required by the Human Research Ethics Committee are made before the project commences.**

Please print name:

DATE : _____ SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE :

_____

DATE : _____ APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE :

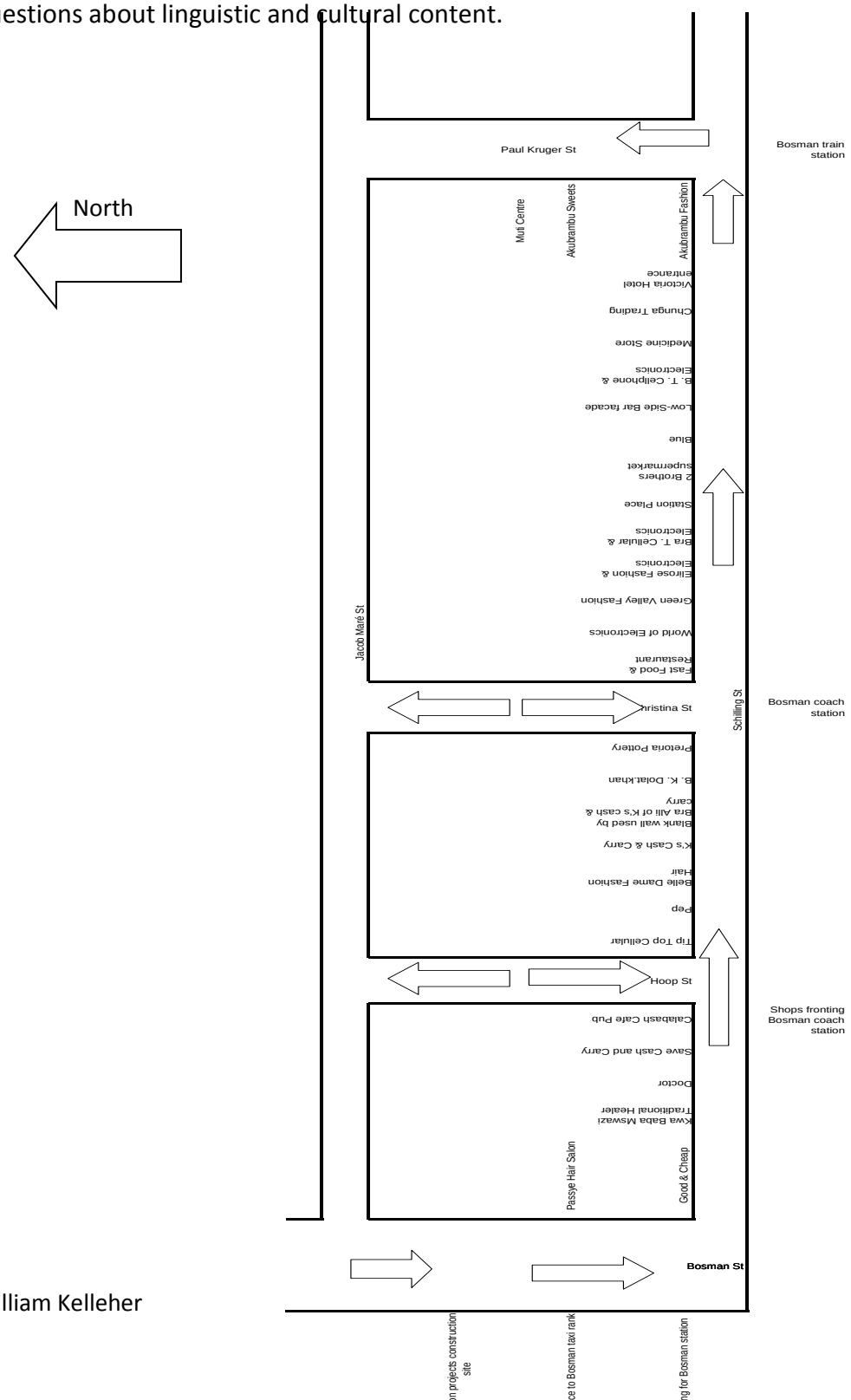
_____

1.1.4. – Neighbourhoods and routes for data collection

Appendix A of Ethics application

Neighbourhood and route for collection of data – Bosman, Pretoria

This map indicates the route for data collection in Pretoria. A similar map will be elaborated for Marseille during my research trip in July 2011.
This route will be studied on successive occasions, building up a layered approach to texts visible and to the nature of people's reactions and interactions with these texts.
Along this route texts on the pavement, shop fronts and building walls will be photographed and adults met will, if they wish to participate, be interviewed.
Interviewees will be adult pedestrians, street sellers, shop owners and the nature of the interview will concern their linguistic histories, their reaction to texts on the street, and questions about linguistic and cultural content.



1.1.5. – Choice of language for interviews

Appendix B of Ethics application

Note as to choice of language for interview and consent forms and procedure to be adopted if a potential interviewee does not understand my research

All forms have been prepared in English for the study in Pretoria and they will be translated into French for the study in Marseille. I have permission (and funding) from the French research council for this study which takes place in the public domain (in the street) (see Appendix F) and as concerns interviews is of a very open-ended, non-intrusive nature; taking advantage of the situation and the texts visible in the street at that time (for instance a particular advertisement or poster).

The primary focus of research is the nature and composition of texts visible in the street, whilst the interviewee's views, personal history and reactions are only of secondary importance.

Linguistic diversity of interviewees will be one of the subjects of investigation but it is not a primary concern and that is why all documents have been prepared in English (to be translated into French). If these forms are not immediately understood the course of action will be as follows:

- if an adult accompanying person can be found who is willing to serve as informal translator then he or she will be invited to participate in the study and will sign a consent form and a consent to audio-recording;
- that person may then help the initial interviewee to understand, sign an interview and audio-recording consent form and participate in the study;
- if no-one is available to help the interviewee and his/her informed consent cannot be obtained then the interview and that person's participation in the study will be discontinued.

1.1.6. – Participant information sheet

Appendix C of Ethics application

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

My name is William Kelleher and I am a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand, School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures. I am investigating how language is used in typical neighbourhoods in Pretoria and in Marseille. I want to find out why some languages (like English or Sesotho) are used, and how people relate to the languages they see. I also want to find out if the things written in a neighbourhood (like posters, adverts, shop signs etc.) reveal where people come from, what they think about, who they are etc.

Put differently I aim to research:

- What is the nature of the texts that are visible in the public sphere?
- How do formal and informal texts visible in the public sphere reflect cultural and linguistic diversity?
- What kinds of subjectivities and identities are constructed by such texts?

With your permission I would like to talk to you and ask you some questions. This is an invitation to an interview which is entirely voluntary. I am conducting interviews and will be taking notes while we talk. I am also taking photographs of the written things I see – not people. If you do not mind, and with your permission, I might want to audio record our conversation.

Photographs, notes and recordings will be analysed and some statistics might be drawn up about language use and attitudes. Our interview will remain entirely confidential. I will not use your real name anywhere in my research, instead you will be given a pseudonym to protect your identity. I will not distribute copies of any recordings I make, and when the research is completed they will be destroyed, but I may transcribe (write out) some of the contents for use in my research.

This study is like a walk through a neighbourhood, and if we are talking it is because you are in the neighbourhood. Our interview is entirely voluntary and will last as long as you want and as soon as you want to stop we will stop. If you do not want to answer a question you do not have to. If you do not want to participate or if you want to withdraw there is absolutely no problem and there will be no consequences. I can assure you of confidentiality as a matter of course and anonymity in the reporting of the findings.

I will be happy to address any questions or requests for more information that you may have.

If you are willing to participate in an interview, please sign the attached consent form.

Yours sincerely,

William Kelleher

Masters student
School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures
University of the Witwatersrand
Tel: 078 488 6715, willkelleheremails@yahoo.co.uk

1.1.7. – Informed consent forms

Appendix D 1 of Ethics application

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I …… (full name) consent to being interviewed by **William Kelleher** for his research on texts in the city and linguistic and cultural identity. I understand that:

- Participation in this research is voluntary
- I will be interviewed once
- Notes of the interview will be taken
- I may refuse to answer any questions I do not wish to answer
- I may withdraw from this study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research findings

Signed: …….. Date: ……..

COPY OF CONSENT FORM TO BE GIVEN TO INTERVIEWEE (MEMBER CHECK PURPOSES)

I have signed a consent form for an interview with William Kelleher concerning his research into texts in the city and linguistic and cultural identity. I understand that:

- Participation in this research is voluntary
- I will be interviewed once
- Notes of the interview will be taken
- I may refuse to answer any questions I do not wish to answer
- I may withdraw from this study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research findings

Should I wish to contact William Kelleher to withdraw, to verify the accuracy of his notes or his representation of our interview I may do so by contacting him at the School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures, University of the Witwatersrand.

Appendix D 2

INFORMED CONSENT FORM : AUDIO RECORDING OF INTERVIEWS

I …… (full name) consent to the audio recording of my interview with **William Kelleher** for his research on texts in the city and linguistic and cultural identity. I understand that:

- The audio recording will not be heard by any person other than the researcher (and the transcriber) at any time
- I will be given a pseudonym to be used in the transcription of the interview and that my name will not be revealed in any discussions of this research
- I may refuse to answer any questions I do not wish to answer
- I may withdraw from this study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research findings
- The recording will be kept securely and will be destroyed upon termination of the research (after 3 to 5 years)

Signed: …….. Date: ……..

COPY OF CONSENT FORM (AUDIO RECORDING) TO BE GIVEN TO INTERVIEWEE (MEMBER CHECK PURPOSES)

I have signed a consent form for an audio recording of my interview with William Kelleher concerning his research into texts in the city and linguistic and cultural identity. I understand that:

- The audio recording will not be heard by any person other than the researcher (and the transcriber) at any time
- I will be given a pseudonym to be used in the transcription of the interview and that my name will not be revealed in any discussions of this research
- I may refuse to answer any questions I do not wish to answer
- I may withdraw from this study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research findings
- The recording will be kept securely and will be destroyed upon termination of the research (after 3 to 5 years)

Should I wish to contact William Kelleher to withdraw, to verify the accuracy of his transcription or his representation of our interview I may do so by contacting him at the School of Education, Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures, University of the Witwatersrand.

1.1.8. – Interview format

Appendix E of Ethics application

INTERVIEW FORMAT

It should be noted that all interviews will be very unstructured, open-ended, non-intrusive, taking advantage of the situation and the texts visible in the street at that time (for instance a particular advertisement or poster).

The primary focus of research is the nature and composition of texts visible in the street, whilst the interviewee's views, personal history and reactions are only of secondary importance.

Linguistic diversity of interviewees will be one of the subjects of investigation but it is not a primary concern and that is why all consent forms have been prepared in English (to be translated into French). The researcher speaks fluent English, French, Spanish and is learning isiZulu. Comprehension should be possible in most situations either in Pretoria or in Marseille.

Should the researcher and the research objectives not be immediately understood the course of action will be as follows:

- if an adult accompanying person can be found who is willing to serve as informal translator then he or she will be invited to participate in the study and will sign a consent form and a consent to audio-recording;
- that person may then help the initial interviewee to understand, sign an interview and audio-recording consent form and participate in the study;
- if no-one is available to help the interviewee and his/her informed consent cannot be obtained then the interview and that person's participation in the study will be discontinued.

The participation of an informal translator or someone who contributes to the initial interview will be considered positively, as an opportunity to promote a sharing of views on texts in the city and on linguistic and cultural diversity.

Interviews will be qualitative, seeking both to reflect on the use and content of language and to work with a producer or consumer of a text (for instance the reader of a newspaper or the author of a sign) in reflecting on his/her own motivations in choosing, using or crafting a specific text and a specific language.

For this reason, although some questions will be used in all the interviews (in order to establish comparisons across interviews) the interview structure will be fluid and responsive, taking into account the situation and the person of the interviewee.

Below, I have listed some possible questions that are indicative of the style of interview I will be conducting.

Possible questions:

- What languages do you speak ?
- What is your history with this neighbourhood?
- Where are you from?
- What is your home/natural/most fluent language ? (If specific language variety from what region, country etc.)
- Why have you used ……(language e.g. English)…….. in this text?
- Why are you reading in ……(language e.g. English)…….. ?
- Do you think other people (the target) will be able to understand this text?
- What do you think would happen if you used/chose a different language/different wording etc.?
- How does …….. (a word added to a text) change people's perceptions of this text?
- What is your understanding of this text?
- Do you like reading in ……..(a specific language)?
- What does this ……(word/phrase) refer to?
- Can you tell a story with respect to this neighbourhood?
- What makes this neighbourhood special in your opinion?

<u>Possible attitudinal scales</u>

- Usefulness of a language
- Thoughts (cognitive) in a language
- Feelings (affective) towards a language
- Predisposition to act (behavioural) in or with a language or bouquet of languages

1.2. - Interview format for the family owning a signage shop

Information is gathered in three key ways: a) unstructured interviews and visits to household and work; b) worksheets to be filled in by the participants; and c) guided, recorded, interviews using questionnaires in which are inserted two types of rating scale: five point Likert scales and EPA nine point semantic differential scales (Pedhazur 1991, p. 125). Some of the information solicited by the worksheets and the structured interviews overlaps and this is deliberate since repetitive and deepening questioning is necessary to bring information forward. In the same way guided and unguided interviews are conducted with all members of the household so as to be able to compare responses and arrive at nuanced understandings.

The recorded guided interviews are designed to deal with four areas: 1) the household in order to better define it and its members; 2) questions to elicit what funds of knowledge are at the participants' disposition (Moll et al, 2001); 3) to measure equivalence between household, funds of knowledge and institutional settings; and 4) to investigate participant reaction to texts in the urban space. The inclusion of rating scales is to be able to provide points of comparison within and across environment, participant and give an opportunity of greater clarity with respect to attitude.

Funds of knowledge / Speaking back to the city questionnaire

A. At home:

1) Name? Any signification or story linked to your name?
2) How many people are there in your household. Do you have any children?
3) Do you feel that you are a typical example of your age, sex, culture, country, origin, job… or is there anything that you feel very special about?
4) Who does what, where do they work/go to school, what skills are needed?
5) Are there any books/magazines in the house? Where are they? (bookshelves, tables etc)
6) What do you feel is the attitude of your family members to reading/written work? (complete table - especially for guardians)
7) **Perceived attitude to literacy at home: a) reading, b) writing (by household member)**

Strongly approve	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove

8) **Perceived household conception of artefacts of literacy (reading and writing materials)**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
slow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fast
ugly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	beautiful
active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	passive
cluttering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	neat
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
valuable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	worthless
powerless	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	powerful
sharp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dull

9) When is reading and writing used (think of five different uses and rank them by frequency)
10) Do you have your own room? If you want to read/work late at night can you? Where do you go if not to room?

11) What is your attitude to a) reading and b) writing? (complete table for participant)

12) **Participant attitude to a) reading and b) writing**

Strongly approve	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove

13) **Participant conception of literacy artefacts (reading and writing materials)**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
slow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fast
ugly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	beautiful
active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	passive
cluttering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	neat
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
valuable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	worthless
powerless	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	powerful
sharp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dull

14) **Participant conception of household literacy activities (excluding school/work and homework done at home)**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
warm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	cold
interesting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	boring
new	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	old
individual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	collective
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
simple	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	complex
useful	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	useless
open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	closed

15) Can you give other important things done in the home? (and then rank first five in order)

B. <u>Funds of knowledge</u>

1) What countries have you lived in?
2) What languages do you speak?
3) Comparisons? Contrasts? (between countries and languages)
4) How often are these comparisons, contrasts made apparent (visits to family in other countries etc)?
5) Any ***language patterns*** in particular, ways of *being*, when you are with the different *people and languages* that compose your household and your work/school life?
6) In your life, ***who*** are the people you have learned from and ***what*** did you learn in a **multi-stranded** way (give at least three and rank a), b) and c))?
7) **Understanding of what these funds of knowledge are/represent a), b) and c)…**

Strong understanding	Understanding	Undecided	Misunderstanding	Strong misunderstanding

8) **Feeling within the practices of funds of knowledge a), b) and c)…**

Very comfortable	Comfortable	Undecided	Uncomfortable	Very uncomfortable

9) **Participant conception of funds of knowledge activities a), b) and c)…**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
warm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	cold
interesting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	boring
new	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	old
individual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	collective
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
simple	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	complex
useful	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	useless
open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	closed

10) *How* did you learn? (methods)

C. <u>At school/work</u>

1) What languages and cultures are represented at school/work?
2) When is reading and writing used at school/work (think of five different uses and rank them by frequency)
3) Can you give other important things done at school/work? (and then rank first five in order)
4) Are there any books/magazines at school/work? Where are they? (bookshelves, tables etc)
5) What do you feel is the attitude of your teachers/colleagues to reading/written work?

6) **Attitude to literacy at school/work: a) reading, b) writing**

Strongly approve	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove

7) What is your perception of school/work? (the fit between participant and the institution and work)

8) **Understanding of what school/work represents**

Strong understanding	Understanding	Undecided	Misunderstanding	Strong misunderstanding

9) **Feeling within the school/work institution**

Very comfortable	Comfortable	Undecided	Uncomfortable	Very uncomfortable

10) **Participant conception of literacy activities at school/work (including homework)**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
warm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	cold
interesting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	boring
new	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	old
individual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	collective
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
simple	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	complex

useful	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	useless
open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	closed

11) What skills have you learned at home?
12) What skills do you need at school/work?
13) Have any of your home skills been used at school/work?
14) Which skills do you think will be useful in later life?
15) School/work projects (not work per se) that have included out-of-school practices?

D. <u>In the street (speaking back to the city)</u>

1) Do you read or notice texts in the street?
2) Street signs Y / N ? Signs (advertising) Y / N ? Packaging Y / N ? Flyers Y / N ? Products (CD's, Newspapers, recharges etc) Y / N ? Graffiti Y / N ? (quantify)
3) Do you pay attention to them or just see them as background?
4) Do you like (very strong like, like, indifference, dislike, very strong dislike) these texts? Is the city better with or without them?

5) **Participant conception of street artefacts**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
slow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fast
ugly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	beautiful
active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	passive
cluttering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	neat
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
valuable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	worthless
powerless	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	powerful
sharp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dull

6) Do you notice *where* they are? (placing)
7) Do you notice *what language* they are in? (give examples)
8) What does use of different languages mean (borderlands)?
9) Does your reaction change depending on language used? (give examples)
10) Can you list five texts that you saw today in this neighbourhood (give neighbourhood, texts, placing and details like colour etc)
11) What *characteristics* (bold, bright etc) do you think these texts share?
12) If you wrote a sign what language would you use, what would it look like and where would you put it?
13) Do you ever think of tagging or signing in the street (give examples)?

14) **Participant conception of urban text activities**

good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bad
warm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	cold
interesting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	boring
new	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	old
individual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	collective
weak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	strong
simple	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	complex
useful	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	useless
open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	closed

15) How useful (very useful, useful, indifferent, useless, very useless) are these texts to city life? And your own life? (give examples)

16) Do you sometimes think in terms of signs and packaging, slogans and products? (give examples)

1.3. – Participants interviewed during research

Interviews in the neighbourhood - Marseille

30 June, 15h30: informal seller of sunglasses, place Jules Guesde.
01 July 10h35: shoe seller Camille Pelletan street – ***Michel.***
01 July, 10h55: current president of the Marché du Soleil – ***Sherif.***
02 July, 13h10: informal seller of jewellery, place Jules Guesde.
02 July, 13h40: cashier in a butchery in Camille Pelletan street.
02 July, 13h50: pedestrian in Camille Pelletan street – ***Sonia.***
02 July, 14h10: informal seller of makeup and perfume in Camille Pelletan street – ***Mohammed.***
02 July, 14h32: informal seller of CD's and DVD's in Camille Pelletan street.
04 July, 14h21: client of a café, place Jules Guesde – ***Nourredine.***
04 July, 16h20: client of a café, place Jules Guesde.
05 July, 14h05: cashier of a café, place Jules Guesde – ***Nadir.***
05 July, 14h30: informal seller of perfume, Camille Pelletan street – ***Karim.***
05 July, 14h45: cashier of a snack café, Marché du Soleil.
A final interview with an informal seller in the place Jules Guesde who had Comorian/Moroccan origins was begun but interrupted by the arrival of the police and the hasty dispersal of all the sellers in the square.

During the second field trip, several more formal (recorded) interviews were conducted:
19 December, 14h48: a frequent comer and protégé of the Massilia Snack Bar – ***Jeunesse Dorée***.
19 December, 14h55: a mother and daughter who regularly came to the Marché du Soleil market and who walked often through the neighbourhood – **Lily** and **Janine**.
19 December, 15h00: an Algerian woman, informal seller of sweetbreads on the pavements near to the Marché du Soleil - ***Mabouka***.
19 December, 15h20: a pedestrian in Camille Pelletan street - ***Yazid***.

Interviews in the neighbourhood - Pretoria

Interviews were initiated during the week-long field trip in April but were disrupted due to tight work obligations and could only resume on 16 July. This drawback was however compensated by the daily presence and participation of the researcher in the neighbourhood. This latter advantage permitted more in-depth questioning than that allowed in the Marché du Soleil site and in particular a study of a family of producers of texts from 09 September to 16 September.

16 July and 12 October, 2011: seller of pirated DVD's, Paul Kruger Street and visit to her dilapidated residential block in town centre (see section on 'dynamics' of Pretoria) - ***Mary***.
11 April, 2012, 13h30: seller of furniture and household appliances, Paul Kruger Street - ***John***.
11 April, 2012, 16h00: second interview with seller of pirated DVD's, Paul Kruger Street - ***Mary***.
12 April, 2012, 11h00: owner of meat shop, hotel and residential blocks, Paul Kruger Street - ***Fernando***.

12 April, 2012, 11h30: second interview with seller of furniture and household appliances, Paul Kruger Street - ***John***.
12 April, 2012, 12h00: cashier and cook at restaurant/diner, Paul Kruger Street - ***Chantal***.
12 April, 2012, 12h50: traditional healer selling medicine from informal pavement stand, Scheiding Street – ***Dante***.
12 April, 2012, 13h30: seller of pavement newspapers, Scheiding Street - ***Henry***.

09 to 16 September, 2011: series of structured interviews with three members of a family producing LL texts – ***Mphumi, Nosibusiso*** and ***Hlengiwe***.

1.4. - Transcriptions of interviews

Interview with Karim, 05 July, 2011 – 0'' to 30''

Marseille c'est la porte de l'Afrique, c'est une grande ville, cosmopolite, où il y a toutes les catégories sociaux, sociales, se côtoient, uuh, toutes les catégories sociales se côtoient, vous avez des noirs, des arabes, des musulmanes, des juifs, des chrétiens, des … bon, en générale, on se prend parti.

Marseille is the gateway to Africa, it's a big city, cosmopolitan, there are all kinds of social categories, they rub up against each other, aaah, all the social categories rub up against each other, there are blacks, Arabs, Muslims, Jews, Christians, … in general, everyone´s got a belief.

Interview with Karim, 05 July, 2011 – 30'' to 1'08''

Il y a un peu de la discrimination, parce que moi personnellement, depuis le temps que je vis ici à Marseille, je n'ai pas besoin d'aller en Afrique du Sud pour voir les ghetto. Il suffit d'aller dans les quartiers nord pour les voir, et, aah, c'est dommage pour un grand pays, qui se dit démocratique, 'liberté, égalité, fraternité', de, de, faire ce genre de ghetto. A partir de là, c'est vrai que ça crée des problèmes : la drogue par exemple.

There´s discrimination, because, myself, personally, since I've been living in Marseille, I haven't had to go to South Africa to see what a ghetto is. It's enough to go to the northern quarters to see them, and, ah, it's a shame for a powerful country, which calls itself democratic, 'liberty, equality and fraternity', to, to foster that kind of ghetto. From there on in, it's true that it creates problems : drugs for example.

Interview with Nourredine, 04 July, 2011 – 3'58'' to 4'30''

Parce que ici à Marseille, c'est presque, c'est proche – je ne sais pas comment on dit ça en anglais – proche des algériens. C'est vrai, la vie quotidienne en Algérie c'est presque comme à Marseille. Voyez ? Surtout en centre-ville là où il y a des quartiers, des quartiers populaires soit disant. Presque. Même en fréquentation, la plupart du temps, je fréquente, la plupart du temps, c'est des arabes, quoi, des étrangers, soit disant, les immigrés.

Because here in Marseille, it´s almost, close to – I don´t know how you say that in English – close to the Algerian people. It´s true, daily life in Algeria is almost like Marseille. Do you see ? Especially in town centre, there where there are neighbourhoods, what they call 'popular' neighbourhoods. Almost. Even in who I talk to, most of the time, I talk to, most of the time, Arab people, you know, foreigners, as they say, immigrants.

Interview with Nadir, 05 July, 2011 - from 0'' to 30''

Je parle le français et l'arabe. Mais lire et écrire c'est le français, parce que l'arabe je le parle juste, je ne sais pas lire l'arabe, ni l'écrire. L'écriture en arabe, je connais un ami à moi qui écrit l'arabe, ça me plaît, l'écriture ça me plaît. Je voudrais bien savoir l'écrire moi aussi.

I speak French and Arab. But reading and writing is in French, because I only speak Arab, I don't know how to read Arab or write it. Arabic writing, I know a friend who can write in Arab, I like it, the writing, I like it. I would also like to know how to write it myself.

Interview with Nadir, 05 July, 2011 - from 05'56'' onwards

Je suis né en Algérie. Je suis arrivé à l'âge de six ans. J'ai découvert la vie ici, j'ai, j'ai fait l'école ici. Je suis retourné en vacances, en quatre-vingt-dix-un, pour la première fois, je ne retourne pas, je suis perdu à l'arrivée, je ne comprends rien. Je retourne, et voilà. C'est de temps à temps, que j'y vais, je dépasse pas de tout quinze jours, parce que, parce que ça prolonge, … prolonge le, … temps.
Il y a des affiches je comprends pas là-bas, quand je suis là-bas, je comprends pas , je demande à un cousin , s'il n'a pas vu, ce que ça veut dire, donc quand je suis en France, je comprends, j'ai fait l'école ici.

I was born in Algeria. I arrived at the age of six. I discovered life here, I, I did my schooling here. I returned on holiday, in ninety one, for the first time that I was back, I was lost on arrival, I didn't understand anything. I came back, and there you go. It's from time to time, that I go, I never stay longer than two weeks, because, because it extends, … extends, … the time.
There are signs that I don't understand down there, when I'm there, I don't understand , I ask a cousin , if he's seen, what that means, so when I'm in France, I understand, I did my schooling here.

Interview with Jeunesse Dorée, 19 December, 2012 – 55'' to 3'00''

Bonjour, c'est moi la jeunesse dorée […] alors, vraiment pour vous répondre, cinq mots clés […] il y a le mot 'jeunesse', il y a le mot 'perdu', 'on entend pas la mer', 'ils savent ce qu'ils veulent', mais ça vient d'en haut, c'est pas nous, vous voyez, c'est les gens d'en haut qui nous tendent la main et sans ça, il n'y a pas de mots.
Je suis un enfant d'ici […]
Je viens ici parce que je connais tonton, je bois le café là […] je connais tonton depuis que je suis petit, c'est lui qui m'a éduqué à la mosquée, c'est lui qui m'aide avec de l'argent […] c'est le Marché du Soleil, c'est un peu comme Barbès, comme Marrakech, comme la Thaïlande, comme, voilà, il y a plein de petites rues où il y des petits magasins, mais voilà moi je trouve que Marseille c'est une ville où il doit y avoir plus de choses comme ça […] elle est aussi belle Marseille, c'est le sud, vous savez ce que c'est Marseille, c'est Venise de loin, vous voyez ce que je veux dire ? Si vous montez carrément en haut, en haut, en haut, en haut, sur le Pharos, que vous regardez Marseille, les maisons sont comme Venise, si vous regardez bien, vous allez voir, et ça c'est quelqu'un qui est né ici […] Venise est à l'intérieur de nous.

Hello, I'm the golden youth […] so, to really reply to your question, five key words [...] there's the word 'youth', there's the word 'lost', 'we can't hear the sea', 'they know what they want', but that comes from higher above, it's not us, you see, it's those above who reach out their hand to us, without that there are no words.
I am a child of this place […]
I come here because I know uncle, I drink a coffee […] I've known uncle since I was small, it was him who educated me at the Mosque, it's him who helps me with money […] it's the

Marché du Soleil, it's a little like Barbès, like Marrakech, like Thailand, like, look, there are lots of little streets where there are little shops, but look, I think that Marseille is a city where there should be more things like that […] Marseille is as beautiful as anywhere else, it's the South, you know what Marseille is, it's Venice from afar, you know what I mean ? If you climb to the top, top, top, top, on the Pharos, when you look at Marseille the houses are like Venice, if you look carefully you'll see, and that comes from someone who was born here […] Venice is inside us.

Interview with Michel, 01 July, 2011 – 0'' to 1'00''

William : Pourquoi Bône ?
Michel : Parce que la ville d'où je viens, d'origine, en afrique, en Algérie. Avant, lorsque l'Algérie devient un département français ça s'appelle Bône. La ville maintenant s'appelle Annaba.
William : Vous pensez que les gens, ils vont comprendre ?
Michel : Oui, il y a beaucoup de pieds noirs. Quand ils le voient, ça les rappelle le pays.

William : Why call you shop Bône ?
Michel : Because of the town from where I come, originally, in Africa, Algeria. Before, when Algeria became a French department, it was called Bône. The town now is called Annaba.
William : Do you think that people understand ?
Michel : Yes, there are lots of 'pieds noirs'. When they see it, it reminds them of the country.

Interview with Lily and Janine, 19 December, 2012

Beh, disons que, je vais vous expliquer. Si vous venez dans ce quartier, c'est que vraiment c'est beaucoup, beaucoup de maghrébins, beaucoup de gens, mais, finalement, voyez, j'aurais peut-être plus, en quelque sorte, confiance en venant ici que de me promener dans la ville. Peut-être qu'on va me tirer le sac autrement qu'ici où ils se sentent entre eux, et ils ne le font pas, parce que ils pourraient se faire remarquer, se faire attraper, voyez ?

Um, let's say, I'd like to explain. If you come to this neighbourhood, it's that it's really, really full of people from North Africa, lots of people, but, finally, you see, I would almost, somehow, be more at ease in coming here than in walking in the city. Maybe I'll have my bag stolen, whilst here, where they feel at home with each other, they won't do it, because maybe they'll be noticed, be caught, you see ?

Interview with Sonia, 02 July, 2011 – 0'' to 1'00''

Je parle l'anglais, le français, et l'arabe, mais pas littéraire, l'arabe pas littéraire, l'arabe, euh, comment dire ? dialectale. Je parle très bien l'arabe, je parle très bien l'anglais, je parle très bien le français, c'est déjà pas mal. La calligraphie, le style d'écriture forcement. C'est quand même deux choses complétement différentes, et, euh, après, la langue française est très riche et l'arabe aussi, et, euh, après je préfère quand même le style d'écriture, la calligraphie arabe, qui est quand même plus recherchée. […] Je ne connais que l'arabe dialectal [parlée], surtout pas la langue écrite, c'est une langue très très dur à apprendre et, malheureusement, je n'ai pas eu la chance d'apprendre.

I speak English, French, Arab, but not literary, not literary Arab, only, ah, how would you say? Colloquial Arab. I speak Arab very well, I speak English very well, I speak French very well, that's already not too bad hey. The calligraphy, the style of writing, of course. It's two things that are completely different, and, ah, then, French is a very rich language, and Arab too, and, ah, I do still prefer the style of writing, the calligraphy of Arab, which is, well, better wrought. […] I only know colloquial [spoken] Arab, really don't know written Arab, it's a language that is very difficult to learn and, unluckily, I wasn't lucky enough to learn it.

Interview with Shérif, 01 July, 2011 – 0'' to 1'39''

William: Alors, juste, vite fait, quelles langues vous parlez?
Shérif : l'arabe, le français, donc, euh, l'arabe, c'est normal, c'est ma langue natale, et après le français, ma deuxième langue, et après un peu l'italien et un peu l'allemand.
William: D'accord. Et quelle langue vous écrivez le mieux?
Shérif: Euh, le mieux, le mieux, le mieux, c'est l'arabe, c'est sûr. Je lis en français et en árabe, mais lequel je maîtrise si l'on peut dire un peu près bien, c'est l'arabe.
William: D'accord. Et ça vous arrive de lire des livres …
Shérif: Bien sûr, bien sûr …
William: … en arabe?
Shérif: J'ai fait des études quand même …
William: …non, mais, je veux dire, hé hé
Shérif: héhéhé. Oui. Je lis en arabe.
William: En arabe.
Shérif: Et là, en ce moment, je commence en français. Ça m'aide pour transmettre mes idées à des personnes.

William: So, just quickly, what languages do you speak?
Sherif: Arab, French, so, uh, Arab, it's what you would expect, it's my native language, and, after that, French, my second language, and then a little Italian and a little German.
William: Okay. And what language do you write the best?
Sherif: Uh, the best, the best, the best, it's Arab, definitely. I read in French and in Arab, but the language I master, if one can say that, more or less well, is Arab.
William: Okay. And do you ever read books …
Sherif: Of course, of course …
William: … in Arab?
Sherif: I've been to school you know …
William: … no, but, I mean, ha ha.
Sherif: Ha ha ha. Yes. I read in Arab.
William: In Arab.
Sherif: And now, at the moment, I'm beginning to read in French. It helps me to transmit my ideas to people.

Interview with Henry, 12 April, 2012 – 20'30'' to 22'24''

William: And other landmarks around here? The hotel, the station? Have you seen any change? Do you like these places?

Henry: Yah, I like this places, because, ah, it's a many people, and I'm a, aah, friend, aaah, friendly with the people, I like to talk, I like the places, the Paul Kruger, Victoria Hotel. I like to work here, to sell newspapers.
William: And what do you think about the people who live here. You know, Zimbabwe, Nigeria …
Henry: Nigeria, Uganda, yah, see, these people is a good people, see, she has respect, she respects each others, and also I respect her,
William: Do they stay here do you think?
Henry: Yaah, she live here in the flats. But some of them she live Sunnyside, some of them live these places, um, Station Place.

Interview with Henry, 12 April, 2012 – 20'30'' to 22'24''

William: Why do you think it's [the promotion of African culture, languages etc.] not happening? Why do you think that everyone's using English?
Henry: You see, people, you see, uhm, another thing, neh, let me say this again, I'm not undermining people, but I see, aaah, most of the, aah, child, neh? The child from South Africa, the problem is, is smoking Nyaope, and where do you buy it? You buy it from those guys from Nigeria, […] smoking drugs, Nyaope, the child living in South Africa. That is the problem, that is why you have no home, not participating the, the, the drama's…

Interview with John, 12 April, 2012 – 4'10''

In terms of, in terms of, like, friendship, relationship, you understand, in my place it's something like relationship. Relations is very very important in my place. We value, relationship. You understand, because, it's word of God, you must love yourself as your equal. But here, you make love someone, you may like someone as, as your friend or whatever, and he turns around and does, I mean, I mean. He can do what he like in this place. Because in our place, that's why I say we have got culture, you must drop all your mind, all your spirit to that person, whoever. Even if it's a man, a woman, whatever, to show him or her that there's love there. But this place, when you talk of friend, they say, no, I am not your friend, because nobody trust each other.

Interview with Fernando, 12 April, 2012

0' family here, 16 yrs, since 1998, different market, middle class, upper class Afrikaans
1' change in 1994, sudden change
1'50 rents have gone up
2' shops cater for market, 13 hairdressers in two blocks, Muslim Indians
3'51'' used to live in the neighbourhood, now live in Pretoria East
8'20 doesn't know Simunye – his lack of comprehension of Simunye bothers him
9'30 first generation Portuguese

Interview with Fernando, 12 April, 2012 – 2'04'' to 2'33''

William: Have you noticed any changes in the kinds of shops you get?
Fernando: Changes? They cater for the market. You can't cater for … it's not our market.
William: Obviously your shop, but have you seen new shops happening?

Fernando: They cater for the market. That's in the area. […] Thirteen hairdressers in two blocks? Thirteen hairdressers in two blocks?
William: So, the hairdressers. Anything else?
Fernando: The Muslims.

Interview with Chantal, 12 April, 2012 – 12h – 3'40'' to

William: What was this area like before 1994?
Chantal: It was alright.
William: But who lived here, what kind of people lived here?
Chantal: They were rich, rich people living here. White and blacks, Indians everyone.
William: Before 1994?
Chantal: Yeah, before 1994.
William: Okay, and after 1994?
Chantal: After 1994 there was a big difference. Most of whites they just go around in their suburbs. They stay there.
William: So the whites left. Did anyone else arrive?
Chantal: They. Those who arrived are the Chinese, and the Pakistanians.

1.5. - Prosodic notation

Prosodic notation

Prosodic notation is included in the example texts only where and only to the extent necessary for a full understanding; otherwise the prosody is explained in the discussion.

/	minor, nonfinal phrase boundary marker
//	major, final phrase boundary marker
\	low fall tone
\	high fall tone
'	low rise tone
'	high rise tone
v	fall rise tone
^	rise fall tone
-	sustained tone
!	low secondary stress
!	high secondary stress
⌐	pitch register shift, upwards
⌙	pitch register shift, lowered
acc	accelerated tempo
dec	decelerated tempo
l	lenis enunciation
stacc	staccato enunciation
[	conversation overlap
..	speech pause
...	long speech pause
( )	unintelligible word

Taken from preface to Language and Social Identity (Gumperz, Ed., 1982). Allowance being made for some very minor variations this is a standard prosodic notation used by both Halliday (1994) and Rampton (1995).

Appendix 2 - Texts concerned by interviews and field notes in Marseille

---

a) A restaurant advertisement poster promoting summer events which has been subverted with a tag.
b) The shop sign for the shoe seller 'Bône'.
c) A notice on the door of the Camille Pelletan Mosque.
d) A colour poster advertising a 'Twarab' evening superposed on a poster celebrating Aïd.
e) A black and white photocopied poster issued from the Arab Spring
f) A black and white photocopied call in Arab to a demonstration.
g) Packaging for perfumery products sold in a spaza in Camille Pelletan.
h) The cover of a CD sold from a spaza in Camille Pelletan and produced by the spaza owner.
i) A fashion accessory sold by an informal seller and attached to fencing at the Jules Guesde square.
j) A placard placed in a park.
k) A fortuitous text - a torn cutting from a newspaper.



a)


b)



c) 1



c) 2



d)



e)



f)


g) 1


g) 2


h) 1



h) 2



i)


j)



k)

Appendix 3 : Texts concerned by interviews and field notes in Bosman

---

a) A shop sign in Paul Kruger street written in isiZulu.
b) A shop sign in Paul Kruger street written in Afrikaans and English.
c) A shop front in Bosman street.
d) A shop front in Sheiding street written in French and English.
e) A shop front in Sheiding street written predominantly in Sesotho and English.
f) Two advertisements billboarded on 25 and 28 April, 2011.
g) A poster for the singer Winnie Mashaba written in Sesotho and English.
h) A spaza seller using texts written on packaging and from a newspaper.
i) Two signs for a traditional healer's spaza from 26 April, 2011, and 11 April, 2012.
j) Newspapers and newspaper headlines from an informal seller in Paul Kruger street.
k) Tagging on a wall in English.



a)



b)



c)



d)













e)



(25/04/2011) 

(28/04/2011) f)


g)


(26/04/2011) 
(28/04/2011) h)



(26/04/2011) 

(11/04/2012) i)



j) 

k)

Appendix 4: Photographs 1 to 4 of Marseille and Pretoria


a)

b)

c)

d)

Photographs 1 – View of Marseille

To the South (a), the Canebière (b), the steps of the Saint Charles train station with the statues dedicated to the colonies of Asia and Africa (c and d). (a and b by author – 14 March 2010 – c and d retrieved from Wikipedia – http://wikipedia/wiki/Gare_de_Marseille-Saint-Charles - accessed 16/04/2012).


a)

b)

c)

d)

e)

f)

g)

h)

Photographs 2 – View of Belsunce

(a), The Porte d'Aix (b and c), avenue Camille Pelletan (d), the Grand Mosque front (e) and back (f) and the Marché du Soleil (g and h). (All by author – 30 June 2011 – except c which was retrieved from http://marseille.envues.free.fr/patrimonu/porte_aix accessed 16/04/2012).


a)

b)

c)

d)

Photographs 3 – Church Square

(a), Statue and plaque dedicated to Paul Kruger in Church Square (b) and (c), Town Hall with statues of Pretorius and Chief Tshwane (d).


a)

b)

c)

d)


e)

f)

Photographs 4 – View of Paul Kruger St

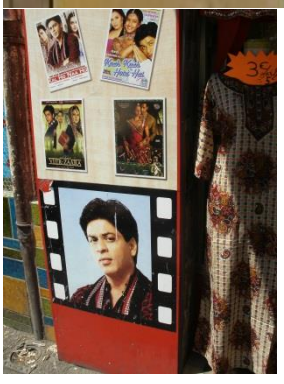
(a), Intersection of Bosman and Scheiding (b), Dairy Mall taxi rank (c), Victoria Hotel (d) and (e), Gautrain Station (f).

Appendix 5 : Texts that exemplify aspects of format, language, content and position

Government texts

Bosman	Marché du Soleil
1) 	5) 
2) 	
3) 	6) 
4) 	7) 
	8) 

Formal texts

Bosman	Marché du Soleil
9)  10)  11)  12)  13)  	24)  25)  26)  27)   28) 

14) 












15) 

(25/04/2011)


(28/04/2011)

29) 

30) 
31) 

32) 

33) 

16) 





17) 

18) 



34) 

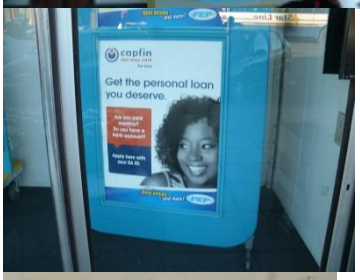


35) 

36) 

19)





20)





21)



22)



37)



38)



39)



40)



41)



23) 	

Informal ad hoc texts

Bosman	Marché du Soleil
42)  43)  44)  45) 	51)  52)  53)  54) 

46) 

47) 

48) 



55) 

56) 

57) 

58) 

59) 

49)



50)



60)



61)



62)



63)



Informal vendor texts

Bosman	Marché du Soleil
64)  (26/04/2011)  (28/04/2011)	71) 
65)  (26/04/2011)  (11/04/2012)	72)  73) 
66)  67) 	74) 

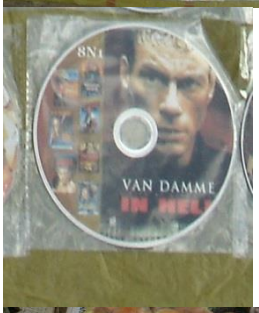
68)


KING OF BLING GOES
WIN BULLS, LIONS TICKETS
YEARS


Beeld
Premier help Thomas nié
motoring
JAG'S NEW
CHIEFS V V WANTS TO STAY IN SA
THIEVES STEAL R23m GEMS
KING OF BLING GOES

69)




VAN DAMME

70)


Finningley
AMABANANA



75)

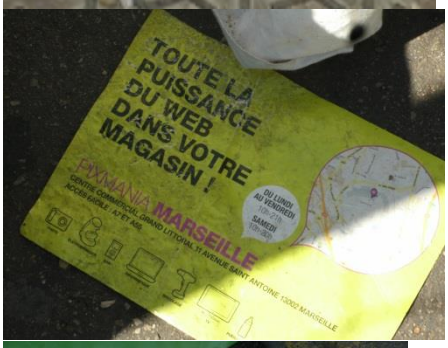




76)



Fortuitous texts

Bosman	Marché du Soleil
77) 	80) 
78) 	81) 
79) 	82) 

Appendix 6 : Functional and multimodal analysis for a selection of texts for each site

6.1. - Discourse analysis of Marché du Soleil

LL	Text of artefact of LL	Textual cohesion between artefacts	Media of artefact	Modes of artefact

5	// LYON//
	// S^{T} CHARLES//
	// S.N.C.F. Station/ [CAPITALISM ON AN AGE PENSION //
	// Music conservatory (…) //
		Reference: directions, structures and transport points in the city
		(Tagging: the trade union fight for pensions).
		Ellipsis:
		Conjunction: apposition.
		Lexical cohesion: St Charles.
			Position: ideal.
			Support: traffic signal post – deictic.
			Reproduction techniques: permanent enamelled aluminium and temporary glued paper, workshopped lettering
			(Tagging: handwritten).
				Lexical organisation: nominative and functional, proper names that serve as place indicators.
				Colour: colour-coded: blue for highway, green for highway direction, black and white for city locations.
				Image: symbolic for highway in given position.
				Layout: vertical list from the 'ideal', to 'real' where the conservatory is only 30m from the foot of the sign.
				Font: blocked, spaced uppercase letters and spaced rounded lowercase letters, functional, with no flicks, grounding or extenders.
				Finish: reflective, permanent, but through (**Tagging:** matt, temporary).

39	// **EVERYTHING** Must Disappear //	**Reference**: sales and the season of return to Algeria. **Ellipsis**: substitution. **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: everything.	**Position**: real position. **Support**: shop window. **Reproduction techniques**: silkscreened paper on card.	**Lexical organisation**: emphatic statement where emphasis is carried by the verbal operator. **Colour**: fluorescent reds and yellows. **Image**: **Layout**: slanting from given, real to ideal, new. **Font**: 'Everything' vertically extended with angular expanded font without serif. 'Must' uses straight compact font with rectangular bowls. 'Disappear' adopts a cursive, flourished typeface with distinctive shadowing. **Finish**: matt paper given gloss and permanence by the shop window.
31	// Modesty / FEMININE READY TO WEAR EVENING ENSEMBLES //	**Reference**: Islamic religious and cultural beliefs. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: evening	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: plastified sign. **Reproduction techniques**: workshopped lettering and lamination.	**Lexical organisation**: noun phrases, with determination on 'modesty' that signal it as shared information. In addition this word is a transliteration of the Arab, that reinforces the interpretation of shared, culturally specific, information. **Colour**: 'modesty' in black and white, 'feminine evening ensembles' in pink, recalling stereotypical associations with femininity.

				Image: **Layout**: 'modesty' in ideal position **Font**: 'modesty' takes a rounded, cursive, stylised font whilst 'feminine evening ensembles' takes an angular, roman font. Both fonts seem at odds with the wording and introduce a level of nuance that relates well to the religious, cultural Islamic point of view. **Finish**: matt, functional.
32	//BLACK WHITE ARAB / READY TO WEAR WOMEN / READY TO WEAR MEN / READY TO WEAR CHILDREN//	**Reference**: French football team, clothing. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: Arab, women, men.	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: plastified sign with workshopped lettering and logo, covering the entire façade. **Reproduction techniques**: workshopped lettering and lamination.	**Lexical organisation**: slang mixed with a more formal register where 'prêt à porter' supposes the entire range of clothing from 'à mesure' to 'haute couture'. **Colour**: purple and pink that reinforces the role of women and children's wear. **Image**: symbolic, showing map of the world and the logo. A silhouette of a western woman and that of a western man face each other in equality on opposite sides of the globe. **Layout**: symmetrical, with the caption in clear salience, ideal, with respect to the logo and copy that place 'children's fashion' in a real, less valued position. **Font**: bolded, regular, angular font with huge difference in size between the caption and the copy. **Finish**: gloss, permanent.
33	// MOUSTAPHA SLIMANI / Trust as well / MOUSTAPHA SLIMANI //	**Reference**: Algeria, the shop brand, Islamic culture (Ramadam and Aïd) and to the Slimani family (immigration, belonging, family values etc.). **Ellipsis**: exophoric where 'as well' conjoins the other characteristics that are assumed (quality, tasty meat etc.). **Conjunction**: juxtaposition, hypotaxis.	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: neon plastic sign and roll down shop awning. **Reproduction techniques**: workshopped lettering and plasma cut mascot.	**Lexical organisation**: proper name and paratactic slogan. **Colour**: colours of the Algerian flag. **Image**: symbolic mascot representing the owner of the shop, depicted as a 'typical' Algerian family man and values of affluence and generosity in given, ideal position. **Layout**: given to new and ideal to real where the slogan is in real, new position. **Font**: a stylised capitalised font which is extended and angular combines with a cursive, personalised font used for the slogan. **Finish**: gloss, permanent.

		Lexical cohesion:		
55	//WHAT FOLLOWS RESTAURANT / RESTAURANT – NARGUILA LOUNGE EXCLUSIVELY HALAL / TERRACE WITH AN UNBEATABLE VIEW OF THE OLD PORT / [// **Ben Ali** / Tunisia, get out // / RESTAURANT OPEN MIDDAY AND EVENING EVERY DAY / (EXCEPT FRIDAY MIDDAY) / COCKTAILS, BEERS AND CHAMPAGNE / ALCOHOL FREE / EVENINGS FROM THURSDAY TO SATURDAY / COME AND CELEBRATE YOUR BIRTHDAY AND OTHER EVENTS WITH PERSONAL SERVICE / 226 PORT QUAY - 13002 MARSEILLE //	**Reference**: Maghreb cultural practices such as narguila smoking, birthday celebrations (**Tagging**: Tunisia and the Arab Spring movement. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: apposition. **Lexical cohesion**: halal, old port, evening, birthday.	**Position**: real. **Support**: shuttered wall of a shop premises. **Reproduction techniques**: glossy reproduction on A1 paper, tagging in black pen.	**Lexical organisation**: trading name in salient position, evocative reference to the end of an evening, hyperbole (**Tagging**: French and Arab conveys social contestation and in-group belonging). **Colour**: the colours of the Marseille football team (**Tagging**: black). **Image**: symbolic of Marseille. **Layout**: move from ideal (name of restaurant) to real (address and contact details). (**Tagging**: in ideal, new position with respect to image). **Font**: capitalised, angular font with variation in size between trade name and contact details. (**Tagging**: irregular font with variation between Roman and Arab script). **Finish**: gloss, temporary.
52	// **Movement 20 February** / Morocco / Boycott of the mandated constitution / Vote no / Mamfakinch ! / No concessions ! //	**Reference**: Arab Spring and the vote for the constitution in Morocco. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: Morocco.	**Position**: real. **Support**: telephone booth window. **Reproduction techniques**: black and white photocopied A3 paper.	**Lexical organisation**: Name of the association in Arab, Berber and French. Imperative to boycott in French, Arab and Arab slang. Slogan in Berber, transliteral French and English. Use of language code here is very relevant to the Arab Spring movement. **Colour**: stark black and white. **Image**: Narrative and symbolic image of a fist raised in the traditional iconic representation of defiance in new, real position. **Layout**: movement from ideal position for the name of the association to real position for the imperative to vote no, and the slogan, ´no concessions´. **Font**: rounded capitalisation of Roman alphabet, Arab script for slogan and the imperative to boycott the constitution.

				Finish: matt paper given gloss and permanence by the shop window.
51	// **Aïd / in the city / a festival** to share / [//Saturday 16 April 2011 / **ANNIF** presents the cultural day / BEAUTY OF THE ISLES / "Trourou la massiwa" 6th Edition / Hosted by the NGOMA association / Events: / In The Day: LELEMAMA and WADAHA / LIVE / In The Evening: TARI LA MEZA – SAMBE / and TWARAB / [/ DJABDOU / COMORES 5 Euros Ria // SATURDAY 13 NOVEMBER 18H AND 20H THEATRE / THE OUTSIDER BY ALBERT CAMUS / FAMILY AND SHARING / SUNDAY 14 NOVEMBER 13H30 TO 18H30 / DOME / WITH ALGERINO GODFATHER OF THE CELEBRATIONS //	**Reference**: Islamic celebration of the end of Ramadan, juxtaposed with Comorian cultural manifestations. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: apposition. **Lexical cohesion**: evening, events, celebration.	**Position**: real. **Support**: wall of the Cactus bar under awning. **Reproduction techniques**: colour reprography on glossy A1 paper.	**Lexical organisation**: transliteration of the Arab and the Comorian for both cultural celebrations. A mix of culturally specific references with names of Dj´s and places of Comoros islands. **Colour**: colour frames the separate texts that compose the ensemble. **Image**: a stylised map of the Comores with the flag of the country in given position. A symbolic image of the Dj is torn off, but was in real, new position. **Layout**: the cultural event is in ideal position, details follow in real position. **Font**: rounded capitalisation and lower case letters which are extended in places to provide symmetry. **Finish**: glossy, temporary poster.
74	// **WITH FIRE SATISFACTION** / GET OFF OF HY COLUD / DHE (…) OOG OLDHAM/ COME ON / THE LANTERN BY THE TOUGO / **I** WANNA BE YOUR MAN / **I** UST WANNA MAKE LOVE TO YOU / **GUYS** EAVE YOU SEEN //	**Reference**: **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: man	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: fencing going around the informal market at the Jules Guesde square. **Reproduction techniques**: silk-screening on fabric	**Lexical organisation**: juxtaposition of incronguent but connoted phrases. **Colour**: pink that reinforces connotations of femininity and female fashion. **Image**: **Layout**: symmetric, with the word 'come on' given salience through font size and positioning. **Font**: rounded, capitalisation. **Finish**: matt, industrial finish.
80	// MARSEILLE // (**I**) renounce none of my convictions"//	**Reference**: politics. **Ellipsis**: person of the speaker.	**Position**: real **Support**: newspaper dropped on a manhole cover.	**Lexical organisation**: negation and a relationship of opposition where 'renounce' is contrasted with 'convictions'. **Colour**: black and white type with newspaper information in

		Conjunction: **Lexical cohesion**: Marseille	**Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on newspaper.	blue and red which is often used in French newspapers that are aligned with the political left. The blue is that of the colours of the city of Marseille. **Layout**: headline in ideal position. **Font**: bolding, lower case letters, rounded, no grounding or flourishes in the conventional font for newspapers in France. A feeling of tradition and reliability. **Finish**: matt, temporary.

6.2. - Discourse analysis of Bosman site

LL	Text of artefact of LL	Textual cohesion between artefacts	Media of artefact	Modes of artefact
44	// CITY OF TSHWANE / "**we** are the same" / Help STOP tuberculosis (TB)! / Open windows. / **Good airflow** helps prevent TB infection. / Cover your mouth and nose / when you cough or sneeze. / Use a tissue for spitting and throw it away in a bin. / Visit your nearest clinic! / Celebrating 10 years of service delivery //	**Reference**: Tshwane, health services, tuberculosis. **Ellipsis**: the 'you' of the imperatives. **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: Tshwane, clinic.	**Position**: real. **Support**: bars of the fencing that surrounds the access to the taxi rank. **Reproduction techniques**: silk-screened laminated plastic sheeting.	**Lexical organisation**: city slogan in ideal, given position. Service delivery in real position, instructions given in mood of imperative in short, easily understandable phrases. **Colour**: the green of the municipality of Tshwane. **Image**: narrative explanatory images in new position. **Layout**: **Font**: regular, font with neither serif nor flick reinforces formal character of text. **Finish**: laminated, permanent text displayed in a temporary position using cable ties.
9	// **WE** ARE ONE FURNITURE //	**Reference**: isiZulu cultural saying, furniture. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**:	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: concrete awning over the shop front. **Reproduction techniques**: workshopped lettering on laminated wood.	**Lexical organisation**: juxtaposition of a verb phrase in isiZulu with a substantive in English. 'Simunye' emphasises cultural belonging, but is also a phrase that is well known and widely used in shops selling household products. **Colour**: yellow type and outline on black background. **Image**: **Layout**: framing through yellow outline. **Font**: horizontally condensed and vertically oriented capitalised font that reinforces the theme of unity and the ideal positioning of the sign. **Finish**: laminated, permanent.
19	// PEP // FREE DECK OF CARDS WITH SAMSUNG E2121 / Find the lucky card / inside the deck / and **you** could WIN 1 OF 100 SAMSUNG CORRY TEXT PHONES! / SAMSUNG / SAMSUNG E2121 369 / NO HIDDEN COSTS / *Video recording & playback / * Large colour screen / * FM radio & recording / * 7 MB on-board memory / * Memory card slot* / * WAP, MMS & Java / * Free headset / * Free Vodacom Starter Pack //	**Reference**: telephony. **Ellipsis**: the client (the 'you' of the verb phrases). **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**:	**Position**: real. **Support**: sign board in shop window of PEP store. **Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on glossy paper.	**Lexical organisation**: Store name in ideal position, offer of free deck of cards given salience, details of individual phones framed next to image of each phone. **Colour**: yellow and blue of PEP stores, that reinforces the corporate identity reposing on the idea of the dispensary selling clothing items, telephony, and household products. Graded violet to red background the offer a lurid desirability. **Image**: classificatory, symbolic, in given position with respect to the accompanying copy. Prices are given a ´price tag´ effect through use of circling. **Layout**: a move from store name and offer in ideal position to

				the details of the offer in real position. The ensemble is divided into five parts through use of image and copy, with respect to each telephone there is also a move from given, ideal, to real, new. **Font**: stylised, 3D effect through outlining. The colours of the font contrast with the background: the red picking out the word 'free', the instructions for the offer and the pack of cards take up the colours of the store. **Finish**: gloss, temporary poster given shine by its positioning behind the shop window.
10	//Coca Cola / [// 542 Paul Kruger Street / BLOU BUL / MEAT AND FISH MARKET / 012 322 2448 / 2730 // [/DRINK / COCA COLA //	**Reference**: sale of meat and fish, the emblem of the Pretoria rugby team. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: apposition. **Lexical cohesion**: Coca Cola,	**Position**: ideal **Support**: awning of a shop. **Reproduction techniques**: plastified wood and metal, workshopped lettering. Laminated hardboard for the Coca Cola signs.	**Lexical organisation**: Coca Cola in given position, Blou Bul also in given position whilst address is in ideal position and contact numbers are in real position. Blou Bul is qualified by the description of the shop in a move from given to new. **Colour**: the blue of the rugby team. **Image**: symbolic image of the rugby team in given position. **Layout**: the image of the bull and the shop name are both given salience through their positioning whilst the rest of the text is laid out around them in a symmetrical organisation that implies a circular or a vertical/horizontal reading path. **Font**: graded, 3D effect with vertical orientation on the shop name that mirrors the movement and perspective applied to the image. The description of the shop is merely outlined and the address and contact are cut out against the background. **Finish**: laminated, permanent.
16	// KWA BABA MSWAZI / Chemist / TRADITIONAL HEALER / Mon – FRIDAY 8h00 – 5h00 SATURDAY 8h00 – 13h30 //	**Reference**: traditional healing. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**:	**Position**: ideal. **Support**: painted wooden panel under shop awning. **Reproduction techniques**: painting.	**Lexical organisation**: shop sign in ideal position, description in real position. **Colour**: red, for font, and black for image. **Image**: a cow-tail fly swish used by sangomas. **Layout**: symbolic image in given position, shop name in ideal position, 'chemist' in new and 'traditional healer' spaced out underneath the shop name. **Font**: stylised, compressed and vertically orientated font for the shop name. The rest of the sign is in a stylised font that recalls a 'flame' motif.

				Finish: matt, permanent.
42	//FLEXIBLE CAREER COURSES / 2009 registration open/ police and traffic studies/ [// Gcwala-Ngamasiko / [// Winnie Mashaba / **GOD** IS WITH ME / Featuring the hit track WE THANK YOU NOW / AVAILABLE ON CD AND CASSETTE / CDCCP 1538 (WB) / IACCP (EO) 1538 / WWW. WINNIEMASHABA.CO.ZA //	**Reference**: adult training, gospel singing. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: apposition. **Lexical cohesion**:	**Position**: real. **Support**: shuttered wall of a shop premises. **Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on glossy paper.	**Lexical organisation**: Code use is targeted to convey in-group and cultural belonging since songs and album title are given in Sesotho sa leboa whilst distribution details are given in English. Artist name in given, new position, titles in given, real position. **Colour**: golds and reds predominate, creating a motif of God´s grace that is reinforced through stylised stars. **Image**: the singer in new, ideal position, wearing traditional costume that continues emphasise on cultural and spiritual belonging. **Layout**: copy in given, image in new positions. A move from ideal (name) to real (distribution information). **Font**: stylised, rounded and irregularly oriented cursive for the name, capitalised font for titles and distribution details that is grounded with serifs and horizontal extension. **Finish**: gloss, temporary poster.
43	// READ CAREFULLY / **SOLDER** / DESERVE TO DIE IS PART OF MY JOB / [// VOTE ANC 4 LIFE // / WARNING / DO'NT TRUST A MAN ON THE STREET //	**Reference**: municipal vote, ANC. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: apposition. **Lexical cohesion**: street, vote.	**Position**: real. **Support**: wall of building next to a school. **Reproduction techniques**: pen and paint.	**Lexical organisation**: instruction to 'read carefully' in ideal position, move from ideal to real ('don't trust a man on the street'), reference to ANC given salience through colour, bolding and capitalisation. **Colour**: black and red (arguably a colour associated with the ANC). **Image**: swastika in ideal, new position. **Layout**: vertical organisation that gives a clear reading path from centre to top, then from centre to bottom. Reading path is indicated with arrows at points. **Font**: irregular capitalisation, leading at times to an effect of rupture within the word. **Finish**: matt, permanent.
48	// "VOTE" / IFP / "**It**'s about YOU!" //	**Reference**: municipal voting, IFP. **Ellipsis**: the place holder 'it' refers to the voting process. **Conjunction**:	**Position**: real. **Support**: street electrical post, poster glued onto hardboard attached to post with wire.	**Lexical organisation**: 'vote' in ideal position, placed in inverted commas to indicate distantiation from enunciation but also a sense of direct speech, IFP placed within logo framed by circling, 'you' bolded and in real position, also presented as direct speech. Undetermined anaphoric subject

		Lexical cohesion: vote.	**Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on glossy paper.	allows this poster to appeal to a sense of cultural belonging. **Colour**: colours of the IFP reinterpreted with a 'reggae' touch, and a sense of 'Africanness'. Colour also provides salience and identification of 'you' with party logo. **Image**: logo for IFP with elephants in centre of text. **Layout**: move from ideal ('vote') to real ('you'). **Font**: bolded, outlined capitals that have rounded bowls and angular extenders, certain letters are given explicit symbolism like the 'y' of 'you' that becomes a symbol for unity. **Finish**: gloss, temporary.
68	// The Star / AFRICA EDITION / **KING OF BLING** GOES DOWN //	**Reference**: William Mashobane Mbatha, a South African tycoon. **Ellipsis**: **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**: Africa.	**Position**: real. **Support**: pavement on Paul Kruger Street. **Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on newspaper.	**Lexical organisation**: name of paper in ideal position, the edition extending across page and headline scrolled down centre of page symmetrically. 'King' that is in ideal, given position with respect to headline is implicitly contrasted with 'down' in real position. **Colour**: red for the name of newspaper, stark black and white for headline. **Image**: **Layout**: symmetrical with a clear move from ideal to real and from given to new. **Font**: name of paper in stylised font with flourishes, flicks and grounding. Headline in angular, bolded, vertically oriented font cut out against black background. Emphasises import of news (symbolic), **Finish**: matt, temporary.
77	// MEXICAN Chilli / Frimax / **The potato chips** / that keep their promise ! / 30g //	**Reference**: Mexico, chilli, snacks. **Ellipsis**: noun group with no substantive in head position ('Mexican chilli (chips)') **Conjunction**: **Lexical cohesion**:	**Position**: real. **Support**: plastic packaging on pavement. **Reproduction techniques**: serial printing on plastic.	**Lexical organisation**: product name in ideal position, brand in new position, slogan in real position. **Colour**: red that recalls the 'heat' of the chilli. Brand name in green that provides a cool counterpart to product characteristics. Chips in golden yellow. **Image**: stars accompanying product name in ideal position, whilst the golden yellow chips are in real, new, position. **Layout**: move from ideal (product name) to real (slogan and image).

				Font: bolded, outlined capitals that reinforce the 'Mexican' inspiration. Brand name in stylised, extended font with flourishes and rounded extenders. Slogan in regular, bolded, unflourished lower case letters that reinforces the real position in which it has been placed. **Finish**: gloss, temporary.