MULTILINGUALISM IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF IBADAN, NIGERIA

Adeola Aminat Babayode-Lawal University of Ibadan and Simon Fraser University

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 one of the most powerful emblems of social behaviour. No doubt, the dimensions of social behaviour and human interactions are often revealed through the study of the relationship that exists between language and society.

The visual language that is used in the city is an important part of society. In other words, the linguistic landscape of society is comprised of items displayed in the written form in the public space as texts on the windows of shops, commercial signs, advertising billboards, graffiti, official notices, traffic signs which are produced and utilized by social actors. The contents of these items often exceed their communicative functions. The study of publicly visible language use often shows the power relations that exist especially in multilingual contexts where the interests of different people are at stake.

The concept of linguistic landscape has motivated several linguists and researchers (such as Griffin 2004 and Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) to conduct studies in different sites, cities, and countries to show the importance of linguistic landscapes in such places. The symbolic construction of the public space can be seen in terms of the linguistic objects or the visible language on signs in the public space and this tends to reveal a lot about the spread, status, vitality, and dominance of languages in different social and cultural contexts.

Nigeria is typically and prototypically a multiethnic and multicultural nation where diverse languages and cultures compete (Akindele and Adegbite 2005). Based on the figures of the recent (2006) national census, the country is populated by over 140 million people. There are also over 250 ethnic groups (Akindele and Adegbite 2005) and about 500 languages in Nigeria (Crystal 2003). Multilingualism in Nigeria is studied not just in terms of the number of languages that exist in the repertoire of individuals and the nation but in terms of the sociolinguistic complexities that emanate from their diversity.

Modern architecture, traditional housing patterns, traditional and westernised ways of life, all co-existing side by side impressively, have earned Ibadan the epithet "cityvillage" (Oyebiyi 2008). The status of Ibadan as a city with the largest concentration of Yoruba, one of Nigeria's major ethnic groups, as well as the seat of one of the nation's largest administrative, commercial and industrial centres, where English is likely to be widely used, has effects on its sociolinguistic reality.

1. The language situation in Ibadan

People of different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds have migrated to Ibadan owing to the opportunities for a better life that abound in the city. English or Nigerian Pidgin is usually 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 most used languages by them.

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), Yoruba is still the most used indigenous language in the city. In the city, English, being Nigeria's official language, is considered a superordinate language which many people have a positive attitude to. Akindele and Adegbite (1999) observe that the other hundreds of languages are not considered as important the way these indigenous languages are.

The sociolinguistic reality of Ibadan is impacted by its role as the city with the highest concentration of one of the major ethnic groups (Yoruba) in Nigeria 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. 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.

2. Multilingualism in Nigeria

There are sociolinguistic implications for the multiplicity of languages in Nigeria. No doubt, this situation raises issues about the status and functions of the languages used in the country. Controversies surround the agreement on the number of languages used in the Nigerian multilingual context. Simply put, an account of the total number of indigenous languages in Nigeria is not certain as scholars have different figures for this. In other words, there is no agreement yet over the number of indigenous languages that are spoken in Nigeria. There are some 500 languages in Nigeria (Crystal 2003), a conservative estimate of 400 languages (Akindele and Adegbite 2005), and over 400 Bamgbose (1977). Also, according to Adegbija (2004) the total number of languages spoken in Nigeria has been suggested to be 200, 300, 368 and 369 (e.g., Osaji 1979, Bamgbose 1971, and Brann 1990). What is certain, therefore, is that there are several hundreds of languages used in the country (Ezema 2009). Different ethnic groups in the nation tend to interpret the choice of any of the indigenous languages as the country's lingua franca as a way of imposing domination. None of the indigenous languages, also, has been seen to be capable of fostering growth, unity and development and coping with the realities of modernity if adopted as the official and national language.

Adegbija (2004) identifies three categories of languages used in Nigeria. He identifies about 450 languages as indigenous or native languages out of which Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo have been constitutionally recognised as major. English, French, Arabic, German, and Russian are some of the exogenous languages he recognises. Nigerian pidgin belongs to his last category of pidgin languages. Pidgin English is one of Nigeria's important languages. It is spoken as a language of wider communication especially in trade in most parts of the southern states in Nigeria. 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 (Adegbija, 2004).

Nigeria belongs to the "Outer Circle" of Kachru's (1986) classification since English, which does not belong to any ethnic group in the country, is the official language that is used in all parts of the country for various purposes. The English language performs both official and national functions at the level of administration, politics, education, trade and commerce and science and technology (Akindele and Adegbite 2005). This appears to be why Cenoz and Gorter (2008) 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 multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of cities and urban environments becomes necessary in understanding the linguistic repertoire of societies especially as the linguistic practices and experiences of people throughout the world have become diverse as a result of migration, media, the virtual space of the internet, and educational travel.

3. Multilingualism in linguistic landscape

Linguistic landscape (henceforth LL) surpasses just being a linguistic phenomenon but a 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 which helps us to understand the rapidly changing urban landscapes. In other words, multilingualism has an important focus in linguistic landscape research.

The study of the linguistic landscape is particularly interesting in bilingual and multilingual contexts. Studies such as Gorter (2006) and Barni (2008) 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. The methodology for including LL in a mapping of linguistic diversity was developed by Barni (2008). 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 and 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). Landry and Bourhis (1997) in their approach introduced linguistic landscape as a concern in multilingual research with their view of linguistic landscape as a newly established approach in the field of language policy and planning which aims to examine multilingualism in speech communities. Ideas about societal multilingualism serve to help in focusing on language choice, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy (Mahemuti 2018) as well as the importance of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of communities. This knowledge helps in the understanding of globalisation, language policy, and the long-term consequences of language contact.

Linguistic landscape offers ways of explaining language use in multilingual societies. The study of the LL can contribute to the understanding of language and cultural diversity as it reflects the population of the city, either the languages in use among the permanent inhabitants and immigrants or the way information is provided to visitors and tourists (Budarina 2015). What this suggests is how the study of the use of language on signs serves to reveal the linguistic composition of societies as well as the presence of the different ethnic groups and the communicative patterns in such places. Truly, most of the works on linguistic landscape have been carried out in multilingual societies. Different languages have been found represented on the public signs (as noted by Ben-Rafael et al. 2006 in Israel, Cenoz and Gorter 2006 in Basque Country, Alomoush 2015 in Jordanian cities, and Said 2019 in Tunisia). Even Al-Athwary (2017) holds that despite the fact that the speech community in Yemen is generally monolingual in Arabic, the public space of Yemen is primarily multilingual. Backhaus (2005) studied the diachronic development of Tokyo's linguistic landscape since the early 1990s as well as the coexistence of older and newer generations of signs in the streets of Tokyo. Results suggest an increase in linguistic heterogeneity (Backhaus 2005). There is the coexistence of English, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese on the signs in the streets. As Japan has been known as one of the few prototypes of a predominantly monolingual society, the variety of languages and scripts displayed on these signs is impressive. Since the extent to which a language is visible is one approach to understanding better attitude towards that language, the visibility or absence of a language in the public space echoes far-reaching statements not just about the value and relevance of the language but also the language practices in society. Pennycook (2010), in this direction, views multilingualism in the linguistic landscape as a practice focusing on the relationship of uniformity depicted in messages conveyed by languages presented in the linguistic landscapes. This suggests that the use of languages that occur on signs in the linguistic landscape gives insights into the nature of society where they are used.

Multilingualism has an important focus in linguistic landscape research. 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 (Barni 2008 and Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael 2015). Leimgruber (2017) investigates the linguistic landscape of Saint Catherine Street, Montreal, Quebec in Canada. The community's visibility of language in the public space reflects 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 language policy and linguistic distribution favourable to the use of English and French. The visibility of other languages (Korean, Chinese, Czech, Spanish, Polish, and German) are interpreted as merely indexical, symbolic and therefore mildly controlled. In the study of the 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 the society of Tunisia. There is diversity in the use of languages on the monolingual bilingual and multilingual signs. Alomoush (2015) appears to represent the first study of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Jordan. The research reveals the dominance of both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and English on monolingual and multilingual signs as well as the marginalisation and stigmatisation of minority languages. The findings of the study are in consonance with Landry and Bourhis's (1997) observation about the dominant language on public signs being normally the language of the majority group that largely 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 presence or absence of languages in the public space communicates symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance and relevance of certain languages (Shohamy 2006) in the multilingual context.

Given the review of these previous studies, studies which explore the linguistic landscape of Africa and Nigeria particularly, are needful. Most of these studies have focused on the linguistic landscape of Europe and Asia. Almost all the studies share a feature of not having a definitive theoretical framework to guide the analysis of data. The study of the visual language use in the environment will provide a more diversified perspective on the representation of languages in multilingual societies.

4. Methodology

Backhaus' (2007) sociolinguistic framework and Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) model have been selected as the theoretical basis of this study. Backhaus (2007) developed and used his framework in his study of the signs of multilingualism in Tokyo. He also developed analytical categories of top-down versus bottom-up geographic distribution, code preference, part writing, visibility, idiosyncrasies, and layering. Spolsky and Cooper (1991), in their study of language use on signs in the eastern parts of the old city of Jerusalem, formulate three conditions to account for the motivations behind the choice of language on public signs. The incorporation of these models provides a rich ground for the analysis of the languages in the linguistic landscape of Ibadan.

4.1 Data collection

The data was collected with the aid of a digital camera. The digital camera as a device for documenting data has been used in linguistic landscape studies such as Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Akindele (2011), Cindy (2011), Alomoush (2015) and Zheng and Luo (2019). This device enabled us to handle a sizeable random sampling of the signs in the study area.

4.2 Sampling technique and procedure

Cities have been known as a showcase for the visual display of symbols and images with shopping and industrial areas having the highest density. Not only do majority of the world's population live in urban areas but the city has become a hotspot of immigration and the resulting ethnic and linguistic mixing offers various possibilities to examine linguistic processes such as language shift, language acceptance, the rise of new varieties (Finzel 2012) as well as linguistic landscape. The urban dynamics of the city, marked by its typical cosmopolitan nature, predisposes it to constant influx of people of different ethnic backgrounds and, consequently, multilingualism.

The purposive sampling technique enabled the representation of cosmopolitan areas where business and commercial activities in Ibadan are expected take place. However, different sections of each of the areas selected for sampling were reflected on the signs photographed. Through this process, the data was collected from the signs found in these Ibadan areas. The sample was representative, in that way, and conclusions about the use of language on signs in Ibadan from this sample of 280 signs formed an adequate representation. No doubt, different types of texts exist on public signs such as graffiti and place names found in this 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.

5. Data analysis

5.1 Language distribution

This section delves into the analysis of the distribution and patterns of language use on signs in relation to the sociolinguistic contexts. The signs are analysed with respect to their distribution, configuration, frequency, the interaction of languages and the ordering of languages in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the diversity of languages.

5.2 Categorising the signs

The photographs were categorised and grouped into different types of signs for the analysis of the patterns of language use. Each category contains a detailed analysis of photographs using Backhaus' (2007) analytic framework including the four types of "writing" which he named monophonic writing, homophonic writing, mixed part writing, and polyphonic writing. The categorisations were also influenced by Spolsky and Cooper's (2009) components based on their preference model for examination of the relationship between the languages, their owners, and how they relate to the sociolinguistic context of the communities in the understanding of the patterns of language use.

Communities	Monophonic signs	Mixed part signs	Homophonic signs	Polyphonic signs
Challenge	33	1	1	5
Dugbe	28	0	1	11
Iwo Road	29	0	1	10
Mokola	30	0	1	9
Olodo	17	1	0	22
Ring Road	34	1	0	5
Sango	25	3	0	12
Total	196	6	4	74

Table 1. Patterns of language use in the seven Ibadan communities.

5.2.1 Monophonic signs

In the data, there are instances of monophonic signs in English and Yoruba, although most of the monophonic signs are in English. Such signs are mostly directional (*in*); navigational (*This way in, Welcome!*); warning (*beware of 419 this house is not for sale, to sibi ko ya were tabi ko ku*- meaning 'urinate here, become insane or die', *to sibi ko ya were*- 'urinate here and go insane'); place names (*cocoa house*); regulatory (*no smoking, waiting, hawking /mase to sibi*-meaning 'do not urinate here'); persuasive (*core fashion/infusion of extremity outfits*); and commercial (*divine mercy stores*).

Most of the monophonic signs are regulatory and business signs. Monolingual Arabic on a mosque wall and a residential building appears to be used by the owners of the signs to identify with Islam since Arabic is often associated with the Islamic religion.



Figure 1. A monolingual English commercial sign on Ring Road.

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 monophonic signs in Yoruba are mostly used for warning and admonition. The sign in Figure 2 below conveys a prohibitive information.



Figure 2. A monolingual English sign in Olodo.



Figure 3. A monolingual Yoruba sign on Ring Road.

Yoruba seems to be used in Figure 3 above as a form of advice to the presumed reader about recognising the important place of Jesus as the only way to salvation in Christianity. The use of Yoruba serves to demonstrate the vitality of Christianity as well as the place of the Yoruba language in spreading Christianity in the sociolinguistic context of Ibadan.

5.2.2 Homophonic signs

The few instances of these homophonic signs denote the desirability of the sign owners in reaching out to a wide range of individuals who may not be proficient in the dominant code (English). The languages used on these signs are English, Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa.



Figure 4. A Yoruba/English bilingual sign in Sango.



Figure 5. A Yoruba/English/Hausa/Igbo multilingual sign in Challenge.

The sign in Figure 4 is a bilingual sign placed on the wall of a building warning people from urinating in the surrounding of the building. It relates to the "presumed reader's" condition as the sign is presented to be intelligible to the presumed readers who are expected to know the dominant languages of the community. The sign in Figure 5 is not only used to suggest language hierarchy and dominance but also multiculturalism. The "symbolic value" condition explains the motivation for the choice of English, Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa presupposing the presence of these language groups as well as the attempt by the signwriter to show solidarity towards them.

5.2.3 Mixed part signs

There are only three mixed part signs in the data and the languages used on them are Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Arabic and English. Only elements on the signs are available in other languages. The sign in Figure 6 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 particular brand of chicken seasoning cubes *Mamador*. Only a word 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 which has been 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. This 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.



Figure 6. An Arabic/English bilingual sign.



Figure 7. A Yoruba/Hause/Igbo/English multilingual sign.

The sign in Figure 7 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 to people of various ethnic groups. Although there appears to be the dominance of Yoruba with the use of *Igo kan* ('one bottle') and *Waso ni o* ('it is fifty naira'), English is still prominently used with the use of *bottles*. It is worth noting that the sign owner seems to be aware of the influence of Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo languages, especially as they are presented as alternative languages to English in branding the company.

The symbolic value condition of the multilingual nature of the sign is explainable in terms of how the product is presented as useful to all kinds of people of different identities and ethnicities. The dominance of English relates to its status marker in society. It is therefore the preferred language of prestige that conveys a positive image on signs.

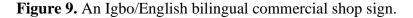
5.2.4 Polyphonic signs

Most of the bilingual and multilingual signs in the data are polyphonic in nature. The languages on each of the signs convey different meanings. On some of the signs, proficiency in all the languages used on them is needed to understand the meaning of the sign while in others, the indigenous languages such as *Ogechi* (Igbo), *Akinola* (Yoruba), *Leke* (Yoruba), *Iya Ibeji* (Yoruba) and *Imuse Ileri* (Yoruba) are only used as part of the business names in addition to English. The principle of power relations as applied by Ben-Rafael (2009) may help to account for the motivations behind the high incidence of the use of Yoruba, which is the dominant indigenous language. The indigenous languages are used to show identity and solidarity and the commitment of the actors to their linguistic groups while English is demonstrated as the language of business, sophistication, prestige, wider communication, and a means of helping business owners increase sales. This reality gives the indigenous languages diminished visibility and relevance. The use of Yoruba on inscriptions on buildings on signs showing ownership could be interpreted as conveying the message that showing ownership is more important than being understood.



Figure 8. An Igbo/English bilingual commercial sign shop sign.





The sign in figure 8 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. It seems to also be used to

index their identity. The use of Igbo on this sign here also contributes to showing the preponderance of polyphonic writing on signs in Iwo Road as there are more polyphonic signs than there are monophonic and homophonic signs in this sociolinguistic context and their predominance can be explained in terms of the extent of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Iwo Road.

6. Summary

The analysis reveals that the linguistic landscape of Ibadan is diverse, multidimensional and multilingual resulting from the cosmopolitan nature of the city. The analysis of multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of the communities brings into the limelight the reflection of linguistic hierarchies, language choice, covert and overt language attitudes, language vitality, power structure, ethnolinguistic diversities, and nature of multilingualism in Ibadan.

The languages used on the signs are Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Arabic, French, Nigerian Pidgin, and English. The languages are used in various ways to attract the attention of the public, to index the social identity of actors, to show distinctiveness and uniqueness, to show solidarity, 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 primary indigenous language of the community, is the next most visible language in the linguistic landscape of the communities. The heterogeneous and cosmopolitan nature of the linguistic landscapes of the communities.

7. Conclusion

The study sheds light on 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 state with a large population of Yoruba speakers, its metropolitan nature and urban dynamics seems to have made it 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 landscapes of the communities.

8. 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.

Attention was placed to taking representative samples of data but not all the signs in the communities were photographed. 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 instance, abbreviations were used on some signs.

9. 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 cites 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. In the aspect of the number of signs to analyse, further studies on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape involving large amount of data could also be described and analysed.
- 3. 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 they perceive about their choices reflects the power and status of various ethnolinguistic groups in the country.
- 4. 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.

References

Adetunji, Akin. 2013. A sociolinguistic study of meaning-making in a Nigerian linguistic landscape: the example of Ibadan. Doctoral Dissertation, Texas A & M University-Commerce.

- Akindele, Dele. 2011. Linguistic landscape as public communication: a study of public signage in Gaborone, Botswana. *International Journal of Linguistics* 3(1): 1-11. http://dx.doi.org/10.5396.ijl.v3il.ii57
- Akindele, Femi, and Adegbite, Wale. 2005. *The sociology and politics of English in Nigeria*. Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Al-Athwary, Anwar. 2017. English and Arabic inscriptions in the linguistic landscape of Yemen: A multilingual writing approach. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English literature* 6(4): 149-162.
- Backhaus, Peter. 2005. Signs of multilingualism in Tokyo a diachronic look at the linguistic landscape. International Journal of Sociology of Language, 175/176: 103-121.
- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1977. Towards an implementation of Nigeria's language policy of education. In *Language in Education in Nigeria* (Vol. 1), ed. Ayo. Bamgbose, 20–25. Lagos: The National Language Centre.
- Barni, Monica. 2008. Mapping immigrant languages in Italy. In *Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts*, eds. M. Barni & G. Extra, 217–241. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, and Ben-Rafael, Miriam. 2015. Linguistic landscapes in an era of multiple globalizations. *Linguistic Landscape* 1(1-2): 19-37.
- Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, Shohamy, Elana, Amara, Muhammad Hasan, and Trumper-Hecht, Nira. 2006. Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: the case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3(1): 7-30.
- Cenoz, Jasone and Gorter, Duke. 2008. Knowledge about language and linguistic landscape. https://www. researchgate.net/publication/226758890
- Crystal, David. 1997. English as a global language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ezema, Pius. 2009. The English language, politics and the issue of multi-ethnicity in Nigeria. *Bassey* Andah Journal 2: 115-123.
- Grifin, Jeffery. 2004. The Presence of written English on the streets of Rome. English Today 20(2): 3-8.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and the Literature, ed.* R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson, 11-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leimgruber, Jakob R. E. 2017. Global multilingualism, local bilingualism, official monolingualism: the linguistic landscape of Montreal's St Catherine Street. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/302 989902
- Mahemuti, Misidoula. 2018. Linguistic landscape on campus: Asian college students' perceptions of multilingual learning environments. Master's thesis, State University of New York.
- National Population Commission, Nigeria. 2006. Census report.
- Oyebiyi, Olubunmi. 2008. The traditional rulers of a great city Ibadan A tale of seven hills notable events. Ibadan: Boom Art/Publishing Co.
- Oladele, Bankole Michael, and Oladimeji, Bakare Hakeem. 2011. Dynamics of urban land use changes with remote sensing: case of Ibadan, Nigeria. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning* 4(11): 632-634. http://www.acdemic journal.org
- Olatubara, Charles Olufisayo. 1995. Activity patterns and urban residential location in Ibadan, Oyo State. Doctoral dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

Shohamy, Eliezer. 2006. *Language policy: hidden approaches and new agendas*. New York: Routledge. Spolsky, Bernard, and Cooper, Robert, L. 1991. *The languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Finzel, Anna. 2012. English in the linguistic landscape of Hong Kong: A case study of shop signs and linguistic competence. Master's thesis, Universisität Potsdam.