Exploring the Dynamics of Power through Language of Road Signs: An Exploratory Study of the Top-Down Signboards in Islamabad

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Abstract

The linguistic landscape is the visibility of languages on public and commercial signboards in a territory or region. The language policy of a region and, in this case, the language policy of Pakistan has a strong link with the linguistic landscape of Islamabad. A lot of research has been carried out on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan but only a few studies focused on the manifestation of power through the language. This study attempted to investigate the topdown signboards in different areas in Islamabad which is a rich resource for investigation. The study in hand is an interpretivist exploratory study which employed Ben Rafael's framework proposed to analyze the power relations in the linguistic landscape of Islamabad. This study will help in creating awareness of the true nature of the utilization of language on the signboards. Ninety-eight (n=98) signboards from 6 areas of Islamabad were selected and the results showed that the languages on the signboards were not used for informative purposes. The findings of this study reported that the English Language was promoted, not for global or commercial purposes, rather, it continued to serve imperialist goals by maintaining the already existing superior and dominant position of the English language in the society at the expense of erasure of the indigenous languages.

Keywords: imperialistic goals, indigenous languages, linguistic landscape, power relation, top-down signboards.

Introduction

Language is a key tool that is used to communicate and engage with each other, and it is a component that creates, shapes and reflects our realities and our identities. We live in a multilingual world with different languages around us ranging from national, local to international languages and they all constitute our linguistic landscape (Jamil and Kausar 446-455). Hence, language is all around us and we are submerged in it and it exists in various forms whether it is in textual form or other forms of symbols and signs.

Since different languages exist in the same linguistic landscape, these languages may be competing for dominance (Mulyawan et al. 5). This competition is the claiming of public space, which is connected to public space ownership (Shohamy). The exclusion and inclusion of specific languages on public signs in a linguistic landscape in an area is an important indicator to show the power imbalance that is reflected using certain languages. Social and political issues may also play a crucial role in the linguistic competition of a linguistic landscape.

The linguistic landscape is a complex phenomenon that involves a wide variety of perspectives and disciplines, including sociology, semiotics, media, history, and advertising (Mahmood et al.786). The representation of language in a specific area relates to the identity and the culture of the area (Gorter 4). Hence, it is understandable why this domain is of special interest to sociolinguists and its importance cannot be undermined. The linguistic landscape constantly interacts with the inhabitants of that landscape as well (Jamil and Kausar 452). Thus, this creates a space that derives meaning through this subtle daily interaction. The linguistic landscape as the visibility of languages on public and commercial signboards in a given territory or region (Landry and Bourhis 29). They are of the view that the linguistic landscape

of a region can serve to be a marker of power of the different languages that exist in an area, city or a country).

Pakistan is a linguistically diverse country with 74 languages (Rahman 313). The use of Urdu as a lingua franca is widespread across the country. However, English serves as the official language and the language of the more privileged elite institutions such as the military and bureaucracy (313). Even though the constitution of Pakistan asserts the promotion of Urdu language, this language divide between Urdu and English still exists and English has come to be associated as a symbol of power and status (Jamil and Kausar 452). This linguistic divide and linguistic contestation may also be evident in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. Within this linguistic landscape, road signboards are categorized on the basis on their role in the society and the entities that frame or design these (Ben Rafael et al. 19). Road signboards in Pakistan are designed by both private and public entities. The private entities create signboards which are rather flexible in nature. There are no fixed rules on naming private institutions, so a lot of creativity is evident in the production of such signboards like shops, brands, logos, restaurants. These signboards are called the bottom- up sign boards (Akindele 7). In contrast to these are the public ones which are designed by entities which have greater authority like the government organizations and figures. As these are public sign boards, there is less flexibility and creativity in these sign boards. These are usually observed on roads and usually serve the functions of maintaining and organizing the behavior of people on the road. These are called the top-down signboards.

These signboards form a crucial component of the linguistic landscape of any region. A recent study has interesting contributions in observing the function of the linguistic landscape in the socio-cultural context (Shoahmy and Gorter 189-205). They suggest that it provides

exposure, learning, adaptability for the common people and has a direct impact upon their thinking process and 'linguistic behaviours' (197). Linguistic Landscape, thereby, tends to promote a language because the more a language is used, the more alive it stays as the linguistic landscape is something which is frequently visible to all the people on daily basis. These do not act as passive entities but active bodies which tend to frame and structure the linguistic makeup of the people interacting with these landscapes.

Statement of the Problem

The study aimed to explore if there exists a disparity in the language of top-down signboards in different areas of Islamabad. Islamabad is a linguistically rich area and there seem to be a diversity in the signboards in the linguistic landscape of Islamabad and this diversity can lead to linguistic tension between the official and the national language of Pakistan. Several studies have been conducted to investigate the power dynamics of some selected linguistic landscapes, but no study has been conducted to explore federal territory of Islamabad exclusively to the best knowledge of the researchers. Islamabad is rather an important landscape by virtue of its status as Pakistan's capital city and as inhabiting linguistically diverse population. There seems a need to thoroughly investigate the linguistic landscape of Islamabad as manifested through its top-down signboards displayed in various locations. This investigation attempted the manifestation of power through the language of linguistic landscape of the selected areas of Islamabad.

Research Objectives

• To explore the power dynamics of the selected linguistic landscape through the use of language on the top-down signboards.

• To investigate if there exists a disparity in the language of top-down signboards in different areas of Islamabad.

Research Questions

- Does the Language of the Linguistic Landscape of the selected areas manifest power imbalance?
- Do the top-down signboards present a linguistic disparity is different selected areas of Islamabad?

Literature Review

Linguistic Landscape is an arena which is in constant interaction with the users of language, thereby, the impact of it on the people is significant (Landry and Bourhis 27). To investigate this impact, this arena poses itself as a rich site for analysis and research. There are numerous reasons for which research is conducted in this area which includes linguistic choices, the play of ideologies, transliteration, code mixing and code switching. In other words, in national as well as international contexts, linguistic landscape is an overarching framework that encourages different aims of study as well as different units of analysis. For instance, in the context of Pakistan, a study based on conducted a comparative investigation of the linguistic landscape of Islamabad and Lahore was conducted where the focus of the study was to investigate if the preferred linguistic code complies with the language policy of Pakistan (Jamil and Kausar 446-455). It was addressed in the study that despite Urdu being the preferred code in these two cities, Urdu language was heavily embellished with vocabulary from English Language which aimed at the promotion of English Language. In correspondence with this study, another study explored the patterns of language promotion through examining the language of signboards of

motorways and highways across Pakistan (Shahzad et al. 287-297). He conducted this study just after the road initiative contract with China was finalized and concluded that three languages were promoted from which the percentage of promotion of English Language was the highest. He also added that a subtle promotion of Madrid language was also observed which according to him was beneficial for securing the future of the people.

A study conducted in Swat showed that most of the bottom-up signboards were multilingual in their nature with a general preference towards English language despite Urdu being the national language of Pakistan (Nikolauo and Shah 21-39). Another study conducted in Khyber Pakhtun Khuwa reported that transliteration techniques were employed by the entities designing the top-down approach (Mahmood et al. 781-800). This study exposed a conflict between the language policy in Pakistan and the preferred code, revealing English as the preferred code. In the national contexts, an in-depth study of linguistic signboards was conducted where the focus was on the linguistic modifications, the deviations in spellings, and use of vocabulary in the linguistic landscape of Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Wah Cantt. The resulted generated through surveys and interviews, revealed the presence of English vocabulary along with other indigenous languages which hinted at the construction of hybrid identity, but, at the expense of the erasure of the local languages (Atta 58-96).

Critical and ideological perspectives were also utilized to demystify any hidden agendas or motivations behind the usage of language. In another study, it was discussed that language was manipulated in the political linguistic landscape as a persuasive technique for gaining sympathy and favour (Naeem et al. 462). An interesting addition in the analysis of linguistic landscape was a multimodal analysis where the linguistic landscape of Yogyakarta was put under study to highlight the role of English language in the economic and commercial domains (Khazanah et

al. 92-102). They reported that English Language was used for symbolic reasons rather than for informational purposes. Lee attempted to extend over this by tracing how the bottom-up signboards were presented in the linguistic landscape of tourist destinations in Seoul (507). This study was solely conducted from an economic and commercial perspective and revealed that English was the preferred code in the economic world (508-512). The businessmen relied heavily on the usage of English Language for gaining monetary benefits (Bolton 32). Since globalization, English Language has become an economic capital where economic and social importance is attached to this language (Blommaert). Hence, the usage of this language has increased manifold especially during the last century (Selvi 35). Studies conducted in these domains revealed that English Language has now become 'an attention getter' (Lee 502). It is now linked with prosperity and high status and is used for promotional purposes as well (Kasanga 48-69).

Manan et al. have proposed that English language is a brand signifier and an 'economic commodity' (659). This study on the linguistic landscape has revealed that English language is being used with the local languages, thereby, it results in 'Glocalizing' the English language. However, he maintained that his study "overlooks the ideological, political and institutional relationship of power of English with other local Languages" (18). The present global trends tend to promote the English language which may result in 'linguitic genocide' (Skhutnabb). This promotion of English Language may also be a continuing agenda of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson). Hence, the present study seems significant as it will attempt to demystify the possible power dynamics in the language of the top-down signboards, thereby, acquainting the readers with the reasons behind various linguistic choices or code preferences in the federal territory of Islamabad.

Methodology

Theoretical Underpinnings

Ben-Rafael proposed his four-framework sociological model to analyze the linguistic landscape of any area. These four structuration principles include 1) the presentation of self, 2) good reasons, 3) collective identity and 4) power relations. The first two principles focus more on the usage of language in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural area and the third is concerned with identity. Since the focus of this study was on the possible establishment of power relations among the two linguistically tense languages of Pakistan, hence the study utilized the principle of power relations presented by Ben-Rafael. Power relations "try to account for the use and relation of different language codes that may be evident between dominant and subordinate groups, and between authoritative language policy and grassroots practices" (Yao and Gruba 24).

Methodology

The study is an interpretive exploratory study, and it is qualitative in nature. Against the theoretical backdrop of Ben-Rafael's model, Khazana et al. suggest that we can trace the extent of dominance or power attached to a language through examining its usage in a public space (95). Sciriha extends over this, by proposing two methods of investigation. These two methods include quantifying the instances of the appearance of language at a public space and the second suggested method is mapping out the general role which that language plays in that society (102). Following this, our analysis will be based on the exploration of the usage on English and Urdu languages on the top-down signboards in selected areas. For the selection of the signboards, we took photographs of all the top-down signboards in the selected areas to

keep the selection objective. The photographs were self-taken with researchers' mobile phones, so no consent was needed. A total of 98 signboards were analyzed from all the sectors. Out of these, 25 were from G-9, 16 were from G-10, 15 were from G-11, 18 were from F-7, 18 were from F-8 and, 6 were from E-7. The study was conducted in the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad. a few years back, the center of power shifted from the international port city of Karachi to the new planned city of Islamabad which became the capital of Pakistan (Kreutzmann 136-160). The city of Islamabad is designed in a series of square sectors according to the hierarchy of communities according to their income groups (Maria and Imran). Hence, some areas of Islamabad are considered posh areas and some are considered as non- posh areas. The posh areas selected for the study were E-7. F-8, F-7 and the non- posh areas selected for the study were G-11. G-10, G-9. Posh and non-posh areas were selected to explore the power dynamics through the possible variations in language of road signs in different areas of Islamabad.

Results and Findings

The investigation of different top-down signboards in different selected areas of Islamabad reveals five major categories under which these signboards can be distributed. These categories include signboards having 'Only-English Script', 'Only-Urdu' script, 'English and Romanized Urdu' script, 'Urdu and English Language' and 'Romanized English' Script. These signboards did not provide only directions about a location, they were also based on road safety and some were also based on environmental concerns. The scripts on these signboards were in the form of speech acts that encouraged action on the part of the readers. Most of these signboards were either from Capital District Authority (CDA) or Islamabad Traffic Police

(ITP). An interesting observation was that all the signboards which had more than one language on them positioned Urdu Language over English Language.

Signboards with 'English and Romanized Urdu' Script.

This type of script is a combination of English language and English terms written in Urdu Script. Romanized Urdu may also be called transliterated Urdu because transliteration is one of the written techniques in romanization of a language.

For instance: in Figure 1, we see that the English word 'Avenue' is placed with its transliterated version in Urdu Script. Figure, 2, 3 and 4 also present the same findings where English words are positioned below and their transliterated versions are transcribed in Urdu Script. This pattern of transcribing the script hints at the promotion of the English Language because it is clearly visible here that the signboards utilize English terms which are then transliterated into Urdu scripts for the purpose of making is comprehendible.



Signboards with 'Only English' Scripts

Figure 5 and 6 and two types of signboards which are observed to be transcribed in 'Only English' script. All the areas in the selected sample include these signboards. These signboards vary in their colors as well as in their shapes, but the transcribed messages remain the same. It may also be noted that these signboards are placed at areas which are near schools or marketplaces where people frequently cross these busy roads. In this regard, it is essentially important for the drivers to understand the message conveyed to them for the purpose of safety.

In short, as the signboard under this category provides important information for the people on the end, it has to be understandable but most of the lower and middle-class people are not proficient enough in the English language. Hence, it may be said that the presence of signboards under the 'Only English' scripts hints at its symbolic function rather than its purpose of providing information.





Figure 5

Signboards with 'Only Urdu' Scripts

Among the signboards with 'Only Urdu' script, the signboard in Figure-8 is observed to be the most common signboard of this category. It encourages the promotion of saving nature and is informational in its nature. However, it does not relate to any safety measures on the road. On the other hand, the other signboards in Figure-7, conveys the message that 'Taxi-Parking and Double-Parking is not permissible'. This signboard is set up by Islamabad Traffic Police ITP. This kind of signboard were only observed in sector F-8, especially on the roads in front of educational institutions or hospitals.

One major finding is that the signboards under this category were found to be the least in its percentage. These were only observed in three of the selected sample areas despite Urdu being the language of the common people. Hence, the least percentage of the presence of these

signboards hint at erasure of local languages and especially the national language.





Figure 7

Figure 8

Signboards with 'English and Urdu' Scripts

An 'English and Urdu' script signboard has both languages so that it can be understood by most of the people on the road. This signboard is an important one as it is usually placed at areas before a sharp turn, a traffic signal, a speed breaker, or a pedestrian crossing as the inability to understand this message can cause accidents. This category has the second least percentage in the 5 categories of the top-down signboards of the selected areas.



Figure 9

Signboards with Romanized English Scripts

As evident in Figure-10, a signboard under the category of Romanized English is the one which has lexicon of another language transcribed in Roman English. In this case, for instance, it is a word with Urdu Lexicon transcribed in English. This signboard says "Khayaban e Iqbal". This is an Urdu term which means the avenue of Iqbal and has a historical Connotation.



Figure 10

Findings of different sectors of Islamabad

G-9 sector is a very busy sector of Islamabad and it is a shopping hub for the middle class in most cases and upper class in some cases. The investigation of these signboards revealed that there were 12 signboards in 'English and Romanized Urdu' script. There were 9 signboards which were 'Only English' 4 were 'Only Urdu' and 2 were code mixed 'Urdu and English' boards. In the linguistic landscape of this area, a general observation was that most of the signboards in this area belonged to the category of English and Romanized Urdu Signboards. G-10 sector is located within the less posh section of the society and is also a shopping hub. The presentation of the Linguistic Landscape of this area is a bit different than sector G-9. In this sector, most of the signboards were included in the category of 'Only English' and the second highest number of signboards belonged to the category of 'English and Romanized Urdu' signboards. G 11 is the last sector in the category of less posh areas of Islamabad. In this sector, we have people from lower as well as middle class and this area is mostly used for residential purposes. The linguistic landscape of this areas stands in agreement to the G-9 sector where most of the road signs belonged the category of 'English and Romanized-Urdu' Signboards. An exploration of the top-down signboards of the less posh areas of the selected sample showed that majority of the signboards had 'English and Romanized Urdu' script on them. The second highest number of signboards were those which were in 'Only English' scripts.

Sector F-7 belongs to the posh areas of Islamabad. Two biggest malls of Islamabad are in this sector. Moreover, the residential area of F-7 belongs to the elite class as well. Twenty-five signboards were selected as a sample to analyze the trend in this area. Out of all these signboards, the highest number of signboards were those which included 'English and Romanized Urdu Script' on them. The second highest percentage of signboards were those which had 'Only English' script and the least percentage of the signboards were those which had 'Only-Urdu' script on them. Out of these signboards, Only English Signboards were 5, English and Romanized Signboards were 18 and 2 signboards were in Only Urdu script. These signboards belonging to the category of 'Only Urdu' signboards are surprisingly only found in posh areas of Islamabad. F8 is the second among the posh areas of Islamabad and is usually used for residential purposes. The linguistic landscape of this sector presented the same results as the linguistic landscape of F7 where the percentage of signboards with 'English and Romanized Urdu script' was the highest and the percentage of signboards with 'Only Urdu' script was the lowest. Sector E-7 is considered the poshest area of Islamabad. This area is located directly beside the Faisal Mosque and is inhabited by the elite class including diplomats and foreigners. Quite a few numbers of signboards could be observed in this sector. E7 is largely inhabited by foreigners, and it was expected that most of the top-down signboards here would be in English Language because nearly all the residents here are well acquainted with English Language. On the contrary, only one English Signboard was found in sector E-7. Moreover, the researchers also found an 'English Romanized' signboard saying "Khayaban e Igbal". This is an Urdu term which means the avenue of Igbal and has a historic connotation. It is expected that as the residents of this sector are usually foreigners and the elite class, Roman Urdu Script is easier to be understood and comprehended by the residents of this sector. After

an exploration of the linguistic landscape of this area, it may be said that the linguistic landscapes of these poshest areas are similar in their nature because signboards with 'English and Urdu Romanized' script were the highest in percentage in all the selected poshest areas of Islamabad.

Discussion

Pakistan is a multilingual country and in a multilingual community, an unequal power relationship may be uncovered among different languages in use, especially in terms of dominance of marginalization of some languages (Shohamy; Landry and Bourhis 23-49). In the present study, we are essentially concerned with the use of English and Urdu Language in the Linguistic Landscape of some selected areas. In the context of the linguistic landscape, we often note that the frequent use of English language is often regarded as a means of serving global purposes (Crystal; Johnson 12). The focus of this study, however, is to investigate that the English language may be promoted at the expense of other local languages, thereby, upholding the dominant status of English and putting the local languages in the space of erasure. In Pakistan, English was not introduced as a tool of globalization, rather it was used as a colonial tool to control the masses and replace their indigenous languages (Rahman 318; Mahboob 20). Hence, it is crucial to investigate whether the role of English in the linguistic landscape is power-driven.

Regarding this, Khazana et al., (99) suggests that we can trace the extent of dominance or power attached to a language through examining its usage in a public space. Sciriha extends over this by proposing two methods of investigation (95-106). These two methods include quantifying the instances of the appearance of language at a public space and the second suggested method is mapping out the general role a language plays in that society.

In the context of the study in hand, the English language has always been a dominant language and our findings of quantified data displays interesting results. The highest percentage of top-down signboards of the selected areas were the ones which fall under the category of 'English and Romanized Urdu', the second highest percentage is of 'Only English' signboards and the least percentage is of 'Only Urdu' signboards.

Pakistan is a multi-lingual country where more than 74 languages are spoken. Urdu is understood and spoken by majority of the people in Islamabad, but the usage of the English language remains confined to the people "in the government administration, law, media or those who pursue higher education" (Atta 67). In this study, a blend of posh and less posh areas was selected so that the sample includes all the upper, lower and the middle classes of the society.

As discussed earlier, just a small section of the society understands and communicates in the English language but most of the top-down signboards are in English. This finding is constant in all the selected areas that are included in the sample. Our findings show that the signboards belonging to the category of 'English and Romanized Urdu' are the highest in number. In this category, signboards are named with English lexicon and transliterated in Urdu. Here, the power structures come into play because English language is presented to be so important in Pakistan that top-down signboards are named with English lexicon and Urdu language is used just to make these names comprehendible by the common masses. Similarly, the higher percentage on 'Only English' signboards hint at the absence of Urdu language at the public places. The message on the signboards did not provide only directions about a location, but most of them were based on directions related to the safety of the drivers or the environment. These tended to interact with readers by being more of a speech act as it encouraged the action

on the part of the readers. Our exploratory study showed that these messages could only be decoded by a small section of the society i.e., the elite class. This makes these signboards a symbolic part of the power dynamics in that area. The lack of proper selection of languages on the signboards may have serious implications in the safety of the people on the road.

Numerous other studies situated in the context of Pakistan are in accordance with these findings. A comparative study of Lahore and Islamabad also suggested that English language is the preferred code within the Linguistic landscape of Islamabad and Lahore (Jamil and Kausar 446-455). The same results were presented by the study conducted by Atta (58-96) who investigated in-depth linguistic analysis of the linguistic Landscape of Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Wah Cantt. He suggests that the promotion of English language through translanguaging and transliteration tends to create a hybrid identity which put Urdu in the danger of erasure. Another study conducted on the highways and motorways across Pakistan also reports the promotion of the English Language along with little promotion of two other languages but in this study, the promotion of languages is equated with securing the future of the people (Shahzad et al. 287). A study conducted in Swat on bottom-up signboards shows that most of the bottom-up signs were found multilingual with a general preference towards the English language despite Urdu being the national language of Pakistan (Nikolauo and Shah 21). Similarly, Khazanah (99) reports that English language was the second most preferred code in the commercial world of Yogyakarta. He maintains that English language was used for symbolic purposes and not for informational purposes because despite the lack of adequate competency of English language, it was used in the commercial and economic space in Yogyakarta. Lee also confirms the dominant and ideological role of English Language in the commercial world through his study conducted on the tourist destinations in Seoul. He reveals

that most of the businessmen prefer using English language to keep their businesses flourishing because English is linked with prosperity fame.

In terms of findings, our study corresponds to the findings of the above-mentioned studies because our study suggests that the information on the signboards is not understood by the common masses in Pakistan who are not proficient in the English Language. The pattern of the signboards is such that the least posh areas have the highest number of signboards in the English Language. This setting up of transcription on the top-down signboard is symbolic and ideological in its nature as it serves to maintain the superiority and dominance of English. In contrast to the findings of some studies who propose that the promotion of the English Language in Pakistan merely servs the goals of globalization (Manan, et al.645-665; Shahzad et al. 287), it may be said that the signboards are used for symbolic reasons where English is not only promoted but is serving the imperialist role of the erasure of Urdu language as well. Moreover, the English Language is promoted in Islamabad at the expense of erasure of indigenous languages. It does not serve global goals, rather it is part of the power dynamics where it tends to maintain the superiority and dominance of the English Language.

Conclusion

Islamabad is a linguistically diverse region, and, in such areas, it is important to observe the linguistic diversity because people of diverse linguistics background interact mutually. To investigate this, the poshest and least posh areas of Islamabad were investigated in terms of their top-down signboards. The study was solely concerned with the English and Urdu language visible in the public places.

It was found in the study that the English language and English lexicon was the most preferred code in the selected investigated areas. In contrast to this, Urdu language was least visible in the context of this investigation, and it was mostly used for the purpose of transliterating English lexicon. It was further observed in this study that despite being the national language of Pakistan, Urdu was hardly visible on the signboards as compared to the signboards in English language. This trend has put the Urdu language at high risk or erasure. Many studies conducted in Pakistan reported the promotion of the English language for the purpose of trade, globalization and glocalization (Atta 67; Manan et al. 645-565; Shahzad et al. 287). The findings of this study suggested that the promotion of the English Language is not only for global, glocal, or commercial purposes, rather, it continues to serve imperialist goals by maintaining the already existing superior and dominant position of the English language in the society at the expense of erasure of the indigenous languages. Hence, this study maintains that the relationship of the national and official language of Pakistan is power-driven. The findings of the study in hand are expected to be significant in creating awareness among the common masses about the true function of language in a linguistic landscape. Moreover, it will help the researchers and the policy makers to revise the linguistic policy so that the national language can be preserved and the safety of the people on the roads can be assured.

Delimitation

This study is an exploratory study where linguistic patterns of the top-down signboards were examined but the voices of the common masses were not incorporated. These voices, if incorporated, can provide us with interesting insights of the linguistic situation of Islamabad.

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