

MULTILINGUALISM IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF IBADAN,

NIGERIA

BY

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the Exceedingly Compassionate, Beneficent and Gracious –
Allaah.

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ABSTRACT

Multilingualism is one of the features of language contact that characterise language use in the public space of cosmopolitan areas like Ibadan. Existing linguistic studies on landscape mostly focused on semiotic analysis as well as the underlying motivations of power and solidarity communicated through signs. However, little attention was paid to multilingualism on signs in the public spaces of Ibadan. This study was, therefore, designed to investigate how multilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. This was with a view to determining the languages used on signs, their patterns and statuses in relation to the sociolinguistic context of Ibadan.

Peter Backhaus's Sociolinguistic Framework and Bernard Spolsky and Robert Cooper's Preference Model served as the framework. The descriptive design was used. Ibadan was purposively selected owing to its urban dynamics and metropolitanism. Seven communities in Ibadan (Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola, Iwo Road, Ring Road, Olodo and Sango) were purposively selected because of the strategic presence of different signs in them. Two hundred and eighty signs (40 from each location) were purposively sampled owing to their thematic relevance. These were made up of 10 public road signs, 10 advertising billboards, 10 commercial shop signs and 10 signs of inscriptions on buildings. The signs were photographed using a digital camera. The data were subjected to sociolinguistic and descriptive statistical analyses.

Seven languages (English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Arabic, French and Nigerian Pidgin) were employed on the signs. English and Yoruba appeared in all the communities. Hausa was found in Challenge, Sango, Mokola and Ring Road. Igbo was used in Dugbe, Mokola, Ring Road, Sango and Olodo. Arabic occurred in Iwo Road, Mokola, Ring Road and Olodo. French and Nigerian Pidgin were employed at Sango. There were four patterns of multilingualism on the signs: monophonic, homophonic, mixed-part and polyphonic. English, Arabic and Yoruba on the monophonic signs were used to show language dominance and distinctiveness. English, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa were used on the homophonic signs to suggest distinctiveness, language hierarchy and facilitate communicative efficiency. Arabic, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Nigerian Pidgin and English were mostly used on the mixed-part signs to show distinctiveness and for economic motivation. Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Arabic and French were used on the polyphonic signs to express multiculturalism and ethnolinguistic vitality. Seventy per cent of the signs were couched in monolingual English, Yoruba or Arabic; 27.9% were bilingual (English/Yoruba, English/Igbo and English/Arabic; while 2.1% were multilingual (English/Hausa/Yoruba, English/Yoruba/Igbo/Hausa, English/Arabic/Yoruba, English/Yoruba/French and English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo/Nigerian Pidgin). Monolingual language use had a high status in all the communities, except in Olodo where bilingualism prevailed. There was pervasive use of English, visibility of French, Arabic and Nigerian Pidgin and marginalisation of indigenous languages on the signs. These were due to the sign writers' skill condition, the presumed readers' condition and the symbolic value condition.

The multilingual configuration of languages on signs in Ibadan, their patterns and statuses reflect the heterogenous and cosmopolitan nature of the city.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape, Sociolinguistic framework, Language hierarchy, Ethnolinguistic vitality of Ibadan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

L1	First language
LL	Linguistic landscape
L2	Second language

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Linguistic landscape is concerned with how language is used visually in the public space. The study of the relationship between language and society has become an increasingly important field of study as communication and intergroup relations, in recent years, have expanded. Language is an important symbol of social behaviour. No doubt, the dimensions of social behaviour and human interactions are often revealed through the study of language use in society and how language and society interact frequently sheds light on the nuances of social behaviour and human interactions.

The linguistic ability of people in multiple languages is a worldwide phenomenon and in multilingual societies, one must find out the languages used and the purposes they serve (Wardough, 2006:96). This is because speakers have access to different repertoires in multilingual speech communities (Mesthrie, 2001:1) and use them in linguistic interactions to perform different functions.

Linguistic landscape as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has motivated linguists and researchers such as Akindele (2011) and Reh (2004) to conduct research works in different sites, cities and countries to demonstrate the importance of linguistic landscapes in such places. The symbolic construction of the public sphere can be seen in terms of the linguistic objects or the visible language marking it. The study of the visibility of language in this regard could be seen as serving to reveal a lot about the spread, status, vitality and dominance of languages in sociocultural contexts.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Many previous studies have addressed the phenomenon of linguistic landscape in terms of the relationship between the presence of a dominant language such as English

and the indigenous ones in different settings. Many of these researchers have also carried out their data analysis in a manner that they believed to be suitable, particularly in light of the research's objective. Griffin (2004), for instance, examines the use of the English language on public signs such as street signs and billboards in Rome city. Many of these studies have also revealed how the study of publicly displayed language gives insights into official language policies, dominant language attitudes and prevalent cultures among linguistic groups in such places.

Multilingualism characterises language use in Africa, especially in the Nigerian sociolinguistic context, where there are over 450 languages. Multilingualism can be manifested on signs occurring publicly and this can show the use of different languages in different contexts. Studies on linguistic landscape have mostly focused on Europe and Asia as not much of the linguistic landscape of African countries has been studied except for those of countries such as Botswana (Akindele, 2011); South Africa (Kotze, 2010); Tunisia (Said, 2010); Uganda (Reh, 2004); Rwanda and Uganda (Rosendal, 2010); Ibadan (Adetunji, 2013); and Lagos (Babayode, 2016). Many of the existing studies have also primarily focused on semiotic analysis, the underlying motivations of power and solidarity communicated through the signs' visibility of specific languages in the landscape without much attention paid to the factors and circumstances that give shape to the representations in the linguistic landscape of the communities studied. For instance, Adetunji (2013) focused on meaning-making in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. Hence, inadequate attention has been paid, in existing sociolinguistic research, to multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of communities in African countries, especially Nigeria. This study differs from other studies that have been carried out on linguistic landscape. Such studies on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape are capable of revealing ideas about the spread, power, vitality, dominance and relevance of languages and social groups. It is hoped that this work will contribute to the field of sociolinguistics and multilingualism.

Numerous works have been done on language use in different sociolinguistic contexts. Sociolinguistic studies on language use in the public space have been carried out in many societies and such studies still need to be carried out. The study of Nigeria's linguistic landscape, in particular, has not received enough attention. This situation motivated this present study.

1.3 The sociocultural setting of the study

Ibadan, located in Nigeria's southwest geopolitical zone, has a total area of 1190sq miles 93,080km² (Abiola and Ibrahim, 2015:163). Its urban dynamics are high. It is one of the notable megacities in Nigeria. Ibadan is situated in the agriculturally prosperous area of the derived savanna belt of southwest Nigeria, roughly on longitude 3°54' East of the Greenwich Meridian and latitude 7°23' North of the Equator (Olatubara, 1995:31).

It is one of Nigeria's fastest growing metropolitan places. Ibadan had a total number of "2,550,593" people with an average population density of "828 people per km²" (NPC, 2006). Ibadan's urban population was 627,379 in 1963, compared to its rural population of 631,246 (Oladele and Oladimeji, 2011:635). According to the National Bureau of Statistics' (2010) figures on the levels of literacy in the state, the youth literacy rate is given as 90.9% (literacy in English) and 94.6% (literacy in any language), the adult literacy percentages are 62.6 (for English) and 71.3 (for any language) (Adetunji, 2013:23).

Ibadan – the capital of the then Western Nigeria which is the Oyo State capital city – is one of the most densely populated African (South of Sahara) cities. Two million people, from other regions of Nigeria and the world, are thought to live there (Makinde, 2012:24). The author also recognises three homogenous groups in the residential structure of Ibadan. The traditional sections of the city, known as the core areas (such as Bere, Ayeye, and Agbeni), are characterised by high rates of poverty, dense populations, poor physical design, deteriorating buildings, inadequate health care facilities, high prevalence of illiteracy and limited socioeconomic activity. Most people living in the intermediate zones, such as Molete, Oke-Ado, Mokola, Eleyele, and Agbowo, are either recent migrants or residents of neighboring Yoruba towns and ethnic groups. The population density here is lower than in traditional districts, and housing is moderately distributed, though not as in the outer areas. The elite primarily live in the city's periphery area, which includes Alalubosa, G.R.A, Akobo Estate, Oluyole Estate, Bodija and other well-planned ones. Adetunji (2013:61) makes a similar claim regarding the geographical features of Ibadan in his classification of the city's eleven (11) Local administrative units. He classifies six areas as "semi-urban" (Akinyele, Egbeda, Ido, Lagelu, and Ona-Ara) and five as "urban" (Ibadan North,

Ibadan North-East, Ibadan North-West, Ibadan South-East, and Ibadan South-West). Ibadan was established in 1829 as a station for soldiers from Oyo, Ife, and Ijebu. It was created as a result of the conflicts that threatened the Yoruba people's ability to maintain their racial unity in the early 19th century. According to Oyebiyi (2008:8), the village was formerly known as Eba Odan, which translates to "near the Savannah" and it was given to it by passers-by due to its location between the Savanna and the forest belt. Time reduced the two words (*Eba Odan* to *Ebadan*) and, finally, it became Ibadan. It was founded before the colonial rule was established in Nigeria around 1893. According to Salami (2013:32), to establish itself and protect the Yoruba people from the Fulani Jihadists ravaging the northern region in the 19th century, it engaged in several conflicts.

The Ibadan *Soge*, or early inhabitants of Ibadan, were a group of *Egba Aguras*. The settlement then consisted of several hill ranges with elevations ranging from 160 to 275 metres (Salami, 2013:32). Later, it developed as a hub for marketing for traders from the grassland and woodland regions. The city's rulers and the most significant economic group were the warriors (Falola, 1984:192). As settlers mostly traded in food items, animals and slaves, its agriculture experienced an economic boom.

Today, Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, has grown in population and territorial expansion. It has grown from its population of about 70,000 inhabitants in 1856 to a densely populated multiethnic and multicultural cosmopolitan city. According to the United Nations (2014), Ibadan is one of the West African cities with a population growth of more than 100,000 per year due to both natural growth and net migration. One of Nigeria's greatest population densities can be found there (NPC, 2006). Given a projected annual growth rate of 4.6% from 2010 to 2020, the city's population is expected to reach about 5.03 million by 2025 (UN DESA, 2012).

The emergence of Ibadan as the headquarters of the defunct Western Region (Oyebiyi, 2008:14) largely contributed to its advancement and its attraction to expatriates and other ethnic groups to different opportunities that exist in the city. This could be due to the high literacy level that existed in the Western Region in comparison with other regions in the country as a result of factors such as the prevalence of articulate press, the media, economic activities and the regional government's programmes (for

instance, the free education in 1955) (Kolawole and Adepoju, 2007). In other words, the opportunities that exist in the city have led to the influx of different linguistic and cultural groups to it. Ibadan is occupied predominantly by the Yoruba ethnic group, making up about 95 percent of the population (Olatubara, 1995:31). The remaining 5 percent appear to be from other ethnic groups such as Igbo, Hausa, Ibibio and Edo. The Yoruba ethnic group, therefore, predominates the city. This is obvious in the social interactions, kinship ties and compound housing system (Mabogunje, 1968). The city has the status of the administrative capital of Oyo state with different industrial and commercial activities attracting people to the city, leading to its development. Various institutions, commercial and industrial activities, governmental policies and programmes have all aided the city's expansion.

The establishment of a lot of institutions and the construction of roads have contributed to the current advancements in Ibadan. Olatubara (1995:34) holds that the extension of the train line to Ibadan coupled with the convergence of Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta routes in Ibadan facilitated its growth and rapid physical expansion. It is the main commercial and educational centre of the state. Ibadan has gained the epithet "city-village" for its remarkable coexistence of modern architecture, traditional housing patterns, and westernised ways of life (Oyebiyi, 2008:15-16). Civil servants, artisans, industrialists, store owners, traders, and farmers make up a large portion of the population. Also, institutions and industries like the Ibadan Airport and the Nigerian Breweries have largely contributed to its development. According to Oyebiyi (2008:15), The largest teaching hospital in West Africa (the University College Hospital), the Polytechnic, Ibadan, private universities, the School of Agriculture and Co-operative College, and the Nigerian Breweries are among the research and training institutions in the city. Many of these establishments have helped to shape Ibadan into what it is today.

1.4 The language situation in Ibadan

People of different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds have migrated to Ibadan due to the opportunities in the city. English or Nigerian Pidgin is considered the lingua franca of such migrants who often consist of different minority groups in the sociolinguistic

environment of Ibadan. Yoruba is, however, one of the frequently used languages in Ibadan.

The policies made by the government on language tend to promote a positive attitude towards English in relation to Yoruba. Even though the social, political, and economic prominence of Ibadan (especially for being the erstwhile center of regional administration) has necessitated an immigration flow (Adetunji. 2013:29), Yoruba is still the most used indigenous language in the city. In Ibadan, English, being Nigeria's official language, is considered a superordinate language which many people have a positive attitude to. Akindele and Adegbite (1999:102) observe that the other hundreds of languages are not considered as important the way these indigenous languages are. According to Myers-Scotton (2006:100), it is difficult to prevent a transition to a second language by the following generation when a younger generation is exposed to a more popular language in the country than the first language (L1). This exposure occurs through schooling and school peers.

Ibadan's sociolinguistic reality is impacted by its role as the city with the highest concentration of one of Nigeria's major ethnic groups (Yoruba), as well as one of the country's largest administrative, commercial, and industrial hubs where English is likely to be widely spoken. There appears to also be the extensive use of Nigeria's native languages in Ibadan but there is the official recognition of English accompanying its widespread use by many residents of the city. Also, societal multilingualism in Ibadan can be attributed to the city's geographical location, economic activities and metropolitan nature. Its status as the administrative and economic capital of the Western Region before its delineation into six states predisposes it not only to being a place of attraction and influx for foreigners but different ethnolinguistic groups.

1.5 The concept of linguistic landscape (LL)

Linguistic landscape is a notable phenomenon in the study of language. Although it is still a new area of interest, many landscapes have been studied by researchers. It often provides remarkable contributions to the understanding of not only

monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism, language attitudes, prevalent cultural ideals, language contact, but also to the sociocultural and political aspects of society. Landry and Bourhis (1997) define linguistic landscape as a new method for examining multilingual language use in speech communities. There are a variety of methodologies, including those in sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and language policy used in this field.

Gorter (2006) views linguistic landscape in terms of how it is used to study visible language use. Although Landry and Bourhis (1997) are usually cited as having coined the phrase and given it a definition that was later expanded upon by other researchers, they were not the first to investigate the written language in the public sphere. Rosenbaum et al. (1977) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991) had earlier studied the languages of Jerusalem. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) did not coin the term “linguistic landscape,” but they laid the groundwork for the current interpretations of this term in sociolinguistics.

Linguistic landscape research has undoubtedly been expanded in recent studies to encompass many items and artefacts, such as inscribed images, icons, logos, and languages in public spaces. LL is described by Gorter (2006:2) as the use of language in its written form in the public sphere. Similar to this, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:14) assert that the study of “linguistic objects that mark the public space” is what is meant by the phrase “linguistic landscape”. He added that any sign or announcement found around a public or private organisation in a specific geographical location is also included (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006:7). Their definition encompasses signs placed inside or outside such buildings. By the same token, Dailey, Giles, and Jansama (2005:12) argue that LL may also include advertisements found in an individual’s home as well as those seen in the neighbourhood. Spolsky (2009) prefers the term “cityscape” The use of signs is essential to the definition of linguistic landscape, as all of these concepts suggest. These ideas, therefore, imply that the written language use can interact with other means of communication such as nonverbal communication and visual imagery.

1.6 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to examine multilingual features of some public signs in Ibadan metropolis. The specific objectives of the research are to:

- i. identify the dominant languages used in the linguistic ecology of seven Ibadan communities of Challenge, Dugbe, Iwo Road, Mokola, Olodo, Ring Road and Sango;
- ii analyse the patterns of language use in the selected linguistic landscapes; and
- iii discuss the concept of multilingualism in relation to the sociolinguistic context of the areas.

1.7 Research questions

The following research questions will be examined:

1. What languages feature in the linguistic landscapes of seven Ibadan communities of Challenge, Dugbe, Iwo Road, Mokola, Olodo, Ring Road and Sango?
2. What are the patterns of language use in the selected linguistic landscapes?
3. How is multilingualism featured in the sociolinguistic context of the areas?

1.8 Scope of the research

The distribution and patterns of language on public signs in the context of Ibadan is our area of interest. An attempt is made to examine the languages used, how the languages are used and the motivations behind the use of the languages identified in terms of the circumstances that give shape to their use. Data was gathered from seven communities in Ibadan. A total of two hundred and eighty signs constituted data for the study.

1.9 Significance of the study

This study, conducted in the context of Ibadan contributed to the body of knowledge on multilingualism and linguistic landscape. This is in correlation to finding out how different languages are used on the signs. It aided the understanding of the linguistic practices and government policies reflected and manifested on official and nonofficial signs. The marginalisation and status of languages in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan

will also be explored. The study mainly focuses on the patterns of language use emanating from the primary data.

Research such as this will help to elaborate on the language situation in Ibadan. Findings will benefit language policy makers. This knowledge will help support the government and language policy makers in harnessing the multilingual resources of the multilingual society. It is often observed that English has acquired for itself a worldwide dominance with respect to its spread as a global relevance. Societal multilingualism keeps spreading as a result of this. Given this, the government, having the power in language planning and policy making, should intervene and make policies that will promote and influence the indigenous languages of tribes in order to prevent language endangerment and loss. As a result, linguistic human rights (LHR) proponents see government engagement as essential in areas like education, where the government has a veto over language planning and policy (Ricento, 2006:235). This study will also help to give insight into the nature of language contact in the Nigerian urban cityscape.

1.10 Organisation of the work

This work has five chapters. The first chapter gives background information on the whole of the research, such as its aim, specific objectives and scope of study. The relevant literature is reviewed in the second chapter while chapter three delves into the principles guiding data collection and analysis. Also, chapter four contains the analysis of data and discussions of the findings while chapter five, which is the final chapter is a summary and conclusion of the study, together with some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Preamble

This chapter examines works on multilingualism and linguistic landscape. It examines works on these sociolinguistic concepts. Since this study is in the field of sociolinguistics, issues such as multilingualism in the world, the worldwide relevance of English and the relationship between multilingualism and linguistic landscape study are reviewed.

2.1 Linguistic landscape (LL) study

We often encounter the linguistic composition of the public space in society through the words that exist on signs. These linguistic items, we consciously and fleetingly come across as we move through different landscapes. In other words, the visibility of these signs, where they are read as visual messages, constitutes the linguistic landscape. It has been established that the LL is primarily textual and visual, which, in a way, extends sociolinguistics' initial emphasis on spoken language (Loth, 2016:11). This suggests that written language is the point of interest in this field.

Linguistic landscape particularly investigates the content of signs such as public road signs, advertising billboards, warning notices, place names and street signs displayed in the public glare. The city's visual language use is an important part of society and it is usually comprised of items publicly displayed in the textual form as words on the fronts of shops, signs for commercial purposes and notices (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008:267). The contents of these items often exceed their communicative functions. As a result, LL, therefore, engages in the description and identification of the systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces as well as the dynamics underlying and influencing them (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015:1).

There was no interpretation for the notion of linguistic landscape before 1997 as it was Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) in their investigation of the role of linguistic landscape in the maintenance of languages and ethnolinguistic vitality in the Canadian cityscape that gave its definition as follows:

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.

Their idea has been broadened to encapsulate all its current interpretations and their work has been credited for demonstrating the place of the concept in showing the relative power of language groups. Before their ground-breaking research in 1997 which heralded the popularity of linguistic landscape research, Alomoush (2015:9) relates that public signs in Brussels, Montreal, Jerusalem and Paris and Dakar had been undertaken by Tulip (1978), Monnier (1989), Spolsky and Cooper (1991) and Calvet (1990) respectively and these studies were among the first studies conducted on the study of signs in the public space of urban settings prior to the introduction of digital photography which took place around 1994. The field, however, only gained prominence as a discipline of sociolinguistics after the 1997's pioneering publication of Landry and Bourhis.

Definitions of the notion of linguistic landscape abound in literature. Publications such as those of Gorter (2013) and Blackwood (2015) have used and expanded Landry and Bourhis' (1997) definition. According to Backhaus (2007), the Oxford Dictionary enumerates five meanings of linguistic landscape and highlights the importance of two definitions. The first one shows how, for instance, an object can indicate the presence of something while the second one reiterates the information-giving property of a public sign (Backhaus, 2007:4). Backhaus (2007:66) excludes everything that is not obviously a written text existing in a given "spatially definable frame". Gorter (2006:2) defines it in terms of how a written language is used in a specified area. Mensel et al. (2016:424) describe it as a public display of language, its outward manifestation and actors' interactions with them. Additionally, the term is frequently enlarged to include all languages featured in a given location, including those spoken

in cities, malls, offices of large enterprises and the government, institutions of learning (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009).

It has not only been redefined but has also been reshaped. Cenoz and Gorter (2008:267-268) posit that, in recent years, a growing number of sociolinguists and applied linguistics researchers have begun to examine urban prints' languages more closely, thereby broadening this area of interest. In a similar development, some scholars, in their expansion, have used other terminologies instead of "linguistic landscape". Such definitions and perceptions of LL comprise spoken texts, images, objects and human beings, in addition to the written texts that are exhibited in multilingual forms. Some have widened it to include the semiotic properties of signs such as colour, movement, buildings, images, clothing and other multimodal aspects. Similar claims are made by Shohamy (2015:154), arguing that a flawed reading of the written texts will come from a failure to recognise these multimodal influences.

Also, Shohamy and Waksman's (2009) expansion encompasses all forms of texts, including spoken and written words, images, sounds, and videos that are shown (at a certain time and place) indoors or outside on streets or online. Their inclusion of images, verbal texts and human beings as part of the objects of inquiry within the concept of LL seems to de-emphasise the "linguistic" part of the concept, thereby making it seem too wide, complicated and cumbersome. Gorter and Cenoz (2017:234) add that its focus is any manifestation of visual language use that is visible, but this is not the only consideration since oral, multimodal and semiotic resources, may also be taken into account. It seems clear enough from the perceptions that the issue of how researchers define linguistic landscape is based on their research emphasis which could be due to how the public sphere serves as a favourable environment for the formation of a diverse and limitless repertory of text forms. Gorter (2006) and Backhaus's (2007) expositions on this concept are adopted in this study due to their perception of linguistic landscape as a means of enabling how the spread of languages in different communities is understood. This suggests that objects in motion, icons and other non-textual elements are not focused on. In this study, therefore, linguistic landscape is seen as the visible language that is displayed in the written form in a given part of the public space.

Scholars provide an array of contexts and places for linguistic landscape research. The variations in their perception have influenced the field. Because metropolitan areas have the largest concentration of signs (Gorter and Cenoz, 2017:234), cities and commercial areas have therefore been found to be notable sites for the display of written language due to the nature of the population of people and their ensuing communicative needs. Backhaus (2007:1) writes that the city is an area where languages mix and individuals from different places in the world with varying linguistic backgrounds throughout human history have been drawn to its walls. In this vein, Gorter (2013:201) argues persuasively that metropolitan settings are the typical sites for linguistic landscape studies. However, Reh (2004) is one of the few studies that have not focused on large cities as she based her research in a relatively small town in Uganda. Daveluy and Ferguson (2009) addressed the urban-rural divide in examining road signs in Canada. Cenoz and Gorter (2008:268) came up with a “technically better denomination” for the concept of linguistic landscape which they call “multilingual cityscape” while Spolsky (2009) uses the term “cityscape”. Most linguistic landscape scholars, however, still prefer to use “linguistic landscape”.

Sebba (2010) in his analysis of linguistic landscape relates that factors related to language attitudes and planning frequently impact links between public signs and speech communities. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) argue that how languages are represented is related to their relative status and power in a given speech community. It follows then that public signs index issues of cultural and ethnic identity, globalisation and the intricacies of language mixing in a given context.

The study of publicly visible language use is crucial because such visibilities of written materials in public spaces often show the power relations that exist, especially in multilingual contexts where the interests of different people (including immigrants and expatriates) are at stake. It indexes identities and power relations, and is used to impose or negotiate them (Loth, 2016:ii). Hence, many urban landscapes have developed into spaces with a growing presence and visibility of languages due to the realities of multilingualism, the spread of English and migrations, amongst others. Some prominent works here such as those of Landry and Bourhis (1997), Hubener (2006) and Backhaus (2007) which have shown the capability of LL in enhancing the understanding of linguistic and social concerns related to linguistic vitality and

language attitudes. It has also been shown as a means of looking into issues such as linguistic diversity and language status.

The potentials of linguistic landscape have stimulated the interests of researchers. As a result, studies in this field have been conducted in different societies such as Rome (Griffin, 2004) and China (Zeng and Luo, 2019) to show its importance in such places. A lot of these research works have focused on LL in relation to languages such as English and how it affects native languages in areas they occur. Alomoush (2015) expresses that the interpretation of linguistic landscape, with its inclusion of discourses such as texts, images, objects that occur in the public glare, calls for a variety of theories and discursive modalities in linguistics ranging from sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and semiotics. This awareness is strengthened by concerns about globalisation, the revitalisation of languages, the increasing use of dominant and marginalised languages and the status of immigrant groups, according to Cenoz and Gorter (2008:268).

The ethnolinguistic vitality of languages and their groups has been investigated to demonstrate the relevance of the study of public signs in the study of multilingual language use. Studies such as Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Fekede and Takele (2016) have demonstrated this. Landry and Bourhis (1997) have revealed how the study of linguistic landscape may be used to show the strength of language groups and their vitality in different societies and regions. Their conclusion seems to be influenced by their perception of how the presence and use of a particular language is often almost exclusively linked to the presence of a homogenous group where the visibility of a language is suggestive of the vitality of a language as well as its users. Fekede and Takele (2016) reveal how ideas about the strength of linguistic communities through the study of publicly displayed signs serve to give insights into language attitudes, multilingual practices, language ideologies, language status as well as language use problems. These studies all point to how linguistic practices of societies shape the understanding of language attitudes and dominance in the study of signs.

Studies (such as Akindele, 2011) have revealed how connections between the visual language use and language diversity portray the status and power of linguistic groups. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), in particular, show that the study of the diversity of language

in the study of visual language use in the public space serves to reveal how individuals negotiate language dominance. In a similar vein, Muth (2008), in the investigation of public signs in four districts and two western-style shopping malls in Vilnius, shows differences in the distribution of languages. Babayode (2016), in her investigation of the diversity of languages in the linguistic landscape of three Lagos State communities of Ikeja, Ajegunle and Lagos Island in Lagos reveals the use of languages in such ways to enhance communicative efficiency, demonstrate the power of English, maintain a sense of solidarity and create social awareness. The study is however problematic in its sample size. Akindele (2011) shows how official language policies and attitudes towards languages are shown through the ordering of languages on signs in Gaborone, Botswana. Such investigations have been shown to be useful in exploring the status and power of language groups which help in the understanding of language use in diverse settings. Carr's (2017) thesis explores the relationships of power regarding languages and cultures in the investigation of the power relations existing between Spanish and English inscriptions in three cities in Los Angeles. While comparing the presence of languages with the perceptions and attitudes of the community members towards their use and prestige, the study reveals that the two languages have a high degree of use, although there is an unequal prestige attached to English in the three areas. Spanish, no doubt, enjoys more covert prestige and popularity as the language of the community than English in the social realm.

Linguistic landscape has also been studied as a feature of the educational context. Aladjem and Jou (2016) explore the concept of linguistic landscape as an approach that helps to facilitate learners' awareness of language learning using the social constructivist perspective that views learning as a social process resulting from an active participation in a collaborative creation of knowledge. Their view is also backed up by Cenoz and Gorter (2008) who consider linguistic landscape as an authentic and contextualised input that is part of a social context. The implication is that since the linguistic landscape is constructed with texts and images, the visibility of the relationship between the texts and images helps to stimulate the remaking of the text by the reader. This study, therefore, represents one of the recent studies (like those of Shohamy, 2011) that point out the significance of expanding its definition to include multimodal aspects of language such as images, sounds and drawings. Importantly, it

is viewed as an exploratory study that demonstrates how linguistic landscape provides language learning input and facilitates language awareness (in Spanish). The analysis of the content of the exponents reveals how the content of the visual and the textual exponents helps to facilitate the learning of Spanish. The learners are able to express their comprehension, demonstrate their awareness of the message in Spanish, communicate their feelings and reminisce about the information related in Spanish. The participation of the instructors through their exemplary, instructive and supportive roles with their additions and comments demonstrates how linguistic landscape can help instructors stimulate communication in the target language. Findings show the place of linguistic landscape in helping to enhance interactivity in language learning, facilitate the productive use of language, provide the feedback that helps to improve interactivity in language learning, enable the productive use of language, provide feedback that helps to test knowledge in the language and facilitate exposure to appropriate contexts.

Ayantayo (2016) examines the role of linguistic landscape in promoting sales in three selected markets in Ibadan (Bodija, Aleshinloye and Dugbe). In the study, linguistic landscape is perceived as a sociolinguistic phenomenon which could be used as a marketing strategy by their owners to promote sales. The study, drawing insights from stylistics, shows how the presentation of language in the written form used on signposts and billboards informs customers and attracts their attention to products and services. The research shows the place of linguistic landscape study as a marketing strategy, especially in how it is used to portray products and services and create awareness regarding them.

In recent studies, Coluzzi and Kitade (2015), Salami (2017) and Inya (2019), in their focus on religious signs show a marked turn in the scope of the field where it is shown to be relevant in portraying religious values. Coluzzi and Kitade (2015) investigate the languages used on signs in selected Malaysian places of worship. Malaysia is a nation of diversity in not only language but also in religious beliefs. Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism are some of the religious beliefs of many residents. The study found out the dominant use of English and the minimal use of Malay (the nation's official language). The visibility of Malay on the signs is interpreted in terms of its role as the ethnic language of Malaysia and its relationship

with Islam. The study points out the tension in the disparity between the official statement on language use and the language use practices of the people. Salami (2017) examines signs of churches in the cityscape of three southwestern towns of Ile-Ife, Osogbo and Ibadan. The study gives a picture of how the use of texts, logos and photos on signboards of churches indexes the manner in which the religious lives of the people are structured by language. Adopting the sociocultural as well as the contextual frameworks and situating the study within the standpoint of the sociology of language and religion, Salami (2017) reveals that representations on the signs serves as a means of uncovering the religious practices of the people in the environment where they are located. The analysis of data reveals motivations for the language use patterns found in the sociocultural context of the towns. It also reveals the churches' messages in terms of how their names, activities, location, goals, mission and their perceived spiritual power relate to the Yoruba's belief system and practices. The language combinations found in the cityscape of the three communities are English only, Yoruba only, English-Yoruba bilingualism, English/Yoruba/Hebrew multilingualism as well as Yoruba/English/French/Ogwo multilingualism. The display of English is explained in terms of its being the language of colonialism, foreign churches, Christian religious practices, globalisation and modernity. The study has its benefits and demerits. The research demonstrates, in the sociocultural context of Africa, the underlying capacity of the church to use language to influence the people's lives. Since the signboards do more than announce the presence of the Christian worship centers but also show the churches and their pastors' ability to help ensure healing and prosperity, the study reveals how language serves to influence people, how it structures the religious lives of the people and its capacity to attract worshippers. Sufficient attention, however, has not been paid to the choice of languages and their distribution in terms of what the representation on the signs reveals about the spread, status and dominance of languages as well as ideas about the multilingual nature of the signs. Inya (2019) examines the religious signboards in Ado-Ekiti. Her findings reveal the dominance and prominence of English on religious signs in the community. The study is however problematic in its scope as it focuses only on the symbolic role of language use on religious signs in portraying sociocultural and global identities.

Common to many of the previous studies is the focus on the roles of identity, vitality, power and strength of languages as pertinent issues in the construction of the cityscape. This awareness serves to deepen the understanding of multilingualism. Landry and Bourhis' (1997:26) reference to the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality relates to the extent to which the predominance of a given language on signs relates to the sociopolitical, economic and linguistic characteristics of specific areas. It also serves to portray the sociolinguistic ideologies, attitudes and preferences (highlighted by Loth, 2016:11) in such places which significantly helps in the creation and negotiation of identities. This is because the visibility of a particular language can affirm the values of such a language and its group's feeling of inclusion in society. This suggests that linguistic landscape, in the way it includes and excludes certain readerships, serves to negotiate identities. Its significance extends beyond its status as a sociolinguistic phenomenon to that which serves a means of expressing various parts of realities. Importantly, it helps to increase awareness on the extent of multilingualism in society.

2.2 English as a global language

Globalisation has impacted society. People of different communities and cultures with different languages live like neighbours. English, without a doubt, plays an important role as a lingua franca in many situations (Jenkins, 2013). Banjo's (1996) submission about its importance in the world today and how its prominence can be likened to the status of Latin during the Middle Ages is a demonstration of its pre-eminence.

Its significance as a language of globalisation, marker of innovation, modernisation, technological advancement, upward social mobility and prestige has been noted and recognised in many studies (Crystal, 2003 and Kachru, 1986, 1997). With over 1.5 billion speakers worldwide (Crystal, 2003:2), its spread coincided with that of other imperial languages (for instance, French and Spanish). However, after a specific time, it became more widely acceptable and developed, making it surpass all other worldwide languages during the twentieth century. (Hamel, 2005:16). In other words, its development and expansion are distinct among other colonial languages, those used for religious purposes (for example, Sanskrit and Arabic) as well as other varieties.

Its growth has been a function of the policies of Britain and America since the 1940s which gained a lot of importance around the middle of the 20th century (Phillipson, 2016). This view is backed up by Arva and Medgyes (2000:356) who aver, in their study, the popularity of English among its second language users rather than among those who speak it as a mother tongue in many societies. This is because the nature and strength of its users contribute to the extent of its global relevance (Crystal, 2003:7). He also expresses that the primary causes of the ascendancy of English as a worldwide and international language are due to the expansion of British colonial dominance, which peaked near the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the United States as the primary economic power of the twentieth century. Prevaillingly, America also emerged as the superpower of the world. Dziubalska-Kolaczyk (2017:10) adds that America's population will continue to produce more and more people who will speak English more than any other language.

Kachru (1985:10) views and summarises the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles representing the use of English, the types of its spread, the patterns of its acquisition and the domains it is put into across cultures around the world. The three circles are the inner circle, the outer or extended circle and the expanding or extending circle. The inner circle is where English is the primary language and mother tongue existing in countries like New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom. The outer or extended circle includes contexts where English serves as an important second language in a multilingual context. It includes countries like India, Zambia, Singapore, Ghana and Nigeria. It is typically recognised as a foreign language in the extending or expanding circle as countries here do not have a history of colonisation. It is, therefore, taught as a foreign language in such places. Some of these countries are Poland, China, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and Israel. The expanding circle is growing fast, outnumbering the speakers in the two other circles. Kachru's ideas regarding the spread of English in many places worldwide provide an idea about its status. Although Kachru brings to the fore the various uses English is put to by individuals and societies, his placement in the three concentric circles seems problematic considering the situations in countries such as Canada in which English is not the only official language spoken by all groups of people in them. English remains the official language, the mother tongue and the national language of some people with other

functions given to specific indigenous languages. According to Crystal (2003:79), Nigeria is one of the African nations that have made English its official language so that native speakers of those communities can continue interacting with one another at the national level. Crystal (2003:85) adds that the decision to grant it an official status was intended to avoid the difficulty of choosing the indigenous languages competing for status. Kachru's classification, although it seems relevant, has its inadequacies, especially as it may not be relevant to all societies. It is not clear how all the varieties of English fit into this classification, especially with respect to users' idiosyncrasies and proficiency levels.

English exists at the core of intellectual activities, dominating the languages it comes in contact with. The number of those who speak English today has outnumbered the estimated 250 million people living in the world two thousand years ago, according to Romaine (2012:456). According to Ethnologue (2019), English is the only language with 1.32 billion speakers out of the 34 languages identified as having 45 million or more total speakers. Ethnologue points out further that 379.0 million of them speak it as the first language (L1) while 753.3 million speak it as the second language (L2). This situation is more remarkable in how its second language speakers out-number its native speakers. English, the only hyper-central language (Swaan, 2010), has been established as the global lingua franca for several decades (Mair, 2018:1) given its pervasive use and attractiveness in the world ecology. Individuals from countries where it is given an official recognition, especially in the field of education, possess a tag of prestige, intellectualism and good repute. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1985) stress that factors such as the geographical locations where it is used for one thing or another, the power of its main speakers and the roles accorded to it in other countries where it is not even native have contributed to the quality of its being the most popular language in the world. Dziubalska-Kolaczka (2017:10) corroborates this fact by adding that it is the only language where its second and foreign language speakers outnumber its native speakers.

Its rejection which some nations have shown has not had any visible impact on its status (Crystal, 2003). It still dominates (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001:570). Using the instances of the thriving presence of Japanese in Japan, the dominance of French in Cameroon and the popular use of Afrikaans in South Africa, Mufwene

(2010) submits that there is an unequal and ununiform geographical spread of English, especially as shaped by the language choice of individuals in its nonnative contexts. The use of glocalisation or regionalisation evolved as a result of certain disparaging perceptions of both globalisation and lingua franca (Gorter, 2006), possibly as a way in which societies show resistant actions against language dominance and policies. Bamgbose (1990:77) writes that even countries with a radical language policy such as India and Tanzania have not been able to get rid of English. English's adoption as a "world" language has spread (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001:573) and its prevalence, no doubt, has attracted the interest of researchers. English continues to spread across cultures and this might be because of the availability of materials like literary works (Ogunsiji (2007:2).

Its use and adoption in some countries have relegated indigenous languages to the background. People in educational, administrative and social contexts use it in various ways and with varying degrees of competence. It is a language having a privileged place (Griffin, 2004). According to Akindele and Adegbite (2005:60), it connects people of different multilingual settings in Africa to the world and this is evidence of its worldwide acceptability. English belongs to the individuals who use it, regardless of whether they are multilingual or monolingual. It has supplanted French and German to become the language of international political affairs, international relations, media, press, advertising, broadcasting and cinema.

It has a special status in approximately 70 nations, including Gambia, Kenya, Poland and Israel (Crystal, 2003:4). The prestige of English is further demonstrated through its use in countries that have not been colonised by native speakers of it. For Crystal (2003:5), it dominates and often displaces most foreign languages it coexists with. It has been demonstrated to have a significant impact on countries with a well-established political structure and its own written language, such as Germany. It has been adopted by media organisations like Cable News Network (CNN), Voice of America (VOA) and the African Union (AU). From being a strong international and colonial language, its status developed to a dominant language. Its place seems more measurable in terms of its spread and use by the inner and expanding circles. Its widespread use in disciplines necessitates its classification as a world language. It exists at the centre of intellectualism, technological innovation and entertainment.

Despite its historical spread via the establishment of colonies of Britain in Asia, Africa, North America, and Australia (Hui, 2001:131), its international relevance and dominance has emerged as an inevitable development. English in the world can be regarded as the language that has assumed the hyper-central position in that it is the language that people of different super-central languages such as Chinese, Russian, Swahili, Turkish, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Hindi, French, Japanese and Arabic revert to for communication (de Swaan, 2010), especially in cross border communication. Many, specifically, non-native speakers, use English in communication because of the ease associated with communicating with others in it. As earlier noted, the US emerging as the economic superpower as well a technological giant is largely responsible for its wide use and global dominance.

The extending use, functions, dominance, and the consequences of its realities and status bring to the fore issues of its nativisation, teaching and varieties and, more importantly, its use in the linguistic landscape of societies. Its use has been demonstrated to be informational and symbolic in various studies. When studying English, it is often considered in terms of its use in multilingual environment as it creates a rich context contributing to its understanding (Blommaert, 2012:2). In other words, English mostly occurs in multilingual societies as part of the languages in the repertoire of such communities. As a result of its global use, its display on signs helps make individuals, especially foreigners, aware of directions, places and stores, goods, services and regulations.

2.3 Functions of linguistic landscape

Scholars and researchers (such as Landry and Bourhis, 1997 and Akindede, 2011) have identified two main functions of linguistic landscape. The functions are the informational and symbolic functions. Languages could serve as informational markers, or symbolic. These provide insights into the languages used in a particular region, the linguistic groups therein, their languages and the ensuing relations of power. Agents generate the linguistic landscape, which the audience/reader interprets. These linguistic landscape functions serve to deepen the knowledge of language use in specific contexts wherein they are used.

Landry and Bourhis (1997:29) note that the informational marker reveals the sociolinguistic makeup of different groups in an area. It also indicates the relative power of ethnic groups in different sociolinguistic contexts, symbolising the symbolic creation of the public realm and not typically linguistic policies. Torkington (2009:124) reiterates this claim by stating its place in helping to inform people about the features, boundaries and limits placed by language and how they are used to access and negotiate services within a given region or community.

The symbolic function of linguistic landscape, according to Kotze (2010:28), rests on the choice of the languages, their ordering on signs, and, more precisely, how these languages appear. The symbolic function, according to them, may indicate the use, worth and relevance of a native language in a given sociolinguistic context. This tends to affirm the status and value of such a language which could contribute to a sense of identity of the associated sociolinguistic affiliation's feeling of inclusion in society. The power and status of languages are explainable in terms of the symbolic function. According to Kotze (2010), agencies of government, for instance, contribute to the drafting of dictates on language use within places such as institutions and provinces which are rules specifying their desired intentions. The functions appear to have an impact on how speakers of less powerful and dominant languages challenge subjugation through the use of graffiti and other displays. The symbolic function, without a doubt, is linked to ethnolinguistic vitality since it contributes to confirming a language's position, value and the extent of their integration into society. (Kotze, 2010:29).

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2008:268), the existence or absence of languages "sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus marginality of certain languages in society" (Shohamy 2006: 110). The physical location of road signs, for Philibane (2014), reflects the point of convergence between the place name and the surrounding environment. They give information to travellers and the public in general about the language spoken in the particular area they occur. Landry and Bourhis (1997) corroborate this idea by adding that linguistic landscapes are tools conveying intentions and information rather than being mere obvious displays devised to capture the audience interests.

2.4 The concept of sign

Sign is a notable concept in language study. The study of signs has been explored in the traditional semiotic framework of Peirce (1955, Saussure (1916) and Morris (1970). According to Said (2019:56), icon, index and symbols are categories in the semiotic framework of Peirce in his analysis of signs (Peirce, 1955). For Said (2019), an icon is a representation that suggests a resemblance to the actual entity in the world. A symbol is a representation of an entity where there is no similarity between, for instance, an object and what it stands for (for example, a driver recognises from a red traffic light the need to stop driving. An index shows the evidence of a representation, such as an image of smoke indicating fire.

One central notion in this concept is the definition of sign. Any written word within a geographically defined frame is regarded as a sign (Backhaus, 2006). It includes posters and stickers attached to a shop or a building to commercial billboards on roads. Items such as notices on doors and inscriptions on buildings are considered signs as well. Signs in metropolitan areas are not just adornments contributing to making cities stylish and sophisticated, but they progressively create a distinctive scene of public spaces (Wang, 2015:124).

A semiotic object is considered a public sign. Public signs in linguistic landscape range from billboards and posters to street signs and graffiti. Scollon and Scollon (2003:3) state specifically that a sign is any physical object or meaningful unit that can be used to mean something else. For them, a sign directs the corresponding object in the context where it occurs. It is interpreted by the hearer, reader and interpreter. A public sign could be concepts or entities such as products and places (Akindele, 2011:2).

Signs in linguistic landscape are divided into two categories. The two categories are “private vs. government” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) or “top-down vs. bottom-up” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) or “official vs. non-official” (Backhaus, 2006) which, according to Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:8), are signs issued by agencies of government and private corporations (and guided by regulations in society). Signs issued by national and public institutions are “top-down” LL items. They are signs on public sites, public announcements and street names. ‘Bottom-up’ signs are issued by

individual social actors, shop owners and companies as names of shops, signs on businesses and personal announcements (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). The participants engaging with the top-down and bottom-up signs are often agencies, government bodies, individuals, entrepreneurs or shopkeepers with different intents and motivations. The top-down policy may reflect on some bottom-up signs such as posters or shop signs. The top-down signs are signs placed by the government or other relevant authorities, while bottom-up signs are the signs that are placed by shop owners and any other member of the public. Road signs, street name signs, signs about and monument are usually top-down signs.

The distinction between the two categories marks the reality of the intricacies, processes and influences in society. Variations and differences shown through the use of language on these two categories often reflect the political and ideological orientation that exists in society, showing the social issues and structures influencing language use, dominance, attitudes as well as language policy and planning. This view pervades the ideas of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) who see linguistic landscape as a language policy mechanism. This gives an idea about how analysing the social, historical and political issues in society expressed through language in the public space gives us insights into the function, status and spread of a certain language.

2.5 Multilingualism

The existence of diasporas in the world today has led to people coming into contact with others of different ethnicities. In this case, languages result from contact in spoken and written texts emanating from different contexts. This fact appears to be why Pennycook (2010) defines multilingualism in the linguistic landscape as a practice concerned with the relationship of uniformity reflected in messages communicated through the use of language on signs. This means, in different societies of the world, people often migrate and communicate with others due to reasons which often lead to the spread and interaction of languages. Several reasons such as those related to trade, business, marriage, employment opportunities as well as the existence of diasporas in different parts of the societies today have led to people of different ethnicities interacting.

There have been interests in the study of multilingualism over the last decades. According to Philibane (2014:10-11), previous studies based on multilingualism focused on linguistic distinctness, seeing many societies as being inhabited mainly by monolinguals (de Schutter, 2007:3 in Petrovic, 2010:206). This is not typical of the world today as there exist, in different societies, people having a repertoire of many languages. In most cases, multilingualism arises, and is maintained through contact and necessity (Edwards, 1994:39). In other words, people's sociocultural backgrounds and the dictates of contexts tend to influence their use of language. The languages in the repertoire of multilinguals are used for specific roles and functions. They also code-mix and code-switch according to their communicative needs. A monolingual typically does not possess the linguistic skill to interact with an individual who does not speak their language, notwithstanding the regularity of contact with such (Wardhaugh, 2006:96). In all, multilingualism is now largely a universal vogue, and monolingual countries, if they exist, have become odd-nations-out (Adegbija, 2004:2).

The existence of multiple languages on signs, according to Cenoz and Gorter (2008:270), could be attributed to the influx of an immigrant population and those with a refugee status in society who have moved from Europe and even parts of the world. Extra and Yagmur (2004:119) corroborate this fact by expressing that many Western European cities have over 40 different native languages which are used in different domains by the population. They note languages like Punjabi, Arabic and Turkish as popular immigrant languages in many places.

Multilingualism is, without doubt, a term resulting from language contact. According to Franceschini (2011:346), multilingualism explains the societies and members in it often use more than one language in interactions and dealings with one another. This does not however mean that multilinguals have to be fluent in all the languages they speak or function in (Romaine, 2008:512). For instance, a Yoruba/Hausa/English multilingual trader may use Yoruba for communication at home, Hausa for trading activities and English for official functions. Multilingualism has been a significant area of research within the field of sociolinguistics since the publication of Fishman et al.'s (1996) important volume *Language Loyalty in the United States*, which discussed aspects of language maintenance and shift as significant sociolinguistic issues that are often directly linked to multilingual contexts (Ennaji, 2005).

Multilingualism has become a normal phenomenon in many societies of the world. Reasons of marriage, trade and the need for better job opportunities have created the need for different forms of contact among people and communities that are linguistically diverse and heterogeneous. Large-scale migrations within Europe and the prevalent immigration policies have made countries largely multilingual, as London alone is said to have at least 170 language groups (Adegbija, 2004:4).

Researchers often distinguish between individual and societal multilingualism, as multilingualism is manifested at the societal and individual levels. In this study, individual multilingualism is used to refer to the use of more than two languages by the individual while societal multilingualism is used to refer to the situation where more than two codes is used in a particular setting. Romaine (2008:516) posits that we have individual multilingualism when a person is able to use up to at least three languages, especially without the government's enforcement of such and in cases where the government only recognises one official language while Bayiga (2016:6) argues for the place of the influence of factors such as the educational institution, an individual's employment and marriage as social factors influencing and determining the extent of the complexity embedded in the makeup of communities. Linguistic diversity present in society is known as societal multilingualism. It usually occurs due to more powerful groups in society favouring their own languages over those of less powerful groups (Romaine, 2008:516). Grosjean (1982:12-13) recognises the territorial principle of multilingualism and the personal principle of multilingualism as two principles that govern societal multilingualism. The first describes a nation where each language group is monolingual but consists of multiple linguistic groups. This can be extended to Canada's language policy as there is the official recognition of more than one language. Canada recognises two official languages but not all individuals in the society are necessarily multilinguals. The latter applies to a country with many official languages and individuals who are multilinguals as well. In other words, many countries with official bilingualism and multilingualism, such as South Africa and Canada, often have societal multilingualism. Despite the distinctions often made between individual and societal multilingualism, these concepts may not be entirely separate since multilinguals may have some control by the monolingual

language dictates of their country and monolinguals may not be able to function well in all the languages of their multilingual country.

Different definitions of multilingualism abound in literature as the complexity of the term has made defining it challenging. As Kemp (2009) suggests, given that there are numerous definitions of “multilingual” in literature, it is crucial for a researcher first to define it in their study. Therefore, a definition appropriate for the goals of this research will be established in this section after analyzing several meanings of the term. The attempt to define the term “multilingualism” typically results in interpretations such as being able to speak more than two languages (Collins Dictionary, 2016) and “speaking, writing in, or using several different languages” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2016). Haugen (1959:9) refers to multilingualism as “a type of multiple bilingualism” while Mc Arthur (1992:673) maintains that a multilingual is a person who has the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Franceschini (2009:34) defines multilingualism as the result of the underlying human ability to communicate in a variety of languages. It is the final process of the acquisition of several non-native languages (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998). The different languages are used in various ways according to the dictates of contexts as well as the background and proficiency of the user. The concept of multilingualism seems more complex than what the definition offers. Due to the challenges associated with defining the notion of multilingualism, scholars have not been able to accurately describe its meaning. In fact, Pennycook (2010) argues that an adequate explanation of the concept is difficult to pin down since it usually relates to certain practices determined by context and time rather than a fixed entity that can be utilised at all times. Individuals’ switch between languages is mostly determined by context. Although Bloomfield (1933:56) defines bilingualism as having a control of two languages that can be likened to that of a native speaker, not many people in different societies of the world today have mastered languages in their repertoire to a native-like level. Hence, his definition is considered a narrow definition of the concept. On the other hand, a broad definition that considers being able to demonstrate significant mastery and ability in any of a language’s four skills other than the first language does not qualify an individual to be multilingual. For example, someone who can communicate using few words in English but struggles to comprehend it may not be considered a multilingual.

Establishing the level of ability required for a speaker to be deemed multilingual complicates the concept. This means that assessing individuals' language proficiency in terms of the language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing and their functional capacity in structural components of grammar, vocabulary and morphology of the languages in question may not be sufficient for them to be termed multilinguals. Variations in language competence can range from proficiency in a few lexical terms, formulaic phrases such as greetings, and basic conversational skill sets to a mastery of the syntax, vocabulary, as well as particular registers and styles (Wardaugh, 2006:96). What this echoes is that the abilities multilinguals have in the languages they speak do not have to be the same. A minimal requirement, according to Hall (1952), for being deemed multilingual includes an understanding and control of the syntactic structure of the second language.

Multilingualism, in this study, is utilised as an umbrella term for bilingualism which involves speaking more than two languages. The definition will be expanded to include the use of more than two languages on signs. This definition seems to be a holistic one, especially in the way it accommodates the division between individual and societal multilingualism. The definition also exclusively marks the difference between bilingualism and multilingualism, as bilingualism will be used in this study to refer to the use of two languages while multilingualism to more than two languages. This is not to take for granted the fact that some scholars, such as Oyetade (1992), point out that there is absolutely no distinction between a bilingual and multilingual community as states that are usually thought to be bilinguals are in fact multilinguals.

Multilingualism has certainly become a worldwide phenomenon. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2008:270), globalisation, with its increased effect on the migration of people, the spread of diaspora and communication, has resulted in more multilingualism rather than less. The concept of national monolingualism has become unpopular and has been supplanted by an intricate relationship between various languages. According to Romaine (2012:448), linguists estimate that there are close to 7000 languages around the world in approximately 200 sovereign nations. This fact implies that multilingualism exists in every country, including supposedly officially monolingual countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Romaine (2012:448) also adds that over 70 percent of all languages in the world are

found in just 20 nation-states. Among them are some of the poorest countries in the world. They include Papua New Guinea (860), Indonesia (670), Nigeria (427), India (380), Cameroon (270), Australia (250), Mexico (240), Zaire (210), Brazil (210), the Philippines (160), Malaysia (137), Tanzania (131), Vanuatu (105), Laos (92), Vietnam (86), Ivory Coast (73), Ghana (72), Solomon Islands (66), Benin (51), and Togo (43). Many African and Asian countries have hundreds of languages within their borders. Some of these languages are regarded as major while others as minor languages. There is no gainsaying that nowadays, we need more than our native languages to fit into different productive aspects of society.

Several scholars have carried out different studies on multilingualism in different settings. Dweik and Qawar (2015) investigate language use and attitude among Arabs in the multilingual province of Quebec, Canada. The study reveals that Arabic is mainly used for home, religious and social interactions, while English and French are mostly for formal interaction as well as for reasons of educational advancement and job opportunities. They have a favourable and emotional attitude towards Arabic as a means of expressing of their ethnicity while they also regard French and English as a means of expressing their Canadian identity. The study shows how language choice in multilingual contexts may be motivated by contexts, the desire to meet some needs and fulfil social functions. The study is, however, deficient in its investigation of language choice among the Arabs in only minimal domains. Mititis (2018) investigates primary and secondary school teachers' ideas and attitudes on their multilingual students and teaching practices in Thrace, Greece. The findings reveal the high value teachers place on learning additional languages. Also, the research suggests the need to raise consciousness about the increasing number of multilingual learners in schools. as well as the importance of fostering educational practices enabling in-service teacher training programs that focus on the importance of taking advantage of the benefits of multilingualism. The study is limited in its choice of participants and the results may not be easily generalisable.

Carson, Mcmongle and Murphy (2015) investigate societal multilingualism and individual plilingualism in the city of Dublin, the capital of Ireland. The research provides a thorough examination of how languages are utilised, in urban settings. The city is seen to be full of many languages. The study's findings bear out the tension

between the dictates in the nation's language policy favouring bilingualism and the reality of the language use practices among the residents. The study attributes the city's linguistic situation to its recent increase in migration, international tourism and globalised economy that have attracted people, including investors, from different parts of the world. The study, however, emphasises on the spread of Irish and English (the nation's dominant languages having constitutional recognition) in the public sphere rather than the presence of other languages in the face of the city's societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism. Anita and Bertin (2004) propose directions for a language-driven audit of healthcare services in Nigeria. The study demonstrates the relationship between multilingualism, patient rights and staff deployment in public hospitals in Borno State, Nigeria. The findings attribute intelligibility problems caused by language to some of the challenges inherent in healthcare delivery. The challenges are mostly due to the lack of linguistic competence of healthcare workers in the patient's language. The study reveals the role of multilingualism in healthcare delivery. The studies so far reviewed point to the essence of preserving and maintaining languages in societies as this could be seen as a veritable tool for the sustenance of ethnic diversity, which helps in the conservation of worldviews and alternative practices. They also contribute to the strength of their associated ethno-cultural groups and their social identities (Loth, 2016:3). All these help to uplift and advance societies. The studies reviewed have almost essentially focused on multilingualism in spoken language.

2.6 Multilingualism in the linguistic landscape

Linguistic landscape is more than just a language phenomenon. It is an expression of several facets of reality and the manifestation of diverse aspects of reality, particularly in multilingual contexts where people of different ethnolinguistic groups come in contact and interact for various reasons. Not only does it show the use of language in society, but it also reveals the presence of languages, especially in terms of their coexistence. Thus, studying linguistic landscape aids the understanding of cityscapes and the workings of multilingualism (Bolton, 2012:3). In other words, multilingualism has a crucial focus in linguistic landscape research.

Studies such as Gorter (2006), Reh (2004), Hubener (2006), Barni (2008), Cenoz and Gorter (2009), Du Plessis (2011) have focused on linguistic landscape as an element of

multilingual contexts with varying focus on issues of language visibility, language shift, language diversity and language vitality. Du Plessis' (2011) study and his account of the sociolinguistic profile of public signs of three towns of the Kopanong municipal area seems inadequate in giving an account of the roles played by governmental agencies in the visibility of languages. There is no adequate data to explain this. Barni (2008) devised the mechanism for integrating LL in a mapping of linguistic diversity. Studies on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape are often carried out in situations of language contact especially where migrants have settled in a host community (Barni, 2008; Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael, 2015) and the visibility of languages is often linked to the relative vitality of sociolinguistic groups (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). Recently, the popularity of international brand names and slogans and the wide use of English in its non-native environment have been considered as factors leading to the use of multiple languages in the linguistic landscape, unlike in the past (Gorter and Cenoz, 2017:234). Ideas concerning societal multilingualism contribute to focusing on variables such as language use and linguistic hierarchies (Mahemuti, 2018:21) This knowledge helps understand globalisation, language policy, language users and serves to stimulate perspectives on multilingualism in society.

Linguistic landscape offers ways of explaining language use in multilingual societies. The study of LL can contribute to the understanding of language and diversity inherent in a given society with its relevance in reflecting languages used among inhabitants and immigrants and how useful it can be to tourists as well as visitors (Budarina, 2015:39). What this suggests is how it serves to reveal the linguistic composition of societies and the communicative patterns in such places. Truly, most of the research works on linguistic landscape have been undertaken in multilingual societies such as Basque Country (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006); Jordanian cities (Alomoush, 2015); and Tunisia (Said, 2019) and different languages have been found represented on the public signs in these places. Al-Athwary (2017:149) found different patterns of multilingualism in the public space of Yemen despite its monolingual policy favourable to Arabic. In other words, the linguistic landscape of Yemen is found to be characterised by multilingualism. The study does not however provide sufficient analysis of the strategies of multilingual writing (duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary multilingualism) for a comprehensive understanding of the

arrangement of information on the signs (top-down and bottom-up). Backhaus (2005) investigates the diachronic evolution of Tokyo's linguistic landscape since the early 1990s and the interaction that exists between older and newer generations of signs on different Tokyo streets. The findings indicate a rise in linguistic heterogeneity. There is the coexistence of English, Japanese, Korean and Chinese on the signs on streets. As Japan has been known as one of the few prototypes of predominantly monolingual societies, the wide range of languages and scripts displayed on these signs is impressive. The visibility or absence of a language in the public space echoes far-reaching statements not just about the value and relevance of languages but also the language practices in society. The study, however, concentrates on the visual prominence of Japanese and scripts in the language on the streets of Tokyo with inadequate attention paid to the languages used on the signs and their patterns.

Research on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape is often carried out in situations of language contact especially where migrants have settled in a host community. Brito (2016) investigates the negotiation of multilingualism as a consequence of globalisation in the linguistic landscape of three neighbourhoods in the city of Malmo, Sweden. Results show the place of linguistic landscape in giving each neighbourhood a unique sense of place. The study points to how the dynamic nature of linguistic landscape functions in making actors achieve their goals. The study is limited in its sample as it is not clear if conclusions about the manifestations of globalisation can be made on the basis of 120 photographs from storefronts.

Leimgruber (2017) holds that the visibility of language in the public space of Montreal is a reflection of the reality of the federal policy of bilingualism, the nation's sociolinguistic realities as well as laws strengthening the use of French. The research reveals the representation and management of visible mono-, bi- and multilingualism in the light of the nation's policy on language use and linguistic distribution favourable to the use of English and French. The visibility of other languages (Korean, Chinese, Czech, Spanish, Polish and German) is interpreted as merely indexical, symbolic and therefore mildly controlled in the face of legislation in favour of French is not sufficiently explained in the study. In the study of representation of multilingualism in Tunisia's urban landscape, Said (2019) reveals the complex language situation as well as the place of multilingualism in helping to negotiate identities in society of Tunisia.

The study is limited in its inadequate explanation of the complexities of the linguistic situation in Tunisia. Alomoush (2015) appears to represent the first study of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Jordan. The research reveals the dominance of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and English on monolingual and multilingual signs and the marginalisation and stigmatisation of minority languages. The findings of the study align with Landry and Bourhis' (1997) observation about the dominant language on public signs being usually the language of the majority group that essentially controls a specific region or area. The presence of English is linked to its association with globalisation, sophistication and modernity. The dominance of MSA is linked to the nation's Arabic nationalism. The study, however, focuses on the spread of MSA and English and the marginalisation of minority languages. It is not sufficiently explicit about the use and spread of the minority languages found represented in the linguistic landscape of the Jordanian cities. The presence or absence of languages (for instance, Shohamy, 2006:110) typically shows the influence, relevance and power of such languages within the context.

Given the review of these previous studies, studies on the linguistic landscape of Africa and Nigeria are particularly needful. The studies have primarily focused on the linguistic landscape of Europe and Asia. Almost all the studies share the feature of not having a definitive theoretical framework. The study will, therefore, provide a more diversified perspective on the representation of languages in multilingual societies.

2.7 Multilingualism in Nigeria

Nigeria is typically and prototypically a multiethnic and multicultural nation where diverse languages and cultures compete (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:20). According to national census estimates from 2006, the country has a population of about 140 million people who belong to over 250 ethnic groups (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:70) and the coexistence of many languages. Multilingualism in Nigeria is usually studied not just in terms of the configuration of languages in the country but also the sociolinguistic complexities that emanate from their diversity.

Controversies surround the agreement on the precise number of languages used in the Nigerian multilingual context. Simply put, an account of the total number of indigenous languages in Nigeria is not specific as scholars have different figures for

this. There are some 500 languages in Nigeria (Crystal, 2003:145), a conservative estimate of 400 languages (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:20) and over 400 (Bamgbose, 1977). Also, according to Adegbija (2004:3), suggestions shift from 200, to 300, 368 and 369 (e.g., Osaji, 1979; Bamgbose, 1971; and Brann, 1990). What is sure is that hundreds of languages are used in the country (Ezema, 2009:199). In a nutshell, the multiplicity of languages in Nigeria, no doubt, raises issues about the status and functions of the languages used in the country which has implications for sociolinguistic research.

Official declarations on the functions ascribed to languages in Nigeria may be found in the National Policy on Education (NPE) and the Nigerian Constitution. Section 55 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) states that “the business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made.” According to Section 97 of the Constitution, “the business of the House of Assembly shall be conducted in English, but the House may, in addition to English, conduct the business of the House in one or more other languages spoken in the state as the House may by resolution approve.” These statements suggest that Nigeria recognises English as its official language while the three major languages are given only some national roles. All that has been done is to give recognition to English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as if they are the only important languages that would contribute to the political, economic, social and administrative growth and development of the nation (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:103). Also, it is stipulated in the National Policy on Education that children at the pre-primary school level should be taught using the language of their immediate environment but this is rarely the case in most of the schools. Every Nigerian is expected to learn one of Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba together with their mother tongues and English. Indigenous languages in Nigeria apart from Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba clearly do not have specific roles given to them thereby pointing to the loopholes in the policy statements. In other words, the National Policy on Education (1981) and the 1999 constitution (paragraphs 55 and 97) point out a lack of language policy that cuts across the entire nation (Ogunsiji, 2007:5). The major languages seem to have been given the recognition they have and favoured merely because of their numerical strength and the political positions of their speakers.

Akindele and Adegbite (2005:101-102) consider the significant status associated with Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba as being a function of the population of their speakers and the support given to them. Attempts at choosing them as national languages have been faced with a great deal of challenges. There have been numerous protests and forms of rejection regarding the choice of the three major languages by minority language groups. In this direction, Bamgbose (1996:361) notes that speakers of the minority languages walked out of the Constituent Assembly when a motion was made proposing that Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo should be designated national languages and be taught as compulsory school subjects in all primary and secondary schools in the revision of the 1979 constitution. The motion was obviously withdrawn for lack of agreement. It seems clear that the indigenous languages which exist for cultural identity and ethnic solidarity are often stigmatised and denigrated with apparent hostility, while English, due to its prestige and international relevance, is given the pride of place and credence.

Adebija (2004:48) in his stimulating description of the language situation in Nigeria identifies three categories of languages used in the country. He identifies about 450 languages as indigenous or native languages and English. Out of this number, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo have constitutional recognition as major languages. English, French, Arabic, German and Russian are some of the exogenous languages he recognises. Nigerian Pidgin belongs to his last category and it is used especially in trade in most parts of the southern states in Nigeria. Nigerian Pidgin serves predominantly as the language of commerce, mass propaganda and mobilisation at the grassroots level of entertainment in music and of interethnic communication in schools and some cities like Port Harcourt and Benin-City (Adebija, 2004:69).

Nigeria belongs to the “Outer Circle” of Kachru’s (1986) classification. It performs different functions at different levels (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:20). This appears to be why Cenoz and Gorter (2008:269) consider it a threat to linguistic diversity because of the detriments its predominance places on other languages. However, it plays a unifying role and serves as the language of communication among people of different tribes and languages which is a role none of the indigenous languages have been able to play.

Surely, Nigeria's multilingual situation is complex. The study of multilingual language use in cities and urban settings has become necessary in understanding the linguistic repertoire of societies, especially as the language use practices and experiences of individuals throughout the world have become diverse, especially as a result of migration, media and educational travel. Surely, the multilingual and multiethnic nature of Nigeria has its far-reaching implications.

2.8 The spread of English in the linguistic landscape

The coexistence of languages in urban public signage has attracted the interests of researchers such as anthropologists and linguists, particularly researchers in sociolinguistics (Bolton, 2012:31). Specifically, the use of national languages and, importantly, English on signs in world's cities, has received attention. Scholars such as Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in the Netherlands and Spain; Griffin (2004) in Rome; Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) in Israel; Hubener (2006) in Thailand; and Griffin (2004) in Europe have examined the theme of the spread and dominance of English in various ways.

The status, power, strength and dominance of English, resulting in the diminished value of other languages in the public sphere, have been seen to be attributed to different factors. This is largely due to how immigration, marriage, tourism, the revitalisation of minority languages, globalisation and diversity in commercial activities, religion and sociocultural practices have been seen to have contributing effects on the spread of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Public spaces have been shaped by and controlled by the prevalence of English, backed up by positive motivation and attitude towards its use.

The spread of English and its functions in the linguistic landscape have been demonstrated as an important marker of globalisation. Language policies have been shown to have a significant effect on top-down signs where signs favour the use of specific languages, especially English. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:24) link the place of English as a status marker to the manifestation of globalisation. Hubener (2006) notes in his study of the spread of English as a global language in some Asian and European metropolitan areas, such as Bangkok, the association of English with modernisation, internationalism and advancement in technology, or what Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper,

and Fishman (1977) referred to as snob appeal. Akindele (2011) reveals the dominance of English in the linguistic landscape of Gaborone in Botswana. In their examination of language use in religious places of worship in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Coluzzi and Kitade (2015) note the dominance of English (the nation's de facto second language) and the minimal use of Malay which is the country's official language. Muth (2008) explains the predominant use of English in the linguistic landscape of Vilnius in terms of its global power, international recognition and the prestige associated with its use. English has been shown to be utilised in various places and cosmopolitan areas to achieve connotative rather than informational objectives (Backhaus, 2005 and Loth, 2016). Its use often gives other languages diminished visibility. These studies have provided the evidence of its dominance and its mark as a symbol of globalisation.

Business owners tend to use English, in the linguistic landscape, to increase their sales. Torkington (2009:137) in his study of the dominance of English as a feature of the linguistic landscape links the pre-eminence of English with its global relevance in business. Edelman (2010:45) associates the proliferation of English on signs in the Netherlands to tourism, the crucial significance of Amsterdam as an international economic and cultural centre, and its role as a lingua franca among various immigrant groups. Alomoush and Na'imat (2018) attempt to demonstrate how English is employed by both commercial businesses and companies in the local tourist sector to define Jordan's cityscape. The use of English on commercial signs may be construed as informational and, in particular, aimed at foreign visitors, but its rising prevalence clearly has a strong symbolic role for a non-English speaking local populace (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008:269). These studies have shown its prevalence and roles in social mobility.

The privileged status of English on signs has been demonstrated to be a mark of success, sophistication and future orientation. Phillips (2011:35) relates that its use may be regarded as more privileged than the use of indigenous languages (Piller, 2001 and Cenoz and Gorter, 2009) and this can have an effect on the statuses of other languages. Muth (2008:143-144) holds that even despite the relatively low competence in English among the Lithuanians, its use pervades signs in Vilnius. These works have

revealed the use, prestige and eminence of English but are mostly limited in their scope.

Regulations enacted by governments to control language use within the linguistic landscape have not significantly impacted the status of English. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2008:269), some legislations have been made to eliminate its use in public places entirely. For instance, Gorter and Cenoz (2017:235) highlight the Charter of the French Language of 1977, also known as “Bill 101” in Québec. Among other things, the bill required all commercial signs be in French and all advertising be done in the official language (French). These restrictions have been lifted, and English and other languages are now permitted on signs provided French is clearly dominant. Another well-known case is the so-called “Toubon-law” introduced in France in 1994, which insisted on the use of the French language in official government publications, advertisements, and other contexts in France.

Gorter (2013:201) includes the wide use of English as part of linguistic landscape’s main foci that will continue to characterise the field. Cenoz and Gorter (2006), in their examination of the linguistic landscape in the streets of Friesland, Donostia and San Sebastian in the Basque country, address two processes in sociolinguistics to stress its preponderance. They address the concerns related to the global status of English and the place of regionisation or localisation in showing the regional identity.

The visibility and motivations behind the omnipresence of English, its spread and dominance in these previous studies, no doubt, bring into limelight how the study of public signs helps to reflect language hierarchies, language choice, covert and overt language attitudes, language vitality, power structure, ethnolinguistic diversities and multilingualism in different communities in the world. The significance of these findings to the present research arises from the existing tension between English, Yoruba and other languages in Nigeria.

2.9 The status of English in Nigeria

The English language, Nigeria’s official language is, no doubt, the most influential language in Nigeria. It is evidently the highly favoured one used for different forms of official matters and communication amidst the numerous indigenous languages in the

country. Ajepe and Ademowo (2016:10) note that English has now gained such popularity in the country that its dominance has hampered the growth (and even led to the extinction of some) of Nigeria's 529 indigenous languages. The dominance associated with the English language could be attributed to its accepted use in different spheres of life, its role in maintaining the unity of Nigeria as well as its relevance in preserving the country's nationalism and nationalism.

An account of its historical origin in Nigeria is important in assessing its status in the country. It is worth noting that its origins in Nigeria are obscure and the identity of its first speaker is unknown. However, it appears that its use in Nigeria predates both its first and documented written use by British missionaries and administrators (see Adetugbo, 1978). It, however, seems clear that the English language was well established towards the end of the 19th century through the administrative activities of the British colonial government (Adekunle, 2009:194), although missionary activities, conquest, trade and commerce are often linked to some of the factors that led to its implantation. English was also introduced into Nigeria through conquering. The Berlin conference of 1884-85 is essential for this conquest since African countries were partitioned during this period (Osisanwo, 2016:32).

Although there is uncertainty regarding the exact date English came to Nigeria, researchers believe that there was an intimate British-Nigerian contact in the Southern part of Nigeria before the Atlantic slave trade. According to Tunde-Awe (2014:486), starting in 1553, Englishmen paid brief visits to the Nigerian shores, particularly the ports of Benin and Old Calabar, resulting in the development of the English-based pidgin. By the early nineteenth century, increased trade and slavery had led to the spread of English to the whole West African coast (Crystal, 2003:49). England had, by then, emerged as a major exporter of slave. African traders also began to feel the need to learn European languages. A few of the children of the traders who had been sent to England to learn English on their return established schools in old Calabar to teach the rudiments of English. After the abolition of the slave trade, the Christian missionaries came and preached the gospel. The formal education they established and the schools they built brought about the spread of English in Nigeria. Many of the freed slaves became translators during the early missionary period and the indigenes established mission schools. The colonial government also established schools and

enhanced its spread in Nigeria as it was during the colonial period that English became fully introduced. The former slaves got employed by the Christian missionaries and the colonial government as teachers and other supporting staff (Brownson et al., 2010).

In other words, the advent of English in Nigeria is classified into three periods which are the period before the missionary activities, the period during missionary activities, and the period after the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates. During the period before the early missionary activities, Nigerians learned the Portuguese-based pidgin to ease business activities. During the period of the missionary activities, after the abolition of the slave trade, many Nigerians were taught how to read and write and schools were also established to teach children the English language. The activities of some Nigerians who became trained to serve as interpreters and clerks to the Europeans facilitated the spread of English during this period. English was further rooted in Nigeria during the period of the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates.

The colonialist significantly promoted instruction in English. During the colonial era, it was adopted as the official language and has remained so ever since. It became not only the colonial language but the official language necessary for national integration and development. According to Akindele and Adegbite (2005:57), the use of English survived the colonial period as the language of administration as apart from being the medium of social and international communication, it is still employed in carrying out legislative, executive, and judicial tasks at the three levels of government: local, state, and federal.

English enjoys a pride of place in the sociolinguistic context of Nigeria. It appears to be the sole language capable of fostering a balanced development in the country with its multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural nature. The influence of English still continues to wax stronger (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:60). Its sociopolitical and economic influence in Nigeria is largely responsible for the favourable attitude it enjoys and this happens at the detriment of the native languages, thereby affecting their development. Not only was it made the official language of colonisation in the 1946 constitution, but the missionary efforts also made it prosper in the 18th century. The colonial government enriched it and also made it lord among the languages within

Nigeria particularly for official, administrative and educational purposes (Adegbija, 2004:54). At independence, in 1960, English was still adopted as the official language of the country. The 1999 constitution (as amended) also approved its use at the National and State Houses of Assembly alongside any of the three major Nigerian languages (which are Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba or the dominant indigenous language of the state in question only) when adequate arrangements have been made for their use. English, without doubt, has become an important language in Nigeria. The language has not only become a treasured legacy of the British but has gained prominence as a means by which Nigerians express their culture. (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:57). Today, children in many homes communicate freely in English but lack competence in their native languages. Also, success in many fields is tied to proficiency in it and the educational system, as well, is built around English.

It plays an important tool among the various ethnolinguistic groups and in various domains in the country. English has become prominent in the educational system and many Nigerians strive hard to be proficient in it. Its value and dominance in the Nigerian sociocultural context have contributed immensely to the positive attitude associated with it. The important place of English in Nigeria is demonstrated by its place in the educational sector. Nnamdi-Eruchalu (2012:4) writes that English is taught at various levels of education in the country, adding that a credit pass in English is not only a vital condition for being admitted into Nigerian higher institutions, but it also serves as a passport to securing highly prestigious employment. This is, however, to the detriment of the development and relevance of the major and minority languages which should ordinarily be a tool for the promotion of cultural diversity, ethnic identity, and psychological security. Oyeleye (2005:7) writes that English seems to be playing the role of a symbolic language at the expense of the indigenous languages and even when issues of national functions are concerned, most of the indigenous languages appear to have diminished instrumental value.

It is a language that performs several functions in Nigeria. Bamgbose (1977:31) observes that English, as an international language plays an important role in communicating with other countries and cultural groups, and nationally as the language of administration, law, commerce, education, and the mass media. It is the language that performs important functions in ethnic integration. It is used as the

medium of instruction in virtually all school systems, from the upper primary to the highest tertiary level, as expressed in the National Policy on Education. While many scholars agree with the suitability of an indigenous national language, they also seem to agree with the fact that it will play a major role in Nigeria for a long time (Akindele and Adegbite, 2005:99).

In all, the relevance, use, prestige as well as position of English as an international language par excellence all add to its acceptability and status in Nigeria. Not only does it help to avert the communication barrier the use of the indigenous languages as official languages could have created but it is the language that guarantees and ensures the economic, political and social unity of Nigeria. This suggests that, in the sociolinguistic context of Nigeria, English is dominant in different settings such as the formal, technical, educational and official ones while the indigenous languages are mostly used in interpersonal interactions when interlocutors share a common indigenous language and are aware of it. Nigeria is one of the multilingual countries in Africa which, according to Crystal (2003:79), choose English as their official language to enable speakers of their indigenous communities to continue to communicate with one another at a national level. The decision tends to have been made as a means of avoiding the challenges emanating from the choice of one or some of the competing indigenous languages due to its neutrality.

2.10 Actors in linguistic landscape

The social actor is the social agent who engages in language practices, in this case, shaping and influencing the linguistic landscape. They are the producers and readers who put up, read and interpret the signs on display. In other words, they are different parties at work in the construction of linguistic landscape. These parties often have different purposes and intents. According to Edelman and Gorter (2010), the five groups of actors influencing the linguistic landscape are businesses, designers, private person, authorities and passers-by.

These actors play lots of roles in constructing the linguistic landscape in their creation of the contents of the signs and their interactions with them. This idea resonates with Ben-Rafael (2009:44) in his account for the possible motivations influencing social

actors who are individual, corporate and public actors engaging in the formation of LL with the way they use LL items to attract attention.

Surely, humans use language for the communication of facts and for some kind of action (Cobely, 2001:9). Backhaus (2007), in his study of the signs of multilingualism in Tokyo, came up with the “sign-writers” and “sign-readers”. Malinowski (2009:106) was more stuck to find out that many actors and owners of six business signs were unaware and did not claim a full control of the meaning that many readers got from their signs. For him, seemingly intentional meanings can, in fact, remain hidden from the writers of signs and this tends to happen as a result of historical processes that have become sedimented into practices of literacy and technologies of design.

Researchers often categorise signs. Tufi (2010) employs, in the examination of monolingual and multilingual writing on signs, commercial, informational, institutional, and transgressive inscriptions. Blackwood (2011) used different categories. He grouped signs in the districts of Brittany and Corsica in terms of nine principal sign categories: business names, business signs, graffiti, information, instructions, labels on products, legends, street signs and trademarks.

2.11 Backhaus’s (2007) sociolinguistic framework

A major theory of linguistic landscape research was developed and used by Backhaus (2007) in his study of the signs of multilingualism in Tokyo. He developed the analytical categories of top-down versus bottom-up geographic distribution, code preference, part writing, visibility, idiosyncrasies and layering. According to Adetunji (2013), drawing on a corpus of 2,444 signs gathered from 28 sites, Backhaus sought to answer three major questions: Linguistic landscaping by whom? Linguistic landscaping for whom? Linguistic landscaping quo vadis: while (1) refers to “the signwriters” and (2) refers to “the sign readers,” (3) originally a Latin expression, meaning “where are you going,” was operationalised by Backhaus as “the dynamics of the linguistic situation as a whole” (Backhaus, 2007).

He identified four types of “writing” which he named homophonic, mixed part, polyphonic and monophonic. According to Zabrodska (2007:61), he distinguishes between monophonic, homophonic, polyphonic and mixed part writings on signs. Signs with texts having a complete translation (or transliteration) of each other are

homophonic signs. In a mixed part writing style, only elements of a sign are available in two or more languages. The polyphonic style has different languages without the mutual translations of languages. On monophonic signs, there is only one language used. Polyphonic, homophonic and mixed part writing style relate to multilingual signs while monophonic concerns only monolingual signs. In other words, there is the complete translation or transliteration of languages in homophonic writing. Mixed part writing refers to signs that have partial translation or transliteration of languages. Complete translation or transliteration of languages is not possible in polyphonic writing and in monophonic writing, where there is only a single language used, mutual translation or transliteration does not exist.

He found out the prevalence of English on bottom-up signs and the dominance of Japanese on top-down signs. As regards layering (the coexistence of old and new type of a given kind of sign (Backhaus, 2007:130), English and Japanese were the languages layered in his analysis of the linguistic landscape of Tokyo. Backhaus characterises all government-related signs (mostly those issued by the ward administration, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, or a national government agency) as top-down signs. He considers all other indicators to be bottom-up. Signs with translation or transliteration (homophonic and most mixed signs) are developed in a multilingual manner for foreigners. The lack of translation or transliteration, he suggests, indicates that the sign is multilingual and intended for the Japanese populace (as is the case with polyphonic and monophonic signs). He establishes a link between code preference and the top-down/bottom-up variable, claiming that marked code preference is a distinguishing feature of non-official signs. In Backhaus' study, six of 662 official signs display a language other than Japanese in a prominent position. A sign containing two or more languages or several signs having one language each are the two main ways multilingualism can become visible on signs under this framework.

Aspects of Backhaus' sociolinguistic framework is useful to the present study. It provides a rich ground for the analysis of the languages in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. It has been particularly useful in grouping the signs into their structural classifications. His concept of part writing formed the basis for describing the multilingual language use on the signs.

2.12 Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) model

Spolsky and Cooper (1991), in their study of the use of language on signs in parts of Jerusalem, formulate three conditions to account for the motivations for the choice of language on the public signs sampled. Using a sample of 339 items, they were interested in the motivations for the patterns of language use on signs and addressed the questions of “the languages used, the order in which they appear, and how the choice can be explained” (1991:76). They proposed a preference model based on three components:

- (1) a “sign writer’s skill” condition,
- (2) a “presumed reader” condition, and
- (3) a “symbolic value” condition (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991:81-85).

The “sign writer’s skill” condition necessitates the linguistic ability of the writer of the sign. The “presumed reader” condition requires the intelligibility of the message to the supposed addressee as it considers the reader’s ability in the language to use. The “symbolic value” condition has an underlying motivation to show power, uniqueness, distinctiveness, identity and solidarity in language choice. A negative application of condition (3) is observable when the language of a certain group is intentionally not used on a sign (Backhaus, 2007:25). Signs in which the symbolic condition applies but not the presumed reader condition were mainly found attached to buildings owned by foreign institutions and convey the message that “proclaiming ownership is more important than being understood” (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991:81-85). They situate the three major languages of Jerusalem in the context of political regimes, reflecting the variations in the socio-political status of three important languages in the history of Jerusalem. According to Adetunji (2013:48), they are suggestive of the major languages of political governors. English is associated with the period of British mandate (1922-1948), Arabic is associated with Jordanian rule (1948-1967) and Hebrew is associated with the Israeli rule (1967 and beyond) Adetunji (2013:54-55).

Spolsky (2009) places the model in wider contexts and regards the first condition as necessary for all signs and the second and third as typical and graded. Spolsky (2009) in his further exploration points out that the “sign-writer’s skill condition” accounts for the fact the sign writer’s ability in a language could necessitate its use on signs. The

violation of this first rule may lead to the idiosyncratic uses of English in non-English-speaking countries, for instance. They consider the first rule as necessary as the other two conditions may not be met on all signs. These conditions suggest that sign writers may choose the language they are familiar with or the language their presumed readers understand on public signs. However, the second condition may motivate the sign writer's choice of a language despite their poor proficiency in it. Following the authors, the "presumed reader" condition captures the communicative goal of signs. To elaborate, a sign may incorporate a community's majority language, the language of a specific immigrant minority, the language of an ethnic minority or foreign tourists. The "symbolic value condition" accommodates language selection on signs that demonstrate ownership, such as a sign displaying the name of a building or business, or even the writer of the sign's ownership of them.

Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) exposition is adopted in the analysis of the motivations for the construction and initiation of the signs. Their "preference model" is used to give account of the choice of languages and the motivations for their use

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

This chapter goes into the current study's design and methods. To investigate the research questions for this study, we used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. We also discuss, here, the selection of the research site and give an overview of the research design which includes the research approach and the procedure and device for data collection. As noted earlier, the theoretical frameworks employed in this study are the sociolinguistic framework of Backhaus (2007) and Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) preference model. Huebner's (2009) proposals that studies in the LL should focus on selections, categorisations, and language analysis influenced the theoretical frameworks and technique we used to examine the digital images.

3.1 Research design

The study adopted a survey research design. A descriptive approach was employed focusing on tangible characteristics of the subjects under investigation. A representative sample of the target population was selected for the study. Two justifications for choosing the survey method are that the variables under investigation cannot be controlled by the researcher and the population for the study is too large, covering a large span of land. It covered seven areas in Ibadan based on the criteria described in subsequent paragraphs.

3.2 Methods and sampling

3.2.1 Overview of methods

Over the years of LL research, the approaches used have swiftly changed in a variety of directions. Linguistic landscape has no doubt been approached in different ways in many studies. Qualitative and/or quantitative approaches have guided most published scholarship on linguistic landscape. The data collected for the study were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively using content analysis. In other words, this study incorporates the blend of methods as regards the analysis of data consisting of both qualitative and quantitative analysis of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of the areas, for broader interpretations and a more valid analysis. This study argues that a synergetic approach is vital and paramount in contributing to the ongoing discussion on the use of language in the public space, in particular, and the field of sociolinguistics, in general.

3.2.2 Data collection device

The data were collected through existing document. The digital camera as a device for documenting the data has been used in linguistic landscape studies. This device enabled the random collection of signs in the study area.

3.2.3 Sampling technique and procedure

Cities have been known as a site for the display of visual symbols and images. The highest density of signs is typically found in key shopping channels and industrial areas. Not only do cities house the bulk of the world's population, but they have also become a hub for immigration. The consequent ethnolinguistic mixing provides several opportunities to study linguistic processes such as language shift and linguistic landscape. This is because the urban dynamics of the city of Ibadan marked by its typical cosmopolitan nature predisposes it to constant influx of people of different ethnic backgrounds and, as a consequence, multilingualism. Hence, it is probably not realistic, given the nature of this research and the demographics of the city to investigate multilingualism on signs in the whole of the city.

That being so, the purposive sampling technique was used so that cosmopolitan areas where business and commercial activities in Ibadan are expected to take place are

represented. I used my background knowledge and my familiarity with the city to select signs that will be representative enough of all the multifarious and diverse signs in Ibadan. It is expected that people of varying ethnolinguistic groups will be found there. The purposive sampling technique has the capacity of affording the researcher the opportunity of focusing on the units that are relevant to the research. However, different sections of each of the areas selected for sampling were reflected on the signs photographed. Through this process, the data were collected from the signs found in these Ibadan areas.

The sample was representative enough and conclusions about the use of languages on signs in Ibadan from this number formed an adequate representation. No doubt, different types of texts exist on public signs such as graffiti and place names in the city. The study has, however, focused on the choice of public road signs, advertising billboards, commercial shop signs and inscriptions on buildings. These signs, although were selected for personal consideration, are units of signs that constitute the object of study within the scope of linguistic landscape.

Forty signs were selected in each of the seven (7) Ibadan communities of Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola, Iwo Road, Ring Road, Olodo and Sango, comprising public road signs, advertising billboards, commercial shop signs and inscriptions on buildings. Ten of each of the signs namely: public road signs, advertising billboards, inscriptions on buildings and commercial shop signs were purposively selected in the seven Ibadan areas to determine the extent to which multilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of the city. There were 280 signs in all. The data were collected between July 21 and August 9, 2019. The photographs were stored in a folder in the researcher's laptop computer's document section for ease of access for analysis.

3.3 Qualitative and quantitative approaches

The qualitative and quantitative approaches with their distinct techniques have helped to explore the contexts and connection of signs, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of multilingualism in the selected Ibadan areas. The blend of these approaches has helped to reveal what the frequency, distribution and patterning of languages reveal about the actors (the owners and readers of signs), the purposes the signs serve and the situations which give shape to the signs in relation to

the sociolinguistic context of Ibadan. The quantitative analysis provided the numerical representation of the signs as a whole but the qualitative analysis focused on addressing the motivations for the occurrence of the signs, while making reference to individual signs as the case may be.

This study is comprised of a blend of methods with regards to analysing the data collected, consisting of both the qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.4 Data collection procedure

The data for the study constitute photographs of signs taken using a digital camera. Seven areas in Ibadan were surveyed and photographs of all kinds of advertising billboards, commercial shop signs, public road signs and inscriptions on buildings placed in the public space were taken. Seven areas across Ibadan were surveyed. The signs were mostly displayed outside buildings, stores, organisations as well as those on the streets and roads in the linguistic landscape of Challenge, Mokola, Dugbe, Olodo, Iwo Road, Sango and Ring Road. Studying in Ibadan afforded me the advantage of collecting data at convenient times.

3.5 Analytical procedure

Data were presented in percentages. The results of the research findings realised from the signs and analysis are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Preamble

This chapter deals with the analysis of data collected from the linguistic landscape of some communities in Ibadan. The aim of the study was to find out how languages are used in public spaces in Ibadan in order to analyse the extent to which multilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of the city. Here, the discussion focuses on the language used on commercial shop signs, advertising billboards, public road signs and inscriptions on buildings in Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola, Iwo Road, Olodo, Sango and Ring Road. The qualitative analysis is the analysis that involves an in-depth examination of the interaction of signs and the ordering of languages to provide a more thorough overview of the diversity of languages and, particularly, the nature of multilingualism in the city. The second part deals with the quantitative analysis of the languages used on signs with respect to their distribution, configuration, and frequency.

4.1 Patterns of language use in the linguistic landscape of the communities

This part deals with the qualitative analysis of the signs. Since signs are also “complex indexes of source, addressee, and community” (Collins and Slembrouck 2007:335), the qualitative analysis of signs provides a micro level of analysis that will enable the researcher to examine the signs paying attention to the relationship between the languages, their owners as well as how the use of languages on the signs relate to the sociolinguistic context of the communities. This analysis also enables the consideration of issues related to the purposes the signs serve and the situation that gives shape to the signs. These issues are necessary for the analysis and understanding of the patterns of language use and the nature of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan.

4.1.1 Categorising the data

This section deals with the categorisation of the two hundred and eighty (280) signs of photographs which form the data for qualitative analysis. The photographs will be categorised and grouped into different types of signs for analysis. Each category will contain a detailed analysis of a group or groups of photos using Backhaus' (2007) sociolinguistic framework, including the four types of "writing" which he named monophonic writing, homophonic writing, mixed part writing and polyphonic writing. The framework will be used to analyse the languages used in the linguistic landscape of the communities to ensure a well-grounded and detailed description of the linguistic landscape of the communities. The categorisations were also influenced by Spolsky and Cooper's (2009:76) components based on their preference model. The explanations and analysis of each of the categories will be done and illustrations will also be given.

4.1.1.1 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Challenge

Table 4.1 shows the dominance of monophonic signs in the linguistic landscape of Challenge. Specifically, the only language used on the monophonic signs is English. The signs are mostly public road signs and commercial shop signs and the dominance of English on them could be explained in terms of its official status and the role it plays as the language of government, business and advertising. Partial and complete translations occur mostly on few signs of inscriptions on buildings where indigenous languages are used together with English.

Table 4.1 Categories of signs in Challenge

Signs	Types of signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	7	1	0	2	10
Commercial shop signs	10	0	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	6	0	1	3	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	10
Total	33	1	1	5	40
Percentages (%)	82.5	2.5	2.5	12.5	100



Plate 4.1: a monophonic public road sign

Plate 4.1 shows an official sign posted on the roadway which appears to discourage people from parking around. It is a monophonic sign with all the information on it rendered in English. It is a top-down sign and also a prohibitive sign authorised by the Nigerian Police. It includes details about the prohibition of parking by the public in the environment where the sign is located. The sign's official standing may have influenced the use of English, thereby increasing the strength and force of the information contained on the sign. In other words, English seems to be used on the signs to guarantee communicative efficiency. It is also presented as the most viable and dominant means of conveying the information. It seems the presumed readers of the sign are those who have a level of proficiency in English and are therefore able to decode the meaning on the sign.



Plate 4.2: a monophonic public road sign

The monophonic (public road) sign in plate 4.2 is a prohibitive sign. It is used to forbid people from loitering, parking, waiting and hawking on the road where the sign is placed. Unlike the sign in the previous plate, this sign is a bottom-up sign produced by a Nigerian commercial financial services company (“Zenith Bank Plc”). It is a regulatory sign as well as a business sign which makes it a multifunctional sign since it does more than prohibiting certain actions from the passers-by who are the presumed readers but also announces the presence of the financial institution (Zenith Bank Plc). English is used in such a way as to attract the attention of the public to it. The appearance of the sign seems to be more noticeable with the use of red and white colours. Similarly, the business name, its logo and the prohibitive information are all written in English. The English medium seems to have been adopted by the presumed writer of the sign as a means of facilitating the comprehensibility of the sign. Its use can also be explained in terms of its being an informational marker and a symbolic marker where it conveys information to the public. It also demonstrates the value associated with English in the sociocultural context of Challenge. The sign owners seem to be converging to the dictates of the official language policy in the country.

All the public road signs are, in fact, monophonic signs in English. They are official and unofficial signs as they are signs of government and financial institutions. The use of English on these signs further indexes language status and functions where English is shown as performing an important function as the language of business and government.



Plate 4.3: a monophonic commercial shop sign

The commercial shop sign in plate 4.3 is a monophonic sign and also a bottom-up sign. It is a sign placed by an individual shop owner to draw the attention of the public to the sign in order to make profits. The sign seems to be used by the presumed writer of the sign to promote the marketability of the items for sale in the shop. “Core fashion” which is part of the business name and “clothing & accessories” give information about the products available for sale in the shop. The use of English conveys on the product a mark of acceptability and sophistication as it is used as an index of fashion, prestige and modernity capable of helping to trigger commercial activities. English, therefore, not only performs informational function in the way it conveys information about the presence of the business venture but also performs the symbolic function through its dominant use on the commercial sign and all the other commercial signs found in the linguistic landscape of Challenge. This use suggests the high symbolic value attached to English in the sociocultural context of Challenge due to the sophistication of its wide acceptability.



Plate 4.4: a mixed part advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.4 is the only mixed part sign in the data (in the linguistic landscape of Challenge). The sign is an advertising billboard belonging to a business corporation producing a brand of chicken seasoning cubes “Mamador”. Only one of the words has been translated from English into Arabic and, in this case, there is only a partial translation of a word in one language into another one. “HALAL” is the only word translated into the Arabic language on the sign. “HALAL” as well as its Arabic translation is associated with the Islamic dietary laws. The word loosely translates to “permissible” in English and it is used to suggest that the seasoning cube has been prepared and stored lawfully. This tends to convey on the product a mark of distinctiveness and uniqueness which promotes its marketability. Arabic, in this case, appears to lend a sense of exclusivity to the sign which appears to be a device for enhancing the acceptability of the product by the general public, especially those who may be interested in consuming food items that are considered “halal”. The sign could also be directed to the foreign tourist population who might be interested in consuming the halal type of seasoning cubes.



Plate 4.5: a homophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.5 is the only instance of a homophonic sign found in the data (in Challenge). It is a bottom-up sign and the languages used on it are Hausa, Yoruba and English. The presence of these languages on the sign relates to the presumed reader's condition as it seems to be directed to those who are expected to be familiar with the dominant languages of the community. "Pls do not urinate here", "Jowo ma se to sibi" and "Baa fun sarr" are expressions in English, Yoruba and Hausa respectively which all convey the prohibition of urinating in the environment where the sign is located by passers-by and the presumed readers of the sign. All the parts of the sign occurring in English are also completely translated into Yoruba and Hausa respectively. The mutual translation of languages, in this case, is used to suggest language hierarchy, language dominance, multilingualism and multiculturalism. The symbolic and instrumental functions attached to these indigenous languages (Hausa and Yoruba) seem to set the context for their equal predominance in association with English on the sign. The symbolic value condition, in other words, explains the motivation for the choice of English, Yoruba, and Hausa presupposing the presence of these language groups as well as the attempt by the signwriter to show solidarity towards them.

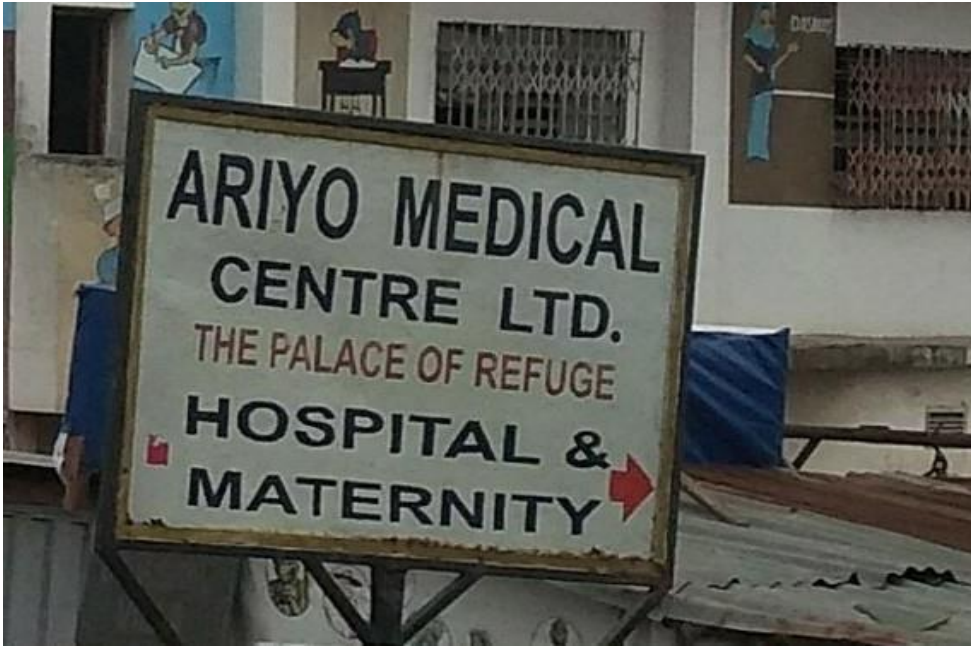


Plate 4.6: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The sign in the plate 4.6 is one of the five polyphonic signs found in the linguistic landscape of Challenge. It is a bottom-up sign. “Ariyo” is the only Yoruba expression on the sign and it seems to have been used by the presumed writer of the sign as a marker of identity. Every other information on the advertising billboard is contained in English which, in a way, helps to enhance the attractiveness of the sign. All the linguistic elements that occur on this sign are boldly written although with varying font sizes. The owner of this sign seems to have used the dominance of English to render the information on the sign because reading any element contained on this sign with understanding and comprehension in any other language by the presumed readers could be difficult.

4.1.1.2 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Dugbe

The monophonic, homophonic and polyphonic signs are found in the linguistic landscape of Dugbe and there is no instance of the occurrence of mixed part signs. Most of the signs under this category are business signs, directional signs, road signs, religious signs and signs conveying ownership of buildings. Also, although many of the signs in the linguistic landscape of Dugbe are monophonic and polyphonic signs, there is the dominance of monophonic signs. On the signs conveying information in different languages, English, Yoruba and Igbo are the languages used. The use of language in the context of Dugbe, although seems to suggest the idea of language dominance, status and hierarchy, it also suggests multiculturalism and ethnolinguistic vitality. This is because the visibility of English, Yoruba and Igbo on the signs shows the presence of such language groups and the desire of the sign owners to be associated with them.

Although English and Yoruba are the only languages used on the monophonic signs, and there is only one instance of the use of Igbo on the signs, the use of these indigenous languages (Yoruba and Igbo) together with English on the polyphonic signs suggests multilingualism, multiculturalism and an underlying motivation to show solidarity and distinctiveness.

Table 4.2 Categories of signs in Dugbe

Signs	Types of signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	5	0	0	5	10
Commercial shop signs	7	0	0	3	10
Inscriptions on buildings	6	0	1	3	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	10
Total	28	0	1	11	40
Percentages (%)	70	0	2.5	27.5	100



Plate 4.7: a monophonic advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.7 is a monophonic advertising billboard. It is a bottom-up sign and English is the only language in which the sign is written. It is a sign belonging to a retailer's cooperative of supermarkets having different stores ("ShopRite"). English seems to perform the informational and symbolic functions showing the presence of the superstore, the idea that Nigerian products are available for sale in it and also showing the sophistication and the high acceptability associated with English in the sociocultural context of the area. Even though the advertising billboards is presented to be relevant to the presumed readers who may be interested in purchasing products that are indigenous to Nigeria, no Nigerian language appears on the sign. The heavy presence of monolingualism here can be explained in terms of the official language policy influenced by the prevalent linguistic practices which attributes connotations of success and high class to competence in English and this is highly noticeable with the use of "ShopRite proudly supports Nigerian products". This, again, is symbolic of the high value attached to English and the marginalisation of indigenous languages in Nigeria.



Plate 4.8: a monophonic advertising billboard

The monophonic sign in plate 4.8 is a business sign and a bottom-up sign. The sign is presented exclusively in English and this use appears to portray English as a symbol of power and a mark of sophistication. English is the only language used on the sign. Although the presumed readers of the signs appear to be those who are proficient in English, on the billboard, English appears to be the language that not only guarantees communicative efficiency but that which conveys sophistication and values of prestige on the sign. The brand name “Next touch beauty salon & boutique” is clearly written in English. The products being advertised (“undies”, “watch”, “pedicure”, “jewelries”, “manicure”, “slippers”, “nails & eye lashes”, “shoes” and “make-up”) occur in English. A possible explanation of this is that the billboard is chosen by its presumed writers to bear on the products and services being advertised for an unequal high value and connotations of fashion and high taste. This serves as a means of drawing customers and clients to them with a view to patronising them.

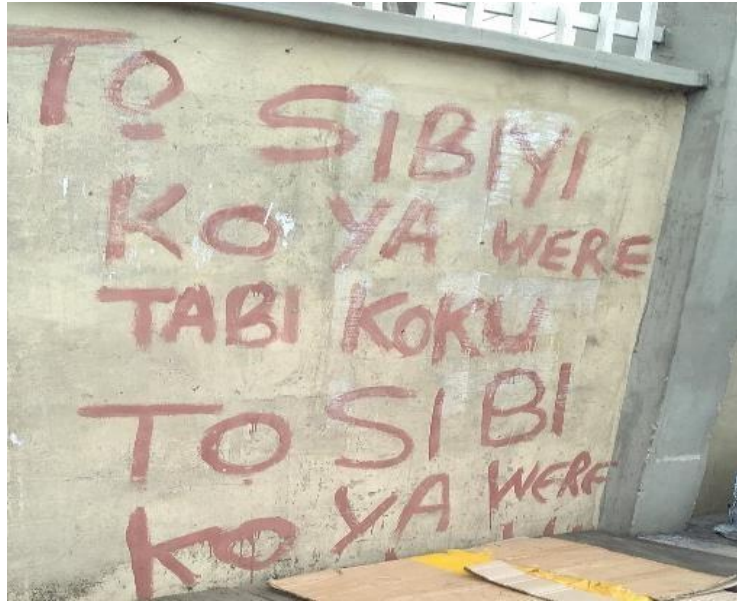


Plate 4.9: a monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The monophonic sign in plate 4.9 is a prohibitive and a warning sign. It is a bottom-up sign. On the sign, “to sibi koya were tabi koku” and “to sibi ko ya were” are Yoruba expressions meaning “when you urinate here, you will run mad or die” and “when you urinate here, you will run mad”. The heavy presence of Yoruba on the sign points to the underlying motivation of the sign owner to show distinctiveness. It seems the use of Yoruba also relates to the presumed reader condition and the sign writer’s skill condition as it is used to show the language in which the sign writer wishes to be identified with as well as the language in which the presumed reader of the sign may be knowledgeable in. The dynamics resulting in the dominant use of Yoruba on this sign also relates to Yoruba culture and tradition where swearing is peculiar to. This also depicts the language use practice associating Yoruba with informal language use since it appears to be a stigmatised language in comparison with English. The denigration linked to Yoruba is also visible in the language policies in the Nigerian constitution and the National Policy on Education which gives credence to English at the detriments of indigenous languages in Nigeria.



Plate 4.10: a homophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.10 is the only instance of homophonic sign found in the linguistic landscape of Dugbe. It is a cautionary sign placed on the wall of a building to forbid people from urinating in the area where it is located. It is a bottom-up sign as there is the mutual translation of languages on the sign. “E jowo e mase to sibi mo” has been translated into the English expression “Please don’t urinate there again”. The complete translation of all the expressions in Yoruba to English does not just suggest multiculturalism and ethnolinguistic vitality but serves as a means of facilitating the comprehension of the information contained on the sign. The use of Yoruba and English relates to the presumed reader’s skill condition. With the use of these languages, it is expected that the presumed readers of the sign are knowledgeable in these languages. The sign serves the informational function as it is used to provide information about the prohibition of urinating in the area. The symbolic function serves to mark English and Yoruba that appear on the sign as dominant.



Plate 4.11: a polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.11 is an instance of a polyphonic sign. The languages used on the sign are Yoruba and English. It does not contain mutual or partial translation of languages since different languages used on the sign only convey different information. “Fijabi” is a Yoruba expression used as part of the name on the inscriptions on the building together with “House” which is an English expression. Yoruba appears to be used by the sign owner as part of the name on the building to mark their identity and solidarity with Yoruba culture. Translating “Fijabi” to English, for instance, could lead to the loss of the meaning of the word. Yoruba is used in this way to show that conveying ownership is important than being understood.



Plate 4.12: a polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The polyphonic sign in plate 4.12 seems to be used to show ownership. The sign is used to express the ownership of the building in which it occurs. “Bashorun” and “Abiola” are names in Yoruba which have been used by the presumed writer of the sign as markers of identity. The use of Yoruba names on it relates to the symbolic value condition as there is an attempt by the presumed writers of the sign to show ownership, distinctiveness and mark their ethnic identity which is Yoruba. These expressions have also been used to show the ownership of the building. Yoruba, in this way, occurs on the sign as a way of showing that proclaiming ownership is more important than being understood.



Plate 4.13: a polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.13 is an instance of a polyphonic sign where “ore ara ilu” is the Yoruba expression that does not occur as part of the translation of any word. In other words, the Yoruba expression does not have any translation on the sign. There appears to be an attempt by the presumed writer of the sign to show the distinctiveness and status associated with the Yoruba language and Yoruba history. *Radio Nigeria* has its association with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (founded in 1933). Ibadan was one of the locations of the radio stations of the Nigerian Broadcasting Service, the others being Lagos, Kaduna, Enugu and Kano. The Yoruba expressions are then used to convey on “Radio Nigeria Ibadan” authenticity, uniqueness and originality. The force of these connotations is further reinforced by the heavy use of the Yoruba expressions on the sign.

4.1.1.3 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Iwo Road

The qualitative analysis of languages use in Iwo Road reveals the presence of monophonic, homophonic and polyphonic signs although there is the dominance of monophonic signs. This suggests the there are signs written in only one language with or without the mutual translation or transliteration of languages.

Most of the signs under this category are business signs, road signs, religious signs and signs showing ownership of buildings. Also, although many of the signs in the linguistic landscape of Iwo Road are monophonic and polyphonic signs, the advertising billboards, public road signs and inscriptions on buildings are mostly monophonic in nature. On the signs that convey information in different languages, English, Yoruba and Igbo are the languages used here with Arabic having minimal visibility. The use of language in the context of Iwo Road, although seems to suggest multiculturalism, monolingualism seems prevalent due to the dominant use of English with Arabic, Igbo and Yoruba having limited use. This is because the use of English, Yoruba and Igbo on the signs shows the presence of such language groups and the desire of the sign owners to be associated with them. The presence of Arabic also suggests the religious vitality of the people in this sociolinguistic context.

Table 4.3 Categories of signs in Iwo Road

Types of signs					
Signs	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	Total
Advertising billboards	8	0	0	1	10
Commercial shop signs	4	0	0	7	10
Inscriptions on buildings	9	0	1	0	10
Public road signs	8	0	0	2	10
Total	29	0	1	10	40
Percentages (%)	72.5	0	2.5	25	100



Plate 4.14: a monophonic advertising billboard

The sign in the plate is a monophonic sign. It is a bottom-up sign belonging to a Christian religious organisation. It is a religious sign that contains all its information in English. The dominant use of English on the sign especially its use on the name of the religious organisation (“MOUNTAIN OF FIRES AND MIRACLE MINISTRIES”), its slogan (“GRACE REVIVAL CENTRE”), its programmes (“SUNDAY SERVICE”, “BIBLE-STUDY”, “MANNA WATER” “NIGHT OF ENCOUNTER”, “NIGHT VIGIL” and “OUR HOUR OF DELIVERANCE”) is significant. The use of English only on the sign seems to be an attention catching technique used by the presumed owner of the sign to capture the attention of the presumed writer and to promote the services rendered by the religious organisation. The background colour of the sign (white) further adds a glimpse of admiration and veneration to the sign thereby attracting the attention of followers to it. White is a colour that often projects purity, cleanliness and reverence. The church is presented as a place that helps people purify their thoughts and actions. These attributes aid the readers’ interest in the church.



Plate 4.15: a monophonic advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.15 has only one language used on it. It is a bottom-up sign belonging to a private business organisation and the billboard appears to be used to promote the marketability of the mobile phones produced by a telecommunication company (Infinix). Its presence draws the attention of the presumed readers of the sign to it with the image of an icon in the Nigerian music industry (Davido). English is used on the sign as a marketing strategy to enhance the company's sales, to convey sophistication on the product as well as to show it as a product of wide acceptability that is attractive to people from all kinds of ethnicities including the literate ones who would be interested in purchasing it. It also seems that the cosmetic value of English shown by its dominance on the sign relates to the western style of mobile phones. Mobile phones are not produced in Nigeria. This may not have necessitated the absence of the indigenous languages here but is used to suggest that the mobile phones produced by the company are of international taste and design thereby adding to its veneration.



Plate 4.16: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The polyphonic sign in plate 4.16 is a bottom-up sign of a Christian religious organisation. The appearance of the name of the religious organisation (CHRIST APOSTOLIC CHURCH” and its slogan (“VINEYARD OF MIRACLES”) in English conveys on it sophistication and authenticity. In the plate, “Remember ME O LORD” and “VINEYARD OF MIRACLES” are the expressions that are translated into Yoruba (“RANTI MI OLUWA” and “AGBAA IYANU JESU”) and these translations are a strategy employed to draw the attention of Christian religious worshippers to the religious organisation. “Remember me o Lord” is presented as the theme of the activities and programmes of the church. Its translation into English brings to the fore the focus of the church as it is presented as a place where people with different forms of evil afflictions and pains are delivered. This device contributes to the readability of the sign by the presumed readers of the sign which includes those who are able to read Yoruba expressions and its attractiveness to them.

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Plate 4.17: a homophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign of inscriptions on a building in plate 4.17 has mutual translations on it. It is the only instance of homophonic writing in the data and it is a religious sign (of Islam) appearing on the wall of a mosque. The complete translation of the expression prohibiting people from stepping with their footwears in the particular place of the mosque shows an attempt by the sign owner to enhance communicative efficiency. The use of English also relates to the symbolic value condition where, although the use of English may have been used to demonstrate its strength in the sociolinguistic context of the location of the sign, the complete translation of the text to Yoruba shows the place of Yoruba in propagating the religion of as it appears to be the languages that is also readable by those who are expected to make use of facilities in the mosque.



Plate 4.18: a polyphonic commercial shop sign

The sign in plate 4.18 is a bottom-up sign belonging to a private business venture. The use of Igbo as part of the business name in “IGBO FOOD RESTAURANT” can be explained in terms of the large presence of Igbo cultural groups and an attempt by the presumed writer of the sign to show solidarity towards them as the restaurant is shown to be a place where all kinds of Igbo food is offered for sale. The use of Igbo on this sign here also contributes to showing the preponderance of polyphonic writing on signs in the context of Iwo Road as there are more polyphonic signs than the monophonic and homophonic signs here and their predominance can be explained in terms of the extent of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Iwo Road.

4.1.1.4 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Mokola

There are monophonic, homophonic and polyphonic signs found in this community while there is no instance of mixed part signs. Although most of the monophonic signs are in English, the use of language on the polyphonic signs shows how the signs are used to express solidarity and identity of linguistic landscape actors.

The analysis of languages use patterns on public signs in Mokola reveals the presence of monophonic, homophonic and polyphonic signs with no mixed part signs. There is also the predominance of monophonic writing on signs. Most of the signs under this category are business signs, road signs, religious signs and signs showing ownership of buildings. Also, although many of the signs in the linguistic landscape of Mokola are monophonic and polyphonic signs, the public road signs and commercial shop signs constitute the highest percentage of monophonic signs with the low occurrence of the use of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba on the polyphonic ones. Although the visibility of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba points to the existence of such linguistic groups and the sign owners desire to be identified with them while the presence of Arabic portrays the religious vitality of the people, there seems to be prevalent in the use of English on signs.

Table 4.4 Categories of signs in Mokola

Signs	Types of signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	6	0	0	4	10
Commercial shop signs	8	0	0	2	10
Inscriptions on buildings	7	0	1	2	10
Public road signs	9	0	0	1	10
Total	30	0	1	9	40
Percentages (%)	75	0	2.5	22.5	100



Plate 4.19: a monophonic advertising billboard

The advertising billboard is a bottom-up sign. The use of English seems to convey on the services rendered by the presumed writer of the sign a mark of prestige. Also, the sign owner perhaps has chosen the medium of English to convey sophistication, a high acceptability on the services with the use of “LARGE FORMAT”, “DIRECT IMAGE”, “LAMINATION AND ROLL UP MACHINE” since it is the language of globalisation and technology which most of the services rendered by the sign owner of the advertising billboard are associated with. Reading the content of the sign in the Nigerian indigenous languages may not be intelligible to the general public and this may have contributed to the prevalent use of English.



Plate 4.20: a monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

There is the use of only one language on the inscriptions on the building in plate 4.20. The monophonic signs in this context all appear in English with the exception of a religious sign in Arabic on the wall of a mosque in Mokola and this appears to demonstrate the close relationship existing between Arabic and Islamic religion as it is shown to be an important language used in the delivery of Islamic messages. The sign owner seems to have realised the significance of the expression (“there is no God but Allah and Muhammed is his messenger”) in Islam which has motivated the use of the expression on the mosque’s minaret. It exists as a sort of reminder for the worshippers about the importance of the key Islamic principle. The presumed readers and those who the sign is directed are those who are culturally and linguistically able to interpret the information on the sign. This use shows the importance of Arabic in the religious domain and its place in spreading the message of Islam.



Plate 4.21: a monophonic commercial shop sign

There is only the occurrence of one language on the sign in plate 4.21. It is a bottom-up sign with monophonic writing as the type of writing on it. In other words, no other language apart from English is used on it. Details about the location of the shop and the identity of the sign writer which may have otherwise been written in the indigenous language seem not to have been expressed. It is the language that seems to convey on the outfits on for sale a mark of prestige and this in a way is linked to a part of the name on the sign (“prestige”). The word appears to be used on this shop sign by the owner to serve as a means of attracting the public’s attention so that the potential consumer of the items of clothing in the shop is perceived to be someone with a classic taste. In this way, the shop is presented as a place where fashionable, modern and uncommon items are sold thereby portraying English as an attractive and a fashionable language.



Plate 4.22: A homophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.22 is the only instance of a homophonic sign in Mokola. It is a bottom-up sign written in bilingual English/Yoruba and has the complete translation of one language into another. The sign is placed on the wall of a building to deter people from urinating in the surroundings of the building. It relates to the “presumed reader’s skill” condition as the languages used on it are shown to be those that are intelligible to the presumed readers who are expected to know the dominant languages of the community and are knowledgeable in them. Also, the “symbolic value” condition explains the motivation for the choice of English and Yoruba presupposing the presence of these language groups as well as the attempt by the signwriter to show solidarity towards them.



Plate 4.23: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.23 is a bottom-up sign and the languages used on it are Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. The presumed writer of the sign seems to have used Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and English as a means of expressing their solidarity and as a marketing strategy. For instance, “Amaechi” is an Igbo name which is used as part of the business name on the sign. The writer of the sign, thus, draws the attention of the Igbo cultural group to the patronage of “Akara” which is a Yoruba name for a type of food taken by people in different parts of Nigeria. With the use of “Amaechi” and “Akara”, the presumed writer of the sign seems to express their ethnic identity and solidarity and also draws the attention of customers based on this affiliation. This device conveys a degree of uniqueness, enhances the marketability of the food item for sale. In this case, the use of Igbo and Yoruba relates to the symbolic value condition identified by Spolsky and Cooper (1991).



Plate 4.24: a polyphonic public road sign

The top-down sign in plate 4.24 is the only instance of a polyphonic public road sign found in the linguistic landscape of Mokola. It is a top-down sign as it seems to have been issued by the government of Oyo State. With the use of “NO PARKING”, “NO HAWKING”, “NO LOITERING” and “DO NOT LITTER”, the presumed writer of the signs appears to be expressing prohibitions in the environment where the sign is located. Yoruba, however, appears as part of the name of the state which could not have been controlled by the sign writer, hence, its use on the sign. Yoruba appears to have been used on the sign as shown in the use of “Oyo” because it is part of the official name in which “Ibadan” (the context of this study) is located. However, the dominant language on this sign is English as through English, what appears to be the most important information on the sign which is the prohibitive information is rendered.

4.1.1.5 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Olodo

The analysis of the patterns of language use on signs reveals the presence of monophonic, mixed part signs and polyphonic signs in the linguistic landscape of Olodo and there is no instance of homophonic sign. There are however two instances of signs of advertising billboards that are monophonic (written in English). There is the dominance of English on the polyphonic signs while Yoruba expressions are merely used as identity markers or part of business names. In other words, the signs are mostly polyphonic with the dominance of English and Yoruba on the commercial shop signs, public road signs and advertising billboards unlike in the previous six communities where monophonic writing on signs prevails. The polyphonic signs are used to show ethnolinguistic vitality and exist as means of expressing an attempt by the presumed writers of signs to express solidarity towards Yoruba as it appears to be the language in which they are able to express their sense of identity. Also, even though most of the signs of inscriptions on buildings are monophonic signs, the few instances of mixed part signs and polyphonic signs are mostly used to show ownership and convey prohibitive information.

Although most of the commercial shop signs are polyphonic signs, the few instances of the monophonic signs of commercial shop signs are used to show English as a

marker of prestige and acceptability which conveys on the sign's distinctiveness and acceptability.

Table 4.5 Categories of signs in Olodo

Signs	Types of signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	2	0	0	8	10
Commercial shop signs	4	0	0	6	10
Inscriptions on buildings	7	1	0	2	10
Public road signs	4	0	0	6	10
Total	17	1	0	22	40
Percentages (%)	42.5	2.5	0	55	100



Plate 4.25: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.25 is an instance of a polyphonic sign. It is a bottom-up sign belonging to a private venture. For instance, all the words used on the sign are in English except for “IYANUOLWA” which is used as part of the business names. Although there seems to be an attempt by the sign owners to attract customers and promote sales, the presumed writers of the signs appear to be expressing their identity. The use of Yoruba as an identity marker is emphasised with the initial placement of “IYANUOLWA” and its bold white prints. English, however, appears to be more prominent with respect to the amount of information provided.



Plate 4.26: a mixed part sign of inscriptions on a building

The bottom-up sign in plate 4.26 is a mixed part writing placed on the wall of a building. It is the only instance of mixed part writing in the data in Olodo. It is a warning sign that forbids people from urinating in the environment of the building. “Do not urinate here” has been translated to “Mase to sibi mo” in Yoruba. Some parts of the text are written in Yoruba but not translated into English (“To sibi ko sofo” which means “if you urinate here, you will be wasted”). Selected parts of information on the signs are translated from Yoruba to English to enhance the understanding of the sign by its presumed reader although most of the information is rendered in Yoruba. There appear to be an attempt by the presumed writer of the sign to make the sign intelligible to the general public evidently from the translations of parts of the sign into English. The use of these languages suggests multiculturalism and multilingualism denoting the existence of speakers of Yoruba and an expression of solidarity towards them.



Plate 4.27: a monophonic public road sign

The sign in plate 4.27 is an instance of monophonic public road sign. It is a top-down sign issued by a public authority. It is an informative sign that provides information about the closing and opening time of the public entrance. English is the only language used on the sign. English seems to be used on the monophonic sign to facilitate the comprehension of the message and to convey its status as the official language. Many of the public road signs are monophonic signs while the polyphonic signs are mostly used to show prohibitions, warning, ownership and identity.

4.1.1.6 Analysis of the patterns of language use in Ring Road

The table (4.6) shows the qualitative analysis of signs in the linguistic landscape of Ring Road. It shows that most of the signs in the linguistic landscape of Ring Road are monophonic. While there are no homophonic signs, there are five (5) instances of the polyphonic signs and one instance of a mixed part sign. All the commercial shop signs and inscriptions on buildings sampled are all monophonic. Most of the commercial shop signs constitute signs belonging to a telecommunication venture, a hotel, a publishing house, a business venture, a restaurant, a shopping mall where privileged members of society who are expected to be able to read English expressions make their purchase. The public road signs are placed on roads visible to pedestrians and drivers.

Table 4.6 Categories of signs in Ring Road

Signs	Types of Signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	6	1	0	3	10
Commercial shop signs	10	0	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	8	0	0	2	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	10
Total	34	1	0	5	10
Percentages (%)	85	2.5	0	12.5	40



Plate 4.28: a monophonic advertising billboard

The commercial shop sign in plate 4.28 is written in monolingual English. The use of English on this sign could be explained in terms of the presumed reader's and the symbolic value condition as it seems to be the status marker and the language that guarantees the intelligibility of the information on the signs as well as the language in which the expected reader of the signs is able to read. The placement and appearance of the sign can be explained in terms of the place semiotics of Scollon and Scollon (2003) especially their perception about the relevance of salient characteristics such as the font style and colours in showing the importance of certain languages in comparison with others in a multilingual context. The strength of English is given more prominence on these signs with the bold prints and the use of the green colour.



Plate 4.29: a monophonic advertising billboard

The public road sign in plate 4.29 is an instance of a bottom-up sign found in the linguistic landscape of Ring Road. The writing of the sign in English relates to the presumed reader and symbolic value condition. English appears to be the language that the presumed readers of the sign are expected to read the sign in. The symbolic value condition explains the choice of English in terms of its being the status marker, adding a glimpse of sophistication and attractiveness to the sign. This is expected to have a significant effect on patronage. The information on the sign is strengthened with the background colour (green) and the sizes of the texts on it.



Plate 4.30: a mixed part advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.30 is the only mixed part sign in linguistic landscape of Ring Road. It is a business sign that advertises a brand of a non-alcoholic beverage. It is a bottom-up sign and the languages used on it are English Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. On the mixed sign, “Wa” is a Yoruba expression that loosely translates to “come” in English. It is translated into two other languages (Hausa and Igbo) which are “zo” and “bia”. These expressions from the three major languages in Nigeria express the same meaning which translates to “come” in English. The mix of these languages appears to be a strategy used to promote the marketability of the products on the sign and their consumption by people of various ethnic groups. Although there appears to be the dominance of Yoruba with the use of “Igo kan” and “Waso ni o”, English is still prominently used with the use of “bottles”. It is worth noting that the presumed writer seems to be aware of the influence of Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo languages as dominant language groups especially as they are presented as alternative languages to English in branding the company.



Plate 4.31: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The advertising billboard in plate 4.31 is a bottom-up sign placed by a private corporation. The dominant language on this sign is English and Yoruba appears to be used only merely as an emotional strategy to appeal to the presumed reader's interest with the use of "kini a le se laisi iya" as it reiterates the importance of a mother especially in the Yoruba culture. It is, in this way, used to show that the particular product being advertised for is a choice by mothers. The image of the woman (being portrayed as a mother who has chosen the product — "three crown") seems to be holding a cup of the milk that is being advertised further adds to the strength of the advertisement. The Yoruba expression loosely translates to "What can we do without a mother". There seems to be an economic motivation for targeting the Yoruba speakers. The appearance of the brand name of the product (which appears to be the most important element on the sign) in English confers on the sign a mark of its high status and primacy.



Plate 4.32: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The sign (in plate 4.32) is a bottom-up religious sign. There is the dominance of English on the sign as Yoruba only appears to be used to show the location of the sign. The Yoruba expression only exists as a part of the name of the area in which the religious organisation is situated. The appearance of “DEEPER LIFE BIBLE CHURCH” (which is the name of the religious organisation), “BIBLE STUDY” “REVIVAL & EVANGELISM”, “TRAINING SERVICE”, “WORSHIP SERVICE” in English rather than in any other language is an indication of the preeminent place of English in comparison with any other language. The appearance of these expressions in Yoruba, for instance, may cause intelligibility problems for the presumed reader who would want to worship in the church. The symbolic value condition accounts for the dominance of English on the sign. Its relative prominence on the sign seems to reveal a high symbolic value that Christians (in particular, the owners of the signs) attach to English as well as the place of English in propagating the Christian identity. The use of language on these signs shows the dominance of English and the marginal functions indigenous languages perform in the face of the growing presence of English.



Plate 4.33: a polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building

A polyphonic sign of inscriptions on the building is depicted in image 4.33. It is a bottom-up sign and the languages used on them are English and Yoruba. The Yoruba expression “Olori Ibipo” seems to have been used by the sign owner as an identity marker to express their ethnic identity with a view to identifying with their origin and expressing their affiliation with it. In this way, the building owner shows an affiliation with the native Yoruba culture while expressing the ownership of the building.

4.1.1.7 Analysis of language use in Sango

Table 4.7 shows the analysis of the patterning of languages on public signs in Sango. The linguistic landscape of Sango seems to be the most linguistically diverse of all the seven Ibadan communities in terms of the spread of languages. There are monophonic signs, mixed part signs and polyphonic signs in the data while no instance of homophonic sign is found. There is, however, the dominance of monophonic signs as more than half of the signs have monophonic writing on them. For context, the high presence of monophonic signs is due to the number of the public road signs and signs of inscriptions on buildings which are mostly monophonic and written in English. The dominance of polyphonic writing is explainable in terms of the number of the number of commercial shop signs which are mostly written in the combination of English and Yoruba and with some having the presence of Nigerian Pidgin, Arabic, Igbo, Hausa and French. The only instance of monophonic advertising billboard is a sign belonging to a hotel.

Table 4.7 Categories of signs in Sango

Signs	Types of signs				Total
	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs	
Advertising billboards	1	2	0	7	10
Commercial shop signs	6	0	0	4	10
Inscriptions on buildings	9	1	0	0	10
Public road signs	9	0	0	1	10
Total	25	3	0	12	10
Percentages (%)	62.5	7.5	0	30	40



Plate 4.34: a monophonic advertising billboard

The advertising billboard in plate 4.34 is a bottom-up sign. It is a sign placed by a private organisation creating the awareness of the presence of a hotel and the services it renders. English is the only language in which the sign is written. In other words, the hotel's name ("A Three Hotels & Suite") including the services it renders ("Accommodation", "Restaurant", "Swimming Pool", "Open Bar", "Free Internet" and Garden) all appear in English. The services appearing in Nigerian indigenous languages may not be intelligible to the general public and the presumed readers of the sign who may want to patronise it. It seems there is an attempt to draw the attention of the presumed readers of the sign (including residents and foreign nationals), hence its writing in English (a status marker and the language of high acceptability). White is often used to project neutrality and purity while red usually creates an atmosphere of liveliness and friendliness. The use of these colours strengthens the attention catching strategy created through the use of English on the sign.



Plate 4.35: a monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The monophonic sign in plate 4.35 is one of the few instances of monophonic signs in the linguistic landscape of Sango. It is a bottom-up sign placed on the building to show the ownership of the building. It appears to also have been placed to prohibit and forbid trespassers from gaining an undue advantage of the building. English seems to also have been used on the sign to add to the strength of the prohibition as a result of its official status in the country.



Plate 4.36: a monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

The sign in plate 4.36 is an instance of a monophonic sign and it is a bottom-up sign placed by an individual owner to prohibit the act of urinating in the environment of the building. Yoruba is the only language in which the sign is written as “Mase to sibi” loosely translates to “do not urinate here” in English and the sign owners appears to have employed the medium of Yoruba here to convey the information. This use relates to the sign writer’s skill condition, the presumed reader condition and the symbolic value condition where Yoruba is used in this way as the language the sign writer wishes to be identified with and the language that mostly aptly conveys the information to the presumed reader of the sign.



Plate 4.37: a mixed part advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.37 is a bottom-up sign. The languages used on the sign are English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin. The sign is one of the three mixed part signs and one of the two mixed part advertising billboards in Sango. The languages are used and patterned in such a way as to suggest multiculturalism and linguistic diversity in the community. The use of “WA” (in Yoruba), “ZO” (in Hausa) and “BIA” (In Igbo) in “WAZOBIA” is an eye-catching strategy capable of drawing the attention of the public to the fact that the product is acceptable by different kinds of people in Nigeria. The use of Nigerian Pidgin (“na”) which is usually described as an unofficial means of communication and the language of trade in Nigeria relates to the symbolic value condition and explains the value attached to Nigerian Pidgin in trade and business. Analysis shows that advertising billboards and commercial shop signs constitute the highest number of polyphonic signs. English is usually the dominant language on the polyphonic signs while the other languages are often used as identity markers with their use on place names and business names.



Plate 4.38: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The advertising billboard in plate 4.38 is an instance of a bottom-up sign and it appears to have been placed by a business organisation to express the existence of the estate and promotes its marketability and worth. The languages used on it are Yoruba, French and English. The use of “De” which is part of the brand name of the organisation (Courts De Grandiose Estate) is a French expression that adds a glimpse of prestige to the billboard and seems to convey on the services rendered by the organisation a high status. It also appears the choice of French is a deliberate choice by the owner to express ideologies towards the French style which is presented here as having a high quality and this appears to have an economic motivation. It conveys on the sign and the estate being advertised an aura of uniqueness and internationalism thereby communicating the organisation’s affiliation with foreign individuals and institutions. The English expressions such as the facilities available in the estate (duplexes, bedrooms, apartment, swimming pool, gym, generator, water supply) all add to the attractiveness of the sign which appears to be a strategy to draw customers to it. Yoruba expressions such as “Samonda” and “Ibadan” only occur as part of names of the location of the organisation which are not easily controlled by the presumed writers of the sign since they are namings authorised by the government.



Plate 4.39: a polyphonic advertising billboard

The sign in plate 4.39 is an instance of a bottom-up sign placed by an individual shop owner. The languages used on it are English and Igbo. With the use of “ONYI” which is part of the business name (“ONYI BRIGHT OUTFIT”), the sign owners seem to be showing their connection to their ethnic identity or the ethnic group they choose to be identified with. The other part of the business name which exists in English seems to be giving the details about what the shop deals in and what the presumed readers of the sign are expected to see when they visit the shop. These details appear to be the most crucial aspect of the sign appear in English. This gives credence to the value and the symbolic status of English as an important language of business.

4.2 Summary of the qualitative analysis of signs

This part delves into the summary of the qualitative analysis of signs found in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. The advertising billboards, public road signs, inscriptions on buildings and commercial shop signs found in the data were analysed in terms of the structural types of writing (monophonic writing, mixed part writing, homophonic writing and polyphonic writing). In this way, four types of signs namely, monophonic signs, homophonic signs, mixed part signs and polyphonic signs were identified. English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, French, Arabic and Nigerian Pidgin are the languages used on the signs. They are used in various ways such as to facilitate communicative efficiency, to attract the attention of the public, to index the social identity of actors, to show distinctiveness and uniqueness, to show solidarity, to demonstrate social attractiveness, to facilitate the intelligibility of signs and to challenge the power of dominant languages. The dominance of English is explainable not just in terms of its official status but also the prestige and sophistication attached to it. Yoruba, the indigenous language of the community, is the next most visible language in the linguistic landscape of the communities. The analysis of language use on signs reveals the ethnolinguistic composition of the city. In all, the heterogeneous and cosmopolitan nature of the communities tends to be responsible for the nature of language diversity found in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan.

4.3 Languages used in the linguistic landscape of the communities

In addition to the qualitative analysis, the photographs that were collected in the linguistic landscapes of the seven communities are also analysed from a quantitative perspective. This part deals with the analysis of the languages use on signs in the linguistic landscape of the seven Ibadan communities in terms of their distribution and number. In this subsection, therefore, the signs will be categorised and analysed in terms of whether they are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual for the purpose of determining their distribution and describe their patterns with a view to making conclusions about the nature of multilingualism in Ibadan. The tables and explanations show how the photos were categorised and grouped for analysis.

4.3.1 Signs and the number of languages used in Iwo Road

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Iwo Road. There is the dominance of English on the signs as well as the prevalence of monolingualism. The high percentage of monolingual English signs is due to the dominant use of English on advertising billboards, public road signs and inscriptions on buildings. Even though Yoruba, Igbo and Arabic are visible languages on the signs, they seem to be given diminished visibility as they are not dominantly used like English. This gives credence to the cosmopolitan nature of Iwo Road as even though there appears to be the presence of people of varying ethnic groups in the area, English is still the language that seems to guarantee the intelligibility of the information on signs.

Table 4.8 Distribution of languages in Iwo Road

Signs	Frequency of language(s)					Total
	English only	Yoruba only	English and Yoruba	English and Igbo	English and Arabic	
Advertising billboards	8	0	2	0	0	10
Commercial shop signs	4	0	3	3	0	10
Inscriptions on building	7	2	1	0	0	10
Public road signs	8	0	1	0	1	10
Total	27	2	7	3	1	40
Percentage(s)	67.5	5	17.5	7.5	2.5	100

Table 4.8 shows the visual representation of languages on advertising billboards, commercial shop signs, inscriptions on buildings and public road signs on Iwo Road. It shows that the languages used on the signs are English, Yoruba, Igbo and Arabic. There is the presence of signs that are monolingual in English, monolingual in Yoruba, bilingual in English and Yoruba, bilingual in English and Igbo and bilingual in English and Arabic. Of all the ten (10) advertising billboards sampled, eight (8) of them are written in monolingual English while two (2) are presented in bilingual English/Yoruba. Four commercial shop signs are written in monolingual English, three (3) in bilingual English/Yoruba and three (3) in bilingual English/Igbo. Seven (7) signs of inscriptions on buildings are couched in monolingual English, two (2) in monolingual Yoruba and only one (1) is written in bilingual English/Yoruba. Eight (8) signs are written in monolingual English, Two (2) in monolingual English/Yoruba and one (1) in bilingual English/Yoruba. Eight (8) of the public road signs are written in monolingual English, one (1) in bilingual English/Yoruba and one (1) in bilingual English/Arabic.

The table also shows that more than half of the signs (67.5%) are written in monolingual English while only 5% of the signs are written in monolingual Arabic. Also, 17.5% of the signs are couched in bilingual English and Yoruba while 7.5% of them are written in bilingual English and Igbo whereas only 2.5% of them are bilingual in English and Arabic.

4.3.2 Signs and the number of languages used in Challenge

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Challenge. The analysis reveals that although there is the dynamics of language interaction in the community, there is the prevalence of English on signs. Yoruba is, however, the next most visually displayed language. The other languages found (Arabic and Hausa) have a marginal representation on signs in comparison with English and Yoruba. The analysis suggests the presence of other ethnic groups in the community but the fact that the largest percentage of all the signs counted, in this community, is predominantly in English, especially with the way it is represented on commercial shop signs and advertising billboards gives credence to its official status and wide recognition by people of different ethnicities in the community. This reality also suggests that there is an orientation towards monolingual language visibility in the sociolinguistic context of Challenge.

Table 4.9 Distribution of languages in Challenge

Signs	Frequency of language(s)					Total
	English only	Yoruba only	English and Yoruba	English and Arabic	English, Hausa and Yoruba	
Advertising billboards	7	0	2	1	0	10
Commercial shop signs	10	0	0	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	5	1	3	0	1	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	0	10
Total	32	1	5	1	1	40
Percentages (%)	80	2.5	12.5	2.5	2.5	100

Table 4.9 reveals the distribution of languages on signs in the linguistic landscape of Challenge. It shows the use of English, Yoruba, Arabic and Hausa. Out of the ten (10) advertising billboards, seven (7) of them have texts in monolingual English. Two (2) of them are written in bilingual English and Yoruba and there is only one English/Arabic bilingual sign. There is also five (5) occurrences of monolingual English sign of inscriptions on building, one (1) in Yoruba only, three (3) in bilingual English/Yoruba and one (1) in multilingual English/Yoruba/Hausa. All the public road signs and commercial shop signs are, however, written in monolingual English.

English is the main language used on signs in the linguistic landscape of Challenge. In other words, 80% of the signs with a frequency of 32 are written in monolingual English while only 2.5 % of the signs are written in monolingual Yoruba. Also, there are only five (5) signs written in bilingual English/Yoruba while 2.5% of the signs are written in each of bilingual English/Arabic and multilingual English/Yoruba and Hausa.

4.3.3 Signs and the number of languages used in Dugbe

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Dugbe. Although the analysis suggests linguistic heterogeneity, there is an orientation towards monolingualism with the predominance of English. There is the preponderance of English especially on commercial shop signs and public road signs and most of the advertising billboards identified adds a glimpse of sophistication to the goods and services being advertised and the goods and services offered in shops. It also serves as a means of enabling communicative efficiency on the public road signs by the institutions that own them. The presence of Igbo and the high incidence of the presence of Yoruba on the signs connotes the presence of speakers who are proficient in the use of Yoruba and the sign owners' interest in reaching out to them.

Table 4.10 Distribution of languages in Dugbe

Signs	Frequency of language(s)				Total
	English only	Yoruba only	English and Yoruba	English and Igbo	
Advertising billboards	5	0	5	0	10
Commercial shop signs	7	0	2	1	10
Inscriptions on buildings	5	1	4	0	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	10
Total	27	1	11	1	40
Percentages (%)	67.5	2.5	27.5	2.5	100

Table 4.10 shows the frequency of languages used in the linguistic landscape of Dugbe. The table shows that the languages used on signs are English, Yoruba, and Igbo. In other words, there are signs that are monolingual in English, monolingual in Yoruba, bilingual in English and Yoruba and bilingual in English/Igbo. Five (5) advertising billboards are couched in monolingual English as well as bilingual Yoruba/English. Out of the ten (10) commercial shop signs, seven (7) of them are written in monolingual English, two (2) are written in bilingual English/Yoruba and only one (1) is written in bilingual English/Igbo. There are five (5), one (1) and four (4) signs of inscriptions on buildings in monolingual English, monolingual Yoruba and bilingual English/Yoruba respectively. Conversely, all the public road signs sampled are written in monolingual English.

More than half of the signs are rendered in monolingual English and this shows the pervasiveness of monolingualism in Dugbe. To put it in another way, 67.5% are written in monolingual English while 27.5% are written in bilingual English/Yoruba. There is only one (1) occurrence of monolingual Yoruba and one (1) occurrence of bilingual English/Igbo on the signs.

4.3.4 Signs and the number of languages used in Mokola

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Mokola. The analysis of the language distribution on the signs gives insights into the status of languages in the sociolinguistic context of Mokola. The pervasive use of monolingual English on advertising billboards shows the wide acceptability of English and the sign owners' interest in reaching out to a variety of customers and clients who although may be knowledgeable in other languages but prefer to read the information on the signs in English due to its relevance and the positive connotations attached to it. Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo seem to be used on such advertising billboards since they are languages that quite a number of people are expected to be familiar with. The sign owner in this way is trying to establish solidarity with them. The dominance of English on the commercial shop signs, inscriptions on buildings and public road signs can be explained in terms of its place as an important language of trade and as a means of helping business owners promotes the marketability of their products and services as well as its place in promoting communicative efficiency. In this way, the

presumed writers of the signs are able to reach out to quite a number of people speaking different languages.

Table 4.11 Distribution of languages in Mokola

Signs	Frequency of language(s)					Total
	English only	Arabic only	English and Yoruba	English and Hausa	English, Yoruba and Igbo	
Advertising billboards	6	0	2	1	1	10
Commercial shop signs	8	0	2	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	6	1	3	0	0	10
Public road signs	9	0	1	0	0	10
Total	29	1	8	1	1	40
Percentages (%)	72.5	2.5	20	2.5	2.5	100

Table 4.11 reveals the analysis of the languages used in the linguistic landscape of Mokola in terms of their distribution. The languages used here are English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and Arabic. Six (6) advertising billboards are written in monolingual English while two (2) are written in bilingual English/Yoruba. Also, one (1) sign is written in bilingual English/Yoruba and multilingual English/Yoruba/Igbo. Only two (2) signs are written in bilingual English/Yoruba while eight (8) of them are written in monolingual English. For the inscriptions on buildings, six (6) signs are written in monolingual English, one (1) is couched in monolingual Arabic and three (3) is written in bilingual English/Yoruba. Nine (9) public road signs are written in monolingual English while one (1) is written in bilingual English/Yoruba.

There is a prevalence of English on the signs. Analysis shows that 72.5% of the signs with the frequency of 29 are written in monolingual English while only 2.5 % of the total signs are rendered in monolingual Arabic. Twenty percent of the signs are written in bilingual English/Yoruba while 2.5 % of them are written in bilingual English/Yoruba and multilingual English/Yoruba and Igbo.

4.3.5 Signs and the number of languages used in Ring Road

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Ring Road. The analysis shows the place of English as the most visually displayed language in comparison with Yoruba, Arabic, Igbo and Hausa in the linguistic landscape of Ring Road. The analysis of the signs in Ring Road shows the credence given to the use of English in terms of its role in advertisement, as a lingua franca and a language with a privileged position. Yoruba is the only language used on bilingual signs apart from English. Only one sign each is written in monolingual Yoruba, monolingual Arabic and multilingual Igbo/Hausa and Yoruba. Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba clearly have diminished visibility on the signs. The implication of the dominance of English especially in terms of its prevalence on commercial shop signs and advertising billboards relates to the cosmopolitan nature of Ring Road. It seems shop owners are aware of this reality and simply use English to communicate with their prospective clients and customers through it since it is the language that the majority of them are likely to understand.

Table 4.12 Distribution of languages in Ring Road

Signs	Frequency of language(s)					Total
	English only	Yoruba only	Arabic only	English and Yoruba	English, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba	
Advertising billboards	6	0	0	3	1	10
Commercial shop signs	10	0	0	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	6	1	1	2	0	10
Public road signs	10	0	0	0	0	10
Total	32	1	1	5	1	40
Percentages (%)	80	2.5	2.5	12.5	2.5	100

Table 4.12 shows the quantitative analysis of languages used on signs in Ring Road. It shows that the languages used on the signs are English, Hausa, Yoruba, Arabic and Igbo. In this context, signs are monolingual in English, monolingual in Yoruba, monolingual in Arabic, bilingual in English/Yoruba and multilingual in English/Yoruba/Hausa and Igbo are identified. Out of the ten (10) advertising billboards identified, six (6) of them are written in monolingual English, three (3) of them are written in bilingual English/Yoruba and one (1) is in multilingual English/Yoruba/Igbo/Hausa. All the public road signs and commercial billboards are written in monolingual English. Six (6) signs of inscriptions on buildings are written in monolingual English, one (1) is rendered in monolingual Yoruba, one (1) is written in monolingual Arabic and two (2) of them are written in bilingual English/Yoruba.

The analysis, without doubt, reveals the dominance of monolingualism with 80% of the signs written in monolingual English, 2.5% of them written in monolingual Yoruba, 2.5% of them in monolingual Arabic and 12.5% of them are represented in bilingual English/Yoruba. There are however only 2.5% of signs in multilingual English/Hausa/Igbo/Yoruba.

4.3.6 Signs and the number of languages used in Olodo

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Olodo. The representation of languages in the linguistic landscape of Olodo shows a lot about the dynamics of language interaction in the context. The dominance of Yoruba especially on advertising billboards, commercial shop signs and inscriptions on buildings shows the large presence of Yoruba speakers and the sign owners' intention in reaching out to them. It is also due to the presence of warning notices and directional signs. Its dominance is also due to the number signs expressing identity, solidarity and those showing ownership of streets and buildings which mostly appear in Yoruba. These signs tend to show the actors' identity and their commitments to an ethnolinguistic group (Yoruba). This suggests that English and Yoruba are the dominant languages in this community while Arabic seems to have little or no prevalence.

Table 4.13 Distribution of languages in Olodo

Signs	Frequency of language(s)				Total
	English only	Yoruba only	English and Yoruba	English, Arabic and Yoruba	
Advertising billboards	2	0	8	0	10
Commercial shop signs	4	0	6	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	4	3	2	1	10
Public road signs	3	1	6	0	10
Total	13	4	22	1	40
Percentages (%)	32.5	10	55	2.5	100

Table 4.13 shows the representation of languages in the linguistic landscape of Olodo. The languages used on signs in this context are English, Yoruba and Arabic. In other words, signs that are monolingual in English, monolingual in Yoruba, bilingual in English, Yoruba and multilingual in English, Arabic and Yoruba are identified. Unlike in Iwo Road, Ring Road, Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola and Sango where there is the dominance of monolingualism on the signs, here, the signs sampled are mostly in bilingual English and Yoruba. Out of the ten (10) advertising billboards sampled, two (2) of them are written in monolingual English while eight (8) of them are written in bilingual English/Yoruba. Also, while four (4) signs are written in monolingual English, six (6) of them are written in bilingual English/Yoruba. For signs of inscriptions on buildings, four (4) of them are written in monolingual English, three (3) of them in monolingual Yoruba, two (2) in bilingual English/Yoruba and one (1) in multilingual English/Arabic and Yoruba. Although three (3) public road signs are written in monolingual English, only one (1) is written in monolingual Yoruba while six (6) are written in multilingual English/Arabic/Yoruba.

The analysis of the signs shows the dominance of bilingualism. In other words, more than half of the signs (55% of them) are written in bilingual English/Yoruba while 32% are written in monolingual English. Similarly, 10% of the signs are written in monolingual Yoruba while only 2.5% are written in multilingual English/Arabic/Yoruba.

4.3.7 Signs and the number of languages used in Sango

This part deals with the quantitative analysis of languages used in Sango. The analysis of the distribution of languages on the signs portrays the level of diversity present in the area. For instance, only in Sango was the use of Nigerian Pidgin found on the signs sampled. The occurrence of Nigerian Pidgin further reiterates its place as an important trade language in Nigeria. The use of French on the advertising billboard seems to depict its association with distinctiveness and uniqueness as with its presence and use, the sign appears to be providing information to not just residents of the city but also the foreign tourist population thereby serving as a marketing strategy. It also conveys additional information about the bank and the sign owner's international affiliation. Here, French serves as an attention getting device. The

dominance of English is visible in terms of its dominance on signs of inscriptions on buildings and public road signs which are mostly warning signs, notices and signs placed by organisations where English seems to be favoured for its official relevance and status.

Table 4.14 Distribution of languages in Sango

Signs	Frequency of language(s)							Total
	English only	Yoruba only	English and Yoruba	English and Igbo	English, Yoruba and French	English, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba	English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Nigerian Pidgin	
Advertising billboards	1	0	6	0	1	1	1	10
Commercial shop signs	6	0	2	2	0	0	0	10
Inscriptions on buildings	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	10
Public road signs	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	10
Total	24	1	10	2	1	1	1	40
Percentages (%)	60	2.5	25	5	2.5	2.5	2.5	100

Table 4.14 shows the distribution of languages on public signs of Sango. Languages used here are English, Yoruba, Igbo, French, Hausa and Nigerian Pidgin. Particularly, in Sango, signs that are monolingual in English, monolingual in Yoruba, bilingual in English and Yoruba, bilingual in English and Igbo, multilingual in English, Yoruba and French, multilingual in English, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba and multilingual in English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin are identified. There are six (6) advertising billboards in bilingual English and Yoruba, one (1) is written in monolingual English, one (1) in multilingual English, Yoruba and French, one (1) in multilingual English, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba and one (1) in English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin. Six (6) commercial shop signs are written in monolingual English while two (2) are written in bilingual English and Yoruba and two (2) in bilingual English/Igbo. Eight (8) signs of inscriptions on buildings are written in monolingual English while one (1) is written in monolingual Yoruba and one (1) in bilingual English/Yoruba. Nine (9) public road signs are written in monolingual English while only one (1) is written in bilingual English/Igbo.

The analysis reveals the preponderance of monolingual English signs. Monolingual English signs account for 60% of all signs, while bilingual English/Yoruba signs account for only 25% of all signs in this category. The use of bilingual English/Igbo is found in only 5% of the signs as against the occurrence of multilingual English/Yoruba/French, multilingual English/Igbo/Hausa/Yoruba and multilingual English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo/Nigerian Pidgin with each occurrence being 2.5%.

4.4 Summary of the analysis of languages used on signs in the communities

This part deals with the summary of the analysis of signs in the linguistic landscape of Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola, Olodo, Sango, Ring Road and Iwo Road. English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Nigerian Pidgin, Arabic and French are the languages found in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. The quantitative analysis reveals dominance in the use of English while Yoruba is the next most visible language in most of the communities. In other words, English is, by far, the most commonly used language. Its spread on the top-down and bottom-up signs reflects the recognition of the government, individuals and their support for its presence. There is the dominance of monolingual English while bilingual English/Yoruba is the next most visible

language combination except in the linguistic landscape of Olodo where bilingual English/Yoruba dominates. The dominance of English in all the communities except in Olodo is evident in terms of its use on public road signs since public road signs constitute the largest percentage of the occurrence of monolingual English. Its preponderance, in general, is evident in terms of the roles it plays in national integration and interethnic communication in the face of the low vitality associated with Nigeria's native languages.

Table 4.15 Distribution of languages in the seven communities

				Languages
				Signs
Public road signs	Inscriptions on buildings	Commercial shop signs	Advertising billboards	
59	41	49	35	English only
1	9	0	0	Yoruba only
0	2	0	0	Arabic only
9	16	15	28	English and Yoruba
0	0	6	0	English and Igbo
0	0	0	1	English and Hausa
1	0	0	1	English and Arabic
0	0	0	1	English, Yoruba and Igbo
0	0	0	2	English, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo
0	0	0	1	English, Yoruba and French
0	1	0	0	English, Hausa and Yoruba
0	0	0	1	English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin
0	1	0	0	English, Arabic and Yoruba
70	70	70	70	

The table represents the distribution of languages on signs in Ibadan. The languages used are English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Arabic, French and Nigerian Pidgin. In other words, signs that are monolingual (in English, Yoruba and Arabic), bilingual (in English/Yoruba, English/Igbo, English/Hausa and English Arabic) and multilingual (in English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo, English/Yoruba/French, English/Hausa/Yoruba, English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo/Nigerian Pidgin and English/Arabic/Yoruba) are used. Out of the two hundred and eighty (280) photographs of signs, one hundred and eighty-four (184) of them are couched in monolingual English with public road signs having the highest representation (59). Only ten (10) signs (which are mostly inscriptions on buildings) occur in monolingual Yoruba. There are only two signs (inscriptions on buildings) in monolingual Arabic. Out of the total number of signs, only sixty-eight (68) of them are in bilingual English/Yoruba while the only signs in bilingual English/Igbo are six (6) commercial shop signs. There is the marginal representation of other bilingual signs (in English/Hausa and English/Arabic) and multilingual signs (in English/Yoruba/Igbo, English/Yoruba/French/English/Hausa/Yoruba, English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo/Nigerian Pidgin and English, Arabic/Yoruba) with each of them having one (1) representation each. Only two (2) signs are however written multilingual English/Yoruba/Hausa/Igbo.

Preponderance in the use of English on signs in Ibadan is mostly evident in its dominant use on public road signs and commercial shop signs. The public road signs are mostly signs of government and those of organisations where English seems to be favoured mostly for its official status while its preeminent use on commercial signs can be attributed to its economic relevance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the study

This study explores how multilingualism is reflected in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan to show the number of languages used on the signs and their patterns. For this purpose, 280 purposively selected signs were photographed in seven communities in Ibadan (Dugbe, Mokola, Iwo Road, Olodo, Ring Road, Challenge and Sango) using a digital camera. Forty signs each of which comprised ten commercial shop signs, advertising billboards, inscriptions on buildings and public road signs were analysed for the various patterns of language use on them. The signs were subjected to content and descriptive statistical analysis. Peter Backhaus' sociolinguistic framework and Bernard Spolsky and Robert Cooper's preference model were used as the theoretical tool to explain the types of signs found in the communities and patterns of language use on them.

Following the research objectives and the sociolinguistic and descriptive analyses, these observations were made about multilingual language use in the public space of Ibadan.

5.1.1 Language use on signs

There is the use of seven languages (English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Nigerian Pidgin, Arabic and French) in the public space. The quantitative analysis reveals the configuration of languages on the advertising billboards, commercial shop signs, public road signs and signs of inscriptions on buildings in the linguistic landscape of the seven Ibadan communities of Challenge, Dugbe, Mokola, Olodo, Sango, Ring Road and Iwo Road. This configuration was expressed in terms of their percentages and distribution.

Although most of the commercial shop signs were bilingual, monolingual language visibility characterised the advertising billboards and public road signs. The use of English was prevalent on the signs of inscriptions on buildings and the public road signs here. Unlike in the other six communities, bilingualism prevailed in the linguistic landscape of Olodo. In all the communities, the quantitative analysis reveals the dominance of monolingual English while bilingual English/Yoruba was the next most visible language combination except in the linguistic landscape of Olodo where bilingual English/Yoruba dominated.

The preponderance of English, in general, is evident in terms of the roles it plays in national integration and interethnic communication in the face of the low vitality associated with Nigeria's native languages. The dominance of monolingual English in all the communities except in Olodo is evident in terms of its use on public road signs since public road signs constitute the largest percentage of the occurrence of monolingual English which is explained in terms of its official status and the sign writer's skill condition, the presumed reader's condition and the symbolic value condition. There seems to be the presumed writer's underlying motivation to show distinctness in language choice.

5.1.2 Patterns of languages use

The qualitative analysis reveals the patterns of multilingualism found in the seven communities which correspond to the patterns of language use analysed. Monophonic, homophonic, mixed-part and polyphonic writing were used on the signs and these descriptions were used to analyse the patterns of multilingualism found in the communities.

The occurrence of monophonic signs was predominant in all the communities except in Olodo. The monophonic signs were used in various ways to show the official status of English, to enhance communicative efficiency, to enhance the marketability of the products and services and as an index of sophistication and acceptability. Most of the monophonic signs contain prohibitive information authorised by agencies of government (categorised as top-down signs) and business owners (with the occurrence of bottom-up signs). The use of language on the mixed-part signs were

explained in terms of the presumed reader condition and the symbolic value condition as showing distinctiveness and uniqueness.

The patterning of languages on the homophonic signs mostly relate to the presumed reader's skill condition and the symbolic value condition. Languages are often used to suggest language hierarchy, multiculturalism and a means of expressing identity. English, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, importantly, were used to show distinctiveness, language hierarchy and facilitate communicative efficiency, presupposing the presence of these language groups and the attempt to show solidarity towards them.

The patterns of language shown by the polyphonic signs were explained in terms of the presumed reader's skill condition and the symbolic value condition. They are mostly used to express uniqueness, solidarity, language status and for economic motivations. Indigenous languages on polyphonic signs although shows how sign writers express ownership and mark their ethnic identity, they are also used to show language marginalisation shaped by the prevalence of English as these expressions from indigenous languages are mostly merely markers of identity while most of the information on the signs are expressed in English. The high incidence of the occurrence of the monophonic and polyphonic signs in comparison with the mixed-part and homophonic ones which show language hierarchy, language status and ethnolinguistic vitality.

Not all the patterns of multilingualism identified in the study were found in all the seven communities. There is no instance of the mixed-part sign in Mokola, Iwo Road and Dugbe and neither are homophonic signs present in the signs analysed in Olodo, Ring Road and Sango.

5.1.3 Multilingualism in the sociolinguistic context of Ibadan

The analysis of language use on the signs shows the nature of the multiplicity of languages in Ibadan. It has revealed the strength of English, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, French, Nigerian Pidgin and Arabic. The presence and use of these languages have established the presence of certain homogenous groups where the visibility of these languages is suggestive of their vitality and users. There is enough evidence to suggest that these languages are the linguistic resources that individuals and groups (who contribute to shaping the linguistic landscape) use in the public sphere to show

language hierarchies, language attitudes and negotiate language dominance. The dominance of English and the minimal use of other languages have been shown to have linguistic, social, cultural, economic implications in the multilingual context of Ibadan.

5.2 Conclusion

The study gives a description of the linguistic situation in the sociocultural context of Ibadan and also gives insights into the patterns of languages use in other cities in Nigeria. Even though Ibadan is a southwestern city with a large population of Yoruba speakers, its metropolitan nature and urban dynamics seem to contribute to making it an attraction to people of various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Despite its ethnolinguistic diversity, however, there seems to be a positive attitude attached to the English language. Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo are used in various ways to suggest multiculturalism, for communicative efficiency and for ethnic identity. English, Yoruba and Arabic are also used for religious purposes. There seems to be a positive attitude attached to French and Nigerian Pidgin with the way they are structured on signs and used as important languages of trade which is evident in their use on the business signs. Their use also suggests the widespread contact between languages in Nigeria. The official status of English and its superordinate status is demonstrated through its use on the signs and its patterning. The approaches used to analyse the data for this research have enhanced the analysis of multilingualism within the linguistic landscape of the communities. The heterogeneous and cosmopolitan nature of the communities tend to be responsible for the nature of language diversity found in the linguistic landscape of the communities.

5.3 Limitations of the study

The process of data collections was a demanding activity that involved moving around streets and roads as well as visiting business ventures and places of residence, thereby observing and taking pictures of signs that were related to the subject of investigation. A great deal of attention was placed to taking photographs of signs that would be research worthy. The research is limited in terms of the geographical areas it covered. It only covered seven communities out of the numerous areas in Ibadan.

Taking photographs of representative signs for analysis was considered but not all the signs in the communities were taken. In other words, only 280 photographs of signs were examined. Also, some signs that could have constituted part of data for the study were ignored and left out because they contained expressions that could not be easily analysed as belonging to a particular language. For instances, there were instances of abbreviations on some signs.

There was also the difficulty associated with taking photographs of some signs. There were challenges regarding securing the consent of certain sign owners and in many cases, the researcher was questioned about the essence of taking such photographs and how it would benefit signs owners. There were also some who were weary about pictures of their signs been taken, thinking the researchers was an agent of government. Some signs were left out as a result of this.

The research stage involving identifying the patterns of language use on 280 signs and categorising them became monotonous and a bit cumbersome.

5.4 Recommendations

To further the discussion on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan, especially with regards to the number of languages used and their patterns, the following suggestions are proffered:

1. Other cosmopolitan and diverse communities such Bodija, Iyaganku, Jerico can be considered in the choice of sampling techniques since variations in language use patterns can be found there due to the population in them and the nature of business activities that exude there.
2. Data collection should cover other types of signs such as official notices, signposts, signs on moving buses and street names as well. Through this way, with the incorporations of different varieties of signs conveying different information, more in-depth and precise generalisations can be made about the multilingual language configuration of the city.

3. Although the use and patterns of language use can be shown through the analysis of language use on them, interviews can also be incorporated in further studies to give a broader interpretation on the analysis of language use.

5.5 Contributions to knowledge

The study has the following specific contributions to literature:

Sociolinguistic and descriptive analyses have been shown to provide an adequate way of expanding studies on language use in the public space.

1. A blend of the qualitative and quantitative approaches with their distinct techniques have been shown to provide a richer way of carrying out descriptive research. The mix of the two methods offers broad and diversified perspectives regarding exploring the contexts and connection of signs in terms of their relevance to analysing multilingualism and patterns of language use on signs. The two approaches have revealed what the frequency, distribution and presence of languages reveal about linguistic landscape actors (the owners and readers of the signs), the purposes the signs serve and their relation to the sociolinguistic context. This has been shown in the research and is therefore encouraged in future studies.
2. The research has shown the importance of analysing language use on signs in the written form in the public space as a means of analysing language use in the multilingual environment and what this analysis shows about language attitudes, prevalent cultural ideals, language status and official language policies.

5.6 Suggestions for further studies

The study is a descriptive research and has explored multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan. It has focused on selected Ibadan communities of Iwo Road, Ring Road, Sango, Mokola, Challenge, Olodo, and Dugbe and is, however, limited in this respect. The following areas, therefore, are suggested for further studies:

1. More communities in Ibadan need to be covered to provide a well-rounded study on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of the city. Also,

researchers can explore other cities in Nigeria including cities in the eastern and northern parts and conduct comparative studies on multilingual language use in them to reveal what variations in them will show.

2. Further studies on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape involving large amounts of data can be undertaken.
3. Studies showing the implications of multilingual language use on signs on national development can be done.
4. Future studies could also collect sociolinguistic information about linguistic landscape actors (sign writers and sign owners) to see what variables influence the choice of language in the public space and what these reflect about the power and status of various ethnolinguistic groups in the country.
5. It is further suggested that researchers may also investigate the attitudes of the public towards multilingualism in the linguistic landscapes of communities as well as their perceptions in order to understand the way different individuals and groups perceive the linguistic landscape.

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APPENDIX

The photographs of signs used in the analysis are presented:

Challenge



A monophonic advertising billboard

A monophonic advertising billboard



A polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building

A polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic commercial shop sign

A monophonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic public road sign



A monophonic public road sign

Dugbe



A monophonic advertising billboard



A monophonic advertising billboard



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic public road sign



A monophonic public road sign



A monophonic commercial shop sign

A polyphonic commercial shop sign

Iwo Road



A monophonic advertising billboard

A monophonic advertising billboard



A monophonic public road sign



A monophonic public road sign



A polyphonic commercial shop sign



A polyphonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



on a building



A monophonic public road sign



A monophonic public road sign

Mokola



A monophonic advertising billboard



A monophonic advertising billboard



A polyphonic commercial shop sign



A polyphonic commercial shop sign

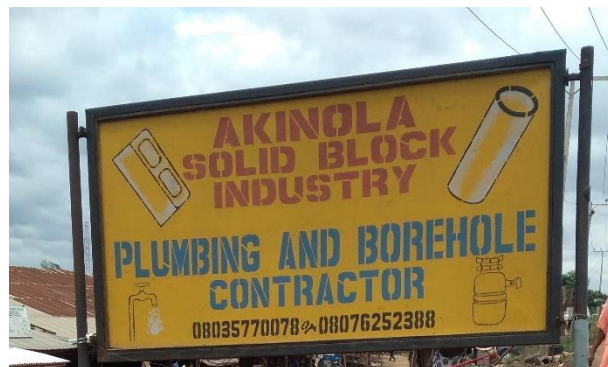


A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

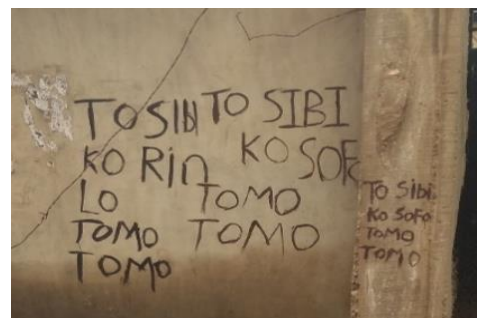
Olodo



A monophonic advertising billboard A polyphonic advertising billboard



A polyphonic commercial shop sign A monophonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A polyphonic public road sign A polyphonic public road sign



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building

Ring Road



A monophonic advertising billboard



A polyphonic advertising billboard



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A polyphonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic public road sign

A monophonic public road sign

Sango



A polyphonic advertising billboard

A polyphonic advertising billboard



A polyphonic commercial shop sign

A polyphonic commercial shop sign



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building



A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building A monophonic sign of inscriptions on a building