THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF URBAN TANZANIA: AN ACCOUNT OF THE LANGUAGE OF BILLBOARDS AND SHOP-SIGNS IN DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

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ABSTRACT

In examination of language use in public domains in Tanzania, this paper articulates the state of multilingualism in the composition of signposts in district headquarters countrywide. The paper challenges the suggestion that Tanzania is primarily a Kiswahili speaking country. It also challenges the suggestion that Tanzania consists of English as an official language with limited domains of use. While it is claimed that ethnic community languages are a vehicular of communication in domains related to informal settings and homesteads, the paper argues for the presence of in linguistic landscape. Findings from five regions of Tanzania, namely, Arusha, Iringa, Kagera, Manyara and Mbeya indicate the dominance of bilingual Kiswahili-English signposts in urban centres. Further, findings display dominance of English-only signposts, which is a good testimony that this public domain makes use of English rather than Kiswahili. Furthermore, on the basis of font-size and font-colour, English words turn more prominent than Kiswahili words. Nonetheless, on the basis of word counts, Kiswahili is significantly used in bilingual signposts than English. Thus, this article concludes that the importance of English surpasses Kiswahili in the language use in bilingual signposts in urban Tanzania.

KEYWORDS: *Billboards*, *Languages of urban Tanzania*, *Multilingualism*, *Shop-signs*, *Tanzania*

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The motivation for this paper is five-fold. Firstly, the examination of **L**inguistic **L**andscape (conventional shorthand: **LL**) in many previous studies used data from the metropolitan and major urban centres. For instance, most of the research outputs covering Europe and Asia dealt with such major cities as Amsterdam in the Netherlands (Edelman 2010), Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in Israel (Ben Rafael et al. (2006), Milan in Italy (Coluzzi 2009) and Tokyo in Japan (Backhaus 2007). Research outputs in African continent revealed some differences with the findings from the major cities of Europe and Asia. For instance, the signposts of rural Zambia exhibit differences with urban signage (Banda & Jimaima 2015). Another unique feature for Africa is attested in war zone of Gambia (McLaughlin 2015). Since the differences exist between the metropolitan LL and rural LL, this study examined the LL of the selected district capitals situated in up-country Tanzania.

Secondly, investigation of LL in many parts of East Africa is premature. To the best of my knowledge, only five publications appeared for LL in TZ. The previous research outputs for Tanzanian LL include Bwenge (2009, 2012), Higgins (2009), Chul-joon (2014) and Peterson (2014). The Streets of Kariakoo and Posta turned to be the major research sites for all previous studies. In 2005, 2007 and 2008, Bwenge collected images of billboards in the main street of Dar es Salaam. In 2011 and 2012, both Chul-joon and Peterson collected data from Dar es Salaam, the former focusing on billboards and the latter on shop-signs. The choice of Kariakoo and Posta creates a lacuna for other research sites all over the country. In fact, images captured up-country have already demonstrated differences for rural Zambia (Banda & Jimaima 2015) and outskirts of Cape Town (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). Consequently, our attention was paid to Districts Headquarters in Tanzania.

Thirdly, Bwenge (2009) and Peterson (2014) reached different conclusions. Perhaps this is the result of the varied concentrations because the former paid much attention on billboards while the latter focused on wall inscriptions and front shop-signs in Dar es Salaam. In addition, their findings differ with regard to the language use in the metropolis Dar es Salaam. The former found that Kiswahili is prolifically used in the suburbs such as Manzese and Magomeni while English is mainly used in the city centre and well-off settlements (Upanga, Masaki, Micheni, Msasani etc.). The latter found that apart from prolific use of English and Kiswahili, other

languages (Arabic, Hindi and Chinese) manifest in shop-signs. It is obvious now that a need to examine the language use in signposts in district headquarters in upcountry Tanzania will be a welcome contribution which will demonstrate the language use in many parts of the country.

Fourth, the main agents of language use in LL change over time. For instance, Chul-joon (2014) found that the private firms and multinational corporations have major influence on language use in LL in Dar es Salaam. Likewise, Rosendal (2011) found that French and Kinyarwanda are dominantly used in billboards and shop-signs in back streets while English and French are predominantly used in billboards and shop-signs collected from the main street in the metropolis Kigali in Rwanda. This suggests that the private businesses employ a language which is slightly different from the language of the main street. Therefore, this paper examined the proper usage of Kiswahili and English as national and official languages, and ethnic community languages (shorthand: **ECLs**) as languages of back streets in district headquarters.

Lastly, the main focus of the studies of LL worldwide is the examination of the application of language policies formulated for each country. For instance, Rosendal (2011) examined the language policies of Rwanda and Uganda through use of LL in urban centres. Using LL, Edelman (2010) examined language policy in the Netherlands whereby Dutch, Frisian and English dominated the signposts. Now examination of heterogeneity of African cities through analysis of LL is an interesting area to contribute to. Since Tanzania is a multilingual society, with two official languages (Batibo 2005; McLaughlin 2012; Mkilifi 1972; Petzell 2012), examination of LL is a welcome contribution to make to social studies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

2.1 An overview of the existing literature on LL

Formal research on LL begins with Landry and Bourhis (1997) who examined the language of Quebec in Canada. Since 2000s, the body of literature on this subject matter expanded in Europe (Ben-Rafael 2006; Gorter 2006; Edelman 2010), Asia (Backhaus 2007) and Africa (Jolayemi & Olayemi 2017; McLaughlin 2012; Rosendal 2011; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). The essence of LL has become comprehensible now (cf. Blackwood & Tufi 2015; Mensel et al. 2016; Shohamy 2006, and references therein). In the course of discussion in this paper, we use the definition of LL as provided by Shohamy (2006: 110):

> In terms of language displayed in the public space, it refers to actual language items that are found in streets, shopping centres, schools, markets, offices, hospitals and any other public space (and often private ones, such as homes), for example names of streets, public signs, names of shops, advertisements, documents, newspapers, billboards, verbal as well as non-verbal items such as pictures and images. (Shohamy 2006: 110).

Most studies compare more than one region. For instance, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compared the linguistic profiles of Basque (Spain) and Friesland (Netherlands). In short, both provinces maintain the local languages Basque and Frisian and use the national languages Spanish and Dutch, respectively (Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 69). Another example is Rosendal (2011) who compared Butare and Kigali and found the prevalence of Kinyarwanda, English and French.

Other studies concentrated on a single metropolitan. For instance, Backhaus (2007) reports that although Japan is treated as a monolingual country, some issues related to multi-ethnicity and multilingualism have been highlighted. (Backhaus 2007: 64) insists the presence of "insights of increasing linguistic diversity in the Japanese capital". In Africa, Lanza and Woldermariam (2014) examined language use on signposts in Addis Ababa and found that apart from the national language Amharic, English is used. Its dominance is associated with high quality items in private owned businesses. This approach is opted for by Bwenge (2009), Chul-joon (2014) and Peterson (2014) for Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.

A new approach of LL appeared in Africa. Banda and Jimaima (2015) present data from rural areas in Zambia. They found that Zambia is a multilingual country with such languages as Tonga (around Livingstone), Bemba (around Lusaka), English etc. being used in signposts. Apart from the LL in urban Zambia, images from rural-scapes at Chongwe (Lusaka) and Makumi (Livingstone) were gathered and analysed. The outcome indicates that the walking narrative methodology is essential in understanding rural-space. Findings indicated that rural Zambia is characterized with diversity in ethnolinguistic and demographic. Since the rural population may lack literacy, rural-scapes make use of rich and creative communication strategies to compensate lack of literacy. It means that the sign and the people's experience in the area combine to permit interpretation of any information. It is concluded that oral linguiscaping is central and place knowledge complements the literacy. In addition, findings on the basis of literacy, Chinese businesses are associated with signage which makes use of Chinese and English languages. In addition, the language policy of Zambia permits zonal languages such as Bemba and Tonga to be used together with English.

2.2 Theoretical orientation

Textual analysis within the realm of Discourse Analysis formulates the theoretical base. The analysis hinges on the amount, diction and underscoring of the words used. Both Backhaus (2007) and Rosendal (2011) found that when important words are used in billboards and shop-signs, they tend to be underscored. Likewise, indication of an important language in billboards

and shop-signs is shown by the amount of words used. This kind of analysis is well captured in the tools available in works of discourse analysis by Fairclough (2003), in which an important language will make use of more words than less important ones (Backhaus 2007; Rosendal 2011). In addition, the choice of words and their inscription are guided by the power relations between the different sections of the population in a given country. Wodak (1989) put it right as the choice between one language as official and another one as non-official has implications to the language use and power relations between speakers.

Wodak (1989) and Fairclough (2003) demonstrate that social differentiation can easily be examined in texts. This is consonant to the theoretical guide outlined briefly above. Therefore, data collected come from at least one main street and another back street in each district headquarters. This choice is guided by the fact that billboards, which adhere to language policy, tend to be positioned in main streets (Bwenge 2009; Rosendal 2011). Most shop-signs, which usually make use of the language of the population, tend to occur in back streets (Rosendal 2011). This means that shop-signs in back streets do not adhere fully to the language policy in a given country.

3. RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORETICAL GUIDE

3.1 Study areas

Generally, data was gathered in five administrative regions of Tanzania, namely Arusha, Iringa, Kagera, Manyara and Mbeya. The linguistic composition of Tanzania allows domination of Kiswahili and English, the official languages, in these regions. While the domination of Kiswahili in these regions cannot be exaggerated (Batibo 2005), the prevalence of the mastery of English is really questioned (Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997; Petzell 2012). In this investigation, the focus is on the use of these official languages in the signposts.

Irrespective of the domination by Kiswahili and English, according to the Atlas of Languages of Tanzania, Arusha and Manyara regions are composed of two really dominant languages, namely Maasai and Iraqw; two extensively spread languages of Datooga and Nyisanzu; and technically languages with fewer speakers, i.e. Hadzabe, Kimbugwe, Kinguu and Akie (LOT 2009). The linguistic composition of Iringa, Kagera and Mbeya consists of Kihehe, Ruhaya and Nyakyusa as dominant languages respectively (LOT 2009). These major ECLs are followed by Kibena, Kisukuma and Kisafwa respectively. Smaller languages include Kinga and Wanji in Iringa Region, Shubi and Zinza in Kagera Region and Chindali and Nyiha in Mbeya Region. Since English and Kiswahili are the official languages of the billboards (Bwenge 2009;

Chul-joon 2014) ad shop-signs (Peterson 2014), this research examined the usage of ECLs, if any, in the signposts in district capitals.

3.2 The sources of data

The main source of data analysed in this paper is 131 images of billboards and shop-signs.[2] The billboards and shop-signs were gathered by research assistants from district capitals in the country. The target was to collect at least 10 and utmost 20 billboards and shop-signs from eight (8) district capitals. In fact, from each district headquarters, at least 9 and utmost 23 billboards and shop-signs were photographed from both main and back streets. Consequently, the sample is satisfactory for the present study.

The primary textual data got collected from eight district headquarters in Tanzania, as follows.

Babati (Manyara Region)	23 images
Biharamulo (Kagera Region)	11 images
Iringa (Iringa Region)	9 images
Karatu (Arusha Region)	10 images
Katesh (Manyara Region)	22 images
Kiteto (Manyara Region)	17 images
Mbulu (Manyara Region)	21 images
Tukuyu (Mbeya Region)	18 images

As will be evident in the presentation of data in section 4 below, composition of words differ with regard to tourist centres in Arusha and Manyara regions, as opposed to billboards and shop-signs in Iringa, Kagera and Mbeya regions. An apparent case is the abundance of English words in billboards and shop-signs from major tourist attraction regions of Tanzania, which are said to be Arusha, Pwani, Manyara and Zanzibar (Kweka et al. 2003: 337; Luvanga & Shitundu 2003: 5).

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[2] A number of colleagues participated in the collection of images from district capitals in Tanzania. We are indebted to Akwilino Kidava, January P. Bura, Joseph Hagai, Kelvin Mwamanda, Samson Sarakikya and Sixbert L. Marangi for helping in photographing the billboards and shop-signs.

The targeted billboards, which are usually large commercial advertisements placed high in urban space (Bwenge 2009; Chul-joon 2014), were not captured in district capitals. Most of the major companies such as SAMSUNG, TIGO, TOYOTA, VODACOM and CELTEL do not maintain large billboards in district capitals as those attested in Dar es Salaam City. Nonetheless, small billboards and signboards are plentiful, as represented TIGO and Riverrine Hotel (Figure 1). These small signposts are larger enough to qualify for billboards.

Many other signposts[3] obtained in district capitals in Tanzania are the shop-signs and wall inscriptions. With regard to the sample of shop-signs, words in Banana Hardware and El-Shaddai (Figure 2) represent the reality in Tanzania.

Figure 1: A small billboard and signboard in Kibaya (Kiteto) district capital (2017)

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[3] The idioms *billboard*, *shop-sign*, *signboard*, *signpost, sign* and *wall inscription* are used in this paper. As it is in the existing literature (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Rosendal 2011; Mensel et al. 2016), the general terms of *signposts*, *signage* and *signs* are commonly used. On specific occasions, two terms are used with specific referents in this paper, i.e. wall inscriptions refer to writings and/or paintings on the shop fronts and billboard means large advertisement signs. In addition, the words *signs, signboards* and *signpost* are used as general terms and interchangeably.

Figure 2: Wall inscriptions on shop-fronts in Babati and Kiteto district headquarters

In the process of data analysis in the next section, we begin with identification of the languages used for each signpost. This is associated with an examination of multilingualism and the domination of some languages over others (McLaughlin 2012). This procedure is followed by analysis of the amount of words used for each language. This exercise wants to verify the claim that the strength of language use is measured by the amount of words used (Rosendal 2011) and font size underscoring each word (Backhaus 2007). Lastly, a comparison between individual district headquarters is conduced to examine language use in each area.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Kiswahili vs. English: The language use on signposts

General findings indicate that both Kiswahili and English are the languages of communication in this public domain (Figure 3). A good number of the signposts (almost 60 of them) consist of Kiswahili and English words. The statistics at hand display that 45.80 percent of signposts reveal a typical bilingual situation in the sense that both Kiswahili and English words are used.
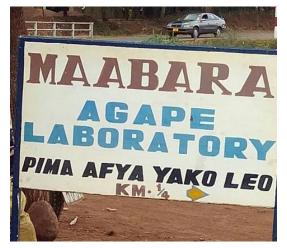
Figure 3: Bilingual signposts in district headquarters in Tanzania (2017)

In addition, general findings indicate that some billboards and shop-signs are monolingual. Since Kiswahili and English are the official languages of Tanzania (URT 1997), the choice of use of these two languages for the public domains was supposed to be even. Nonetheless, skewed findings emerge from data obtained in this study.

Data demonstrates that many monolingual signposts contain English-only. Figure 4 represents a sample of English-only signposts in district capitals. As will be discussed below, English-only signposts are numerous throughout the country. Statistics demonstrate that about 46.56 percent (61 signposts) consists of English-only words. Such findings support findings by Peterson (2014: 78) which indicates that English-only dominates shop-inscriptions in Dar es Salaam city.

Figure 4: English-only signboards in district headquarters of Tanzania

While many scholars suggest that Tanzania has many Kiswahili speakers (Batibo 2005) and the use of English is really questioned (Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997), the Kiswahili-only signposts are fewer. Statistics demonstrate that of the total 103 images gathered; only 9 of them (6.87 percent) consists of Kiswahili-only words. A sample of Kiswahili-only billboards and shop-signs is provided in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Kiswahili-only signs in district capitals in Tanzania

So far, we have displayed signposts with three language strands, namely bilingual Kiswahili-English, English-only and Kiswahili-only. This means that signposts split twice; either they are given in Kiswahili–English code-switches or monolingual in either Kiswahili or English. Superficially, this observation would appear to resemble the findings given by Bwenge (2009), Chul-joon (2014) and Peterson (2014) for the billboards and shop-inscriptions in Dar es Salaam. Nonetheless, detailed analysis of data reveals varied patterns as follows.

Specific findings demonstrate some internal differences. With regard to the position of Kiswahili and English, billboards and shop-signs in some district headquarters reveal varied compositions of multilingualism. In Katesh, the capital of Hanang District, almost half of the

bilingual billboards and shop-signs make use Kiswahili-English because eleven (12) billboards and shop-signs collected were bilingual. English-only signs account for another half because ten (10) billboards and shop-signs were collected from the area. There was no Kiswahili-only billboards and shop-signs collected from Katesh. Such statistics are dissimilar to the data gathered from Biharamulo because only 2 billboards and shop-signs use English-only while 9 images (almost 77.77 percent) of signposts consist of Kiswahili-English words. There was no Kiswahili-only sign collected from Biharamulo.

There are differences with billboards and shop-signs collected from Tukuyu, the capital of Rungwe District, and Karatu District Headquarters in Arusha Region. On the one hand, from Tukuyu Township, 72.22 percent of the billboards and shop-signs are bilingual, composed of Kiswahili and English words. The second in the category are English-only billboards and shop-signs which consist of 16.66 percent. At the bottom are Kiswahili-only signs which constitute 11.11 percent. On the other hand, English-only billboards and shop-signs consist of 40 percent in Karatu because there are only 4 billboards and shop-signs collected from the area. Kiswahili only billboards and shop-signs consist of 10 percent. The majority of the billboards and shop-signs in the area consist of Kiswahili-English because 50 percent (5 billboards and shop-signs) collected had both English and Kiswahili words.

Some specific data were obtained from Babati, the capital of Manyara Region. Of the 23 billboards and shop-signs collected, 65.22 percent were composed of English-only while 34.78 percent constituted Kiswahili-English billboards and shop-signs. Since there were no Kiswahili-only billboards and shop-signs, such findings demonstrate that Babati is skewed towards English-only language use in this public domain.

4.2 Word-counts and font-types: Marking the primacy of a language on signposts

Within the realm of discourse analysis, two parameters of textual analysis are used in this sub-section, namely word counts, font sizes and font colours which help to determine dominance of one language. Firstly, as Fairclough (2003: 14) argues, quantitative textual analysis may involve "comparing different types of text in terms of the average number of words per text, the average number of words per sentence, the relative frequencies of different parts of speech such as nouns, verbs, prepositions, etc." It is obvious that word counts helps to establish the primacy of one language over the other in public domains. Rosendal (2011) suggests that the total number of words from a certain language tends to designate its importance in a target language. This kind of textual analysis is possibly carried in contexts that allow diglossic use of languages, which is the case of Tanzania, which uses Kiswahili and English as official languages (Mkilifi

1972; Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997; Petzell 2012). In the research report for this sub-section, attention is paid to the number of words used in bilingual billboards and shop-signs. This choice allows comparison between the primacy of Kiswahili or English.

The Kiswahili-English signs are involved in the analysis activity at this stage. Of the 60 billboards and shop-signs, the amount of Kiswahili words is 315 while English words are 213. Therefore, of the 528 words used in bilingual billboards and shop-signs, 59.66 percent constitutes Kiswahili words and 40.34 percent comprises English words. Conclusively, on the basis of word counts, Kiswahili turns to be significantly used in bilingual billboards and shop-signs than English. Thus, this finding appears to frustrate the suggestion that English is preferred because many English-only signposts outnumber Kiswahili-only signposts. Given this opinion, we are of the suggestion that studies by Bwenge (2012) and Peterson (2014) should consider counting words in the bilingual signs used in their research. In fact, it is likely that the position of Kiswahili might be uplifted by word counts.

Secondly, the qualities of fonts of words provide another basis of examination of the primacy of a certain language in billboards and shop-signs. Fairclough (2003: 37) argues that there is "graphological relations in written language – e.g. relations between different fonts or type sizes in a written text." This kind of examination allows identification of the important words, which are underscored as they are "fonted",[4] as opposed to less significant words, which are not "fonted" (Rosendal 2011). In most cases, font size and font colour may offer a different picture, as Backhaus (2007: 38) states that "the hierarchy of languages based on position can be cancelled by using different font sizes."

In fact, findings in this research demonstrate that some English words are "fonted", as exemplified by the expression BANANA HARDWARE in Figure 6. Likewise, some Kiswahili words are "fonted", as illustrated by the words WAKALA WA BIMA in Figure 6 below.

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[4] For the purpose of this paper, we make use of the label "fonted" to represented orthography (letters) of words with large fonts, capital letters, and/or coloured. Thus, the word "fonted" represents underscored words.

Figure 6: The "fonted" words in Kiswahili-English signboards in Tanzania

The statistical data at hand provides a conclusive picture of the bilingual billboards and shop-signs. Of the 60 bilingual billboards and shop-signs, 61.11 percent (33 bilingual billboards and shop-signs) comprises "fonted" English words while 38.89 percent (21 bilingual billboards and shop-signs) constitutes "fonted" Kiswahili words. On the basis of this parameter, English turns to be a dominant language of bilingual billboards and shop-signs in urban centres in the country.[5]

An emergent picture from the available data is worth analysis here. Most of the "fonted" words, which are names of firms and shops, have names from ECLs, as exemplified by Figure 7. The names are illustrated by BAYDA and KYANYARI from Katesh district capital in Manyara Region.

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[5] Most of the "fonted" words appear to be names of the firms and shops, thus a detailed examination of the font-size and font-colour will be a welcome contribution in the next publication.

Figure 7: The "fonted" names from ECLs in bilingual signboards and shop-signs

Likewise, in monolingual billboards and shop-signs, names from ECLs manifest, as exemplified in Figure 8. Names from ECLs include NTOKA and TULA from Tukuyu district capital in Mbeya Region and QAYMO and DIRMA from Katesh district capital in Manyara Region.
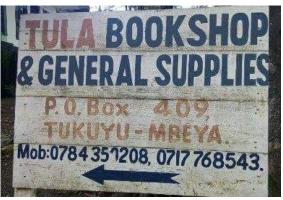
Figure 8: The "fonted" names from ECLs in monolingual signs in Tanzania

The examination of the "fonted" words is paramount in identification of the presence of ECLs in urban space which is limited to the names of firms in images of LL in district capitals. The presence of proper names in ECLs is a testimony that ECLs are used. Although Bwenge (2009, 2012) and Chul-joon (2014) did not consider proper names, two previous studies did. Peterson (2014: 174) found bilingual ECLs-English signposts and concludes that such signs tend to reveal identity of the owners. This is not the same case in Uganda. Higgins (2009: 121) found that "Luganda appears in some advertisements for mobile phones, while Swahili words are often used as the names of restaurants, bars and stores." It means that while Tanzanians use proper names from ECLs, Ugandans opt for Kiswahili names.

In addition, the importance of "fonted" words is paramount in the analysis of proper names in Africa. In fact, Lanza and Woldermariam (2009) and Edelman (2009) argue that the use of proper names in LL is a strategy for social identity. It means that proper names tend to identity someone, some product or a location of some business. Edelman (2009) argues that proper names on signs are typical instance of impersonal multilingualism because they don't communicate any message but identify the owner. Proper names are widely found for shop names, brand names, product names and names of residents (Ibid: 143). In other cases, proper names tend to qualify the standards of the items marketed in that foreign names are assigned to quality products in many parts of the world (Ibid: 144).

Lanza and Woldermariam (2009: 200) examined, among other things, private businesses containing proper names which serve as names for the businesses. In line with the theory of social identity, they found that "in most cases, the names of the businesses reflect the identity

and background of the owner." More important for the current study of LL in Tanzania, historical names of Tigray and Tigrinya names manifest in the data, together with Amharic, Arabic, English and Italian names. Nonetheless, Amharic names surpass Tigrinya names. The presence of African names such as BAYDA, GAYMO, KYANYARA, TULA etc. is a testimony that Tanzanian business owners maintain ties to their ethnic affiliations.

The emergence of names from ECLs does not rule out the limited use of these languages. In fact, the data shows that the position of ECLs is really limited in bilingual billboards and shop-signs. This result confirms Muzale and Rugemalira's (2008) statement that the place of language use for ECLs is the home and informal forum.

4.3 Hybridity on signposts as a strategy to signal contact of languages

Backhaus (2007: 144) states that the way of graphic representation involves re-writing which "produces hybrid terms impossible to clearly assign to one language." In fact, graphic alteration is claimed to be a way of commercial advertisement. In Tanzania, "hybridity involving the workers' ethnic languages shows that hybridization is not limited to languages brought to Tanzania during the colonial period. Of course, indigenous language mixing is a common phenomenon in multilingual societies" (Higgins 2009: 38). Therefore, English, Kiswahili and ECLs are involved in generation of hybridity in urban areas countrywide.

With regard to language of advertisement in Tanzania, Lusekelo (2010) found that the choice of words and their spellings provide information on nativisation of foreign words. With regard to adverts in newspapers, hybridity emanates from re-writing spellings for English words. Specific for billboards, Higgins (2009: 136) found words such as **X-TRA LONGA** 'extra chat' in which an English word **extra** manifests as **x-tra** and **longa** is a Kiswahili word for 'chat'. Outside Tanzania, similar pattern is identified. For instance, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), on the basis of a small township outside Cape Town, found that the billboards make use of hybrid tantalizing wording, English compounds, isiXhosa phrases, and non-standard English spellings. In Ghana, Quayson (2009) identified several uses of XTRA as presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The use of the expression **XTRA** in billboards in Accra, Ghana (Quayson 2010)

S/N	EXPRESSIONS	GLOSS
1.	MTN XTRACOOL	MTN is (much nice) nicer to use (efficient).
2.	MTN XTRACONNECT	With MTN, you call many service providers (widely connected).
3.	XTRA-TIME! (tigo)	With TIGO, you obtain more time to call (cheap).

Findings from district capitals in Tanzania reveal that there are billboards and shop-signs containing code-mixing and hybridity. Though, the dominance of code-mixing over hybridity is attested in the data at hand, localisation of English words is apparently available in the data.

Figure 9 below provides two cases of code-mixing. First, code-mixing makes the use of the words from one language and grammatical affixes from another one. This is exemplified by **tunabarn …** 'we burn' which involves mixing of the English verb **burn** with Kiswahili grammatical elements: the subject marker **tu**- 'we' and the tense marker -**na**-. Another case involves the use of Kiswahili and English words within the same sentence, as in **tunaweka moves kwenye flash …** 'we copy movies into flash …'. This token shows the use of Kiswahili verb **weka** 'put' and preposition **kwenye** 'in' in combination with English names **movies** and **flash**. In the analysis of code-mixing in East Africa, Myers-Scotton (2005, 2006) argues that combination of words and inflectional affixes from two languages is a commonplace phenomenon. In Tanzania, it involves two official languages, namely Kiswahili and English.[6]

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[6] The misspellings are ignored. The words **burn** and **movies** manifest as **barn** and **moves** in Figure 9 above. Code-mixing is the subject matter of discussion in the next publication.

Figure 9: Code-mixing of English and Kiswahili words

Two related issues emerge with regard to hybridity in urban Tanzania. First, the use of English words with Kiswahili orthography is commonplace. The word **vocha** 'voucher' is used to mean 'airtime recharge card' (Figure 9). The localized word **vocha** is related with the word **oda** 'order' used in Figure 10. Urbanites in Tanzania make use of this word to refer to 'ordering

of items from shops'. Second, while these are treated as hybrid words in this research, the words may be regarded as nativised loanwords in other studies.[7]

Figure 10: <u>**VOCHA** AINA ZOTE</u> - Hybridity of English words in Tanzania

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[7] The level of nativisation of English words in Kiswahili is the subject of discussion in researches engaged in lexical borrowing. The words **vocha** 'voucher' and **oda** 'order' do not appear in studies such as Schadeberg (2009) and Lusekelo (2014). It follows that their treatment as hybrid words herein may be plausible. Nonetheless, at this juncture, this topic is not given weight herein, thus, postponed until next publication.

Figure 11: <u>**ODA**</u> **YA MATOFALI** - Hybridity of English words in Tanzania

This phenomenon is attested in many adverts in the country. In fact, previous studies revealed that the localisation of English words is apparent in Tanzania, e.g. **fasta** 'faster' (Higgins 2009: 141) and **ofa** 'offer' and **championi** 'champion' (Lusekelo 2009: 14).

5. DISCUSSION

The place of Kiswahili and English in billboards and shop-signs in urban areas of Tanzania captured in previous studies (Bwenge 2009, 2012; Chul-joon 2014; Peterson 2014) is compared with the findings herein. The comparison is offered in four strands, as follows.

Firstly, the dominance of Kiswahili-only billboards is really ruled out. Thus, for the 52 monolingual billboards, Bwenge (2009: 160) found that 63 percent consists of Kiswahili-only while 37 percent consists English-only. This suggestion is ruled out because several data do not support it. On the one hand, the research by Peterson (2014: 78) found that of the 271 monolingual shop-inscriptions examined, English-only shop-inscriptions constituted 90.77 percent, Kiswahili-only consisted 8.11 percent, and Arabic-only shop-signs comprised 1.10 percent. The findings from up-country district capitals reveal that 70 monolingual billboards and shop-signs. Of these, 87.14 percent consists of English-only and 12.85 comprises Kiswahili-only.

Secondly, the state of multilingualism in urban Tanzania is not confined to Kiswahili and English, rather it involves other languages such as ECLs, Arabic, Hindi and Chinese. In fact, even the composition of the Kiswahili-English billboards and shop-signs offer varied findings. Bwenge (2012) and Chul-joon (2014) found one strand of Kiswahili-English bilingualism in his data. Peterson (2014: 97) found six strands of bilingualism in her data: Kiswahili-English, English-ECLs, English-Chinese, English-Arabic, English-Hindi and Kiswahili-Arabic. In the data discussed herein, Kiswahili-English billboards and shop-signs were dominant, except one signboard (Figure 12) which consisted of Kiswahili, English and Arabic.

Figure 12: Kiswahili, English and Arabic signboard in Babati capital

The third comparative point of departure involves findings gathered in Rwanda by Rosendal (2011: 227). Data presented for Kigali reveals that three languages are in competition of use in public domains. In fact, the billboards, which make use of formal language, split language use which thrice, i.e. 35 percent English, 35 percent French and 15 percent Kinyarwanda. The patterns of language use in Kigali differ significantly with the patterns attested in billboards and shop-signs in urban Tanzania. First, Kiswahili and English compete, and English shows prominence over Kiswahili. This pattern is also affirmed by Peterson (2014) for the Dar es Salaam metropolis in Tanzania.

Rosendal (2011: 228-229) found that the shop-signs in the main street of Kigali, which adheres to language regulations, split language use as follows: 41 percent French, 23 percent English and 7 percent Kinyarwanda. In minor streets of Kigali, however, shop-signs provide this pattern: 53 percent French, 15 percent Kinyarwanda and 10 percent English; perhaps because language regulations are ignored. In urban Tanzania, fascinating findings are obtained. Of the 60 bilingual billboards and shop-signs, 61.11 percent comprises "fonted" English words while 38.89 percent constitutes "fonted" Kiswahili words. This may entail that English surpasses Kiswahili. However, word counts found 528 words used in bilingual billboards and shop-signs. Of these, 59.65 percent constitutes Kiswahili words and 40.34 percent comprises English words. This may entail that Kiswahili surpasses English. The position of ECLs in billboards and shop-signs is really limited to names of firms and shops.
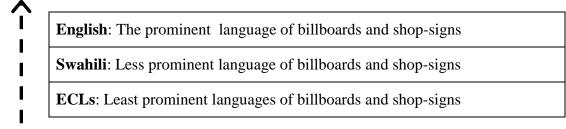
The last comparative work revolves around the re-examination of the prominence of Kiswahili and English in billboards and shop-signs in Tanzania by the use of font types. This is guided by the findings from Tokyo in Japan demonstrated that English and Japanese constituted more words, followed by Chinese, Korean and French (Backhaus 2007: 71). In addition, on the basis of font types, Japanese and English obtain higher prominence (Ibid). Findings from district capitals in Tanzania revealed that English is given more prominence that Kiswahili. Nonetheless, ECLs obtain some significance because names of firms and shops are given large fonts and are more coloured than English and Kiswahili words.

6. CONCLUSION

The focus of the paper is language use in public space in urban Tanzania. This subject matter appeared in fewer studies (Bwenge 2009, 2012; Chul-joon 2014; Higgins 2009; Peterson 2014). However, this topic is reported in many publications for other African countries (Banda & Jimaima 2015; Quayson 2010; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009) and European countries (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz & Gorter 2006; Coluzzi 2009; Edelman 2010; Blackwood & Tufi 2015, among many others). To fill this lacuna, the paper articulated the state of multilingualism in the composition of signposts in district headquarters countrywide.

The paper challenges the suggestion that Tanzania is primarily a Kiswahili speaking country (Batibo 2005; Mkilifi 1972; Petzell 2012; Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997), consisting of English as an official language with limited domains of use, and ethnic community languages which are used as vehicular of communication in domains related to informal settings and homesteads (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008). In fact, it is presented that the dominance of English in billboards and shop-signs rules out the prominence of Kiswahili in the country. Further, the dominance of Kiswahili-English billboards and shop-signs in urban centres testifies that both Kiswahili and English are the major languages in the country. Nonetheless, the dominance of English-only billboards and shop-signs provides a good testimony that this public domain makes use of English rather than Kiswahili. This is supported by font-size and font-colour in that English words turn more prominent than Kiswahili words.

Higher status

English: The prominent language of billboards and shop-signs

Swahili: Less prominent language of billboards and shop-signs

ECLs: Least prominent languages of billboards and shop-signs

Lower status

Figure 13: Hierarchy of language use in billboards and shop-signs in urban Tanzania

The position of Kiswahili will be second and ECLs at the bottom, as given in Figure 13 above. This suggestion is obtained on the basis of word counts in that Kiswahili is significantly used in bilingual billboards and shop-signs than English. The ECLs manifest when font-size and font-colour are examined. Thus, this article concludes that the importance of English surpasses Kiswahili in the language use in bilingual billboards and shop-signs in urban Tanzania. The lowest position of ECLs, as stated by Muzale and Rugemalira (2008), is verified by the data discussed herein.

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