

Linguistic Landscape and the Public Space: a case study of Gilgit-Baltistan

Shumaila Shafket Ali¹

Abstract:

Linguistic landscape studies have gained momentum in the last fifteen years because of a serious concern for the fate of indigenous languages that are struggling to survive in the presence of a few dominant languages in multilingual contexts. The current study was undertaken to analyze the linguistic landscape of Gilgit-Baltistan, a region rich in both natural beauty and linguistic diversity. The data for this case study were based on 450 photographs of the sign boards, road instructions, and the names of hotels, guest houses and shops. Besides gathering data in the form of photos, some local shop owners and tourists were informally interviewed to discover their opinion about the linguistic landscape of GB and how it relates to the linguistic ecology of this region. The analysis of the data based on photographs reveals that the linguistic landscape of Gilgit-Baltistan does not reflect the same richness and diversity which is characteristic of the linguistic ecology of that region. In fact, the linguistic landscape of GB is dominated by two mainstream languages, English and Urdu, while in Hunza one can also find Chinese along with these languages in public spaces. Although the findings of this study reveal different patterns of language use that constitute the linguistic landscape of GB, no indigenous language is projected in any of the texts that occupy public spaces in the region. The absence of local languages in the linguistic landscape of GB is alarming; the findings of the study reinforce the need to project the indigenous languages in public spaces. The study is an attempt to not only draw attention of the government authorities to take measures to promote indigenous languages by ensuring their projection in public spaces but also raise awareness among the locals, who can contribute in transforming the linguistic landscape of their region.

Keywords: *linguistic landscape; linguistic ecology, public space, indigenous languages; language policy; language prestige; language maintenance.*

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Karachi

1. Introduction

The status of different languages in any multilingual society cannot only be determined by the stated language and education policy but also by the actual use of languages in a variety of domains including their projection in public spaces, as public spaces are explicit indicators of prestige accorded to any language or languages. The presence of language(s) in textual form in public spaces forms the linguistic landscape (LL) of any region. According to Landry & Bourhis (1997), “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory” (p. 25). The linguistic landscape of any area is not only a manifestation of the dominance of one or a few languages but is also a reflection of the marginalization of certain languages which are denied space in that landscape, which is indicative of linguistic inequality in multilingual contexts. Loth (2016) has aptly stated:

Language in the LL is used for both pragmatic and symbolic reasons. On the one hand, language in the public space facilitates (or limits) access to information. On the other hand, using a specific language or language combination symbolises an affiliation with a specific, a collective or a broader societal identity. (p. 2)

The focus of linguistic landscape studies is language in any capacity (be it official or unofficial) in public spaces. Since linguistic landscape studies include analysis of both unofficial and official use of language in public spaces, they provide an accurate picture of both the implicit and explicit language policy of a country and the effects of that policy on the linguistic choices of the people of that region. Languages that are visible in public spaces constituting the linguistic landscape are not the result of unconscious selection; they are deliberately chosen to influence people’s attitudes towards certain languages which in turn shape their linguistic beliefs and ideologies. Thus, the projection of specific languages in public spaces can lead to attitudinal and behavioural transformation towards them. People begin to feel the need to become literate in such languages that occupy public spaces, as not being able to read the text in public spaces, especially the ones based on road directions and instructions, can be extremely frustrating. Literacy in the language(s) constituting the linguistic landscape of any region is empowering. It not only empowers people who can read language(s) visible in public spaces but can also empower the language(s) projected in those public spaces.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The study aims to analyze the linguistic landscape of Gilgit-Baltistan, to see which languages dominate the landscape of the areas that are part of this region. The study is undertaken to answer the following research questions:

- a. Which language(s) constitute the linguistic landscape of Gilgit-Baltistan?
- b. How are the languages (constituting the LL) used in the public spaces in that region?
- c. What could be some of the reasons for the projection of these languages in public spaces?
- d. How do the locals and the tourists look at the linguistic landscape of GB?

2. Literature Review

A growing concern for the rapid loss of the world's linguistic diversity in the last few years has led to the publication of an increasing number of research papers focusing on the symbolic and pragmatic functions of language(s) that constitute the linguistic landscape of different multilingual regions. A considerable number of studies have been undertaken with a specific focus on the distribution of majority and minority languages in public spaces (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Lou, 2010; Macalister, 2010; Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, 2012; Muth, 2012). Shohamy, Eliezer, & Monica (2010) have edited an entire volume carrying a collection of research papers based on the linguistic landscape in different urban settings, where a mainstream language is seen dominating the entire linguistic landscape of the area.

The burgeoning field of linguistic landscape research, however, became popular after the pioneering research by Landry and Bourhis (1997) on ethnolinguistic vitality and signage in Canada. Their study focused on establishing a link between ethnolinguistic vitality and linguistic landscape by analyzing the linguistic signs in public spaces. Although Landry and Bourhis studied the linguistic landscape of Canada with the aim to measure the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Anglophones and Francophones, linguistic landscape research has a much wider scope than just determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of different linguistic groups.

The field of linguistic landscape has been explored from a multitude of perspectives in different multilingual settings across the globe. While discussing linguistic landscape as a new approach to multilingualism, Gorter (2006; 2013) has proposed a range of approaches that can be utilized for studying the field. Some researchers interested in linguistic landscape

studies, for instance, have experimented with ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2014; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009), while some LL studies have been undertaken to trace the process of language change that has occurred in the linguistic landscape of certain regions across time (Backhaus, 2005; Brown, 2012; Pavlenko, 2010). Being longitudinal in nature, these studies provide insights into how minority languages compete with mainstream languages for survival by making a place for themselves in public spaces and how their status can vary with the passage of time depending on the change in language policy which ultimately influences people's attitude towards these languages and their usage.

Apart from analyzing the linguistic landscape of different regions to establish the link between language ecology and ethnolinguistic vitality, linguistic landscape of different multilingual communities is also utilized as a pedagogical tool to raise language learners' awareness about different languages and their usage in public spaces (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Chern & Dooley, 2014; Malinowski, 2015; Rowland, 2013; Sayer, 2010). Moreover, the issue has also been investigated by collecting data from different educational institutions, particularly focusing on schools with the aim to explore ideologies of both majority and minority languages (Brown, 2012; Dressler, 2015; Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Laihonon & Szabó, 2017).

Although most of the research studies on linguistic landscape focus on urban centers (Backhaus, 2006; 2007; 2008; Buckingham, 2015; Huebner, 2006; Hult, 2003; Lanza & Hirut, 2009; Pan, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), some comparative studies have also been undertaken to analyze the distribution of both majority and minority languages that constitute the linguistic landscape of different regions (Backhaus, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Lawrence, 2012; Trumper-Hecht, 2010). A comparative study by Xiaomei & Daming, (2018), for instance, specifically aimed to explore the relationship between the national language policy and the minority community practice in public spaces in two main streets of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The data for the study were based on 689 photos of public signs collected from both the research sites to explore the linguistic practices of the two ethnic communities (Chinese and Tamils) under investigation. The results of the study revealed less projection of the national language Malay as compared to English and Chinese in public spaces indicating a discrepancy between the national policy of Malaysia that aims to promote the national language and the linguistic practices of the two communities in public spaces in both the streets.

Besides comparative studies, case studies on the linguistic landscape of multilingual universities have also become an interesting field of inquiry. One example is that of a case study by Wang (2015) that focuses on the examination of the linguistic signs displayed on the campus of Kyushu University, Japan. Wang (2015) has not only analyzed the linguistic signs visible on the university campus but by using a close-ended questionnaire he has also taken into account students' opinion regarding the use of Japanese and English signs that constitute the LL of Kyushu University.

Despite the availability of a large number of studies on the linguistic landscape in multilingual communities across the world, there is scarcity of research on the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. So far, the only available study that is significant in Pakistani context is that by Manan, David, Dumanig, and Channa (2017). This study was conducted with a focus on the linguistic landscape of Quetta using 825 photos and interviews of 30 shop owners in the city. Except this study conducted by Manan, *et al.*, (2017), that focuses on the linguistic landscape of Quetta --- one of the major cities of Balochistan---no significant linguistic landscape study is available in the Pakistani context. In fact, there is not even a single study that focuses on the linguistic landscape of some of the most linguistically diverse areas of Pakistan, especially, Gilgit-Baltistan. The current study is undertaken to fill in the existing gap. The study is unique not only because of its focus on the linguistic landscape of GB but also because it takes into account both the locals and the tourists' response to the existing linguistic landscape of the region.

3. Methodology

This qualitative case study was conducted by using the framework proposed by Trumper-Hecht (2010) that focuses on three dimensions: a descriptive analysis of the linguistic signs, link between the linguistic landscape and the language planning policy of the country, and finally the local shopkeepers' and tourists' response to the linguistic signs that constitute the linguistic landscape.

The data were collected using triangulation. The primary data were based on 450 photographs of the linguistic signs found on sign boards carrying names of hotels, restaurants, shops, advertisements of different brands, and official instructions in different areas of Gilgit-Baltistan. Because of the existence of different linguistic groups along with the continuous exposure of the locals to the national and international tourists, the entire region of Gilgit-Baltistan provides a fertile ground for conducting linguistic landscape research. Keeping this rich linguistic heterogeneity in mind, some areas of GB, especially the ones frequently visited by tourists from all over the world, were selected for the study. The areas from where the data were collected include Central and Upper Hunza, including Aliabad, Karimabad, Gojal,

Shishkat, Passu, Sost, Khunjerab, and some valleys of different districts of Baltistan, including Skardu (Upper and Lower Kachura, Deosai), Shigar, and Kharmang.

Besides collecting data in the form of photographs, some of the local shopkeepers were informally interviewed to know their point of view about the linguistic landscape of their region. Moreover, some of the local tourists were also engaged in informal interaction to elicit their response to the linguistic landscape visible in those areas.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

The data analysis for this study is based on the analysis of the 450 photographs occupying the public spaces in GB along with the analysis of the informal interviews of the local shopkeepers and tourists.

The analysis of the data based on photographs reveals different patterns of language use that constitute the linguistic landscape of the region. These patterns are analyzed and critically discussed along with the critical analysis of the respondents' views.

4.1 English text in English orthography

English dominates the linguistic landscape of GB. The photographs collected for this study display the use of English in both official and unofficial capacity (See Appendix A). Not only is English used widely in the official signs but also in the non-official signs which is evident from the names of shops, hotels, restaurants and guest houses in different regions of GB. Names like, *Hilltop Hotel*, *River View Hotel*, *Eagle's Nest Hotel*, *Safe Heaven Guest House*, *Aroma Restaurant*, *Gun Smoke Restaurant*, *Paradise Bakery & General Store*, *Lucky Shoes*, *Super City Bakers*, abound in the region. Besides the names of the shops, the official instructions outside the forts in GB are also written in English. A notice outside the royal gardens of Altit fort, for instance, states: "*Smoking is prohibited in the premises of Altit Fort.*" Similarly, a sign board at Deosai National Park as well as Khunjerab National Park lists a series of prohibited acts. Both the signboards are in English.

The dominance of English in public spaces in GB is a sign of globalization and the socio-economic advantages associated with the language. English symbolizes socio-economic power and can be seen as a strong wall preventing indigenous language speakers from the transmission of their 'cultural capital' which according to Bourdieu (1989), refers to the process of transmitting social status through various tangible and intangible entities, including language. The dominance of English in public spaces in GB, which generates a major part of its revenue through tourism, is a sign that English is perceived as the socio-

economic capital in the region. The informal interaction with some of the local shop owners in Hunza and Skardu reinforce the point as all the shop owners have somewhat similar perception of English. They consider the use of English a business gimmick which helps attract both local and foreign tourists.

The excessive use of English in GB is a proof of the prestige English enjoys in Pakistan in general and in GB, in particular. Despite being an independent country with rich linguistic diversity, the legacy of English continues in Pakistan as is the case in other post-colonial countries in South Asia. The use of the term 'linguistic imperialism' by Phillipson (2001) holds true for English in this context. The over-projection of English is a reflection of the government's promotion of English despite claiming to promote the national-official language, Urdu; it is also reflective of the negligence towards the indigenous languages spoken in this region. Although there is no restriction on the use of indigenous languages in public spaces in Pakistan, one hardly finds the projection of local languages in any of the public spaces. The language policy of Pakistan is designed in such a way that it does not encourage indigenous language speakers to promote their language. It would not be an exaggeration to state that covert language policies can to a great extent influence people's way of thinking, especially when people do not have enough linguistic awareness, which seems to be the case with the people of Pakistan. Since the majority of people in Pakistan are not aware of their linguistic rights and are influenced by the mainstream languages, especially English, which is presented as a solution to all their problems, they use it in whatever capacity they can to associate themselves with the socio-economically privileged group.

4.2. English text in Urdu orthography

English is so widely used in public spaces in Pakistan that it is no more perceived as a foreign language. One proof of its not seen as a foreign language is the use of Urdu orthography (*nastaaliq* script, also called the Persian-Arabic script) for writing English which is common in notices, signboards and advertisements published in both print and electronic newspapers and magazines.

The use of English text in Urdu orthography, which can be called the 'Urduvized version of English' is a common sight in public spaces in different areas of GB (See Appendix B). On the basis of the data collected in the form of photographs, the use of 'Urduvized version' of English mostly consists of Urdu/English bilingual text in Urdu orthography projecting assimilation at orthographic level. Some examples of the English words written in Urdu orthography include: '*special offer*', '*speed breaker*' '*rates*' '*general store*' '*photo studio*',

'photostat' 'national park', 'guest house', 'camping', 'traders', 'main dealer'.

Despite the fact that the use of English in Urdu orthography leads to mispronunciation of English words, it is a common practice in Pakistan and is not just restricted to the linguistic landscape of GB alone. Most of the English words that are written in Urdu script are the ones that are treated either as loan words or borrowed items, the former being completely assimilated at morphological, phonological as well as orthographic level while the latter being partially assimilated. Since it is a common trend in Pakistani media, both print and electronic, to write English words in Urdu orthography, it is not an unusual sight in public spaces in GB.

Some local tourists who were asked to express their opinion about the use of Urdu orthography for English words, like 'government', 'property', 'hotel', and 'guest house', on the signboards in Skardu, perceived them as Urdu words. However, those local tourists who perceived them as English words approved of the practice of writing them in Urdu orthography. One reason given by a local tourist for writing English in Urdu orthography is to increase the readability of the text for those who cannot read English but are familiar with the English words written in Urdu. It is important to clarify that the sound system of one language cannot be completely expressed through the sound system of another language. This is the reason that most of the English words that are transcribed in Urdu orthography are often mispronounced, especially by those who are not familiar with sound system of English because of their lack of formal education.

4.3. Urdu Text in Urdu Orthography

Not only is the use of English in Urdu orthography common in public spaces in GB, Urdu text in Urdu orthography is also visible in public spaces and is part of the linguistic landscape of the region. Nevertheless, it is less common as compared to the use of English. The little use of Urdu in contrast to the much wider use of English can be perceived as a threat to the maintenance of Urdu as a national/official language. Despite the claims made in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan to replace English with Urdu, English still occupies the domains of power, including public spaces, to a large extent. The minimum use of Urdu in public spaces is symbolic and is in sharp contrast to the language policy of Pakistan that aims to promote Urdu. Not only is there a discrepancy between the stated language policy and the actual practice regarding the use of Urdu in public spaces, one can also find the same discrepancy between the language and education policy of Pakistan. Although Urdu is declared as the National-Official language of Pakistan, the issue of the medium of instruction at primary, secondary and tertiary level remains unresolved till date. Irrespective of the fact that English

is declared to be the medium of instruction in Higher Education in Pakistan, Urdu/English code-switching is a common practice in majority of the university classrooms in the country. The same bilingualism is also a common sight on the linguistic signs in public spaces throughout the country.

A closer analysis of the linguistic landscape data gathered from GB reveals that in most of the cases where one finds Urdu orthography in public spaces, the text is not always monolingual because of the presence of English words in Urdu orthography (See Appendix C). When the shopkeepers and locals were asked about their response to the use of only Urdu in such texts, some of them were of the view that it could make the text less reader-friendly because people have become habitual of reading English words in Urdu. In fact, one of the local tourists said that youngsters who are not familiar with many Urdu words will find it difficult to read any text which has only Urdu words. The justification given by this tourist for using English words in Urdu text in public spaces despite the availability of Urdu substitutes is alarming and provides enough room for reflection to people in general and the language and education policy makers in particular. For the difficulty in processing a text completely written in Urdu not only questions the quality of Urdu language teaching that takes place in the country but also reflects a certain degree of negligence towards Urdu which seems to indicate a serious gap in the language and education policy.

4.4. Urdu-English Bilingual Text

Bilingual discourse is a common practice in bilingual and multilingual communities all over the world. The use of bilingualism is not just restricted to oral discourse but has also become popular in writing. This kind of bilingual usage often involves presentation of the same content in different languages for making the text reader-friendly for those who may not be either literate in one of the mainstream languages or have difficulty processing it. It is true that such bilingual texts are not visible in large numbers in public spaces, yet there are some specific places where one can find instances of such Urdu/English bilingual texts. In Karimabad (Hunza), for instance, there is a wall in the main market which has racks where people can put clothes, shoes or other essential items to help the underprivileged people who do not have sufficient resources to fulfill their basic needs. It is a bilingual wall with two titles “Wall of Kindness” and its Urdu equivalent “*divaar-e-meharbaani*”. Another example of an Urdu-English bilingual text is observed outside the entrance of Shangrila Resort, Skardu where one finds two notice boards on the wall with exactly the same instructions in English and Urdu. However, one striking thing observed in the notice in Urdu is the use of some English lexical items in Urdu orthography. Examples include ‘ticket’, ‘barrier’,

‘property’, ‘driver’, ‘badge’ (See Appendix D).

4.5. Chinese text written in Chinese characters

Pakistan’s linguistic diversity is not only challenged by English alone. Chinese language is seen as another major challenge that could affect the linguistic preferences of Pakistanis in the near future because of China Pakistan Economic Corridor, commonly called CPEC. An evidence of this emerging change can be observed in different regions of Gilgit from Hunza to Khunjerab where one can find signboards in Chinese along with English and Urdu. If one looks at the presence of tourists in these areas, one can find a diverse group of nationalities. Because of the beauty of the area and, of course, the presence of gigantic mountains in the entire region, not only does this region attract local tourists but also foreigners, especially Europeans, most of who visit this area for hiking, trekking and mountaineering. Though there are not too many Chinese tourists, Chinese language has begun to appear in public spaces in GB. Its presence in the linguistic landscape of GB can be justified because of the presence of Chinese engineers and labourers engaged in the construction of roads and tunnels in the region, which is a proof of the strengthening of Pak-China ties through CPEC. Nevertheless, this strengthening of ties may result in the weakening of indigenous language speakers’ ties with their heritage language, as Chinese language is in the process of becoming a major linguistic cultural capital, which may take the form of socio-economic capital, especially in GB. Because of the proximity of China’s border with Hunza and because of being given the facility of travelling to China without visa, people of Hunza travel to China for business as a result of which Chinese language has begun to occupy public spaces in Hunza both in official and unofficial capacity.

However, unlike English, Chinese language does not dominate the entire linguistic landscape of GB. Moreover, the Chinese text visible in public spaces in the region is not written in isolation but is projected along with either English or Urdu or both. An example of English-Chinese bilingual text includes the banner of ‘China Gate Restaurant’ that also includes the Chinese equivalent for ‘China Gate Restaurant’ written in Hanzi (Chinese characters), which is read as “*Zhongguo men fandian*”. Another example is that of the official sign board carrying information about Rakaposhi glacier view point. The signboard carries information in both English and Chinese. There is yet another official English-Chinese bilingual text painted on the wall outside the 7 tunnels which states: “Long Live Pak-China Friendship” which is translated in Chinese as “*Zhong-Baj youyi wansui*” and is written in Chinese characters instead of Pinyin (phonetic transcription of Chinese) that I have used here for those who cannot decode the Chinese characters (See Appendix E).

Besides Chinese-English bilingual texts, one can find examples of trilingual texts as well in GB, especially in Khunjerab where the names of the major cities of Pakistan and China are displayed in three languages: Urdu, English and Chinese. Other than the names, there are a few multilingual signboards carrying warnings in Urdu, English as well as Chinese. One example of such a sign board is found outside the entrance of Pak China Communication Centre, stating “Prohibited Area” in Urdu, English and Chinese. The unique thing about this signboard is that the Chinese version of the warning is written in both Pinyin as well as Hanzi, Chinese characters (See Appendix F for examples of trilingual texts).

When the local shopkeepers and tourists were asked about the presence of Chinese language in public spaces in this region, they had a mixed reaction towards the presence of Chinese language in the linguistic landscape of GB. Majority of the shopkeepers and tourists expressed their indifference towards the use of Chinese in public spaces, whereas the young shopkeepers and tourists expressed their approval of the presence of Chinese language in the linguistic landscape of GB and considered it to be a positive sign which could lead to economic prosperity in future. However, there was one tourist who because of his dislike for the Chinese people expressed his resentment towards the use of Chinese language in public spaces in GB.

5. Findings

The findings of the study indicate strong signs of linguistic dominance of non-indigenous languages in GB. It is obvious from the results of the study that the linguistic landscape of the region is occupied by English followed by Urdu and Chinese. These three languages are projected in different forms on sign boards in both official and unofficial capacity: monolingual English texts, monolingual Urdu texts, Urdu-English bilingual texts, English-Chinese bilingual texts, and Urdu-English-Chinese trilingual texts.

The use of English and Chinese in public spaces is a blatant violation of the stated language policy of Pakistan, which claims to promote Urdu as the National-Official language. In spite of the fact that Urdu is found in public spaces in GB, the frequency of the usage of Urdu is low as compared to English in this region. Besides this, none of the indigenous languages can be found on any of the signboards displayed in the entire region. The presence of English, Chinese and Urdu in different forms in public spaces in GB is a proof of the acceptance of these languages not only by the locals but also the tourists. The views of most of the local shopkeepers as well as the tourists about the linguistic landscape of GB not only reveal their

positive attitude towards the languages dominating the linguistic landscape of the region but also reflect their indifference towards the projection of the indigenous languages that are spoken in GB. Except one tourist who expressed his resentment against the use of Chinese in public spaces in Hunza because of his personal hatred for both Chinese people and Chinese language, the rest of the tourists who I had informal interaction with, seemed to have no issue with the presence of Chinese language in public spaces. In fact, two Pakistani tourists who could read Chinese expressed their joy over the presence of Chinese signs in the region. None of them, except one of the tourists, felt the need to promote indigenous languages by making them part of the linguistic landscape of the region. The responses of the shopkeepers as well as the local tourists need to be taken seriously as these responses are indicative of lack of linguistic awareness in Pakistan, which calls for a nationwide awareness campaign.

6. Conclusion

The dominance of one or few majority languages at the expense of silencing the indigenous minority voices in public spaces is a common practice in multilingual settings. It is evident from the analysis of the available data on the linguistic landscape of GB that the indigenous languages spoken in different parts of GB, especially in Hunza and Skardu are likely to be affected in the near future because of the dominance of Urdu and English. Moreover, Chinese is another language that has begun to make its presence felt in the linguistic landscape of this region, especially in Hunza, where one can find the use of Chinese in official as well as unofficial capacity. The presence of Chinese language in the linguistic landscape of the valleys of Hunza and Khunjerab Pass is symbolic and is a reminder of how the British made inroads through the East India Company and then gradually invaded the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Although the British rule ended in the Indo-Pak subcontinent in 1947, the language of the British still rules in the entire region. If the indigenous languages are not promoted, we can foresee the same linguistic imperialism through Chinese language in future as Chinese language has not only made its place in the linguistic landscape of GB, one can also observe its presence in the linguistic landscape of Gwadar, along with its sporadic presence in a few public spaces in Islamabad, which is quite alarming.

The indigenous language speakers are not bothered by the presence of Urdu, English, and Chinese in the linguistic landscape of their region at present, which is evident through the responses of the locals and tourists elicited through informal interaction. For many of them, the presence of these languages symbolizes socio-economic development. It is because of the same reason that majority of the local shopkeepers justify the presence of these languages in public spaces. Nevertheless, what the locals fail to realize at this stage is that their heritage

languages, which constitute their distinct ethnolinguistic and cultural identity, are at stake. The fact that the indigenous languages are denied public space which the dominant languages have access to in the linguistic landscape of GB is a proof of the violation of the linguistic rights of the people of that region, and the irony is that the locals are equally responsible for depriving themselves of their linguistic rights by denying public spaces to their own local languages. There is hardly any shop in the entire region that has its name in any of the local languages spoken in GB. One neither finds any of the indigenous languages on the sign boards carrying names of shops or hotels, nor does one find any text in indigenous languages in museums and forts in that region to attract tourists. Efforts to contribute in changing the linguistic landscape can play a decisive role in linguistic commodification and these efforts have to be made at both official and unofficial level. In December 2018, Sri Lankan government issued a warning to one of the Chinese companies working in Sri Lanka against the use of Mandarin at the expense of ignoring Tamil and Sinhala, the official languages of Sri Lanka on the project sites. The Sri Lankan government's stance against the Chinese company's violation of the language policy of Sri Lanka is a lesson for the government of Pakistan that needs to take measures to promote its national, official as well as heritage languages instead of promoting foreign languages. Unless the government takes initiatives to promote local languages and cultures through transforming the linguistic landscape of the country, especially the tourist spots, the masses will remain unaware of the importance of the heritage languages. This lack of awareness of the importance of heritage languages and cultures on the part of the masses can prove to be fatal for the rich linguistic heritage that we possess.

7. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

One of the major limitations of the study is that it does not include data from all the districts of GB. Since this study was self-sponsored, I could not afford to travel to all the areas of GB owing to financial constraints. Because the data were collected only from a few areas of GB, the findings of this linguistic landscape research cannot be generalized to all the areas of that region. The limited budget also affected the duration of my stay in GB as a result of which I could interact with only a few locals and tourists. Had I stayed there for a longer period, it would have been possible to interact with more people, including foreign tourists, resulting in elicitation of rich data based on diverse opinions. A large scale study covering all the areas of GB can be undertaken in future to get a holistic picture of the linguistic landscape of Gilgit-Baltistan. A country-wide study can also be undertaken to capture the linguistic landscape of different regions of Pakistan with a focus on comparative analysis of the language(s) visible in public spaces.

References

- Backhaus, P. (2005). Signs of multilingualism in Tokyo: A diachronic look at the linguistic landscape. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 175/176, 103–121.
- Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A look into the linguistic landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 52-66.
- Backhaus, P. (2007). *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Backhaus, P. (2008). The linguistic landscape of Tokyo. In M. Barni & G. Extra (Eds.), *Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts* (pp. 311-333). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Backhaus, P. (2009). Rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping: A comparative perspective. In H.M. Shohamy, G. Elana & D. Gorter, (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 157-172). New York and London: Routledge.
- Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, M.H., Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, N. (2006). Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 7-30.
- Blommaert, J. (2013). *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes: Chronicles of Complexity*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Blommaert, J. M. E., & Maly, I. E. L. (2014). *Ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis and social change: A case study*. (pp. 1-27). (Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies; No. 100). Babylon.
https://pure.uvt.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/4933877/paper100_Blommaert_maly_ELLA_case_study_Ghent.pdf
- Brown, K. D. (2012). The linguistic landscape of educational spaces: Language revitalization and schools in southeastern Estonia. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & L. Van Mensel (Eds.), *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape*, (pp. 281-298). Basingstroke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), 14-25.
- Buckingham, L. (2015). Commercial signage and the linguistic landscape of Oman. *World Englishes*, 34(3), 411-435.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 67-80.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2008). The linguistic landscape as an additional source of input in second language acquisition. *IRAL - International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 46(3), 267-287.

- Chern, C. & Dooley, K. (2014). Learning English by walking down the street. *ELT Journal*, 68(2), 113-123. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/elt/cct067>.
- Dressler, R. (2015). Signgeist: Promoting bilingualism through the linguistic landscape of school signage. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 12(1), 128-145. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2014.912282>.
- Gorter, D. (2006). Introduction: The Study of the Linguistic Landscape as a New Approach to Multilingualism. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 1-6.
- Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic Landscapes in a Multilingual World. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 190-212. Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/S0267190513000020.
- Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2015). Linguistic landscapes inside multilingual schools. In B.Spolsky, M. Tannenbaum, & O. Inbar (Eds.), *Challenges for language education and policy: Making space for people* (pp. 151-169). New York: Routledge Publishers.
- Huebner, T. (2006). Bangkok's linguistic landscapes: Environmental print, codemixing and language change. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 31-51.
- Hult, F. M. (2003). English on the streets of Sweden: An ecolinguistic view of two cities and a language policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 19, 43-63.
- Laihonen, P., & Szabó, T. P. (2017). Investigating visual practices in educational settings: schools, language ideologies and organizational cultures. In M. Martin-Jones, & D. Martin (Eds.), *Researching multilingualism: Critical and ethno-graphic approaches* (pp. 121-138). London: Routledge.
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16, 23-49.
- Lanza, E., & Hirut, W. (2009). Language ideology and linguistic landscape: Language policy and globalization in a regional capital of Ethiopia. In G. Elana, H.M. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 189-205). New York: Routledge.
- Lawrence, C. B. (2012). The Korean English linguistic landscape. *World Englishes* 31(1), 70-92.
- Loth, C. (2016). *The linguistic landscape as construct of the public space: a case study of post-apartheid rural South Africa*. An Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Language Practice in the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State.
- Lou, J. (2010). Chinese in the side: The marginalization of Chinese in the linguistic and social landscapes of Chinatown in Washington, DC. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 96-114). Bristol, UK:

Multilingual Matters.

- Macalister, J. (2010). Emerging voices or linguistic silence? Examining a New Zealand linguistic landscape. *Multilingua*, 29, 55-75.
- Malinowski, D. (2015). Opening spaces of learning in the linguistic landscape. *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal*, 1, 95-113. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/ll.1.1-2.06mal>.
- Manan, A.S., David, K.M., Dumanig, P.R., & Channa, A.L. (2017). The glocalization of English in the Pakistan linguistic landscape. *World Englishes*, 1-21. John Wiley & Sons Ltd. DOI: 10.1111/weng.12213.
- Marten, H. F., Van Mensel, L. & Gorter, D. (2012). Studying minority languages in the linguistic landscape. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & L. Van Mensel (Eds.), *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 1-18). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Muth, S. (2012). The linguistic landscapes of Chisinau and Vilnius: Linguistic landscape and the representation of minority languages in two post-Soviet capitals. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & L. Van Mensel (Eds.), *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 204–224). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Pan, L. (2009). Dissecting multilingual Beijing: The space and scale of vernacular globalization. *Visual Communication*, 9(1), 67-90.
- Pavlenko, A. (2010). Linguistic landscape of Kyiv, Ukraine: A diachronic study. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 133-150). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Phillipson, R. (2001). English for globalization or for the world's people? *International Review of Education*, 47(3), 185-200.
- Rowland, L. (2013). The pedagogical benefits of a linguistic landscape research project in Japan. *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 16(4), 494-505.
- Sayer, P. (2010) Using the linguistic landscape as a pedagogical resource. *ELT Journal*, 64(2), 143-155.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, W.S. (2003). *Discourses in place: Language in the material world*. London: Routledge
- Shohamy, E., Eliezer, B., & Monica, B. (Eds.), (2010). *Linguistic Landscape in the City*. Bristol, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Stroud, C., & Mpendukana, S. (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(3), 363-386.

- Trumper-Hecht, N. (2010). Linguistic landscape in mixed cities in Israel from the perspective of ‘walkers’: The case of Arabic. In Elana Shohamy, Eliezer Ben-Rafael, & Monica Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 219-234). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Wang, J. (2015). **Linguistic Landscape on Campus in Japan---A Case Study of Signs in Kyushu University.** *Intercultural Communication Studies*, XXIV(1), 123-144.
- Xiaomei, W. & Daming, X. (2018). The Mismatches between Minority Language Practices and National Language Policy in Malaysia: A Linguistic Landscape Approach. *Kajian Malaysia*, 36(1), 105-125.

APPENDIX: A







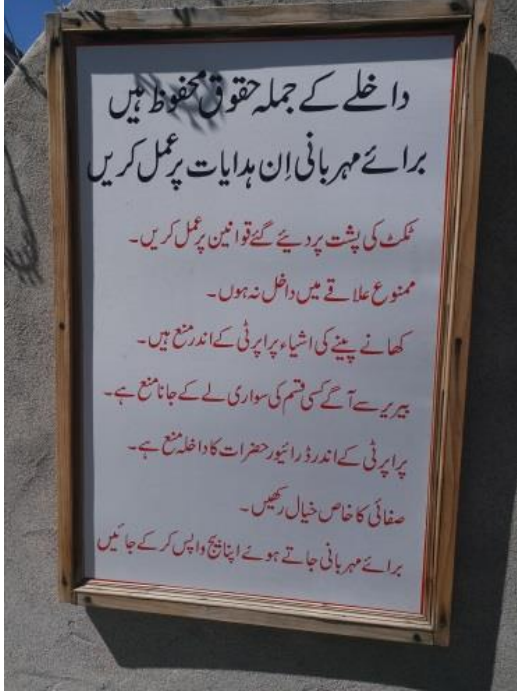
APPENDIX: B



APPENDIX: C



دیوسانی نیشنل پارک		دیوسانی نیشنل پارک
Bara Pani	17 km	بڑا پانی
Sheosar	35 km	شیوسر
Chilam	50 km	چلم
Astore	104 km	استور

APPENDIX: D

APPENDIX: E



APPENDIX: F

