

# Language Competition In The Linguistic Landscape In Ajumako And Winneba

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*Abstract: In this study, the linguistic landscape of two communities; Ajumako, an indigenous Fante speaking and Winneba, a cosmopolitan with Effutu or Awutu being the home language, are analyzed to discover whether the languages found in each actually reflect the languages spoken by each community, and to discover which language leads the competition based on their ethnic makeup. The competition between the various languages present in a particular linguistic space demands research and for that matter empirical explanations. However, the paper does not consider everything under the linguistic landscape of these communities. It only looks at the signage seen on vehicles in the various commercial lorry stations in both Ajumako and Winneba. All of the text found on the vehicles were photographed and analyzed. The results showed that English and Fante were very frequent in both communities, and few others appeared infrequently. The expected result, Fante being more frequent in Ajumako and at least a marginal appearance of Effutu in Winneba, was not supported by the findings: the ethnic make up of Ajumako and Winneba does not seem to be related to the visual language encountered in the linguistic landscape hence the most successful language in both communities in the competition is the English language.*

*Keywords: Linguistic Landscape, Language Competition, Dominant Language, Prestige.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The language that is used in a particular community is an integral part of its culture and society. The study of the linguistic landscape is a fairly recent phenomenon that started around the 1970s but only gained attention in the late 1990s with the article by Landry and Bourhis (1997) titled "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality, an Empirical Study." Since then, the field of linguistic landscape research has expanded and grown and is becoming an important aspect of sociolinguistic research.

This paper describes a study of the linguistic landscape conducted in two communities; Ajumako a native Fante speaking community and Winneba, a cosmopolitan (a diverse town) with Fante being the frequent language and Effutu or Awutu the home language.

All the text found on the vehicles of the two communities were photographed and coded based on the languages found

on them. They were coded a second time, this time on a paper-store basis. With these results, the study aims at answering the following questions:

- ✓ Which languages are present in the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba?
- ✓ Do these languages reflect the languages spoken by each community?
- ✓ How are the communities; Ajumako and Winneba unique?

## II. OUTLINE

The paper is divided into six sections with some subsections. The first section begins with the abstract which is a synopsis of the entire work, Introduction which poses significant questions for the research, Purpose of the research as well as relevance of the study. In the second section, related

and relevant literature was reviewed. The third section briefly discusses the research communities under study. The fourth section explains the methodology employed. Section five presents the data for the research. The sixth and final section deals with the analysis of and application of the theoretical framework of the paper to the data presented. It concludes with a brief summary of the paper.

#### PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The study investigates which language(s) are present and which leads the competition in the linguistic landscape of the communities under study; Ajumako and Winneba. It also investigates language(s) that is/are available for communication, (e.g. to advertise) and the languages that carry symbolic functions which refers to the value and status of the languages as perceived by members of the discourse communities (drivers and/or car owners) in the analysis.

#### RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The answer to the research questions stated above should provide insight into how the linguistic landscape in each community, Ajumako and Winneba reflects the different preferences, needs and interest of the various ethnic groups present in each community. This could give valuable information on the subject of language planning and the integration of immigrants into the communities of Ajumako or Winneba and Ghana at large.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

- At the end of the research, it would be clear:
- ✓ How the various languages that exist in Ajumako and Winneba are competing as evidenced on vehicular signage.
  - ✓ How well the users are aware of their choice of a language.

#### HYPOTHESES

Ajumako and Winneba are both homes to students of University of Education, Winneba. Ajumako is a dominant Akan (Fante or Twi) speaking community and host the College of Ghanaian Languages Education. Winneba on the other hand is Effutu community and the mother of all the University campuses and accommodates both local (Ghanaian) and International students, and offers a variety of courses in the sciences, media, business and the like.

This leads us to the hypothesis that the (indigenous) languages in each community should reflect the Linguistic Landscape, plus English. Therefore Akan (Fante and or Twi) and English are expected to be present in Ajumako and English and Effutu or Awutu in Winneba. Winneba will necessarily have English dominating and mostly be a mix of many other languages including Ga or Damgbe, Ewe, Hausa, Arabic and perhaps French due to its cosmopolitan nature.

Aside the fact that both communities are homes to university students, the presence of English in both communities is a matter of association and prestige. People

generally associate themselves with prestige and so whether or not educated; they are capable of recognizing English language and as well associating it with prestige. For drivers to satisfy their customers, they use English which is deemed prestigious in order to complete their desire to present to the customer a fanciful option. They however present their indigenous languages in a particular fashion which reminds them of their ethnic heritage.

#### III. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews related and relevant literature on the subject. A clear definition and description of the subject, what it is and what it is not will be given.

According to Dixson (2015) language is tied to identity, and whether or not a language is visible in the linguistic landscape promotes or demotes not only languages, but the ethnic groups tied to those languages as well. Ajumako and Winneba respectively are typical Fante and Effutu communities with historical narrations pointing to great Fante and Effutu history. Obviously, it is expected that they exhibit or promote a lot of their ethnic values that identify them. It was expected that some of the drivers would choose the local languages over the others based on their quest to keep their heritage. Dixson (2015) suggested that:

The most significant limitation in this research study was the lack of interviews conducted. Conducting interviews would have led to a better, more accurate understanding of both informative and symbolic meanings of signs, especially those in languages not written in Latin script which could not easily be translated, or in one case even identified. Future studies of Buffalo's linguistic landscape should include interviews for more accurate results.

He acknowledges the value of the interviews as vital to his research. As a result, I included and made it an integral part of my data gathering strategies.

#### LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

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 (henceforth, LL) of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; 25).

Although many researchers use this definition, it is also often extended or modified and becomes more inclusive or exclusive depending on the researcher and the subject and area of the study. In a study on the linguistic landscape of Israel, Ben-Rafael et al. define it as "any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or private business in a given geographical location (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; 14). In addition to the Landry & Bourhis definition, this definition also includes signs inside stores or establishments, which Landry and Bourhis do not state specifically. Dailey, Giles, and Jansma (2005, pp. 30-31) have a much broader definition that also includes mail and flyers sent to the inhabitants of the specified area, the language spoken in the households, languages heard on television and used by teachers. This definition is extended to not only include

written language, but spoken language as well, and language that originates outside of the area that is studied (mail, television broadcasts, etc.). Shohamy & Waksman (2009) have a very radical notion of the linguistic language that includes all possible discourses in the landscape, including audio, images without text, and human beings themselves. They argue that it is the optimal approach because meaning is not only constructed using language. The drawback of this approach is that it is hard to document and quantify.

The Landry & Bourhis definition implies that any visual language encountered in a clearly defined public space is part of the linguistic landscape. It only extends to signage (road signs, billboards, shop signs, etc.) so items like graffiti are not explicitly included in this definition. It also does not include moving objects that happen to be in the defined area, such as advertising written on the side of cars or bikes. Similarly, Sebba (2010) advocates the inclusion of mobile and unfixed signs in the study of the LL. He argues that the inclusion of signs on moving vehicles (e.g. buses), stickers, pamphlets, banknotes, etc., also plays a role in the interpretation of the world around us as more fixed and stable signage does. The issue of the materiality of the sign has also been identified as an important aspect of the LL. From this perspective, the diversity and variation of fonts, colours, design and texture, as well as the resources used to create the sign, make the materiality of LL. The materiality of a sign enables a sign to be contextualized as it may index its history and thus enables a more accurate reading of the sign.

Such an approach marks a discursive turn in LL studies, especially when one considers that the materiality of a sign involves the interaction of time and space, an idea that is outlined by Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their study of geo-semiotics. This means that the linguistic landscape includes all of the following: street signs, advertising, shop names, sale signs, road signs (as long as they have text), Posted flyers, government buildings, signs describing monuments, no parking signs, and so on. Any textual item, including graffiti, is a part of the linguistic landscape.

The area studied can be anything, from (part of) a street, to a neighbourhood or even a whole city. Theoretically it could extend to an entire country or even the world, but this research would be too impractical to actually conduct.

A commercial district is filled with language, and one street can easily feature over four hundred signs and other various texts. In a study of the linguistic landscape, these would all need to be indexed and categorized, which makes studying the linguistic landscape of a large area very time consuming.

In studies that do survey a larger area, this is usually handled by selecting various neighbourhoods or localities in that area and commercial centres within those, and studying the linguistic landscape there. The amount of different localities in this approach can vary from simply comparing two (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), to numbers up to 28 (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Huebner, 2006).

One of the major decisions after defining the linguistic landscape is the definition of a sign. Most any definition of LL will include signs. Most recent studies (and most older studies, implicitly) adhere to the definition posed by Backhaus (2006):

A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards. Also such items as push and pull stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered to be signs. Each sign was counted as one item, irrespective of its size.

#### IV. THE RESEARCH COMMUNITIES

##### A. WINNEBA

Winneba is the capital of Effutu Municipal District in Central Region of South Ghana with a population of 55,331. Traditionally, it is known as Simpa and is a historic fishing port in south Ghana, lying on the south coast, 140 kilometers (90 miles) east of Cape Coast.

Winneba is originally and still known as Simpa. The language spoken by Simpa people is called Effutu, a dialect of the Guan language group. Effutu, spoken by the people of Winneba (Simpa), Senya, spoken by the people of Senya, Awutu, spoken by the people of Awutu Breku and Bawjiase, and Anum spoken by some groups in the Akwapim areas of the Eastern Region, are all some of the mutually intelligible languages within the Guan group.

Winneba is heavily influenced by dominant Fante speaking towns such as Cape Coast, Mankessim, Swedru, and several minor Gomoa and Assin villages, and that makes virtually every Effutu person also able to speak Fante. As a result, some Effutu people have made Fante their first language because of the surrounding influence. That is why a lot of people believe that the people of Winneba are Fante.

##### B. AJUMAKO

Ajumako, a Fante community is the district capital of Ajumako-Enyan-Essiam with a population (the whole district) of 140, 712. It is situated between Mankessim and Sweduru and connects towns such as Breman Asikuma, Sweduru, Besease, Mando and other smaller towns nearby. It is less densely populated with a major market.

Ajumako is currently the home of the College of Ghanaian Languages Education. The College has contributed to the boom of the commercial activities in the community. The community therefore sees several of commercial vehicular activities throughout each week. According to the (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014), trading is an important economic activity and is carried out virtually in every area in the district with Ajumako being the largest market centre in the district.

#### V. METHODS AND DATA

The field of linguistic landscape research analyses the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration

(Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25). This means that any study concerning the composition of the linguistic landscape must find, catalogue and code the various written texts in the chosen geographical area in order to be able to draw any conclusions at all.

According to Burdick (2012) methodologically, Linguistic Landscaping analysis relies on photography and visual analysis. The core data gathering method is to engage in photography that thoroughly document defined social spaces. These spaces include vehicular stations where commercial cars which are the focus of this study are packed. Some vehicles in traffic jams on the highways were included. The paper uses *Norman Fairclough's* Critical Discourse Analysis approach. According to (Fairclough, forthcoming b.) there are First, 'discourse' in an abstract sense as a category which designates the broadly semiotic elements (as opposed to and in relation to other, non-semiotic, elements) of social life (language, but also visual semiosis, 'body language' etc). Methodologically, this approach entails working in a 'transdisciplinary' way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change.

#### A. DATA COLLECTION IN AJUMAKO

Ajumako has one major but divided station where drivers affiliate for their work. The division include; The Progressive Transport Owners Association (PROTOA) and The Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU).

Pictures were taken with a digital camera. Each picture was aimed to photograph one sign. As mentioned before, a sign is defined according to Backhaus' definition as "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...] including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards" (2007: 66). Only signs that included text were photographed; other items such as pictures and graffiti were not considered. This is based on Gorter's and Backhaus' definition that a linguistic landscape is the use of language in its "written form" (Gorter 2006: 2), and a sign is "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" (Backhaus 2007: 66). Therefore the written form and text were the criteria for sampling.

In sum, a total of 50 inscriptions on cars were observed and analyzed. The meanings of the inscriptions were grouped under social, prestige and religious perspectives. Signs (that contained text) were collected, and examined for languages displayed whether monolingual or multilingual, and the relative prominence of the languages displayed based on their placement on the signs. In addition, interviews were carried out with all the drivers in order to investigate reasons concerning the choice of certain languages and what they seek to communicate to the public (especially passengers).

#### B. DATA COLLECTION IN WINNEBA

The same procedure was used for the collection of data in Winneba (just as used in Ajumako). However, to acquire a set of data that properly reflects the linguistic landscape in Winneba and the influence of the many other languages (aside

Effutu and Fante) that are spoken, the two major lorry stations, that is Winneba junction and Winneba central market were selected for this study. A total of 90 inscriptions on cars were observed and analyzed. The meanings of the inscriptions were grouped under social, prestige and religious perspectives.

Also, some interviews were carried out with randomly selected drivers (car owners) to ascertain reasons for language choice and what the texts seek to communicate.

### VI. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

All the interviews were conducted in either Fante or Twi except for some few instances where some of the respondents wanted to do some slight code-mixing. In such instances, the researcher also did some code-mixing with deliberate consideration to the degree of switches exhibited by the respondents. The noisy nature of the linguistic space made it impossible for using audio recorders. For this reason, responses were written down with a pencil.

In order to set the tone for the interview without being seen as a hindrance to their work, the researcher engaged each respondent for a casual preparatory conversation. The researcher always encouraged the respondents to feel free and come up with their concerns as their business was a priority, so that if they are bordered with the interview, I find ways to curtail the exercise without offending them.

These were the probing questions that underpinned the interviews:

- What languages are spoken in Ajumako (Winneba)?
- What languages do you hear your passengers speak?
- Do you find your passengers speaking other languages other than the languages spoken in Ajumako (Winneba)?
- Did you contribute directly to the writing of this sign?
- Why did you choose to use ..... language to convey your thoughts on your car?
- Does the language have any effect(s) on your business?

#### C. DATA FROM PHOTOGRAPHY

Inscriptions that depict the social life of the people such as; money related issues, respect for mankind, relationships, appreciation to people, positive or negative attitude of people towards others, hatred or envy, humility and nationalism were all grouped under the social context. This is seen in Figure 1a and 2a below.



Figure 1a: From social perspective (Ajumako survey)

Inscriptions from religious perspective such as names of religious bodies, deities, religious quotes, requests, prayers, adorations were also captured. This is shown in Figure 1b and 2b below.



Figure 1b: From religious perspective (Ajumako survey)

The prestige category comprises nicknames, jargons etc. This is also shown in Figure 1c and 2c below:



Figure 1c: Prestige perspective (Ajumako survey)



Figure 2b: From religious perspective (Winneba survey)



Figure 2c: Prestige perspective (Winneba survey)

### C. DATA FROM INTERVIEW (AJUMAKO & WINNEBA)

The interview conducted brought to light information under the following: The place of English (among minority and dominant languages), Prominence and Symbolic (association).

#### a. PLACEMENT OF ENGLISH

While some drivers at Ajumako describe English as the dominant language and as a common means of communication, most drivers at Winneba see English as an index of globalization (perhaps due to the diverse nature of people occupying the place), hence their decision to choose English as the medium to convey their message to the public.

A fraction of drivers who chose English from the perspective of prestige explained their bases not only as a way of motivating their fans, but also as a means of informing others about “their level of education” These texts mostly contain inscriptions of nicknames and “special genres” An example of such inscriptions is in Figure 3 below.



Figure 2a: From social perspective (Winneba survey)



The driver (from Ajumako) explained his reason for ‘intentionally’ choosing “Gardness” for “Goodness” as his fashion of writing (and not because he is an illiterate).

**b. PROMINENCE**

Some of the drivers (particularly in Ajumako) used two signs at the same time written in different languages. In such situations, prominence is placed on one language.

A language on a sign is considered to be “more” prominent if it is larger, in a more eye catching font or in a position which makes it superior to the other. For example if one language was written in the middle of the sign while the other relegated to the bottom right corner.

Even though the drivers could not tell which language was more prominent (in their own view), it was clear to me as the explanation on which language is considered prominent given above stresses.



Figure 4a                      Figure 4b                      Figure 4c  
Figure 4 (from Ajumako) below is an example

**c. SYMBOLIC**

Most of the drivers who chose either Fante or Twi explained doing so by virtue of their desire to preserve their cultural heritage.

One driver who is also a church elder (from Winneba) chose Twi under “religious” perspective to express gratitude to a dear one. The inscription reads: “YESU ADOM” (By the grace of Jesus). This is seen in Figure 5 below:



Figure 5: To express gratitude to a dear one

VII. DATA ANALYSIS

This section presents an overview of the results from the research conducted in the two chosen communities; Ajumako and Winneba.

First the general results will be addressed, and then each community will be viewed separately.

**A. LANGUAGE DISPLAY AND LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION IN SIGNS**

Overview of all Languages displayed in all the signs on vehicles

Languages	Number of signs	%
English only	23	46.0
Fante only	13	26.0
Twi only	7	14.0
Hausa only	2	4.0
Arabic only	1	2.0
English and Fante	2	4.0
English and Damgbe	1	2.0
English and Hausa	1	2.0
Total	50	100

Table 1: Summary of signs: Ajumako

Languages	Number of signs	%
English only	55	61
Fante only	23	26
Twi only	7	8
Arabic only	1	1
English and Arabic	1	1
English and Fante	3	3
Total	90	100

Table 2: Summary of signs: Winneba

The tables indicate that English only constitute the highest number of LL in both Ajumako and Winneba. It is followed by Fante and then Twi. In bilingual signs, English and Fante recorded the highest.

**B. LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION IN CONTEXT**

As stated earlier, the languages displayed are distributed in various contexts communicating different messages to the public.

In the tables that follows, the various display of languages are presented. The summary will inform us whether or not the genres in Ajumako and Winneba are correlated with the various languages present.

Drivers in Ajumako and Winneba use English to express social issues more than Akan (Twi/ Fante). With respect to religion, English is preferred to any other language in the competition in both communities. Drivers in Ajumako as well as Winneba will go for English in contexts relating to prestige. In a cosmopolitan as well as in minor societies, it is usually common for most people including indigenes to align with a language that is deemed most prestigious (such as English, an ex-colonial language).

Tables 3 and 4 below show the competition regarding language use based on the aforementioned contexts.

Languages	Religious	Social	Prestige	Total	Rank
English only	7	12	4	23	Highest
Fante only	5	6	2	13	Higher
Twi only	1	5	1	7	High
Hausa only		1	1	2	Low
Arabic			1	1	Low
English & Fante		2		2	Low
English & Damgbe		1		1	Low
English & Hausa	1			1	Low
Grand total	14	27	9	50	Overall remarks

Table 3: Language use based on context (Ajumako)

Langug es	Religio us	Social	Prestige	Total	Rank
English only	11	30	14	55	Highest
Fante only	8	12	3	23	Higher
Twi only	5	1	1	7	High
Arabic only	1	-	-	1	Low
English & Fante	2	-	1	3	Low
English & Arabic	1	-	-	1	Low
Grand total	28	43	19	90	Overall remarks

Table 4: Language use based on context (Winneba)

According to "SAGE researchmethods" 2002):

- ✓ Discourse is both constitutive and constituted- Discourse itself in this sense is seen as a social practice and as a result, has a great relationship with other dimensions. Discourse is not only about making up any social structure but it is affected by the social factors in play as well. The social practice constitutes the kind of discourse that will be used in a given society by shaping the discourse which includes the kind of language that would be employed. By flip, the language used identifies and describes the kind of social practice that goes on within a defined linguistic space. It is not surprising that through the interviews, some of the drivers asserted that their choice of English language was based on the prestige they ascribe to the language. They also explained that their inspiration of the prestige ascription was as a result of the value government has placed on the language by using it for almost all official purposes. In the interview, some drivers could not tell which of two languages on a sign was more prominent than the other. It was however obvious from the difference in fonts that at some point English placed more prominent and another it is either Twi or Fante. Twi and Fante on the other hand, most of the drivers admitted that their choice of Akan (Twi / Fante) is due to their desire to preserve the linguistic heritage. The social context or practices found in both Ajumako and Winneba in this sphere could be said to have been constituted by the discourse while the discourse also is seen to have been constituted by the social context. Thus, the choice and use of English and Akan (Twi/Fante) is constituted by the driver's interest to align with prestige and heritage respectively while the two languages also define any of the given contexts to which they are associated.
- ✓ Language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context. As discussed above, the various languages

in play in Ajumako and Winneba can be attributed to the presence of certain social factors. This makes it imperative to analyze the circumstances surrounding their use. The presence of Fante or Twi is perhaps due to the fact that the communities surveyed are Akan / Guan indigene. According to Ghana Statistical Service (2014) Ajumako is an Akan (Fante) community and this Akan group includes both Fante and Twi speakers. The community is historically occupied by Fantes. However, because of the many Twi communities that surround it, such as the Assin and Gomoa (Agona), the people are heavily influenced to write either Asante or Akuapem (Twi) consciously or unconsciously but speak Fante. That is why among the 20 appearance of Akan, 13 are Fante and 7 are Twi inscriptions.

Winneba on the other hand, is a Guan community but heavily dominated by Akan (Fante/ Twi.)

Another dimension of the social context under which the discourse in Winneba could be analyzed is the working arena. Trade and other commercial activities are very high in Winneba than it is in Ajumako.

It must be emphasized that much of these commercial activities occur in the central business unit of the linguistic space, (such as the central market and the main junction). These are exactly where the commercial lorry parks are located. This means that the language of the commercial transactions cannot be significantly different from that of the vehicular signage.

English is the official language of Ghana. From the interview, some of the drivers said that the choice of the English language is to motivate their fans (and at least to tell them their level of education). A majority of these "fans" are the non-Effutu or Akan who are not impeccable in either of the two (local) languages, but would appreciate any attempt to be communicated with through a common medium. This undeniably, is the reason for the highest rise of English language amidst the native Effutu (Guan) and Akan languages. Due to the prevalence of non-Effutu (and even non-Akans) whose languages are unintelligible with Effutu, it has become necessary for signing in English.

Again, as indicated by one of the drivers during the interview, writing in English is simpler and easier than in Effutu and Akan. Because of the highly dominance of Akan (Twi and Fante) over Effutu, there was no signage in Effutu or Awutu. The driver who is just talked about stated that Effutu is mostly spoken in the fishing areas (along the coast) and not inland. These are some of the many reasons for English dominance in Winneba and no show of Effutu or Awutu.

- ✓ Discourse functions ideologically – The ideology function of discourse focuses on the effects of semiosis on social relations of power. Within the linguistic space and among the linguistic variables in the space, there is the expectation of attraction based on power. The drivers are expected to be attracted to the most powerful language present. The most powerful language is subject to the functions associated with the (other) languages in context. English is the official language of Ghana within which Ajumako and Winneba are found. Akan (Twi or Fante) is studied as a subject and used as a medium of instruction in Akan speaking communities. Effutu is at the verge of

dying out as it has few literature and spoken minimally by its indigenes. As a result, Effutu is hardly spoken inland. All official transactions and public notices are conveyed in English. It is not surprising therefore that all the message from the data in tables 2 and 4, a total of 55 signage which constitutes 61% of the total signage was written in English. Again, a total of 30 signage which constitutes 33.3% of the total signage was written in both Fante and Twi (Akan). Arabic, English-Arabic mixing and English-Fante mixing constitute a total of 5 signage which represent 5.5% of the total signage. As indicated earlier, there was no show of Effutu, the home language of Winneba.

In the case of Ajumako on the other hand, it was expected that Fante features the most since it is a dominant Fante community and is the home to students of Ghanaian Languages which Fante is one. As discussed under Winneba, the story is the same. English recorded the highest with 23 signage representing 46.0%, followed by Fante, 13 (26%) and then Twi, 7 (14%). English-Fante mixing, English-Damgbe mixing, English-Hausa mixing, Arabic and Hausa altogether constitute 7 signage which represent 14% of the total signage. This confirms English as the most powerful language in both Ajumako and Winneba under the context under study.

### C. TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS

It was hypothesized that the various languages spoken in each community would indeed reflect the ethnicities of the communities studied, and that English would appear in both communities but lead in Winneba in the LL. That would mean that the linguistic landscape in Ajumako would be predominantly Fante (and or Twi), Winneba would have a large amount of English and a mix of other languages (like Ga or Damgbe, Ewe, Hausa and Arabic) compared to Ajumako, a small community. Also as the home language of the Municipality, Effutu is expected to show up strongly in the Linguistic Landscape. Finally, English would be found everywhere, but dominate in Winneba.

According to the data in Table 2 and table 4, there were 55 instances of signage in English which constitutes 61% of the total number of signage while there were 30 instances of signage both in Fante and Twi representing 34%. The remaining 5% is shared between Arabic, English-Arabic mixing and English-Fante mixing. This confirms the hypothesis that English language leads with a 61% patronage by drivers' use of signs on their vehicles in Winneba.

However, as indicated by Ben-Rafael and Shohamy et al. (2006), Linguistic Landscapes are mere "symbolic constructions" as they can disguise the true make up of the linguistic community. The inference that Ajumako will have Fante dominating on the basis of the aforementioned conditions did not surface, it was rather English that won the competition (from table 1 and 3) with the highest appearance of 23 signage, representing 46%, Fante 13 (26%) followed by Twi, 7 (14%). The remaining 14% was distributed among Arabic, Hausa, English-Fante mixing, English-Damgbe mixing and English-Hausa mixing. Nevertheless, with both Fante and Twi combined, there is just 6% difference between English (46%) and Akan (Twi and Fante, (40%)).

It was a big surprise not to have Effutu appearing at all. This is true an indication that in a society that is areally dominated by a major language, speakers will generally associate themselves with the dominant language for acceptance and recognition. Effutu is yet to be reduced to standardized writing and therefore not studied or used as a medium of instruction. This puts pressure on the indigenes to choose a dominant and prestigious language willy-nilly. Thus, the areally dominant language in Winneba is Fante followed by Twi as evidenced in tables 2 and 4.

The hypotheses have been partially proven; that English and Fante (and Twi) must appear in both Ajumako and Winneba and that Winneba will have English dominating over other competing languages in the LL due to its cosmopolitan nature have been fully proven. Ajumako though a typical Fante community, prides itself using Twi especially in social context as evidenced in both tables 1 and 3. The hypotheses put forward that Effutu would show up in the LL in Winneba however proved to be false.

### D. COMPARISON BETWEEN AJUMAKO AND WINNEBA LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

At this point it may be interesting to point out some broad comparisons between the two areas studied. The proportion of signs in English is seemingly the same in both areas. As mentioned earlier, the presence of English-only signs was at 46% in Ajumako, while it was at 61% for Winneba. However, the areas surveyed in Winneba are the two major lorry stations available while Ajumako has only a major station. Thus, dividing the percentages proportionally as per station, the difference is not a wider one. That is 61% (for two areas in Winneba) as against 46% (for an area in Ajumako), the difference is 15%. This suggests that the ratio of English usage in Ajumako is high as compared to Winneba in this study.

The first and most noticeable difference with Ajumako linguistic landscape is that the linguistic landscape in Winneba appears to be more diverse, with more languages and varieties competing for space in the public domain. However, the linguistic landscape was not quite as diverse as might have been expected of an area with such a large number of people from different backgrounds, as indicated by the population and census data, and the multilingual backgrounds of many of the people in Winneba. Hausa-English and Damgbe-English bilingual appeared in Ajumako but not in Winneba. Comparing the relative visibility of languages in the area reveals some interesting differences: Here we can see a marked difference between the two communities.

In Ajumako, Fante or Twi often finds itself on the most prominent position on multilingual signs (as in figure 4a). While in Winneba, one finds that English far and away is in the most prominent position on signage. The relatively high prominence of English in both communities however is likely not only because it is the majority language of the country in which these communities are located. Several studies have found that English stands as a marker of globalisation, sophistication and modernity (Kelly-Holmes 2005, Thurlow and Jaworski, 2003) and this will contribute towards this.

A similarity is that in both areas when car owners were asked why they had chosen to create multilingual signs, they often said that they did not know the reason. When reasons were suggested, they were often to do with culture and heritage. This then concurs with the findings of Malinowski (2009), that the business owners often do not have much of a conscious involvement in the sign production process. People choose English out of prestige and modernity they ascribe to it while the local languages are for the preservation of heritage. As revealed by the interview responses, most of the drivers stated emphatically that they chose English because it is the language of prestige. This prestige is basically as a result of the value government places on the language and the priority given to it in schools.

#### E. ANSWER TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The introductory part of this study poses the central research questions:

- ✓ Which languages are present in the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba?
- ✓ Do these languages reflect the languages spoken by each community?
- ✓ How are the communities; Ajumako and Winneba unique?

To answer question one quickly, it is important to check the languages listed in tables 1 and 2 against the sociolinguistic background described in section 3.0.

The tables (1 and 2), show that according to the hypotheses stated in the introductory section, at the very least Fante or Twi should be encountered in the data as a whole. These languages are indeed all encountered. However, there are still other languages that are encountered that are not in the list of ethnicities. They are Arabic, Hausa and Damgbe. Because the data on the three other languages is limited, we can conclude based on ample data in this research that, Akan (Fante and Twi) and English are the languages used frequently in both communities.

The frequency with which the languages appear is interesting. The high number of Akan (Fante and Twi) with English, especially in Ajumako, would lead to the assumption that there should also be a higher amount of Effutu with English language in the linguistic landscape in Winneba. It is important to note that this hypothesis is untrue as there was no show of Effutu or Awutu in the linguistic landscape in Winneba.

In conclusion, this study shows that the ethnicities found among the population of Ajumako and particularly Winneba do not necessarily dictate the languages that will make up the linguistic landscape.

#### VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study investigates the linguistic landscape in Ajumako and Winneba. The paper was driven by the hypothesis that; The languages present would indeed reflect the ethnicities of the communities studied, and that any significant differences could be explained through corresponding differences in ethnicity. That would mean that

the linguistic landscape in Ajumako would be predominantly Fante and or Twi while Winneba would have a large amount of Fante with a mix of other languages (like Ga or Damgbe, Ewe, Hausa and Arabic) compared to Ajumako. Also as the home language of the Municipality, Effutu was expected to show up in the Linguistic Landscape. Finally, English would be found everywhere, but dominate in Winneba.

The hypotheses have been partially proven; as English and Fante (and Twi) have appeared in both Ajumako and Winneba and that Winneba have English dominating over other competing languages in the LL. Ajumako though a typical Fante community, prides itself using Twi especially in social context as evidenced in both tables 1 and 3.

The answer to the research questions has also reinforced the outcome of the hypothesis. The study only covered vehicular signage in Ajumako and Winneba; nothing has been done on the aspect of signage on permanent structures in the given linguistic space. I suggest that an attention be given to it.

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