

**LANGUAGE CHOICES AND THE LINGUISTIC
LANDSCAPE OF KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA: A
SOCIAL SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC
SIGNS**

BY

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**Language Choices and the Linguistic Landscape of Khyber
Pakhtunkhwa: A Social Semiotic Analysis of Public Signs**

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ABSTRACT

Title: Language Choices and the Linguistic Landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Social Semiotic Analysis of Public Signs

The linguistic landscape (LL), which comprises of items displaying written language in the public place, is a product of linguistic choices that are made by a myriad of top-down and bottom-up sign-agents. The study explores the linguistic landscape of Pakistan, with a particular focus on the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), with the view to testing the generally-agreed assumption that the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by English. The present study attempts to explore different functions that are performed by language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP, the motives and reasons behind making particular language choices, and the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. The study uses mixed-method approach. The data were collected using three methods: snapshots of linguistic signs displayed at selected public places of KP, semi-structured interviews of sign-owners, and photovoice technique. Kress' (2010) Social Semiotic Theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions were applied to the data. The findings revealed that Urdu, English, Pashto, and Arabic are the major languages used in the linguistic landscape of KP, among which Urdu is the most preferred language, and thus refutes the generally-accepted assumption that the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by English. The language choices perform directive, phatic, poetic, referential, recording, and identifying functions in the different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. The sign-agents prefer to use Urdu when they have predefined and predetermined addressees, and English when they do not have predefined and predetermined addressees in their minds. The on-lookers positively perceive both Urdu and English languages in the signs in their surrounding linguistic landscape. The study concludes that the linguistic landscape of KP is not a true representative of its real linguistic situation, and is largely the reflection of sign-owners' motives, perceptions of the on-lookers, and language policies of Pakistan. The study hopes to stimulate interest in linguistic landscape research so that this area, in general, and the linguistic landscape of Pakistan, in particular, can be revisited afresh and established views can be re-examined.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LL	Linguistic Landscape
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
IPRe	Interview Participant from the Domain of Religion
IPRec	Interview Participant from the Domain of Recreation
IPT	Interview Participant from the Domain of Travel
IPH	Interview Participant from the Domain of Health Care
IPEd	Interview Participant from the Domain of Education
IPEn	Interview Participant from the Domain of Energy
IPB	Interview Participant from the Domain of Business
IPM	Interview Participant from the Domain of Military

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated whole-heartedly to my beloved parents and teachers.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the present age, human beings are fully surrounded by language. People choose a language out of a variety of languages available to them. ‘Language Choice’ is a significant area of sociolinguistics that deals with the selection of a language from multiple languages and also with the factors that lead to the selection of a particular language(s). Language choices seem to play a vital role in constituting the linguistic landscape of an area, which is another significant area of sociolinguistics. Standing at a public place, one is able to see language(s) visually in the form of names of buildings, warning signs, advertisement billboards, instructions, graffiti, and names of shops and streets, etc. All these communicative signals form the linguistic landscape of a particular area. The field of Linguistic Landscape attempts to study and investigate the uses, motives, ideologies, and contestations of a multiple variety of ‘languages’ while they are demonstrated and displayed in various public places. Linguistic Landscape refers to the linguistic objects that mark the public place. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) define linguistic landscape as language in the surroundings, and images and words displayed in public places. Landry and Bourhis (1997) used the expression ‘linguistic landscape’ for the first time and defined it as the language of road signs, names of streets and places, shop signs, public signs, and advertising posters, etc. and hold that all these signs form the linguistic landscape of a particular metropolitan city, urban agglomeration, region or territory. Such linguistic signs can also be found in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan.

Pakistan is a multilingual country in which different languages are used by the people. Rahman (2005) states that a total of 65 languages (59 minor and 6 major) are used in Pakistan; whereas Ethnologue (2020) counted the total languages used in Pakistan to be 88. English is Pakistan’s official while Urdu is its national language. English is mostly employed in government domains, such as education, media, military, and judiciary. The exact figure of the speakers of English language in Pakistan is not known. Rahman (2007) estimated that English is spoken by approximately 3 to 4 percent of the whole population. Shamim (2008) considers English as the means to modernization, technological and scientific advancement, and economic development of country and self; in brief, for the improvement of individual’s life chances.

English language is associated with the elite class in Pakistan. Due to the high status of English language, it can be seen in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. The four provinces of Pakistan have their own cultures with their own local languages used in varying ways and degrees in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. The present study attempts to explore how English, Urdu, and other local languages are used in the linguistic landscape of the province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The study intends to explore the linguistic landscape of Pakistan with a particular focus on the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, an area under-explored till date in this research area. Only two conducted studies might somehow be related to the present research; one was conducted by Rahman (2010), who investigated texts on trucks to explore the linguistic codes used and the chief themes those texts carried; the other study was conducted by Atta (2016) who examined the linguistic landscape of Islamabad, Wah Cantonment, and Rawalpindi from the perspective of linguistic hybridity, that is, various types of linguistic alterations made in billboards and shop-signs. Some studies have been conducted on other aspects, such as the power and status of English (Abbas, 1993), the norm and acceptability of Pakistani English (Baumgardener, 1995), the employment of English language in Urdu advertisements (Meraj, 1993), and the urduization of English (Baumgardener et al., 1993). However, this study is considerably and significantly different from the studies mentioned as it employs Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions to explore the different languages used with their frequencies, the functions performed by the different language choices in different domains, motivations behind particular language choices, and on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. It investigates the different public signs displayed at a variety of public places to understand the roles and functions of language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscapes of the selected cities of KP. The present study fills the previously existing gap and adds to the already present body of literature on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan in general and of KP in particular.

The study employs snapshots of linguistic signs, displayed at various public places to know the different languages used there and their percentage, to explore the diverse functions that the different language choices perform in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. Language choices are determined by various factors and in terms of linguistic landscape,

they have not been investigated till date, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. To explore the basic reasons and motivations behind the particular language choices in signage in the linguistic landscape of KP, the researcher uses interviews conducted with the sign owners. The language choices made in various linguistic landscapes are perceived differently by the on-lookers of each area. The study makes use of a research method 'photovoice' to explore the on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices made in the linguistic landscape of KP. By doing so, the study provides a significant and comprehensive analysis of the language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. Due to the diverse aspects and particular nature of the linguistic landscape of each area, quite a large number of research studies can still possibly be carried out to explore the different aspects in detail.

1.1 Background of the Study

Although linguistic landscape is a relatively new research area, yet studies on its various aspects have already been conducted by researchers from a variety of fields. In 1972, Masai investigated language on shop-signs. Rosenbaum et al. (1977) noted a gap in actual language practices and official language policy by observing different commercial, private, and public signs. Backhaus (2006) and Landry and Bourhis (1997) overviewed previous researches carried out on linguistic landscape and identified a few studies conducted in the areas of language conflict in Quebec and Belgium where official policy makers and language planners acknowledged the significance of signage in discovering and marking the borders of language territories. Leclerc (1994) studied latest language laws all over the globe and concluded that though 30 regional states and countries have laws regarding diverse aspects of linguistic landscape, in majority of countries, language planners and policy makers have not focused on this significant notion of linguistic landscape. However, Spolsky (2009), Shohamy (2006), and Blackwood (2008) emphasized the significance of linguistic landscape as it comprises of situated, authentic language use and presents evidences of linguistic groups present, and the language hierarchies and structures of power operative in specific regions, places, and countries.

In the previous few years, the range of linguistic landscape research and study has expanded to cover various social issues and problems such as: mediations of culture and knowledge, identity construction, impact of globalisation, tourism and immigration, language contact, shift, and change, group and self-representation, economic motivation, and power relations among diverse linguistic groups. Barni and Bagna (2015) tried to find a linkage

between linguistic visibility and linguistic vitality but could not find any link between the two. In this connection, Du Plessis (2011) also reached the same results. Woldemariam and Lanza (2015), as well as, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015) investigated how immigrant communities used linguistic landscape to construct their identities.

Studies conducted on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan are very limited in number as far as the knowledge of the researcher is concerned. Rahman (2010) studied texts on trucks to know the key themes that diverse linguistic codes carried. However, trucks move from one place to another place and, therefore, they cannot be considered as a permanent part of the linguistic landscape of a particular area. Atta (2016) examined the linguistic landscape of Rawalpindi, Wah Cantonment, and Islamabad from the perspective of linguistic hybridity. Linguistic landscape is the product of language choices and language choices seem to perform different functions in the linguistic landscape of an area. The functions of language choices, motivations behind language choices, and on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices are the important aspects of linguistic landscapes that have not been given attention by the researchers both in Pakistan and in other countries.

Having the above in mind, this study intends to investigate the language choices made in the signage of the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the diverse functions that particular language choices perform in different domains by employing Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. Language choices are determined by a variety of factors; therefore, this study aims at exploring the major reasons and motivations behind particular language choices. Once language choices are made in a linguistic landscape, they are witnessed and perceived by diverse on-lookers having different sociolinguistic backgrounds and diverse mentalities. Using photovoice technique, this study also attempts to explore the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices made in the linguistic landscape of KP.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is a general perception that the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by English. Pakistan is a richly multilingual country where different languages are used, English being one of them. The four provinces of Pakistan have their own languages and cultures, which

is somehow reflected in their linguistic landscapes, where English, Urdu, and local languages are used by the top-down and bottom-up agents to achieve different purposes. The present study intends to investigate the linguistic landscape of the four major cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan with the view to testing the generally-accepted assumption that the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by English. Employing social semiotic theory and a model of language functions, the study attempts to explore the different functions that are performed by different language choices in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and to find out how those language choices constitute the linguistic landscape of the province. The study, therefore, intends to explore the motives behind making certain language choices, the on-lookers' perceptions of those language choices, and the roles and functions of those language choices in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What different functions are performed in various domains by different language choices in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
2. Why do top-down and bottom-up agents prefer to use certain language(s) in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
3. How are particular language choices in the linguistic landscape perceived by the on-lookers?

1.4 Significance of the Study

Linguistic landscape is a significant area of sociolinguistics which shares borders with several other disciplines, such as, anthropology, sociology, and psychology. The study of linguistic landscape is important because it represents how people interact in a society and how they construct their identities. This study is significant in the sense that it will identify and describe systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in the form of visual linguistic signs in public spaces and will try to understand the roles and functions of different language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Since the linguistic landscape of an area is constituted by the people living in that area, it is meant for them, and it reflects their language preferences, this study will investigate the on-

lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in different domains by the top-down and bottom-up agents in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Through this study, the researcher anticipates to bring to light certain aspects related to the linguistic landscape of Pakistan, which have remained unnoticed till now and expects to add significantly to the understanding of the relationship between two important phenomena: language choice and linguistic landscape. Since the study employs social semiotic theory, it will investigate the two phenomena from a new perspective. By analysing signs displayed at various public places, by interviewing sign owners, and by exploring on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices, the study is intended to lead to a richer and deeper understanding of the phenomenon of linguistic landscape in general, and to the linguistic landscape of KP in particular.

1.5 Research Methodology

As the current study aims at investigating the diverse functions performed by different language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP, therefore, the snapshots of the different linguistic objects displayed at various public places would be used as data for this study. For the purpose of investigating and exploring the aforementioned aspects, the researcher employs Kress's (2010) social semiotic theory and a model of language functions based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. Social semiotics is valuable and significant for the current study as it allows analysing all the semiotic resources adopted for a particular sign; it also helps explore the various motivations behind the use of a particular semiotic resource in a particular sign. The model of language functions would help in analysing the different functions that are performed by different language choices in different domains. To determine if differences exist between government and private domains, in terms of language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP, Ben-Rafael et al.'s (2006) notion of top-down and bottom-up signs would be used. It would help in exploring similarities and differences between government and private agents in terms of signage. Apart from this, semi-structured interviews would be conducted with sign owners. Semi-structured interviews would expectedly prove to be an appropriate tool for the researcher for investigating in detail and, as a result, exploring the diverse motivations and reasons that result in the selection of a particular linguistic code in the linguistic landscape of a particular area. To explore the on-

lookers' perceptions of the language choices, the researcher would be employing photovoice technique whereby the researcher would select 64 participants, ask them to take snapshots of linguistic signs displayed in their locality and write a caption or commentary for each captured photograph. The researcher would, then, analyse the captured photographs and the captions or commentaries written for each photograph by the participants.

The basic motive for choosing the above-mentioned research methods is their viability and feasibility in allowing comprehensive investigation and exploration of the linguistic landscape of KP. The social semiotic theory and the model of language functions is expected to help explore the functions performed by different language choices. As for as the research methods are concerned, the interviews will assist in exploring the motivations behind the language choices, and the photovoice technique will help in exploring the public perceptions of the language choices.

1.6 Data Analysis

The data has been analysed in three phases. In the first phase, the data, collected through snapshots of linguistic signs that constitute the linguistic landscape of KP, has been analysed by employing Social Semiotic theory of Kress (2010) and the model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. In the second phase, the interviews conducted with the selected participants have been transcribed, translated into English, and then analysed for knowing the major reasons and motivations behind language choices made in the linguistic landscape of KP. The captions and commentaries for each photograph written by the selected participants have also been analysed with the purpose to discover their perceptions of the linguistic choices in their surrounding linguistic landscapes. At the end, on the basis of the results of these three phases of data analysis, conclusions have been drawn and suggestions made for future research.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

The study has been delimited to four major cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, one of the four provinces of Pakistan, namely: Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar, Kohat, and Abbottabad. The study is further delimited to the linguistic signs displayed at the following public places which are selected from the following eight domains of language use:

1. A Mosque from the domain of religion
2. A school/university from the domain of education
3. A hospital from the domain of health care
4. A park from the domain of recreation
5. A cantonment area from the domain of military
6. A market from the domain of business
7. A filling station from the domain of energy
8. A road-side from the domain of travel

1.8 Limitations of the Study

A total of 4 major cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are selected for the present study, namely: Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad. Due to a large number of cities in the province (46, according to *Pakistan Bureau of Statistics*), the selected cities may not represent the true linguistic landscape of KP. Moreover, data was collected from eight different public places from each of the selected cities, namely: mosque, school/university, hospital, park, cantonment, market, filling station and road-side. Since each public place has some special characteristics specific to it, the selected research sites may not represent the true picture of the linguistic landscape of the province.

1.9 Organization of the Study

In order to proceed with the study in a step-wise manner, a tentative road map is presented here:

Chapter 2 presents and discusses review of the related literature about language choice and linguistic landscape in detail. It discusses different issues related to linguistic landscape, such as: LL and place, LL and identity, LL and globalisation, LL and multilingualism, and LL and language policy. Since this is a social semiotic study of linguistic signs, it also sheds light on the basics of semiotics and social semiotics. Besides, the status of English language in Pakistan has been discussed briefly in this chapter too. The Chapter also provides a quick, yet comprehensive, overview of the studies already conducted in this area, on international level and more particularly on the national level of Pakistan. In the end, the Chapter identifies and discusses the research gap which forms the basis for the present study.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive account of the research methodology adopted for the study. Each necessary and essential aspect of methodology, such as tools and techniques of data collection and analysis, is given explicitly in this chapter. It also delineates in detail the theoretical framework employed in this study. Moreover, it also discusses in a concise yet thorough manner the choice, rationale, and motivation for the chosen research approach, research design, and research method.

Chapter 4 of the thesis contains extensive and comprehensive analyses of the data collected through the three different data collection tools. The data will be analysed in three phases. First, analysis of snapshots of linguistic signs will be carried out to discover the different functions performed through language choices in different domains. After that, the interviews conducted with the participants will be analysed to know the motives and reasons behind language choices. Finally, captions and commentaries written by participants for each sign will be analysed with the view to discover the on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices in their surrounding linguistic landscapes. The three phases will help to provide a detailed and extensive analysis of the linguistic landscape of KP.

Chapter 5 presents the findings and results gleaned from the extensive analyses of the collected data. It also discusses the findings of the study.

Chapter 6 provides the conclusion of the study and the recommendations based on it for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the major issues and concepts specifically related to the chosen topic. The major issues are discussed in 4 different sections. Section 1 of the Chapter discusses language choice, which is the major concern of this study. Section 2 discusses linguistic landscape in detail. It starts off with the definition of linguistic landscape and goes on to discuss the various issues studied and diverse areas explored in this area. Section 3 of the Chapter outlines domains of language use. Section 4 discusses semiotics and language as a semiotic resource. In the section 5, the studies already conducted on the various issues related to linguistic landscape are critically reviewed. Towards the end of the chapter, the studies conducted on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan are discussed and a research gap is identified which forms the basis for the present study.

2.1 Language Choice

The modern world has developed into a digitalized world and through this digitalization people are exposed to different cultures, societies, and languages. The more one is exposed to a reality, the more one understands it and learns about it. Different cultures of different societies have different languages. These languages are exposed to different people of the world through technology and many other sources. Majority of the societies of the world have become bilingual or multilingual, where many languages are used by people. Different languages are used for different purposes in a society. Language users select a language out of many languages. Before selecting a particular language out of a variety of options, the users have in their mind a purpose, the situation and location at hand, the topic of discussion, and the speech participants. Language choice is when speakers choose which language to use in a particular situation in a bilingual or multilingual community. According to Fishman (1967), language choice means who speaks what language, to whom, and when. Ferguson (1959) is of the view that the diglossic situation in a bilingual and multilingual community determines the language choice. Cargile et al. (1994) maintain that language attitudes shared by societies also determine language choice. Language choice seems to be a significant area in sociolinguistics, which deals with the selection of a

language out of multiple languages and with the factors that lead to the selection of a particular language. Language choice seems to play a significant role in constituting the linguistic landscape of an area, which is another significant area in sociolinguistics.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape

2.2.1 Definition

When one gets out of one's home, one witnesses different linguistic codes displayed on a variety of objects. Wherever we go, we come across many languages. These languages are displayed on different public road signs, street names, shop signs, and place names etc. All these languages constitute the linguistic landscape of a particular area. The focus of linguistic landscape as a field has got changed over time due to which its definition has also got changed. Initially the term linguistic landscape would be used to mean the linguistic and sociolinguistic condition and situation of a specific area. It has also been used to refer to the differences between different linguistic codes or different varieties of the same language. Many dissimilar alternatives have been suggested for the field, from cityscape (Gorter, 2006a) and semiotic landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) to geo-semiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

The prominent researchers in this field agree upon the one important point that linguistic landscape is basically written, and seems to be the extension of the prime and principal focus of sociolinguistics on spoken symbols. Bakhaus (2007) posited that the study of language in written form is not only important but also compulsory, because written communication in different private and public places has distinctive semiotic properties. Initially, the study of linguistic landscape was limited just to language and researchers did not take the other semiotic modes into account with their focus of attention just only the language. When one goes out of one's home, one comes across signs where more than one semiotic mode is used. Most of the signs displayed by different top-down and bottom-up agents contain more than one semiotic mode. All the semiotic modes contribute to the whole meaning of a sign. All the semiotic modes need to be taken into account when studying the linguistic landscape of an area. With the passage of time, the field has much expanded and extended to take account of all the other semiotic devices also.

An additional aspect which is mostly highlighted in the definition of linguistic landscape is the indexical or symbolic nature of signs in public place. Ben-Rafael (2009) describes

linguistic landscape as a “symbolic construction of public space” (p. 41) and Bakhaus (2005), giving attention to the mutual indexical relationship between space and sign, defines linguistic landscape as the “meaning-making process of observable languages in municipal place” (p. 2); Shohamy (2006) extended its definition by terming it as a language policy mechanism. Dialectic exists between society and linguistic landscape, because linguistic landscape influences socio-political situation (by influencing language attitudes and creating place) and socio-political condition of a specific area in turn affects the linguistic landscape of that area.

As stated above, initially, the field was limited to the study of language in written form, due to which the definition of the term was less broad; along with the gradual growth of the field, the definition of the term linguistic landscape has recurrently expanded. Gorter (2006b) had provided a much broader definition of the usage of languages in their written form in different public spaces. He had defined linguistic landscape as the sum total of all the linguistic objects displayed in a public place; now the definition of the term has expanded much to include some other important factors that contribute to the semiotic aspects of the linguistic objects in the linguistic landscape, such as buildings, sounds, clothing, images, movements, and some other significant multimodal aspects. Shohamy and Ben-Rafael (2015) noted that the expansion of the field to the study of the multimodal features and aspects of linguistic signs is evident from the new definition of the field, presented by the editors of the fresh journal on Linguistic Landscape. It has been defined as the presence, existence, representation, meanings, and interpretation of different languages displayed in different public places. Shohamy (2015) argues that not taking into account all the multimodal aspects of displayed linguistic objects will certainly result in an erroneous, inaccurate, and incorrect interpretation of the written and printed texts.

2.2.2 Overview of Linguistic Landscape Research

Signs in different public places were at first explored due to curiosity and later, as a complementary perspective in different research studies. At first, signage was looked into by researchers as something of interest; with the passage of time, different research scholars started exploring issues and matters specifically linked to linguistic landscape. Initially, researchers faced different issues in terms of methodology; they did not know how to investigate linguistic landscape of an area. As a consequence of the non-availability of appropriate methodology for investigating the linguistic landscape of a particular area, the initial researchers and explorers

faced several issues; among the different emerging methodological issues, the development and advancement of some kind of methodology for this field took place.

Different aspects in different fields of studies always need to be investigated through some kind of methodology. Researchers in the field of linguistic landscape are not of the same view on how to investigate and explore certain aspects; although, they agree on certain problems to be considered in this area. In addition to this, signs in public place cannot be analysed through only one perspective; rather, signs in public spaces require interdisciplinary analysis. Theoretical frameworks in linguistic landscape are developed by and related to several other fields, such as sociology, economics, and language policy etc. Barni and Bagna (2015) say that, slowly but certainly, some significant issues are emerging and indeed this field has reached its critical point.

As a research area, linguistic landscape seems to be a “relatively nascent sociolinguistic discipline”, (Backhaus, 2007, p. 3) which deals with a large number of different approaches and perspectives. The agents of linguistic signs assign different signs to different purposes. Each and every sign in a public place is used for achieving a specific predefined effect. The field of linguistic landscape not only deals with the linguistic objects displayed for advertisement purposes in different public places, but also with a variety of other linguistic objects displayed for other purposes. It does not deal with only a single aspect of linguistic sign but rather with all the important aspects. Gorter (2013) is of the view that this discipline can be related to a variety of disciplines, such as economics, education, advertising, media, semiotics, history, urban geography, and sociology. The linguistic landscape of a particular area is largely the reflection of the linguistic diversity, multilingualism, and language policy of that region. Gorter (2013) says that researchers in this relatively new discipline take all the language issues, such as minority languages, linguistic diversity, literacy, language policy, multimodality, and multilingualism, into consideration when they study the linguistic situation of a specific area. Gorter summarizes the notion of linguistic landscape as the study of the linguistic codes as they are displayed in signs and also the representation of the linguistic codes.

Different landscapes started to be shaped by numerous linguistic units at the same time as the human beings began to write languages on different objects (Coulmas, 2009), but it was only in the early 1970s that the existence of written and printed texts on shops, city walls, and buildings started to stir the interest and curiosity of researchers, especially when the very first

research study related to the occurrence of written and printed texts in the metropolitan setting was published by Rosenbaum et al. (1977). Since the publication of the first research study in this area, numerous writers have showed their interest, enthusiasm, and curiosity in the study of private and public signage; they showed interest especially in the analysis of the linguistic signs displayed in the areas/cities of linguistic diversity and linguistic conflict. Several important issues concerning signage have been dealt with and several research papers have been written and published throughout the rest of the 20th century.

2.2.3 Linguistic landscape and Place

It has been acknowledged from the very beginning that linguistic landscape is situated in the public space. The situatedness of linguistic landscape in the public space entails that linguistic landscape is a very particular and specific sort of communication and, therefore, it is investigated not just for its linguistic manifestation, but also for the understanding of the forces that shape it and for knowing what and how it symbolises different things once it is created. According to Shohamy and Waksman (2009), the phrase “public space” refers to a shared field and arena, which is both dialogic and dynamic. It is dynamic because it constantly changes and dialogic because it shapes the different sorts of discourses in it and is, in turn, shaped by the various types of discourses relating to it; they further noted that within public space, several agents and actors having diverging, opposing, competing, and contending agendas operate, and therefore it is also a space of negotiation and contestation. Blommaert et al. (2005) say that ‘space’ is something that is transformed into ‘public place.’ Mitchell (2000) is of the view that ‘place’ is intentionally created by carefully choosing and adopting certain linguistic codes from the different available options. The conversion of a space into a place is facilitated by the use of written language. The written language displayed at various public spaces is known as linguistic landscape. Linguistic landscape is an influential mechanism with which agents create, construct, and express different identities.

2.2.4 Linguistic Landscape and Identity

Language is the product of power and identity is the product of language use. Identity is created when language is used. Identity is something dynamic that changes every now and then and is always in a flux. The use of a language in different signs also creates identities. The use of a particular linguistic code in the linguistic landscape of a particular area affirms the status and

value of that linguistic code; as a consequence, the socio-linguistic group associated with the language feels that it is part of the society and is included in it. Landry and Bourhis (1997) say that the presence of a particular language in the linguistic landscape of a particular public place contributes positively to the social identity of the associated linguistic group. Curtin (2007) says that various political and socio-economic groups make use of diverse languages and orthographies to create, construct, and maintain different identities at regional, local, national, and transnational levels. Through the use of diverse languages in signs in the linguistic landscape of a particular place, the identities of minority groups and minority languages are also created.

2.2.5 Linguistic Landscape and Minorities/Minority Languages

As stated above, identity is created and constructed when language, whether in written or oral form, is used. Sign-owners create their own identity as well as the identity of the other groups through the use of a particular language. When a language associated with a particular group is used in signage, it shows that the associated language group is powerful and has got high status in the society. On the contrary, the exclusion of the language of the minority group from the signage indicates that the minority group and language of the minority group have got no value within the society. The minority/local languages or languages of marginalized groups are often marginalized with respect to signage. Several research studies examined how marginal languages or languages of marginalized groups are treated within the linguistic landscape, either as a separate issue (Reershemius, 2011; Blackwood, 2011), or as an important facet of multilingualism (Cenoz, 2008; Rosendal, 2009). Identities of several groups are constructed if various groups with diverse linguistic background reside in a specific multilingual society. Multilingual society is a society where more than one language is used by the inhabitants.

2.2.6 Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Multilingualism is defined as the ability to use multiple languages. Multilingualism is noticeable and evident on both societal and individual levels; the former takes place when more than one linguistic code is used in a particular context and setting and the latter, when an individual is proficient and skilled in a variety of languages. At the initial stages, the linguistic landscape was primarily perceived as a manifestation of diverse multilingual environments. Several studies focused particularly on the various challenges presented by multilingual contexts and settings. According to Gorter (2006a), the different prominent issues of multilingualism can

be investigated through linguistic landscape. The different displayed signs in the linguistic landscape of a specific area contain either one language or more than one language. The linguistic signs containing one language are known as monolingual signs and signs containing two or more than two languages are termed as multilingual signs. Monolingual and multilingual signs have different semiotic values and communicative potentials. Barni (2008) says that monolingual signs limit readership as monolingual signs are only read and understood by readers who are well versed in the language the signs are written in. On the contrary, diverse forms of multilingualism signify a range of degrees of inclusivity.

2.2.7 Linguistic Landscape and Linguistic Vitality

Related to these issues of multilingualism and socio-linguistic minorities is the issue of linguistic landscape playing a momentous role in linguistic vitality; the idea was given by Landry and Bourhis (1997), whose study proved that linguistic landscape is the significant indicator of linguistic vitality; on the other hand, several other research studies have found contradictory results. Barni and Bagna (2009, 2015) combined both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects in their study of linguistic landscape but they could not find any connection or linkage between linguistic visibility and linguistic vitality; Du Plessis (2011) also found opposite results. He found that African languages are extensively spoken by the general public but hardly used in signs in the linguistic landscape. At the same time, the increasing invisibility of African languages in the linguistic landscape is followed by the loss of these languages' control over various domain functions. Once again it proves that simple observations about the linguistic landscape of a particular area cannot be made. The linguistic landscape of a particular area may not be reflective of its true language situation. The languages used in the signage may not be in use in the society or the languages used in the society may not be found on signs in the linguistic landscape of that area. English is the language that seems to dominate the linguistic landscapes of the majority of the Asian countries, but the general public of these countries cannot use it proficiently. The spread of English language to the linguistic landscapes of different countries is said to have been facilitated by globalization.

2.2.8 Linguistic Landscape and Globalisation

Curtin (2007) states that globalization greatly affects linguistic landscape which is evident in the gradual spread and supremacy of English and the increasing commodification of

the majority of the languages. The rapid spread and pervasiveness of English has increased the interest of the researchers in this area. English language is often found in the linguistic landscapes around the globe, whereas the local languages are rarely found in the linguistic landscapes. Cenoz and Gorter (2009) attribute this phenomenon to the process of globalization. Globalization resulted in the spread of English language to the different important domains. It can be found at different tourist stations, various sites or metropolitan regions with diverse socio-linguistic groups where it acts as a lingua franca (Backhaus, 2005; Huebner, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). It is also found on signs that are aimed at neighbouring populace for symbolic purposes. It has been mistakenly and erroneously assumed that a larger readership is attracted by the use of English. One of the results of making such a choice is that the other local and minor languages are going to be diminished gradually.

Day by day, trade increases among different countries of the world; whereas, different countries of the world are dependent upon other countries for meeting their various basic needs. In this way, the trademarks and names of brands spread to other countries, through trade among different countries. Tufi and Blackwood (2010) say that the speedy spread of the different trademarks and brand names across nations is another momentous aspect of globalization. In some cases, we cannot even assign these different trade names to a particular language of origin. Tufi and Blackwood call such names as a language created by globalization. Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015) say that such names should be assigned a different linguistic category, namely “Big Commercial Names” – BCNs.

2.2.9 Linguistic Landscape, Language Policy and Practice

Different languages are spoken in different countries all over the world; some are minor and some are major languages. In order to run their systems smoothly, countries select a language or sometimes two languages among the present languages as their national language(s). Every country frames some language policies which definitely affect the linguistic situation of a country. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) say that there is dialectic between linguistic landscape and society. While linguistic landscape is the product of the socio-linguistic situation, it simultaneously affects the socio-linguistic environment, by influencing the perception of language and language use. The existence of dialectic between linguistic landscape and society implies that by influencing the linguistic landscape, agents can affect the wider sociolinguistic

environment. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the most effective way to control the public place is to control the different discourses in that place. The discourses in public space can be controlled by controlling the linguistic landscape through language policy. On the other hand, linguistic landscape can also affect language policy. According to Shohamy (2006), linguistic landscape acts as a hidden language policy mechanism. Both the minority and the dominant groups use linguistic landscape to manipulate and influence the actual language practices. By such practices, one can impose, negotiate or protest against language policies (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006).

2.3 Domains of Language Use

The term domain is generally used to refer to the (social) context of interaction. The concept of domain goes back to the American sociolinguist, Joshua Fishman. According to Fishman (1972), “domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from areas of communication, relationship between communicators, and settings of communication, in accordance with the institution, of a society and the area of activity of speech community in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other” (p. 20). He maintains that a domain of language involves typical interaction between typical participants in typical settings about a typical topic. Speech communities are made up of a number of different types of domains which organize and define social life. Typical domains in a particular speech community include recreation, family, employment, education, and religion. Each domain has distinctive, domain-specific factors: topic, setting, and addressees. For example, in the domain of family, family members would be the main addressees, the home would be the setting and everyday family matters would be the topic. These different factors affect the code choices of a speaker in a particular domain. In these domains, language users use different languages in spoken form in order to communicate their messages. Apart from the use of languages in spoken form, people also use different languages in written form in these domains. In the same way, in order to make a particular sign, sign-makers select a particular language out of the available set of options. They make language choices for their signs depending on their domain of language use. The different language choices in different signs combine to form the linguistic landscape of a particular domain. Once language choices are made in the linguistic landscape of a particular domain, they perform different functions. In this

study, the linguistic landscapes of eight different public domains have been analysed. The domains are:

1. Religion
2. Recreation
3. Travel
4. Health care
5. Education
6. Energy
7. Business
8. Military

These are some of the common domains where people from different linguistic backgrounds can be found. In the linguistic landscape of these domains, sign-owners emplace different types of signs for the general public. The linguistic landscapes of all the domains combine to form the linguistic landscape of an area, which is Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the case of the present study.

2.4 What is Semiotics?

Semiotics is the study of signs. Semiotics, according to Kress (1993), is the ‘science of the sign, a fusion of form/signifier and meaning/signified’ (p. 41). Irvine (2005) states that all the symbolic systems, such as gesture, image, and script, function like a second order text or language in a specific culture. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) argue that mode of writing is one of the forms of visual communication. However, a shift from the earlier used technologies of print to electronic, digital modes of representation has been witnessed in the last few decades. Kress (1993) says that the current modern age is marked by a momentous shift away from the domination of writing to the domination of screen images. Screen images are ever-present in almost all parts of the world. The overwhelming preponderance of different images attempts to conflate and combine diverse semiotic modes, or resources, for the purpose of producing a highly convincing end-product.

The linguistic landscape of a particular area is constituted by the linguistic signs displayed by diverse top-down and bottom-up sign agents. These linguistic signs contain a

variety of semiotic modes and semiotic resources. Different sign agents select different semiotic modes for their signs. All the semiotic modes and semiotic resources employed by the different agents in their signs may be known to them but they may not be competent in all of them. The use of diverse semiotic modes in signs results in the construction of multimodal signs. Multimodal signs can be found in the linguistic landscape of KP.

2.4.1 Linguistic Landscape and Semiotics/Multimodality

Shohamy and Waksman (2009) proposed for the first time that linguistic landscape is a semiotic research area. This idea was further developed by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) in their study. The focus on the linguistic landscape as a semiotic exploration is actually based on the view that linguistic landscape is not only composed of stationary linguistic signs, but also of some other communicative objects, such as: magazines, newspapers, and even shirts worn by people with different signs on them. Different sorts of signs displayed at different places make use of diverse semiotic resources. Majority of the signs contain more than one semiotic mode. These different semiotic resources are given meaning by the place where they are displayed. The emplacement of a sign is very much significant in giving meaning. Bakhaus (2005) argues that there exists indexical correlation between space and sign and this correlation is reciprocal – the space gives meaning to the sign, and vice versa. He defines this as meaning-making practice of observable language in public place. This is closely connected to the idea of ‘placeness’. The idea above resulted in the development and increase of multimodal interest in linguistic landscape; its focus expanded from text to movement, history, smells, images, buildings, and sounds. Shohamy (2015) argues that the focus of the field also gets extended to various people who are absorbed and immersed in places by interacting with linguistic landscape in various ways.

2.4.2 Language as a Semiotic Resource

Language is generally regarded as the basic and primary tool for the expression of human feelings, emotions, and ideas. As a resource, language can be used for the expression of specific messages. It is not just language that is always used to achieve the said goals; language users also make use of other different semiotic modes to perform different tasks. They make use of pictures, images, graphics etc. for different purposes. Visual symbols and representations are also used to achieve such goals. Sign is actually what comprises the foundation of what was

previously known as Social Semiotics. The early semiotician, Saussure (1983, as cited in Chandler, 2002), says that sign consists of a signifier and a signified. He says that the combination of signifier and signified is arbitrary. But Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) strongly oppose Saussure's (1983, as cited in Chandler, 2002) theory and state that signs are not simply arbitrary combination of signifier and signified but are socio-culturally motivated meaning-carriers. Kress (2010) states that the sign-makers have always some vested interests in making a specific sign. He says that different sign makers create signs where form and meaning have a motivated relation. Diverse means are used to make these signs in dissimilar ways. He says that these signs are essentially the expression of the vested interests of the socially formed individuals who realise and express their meanings, by the use of these signs, and through the use of different existing semiotic resources. This thesis will further attempt to investigate how diverse modes of typeface, foregrounding, salience, colour, and framing devices can all be used as semiotic resources.

2.5 The Status of English in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual country where numerous languages are used by the people. The four different provinces of Pakistan have their own languages and cultures. Each province has its major and minor languages used inside it. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pashto is the major language. Punjabi is the major language used in Punjab. In the same way, Sindh and Balochistan have Sindhi and Balochi as their provincial languages respectively. Apart from this, the two other languages that are more commonly used in Pakistan are Urdu and English. English is the official language and Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. English is the language of higher education and military as well. English is the language with which power is associated. It is also the language of the privileged and higher class of the society that has affected the country since its origin. Some people in Pakistan are against this language. Rahman (2010) says that some conservative people and groups who oppose and are against the language can be found all over the country. Various language conflicts and linguistic policies have attempted to impose Urdu language as the official language of Pakistan. However, it has always been very difficult to destabilize the supreme position of English in the country. Considering the various crucial impacts and effects of globalisation on all countries, the educational policies of Pakistan favour English language and introduce it as a compulsory subject from grade 1. The higher education commission of Pakistan is also in favour of English language to become the language of

education. Pakistan's policies are not able to produce the required and desirable results in almost all the domains of English language usage. The study will explore the position of English in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan in general and in KP in particular.

2.6 Works Already Done

The importance, power, and status of a particular language in a particular area is reflected in its use in the linguistic landscape of that area. A specific language is used by the different users in different ways. Language policies of a particular area affect the use of language(s). Cenoz and Gorter (2006) concluded from their study that a comparatively strong language policy has a strong and everlasting effect on the linguistic landscape of that area. They found out that a quite strong language policy of Basque had a great impact on its linguistic landscape. On the other hand, they found no such effect in the case of Frisian. Basque appeared in approximately 50 percent of the signs and Frisian appeared in only 5 percent of the signs. Even though the percentage of fluent Frisian speakers is much higher than the people who are fluent in Basque. The language policies of Basque support and promote Basque language in the linguistic signs and the effects of their support are reflected in both private (commercial) and public signs. It has been observed by the researchers that the language policies of the majority of the countries support English language and, as a consequence, it can be seen in drafting signs in the linguistic landscapes of the majority of the countries of the world.

Schlick (2003) observed that all around the world the linguistic signs in the linguistic landscapes that contain more than one language have a trend to include English as one of the languages. He says that it is the case not only in big, capital, and principal cities, but also in local small towns. Researchers regard globalization as one the major sources for the rapid spread of English to the important domains of the majority of the countries. Through the use of English language, businesses try to increase their trade and thus its presence and occurrence in the different important domains is the result of economic reasons. Dhongde (2002) concluded that it is globalisation that results in the increasing use of English in different domains. He is also of the view that the various issues of power and identity are raised by the excessive use of English language. He gives example of India by saying that English language spoken and used in India has its own specific characteristics that identify its users with the best class of society. Piller (2001) also says that the use of English language is associated with diverse values such as fun,

modernity, sophistication, international orientation, and success etc. People speaking English language are considered to be modern and sophisticated people; whereas, people using local languages are thought to be simple and uneducated.

The occurrence and presence of English in diverse top-down and bottom-up signs in linguistic landscapes of towns, villages, and capital cities of countries is one of the most apparent and palpable indicators of the process of globalization. Numerous studies have presented clear evidences regarding this. For example, Ben Rafael et al. (2006) conducted their study in different Jewish, non-Israeli Palestinian, and Palestinian Israeli settings and reported on the presence of different patterns of linguistic landscape. They found out that 25 to 75 percent of the signs analysed in their study were written in English language, depending on the specific area. Hebrew, English and Arabic were the main languages used in the mentioned settings. Quite similar to this study, Huebner (2006) had conducted a study in different areas in the different city centres of Bangkok. He reported that in Thailand, by law, it is obligatory and mandatory to use at least Thai in different settings but still the linguistic landscape of Thailand is dominated by English language. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compared the two cities of Ljovwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland (The Netherlands) and Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain) and explored that 28 per cent of the signs in Donostia-San Sebastian and 37 per cent of the signs in Ljovwert-Leeuwarden contained English language.

Although English is found as the most dominant language on the signs in the majority of the countries, the increasing prominence of local and minority languages is also noted in the linguistic landscapes of some countries. Barni and Bagna (2009) noted in their study that the minority languages are gaining increasing prominence in signs. Similarly, Edelman (2009) noted that the local and minority languages can be observed in signs. He revealed through his study that quite differently from English and Italian, which are distributed evenly in signs, the local languages, Chinese, Romanian, Arabic, and Spanish, are present and contained in mostly bilingual and multilingual signs. Moreover, he found that the local and minority languages are displayed in signs specifically to the benefit of immigrant communities.

As noted above, minority languages of a particular area affect the linguistic landscape of that area. Landry and Bourhis (1997) found a difference between different minority groups and their languages in terms of their role in the construction of linguistic landscape of a particular

area; they revealed that some minority and marginal groups influence the linguistic situation of an area more visibly and clearly than others. Likewise, Gorter (2006b) observed the same. Both Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Gorter (2006b) acknowledged the importance of minority groups in the construction of the linguistic landscape of an area. In order to determine if differences exist between local and immigrants, Collins and Slembrouck (2004) analysed the different ways of reading, perceiving, and construing bilingual and multilingual shop signs displayed and emplaced by immigrants in Ghent, Belgium. They found significant differences between immigrants and local in the readings and interpretations of the signage.

Researchers have also focused on the differences between different types of signs displayed in linguistic landscape. For example, Backhaus (2006) conducted his study on the differences between official and nonofficial monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs in Tokyo, Japan and identified significant differences between the characteristics of official and nonofficial signs. He revealed that the official and nonofficial signs show unlike characteristics with regards to the languages used and the way they are arranged on the signs. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) call official signs as top-down and non-official signs as bottom-up signs. Ben-Rafael *et al.* observed that top-down signs employ English whereas the bottom-up signs employ local languages in signs. Similarly, Huebner (2006) and Shohamy (2006) reached the same results. They added that difference is there between the two types of signs because the top-down agents adhere to language policies whereas bottom-up agents show greater variation. Contrary to this, Reh (2004) studied multilingual writing in his study and examined different types of signs in the Lira Municipality in Uganda. He particularly focused on the amount of information in each language in bilingual and multilingual signs and their intended readership.

All the above mentioned studies have investigated the linguistic landscapes of the countries other than Pakistan from diverse perspectives. A study conducted by Atta (2016) approaches the linguistic landscape of Pakistan from the perspective of linguistic hybridity, that is, different sorts of linguistic modifications made in the shop signs and billboards. The study was conducted in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Wah Cantonment. Rahman (2010) investigated texts written at the back of trucks and explored the different languages used and the major themes those texts carried. The current study is significantly different from the above-mentioned studies, as it intends to explore the different functions performed by different language choices in

different domains, the sign-owners' motives behind making particular language choices, and the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. How language choices perform different functions in different domains in the linguistic landscape of an area has not yet been explored, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. The current study attempts to fill this gap. Pakistan is a vast country consisting of four provinces i.e. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan. Each province has its own linguistic and cultural characteristics. Different languages are used in the four provinces in varying frequencies. The current research study will try to highlight the different languages and their frequencies in the linguistic signs displayed at the public places of KP; it will explore the use of different languages and their functions in different domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The present study will also attempt to explore the basic reasons and motivations behind the different language choices, and the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in various domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter mainly focused on the concepts and issues specifically related to the study. The major concepts and issues have been presented in different sections.

Section 1 of the Chapter discusses the major concern of the study i.e. language choice. The discussion focuses on the different definitions proposed by different theorists. It was noticed that language choice seems to play a significant role in the construction of the linguistic landscape of a particular area.

In the second section, linguistic landscape, which is the product of language choices, has been discussed in detail. The section starts off with the definition and the background of the area and goes on to discuss the various important issues related to the topic. Researchers define linguistic landscape as all the linguistic objects displayed in an area. It is constructed through the use of diverse semiotic modes and semiotic resources. Linguistic landscape creates identities at different levels once it is constructed. It was observed that linguistic landscapes of different countries are dominated by English. Researchers attributed this phenomenon to globalisation.

The studies also showed that there is dialectic between linguistic landscape and language policies.

Section 3 of the Chapter discussed semiotics, which is the study of signs. In order to make a particular sign, sign-owners employ a variety of semiotic resources. As the study focuses on language choices, this section also shed light on language as a semiotic resource. Like many other semiotic resources, language is one of the semiotic resources that is used by sign owners to make signs.

Finally, in the third section, the studies already conducted on related issues have been reviewed critically. These studies examined the diverse aspects of linguistic landscape, such as: relationship between language policy and linguistic landscape, the use of English in linguistic landscape, and the difference between top-down and bottom-up signs. The studies conducted in Pakistan have dealt with linguistic hybridity and texts on trucks. It has been observed that the studies conducted in Pakistan do not deal with the factors that affect the linguistic landscape of a particular area. In order to fill this gap, the present study intends to explore the sign-owners' motives behind making certain language choices, the on-lookers' perceptions of those language choices, and the roles and functions of those language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes an introduction and a comprehensive discussion on the fundamental concepts and key terms specifically related to social semiotics as a research framework. It also discusses a model that has been devised by using Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. Besides discussing social semiotics and the model of language functions, the chapter also outlines research design of the current study, tools and techniques adopted for data collection, and finally the techniques and procedures for the analysis of the collected data.

The major aim of the present work is to analyse the displayed linguistic objects at different public places of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from the perspective of social semiotics. The major objectives are: to analyse the various functions performed by different linguistic choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; to know the basic reasons and motivations behind the use of and preference for a certain language(s) in signs; and to explore the general on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The exploration of the KP's linguistic landscape will help readers know the diverse language choices and their functions in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. Thus, the basic purpose of the study is to explore the linguistic landscape of KP, and on-lookers' perceptions of it. The present study seeks answers to the following questions:

1. What different functions are performed in various domains by different languages in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
2. Why do top-down and bottom-up agents prefer to use certain language(s) in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
3. How are particular language choices in the linguistic landscape perceived by the on-lookers?

Based on the outlined framework of Kress (2010), the researcher found social semiotics as the most appropriate existing approach for pursuing this qualitative research enterprise. The

major drive behind opting for social semiotic study was its accommodativeness for analysing and investigating the different aspects of signage, and the people's perception of it; other available approaches were found not suitable enough to investigate all the aspects of linguistic landscape.

3.1 Research Design

The study uses mixed-method approach, which mixes both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single research study and assists researchers in giving a comprehensive picture of a phenomenon. Both the research methods have got some strengths and limitations. The weaknesses in one research method are compensated by the strengths of the other method. The linguistic landscape of a particular area needs to be looked into from different angles. Linguistic landscape contains signs that need to be analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. This approach helps in exploring the linguistic landscape of an area in detail. The study makes use of this research approach in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

3.2 Data Collection

The study will be conducted in four major cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, namely: Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar, Kohat, and Abbottabad. These cities have been selected with the aim to be representative of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Many people from northern KP, Muhmand Agency and Bajaur Agency come to Peshawar for fulfilling their special needs, such as: health, education and business, etc., people of southern Waziristan area of KP to D. I. Khan, from Orakzai, Khyber agencies and Karak to Kohat, and from Kohistan and Mansehra to Abbottabad. For Peshawar, the standard Pashto dialect is Yusufzai, for Kohat and D. I. Khan, it is Qandahari dialect of Pashto, and for Abbottabad, it is Siraiki as well as old Swatian Pashto. Majority of the people of KP live in villages where visual linguistic signs are rarely found. They come to these cities and see the different signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of the cities. The public signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of a particular area are not just for the people who live in that area but also for the people who come to those areas and interact with the linguistic landscape. As far as the selection of research sites for data collection is concerned, eight public places (a mosque, a school/university, a hospital, a park, a market, a cantonment, a filling station, and a roadside) have been selected because they are common to all the cities. These research sites have been selected using Gorter and Cenoz (2008) framework which

suggests to choose those places and areas that share same features and characteristics but are situated in different cities. These are the places where people of all ages, professions, and gender can be found. These are the common public places frequented by general public. This study is exploratory in nature and uses snapshots of the signs displayed at the selected public places in the selected cities.

The following methods were adopted for data collection:

- i. Snapshots of linguistic signs from the selected public places of the selected cities
- ii. Semi-structured interviews with sign-owners from the selected cities
- iii. Photovoice

A total of 2160 snapshots of linguistic signs, 540 snapshots per the selected city, were collected from different public places of each of the selected cities, namely: a mosque, a school/university, a hospital, a park, a market, a cantonment, a filling station, and a public road. These public places were selected from eight public domains of language use, namely: religion, education, health care, recreation, business, military, energy, and travel. Simple random sampling technique was adopted for the selection of signs for the purpose of analysis. 8 signs per domain were selected. The analysis was delimited to only the visual linguistic signs displayed at the selected public places. Assistance in the search for data and the different methods required for it was sought from the frameworks put forward by Landry and Bourhis (1997) who state that linguistic landscape deals with different issues of language in its written form in different public places. They further say that linguistic landscape is the language of advertising signposts, public road-signs, business shop signs, place names, and street names etc. The framework presented by Gorter and Cenoz (2008) was followed in selecting the research sites for the collection of data. The framework guides to choose public places and city areas that have similar characteristics and features but are situated in diverse places and countries. The research sites mentioned above are common to all the selected cities; that is why they have been selected for the study.

In addition, interviews of 64 sign-owners, 16 from each city, were conducted to explore the diverse reasons and motivations behind the use of and preference for a certain language(s) in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. Non-random sampling technique was adopted to select the participants. Semi-structured interviews were used for data collection. The participants were

asked questions about the different motives behind the use of a specific language(s) on signs in their surrounding linguistic landscapes. Interviews were conducted in different local languages apart from Urdu. The interviews were recorded, transcribed using intelligent verbatim transcription style, and then translated into English for the purpose of analysis. The research ethics and protocols, such as: seeking participants' willingness, obtaining informed consent, and ensuring confidentiality were observed by the researcher while interviewing the participants.

Photovoice technique was used to collect data for third phase of data analysis. The term 'photovoice' was at first proposed by Wang and Burris in the early 1990s. Photovoice is a technique in which participants use photographs to share their understanding and perceptions of the world around them with others. It enables researchers to have a greater understanding of the different issues under study. In the present study, the researcher draws on photovoice technique to explore the on-lookers' perceptions of the different language choices made by diverse top-down and bottom-up sign-owners in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. A total of 64 on-lookers, 16 from each city, were selected for this technique through purposive sampling technique. The participants were asked to take some snapshots of the signs or other different visual manifestations of language in their linguistic landscapes. They were also asked to select a single snapshot and write a caption and make a commentary on it to express why they captured that very photograph and how they felt about the particular usages of a language(s) in the photograph in their respective linguistic landscapes.

3.3 Data Analysis

Data were analysed in three phases. In the first phase, all the snapshots were analysed to find out the different languages that are used in the different top-down and bottom-up signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The different roles and functions performed by the various languages were also explored in this phase. In the second phase, interviews conducted with participants were analysed to know the different motives and reasons behind the use of a certain language(s) by the various top-down and bottom-up agents in various domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. In the third and the last phase, the captions and commentaries written for each snapshot of a sign captured by the participants were analysed to discover how the on-lookers perceive the particular language choices, and their particular usages, in various domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It helped in

determining how the general public perceive the particular language choices, and their functions, in the linguistic landscapes around them.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

3.4.1 Social Semiotics

Social semiotics is an approach that seeks to understand how people communicate messages, make meaning, and perform diverse functions by a variety of means in a particular socio-cultural setting. “Sign” is the core unit of semiotics and social semiotics. Kress (2010) is of the view that signs are made, rather than used. One of the major features that distinguish social semiotic theory from other forms of semiotics is its focus on sign-making, rather than sign-use. Traditional semiotics emphasises codes and structures, at the expense of functions and socio-cultural uses of diverse semiotic systems. It stresses semiotic systems and products, rather than speakers, writers, and readers or other different participants in a semiotic activity as connected and interacting in different ways in a concrete social context. On the contrary, social semiotics emphasises all the factors that are involved in and affect the process of sign-making and communication in a particular socio-cultural setting.

Social semioticians have three interconnected and interrelated aims;

- i. to collect, document, and systematically catalogue the diverse semiotic resources – including their history,
- ii. to investigate how the different resources are employed in a specific cultural, institutional, and historical context, and how individuals think about these resources in such contexts, and
- iii. to contribute to the development and invention of novel semiotic resources and some new uses of the already present semiotic resources.

Kress’ (2010) social semiotic theory takes all the factors into account that play any role in sign-making. In his theory, the focus is on these four major aspects.

- i. Sign
- ii. Sign-maker
- iii. Context

iv. Receiver/On-looker

The basic unit of analysis in semiotics is the 'sign'. Semiotics deals with signs. However, from the perspective of social semiotics, the analysis of a 'sign' rests on some basic assumptions. Kress (2010) stated the following fundamental assumptions.

- Sign is always created anew in cultural and social interactions. Signs are not something readymade that are used by the sign-agents; rather these are units that are intentionally made by the social agents, by keeping in view the meaning they wish to communicate and the purpose they want to achieve through them.
- Sign is motivated and never stands for the arbitrary relation of form and meaning.
- The motivated relationship between a meaning and a form arises out of and is essentially based on the sign-makers' interests.
- The signifiers/forms that are used in sign-making are actually created in different social exchanges and they later become the permanent part of a culture's various semiotic resources.

Signs are made by different sign-makers using a variety of semiotic modes and semiotic resources. Kress (2010) states that each individual of a society has his/her own social history and is socially shaped and socially positioned in a certain social environment. He says that each individual uses culturally and socially-made resources and culturally and socially-available resources to make signs, implying that all individuals are generative and agentive in the act of sign-making and communication. In signs, sign agents bring together several semiotic modes and semiotic resources. In such ensembles, each mode and each semiotic resource has a particular task and function to perform. Kress (2010) says that such ensembles are based on the selection and the arrangement of different modes and resources for making a particular sign about a specific issue for specific on-lookers. The resulted ensembles are based on the aims and purposes of sign-makers. The sign-makers make a sign by keeping in view the functions they want to perform through them.

According to Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory, all signs are always newly made in specific socio-cultural contexts for specific readers and purposes arising from the sign-maker's interest, the designer's use of different available semiotic modes and semiotic resources, in an

awareness of the significant requirements of the particular socio-cultural environment. As all signs are made for specific readers and purposes, which makes it crucial and important to be aware of what and who the readers are and what the purposes are. It shows that on-lookers significantly affect the process of sign-making and need to be taken into consideration in the analysis of signs.

In semiotics, a sign is studied and analysed without referring to its cultural and social background and context. But social semiotics studies a sign within its context and socio-cultural background. Every sign is created in a specific socio-cultural context. The socio-cultural context and background affect and influence sign-making. As a result, the meaning-making of a sign is also affected by the socio-cultural context where the sign is produced. Thus, cultural and social contexts are particularly important and essential in social semiotic research studies and their significance and importance need to be given emphasis in both practical and theoretical analyses of diverse texts and signs.

Motivation replaces arbitrariness in social semiotics. Kress (2010) asserts that the basic assumption of social semiotic theory, that all the signs are motivated combinations of meaning and form, compels research in social semiotics for trying to reveal motivation in all the cases. Signs that are emplaced at different sites have their meaning and they contribute to the total meaning of the signage in a particular place with no sign being unimportant. One cannot ignore even a single sign in the analysis of the linguistic landscape of a particular area. Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory regards all the signs displayed at various places as important and significant and deserving that their meaning be uncovered and revealed as the remarkable, the ordinary, the everyday is always the best site for anchoring theory.

In order to analyse signs in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, this study borrows concepts from Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory. The central concepts of social semiotics include:

i. Sign

Signs are diverse elements that consist of signifier and signified. Kress (1993) holds that the relation between 'signifier' and 'signified' is motivated, not arbitrary.

ii. Semiotic Resources

Semiotic resources include the artefacts and materials that we employ for purposes of communication. A sign-maker chooses a particular semiotic resource from a set of available resources. Kress (2010) claims that semiotic resources are made and continuously re-made, intentionally and purposely, not randomly and arbitrarily, in a particular social context.

iii. Mode

Mode is described as a system of culturally and socially formed resources for meaning-making. The mode comprises posture, gesture, speech, gaze, writing, and image etc.

iv. Affordance

Kress (1993) explains modal affordance as what can be expressed and represented easily through a mode. Each mode, as it is recognised and realised in a specific socio-cultural context, acquires a particular logic and offers diverse representational and communicational potentials.

v. Orchestration

Meaning is often distributed across various modes, and not essentially equally. Each mode carries the diverse aspects and components of meaning in varied ways in a particular ensemble. Only a portion of the whole meaning is carried by each mode in that particular ensemble. Each mode contributes to the whole meaning of a sign, and writing and speech are no exemption.

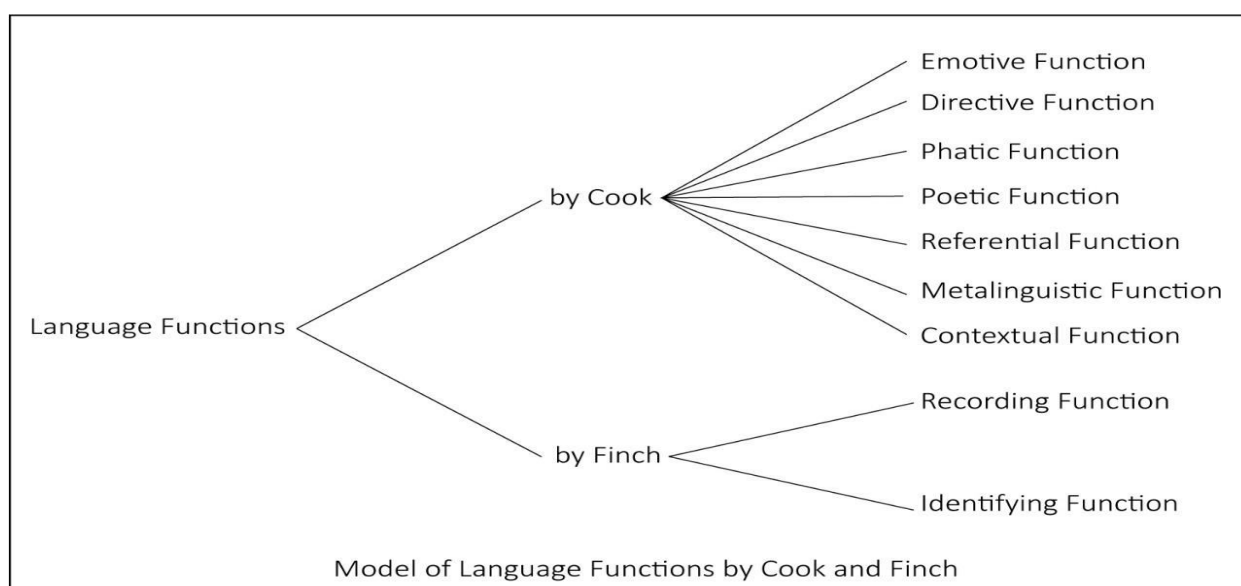
The current study focuses on the use of different signs displayed in different public places of the selected cities of KP. It should be mentioned, however, that the use of such framework has been proven to be beneficial in understanding signage, yet it has not been explored in understanding signage in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is in this sense that the present research finds its use significant. The present research particularly focuses on the use and function of English, Urdu, and other local languages in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; therefore, this framework is the most suitable one to be used for examining the use and role of different languages in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This framework is expected to prove helpful in exploring the public space of the four major cities of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, with the view to exploring the presence of English vis-à-vis the presence of Urdu and other regional languages used in these cities.

3.4.2 Model of Language Functions

Language is a primary tool of communication. People use it in their daily life to communicate feelings, ideas, and emotions etc. People use it to perform different functions through it. At the time someone talks about language functions, he/she is talking about the basic reasons for using language. In order to classify the functions of different languages in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP, the researcher devised a model by combining Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. Two out of seven functions of language from Finch's theory of language functions were picked out and combined with that of Guy Cook's.

Figure 1

Model of Language Functions based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions



The language functions presented in the model are briefly explained below.

- i. **Emotive Function:** It is also known as “affective or expressive function.” It focuses on the addresser. It comes out when we want to communicate our inner states and emotions.
- ii. **Directive Function:** The directive function is when you try to get someone to do something or when you seek to affect the behaviour of the addressee. It is mostly found in requests and commands. Language is used to establish and maintain social order.

Directive use of language set up certain norms of behaviours in certain contexts. Questions, orders, requests, pleas, and prayers are the sub-functions of directive function.

- iii. **Phatic Function:** It is about the connection between interlocutors. Its major purpose is to establish, confirm, check, prolong or discontinue this connection. It means expressing empathy and solidarity with other. This function is mainly used for sociability. It provides the keys to open, maintain, verify or close the communication channel: “Hello”, “ok”, “thank you”.
- iv. **Poetic Function:** It is the function in which the particular form chosen is the essence of the message. It forces readers more than other language functions to attend to the signifiers in linguistic signs. Holmes (1992) says that poetic function is basically using diverse features, such as alliteration, repetition, simile, and metaphor etc. It is mostly used in advertisements. Poetic function can be called commercial function.
- v. **Referential Function:** The referential function of language involves giving and receiving information. Leech (1966) regards referential function as the most important as it helps us in delivering messages, describing things, and giving our receivers new information.
- vi. **Metalinguistic Function:** Metalinguistic function is the use of language to discuss or describe itself. Shekman (2011) says that metalinguistic function is used to describe different parts of language such as words and grammar that describe language itself (He is a pronoun).
- vii. **The contextual function:** creating a particular kind of communication (*—Right, let’s start the class”, it’s just a game*).
- viii. **Recording Function:** People constantly use language to record different things that they want to remember. It might be a short-term record, such as in a shopping list or a list of works to do, or a long-term record, such as in diary. It is the most official use of language. Organizations write their important dates and information on different signs for record purposes.
- ix. **Identifying Function:** Language not only helps people in recording different things, but also in identifying a range of objects and events. Knowing the names of different things such as, object names, block names, street names, building names, and place names etc. allows people to identify them and refer quickly and accurately to them.

The study attempts to explore the different functions that are performed by different language choices in different domains in the selected cities of KP. The language functions discussed in the above model have not been applied to the study of linguistic landscape till date, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. The study applies it to the study of signs displayed in different domains in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. The model would expectedly prove beneficial in understand language functions in the linguistic landscape of KP.

In public places, one can see different sorts of signs. In order to differentiate between different types of signs displayed in different public places, the researcher uses Ben-Rafael et al.'s (2006) notion of top-down and bottom-up signs. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) define top-down signs as the linguistic landscape elements used and displayed by government agencies, and bottom-up signs as the linguistic objects used and displayed by individuals and businesses that enjoy freedom of action within authorized limits. In this research, bottom-up signs are private (institutional or individual), commercial and non-official signs while top-down signs are governmental or official signs. Essentially, this research study applies the concepts of bottom-up and top-down signs to know whether the linguistic codes used and the styles they are used in private and government signs indicate contradictory, or otherwise, tendencies between private and public domains. By doing so, this study hopes to provide an in-depth analysis of the signs in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

3.5 Summary

The central focus of this chapter is research design (mixed-method approach) including data collection methods, data analysis methods, and theoretical framework for the present study. The chapter not only discusses these key areas but also particularly emphasises how and in what ways the selected research design, methods, techniques, and tools are appropriate, suitable, and helpful in achieving the predefined objectives and attaining the predetermined purposes of the study. Landry and Bourhis' (1997) framework for data search and Gorter and Cenoz' (2008) framework for research site selection have been briefly discussed in this chapter. Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory is used as a theoretical framework in this research. Social semiotic theory and its key concepts i.e. sign, semiotic resources, mode, affordance, and orchestration, have been discussed in detail in this chapter. The chapter highlights the importance and significance of these concepts for analysing signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP.

Besides, the chapter also discusses the other frameworks employed in the study, such as Ben-Rafael et al.'s (2006) notion of top-down and bottom-up signs, and the model of language functions devised by combining Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. The language functions have been briefly explained. The data will be analysed in three phases using the frameworks discussed in this chapter in order to answer the set questions of the study.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The central focus of this chapter is the presentation, analysis, and explication of the data collected through the three different data collection methods, namely: snapshots of linguistic signs, semi-structured interviews, and photovoice. The data collection methods have been discussed in Chapter 3 in Research Methodology (see Section 3.2). The data have been analysed using Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. The data analysis techniques have been explained in chapter 3 (Section 3.4). In the spirit of Social Semiotics and the theories of language functions, this chapter mainly aims at exploring the diverse functions performed in various domains by a variety of language choices made by different top-down and bottom-up agents, different reasons and motives behind the use of and preference for a certain linguistic code, and the general on-lookers' perception of the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. The data collected through the different data collection methods is presented in three separate sections: the first section deals with the data from snapshot of linguistic signs, the second with the data from interviews with sign-owners, and the third with the data from photovoice technique.

4.1 Data from the Snapshots of Linguistic Signs

A total of 2160 signs, 540 signs per selected city, were collected from four cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, namely: Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad. The signs are divided into different categories. The categories are given as under:

- a) **Monolingual Signs:** Signs that contain only one language.
 - i. English (or any other language)-only sign: A sign containing only English (or any other) language
 - ii. English transliterated into Urdu sign: Sign containing transliterated version of English or English in non-Roman script
- b) **Bilingual Signs:** Signs that contain two languages. In bilingual signs, mostly one language is given preference over the other.
 - i. English-Urdu sign: A sign in which English is preferred

- ii. Urdu-English sign: A sign in which Urdu is preferred
- iii. Urdu-Arabic sign: A sign in which Urdu is preferred
- iv. Arabic-Urdu sign: A sign in which Arabic is preferred
- v. Urdu-Pashto sign: A sign in which Urdu is dominant
- vi. Equal-distribution sign: A sign in which languages are equally distributed and it is difficult to determine which language is preferred.

c) **Multilingual Signs:** Signs containing more than two languages.

- i. Urdu-English-Pashto sign: A sign containing Urdu, English, and Pashto languages
- ii. Urdu-English-Arabic sign: A sign containing Urdu, English, and Arabic languages
- iii. Urdu-Pashto-Arabic sign: A sign that contains Urdu, Pashto, and Arabic languages

4.1.1 Language Choices in the Linguistic Landscape of KP

As discussed above, a total of 2160 signs, 540 signs per selected city, were analysed. Languages found on signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP are Urdu, English, Pashto, and Arabic. An overview of the language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP is presented in below given table 1.

Table 1

Overview of Language Choices, their Frequencies, and Percentages in the Linguistic Landscape of KP

No.	Category of Signs			Kohat	Peshawar	D.I.Khan	Abbottabad	Frequency	Percentage
1	Monolingual Signs	1	English-only	80	108	107	79	374	17.31%
		2	Urdu-only	201	168	181	203	752	34.81%
		3	Pashto-only	2	4	0	0	06	0.27%
		4	Arabic-only	7	9	6	6	28	1.29%
		5	English transliterated into Urdu	54	54	64	67	239	11.06%
	Bil in	1	English-Urdu	31	49	45	28	155	7.17%

2		2	Urdu-English	93	78	68	92	331	15.32%
		3	Arabic-Urdu	15	12	13	13	53	2.45%
		4	Urdu-Arabic	13	13	17	18	61	2.82%
		5	Urdu-Pashto	6	4	0	0	10	0.46%
		6	Equal-Distribution	29	30	35	30	124	5.74%
3	Multilingual Signs	1	Urdu-English-Pashto	3	5	0	0	8	0.37%
		2	Urdu-English-Arabic	3	3	4	4	14	0.64%
		3	Urdu-Pashto-Arabic	3	3	0	0	6	0.23%
Total Signs								2160	

Total four languages i.e. English, Pashto, Urdu, and Arabic, were found in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Furthermore, different sign-patterns were identified, such as monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs. It has been believed till date that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by English language, but this study shows opposite results. The analysis of the signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of KP shows that Urdu, the national language of Pakistan is the most dominant language which appears in almost 35% of the total signs. It was found in 752 signs out of the 2160 signs. The table 1 shows that out of the 2160 signs, 734 signs were bilingual signs. In the bilingual signs too, Urdu language was the most preferred language. The table shows that Urdu language was preferred in 331 bilingual signs, whereas English language was preferred in 155 bilingual signs. This shows that sign-owners prefer to use Urdu language in signs. Hence the analysis of the signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of KP shows that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by Urdu language, and not English language. Common People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa still find it difficult to read and understand signs written in English language and Roman script; that is why some sign-agents write English language in non-Roman script. A large number of signs, 239 signs, in the LL of KP were found to be in non-Roman script. English is the language in which people of KP are less proficient as compared to other regional and local languages, such as Hindko and Pashto etc., yet its appearance on signs is much greater as compared to those of the regional languages. Pashto is the maternal language of majority of the people of KP but its use in signs is very rare. Only 6 Pashto-only signs were found in the 2160 signs which make 0.27 % of the total signs. One possible reason behind its rare presence in signs can be that the majority of the people residing in

KP can speak Pashto language but they can neither read nor write it. Arabic language was also found in a number of signs. It was found more on signs displayed at the Masjids and seminaries. A number of 28 monolingual Arabic signs were found in the linguistic landscape of KP. Arabic language was also present in 53 Arabic-Urdu and 61 Urdu-Arabic bilingual signs. Saraiki and Hindko are the local languages of D. I. Khan and Abbottabad respectively but they were not found used in signs in their linguistic landscapes.

Moreover, some differences were identified between the linguistic landscape of the different selected cities of KP i.e. Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad. The linguistic landscape of Peshawar and D. I. Khan contained more English-only signs, a number of 108 and 107 signs respectively, as compared to the linguistic landscape of the other cities, Kohat and Abbottabad, which contained 80 and 79 English-only signs respectively. In contrast to this, the Urdu-only signs were found more in the linguistic landscape of Kohat and Abbottabad as compared to the linguistic landscape of Peshawar and D. I. Khan. The table 1 shows that 203 and 201 Urdu-only signs were found in the linguistic landscape of Kohat and Abbottabad respectively, and 168 and 181 Urdu-only signs in the linguistic landscape of Peshawar and D. I. Khan respectively. This shows that English language is preferred more in Peshawar and D. I. Khan than in Kohat and Abbottabad. On the contrary, Urdu is found more dominant in signs in the linguistic landscape of Kohat and Abbottabad than in the linguistic landscape of Peshawar and D. I. Khan. Pashto is the local language of Peshawar and Kohat. It was found in a total of 6 monolingual signs in the linguistic landscape of Peshawar and Kohat. Pashto was not found in signs in the linguistic landscapes of Abbottabad and D. I. Khan, because the people of that area do not understand it. Unlike the linguistic landscape of Kohat and Peshawar, the linguistic landscapes of Abbottabad and D. I. Khan do not contain their local languages. Saraiki is major local language of D. I. Khan but it was not found in even a single sign. Similarly, the local language of Abbottabad, Hindko was not found in signs.

The analysis of signs displayed in the selected cities of KP shows that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan. It is given preference by the bottom-up agents, sign-owners who are not government officials. English, the official language of Pakistan, is the second language preferred by the sign owners of KP. It is preferred more by the top-down agents, the government officials. The local languages of KP are rarely present in the linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape of KP does not represent the

real linguistic situation of KP because people speak Pashto and other local languages, but their linguistic landscapes contain languages other than their local languages. Some differences exist between the linguistic landscapes of the different cities in terms of language choice. The local language of Kohat and Peshawar is present on their linguistic landscape but the local languages of Abbottabad and D. I. Khan do not contain their local languages. Sign owners make choice of a particular language(s) among the present languages for their signs to perform different functions through them. Language choices and their functions in different domains are presented below.

4.1.2 Language Choices and their Functions in Different Domains in the Linguistic Landscape of KP

4.1.2.1 Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Recreation

Park has been selected as a public place from the domain of recreation. Park is a public place which is visited frequently by the general public. Park is visited by people for enjoyment, recreation, and relaxation. Different types of signs can be witnessed in different parks. The below-given signs have been taken from different parks of the selected cities of KP. 8 signs have been selected from the data through simple random sampling technique.

The signs in figures 2A and 2B have been selected from the different parks at Peshawar. Only one semiotic mode, writing, has been used in both the signs. Both the signs are monolingual signs as both contain only one language. The sign in figure 2A contains Urdu language. Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, is taught as a compulsory subject from primary level to intermediate. So, most of the Pakistanis can speak, read, write, and understand it. The sign-makers wanted to perform specific functions with the help of the sign, due to which they have made a language choice that can be understood by the public who visit the place in which it has been emplaced. The sign in figure 2B has English used in it. English is the official language of Pakistan. People are exposed to it through different sources. Both the signs are oriented towards predetermined and predefined addressees. Blommaert and Maly (2014) say that signs always point towards the future, to their intended readers and preferred uptake. They say that signs are always proleptic in the sense that they address specific on-lookers to achieve specific effects. The sign in figure 2A addresses specific on-lookers i.e. people above the age of 12 years, and who use different swings in the park for their recreation. Some adults were observed using swings and certain other recreational tools that are originally made for children.

Figure 2

Signs at Parks in Peshawar



The things made for children should not be used by the adults, as it may cause severe damage to them. The sign, according to Cook (1989), performs the directive function as it intends to stop people from using tools made for children. It intends to set certain norms of behaviour in the linguistic landscape of the domain of refreshment/recreation. Apart from recreational tools, people also damage flowers by plucking them. Flowers are the beautiful gift of nature and look very beautiful when they are on the plant. One should not pluck flowers as they beautify a particular place. We should not pluck flowers so that all the visitors to parks may enjoy their beauty and the beauty of nature. In most of the parks, we can see signs saying “don’t pluck the flower”. Such signs are frequently found in parks and are emplaced with the aim to stop people from doing any harm to the flowers and grass in the parks and gardens. This is the sentence that almost every person understands; that is why sign owners use it in their signs. It performs the same function, the directive function.

The location, where the signs have been emplaced, helps in performing the functions that the sign agents want to perform through their signs. Scollon and Scollon (2003) say that a sign is not randomly located at a location but there are always certain motives behind the placement of a certain sign at a certain place. The sign in figure 2A has been emplaced at the site of recreational tools because the sign-owners wish to stop people from using recreational tools meant for children. Similarly, the sign in figure 2B has been emplaced near flower plants in order to stop

people from plucking flowers. If the same signs were emplaced at other places in the parks, they might not have performed the same functions.

Like the signs displayed in different parks at Peshawar, the signs displayed at different parks at other cities also perform directive function and several other functions. The signs given below are top-down signs as they are emplaced by the government officials. These are not private signs, but official signs. Top-down signs mostly regulate and direct the general public and perform directive functions. The sign in figure 3A is a top-down sign. It presents certain instructions to the visitors of the park. The sign-owner wishes to instruct the visitors on how to behave and act inside the park and warns them in advance that action would be taken against those who do not follow the prescribed rules, regulations and code of conduct prescribed for the park. In Cook's (1989) terms, it performs the directive function. In order to make the sign

Figure 3

Signs at Parks in D. I. Khan



perform the directive function, different semiotic modes have been employed in the making of the sign. Picture of a bird and a tree is given in the sign to show that both of them are of much importance and need to be taken care of in the parks. Unlike the sign in figure 3A, the sign in figure 3B has been written in English. It is a monolingual sign having just one language used in it. Two semiotic modes have been employed in the sign: writing and image. Both the modes combine to give full meaning of the sign and help in performing the particular function that the

sign owner intends to perform through it. If we remove one mode from the sign, let's say images, the sign will not give the same meaning as it give in combination and will not perform the same function as it performed till now. There are always some people who visit parks but are illiterate and do not understand the meaning of signs written in English. In such cases, images help them interpret different signs displayed at different sites in the parks. In the sign given below, the images clarify the meaning of the words; therefore, Kress (1993) is right in saying that in an ensemble, one mode clarifies the meaning of the other mode, and each semiotic mode and each semiotic resource, employed in a sign, carries just a part of the whole meaning of a sign.

The language used in the signs, according to Jakobson (1960), is conative as it is oriented towards the predefined addressees. Jakobson (1960) is of the opinion that conative language is a language that is oriented towards predetermined addressees. Language used in both the signs is neither oriented towards the sign owner nor towards anything else, but towards the intended readers, the people who cut woods, make noise, bring guns, and hunt birds in the park, and all the visitors to the park who go against the prescribed rules, regulations, and instructions of the parks. Such use of language can be frequently found in signs in the linguistic landscape of other domains such as education, military, and religion.

Apart from signs that perform directive and regulative functions, signs performing several other functions can also be seen in the linguistic landscape of the domain of recreation. The signs in the below figures have been selected from the LL of the domain of recreation. They perform different functions. For example, the sign in figure 4A has a notice for the public. On the one hand, it requests the public not to bring and entre cycle, motorcycle, and rickshaw etc. into the park. One the other hand, it orders the visitors not to bring any drugs to the park, and not to pluck the flowers. It asks the visitors to observe cleanliness within the park. Besides these functions, the sign performs referential function as well, as it informs the readers of the owner of the sign who emplaced the sign. It informs that the sign has been emplaced by the management of Kohat Development Authority (KDA) and the instructions are laid down by it. We can see that Urdu language has been given preference in the sign. Urdu is the language that can be easily understood by the people of Kohat because they are extensively exposed to it through different sources. On the contrary, the local language of Kohat, Pashto, cannot be read and understood by the people. The sign-owners have selected this language for the sign because they want to

Figure 4

Signs at Parks in Kohat



achieve immediate effects through the sign. Contrary to this, the sign in figure 4B has been written in English language. English, in comparison to Urdu, is not easily understood by the general public. The general public of Kohat find it difficult to interpret signs written in English language. The sign-owners often select English when they do not have any particular immediate function to perform through a sign, and select Urdu when they have to achieve a particular immediate function in their mind. The sign in figure 4B is not oriented towards any particular stratum of the society. Rather, it is oriented towards the general readers. The sign does not have any predefined and predetermined readers. It gives information to the public about the type of plant, and about the person who planted it. It says that it is kumquat plant. Kumquat is a fruit-bearing plant and is like orange plant. The sign performs the recording function as well, as it records when the plant was planted and who had planted this. Finch (1997) says that people constantly use language to record the things that they want to remember. The record can be short-term such as in a shopping list or long-term such as in diary. The record in the sign in figure 4B is a long-term record because we see that it was recorded in 2014 and is still present in the place where it was emplaced in 2014. The sign shows that the plant was planted by Malik Najib Afridi who was the director of the project in 2014.

Besides, the location of the signs is also important. The location of the signs helps in achieving the intended effects. The location of the signs, as Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue, is not randomly given but motivated. There are always certain motives behind the placement of a particular sign in a particular place. The sign in figure 4A has been emplaced at the gate of the park because the sign owners want to inform the readers at the gate about the things that are not allowed in the park so that the visitors may not complain later on. Similarly, the emplacement of the sign in figure 4B is also important. The sign is emplaced near the plant. If the same sign is emplaced near mango plant or any other plant, it would not give the same meaning. The other plants may be planted by some other people and they may not be kumquat plants. It would not make sense if you emplace this sign near orange plant. Everyone will get confused in interpreting the sign. So the physical location of the signs contributes to the meaning of the signs and is, therefore, very important.

Signs in the LL of the domain of recreation, like the signs in the LL of the domain of religion, military, and health care, usually perform the directive function. They intend to affect the behaviour of the visitors to the park and set certain norms of behaviour within the parks. They state the prescribed rules, regulations, and instructions of the park. Within these parks, one can find signs that perform poetic and identifying functions as well. In these parks, we see signs that name different important places within the parks or name different recreation tools. We also see signs that name different shops in these parks. For example, the sign in the below-given figure 5A, selected from the signs displayed in LL of the domain of recreation, names the particular shop as *Haima General Store*. Thus, the sign performs, in Finch's (1997) terms, the identifying function. Along with this, the sign also performs the poetic function. In the domain of recreation, sign-agents rarely use language for performing poetic function. Poetic/commercial function is mainly performed in the domain of business. The sign in figure 5A advertises *Zong*. *Zong* is a Pakistan based mobile data network operator and is owned by the company *China Mobile*. The sign is mono-modal as only semiotic mode has been employed in it. Three colours have been used in the sign i.e. white, red, and green. These are the colours that *Zong* use in advertisements and other things. These colours are usually associated with *Zong* when one talks of different networks such as Ufone, Telenor, Jazz, and Warid etc. Like this, the sign in figure 5B is also a monomodal sign. Only one semiotic mode, writing, has been employed in it. The sign is also monolingual as only one language has been used in it i.e. English. Only two words

are there in the sign. The words have been written using red colour. The sign intends to perform the directive function. It intends to prevent people from parking vehicle at the location where it

Figure 5

Signs at Parks in Abbottabad



has been emplaced. The location of the sign is important. It shows that you can park vehicle anywhere, but not in the place where the sign is emplaced.

The analysis of signs selected from different parks of KP shows that English and Urdu are the major languages used by the diverse top-down and bottom-up sign-agents in the linguistic landscape of the domain of refreshment/recreation. Among the two languages, Urdu language has been given preference in the signs. Signs that perform directive function are mostly monolingual. On the contrary, the signs that perform poetic function in the LL of the domain of recreation are bilingual. In signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of recreation, Urdu language is mainly used for performing directive function and English for performing poetic and recording functions. As we know that language use differs from domain to domain and from context to context when we use it in spoken form. Same is the case with language use in linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape of one domain differs from the linguistic landscape of other domain. For example, the linguistic landscape of the domain of refreshment is different from that of the domain of religion. In the domain of religion, we see that Arabic language is mostly used in signs but we do not see the use of Arabic in the linguistic landscape of the domain

of recreation. Similarly, we can identify signs containing English language in the domain of recreation, but we cannot see signs having English in the LL of the domain of religion. We cannot find signs that perform poetic function in the linguistic landscape of the domains of religion and health care, but we do find such sign in the LL of the domains of recreation and business. The difference is there between the LL of these different domains, not between the LL of the same domains in different cities.

4.1.2.2 *Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Health Care*

Hospital has been selected as a public place from the domain of health care. Hospital is a public place where people, both educated and uneducated ones, can be found in greater number. In hospital, it becomes highly difficult for a person, especially an uneducated one, to know and identify the different blocks and wards and their location. If one is not well aware of the location of different wards and blocks, one faces many difficulties in knowing their exact location. In order to guide the patients and the patients' care takers, hospital management emplaces and displays different signs at diverse appropriate places. These signs perform different functions. Some signs guide the patients, some instruct them and some inform them about different things. 8 signs have been selected from the domain of health care through simple random sampling technique.

In order to perform different functions through the signs, the sign owners adopt different semiotic modes and semiotic resources among the available set of choices. For example, the sign in figure 6A uses only one semiotic mode i.e. writing. Two languages, English and Urdu, have been used in the sign among which English is the preferred language. Scollon and Scollon (2003) say that preference for a certain language in a sign can be shown through its font size and position in the sign. In the sign in figure 6A, it can be seen that the English words are written at the top, whereas the Urdu words are written below the English words. This shows that English has been given preference. The sign in figure 6B is also a bilingual sign as it contains two languages, Urdu and English. In this sign, one cannot determine which language is preferred, as words of both the languages are written in the same size and same position. As opposed to the sign in figure 6A, this sign uses two semiotic modes, writing and image. As Kress (1993) notes that the more semiotic modes are there in a sign, the more the meaning of a sign would be clear and the more the meaning is clear, the more easily the intended function will be performed. The

meaning of the sign in figure 6B is clear because the image of an eye, given in the sign, helps clarify it. Both the educated and uneducated readers can understand the meaning of the sign and interpret it. Both the signs name the blocks and, in Finch's (1997) terms, perform identifying function as they help in identifying the blocks. Finch (1997) says that languages help users not

Figure 6

Signs at Hospitals in Peshawar



only to record, but also to identify a range of events, objects, and so many other things. The analysis of the signs displayed at Peshawar show that English language is majorly used for performing identifying function in the domain of health care.

Where we see languages on signs naming different buildings and performing identifying function in the domain of health care, we do find languages performing several other functions by using different semiotic modes and semiotic resources. In all the signs given in the below figures, we see that two languages have been employed. Among the languages employed, Urdu is the dominant and preferred language. Scollon and Scollon (2003) state that the preferential use of a language in a specific sign in the linguistic landscape of a particular area can be determined by the position of the said language in the sign. In the sign in figure 7A, Urdu is written on the top whereas the other language, English, is written at the bottom and side of the sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) say that code preference can also be shown through the physical materiality of the sign. In these signs, the font size of Urdu words is larger as compared to the font size of English words. This shows that Urdu is the dominant language in the signs. These signs are replaced by government and, hence, are top-down signs. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) argues that signs displayed by institutional agencies that act under the control of local policies are top-down

signs. Huebner (2006) says that top-down/bottom-up dichotomy helps simplify the issue of authorship. It helps in determining if a sign displayed in an area is an official sign or a private sign. Kress (2010) says that sign-makers always select a particular semiotic resource for their sign, keeping in view their motive behind the sign. They keep in mind the function they wish to

Figure 7

Signs at Hospitals in D. I. Khan



perform through a specific sign. The sign owners have adopted the particular semiotic modes and semiotic resources and have made the signs in such a way as to perform specific function through these signs. Urdu is given preference in the signs because it is the language that majority of the people of KP understand. It helps in performing the intended functions through the signs. It performs directive function in the signs in the figure 7A as it intends to influence the behaviour of the addressees. It intends to prevent the people from throwing quid on floor. The sign in figure 7B performs identifying functions as it names the particular department in the hospital.

In contrast to the sign in figure 7A, the signs in figures 8A and 8B have been made by employing only one semiotic mode i.e. writing. From the mode of writing, several semiotic resources have been employed, for example, font size, underlining, and bold etc. The important words in the signs have been foregrounded by writing them either in bold or in larger fonts. The sign in figure 8A has been placed at the front of a hospital. The word 'smoking' has been foregrounded through the size of the fonts. All the letters in the word 'smoking' are capital letters which make it more visible. As compared to the other words in the sign, the important word 'smoking' is highlighted. Similarly, in the sign in the figure 8B, the important words that

the sign-owners want to emphasise have been written in bold and in larger fonts, for example, the words ‘*itla-e-aam*’ and ‘*physiotherapy per session*’. These different semiotic modes and semiotic resources have been employed by the sign-agents in their signs to perform different functions through them. The sign in figure 8B performs two functions; firstly, referential function by offering news to the public; and secondly, phatic function by using the term ‘shukria’ for

Figure 8

Signs at Hospitals in Kohat



sociability. Urdu language has been given preference in the sign. Urdu language is best fit for performing such functions in the linguistic landscapes of the domain of healthcare because the on-lookers of such signage feel comfortable with it. In the context of KP, such functions can be easily performed through Urdu language. Like the majority of the signs displayed in the linguistic landscapes of different hospitals at the different selected cities, the sign in figure 8A performs the directive function. It has been displayed and exhibited with the aim to prevent people from smoking.

Smoking is injurious to health. It causes many diseases, including lung-cancer, stroke, heart diseases and diabetes etc. We see people trying to help people avoid being addicted to smoking and also assist addicted smokers in quitting the habit of smoking. In markets, parks, schools, colleges, universities, and hospitals etc., we can see different types of signs that aim at preventing, in one way or the other, people from smoking and tobacco-use. The sign in figure 9A

is especially designed for hospitals and clinics. This sign points towards the future, more particularly to its intended predefined readers. Blommaert and Maly (2014) say that such signs are proleptic because they always point towards predefined addressees and readers. The sign is oriented towards those visitors, health professionals, and doctors who smoke on hospital sites and ignore 'No Smoking' clinic/hospital signage. Smoking by such people in the hospital or clinic premises help in sustaining the perception that smoking is tolerated. The sign says that such people can initiate change by quitting smoking or at least avoid smoking on such sites where people of diverse ages, backgrounds, and mentalities come for medical treatment. This will help the visitors develop a perception that smoking is not good for health and is strictly

Figure 9

Signs at Hospitals in Abbottabad



prohibited in hospitals and clinics. It will make such places smoking-free sites. Otherwise, by looking at the health professionals who smoke, the visitors will surely develop a perception that there is no harm in smoking. The sign, thus, performs the directive function. Contrary to the sign in figure 9A, the sign in figure 9B has been written in Urdu. Some English words are there but they are written in non-Roman script such as 'female' and 'ultrasound'. These words are now common to people because people are used to hearing them. Most of the people may not even know their Urdu, Hindko or Pashto alternatives. The sign performs directive and phatic functions. It performs phatic function as, at the end of it, it uses the word 'shukria' for sociability purposes.

The analysis of the signs shows that English and Urdu languages are used in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care. Among the two languages, Urdu language has been given preference by the sign-agents. The analysis shows that most of the signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care, like the signs in the LL of the domain of recreation, perform directive function. Apart from directive function, some signs also perform identifying and referential functions. Moreover, the sign-agents from all the cities, Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad, employ Urdu when they want to perform directive function through a sign. In contrast to this, they mostly opt for English for their signs when they wish to perform identifying function through a sign. There is no difference between the selected cities in terms of language choices and their functions. It is also found that signs performing directive function in the domain of health care, like the signs in the domain of recreation, employ only one language whereas signs performing identification function employ more than one language. In other words, the signs that perform directive functions are monolingual and the signs that perform identifying function are mostly bilingual. Unlike the LL of the domain of recreation and business, no bottom-up sign was identified in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care. All the signs were top-down signs.

4.1.2.3 *Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Travel/Transportation*

From the domain of travel, road side has been selected as a public place. Roads can be found in every city and in every country. People travel by road from one place to another place. In order to guide and facilitate the drivers and general public, the sign-owners emplace different types of signs depending on the functions that they wish to perform through them. The following 8 signs have been selected from the road sides of the selected cities through simple random sampling technique. .

Public road signs are displayed for the information and convenience of public, especially the drivers. Public road signs displayed at diverse sites perform different functions, such as referential, directive, or identifying functions. The sign in figure 10A is emplaced at Peshawar and guides the public towards Hayatabad, a place in Peshawar. It guides the public that if you want to go to Hayatabad, you can get there by taking right turn. The word *Hayatabad* is written in both the languages; Urdu, the national language and English, the official language of Pakistan. Peshawar is the capital city of KP province where rules and policies seem to have been

implemented more as compared to the other cities of KP. It has been observed that in majority of the public road signs of the selected cities of KP, both the languages are present. These two languages are common to the people of KP and Pakistan. People are exposed to the languages through different sources. The use of both the languages helps people interpret the signs easily. If one person does not understand one language, he/she may interpret the signs with the help of the other language used in them. If just one language is used in these signs, for example English, all the people may not be able to interpret them. The use of both the languages makes it easier to

Figure 10

Signs at Road-sides in Peshawar



interpret the signs. Apart from bilingual signs, signs containing only one language can also be found at road sides. The sign in figure 10B contains only one word 'stop' and nothing else has been written on it. Everyone can understand and interpret it. It orders the readers to stop at the point. It performs, according to Cook (1989), the directive function.

It has generally been observed that the language choices are not equally distributed on signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. It has also been noticed that majority of the public road signs are dominated by Urdu language. Urdu is the language that has been preferred in the signs given in the below figures. For example, in the sign in figure 11A, Urdu words have been written on the top of the sign. It is also one of the techniques used by sign-makers and sign-agents to prefer a language in a linguistic sign. Whenever they want to prefer a language, they either write it on the top or centre of a sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) state that the preferential use of a code in a sign is shown through its position in the sign. In the sign in figure 11A, Urdu is the

preferred language as it is written on the top. It shows that the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel is similar to that of the domain of health care in terms of language choice and language preference. Like the linguistic landscape of the domain of healthcare, the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel is dominated by Urdu language.

One other important point is that in the bilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel, the most important and complete information is given in the national language, Urdu. In the sign in figure 11A displayed at D. I. Khan, it can be seen that complete Urdu sentences have been written, whereas English sentences are incomplete. Similarly, complete Urdu sentence has been written on the sign in figure 11B. It shows that in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel, the sign-agents write complete Urdu and incomplete English sentences.

Figure 11

Signs at Road-sides in D. I. Khan



Both the signs are top-down signs and are emplaced by the government officials. The agents have adopted Urdu language for the signs to communicate their messages in an easy way to the public. The sign in figure 11A informs the drivers that town area is ahead and asks them to reduce their speed. It performs two functions, referential, and directive. Signs performing such functions can also be found in front of schools and colleges. In the same way, the sign in figure 11B performs many functions. On one hand, it teaches us on how to behave on the highways. On the other hand, it also orders us not to put filth and muck on the road. It is the responsibility of

every human being to keep his/her surrounding clean and tidy. Highways are made for our ease; therefore, it is obligatory for us to take great care of them and try our level best to keep them clean. It has been noticed from the analysed signs that Urdu language is preferred when the sign owners want to achieve a specific predefined and predetermined effect through a sign. When they want to perform a specific immediate function through a sign in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel, they give preference to Urdu for their sign.

Beside top-down signs, one can also find bottom-up signs displayed by bottom-up sign-agents from the domain of travel. The bottom-up agents, like the sign-agents from the other domains of language use such as health care and education etc., emplace different types of signs at different places for performing different functions. Some emplace signs for commercial functions and some for identifying and directive functions. We can see different signs at road sides that give direction to drivers, passengers, and general public. For example, the sign in figure 12A gives direction to the public. The sign is similar to the sign in the above figure 10A displayed at Peshawar. It says that if you want to go to *Hafiz Abad*, you can get there by taking right turn and taking that road. The name of the place has been highlighted through the use of larger fonts. The rest of the words have been written using smaller fonts. The icon of arrow performs very important function in the sign. If we remove this icon from the sign, it would not perform the same function. All the semiotic modes and semiotic resources combine to perform the particular function that the sign-agents wish to perform through it.

Likewise, the sign in figure 12B is also placed at road side at Kohat for a short span of time by the contractors. Such signs are not the permanent part of the linguistic landscape of a particular area, yet they are regarded as part of the linguistic landscape. The word 'bridge' is misspelled as 'bride' that indicates that contractors do not take great care of the language they use and the way they use it in signs. They do not focus considerably over the spellings of words and the grammar of sentences. Their only aim is to communicate the basic message that they want to convey to the public, through a sign. The site where the sign is emplaced adds to the

Figure 12*Signs at Road-sides in Kohat*

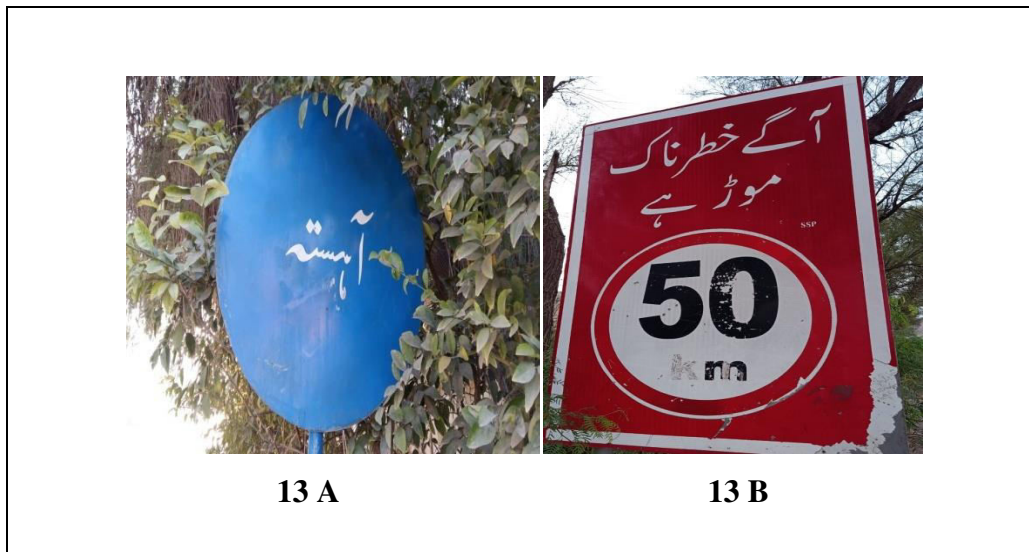
meaning of the sign and helps predict the meaning of the sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) maintain that the physical location of a sign makes the meaning of a sign clear. It has been displayed at a place where work on the bridge is in progress and everyone can guess that ‘bride’ means ‘bridge’ in this sign. The sign performs referential function. According to Cook (1989), a sign giving some sort of information to the public performs referential function. This sign informs the readers that work is in progress on the bridge so they need to be careful.

At places where one can find signs that catch the attention of the readers and drivers, one can also find signs that are emplaced by the government and the top-down agents, but they are not given focus, or do not get even noticed, by the drivers and other passengers. Drivers and other people are so used to such signs that they do not even notice them. Even if they notice them, they usually ignore them and drive with their own way and own desired speed. The sign in figure 13A is the example of such signs. Such signs are emplaced by the top-down agents for performing different functions. The sign in figure 13A performs the directive function. It directs the drivers to go with slow speed in the area where the sign is emplaced. Only one word has been used in it. Signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel sometimes contain only one word or symbol. Such signs are rarely found in the linguistic landscapes of other domains such as education, health care, and business. The sign in figure 13B, like the sign in figure 10B displayed at Peshawar, performs the direction function. It also directs the drivers to reduce their speed to 50 km per hour. Moreover, the sign also performs the referential function as it informs the people about the dangerous turn that is ahead. Leech (1966) regards referential function to be

the most important as it helps us in delivering messages, describing things, and giving our receivers new information. It is highly important to read and follow the instructions given in the different signs. The physical location of these signs gives meaning to the signs and is, therefore, very important. Signs are not randomly placed at particular places. Rather, there are always some purposes behind the placement of signs at specific places. Scollon and Scollon (2003) are

Figure 13

Signs at Road-sides in Abbottabad



of the view that a sign is not randomly placed at a particular location but there are always certain motives behind the placement of a certain sign at a certain place. The sign in figure 13B is placed near the turn and it asks the drivers to be careful. If the same sign was placed at a wrong location, such as at bus station, it would not have the same effect. The physical location of the sign helps the sign perform the particular function that is intended by the sign-owners. Scollon and Scollon (2003) call such signs situated signs. Situated signs, according to them, are the ones that derive their meaning from the very context where they are placed.

The analysis of the signs indicates that the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel is like the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care. In both the domains, Urdu language has been given preference for the signs. Like the sign-owners from the domain of health care, the sign-agents from the domain of travel use Urdu for performing directive function. In the domain of travel, we can find signs that contain only a single word or a figure, for example in the signs in figure 10B and 13A, but we rarely find such signs in other domains. The linguistic landscapes of

the domain of travel at the different selected cities i.e. Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad, are quite similar because in all the cities, only the two languages, English and Urdu, have been used in signs and they perform the same functions in all the cities. In the domain of travel, we can find bottom-up signs that are emplaced by the bottom-up agents, for example the sign in figure 12A, but we cannot find bottom-up signs in the domain of health care, education, and military.

4.1.2.4 *Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Religion*

From the domain of religion, Masjid has been selected as a public place. Masjid is a public place where general public go for offering their prayers and reciting the holy Quran. They visit Masjid to worship their Allah.

The signs given below are displayed in different Masjids of the selected cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. These Masjids are located in the areas where almost all the people can speak and understand Urdu language. Pashto, Hindko, and Saraiki are the major local languages of the areas. The percentage of the Pashto, Saraiki, and Hindko speakers is much greater than the Urdu speakers, but still it can be seen that the sign-owners have preferred Urdu language to be used for the signs. One of the reasons can be that Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and is easily read and understood by the people. Almost all the people are exposed to this language in one way or the other. People can find it being used on television, in newspapers and media; therefore, it is much easier for the people to read and understand it as compared to the other languages i.e. Pashto, Saraiki, and Hindko etc. Majority of the people of KP can speak and understand Pashto language but cannot read and write it.

The signs in the below figures have been selected from the different Masjids at Peshawar. Peshawar is the capital city of KP. Different semiotic resources have been employed in these signs. In the sign in figure 14A, red colour has been used. Red is a colour the frequency of which is higher than the rest of the colours and can be easily noticed even from a long distance. In contrast to the sign in figure 14A, the sign in figure 14B has been written in black colour. Black colour is majorly used for writing different things. Only two words have been used in the sign i.e. *Khazana* and *Akhirat*. Some people use the word *chanda* in such signs but these two words are more effective than it. The word *chanda* does not catch the attention of the on-lookers, whereas the other words used in the sign do. There are some implicit ideologies behind the use of

these two words. Fairclough (1989) says that there are always some vested interests and implicit ideologies behind the use of particular words. The sign-agents have used these words because they want to persuade the people into donating to the Masjid.

Only one semiotic mode has been used in both the signs i.e. writing. It is observed that in majority of the signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion, only one semiotic mode, mostly writing, is used. On the contrary, one can see many semiotic modes employed in signs in the linguistic landscape of other different domains such as domains of recreation, energy, and military etc. The reason can be that Masjids are the important branches of Islam and Islam favours simplicity. The sign-agents opt for this mode for their signs to perform different functions through them. According to Kress (2010), sign is motivated, not arbitrary. Every sign-agent uses a specific sign for achieving a specific effect in his/her mind. Each agent intends to achieve a particular function through a sign by employing a particular language in a particular socio-cultural environment. The socio-cultural conditions help in achieving the particular effect in the mind. The sign in figure 14A seems to prevent the general public from wall-chalking on the Masjid as its function is to stop people from dirtying the wall of the Masjid. It is a very bad practice in Pakistan to advertise different products and services by dirtying different walls of Masjids, schools, and houses etc. We can see different advertisements on the

Figure 14

Signs at Masjids in Peshawar



walls of different buildings. The owners of such buildings mind this practice. Some owners try to stop people from this by writing such signs on their walls, but still we see that people post

advertisements on their walls. The sign, according to Cook (1989), performs the directive function as it intends to affect the behaviour of people by preventing them from wall-chalking. The sign in figure 14B is also emplaced on the outer wall of the Masjid, but its function is not the directive one. It intends to persuade the people and lead them donate to the Masjid.

Like the signs in the above figures, the signs in figures 15A and 15B have been written in Urdu language. The words in the signs have been foregrounded by employing different semiotic resources such as colour, background, and font size etc. Green background has been used for the sign in figure 15A and the words have been written in black colour. The black colour is foregrounded against the green background. According to Leech (1969), things get foregrounded against a good background. Nothing can be foregrounded if there is no background. In the sign given in figure 15B, the sign of an arrow of has been used in red colour. The word *jootey* has been foregrounded through the use of two semiotic resources i.e. font size and colour. The font size of the word *jootey* is larger than the font size of the other words. Apart from the font size, it is written in red colour, which is a high frequency colour. There is always a motive behind the selection of a particular semiotic resource for a sign. The sign owners have employed the above-mentioned semiotic modes and semiotic resources for the signs because these semiotic modes and semiotic resources work best for such signs. The sign-agents want the readers to notice the word *jootey* that is why they have written it in larger fonts and in red colour. People usually

Figure 15

Signs at Masjids in D. I. Khan



Scollon (2003), a certain language can be preferred in a sign through its font size and its position in the sign. The Arabic words have been written in the very centre of the sign. The style of the Arabic words also catches the attention of the readers whereas the Urdu words do not as they are written in simple style and much smaller font size. Only one colour has been used for Urdu words whereas many colours have been employed for Arabic words. This also shows that Arabic language has been given preference in the sign. Unlike the sign in figure 16B, the sign in figure 16A is a monolingual and multimodal sign. Only Urdu language has been used in the sign. The icons of cell phone and cross are also there. Such sort of signs can be frequently found in different Masjids and seminaries. The sign seems to perform two functions. On the one side, it intends to remind people of their cell-phones. On the other side, it seems to order people to switch off their cell phones. People usually forget to switch off their cell phones in Masjids and seminaries. In order to remind people of their phones, sign-owners emplace such signs. The sign is multimodal because two semiotic modes have been used in it. Two semiotic modes have been employed with the aim to help people easily interpret the sign. If one is illiterate and cannot read and understand Urdu language, one can easily interpret the sign through the icon. Icons make it easier for everyone to interpret the signs easily. So, as Kress (2010) says, there are always some motives behind the use of a particular mode in a particular sign.

The signs analysed above show that signs displayed and demonstrated in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion perform only directive function, which is not actually the case. Signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion also perform other functions such as identifying and referential functions. People come to Masjid for offering their prayers that is why the Masjid management displays signs that are related to religious matters. The signs displayed in the linguistic landscapes of the Masjids also perform identifying function. Finch (1997) observes that language performs identifying function by naming different objects. The sign in figure 17A names the particular Masjid constructed at a particular place. Its name is *Masjid Alhijaj*. The sign is mono-modal as it employs a single mode i.e. writing. It is monolingual as it uses only one language i.e. Urdu. In contrast to this, the sign in figure 17B is a multimodal sign because two modes have been used in it. It performs, as Cook (1989) says,

Figure 17

Signs at Masjids in Abbottabad



referential function by informing the public that prayer facility is available for ladies. Ladies travelling in different vehicles usually look for such Masjids where that can offer their prayer. Such Masjids where ladies can offer prayer are rarely found. The Masjid, where the sign has been emplaced, is located at the road side. The Masjid management has emplaced this sign at the road side so that everyone may notice it easily.

Both the signs are bottom-up monolingual signs. Bottom-up signs, according to Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), are linguistic landscape elements that are used and displayed by different individuals and businesses that enjoy freedom of action within authorized limits. Bottom-up sign are private, not official, signs. Bottom-up sign agents usually opt for Urdu language for their signs as can be seen in the above signs in figures 17A and 17B. Both the signs have been emplaced by private agents; therefore, these are bottom-up signs. The signs are monolingual as only one language has been used in both of them. This shows that bottom-up sign-agents from the domain of religion prefer Urdu language for their monolingual signs, as can be seen in all the above signs except the sign in figure 16B, and prefer Arabic for bilingual signs as can be seen in the sign in figure 16B. In bilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion, Arabic language has been preferred, whereas in monolingual signs, Urdu language has been preferred.

Moreover, the places where the signs in the above figures have been emplaced in the Masjids are also of much importance. The emplacement of the signs is very much important. A sign that is not emplaced at its appropriate place loses its meaning and significance. The above signs in the Masjids are emplaced at their appropriate places. The signs in figures 14A, 14B, and 17A are written on the outer wall of the Masjids, the signs in figures 15A, near the location of ablution, the sign in figure 16A, inside the Masjid, the signs in figures 15B and 16B, at the entrance of the Masjids, and the sign in figure 17B at the road side near the mosque. The location of all the signs helps in performing the intended functions.

The linguistic landscape of the domain of religion is similar in all the selected cities i.e. Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad. In all the selected cities, Urdu and Arabic languages have been used in signs the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion. Among the languages, Urdu language has been given preference in monolingual signs, and Arabic has been preferred in bilingual sign. In other words, Urdu-only and Arabic-Urdu signs are found more as compared to Arabic only and Urdu-Arabic signs in the LL of the domain of religion. Urdu-only signs are mainly used for directive and referential function in the domain of religion. Almost similar signs have been displayed in all the cities. In contrast to the signs in the LLs of other domains such as education, energy, and business, the signs in the LL of the domain of religion are mostly monomodal. The language choices in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion are a bit different from the language choices in other domains, such as domain of health care, education, military, and travel etc. The difference is that sign agents from the domain of religion do not choose English for their signs whereas this language can be frequently found in the linguistic landscape of other domains. Pashto is the major language spoken in KP, but it has not been used in the LL of the domain of religion. Pashto language can be found in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business and military etc.

4.1.2.5 Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Education

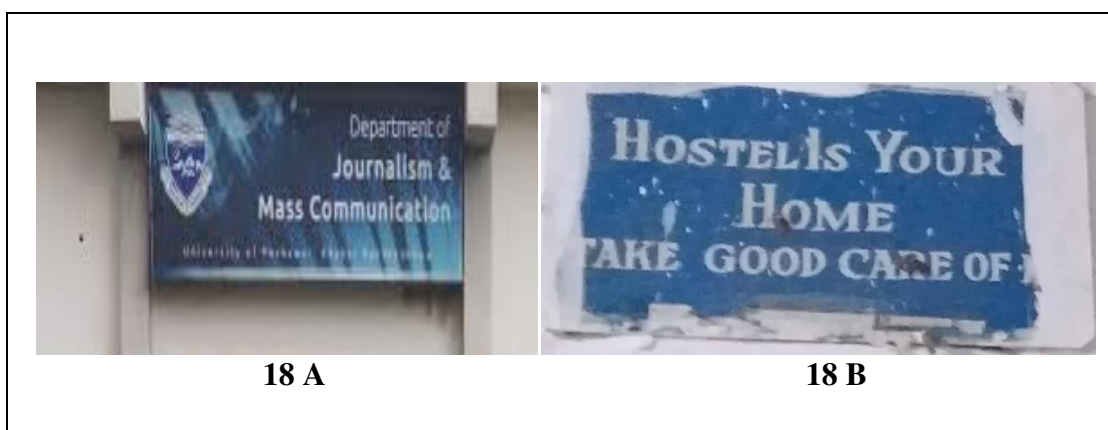
School and University have been selected as public places from the domain of education. In these educational institutions, one can find lots of educated people who can speak and understand a variety of languages. In these public places, one can also find diverse linguistic objects having different linguistic choices on them. The below linguistic signs have been selected

from the linguistic landscape of different educational institutions of KP through simple random sampling technique.

Majority of the signs displayed in linguistic landscape of the domain of education perform identification and directive functions. The signs name a particular building, department or class. We can find signs such as “class 6th”, “class 10th”, “examination hall”, “laboratory”, “department of English”, “academics department”, and “principal office” etc. in educational institutions. The purpose of these signs is to help students and people identify the different classes, buildings, and offices etc. The sign in figure 18A is a monolingual sign as it contains only one language, English. In contrast to the signs that perform identification function in the LL of the domain of health care, the signs that perform the same function in the LL of educational domain are monolingual and contain English language. Signs in the LL of the domain of education mainly use English for performing identifying function. The sign in figure 33 employs English language to name the department as ‘*Department of Journalism and Mass Communication*’. The name of the department is written in larger fonts and in capital letters. The green background makes the words more visible. The sign in figure 18B is also a top-down monolingual sign emplaced at the front of a hostel. It comments on hostel and says that hostels are like homes. It is rightly said that hostel is the second home of students and hostel dwellers. Hostel dwellers love their hostels and miss them when they leave them. Fairclough (1989) says that there are always certain implicit ideologies behind the use of a particular word or action. The

Figure 18

Signs at Schools and Universities at Peshawar



sign-agent tells the hostel dwellers that hostel is their home. They want the hostel dwellers to consider the hostel as their home. They know that once the hostel dwellers start considering hostel as their home, they will start taking great care of it. The function of the sign is to make students take good care of their hostel. Both signs are top-down signs and use English language. The sign-agents used this language because this language is understood by the people studying or living in educational institutions.

Like the signs displayed in the above discussed domains of language use such as domains of refreshment, healthcare, and religion, signs displayed in the domains of education also perform referential and directive functions. Directive function, according to Cook (1989), is when you seek to affect the behaviour of the addressee. The sign in figure 19A intends to affect the behaviour of the addressee; therefore, it performs directive functions. The sign has predefined addressees. Blommaert and Maly (2014) say that linguistic signs point towards the future, to their intended and proposed readers to achieve predefined and predetermined effects. It is a general practice that majority of businesses advertise their products and services by wall-chalking. They make different walls dirty for their purpose and do not even pay for that. Through the sign in figure 19A, the sign-agent, the principal of the school, prevents people from writing anything on the wall of the school. The wall of the school is very clean and seems to be newly

Figure 19

Signs at Schools and Universities in D. I. Khan



19 A

19B

Painted. The agent has opted for Urdu language for the sign. Unlike the sign in figure 19A, the sign in figure 19B contains English language. The name of the research centre, *Wild Ungulate Propagation and Research Centre*, has been highlighted through the use of larger fonts. The icon of arrow points towards the research centre. It shows that the research centre is on right side. All the semiotic resources employed in the sign combine to perform the particular function that the owner of the sign wants to perform through it. The semiotic resources in the sign work in combination to give meaning and perform the intended function. The sign guides the on-lookers towards the physical location of the centre. Its function is to guide the readers.

Top-down agents from the domain of education, like the top-down sign-owners from the domain of military and health care, mostly choose Urdu language when they wish to achieve a predefined immediate effect through a sign. When they want to prohibit public from an action, they usually go for Urdu language. The signs below are also displayed by educational institutions with the aim to perform diverse functions through them. The sign in figure 20A is written in Urdu and is placed in front of a school. It performs two functions, phatic function and directive function. Firstly, it performs phatic function by the words '*khush aamdeed*'. These words have been used by the sign-agent for sociability purpose. It welcomes all the visitors to the school. Secondly, like the sign in figure 19A, it performs directive function by preventing people

Figure 20

Signs at Schools and Universities in Kohat



from entering their cycles, motorcycles or any other vehicles to the school area and warning people against any unwanted and prohibited action that may cause any harm to the students, teachers and the school. It warns the public that closed-circuit television (CCTV) camera is in operation and any such action will lead to severe actions against them. Similarly, the sign in figure 38 is emplaced at Kohat University of Science and Technology (KUST), Kohat. Pashto is the major languages spoken in Kohat but it is rarely found in signs. In signs in the domain of education, we cannot find its use. The sign in figure 20B is a top-down sign and uses Urdu language for the same function, directive function. It has been placed for the students to make them realise that it is obligatory for them to respect the villagers. They can respect them by not sitting at the hillside. On one hand, the sign reminds the readers of their obligation but, on the other hand, it orders them not to sit on the side of hill from where the villagers' houses are visible.

The signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of schools and universities of Abbottabad, like the above-discussed signs selected from Kohat, are monomodal signs, as only one semiotic mode, writing, has been employed in them. The linguistic landscape of the domain of education and religion are almost similar in terms of semiotic mode, as both the domains majorly use the mode of '*writing*' for their signs. Majority of the signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education are found to be using only the mode of writing. The reason seems to be that the people at such institution understand the languages used and they do not need any other semiotic mode for the interpretation of signs. Multiple modes are usually used in advertisements where the sign-owners intend to persuade the general public. In educational institutions, signs, like the signs in the LL of religious domain, are mostly simple because their purpose is just to convey the intended message. The sign in figure 21A is a monomodal and monolingual sign, as it contains only one semiotic mode and one language. Similarly, the sign in figure 21B is also monomodal and monolingual. The sign in figure 21A uses Urdu because it has predefined and predetermined addressees. The sign is, according to Blommaert and Maly (2014), proleptic because it points its intended predefined readers. The sign requests the visitors, especially the ones who sit on grass, at the university not to sit on the grass. Grass is grown to beautify a place.

Figure 21

Signs at Schools and Universities at Abbottabad



To maintain the beauty of a place, it is necessary to take care of the things that add to the beauty of that place. Unfortunately, people ignore such signs and harm the grass. The emplacement of the sign is also important. It is emplaced near the grass. Its emplacement at appropriate place helps in performing the intended function. Likewise, the emplacement of the sign in figure 21B is also significant. It is emplaced at the entrance of the school. It is visible to every passer-by. Everyone can see it. Its function is to ask the people to learn different things by taking admission in the school, and after learning different things, go forth to serve the nation and humanity. It performs, as Cook (1997) says, poetic function as it intends to persuade the on-lookers to take admission in the school.

The analysis of the above signs selected from schools and universities shows that English and Urdu are the major languages used in signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. Among the two languages, English language has been given preference in the educational domain. In contrast to the linguistic landscape of the domains of health care, religion, recreation, and travel, the linguistic landscape of the domain of education contains more English-only signs. English language is the most preferred language in the domain of education. In the domain of education, the sign owners use Urdu when they want to perform directive function through a sign. The local languages of the different selected cities; Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad, have not been found on signs in the LL of educational domain.

One major difference between the linguistic landscape the domain of education and other domains is that the majority of the signs in the educational domain are monomodal and monolingual, as can be seen in the above figures. Signs in the LL of the domain of education majorly perform directive, identifying, and referential functions. English is mainly used for performing identifying and referential function and Urdu for performing directive function.

4.1.2.6 *Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Energy/Fuel*

From the domain of energy/fuel, CNG stations and Petrol Pumps have been selected as public places to know the different language choices and their functions in the domain of energy. Like the above-mentioned public places selected from different domains of language use, filling stations are also one of the public places where people of all ages come across diverse linguistic objects having diverse language choices on them. The below-given signs have been taken from the LL of the domain of energy.

Signs displayed in the domain of energy communicate diverse messages to the on-lookers. The language choice in signs in such stations is usually determined by the functions the sign owners want their signs to perform. Ferguson (1959) says that the intended predefined effect determines the language choice in bilingual and multilingual societies. KP is a multilingual province where diverse languages are used by its citizens. The important languages used in KP are Pashto, the mother tongue of the majority of the people of KP, English, the official language, and Urdu, the national language of the country. Among these languages, the sign owners, for having diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds, choose a language by keeping in view the purpose they want to achieve through a particular sign. The sign owner has selected Urdu language for the sign in figure 22A because the sign presents certain important instructions to the public. Pashto is the major language used in Peshawar but it has not been used in its linguistic landscape. The reason can be that the people of Peshawar can speak and understand Pashto but cannot read and write it. In contrast to Pashto, Urdu is easily understood by the people of Peshawar. They are exposed to it since long and they understand things written in it. The sign in figure 22A asks the

Figure 22

Signs at Pumps at Peshawar



on-lookers to take care of their luggage and the filling station will not be responsible for any loss. Now this is something that everyone can understand. If the same was written in any other language, for example English or Pashto, people might not have understood it easily.

Contrary to the sign in figure 22A, the sign in figure 22B contains two languages i.e. English and Urdu. The sign-agent has selected two languages for the sign with the aim to help people identify and recognize the pump. The use of two languages in a sign makes it easier for a person to read and interpret it. The sign has been employed by Pakistan State Oil (PSO). PSO is a Karachi-based Pakistani state-owned petroleum corporation that distributes different petroleum products. The sign performs, according to Cook's (1989) theory of language functions, referential function. It informs the on-lookers that Petrol and Diesel are available at the pump.

Filling stations, such as CNG stations and petrol pumps, are very dangerous places. The chances of unpleasant incidents at such places are more as compared to other public places. At such public places, little mistakes result in devastating incidents. In order to avoid such incidents, the sign-owners of the CNG stations and petrol pumps display certain signs for the public. In signs, they present certain instructions for the public and set certain norms of behaviour inside the stations and pumps. The sign in figure 23A has been selected from a pump at Kohat. The sign

Figure 23

Signs displayed at Pumps at D. I. Khan



is monolingual. It presents some instructions for the drivers and vehicle owners and, therefore, performs directive function. Beside directive function, the sign also performs phatic function. It uses the words *shukria* for sociability purposes. Apart from writing, the sign uses another semiotic mode i.e. image. The icons used in the sign make the meaning of the sign clearer. By looking at the icons in the sign, one can guess the meaning of the sentences written on the sign. These different semiotic modes and semiotic resources combine to give whole/total meaning of the sign. It is, according to Kress (1993), orchestration. He argues that in an ensemble, different semiotic modes and semiotic resources carry a part of the whole meaning of a particular thing. The semiotic modes and semiotic resources employed in the above-given signs in figures 23A and 23B work in combination to perform the particular functions that the sign-owners intend to perform through them. In contrast to the sign in figure 23A, the sign in figure 23B is a monomodal sign as only one semiotic mode, writing, has been employed in it. The sign warns the people from coming closer to the machine, because most machines at such stations are normally of automatic nature and get started automatically. If people come closer to them, they may harm them or may lead to harming others also.

Like the signs displayed in the linguistic landscape of different CNG stations and petrol pumps of D. I. Khan, the signs displayed at different pumps of Kohat use Urdu for instructions and warnings. The sign in figure 24A is quite similar to the sign in the above figure 23A. It also presents certain instructions to the drivers and vehicle owners. The sign in figure 24B, unlike the sign in figure 24A, uses two semiotic modes i.e. writing and image. Fairclough (1989) says that there are always some vested interests behind the use of each word and picture in an exchange. The sign owners want the readers to strictly follow the instruction given in the signs; that is why, they have opted for those semiotic modes and semiotic resources that are easily understandable to people. These signs can be easily understood by all the people, educated and uneducated. Icons are also given along with written language in most of the signs so that uneducated and lay

Figure 24

Sign displayed at Pumps at Kohat



readers may understand the signs. Red colour indicates danger and can be frequently seen in such signs because these are dangerous places where unpleasant incidents are most likely to take place due to minor mistakes. Therefore, the sign owners use such colours and languages to warn the readers against taking any prohibited actions in these filling stations. The sign in figure 24B presents a notice from government to the public.

One important and worth-considering thing is that complete Urdu sentences have been written on signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of energy. The LLs of the domain of

energy and the domain of travel are similar in the sense that both contain complete Urdu sentences in their signs. In the signs given below, as noticed in the signs in figures 11A, 11B, and 12B from the LL of the domain of travel, complete Urdu sentences that give complete sense are written. The sentences written in Urdu serve to stop or prevent the readers from taking prohibited actions in these sites. For example, the sign in figure 25A is written in

Figure 25

Signs displayed at Pumps at Abbottabad



Urdu and is emplaced with the intention to prevent the drivers from parking vehicles near the gas pipeline. In this case, if the drivers do not follow the instructions, an unpleasant incident might occur. In the signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of energy, Urdu language is generally given preference. Like the linguistic landscape of the domain of energy of Kohat, Peshawar, and D. I. Khan, the linguistic landscape of the domain of energy of Abbottabad does not contain the local language of the area. The local language of Abbottabad is Hindko, but it is not found on signs in the domain of energy/fuel. This domain in Abbottabad prefers Urdu for the signs. The sign in figure 25B uses Urdu language and intends to prevent the people from smoking at the station. In the above given signs, complete Urdu sentences have been used that give complete and significant information. Diverse functions are performed through the use of Urdu in these signs such as prevention, instructions, order, and warning etc. All these functions are the sub-functions of the directive function.

The linguistic landscape of the domain of energy, like the LL of the domain of health care and education, mainly contains two languages, i.e., English and Urdu. People of all ages and all linguistic backgrounds come across signs on filling stations and that is why sign-owners employ languages in signs that can be understood by the majority of the people of the area. Urdu is the common language of KP and can be understood by the majority of the people that is why it has been given preference in the signs. The local languages of the selected cities, Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad, are not found on signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of energy. The signs that perform directive function are mostly monomodal and monolingual whereas the signs that perform other functions such as identifying and poetic functions are mostly multimodal and bilingual. Red colour is used more in the signs in the LL of the domain of energy as compared to the LL of other domains such as domain of health care, education, travel, and recreation. The reason can be that red colour is associated with danger and such places are highly dangerous; that is why it is used more in signs in the LL of the domain of energy.

4.1.2.7 *Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Business*

From the domain of business, market/bazaar has been selected as a public place for the analysis of linguistic landscape. Market is a public place where people go for shopping and meeting their numerous needs. Shopkeepers go there to sell something; whereas; the general public goes there to buy things that they need. In the markets also, one can find different languages communicating different messages and performing different functions on the signs.

The signs in the below-given figures have been taken from the linguistic landscape of the domain of business. The sign in figure 26A is emplaced by a bottom-up agent and serves to advertise Microsoft Computers. Its function is advertisement. It offers the particular products and services. This is a monolingual sign. A single code, English, is adopted for it. This mode affords to and has the potential to advertise different things. Kress (1993) is of the view that the affordance of a mode is shaped by what it has repeatedly been used to mean. In the Pakistani context, English language is mostly used to advertise products and services. In the same way, it is used in KP also to advertise things. The sign in this figure 26A does not have any specified readers and its purpose is to advertise the products and services. In Cook's (1989) terms, the sign performs poetic function. This shows a point of difference between the different domains. In signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business, English language is used to perform

poetic/commercial function, but in the LL of other domains, such as the domain of education, recreation, health care, and military, English is majorly used for performing identifying function.

Figure 26

Signs at Market at Peshawar



Contrary to the sign in figure 26A, the sign in figure 26B uses Urdu language for the same function. It is a bilingual sign with Urdu as the most preferred code. The sign owner wants to advertise the school through the sign. The sign advertises the particular services provided by the school. The very name of the school has been written using larger fonts as compared to the fonts of the rest of the words. Several devices have been employed for the sign, which perform different functions. The words “English medium” and “computer classes” serve to attract the readers and lead them to take admission in the school. The function of the sign is to attract the readers, especially the ones who are in search of a good educational institution for their children. Signs of such type can be seen on many walls. Contrary to this, the sign in figure 27 does not perform commercial function. It has also been selected from a market at Peshawar. Peshawar is the capital city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan where many utility stores have been opened by the government for the facilitation purposes of the general public. In order to

Figure 27*Sign at Market at Peshawar*

help people find the utility stores, the government, a top-down agent, has emplaced certain signs near the stores. The sign in figure 27 is written on the shutter of the store. It performs, according to Finch (1997), identifying function. It names the particular shop as ‘Utility Store Corporation of Pakistan’.

Apart from the signs analysed above, signs of other types are also frequently found in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business. Markets contain shops of various types such as milk shops, fruit shops, dry fruit shops, general stores, hair salons, tailor shops, and mobile shops etc. The owners of these different types of shops display diverse type of signs at the front of their shops to help people identify a particular shop and recognise its type. By looking at the signs displayed and demonstrated by different sign- owners, visitors to markets search shops of their interest and need. The sign in figure 28 names a particular shop i.e. *Mehsood Shopping Centre*. It also tells the customers that clothes of new varieties and beautiful designs are available in the shop. If someone is in search of this shop, this particular sign can help them find the shop easily.

Figure 28

Sign at Market at D. I. Khan



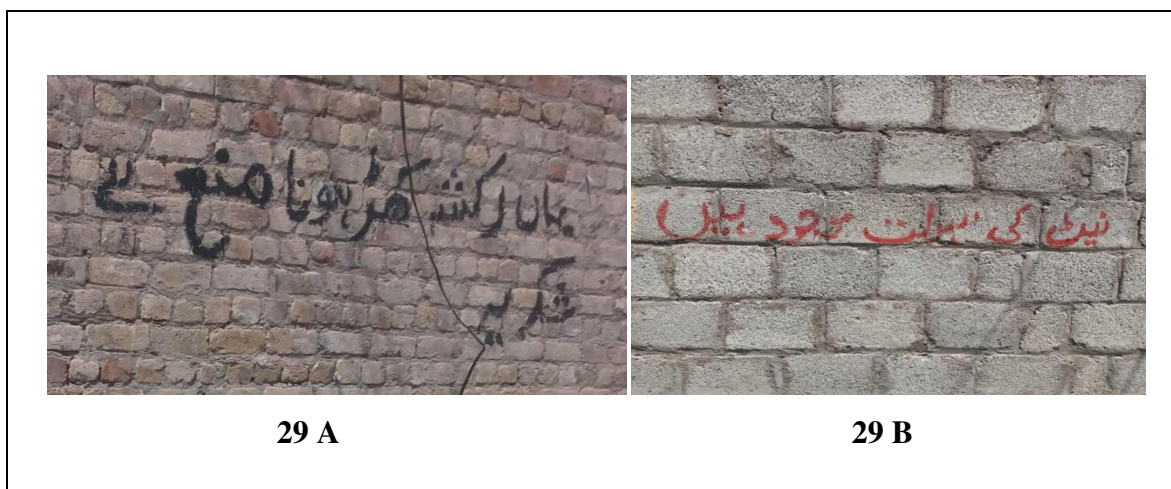
Apart from this, the sign also serves to show ownership, as it shows that the particular shop is the property of Mehsood. We cannot say that this shop is the property of someone else because the sign clearly names the owner of the shop. Thus, signs also perform the function of showing ownership.

The signs in the below figures 29A and 29B are, like the sign in figure 26A, bottom-up signs. These are bottom-up signs because they have been emplaced by private agents. Both the signs are monomodal and monolingual. The writing style of the signs shows that they have been written by the sign-owners themselves. The signs are handwritten. Handwritten signs are found more in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business as compared to the LL of other domains. Lots of mistakes can be found in these signs. The mistakes indicate that the sign-owners are illiterate. They do not even know how to write things in Urdu. The sign in figure 29A is written by the sign-agent on the wall of his shop. He does not want the rickshaws and other vehicles to be parked in front of his shop. In order to stop people from parking vehicles near his shop, the sign-owner has emplaced this sign. The sign performs directive function. The sign-owner has chosen Urdu language for his sign because it is the language that can be easily understood by the common people. Moreover, it also seems that the sign-owner himself does not know and cannot write any other language that is why he has opted for Urdu. At the end of the

sign, the sign-owner has used the word '*shukria*'. This word is normally used for showing solidarity with addressees. So we can say that the sign performs phatic function also. Sign-agents from the domain of business, like the sign-agents from the domain of health care, education, and

Figure 29

Signs at Market at D. I. Khan



recreation, employ Urdu language for performing phatic function, as can be seen in the above sign in figure 29A. Like the sign in figure 29A, the sign in figure 29B also belong to a bottom-up agent. The sign-owner of this sign also seems to be illiterate because he has committed mistakes in the sign. The sign performs referential function by giving information to the on-lookers that internet facility is available in the shop. Cook (1989) says that referential function of language involves giving and receiving information. In KP, Urdu is mostly used for performing referential function and directive functions.

Besides, in the linguistic landscapes of the domain of business, we also find signs that perform more than one function. The sign owners play with words to perform their functions without letting anyone know their implicit and hidden motives behind the selection of each and every semiotic resource. They construct their signs in such a way that they seem to be making request to the public, but actually they achieve their own purposes through the signs. The sign in figure 30A is a monolingual sign having just one semiotic mode employed in it. It is written in Urdu language in which majority of the visitors to the shop are proficient. On the one hand, the sign-owner requests the visitors not to embarrass him by asking for loan. On the other hand, it also informs the visitors that loan is strictly prohibited in the shop. If we compare the signs in

figures 30A and 30B, we can see that both signs are displayed by bottom-up agents, but they perform different functions. The sign in figure 30A is a monolingual sign and Urdu language has been used in it. Just a single mode, writing, is adopted for it out of the multiple modes. The words have the same font size and are written in one colour i.e. yellow. The agent has chosen this language as a semiotic resource because he/she wants to give information to the public that

Figure 30

Signs at Market at Kohat



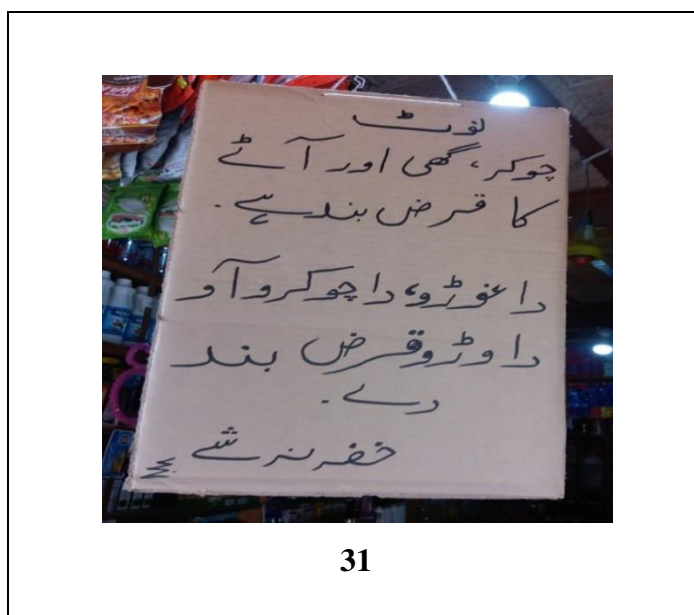
loan is prohibited with him. On the contrary, multiple semiotic resources have been adopted for the bottom-up sign in figure 30B. Multiple colours and font sizes have been used in the sign. Contact number has also been given in the sign. This sign performs multiple functions. Firstly, it performs the function of identification and provides information to the public regarding the residence of the agent. Secondly, it performs the commercial/poetic function also. The sign owner wants to achieve a specified effect through the sign.

Moreover, in order to prevent people from taking something on credit, shopkeepers and sellers also display different signs in front of, or inside, their shops that informs that loan is prohibited. The sign in figure 31 is emplaced for this function. It seems to be written by the agent himself as it is handwritten. One thing that is worth noticing is that along with Urdu language, Pashto language has also been used in the sign. Kress (2010) states that the socio-cultural context where a sign is to be emplaced determines the semiotic resources for the sign. If an agent intends to place a sign in an area where it would be read by people with English as native language, they would surely choose English language for the sign. On the contrary, if they intend to display a

sign in an area where people would not understand English language, they would adopt another linguistic code for their sign. For the sign in figure 31, the sign-owner has adopted Urdu and Pashto languages because the sign is emplaced at Kohat where people can easily understand the two languages in comparison to other languages such as English, Hindko, and Saraiki etc. The sign performs two functions; firstly, it performs referential function as it informs the readers that

Figure 31

A sign at Market in Kohat



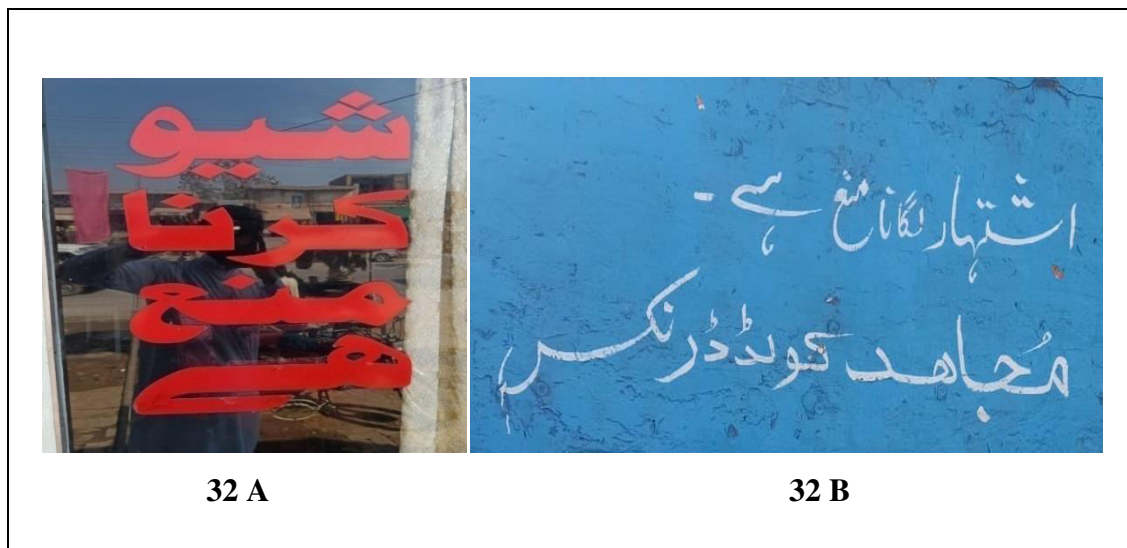
items are not available on credit in the shop, and; secondly, it performs the directive functions as it apologises to the readers for not giving them things on credit and requests them for not getting annoyed with the shopkeeper.

Like the signs displayed at different markets of Kohat, the signs emplaced at Abbottabad also use Urdu to perform directive, poetic, identifying, and referential functions. The sign-owners use different languages in their signs to perform different functions through them. In the linguistic landscape of the domain of business, signs that perform directive function are mostly monomodal and monolingual. On the contrary, the signs that perform other functions, such as poetic function etc., are mostly multimodal and multilingual. The signs in the figures 32A and 32B are monomodal and monolingual signs and they perform directive function. The sign owner of the sign in figure 32A is a bottom-up agent who has used Urdu language for his sign. Kress (2010) says that the background of a sign-maker also determines the language choice. The sign

owner, the hair dresser, can understand Urdu language, but cannot understand English language. He has chosen the language that he understands and thinks others would understand it easily. Through the sign, he intends to tell the readers that services pertaining to shaving are not provided in the salon. The sign is placed on the entrance of the hair salon. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that visual signs make their meaning on the basis of their physical location or position in the physical world. The emplacement of the sign is very much important in the sense that it tells in advance to the readers, especially the people who want to shave, that if they want to shave, they should not enter the salon because this service is not offered at the salon. In the

Figure 32

Signs at Market in Abbottabad



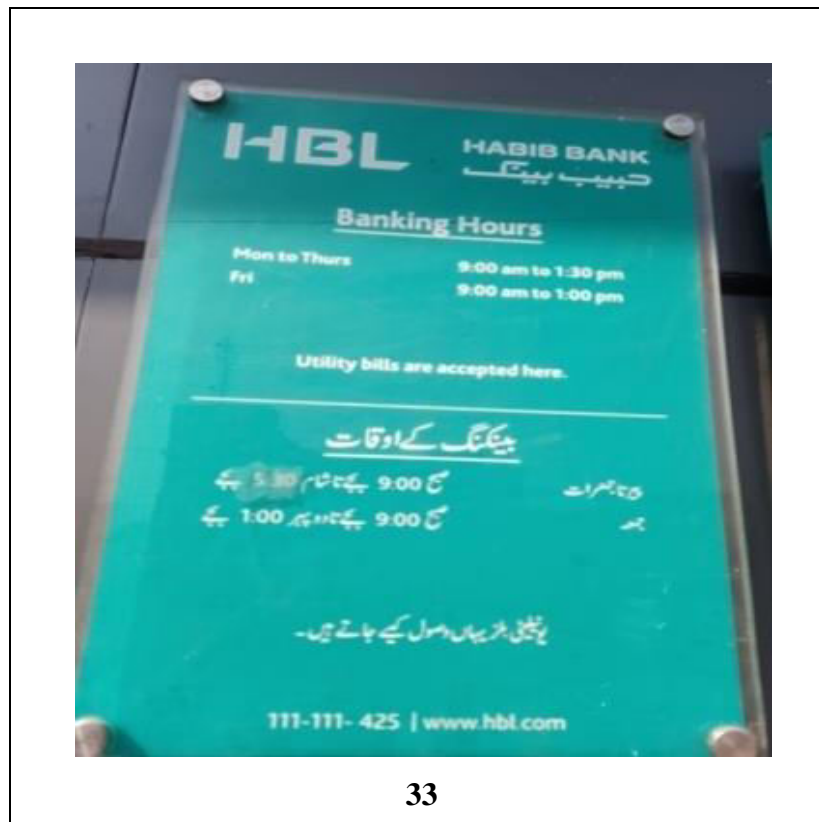
same way, the sign in figure 32B also belongs to a bottom-up agent, Mujahid Cold Drinks. It is a very bad practice to write different things on clean and newly painted walls. The owners of wall usually mind such practices and never want their walls to be made dirty through such writing and signs. The sign in figure 32B prevents the sign advertisers from posting advertisement on the wall. The agent has written it on the wall on which he wants the readers not to write or post anything. Signs of such type can be found in the LL of all domains. Moreover, the sign also indicates that this shop and wall is the property of 'Mujahid' and he has the rights to prevent or stop anyone from doing any harm to the shop or the wall. Thus, the sign shows ownership also.

Apart from bottom-up signs that perform directive functions, we can also find top-down signs that perform other functions, such as referential and identification functions, in the LL of

the domain of business. The sign in figure 33 is emplaced by a bank, Habib Bank, at the entrance of the bank. It serves to provide institutional information. It facilitates the public by showing the timings of the bank. This is a bilingual sign as two languages, English and Urdu, have been used in it. One is the national language and the other is the official language of Pakistan. Banks usually follow official rules and policies when they work in a country. As this bank is located in KP, Pakistan, therefore, it follows the official policies of Pakistan and uses the languages that have got some official status in the country. It is observed that the banks in Pakistan usually prefer the official language, English, of Pakistan and use it in daily proceedings, and it is reflected in their signs also. For example, in the sign in figure 33, the official language is given preference, as it is written at the top of the sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) state that the preferential use of a language in a sign is indicated by its position in the sign. If a language is written at the top or in the centre of a sign, it means that the language is preferred in the sign. In the sign in figure 33, English language is written at the top of the sign which shows that this language has been given preference in the sign displayed by the bank.

Figure 33

A sign at Market in Abbottabad



Signs in the linguistic landscape of market shows that English, Urdu, and Pashto are the major languages employed by the diverse top-down and bottom-up sign-agents in their signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business. Among the languages, Urdu language is given preference by the sign-owners for their signs. Like the linguistic landscapes of other domains, the linguistic landscape of the domain of business contains more Urdu-English signs as compared to the other types of signs such as Arabic-Urdu, Pashto-Arabic, or Arabic Urdu signs. The reason can be that the people of KP understand Urdu easily as compared to the other languages. The percentage of Urdu-English signs is greater than the percentage of other types of sign in the LL of the domain of business. In the linguistic landscape of the domain of business, English language is majorly used for performing poetic function, Urdu for directive, phatic, and referential function, and Pashto for directive and phatic functions. The LL of the domain of business is quite different from other domains such as the domain of military, education, recreation, and travel etc. in that it contains more bottom-up signs as compared to the top-down signs. The other domains such as military and education contain more top-down signs because they are top-down domains. Moreover, signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business majorly perform poetic and identifying functions which makes this domain of language use different from other domains such as military and education where signs majorly perform directive functions. The LL of the domain of business is more diverse in comparison to other domains as it contains diverse types of languages and diverse types of signs. The linguistic landscape of the domain of business also differs across the selected cities as well. The linguistic landscape of the domain of business in Peshawar and Kohat contain their local language Pashto in their signs, but the LL of the domain of business in D. I. Khan and Abbottabad do not contain their local languages, Saraiki and Hindko respectively, in their signs.

4.1.2.8 Linguistic Landscape of the Domain of Military

As linguistic landscape refers to all the linguistic objects displayed in a particular area, the signs emplaced by military also add to the construction of the linguistic landscape of a particular area. This is one of the top-down domains that goes by rules and regulations and seems to take great care of the national policies, language policies, and others. Cantonment area has been selected as public place from this domain to know the different language choices and their functions in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military. 8 linguistic signs have been selected from this domain through simple random sampling technique.

The signs given below have been taken from Peshawar cantonment. The signs use Urdu and English languages, which have got some official status in the policies of Pakistan. The sign in figure 34A has two semiotic modes used in it i.e. writing and colour. In the sign, two colours are used i.e. red and black. Sign-agents from the domain of military, like the sign-agents from the domain of energy, make frequent use of red colour in their signs. They use the red colour more as compared to the other colours. Both the domains, the domain of military and energy, make excessive use of it because both the places are sensitive and dangerous places. Red colour is considered to be the sign of danger and is mostly used for sharing most important and worth-considering information. The red colour in the sign in figure 34A shows that the instructions in the sign are of much importance. The exclamation mark in the sign further emphasizes the importance of the instructions and it seems as if the sign proclaims to all of the visitors to the site for strictly following the instructions given in it. The semiotic resources employed in the sign work in combination to give whole/total meaning of the sign. In this ensemble, the words, the colour and the size of words have their own importance and carry their own meanings. The word *khbardar* is written in large fonts that can be seen from quite a long distance. The size and

Figure 34

Signs at Cantonment Area in Peshawar



colour of fonts, both help make the sign more visible. These semiotic modes and semiotic resources enable a sign to perform a variety of functions. It warns the people against making

prohibited actions in the area. It also gives instruction to the people that garbage and waste, not stones and shoots, should be put in the dustbin. The sign, in one way or the other, intends to influence the behaviour of the readers and hence, according to Cook's (1989) theory of language functions, performs the directive function. The sign is written in Urdu. Signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military, like signs in the LL of other domains, such as education, health care, and refreshment, usually employ Urdu language for performing directive function. Like the sign in figure 34A, the sign in figure 34B performs almost the same function, directive function. It warns the readers that unauthorized persons should not enter the area. Army officials usually display such signs in cantonment areas where general public is not allowed to enter. Only authorized persons can enter there. This is a bilingual sign having two languages employed in it. The icon given in the centre of the sign shows that no one should walk into the prohibited area. The words used below it are the translation of the same icon because they say the same thing conveyed by the icon. The sign performs directive function.

Apart from signs that warn and instruct people, signs performing several other functions can also be found in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military. Army is a top-down agent and does not always instruct people. It also gives other information to the public through signs. It uses and displays diverse types of signs at diverse appropriate places to help people in different ways. It places signs that name a particular department, building, street, park or garden etc. For example, the sign in figure 35A names a particular street in the cantonment area at D. I. Khan. Saraiki is the major language of D. I. Khan but we cannot find it used in sign in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military. Sign-agents from the domain of military usually emplace signs in the national language, Urdu and the official language, English, of Pakistan. The sign in figure 35A performs two functions; firstly, the identifying function, as it names the particular street and; secondly, the directive function, as it gives direction to the public. In other words, the sign is emplaced to facilitate the public. The sign has been emplaced at the entrance of the street; therefore, its emplacement is not randomly given but motivated. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the location of a sign makes the meaning of a sign clear.

Besides, in order to maintain cleanliness and the beauty of cantonment, sign-agents emplace different signs. People dirty a particular place and spoil its environment by littering. Litter is extremely unhygienic and can spread diseases. It causes water, air, and soil pollution and even blocks drains, which results in the unbearable waterlogging problem of a particular area. In

sign in figure 36A, English language has been given preference as it is written on top. Moreover, the font size of English words is larger than that of the other languages. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), a certain language can be preferred in a sign through its font size and its position in the sign. The sign directs the visitors not to neglect any unsafe condition because it may lead to damage, devastation, and destruction. The people are asked to report such unsafe condition if they observe any. Three languages have been chosen for the sign so that every visitor from any linguistic background may understand it.

The sign in figure 36B has also been selected from Kohat cantonment. Unlike the other sign from the same cantonment, it is a monolingual sign and uses Urdu language which is understandable to the majority of the people of Pakistan. Only three words have been written on the sign i.e. *khatra*, 440, and *volt* and all the three words combine to give whole meaning of the sign. It is generally said that the whole of something is greater than the sum of its parts; same is the case here as in this ensemble, all the three words and the icon in the mid of the sign combine

Figure 36

Signs at Kohat Cantonment



to give whole meaning of the sign. Kress (1993) calls it orchestration. He says that in a combination, different semiotic modes and semiotic resources carry a part of the whole meaning of a sign and all the semiotic modes and semiotic resources add to the total meaning of the sign.

Meaning is not necessarily equally distributed across several semiotic modes and resources. In this sign, the words do add to the meaning of the sign, but the symbol in the centre of the sign makes it more emphatic. It says that 440 volt current is running through the wires in the box. Touching or playing with the box may result in electric shock, therefore the visitors are warned to stay away from the box.

In almost all the domains discussed above, Urdu language is mainly used for performing directive and referential functions. Similarly, in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military, Urdu language is used for performing the same functions. When the sign agents from the domain of military want to inform on-lookers about some impending danger, some prohibited actions in an area, or some unsafe conditions, they choose a language that the general public can read and understand. The sign in figure 37A is a bilingual sign containing Urdu and English language. On one hand, it informs the visitors about the prohibited actions in the area where the sign is emplaced. On the other hand, it orders the visitors not to perform the prohibited actions in

Figure 37

Signs at Abbottabad Cantonment



the area. It performs the directive function as it establishes certain norms of behaviour in the particular place. Signs of such type can be frequently seen on different sites of cantonment areas where such actions can lead to severe damage, not just for that site alone but for the whole country. Therefore, in order to avoid such circumstances, the top-down agents emplace such signs to prevent people from doing anything that is regarded prohibited in the area.

In contrast to the sign in figure 37A, the sign in figure 37B is written in English and it does not have any predefined addressees and on-lookers. One thing worth noticing is that sign-agents from top-down domains such as police, military, and education use English language in signs when they do not have predefined and predetermined readers in their minds. When their purpose is just to inform the readers, they opt for English for their signs. The sign in figure 37B is like the signs in figures 4B and 26A from the domains of recreation and business respectively. It, like the signs mentioned, is emplaced for the general public, not for a specific stratum of the society. It is not oriented towards predefined on-lookers that is why English language has been used in it. The sign informs the readers about the route of electric cables and performs referential function. In the domain of military, English language is used to perform referential function also.

The analysis of the linguistic landscape of the cantonment areas of the different selected cities shows that English, Urdu, and Pashto languages are used in signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of military. Signs in the LL of the domain of military mainly perform directive, identifying, and referential functions. In contrast to the LL of the domain of business and recreation, the LL of the domain of military does not contain signs that perform poetic function. The linguistic landscape of the Kohat cantonment differs from the cantonment of other cities in that it contains its local language, Pashto, on its signs. The linguistic landscapes of other cities' cantonments do not contain their local languages. Saraiki, Hindko, and Pashto are the major local languages of cities of D. I. Khan, Abbottabad, and Peshawar respectively, but these are not found in their linguistic landscapes. The LL of the domain of military is quite similar to the LL of the domain of energy in the sense that both use Urdu language for performing directive function and English for identifying function. Moreover, both the domains make excessive use of red colour in their signs, as can be seen in the signs in figures 23B, 24A, and 24B from the domain of energy and in the figures 34A, 34B, and 35B from the domain of military. The language of the domain of military seems to be more powerful as compared to the language of the other domains.

Summing up, the data from the snapshots of linguistic signs reveals that a variety of language choices are made by a variety of top-down and bottom-up agents to perform diverse functions in the different domains of the selected cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The majority of languages found on signs in different domains were Urdu, English, Pashto, and Arabic. Among the languages, Urdu was found as the most preferred language on signs. Out of the 2160 signs

analysed, it was present in 34.81 percent monolingual signs. English was the second dominant language in the signs. It was present in 17.31 percent monolingual signs. Pashto, the maternal language of most of the residents of KP, was present in only 0.27 percent monolingual signs. The local languages of D. I. Khan and Abbottabad, Saraiki and Hindko respectively, were not found in the signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. Different sign patterns were identified, such as English-only signs, Urdu-only signs, English-Urdu signs, Urdu-Arabic signs and Urdu-English signs. A variety of semiotic modes, such as writing and image, were used by the sign-owners. From the same semiotic modes, diverse semiotic resources were opted for making signs. The major resources employed were language, script, font size, font colour, position of language in a sign, colour of images, size of images, and position of images in the signs. Diverse functions were performed by the different language choices. It was found that Urdu language was mostly used for performing phatic, directive, and referential functions. On the contrary, English language was used for identifying, poetic, and recording functions. It surfaced that sign owners use Urdu when they have predefined and predetermined readers in their minds, whereas they use English when they do not have any predefined and specified readers in their minds. It was also found that the sign-owners use Urdu language when they have predefined and predetermined effects to achieve and English language when they do not have pre-specified and predetermined immediate functions to perform through a particular sign. Some signs were observed to be performing more than one function, such as referential and phatic functions, poetic and referential functions, and identifying and referential functions.

Some differences were also observed between the linguistic landscapes of the four selected cities. The linguistic landscape of D. I. Khan and Peshawar contain more English-only signs than the LL of the other cities, Kohat and Abbottabad. Likewise, the linguistic landscape of Kohat and Abbottabad contains more Urdu-only signs than the linguistic landscapes of Peshawar and D. I. Khan. The local languages of Abbottabad and D. I. Khan were not present on the signs in their linguistic landscapes whereas the local language of Peshawar and Kohat, Pashto language, was found in their linguistic landscapes. Besides, linguistic landscape also varies from domain to domain. It was found that the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion mostly contains monomodal and monolingual signs. Urdu is the major language used in the signs in the LL of the domain of religion. On the contrary, English is the major language used in signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. In the linguistic landscape of the domain of

business, signs are mainly used to perform poetic, identifying, and referential functions whereas in the linguistic landscape of the other domains, such as military and energy/fuel, signs are used to perform directive function. It was also found that in the signs in the domains of military and energy, red colour was used more as compared to the other domains. Furthermore, it was found that the linguistic landscapes of the domains of religion and education mostly contain monomodal and monolingual signs whereas the LL of the domain of energy and business mostly contain multimodal and multilingual signs.

The following table presents the major functions that the different language choices perform in different domains of the linguistic landscape of KP.

Table 2

Summary of the Data from the Snapshots of Linguistic Signs

NO.	Language	Domain	Functions Performed
1	Urdu	Religion	Directive Referential Identifying
		Recreation	Directive Phatic Poetic Referential
		Travel	Directive Referential Recording Identifying
		Health Care	Directive Phatic Referential Recording Identifying

		Education	Directive Phatic Poetic Referential Recording Identifying
		Energy/Fuel	Directive Referential Identifying
		Business	Directive Phatic Poetic Referential Recording Identifying
		Military	Directive Referential Identifying
2	English	Religion	-
		Recreation	Poetic Referential Identifying
		Travel	Directive Referential Identifying
		Health Care	Referential Recording Identifying
			Directive Phatic Poetic

		Education	Referential Recording Identifying
		Energy	Directive Identifying
		Business	Poetic Referential Identifying
		Military	Directive Referential Recording Identifying
3	Pashto	Religion	-
		Recreation	Identifying
		Travel	-
		Health Care	-
		Education	-
		Energy	-
		Business	Directive Phatic Referential Identifying
		Military	Identifying Directive
4	Arabic	Religion	Phatic Identifying Directive
		Recreation	-
		Travel	-
		Health Care	-
		Education	-

		Energy	-
		Business	Directive
		Military	-

4.2 Data from Interviews with Participants

A total of 64 participants, 16 participants per the selected city, were interviewed. Both top-down and bottom-up sign-agents were interviewed. The interviews were taken in the local languages. They were recorded, transcribed, and then translated into English. The data from the interviewing the sign-owners is presented below. For the sake of convenience in referencing, the following codes were allocated to the participants.

1. Interview Participant from the Domain of Religion = IPRe
2. Interview Participant from the Domain of Recreation = IPRec
3. Interview Participant from the Domain of Travel = IPT
4. Interview Participant from the Domain of Health Care = IPH
5. Interview Participant from the Domain of Education = IPEd
6. Interview Participant from the Domain of Energy = IPEn
7. Interview Participant from the Domain of Business = IPB
8. Interview Participant from the Domain of Military = IPM

4.2.1 Motives behind the Use of and Preference for certain Language(s) in the Linguistic Landscape of KP

The sign owners belonging to different top-down and bottom-up domains suggested a number of reasons for the use of and preference for certain language(s) in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. The reasons suggested by the sign-agents for the use of different languages are given below.

4.2.1.1 *Motives/Reasons behind the Use of Urdu*

The analysis of the snapshots of linguistic signs showed that Urdu language was the most preferred language in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. It was found in 34.81% monolingual, 28.22% bilingual, and 1.24% multilingual signs. The different top-down and bottom-up sign-agents suggested diverse reasons behind the use of Urdu in signs. Majority of the

participants said that the people of KP easily understand Urdu language that is why they choose it for their signs. For example, IPEn3 added that:

Urdu is the language that is understandable to majority of the people of Pakistan. Even uneducated people can guess the meaning of signs written in Urdu. To help all the people interpret signs easily, we select Urdu language.

Similarly, IPRe12 stated that our people could speak Pashto language, but majority of them could not read and write it. In order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding, we selected Urdu language for signs. It becomes convenient for people to interpret signs written in Urdu. He further added that when people come to the Masjid for offering prayers, they forget to switch off their cell phones. The signs displayed in the Masjid remind them of it.

Like participants from the domain of religion and energy, participants from the domain of health care presented the same views. Like Masjid and park, hospital is a public place where people of all ages and all socio-linguistic backgrounds can be seen. People go there for treatment purposes. The hospital management usually display signs in Urdu and English to facilitate the people inside the hospital. When asked about the reasons behind the use of Urdu in signs, IPH1 stated that:

We emplace signs for the facilitation of the patients and their care takers inside the hospital. Our only aim is to guide and help people through signs that is why we select Urdu for our signs because it is the only language that the people of Kohat can easily read and understand. We do not use Pashto in signs because it cannot be read and understood by the people of Kohat.

Urdu language is understood by the majority of the people of KP and that is why sign-agents prefer to use it in their signs. They prefer it because their aim is to communicate their messages easily and effectively. The respondents added that their basic purpose behind the emplacement of signs was to perform their desired functions, and their desired functions can only be performed through the use of a language that can be easily understood by all the people. They said that for important messages, they selected a code that was familiar in their area. In this connection, the head of a Masjid from the domain of religion (IPRe14) stated that:

We only write those instructions on signs in the Masjid which are highly important to be followed. For example, we write ‘do not waste water’, ‘keep your mobile switched-off’ and ‘don’t talk in the Masjid’ etc. These instructions need to be followed when someone is in the Masjid. Everyone knows these things, but these are written to help people getting reminded of it. We ask a painter to write such instructions in Urdu so that they could be understood by every *namazi*.

The instructions mentioned by the head of the Masjid are directive instructions as they aim at influencing the behaviour of the public. The analyses of the snapshots of linguistic signs showed that Urdu language is mostly used for signs that perform directive function in the linguistic landscape of different domains, such as recreation, education, and health care etc. When asked ‘why Urdu language is mostly used in directive signs’, IPRec3 said that they select language for their signs on the basis of the function they want to perform through a specific sign. If they wish someone to take a sign seriously, they choose Urdu language for it. Similarly, IPRec5 stated that:

Directive signs are always emplaced with the aim to make people follow what is written on the signs. If people cannot understand and interpret the signs displayed in parks, how will they follow them or how will they react to them? So in order to make people follow the instructions and adopt the prescribed behaviour inside park, we try to select that language and those words which are easily understandable to the visitors, both the literate and the illiterate ones.

The respondent added a very valid point that park is a public place where people of all ages can be seen. Both literate and illiterate people visit parks for the purpose of recreation. It is not that just educated stratum of the society go to the parks. When people of all ages and of all socio-linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds visit there, only that language should be used in the signs that can be understood by all the people. In KP, Urdu is the only language that is understood by a large number of people.

Moreover, the use of Urdu in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP also helps in avoiding discrimination against any linguistic group. The use of local languages in signs in the linguistic landscape of different domains may result in discrimination against a particular linguistic group(s). For example, schools, colleges, and universities are educational institutions

where one can find students, clerks, and faculty members belonging to different linguistic groups. Some speak Pashto as their mother tongue and some have Panjabi, Hindko, Saraiki or any other language as their maternal language. In the linguistic landscape of such domains, the use of a local language may cause discrimination against the other language groups. The same issue was highlighted by IPEd7 who argued,

We have staff belonging to different languages such as Pashto, Panjabi, Saraiki, and Hindko etc. If we use Pashto language on signs at our institution, the other linguistic groups will feel inferior to Pashto speakers. In the same way, if we emplace Panjabi signs on our linguistic landscape, the other groups will complain against this. So in order to avoid such situation, we use Urdu and English for the signs because these languages are unbiased and belong to all the people of Pakistan.

Urdu is an unbiased, standardized, and national language of Pakistan. The local languages of Pakistan such as Pashto, Panjabi, Saraiki, Sindhi, Balochi, and Hindko etc. are not that standardized languages. Another respondent (IPEd3) from the same domain added that they avoid the use of non-standardized languages on signs and try to expose students to standardized languages in the linguistic landscape of their educational institution. Some participants simply stated,

We use Urdu language on signs in our linguistic landscape because it is our national language.

The analysis of the snapshots of linguistic signs showed that Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, is used in many kinds of signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business. In market, a variety of sign-agents select diverse semiotic modes and semiotic resources for their signs by keeping in mind the diverse functions they want to perform through their signs in their linguistic landscapes. When asked about the reasons behind the use of Urdu on signs, IPB5 said,

Along with men, women and children visit our market and they can only read and understand Urdu language. We use Urdu for their convenience.

Another participant (IPB7) added almost the same point by saying,

People from different parts of the country visit our market for shopping and many other purposes. Some visitors face issues in understanding signs written in our local language, Pashto. In order to communicate and direct easily with different people of the country, we use Urdu in our signs. It is a lingua franca for us.

Some sign-agents use language of their own choice on their signs, such as sign-agents from the domain of business. In contrast to such bottom-up sign-agents, there are certain sign-owners that do not select language of their own choice for the signs they display in their linguistic landscape. Rather they use a language that they are instructed and ordered to use in the linguistic landscape. One participant (IPT5) said that they employed Urdu in their signs because they were instructed to do so. In the same way, IPM3 stated that:

Saraiki is my mother tongue but I cannot use it in signs as it is not given any status in the language policies of Pakistan. Our language policies favour English and Urdu. We follow language policies and use Urdu in signs.

Where some sign-owners knew the reasons behind the use of Urdu on their signs, some other participants were ignorant of their signs. They did not know why they preferred Urdu for their signs. For example, IPB3 added,

I don't really know why I have used Urdu language to name my shop. I just unconsciously adopted Urdu for it. I don't know why.

The sign-owners of the most of bottom-up signs can read and write only Urdu language, not the other languages; that is why, whenever they write something, they unconsciously write it in Urdu, because it is the only language they can read and write. Sometimes they follow others too. For example, IPB4 stated,

Most of the signs in our linguistic landscape are written in Urdu and that is why we also use Urdu for our signs. We just follow others.

He further added,

When we go to big cities for shopping, we observe the names of different shops and their signs. When we come back to our shops and markets, we do the same. We copy them.

Some sign-agents can make signs for themselves, but some cannot. The ones who cannot make signs take the help of painters and painters make signs for them. Mostly, the painters decide which language to adopt for a sign. IPB1 stated the same point. He said,

We just ask painters to design different signs for our shops and we also take their help to write names on our shops. The painters decide how to write and in which language. Usually they follow the general practice of our market.

The painters decide which language to use in signs. They usually follow the usual trend of a particular public place where the sign has to be emplaced. They select English for signs that would be emplaced at commercial and big markets, where high-profile people visit, and Urdu for signs that would be emplaced at local markets.

4.2.1.2 *Motives/Reasons behind the Use of English*

The analysis of the signs showed that English, the official language of Pakistan, is the second preferred language for signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The different top-down and bottom-up agents give preference to its use in their signs for performing different functions through it. It was found in 17.31% monolingual, 22.49% bilingual, and 1.01% multilingual signs. The participants suggested a number of reasons for the use of English in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP.

The basic purpose behind the use of any language is to communicate the intended message in an easy and effective way. The selection of a language for the expression of the intended ideas and message is determined by the socio-cultural and socio-linguistic context. The socio-cultural environment influences the selection of language for signs in the linguistic landscape of a particular area. When asked about the reasons behind the use of English in signs, some of the participants responded that they used English in their signs so that people from different linguistic backgrounds may understand them. They further added that along with Urdu language, they adopted English for their signs so that the ones who face issues in understanding Urdu may understand the signs with the help of English language. In this regard, IPRec1 stated,

People from different socio-linguistic backgrounds, including the ones who do not know the local languages of Pakistan, visit our park for recreation purposes. They cannot

interpret signs written in Urdu or any other local language of Pakistan that is why we employ English in signs so that they may easily understand them.

Park is a public place where people of all ages and all socio-linguistic backgrounds can be seen. People visit parks in order to spend their free time and enjoy the beauty of nature. In parks, we do find visitors who do not know the local languages of Pakistan and speak English as their mother tongue. In order to facilitate such visitors inside the parks, the park management emplace certain signs in English. Some signs guide them while some instruct them on how to behave inside the park. The use of English makes it easier for such visitors to interpret the signs. In other words, we can say that the sign-owners from the domain of recreation use English in their signs to facilitate the visitors to the parks, especially the ones who do not understand languages other than English.

English language can be frequently found on traffic signs as well. Most of the time, we see both the languages, English and Urdu, on signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel. When asked ‘why English language is used on public road signs’, IPT1 said,

Public road signs are very much important. If one does not understand public road signs written in a particular language, he/she may harm himself/herself and others. In order to help people from all linguistic backgrounds easily interpret public road signs and avoid road accidents, we employ English language in signs.

Another participant (IPT3) from the same domain stated,

Along with Urdu language, we also employ English language in signs. The major reason is that we want every reader and every passer-by to understand the signs and follow the instructions given in the signs.

Public road signs communicate different important messages to the drivers and general public. The analyses of the signs in the LL of the domain of travel showed that public road signs instruct people on how to drive on road. The instructions given in the signs are very much important and need to be followed. The instructions can only be followed if one understands the signs. If one does not understand the signs, how can one follow the instructions given in them. In order to make people understand the signs, sign-owners employ both English and Urdu languages in the signs.

Sign owners from the domain of energy also presented the same reason behind the use of English in their signs. Like signs in the LL of the domain of travel, signs in the LL of the domain of energy are also important and need to be followed. Little mistakes can result in great devastation and destruction in such places. IPEn7 stated,

All the signs in our station give important instructions to the public on how to behave and act in the station that is why we employ English to make people easily interpret the signs.

Like the LL of the domain of travel and energy, the linguistic landscape of other domains of language use, such as military and health care, also contains English language. Military, being a top-down agent, has English as its official language. It uses English in their formal messages and proceedings. It does not usually make use of local languages. It uses Urdu and English language for the signs it displays at a variety of places for a variety of purposes. They choose a language out of the two languages, Urdu and English, on the basis of the function they want to perform and the people they want to address through a specific sign. IPM3 explained it by saying,

When we want to name a particular department, block or office inside the cantonment, we opt for English language for it, because most of the people at the cantonment are associated with this language and can read and understand it. Moreover, it is our official language, so we try to use it in everything.

He further added that in the signs at their offices, they used English language because it was their official language. He said that they are instructed to follow language policies and use English in the signs. Army is the organisation that strictly follows rules and regulations in everything. It follows the official language policies in the construction of the linguistic landscape of its area(s).

Besides, English language can also be found written on signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. The analysis of different signs placed at different educational institutions of the selected cities of KP showed that English signs perform identification and referential functions whereas Urdu signs perform directive function in the LL of the domain of education. On asking why English language is used in signs having ‘identification’ or ‘referential’ function, IPed2 said:

We are compelled to use English language for such signs because these are fixed names and you cannot translate them into another language. For example, we write 'Department of Chemistry' or 'Department of English' on walls or buildings to name such departments. Now we cannot write 'Khemia' or 'Angrizi' for 'Chemistry' or 'English' because we teach them in English as a medium of instruction and their courses also are in English, and not in Urdu.

In the same way, IPEd4 added that;

We do not have any role to play in the making of such signs for different blocks and departments. We cannot change them as it will look awkward and odd if we use any other language for them. These are fixed and one can see the use of same signs in different universities.

We can see the same phrases and same names of departments in different universities which shows that these are fixed terms and phrases and are used by the sign owners as they are. Expressing them in any other language may lead to confusion. Similarly, IPH7 added almost the same point by saying,

Some ward names and block names etc. cannot be appropriately expressed in Urdu or any other language because these ward or block names are originally English. Like majority of the medicine names, these block names or ward names are given by English people. We do not have appropriate words for them in Urdu or Pashto because these are not our creations.

The participant is quite right in saying that we cannot appropriately express in our own language some terms that are specifically related to the medical field in another language. In other words, medical field has got its own jargon which cannot be easily translated into another language. Medical field has some technical vocabulary for which we do not have equivalent alternatives. If we translate them into Urdu or Pashto, it would result in semantic loss. The translated words would not give the real meanings of the original words. The semantic field of one word of a language is different from the semantic field of a word of another language. Another thing to notice is that most of the people are used to hearing some of the common medical terms such as OPD, ward, and X-ray etc. If we translate them into Urdu or any other

local language, people would face problems in understanding them as they are used to hearing them in English. Regarding the issues faced by the on-lookers due to the use of English on signs in the linguistic landscape of health care centres, IPH6 shared his personal experience by saying that some patients and their caretakers complained against the use of English on signs in the linguistic landscape of hospital. He further added that the complainants held the view that since hospitals were made for assisting people and helping them in getting well, they should not put them in more trouble by writing things in English. Signs in hospitals are placed for assistance, instruction, and guidance purposes, therefore only that language should be selected for them which can really assist and guide public.

Apart from signs in the LL of the domain of education and health care, signs in the LL of other domains cannot be expressed in local languages. The inexpressiveness of the local languages also leads sign-agents to select English for their signs. When asked about the reasons behind the use of English on signs, IPB5 said,

There are many things such as brand names which cannot be expressed in Urdu, Pashto or any other language.

He further said, “We do not have alternatives for the brand names such as Bata, Liza, Nestle, Unilever Brothers etc. and thus, we cannot write them in any other language.” These brand names cannot be expressed in any other language. Even if one succeeds in expressing them in any other language, they would not have that significance and effect that the original terms have. The Pakistani local languages are not that expressive and rich enough to convey alien experiences. For conveying alien experiences, you need to have a rich language. English is a rich language through which one can express many things in an easy way in Pakistani context but one cannot express things related to many fields such as medical, education, business etc. in Pakistani local languages. In this regard, one of the participants from the domain of business said, “Local words, such as ‘dukan’ for ‘shop’ and ‘ghar’ for ‘house’, look awkward and outdated now. It looks sophisticated and modern to write ‘Aslam shoes house’ in English whereas it looks outdated and odd to write ‘Aslam joota ghar’ in Urdu or ‘Aslam chappal koar’ in Pashto.” It does not look modern and people do not get attracted to it. English is a modern and fashionable language. Its modernity was also considered as one of the reasons behind its use in the linguistic landscape of KP. For example, IPB2 said,

In order to appear modern, we people employ English language in our signs. People usually prefer those shops for shopping that have signs written in English language.

Similarly, another shopkeeper said,

In order to attract modern, rich, and well-to-do customers, we use English for our signs. Customers get attracted to shops having English signage.

The main function of most of the signs displayed at the markets is to advertise goods and/or services. The sign-agents emplace signs at their markets and locality to advertise their goods and services. The analysis of the signs displayed at the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP showed that English language is used for commercial functions. The participants also added the same reason behind the use of English on signs. They replied that they use English to advertise their products and services. In this connection, IPB6 added,

Our local language, Pashto, does not assist us advertise our goods, therefore, we choose English for our signs. It looks odd to use Pashto for the advertisement of our products.

English is a global language and is used for business all over the world. Factories and their product names are mostly in English language, which cannot be easily expressed and advertised in local languages; that is why, the sign-agents use English for their signs.

Moreover, some sign-owners told that they do not have any reason behind the use of English in their signs. They look at others' signs and copy them. Some participants also added that they do not ask painters to make signs for them using English language. They just ask them to make sign for them. The painters choose a language out of the available options and use it in signs.

4.2.1.3 Motives/Reasons behind the Use of Pashto

Pashto, the provincial language of KP, was rarely found in signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. It was found in 0.27% monolingual, 0.46% bilingual, and 0.60% multilingual signs. The percentage of the language on signs shows that both the top-down and bottom-up agents do not prefer to use it in their signs. Its percentage on signs is very low. When asked about the reasons behind its rare presence in the linguistic landscape of KP, the participants added a very valid reason. They argued that although Pashto is the major spoken

language of KP, it cannot be read and written by the people. In response to a question, IPRe15 stated:

Although Pashto is my mother tongue but I don't prefer it for public signage as our people cannot read and write it.

The participant seems to be against the use of Pashto on signs and does not suggest it to be used in signs. On the contrary, some participants used it in their own signs and appreciated its use on signs. They were of the view that since Pashto is their maternal language, they should use it in their signs. A participant (IPB8) from the domain of business added,

I personally love to use my maternal language on the signs of my shop. It is my shop and it is up to me which language I choose to use on my signs.

Everyone loves his/her mother tongue and wants it to be promoted. People try their best to promote their language through its use in different domains and save it from death. When a language is used in diverse domains, it spreads and develops, and when people quit using a language in their domains, it starts to decay. One of the ways to promote a language and save it from death is to use it in linguistic landscape. IPRec2 added this reason behind his use of Pashto in signs. He said,

We ought to use our maternal language in our signs. If we do not use and promote it, who else will promote it.

When people use their language, it shows that they love their language. Some people use a particular language to show solidarity with the associated language community. IPRec6 said that he used Pashto because it was the language of his community. He stated,

Pashto is the language of our people and our community. In order to show solidarity with the people of my community, I always select Pashto for my signs.

Apart from this, some participants added that they used Pashto in their signs to assert their racial superiority. They added that people considered them and their language inferior but they used it in their signs and daily life to show that they and their race were not inferior, but rather superior to others.

4.2.1.4 *Motives/Reasons behind the Use of Arabic*

Arabic is the language that is associated with the Muslims of Pakistan. Majority of the people cannot understand it. The people of Pakistan can read it but cannot comprehend it. Like Pashto language, it cannot be written by majority of the people of Pakistan. Only a few can write and understand it. Due to this, only a few Arabic signs were found in the linguistic landscape of KP. Out of the total 2160 signs analysed, it was found in 1.29% monolingual, 5.27% bilingual, and 0.67% multilingual signs. The analysis of the linguistic landscape of the different cities showed that Arabic language was mostly used in signs in the Masjids and seminaries. It is rarely found in signs in the linguistic landscape of other domains such as refreshment, health care, and energy etc. The Masjids and seminaries are important public places for the Muslims. The Muslims offer prayers at the Masjids and students learn Islamic teachings at seminaries. Arabic is associated the most with Islam and the Muslims. The Muslims use it in their signs for different purposes. When asked about the reasons behind its employment in signs, the participants suggested a few reasons. For example, the participants said that they use it in their signs for the sake of getting blessings (*barakat*). IPEn2 said:

I always write some Arabic words, such as *ya hayyo* and *ya qayyum* etc. on my signs for *barakat* (prosperity) purposes.

As the participant stated, we see a variety of Arabic words and verses on many signs emplaced at different public places. Mostly the owners of the signs themselves do not understand the meanings of the words and verses they use in their signs. IPH4 was asked to know if he could understand the meaning of the words used in his signs. He said,

To be honest, I do not really know the meaning of the words. People use it for blessings and prosperity, so do I.

Apart from this, some participants said that in order to give credibility and authenticity to the message and make people trust the message, they employ Arabic language. In this connection, IPRe11 simply stated:

The use of Arabic language emphasizes the message conveyed in the sign. It makes the message authentic.

To sum it up, the data from the interviews with sign-owners reveal that there are multiple reasons and motives behind the diverse language choices in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. The sign-agents from the majority of the domains of language use, such as religion, recreation, health care, and travel etc., employ Urdu in their signs because it is easily understandable to the people of KP. They choose it when they want to convey an important message. The sign-agents from the domain of education employ it in their signs because it is a standard and an unbiased language. In order to communicate with people from different parts of the country, sign-agents use it for its being a lingua franca connecting all the different people of Pakistan. Some participants added that they randomly used Urdu and some told that it were the painters who decided which language to use in signs. Besides, a number of reasons behind the use of English were suggested by the participants. For example, sign-owners from the domain of business said that they chose English for their signs because it was a modern, fashionable, attractive, and rich language. In order to appear modern and fashionable, they employ English in their signs. The signs owners use English because the local languages are not expressive enough to convey their intended messages. Since it looks odd to use local languages in some cases, such as advertisements, people employ English. Some sign-agents added that they follow language policies and employ English language in signs. Apart from using Urdu and English, the participants suggested some reasons behind the use of Pashto. The sign-agents use Pashto because it is their mother tongue and they are emotionally attached to the language. They use it to promote it and to show solidarity with their community. Furthermore, some sign-agents also use it to assert their racial superiority. Through its use, they want to show that their language and their race are superior to those of others. Moreover, Arabic was also employed in a few signs. The data reveals that Arabic is majorly used in signs for the sake of invoking Almighty's blessings. Besides, it is also used to give credibility to what one writes in his signs. The sign-agents use it to emphasise something.

The data from the interviews with participants also revealed some differences between the motives/reasons behind the use of a particular language(s) in signs in the LL of KP. It showed that motives/reasons behind the preference for a certain language(s) in signs vary from domain to domain. Sign-owners from the domain of military, education, and travel use Urdu because they are instructed to use it. Contrary to this, sign-owners from the domain of business, recreation, energy, and religion prefer Urdu for their signs because they think of it to be easily

understandable to all the readers. Apart from this, sign-owners from the domain of business employ English in their signs because they consider it to be a fashionable, attractive, and modern language. In contrast to this, English is used in signs in the domains of travel, military, and education because sign-agents from these domains are required to follow language policies of the country which support the use of English.

Table 3

Summary of the Data from Interviews with the Participants

Reasons for the use of Urdu	Reasons for the use of English	Reasons for the use of Pashto	Reasons for the use of Arabic
Easy to understand/ Interpretable/ Understandable	Follow language policies/Compelled to use it/ Instructed to use English	Mother tongue	<i>Barakat</i> /Blessings purposes
Important message	Inexpressiveness of the local languages	For promotion purposes	For giving credibility and authenticity to one's talk or message
Standard language/ Unbiased Language	Rich Language to convey alien experience	For showing solidarity with one's community	
National Language	Fashionable Language/A Modern Language/ To appear modern	For asserting one's racial superiority	
Painter's choice	Attractiveness of English Language/to impress others/to gain attention		
Random use of Urdu/ Follow one another	For advertisement/		

	Oddness of local languages in some cases (advertisement)		
Follow language policies	Painter's Choice		
To communicate and direct easily with different people of the country due to its status of being used as a lingua franca/contact language	Random use of English/Follow one another		
Usual Trend/ General Practice			

4.3 Data from Photovoice Technique

A total of 32 on-lookers were selected for this technique. The participants were asked to take pictures of signs displayed in their locality, select one sign from the signs captured, and then write caption and commentary on that selected sign. The participants collected photographs and wrote a caption for each photograph. Each participant showed why a certain photo was his/her favourite. The data from the photovoice technique is presented below. The participants are given numbers on the basis of the signs analysed. "P" stands for participant. The participant whose photo is presented first is given number 1.

4.3.1 On-lookers' Perceptions of Language Choices on the Signs

The participants noted that the majority of signs displayed in their linguistic landscapes were written in English language, and in some domains, the signs were written in Urdu language. The observations of the participants are not in line with the findings obtained from the analysis

of the snapshots of linguistic signs which show that the overall linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by Urdu language. The reason can be that people are used to Urdu language to the extent that they do not notice it being used in signs. Whereas the other language, English, is the most attractive language for them and that is why they notice it easily. The signs in the figures given below have been taken by the on-lookers. The participants showed positive attitude towards Urdu language in signs of their linguistic landscapes. The participants commented that Urdu was the national language of Pakistan that was why it should be used in signs in Pakistan. The participant 1, whose mother tongue, like the majority of the participants, was Pashto, favoured the use of Urdu language in the signs. He stated,

I captured this sign (see figure 1) because this sign is written in a language that I and my family members can read and understand. It was placed in a public office where general public pay visits for different purposes. I feel happy and proud when I see signs in my national language. We speak Pashto at our homes but no one in my family can read it; that is why, I think that Urdu language should be used in signs, so that we can easily understand them.

Figure 38

Snapshot by Participant 1

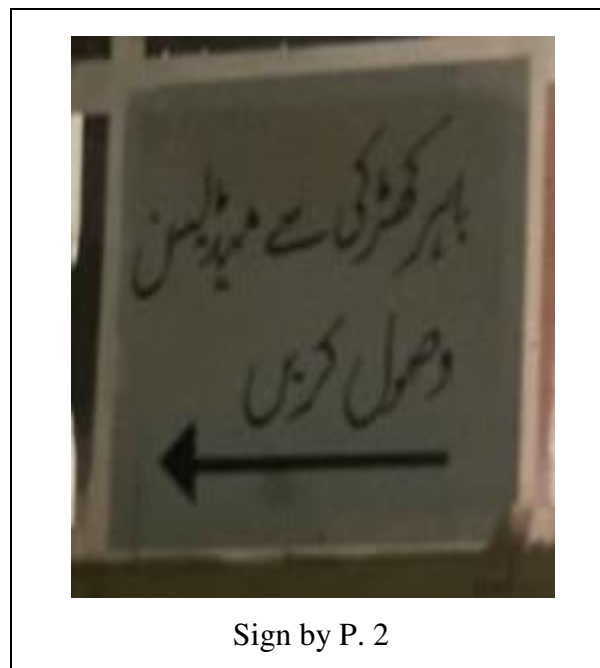


The participant is the native speaker of Pashto who appreciates the presence of Urdu in signs and does not want the signs to be in his mother tongue. Like the participant 1, the participant 2 also supported the use of Urdu in signs. He commented,

I chose to comment on this sign because it was the sign that helped me a lot in the hospital. It is written in Urdu, the only language that I can read and understand. I think Urdu language should be used in public signs.

Figure 39

Snapshot by Participant 2



The participant seems to appreciate the presence of Urdu on signs in the linguistic landscape. There are people who can read and understand only Urdu language in written form. They cannot read and understand other languages such as English, Pashto, Hindko, and Saraiki etc. Signs at public places communicate important messages; therefore, only that language should be selected for signs that the common people of the area understand. The participant 3 focused on this point in his comment. He stated,

I selected this sign for the activity because it contains the common language of the area where the sign is emplaced. The sign was emplaced on a road near a school. It contains Urdu, the language that the common people of my area understand.

Figure 40

Snapshot by Participant 3



The point mentioned by the participant is very relevant and important. Since public signs are emplaced for the common people of the area where the signs are emplaced, a common language that is understandable to common people of the area should be used in signs. If the sign-agents emplace signs in a language that common people of the area do not understand, the signs would be of no use and would not perform the functions that the sign-agents intended to perform through them.

Moreover, the following signs in the figure 41 were collected by the different participants from different public places. They commented that they captured these signs because they contained Urdu language. They also appreciated the use of Urdu in signs meant for the general public. All of them added that they understand Urdu easily that is why it should be language of public signs.

Figure 41

Snapshots by Participants 4, 5, 6, and 7



Commentary of the participants on the above-given signs showed that they did not have any issue with the use of Urdu language in signs in their surroundings. They feel comfortable with signage containing their national language. These signs have been taken by the participants from public places frequented by the general public.

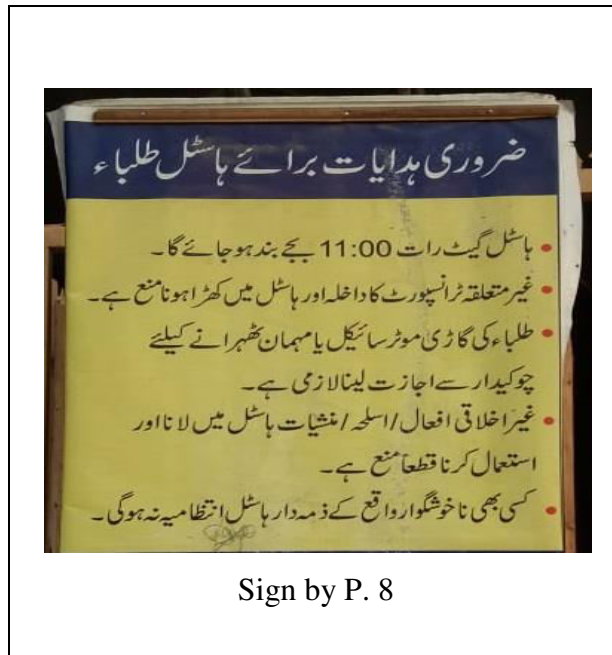
Where majority of the participants supported and appreciated the use of Urdu in signs in the linguistic landscape of different domains, such as health care, travel, recreation, and religion etc., some other participants opposed its use in the LL of the domain of education. The participants presented the below-given signs that have been emplaced at educational institutions. The

participants' commentaries on the signs show that they are against the use of Urdu in the LL of the domain of education. For example, the participant 8 stated,

I captured lots of signs but decided to comment on this sign. This sign was placed at an educational institution where students are taught different courses using English language. Urdu is the language that students can read and understand and they don't need to study it further. Students attend universities to learn English language that is why I personally think that signs in universities, and other educational institutions too, should be in English, so that they may learn English from signs.

Figure 42

Snapshot by Participant 8



In the same way, participant 9, who captured the sign in figure 42, said,

Schools are the educational institutions that are expected to expose students to their target language. The target language of the students of KP is not Urdu because they know it. Their target language is English; therefore, it should be used in the signs in schools.

Figure 43

Snapshot by Participant 9



Sign by P. 9

The commentaries of the above participants 8 and 9 on their captured signs indicate that they are not against the use of Urdu in signs that are aimed at general public, but are against its use in signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. They actually want English to be the language of signage in educational institutions. Some of the participants captured and appreciated signs containing English language in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. For example, the participant 10, who captured the sign in figure 44, said that he appreciated signs containing English language in educational institutions because these signs exposed students to their target language and this exposure helped them learn the language. He further added that English being the official language was

Figure 44

Snapshot by Participant 10



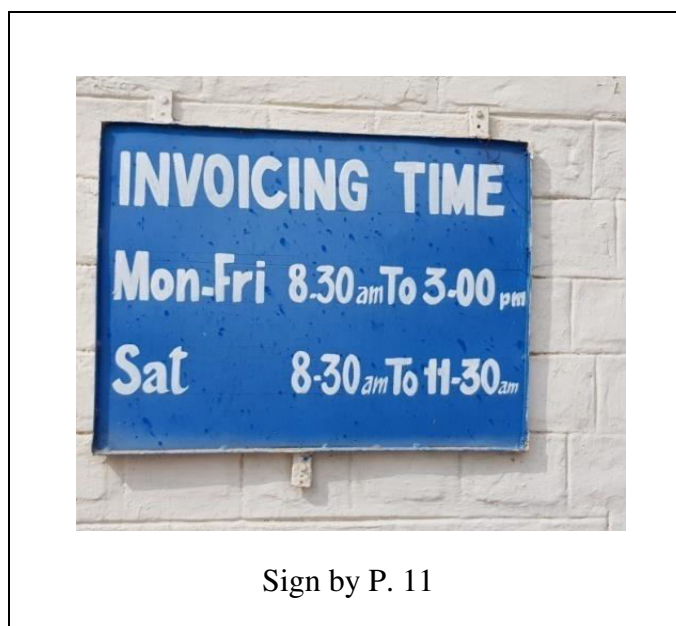
Sign by P. 10

also the language of Education in Pakistan. Therefore, it is necessary for the students to learn it if they want to have good grades and get success.

Apart from the signs in the linguistic landscape of educational domain, certain on-lookers felt the need to place signs in English language at places where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds worked such as international companies, factories, and offices etc. The participant 11 and 12 photographed the signs in figures 45 and 46 that had been emplaced at companies where employees of a variety of linguistic backgrounds worked. The participant 11 stated that he

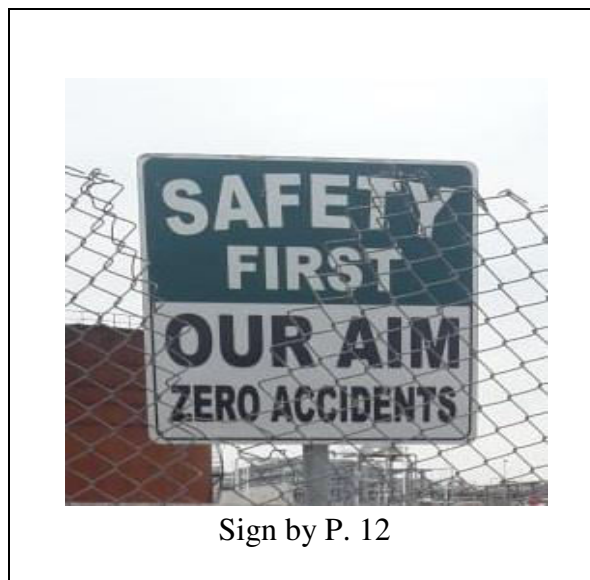
Figure 45

Snapshot by Participant 11



chose this English sign for commentary because he considered it to be a good practice to display signs in English for the convenience of foreign employees. Similarly, the participant 12 stated,

Although Hindko is my maternal language and I am proud of it, but my mother tongue does not assist me interact with foreigners who work in my company. English is the language that I and my foreigner colleagues understand; therefore, I prefer the use of English in signs. This is a kind of lingua franca for all of us.

Figure 46*Snapshot by Participant 12*

The participants seem to be of the view that in such places where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds work, such language should be chosen for signage that could be understandable to all the passers-by. If Pashto language is used in signage in such places, all the passers-by may not be able to comprehend it. Same is the case with our national language also. Signs in Urdu may be understood by majority of the Pakistanis, but not by the foreigners. In such settings, it is wise to emplace signs in language that is common to all and that could be understood by all who come across it.

Whereas some on-lookers favoured and appreciated the use of English in signs in the linguistic landscape of some domains such as education, some other passers-by strongly opposed and reacted strongly against this practice in some other domains. As discussed in details in the analysis of signs in the first phase of data analysis, public road signs that perform directive function mostly employ Urdu, whereas signs performing identification function employ English language. The commentary of some of the on-lookers shows that they are against the use of English-only signs in the LL of the domain of travel. For example, the participant 13 commented

Figure 47

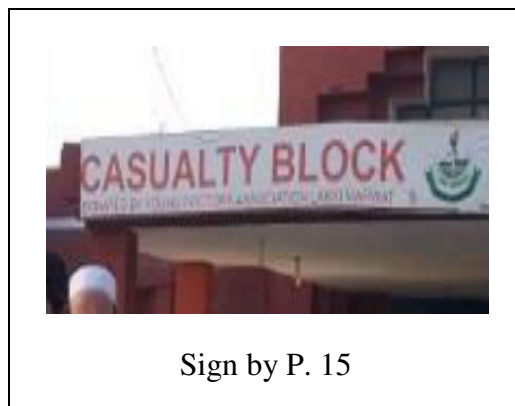
Snapshots by Participants 13 and 14



that in his area, people could not understand both English and Pashto signs, therefore, he considered Urdu to be the best choice for public road signs in KP. In the same way, the participant 14 argued,

Public road signs are aimed not only at the foreigners or the residents of our area, but are also aimed at all the on-lookers; therefore, both the languages, English and Urdu, should be used in signs.

Apart from the LL of the domain of travel, the LL of the domain of health care also contains English-only signs that are not understandable to the on-lookers. The participant 15 commented on his photo by saying that in hospitals, it becomes highly difficult for them to identify the different types of wards and blocks. He further added that they roamed here and there in search

Figure 48*Snapshot by Participant 15*

Sign by P. 15

of wards in the hospitals and faced difficulties just because of the use of English signs in the linguistic landscape of hospital. Another participant presented the picture 16 and showed strong resentment against English signage in hospitals. He commented,

This sign makes me think that we and our language do not have any importance in this society. Pashto is our maternal and Urdu is our national language, but still we have signs in English in this hospital. Do English speakers visit this hospital? If they don't, then why do we have signs in English? Do they want to torture patients by posting signs in English that they cannot even read? Getting meaning out of such English signs is impossible for them. What is the need of displaying such signs that we cannot understand?

Figure 49*Snapshot by Participant 16*

Sign by P. 16

The participant further added that everyone around him was speaking Pashto and only some were speaking Urdu in the hospital where he captured the photo. The participant suggested that a common language of the society should be used in health-care centres, such as clinics and hospitals.

This reaction to the signs shows that there is a big mismatch between written signs and the real linguistic situation of KP. Most of the inhabitants speak Pashto but the signs are written in English. This mismatch seems to be the cause that resulted into provoking anger against the sign. The very first sentence of the participant's comment "we and our language don't have any importance in this society" appears to be questioning the negligible importance given to Pashto language and Pashtoon community in the signage. Landry and Bourhis (1997) says that the presence or absence of a language in the linguistic landscape of a particular place shows the status of the language and the associated language group in that society, but this does not seem to be the case in the LL of KP. The absence of Pashto language on signs shows the status of Pashto language in the official language policies. Moreover, the absence of Pashto language on signs may also be the result of the inability of the Pashtoon speakers to read Pashto signs. Majority of Pashto speakers cannot read their own language in its written form. Hospital management may have decided to avoid Pashto signs due to this reason. Still English does not seem to be the best choice for signage in the linguistic landscape of hospitals, because people do not understand it also. The participants favoured Urdu signs in the linguistic landscape of hospital.

Besides English and Urdu, Arabic and Pashto were also found on signs in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. Out of the total 2160 signs analysed, they were found in a very limited number of signs. The commentaries of the participants show that they do not appreciate the use of the two languages on signs that are aimed at general public. Only a few participants collected Pashto signs and commented on them. The participants whose mother tongue was Pashto said that although Pashto was their maternal language and they loved it but they did not consider it to be the best possible choice for signage in their area. The reason given by them was that majority of their people, even the highly educated ones, could neither read nor write in it. The participant 17, who captured the sign in figure 50, commented,

The sign was emplaced at Peshawar and was written on the gate of a shop. I do not know what could be the reason behind this sign's emplacement. Personally, I think that Pashto

should not be used in signs because it is not understandable to the majority of the people of KP. People cannot read and write it. Instead, Urdu should be used in signs in our area.

Figure 50

Snapshot by Participant 17



The participants had the same views on the use of Arabic on general public signs. Public signs are emplaced for the facilitation of public; therefore, the common language of the general public of KP, Urdu, should be used in them. A participant stated that signs at public places should not be written in Arabic language because common people of KP cannot understand it. He argued that although Arabic was the language that was associated the most with seminaries and teachings at seminaries, but it should not be used in signs that were aimed at general public who did not even understood a single Arabic word or sentence. In contrast to this, one another participant appreciated the use of Arabic in signs in the linguistic landscape of Masjids and seminaries of KP. He stated that Arabic language should be used in signs that were aimed at students studying in madrassa. It will help students learn the Arabic language too. Majority of the people of KP find the Arabic language very difficult to understand and learn because they are not exposed to the language in public places. We find the language written in signs in Masjids mostly. Exposure to a language is must for learning it. Once you are exposed to a language, you learn it easily. The participants argued that signs in their area were placed for them and that was the reason why only that language should be used in signs that they could understand.

Instead of using just one language in signs, one can use many languages, and it would lead to better understanding of the signs. Some of the participants showed favour towards bilingual signs. Bilingual signs are those signs that contain two languages. Bilingual signs are frequently found in the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP. Usually people use more than one language in signs so that a large number of on-lookers may read and understand them. If one person does not know one language in a sign, he/she might know the other one. In Pakistan, majority of the people speak the local languages of the provinces, such as Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Balochi, as their maternal languages whereas just a few percent people use Urdu and English as their mother tongues. But still the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by the two languages, English and Urdu, and we see both of them in monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs. The presence of these languages in combination in a single sign, according to the on-lookers, results in greater understanding of the sign. The participant 18 captured the bilingual signs in figure 51 and stated,

I live in cantonment where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds get posted. They use different languages, such as Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, and Balochi etc. as their mother tongues. They do not know one another's languages. I captured this sign because it contains Urdu and English and is understandable to all. The presence of multiple languages on signs makes it easier for people to understand the signs.

Figure 51

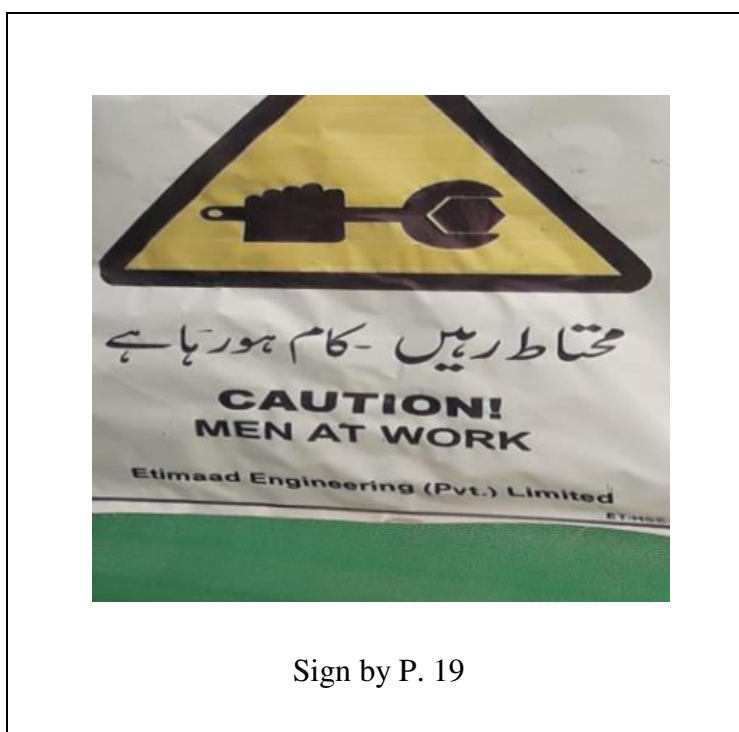
Snapshot by Participant 18



Similarly, participant 19 added that signs having many languages are easily understandable to the on-lookers. If one does not understand one language in a sign, one may interpret the sign with the help of another language on the sign.

Figure 52

Snapshot by Participant 19



In the same way, one other participant stated that in multilingual signs, it was necessary to use at least one language that is understandable to all the people living in the area where the sign is to be emplaced. In KP, Pashto, Saraiki, and Hindko are the frequently used languages in spoken form and Urdu and English are commonly used in written form. Urdu is understandable to the majority of the people of KP, therefore its presence in bilingual and multilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of KP can help the on-lookers understand the signs.

Apart from language, other semiotic modes can also help passers-by get the meaning of signs. The linguistic landscape of KP also contains signs that employ multiple semiotic modes and this results into improved and better understanding of signage. Some of the on-lookers gave the following pictures of the multimodal signs. The participant 20 commented on his sign that

Figure 53*Snapshot by Participant 20*

Sign by P. 20

along with words, pictures/icons should also be used in the signs so that all type of passers-by may guess the meaning of the signs. Similarly, the participant 21 added,

The presence of icons along with words made me take picture of this sign and comment on it. Many people in my area find it highly difficult to decode words on signs. In such cases, icons in signs help them guess the meaning. I suggest that along with writing, other semiotic modes should also be used in signs.

Figure 54*Snapshot by Participant 21*

Sign by P. 21

The more the semiotic modes are used in a sign, the more it becomes easier for a person to understand it. Just language may not give proper meaning to the on-lookers. Pictures/icons in signs make it easier for the on-lookers to interpret the signs displayed. One other participant mentioned the illiterate on-lookers and readers of signs and said that signs containing pictures were easily interpreted by the uneducated on-lookers who could not read words and sentences.

Some on-lookers were found to be totally against the display of certain signs. They reported that majority of sign-owners post their advertisement on walls of buildings and streets etc. and this makes their area dirty. They say that on every second wall, they find advertisement of one or another agency. The participant criticised some of the sign-agents who post “yahan likhna mana hai” kind of signs. They said it is a kind of irony. On one hand, they warn others against wall-chalking, but on the other hand, they themselves advertise different things on their walls and make them dirty.

Summing up, the data from the photovoice technique reveals that the on-lookers perceive English language to be the most preferred language in the signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. They also have positive attitudes towards the use of Urdu language on the signs. They feel proud when they see signs in their national language in the linguistic landscape of different domains such as health care, business, and religion. However, they do not regard it to be a good practice to emplace signs in Urdu in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education which they consider to be the domain for English language learning. Whereas the on-lookers appreciate and support the use of English in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education and settings inhabited and frequented by people from different linguistic backgrounds, they totally disregard the use of English in the LL of the domain of health care and other public domains which are visited by the local people of the area. The on-lookers appreciate the use of Urdu in signs that perform the directive and referential functions. As far as road signs are concerned, the on-lookers regarded Urdu to be the best choice for it. The sign-owners consider the other languages, such as Pashto and Arabic, as not suitable for use in signs aimed at general public because these languages cannot be understood by a majority of the on-lookers. The on-lookers do not appreciate or suggest using these languages in signs displayed at public places.

Table 4*Summary of the Data from Photovoice*

No.	Language	Perception of the on-lookers
1.	Urdu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feel proud when they come across signage in national language. • Appreciate/favour the use of Urdu in settings such as hospital, market, and the Masjid etc. • Support Urdu usage in signs performing referential or directive functions • Against/oppose the use of Urdu in settings, such as educational institutions. • Feel comfortable with sign having Urdu used in it. • Appreciates the presence of Urdu in signs. • Suggest that Urdu should be used in bilingual signs because it is a common language.
2.	English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceive English to be the most preferred language in the LL of KP • Appreciate exposure to English through signs • Positively perceive English signs in educational institutions, such as schools and universities • Suggest that English should be used in settings where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds work or visit • Oppose the use of English in signs performing referential, or directive functions • Reject/oppose the use of English in public road signs • Show strong anger towards the use of English in hospital signage
3.	Pashto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Face difficulty in reading and understanding Pashto • Do not appreciate or suggest the use of Pashto in signs in the LL of KP

4.	Arabic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the use of Arabic in signs in the LL of religious institutions, such as the Masjid and madrassa • Do not appreciate the use of Arabic in signs that are aimed at the general public
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4.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter mainly focused on exploring the language choices that the different sign-owners make in the linguistic landscape of KP, the functions that the different language choices perform in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP, the sign-owners' motives behind the different language choices, and the on-lookers' perceptions of the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. The data was collected using three different methods: snapshots of linguistic signs from the selected cities of KP, semi-structured interviews with sign owners from the selected cities, and the photovoice technique. The data have been analysed using Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory and a model of language functions based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions. The analysis of the data obtained from the snapshots of linguistic signs helped in exploring the different functions that the different language choices perform in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. The analysis of the data obtained from interviews with sign-owners led to the emergence of the diverse motives/reasons behind the different language choices by the sign-owners in the linguistic landscape of KP. The analysis of the data obtained through photovoice technique helped in knowing the on-lookers' perceptions of the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. In this chapter, the data from the different data collection methods has been presented in three separate sections.

Section 1 of the chapter dealt with the data obtained from the snapshots of linguistic signs. The snapshots were collected from the linguistic landscape of eight different domains of language use from the selected cities of KP, namely: religion, recreation, travel, health care, education, energy, business, and military. From these different domains of language use, one public place per domain was selected. The selected public places were the Masjid, park, road side, hospital, educational institution, filling station, market, and cantonment area. The data from the snapshots revealed that Urdu, English, Pashto, and Arabic are the major languages used in

signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. Contrary to the general perception of the public, Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, was found to be the most preferred language in the LL of KP. English, the official language of Pakistan, which was considered to be dominating the LL of KP, was found as the second preferred language in the LL of KP. The data revealed that different top-down and bottom-up sign-agents employ diverse semiotic modes and semiotic resources in their signs. They make different language choices, which perform different functions in different domains. It was found that Urdu performs diverse functions in all the selected public domains. In the domains of religion, military, and energy, it performs three functions: the directive, referential, and identifying functions. In addition to these functions, it also performs three other functions: phatic, poetic, and recording functions in other domains such as education and the business. English was also found in the LL of all the domains, except the domain of religion. It was not found in the signs in the Masjid. It performs fewer functions in different domains as compared to Urdu. For example, it performs 3 functions in the domain of recreation, 3 in health care, 2 in energy sector, and 3 in business. Whereas, Urdu performs 4 functions in the domain of recreation, 5 in health care, 3 in energy sector, and 6 in business. In the domain of education, both the languages perform equal and the same functions; directive, phatic, referential, recording, and identifying. The other two languages were found in the linguistic landscape of just a few domains. Pashto was found in the domains of recreation, business, and military. It was used for performing identifying and directive functions in the LL of the domains of military and recreation. Like Pashto, Arabic was also rarely found in the signs. It was found only in two domains, i.e., religion and business. It was used for performing poetic function in the market and phatic and identifying functions in the Masjid.

It was the overall linguistic landscape of KP province which shows that English, Urdu, Arabic, and Pashto are the major languages used in the signs. They perform directive, referential, poetic, recording, identifying, and phatic functions in the LL of the different domains of language use. Since the data were collected from four different cities of KP, namely: Peshawar, D. I. Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad, the analysis of the snapshots of linguistic signs shows that there are some differences between the LL of these cities. The linguistic landscapes of Kohat and Abbottabad contain more Urdu-only signs than the LL of Peshawar and D. I. Khan. In contrast to this, the linguistic landscapes of D. I. Khan and Peshawar contain more English-only signs than the LL of the other two cities. Every selected city has its local language, but the local language of

some of the cities is not present on its signs. The local language of Peshawar and Kohat, Pashto, was found to a limited extent on the signs in their respective linguistic landscapes. On the contrary, the local languages of D. I. Khan and Abbottabad, Saraiki and Hindko respectively, were not found on the signs in their linguistic landscapes. The analysis of the snapshots of linguistic signs also shows that linguistic landscape varies from domain to domain. It was found that the LL of the domain of education and religion mostly contain monomodal and monolingual signs whereas the LL of the domain of business and energy mostly contain multimodal and multilingual signs. In the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion, Urdu and Arabic are the major languages used in signs. In contrast to this, English is the major language used in the LL of the domain of education. In the LL of the domain of business, signs are mainly used to perform poetic, identifying, and referential functions. On the contrary, in the LL of other domains, such as energy and military, signs are mostly used to perform a directive function. As compared to the signs in the LL of other domains, signs in the LL of energy and military make greater use of red colour as compared to other colours.

Section 2 of the chapter dealt with the data from interviews with the sign-owners. The interviews were taken from 64 participants. The data revealed that there were many reasons behind the different language choices in the LL of KP. It was found that the sign-owners preferred Urdu for their signs because it was understandable to the on-lookers. The on-lookers could easily interpret signs written in Urdu. When the sign owners wanted to communicate an important message, they selected Urdu for it because it could be easily understood by the readers. Urdu is a national language in Pakistan due to which the agents employ it to avoid discrimination against any linguistic group. Apart from this, it was also discovered that sign-agents followed one another and randomly used Urdu in their signs. They used it because it is a usual trend and general practice in their LL to display signs in Urdu. Moreover, it was found that sign-agents preferred Urdu because it is a lingua franca for all the people of Pakistan. Almost every Pakistani, who is able to read, understands signs written in Urdu. Like Urdu, English is also a lingua franca for people serving in multicultural work environment. The sign owners use English for the ease of communication in environments where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds work. In some cases, they are instructed to use English in the signs. For example, top-down agents, such as army and educational institutions, use English in the signs because they are required to follow the language policies of the state, which support the use of English for

official use. Sign-agents also use English because they think that the local languages of Pakistan are not expressive enough to communicate their intended messages. English is considered a rich language due to which it is preferred by the sign-owners. In addition to this, it was discovered that English is preferred by the sign-owners because they consider it to be a modern, fashionable, impressive, and attractive language. They use it in their signs to impress and attract the customers. Moreover, it was also found that sign-owners employ English because in some cases, such as advertisements, it looks awkward and odd to use local languages. Unlike the reasons behind the use of Urdu and English, the data revealed quite different reasons behind the use of Pashto in the signs. It was found that sign-owners choose Pashto for their signs because it is their mother tongue. They use it because they are emotionally attached to the language. They want to promote it and hence try to use it in both the written and oral form. Furthermore, it was also found that in order to show solidarity with their community, the sign-owners employ Pashto in their signs. Moreover, some sign-owners use it to show and assert that their race is superior to other races. Likewise, a few reasons were also found behind the use of Arabic in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. It was discovered that sign-owners employ Arabic in their signs for the sake of seeking blessings of the Almighty. In addition, if someone wants to give credibility and authenticity to their talk or message, they choose Arabic for it. Its use increases the credibility of the message. Sign-owners employ it when they want to emphasise their message.

The data from the interviews with participants also revealed that the motives behind the preference for a certain language(s) in signs in the LL of KP varied from domain to domain. Sign-owners from the domain of business, refreshment, energy, and religion prefer Urdu for their signs because they think of it to be easily understandable to all the on-lookers. In contrast to this, sign-owners from other domains such as military, travel, and education use it because they are instructed to use it. Besides, English is used in the LL of the domain of education, military, and travel because sign-owners from these domains are required to follow language policies which support the use of English language. On the contrary, sign agents from the domain of business prefer English for their signs because they consider it to be a modern, attractive, and fashionable language. It is used in the LL of the domain of business with the aim to impress and attract customers.

Section 3 of the chapter dealt with the data from photovoice technique. For this technique, 64 on-lookers were selected and data was gathered from them. The data revealed that

the on-lookers appreciate and support the use of Urdu in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. They have positive attitude towards Urdu in their linguistic landscape. They feel proud when they come across signs in their national language. It was found that the on-lookers appreciate the use of Urdu in signs in the LL of the domain of health care, religion, and business, but oppose its use in the LL of the domain of education. Moreover, it was also found that the on-lookers feel comfortable with Urdu and demand it to be used in signs in the LL of KP. On the contrary, the on-lookers were found against the use of English in the linguistic landscape of the domain of travel and health care. They consider it to be unfair to use English in signs aimed at general public of the area. However, the on-lookers appreciate and encourage its use in multicultural work environments where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds work. They also encourage its use in signs in the LL of the domain of education as they think that English signage will expose learners to their target language, English. Moreover, it was also found that the on-lookers think of English to be the most preferred and dominant language in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP, which is not actually the case. The analysis of the snapshots of linguistic signs shows that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by Urdu, and not English. Apart from the two languages, Pashto and Arabic were also found in the linguistic landscape of KP. It was found that the on-lookers do not appreciate the use of Pashto in the signs. They face difficulties in reading and understanding signs written in Pashto; therefore, they do not prefer and suggest its use in the signs in the LL of KP. Like Pashto, Arabic was also opposed by the on-lookers. They do not understand signs written in Arabic. It was found that the on-lookers support Arabic in the signs in the domain of religion but oppose it in the signs that are aimed at general public as the general public cannot understand it.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, the data were analysed applying Kress' (2010) Social Semiotic Theory and a model based on Cook' s (1989) and Finch' s (1997) theories of language functions to the data gathered using three methods, namely: snapshots of linguistic signs, semi-structured interviews, and photovoice. This chapter presents the findings obtained after the detailed data analysis process and discusses them in comparison with the results and findings of the dominant studies carried out on the different aspects of linguistic landscape of different countries in general, and of Pakistan in particular. Section 1 of this Chapter presents the findings obtained as a result of the analysis of the data collected using the different methods and Section 2 thoroughly discusses the findings of the study in the light of the previous works discussed in Chapter 2- Literature Review.

5.1 Findings

It is worth-mentioning that the findings presented in this section are based on the actual data gathered from the sign-owners, on-lookers, and the linguistic landscape of the selected cities of KP, Pakistan. The findings from the data are based on the themes that emerged as a result of the explicitation of the data employing the above-mentioned theories. Thus, the diverse themes that emerged after applying the theories to the data have been presented below in three subsections, one devoted to the findings from each of the three methods used for data collection.

5.1.1 Findings from Snapshots of Linguistic Signs

A total of 2160 signs, 540 signs per selected city, were collected from the four major cities of KP, namely: Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, and Abbottabad. The data from the snapshots of linguistic signs were analysed using a model based on Cook' s (1989) and Finch' s (1997) theories of language functions and Kress' (2010) Social Semiotic Theory which led to the emergence of relevant patterns and themes. The following findings have been drawn from the themes and patterns that emerged after the detailed data analysis. For the sake of clarity,

conciseness, and convenience, the findings from the snapshots of linguistic signs are presented in bullet points below:

- i. Urdu, English, Pashto, and Arabic were found to be the major languages used in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP.
- ii. Urdu, being the national language, was found to be the most preferred language and English, being the official language, was found to be the second preferred language in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP.
- iii. A significant difference was observed between top-down and bottom-up sign-owners in terms of language choices. For example, top-down sign-owners preferred English whereas bottom-up sign-owners preferred Urdu for their signs.
- iv. Urdu was found in all the domains of language use in the linguistic landscape of KP. For example, it was found in the domains of religion, education, energy, travel, health care, recreation, business, and military.
- v. Unlike Urdu, the use of English was not that much widespread and its use was never observed in the LL of certain domains such as religion.
- vi. The use of Arabic was found restricted to the LL of only a few domains such as religion and business.
- vii. Pashto was also observed in the LL of limited domains such as recreation, business, and military only.
- viii. Urdu was found performing directive, referential, and identifying functions in the domains such as religion, military, and energy, and phatic, poetic, and recording functions in the domains such as education and business.
- ix. English was found to perform poetic, referential, and identifying functions in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business and recreation. It was also found to perform other functions, such as: recording and directive functions, in the domains such as education and military.
- x. Pashto was found to perform only identifying function in the linguistic landscape of the domain of refreshment and military and referential function in the linguistic landscape of the domain of business.
- xi. Arabic was found to perform phatic and identifying functions in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion.

- xii. It was found that when the sign-owners had pre-defined and pre-determined addressees in mind, they selected Urdu and when they did not have pre-determined addressees, they adopted English for their signs.
- xiii. It was also found that when the sign-owners wanted to achieve a specific pre-defined and pre-determined effect through a sign, they adopted Urdu, and when they did not have any specific immediate effect to achieve through a sign, they did opt for English.
- xiv. Differences between the linguistic landscapes of the selected cities were observed. The linguistic landscapes of Abbottabad and D. I. Khan did not contain their local languages, i.e., Hindko and Saraiki respectively. On the contrary, the LLs of the other cities, Peshawar and Kohat, contained their local language, Pashto, although to a limited extent.
- xv. The LLs of Kohat and Abbottabad were found to contain more Urdu-only signs than the LLs of Peshawar and D. I. Khan. In contrast to this, the LLs of Peshawar and D. I. Khan were found to contain more English-only signs as compared to the LLs of the other two cities, Kohat and Abbottabad.
- xvi. Differences between the LLs of the different domains were also found. It was found that signs in the LLs of military and energy make more use of red colour as compared to the signs in the LLs of other domains such as business and recreation etc.
- xvii. Signs in the linguistic landscapes of the domains of religion and education were found to be mostly monomodal and monolingual whereas signs in the LLs of other domains such as business, recreation, and energy were found to be mostly multimodal and multilingual.
- xviii. It was found that the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion majorly contained Urdu and Arabic languages; whereas, the linguistic landscape of the domain of education mainly contained English language.

5.1.2 Findings from Interviews with Sign-Owners

A total of 64 participants, 16 from each city, were selected and interviewed. The participants included both top-down and bottom-up sign-owners. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then translated into English for the purpose of analysis. The data were analysed in order to know the reasons behind the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP and this led to the emergence of relevant themes. The following findings have been drawn from the detailed analysis of the data. In order to have a convenient and clear view of the findings, they are presented below:

- i. The sign-owners preferred Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, for their signs because it is easily understandable to the on-lookers and helps in conveying important messages.
- ii. Sign-owners used Urdu because it is a standard, an unbiased, and the national language of Pakistan. In order to avoid discrimination against a particular linguistic group, the sign-owners did opt for it.
- iii. The sign-owners used Urdu because it is a usual trend and general practice in KP to make Urdu signs as stated by them.
- iv. The sign-owners preferred Urdu for their signs to communicate with different people of the country due to its status of being used as a lingua franca/contact language.
- v. English, the official language of Pakistan, was given preference by the sign-owners in order to communicate in an easy way in multi-cultural work environment.
- vi. The sign-owners, especially the top-down ones, used English in their signs because they were instructed/ordered to use it in their linguistic landscape. They actually followed the language policies of the country.
- vii. English was given preference in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP due to the inability of local languages to express the intended meanings. According to them, the local languages of KP are not expressive enough to communicate the intended messages of the sign-owners. Contrary to the local languages, English is a rich language and is used by the sign-owners to convey all kinds of messages.
- viii. English was considered as a trendy and modern language. In order to appear modern, gain public attention, and impress and attract customers, the sign-owners employed it in their signs.
- ix. The sign-owners used and preferred English for their signs because the local languages seemed odd in some cases such as advertisements. For example, it looked odd to advertise things using Pashto language.
- x. The sign-owners used Pashto, the provincial language of KP, because it was their mother tongue and they were emotionally attached to the language. They used it in their signs in order to promote it and show solidarity with one's community.
- xi. For asserting their racial superiority, the Pashtoon sign-owners used Pashto in their signs.
- xii. Arabic was used by the sign-owners in their signs for invoking Almighty's blessings.

- xiii. In order to make one's message credible and authentic, the sign-owners employed Arabic in their signs. They also used it in signs in order to emphasise a particular message.
- xiv. Arabic was also used by the sign-owners because of necessity. There are always some cases where they have no choice except using Arabic.
- xv. Sometimes, it is the painter's choice, not the sign-owner's, to use a particular language in signs.
- xvi. Differences between the motives behind the use of a specific language(s) in signs in the LLs of different domains were found. It was found that Urdu language is used in signs in the LLs of the domains of religion, business, recreation, and energy because it is easily understandable to the people of KP.
- xvii. In contrast to this, Urdu language is used in the LLs of the domains of education and military because they are instructed to use it.
- xviii. It was found that English language is used in signs in the LLs of the domains of military and education because they are required to follow language policies of the state which favour the use of English.
- xix. Contrary to this, English language is used in signs in the LL of the domain of business because it is considered to be a modern, attractive, and fashionable language. It is used to impress and attract the customers.

5.1.3 Findings from Photovoice

A total of 64 on-lookers, 16 from each city, were selected for this technique. The on-lookers provided photographs of the signs they liked and wrote captions for them. The main purpose behind using this technique for collecting data was making the on-lookers share in detail their perceptions of the different language choices in their surrounding linguistic landscapes. The data obtained from this technique was analysed which led to the emergence of the relevant themes. For the sake of clarity and convenience, the findings from photovoice are enumerated as below:

- i. The on-lookers positively perceived the use of Urdu in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. They felt comfortable with Urdu signs in their surrounding linguistic landscapes.
- ii. The on-lookers felt proud when they saw signs in their national language. They suggested that their national language should be used in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP.

- iii. The on-lookers favoured and supported the use of Urdu in signs in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care, business, and religion etc. However, they were not in favour of its use in the LL of certain domains such as education.
- iv. The use of Urdu in signs that perform directive, referential or identifying function was supported by the participants.
- v. The on-lookers suggested that Urdu should be one of the languages in multilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of Pakistan because it is a common language for all the people of Pakistan. Almost every Pakistani understands it.
- vi. English language was perceived as the most preferred language on the signs. The on-lookers thought of it to be the most dominant language on the signs in the linguistic landscape of KP.
- vii. The use of a language in the signs exposes the on-lookers to that language. The participants appreciated exposure to English through signs in their linguistic landscapes.
- viii. The on-lookers positively perceived the use of English in the LL of certain domains such as education and certain settings where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds work. However, they strongly opposed and showed strong anger towards the use of English in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care. They also opposed the use of English in the LL of the domain of travel.
- ix. The use of English in the signs that perform directive, referential or identifying function was opposed by the on-lookers.
- x. The on-lookers faced difficulties in reading Pashto signs; therefore, they did not appreciate, prefer, and support its use in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. They did not recommend it to be used in signs.
- xi. The use of Arabic in the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion was supported and appreciated by the on-lookers. However, its use in signs that were aimed at general public was opposed by the on-lookers because the public cannot understand the message written in Arabic language.

5.2 Discussion

The previous section mainly dealt with the presentation of the findings obtained after the extensive analysis of the data gained from the three different methods. This section is primarily concerned with discussing the above-stated findings of the study in the light of the previous

studies conducted on the diverse aspects of linguistic landscape of different countries in general and of Pakistan in particular in order to determine if the results of this study obtained through the social semiotic analysis of public signs, analysis of the interviews with sign-owners and analysis of the data from photovoice support or challenge the findings of the previously conducted studies. In doing so, the basic purpose is firstly to understand the different functions performed by different language choices in different domains, and secondly to understand the sign-owners' motives behind making different language choices, and finally the on-lookers' perceptions of different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP.

The study set out to explore the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, with the view to testing the generally-accepted assumption that the linguistic landscape of Pakistan is dominated by English. People perceive English to be the dominant language in the linguistic landscape of KP because it is an attractive language for them. In comparison to the other languages of Pakistan, they notice the use of English more readily. The data from on-lookers also supported this assumption, which is, actually, not true. The study refutes this generally-agreed assumption. The findings of the study reveal that the linguistic landscape of KP is not dominated by English but Urdu. Urdu, being the national language of Pakistan, is the most preferred language in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. One of the reasons behind its extensive use in signs is that it is easily understandable to the on-lookers. The on-lookers are exposed to the language since their childhood that is why they do not face issues in understanding it. On the contrary, the on-lookers cannot easily understand other available languages, such as: Arabic, Hindko, and Pashto. That is why they are rarely found in the linguistic landscape of KP. The language choices found in the linguistic landscape of KP are: Urdu, English, Arabic, and Pashto.

The findings from the snapshots of linguistic signs reveal that the different language choices perform different functions in different domains in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. KP is a multilingual province where people speak a number of languages such as Urdu, Pashto, Punjabi, and Hindko. Different top-down and bottom-up agents choose a particular language(s) out of the available options for performing different functions in different domains in their linguistic landscapes. Kress (2010) asserts that there are always some motives behind the use of a particular semiotic mode and semiotic resource in a particular sign. The findings of the

study reveal that when the sign-owners want to perform directive or referential function through a sign, they go for Urdu and when they wish to perform phatic, recording or identifying function, they usually go for English language. The sign-owners employ English in the signs that do not have pre-defined and pre-determined addressees and Urdu in signs that are aimed at a particular individual or stratum of a society. Blommaert and Maly (2014) are of the opinion that signs point towards the future, to their intended addressees. They further assert that signs are proleptic in the sense that they often address particular addressees. The study shows that signs having predefined addressees employ Urdu language and the ones that do not have their desired uptake use English language. This shows that the sign-owners, as Mitchell (2000) argues, purposely create their linguistic landscapes by carefully choosing certain linguistic codes from the available options.

The study also reveals that both sign-owners and on-lookers have positive attitude towards English and Urdu. They positively perceive both the languages. Cargile et al. (1994) are of the view that language attitude affects language choice. The people of KP have positive attitude towards Urdu and English that is why we can see their use on signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. On the contrary, the people of KP do not favour the use of Pashto and Arabic in signs that is why we rarely see them in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. The sign-owners avoid the use of Arabic and Pashto in their signs because they are well aware of the fact that these languages have little role in literacy; instead, they are only used in oral form, and that is why general public has issues in understanding the written form of Pashto and Arabic. Similarly, the on-lookers also do not appreciate and suggest their use in signs that are aimed at general public.

Furthermore, the findings from the data show that the inability of the local languages to express the intended meanings also results in their rare use in different top-down and bottom-up signs. The local languages of KP, according to the sign-owners, are not able to express the intended meanings and alien experiences. That is the reason that we do not see their use in the LLs of certain domains such as education, military, health care, and energy. In contrast, English is an expressive language through which one can convey many things that cannot be conveyed using other languages. For example, in the domain of health care and education, there are many things, such as department names, block names, medicine names, ward names, etc. that are difficult to be expressed in the local languages. Even if such terms are translated and expressed

in local languages, they may not have the same impact and significance. Similarly, it also seems odd to use local languages in some cases, such as advertisements, which also leads to their rare use in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. The data from the snapshots of linguistic signs also show that the local languages are hardly used in advertisements whereas English is predominantly used for commercial purposes in the linguistic landscape of KP.

The finding of the study support Dal Negro's (2009) view who contends that signage represents language policies and not the real linguistic situation of a particular area. The linguistic landscape of KP does not represent its real linguistic situation. If we look at the real language situation of KP, we see that Pashto is the major language used in KP. People use it everywhere. Contrary to this, the findings of the study reveal that Urdu is the most preferred and English is the second preferred language in the linguistic landscape of KP. Pashto, which is the major and the provincial language of KP, is rarely present in the signs. The findings of the study are in line with the results of Du Plessis (2011). He found that African languages are extensively used by the general public but hardly used in signs in the linguistic landscape. Same is the case here in KP. Pashto, the local language of KP, is extensively spoken in this region but hardly used in its linguistic landscape.

Cenoz and Gorter (2009) attribute this phenomenon to the process of globalization. They are of the view that globalization is the main cause of the construction of such linguistic landscapes where the local languages of the societies are ignored in their signage. Curtin (2007) states that globalization greatly affects linguistic landscape which is evident in the gradual spread and supremacy of English. We can see the increasing use of English in the signs in different domains. In the linguistic landscape of KP, it was found in varying degrees in almost all the domains of language use, such as: education, business, recreation, health care, energy, and military, whereas local languages were limited only to particular domains or they were altogether absent. In this connection, Dhongde (2002) concluded that it is globalisation that results in the increasing use of English in the LL of different domains.

The language policies of Pakistan strongly affect the use of language(s) in its linguistic landscape. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) concluded from their study that language policies of a specific area influence the linguistic landscape of that area. Similarly, since the language policies of Pakistan support English, the official language, and Urdu, the national language of

Pakistan, and do not support the local language of Pakistan, the same is reflected in the linguistic landscape of KP too. The languages that are supported by the language policies dominate the linguistic landscape of KP whereas the languages that are not given enough attention in the language policies are hardly used in the signs.

The linguistic landscape of one place differs from the linguistic landscape of another place. The study demonstrated that linguistic landscape varies from place to place and from city to city. The analysis of signs showed that the linguistic landscapes of Peshawar and Kohat are different from the linguistic landscapes of D. I. Khan and Abbottabad. The LLs of Kohat and Peshawar contain their local language, i.e., Pashto whereas the LLs of the other cities, D. I. Khan and Abbottabad, do not contain their local languages, i.e., Saraiki and Hindko. Their local languages were not found on signs in their linguistic landscapes. Moreover, the LLs of Kohat and Abbottabad contained more Urdu-only signs than the LLs of the other cities, Peshawar and D. I. Khan. In contrast to this, the LLs of Peshawar and D. I. Khan contained more English-only signs as compared to the LLs of Kohat and Abbottabad.

Moreover, linguistic landscape also varies from domain to domain. The linguistic landscape of one domain differs from the linguistic landscape of another domain. The study showed that the linguistic landscape of the domain of religion is different from the LLs of other domains in that it contains Urdu and Arabic languages on signs and does not contain English language. The linguistic landscape of the other domains such as education, military, recreation, travel and health care contains English language. Furthermore, the LLs of the domains of energy and business mostly contain multimodal and multilingual signs. On the contrary, the LLs of the other domains such as religion and education mostly contain monomodal and monolingual signs. In the LLs of the domains of energy, recreation, travel, and military, signs are mainly used for performing directive function. In contrast to this, signs in the LL of the domain of business are mainly used for performing identifying and poetic functions. In addition, in comparison to the signs in the LLs of other domains, signs in the LLs of military and energy make more use of red colour as compared to other colours. The differences between the linguistic landscapes of the different selected domains show that linguistic landscape varies from domain to domain.

In addition to this, the study observed a significant difference between the top-down and bottom-up agents in terms of language choice in the linguistic landscape of KP. The top-down

sign-owners prefer English whereas the bottom-up sign-owners prefer Urdu for their signs. This difference was also noted in the previous studies. For example, Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), Huebner (2006) and Shohamy (2006) noted in their studies that the top-down sign-agents make different language choices than those of bottom-up agents. One of the reasons behind the difference can be that the top-down agents adhere to language policies whereas the bottom-up agents do not usually follow the language policies and show greater variation.

The present study has got an edge over the previous studies in the sense that they, no doubt, came up with very important findings but hardly focused on the very basic and important factors and aspects of linguistic landscape that significantly contribute to and affect the construction of the linguistic landscape of an area. The present study focused on the three very important aspects of linguistic landscape, i.e., functions of language choices, sign-owners' motives behind language choices and the on-lookers' perception of the language choices. The previous studies have been conducted on such aspects of linguistic landscape as the relationship between language policies and linguistic landscape, comparison of the linguistic landscape of different places, impact of immigrant communities on linguistic landscape, relationship between language visibility and language vitality, and globalisation and linguistic landscape. Most of these studies focused on comparing the frequencies and percentages of different languages in different linguistic landscapes and could hardly focus on qualitative data for their studies. One cannot merely rely on quantitative data to reach a reliable conclusion. Alongside quantitative data obtained from the snapshots of linguistic signs, the present study also relied upon qualitative data obtained through interviews with participants and photovoice.

Moreover, a very limited number of research studies have been conducted in Pakistan on linguistic landscape and virtually no study on the linguistic landscape of KP, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. Rahman (2010) conducted his study on text written at the back of trucks in order to discover the different languages used and major themes those texts carried. However, trucks are not permanent part of the linguistic landscape of an area as they move from one city to another, and one province to another. In the present study, the focus was upon investigating the linguistic landscape of such domains that are a permanent part of the linguistic landscape of KP. Besides, Atta (2016) investigated the linguistic landscape of Rawalpindi, Wah Cantonment, and Islamabad from the perspective of linguistic hybridity, that is, different types of linguistic

modifications made in the shop signs and billboards. However, the present study focused on language choices as displayed in the signs in the LL of KP.

Nonetheless, linguistic landscape includes all the written material in an area, not only the shop signs and billboards. The present study explored in detail the linguistic landscape of KP, an area that was under-explored till date in the research and added to the existing body of literature on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan in general and of KP in particular. Linguistic landscape is the product of language choices. The sign-owners' language choices are determined by a variety of factors. There are always some reasons and motives behind the sign-owners' particular language choices. The present study found that in the linguistic landscape of KP, the sign-owners' languages choices are determined by the functions that they want to perform and the addressees they want to address through a particular sign. It was also found that sign-owners use Urdu because it is easily understandable to the readers whereas they use English out of necessity. Once language choices are made in the linguistic landscape, they are witnessed and perceived by different on-lookers having diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds. By using a new technique, photovoice, the study also explored the on-lookers' perceptions of the different language choices made by the different sign-owners in the linguistic landscape of KP. Moreover, once language choices are made in the linguistic landscape of a particular area, they perform diverse functions. The language functions in the different domains of linguistic landscape have not been dealt with till date, neither in Pakistan nor in other countries, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. The current study investigated in detail the different functions performed by different language choices in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. It was found that Urdu predominantly performs directive and referential functions, English performs identifying and poetic functions, and Arabic and Pashto perform phatic and identifying functions in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP. So, it can be concluded that the present study significantly contributed to the already existing body of literature on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan in general and of KP in particular by thoroughly investigating the different language choices and their functions, the sign-owners' motives behind making particular language choices and the on-lookers' perceptions of the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP, Pakistan.

5.3 Chapter Summary

The chapter focused on presenting the findings that emerged after the detailed analysis of the data in the previous chapter. The findings were presented in three sub-sections: one sub-section devoted to the findings from each of the three data collection methods. Section 1 dealt with the findings from snapshots of linguistic signs. The findings showed that the different language choices perform different functions in the linguistic landscape of KP, such as directive, referential, phatic, recording, and identifying function etc. Section 2 dealt with the findings from interviews with signs-owners, which showed that sign-owners use Urdu when they have predefined addressees in their minds and English when they do not have predefined addressees. They employ Urdu when they have predetermined immediate effect to achieve through a sign and English when they do not have predetermined immediate effect to achieve. They use English because it is a standard, modern, and attractive language and they are also instructed to use it in their signs. Furthermore, the sign-owners employ Pashto in their signs because it is their mother tongue and they want to promote it. Moreover, they use Arabic for seeking blessings of the Almighty. Section 3 was devoted to the findings from photovoice, which surfaced that the on-lookers positively perceive English and Urdu in their linguistic landscapes. Moreover, it showed that the on-lookers do not understand Pashto and Arabic in their written form that is why they do not appreciate and suggest their use in signs in the linguistic landscape of KP.

The next section of the chapter discussed these findings in comparison with the results of the previous studies conducted in the area of linguistic landscape. The study refuted the generally-agreed assumption that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by English as the findings showed that it is Urdu, not English, that dominates the linguistic landscape of KP. The study supported the view that top-down and bottom-up agents make different language choices in their linguistic landscape. Top-down agents prefer English whereas the bottom-up agents prefer Urdu for their signs. In addition, the study also supported Dal Negro's (2009) view which says that linguistic landscape does not represent the real language situation of a particular area. Rather it represents the language policies of the area. The linguistic landscape of KP does not represent its real language situation. The language policies of Pakistan support English and Urdu. They do not support the local languages that is why they are hardly used in signs. In short, the study filled this previously existing gap by exploring the different functions that are performed in various domains by the different language choices, the sign-owners' motives behind the

particular language choices and the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP, Pakistan.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The study aimed at ascertaining three main points: firstly, to determine whether the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, is dominated by English language by thoroughly investigating language choices and their functions in the linguistic landscape of KP, secondly, to discover the sign-owners' motives behind the language choices, and finally, to know the on-lookers' perception of the different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. The basic purpose was to gain a deeper and fuller understanding of the language choices reflected in the linguistic landscape of KP. To achieve this aim, some of the significant studies on the linguistic landscape of different countries in general and of Pakistan in particular were critically reviewed. While reviewing them, the study particularly focused on the research methods used in those works. A survey of the previously conducted works had already hinted at the phenomenon under consideration but at the same time revealed some kind of ambiguity and vagueness due to their heavy reliance on frequencies and percentages as a mode of inquiry and their serious neglect of the qualitative data for their studies. One major shortcoming observed in those studies was that they dealt with linguistic landscape not in terms of the factors that influenced and contributed to the construction of linguistic landscape. The survey also revealed that the earlier studies did not focus on the three very important factors that affect the linguistic landscape of an area, namely, functions of language choices, sign-owners' motives behind language choices, and on-lookers' perception of language choices. Therefore, in order to avoid the limitations observed in earlier studies and to fill the above-mentioned gap, the present study undertook the challenge and set out to explore the LL of KP using Kress' (2010) social semiotic theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions, both of which were significantly helpful in accomplishing the desired purpose.

In addition to the fact that the central focus of this study was to investigate the language choices and their functions, it also aimed at examining the diverse reasons that led to the choice of a particular language for a particular sign. In doing so, not only the reasons suggested by the different top-down and bottom-up sign-agents were analysed individually but also cross analysed (through on-lookers' perceptions regarding the signs) to determine if there was any discrepancy

between the two in terms of motives behind making certain language choices. Moreover, the study tried to determine whether the language choices and their functions were perceived positively or negatively in different domains of language use in the linguistic landscape of KP.

Though the study reviewed earlier works and gained insight from them, yet the major focus was on seeking answers to the three main research questions:

1. What different functions are performed in various domains by different language choices in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
2. Why do top-down and bottom-up agents prefer to use certain language(s) in the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
3. How are particular language choices in the linguistic landscape perceived by the on-lookers?

The study yielded an interesting set of findings. As far as the first research question is concerned, the findings are highly enlightening and insightful. The study refuted the generally-agreed assumption that the linguistic landscape of KP is dominated by English as it showed that Urdu was the most preferred language in the linguistic landscape of KP. The study also revealed that there was a significant difference between the top-down and bottom-up agents in terms of language choice. Besides, it was also surfaced that the linguistic landscape of KP does not represent its real linguistic situation. Moreover, the study showed that the different language choices perform different functions in different domains of language use in the linguistic landscape of KP. They perform directive, referential, recording, identifying, phatic, and poetic functions in the linguistic landscapes of different domains such as religion, education, energy, recreation, military, health-care, and business.

Concerning the second research question, the findings revealed that the top-down and bottom-up sign-agents both made language choices for their signs on the basis of the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic contexts where the signs were to be emplaced, the functions they wanted to perform, the addressees they wanted to address, and the purpose they wanted to achieve through a particular sign. The study showed that sign-agents chose Urdu because it is the national language of Pakistan and is easily understandable to the readers; English because it was considered a modern, attractive, and rich language for conveying the intended meanings; Pashto

because they wanted it to be promoted; and Arabic when they wanted to invoke the blessings of the Almighty or emphasise a particular message and make it credible and authentic.

For the third research question concerning the perception of on-lookers, again, the study has enlightening findings to offer. The findings of the study showed that the on-lookers perceive English to be the most preferred language in the signs the linguistic landscape of KP, which is not actually the case, as the study showed that Urdu is the most dominant language in the linguistic landscape of KP. The study revealed that the on-lookers positively perceive Urdu and English in the linguistic landscape of KP. However, they are not in favour of their use in the linguistic landscapes of certain domains, such as the use of English in the linguistic landscape of the domain of health care and religion and the use of Urdu in the linguistic landscape of the domain of education. Moreover, the findings revealed that the on-lookers did not appreciate and suggest the use of Arabic and Pashto in the signs that were aimed at general public as they could not understand their writing system (script) because they were accustomed to reading either in Urdu or English.

The study, therefore, successfully accomplished all of its predefined and predetermined objectives: firstly, of determining whether the linguistic landscape of KP was dominated by English, by investigating the language choices and their functions in the linguistic landscape of KP; secondly, of exploring the sign-owners' motives behind the language choices; and finally, of discovering/exploring the on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. A close comparison of the frequency and percentage of the different language choices revealed that Urdu is the most dominant language on signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. Rather than relying on mere assumptions and intuitions, the study analysed real linguistic signs displayed in different domains in the linguistic landscape of KP and revealed that there are significant differences between top-down and bottom-up sign-owners in terms of language choice. To make the findings more reliable, the study used first-hand data from interviews with sign-owners that helped in figuring out the major reasons that lead to the selection of a particular language out the available set of options. A new technique, photovoice, was used, which was significantly helpful in exploring how the different language choices made by diverse top-down and bottom-up agents in the linguistic landscape of KP are perceived by the on-lookers.

The theoretical framework and research methods adopted in the present study proved very helpful in exploring the linguistic landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Kress' (2010) Social Semiotic Theory and a model based on Cook's (1989) and Finch's (1997) theories of language functions helped in analysing the various functions that are performed by different language choices in the linguistic landscape of KP. Interviews with participants helped in discovering the major reasons and motives behind the different language choices. Photovoice helped in exploring the on-lookers' perceptions of the particular language choices made in the linguistic landscape of KP. In short, the theoretical framework and research methods used in the study proved very helpful in offering insightful, enlightening, and reliable findings.

Another significant factor that contributed immensely to the success of this study was the choice of data from the linguistic landscape of KP, the sign-owners, and the on-lookers. The data was taken from the linguistic landscape of KP with the view to know the different language choices and their functions. Since linguistic landscape is the product of language choices and language choices are made by sign-owners, thus, the data was taken from sign-owners to know exactly the basic reasons/motives behind the particular language choices. Once language choices are made, they are witnessed and perceived by the on-lookers. On-lookers affect the language choices in the linguistic landscape of a particular area too. The data was taken from on-lookers to know how they perceive the particular language choices in their linguistic landscape. In brief, the data proved very helpful in presenting a comprehensive view of the language choice in the linguistic landscape of KP, and thus immensely contributed to the successful completion of this project.

Finally, it is emphasized that the present study is significant in terms of what it has contributed to the present body of literature in the field of linguistic landscape in general, and the linguistic landscape of Pakistan and KP in particular. The study is significant as it has identified and described the systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in the signs in the linguistic landscape of KP. The study holds significance not only for the sign-owners as it describes the on-lookers' perceptions of the language choices which will help them adopt language for their signs in accordance with the perceptions of public, but also for the on-lookers as it explains the sign-owners' motives behind the language choices. Moreover, the study is expected to be of great value to researchers in Linguistic Landscape, particularly to the ones

interested in studying the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. The study thus hopes to stimulate interest in linguistic landscape research so that this area, in general, and the linguistic landscape of Pakistan, in particular, can be revisited afresh and established views can be re-examined.

6.1 Recommendations for Future Research

There are numerous avenues open to future linguistic landscape research. The interdisciplinary nature of linguistic landscape research may inspire researchers to investigate signs from diverse aspects. For example, a study can be conducted on the potential of signs as a pedagogical resource. In addition, studies on the linguistic landscape of other provinces of Pakistan can also be conducted to explore the differences/similarities in their respective linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, it is strongly recommended that a study on the relationship between language policies and linguistic landscape of Pakistan should be conducted. A study on the recent trend of shifting billboards and nameplates to Pashto in some of the cities in Swat and Buner regions can also be conducted. Another interesting as well as much-needed study can be conducted on the linguistic errors commonly found in the signboards and the effect of those errors on the meaning making process of the onlookers in particular and on the linguistic landscape of the area in general.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Transcriptions Quoted in the Thesis

IPed 1 = ہمارے ہاں مختلف زبانوں سے تعلق رکھنے والے اساتذہ موجود ہیں جیسے کہ پشتو، پنجابی، سرانگلی اور ہندکو وغیرہ۔ اگر ہم ادھر پشتو زبان استعمال کریں تو دوسری زبانوں والے تھوڑے کم تر سمجھتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح اگر ہم پنجابی استعمال کریں تو دوسرے زبان والے ہنرور سے شکایت کریں گے۔ ان حالات سے بچنے کیلئے ہم اردو اور انگریزی زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ یہ زبانیں غیر جانبدار ہیں۔ کسی ایک فرمے کی زبان نہیں ہے بلکہ پورے پاکستان کے لوگوں کی زبانیں ہیں۔

IPed 2 = ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہم انگریزی زبان کو اپنے پورے میں استعمال کریں کیونکہ یہ فلس نام ہیں اور ہم انکو کسی دوسرے زبان میں ٹرانسلیٹ نہیں کر سکتے۔ مثال کے طور پر اپنے بلڈنگز کو نام دینے کیلئے ان پر "Dept. of English" یا "Dept. of Chemistry" وغیرہ کے پورے لگائے ہیں۔ اب ہم کیمسٹری اور انٹیکس کی جگہ انگریزی یا کیمیا نہیں لکھ سکتے کیونکہ ہم انکو انگریزی میں پڑھائے ہیں اور انکے کورسز میں اردو میں نہیں ہے بلکہ انگریزی میں ہیں۔

IPed 4 = مختلف بلاکوں اور ڈیپارٹمنٹس کیلئے پورے بنانے میں ہمارا کو عامہ نہیں ہے۔ ہم انکو تبدیل نہیں کر سکتے کیونکہ یہ بہت برے لگیں گیں اگر ہم انکے لئے کوئی اور زبان استعمال کریں۔ یہ فلس ہیں اور ہم انکو سب پورے میں اس طرح ہی دیکھتے ہیں۔

IPEn 3 = اردو اور اسے زبان رسالہ کے ذریعہ پاکستان زیادہ تر خلقی ہے جسے سنی اور بلہ پوہنگی۔
ان پڑھا خلقی ہم فونگ گورد چہ بہ اردو کہنے لیکل قینر و لو بانڈے پوہنگی۔ لوردہ خلقی در دہ بارہ
جے دوئی بہ آسانہ سرہ بہ لیکل پوہنگی سنی، موگہ اردو زبان استعمال کوڈ۔

IPEn 7 = زمونگ بہ سٹین کہنے دہ عوام دہ بارہ بہ مختلف لورڈو کہنے اہم ہدایت لیکل شوی وی
چہ سرنگے ہر نار بہ کوے ار قہ چہ بلہ نہ کوے بہ سٹین کہنے۔ دہ د سادہ پارہ مونگہ
اردو استعمالو چہ خلقی در بانڈے بہ آسانہ پوہنگی سنی۔

IPEn 2 = میں زیادہ تر بلکہ ہمیشہ کچھ عربی کے الفاظ جیسے کہ "باہمی" "ما فیقہم" وغیرہ اپنے دکان پر
لکھتا ہوں خرید برکت کی غرض سے۔

IPB 2 = خود کو ساڈن ظاہر کرنے کیلئے ہم اپنے لورڈو پر انگریزی زبان لکھتے ہیں۔ لوگ عموماً شاپنگ کیلئے ان
دکانوں میں آتے ہیں جنکے لورڈو انگلش میں ہوتے ہیں۔

IPB 6 = ہماری علاقائی زبان لٹویہمارے چیزوں کے اشتہار میں مدد نہیں دہتی اس لئے ہم انگریزی
زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں اپنے لورڈو میں۔ اشتہارات میں لٹویہ زبان کا استعمال اچھا نہیں لگتا۔ عجیب
ساگنا ہے۔

IPB 8 = چہ بہ فیلہ دہ لہند کومہ جے زہ خیلہ مورٹی ژبہ بہ خیل دکان کے اد لیکم۔ دہ دہ زما دکان
دے اور زما مد فہی دہ جے زہ کومہ ژبہ ور کے استعمالو۔

IPB7 = مختلف کے فصاحت حصوں سے لوگ سٹائنگ کیلئے اور دوسرے مقام پر کیلئے ہمارے مارکیٹ آتے ہیں۔ کچھ لوگوں کو لیسٹو کے اسمبلی میں دستکاری پھرتی ہے۔ ان جیسے لوگوں سے آسانی سے بابت کرنے کیلئے اور انکو ہدایات دینے کیلئے ہم اپنے بورڈز میں اردو زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ یہ ہمارے لئے درمیانی زبان ہے۔ یکساں زبان ہے۔

IPH4 = چھ روپیتیا درتہ اور اہم لو مانہ رہ دو الفاظوں کو معنی دیکھ لیتے۔ خلق بہ برکت وہ پارہ استعمالی۔ نوزہ بے ہم وہ رسا وہ پارہ استعمالی۔

IPH7 = کچھ وارڈوں اور بلاکوں کے ناموں کو دوسرے زبانوں میں نہیں لکھا جاسکتا کیونکہ الفاظ اصل میں انگلیش کے الفاظ ہیں۔ زیادہ تر ادویات کے ناموں کی طرح یہ بلاکوں اور وارڈوں کے نام انگریزی لوگوں نے دیئے ہیں۔ ہمارے پاس ہمارے زبانوں جیسے کہ لیسٹو اور اردو میں انکے لئے موزوں الفاظ نہیں ہیں کیونکہ یہ ہم لوگوں کی بنائی ہوئی چیزیں نہیں ہیں۔

IPRel 5 = لیسٹو زیادہ سواری ذہن دے نوزہ وہ بہ مختلف بورڈوں کے نشم لیکلے حکم ہے زمونکہ زیادہ تر خلق بہ لیسٹو نشی ہرٹھاؤ کوٹے اور لیکلے۔

IPRec 5 = یہ مختلف زبانوں کیلئے بورڈوں کے وہ پارہ لگی ہے خلق دربانندے عمل کو لوہا والا جوڑی ہے۔ کہ خاک بہ دو لیکو نہ پوہیگی ہے کم بہ پارکس کیلئے لیکلے شوی وی نوزہ وہی بہ خنکہ دربانندے عمل کوں۔ نوزہ خاک وہ دے نہ تبارو لوہہ پارہ ہے دوئی بہ دو لیکو عمل دکڑی اور پارک والہ خبرے ادنی، موزنکہ کو شش کو دے صغہ زبان اور الفاظ استعمال کرے ہے بہ صغہ بانندے لول خلق پوہیگی تعلیم یافتہ اور غیر تعلیم یافتہ دونوں۔

IPRec 1 = مختلف زبانوں سے تعلق رکھنے والے اور علاقوں سے تعلق رکھنے والے لوگ جیسے کہ وہ لوگ جو پاکستان کے علاقائی زبانیں نہیں جانتے، ہمارے ہاں پاکستان میں تفریح کیلئے آتے ہیں وہ اردو یا پاکستان کے علاقائی زبانوں میں لکھے گئے علامات کو نہیں سمجھ سکتے اس لئے ہم انگریزی زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں تاکہ لوگ اس کو آسانی سے سمجھ سکیں۔

IPRec 2 = مونگ، نہ، پہ، کار، دہ، جے، مونگ، خیلہ، سورنٹی، ڈبہ، پہ، خیلو، بورڈ، نو، کے، استعمال، کر، و۔ کہ، چرے، دہ، مونگ، نہ، استعمال، اور، ترقی، نہ، در، کو، نو، ہو، ک۔ بہ، در، لہ، ترقی، در، کو، اور، جھکے، پہ، پے، ولی۔

IPRec 6 = پشتو، مونگ، دہ، خلع، ڈبہ، دہ، اور، مونگ، دہ، کلی، ڈبہ، دہ۔ خلع، سر، یو، وال، خیلو، دہ، پارہ، فہ، پہ، خیلہ، ہمیشہ، پشتو، زبان، استعمال، م۔

IPRec 4
IPRec 5 = سر، اگلی، میری، مادری، زبان، ہے، لیکن، میں، اسکو، اپنے، سائینز، میں، استعمال، نہیں، کر، سکتا، کیونکہ، اس، کو، ہمارے، قومی، زبان، کے، پالیسیوں، میں، کوئی، جگہ، نہیں، دی، گئی، ہے۔ ہمارے، زبان، کے، متعلق، یا، ایسیاں، جو، ہیں، وہ، زیادہ، گرا، انگریزی، اور، اردو، کو، اہمیت، دینے، ہیں۔ ہم، اپنے، قومی، پالیسیوں، کو، فالو، کرتے، ہیں، اور، علامات، میں، اردو، زبان، استعمال، کرتے، ہیں۔

IPM 3 = جب ہم کینٹ میں کسی خاص ڈپارٹمنٹ، دفتر یا بلاک کے ادھر نام لکھتے ہیں تو ہم اردو زبان کو دیکھتے ہیں لہذا کینٹ میں زیادہ تر لوگ اس زبان کے ساتھ منسلک ہیں اور اسکو بڑھ اور سمجھ سکتے ہیں۔ اسکی علاوہ ہمارے موصوفی لکری زبان ہے اور ہم کوشش کرتے ہیں کہ ہم اسکو ہر چیز میں استعمال کریں۔

IPB 3: چہ ریشتمیا خبرہ راباندے کو ے نو ما نا خیلہ ہم پتہ نشتمہ چہ ما ولے اردو زبان استعمال کرے دے زمہ دکان دہ پارہ۔ مہ بہ انجانے لیسے استعمال کرے دے۔ مانہ پتہ نشتمہ ولے۔

IPB 4: زمونگہ خواہ اور شاہ تقریباً اردو زبان استعمال ستوے دے پک بورڈوف کینسے۔ وہ دے دہ و چہ مونگہ مونگہ ہم لیس اردو زبان استعمال کو دہ مختلف چیزوں کو لیکو دہ پارہ۔ مونگہ لیس نوردوہ گو رو اور لیکل کوو۔

IPB 1 = ہم صرف پیٹرز کو لکھتے ہیں کہ ہمارا دکان کیکے بورڈ تیار کریں۔ ہم انکی مدد اپنے دکانوں کے نام لکھنے میں بھی لیتے ہیں۔ پیٹرز کی مرضی ہوتی ہے کہ وہ کسے لکھتے ہیں اور کس زبان میں۔ اکثر وہ مارکیٹ میں لکھی گئی زبان میں بورڈ تیار کرتے ہیں۔

IPB 5: بہت سی چیزیں ہیں جسے کہ برانڈز کے نام وغیرہ جنکو اردو، لیشتمہ یا کسی دوسرے زبان میں نہیں لکھا جا سکتا۔

IPRec 2: مونگ نہ بہ کار دہ ہے مونگہ خیلہ سورنئی ژ بہ پہ خیلو بورڈونو کے استعمال کڑو۔ کہ
چرے دہ مونگہ نہ استعمالو اور ترقی نہ دیکو نو شوک بہ ورلہ ترقی ورکوں اور خٹکے
بہ لے وی۔

IPRel 1: دہ عربی زبان استعمالو ز مونگہ خبرہ کے زور پیدہ کوں۔ دہ ز مونگہ خبرہ نوزں ہم زور دہ
کوں۔

IPRel 2: ہم مریفوں اور اکلے خیال رکھنے والوں کیلئے مختلف بورڈز لگانے ہیں۔ ہمارا مقصد لوگوں
کی رہنمائی اور مدد کرنا ہوتا ہے۔ اس لئے ہم بورڈز کیلئے اردو زبان استعمال کرنے میں کیونکہ
بہ ہی وہ زبان ہے جو کہ کوئی ٹ کے لوگ آسانی سے پڑھ اور سمجھ سکتے ہیں۔
ہم استعمال نہیں کرتے کیونکہ کوئی ٹ کے لوگ اسکو پڑھ اور سمجھ نہیں سکتے۔

IPRel 4: ہم مسجد میں مہرے وہ ہدایات لکھتے ہیں جنکا خیال رکھنا بہت ضروری ہوتا ہے۔ مثلاً ہم
لکھتے ہیں ”پانی ضائع نہ کریں“، ”اپنے صوابیل بند رکھیں“ اور ”مسجد میں باتیں نہ کریں“
وغیرہ۔ جب کوئی مسجد میں ہوتا ہے تو ان کا خیال رکھنا بہت ضروری ہوتا ہے۔ سب
کو ان ہدایات کا پتہ ہوتا ہے لیکن ہم انکو یاد دلانے کیلئے لکھتے ہیں۔ ہم سٹیژ کو
کہتے ہیں کہ ان ہدایات کو اردو میں لکھیں تاکہ ہر کوئی انکو سمجھ سکے۔

IPEn 3: اردو، اردو سے زبان رسا چلے رہے پاکستان زیادہ تر خلق نے جسے سنی اور بہ پڑھیں۔
ان پڑھا خلق ہم ونگ گورد چلے بہ اردو کنبے لیکن خیلو نوز بانڈے پڑھیں۔ نوزہ خلقو دردہ بارہ
جے دوئی بہ آسانہ سرہ بہ لیکو پڑھ لے سنی، مونگہ اردو زبان استعمال کوڈ۔

IPEn 7 = زمونگه په شينين کښه ده دوام ده پاره په مختلف لورونو کښه ايم پلاټ ليکل شوی دی
 چه سرنگه پرنار په کوټه اړه چه په نږه کوټه په شينين کښه . ده ساده پاره زمونگه
 اردر استعمالوو چه خلی وړاندې په آسانه پوهه شي .

Appendix B
Recordings of the Interviews