EXPLORING THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF CAPE COAST: ARE OUR INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES SAFE IN THE PUBLIC SPACE?

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ABSTRACT

The use of the English language as the official language in Ghana has had a toll on the representation of Ghanaian languages in the public space. Even though few studies in Ghana have investigated the linguistic landscape of towns such as Ajumako, Kejetia, and some others, there is no known study on the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast metropolis, the hub of education in Ghana. This study explored the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast Metropolis. The researchers selected forty (40) billboards from four strategic locations in the Cape Coast metropolis. Using Landry and Bourhis' (1997) theory of linguistic landscape, and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of Reading Images, the researchers analyzed the data gathered. The analysis revealed that Cape Coast is a multilingual town and the three languages used in the public space are English Language, Twi, and Fante. Further analysis revealed that the English language dominated the public space, followed by Twi, and lastly, Fante. Moreover, it was discovered that visuals in the billboards play a complementary role in communicating meaning to the

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audience. This study calls the attention of policymakers to consider revising the language policy towards promoting the use of Ghanaian languages in the public space as a strategy to sustain the culture of using our languages in the public space.

Keywords: Linguistic Landscape, Advertising, Billboards, Multimodal Communication

INTRODUCTION

One major lesson that historians learned from the Rosetta stone is the importance of understanding every language of communication as a tool to track the historical development of the past to understand the future (Gorter, 2006). The preservation of everything created from wildlife to culture has the basic rationale of ensuring that nothing is extinct as a result of human negligence because diversity is valuable linguistic landscape. It is a field of research in Applied Linguistics that investigates the language of road signs, billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings to define the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

The term *landscape* is historically rooted in Dutch to mean "tract of land" and in English as "a painting depicting scenery on land" (Gorter, 2006:83). In Gorter's (2017) study, it is revealed that the second part of the word "landscape" has attracted several creative ideas from different researchers across disciplines who propose various forms of scapes. For example, in spoken language, Scarvalier et al. (2013) propose the term "soundscape" by investigating, among other things, genres of music to understand how musicians express their beliefs and opinions about social matters and political affiliations through their music.

Put differently, linguistic landscape (LL), as a field of research, is employed to investigate language in public spaces. Shohamy and Gorter (2009:1) mention that linguistic landscape draws "attention to the language in the environment, words, and images displayed and exposed in public spaces." The focus of LL is on the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties, and contestations of multiple forms of "language" as they are displayed in public spaces (Gorter, 2006:11). The field of LL investigates visually available language in public spaces. People's ideas are expressed through LL (Shohamy, 2006).

Apart from English, other indigenous languages such as Fante, Twi, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, and Krobo are spoken in Ghana. These numerous languages spoken in Ghana are identified with distinct ethnic groups and their origination; hence, making Ghana a multilingual country. Dakubu (1996) adds that Ghana has about 50 indigenous languages and out of these languages, only 11 languages are taught in schools and few of them are spoken on television and radios. Kuwornu (2017) also observes that all speakers of these indigenous languages would have been proud to hear their languages spoken both on television and on the radio.

Statement of the Problem

Studies elsewhere such as Ben-Rafael et al's (2006) study of Palestine, Israel, and Jerusalem, and Backaus's (2006) study of Tokyo and Japan, provide insight into the blended use of indigenous languages and official languages to communicate in the public space. There is no doubt that Ghana is s multilingual country with about forty-six dialects spoken nationwide (Sey, 1977). A cursory assessment of the languages show that the languages are distributed in different regions with Ewe being prominent in the Volta region; Twi being prominent in the southern part and Dagbani being prominent in the northern part and Fante being prominent in the coastal regions. In this light, Prah (2006) in his multilingual study of Nima, Ghana, and Katutuwa, South Africa, concluded that Africans are the most multilingual people in the world. Prah (2006) added that the multilingual nature of Africans is advantageous in helping achieve the integration of Africans. For instance, Prah (2006) found that in Nima, Ghana, 69 out of the 100 sampled participants speak more than one language while 17 speak 6-8 languages.

As Prah (2010) observed, the use of the English language as an official language in the country has an impact on the dominance of the languages in the public space in Ghana. Nyame and Tomekyin (2018), who have investigated language competition in two towns, Ajumako and Winneba, found that English dominated Twi and Fante in the communities. Nyame and Tomekyin (2018) and other few studies conducted in Ghana on the linguistic landscape, however, focused on only the words while ignoring other semiotic resources such as pictures, colors, and symbols. Also, Akoto (2018) explored the language-identity relationship in mottos of Ghanaian educational institutions. The author collected two-hundred and forty-five mottos from newspapers, souvenirs, and billboards as data to describe the

languages used in the mottos. Akoto (2018) found global languages such as Latin, French, and Arabic as well as local languages such as Ewe, Twi, and Ga used in the mottos of the schools. Akoto's study reveals how the global languages, as well as glocal languages, have been used by Ghanaian schools to reflect their international identity. His study, however, was limited to the languages used in the mottos of schools. Meanwhile, Juffermans's (2012) study on the linguistic landscape of Gambia revealed that the post-colonial public space of Gambia was overly English dominated and most of the billboards studied had images dominating the content. Juffermas (2012) explained the dominance of images as a strategy to appeal to the illiterate population of Gambia while the little appearance of local languages of Gambia in the public space, to Juffermans (2012) was for symbolic and creative function rather than interlinguistic function. The work of Juffermans was largely from the multimodal perspective of studying the linguistic landscape, unlike most of the Ghanaian studies that are overly based on discourse analysis. Moreover, the Ghanaian studies are equally skewed toward other public space materials or texts such as souvenirs, posters, banners, and newspapers with less attention on billboards. This development does not fully serve the purpose of the linguistic landscape research in its entirety, as it fails to provide a panoramic view of the linguistic landscape of the specific study areas. Given the above-mentioned lacuna and drawing from empirical evidence from Juffermans (2012), the present study uses a more inclusive approach (multimodal approach) to investigate the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast township through the billboards in the town.

Research Questions

1. Which languages are represented on billboards of selected streets in Cape Coast?
2. What is the significance of the linguistic objects on the billboards of selected streets in Cape Coast?
3. What is the interaction between the verbal ad visual cues in the selected billboards of the streets in Cape Coast?

Significance of the Study

This study intends to add to the literature in the field of LL. This is particularly important since most studies done in this study area focused on other regions and towns in Ghana, leaving out Cape Coast. Again, those studies conducted mostly focused on multilingualism and only a few of them

analyzed billboards multimodally. Second, the findings will serve as a basis to recommend the need to consider the language policy and planning to ensure representation of indigenous languages in the public space. Above all, the outcome of this study will contribute to raising awareness of language use. Thus, the study will help both users of the language and curriculum developers to know the dominant languages in Cape Coast and how that affects literacy practices and globalization. In this regard, the study will help other researchers to explore other research areas in LL to find out if people have different or the same reason for their choice of language on billboards.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Linguistic landscape is one of the growing fields of study in applied linguistics (Gorter, 2013). Shohamy and Gorter (2009:1) mention that linguistic landscapes draw "attention to the language in the environment, words, and images displayed and exposed in public spaces." The focus of LL is on the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties, and contestations of multiple forms of "language" as they are displayed in public spaces (Gorter, 2006 :11). It involves the assessment of languages and images used in public spaces as a way to describe and understand multilingualism present in the region as well as the social realities dominantly communicated through signs and words. Advertising is one of those professions that provide items of study on the public spaces for researchers.

Advertising as a discipline itself is defined by the America Advertising Association as any paid form of nonpersonal communication about an organization, product, service, or idea by an identified sponsor (Belch & Belch, 2003). The advertisement should be paid for by an organization, individual, or group. It has to be disseminated through media to be advertising. The communication should be about the product, service, or idea of the identified sponsor. Billboards are one of the permanent media outlets for reaching an audience with the advertiser's message. They have become a public space sign that is of interest to researchers. Billboards are designed as advertising outlets to communicate products, services, ideas, or any other matter of interest to the advertiser (Belch & Belch, 2003). In studying linguistic landscapes of territories, attention is usually given to public signs as well as private-owned signs in the region such as billboards (Borhis & Laundry, 1997). In this study, the researchers used billboards as public signs for study because they provide a permanent public space

communication tool that usually contains both written text and visuals to catch the viewer's attention and communicate their unique selling image. As such, billboards are most likely to communicate the ideologies of brands, parties, schools, and government, among others, compared to other public space communication tools.

There have been studies on the linguistic landscape that provide a guiding light for the current study. Ben-Rafael et al (2006) studied the linguistic landscape of Israel and found that the major language patterns used in Israel, Palestine, and East Jerusalem were Hebrew-English, Arabic-Hebrew, and Arabic-English respectively. This implied that the place of the English Language in Israel was secondary, while the local languages, Hebrew and Arabic were preferred as mediums of public communication. It could be noticed also that the English language did not surface in the Palestine communities because they preferred Arabic and Hebrew for public communication then the English Language. The same may not be possible in Ghana since we have a colonial history with Britain. Aside from understanding the dominant languages in a region through linguistic landscape studies as discovered by Ben-Rafael et al (2006), linguistic landscape studies provide evidence of the social reality of a region or community (Backhaus, 2006). Backhaus (2006) categorized linguistic signs into official signs and unofficial signs. Official signs are the recognized lingua franca of a place while unofficial signs are the subsidiary languages used for communication. Through the linguistic study of Tokyo, Japan, Backhaus (2006) discovered that the official signs communicated the existing power relations in Tokyo while the unofficial signs expressed solidarity with non-Japanese things and people in Tokyo. It is evident that through linguistic landscape study of a place one can understand the power relations and social reality of a place. This is normally possible through the interpretation of the semiotic resources used in the public space.

Just like Backhaus (2006), Webster (2014) investigated the significance of the language used in public spaces in Navajo. He sampled selected linguistic landscape items such as posters, flyers, and billboards that were present in the public space to understand the meaning embedded in the items. Webster (2014) discovered that the linguistic items in the public space in Navajo neighborhoods communicated a modernist vision of suburban American neighborhoods. Webster's (2014) interview with the residents of the neighborhood revealed that the people did not know much about the signs used in the public space even though the signs were legitimately

composed to communicate the modernist vision of the neighborhood. The challenge in Webster's (2014) study was that the signs were not categorized into private and public signs, hence it is hard to predict which level of communicators spearheaded the modernist vision. Perhaps, it could be said to be a collective creation by the sign markers.

In another study, Rodriguez (2013) has explored the public space or commercial streets of America and Spain to assess the local status of other reading of texts that are evident to how cultural practices and beliefs, as well as historical circumstances, are inherent and how they form an integral part of the linguistic landscape. He, therefore, discovers that the information contained in the signs provides the people's technological inclination and orientation. While the Spanish linguistic landscape was largely Spanish with little linguistic deviation, the American linguistic landscape was largely English with little variations as well. Even though Rodriguez (2013) found the dominant written texts over images in the public spaces of the studied countries, the author had little on the ideologies and social realities communicated in through the linguistic landscape. In essence, these countries in Rodriguez's (2013) study reveal that indigenous languages are entrenched in their public space, and the high literacy probably informs the use of written text over visual text. But, could the same be said of Ghana? Could there be a dominance of images and ideologies in the public space in Ghana?

In a Ghanaian-based study, Anane (2019) explored the linguistic landscape on the shores of the people of Winneba by studying the inscriptions on canoes and further interviewing the owners of these canoes to understand the reasons for the messages found in these inscriptions. Anane (2019) reveals that the people reveal their religious orientation, their life experiences, figurative expressions, and even advice to others through the inscriptions on these canoes. An example of some of the religious inscriptions include God with us; He is not asleep; Oh God save me and many more. Inscriptions on life experience include Witchcraft is stupid. Those inscriptions on figurative expressions are One man no chop; We will not fight but we will chop

Again, Nyame and Tomekyin (2018) studied the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba in the Central Region of Ghana. The authors explored the language competition in these districts as they pay more attention to inscriptions on vehicles in the various commercial lorry stations in both

Ajumako and Winneba to study languages present in the linguistic landscape of Ajumako and Winneba, and to account for whether or not the languages visible in the public space is the reflection of the languages spoken by each community along with the uniqueness of these communities. Their study reveals the frequent use of both English and Fante in both communities. However, their research failed to account for languages on billboards which, if accounted for, would have represented another perspective of people's thoughts and their linguistic practices in the research area. Anane (2019) has bridged this gap by looking at the language used on canoes, the motivation behind the choice of such languages by the owners of these canoes, and the meaning the inscriptions convey to the people of Winneba and Ajumako in the Central Region of Ghana.

Anane's (2019) research is based on the assertion that many languages come into contact in this area and he hopes to back this assertion with evidence. The findings have shown that languages such as Fante, Twi, English, Ga, and Eve, are visible on the canoes along the shores of the aforementioned towns. This implies that the people of Fante, Ga, Asante, and Eve (Ewe) live together in the said district and have projected their languages on the canoes to express themselves in their language. These people, having come from different linguistic backgrounds, send a message of tolerance, peace, and unity in diversity. The study further indicates that Fante is the dominant language among languages used to write the inscriptions although Winneba is an Effutu-speaking community. Furthermore, Anane (2019) has supplementarily argued that the people of Winneba express and share their experiences, sentiments, thoughts, and opinions with others through these inscriptions. Greater above these are many kinds of research in the linguistic landscape that have accounted for the visibility of languages in public space, and people's culture, feelings, hopes, and sentiments are expressed through these languages. There seems to be a thin voice on how images on the canoes studied by Anane (2019) and Tomekyin (2018) reflect the various languages discovered on the canoes and cars.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is guided by Landry and Bourhis's (1997) theory of linguistic landscape and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of reading images. Landry and *Bourhis* (1997:25) defined *linguistic landscape* as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place

names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration." As opined by Shohamy (2006), the linguistic landscape manifests the ideas of people's organization signs. In linguistic landscape, Landry and Bourhis (1997) discussed that signage is classified into two: the top-down classification, and the bottom-up classification. Briefly, the top-down approach comprises state-owned billboards or linguistic landscape items that are issued by national and public bureaucracies including public sites while the bottom-up category belongs to the individual companies (Akindele, 2011). Linguistic landscape theory was developed by Landry and Bouhis (1997) in a work that accounts for the perceptions of high school students of public signs in Canada.

In Landry and Bourhis' (1997) investigation, public signs can be classified or approached in two dimensions; the top-down approach (government signs) and the bottom-up approach (individual-owned signs). Shohamy (2006) indicated that top-down billboards are (government-owned billboards that seek to educate the public on state projects, policies, regulations, and to a large extent the rights of citizens. Other top-down billboards serve as guides to the citizenry while others mark the landscape of towns and cities. Bottom-up billboards are (Privately-owned) billboards that represent the impact of government policies and regulations on the people. People express their satisfaction or contestation, life experiences, economic engagements (advertisement), and other political activities through bottom-up billboards (Shohamy, 2006).

The LL is created by agents and interpreted by an audience. This notion made Landry and Bourhis (1997) argue that every text exists in a context hence the use of language by designers as well as signage makers is not neutral but rather ideological. One of the tasks of linguistic analysis is to decipher the ideological underpinning embedded in the linguistic landscape of a place.

Theory of Reading Images

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) proposed the first social semiotic framework for analyzing images in 1996. It was about the nature of communication and utilizes similar approaches to interpreting visual and verbal meanings in multimodal texts. Their theory aimed to develop a 'grammar' of images,

the first edition exploring this aim is an analysis and discussion of images in children's educational literature, and the second continuing and extending this exploration to more generalized images drawn from public media sources such as advertisements, magazine articles, maps, art images and various kinds of diagrams. In *Reading Images,* Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) draw on a variety of theories for their analysis of visual communications. Their method attempts to bring to the forefront the various visual elements that are used to produce meanings in images. They argue that traditional analysis has subordinated the visual to the verbal message.

Kress and van Leeuwen also utilized Halliday's (1978, 1985) SFL theory to provide an analogy for the development of visual grammar and to outline the kinds of categories which they regard as essential to the analysis of the visual semiotic. They suggest that the visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, to function as a full system of communication. They posit that reading (or viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants: the interactive participants, and the represented participants The former are the participants who are interacting with each other in the act of reading a visual, one being the graphic designer/photographer/artist, and the other the viewer. This category represents the social relations between the viewer and the visual. The latter is all the elements or entities that are present in the visual, whether animate or inanimate, elements which represent the situation shown, the current world-view, or states of being in the world. Kress and van Leeuwen also assert that reading (or viewing) a visual involves reading a structurally coherent arrangement of elements that combines and integrates these two kinds of participants, thus representing the structuring of the current world-view.

The three elements, the interactive and represented participants, and the coherent structural elements of a visual are correlated with Halliday's three metafunctions. However, what is of immediate notice is that the metafunctional terminology posited by Halliday to describe meanings at the semantic level in his SFL model has been changed from ideational to Representational meanings, from interpersonal to Interactive meanings, and from textual to Composition(al) meanings. Why this was done is not made clear, but Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) do adopt much of the lexico-grammatical terminology utilized by Halliday. This includes the terminology

used in the grammatical system of transitivity, which "construes the world of experience into a set of manageable process types" (Halliday, 1994:106), the grammatical system of mood where the clause "is also organized as an interactive event involving a speaker, or writer, and audience, and thematic structure, which "gives the clause its character as a message". Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind that the visual systems of Representational (ideational), Interactive (interpersonal), and Compositional (textual) meanings occur and project their meanings simultaneously and that they are multidimensional structures.

In this study, the use of Landry and Bourhis's (1997) linguistic landscape theory will aid in classifying the signage into their appropriate categories for linguistic analysis. Moreover, the issue of context depicts the social realities and ideologies of the texts under analysis will be useful in understanding the linguistic significance of the sampled texts. With Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of reading images, the researchers seek to understand the signs used in the billboards from the multimodal point of view and how that is relevant in establishing a text-image relationship for users.

METHODOLOGY

The current study adopts the qualitative approach, and more specifically, content analysis. This study adopts qualitative content analysis as its research design. The main intent of qualitative research is to explore, discover, understand, explain, and clarify situations, perceptions, feelings, attitudes, values, beliefs, and experiences of a group of people (Kumar, 2011). The current study is based on the Cape Coast metropolis. Cape Coast is the capital town of the Central Region of Ghana, and it is formerly the capital town of Ghana, then Gold Coast. It is regarded as the hub of Ghana's education with the majority of peoples' indigenous language being Fante. As a capital town of one of the biggest regions in Ghana, Cape Coast township, especially major street areas, is flooded with billboards as commercial advertising outlets to communicate valuable information from advertisers to the audience. As noted by Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, and Armand (2009:255) that, "cities can be viewed as "dense with signs that must be deciphered, read, and interpreted by citizens" . One signage that is worth studying in the Cape Coast metropolis is the billboards. Billboards provide artistically designed linguistic information to persuade and inform viewers about their brands, products, ideas, or services. They are, therefore, rich in

both texts and images that appeal to and attract the attention of passers-by. Often situated in 'busy' areas of the town such as markets, roundabouts, and shopping malls, billboards are usually linguistically simple and catchy, and visually captivating and appealing to the audience.

In this study, the 40 billboards were purposely sampled from four major street junctions for the study. According to Gorter (2013), there are posters, banners, and drawing on walls among others could be regarded as units of linguistic landscape studies, therefore, the researcher decides which units he or she will be focusing on. The current purposively focused on billboards as the unit of study. The billboards of each location were photographed and processed through rigorous analysis to remove repeated images as well as images that had unclear writing or visual appearance. The selected junctions include Takoradi-Accra Highway (Pedu Junctions), Abura-Pedu Street (Stadium Junction), Kotorkuraba-Pedu streets (Kotorkuraba market), and Amamoma-Ayensu street (Amamoma Junction). Being guided by Cenoz and Gorter's (2009) argument that counting the signs is not unproblematic because decisions have to be made about what constitutes the unit of analysis, each billboard selected was regarded as a unit of analysis. Below are photographs of two of the junctions where the data was collected for the study.

Accra-Takoradi Highway (Pedu Junction)

Abura-Pedu Road (Stadium Junction)

The 40 billboards selected from the four selected areas were critically observed by the researcher to determine whether the pictures taken are worthwhile and whether the inscriptions on the billboards have answers to the research questions. Krippendorff (2004) asserts that for data to be meaningful, it has to be well organized and explained. For this reason, the billboards were labeled to enable the researcher to identify which billboards belong to which street. Therefore, the billboards from Takoradi-Accra Highway (Pedu Junctions) had the initial code, TAH, and each billboard was assigned a number, that is, TAH 1 to TAH 10. The billboards from Abura-Pedu Street (Stadium Junction) were coded APS and each billboard was assigned a number, that is, APS 1 to APS 10. The billboards from Kotorkuraba-Pedu Streets (Kotorkuraba market) were coded KPS and each billboard assigned a number KPS 1 to KPS 10. Finally, the billboards from Amamoma-Ayensu Street (Amamoma Junction) were coded AAS and each billboard was assigned a number, that is, AAS 1 to AAS 10. This helps in identifying the billboards and determining how different one street is from another. To make sure the coding process was valid, a validation program was put in place to check and detect any erroneous data by making sure that all samples agree with the total population. The research questions, as well as theoretical frameworks, guided the analysis of the billboards.

To ensure instrument validity and the validity of the study in its entirety, the researcher made sure that the data collected were of high quality and devoid

of dishonesty. Also, the measures used for the current study were founded on items tested and used in prior studies to measure the current constructs of interest. The billboard owners' consent was sought before the researchers took photographs of the billboards. Moreover, relevant stakeholders such as market leaders, shop owners as well as traffic regulators were consulted before the researchers were allowed to take pictures of the billboards for the study**.**

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

As noted by Gorter (2013), multilingualism is one of the basic rationales for embarking on linguistic landscape studies. In the current study, the first research question bordered on the languages represented on the billboards on the streets. Item, in this study, was a meaningful word that has potential meaning. Following Edelman (2009) and Tufi and Blackwood (2010) who tried to code brand names to specific languages, the current study coded names of brands based on the language they largely originate from. For instance, brands like Franko, De-Luxy, and Bet Planet were counted as English Language items while others like Sika Krom, Paparazzi, and Nwa Ngbada were classified as Twi. From the data, it was evident that the languages represented in the public space were English language, Twi, and Fante. Out of a total of 489 items represented in the selected billboards, 469 items were in the English language, 18 were Twi and 2 were Fante. This implies that the English language is dominating the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast followed by Twi and lastly Fante. The dominance of the English Language in the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast is consistent with the findings of Nyame and Tomekin (2018), Akoto (2018), and Juffermans (2012) who found the English language to be dominating linguistic landscapes. This is most likely so because the English language is officially accepted as a second language in Ghana with the majority of the citizens being able to express themselves in the English language. Moreover, the English language dominated because as Gorter (2013:202) argued "English is often associated with modernity, internationalism, technological advancement, or what Rosenbaum et al. (1977) called "snob appeal." Nevertheless, the overwhelming decimation of the Fante language from the Fanteland on the linguistic landscape is a sign that our indigenous languages are not equally represented, hence not safe.

The second research question focused on the significance of the linguistic objects in the billboards of selected streets in Cape Coast. The linguistic objects communicated dominant ideologies regarding brand competitive advantage. For example, brands like De-Luxy communicated competitive advantage by asserting that Paint Mu champion which means 'The Best Paint.' The use of both English and Twi (Mu) to communicate is likely to be seen close to the hybrids of English with Chinese signs which Radtke and Yuan (2011:390) called "Chinglish". In this case, we may follow their steps by referring to this interrelationship between the dominant language and minority indigenous language as 'Twinglish.' In the same light, Star Time advertised their DSTV products by stating that 'Payless watch more' to indicate the affordability as well as the propensity of programs available in their channels. Moreover, the linguistic objects communicated political ideologies and power relations. For instance, the National People Party wrote on the billboard that Action Nkotsee!!! Which means Working Alone. On the other hand, National Democratic Congress asserted in their billboard that 'Obiara Ka Ho' means everyone is involved. The NPP communicated the capitalist ideology which is based on industrialization and performance while the NDC communicated the socialist ideology which is based on the inclusion and social justice. The minority party, Ghana United Movement communicated hope in their teaser 'Arise for Development.' The political ideologies of the parties were communicated through the billboards. Furthermore, the linguistic objects communicated cultural values. We are the glorious ones (Doxa), Sika Krom (Money Town), Anidasuc wc hc (hope is there). This is a clear sign that the top-down signs are largely political in ideology while the bottom-up signs are business and cultural values in ideology.

The third research question focused on the interaction between the verbal ads visual cues in the selected billboards of the streets of Cape Coast. First, it was noted that the images played a complementary role in the verbal mode in the selected billboards. In this case, the images provided a piece of supporting information that clarifies or explains the written information for viewers. For instance, in the billboard code AAS 4: One Love Natural Beauty Salon, the researchers observed that the left-hand side which is referred to as the given region by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) provided information about the brand, and the right-hand side, that is, new region, provided information about what is done by the brand. In addition to the names of the braid styles, the advertisers included the images of the hairstyles to help the audience relate to the message communicated on the billboard.

AAS 4: One Love Natural Beauty Salon

In another billboard coded TAH 3: Begreen Organic Fertilizer by Eco Index company, the researchers noted in analyzing the compositional meaning that the advertisers placed the fertilizer product at the given region, left-hand, and the increased yields of crops it produces in the new region, right-hand side, as a way to complement that effectiveness of the fertilizer product. In the interactive meaning, the colors being green communicates vegetation and freshness and the crops looking healthy and fresh communicate productivity and impact. In the represented meaning, the use of the products reminds the audience about the products, and the inclusion of tomatoes, cocoa, pineapple, bananas, lettuce, and others indicate what crops that fertilizer can be applied for productivity.

TAH 3: Begreen Organic Fertilizer

From this multimodal analysis, it is obvious that the placement of the signs on the billboards is based on advertisers' awareness of what is expected to be known and unknown. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that the known information is usually placed on the given side, that is the left-hand side and the unknown information is placed on the right-hand side. This gives a complete message to the viewer. The ideologies of excellence, vibrance, and competitive advantage are seen in the images used on the billboards. The images in a way reinforced the verbal mode and give a complete picture of what is communicated to the audience.

Furthermore, the images communicated unique independent information to viewers without the aid of written text. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argued that images could communicate single-handedly without the aid of written text. In this study, the researchers observed that some of the billboards used only images to communicate their information. For instance, in AAS 1: Franko Mobile Phone & Accessories, the advertisers only mention the brand name and went ahead to provide the details of the products available in their shop. The use of only images to communicate reiterates Juffermans' (2012) findings that the use of the image is dominant because it appeals to both literate and illiterate audience easily than text.

AAS 1: Franko Mobile Phone & Accessories

In another billboard, *TAH 3: DSTV,* the advertiser largely communicated the entertainment offered in the new region, and in the given region, the advertiser provided images of different sports events to communicate the entertainment offers available in the channels. In represented meaning, the advertisers used sportsmen like Messi to represent sports entertainment, musicians like Sarkodie to represent music entertainment, actresses and actors to represent movie entertainment, and cartoons to represent entertainment for children. The represented participants engage the viewer to understand the types of entertainment offered through the channels and this gives the viewer a clearer understanding of the billboard than the text offered. A blend of the compositional represented and interactive meaning gives the billboard a complete message that persuades the viewer about the quality of the channel, the available programs on the channel as well as the price offers.

TAH 3: DSTV

The written text and the visuals complimented one another or the visual work independently communicates the persuasive message of the advertiser.

In conclusion, the current study explored the linguistic landscape of Cape Coast metropolis with emphasis on the billboards at four major locations in the town. The study used 40 billboards which were purposely sampled and studied with the aid of Kress and van Leeuwen's theory of reading images and Landry and Bourhis's theory of linguistic landscape. The results are that the Cape Coast linguistic landscape is predominantly English language with Twi and Fante playing a minute supportive role. Also, the study revealed that the ideologies communicated on the billboards include competitive advantage ideals, cultural values ideals as well as political ideals. Moreover, the written text and image corroborated to complement one another, or the image substituted the written texts in some cases in the communication of the message of the billboards.

Based on these findings, the researchers recommend that the language policy in Ghana should consider regulating the use of indigenous languages in the public space as a preservation technique. Also, billboard designers

should consider using innovative means to include indigenous language in billboard texts such as 'Twiglish" techniques already used by some billboard designers. Again, more studies could be conducted to ascertain the linguistic landscape of other public objects such as posters, banners, paintings, statues, etc.

This study, however, is largely dependent on accessible data within the four junctions selected for the study and so the results are not generalizable to other linguistic landscapes in Ghana. In sum, the indigenous languages are not represented in the Cape Coast metropolis. Perhaps, future archaeologists may not have any 'Rosetta stone' to help make sense of our Fante and Twi, because our public space is flooded by a glocal language, English Language. There is a need to reconsider the language policy, or else our indigenous languages are not safe.

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