

SCRIPTS ON LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES: A MARKER OF HYBRID IDENTITY IN URBAN AREAS OF PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Background and Purpose: Scripts have strong relationship with religion, culture, and identity. This research was conducted to analyze how choice of different language scripts indicates identity crisis by observing placement, size, and preference of one code over the other. Furthermore, it also demonstrates the existence of plurilingual practices on linguistic landscapes.

Methodology: The relationship of scripts with culture and religion was analyzed by following the theoretical framework of semiotics given by Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Huebner (2006). Data was collected through photographs of linguistic landscapes and passersby interviews. Altogether, a corpus of 1064 photographs was collected from three cities in Pakistan (i.e Rawalpindi, Islamabad & Wah Cantt) and 10 passersby were interviewed.

Findings: Data analysis reveals some distinctive linguistic modifications in shop signs and billboards; including deviation in spellings, transliteration, linguistic hybridity, vocabulary, visual representation

of language, lack of knowledge of Urdu vocabulary, acceptance of English vocabulary as part of Urdu language and use of sub-standard English vocabulary.

Contribution: The research concludes that erroneous use of language and transliteration practices cause hybrid hybridity. Moreover, considering Urdu alternatives as an oddity, along with inability to retrieve Urdu vocabulary are major challenges for policy makers to promote and implement Urdu language policies.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape, plurilingualism, script and identity, transliteration, translanguaging, linguistic hybridity.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why Study Script Choices on Linguistic Landscapes?

In recent years, study of linguistic landscape has become a new paradigm of investigating languages. One of its major reasons is globalization as it has strong impact on the languages across the globe and has developed English as a lingua franca. Although due to influence of globalization, communication process among different ethnic groups on global village has become easier, it has some robust impacts on local choices of language practices (Seidlhofer, 2005). Though transliteration practice provides an ease to read and comprehend other languages (Al-Azami, Kenner, Ruby, & Gregory, 2010) it has raised some serious concerns. Transliteration practices diminish the difference between two languages. Language not only serves the function of communication rather it also shows association with religion, culture, and identity (Dei, 2005). In cases where language shows its association with identity, transliterated text may be safely called hybrid text, therefore depicts hybrid identity.

In a multilingual society, one can see multiple languages around. The languages displayed outside constitute linguistic landscape and those placed at higher position are considered as higher status languages. The displayed languages on linguistic landscapes bear testimony to the fact that these are languages of the community (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). The term linguistic landscape covers language of sign boards, commercial signs, and government boards etc. (Shohamy, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Languages are analyzed on linguistic landscape by considering semiotic features as mentioned by Scollon and Scollon (2003). Languages indicate the relationship with script (Unseth, 2008) and religion (King, 2001; Ahmad, 2011) and both are associated with identity (Hatcher, 2008; Sebba, 2009).

Though multiple researchers have investigated and analyzed linguistic landscapes in multiple dimensions, for instance, identification of ratio of languages on linguistic landscapes (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2008), analysis of language mixing (Huebner, 2006), identification of use of English as a symbol of modernity (Troyer, 2012), justification of how languages index national identity (Taylor-Leech, 2012), and indication of ideological conflicts (Lado, 2011), scripts on linguistic landscapes is not explored. Moreover, the research conducted in context of Pakistan includes mere language mixing in TV advertisement (Mushtaq & Zahra, 2012; Ehsan & Aziz, 2014), and existence of English language on linguistic landscape of Pakistan to show how people are influenced by the prestigious language (Manan, David, Dumanig, & Channa, 2017). What remains to be explored however, in the context of Pakistan, is to investigate relationships of scripts with language and the existence of plurilingual practices on linguistic landscapes.

The objective of this study is to explore how scripts are displayed at linguistic landscapes of three major cities (Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah Cantt) of Pakistan and how script and plurilingual choices in accordance with placement of scripts on linguistic landscape mirror hybrid identity. The research questions to be answered are:

- a) How are scripts displayed on linguistic landscapes and what is the frequency of the scripts used on linguistic landscapes of Pakistan?
- b) How do plurilingual choices, script choice and semiotic features reflect hybrid identity?

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Framework

In recent era, interest for research on linguistic landscapes has amplified. Linguistic landscape has been given little attention before 1990s. It refers to the words and images exhibited out in public space (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy, 2006). These words may be displayed on “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 23). Thus, the definition concerns use of language in written form in public sphere. Apart from the literal study of linguistic landscapes, these are also considered as strong identity markers (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991); indexicals and convey more than one message (Kallen, 2010). The languages used on linguistic landscapes show dominance or marginalization of languages (Shohamy, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The scope of linguistic landscapes is broader and it includes newspaper, visiting cards and other printed material (Itagi & Singh, 2002). Dailey, Giles, and Jansma (2005) have included 28 items and their perspective on linguistic landscape is similar to Itagi and Singh.

Scollon and Scollon's (2003) theoretical framework is used to analyze the pictures opted for current study. According to them, code preference is really significant to understand linguistic landscapes which provides a framework to analyze bilingual signs. In such cases where multiple codes are used,

the preferred code is located above the secondary or peripheral codes if they are aligned vertically; if they are aligned horizontally the preferred code is located in the left position and the peripheral code is located in the right position. A third possibility is that the preferred code is located in the center and the peripheral code is placed around the periphery (p. 120).

The system that Scollon and Scollon (2003) have proposed helps to analyze signs that are written from left to right in directions, but they point out that no such system exists that may help to analyze languages from right to left. Moreover, there is no framework available to analyze on which basis languages are placed on the top position or bottom position. This study analyzed the signs by considering the framework given by Scollon and Scollon (2003), however, passersby perspectives are also considered to understand the prominence of codes.

2.2 Related Work

Linguistic landscape is extensively explored by various researchers. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) carried out their research in Friesland and Basque country and have discussed minority languages, state languages and English language on sign boards. Moreover, they also shed light on the relationship of language used on billboards and power status of other languages in context. Backhaus (2006) like Cenoz and Gorter (2006) also focused on factor of power and solidarity through language choice on linguistic landscapes. Huebner (2006) investigated language mixing in the linguistic landscapes of Bangkok. Huebner (2006) discussed his views that spread of English on linguistic landscape is a result of globalization. Ben-Rafael et al. (2008) investigated linguistic landscapes of Israel in 2008. They analyzed the ratio of language mixing of Hebrew, Arabic and English through place semiotics technique given by Scollon and Scollon (2003). Lado (2011) conducted his research in Valencian Community in Spain in order to show ideological conflicts in region. Taylor-Leech (2012) conducted her research on language choice and showed it indexes national identity in linguistic landscapes. She focused

on indexicality, iconicity and visual grammar on linguistic landscape. Shahzad and Abbas (2014) found out the relationship of language, class and identity by discussing lexical choices on the linguistic landscapes through genre analysis. Their study focused mainly on shops signs of upper and non-upper market places and analyzed selection of lexical choices in these areas.

In recent years research on linguistic landscape has amplified. Alomoush (2019) conducted research in the context of Jordan to analyze the mobile linguistic landscape including shopping bags. The purpose of the research was to analyze the functions of English on printed shopping bags. Data for this study was collected during September 2018 and January 2019 from different cities of Jordan based on diverse ethnicity. A total of 252 shopping bags were collected from various places like bookshops, supermarkets, bakeries, super stores, and pharmacies. The data was also collected through interviews from 20 participants. The findings show that though English is not recognized as co-official language of Jordan and people do not have competency over the language, yet English is seen on the mobile linguistic landscapes due to commercial success. The findings also strengthen the fact that people do not understand English, but they are attracted towards the language. Another study conducted by Alomoush (2019) in Jordan explored the visual language practices at shop fronts. Data was collected from 135 shop signs of distinct categories in Jarash. Findings show that English is predominantly used on these signs. The findings depict the presence of transliterations practices on shop signs. Moreover, predominance of English is seen greater in shops related to technology and fashion as compared to supermarkets and grocery shops.

Alomoush and Al-Naimat (2020) conducted their research in Jordan to explore sociolinguistic roles of languages displayed in the shopping malls. Corpus of 448 linguistic signs was collected for their qualitative and quantitative study. The findings revealed English is most commonly used on the linguistic landscapes and monolingual or unsystematic translanguaging is also seen in less affluent streets. Xie (2020) conducted research in context of China and analyzed change in actual language practices due to strong impact of globalization by collecting data from a less-affluent street of Zhanjiang. Findings showed the predominant

use of Romanized script and it also highlighted that English on such signs carried local flavor. A study conducted by Quinn (2020) emphasized on cultural hybridity through multilingual practices in Morocco. Data was collected from two groups comprising English teachers and members of Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture or Institut royal de la culture amazighe (IRCAM). The study revealed that linguistic landscape of the city will remain the same with strong impact of English. Another study conducted in Dubai revealed the use of Arabic and English languages on the linguistic landscapes while ignoring the other languages spoken in context (Karolak, 2020).

The association of script with religion is mentioned by Coluzzi (2020) who conducted research in Malaysia and explored linguistic landscapes. The findings of the study suggest that Jawi is used on the linguistic landscapes to index Islam in Malaysia but the mere use of orthography is not sufficient to regain the vitality of language. It is concluded that this language should be part of school curriculum to gain its vitality.

Considering this survey of research, it can be said that more investigations are required to explore the linguistic landscapes in Pakistan in general and of Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah Cantt in particular. It should be noted that quite few studies have been conducted in this context on the selected aspect. It could be argued that a closer look at linguistic landscape could bring more insights in this area of research and provide a more diversified perspective on how languages are represented in Pakistani context where multilingualism is not an oddity or a rarity. It could also be highlighted that no such study has been conducted in the context of Pakistan to explore the relationship of scripts and identity on linguistic landscapes.

2.3 Scripts and Identity

Language is influenced by culture and religion, culture shapes language that helps in selection of language and Vis a Vis is script selection (Dei, 2005). Speakers speak a particular language to identify themselves with specific language. Hatcher (2008) and Sebba (2009) affirm that same is the case with script selection, as a particular script is used to identify with any religion,

nationality and ethnicity. Moreover, in correspondence with Sebba (2009) and King (2001), Ahmad (2011) expounds that structure of a writing system is developed by social and religious factors that involve identity issues. Besides Sebba (2009) and Ahmad (2011), Unseth (2005) also points out the relation of script with religion and identity. He also mentions that by using same script, different communities show linguistic unity. As a matter of fact, religion has strong relationship with script. Hatcher (2008) discusses the relationship of script with identity in Azerbaijan. By highlighting the relationship of identity with script, he described that scripts of Georgia and Armenia were not considered by Azerbaijan due to their Christian identities. Grivelet (2001) also discusses that script changing in Mongolia involved variation in political, cultural and religious aspects of that time.

Linguistic hybridity is more common in colonized countries due to bi/multilingualism. Apart from colonization, globalization is another factor that promotes language mixing. In such scenarios there are chances of innovative language practices through transliteration. Alternative scripts are used to show solidarity with nation whose script is opted (e.g. Roman script) for one's own language (for example Turkish language). Unseth (2005) explains that Turkish was written in Arabic script and it symbolized its relationship with Muslim background but due to growing need of building up relationships with West, Roman script was selected to show the formation of a secular state and weak relationship with Islamic world and values.

2.4 Plurilingualism and Translanguaging

Plurilingualism is a situation where speakers use different languages for communication, in other words, individuals mix multiple languages that are spoken in a society or with which they have familiarity. Plurilingual traditions allow users to switch between different languages and this shuttling is known as translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2011). This phenomenon does not demand good proficiency of all languages rather with less proficiency communication can take place. Council of Europe (2001) defines plurilingualism as, "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person,

viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures” (p. 168).

Translanguaging means speakers/users of language share one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively. Translanguaging does not exhibit two separate language systems rather it considers as one uniform linguistic repertoire. It diminishes the difference between two language systems. Moreover, it not only includes the linguistic features rather it also includes semiotic resources to effectively deliver the message (García & Li, 2014). Pennycook (2017) also explains that people use their unitary linguistic repertoire on linguistic landscapes to see importance of things.

2.5 Transliteration and Script

Transliteration is a conversion of one script to another. Al-Azami et al. (2010) have discussed that transliteration is used in multilingual environments where any written language is familiar to readers; transliteration is used for the comprehension of a particular script. Azami et al. (2010) have also mentioned that transliteration is used as a shortcut for learning a new language. Transliteration is used for economic and educational purposes in multilingual context where inhabitants do not share a common script. Mostly this practice can be observed in lower middle-class areas. However, Rosowsky (2010) considers it as a cultural hybridity.

Based on the description of relationship of language with religion, culture and identity, a 3D model of language is shown in the Figure 1 that exhibits its relationship with mentioned components and shows its influence on identity. In Figure 1, it can be observed when languages are displayed on linguistic landscape, there are two possibilities to display these either with the original script of language or through alternative script. Consider a scenario, suppose, L1 (refers to any language) can be written in script A that is its own script, and L2 (any other language) is written in script B. However, as established in the above discussion that language has association with religion and culture, if script B is used for L-1, it implies the hybrid identity that is represented through negative identity.

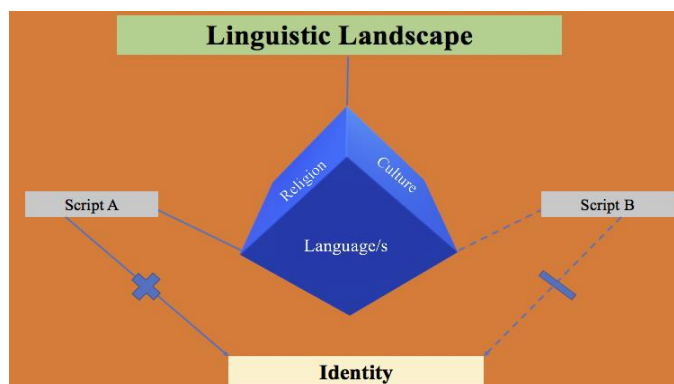


Figure 1: The relationship of language with religion, culture and identity

2.6 Linguistic Profile of Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual country where almost 56 languages are spoken. Amongst these Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and English serves the function of official language. In addition to these, Pakistan has five major indigenous languages, which include Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Sariki and Balcohi. Punjabi language has the maximum number of speakers (44.15%) whereas in Urdu there are 7.57% speakers. The number of Urdu speakers in Pakistan is even less than other indigenous languages' speakers (Rahman, 2008). English enjoys prestigious status of being the official language of Pakistan. Though it is spoken by less people of the society but that less population includes government administration, law, media and those who pursue higher education. In addition to that, Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and serves the function of co-official language as well. In such scenario, Urdu-English switching is a common feature of Pakistani multilingual speakers (Akram & Mahmood, 2007).

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Collection

Data for this study was collected through a survey of linguistic landscapes and passersby interviews. Random sampling technique was used in collecting the data. A corpus of 1064 photographs was collected from three cities Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah Cantt. In addition,

10 passersby were also interviewed.

3.2 Rationale for Selection of Sites

For this research three cities Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah Cantt were selected to analyze the linguistic diversity among these areas. Islamabad was selected as it is the capital, globalized and multilingual city of Pakistan and is nearby Rawalpindi, similarly, Wah Cantt is also closely located and has distance of 30 Km from Islamabad. In addition to the close location of Rawalpindi and Wah Cantt with Islamabad, Rawalpindi is opted, as, it has more migrant community from other cities of Pakistan and is larger in population as compared to Islamabad. Taken by the same token, third city Wah Cantt is selected as it is also considered a multicultural city where people with various ethnic backgrounds reside. Studying the linguistic landscapes of three cities from a comparative perspective may help to understand the differences and preferences of script selection between multilingual settings of three cities.

3.3 Sample Details of Interviewees

The demographic details of the participants are given in Table-1.

Table-1: Demographic details of interviewees

| Participant | Age | Gender | Occupation |
|-------------|-----|--------|----------------------|
| 1 | 26 | Female | Student |
| 2 | 35 | Female | Teacher |
| 3 | 35 | Female | Teacher |
| 4 | 28 | Male | Technician |
| 5 | 29 | Male | Technician |
| 6 | 74 | Male | Retired Educationist |
| 7 | 40 | Male | Teacher |
| 8 | 22 | Female | Student |
| 9 | 38 | Female | House Wife |
| 10 | 29 | Male | Sweeper |

Questions were asked in Urdu, Punjabi and English language. Interviewees responded in the language of their choice, however, responses in Urdu and Punjabi were translated for analysis.

3.4 Sample Details of Shop and Billboard Signs

Considering Backhaus (2007) a sign was considered “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame..., including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards” (p. 55) for collecting data two points were considered significant, including, location and type of sign. All the specific affluent places of three categories based on the socioeconomic categories were selected within three cities. Moreover, only commercial areas were selected to better understand the existing language practices. Considering the socioeconomic factor equal representation was given to each selected area. Five areas from Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Wah Cantt were selected to show maximum representation. The shopping areas that included all types of shops were selected to gather data which may be safely categorized into three classes; elite, middle and average class shopping areas, based on the location and existence of shopping brands. The details of areas selected, and sample collected from each area is given in Table-2.

Table-2: Categorization of shop signs and billboards according to place, survey area

| Place | Survey Area | Socio-economic Category |
|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Islamabad | Blue Area | Elite Class |
| | Jinnah Super Market | |
| | G-9 Markaz | Middle Class |
| | G-10 Markaz | |
| | I-10 Markaz | Below Middle Class |
| Rawalpindi | Saddar | Elite Class |
| | Bahria Town | |
| | PWD | Middle Class |
| | Commercial Market | |
| | Raja Bazar | Below Middle Class |
| Wah Cantt | Aslam Market | Elite Class |
| | Basti | |
| | Laiq Ali Chowk | Middle Class |
| | Anwar Chowk | |
| | Nawababad | Below Middle Class |

3.5 Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis for this research work were shop signs and billboards. A total 1064 pictures were taken from the mentioned areas. Considering Edelman (2010), only the signs displayed outside the shops were considered as a unit of analysis. Moreover, signs displayed on a shop carrying similar information were considered as one sign.

4.0 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. Preference of Roman Script over Perso-Arabic Script in Bilingual Signs

In this section, those bilingual signs are discussed which exhibit preference of Roman script over Perso-Arabic script. Scollon and Scollon's (2003) and Huebner's (2006) description about preferred code is applied for the analysis of signs to find out preferred script. Scollon and Scollon (2003) mention that important code is placed at top center or right/left side while marginalized code is placed at bottom place. Moreover, Huebner (2006) mentions that

preference of a code can also be found by other features, notably by color and amount of text. In collaboration with Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Huebner (2006), Figures 2 and 3 are clear illustration of preference of Roman script over Perso-Arabic script. Figures 2 and 3 show that “Master Moltly Foam Asli Foam” and “Sale” are written at preferred position of center. Similar to Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) research in linguistic landscapes, the preferred code is always placed on top, right/left or center while marginalized code is put at the bottom. Urdu script, in Figure 2, is presented at the top right side, which does not propagate any outstanding details about the brand, so, here Roman script stands out as a significant code. This sign shows the word “asli” in Urdu but is written in Roman script hence it manifests the importance of Roman script.



Figure 2: Shop sign from Saddar, Rawalpindi

In Figure 3, the word “Sale” is written in the center of sign with large font size that makes it catchy and persuasive. Another aspect needs consideration here. The selection of colors is also unique in Figures 2 and 3. The color used for the word “sale” is yellow while the rest of the information is conveyed by using white color. The background color in red is different because it will be eye-catching at first sight vis-à-vis to customers’ interest. The distinction of using a prominent color like yellow makes it rich and vibrant. One of the interviewees also reported that:

“In some of shop signs few symbols are kept prominent and few others are not. The reason of making those prominent is focus of attention. The thing which can capture the attention of customer and which is profitable for shopkeeper is made highlighted, for example, word ‘sale’ is most of the time highlighted but ‘up to’ word is written quite small. This is only to capture customers attention.”

Another respondent gave the reason of highlighting certain fonts on the billboards as:

“When product is weak then marketing gets higher so in this scenario, this is mere a marketing strategy to capture audience attention.”



Figure 3: Shop sign from Saddar, Rawalpindi

In contrast to Figures 2 and 3 where red color has been used as a background, in Figure 4, red color is used against a backdrop of white to make the idea noticeable. One of the participants explained that color contrasting is done on shop signs “to give a contrast, because of contrast color usage reading is enhanced and one can understand it quickly”. Figure 4 is a specimen that fulfils all three characteristics for analyzing a preferred script (Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Huebner, 2006). The only word in Perso-Arabic script “Rajgan” is at marginalized position, and the Roman script is placed at the preferred position. Moreover, “Rajgan” is an Urdu word

taken from ‘Dhruggi Rajgan’ a village name which is transliterated in Roman. As mentioned above, the preference of Roman script is enhanced by using red color at the top right side. Highlighting transliterated word diminishes the disparity between visual appearances of two languages.



Figure 4: Billboard from Raja Bazar, Rawalpindi

Large-bold fonts and top center position is used for “Pakistan Currency Exchange Co. (PVT) LTD” in Figure 5. It further shows that marginalized script is written at the bottom of the sign. It also provides convenience to both native and non-native speakers in understanding of thought. Cultural hegemony of English is clearly demonstrated here due to negligence given to Perso-Arabic script. Use of alphabet “e” is symbolical and the “e” is more like a conundrum here because it puzzles the reader at first sight. It is steeped in ambiguity due to amalgamation of English alphabetical sign (foreign culture) and crescent (national culture), which gives birth to language dilemma. Overall allocation of colors that is green and white gives an impression of national flag with star and crescent. However, blue color can be a reference towards limitlessness of sky, which in other words represents freedom in exchanging currency.



Figure 5: Shop sign from Basti Wah Cantt

In Figure 6, the key word “Binaca” is problematic. It is an Italian coinage meaning “gorgeous and elegant”. Feminine implications are dominant in this word, but a misuse of Perso-Arabic script shows plurilingual practices. Such practices diminish the difference between languages. Grammatical error is visible in case of “shoe” as plural form of shoe is shoes. This manifests mixing the rules of two languages, English grammar rules are applied to transliterated word. There is also a possibility that shoe is used as an adjective to palace and does not require the plural form shoes. However, this makes little sense as Perso-Arabic script does not adhere to this explanation. The participants interviewed explained that common people can read Urdu and they also have vocabulary of English language due to the fact that Urdu has borrowed many words from English, moreover, they want to associate themselves with the gentry. Therefore, such practices can be seen in society, but as large population is not literate, therefore, they are not aware of the correct use of English grammatical rules.



Figure 6: Shop sign from Nawababad, Wah Cantt

4.2 Preference of Perso-Arabic Script over Roman Script

In Figures 7 and 8 Roman script is placed at the top, it unveils how English script is preferred somehow, yet the overall impression reveals Perso-Arabic script as embodying hybrid understanding of both scripts for native speakers. Shop names such as “Fashion Point Tailors” and “Mughal Enterprises” are in Perso-Arabic script. They have been made very prominent and reflect the preference of local culture. The analyses of other characteristics of these shop signs, like font size and selection of color shows that emphasis is placed on Perso Arabic script.



Figures 7: Shop signs from Raja Bazar, Rawalpindi

Figure 8 displays two actors on the shop sign, projecting dual identities of people. One actor wearing a suit is the representative of West, while on the left side of picture another actor

wearing national dress is the representative of national identity. In addition to that, Figure 7 and 8 are also the projection of cultural hybridity.



Figures 8: Shop sign from Saddar, Rawalpindi

Figures 9 and 10 demonstrate that “Naseem Sons Electric Store” is in large bold script along with other semiotic features to clarify the variety available with dealer. The only word in Roman script that is “VIP” is written at top with large font and this word is vague since it is an abbreviation. “VIP” stands for ‘very important personality’. However, the wrong appendage of “VIP” with “tailors” seem surprising which may indicate erroneous use of abbreviations and vocabulary. Roman script is not considered an important code in Figures 9 and 10 because less quantity of information is conveyed through this script. Moreover, “tailors” in Figure 9 at top preferred positions with Perso-Arabic script is representation of less knowledge of Urdu vocabulary.



Figure 9: Shop sign from PWD, Rawalpindi

An actress on the right side of shop sign in Figure 10, wearing sleeve off dress is an indication of dichotomy of religious and cultural identity.



Figure 10: Shop sign from Commercial Market, Rawalpindi

In Figure 11, an Islamic icon extracted from Quran Pak is also added which means in Urdu “aur Allah sab se behtar rizq daine wala hai” (and Allah Almighty is the best provider for sustenance) which highlights Islamic values of its owners. In accordance with that, Dale (1980) also corresponded and asserted that religion could be a moving spirit behind the selection of script in any given culture. He explained that the link between religion and script is so overpowering and dominant that it can reveal the identity of a locality at first sight.



Figure 11: Shop sign from Basti, Wah Cantt

4.3 Use of Perso-Arabic Script for English Language

Figures 12 and 13 are a lucid illustration of transliteration practices in Rawalpindi. Apparently, an Urdu monolingual reader can read the transliterated language, but s/he can mistakenly treat the words as a part of Urdu language. Readers are expected to negotiate direction of text through context. Readers may use their intuition and guess to find out directionality. These practices indicate language hybridity and are termed as plurilingualism (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). One of the respondents was inquired about possible reasons of using alternative script usage and he explained:

“Pakistani society is not developed; people are not educated shop keepers use transliteration for attraction. Moreover, according to psyche of customers English is used. And for uneducated people alternative script is used. This is also a marketing strategy because by addressing all type of customers client rate is increased.”

Another respondent explained:

“Both English and Urdu languages are used for transliteration purpose, its purpose is to attract both type of customers. It is for ease of both kinds of customers.”

One respondent mentioned oddity for using Urdu vocabulary:

“Few words if used in Urdu are correct according to Urdu dictionary but these seem very odd, for example, ‘Javaid Jewelers’ looks fine, but if it is written ‘javaid sunar ki dukan’ it is really very odd.”

This manifests that English language has become part of Urdu language and people feel awkward when only Urdu is used. Their minds do not accept monolingualism. This is also testified by another respondent who explained that these kinds of practices exist because “brain picks up those words quickly”. It manifests that English is more commonly practiced in society where people find it easy to pick English words from their repertoire and they find difficulties to process Urdu words in their brain which confirms the use of one’s complete linguistic repertoire thus also ensure translanguaging practices in society.



Figure 12: Shop sign from PWD, Rawalpindi

Contrary to the bilingual speakers who may use their complete linguistic repertoire, the outcome of such practices may cause confusion in expression of language among monolingual readers. Three out of four words in Figure 12 are borrowed from English vocabulary and only one word “shadi” (marriage) is related to Urdu, which probably is used to facilitate common masses in terms of comprehension of concept. Similar idea is communicated by one of the respondents, who claimed that, “transliteration in Urdu is used to convey full idea even to those customers who are not much educated or cannot easily understand the English language. The other reason may be to make it interesting.”

Figure 13 is taken from Blue Area, Islamabad, which is a hub of business. In this figure, words like “star photocopy”, “plotter printing”, “enlargement and reduction” and “binding” are English jargons, which are utilized in Perso-Arabic script because it is comparatively straightforward and simple.



Figure 13: Shop sign from Blue Area, Islamabad

Many words in Figure 13 like “planter printing”, “enlargement and reduction”, “ammonia print” and “binding” whereas “advance communication”, “whole sale rate”, “accessories”, “connection”, “ring tones”, “repairing”, “spare parts” and “electronics” in Figure 14 are transliterated in Urdu. The selection of English vocabulary requires Roman script but use of alternative script shows hybrid identity as already explained in Figure 1. This also shows that common masses accept these words as part of Urdu. As one of the participants explained that:

“Urdu itself does not have its own vocabulary it is amalgamation of Persian, Arabic, Hindi, English and it also carries many words of French and Italian, so words like generator, truck, staring are borrowings and are now familiar with common masses”.

Considering this aspect, it becomes obvious that such vocabulary is commonly used by people considering it part of Urdu language, moreover, majority of people are aware of Perso-Arabic script as compared to roman script therefore it is used to capture the attention of maximum people. These signs show that differentiation between languages is not considered an important factor. The transliteration practices in Perso-Arabic script manifest that phonemes in Urdu language can convey similar sounds as English language offers, for example, in word ‘advance’, “ا” sound is equivalent to “alif” “of Perso-Arabic script; “d” represents “d’aal”. A complex merger of “wa’o” with “alif” suggests a complete compatibility with Roman script “va:” Similarly, “n” sound is conveyed with “no’on”; and “s” sound is expressed through “se’en” in Perso-Arabic script (Figure 14).



Figure 14: Shop signs from Laiq Ali Chowk, Wah Cantt

4.4 Use of Roman Script for Urdu Language

According to Unseth (2008) visual representation of any language in society epitomizes its identity. Figures 15 and 16 demonstrate that Urdu is written in Roman and the visual

representation indicates loss of identity of Urdu. These figures have the following captions:

- “har sakoon har janoon” (Every peace and every passion)
- “akailay mai gungunany waloon kai naam” (For solitary singing souls)

These above-mentioned captions show preference for Roman script. Contrary to that “ab dil ki suno” (Now listen to your heart) in Figure 16 is written in Perso-Arabic script and is placed at the bottom. Moreover, it also highlights the fact that people do not cater for a particular script of a language. This manifests that people are influenced by English, therefore, they use Roman script for Urdu.



Figure 15: Billboard from PWD, Rawalpindi

One of the participants explained the reason of using English on linguistic landscape as:

“Nowadays English language has become the fashion; people use English language as a fashion or just to impress someone. And maybe one of the reasons of using the English language on signboards can be just to attract the educated customers. The other reason can be they use English languages to show the superiority over the other ordinary or other shops and maybe just to attract the Gentry and the use of English Language maybe just to show that they are better as compared to the other shopkeepers or the other people in the market.”



Figure 16: Billboard from Saddar, Rawalpindi

4.5 Presence of Plurilingualism

Figure 17 shows that although the information is conveyed in Urdu language with Perso-Arabic script, in the midst of Urdu words like, “master multi foam max”, “show room”, “sofa-cum-bed”, and “spring mattress,” they have the same sort of language mixing that Canagarajah (1995) has discussed. Such sort of plurilingual practices create hybrid identity. Moreover, it testifies that deviation in language is considered acceptable and it bolsters translanguaging, as mentioned by Canagarajah (2011) and Garcia and Li (2014).



Figure 17: Shop sign from Saddar, Rawalpindi

In Figure 18 one word “products” is embedded in Urdu phrase by using the script of matrix language. Here, the word “products” is transliterated from English and these practices create linguistic hybridity. Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013) affirm that plurilingual practices are quite common to the language ecology of region. This is also confirmed by one of the interviewees who explained:

“At times it is difficult to communicate in a single language, therefore, we use two or more languages. One reason of mixing is just to make speech natural, to make it easy according to the level of people. It is also used to give homely touch.”



Figure 18: Shop sign from Blue Area, Islamabad

It shows the strategic selection of linguistic features from the linguistic repertoire to communicate effectively, thus ensures translanguaging practices. Another participants explained in detail that language mixing phenomenon is common where people know more than one language. Moreover, he also explained that:

“...words like car, pen, pencil, battery, generator are commonly spoken by uneducated people here in Pakistan. These words came in sub-continent when English people ruled here, they brought their language and culture, since then this has become a normal practice and people has Urduized many words... Hindus have found alternatives in their language like ‘door darshan’ is used for television but we use simply ‘TV’... the reason may be, Urdu lacks in ‘virsa’(its own legacy of vocabulary)... this also shows that Hindus are more inclined towards their culture the way they use their language.”

5.0 THE SYNTHESIS OF THE FINDINGS

The overview of the findings is given in the following table that clearly shows ratio of signs according to the categories:

Table-3: Summary of Ratio of Signs

| Sr. No. | Category name | Number |
|---------|---|--------|
| 1 | Perso-Arabic script for English | 443 |
| 2 | Roman Script for Urdu | 11 |
| 3 | Preference of Roman script over Perso-Arabic script | 68 |
| 4 | Preference of Perso-Arabic script over Roman script | 82 |
| 5 | Plurilingual Practices | 45 |
| 6 | Equal representation of both scripts | 36 |
| 7 | Perso-Arabic script for Urdu | 14 |
| 8 | Roman Script for English | 365 |
| | Total | 1064 |

Figure 19 shows diversity in script selection within one city. The graph shows that in Bahria Town, Saddar, Commercial Market and PWD, Roman script is frequently used but in Raja Bazar Perso-Arabic script is used for English. Results also show that the Roman script is not used for Urdu in Raja Bazar, however, few instances exist in Bahria Town, Saddar, Commercial Market and PWD. Plurilingual practices are more in number in Raja Bazar as compared to other areas of Rawalpindi. Such results show identity crisis in the city as use of alternate script strengthens this phenomenon. Hatcher (2008) discusses that a script is used to identify with some religion, nation or ethnicity, while here within one city there is diversity in script selection. Use of the Roman script and use of Perso-Arabic for English language show two extreme poles in the society. These results suggest that some areas want to identify themselves with some particular nation, religion or ethnicity, while others show their identification with similar other community. Globalization is another factor that has strengthened the use of English consequently, transliteration practices exist as a short cut.

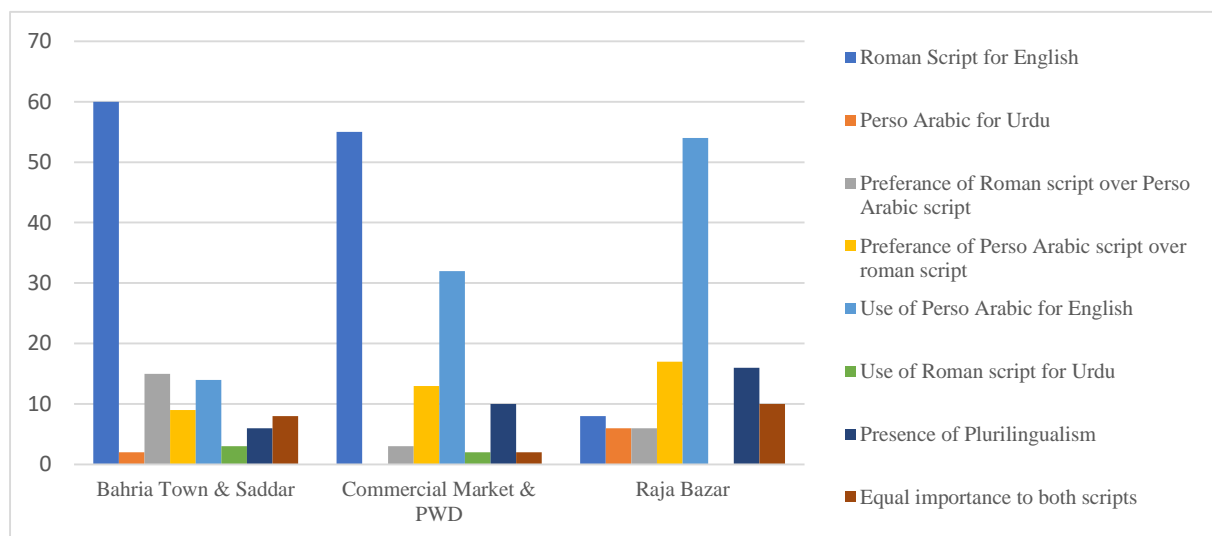


Figure 19: Comparison of five areas in Rawalpindi according to defined characteristics

Figure 19 shows that plurilingual practices are more common in Raja Bazar as compared to Bahria Town, Saddar, Commercial Market and PWD. Perso-Arabic signs are common in Raja

Bazar. It is obvious through the participants' responses as well that people have less understanding of Roman script; therefore, Perso-Arabic script is in practice to attract substantial number of audiences. However, such choice of script is representative of identity crisis in the society due to alternative use of script as shown in Figure-1.

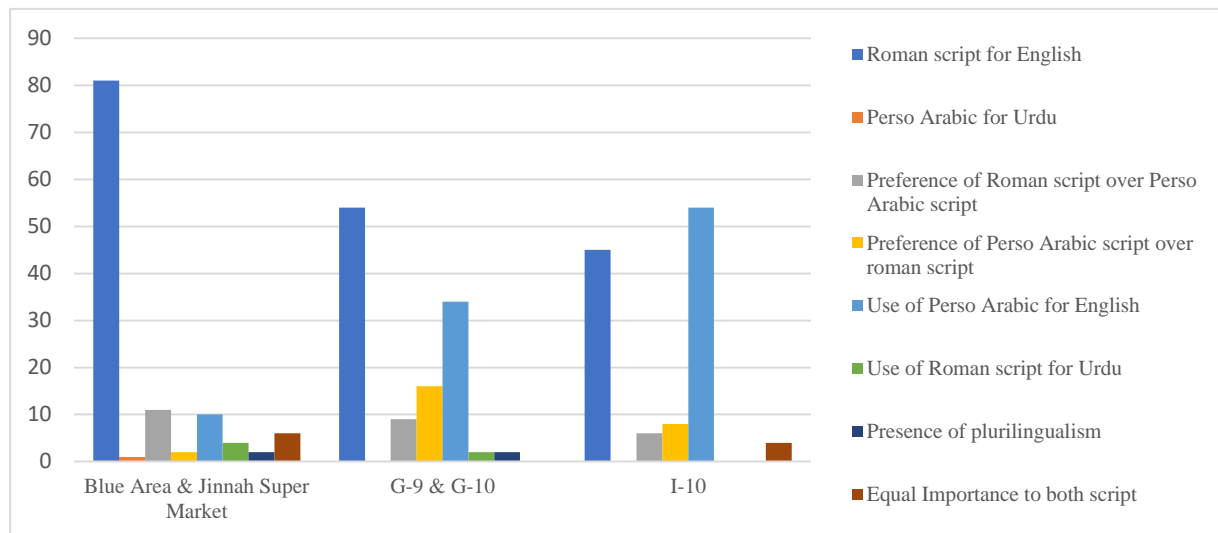


Figure 20: Comparison of five areas in Islamabad according to defined characteristic

Figure 20 shows that use of Roman script for English is highest in Islamabad as compared to other categories. Next to Roman script is Perso-Arabic script that is frequently used. The graph of Blue Area and Jinnah Super Market for the use of Roman script for English is higher as compared to G-9 and G-10, following the same; G-9 and G-10 tendency for using Roman script is higher than I-10. This graph also clarifies that maximum use of Perso-Arabic script for English language is in I-10 while G-9 and G-10 results show less preference to Perso-Arabic script. The results become more diverse as Jinnah Super Market and Blue Area results differ from I-10, G-9 and G-10. Results indicate that use of Perso-Arabic script for English language is higher in I-10 as compared to G-9, G-10, Jinnah Super Market and Blue Area. Contrarily, the ratio of using Roman script for English language is higher in Jinnah Super and Blue Area as compared to G-9, G-10, and I-10.

Figure 22 shows a comparison of five areas of Wah Cantt that indicates the differences in results. It is obvious from the graph that Roman script for English is used to a maximum level in Aslam Market and Basti, while its ratio gets down in Anwar Chowk, Laiq Ali Chowk and Nawababad. This shows diversity within one city and delineates how people within one city maintain their different identities. Contrary to that, ratio of Perso-Arabic script for English is at its peak in Nawababad than in Laiq Ali Chowk and Anwar Chowk; Aslam Market and Basti. The ratio of usage of Perso-Arabic script for English is higher in Aslam Market and Basti, as compared to the use of Roman script for English language, while on the other hand, use of Roman script for English is higher in Aslam Market and Basti as compared to Laiq Ali Chowk, Anwar Chowk and Nawababad.

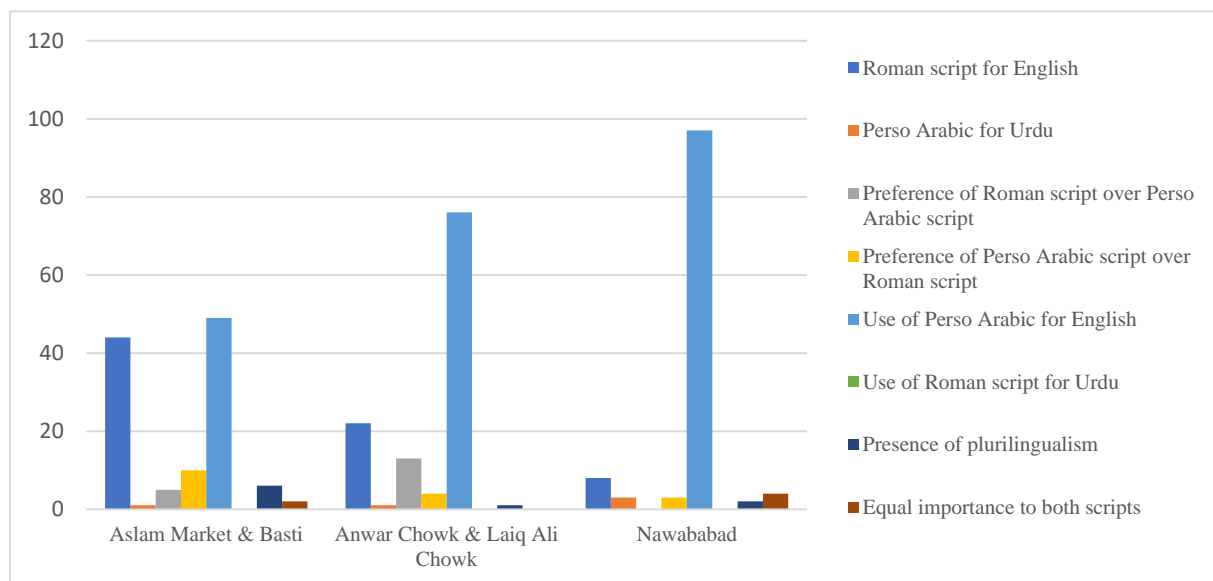


Figure 21: Comparison of five areas in Wah Cantt according to the defined characteristics

Figure 22 illustrates dominant scripts among “Elite, Middle and Below Middle Class” areas. The findings reveal that Roman script for English language is practiced in elite class market areas of selected cities. Contrary to that, Perso-Arabic script for English vocabulary is higher in below middle-class areas. It is also important to note the predominance of Perso-Arabic script in graph given below that manifests its usual understanding among people thus it also

shows their hybrid identity regarding their association towards Islam and West.

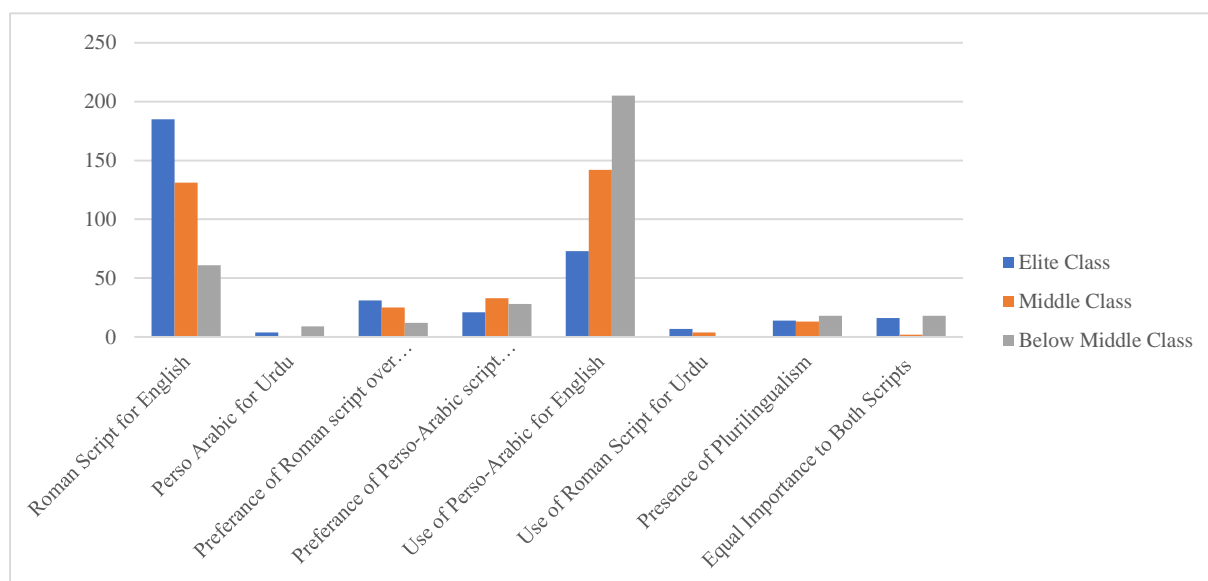


Figure 22: Comparison of defined characteristics among Elite, Middle and Below Middle Class areas

6.0 DISCUSSION

The detailed analysis of the linguistic landscapes also illustrates distinctive linguistic deviations are a common feature of Pakistani linguistic landscapes. It is evident that there is deviation in spelling in Figure 3, the word “pent” actually refers to the ‘pants’. This shows users use their complete linguistic repertoire, thus shows translanguaging practices. Moreover, it also shows people are less conscious of correct spellings. The word “Pent” is commonly used in Urdu but it is derived from English. According to Canagarajah (2011) plurilingual English shows deviation in phonology, semantics and grammar. He calls it uneducated English. Moreover, in the context of India, he mentions that such English is called Englishized Hindi and it represents a hybrid form of language. Similar examples exist in Pakistan as one of the interviewees called such practices as ‘Urduized’ forms of English. Second feature of linguistic hybridity is obvious through transliteration practices words like “asli” written in Roman script in Figure 2, whereas “ladies sweater”, “jacket”, “package” and “pants” are transliterated in Perso-Arabic script. This

research has explored the key features that add to linguistic hybridity and these include deviation in spellings phonology, semantics, and grammar, use of alternative script for particular language and deviations in morphology of words. These features suggest linguistic hybridity prevalent on linguistic landscapes of Pakistan.

It is worth noting that hybrid identity of people is due to globalization. The preferences of Roman script on signs represent a strong impact of globalization. The signs symbolize that a considerable community understands Roman script, and it is given prime significance as it represents power status of language in society. Moreover, use of English language and Roman script bear testimony that in multilingual countries it is a natural tendency to use and mix languages and thus such situation creates and brings plurilingualism and translanguaging practices together (Canagarajah, 2011).

King (2001) suggests vocabulary is pivotal to any language as it helps to bridge the gap between languages and the same applies to script. Such choices of script selection with different languages involve existence of transliteration in society where multi writing systems exist. In Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 words apprise that more information regarding nature of the business is conveyed through Perso-Arabic script. The embedded desire of people is exhibited where they want to associate themselves with one's own nation by choosing Perso-Arabic script and the other is to show affiliation with the West by using English vocabulary. The signs show plurilingual practices in the society and these practices also create hybrid identity. Concisely, using vocabulary of one language and script of other language creates hybridity among people. Scripts are identity markers, to use Perso-Arabic script indicates affiliation or association with a particular community, but vocabulary that is a main component of a language cannot be neglected. By choosing a particular script, a community wants to identify itself with particular group, but the selection of vocabulary makes it suspicious. The evidence is also enumerated by Dei's (2005) views on language and script selection. The preference of Perso-Arabic script for English words creates identity issues as scripts help to distinguish between languages. Moreover, the words like "ladies and gents variety" are written in Perso-Arabic script. It

symbolizes that native people are aware of English vocabulary, but they have less familiarity with the script. It also suggests that people are inclined towards the use of English vocabulary and they give prestige to English language. This difference in selection of script and vocabulary indicates lack of knowledge of Urdu vocabulary or an inclination towards English.

It is also evident from Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15 that transliteration and acceptance of English vocabulary is a part of Urdu language. It demonstrates the desire of community to use English, but it also throws light on the importance of Perso-Arabic script. Since language and script have strong connections between them and both show identity of any nation, it is also a sign of inherent contradiction that creates identity issues. In the above illustrations, Perso-Arabic script is fertile and rich in accommodating English vocabulary and it has alternatives available yet the preponderance towards English vocabulary reflects that English vocabulary is merged with Urdu language to that extent that translanguaging is not perceived by non-native speakers as odd. Urdu has alternative words but the choice of English words with Perso-Arabic script also indicates that people have limited knowledge of Urdu vocabulary. The desire of using language of esteemed status on part of masses is derisive since it is dwindling Urdu vocabulary and weakening its usage. The idea is dubious because it represents divergence in identity where people are at a loss to define their own language, which is related to dilemmas of local distorted identities.

Past research has shown that scripts have strong relationship with religion (Hatcher, 2008; Grivelet, 2001; King, 2001; Unseth, 2005). Script choice of a community indicates its strong associations with a particular community. Urdu written in Perso-Arabic script indicates its linkage with Islam, however, if it is written in Roman it manifests its alliance with West. Maximum number of shop signs and billboard signs are found where Perso-Arabic script is used but for English vocabulary. This surely asserts that people desire to assert their relationship with Islam. The situation is indication of hybrid identity because of alternative script and language selection.

7.0 CONCLUSION

The analysis and the findings suggest that transliteration and translanguaging practices on linguistic landscapes are superseding and a source of specious use of spellings and vocabulary thus create hybrid identity. This research is unique as it discusses the significance of script of any language which has a vital role in distinguishing languages. By having a strong association with religion and culture, script can be used as a tool to show one's identity. The close analysis of signs also reveals that in Elite Class areas Roman script is used for English and Urdu but in Below Middle Class areas Perso-Arabic script is common. The research concludes that erroneous use of English and Urdu not only creates hybrid linguistic identity but also manifests lack of competency and trend to use one language in general and Urdu in particular. Moreover, lack of effort to retrieve Urdu vocabulary from repertoire, use of Roman script for Urdu, considering Urdu alternatives as oddity indicate threat towards identity of Urdu. Therefore, language policy makers need to take serious steps in the promotion and sustenance of Urdu language.

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