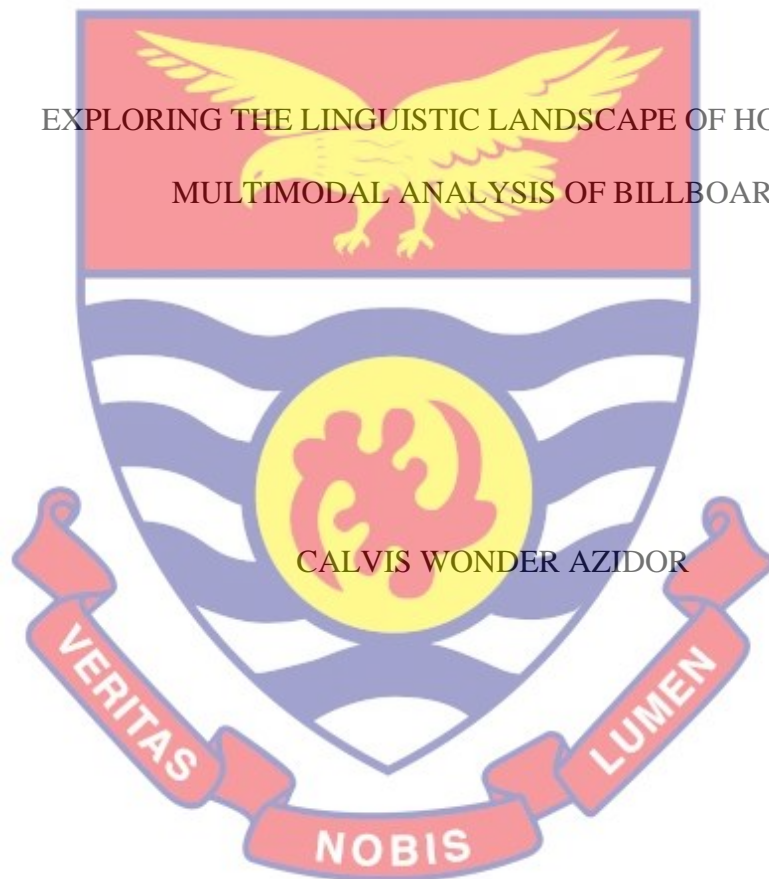


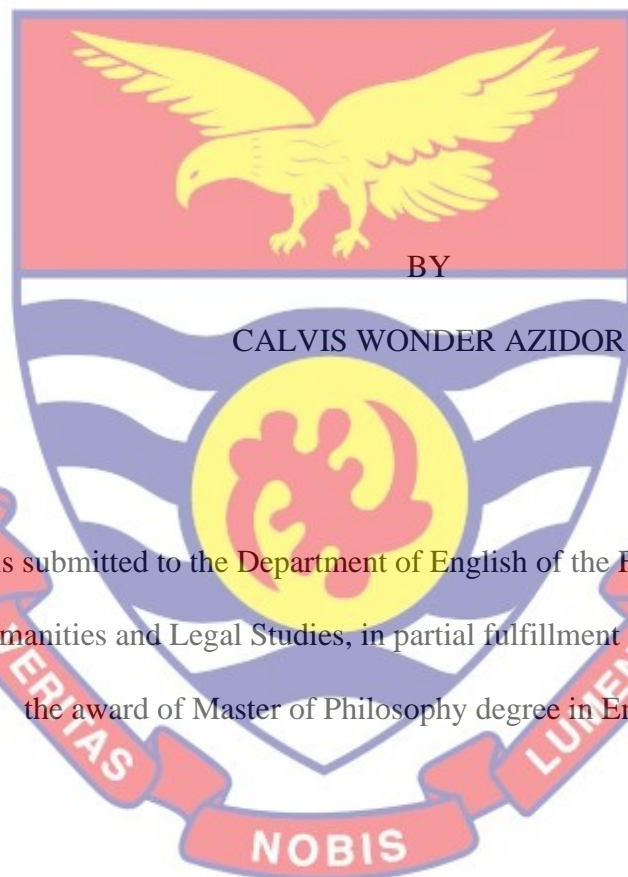
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



2021

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EXPLORING THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF HO THROUGH  
MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF BILLBOARDS



This thesis is submitted to the Department of English of the Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, in partial fulfillment for the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in English Language

NOVEMBER 2021

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Calvis Wonder Azidor

### Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised under the guidelines on supervision of the thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Professor Joseph Benjamin Archibald Afful



## ABSTRACT

The study of the linguistic landscape is crucial as far as regulating and negotiating linguistic diversity are concerned but not much work has been done in this area in Ghana. The few works done in the area of linguistic landscape in Ghana mostly focused on multilingualism. The current study adopted a multimodal approach to investigate billboards on three commercial streets in Ho, the Volta regional capital town of Ghana. Pictures were taken of all billboards on the three selected commercial streets in Ho. The qualitative content analysis research method was used for data analysis, in line with the research questions. The analysis revealed that Ho is a multilingual town. Three languages were found in the public spaces of Ho: English, Ewe, and Twi. Furthermore, drawing on Roman Jakobson's language function, all six functions were found on the billboards in Ho. There is a dominance of referential, conative, and poetic functions of language on the billboards because of the very nature of billboards which are essentially to attract. Nonetheless, most of the functions are complementary in the roles they perform on the billboards in Ho. Finally, image and text interacted on the billboards such that some images projected the information in the text; others served complementary purposes while some texts supported images on the billboards by showing the people's advancement in technology and economy. These findings imply that multilingualism is at play in the public domain. Based on the findings, the study recommends the need for improvement in the literacy of local languages in the Ghanaian educational system so that the public space will be more inclined towards using the indigenous languages to communicate with the public.

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Finally, to my family, I say Thank You for your understanding and patience.



## DEDICATION

To Dr. Cynthia Sena Kpeglo and Mr Jude Kow Frieku



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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction

Linguistic landscape is a field of research in Applied Linguistics that investigates the language of road signs, billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings to define the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The current study investigates billboards on three commercial streets in Ho, the Volta regional capital town of Ghana. This chapter presents the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations, limitation, and organisation of the study.

#### Background of the Study

Language has often been seen as a powerful tool for communication. Gee (1999, p. 1) defines language as a *lure* that “scaffolds the performance of social activities (whether play or work) and that which scaffolds human affiliation within cultures.” Language continues to draw the attention of academics including Yavari (2012), Jing-Jing (2015) and Landry and Bourhis (1997). Landry and Bourhis (1997) investigate the language of public signage in a given territory to ascertain language behaviour in society. This has, in recent times, given birth to a new area of sociolinguistics research called linguistic landscape (LL).

The term *landscape* is historically rooted in Dutch to mean “tract of land” and in English as “a painting depicting scenery on land” (Gorter, 2006, p. 83). In Gorter’s (2018) study, it is revealed that the second part of the word

“landscape” has attracted several creative ideas from different researchers across disciplines who propose various forms of scapes. For example, in spoken language, Scarvalier *et al.* (2013) propose the term “soundscape” by investigating, among other things, genres of music to understand how musicians express their beliefs and opinions about social matters and political affiliations through their music. Again, Brown (2012) proposes the term “schoolscape” in the field of education by looking at the ideological underpinnings that necessitate the formation of institutions of higher learning including schools. Schoolscape investigates school symbols, mottoes, visions, mission statements, and any language found in the public space within the school premises.

Despite the numerous terms proposed by researchers in an attempt to describe language behaviour among interlocutors in public spaces, the term ‘linguistic landscape’ (LL) seems to dominate the list. The previous terms proposed seem to have narrowed their focus and limited their investigations to an aspect of language by leaving the other aspects. Landry and Bourhis’ (1997) linguistic landscape (LL, henceforth) refers to the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings. Okindele (2011) adds that these signs combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

Put differently, linguistic landscape (LL), as a field of research, is employed to investigate language in public spaces. Shohamy and Gorter (2009, p. 1) mention that linguistic landscape draws “attention to the language in the environment, words, and images displayed and exposed in public spaces.” The focus of LL is on the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties, and

contestations of multiple forms of “language” as they are displayed in public spaces (Gorter, 2006 p.11). The field of LL investigates visually available language in public spaces. People’s ideas are expressed through LL (Shohamy, 2006). The ideas of shop owners, information givers, and directors are realised through billboards, calendars and other signs.

Languages on billboards provide direction to the public such as drivers, travellers, traders, pedestrians, cyclists, motorists, and so on, who inform decision making. Beyond the internal function of LL is the investigation of the impact of globalisation that informs the use of certain linguistic codes in public spaces by occupants of a particular linguistic territory. Studies investigate the function of LL through the description of languages found on signposts in public spaces in particular communities, albeit bilingual or monolingual, or multilingual. Alomoush and Al-Na’imat (2018) equally assert that the interrelationship between English used on signs and materiality in the LL of tourist Jordanian town, Petra, shows English being used in the uppercase to display signs on surfaces of stones and metals are practices of government bodies to signify a sense of quality, continuity, and permanence with economic and tourism-centred ideologies and policies.

Again, English language is displayed on wooden boards creatively to denote a sense of freshness and newness with signs printed and handwritten on paper often appearing in uppercase letters. This manifests the dynamism in LL and ensures the flow of special offers and even linguistic and non-linguistic changes (Alomoush & Al-Na’imat, 2018). Finally, there emerges the most remarkable function of LL, in my view. This evidence indicates that monolingual English signs unscripted on hard surfaces symbolise important

environmental, historical, and cultural information on the ancient, Petra, which is indicative of Petra being a destination for tourists worldwide (Alomoush & Al-Na'imat, 2018). The direct impulse of this finding is that text and images are investigated in the public space in Jordan. Beyond the texts are images like stones, for example, on which these languages are written, signifying permanence and quality in the Jordanian city, Petra. Likewise, Jing-Jing (2015), after examining a campus in Japan, explained that the area does not provide a resourceful landscape as compared to urban public areas. These suggest that the use of language in public spaces of most countries and, for this study, African countries, have some touch of the international blend, indicating the effect of globalisation on the patronage and services of that landscape.

There seems to be a strong feeling of how globalisation affects languages in many African countries, including Ghana. Statistics presented by Adjaye (2012) on Ghana indicate that Ghanaian English is an Outer Circle (countries that use English as their second language) (in Kachruvian term) variety spoken by the educated group of about 25 million Ghanaian inhabitants. It is the language of the colonial masters (Morris, 1998). Even though Ghana has gained its independence for over sixty years, it still holds in high esteem the language of the colonial master. In Ghana, English is used in the media, parliament house, by government officials, schools, public spaces, and even some homes (Sackey, 1997). Owu-Ewie (2006) gives an account of a law that Ghana promulgated in May 2000 which mandated the use of English language as a medium of instruction in the lower primary one to replace the use of Ghanaian language as a medium of instruction for the first three years of schooling, and English as a medium of instruction from primary four (grade



four) despite the aftermath criticisms from traditional rulers, academics, politicians and the general populace (Owu-Ewie, 2006).

This suggests that English language is prioritised over other languages in Ghana. The introduction of the English language in Ghana is linked to the coming of the British. With this in mind, they selectively trained some Ghanaians who served as interpreters. The gradual and deliberate effort of increasing the colonialist's language increases its importance in Ghana (Owu-Ewie, 2006). Various groups and schools emerged and religious groups such as Christianity were introduced with English as a medium of communication. As Sey (1973) puts it, English in Ghana has from the very beginning been associated with Christianity as all schools were run by Christian missionaries.

Apart from English, other indigenous languages such as Fante, Twi, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, and Krobo are spoken in Ghana. These numerous languages spoken in Ghana are identified with distinct ethnic groups and their origination; hence, making Ghana a multilingual country. Dakubu (1996) adds that Ghana has about 50 indigenous languages and out of these languages, only 11 languages are taught in schools and few of them are spoken on television and radios. Some of the eleven languages include Ga, Twi, Fante, Hausa, Dagaare, among others. Kuwornu (2017) also observes that all speakers of these indigenous languages would have been proud to hear their languages spoken both on television and on the radio. Also, it would have been ideal for a country like Ghana, or even Africa as a continent, to have a national language but issues of the national language as far as Africa is concerned are very complex because of the multilingual situation on the continent. Notwithstanding, Ethiopia, Libya and South Africa are acknowledged for their national languages. However, the

general situation this presents is that most African countries that mostly speak their indigenous languages among themselves use English as their official language (Kuwornu, 2017).

Other exogenous languages in Ghana apart from English include French, Arabic, Hausa, and Chinese. Hausa is spoken as the lingua franca in Muslim communities while Arabic, which is used mainly for religious purposes, is learned in Islamic schools across the nation (Dakubu & Ford, 1988). In recent times, due to the increasing role of China in international politics and economics, Chinese has become an important language as it is being taught in basic, senior high schools, and some tertiary institutions through outreach programmes carried out by Confucius Institutes in Ghana. The complex linguistic situation in Ghana has drawn the attention of many researchers including Quayson (2010) who investigated languages found on billboards and slogans on Oxford street in Accra, the capital city of Ghana.

Amidst the growing interest in the field of LL, researchers seem to assume a straight dimension as most studies conducted highlight multilingualism in the linguistic landscape, discussing the presence or absence of particular language codes in public spaces (Chen, 2016). Such research has often revealed the English language as being dominant over other languages.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Various studies have, for the past two decades, investigated the presence or absence of languages in public spaces to ascertain the linguistic landscape of towns and cities (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Backhaus, 2006). Linguistic landscape studies provide an understanding of the dominant languages in a public space that communicates the social reality of the people.

Ben Rafael et al. (2006) asserts that linguistic objects in a public space could be broadly grouped into top-down signs and bottom-up signs. Top-down signs are owned by national and public actors such as governments, schools, hospitals etc; while bottom-up signs are owned by individual social actors such as shop owners, companies, among others. The assessment of these signs in the linguistic space aids in understanding the power relations, the social identities as well as the multilingualism of the communities.

Aside from understanding the dominant languages in a region through linguistic landscape studies, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) provide evidence of the social reality of a region or community through official and unofficial signs (Backhaus, 2006). Backhaus (2006) added that official signs are the recognised lingua franca of a place while the unofficial signs are the subsidiary languages used for communication. Through the linguistic study of Tokyo, Japan, Backhaus (2006) discovered that the official signs communicated the existing power relations in Tokyo while the unofficial signs expressed solidarity with non-Japanese, things and people in Tokyo.

So, it is evident that, through linguistic landscape study of a place, one can understand the power relations and social reality of a place. This is normally possible through the interpretation of the semiotic resources used in the public space. But the study of language in public space should not only be limited to multilingualism or otherwise so Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that pictures or visual objects also have the potential of carrying meaning independently and in synergy with verbal signs. This implies that a linguistic landscape study that appreciates the dominant languages and how they communicate the social reality of the place requires a multimodal approach.

Multimodal approach offers a researcher an opportunity to discover the place signs such as images, pictures, colours and words significance in the public space.

Research shows that Ghana is multilingual country with about forty-six languages spoken nationwide (Adika, 2012). A cursory assessment of the languages shows that the languages are distributed at different regions with *Ewe* being prominent in *Volta* region; *Twi*, in the southern part of Ghana, *Dagbani*, in the northern part of Ghana and *Fante* being prominent in the coastal regions of Ghana. In this light, Prah (2006) in his multiple study of Nima, Ghana and Katutuwa, South Africa, concluded that Africans are the most multilingual people in the world. He added that the multilingual nature of Africans is advantageous in helping achieve the integration of Africans. For instance, Prah (2006) found that in Nima, Ghana, 69 out of the 100 sampled participants speak more than four languages while 17 speak six to eight languages.

As Prah (2010) observed, the use of English language as an official language in the country has an impact on the dominance of the languages in the public space in Ghana. Tomekyin and Nyame (2018), who have investigated language competition in two towns, Ajumako and Winneba, found that English dominated *Twi* and *Fante* in the communities. Nyame and Tomekyin (2018) and Anderson et al. (2020) conducted in Ghana on linguistic landscape, however, focused on only multilingualism while ignoring other semiotic resources such as pictures, colours, and symbols.

Akoto (2018) explored the language-identity relationship in mottos of Ghanaian educational institutions. The author collected two-hundred and forty-five mottos from newspapers, souvenirs and billboards as data in order to

describe the languages used in the mottos. Akoto (2018) found that global languages such as Latin, French and Arabic, glocal language (English language) and local languages such as Ewe, Twi and Ga being used in the mottos of the schools. Akoto's study reveals how the global languages and glocal languages have been used by Ghanaian schools to reflect their international identity. His study, however, was limited to the languages used in the mottos of schools. Meanwhile, Juffermans (2012) study on the linguistic landscape of Gambia revealed that post-colonial public space of Zambia was overly English language and most of the billboards studied had images dominating the content. Juffermans (2012) explained the dominance of images as a strategy to appeal to the illiterate population of Zambia while the little appearance of local languages of Zambia in the public space, to Juffermans (2012) was for symbolic and creative function rather than interlinguistic function. The work of Juffermans was largely from the multimodal perspective of studying linguistic landscape, unlike most of the Ghanaian studies that are overly based on discourse analysis. Moreover, the Ghanaian studies are equally skewed towards other public space materials or texts such as souvenirs, posters, banners, newspapers with less attention to billboards. This development does not fully serve the purpose of the linguistic landscape research in its entirety, as it fails to provide a panoramic view of the linguistic landscape of the specific study areas. Despite the fact that scholarly attention in LL is in the rise in Ghana, most LL studies in Ghana focused on multilingualism and the few studies which were multimodally conducted focused on other cities in Ghana, ignoring the Volta Region of Ghana.

Given the above-mentioned lacuna and drawing from empirical evidence of Juffermans (2012), the present study uses a more inclusive approach (multimodal approach) to investigate the linguistic landscape of Ho through the billboards in the town.

### Research Objectives

The study specifically seeks to:

1. Ascertain the language distribution on billboards of selected streets in Ho.
2. Examine the communicative functions of the linguistic signs on the billboards in the selected streets in Ho.
3. Explore the interaction between the textual and visual cues in the billboards of the selected streets in Ho.

### Research Questions

The following research questions guide the present study:

1. What languages are visible on billboards in the three busy commercial streets in Ho?
2. What is the communicative function of the linguistic signs in the billboards of the streets in Ho?
3. How do the textual and visual cues interact on billboards in selected streets in Ho?

### Significance of the Study

This study adds to the literature in the field of LL. This is particularly important since most studies done in this study area focused on other regions and towns in Ghana, leaving the Volta Region. As a trade hub, the Volta Region is occasionally flooded with different people from different language

backgrounds. A study in LL in the Volta Region will help the researcher appreciate how the region contributes to other LL studies that are conducted within Ghana. Again, a majority studies conducted mostly focused on multilingualism and only few of them analysed billboards multimodally. An added reason why the uniqueness of this study is projected is the Eve background of the researcher. The researcher observes that most of the writings in Eve provide rich knowledge that reflects the people's thoughts, experiences, perceptions, and emotions. It will also help researchers to research on which aspects of language have gone unnoticed on billboards or in any public space.

The findings further have implications for language policy and planning. Ho, being one of the capital cities of the 16 regions of Ghana, has inhabitants from different linguistic backgrounds. There is, therefore, the need to draw the attention of linguists (and readers, in general) to the current language situation within the Ho society to help as a reference point for policy makers in Ghana. This can be achieved through informed use of the findings for the purpose to save our local languages. Beyond the physical semiotic resources available, company owners in Ho show their social and religious orientations of the research community through language to the outside world.

Above all, the outcome of this study will contribute to raise awareness about language use. Thus, the study will help both users of the language and curriculum developers to know the dominant languages in Ho and how that affects literacy practices and globalisation. In this regard, the study will help other researchers to explore other research areas in LL to find out if people have different or the same reason for their choice of language on billboards.

## Delimitations of the Study

This section provides boundaries that were set by the researcher in the study area, the subject matter, and the population from which the subject matter was selected. The section also presents information on the timeframe within which data was collected and the location of the study. Further, reasons were given regarding why certain variables were omitted. First, the images were not clear to be analysed. Second, most of the images were outside the location in focus. Finally, the researcher backed the choice of what to include and what not to include in the process of data collection with scientific evidence to make the study a standard one.

Time constraints for the project and limited funds prevented me from travelling across the entire Volta region. This has necessitated the choice of the research area and the sample population, bearing in mind the time available for the project and the funds available to make the project a readably meaningful one. This study, therefore, limits itself to Ho, the capital town of the Volta region of Ghana, where many people of different linguistic backgrounds including Togo – a French-speaking country – converge for trade purposes.

Further, the choice of the three main commercial streets in Ho town is motivated by the daily commercial activities that are engaged in these streets. The three main streets all lead to the main market of the Ho society and this makes traders, customers as well as visitors to Ho town constant users of those streets. Besides, billboards, as advertising outlets, are usually placed in strategic places of a town where they could perhaps reach the masses of street users. Therefore, the placement of the billboards in these streets emphatically show the streets are heavily used by the target audience of the advertisers.



Again, billboards are also selected as the data source because most institutions, individual shops, and government billboards are erected on these three streets, thus making them easily visible. Moreover, previous studies such as Akoto (2018), Nyame and Tomekyin (2018) and other studies in Ghana used souvenirs, newspapers, and inscriptions on canoes as sources of data with little or no focus on billboards. Finally, the current study was not looking at the number of languages in the community but simply, language used on billboards in Ho. The current study is, therefore, delimited to billboards as a major source of data in assessing the linguistic landscape of Ho.

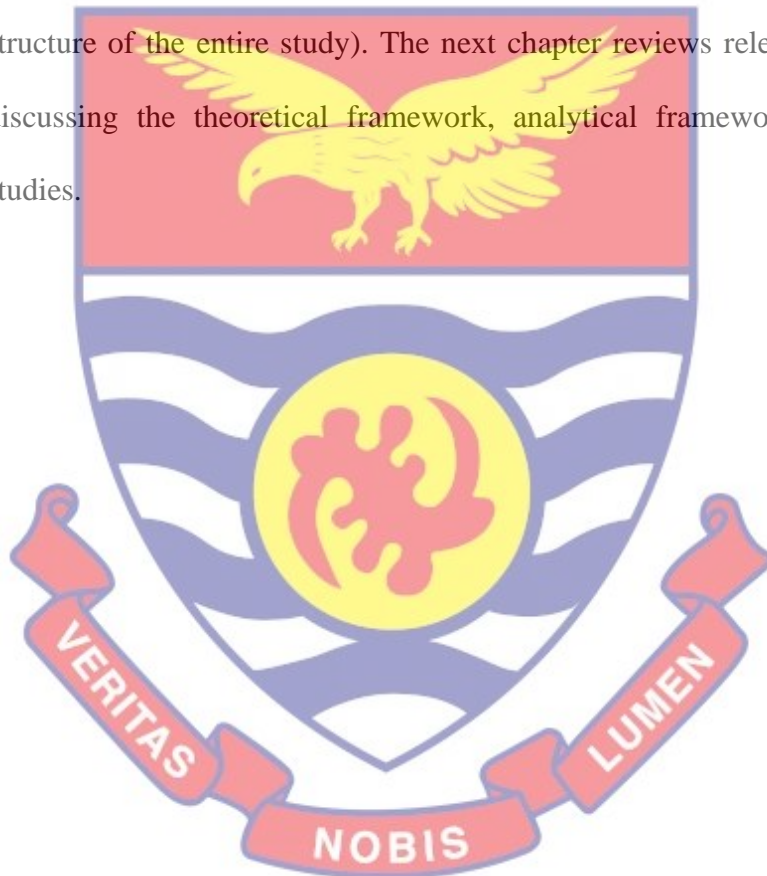
### **Organisation of the Study**

The study is made up of five chapters. Chapter One laid out the background to the study, the language in society, the need for linguists to interpret the linguistic behaviour of people in a particularly defined geography, and the introduction of LL as a branch of study emerging from sociolinguistics. The subsequent sections include objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study, and organisation of the study. Chapter Two reviews related literature on multilingualism in linguistic landscape, the relationship that exists between linguistic landscape and marketability by focusing on the language of billboards. In addition, Chapter Two discusses the effects of globalisation on the linguistic landscape of specific countries. Chapter Three of the study outlines the methodology that is followed to collect data for analysis and discussion. This includes the research design, population, sample size of the population, the procedure that was followed in sampling the population, and how data is analysed. To ensure strict compliance with ethical standards of research, issues of ethics, validity, and reliability are

dealt with in chapter three as well. Chapter Four of this study discusses the results and findings of the study while Chapter Five presents the summary, conclusion and gives some recommendations for further studies.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the introduction to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations and organisation of the study (which provided a summary of the structure of the entire study). The next chapter reviews relevant literature by discussing the theoretical framework, analytical framework, and previous studies.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

This chapter reviews literature related to the current study. Key concepts that are used in the research questions are discussed in this chapter to expand and demonstrate with support of prior studies how relevant they are to the current study. Theories underpinning linguistic landscape are also explored. The chapter also reviews and critiques related previous studies, and finally, provides a summary. The study presents some definition of terms that are relevant to its understanding.

#### Linguistic Landscape Theory

This section of the chapter considers the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Although it is not all the identified theories that are directly related to the current study, they contain relevant elements that will enhance understanding of the entire study. Landry and Bourhis' (1997) linguistic landscape theory scaffolds the proposed study. The word *landscape* is historically rooted in Dutch to mean "tract of land" and in English as "a painting depicting scenery on land" (Gorter, 2006, p. 83). Gorter (2018), therefore, avers that the second part of the word "landscape" has attracted several creative ideas from different researchers across disciplines to propose various forms of "scapes." Despite the numerous terms proposed by researchers, the term *linguistic landscape* seems to dominate the list.

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25) refer to the notion of *linguistic landscape* as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government

buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.” Linguistic landscape investigates language— signs and images— and other semiotic elements in public spaces. Linguistic landscape concerns itself with visually available language in public spaces. Peoples’ ideas are made manifest through LL (Shohamy, 2006; Akindele, 2011). The ideas of shop owners, information givers, and directors are realised through signposts (e.g., Billboards, calendars). Language on signposts provides direction to the public— drivers, travellers, pedestrians, cyclists, motorists, and others— who informs decision-making.

In linguistic landscape research, billboard is classified into two: the top-down classification, and the bottom-up classification. Briefly, the top-down approach comprises state-owned billboards or linguistic landscape items that are issued by national and public bureaucracies including public sites while the bottom-up category belongs to the individual companies (Akindele, 2011). Linguistic landscape theory was developed by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in a work that accounts for the perceptions of high school students of public signs in Canada.

Habermas (1991) refers to the public sphere as not necessarily a specifically identified space, but an urban environment. Studying an urban environment where complex forms of social organisations are represented by texts is the focus of linguistic landscape researchers. Other scholars refer to this phenomenon as linguistic cityscape (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). The texts found in the public spaces describe both individual experiences and social experiences.

The texts or elements that are central in the linguistic landscape to the investigation of language in public space include public road signs, advertising

billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

What LL investigates through the aforementioned elements include the questions that seek answers to the producers of the public signs, the location of signs, and the functions these signs perform (Shohamy & Gorter 2009). In addition to the elements stated above, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) and Shohamy and Gorter (2009) suggested a tentative taxonomy characterised by eight different types of signs. These include street signs, advertising signs, warning notices, building names, informative signs such as directions, hours of opening, commemorative plaques, objects such as post box and police cell box, and graffiti.

Shohamy (2006) indicated that top-down billboards are (government owned) billboards that seek to educate the public on state projects, policies, regulations and to a large extent the rights of citizens. Other top-down billboards serve as a guide to the citizenry while others mark the landscape of towns and cities. Bottom-up billboards are (private-owned) billboards that represent the impact of government policies and regulations on the people. People express their satisfaction or contestation, life experiences, economic engagements (advertisement), and other political activities through bottom-up billboards (Shohamy, 2006).

The LL is created by agents and interpreted by an audience. The context of the sign is defined by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) in terms of using a top-down or bottom-up approach or as Landry and Bourhis (1997) choose to word it: private and government signs. Top-down billboards are all government related signs. They are expected to reflect the dominant culture. Bottom-up billboards

are all other signs. Bottom-up billboards are often delimited to some degree by the government; some regions have strict laws that individuals must follow. The bottom-up billboards creators often seek out certain target audiences depending on what they have to offer. Both top-down and bottom-up signs contribute to the LL of a region.

More than 30 countries and regional states have laws to regulate the language used on public and private signs (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This regulation contributes to the power and status of different languages in a specific sociolinguistic context (Gorter, 2006). The agents or participants in the top-down and bottom-up production of the LL range from national agencies or corporate sponsors to government bodies and individual entrepreneurs or shopkeepers; all with numerous motivations.

The discussion of top-down and bottom-up may vary, depending on the audience. For example, a sign posted in an apartment building by the management company may be viewed as top-down by the tenants, but bottom-up from the perspective of the federal government. Huebner (2009) argued that the notion of top-down and bottom-up signs fail to capture the meaning of agency. Later researchers including Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) confirmed this theory when they studied signs in several Israeli communities. They have accounted for the differences between Arab and non-Arab areas while they also show the effect of Hebrew hegemony and globalising English in both Arab and non-Arab areas (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). It can be inferred that the information provided above categorised linguistic landscape in two broad perspectives; from the earliest perspective where we have bottom-up and top-down approach, the informational and symbolic perspectives. These are two key

important ideas that necessitated the use of this theory to study the writings displayed in the public sphere.

It is against this backdrop that the current research adopts the linguistic landscape theory. The next theory adopted for this study is to help test the validity of the study, and as a point of departure, by looking at the multimodal aspect of this theory, how text and image relate to achieve a particular communicative purpose, among other reasons. It also considers what those texts and images stand for some phenomena other than themselves in the Ho town of the Volta Region of Ghana.

### **Visual Grammar Theory**

Kress and van Leeuwen proposed the first social semiotic framework for analyzing images in 1996. It was about the nature of communication, and which utilizes similar approaches in interpreting visual and verbal meanings in multimodal texts. The aim of their theory was to develop a ‘grammar’ of images. The first edition exploring this aim in an analysis and discussion of images in children’s educational literature, and the second continuing and extending this exploration to more generalized images drawn from public media sources such as advertisements, magazine articles, maps, art images and various kinds of diagrams. In *Reading Images*, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) draw on a variety of theories for their analysis of visual communications. Their method attempts to bring to bear the various visual elements that are used to produce meanings in images. They argue that traditional analysis has subordinated the visual to the verbal message.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) place themselves at variance with Barthes' (1977) view of the meaning of the image in his essay *Rhetoric of the image*, and do not totally accept his notion of dependency between image and verbal text. Barthes suggests that the meaning of images (as well as other codes such as food, dress etc.) are related to and mostly dependent on language for 'fixing' their meanings. They argue that while Barthes' (1977) essay on image-text relations explains elements of the communicative relationship between the two codes, it fails to recognise that "the visual component of a text is an independently organised and structured message-connected with verbal text, but in no way dependent on it. Similarly, the other way round." (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 17). Their aim, therefore, is to utilize underlying principles in the grammar of the verbal to explicate the grammar of the visual, taking the point of view that language and visual communication both realise the same more fundamental and far-reaching systems of meaning that constitute our culture, each by its own specific forms, and independently.

The implication here is that both verbal and visual codes are seen to express the same kinds of meanings, but by different methods that draw on different semiotic systems. In any particular cultural context, Western European, for example, there may be a considerable degree of congruence between the two codes. There may also be areas of difference, areas where the verbal can express itself and the visual cannot, and vice versa. The two semiotic systems and their potential meanings are, therefore, neither fully conflated, nor are they wholly opposed in their respective codes. Furthermore, both modes are realisations of social semiotic systems, wherein the meanings, which all



communicators choose to express, are seen to be social in nature, and arise out of the culture in which they are situated.

Kress and van Leeuwen also utilised Halliday's (1978, 1985) SFL theory to provide an analogy for the development of a visual grammar and to outline the kinds of categories which they regard as essential to the analysis of the visual semiotic. They suggest that the visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communication (and representational) requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication. They posit that reading (or viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants: the interactive participants, and the represented participants (Halliday, 1978).

Continuing from the above, the former, the interactive participants, are the participants who interact with each other in the act of reading a visual, one being the graphic designer/photographer/artist, and the other the viewer. This category represents the social relations between the viewer and the visual. The latter is all the elements or entities that are actually present in the visual, whether animate or inanimate, elements which represent the situation shown, the current world-view, or states of being in the world. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also assert that reading (or viewing) a visual involves reading a structurally coherent arrangement of elements that combine and integrate these two kinds of participants, thus representing the structuring of the current world-view.

By applying Halliday's concept of metafunctions to other modes beside the linguistic, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) clearly assumed that the visual mode draws upon the same semantic system as does language and that everything which can be said about the semiotic code of language can be said, specifically about the semiotic code of pictures. Also, while visuals do differ in

terms of the choices from the cultural semantic system that they can realise and in the ways in which these choices are realised, still the semiotic code of language and the semiotic code of pictures each have their own quite particular means of realizing what in the end are perhaps quite similar semantic relations (Halliday, 1996 p. 44). The three elements; the interactive and represented participants, and the coherent structural elements of a visual, are correlated with Halliday's three metafunctions respectively and may be summarized briefly as:

- **INTERPERSONAL:** a range of ways of semantically relating interactive participants.
- **IDEATIONAL:** a range of ways of semantically relating represented participants.
- **TEXTUAL:** a range of ways of semantically relating the elements on a page to each other.

However, what is of immediate notice is that the metafunctional terminology posited by Halliday to describe meanings at the semantic level in his SFL model has been changed from ideational to representational meanings, from interpersonal to interactive meanings, and from textual to composition(al) meanings. Why this was done is not clear, but Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) do adopt much of the lexico-grammatical terminology utilised by Halliday. This includes the terminology used in the grammatical system of transitivity, which “construes the world of experience into a set of manageable process types” (Halliday, 1994:106), the grammatical system of mood where the clause “is also organised as an interactive event involving a speaker, or writer, and audience, and thematic structure, which “gives the clause its character as a message” (p.44).

Kress and van Leeuwen also attempted to account for the paradigmatic features of Halliday's systemic grammar by representing the various aspects of their visual grammar in terms of system networks, or networks of potential choices from which the people who create a visual can make selections. This is an attempt to capture the SFL interpretation of language as meaning potential, where interlocutors make choices from various meaning systems in the act of communicating in various contexts. It should be pointed out at this point that the analysis and interpretation of visual forms of communication involves examining them from different points of view, and that in focusing on one point of view in particular, for example, in representational meaning and its sub-systems, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that a visual is the result of "the convergence of many different signifying systems" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 265). Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind that the visual systems of representational (ideational), interactive (interpersonal) and compositional (textual) meanings occur and project their meanings simultaneously, and that they are multidimensional structures.

While the use of Theory of Reading Images by Kress and van Leeuwen has proven useful in the linguistic studies, the use of this theory in a multimodal analysis of the linguistic landscape of a place is not yet robust in the literature. However, the multimodal approach is vital in unearthing all the meanings communicated through the symbols in the public space. In this study, the author adopts this theory to discuss how the representational, interpersonal and compositional meaning could possibly communicate the linguistic landscape of a place.

The compositional, as remarked by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), focuses on the features such as signs used in the text in this case billboards. Through the analysis of the diverse signs used in the billboard, one can discover the dominant languages and their positioning in the billboards. This is because the placement of linguistic features in each part of the billboard, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), communicates the salience, prominence and relevantly assigned to the sign by the sign producer.

Also, the interactive meaning indicates to what extent the sign in the text communicates meaning to the potential audience. In other words, every sign on the billboards provides a unit of meaning whether unilaterally or complementarily with other signs to the target readers. This means that the interactive meaning is where the significance of the signs (languages) is understood especially regarding the social reality they communicate to users. As Backhaus (2006) discovered, the official signs communicate power while unofficial signs communicate solidarity. In examining the interactive function of signs, the researcher will ascertain what meaning potentials are embedded in language signs in the billboards.

The last mode of interpretation in the theory of reading images is the representational. The representational shows what each sign represents. From the perspective of linguistic landscape, the author will consider the presence of any sign in relations to its source and target audience. For instance, a sign like the Adenkyira symbols definitely resonates with the Akan culture while a sign like Nike communicates foreign influence especially the clothing brand. Based on each sign, the study is able to position what possible target audience are reached and the essence of reaching them with such signs. The third and final

theory to be used in the current study is the Jacobsonian theory of language function.

### **Roman Jakobson's Theory of Language Function**

Hassan and Jabbar (2018) assert that language performs very essential roles in communication when it comes to the procedure of conceptions. It is inferred that language is situated within context to reveal ideas and shape realities. Language is that method that helps people to learn, disagree and make amends. The mention of method brings to mind Halliday (1973, p. 13) who proposed;



a practical way of dealing with language implies, as a matter of the first importance, exploring how language is used; endeavour to discover what reason language serves for individuals, and how they can accomplish these reasons through talking and turning in, perusing and composing. It means that the language function refers to the purpose itself. So, the language functions lead the hearers to achieve the purpose of someone's speech.

Even though Hassan and Jabbar (2018) admitted that it is difficult to attempt to adequately see the functions of language because they are deeply rooted in the whole human behaviour, many researchers like Jakobson (1960), Halliday (1973), Leech (1976), and Halliday (2002) attempt to give some functions of language. This work adopts the Roman Jakobson's (1960) model that outlines six functions of language to analyse the data. The functions include *referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalinguistic, and poetic*. Jakobson's model is developed on the primal assumption that communicants transfer thoughts, perceptions, beliefs, understandings of the phenomenon, and

occasionally their social orientations including experiences to a target audience. Many linguists have attempted to categorise the communicative experience of communicants or a group of people into simplified linguistic situations (Caton, 1987). With this intention, Holenstein's (1974) category of language into a speech situation involves the addresser (communicator), the addressee (the receiver of information), and discourse (the subject of discussion).

The model simply situates language into addresser, addressee, and discourse project which is quite a simple window that could have been adopted for the analysis of the data in this work. However, the broad nature of the data for this work necessitates the adoption of Jakobson's (1960) model that addresses what language, be it image or text, does or is used for and the purpose for which it is used. It must be stated that the functions of language mean the message the language conveys. So, by explaining the functions, this model takes care of the second research question that seeks to find out what messages are found on the billboards through the semiotic resources on these billboards. Jakobson's functions of language are outlined and explained below:

Referential function relates to the content and describes the context or a situation, an object, or the mental state of a phenomenon under study. Jakobson (1960) remarks that the context is what is known as the 'referent'. The referential function can further be seen as the thing "spoken of" or an element whose truth value (true or false) is being affirmed (or questioned), particularly when this truth value is identical in the real universe. Thus, the referential function consists of both definite descriptions and deictic words equivalent to Halliday's ideational function.

Hassan and Jabbar (2018, p. 45) added that, “referential function corresponds to the factor of context and describes a situation, object or mental state.” Referential function of language describes in definite terms its objects and gives the state of the object under discussion. For example, “KFC is in Ho”. Secondly, referential function relates to the real and the assumptive universe such that its true value is questionable. For example, when one asks ‘Does God exist?’ The answer, ‘Yes, God exists’, is an assumptive answer that can be true or false. Referential function is also able to demonstrate that an entity exists or not. This function is similar to Leech’s (1966) informative function of language that makes an assumption believable and true. This function is in the context of everyday information sharing such that the concentration is on the message.

Just like Leech’s informative function, referential function gives new information and helps an audience or a viewer, to discover a new information. In short, the referential function helps in communication, discovery of new information, description of things and exposing the listener or viewer to new information. Again, Jacobson’s referential function may be related to Halliday’s (2002) heuristic function that explains language as a tool used to gain knowledge about the environment. It can be inferred that the knowledge gained about the environment can influence the audience’s emotive behaviour, which hints to a major communicative function of Jacobson known as the emotive function of language.

The emotive function is pluralistically characterised by feelings, emotions, desires, moods, attitudes that can be directed towards the self who produces the text or speaks, subject, audience, or situation. This function of language is manifested when emotions are expressed through the use of

interjections such as “Yuck!”, “Ouch”, “Aie”, and many more (Tribus, 2017). Hassan and Jabbar (2018) added that the emotive function comes out when one wants to express their emotions but they do not necessarily speak to any information.

According to Shohamy (2017), the expression of some of these emotive elements may not necessarily be realised in a spoken language but in the written form whereby people express contestations towards a government policy or orders. When this happens, the individuals find billboards, and placards the appropriate platform to, creatively, show their dissatisfaction or otherwise in the public, in which case the policy developer or the opponent becomes the target of the information on the billboards. In effect, the interlocutor, or the producer of the information crafts the information in a way that draws the attention of a listener or reader of the message. This is very characteristic to conative function of language by Jacobson.

The conative function of language is oriented towards the recipient of the message. The sender of the message or the interlocutor is seen to have crafted the message in such a manner that it evokes a reaction from the reader of the message. The message is crafted such that the recipient reacts either verbally by answering a question or adopting a certain behaviour as a result of the interlocutor, for instance, the transfer of information between the messenger and the message to be carried across. Sometimes, this transformation is at the level of the locutor’s knowledge of the world.

At other times too, it is rather the attitude, feelings, and emotions of the messenger or the locutor. Hassan and Jabbar (2018) indicate that the conative function is an “orientation towards the addressee”. It is a function that makes



use of vocative and imperative sentences so that it helps in making people to do something. For example, “Read the signs”, “Cross now”, “Go away”, so that, this function compels or command people to do something.

Hassan and Jabbar (2018, p. 34) hint that this function is “updated by those elements of the message that directly send to the recipient, meaning that the speaker intended to influence, to some extent, the listener, engaging him in a certain way in receiving the message”. Narcis (2017) states that the conative function often finds its expression through spontaneous interventions of the receiver at certain times during the message transmission, making use of formula such as “*you know*”, “no offense”. This function can be likened to Leech’s (1974) directive function where the addresser is to influence the behaviour and attitude of others.

In an extension, social order is maintained through language such that there is a social control at the receiver’s end rather than the senders of the information, as in “*Do not put the law in your own hand; Address your issues in the court of law*”. In this circumstance, the communication helps to establish some relationship between the government and the people through directives and education offered to the public. These communicative cues that are sometimes used to establish relationships give a cue to another Jacobson’s function of language known as the phatic function.

The phatic function serves to establish, prolong, or discontinue communication. Vlad and Billy (1999) argue that phatic communication provides a good basis for explaining the fact. To illustrate, what the speaker has said matters less than the fact that something has been said. More so, utterances can be more or less phatic. The phatic interpretations become more likely when

the social relationship between the interlocutors or communicants is in doubt. In a further argument, Vlad and Billy (1999) state that phatic function can be described by identifying a systematic correspondence between particular situational settings. This could constitute a casual conversation at a food joint or a bus stop.

In other words, aspects of the paralinguistic form of the communicative act indicate the use of conventionalised expressions about particular topics, the social functions of those acts in those settings to avoid silence as well as to establish and maintain a good atmosphere of sociability. Hassan and Jabbar (2018) added that the phatic function establishes a connection between interlocutors. They stated that the primary goal of Jacobson's phatic function of language is to "attract/establish, prolong, check, confirm, or discontinue connection, and may be composed of either culturally or non-culturally bound set of phrases like *Well, I won't let you down/ and really.*" (Hassan & Jabbar, 2018).

The element in the phatic function that establishes some lasting relationship between speakers is that it expresses some empathy and solidarity with others. This function opens and establishes the channel of communication and checks that it is working. Therefore, it is used for socialisation. Due to this, the speech it is characterized by includes vernacular words to enhance sociability but Clark (1999) indicates that sometimes, certain types of writing can be used such as 'Dear Sir', and 'Yours faithfully' to serve the same purpose- thus social interaction. It is inferred, from the discussions above, that in order for interlocutors to establish, maintain or discontinue communication, they are likely to employ certain metalanguages that enhance or discontinue

communication. This, according to Jacobson, is a metalinguistic function of language.

Another function of language by Jacobson (1960) is the metalinguistic function of language. This function is seen as a language that is used to describe language itself. It is used to establish mutual agreement on a code. Hassan and Jabbar (2018) assert that the metalinguistic function is the means through which the addresser and the addressee manages to agree in terms of checking whether they are using the same code. To get a clearer understanding in a conversation, communicants employ phrases, such as, “What do you mean by ‘manner’?” or what does this term mean?” Bialystok and Ryan (1985) define the metalinguistic function of language as skills that refer to the growth in the analysis of language and the increased control over cognitive operations.

The growth of metalinguistic ability is related to other language skills such as oral fluency, literacy, and bilingualism. Other empirical works including that of Stall (1975) relate metalinguistic to metalanguage consisting of expressions that refer to the expressions of an object language. In his work, Stall defines object language as that which comprises expressions that refer to non-linguistic objects (this applies to natural languages such as Eve, English, or formalised languages used in, say, mathematics where the objects are numbers, geometrical configurations (Stall, 1975).

In relating to the notion of metalanguage to the notion of other languages like “technical language,” or “artificial language”, Stall argues that there is no major or upfront distinction between types of languages and whatever may be regarded as the remainder of the language. Whether technical or artificial languages (or expressions), they develop differently in different languages. The

scope of these notions is, to some extent, relative as it depends on the interest and preoccupation of the users of the language. In an inferred interpretation, owners of billboards can decide to add any expression to texts or pictures found on these billboards that might not necessarily form part of the official language of their country.

Finally, poetic function is described by Jakobson (1960) as the attitude towards the message itself. In a message with a poetic function, the relationship between paradigmatic and syntagmatic is achieved uniquely. Thus, there is a constriction of text, intentionally developed, as a diversion created or invented, to add something to existing code. Poetic function foregrounds textual features, thereby, making a text more self-referential. Poetic function dwells on the emphasis of language, and it is more relational and expressive (Sapeirs, 1986). The poetic function of language helps the readers to experience two main features of aesthetics: distance and relation. It is the case that the poetic function of language detaches its readers from reality by immersing them into an imaginary world of characters etc. This function is witnessed on some billboards within the Ho township where pictures that depict what seems to be heaven are displayed on church billboards suggesting that Christians are not of this world, rather, they are only passing through this world.

Expressively, poetic language helps in recognising new ways of forming words, phrases, sentences, and structuring discourse and other conceptual experiences. This then suggests that any linguistic element found on signposts in the Ho that does not necessarily conform to the rules of grammar or the everyday use of language can be subject to poetic interpretation. Jakobson states that the poetic function is “the attitude towards the message which centres on

the message itself”. Narcis (2017) adds that the poetic function should not be limited to poetry only because it is a function that “emphasizes the concrete side sign of the language, deepening the fundamental opposition between what is intelligible and what is perceptible, between the linguistic sign as a means of intelligible knowledge and the objects of the reference reality.”

### **Language Situation in Ghana**

Adjaye (2012, p.1) indicates that “Ghanaian English is an outer circle variety spoken by the educated section of 25 million Ghanaian inhabitants.” It is the language of the colonial masters (Morris, 1998). Although Ghana gained its independence over fifty years ago, it still holds in high esteem the language of her colonial master, as English is used in the media, parliament house, government offices, schools, public spaces, and even in some homes. In May 2002, Ghana promulgated a law which mandated the use of English language as the medium of instruction in the lower primary one to replace the use of Ghanaian language as a medium of instruction for the first three years of schooling, and English as a medium of instruction from Primary Four (Grade Four) (Owu-Ewie, 2006). This act suggests that the English language is prioritised over other languages in Ghana.

An extensive discussion of the language situation in Ghana can be realised in the works of Sey (1973), Saah (1986), Apronti (1972), Agawu (1984), Quarcoo (1994), and Agyekum (2011). Even though English is not a native language in Ghana, it is the official language of Ghana which is used in the Ghanaian education system, in government, parliament, in the judiciary, and almost every formal public setting in Ghana. There have been debates about the state of the English language in Ghana— whether or not it is the national

language of Ghana (Amonoo, as cited in Quarcoo, 1994). The numerous languages spoken in Ghana are identified with distinct ethnic groups and their origination. In recent times, due to the increasing role of China in international politics and economics, Chinese is becoming an important language as it is being taught in basic, senior high schools, and some tertiary institutions through outreach programmes carried out by Confucius Institutes in Ghana (Agbaglo & Afful, *forthcoming*).

Also, it can be inferred that the presence of Chinese in Ghana is as a result of the effects of globalisation. Ojaje and Dibaguriava's (2017) study sought to ascertain the impact of globalisation on the socio-linguistic landscape of Nigeria. These researchers (Ojaje & Dibaguriava, 2017) further argue that globalisation has become an irreversible process that is likely to affect the language and values Nigeria holds. The study commends that the government and civil societies take radical actions to withstand the risk and challenges, including the dying of minority languages and embrace the opportunity which globalisation process offers. This further suggests that English use is dominant in many outer-circle countries such as South Africa, Lanka, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Ghana.

### **Multilingualism**

Discussions of multilingualism bring to light researchers including Romaine (2017) who describes multilingualism as a condition of life that dates back to the beginning of humanity. This, he has argued, is possible because human communities are usually in contact with other groups either for social reasons, including marriage, food, religion, or friendship, or for economic reasons. The biblical account suggests that people spoke the same language in

time past until God decided to punish them for the presumptuous erection of a tower; hence, the beginning of them speaking different languages. The biblical allusion suggests that multilingualism became an obstacle to development.

In the same light, Murdoch (1994) suggests that multilingualism was what caused disunity in India, and the English-speaking world is united because of monolingualism. Previous studies suggest that multilingualism practically brings divisiveness while monolingualism brings cohesiveness. Nevertheless, Romaine (2007) is quick to reveal that the introduction of language policy or language planning has brought some level of clarity to these misconstructions. The new thing is that there are many attempts by various language planners and communities to manage any linguistic or cultural contact and any possible conflict that may result from language contacts among nations.

Contacts between nations and individuals and/or societal bilingualism become common when one looks at some reasons why societies or individuals become bilingual (Romaine, 2017). At this juncture, it is usual that the more powerful groups in any society are likely to force their language on the less powerful groups; so, the language of the well-resourced and powerful group is displayed in public spaces and even used for trade and other activities. Nevertheless, the majority language, in this case, is displayed on signs, billboards, and other surfaces to advertise goods and services and also share other information with the public.

It seems that multilingualism is not, as Romaine (2017) opined, an incidental feature of the language, but rather it is a central factor and an organising force in every life. The popular practice is that language users in multilingual societies switch to other languages or varieties for use depending

on what language event they find themselves in. This also suggests that not all languages or varieties of language are equally used or regarded as equally appropriate to be used in all linguistic situations and speech events. A scenario of the argument here is that, if Edudzi who speaks Fante, Twi, Ewe, and English, for instance, visits her hometown in the Volta Region of Ghana, she is likely to use Ewe when she is among the folks in that community. Therefore, multilingualism among individuals and societies sometimes depends on the speech event.

Even though major part of linguistic landscape studies focuses on issues of multilingualism, some focus on other phenomena such as how naming practices in LL reflect the language situation of specific territories. According to Sjoblom (2006), for instance, the language of names of Finish companies included elements from several languages such as English, Swedish and Romani. Sjoblom, therefore, categorises the names into three types: monolingual names, multilingual names, and universal names. For his categorisation, the monolingual names contain only one real language as against the multilingual names which consist of a combination of elements from at least two languages.

### **Semiotics and its Significance**

The Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, and the American philosopher, Charles Sanders Peirce, have contributed to the development of semiotics (Chandler, 2002; Dalamu, 2016; Yakin et al., 2014). Chandler (2000, p. 10) states that ‘Semiotics is a huge field, and no treatment of it can claim to be comprehensive’. Dalamu (2016) discussed that Ferdinand de Saussure regarded sign as referring to the object, action or word that has the potential to



communicate unit of meaning. Sign usually consists of the signified which is the actual thing referred to and the signifier which is the symbol used to represent the actual thing or action. For instance, the letters put together ‘book’ is a sign which represents the material we use for writing. The signified and the signifier are socially constructed and, depending on geographical difference signifiers, could have arbitrary meaning. Halliday (1995) regards signs as social system.

Language includes both spoken, texts, and signs (Gorter, 2006). For this reason, the mere mention of signs suggests somewhat mental and abstract phenomena that are manifested in functional life. Emerson (2006) opines that signs constitute the oldest form of mass communication but the oldest known form of advertisement was a sheet of papyrus posted in the ancient Egyptian city of Thebes to offer a reward for slaves who run away. Meanwhile, the first-ever poster printed for advertisement in the English language was associated with Gutenberg in 1480 so that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century England was dated with signs so much so that London was darkened with swinging signboards of every description (Emerson, 2006).

Emerson (2006) additionally argues that signs could be ordered to look like a landscape that was a dense cluster of commerce and “civic fauna” in the city New Haven. Secondly, signs serve as a topographical compass that navigates the scene; on the other hand, they (signs) advertise a pharmacy, a clothing retailer, and the “Corner Hat Store.” Some signs are attached flat against buildings, directly above storefronts while others are affixed to the buildings but protrude horizontally over the sidewalk, where they catch the eyes of the passing pedestrians.

Emerson (2006) adds that signs that creep up the fronts and sides of the buildings, announce their presence to carriage and trolley passengers down the road. These are called “on-premise” or “on-site” signs because they advertise the goods or services sold at the place in which the sign is located. Some signs that occupy high-traffic areas also advertise goods or services sold elsewhere. These signs are also called “off-site” signs, “off-premise” signs, or “billboards” (Emerson, 2006, p. 10). Apart from “on-site” and “off-site” “billboards” performing almost the same function, Emerson (2006) has also identified another category of signs known as the “snipe sign”, “handbill”, or “poster.” Posters are temporary printed papers that are displayed on bulletin boards, walls, fences, and many other flat surfaces for advertisements. For road users, signs are a source of communication and identification. It is also seen as a public and omnipresent register of the goods and services available for purchase (Emerson, 2006).

However, an increase in knowledge has compelled some scholars, including Blommaert (2014), to consider signs as material forces that are subject to and reflective of social realities. Blommaert (2014) regards signs as real social agents that have real effects on social life. He suggests that signs serve as agents through which people demonstrate their cultural practices, beliefs, ideologies, world views, and in some cases their artistic experiences. Some linguistic landscape studies have shown how societies – shop owners, government agencies, lorry operators, truck pushers, and others – project their experiences, beliefs, ideas, experiences, contestations, directives, orders, and perspectives about life through language or signs in public spaces. It is discovered that the message that is contained in signs, as investigated by

researchers in LL, differs depending on the country under study. This could be as a result of the cultural differences as well as dialectical differences that exist among nations in Africa and the world at large (Juffermans, 2012). Therefore, linguistic landscape studies cannot be generalized even though certain similarities may exist among nations (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

### **Outdoor Advertising**

Anthony (2007) defines advertising as one of the many marketing tools that are used to attract attention of prospective customers to a business or its product or services. In this sense, advertising is used as a marketing communication tool to attract the customers of a particular product or service a company is providing to the customers or public. One category of advertising that is relevant for this study is *Outdoor Advertising*. It is also called out-of-home (OOH) advertising and is a widely used phrase that explains any form of advertising that gets to consumers when they are not in their home (Suggett, n.d).

Also, outdoor advertising includes billboards, stalls, Trade-shows, and social gatherings. It incorporates a lot of tools and methods that draw people out of their homes. The most common example of this type of advertising is the billboard. However, information on billboards should be short, precise and attractive in order to appeal to people. Billboards are large outdoor boards used for displaying advertisements. Due to the advancements of technology, billboards are now assuming the form of large digital screens. This enables advertisers to display multiple advertising products.

Although posters and flyers are usually used interchangeably, they have several differences. Firstly, flyers are smaller than posters in size and are not

posted on the walls like posters. Also, posters are glossier and more attractive than flyers. Flyers by design are generally more informative since they contain many texts. Unlike posters, flyers are easily handed out to individuals. Flyers are often seen on university campuses and public parks. Besides, posters can be only graphic and textual while flyers which are also called handbills are always textual.

Finally, flyers are so named because in their early days they were thrown out from planes to fly in the air while people picked them to read out of curiosity. Signs that concern marketing or advertisement is a constant device placed on or before a premise to identify their occupancy and the nature of the business done there or, placed at a distance, to advertise a business or its product. The use of signs for advertisements dates back to early Egyptians civilisation, the Greeks, and as did the Romans who advanced the use of the sign by creating signboards. Signs are everywhere now, and they come in various forms, shapes, and purposes. Signs are now picking up digital forms due to the advancement of technology.

Unlike other forms of advertising, signs need to have their language wording and features to attract their targeted audience. Kartomihardjo (1993) has said that advertisers often use incomplete written discourse as they omit some words in the sentence for a certain purpose. The relation among words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and ideas in advertisements (most especially on signs) triggers the thinking of its targeted audience to investigate the hidden ideology. An example is “*Don't mind your wife's food joint.*” To ensure that all forms of ambiguity are eliminated on signs for the audience to comprehend

words of sentences one must understand the communicative purpose, context, and type of text.

### **Billboards**

Billboards are seen as large outdoor structures typically located primarily on major highways, expressways, or principal arterials that command high-density consumer exposure (mostly vehicular traffic). Gorter (2006) hints that billboards afford the greatest visibility due not only to their size but because they allow creative “customising” through extensions and embellishments. Gorter (2006) further indicates that billboards are mostly used for advertisements. These advertisements are designed to catch a person’s attention and create a memorable impression very quickly as well as leaving the reader thinking about the advertisement after they have driven past it.

In discussing billboards, one is exposed to the many types of billboards including painted, digital, mobile, multipurpose billboards. The painted billboards are traditional billboards usually located by major roads sides primarily for advertising purposes. The digital billboards show distinct and varying imagery and text created from computer programs and software. They are usually designed to display running text, displaying several different demonstrations from the institution, and also to provide several institutions with a time slot during the day.

To make texts readable by its audience, digital billboards constantly change texts to ensure maximum impact and wide exposure. Digital billboards are also created with the ability to schedule advertisements remotely. In combination with flexible real-time scheduling, it allows for a decrease in traditional upkeep and maintenance costs. Finally, digital billboards continually

integrate with real-time advertisement technologies to measure the audience or serve dynamic content.

They can be placed anywhere there is heavy foot traffic due to events— convention centres, train stations, airports, and sports arenas. As I have mentioned earlier, billboards are placed alongside highways and on commercial streets where they serve as the primary method of finding lodging, food, and fuel on unfamiliar highways by both drivers, passengers, and pedestrians.

Given the value afforded by health and wellness information successfully reaching the disadvantaged, Elrod and Fortenberry (2017) have concluded that opportunities to better distribute content to the targeted audience could very well improve community health. Billboard advertising appears to be well suited to engage the less fortunate, but it provides a productive pathway to convey helpful, supportive details, yielding healthier populations, enhance opportunities, and better communities (Elrod & Fortenberry, 2017).

#### **Image-Text- Interaction**

The concept of text and image interaction is described as textual, aural, linguistic, spatial, and visual resources used in the composition of messages. In other words, the use of multi-modalities as multiple literacies in one medium (billboards), for example, in advertising suggests the use of different communication modes in a single advertisement. A funeral poster on a wall uses the combination of words, illustrations, font, and colour (modalities) to give the reader a message and the mixing and melding of these messages represent multimodality.

Textual-related intercourse is another form of modality that must be taken into consideration in the multimodality communication process. A careful analysis of text may also be further divided into other forms of mode. The font, font-size, style, and position of the text on a billboard, for example, may give further meaning or importance to the message. The aural discourse which forms the basis for interpreting is also highly multimodal. In the act of oral communication, both verbal and non-verbal cues are used to have a complete understanding of the information. A person's actions which comprise movements of the body and hands, and inactions which involve how relaxed or tensed the person may serve as the modes in the analysis of aural related discourse.

Seong-Yun (2020) states that the role of visualisation is now crucial not only in exploring large scale data but also in presenting results from complex analysis. There are many modes through which one presents an idea, message, beliefs, affiliations, sentiments, tolerance, acceptance, or contestations. These modes can be texts, images or pictures, spoken words, or simply a sign. Nonetheless, two or more of these modes can come together to communicate a piece of information. Kornalijslijper (2007) postulates that when images and texts are placed together in a media they are likely to be related.

The relatedness of text and image depends on how they complement one another. In other words, how text and image relate depends on the functions they perform in reciprocity – functions of images in texts and functions of texts in images – to communicate desired information. In his groups of image categorization, specifically in group B, Kornalijslijper (2007) adds that there are some types of images that repeat information in the text with an

interpretation. Other images show the information in a structured form and are often applied to display the information in a way that is better explained graphically than textually. For example, maps and diagrams include other forms that clarify the information in a more organised way.

Again, some images complement the processes or concepts contained within the text. Additionally, other images reduce the information to its essential element thereby making the information more compact. Finally, some images make a piece of information plain or understandable. They can only be applied if the contents of the image follow the text closely. Despite the seemingly general functions of text-image relations, Martinec and Salway (2005) put forward a mutual relationship between image and text where they specifically indicate that these modes interact together in a multimodal relation.

Again, multimodal relations are realised in cases where the image serves the text and the text serves the image, and where text and image are equally dependent or independent of each other (Kornalijnslijper, 2007). Martinec and Salway (2005) postulate two different kinds of relations: multimodal relations-status relation and legico-semantic relation. Status relation shows the relative status between text and image. This means that there can be an equal or unequal relationship between text and image. In an unequal relationship, one mode is subordinate to the other. In an equal relationship, the modes are either independent or complementary to each other as noted earlier. In other words, when the whole text relates to the whole image, both modes depend on each other or modify each other equally in which case text and image complement one another. This phenomenon has been explored in the linguistic landscape in many public spaces.



## Empirical Review

This section of the chapter focuses on studies in the area of LL. Previous studies conducted in this area are reviewed and critiqued. These are done to identify the lines of convergence and divergence between prior studies and the current study. This section specifically focuses on studies in languages available in the linguistic landscapes of specific territories, linguistic landscape and its function in the public sphere, and the relationship between text and image in communicating meaning in the linguistic landscape of a given territory. In general, this section reviews these studies in order to identify gaps in the literature to contextualise the proposed study. It is structured to review studies globally limiting the perspective to Ghana.

A study that begins this section is Webster (2014) who investigates language in the public space of the Navajo Nation. The study argued that the signs in the neighbourhood of Navajo seem to replicate a modernist vision of a suburban American neighbourhood. Further, he interviewed the natives of Navajo who reported no idea of what those signs in the public spaces in Navajo mean. Finally, Webster concludes that the signs in Navajo are written for an audience in a legitimately imagined linguistic community that does not exist. What is not clear is that Webster has not indicated whether or not these semiotic modes or signs are public owned or privately owned. This knowledge, if obtained, would have helped the reader to know if the legitimately imagined linguistic community is the vision of the government or the entire country.

Secondly, the account of which sign is either government-owned or private-owned also reveals contestation between government signs and private signs. Nonetheless, Webster (2014) settles with the assertion that the signs speak

to a desire for a particular kind of audience who will recognise them at some future time; hence, the indication of the predictive nature of signs. Nonetheless, this complex situation in Navajo may not be so in other parts of the world. Furthermore, Webster did not indicate the dominant language in which these messages are written and what the role of the minority language in the public space performs. Elsewhere, Rodriguez (2013) has explored the public space or commercial streets of America and Spain to assess the local status of other reading of texts that are evident to how cultural practices and beliefs as well as historical circumstances that are inherent and how they form an integral part of the linguistic landscape. He, therefore, discovers that the information contained in the signs provides the people's technological inclination and orientation.

Rodriguez (2013) asserts that the study of Spanish in linguistic landscape reflects the collective vernacular and contains few linguistic deviations. Ultimately, Rodriguez's (2013) study reveals the influence of technology on written language. In this case, images replace written texts. However, the study could not vividly reveal what the people's message is in terms of their belief, commercial activities, life experiences, religious beliefs, and how these are communicated in public spaces. In Ghana, Anane's (2013) studied the shores of the people of Winneba has investigated the inscriptions on canoes and further interviewed the owners of these canoes to understand the reasons for the messages found in these inscriptions.

Some of the signs are used to promote products and services as against others that are used to prompt potential customers to purchase goods and patronise services. Others are designed to catch the attention of the prospective customers. So, the above literature leads the reader to appreciate how messages

found through semiotic resources differ in meaning and purpose based on different linguistic communities.

Again, studies that examined language on billboards in LL focus on how naming practices reflect the language situation of specific territories. Alomoush and Al-Naimat (2018) have also investigated the interrelationship between English used on signs and materiality in the linguistic landscape of touristic Jordanian town, Petra. They specifically aim at analysing the way recurrent practices of identity and numerous socio-cultural norms in the Jordanian tourism context is portrayed through materials that signs are made of. They discovered that signs are written on stone and material surfaces often displaying English in uppercase letters and replicating governmental practices to convey a sense of quality, continuity, and permanence within economic and tourism-centred ideologies and policies.

There is the discussion of how the English language is used in uppercase to display inscriptions on surfaces of stones and metals which were practices of governmental bodies to signify a sense of quality, continuity, and permanence with economic and tourism-centred ideologies and policies. Secondly, the English language is displayed on wooden boards creatively to denote a sense of freshness and newness, signs printed and hand-written on paper often appearing in uppercase letters manifesting the dynamism in the linguistic landscape. This ensures the flow of special offers and even linguistic and non-linguistic changes.

Finally, in the study emerges the most remarkable, in the researcher's view, evidence that indicates that monolingual English signs painted inside social bottles symbolise important environmental, historical, and cultural information on the ancient city, Petra, which is indicative of Petra as a

destination for tourist worldwide (Alomoush & Al-Na'imat, 2018). This suggests that the use of language in public spaces of most countries, especially in African countries, has some touch of the international blend and has indicated the effect of globalisation on the patronage and services in that landscape. The point is that most of the studies reviewed above focus on the importance of billboard advertising but critically missed out on the role images play in complementing, substituting, or completing the texts of the messages on that billboard alongside the intentions of those billboards seeking to communicate to a targeted audience.

Similarly, other studies in Africa have explored language on billboards. For instance, Obafe and Dibaguriaya (2017) who have conducted a study to ascertain the impact of globalisation on the socio-linguistic landscape of Nigeria have argued:

Globalisation is an irreversible process that is likely to affect the language and values Nigeria hold (p. 45)

They argued that the government and civil societies must radically take action to withstand the risk and challenges (including the dying of minority languages) and embrace the opportunity which globalisation process offers.

In Botswana, Sankoloba-Molokomme (2009) investigates the use of language in and around the parliament of Botswana by drawing from the linguistic landscape that is found in that area. Then the question which arises is “Why the use of English as the prominent language in the public space of a location where the majority of people speak Setswana?” What messages are contained in images that are different from the texts on these signages?

Sankoloba-Molokomme (2009) demonstrates that these questions can better be answered by inclined readers. He observes that the signboard of Botswana's Parliament is placed in between trees. The board is taken mostly by the image of Parliament which is used as its logo with its motto in English 'Our Parliament Our Pride' occupying most of the board followed by the Coat of Arms. Several scholars argued that the dominant of English in the public space of most African countries could also be attributed to the impact of globalisation apart from some colonial historical facts.

The process of globalisation has thrown light on more than a few cultures and the interpretation of those cultures. It is in this light that Yarullina (2015) specifies that globalisation as a process has affected the world including some European countries. Supportively, Obaje (2017) opines that globalisation is an irreversible process. There are areas affected by the process of globalisation including culture as well as a language so much so that the choice of English language other than other languages has reflected in company names, shop signs, schools, national newspapers, parliament, churches, and even some homes and on the language on billboards in many countries across the globe.

Yarullina (2015) proves that the evasive spread of the English language continues to post a threat to the preservation and promotion of native languages and cultures. Furthermore, the wide and 'unregulated' use of the English language may also present linguists with yet another challenge of correcting translation of some lexical units of the language. Put differently, globalisation has presented us with increasingly complex sociolinguistic realities that challenge traditional barriers to investigate language in societies. The role LL studies plays in this context is to show the light on the use and effect of the

English language in the locations where local languages dominate as far as languages are concerned.

Studies on LL have often focused on the theme of globalisation on the linguistic landscapes of specific territories (Obaje & Dibaguriaya, 2017; Takhtarova, Kalegina & Yarullina, 2015). Obaje and Dibaguriaya (2017), for instance, have investigated the impact of globalisation on the socio-linguistic landscape of Nigeria by arguing that globalisation is an irreversible process that is likely to affect the language and values Nigeria holds. They propose that the government and civil societies must take action to withstand the risk and challenges of the endangered or the dying of minority languages as these are posed by globalisation, but to embrace the new opportunity which globalisation has to offer.

Using a different approach, Alomoush and Al-Naimat (2018) investigate the interrelationship between English used on signs and materiality in the linguistic landscape of tourist Jordanian town, Petra. The results indicate that the English language is used in uppercase to display signs on surfaces of stones and metals. These are the practices of governmental bodies to signify a sense of quality, continuity, and permanence with economic and tourism-centred ideologies and policies. The study also finds out that the English language is displayed on wooden boards creatively to denote a sense of freshness and newness.

The languages on billboards seem to perform many functions which include revealing themes and establishing relationships between LL and marketability. In a study conducted on three markets in Ibadan – south-western part of Nigeria, Ayantayo (2016), for example, mentions that marketers use

billboards as a tool to attract customers to buy their products. Additionally, Ayantayo discovers that the roles of linguistic landscape in promoting sales include making the name of product or service familiar, prompting potential customers to purchase, creating awareness of brand or service image, catching the attention of people, displaying available products, and showcasing the qualities of products or services.

However, not all studies conducted in the field of LL focus on inscriptions on billboards or stones in public spaces. Gatugbe's (2006) study, for instance, examines the significance of inscriptions of vehicles in the Cape Coast town of Ghana. She found out that the inscriptions on vehicles in Cape Coast give insight into many different areas of life. To prove his point, Garugbe (2006) categorises the inscriptions into four (4) main areas: patriotism, proverbs, life, and religion. Later, Van Dijk (2009) also researches into car decoration in Ghana. He (Van Dijk) argues that inscriptions on most Ghanaian vehicles are texts that are mostly incomplete because of the limited spaces on the vehicles. Like Gatugbe, Van Dijk (2009) groups inscriptions on the vehicles into themes of religion, interpersonal slogans, and other slogans that are not classified.

The interesting thing is that the studies reviewed so far, first of all show that the English language is dominant on billboards in some public spaces in Africa. Secondly, the languages on billboards contained organised thoughts in public spaces with an embodiment of customs, social commitment, life experiences, religious orientation, and revelation of people's culture through LL. This has compelled Zhang (2010) to champion the proclamation that language is not only the key to understand the culture of people, but also the

obvious characteristics to label the culture of people. He indicates that one kind of language may contain special words or terms to indicate some particular matters in its own culture.

Similarly, Tan (2011) who focuses on street names, school names, names of buildings, names of metro stations, and names of tourist attractions examines the use of place names in the linguistic landscape of Singapore. His findings indicate that English dominates in naming practices in Singapore. Interestingly, Singapore has been noted for being a country where four languages are accorded the official language status.

Sankoloba-Molokomme (2009) explores the symbolic and functional values of signs and languages found in and around the Parliament of Botswana. This study falls within multimodal relations as its objective analyses the visual language as displayed in and around the said parliament. Here, the analysis looks at the visibility and clarity of language and information or messages on the signage before interpreting the distribution and frequency of each one of the languages on the signage. In other words, the research explores how text and image relate on the signages to give information while considering whether other institutions such as the embassies, international companies, organisations and one of the oldest and busiest malls are within the vicinity of parliament, and how their presence is captured in the linguistic landscape.

In his study, Sankoloba-Molokomme (2009) discovers that English is the most prominent language on signages in and around the signage of Botswana followed by Setswana. Moreover, English is mostly found to be used with Setswana. This signifies the peaceful coexistence of both languages. Again, he discovers that images or signs have no special effect on texts on these



billboards. Even though prominence is given to English on signages even in informal settings, the majority of those who frequently find themselves in parliament, and the civil servants, heads and members of private institutions and organisations, and journalists in Botswana speak Setswana.

Most studies conducted in the field of LL in Ghana concentrated on cities and towns, including Anane (2019), and Tomekyin and Nyame (2018) who investigated linguistic situation in Ajumako in the central region and Winneba as well. Their study is primarily focused on discussing language competition in the public space. They established that *Efffututu* or *Awutu* being the home language of the people of Ajumako and Winneba is totally missing in their public space so much so that the English language dominates the public of these two communities.

However, language is not only visible on billboards, as postulated by the above writers. Some researchers, including Nyame and Tomekyin (2018) who have also studied the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba in the Central Region of Ghana explored the language competition in these districts as they pay much attention to inscriptions on vehicles in the various commercial lorry stations in both Ajumako and Winneba to study languages present in the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba, and to account for whether or not the languages visible in the public space are the reflection of the languages spoken by each community along with the uniqueness of these communities.

Nyame and Tomekyin's (2018) study reveals the frequent use of both English and Fante in both communities. However, their research failed to account for languages on billboards which, if accounted for, would have represented another perspective of people's thoughts and their linguistic

practices in the research area. Anane (2019) has bridged this gap by looking at the language used on canoes, the motivation behind the choice of such languages by the owners of these canoes, and the meaning the inscriptions convey to people of Winneba and Ajumako in the Central Region of Ghana.

Anane (2013) shows that inscriptions on the canoes are written in languages such as English, Fante, and Ewe. Secondly, the people reveal their religious orientation, their life experiences, figurative expressions, and even advice others through the inscriptions on these canoes. An example of some of the religious inscriptions include *God with us; He is not asleep; Oh God save me* and many more. Inscriptions on life experience include *Witchcraft is stupid*. Those inscriptions on figurative expressions are *One man no chop; We will not fight but we will chop*. In Nigeria, Ayantayo (2016) investigated languages on billboards in three streets of Nigeria where he observes that the English language is dominant in these streets. He also hinted that LL is used as a tool for promoting sales on the streets of Ibadan in South-West Nigeria.

Anane's (2019) research is based on the assertion that many languages come into contact in this area and he hopes to back this assertion with evidence. The findings have shown that languages such as Fante, Twi, English, Ga, and Ewe, are visible on the canoes along the shores of the aforementioned towns. This implies that the speakers of Fante, Ga, Asante, and Ewe (Ewe) live together in the said district and have projected their languages on the canoes as such to express themselves in their language. These people, having come from different linguistic backgrounds, send a message of tolerance, peace, and unity in diversity.

The study further indicates that Fante is the dominant language among languages used to write the inscriptions although Winneba is an Effutu-speaking community. Furthermore, Anane (2019) argued that the people of Winneba express, share their experiences, sentiments, thoughts, opinions to others through these inscriptions. Greater above these are many kinds of research in the linguistic landscape that have accounted for visibility of language in public space, and people's culture, feelings, hopes, and sentiments are expressed through these languages. There seems to be a thin voice on how images on the canoes studied by Anane (2019) and Tomekyin (2018) complement of provide additional information to the texts discovered on the canoes and cars.

They also fail to reveal how different these inscriptions are from one another so that the reader is educated on how canoes having Ewe inscriptions are different from canoes having Twi inscriptions. These, if done, will give the reader extensive exposure to the various ethnic groups and how they express their beliefs, thoughts, and experiences through these inscriptions. Nonetheless, the studies above have confirmed and acknowledged the national character of Ghanaians, peace, and hospitality.

While Tomekyin and Nyame (2018) studied language in public in general within two communities, Ajumako and Winneba, Anane (2019) focused on the shores of Winneba, paying attention to inscriptions on canoes. He aimed at looking at the language used on such canoes, what motives these choices of language sought to achieve and the meaning that such inscriptions convey to the people of Winneba. Unlike Tomekyin and Nyame (2018), Anane (2019) goes beyond which language is present or absent among the people of Winneba to look at what message is entailed in the language the people use. Unlike

Tomekyin and Nyame, Anane (2019) claimed that Fante is dominant on canoes at the shores of Winneba.

In another region of Ghana, Tuffour and Asamoah-Poku (2020) conducted an ethnographic investigation into the linguistic landscape of Kumasi, the capital city of the Ashanti region of Ghana, to investigate the languages that are used on writings on stores on the streets of Kejetia. Their study primarily used a bottom-up approach to analyse data from the public writings on stores. The bottom-up approach suggests stores owned by individuals and private entities. The result of their study revealed that the local Asante was dominantly represented as compared to the English language. The study was quick to conclude that English, in Kumasi, is more of an index of globalisation than a means of communication.

Furthermore, Tuffour and Asamoah-Poku (2020) indicated that there was the use of multiple scripts where one could witness a combination of different languages being represented on the same store. An example of such combination is Twi and the standard English language. Unfortunately, Tuffour and Asamoah-Poku (2020) did not indicate in the case where two languages are represented on the stores, which one of these languages is given more space or dominates. A knowledge of this would have led the researcher to compare this study to Tomekyin and Nyame (2018), who concluded that in cases where English and Fante are represented on the same space, English dominates or is given a priority.

It is easy for the current researcher to agree with Owu-Ewie (2017) at this point that, sixty years after independence, Ghana still grapples with the issue of which language to use in education. It may be necessary to look at the issue of language fluctuation even in public spaces to confirm or find a base to demonstrate a growth away from Ansah's (2014, p. 45) claim that there seems to be "many tensions and paradoxes that arise from bilingual education policies in multi-ethnic/multilingual communities which stem from a conflict between policy decisions that are rooted in particular linguistic tradition and the sociolinguistic realities" as witnessed in Tomekyin and Nyame (2019), and in Tuffour and Asamoah-Poku (2020).

This flux, according to Ansah (2014) may have been caused by the instability in government leadership or may have been as a result of possible tensions between set objectives and the implementation of those set policies. Despite these vibrant studies in LL across various regions in Ghana, the LL studies reviewed in Ghana so far are conducted in other regions and towns of Ghana but very little or no research (in LL) is seen to have been conducted in the Volta region. There is therefore no evidence of LL study in Ho, the Volta Regional capital city of Ghana. This creates such a lacuna that needs to be filled, and the current study is purposed for this.

Studies reviewed showed that there appears to be an emerging scholarship on linguistic landscape (LL) with a majority of these studies focused on urban settings. Most of these studies focus on multilingualism, where they highlight the dominance of English in the public space, compelling some minority languages to die. Other studies including Quayson (2012) whose study focused on analysing cell phone billboards on Oxford Street in Accra looks at

the street of Accra as a transcript of dynamic transformation of discourse ecologies.

For some studies in LL, there was the need to focus on inscriptions on signs like wristband, hotels, cars, canoes and other inscriptions that appear on public surfaces. Such works include Fosu's (2015) study which seeks to analyse inscriptions on wristbands worn by students of the University of Cape Coast. Fosu's study indicates that the wristbands worn by over sixty students of the University of Cape Coast are mostly in English and they reveal themes such as soccer, advertisement, academics, religion, love and relationship and designer fashion labels. Secondly, it was found that students of the University of Cape Coast express their church affiliation, religious orientation, love, life experiences and social orientations through the use of wristbands.

Other scholars of LL took a critical look at street names, identifying them as important systems of identification in towns (Kumi, 2014). Kumi's work seeks to reveal naming system in Africa, paying particular attention to street names in Agona Swedru township. He selected names in terms of their specificity and genericity so that the meanings of the names as well as their respective histories are revealed. This helps in identifying certain changes that occur in certain street names like Apabir (a name of a god and its shrine), Bebianiha (a place used for the treatment of contagious diseases), Washington and Owane (Settlers of Denkyira). These names are classified into descriptive, inspirational or proverbial forms.

Secondly, the names revealed five different forms of toponymic forms which are specific only, generic only, generic and specific, specific and generic, specific and preposition and the last one being generic and specific and

adjective. The field of LL exposes one to such a rich knowledge in the area of naming practices, socio-cultural scholarship as well as religions. These studies are carried out, using different signages as windows. The purpose is to explore similar studies in LL that focus on analysing language on public space. This is because the current study seeks to add to the literature on LL. Inscriptions on billboards, and other surfaces have been an area of interest for a number of researchers in Ghana (Adjei, 2016; Kumi, 2014; Fosu, 2015; Quayson, 2016); Nyame, & Tomekyin, 2018; Anane, 2019).

Quayson (2014) reveals the historical account of the people's material, social and esoteric life, which can be seen through languages that are visible in public spaces of the city. The geographic layout of Accra is traced to the politics of land, politics that lay claim on the ownership and claims to ownership of the land. This history is said to contradict the planned development under colonialism. The distinction between 'multiculturalism' and multiethnicity by Quayson (2014) was not very clear but he suggests some "multicultural accommodation" as seen on billboards on Oxford Street in Accra. He suggests that inscriptions on billboards in Oxford Street have some improvisational character that is traceable to the local cultural mediations that are said to have historically been drawn upon. Even though Quayson (2014) may be seen to focus on cell phone billboards, his research covers other signs such as slogans on lorries, cars, pushcarts and other mobile surfaces. He first argues that these signs are a distinctive feature of Accra and of many African urban environments. Secondly, the billboards hint at the history of social urban structure. Finally, inscriptions on the billboards invoke some rich relationships

between tradition and modernity, security and religion including local and transnational circuits of images and ideas (Quayson, 2014).

Similarly, studies, such as Ohemeng (2020) investigate ideologies of political cartoons in Ghana. His study, using multimodal critical discourse approach, found six themes based on common issues that dominated political discourse in Ghana. The study identified themes such as political process being the dominant theme in the data since the period chosen for the study “marked the peak period in the elections as several issues were published in the media that bordered on preparations and organization toward the elections” (Ohemeng, 2020).

While some scholars of LL in Ghana concentrate on ethnicity and culturalism, others focus on errors of inscriptions on billboards and how they reflect the low standard of English in Ghana. For example, Adjei (2014) carried out an analysis errors of inscriptions on billboards in the University of Cape Coast community. The study revealed four main errors on sixty billboards. Adjei’s study justified the presence of the errors found on the billboards by indicating that language used on billboards are usually words and phrases so they usually do not require agreement, but Quayson (2014) indicates that the use of words and phrases on billboards is as a result of economy of space.

It is thus expedient to say at this point that, whether the form of the language used is a phrase, a word, or a sentence, it is important to craft the language such that the reader or targeted audience understands the message of the sender. In other words, the process of transmitting information to a recipient must be done through a channel that is easily decoded by the receiver (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002). Similar to Adjei (2014), Quayson and Ofori (2016) conducted a study in the



Amamoma community with the aim of finding out how educational environment (University of Cape Coast) can affect the theme of inscriptions on shops. Quayson and Ofori (2016) assert that shop owners in Amamoma community have inscriptions that demonstrate various themes such as the theme of identity, ownership, inspiration, classic professionalism, reverence to God, and academic. It can be inferred that the expression of one's religious affiliation, academic tolerance, life experiences, and relationships by the students of the University of Cape Coast in Fosu's (2015) study is a confirmation of Adjei's (2014) study despite the fact that Adjei's study targeted the students and Fosu's study targeted the University community.

Finally, Essegbey (2009) studied the linguistic landscape of Accra and conclude that, Accra is the most urbanized city of Ghana. It is also the economic hub and the centre for government businesses. For these reasons, it attracts migrants from different parts of the country. Many Ghanaians from the rural areas migrate to this city in search of jobs and better living conditions. This has led to the current state in which there are more immigrants than the native Ga-speaking people in Accra. The majority of the immigrants are native Akan speakers (percentage of native Ga in Accra is 18.9% as against Akan which is 39.8% (Essegbey, 2009, p. 120). All the above studies reviewed show that there is a growing interest in the study of Linguistic landscape of many cities in Ghana. This development is vital because they help readers to understand how Ghana is ethnolinguistically integrated and to further know the state of indigenous languages in Ghana.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the underpinning theories employed for the study, concepts, and empirical studies, and conceptual framework. The theories used included the Visual Grammar Theory by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and the Roman Jakobson's Theory of Language Function. The researcher also reviewed prior studies related to the current study. Most of the studies reviewed only partly considered the topic the current considers. The relevance of these empirical studies to the current study lies in the fact that they all focused on billboards.



## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, research site, the population and sampling, the procedure used in data collection and the analytical frameworks adopted for the analysis of data. Other issues that are discussed include (a) data analysis procedure, (b) ethics and validity, and (c) challenges encountered and surmounted.

#### Research Design

This study adopts qualitative content analysis as its research design. The main intent of qualitative research is to explore, discover, understand, explain, and clarify situations, perceptions, feelings, attitudes, values, beliefs, and experiences of a group of people (Kumar, 2011). Qualitative methods attempt to gain an understanding of an underlying reason and motivation for actions and establish how people interpret their experiences and the world around them. In addition to the use of a qualitative method, the quantitative method is also adopted as a complementary method to enable the researcher to provide some frequency counts for language choice on the billboards.

These designs— qualitative and quantitative— are discussed under content analysis. The content analysis makes use of a wide range of analytical techniques to generate findings and put them into contexts. Marsh and White (2006) posit that analytical constructs in the content analysis may be derived from (a) existing theories or practices in academia, (b) experiences or knowledge of experts, and (c) previous researches. These three constructs

originally put forward by Kreppendorff (2004) suggest that a researcher can easily combine pictures and texts to convey one or more than one meaning.

### Research Area

The research site is discussed in terms of language, place, and people. The discussion comprises the language of the people of Ho. The section comprises the languages that are spoken by the people of Ho, and how their sociolinguistic behaviour is influenced by other languages that surround them. Secondly, there is a discussion of how the people of Ho became part of the German colony and how they were later incorporated into the British Gold Coast colony. A further discussion has also captured the territorial development of the people of Ho and the surrounding towns.

The Volta Region has Ewe as a major language spoken. Other languages spoken in the region include Adele which is spoken by the people of Nkwanta, Akyode which is spoken by the people of Shiare, Buem which is spoken by the people of Jasikan, Bodada, and its immediate surrounding villages, Nkonya by the people of Akloba, Delo and Nkrubo by the people of Pusupu, among others. Despite the existence of many languages in the Volta Region of Ghana, Ewe is widely spoken in the Region; hence, making it an “umbrella” language spoken across and parts of Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. Ansre (2000) asserts that Ewe is widely spoken across southern Togo by extending to the Benin border. The language traces its roots to the ‘Gbe’ (meaning language) family of Niger-Congo. Like few “umbrella” languages, Ewe has about four (4) major dialects; Ga, Twi, Fante and Ewe. Gavua (2000) posits that one of the ways to clearly understand the genesis of these varying dialects is to group them into coastal

and or southern dialects. For example, Anlo and Avenor including Watsyi indigenously characterise Evedomegbe.

Ho was part of the German colony of Togoland until World War I when it was occupied by the British. Ho later became the capital of the League of Nations mandate of British Togoland until that entity was incorporated into the British Gold Coast colony which subsequently became Ghana. The town was initially inhabited by the people of Hegbe (now Heve) followed by the people of Banakoe. These two groups lived alongside each other with individual chiefdoms. The first known chief of the Bankoe people was Afede Asor I, known in his private life as Akorli (Ansre, 2000).

The chief of Heve was Anikpi I who was known in his private life as Adzah Doe. Later, Aho and Dome joined their settlement but came to play leading roles in the settlements' development. The people of Dome became the ruling class until the emergence of modern-day chieftaincy which they ceded to the Bankoe people.

Geographically, Ho is the capital city of the Ho Municipal District and the Volta Region of Ghana. The city lies between Mount Adaklu and Mount Galenukui. The population of Ho Municipality is about 218,650. About 62 percent of the population resides in urban localities. The Municipality shares boundaries with Adaklu and Agotime-Ziope Districts to the South, Ho West District to the North and West, and the Republic of Togo to the East. Ho has a total land area of about 2,361 square kilometres representing 11.5 percent of the region's total land area (Wikipedia.com). Major towns and villages that surround Ho include Ziavi, Klefe, Shi, Tokokoe, Taviefe, Atikpui, Nyive, Hodzo, Tanyigbe, Akrofu, Hoviepe, Akoepe, Kpenoe, Sokode, and Juapong.

Figure 1 below is the map of Ho

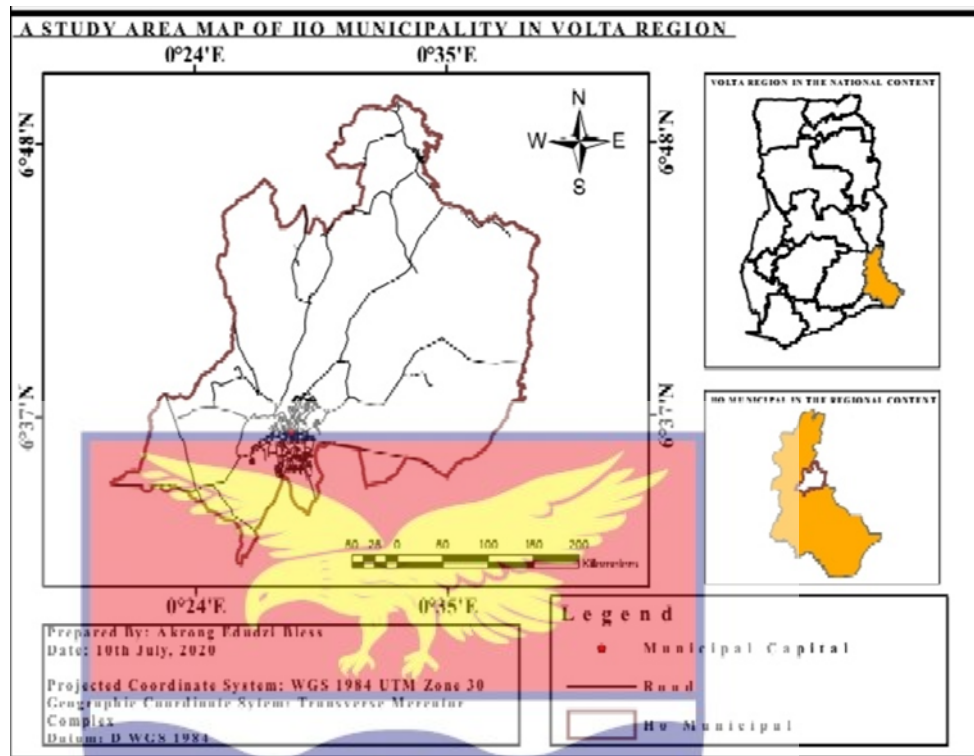


Figure 1: Map of Ho Municipality

Ho is the capital town of the Volta Region where one expects that there is an open display of the many languages spoken in the Volta Region. It is, therefore, necessary to find out the languages displayed on the streets of Ho, how these languages to some extent help reveal the social orientations, culture, and the issue of contestation between the top-down billboards and the bottom-up billboards that exist on the three main commercial streets in Ho

### Population and Sampling

The target population for this study is 90 billboards within three commercial streets in Ho. The purposive sampling method is used to gather the data. Kumar (2011) opines that purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose data based on what will provide the best information to achieve the stated objectives of the study. The criteria for selecting the streets and the billboards are guided by Gorter (2006). Following the direction of Gorter (2006)

that billboards afford the greatest visibility and for adverts, three commercial streets within the Ho Municipality are selected for data collection.

These streets include Civic Centre Traffic Light to the Ho market, Aho Junction to Ho Market, and Anlo Kordzi Road leading to Civic Centre to the Barracks Junction. The selected streets are mostly busy ones since almost all visitors who either enter or leave the town use them. Most shops in Ho are found on these streets; hence, this makes the streets busy always. In other words, the three selected streets are almost always commercially engaged. For easy references, the researcher is coding the streets as follows:




**Table 1: Streets in Ho**

Name of Street	Street Code
Civic Centre Street	CCS
Aho Junction Street	AJS
Anlo Kordzi Road	AKR

Source: Field data (2020)

Table two (2) below shows samples of the Billboards taken on the three selected streets in Ho.

**Table 2: Selected Billboards representing the three selected streets in Ho**

Civic Centre Street	Aho Junction Street	Anlo Kordzi Road
		

Source: Field Survey (2020)

## Data Collection Procedure

As a method of collecting the data on the three streets, an android phone was used to take pictures of billboards on the three commercial streets selected. This was in line with Gorter's (2006) view that the researcher taking pictures follows a (public) transport axis to be sure of a focal geographical area for data collection. Shortly after identifying the three commercial streets in the research area, there was a significant approach in collecting the data. The researcher did not encounter any problem taking these pictures because the days selected for taking the pictures were mostly Sundays. This became an advantage for the researcher since there were no major commercial activities on Sundays, except for those who attended church.

Days when the researcher had to take pictures of billboards when the shop owners of these billboards were present, permission was taken immediately from the shop owners and the purpose of data collection explained to them. The collection of data became convenient such that the researcher had no issues to contend with. The researcher focused on the languages displayed on the billboards in these commercial streets to understand the unity that is exhibited and the health of sharing the same space by these signpost owners in the display of their signposts.

## Validity

Validity is about the fact that the instrument and its measurements accurately measure what they are intended to measure (Hair *et al.*, 2018). To ensure instrument validity and the validity of the study in its entirety, the researcher made sure that data collected were of high quality and devoid of dishonesty. Also, the measures used for the current study were founded on items



tested and used in prior studies to measure the current constructs of interest. Further, criterion validity, content validity, construct validity, face validity, discriminant validity, and convergent validity are given attention.

Furthermore, to ensure the generalisability of the findings, both internal and external validity were ensured. The criterion validity ensures how closely the current text results agree with already existing and widely used tests (Taylor & Geldenhuys, 2019). Also, to ensure that texts are representative and cover all important aspects of the study constructs, the content validity is as well ensured. Further, to ensure construct validity, indicators and measurements were constructed to give cognisance of important established knowledge. The instrument (android phone) contains only relevant items that measured the constructs under study.

To ensure result generalisability, external and internal validity were considered. External validity ensures that the findings are generalisable to the study population (Saunders et al., 2017). External validity comes in two ways: population and ecological validity. The population validity enhanced this study due to the large sample size used. As far as billboards on the three commercial streets are concerned, this was done by generalising to the defined population. Ecologically, the findings of the study can be generalised from the current study's locale, Ho Municipality.

### **Analytical Framework and Data Analysis Procedure**

The researcher examined 90 billboards for the purpose of analysing the inscriptions on the billboards. All billboards captured on the three selected streets were critically observed by the researcher to determine whether the pictures taken were worthwhile and whether the inscriptions on the billboards

had answers to the research questions. Krippendorff (2004) asserts that for data to be meaningful, it has to be well organized and explained. For this reason, the billboards were labelled according to the names of the three streets selected to enable the researcher to identify which billboards belonged to which street. This helped in determining how different one street was from another. The research questions guided the analysis of the billboards.

### **Analytical framework**

Analytical framework offers several opportunities for the organization of research. It also provides “the basic vocabulary of concepts and terms that may be used to construct the kinds of casual explanations expected of a theory” (Coral & Bokelmann, 2017). This section discusses the analytical formwork that is deemed suitable for analysing language functions on billboards in Ho. The first research question will be answered by using linguistic landscape theory as a guide. Through the linguistic landscape theory as opined in the previous chapter, the study will reveal the languages used in the selected billboards and their relative importance to the audience.

Also, Jacobson’s function of language is adopted as analytical framework to guide the analysis of the data. As discussed earlier in this study, Jacobson’s theory of language function is one of the models that explored how language is used to achieve different effects among communicators. For instance, smile, nod and wave are considered as capable of performing phatic function (Tribus, 2017). Therefore, with Jacobson’s model as framework, the researcher will categorize the verbal and non-verbal messages into their language function. This analytical framework will aid in providing adequate

answers to the research question two on function of the languages used in the billboards in Ho.

Aside from Jacobson's model as framework, this study employs Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) theory of reading images as analytical framework to guide the analysis of the data. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) designed a visual grammar theory that reflects how visual communicates independently or together with words to send a message to audience. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) advanced three meaning of visuals, thus, compositional meaning, interactive meaning and representative meaning.

Using this as analytical framework, the researcher will consider the various semiotic resources used in the billboards as communicating the compositional meaning. The compositional meaning communicates the physical representation of semiotic resources in the text and how their arrangement in the text communicates meaning. For instance, a semiotic resource that is placed at the center has information value over semiotic resources that is placed at the margin. Also, the interactive meaning deals with how the semiotic resources in the text communicate with the audience. The semiotic resources could be placed in such a way that they are given good and services or demanding good and services. For instance, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) opined that an image of a person smiling at the audience gives the message the advertisers are associating positive feeling with their product. The final meaning that is discussed in reading images is the representative meaning. The representative meaning discusses the relative importance of the character or semiotic resources used in the text. For instance, using religious character could be a way of communicating the religious faith of the advertiser.

## Ethical Considerations

According to Afrifin (2018), “Ethical considerations are essential in all research area, but it is more important in qualitative research in particular.” Afrifin (2018) asserts that for the process of obtaining ethical consent, the researcher ensures that the consent should be given freely, subjects must be made to understand what is being demanded of them. Again, participants need to be adequately informed about the research, comprehend the information and have the power of freedom of choice to allow them decide whether to participate or decline.

To ensure strict compliance with ethical standards of research, a clause has been introduced in the introductory paragraph of a letter which would assure the shop owners of anonymity and confidentiality. Specifically, the shop owners present at the time the researcher took pictures of billboards were informed that, if anything was published from this research, no information supplied would be identifiable to them since only aggregated data will be reported in this study. Additionally, the appropriate time for taking the pictures was mutually agreed on between the respondents and the researcher. Shop owners had the liberty to opt-out of the survey at their discretion or will.

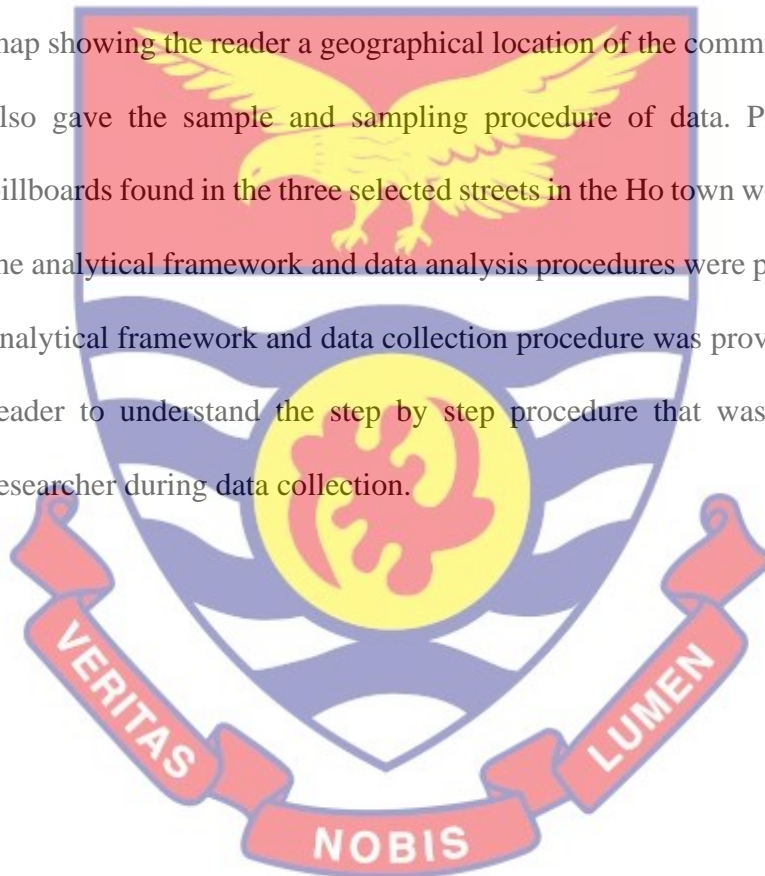
## Limitations

The researcher uses an android phone to capture the billboards. In the process of collecting data, some shop owners hesitate to allow the researcher to capture the billboards of their shops. This has caused a delay in the data collection. The researcher had to go back to the field to continue with the data collection the next day. Additionally, some of the billboards were so tall that it was difficult to capture the texts and images on them. The researcher had to

climb nearby objects to be able to capture the texts on tall billboards, with its attendant risk.

### Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the research design that is used for the study. The qualitative research design was supported by the quantitative research design to enable the researcher discover hidden messages in the semiotic resources on the billboards. The research community is clearly defined with a map showing the reader a geographical location of the community. The chapter also gave the sample and sampling procedure of data. Photographs of all billboards found in the three selected streets in the Ho town were taken. Further, the analytical framework and data analysis procedures were presented. Finally, analytical framework and data collection procedure was provided to enable the reader to understand the step by step procedure that was followed by the researcher during data collection.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data gathered. Specifically, the analysis addresses the objectives of the study, which involve the languages that are visible on billboards on the selected streets in Ho, the functions languages on billboards perform in Ho, and how text and image relate to communicate on the billboards. The research uses a mostly qualitative approach, even though there are few presentations in quantitative form to aid the understanding of the reader.

#### Visible Languages on Billboards

The first research question sought to ascertain the language distribution on billboards of selected streets in Ho. To answer this question, the researcher categorised the billboards into monolingual and multilingual depending on the language or languages that are present on the billboards respectively. This is noticed, partly, based on what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) regard as the compositional meaning. The compositional meaning refers to all the signs represented in the text (on the billboards). The monolingual billboards largely depicted either English or English language with majority of the monolingual billboard inscription being in the English Language. Table 3 below presents the sample percentage of appearance of each monolingual inscription in the billboards.

**Table 3: Monolingual Language Billboards**

Language	Number of billboards	% number of languages	Number of inscriptions	% Number of inscriptions
Eve	6	6.7	6	2.1
English	84	93.3	285	97.9
Total	90	100	291	100

Source: Field survey (2020)

From the table above, it is observed that the languages that are displayed on billboards in Ho are Eve and English, as these languages are commonly spoken in Ho. Undoubtedly, it is also observed from the table (1) that the English language is the most dominant language in the public space of Ho. The English language comprises 93.7% of the total languages observed by the researcher. Eve constitutes 6.3%. Other commonly spoken indigenous Ghanaian languages like Twi and Ga are not commonly seen in the public space of Ho. It is the case in Table 3 that English has high prestige in the Ho township, and its increasing presence in the visual of the three main commercial streets in the town has become part of everyday life. Other languages need to be given attention in public space to make the minority languages too visible. This possible by incorporating such languages in the inscriptions on the billboards. The billboards mostly serve specific purposes, however, incorporating some minority languages makes the people who identify with that language represented in the community. Gorter (2012) stated that being visible may be as important for the minority languages to be heard as well for the reason that people’s culture is embedded in their language.

The dominance of English on billboards in Ho does not give a true reflection of the spoken languages in that town. Inversely, the town is indigenously an Ewe-speaking town. This has been so in that when one meets individuals on the street, the major language one could hear from the fellow is Ewe. Therefore, this finding is in line with Mirvahedi (2016, p. 196) who asserts:

The linguistic landscape is not always a fair representation of the linguistic repertoire of the people living in a geographical space, but rather language choice in the LL is developed by the state and/or the people to portray an image of a place they desire and aspire to.

It also brings to bear the idea of Prah (2010) that the indigenous languages of Africa remain as the spoken discourse rather than written discourse. This, according to Prah (2010), is low literacy level of the people in the indigenous languages, unlike English language which is well documented worldwide and has been recognised as an official language of Ghana. In essence, the dominance of English is partly because it is the language that most of the inhabitants can read and write, advertisers prefer to reach their target audience in the language that is generally understood.

Analytically, the items from the general lexicon are generally unproblematic. For instance, billboards with the following inscriptions— *New Vision Co-operative, Seasons Travel and Tour, Dress Up (Exclusive Technology Development), Talk of the Town Kitchen and Bar, Mighty Enterprise, Give Thanks Boutique, Emmanuel Enterprise, Graceland Homeopathic Clinic, and Grace and Glory Business Centre*— are identified as



English monolingual signs and their languages are purely English, while billboards with the following inscriptions— *Agbeehia*, and *Agbenorxevi* are Ewe monolingual signs. In instances where the inscriptions contained personal names like *Divine Mensah Ventures*, *Bertha's Jewellery*, *Samjay Enterprise*, *Amivi Special*, I follow Edelman's (2009) model of identifications.

Edelman's examination is based on the analysis of personal names which concludes that a researcher does not consider proper names as foreign languages even though the analysis gets an incomplete picture of the linguistic landscape in terms of multilingual characterisation. Moreover, the possibility of translating names, however limited, shows that names can sometimes be part of specific languages. Many other linguistic landscape researchers, although they do not account for that choice, have assigned proper names to their language of origin (Edelman, 2009, p. 152). I, therefore, acknowledge both place or personal names associated with a linguistic group as having a source in that language.

Therefore, *Agbenorxevi Enterprise* is classified as both Ewe and English bilingual names for it contains Ewe personal name *Agbenorxevi* which precisely means "the living bird" yet it encourages one to hope for the future as well as English code *Enterprise* which encourages one to invent. Therefore, this could be interpreted as future inventiveness. Hereafter, I can say this name gives clue to the futuristic progression of the business set. There is also another name, *Amivi Special*. In the Ewe language, a female born on Saturday is called *Ami* (*Ama* for Akans) while a male born on Saturday is called *Kormi* (*Kwame* for the Akans). In situations where you add 'vi' to any Ewe name, it signifies that the bearer of such name is the younger of two siblings.

Meanwhile, the term, 'vi', means 'small' rather than 'little'. This fully implies that when the newborn is named after another Saturday born in the family, in which case, the name becomes little *Ami* (*Amivi*) or little *Kormi* (*Kormivi*). However, in a situation where three people are born on that same Saturday, the elder one would be called *Amigã* (for female) and *Kormigã* (for male), the middle one will bear the name, *Ami* (if female) and *Kormi* (if male) while the younger of them bears the name *Amivi* (if female) and *Kormivi* (if male) in such succession. Figures 5 and 6 are pictorial representations of *Graceland Homeopathic Clinic* and *New Vision Co-operative Union Limited*.

Figure 3 and 4 below present monolingual Billboards

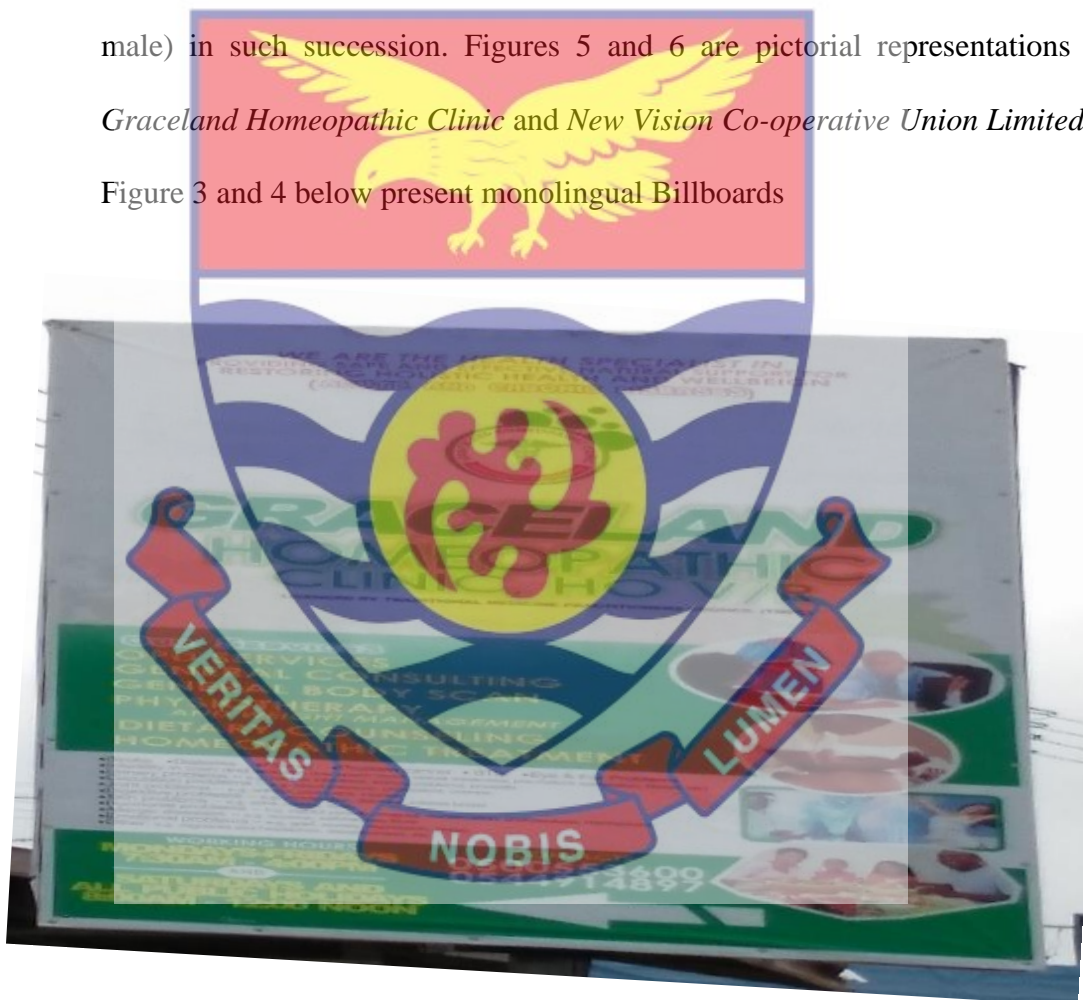


Figure 2: Graceland Homeopathic Clinic



Figure 3: New Vision

Source: Field survey (2020)

Table 4: Bilingual Language Billboards

Language	Number of billboards	% number of languages	Number of inscriptions	% Number of inscriptions
Ewe and English	10	90.9	16	88.9
English and Twi	1	9.1	2	11.1
Total	90	100	18	100

Source: Field survey (2020)

The above table presents bilingual signs captured on the signposts on the three streets of Ho. Here again, the English language dominates the total number of languages found on the signages. Ewe, which is the indigenous language of the people of Ho, comes second in terms of availability of languages scripted on the billboards. However, there is an indication from the inscriptions that two languages are used together on a single Billboard, a combination of Ewe and

English language. Both languages, English and Eve, are placed together on the same billboard to serve one purpose, to identify with the people of Ho specifically and others given that the official language of Ghana is English.

Despite the fact that both languages are used together by the owners of the billboards, where we have an indigenous language and standard English on the same billboard serving the same purpose, two or more indigenous languages (such as Ga, Twi and Eve, or Ga and Eve) are not put together on any billboard within Ho. Subsequently, it could emphatically be concluded that the people of Ho in this regard are identified with English and Eve languages only than any other local languages. The blend of Eve and English to achieve a purpose on the billboards reflects the dynamism within the LL of Ho rather than as oppositional categories (Macalister, 2010). This finding is in line with Romaine's (2007, p. 1) assertion that "multilingualism is not the aberration or minority phenomenon many English speakers suppose it to be. It is, on the contrary, the normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority of the world's population."

The English language is the official language of Ghana; therefore, it is not surprising that it is represented at both national and regional levels. Ho is made up of different people from different linguistic backgrounds, considering the trade activities that make Ho a focal point of business. The neighbouring country that has direct access to Ho is Togo, a country with French as an official language. Ho engages in trading activities with Togo also. But then, the French language is not displayed on any signage selected in the public space of Ho. Nonetheless, the multilingual nature of Ho and the display of English as the major language in the public spaces confirm yet another assertion of Romaine (2007) that, usually, the more powerful groups in any society can force their

language upon the less powerful. This finding agrees with Tuffour and Asamoah-Poku (2020) who state that there was combination of languages on the same store. The languages were Twi and English language. It further confirms Tomekyin and Nyame's (2018) study which highlight the dominance of English in the public spaces of Winneba and Ajumako, over Fante, even though the said communities were predominantly Fante speaking communities. Also, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) found that English language was used concurrently with the indigenous languages, Hebrew and Arabic, to reach the Israelites. The present study found English language being used with the Ewe and other local languages to reach the audience. In terms of the languages that were visible, the English language, Ewe and Twi were visible in the billboards.

Furthermore, there are certain billboards that have sign languages such as pictures that are not categorized under monolingual or bilingual but were important to the research because of the need to explore linguistic landscape from the multimodal perspective where all signs whether words, pictures, or colours have meaning potential for the target audience. These signs were analysed under the compositional meaning of Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal approach in order to ascertain their place in depicting the linguistic landscape. It is interesting to come across certain billboards that project the people's religious orientation, experiences in life and their social orientation. Some of these billboards are presented below.



*Figure 4:* Pictures depicting faith and believe in religion

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 5 indicates the religious orientation of the people of Ho. The signage above are not church signposts but business ones. They indicate the presence of a business, display some items available, and direct prospective customers to the locations of the shops. The above Billboard is that of an electrical shop that displays gadgets such as a rice cooker, stove, ceiling fan, plugs, and many others. In addition to the pictures displayed on this signage is a picture of a renowned Bishop, T.B Joshua, a founder and general overseer of the Synagogue Church of all Nations in Nigeria, who directs his index finger with a smiling face at the items displayed on the signpost. The presence of a pastor's picture on the signpost of a shop together with electrical gadgets demonstrates the owners publicly displayed, unshaken religious inclination and affiliation. Further, given the charitable and sociable nature of the Bishop, it is interpreted that the shop keeper is sympathetic and open to customers. This may have implication for the business in terms of pricing and profit-making

processes since customers are moved by such owners. This can be affirmed from the smiling face of T. B Joshua.

Looking at the picture from the aspect of multimodal description, what has “Hallelujah” got to do with any business? This is questionable! What has the image of the popular Bishop got to do with the images of the electrical gadgets? This is another question one could ask. The advertiser, however, has in mind two messages that are working together to sell the business products to the target audience: the products and the religious faith. While the display of the products at the centre of the billboards showcases the most important message being communicated to the audience (viewer), the placement of the portrait of the renowned preacher, T. B. Joshua and the name of the shop, Jesus Palace, communicates the religious beliefs of the owner. It is also a marketing strategy to attract all faithful followers of the Jesus as well as the renowned preacher to buy the products.

Through the religious signs or images, the owner communicated the business as well as religious message equally to achieve his advertising goal. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argued, visual mode has the potential to communicate meaning independently. In this case, the picture of the preacher and the name Jesus in the billboard communicates a religious message to viewer. The transaction of the preacher with finger pointing to the products seemed to suggest he is recommending the products to the potential buyers who will smile after purchasing the products. Through the religious and business products, the owner appealed to the logic and emotions of the target audience equally using the verbal and visual mode.

Other billboards are seen to reveal some local Ghanaian foods that are patronised by Ghanaians and some foreigners. The second billboard below reveals some of the rich Ghanaian local foods that are largely patronised by Ghanaians.



Figure 5: Billboard of Eatery

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 6 above is that of an eatery that boldly displays the pictures of foods such as *banku* and tilapia, *fufu* and light soup, fried rice and chicken, spring rolls, *waakye*, and salad. The food items displayed on this signage are the popular Ghanaian dishes of food that are cherished and consumed by most Ghanaians. It is interesting to note that displaying the popularly consumed food in public is part of the cultural display of a given society. The above signage also demonstrates the poetic language of Jacobson's function of language. The main text written in all uppercase letters and boldly presented seeks to address its self, not the addressee, or the addresser but the signage itself. Moreover, the



centre which is considered most important in reading images is dedicated to the dishes rather than inscription. This implies that the author is aware that the audiences are conversant with these dishes and do not need any description to understand them. This brings to bear the fact that linguistic landscape in the public space tend to be less inscriptional when the images communicate the well-known thing to the audience. The images in essence become more than thousand words to the viewer. Below is another example of billboards giving advice to the public in Ho.



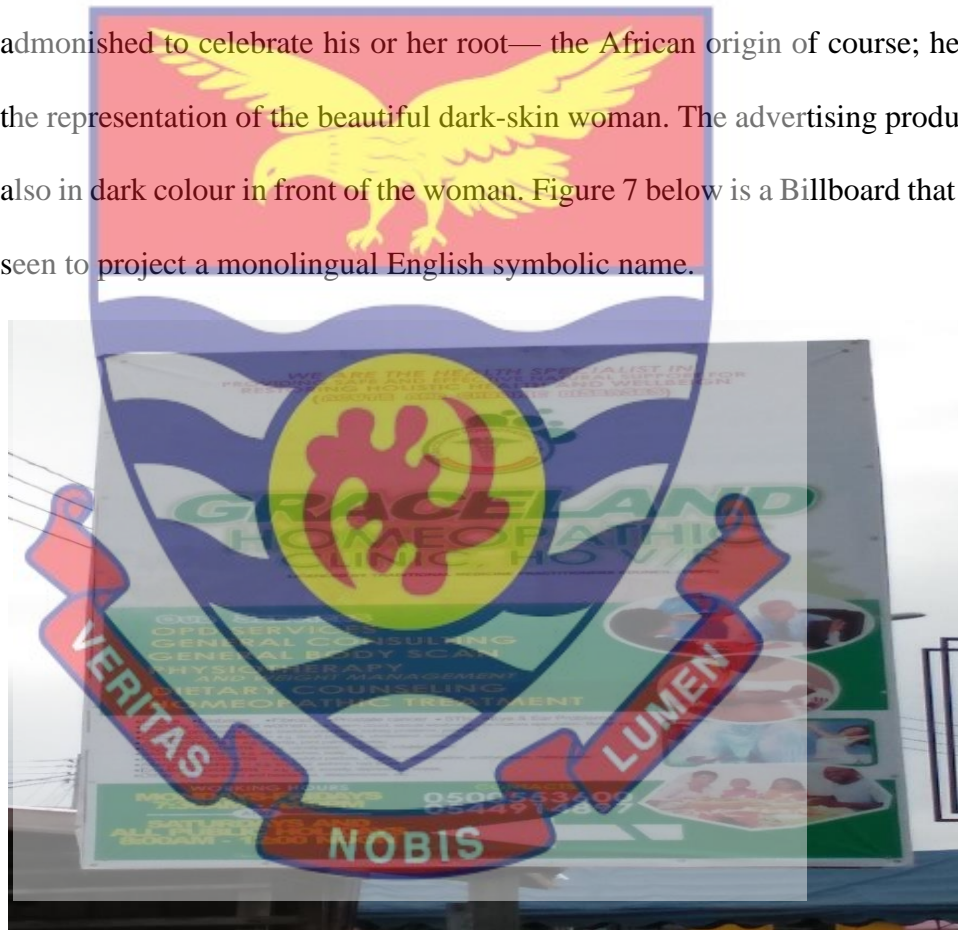
Figure 6: Giving Advice

Source: Field survey (2020)

The image and text demonstrate relatedness multimodality. While some signages are that of eateries, they equally show the image of the types of food prepared with names that show prestige. In other words, other signages depict Ghanaian heritage and culture. An example of such signage above is that of a Ghanaian-based company called Kasapreku Company Ltd. The image found on this signage is strong, but the beautifully swarthy looking lady who is well

dressed in traditional clothes around her neck with her earring and a beautiful bead around her hair and makeup on her face.

It is not surprising, however, to see such a described figure on an African-based company that produces local drinks like Alomo Bitters. Apart from the display of the beautiful image is a slogan that advises you to “celebrate your roots.” This is a clear conative function of Jakobson’s (1960) function of language. The signage is oriented towards the addressee. The addressee is being admonished to celebrate his or her root—the African origin of course; hence, the representation of the beautiful dark-skin woman. The advertising product is also in dark colour in front of the woman. Figure 7 below is a Billboard that was seen to project a monolingual English symbolic name.




*Figure 7:* Graceland Homeopathic Clinic billboard

Source: Field survey (2020).

The “Graceland” footprints to a mansion Elvis bought in 1957 in America. The house has 23 rooms stretched out over 17,000 square feet situated on over 13 acres of prime Memphis real estate. This house has become the second most visited residence in the United States of America apart from the

White House (Simpson, 1986). Graceland is an inspiration and symbolic of the American dream. Many great artists in America around the year 1957 through 1986 regard Graceland as heaven. This makes Simpson (1986) assert “I have a reason to believe we all will be received in Graceland.” Scholars avow that the use of the word “received” by Simpson is a tipoff substituting “heaven” for “Graceland.” This in turn means “I have a reason to believe we all will be received in heaven.” This statement has become the most popular confession of the Christian church.



Apart from the monolingual English symbolic name (Graceland Homeopathic Clinic) on this billboard, other elements are characterised by many different modes of activities which are multimodal, tellingly. For example, there are images of Doctor-patient interactions, and other images communicating a healthy lifestyle. There are other instances on the billboards where the name of the clinic is printed in a larger font-size as compared to other linguistic codes on the billboard. This may indicate what is paramount or the major move followed by sub-moves. There are also writings in different ink (colours), for example, the summary of what the clinic does is printed in red ink while the name of the clinic is written in green ink followed by the outline of services provided which are written in yellow ink.

These multimodal elements, even though expressed in the same language, play vital roles in conveying a piece of holistic information about the projections of the companies under discussion.

Not contending this illustration, the motive behind the use of English in writing the clinic's names may be related to Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) view that demonstrates that sign producers will write signs in a language that they assume their readers can read. This could as well be based predominantly on economic reasoning. Even though the Ewes are indigenously herbalists and traditional practitioners, but none of the Billboards reflected indigenous herbal practices. This could be the result of urbanisation and modernisation which are changing the world.



Figure 8: New Vision

Source: Field survey (2020)

Looking at the figure above, it could be exemplified that Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) view is explained better. For this reason, a conclusion can be drawn that the name givers are aware of the linguistic and cultural diversity of their audience. Thus, to accommodate and attract many customers as possible, they name their goods and services such as New Vision Co-Operative Credit Union Limited in a language that they believe is readable by a large number of people. Therefore, naming companies in English, instead of indigenous

languages, is important as it enables visitors, particularly tourists, to read and understand.

Notwithstanding that, it could be ascertained that the name givers are promoting the colonial master's language while they refuse to develop the native language which the United Nations wants to promote. It would emphatically be said that the use of English language is particularly true of Ghana since "almost every literate person whosoever reads, writes or listens to the radio does it in English more than in any other language" (Obeng, 1997, p. 65).

From this analysis of symbols and words to ascertain the linguistic landscape of Ho, the researcher observes that the pictures, when used to represent obvious things, reduces the number of linguistic resources used to explain the pictures. This implies that the culture of the people in terms of food, drinks, cloth, lifestyle, faith, among others, is well-known and can easily be recalled when the appropriate image is used to capture the intended meaning. Also, the use of images also reflected the dominant social group reality. For instance, the staples, drinks, beads and many others reflect the culture of Ho which might not be the same in other parts of the country such as Northern region where Tuo Zafi is the most preferred food. This coupled with the names of shop owners or advertisers communicates the complete message to the audience and necessarily reflected the linguistic landscape of Ho. The names that are found on the billboards are categorised into themes based on their potential meaning.

**Table 5: Messages found in the Names (inscriptions) on billboards**

Messages	Number of signage	% signage messages	Number of inscriptions of each message	% of Inscriptions of each message
Religious Perspective	22	31.2	105	34
Advice	2	1.8	7	2.3
Nicknames	64	65.2	191	61.8
Figurative inscriptions	2	1.8	6	1.9
Total	90	100	309	100

Source: Field survey (2020)

From the table above, it can be observed that 64 out of 90 billboards used for the study talk about prestige or nicknames. This, therefore, proves that the majority of these nicknames (names) captured on the billboards located in these three streets centre on messages that denote prestige. It is worth noting that the majority of the billboards that have universal names or prestige comprise names of banks, some local shops, and eateries. Therefore, this majority of billboards that represent the theme of prestige are top-down Billboards (Gorter, 2006). This indicates that these billboards are not the true representation of the general orientation of the residents of Ho.

However, the majority of the billboards that talk about the theme of religion is bottom-up billboards with a total number of 90 inscriptions forming 96% of the total inscriptions on the billboards. Additionally, 3 inscriptions representing 2.3% of the billboards pictured on these streets depict advice to the

public while 1 inscription representing 1.2% of the billboards captured depicts figurative inscriptions.

Additionally, there is a record of the coexistence of Twi and English on Billboards in Ho. This is represented by 0.7% in the Ho Municipality. Nonetheless, English is the most dominant language in the public space of Ho. Akindele (2011) avers that the use of different languages in the billboards also reflect power, status, and economic importance. He further observes that all over the multilingual world signs tend to include English as one of the languages not just in the capital cities but also in provincial towns and villages (Schlick, 2003). Some of the causes of the spread of English are colonialism and globalisation.

Globalisation as a process is usually defined in economic terms constituting markets, production, and consumption. Complementing the globalisation of English, the English language can be explained in this context to serve as a lingua franca. In this regard, English becomes a common identified language for the people in Ho to facilitate communication. By using English, businesses aim at increasing their sales, and thus the presence of English is motivated by economic reasons as in the case of foreign and local investors in Ho. The use of English also raises issues of identity and power and thus can have consequences for the balance between the different languages in multilingual situations (Pennycook, 1994; Fishman, 1996; Phillipson, 2003). For instance, speaking of the English language in Ho and many other parts of Africa has its characteristics that identify the speakers with the upper layers of the society (Akindele, 2011).

As discussed earlier, the two main classifications of billboards in the linguistic landscape are (a) the top-down (government billboards) approach and (b) the bottom-up (individual businesses) approach. In the data, I found out that many of the billboards are privately owned (bottom-up billboards) while only a few are government or state-owned. The top-down billboards mostly give information and directions to the general public, in some of the billboards, for example, the researcher found that the billboard directing its targeted audience to the best place to seek justice. The billboard again gives a piece of educative information to the targeted group as to why people should not take the law into their hands.

The bottom-up billboards form the majority of the data gathered. Therefore, to qualify the language inscriptions on the top-down billboards, I have also observed that the top-down billboard has the following attributes: (a) they are easy to read; (b) they are devoid of spelling mistakes; (c) they are devoid of ambiguity in the text or language; (d) they have effective corresponding of picture and text; and (e) they have referential function mostly with educative and direction orientation.

Moreover, the bottom-up billboard has its characteristics which are as a result of their designs. The individuality in its design has led to its many design orientation. Observably, the bottom-up billboard has some characteristics such as (a) individual ownership as it is not regulated by the state or government; (b) prestige where its designs are subject to the whims of the business; (c) advancement as it is promotionally oriented; (d) attitudinal orientation where it mostly has conative and poetical functions; and (e) non-conformity as its



pictures and text may not always correspond, for example, the picture found in figure.

Conclusively, it is found that Ho is a bilingual town because English language and Ewe are seen to share the same Billboard to communicate to the public. There are also monolingual languages such as Ewe only, or English only on billboards in Ho. There were other Billboards that were not categorised under neither monolingual nor bilingual billboards but they revealed that the billboard owners' religious perspectives, experiences, and social orientations. Finally, government billboards and private billboards shared the same space to educate, direct and advice the public in Ho.

#### **Communicative Function of Language on Billboards in Ho**

Seeking to investigate the language functions on the billboards in the selected streets, this section addresses the second research objective of this study. Jakobson's (1982) function of language serves as a primary reference point to understand the functions these languages serve to the general or targeted audience. The functions observed in these inscriptions are referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalinguistic, and poetic.

#### **Referential function**

Firstly, it is observed that the primary purpose of most of the billboards captured is to advertise goods and services, except for some government billboards that seek to educate the general public on their rights as citizens.

Below is a billboard passing information on Barbering occupation



Figure 9: Lord Zizzy

Source: Field survey (2020)

This is a billboard of a barbering shop on the Civic Center Street. As shown in Figure 9, the referential function of language is prominent in that the name of the barbering shop, “LORD ZIZZY” is written in upper case in red at the top part of the billboard. As part of the referential function, the designers indicate what they do through the words “Hair Kurt” and the contact number of the barberer is added on the billboard for customers to call should they need the service of the barberer. The presence of pictures of people who are being shaved by the barberer adds evidence to the referential function of language.

As Juffermans (2012) argues, the use of visuals is effective in communicating meaning to illiterate population than texts. The dominance of referential function is not new since Tribus (2017) reports that the referential

function tends to be prominent in writing than other functions of language. Moreover, Juffermans (2012) discovered that the referential function especially the addition of contact numbers and services or products offers as certainty and confidence in the entity that is referred to. Nevertheless, there is the use of poetic function of language in the billboard above in that the designers used the words “Hair Kurt” to achieve aesthetic function rather than referential function.

This is because the word “Kurt” is the pidgin version of cut or shave that is mostly used by the youth to communicate among themselves. Since the billboard is targeting young people as customers, the advertisers use the language ‘Kurt’ is appropriate to create a relationship with the target audience. Moreover, the use of the word “Zizzy” tends to create some sound effect with the double consonant than just merely stating the name Azizi. Therefore, the use of double ‘z’ in the word ‘zizzy’ is creating poetic effect in the billboard. For instance, Tribus (2017) argued that when there is emphatic prolongation of vowel or consonant sound, it creates an emotive function in language. From this billboard, the use of English language only text has helped the advertisers to use language to achieve the referential, poetic and emotive functions.



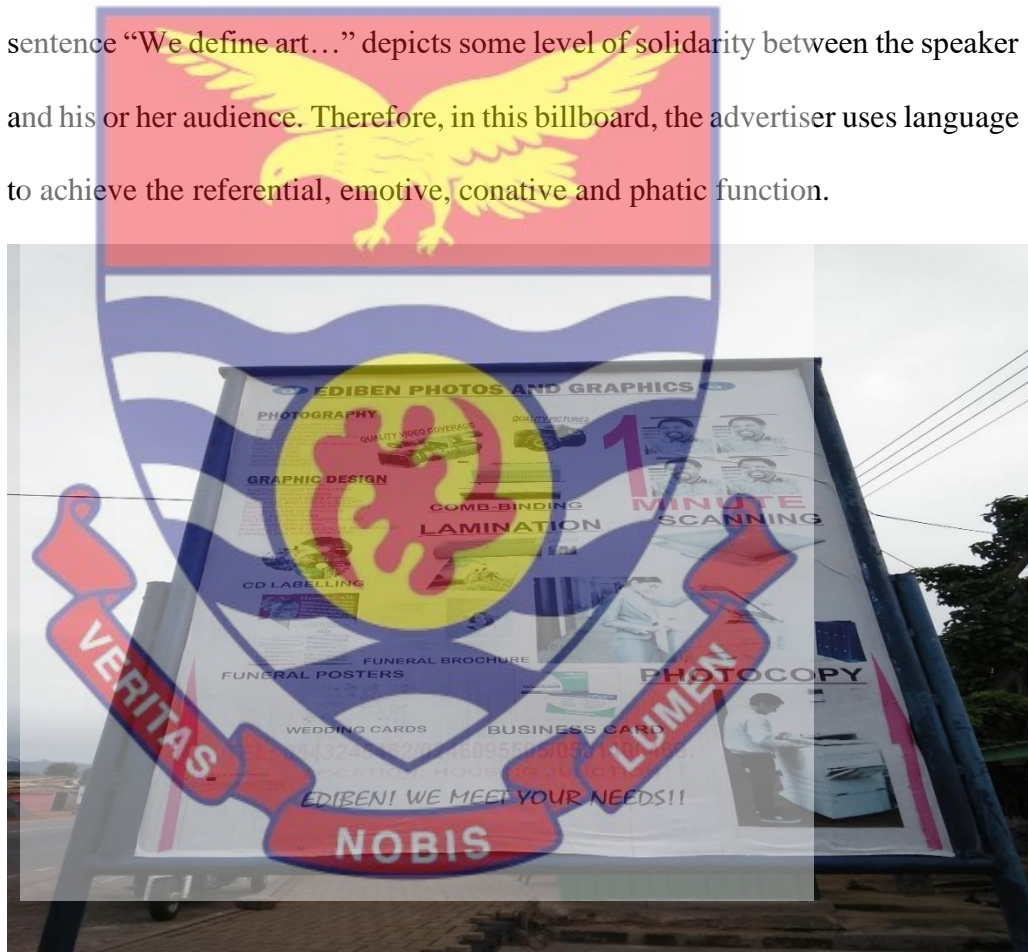


Figure 10: Lord Zizzy

Source: Field survey (2020)

In this second billboard of the LORD ZIZZY Art & Engraving, the advertiser is succinct in using the referential function of language as discussed by Jacobson (1960). In Figure 10, the name of the service provider is boldly written at the apex as “LORD ZIZZY Art & Engraving” and the services they offer to customers are represented with samples of epitaphs that communicate the services of the advertiser. Still, on the referential function, the advertiser adds his or her contact numbers so that potential customers can reach him or her. There is an emotive function of language in the samples of epitaph written, in that, the use of the words “In loving memory” in each epitaph depicts the feeling relatives go through after the demise of their loved ones. In some of the epitaphs, the advertiser adds scriptures such as “HAPPY ARE THE PURE IN HEART, FOR THEY WILL SEE GOD, MATTHEW 5:8” and “Blessed are the dead who died in the Lord. Rev. 14:13” as part of the inscription to reflect the faith of the departed ones and their conviction about the next world. The advertiser used conative function of language in the sentence “WE DEFINE

ART...” In the speaker’s use of ‘we’, it is explained that the ‘we’ is exclusive of the audience and relates to the owner and workers there. Moreover, the “WE DEFINE ART...” equally performs a phatic function of language because it calls on the audience to complete the structure with their preferred information. This is relevant because through the phatic function, communicators are able to continue or discontinue communication. Phatic utterances are vital in establishing solidarity among communicators (Tribus, 2017). The use of the sentence “We define art...” depicts some level of solidarity between the speaker and his or her audience. Therefore, in this billboard, the advertiser uses language to achieve the referential, emotive, conative and phatic function.



*Figure 11:* Ediben Photos and Graphics

Source: Field survey (2020)

This billboard is a text intensive billboard that uses language to achieve different functions as spelt out by Jacobson’s model. In the first place, the referential function is evident in that the advertisers disclose their name as

“EDIBEN PHOTOS AND GRAPHICS” as well as a list of services they offer to customers. Through the text, the advertiser communicates the services to include photography services such as instant passport pictures, funeral pictures, glass picture framing video coverage, flyers and stickers, comb binding wedding cards among others. Through images and text, the advertiser provides sufficient information of what they do as well as the quality of what they do. As part of the referential function, the advertiser provided contact information for interested customers to call for his or her service.

Aside from the referential function, the advertiser also uses the emotive function of language in the structures “EDIBEN! WE MEET YOUR NEEDS”. The use of exclamation mark at the end of the word “EDIBEN!” and the sentence indicate some emotional attachment the speaker is assigning to the words. It could be said that the ‘EDIBEN’ is used as mild interjection in this sense to communicate the feeling of the speaker and equally elicit emotional response from the speaker. There is also a poetic function in the use of the alliteration in the sentence “WE MEET YOUR NEEDDS!” The recurring use of the vowel ‘e’ creates a sound effect that adds to the beauty of the language, thereby, making the language perform a poetic function.

From this billboard (Figure 11), the dominant language function used is the conative function and this is not surprising because the billboard is intended to market the services of the advertiser and that is largely done through the referential function. Notwithstanding this function, other functions such as the emotive and poetic function are used to create emotional attachment as well as beauty respectively. Tribus (2017) argues that the emotive function of language promotes subjective appraisal of situations, positive appraisal of situation as

well as culturally appropriate responses to situation. In this light, it is obvious that the emotive function communicates the positive appraisal of the advertiser about his or her products or services to the potential customers.



Figure 12: Sonrise Christian Int. School Complex

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 12 shows a school billboard on the Civic Center Street. As can be seen from the billboard, it is evident that the advertiser, the school, communicates the name of the school as “SONRISE CHRISTIAN INT. SCHOOL COMPLEX” and the educational services they offer include pre-school service, that is nursery and kindergarten, primary and junior high school services. The billboard, in performing the referential function, added the location address of the school as well as contact number and email for interested members to contact them.

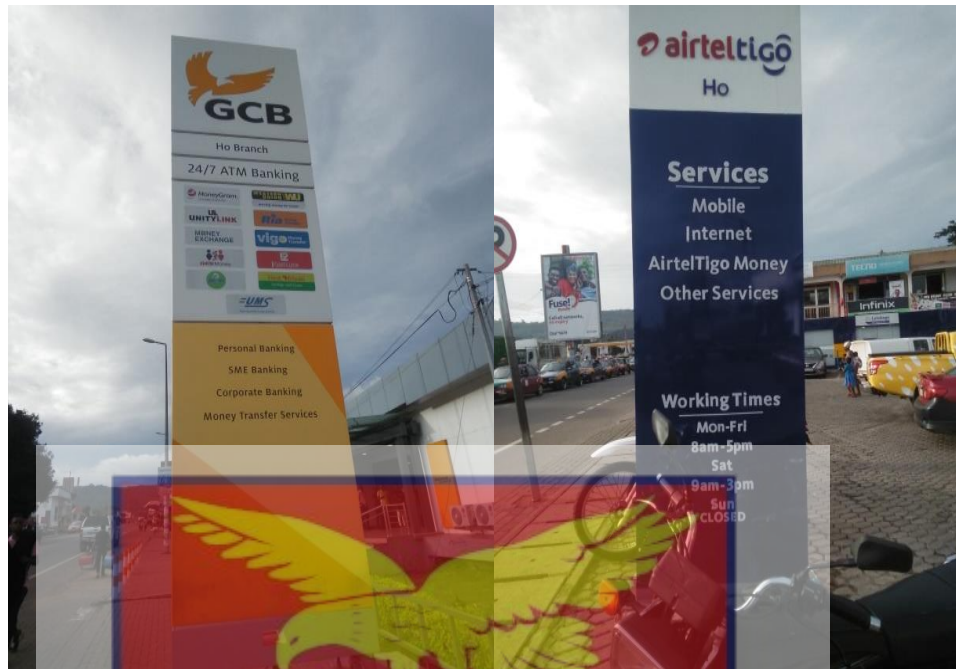
Moreover, the school has a computer training center with internet facilities for admitted students. It is, therefore, succinct that the billboard is

loaded with referential function of language because the advertiser clearly communicates their name, services as well as location and contact information with less emotional or poetic appeals. One word in the billboard, thus ‘SONRISE; tends to have a poetic effect. This is because the use of the word ‘son’ has the phonetic effect of ‘sun’ which is associated with rising. Therefore, to use the word ‘SONRISE’ creates an imagery in the mind of the reader of a sun rising as in at dawn till it brightens in noonday. Through the play with the phonemes of ‘son’ and ‘sun’ (that is pun), the advertiser is able to achieve a poetic function of language where imagery of sun created is transferred to the target audience about their wards rising to higher heights. In this billboard, the referential and poetic functions are the most dominant over other functions of language.

From the data, it is also noted that some of the inscriptions that seek to advertise products and services include banks such as Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), Fidelity Bank, Access Bank and GCB Bank. Below is an illustration of the inscriptions on Ghana Commercial Bank (GCB) which advertises services such as personal banking, SME banking, corporate banking, and money transfer services. Another category of signages that advertise or market their services on billboards are network communication companies such as MTN, airteltiGo, and Vodafone Company Ltd. Below is an example of a billboard of airteltiGo, a network company that has outlined its services in the public domain as a way of marketing, hence performing the conative function.







*Figure 13: A Billboard of the Ghana Commercial Bank*

Source: Field survey (2020)

Some of the network communication companies could not outline their services or working hours on the billboards apart from their names. Others such as airteltigo clearly state the services they offer and their working hours to inform the decisions of the general public. It is observed that the above billboards are company billboards that advertise their goods and services along with their service hours to the general public within Ho. It is important to note that these billboards refer to the services provided by their companies to the clients. Furthermore, there are government (top-down) signposts with inscriptions that seem to educate or advise the public on the citizens' rights alongside the available government offices and their locations in Ho Municipality.

Tellingly, the company billboards and signposts captured serve the referential purpose by directing their targeted audience to the locations of the company's office or location. The picture below is an illustration of a top-down billboard which is educating the people of Ho. This demonstrates the state's responsibility towards its citizens by using platforms such as billboards to educate the public.



*Figure 14:* Billboard on alternative dispute resolution

Source: Field survey (2020)

Some of the billboards are oriented towards marketing products of shops and companies. Others are government signposts or public (top-down) billboards which are mostly geared towards educating citizens on their civil rights, government projects, or locations of government offices available in the municipality. What is evident in the texts found on the billboards seen in the three selected streets comprises references of symbols that lead to the people's belief systems, culture, and social orientations.

Trosdal (1995) alludes that some of these symbols refer to socially established concepts by which readers must only abide. He argues further that the linguistic symbols have both connotative and denotative meanings. Emphatically, the connotative meaning relates to general abstract concepts that are represented by, for example, leaves, trees, shapes, and others. Even so, the denotative function or meaning is the concrete item the language users, for instance, the billboard owners, in this case, apply to the connotation meaning. By showing how rooted the people's faith in Christianity is, some of the images found on signposts are images of international preachers.

The reference here gives a footnote to the people's sense of tolerance and acceptability of all kinds of people irrespective of the social or religious background. Regarding texts found on these signposts, some of the shop names are made up of proper names such as *Amivi*. This alludes to the naming practices that are common among the inhabitants of Ho Municipality. Many other images that are evident found on signposts in Ho demonstrate the continuity of Jacobson's referential function in texts and images.

The phatic function serves to establish, prolong, or discontinue communication. Vlad and Billy (1999) argue that phatic communication provides a good basis for explaining (a) what the speaker has said be it matters less than that which has been said, (b) utterances that are more or less phatic, and (c) phatic interpretations which become more likely when the social relationship between the interlocutors or communicants is in doubt. In a further argument, Vlad and Billy reveal that, by identifying a systematic correspondence between particular situational settings which constitute or have a casual conversation at a food joint or a bus stop, phatic communication can be

described. This may avoid silence as well as establish and maintain a good atmosphere of sociability in social function settings.

The aspects of the paralinguistic, as witnessed earlier, form part of the communicative act which are usually used to conventionalise expressions about particular topics. As this had been reflected in the data collected for this work, many images found on some of the signposts are images of globally known individuals like President Obama, the former president and the first-ever black president of the United States of America; Prophet T. B, Joshua, a well-known preacher; Michael Tyson, a boxing legend; and other well-known public figures who are considered people's favourite. This act establishes some sort of familiarity or social relationship between the product or services that are offered by shop owners and the potential buyers of these products or to improve the patronage of these services.



*Figure 15: Image of a Pastor and Electrical Gadgets placed together*

Source: Field survey (2020)

The projection of a well-known pastor side by side with electrical gadgets on the same billboard connotes social agglomeration. This in a way could spark some mental reactions which may include drawing the attention of the public who could be the potential buyers to the billboards. Apart from the advertisement of products, the presence of the picture of a renowned religious leader on the same billboards gives the impression that the owner of the billboard is affiliated to a certain religion and can promote the religion by using religious figure's pictures or images.

In relating the notion of metalanguage to the notion of other languages like “technical language” or “artificial language,” Stall (1975) argues that there is not major or upfront distinction between types of languages alongside whatever may be regarded as the remainder of the language. Technical or artificial languages or expressions are developed differently in different languages. The scope of these notions is, to some extent, relative as it depends on the interest and preoccupation of the users of the language. In an inferred interpretation, owners of signposts can decide to add any expression to texts or pictures found on these signposts that might not necessarily form part of the official language of their country.

Some of the inscriptions found on the billboards do not denote English names nor Eve names. They are therefore, artificial languages invented by the owners of these signposts either to attract customers or to show prestige. Metalanguage is a special terminology that is employed to describe how multimodal texts work. For example, the grammar for six semiotic systems provides a metalanguage for discussing how texts convey meaning. The picture scripted as “MACNYO ENT” on a billboard below is typifying artificial

language invented by the owners of these signposts either to attract customers' attention or to show prestige. The first part of this inscription, *Macnyo*, does not seem to be an English nor Ewe word even though the second part "enterprise" has been shortened to give the viewers the indication that the signage represents an enterprise.



*Figure 16:* A Picture of Cluster of billboards on the Street of Ho  
Source: Field survey (2020)

The images found on the billboard above include gas cylinders, kitchen stove, blender, and other kitchen gadgets. These images summarize what would have otherwise been stated in words, yet, the signpost owners follow a common trend as they provide the demands needed by the clients with pictures. Thereafter, they communicate to their clients that cooking could be easy and more appealing once they visit their shop. The provision of a set of these gadgets makes one easily recognise what purpose these images serve and the target

market. It is evident, therefore, that billboard owners in Ho develop varieties of writing styles to help viewers understand their message.

On the above billboard, the owner develops key features of a text such as the purpose, the audience, the structure, and or the grammar. Using metalanguage on billboards provides billboard owners with the opportunity to persuade, educate, and inform prospective buyers.

Regarding expression of emotions, ideas and feelings are evoked through language. These expressions may be triggered by instances where one wants to show their satisfaction towards some, for that matter they become happy, or express dislike for something. Other times, the context helps best in the interpretation of what a particular expression means. Rudy and Pamorska (1990) postulate that there exists a relationship between language and emotion that are viewed from two angles, the first being language having been seen as a performative act (Emotive). It can be assumed that individuals experience emotions, and that having emotions has its own accompaniments that influence a particular communicative situation. Rudy and Pamorska (1990) indicate that this is likely to take place extralinguistically, for example, proximity, “in terms of suprasegmental and prosodic features, and in terms of linguistic lexical and syntactic” (p67).

Crystal (1992) adds that “emotive function means getting rid of our nervous energy when we are under stress e.g. swear words, obscenities, involuntary verbal reactions to beautiful acts or scenery, conventional words/phrases e.g. God, My, Damn it, What a sight, Wow, Ugh, Ow”. Rudy (1990) also retreats that the emotive function “tends to produce an impression of certain emotions, whether true or feigned, the purely emotive stratum in

language is presented by the interjections so that an expressive (emotive) function intends only to vent some feeling, or perhaps to evoke some feeling from other people”.

Based on the definitions above, there is an example of emotive function in the billboard below where we see an inscription that reads Victory Photos, instant passport picture and telephone numbers. In addition to these inscriptions are photos of faces of females smiling with joy and one posing for a picture in a glamorous attire. One can infer that the joy that is exhibited through these signify freedom since photo studios are places where people are encouraged to ignore their problems and smile for pictures to reflect their true selves. People in these situations are encouraged to express true emotions of happiness.



*Figure 17:* Billboard of a photoshop

Source: Field survey (2020)





Figure 18: Billboard of a health center

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 18 above is a billboard that projects a hospital's day to day activities, its services and what they have to offer the public at large. The inscription that is placed first on the billboard is 'pride' of the hospital stated in red ink which may signify authority and urgency (Trosdal, 1995). The inscription written in block letters states; We are the health specialist in providing safe and effective natural support for restoring holistic health and wellbeing (Acute and chronic diseases). In this statement, the owners of this

clinic imply a message that is likely to inspire the readers of this information that their health care issues are taken care of once they visit this clinic.

Through this utterance, the clinic assures its attendants of the safest medical treatment and a peace of mind. In order to obtain a message of absolute assurance across to the public, the owners of the clinic employ linguistic units such as the definite article 'The' to mean, we are the ultimate. We are the only specialist in Ghana, before us there is no one, and beyond us there is no one. This act is able to get a potential attendant thinking and probably be able to try out the services of this clinic following what is projected on the billboard of this clinic.

The second inscription is the logo of the clinic, followed by the name of the clinic. The name of this clinic may be traced to Elvis Presley's Graceland in America, the second most visited place in America apart from the white house, where the Americans believe they will be received in 'Graceland'. What amazes the researcher is how healthcare billboards seem to have similar marketing strategies that employ convincing language to get a desired change in the consumer's behaviour, the reason being that, people who are sick and need healthcare may barely have the luxury of sound mind to think and make sound decision concerning which hospital they should be taken to and which healthcare treatment they are given. Kann (2007) asserts that,

With economic pressure and competition for healthcare expenditure growing, hospitals and individual physicians will continue to look to advertising healthcare services as a means to raise revenue. Yet patients are fundamentally different from other types of consumers. Given the typical

patients' combination of vulnerability and inequity of knowledge, it is clear that healthcare consumers deserve special protection from advertisements that play to ignorance.

Regarding the poetic function of language, this function emphasises the message for its own sake. This language function focuses on how a particular linguistic code is used. Jakobson (1960) refers to the reflexive language or metalingual language as "code." The poetic function foregrounds textual features making a text more self-referential. In the work of Waugh (1980), poetic function focuses more on the message and it is related to the field of poetry where the emphasis on language is more relational and expressive (Sapeirs, 1986). The poetic function of language helps the readers to experience two main features of aesthetic: distance and relation.

It is the case that the function of language detaches its readers from reality by immersing them into an imaginary world of characters. This function is witnessed on some billboards within the Ho where pictures that depict what seems to be heaven are displayed on church signposts. This suggests that Christians are not of this world, however, they are only but passing through this world. So, their focus should be on heaven. This statement simply detaches the viewer from the world of reality to a world that is not physically seen. Referentially, the content of language in poetry has embedded in itself contents that refer to ideas, beliefs, and the culture of a people.

Expressively, poetic language helps in recognising new ways of forming words, phrases, sentences, and structuring discourse and other conceptual experiences. This then suggests that any linguistic element found on signposts

in the Ho township that does not necessarily conform to the rules of grammar or the everyday use of language can be subject to poetic interpretation. Similarly, poetic language may also be characterised by figurative language and poetic devices such as pun, metaphor, alliteration, and oxymoron.



Figure 19: Billboard with Inscription Emmanule

Source: Field survey (2020)

In Figure 19, the inscription *EMMANULE ENTERPRISE* is written on a Billboard with the *emmanule* written in white and the *enterprise* in red. Short (1996) postulates that deviations such as this are a linguistic phenomenon that has an important psychological effect on readers or hearers. In further posits, Short (1996) illustrates that, if a text is deviant, it becomes noticeable or perceptually prominent. Henceforward, this psychological effect is called foregrounding. Elaborately, the main name of the company *EMMANULE* in the picture above is wrongly spelt, while all other inscriptions written in English on this signpost are correctly spelt.

This single act of wrongly spelling the main name of the company draws the researcher's attention to the billboard above. The focus on this Billboard draws the researcher's attention to the products on the Billboard and further read what they deal in. It can therefore be stated that the owner of this shop employed poetic diction to attract potential customers or the public at large to the billboard to look at the products displayed on the signpost in question. The word *emmanule* is self-referential to confirm one of the functions of poetic language that Waugh (1980) has already postulated.

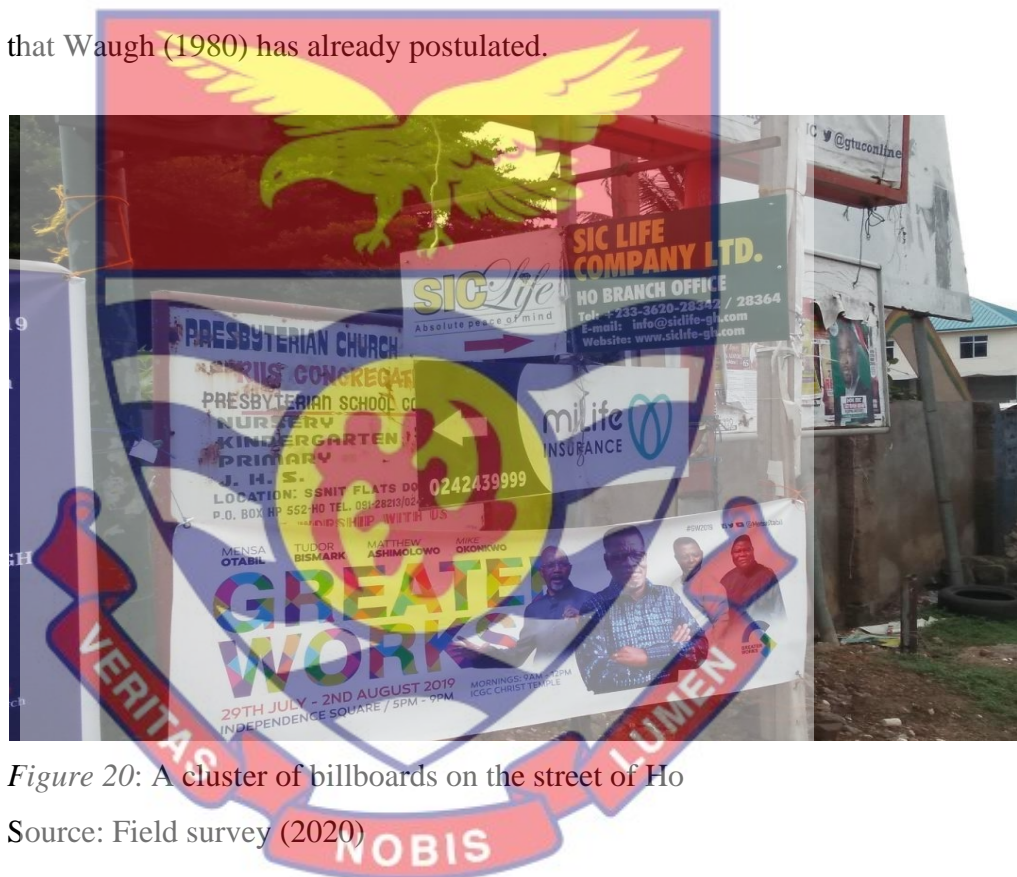


Figure 20: A cluster of billboards on the street of Ho

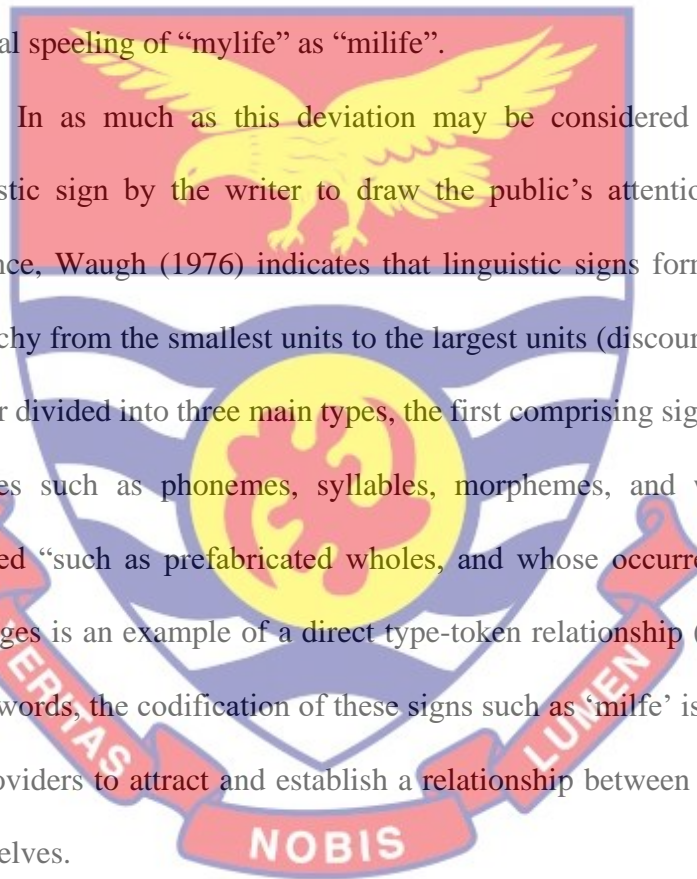
Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 17 above is another example of poetic art employed on the signpost. This signpost with the inscriptions bears names and images of some renowned pastors in Ghana together with a foregrounded text, "Greater Works." The text is written in different coloured inks like pink, green, sea-blue, purple, yellow, and indigo.

The inclusion of the aforementioned colours in each letter of the phrase makes the phrase stand out among the other texts in other words. This

foreground of a painting will usually appear large with the rest of the objects in the picture because of conventional perceptual “rules” of perspective. Once more, this will normally be thought of as a constituent of the subject matter of the painting (Short, 1996). Hence, the picture in Figure 16 above with the text written in different colours is foregrounded. Furthermore, Figure 16 has a cluster of billboards that represent different companies with different messages. A closer look at one (milife INSURANCE) would compel the reader to notice unusual spelling of “mylife” as “milife”.

In as much as this deviation may be considered as an intentional linguistic sign by the writer to draw the public’s attention to the targeted audience, Waugh (1976) indicates that linguistic signs form part of a whole hierarchy from the smallest units to the largest units (discourse). The signs are further divided into three main types, the first comprising signs with distinctive features such as phonemes, syllables, morphemes, and words, which are codified “such as prefabricated wholes, and whose occurrence in individual messages is an example of a direct type-token relationship (Waugh, 1976). In other words, the codification of these signs such as ‘milfe’ is an intentional act by providers to attract and establish a relationship between the audiences and themselves.



However, Waugh (1976) hints that there are other signs like phrases, clauses, sentences, utterances, discourses, which are not usually codified as such, but the structures and the possibility of their formation is provided by their code. This finding may be linked to Quayson (2014) who considers the use of phrases and words by the owners of billboards as a result of ‘economy of space’. In this case, the limited space compels the producers to compete for attention through a careful use of crafty words that are able to communicate to the targeted audience and achieve an intended purpose.

### **Text and Image Interaction on Billboards in Ho**

This final stage of analysis and discussion seeks to explore the final objective of this study by analysing how text and image captured on the billboards communicate to the public. Multimodally analysing data to reveal the relationship that exists between texts and images used on the billboards, the researcher adopts Kress and Leeuwen’s (2006) Grammar of the visual language as an analytical framework. The adoption of this framework is in line with the researcher’s third objective which ascertains how text and image are combined to communicate information in a written form. Beforehand, Barthes (1967) whom Kress and Leeuwen (2006) have cited argues that the meaning of images together with other semiotic codes like dressing, food, symbols, drawings, and so on, is in most cases related to and, in a sense, dependent on verbal text.

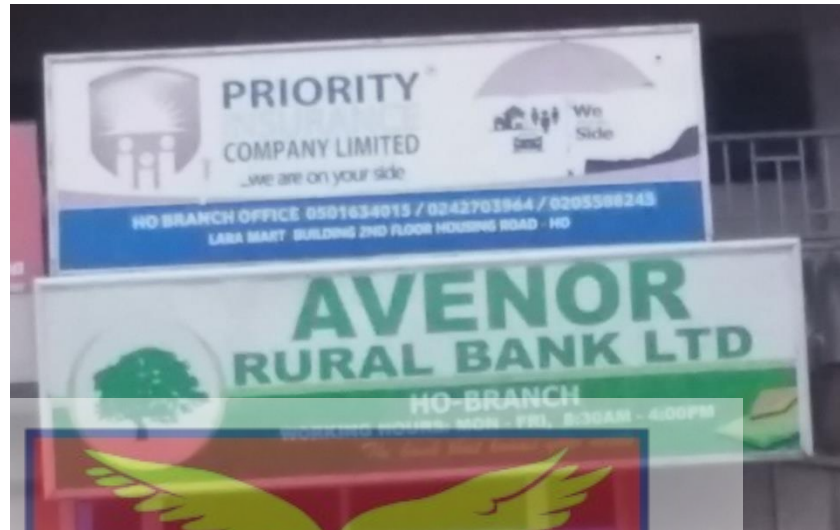
In Barthes’ (1967) language, images are thought of as being too “polysemous.” Therefore, they are opened to a variety of possible meanings. So, the text must accompany the image, in a way, to arrive at a possible meaning. Consistent with Barthes’ (1967) claim, Kress and Leeuwen (2006) postulate that there is a distinction between an image-to-text relation where

verbal text extends the meaning of the image. Nevertheless, Kress and Leeuwen further elaborate that, in some cases, the text solely depends on or “relay” the image for an extension of meaning; hence, new and different meanings are added to make the message complete. In other words, and in some cases, the text that depends on the image has the same meanings restated differently to give the message a more precise or definite meaning. Therefore, elaboration is the only process that differentiates the two elements (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006).

Dwelling on Barthes’s (1967) two types of differentiating elaboration, it is expounded that: (a) in a case where the image comes first, the text constitutes a more precise message and it is restated in a definite form to achieve what the image seeks to communicate; and (b) in a case where the text comes first, the image illustrates what the text seeks to achieve. Deviating from the same line of thought of Barthes, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) theorise that, in Barthes’ (1967) illustrations, the context is always cultural. Putting this differently, the meanings given to a text-based on its accompanied image or vice versa are interpreted as the cultural context of the said discourse even though images vary in their functions between illustration, decoration, and information.

Likewise, the images that accompany texts can elaborate the text to serve a decorative purpose and/or give information. Illustratively, this is epitomised on the billboards which bear the inscription, Avenor Rural Bank, having an image of a green tree on it.





This image of a tree with flourishing evergreen leaves indicates a rural life or the rural folks' life in general. It could be ascertained that since the Volta region has no major companies and financial institutions the rural banks provide banking facilities for the rural population by providing credit for small scale farmers and businesses as well as supporting community development projects. Therefore, the image found on this billboard can be said to be well situated in context. Below is a Billboard of Eatery that contains image and text.



Figure 21: A billboard of an eatery

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 21 above is made up of different components constituting a text appearing as the name of the food joint. This image explicitly presents on the same billboard a cook dressed in her uniform who carefully observes the food items in their raw forms and the images of different dishes of food prepared for consumption. The possible interpretation as a cook is inferred from the coat she is wearing and the care taken towards the food in front of her. The text “marvelous dish” is grammatically structured such that “marvelous” is an adjective that precedes a noun which is the dish to mean the food is marvelously delicious. Besides the creations of the text, the image that accompanied the text seems to answer possible questions such as “What makes the dish marvelous?” “What goes into the preparation of the dish?” “Who prepares the dish?” “What ingredients are used to prepare the dish.?” , what nutritional value to these foods serve?

Answering these questions, Muyonga (2017) noted that Africa continue to face serious nutritional problems which include undernutrition, iron deficiency, and vitamin A deficiency. He added that undernutrition in Africa also comes along with its own diseases and health conditions such as ‘Kwashiorko’. Overnutrition and obesity are worrying behaviours with their associated consequences such as diabetes and coronary heart diseases (Muyonga, 2017). Africa is blessed with different kinds of food ranging from vegetables, fruits, cereals, edible insects, small fish species, mushrooms, legumes, sesame, tuber and root crops, with enormous health benefits including lowering of serum cholesterol, anti-carcinogenic, anti-diabetic and anti-inflammatory, cardiovascular disease prevention and anti-hypertensive properties (Muyonga, 2017).

Figure 21 reveals a cook dressed in white who takes a critical look at an ingredient which is used for the food on one side, and the images of various foods prepared are presented on another side of the billboard. This suggests a propagation of healthy eating habit by the owner to the general public. The billboard also reveals to the public some popular Ghanaian foods including Banku with Okro soup, Fufu with soup, Jollof Rice and Chicken. The foods written on the billboards confirm Muyonga's point that because of the strenuous nature of the works most Africans engage in, they usually prefer heavy food that gives them enough physical strength to keep working.

From the images and the texts presented on the billboard (figure 21), it could be concluded that they equally have functional roles. This is what Martinec and Salway (2005) articulate as, when the text and image are equal in their functional roles, they serve a complementary purpose. The image of a decently dressed dietician who is carefully observing the hygienic looks of the food and the presence of ingredients such as ginger elaborates the text to be complete and more meaningful (Kress & Van, 2006).

The viewer position of the cook is directly facing the physical viewer (audience). This, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), is a way of exchanging goods and services through the interpersonal meaning. It suggests to the viewer that the diets are specially prepared to provide the needed nutrition they desire. Also, the placement of the cook at the left corner means that it is in the given region, meaning the audience are already aware the food is prepared by nutritionist. However, the placement of the dishes in the centre communicates the varieties available for target audience. A combination of the pictures of the food resonates with the words of the billboard that the food is

marvellous. The word 'marvellous' suggests that the food tastes extremely good. Through this combination of image and words, the complete message of the advertiser is communicated with ease.



Figure 22: Billboard of Ghana Commercial Bank

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 22 contains the image of an eagle appearing first and then followed by a text. This is a demonstration of Barthes' (1967) point which reveals that, when the image comes first, then the text constitutes a more precise message as well as restating in a definite form to accomplish what the image seeks to communicate. In the Figure 22, the image which is the logo of Ghana Commercial Bank consists of an eagle symbol and combines a logotype of beautiful colour pallets. The eagle signifies strength and higher heights, in this

context, financially. Also, the eagle aligns to the symbol on the coat of arms of Ghana. This gives expression to a new image of dynamism and freshness as well as the enduring relevance of its Ghanaian and African heritage. Meanwhile, the Ghanaian financial system has been rendered ineffective due to some economic turbulence that has hit the Ghanaian financial system (Danmont, Le Gall, & Leroux, 2004).

This turbulence discussed in 2004 resurfaced in 2019 where the government ordered that most microfinance companies fold up; others merged together to restore financial decency in the Ghanaian economy. This led to a loss of confidence in the banking system by many Ghanaians. The task for surviving banks is how they can restore the confidence in the people while they also focus on creating a good public image (Aryeetey and Senbet, 2004). Steel and Andah (2005) suggests that flexible regulatory environment can encourage innovation, while the banks focus on other product and services that can serve a different market niche not reached by other financial providers.

The use of the logo and name of the bank at the top region of the billboard reiterate the brand qualities that are known to the audience. Moreover, the billboard is designed with the bank colours to further communicate the brand features for all viewers of the billboard. Instead of using words to describe the services the bank is rendering, the advertisers decided to use the various logos of the services such as western union, vigo among others as ways to communicate the digital international banking transfer services the bank is running. The bank also indicates their availability all day and night by using the number 24/7 which refers to 24 hours and 7 days a week. This abbreviation is familiar to the viewers of the billboard. Hence, in an attempt to economise in

the use of words in billboards, the advertisers adopted the abbreviation as perfect communication. Through the colors, the images and abbreviation, the bank is able to communicate their corporate image and services to the target audience.



Figure 23: Telecommunication Company

Source: Field survey (2020)

Figure 23 is a billboard of two telecommunications companies: *Airtel* and *tiGo* which merged as one company. The text “One Big Family” has its accompanying image made up of the entire billboard. On this billboard, the colour of *tiGo* appears under the name *Airtel* while the colour of *Airtel* appears under the name *tiGo*. *Airtel-tiGo* is a telecommunication company in Ghana with several customers (Steel & Andah, 2005). The merging of these companies as a unifying company as demonstrated by the image makes the company better

and stronger with a 22 percent market share than formerly. Here, text and image are put together to communicate such a deep and educative message of togetherness and unity-in-strength to the public.

Again, the demonstrative function of the text has in it a covert informative function (Kress & Van, 2006). It is observed that the colours—blue, red and a little bit of white— of the company as boldly displayed cover major parts of the billboard while the text is written in different colours such as white, red and blue. This presupposes that the company is more concerned about its colours than its image which is exhibited somewhere in a white portion of the signpost. The colours could be alluded to what one big family means and can do. This goes to confirm Martinec and Salway's (2005) text and image relations that either one of them has equal or unequal relations. In unequal relations, one mode—the text—, in this case, supports a big image of the company as it is located on the streets of Ho town.

Airtel is written at the blue column with their original colour while tigo is written at the red column which is their original colour. The white which symbolizes purity, freedom and serenity (Kwakye-Opong, 2014) becomes the uniting factor that brings these two telecommunication giants together to form one big family. The viewer is, therefore, introduced to the new brand colour of the big family which shows the combination of blue and red with a little white. Through the colours, the vibrance, purity and coolness of the networks are communicated easily to the viewer with difficulty.

The presence of English, Twi, and Ewe in the linguistic landscape of Ghana can be said to symbolize interethnic communication and national

integration. Nonetheless, there is an impression of low vitality of indigenous languages in linguistic landscape of Ho because of the dominance of English.

### Chapter Summary

The analysis of the results has revealed that the visible languages on the billboards in Ho are English language, Ewe and few appearances of Ga and Twi. Moreover, the semiotic resources are cogent in communicating the business messages, the religious affiliation as well as the cultural heritage of the town. The combination of the visual and verbal modes aided the advertisers to communicate the brand image, brand message as well as emotive appeals through the billboards. Finally, all language functions on the billboards were analysed. The analysis revealed that referential, conative, and poetic functions were dominant among other functions.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

The previous chapter was concerned with the analysis and discussion of the data collected. The analysis of the collected data presented, the languages that were available in the LL of Ho, the communicative functions that were embedded in the billboards, and how text and image related, were discussed. The current chapter presents a summary of the findings of the research. It provides some implications and conclusions drawn from the study and recommendations for further research.

#### Summary

The research is structured into five chapters. The first chapter introduces and gives the background of the study. The background has discussed the linguistic landscape as a fast-developing field under sociolinguistics that investigates language in public spaces. It proceeds to give a language situation in Ghana. More so, the statement of the problem, research questions, and the significance of the study are also provided. Some related literature on the topic under discussion are discussed. This is done by discussing the visibility of language with the linguistic landscape. A discussion of how text and image relate to communicating is presented. Furthermore, the effects of LL on globalisation are discussed to appreciate the literature on how globalisation is affecting language choice among countries, town, and villages across the world. The Chapter Three discussed the methodological issues such as the research design, research site, research instrument, data analysis procedure, ethics, and validity as well as challenges encountered and surmounted. Chapter Four focused

on the data analysis and findings. Finally, the Linguistic Landscape Theory, Language Function, and Visual Grammar Theory are used as the analytical framework in analysing the data.

### Key Findings

A total number of three languages—Eve, English and Twi— were identified in the public space in Ho with the dominant language being English, followed by Eve. The inscriptions in the English language are boldly written in uppercase on some billboards to show dominance and prominence. A total number of ninety (90) billboards with eighty-five (85%) of the ninety billboards having inscriptions in English only was observed. In cases where Eve and English languages are inscribed on the same billboard, the English language seems to dominate in terms of number of words, thereby making the Eve language a minority.

There is a sense of hybridity in English and Eve language in the Ho town. Eve and Twi are not put together, as compared to that of the coexistence of the English and the Eve languages on any of the billboards captured. In cases where Twi is located, it is either stands alone or coexists with English. This is not surprising as Ho is dominantly an Eve-speaking town. Although there are few Twi-speakers among them, the sense of hybridity is not seen between Twi and Eve on billboards in the public space of Ho.

In respect of the second research question, the second section of the analysis focused on the messages that were found in the semiotic resources that are located on billboards in Ho. First of all, government billboards, company billboards, and private billboards are all observed. Nonetheless, the government billboards (top-down) and private billboards (bottom-up) seem to engage in

quite different activities in terms of commercial and public initiatives. While private billboards focus on marketing their products and services, the government billboards focus on educating the citizens on their judicial rights. Moreover, some private billboards have inscriptions that project religious messages, life experiences, and advice to the public as well. Some religious inscriptions include *Emmanuel* (God with us), *Mawufemor* (God's way), and some others.

On the other hand, some of the inscriptions give pieces of advice example, "Justice is your right." In the same light, some bottom-up billboards have inscriptions that are made up of Eve names. These names reveal some of the Eve naming systems, for example, *Amivi* is a female born on Saturday in Eve. Where there is a female Saturday born in the family already, the one that comes after the first is referred to as *Amivi* while the first one is *Amigã* or simply *Ami*. The *vi* and *gã* are synonymous with the English *junior* and *senior*, respectively. So, Eve naming system is revealed in the linguistic landscape of Ho.

The analysis also takes a close look at how text and image interact to the billboards in communicating to the audience. It is observed that the people of Ho replace texts with images on billboards in some cases. In other cases, they complement text with images. But in most cases, they combine text and image to communicate information to the public. Some billboards have inscriptions of images of an African lady who is dressed in beads and traditional African wear with an accompanying text that reads "Celebrate your roots." In support of that, some companies such as Airtel and Tigo have merged as one and have both

images merged on the same billboard with an accompanying text “One Big Family” which signifies unity, peace, and security.

### **Implications of the Study**

The key findings in the present study have raised a number of implications in the area of theory, scholarship, and practice. Taking cognisance of the study objectives, it became necessary that the researcher adopt three theories which also doubled as frameworks that guide the analysis of the data. Every research objective was well analysed because of a dedication of an entire theory that underpins it. From the linguistic landscape theory, the researcher finds that Ho is a multilingual town. A successful application of these theories in a multimodal study adds to the existing research in linguistic landscape from the viewpoint of multimodality.

Another implication is the implication for practice, especially when it comes to language distribution on billboards in Ho. The researcher observes the presence of English and Ewe, English and Twi, but does not find Ewe and Twi on any billboard. This raises a number of questions in the mind of the researcher because Twi and Ewe are local languages that when seen together may suggest coexistence not only in terms of the languages but the people. Furthermore, given the geographical location of Ho, a capital town of the Volta region, one expects to see one or two billboards that show French inscriptions to either direct, or educate any French speaking person. The researcher wishes to draw attention to national planning and language policies to these developments for the sake of ensuring, not only national, but international cohesion.

## Recommendations

This study has added insight into how the indigenous languages are less prominent in the study area's public space because of the frequent use of English language. The researcher recommends that policy makers consider promulgating a policy document that could encourage advertising agencies especially billboard designers to include the indigenous languages or Ghanaian based signs so that our cultural heritage in terms of language is preserved in the linguistic landscape of the country.

## Suggestions for Further Studies

Further studies are to be done in the linguistic landscape of the major towns in the Volta region since the region comprises different people with different linguistic backgrounds. It will be helpful to further this study to appreciate a broader linguistic outlook of the whole region. Topics that can be studied further include Linguistic landscape and street level images in the major streets of Ho. Finally, there can also be a study on linguistic landscape and conflict exclusion on the commercial streets of Ho. This will help to appreciate the discussion of linguistic landscape in Ho.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has explored the linguistic landscape of Ho through a multimodal perspective. This chapter presented the summary of the study, the key findings in relation to the research questions, implications of the study, recommendations and suggestions for further studies. The suggestions were based on the findings of the study.

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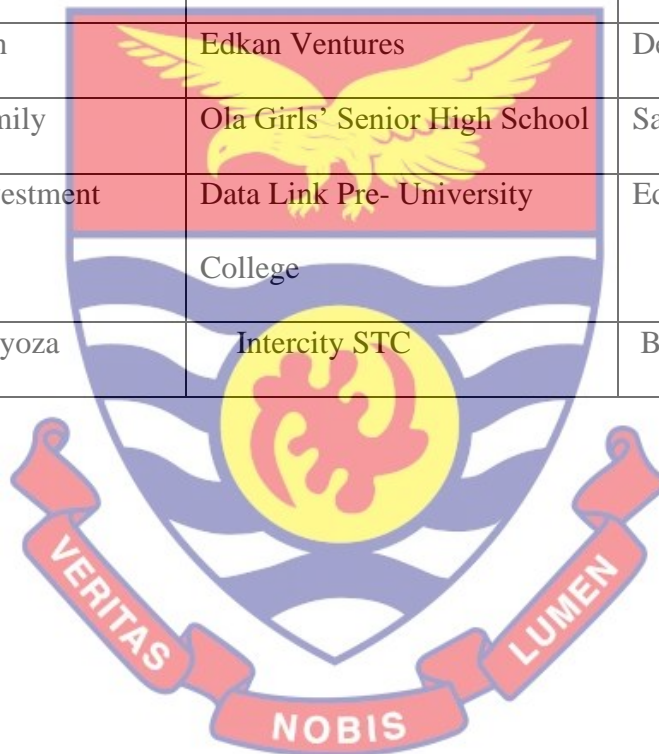
**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: BILLBOARD NAMES**

Source	Source	Source	Source	Source
Evangelical Presbyterian University College, Ho	Graceland Homeopathic Clinic Ho, V/R.	Edibem Photos and Graphics	Universal Capital (FNGO)	Franklin Computers
Christ Prince of Peace School	Divine Mensah Ventures	ICOM	Timeless Laundry and General Cleaning Available	Talk of the Town
Jesus Palace Electrical Ventures	Grace & Glory Business Centre	Marvelous Dish	Amivi Special	Vesta Motors CO. LTD
The Lords Pentecostal Church International	Give Thanks Boutique	G.C.B Ho Branch	SLS Spareparts Last Shop	Dress Up
Sonrise Christian Int. School	Emmanuel Barbering Shop	A.D.B. Agriculture Development Bank	Phezluk Multimedia GH. LTD	Seasons
Fruitful Living Sanctuary	Hallelujah Ent.	Longrich Office	Chigo	Bertha's JEvellery

Christ Prince of Peace Schoo	God Dey	MTN	Commercial Signs	BolMeds Dental Clinic
International Central Gospel Church	Mighty Enterprise	AirtelTigo Ho	76. Home Depot	Afede High Street
Agape Harvest Institute	Bless Photos	Royal Fast	Bob Coffie Hardware Store	Independence Avenue
New Life Gethsemane Ministry	Gods' Time Boutique	Green Day- Group (GH) LTD	Verna, Dorllah	SIC Life Company LTD.
King Solomon's Chariots	Kingdom 105.9FM Ho	Adehenu Street	Verna, Geo- Beni Ventures	Milife Insurance
ICGE	Win Boost	Tarso Hotel	Maffor Company Limited	Bloomberg
Amenuveve Ent.	Verna, Victory Always	New Vision Co-operative Credit Union Limited	Best Option Roofing & Glazing System	Star Assurance
Only the Mighty Computers	Du Ga Bia	City Office	Agbehia	Societe Generale Ghana
Mawufemor Hair Do	Access Bank	Passport Application Centre	X- Tigi Mobile	Fidelity Bank
The Church of Pentecost	Amasha	Alomo Bitters	Sokode Special Chop Bar	Advans Ghana

Perez Chapel Int. Ho.	GTP Xormse	No Parking No Loading	Green Acres	
Genesis	Dangote House	Tinattett Herbal Centre	Cele Cosmetics Hair Salon	
Amen (H)	Metropolitan	Edkan Ventures	Dedeede	
Lord Zizzy	One Big Family	Ola Girls' Senior High School	SamJay Enterprise	
Victory Photos	National Investment Bank	Data Link Pre- University College	Eddytop Electronics	
Great Provider Enterprise	Tsito Dunenyozza	Intercity STC	Bronz Tone	



## APPENDIX B: PHOTOS OF BILLBOARDS





