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REVISITING THE ENGLISH STATUS IN THE OUTER AND EXPANDING CIRCLES: INSIGHTS FROM GOOGLE STREET VIEW®

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Abstract
Globalization and glocalization may affect the use of English in Kachru's (1986) Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries. This study revisits the status of English by observing its use in the commercial signboards in Malaysia (Petaling Street) and the Philippines (Colon Street), representing the Outer Circle, Thailand (Khao San Road), and Indonesia (Legian Street), representing the Expanding Circle. Using Google Street View®, 557 signages were screen-captured, and their brand names, information, and slogan parts were analyzed. The finding shows that English is predominant on almost all signboard parts on the four streets, showcasing its crucial role in building brand identity and efficacy for communicating with a wider market. Furthermore, linguistic strategies such as code-mixing are pervasive in both circles, indicating the norm-developing characteristic not only in the Outer but also in the Expanding Circle. Language regulation enforcement may affect the degree of visibility of English, but its prevalence remains high nonetheless. Overall, the traditional conception of these concentric circles needs to be reanalyzed and a more fluid model needs to be put forward.

Keywords: commercial signboard, Google Street View, linguistic landscape, World English

Introduction
Over three decades ago, Kachru (1986) described the various positions of English around the world by using three concentric circles: Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. The Inner Circle refers to countries such as Great Britain and the United States, where English is spoken as a mother tongue. English serves as a second language for the majority and has important roles in the nations' institutions due to historical and political reasons in the Outer Circle, such as Malaysia and the Philippines. Finally, the Expanding Circle is where English is extensively studied as a foreign language, such as in Indonesia and Thailand. Kachru (1986) labels the Inner Circle as "norm-providing" since the English language norms are developed in this circle. He labels the Outer Circle as "norm-

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developing" as this circle is developing its own English norms and varieties, and he labels the Expanding Circle as "norm-dependent" because it relies on the norms of the speakers in Inner Circle countries. These concentric circles proposed by Kachru have become the foundation of World Englishes (WE), a field that studies the varieties of English that emerged in various countries around the world.

However, while Kachru's concentric circles of English remain significant and useful for classifying Englishes, it is important to note that the world has evolved largely due to globalization. The spread of English has become more intricate than Kachru's model suggests. For instance, Graddol (1997) observes that in many countries in the Expanding Circle, such as Argentina, Costa Rica, and the United Arab Emirates, English is used as a second language rather than a foreign language. This shift in usage patterns reflects the dynamic nature of World Englishes. In Southeast Asian countries, English has gained prominence, being officially adopted as the language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). This move has spurred member nations to intensify the promotion of English in their language education policies (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

Furthermore, Canagarajah (2006) states that globalization enables interaction between communities to become multilateral and multinational; the national boundaries become more flexible, and people, information, products, and ideas flow more easily between countries. English, as well, goes along with this flow and consequently becomes hybrid and pluricentric. He mentions that the Englishes in the Outer Circle, such as Indian and Singaporean Englishes, have started to spread outside their countries. For instance, in today's global economy, Americans might need to at least have receptive skills in Indian English or Singaporean English when they have business with Indian or Singaporean companies. Thus, these Englishes now are relevant not just for the people in their home countries.

Canagarajah (2006) mentions that people in the Expanding Circle are developing new norms when speaking English to other non-Inner circle English speakers. Therefore, he claims that people do not need to strictly label the Expanding Circle as norm-dependent and the Inner Circle as norm-providing. Furthermore, Jenkins (2006) states that when English speakers in the Outer and Expanding Circles are communicating, they do not need to refer to the Inner Circle norm to achieve successful communication.

While the implications of English as a global language in language policy, language teaching, business, and verbal communication have been widely studied, less attention has been paid to its implication in the written form in public areas, such as shop signs and billboards. The study of the linguistic landscape can help observe English use alongside national and local languages in public spaces. Linguistic landscape study is the study of public road signs, advertising billboards, place names, and public signs on government buildings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

According to Bolton (2012), the relevance of linguistic landscapes to the study of World Englishes is that the English lexicon in public spaces worldwide can be considered as the embodiment of phenomena associated with economic and cultural globalization (including 'glocalization'). Meanwhile, Graddol (2006) argues that in the current stage of post-modernity, our world has become more

multilingual than ever, and globalization has affected language policies.

This study aims to investigate the English language in four countries from two different circles, i.e. Malaysia and the Philippines representing the Outer Circle, and Thailand and Indonesia representing the Expanding Circle, by examining the linguistic landscape of their famous street markets. They are Petaling Street in Kuala Lumpur, Colon Street in Cebu, Khao San Road in Bangkok, and Legian Street in Bali. These shopping areas possess similar concepts and locations. They are major shopping streets full of shops, restaurants, and food stalls, usually crowded with locals and foreign tourists.

As in any other market, commercial signs are crucial for communication between vendors and customers. In the multilingual setting of the Outer and Expanding Circles, sign makers can opt to use their mother tongue, which they are more familiar with, or English, the international language. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) propose that language choice in signage reflects three conditions. Firstly, sign makers prefer using familiar languages to avoid errors. Secondly, they choose languages understood by their target audience to facilitate communication, especially in multilingual settings or for foreign visitors in monolingual areas. Lastly, signs may be written in a language they prefer to be recognized.

Putting those conditions into perspective, this study aims to investigate the prevalence and utilization of English on commercial signboards to gain insights into the status of English in the countries representing the Outer and Expanding Circles in the World English theory. The current research expects that multilingual commercial signs involving English are common in the shopping streets in both Outer and Expanding Circle countries. However, since English, in Outer Circle countries, is the second language instead of a foreign language, and it has an important role in their state affairs, the occurrences of English in these countries are assumed to be higher and more norm-developing. On the other hand, the occurrences of English are assumed to be lower and more norm-obedient in the Expanding Circle countries.

Literature Review

Language landscape: Economic, political, and social-cultural aspects

Research on the linguistic landscape mainly analyses words, phrases, or sentences on public displays, such as on street name placards (e.g. Erikha, 2018), brand names (e.g. Basciano, 2016), and signs made by the government and private sector (e.g. Backhaus, 2006; Huebner, 2006). With increased globalization, the linguistic landscape is now concerned more with the bilingualism and multilingualism of a landscape. Economic and political motives, as well as power relation dynamics, can influence whether language or languages are used monolingually, bilingually, or multilingually (e.g. Guowen, 2016; Manan et. al., 2015)

A bilingual landscape begins to appear when one of the major languages is used to reflect social identity. The prominent use of a major language with minor use of other languages mainly to maintain the feeling of harmony is observed in self-maintained identity areas, such as ethnically-related places (e.g. Purnawati et al., 2022; Riani et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2020; Yothinsirikul, 2022) and places for religious practices (Ardhian et al., 2021)

Higher use of various combinations of local or national languages with

English and/or other foreign languages is typically driven by economic motivations and the presence of a multinational consumer base (e.g. Husin et al., 2019; Jazul & Bernardo, 2017; Purnanto et al., 2022; Prasert & Zilli, 2019; Woo & Nora Riget, 2022). While this may help a business flourish and appeal to a wider audience, the presence of English can feel somewhat threatening to national and local languages.

This brief review indicates that English can be found in both relatively exclusive monolingual areas and inclusively multilingual areas, such as commercial and public space areas. This raises the question of how language policy may be applied by the respective governments to protect their national languages and, at the same time, accommodate foreign languages, especially English, for the benefit of economic and commercial opportunities.

Language background

Malaysia

English was Malaysia's official language during British colonial rule (1824–1957) and later became a second language in 1967 after Malay (Omar, 1977, 1992). Today, Malaysia ranks third in Asia in terms of English proficiency, according to Education First (EF) (2021). In addition to English and Malay, Chinese and Indian languages are relatively prevalent due to the large Chinese and Indian population residing in Malaysia. This multilingual setting gives rise to the negatively perceived "*Bahasa Rojak*" (literally means salad language), which means any code-mixing of two or more languages to constitute a sentence (Bakar, 2009) whose public use is restricted. Policies in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya require Malay to be more prominently displayed in advertisements (Manan et al., 2015), reflecting efforts to elevate Malay's status. Petaling Street, as one of the busiest shopping streets in Kuala Lumpur, should be within the central scope of this regulation. It is, therefore, interesting to analyze whether such policies affect English use on this street.

The Philippines

In contrast to Malaysia, the enforcement of national language use in advertisements in the Philippines is less apparent. The Philippines regards English as its official language along with Filipino or Tagalog, and both are used in governmental (e.g. Espiritu, 2015), educational (e.g. Bernardo, 2004), and commercial sectors. Filipino is deemed a symbol of identity and unity (Martin, 2012), while English simultaneously highlights past colonialization by America and also serves as a bridge of international communication (Reyes, 2014). English First (Education First, 2021) reports that the Philippines ranks second in Asia in terms of English proficiency, with widespread code-mixing between English and Filipino languages among the citizens not only in daily conversations but also in advertisements (Bautista, 1991). This is a common characteristic of Outer Circle countries in the scope of World Englishes (Kachru & Nelson, 2006).

Thailand

People in Thailand speak and write in the Thai language and script, which were standardized and promoted as the national language and a major tool in the creation of national unity and identity (Kirkpatrick, 2010). Unlike other ASEAN

countries, English was not introduced to Thailand by colonialization but by a modernization campaign by King Rama IV (ruled 1851–1868) (Kirkpatrick, 2010). Since then, English has been introduced into the public school curriculum (Pongtongcharoen, 1999). However, proficiency remains low, only ranked 22 out of 24 Asian countries (EF, 2021), with English mainly used as a lingua franca to communicate with other non-native English speakers. Thus, a wide variety of English spoken by non-English-speaking tourists can be observed in many tourism hubs in Thailand (Trakulkasemsuk, 2018). Thais generally do not use English among themselves. Yet, there is a common perception in Thailand that English code-mixing and switching makes them more modern (Bennui & Hashim, 2014)

Indonesia

Indonesian is Indonesia's national language. However, not only do students in Indonesia have to learn the national, but also local and foreign languages, usually English. Despite the popularity of English and the attempt made by the Indonesian Ministry of National Education to supervise the curriculum of English language teaching (ELT) in public schools (Yulia, 2014), the result is unsatisfactory as students only achieve a low level of communicative competence in English (Kam, 2002; Larson, 2014). Indonesia ranked 14th out of 24 Asian countries in terms of English proficiency (EF, 2021).

As Bali's economy relies heavily on the tourism sector, various strategies have been carried out to attract global visitors and increase the economic benefits, one of which is to provide signboards that can appeal to and bridge communication with foreign tourists. In addition to Indonesia's Law Number 24 of 2009 Article 25, which stipulates that the Indonesian language should be used in economic transactions and documentation, the Regulation of the Governor of Bali Province Number 80 of 2018 regulates the use of Balinese and Roman scripts. However, research by Budiarsa et al. (2015) shows that the names of most buildings in Legian Street, Kuta, contain international language symbols whose occurrences outnumber the local ones. This indicates a character shift in its language and culture from local to international. This research attempts to look further into the outstanding presence of English in the given area.

Method

Data collection

Edelman (2008, p.141) proposes that an advertisement or commercial sign includes several elements, namely a headline, illustration, main text, slogan, product name, and standing details, such as the company address. As English is intended to reach a wider audience, it will be more likely used in the informative parts of the signboard: the product names, the main text where the information about the products and services are located, and the slogans.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Google Street View® was employed for data collection in this study. While limited research has utilized this tool for language and linguistics (LL) studies, it offers unique opportunities for virtual exploration (Gorter, 2018). Commercial signs were screen-captured from Petaling Street, Colon Street, Khao San Road, and Legian Street from May to June 2021, resulting in a dataset of 557 signs.

As the data were taken in multilingual communities, research assistants with knowledge of local languages ensured accurate interpretation, while Google Translate aided in transliteration and translation verification. Privacy considerations included blurring phone numbers, addresses, and individual images on the signs. The data collection process involved capturing, extracting, categorizing, and analyzing the textual content of the signs, excluding addresses, phone numbers, pictures, colors, and symbols.

Data analysis and classification

The texts on the commercial signs were classified into three different parts: 1) brand name, 2) information about the product and service, and 3) slogan, as illustrated in Figure 1.

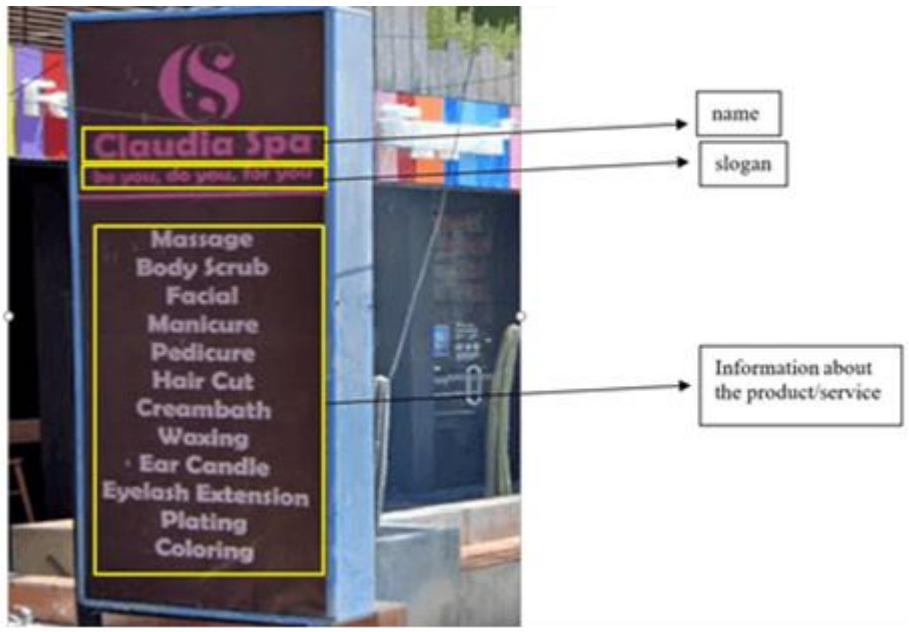


Figure 1. The elements on the commercial signboards

Not all the shop signs and billboards contain all the elements mentioned above. Table 1 below shows the data set comprising the distribution of the elements in the signboards in each area.

Table 1. The distribution of elements on signboards

Items observed	Petaling	Colon	Khao San	Legian
Brand Name only	35 (25.9%)	22 (17.6%)	61 (49.2%)	81 (46.8%)
Brand Name + Information	83 (61.5%)	62 (49.6%)	48 (38.7%)	68 (39.3%)
Brand Name + slogan	12 (8.9%)	14 (11.2%)	11 (8.9%)	12 (6.9%)
Brand Name + information + Slogan	5 (3.7%)	27 (21.6%)	4 (3.2%)	12 (6.9%)
Total	135 (100%)	125 (100%)	124 (100%)	173 (100%)

Most of the brand names consist of proper names and common names, as illustrated in Figure 2. The common name reflects the informative function, while proper names are associated with the identity and the owner's preference for what their establishment should be called and remembered. In English and Filipino, the name structure is [proper name + common name], as in "The Boss Tailors", while

in Malay, Thai, and Indonesian, the structure is [common name + proper name], as in *Kedai Madae* (Madae Shop).



Figure 1. Brand names on commercial signboards

Analyzing the language of brand names can be challenging. To ensure consistent language occurrence calculations, we considered several factors. In addition to analyzing loan words that can represent multiple languages, we also applied a syntactical approach. For instance, we examined the structure of noun phrases in different languages. In the case of "Hotel *Cempaka*" and "*Cahaya* Hotel," the word "hotel" can be English or Indonesian. Since Indonesian follows a head+modifier structure and English follows a modifier+head structure, syntactical analysis was used to determine the language. Therefore, "Hotel *Cempaka*" is considered Indonesian, while "*Cahaya* Hotel" is counted as English.

A similar method was applied when the proper names were initials or numbers, as in Figure 3 below. In this case, we considered the syntactical structure of the brand names and the language of the common name attached to the proper name. Thus, the brand name of "J4 Hotel" is counted as English.



Figure 3. An initial and number on a brand name

Our data includes non-Roman scripts like Thai, Balinese, and Chinese. Some signboards use non-Roman scripts for their own languages, while others transliterate English words, as shown in Figure 4. We categorize the latter as transliterations and the signboards as bilingual or multilingual since they contain

multiple language systems.

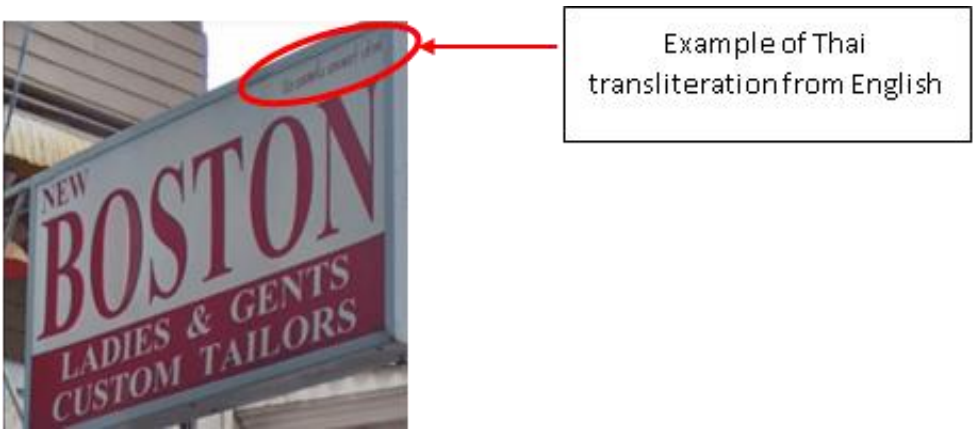


Figure 4. Transliteration of a brand name, Khao San Road

Some brand names incorporate area or local people's names as their proper names, representing local or national identity. When combined with common English names, these names are classified as bilingual, as illustrated in Figure 5.



Figure 5. A local name and place as brand names, Legian Street

Analyzing the languages of the product/service information and slogans is generally less challenging. Product/service information consists of factual details like pricing, features, and benefits, typically presented concisely and straightforwardly to inform potential customers and provide clarity and transparency about the offerings. The use of English in this part is common to allow for broader accessibility and understanding among diverse audiences (as shown in Figure 1). Still, it is sometimes written multilingually to accommodate customers from different linguistic backgrounds.

Slogans, on the other hand, are concise and memorable phrases used to convey brand values and emotional appeals. Positioned prominently alongside the brand name on signboards, slogans are concise and memorable phrases used to convey brand values and emotional appeals. As shown in Figure 1, the phrase "be you, do you, for you" is written to attract attention and reinforce key brand messages particularly fitting for a spa service: self-expression, empowerment, and self-care.

To determine the prevalence of English on signboards, we adopted da

Silva's (2017) typology of commercial signs based on the language composition used. The signs were put into five categories, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Terminology to describe the prevalence of English

Terms	Refers to
Full English	English-only signs
More English	Bilingual/multilingual signs dominated by English words
Half English	Bilingual/multilingual signs with a mix of English and other languages
Fewer English	Bilingual/multilingual signs with English presence but dominated by other languages
No English	Non-English signs

Findings and Discussion

The prevalence of English on commercial signboards

Brand names on signboards in the Expanding Circle areas showcase a spectrum of language usage. Around 50% of the signboards display brands in monolingual English. Interestingly, bilingual brand names featuring both English and the local language make up a significant portion (over 30%). Meanwhile, the Outer Circle presents a more varied picture. In Colon Street, a staggering 72.8% of signboards boast monolingual English brand names. This contrasts sharply with Petaling Street, where only 22.2% of brands rely solely on English. This difference suggests a stronger presence and potentially greater influence of the national languages in Petaling Street's commercial landscape.

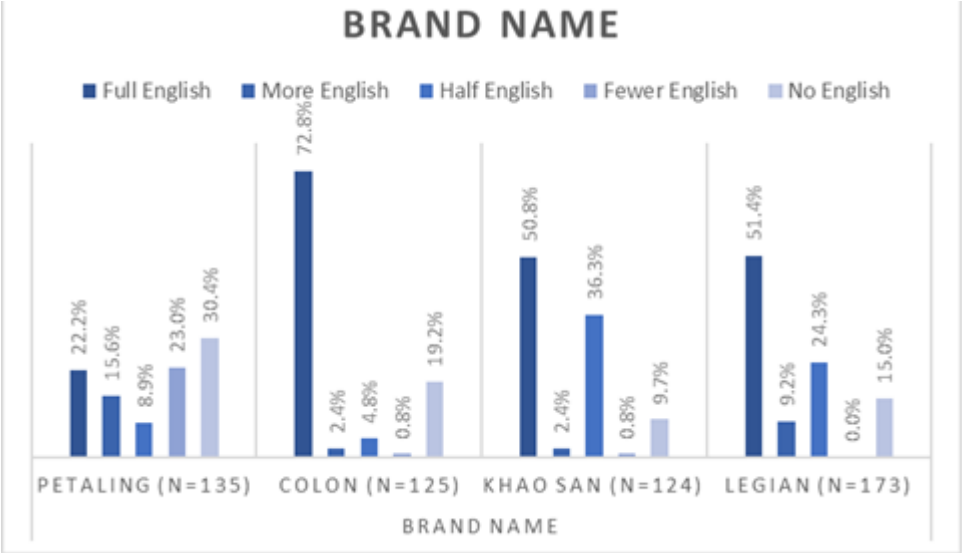


Figure 6. English prevalence in brand names in four areas

For the informational sections across Colon Street, Legian Street, and Khao San Road, a striking trend emerges, with over 80% of signboard information presented in full English. This prevalence of English underscores its role as the dominant language of commerce and communication in these cosmopolitan areas. However, Petaling Street presents a notable departure from this pattern, with only 12.5% of signboard information conveyed in English. This divergence highlights the region's unique linguistic landscape, characterized by a stronger emphasis on

local languages in commercial discourse.

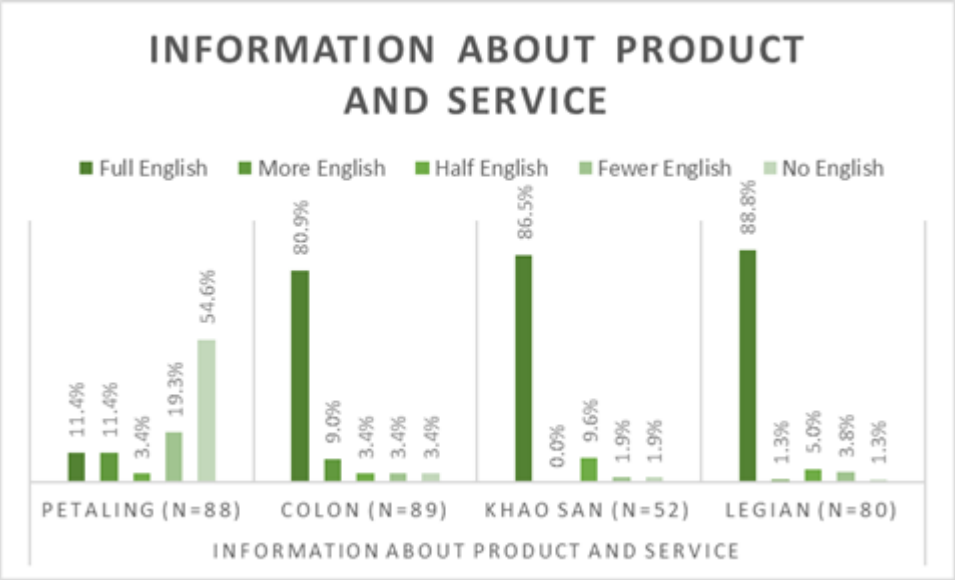


Figure 7. English prevalence in product and service information

Despite being less prominent than brand names and informational sections, slogans play a significant role in capturing the attention of passersby and reinforcing brand identity. Across all locations, English emerges as the dominant language in slogans, reflecting its widespread usage and perceived global appeal. Notably, Legian Street stands out as the only area where slogans predominantly eschew code-mixing or bilingual styles. Instead, most slogans are written in monolingual English, with a few instances in monolingual Indonesian. This linguistic consistency in slogans on Legian Street may reflect a deliberate branding strategy aimed at projecting a unified and coherent image to both international and local audiences.

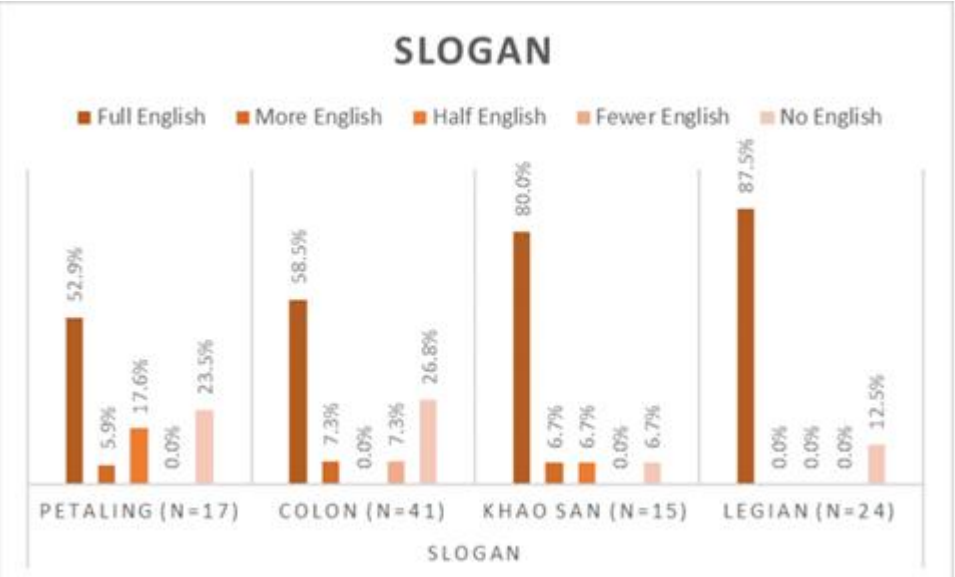


Figure 8. English prevalence in slogans

The language distribution on each part of the commercial signboards

This study also analyses how English works alongside other languages on the signboards.

Languages on brand names

Tables 3 and 4 present the language proportion in proper and common names on Petaling Street. A total of 131 proper names and 95 common names were collected. Overall, English dominates the proper names at 41.2 percent, followed by Chinese at 26 percent. Malay and an English-Chinese combination have identical occurrences at 12.2 percent and 13 percent respectively. In common names, English dominates at 28.4 percent, followed by Malay at 17.9 percent, and Malay-Chinese combination at 15.8 percent. Other languages and their combinations occur at around 10 percent, while monolingual Chinese is the least common at 3.2 percent.

Table 3. Proper names, Petaling Street

	English	English - Chinese*	Malay	Chinese*	Malay - Chinese*	Others	Total
N	54	17	16	34	3	7	131
%	41.2%	13%	12.2%	26%	2.3%	5.3%	100%

** in Chinese and Roman alphabets*

Table 4. Common names on Petaling Street

	English	English - Malay	English - Chinese*	English - Chinese* - Malay	Malay	Chinese*	Malay - Chinese	Total
N	27	10	12	11	17	3	15	95
%	28.4%	10.5%	12.6%	11.6%	17.9%	3.2%	15.8%	100%

** in Chinese and Roman alphabets*

While English dominates both the proper and common names, both Malay and Chinese also occur frequently. Figure 9 presents an example of a brand name in this area.



Figure 2. English proper name with English and Malay common names

It shows a travel and tour signboard containing the proper name "Ostrich" followed by the English common name "Travel & Tour" and a Malay common name "*Sdn. Bhd*" (*Sendirian Berhad*, meaning Private Limited). Adding *Sdn Bhd* is common practice in Malaysian commercial signboards to accompany English or Chinese proper names, indicating the application of a code-mixing strategy in formulating brand names.

Another strategy that is widely observable in the Petaling data is translation, where information in one language is also presented in another language on the same signboards. As the observed area is proximate to Chinatown, numerous signboards display Chinese translations of Malay and English brand names. Those translations employ Chinese characters juxtaposed with Roman script for the English and Malay components. Furthermore, when an English proper name is used, it is usually also translated into Chinese words in Chinese characters. However, when a Chinese proper name wants to be maintained alongside a Malay or English common name, it is typically transliterated into Roman script, prioritizing close phonetic resemblance to the original term rather than undertaking translation into its Malay or English counterparts. This translation strategy reduces the prevalence of full-English brand names, that is, it increases the prevalence of bilingual and trilingual brand names on Petaling Street. The following figure exemplifies a signboard constructed using this strategy.



Figure 3. English proper name and English-Malaysia common names along with their Chinese translation

Figure 10 shows an English brand name, "S Pluto Trading Sdn Bhd," followed by its Chinese translation, "王星首饰批发有限公司 *Wáng xīng shǒushì pīfā yǒuxiàn gōngsī* (*Wangxing* Jewelry Wholesale Co. Ltd.)." On this signboard, the proper name "S Pluto" is translated into its Chinese counterpart "王星 (*Wáng xīng*)", which means "king star" instead of transliterated. The romanized part shows an English-Malay code-mixing, but the Chinese translation retains both Chinese proper and common names. The use of English in the romanized common name, the informative part, indicates that English is preferable to reach a wider audience in the shopping area.

The table below presents more instances of code-mixing patterns in Petaling Street.

Table 5. Code-mixing on brand names, Petaling Street

Common name	Proper name	Syntax	Example	Chinese translations appearing on the signboards
Malay + English	English	English	*New Kle Key Lock Sdn. Bhd*	新锁匙有限公司 *Xīn suǒchí yǒuxiàn gōngsī* (New Key Co. Ltd.)
English	Chinese	English, Chinese	*Sin Chew Daily*	星洲日報 (*Xīng zhōu rìbào* (*Xing Zhou* Daily)".
Malay	English	Malay	Hotel Rainforest	-

Another noteworthy finding in this area is that English words such as "Enterprise" are frequently used as common names for shops, as exemplified by "Q Cute Enterprise" in Figure 11. Such usage differs markedly from the practice in Inner Circle countries where enterprise refers to corporations or larger-scale operations, and "shop" or "store" is more customary for smaller establishments. This divergence suggests a distinct linguistic adaptation in Petaling, indicative of the emergence of a new English variety within this specific locale.



Figure 11. A signboard containing the word "Enterprise"

On the other hand, Colon Street shows a significantly higher use of English than Petaling Street in Malaysia. Out of 117 data on proper names, 72.6 percent is written solely in English. Only 11.1 percent is found in Filipino/Tagalog, and 10.3 percent in other languages. The category of others in this context includes names in Korean and French and initialism without other words (for example, RDD and FSL). A similar strong preference for English is also seen in common names, where 86.4 percent are written in monolingual English. Spanish, as a language that is historically significant in the Philippines' linguistic background, does not seem to be favorable for expressing proper names and common names, hence the low proportion of their appearances.

Table 6. Proper names on Colon Street

	English	English-others	Filipino/Tagalog	Spanish	Others	Total
N	85	4	13	3	12	117
%	72.6%	3.4%	11.1%	2.6%	10.3%	100%

Table 7. Common names on Colon Street

	English	English-Filipino/ Tagalog	Filipino/ Tagalog	Spanish	Tagalog/ Filipino-English-Spanish	Total
N	51	2	2	2	2	59
%	86.4%	3.4%	3.4%	3.4%	3.4%	100%

The images display examples of signboards on Colon Street. Figure 12 illustrates English use in both common and proper names, which is predominant on Colon Street. Figure 13, which says "*Kan-Anan Ni Nanay*" (Mom's Eatery), illustrates a rare proper name in Filipino/Tagalog.



Figure 12. English on a brand name, Colon Street



Figure 13. Tagalog on a brand name, Colon Street

In the Expanding Circle, a similar pattern is observable. English dominates brand names on signboards, but local languages coexist in the proper names of some brands. Tables 8 and 9 show the languages used in proper and common names on Khao San Road. Of the total of 124 proper names, 52.4 percent are in English, and 27.4 percent are in Thai, both in Roman and Thai scripts. Of 94 common names collected, almost 60 percent are in English, and only 6.4 percent are in Thai. Khao San Road also displays the use of either 1) transliteration from English words to Thai script or 2) Thai script in the Thai language translated into English with Roman script. Thai-English translation strategy is only found in the common names at 6.4 percent.

Table 8. Proper names on Khao San Road

	English	Thai *	English - Thai transliteration	Multiple languages	Total
N	65	34	23	2	124
%	52.4%	27.4%	18.5%	1.6%	100%

Table 9. Common names on Khao San Road

	English	English - Thai transliteration	Thai - English translation	Thai*	Chinese	Total
N	56	24	6	6	2	94
%	59.6%	25.5%	6.4%	6.4%	2.1%	100%

*Both in Thai and Roman script

A code-mixing system is also observed in Khao San Road's brand names. It involves the integration of various linguistic elements, as illustrated in Table 10. This system encompasses three main components: script, lexicon, and syntax, which all are either in Thai or English. The code-mixing style also involves a transliteration process following the guidelines of the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS). RTGS is a standardized system established by the Royal Institute of Thailand that transcribes the Thai language into the Roman alphabet. This system is to provide a consistent and accurate way of representing Thai words and sounds using the Latin script. One of the key features of RTGS is its emphasis on phonetic accuracy. Thai is a tonal language with a complex phonological system, and RTGS seeks to accurately represent the sounds and tones of Thai words using Roman letters. This allows for more accurate pronunciation and comprehension by those who are not familiar with the Thai script.

Table 10. Code Mixing in the brand names on Khao San Road

Script	Lexicon	Syntax	Example
Thai	Thai + English	Thai	Original: บริษัท ทวิน พาเลซ (RTGS: *Borisat Thawin Phales*)* Meaning: Twin Palace Company (บริษัท / *Borisat* means "company")
Thai	English	English	Original: นิวบอสตันเทเลอร์เฮาส์ (RTGS: *Nio Bottan Theloe Hao*)* Transliteration of New Boston Tailor House
English	Thai + English	English	*Sabaidee* Massage *Sabaidee* means "fine", "good", or "well"

* Derived from http://www.thai-language.com/default.aspx

The following figures below display how Thai and English lexicons, as well as Thai and Roman scripts, are put together on the signboards. Figure 14 shows a brand name written entirely in English, while Figure 15 displays a brand name in full Thai (*Baan* means 'house'). Figure 16 shows a bilingual brand name that combines the word Sabaidee, a Thai word written in the Roman script meaning "fine," "good" or "well," and the English word "massage," referring to the service offered.



Figure 14. An English brand name, Khao San Road



Figure 15. A Thai brand name, Khao San Road



Figure 16. A Thai and English brand name, Khao San Road

Meanwhile, Figures 17 and 18 show how the English and Thai-English brand names are written in Thai script. The Thai script in Figure 17 says บาลานซ์บาร์ (RTGS: *balan ba*), which is the transliteration of the brand Balance Bar. On the other hand, the brand name in Figure 18, "Khao San Palace Hotel," is both translated and transliterated. The Thai script above the Roman bilingual brand name can be rendered in the Roman script through RTGS as "*Rong raem Khao San Phales Hothen*," with Rongraem as the translation of "hotel," "*Phales*" and "*Hothen*" being the transliteration of "palace" and "hotel," respectively.



Figure 17. Thai transliteration of an English brand name, Khao San Road

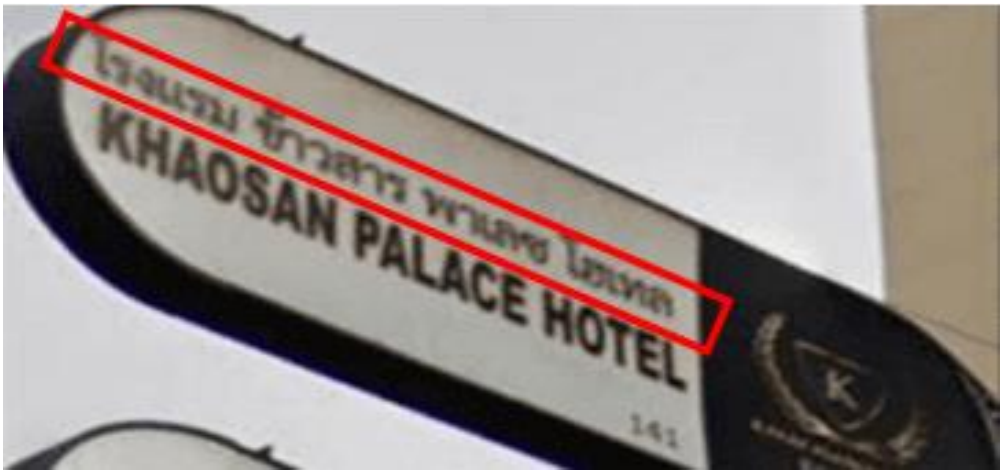


Figure 18. Thai transliteration of an English brand name with additional Thai words, Khao San Road

The practice of writing English words in Thai script serves several purposes and reflects various linguistic, cultural, and practical considerations. Thai script offers a means to phonetically represent English words using Thai characters. This can be particularly useful for Thai speakers who may struggle with pronouncing English words accurately based solely on their spelling in the Roman alphabet. Providing a phonetic approximation in Thai script helps Thai speakers pronounce English words more confidently and accurately. It ensures that the branding and signage are comprehensible to the local population, who may not be fluent in English but are familiar with the Thai script. The inclusion of English words in Thai script also reflects the cultural integration and influence of English in contemporary Thai society, highlighting the cosmopolitan nature of this place, where different languages and cultures intersect.

However, some well-known brand names may have both official English and Thai names, as shown in Figure 19. “Siam Commercial Bank” and ธนาคารไทยพาณิชย์ (RTGS: *Thanakhan Thai Phanit*) are the official names of the bank but in different languages. Both names mean roughly the same so that they can be viewed as translations instead of transliterations.



Figure 19. Thai and English transliteration on a brand name, Khao San Road

On Khao San Road, signboards with multiple languages are also found. Figure 20 shows how three different languages and three different scripts are put together on a signboard. This signboard combines Japanese, English, and Thai lexicons with Japanese, Roman, and Thai scripts. The Japanese script is pronounced "*Nippon Ichiban*" as the brand name written in Roman script, which means "Japanese number one." The Thai script ร้านอาหารญี่ปุ่น นิปปอน อิชิบัง (RTGS: *ranahan yipun Nippon Ichibang*) literally means "*Nippon Ichiban* Japanese restaurant."



Figure 20. Multiple languages in a brand name, Khao San Road

Similar to Khao San Road, Legian Street exhibits a dominance of English in brand names, with 50.9% of proper names and 84.8% of common names being written exclusively in English. However, despite the prevalence of English, local languages such as Balinese and Indonesian also feature prominently in brand names on Legian Street, especially in proper names. Approximately 38.7% of proper names and 13.8% of common names incorporate local languages, demonstrating a concerted effort to maintain cultural identity amidst linguistic globalization.

Table 11. Proper names on Legian Street

	English	English in Balinese Script (Transliteration)	English-Indonesian	Local languages (Indonesian and/or Balinese)	Multi-languages	Total
N	88	2	14	67	2	173
%	50.9%	1.2%	8.1%	38.7%	1.2%	100%

Table 12. Common names on Legian Street

	English	English in Balinese Script (Transliteration)	Local languages (Indonesian and/or Balinese)	Total
N	117	2	19	138
%	84.8%	1.4%	13.8%	100%

While Figure 21 displays an English-only brand name, Figure 22 shows both the lexicon and syntax of the brand name in Indonesian. As the common name "*puri*", meaning palace, may not be understood by non-Indonesians, additional information, "hotel," is added. Figure 23 shows a bilingual brand name combining English and the local language; "bungalow" is an English term referring to a single-story house with a low-pitched roof, whereas "*Matahari*" is an Indonesian word meaning "sun." More brand names on Legian Street follow a consistent pattern, wherein local languages feature in the proper name. At the same time, English is used as a common name that denotes the product or service offered, reflecting a strategic balance between local cultural representation and international marketability.



Figure 21. An English brand name, Legian Street



Figure 22. A local language brand name, Legian Street



Figure 23. A combination of Indonesian and English on a brand name, Legian Street

While both Khao San Road and Legian Street demonstrate the prevalence of English alongside the persistence of local languages, a closer examination unveils distinct differences in their linguistic landscapes. Legian Street showcases a slightly higher dominance of English in common names compared to Khao San Road. Moreover, Legian Street places a stronger emphasis on local identity in proper names, as evidenced by the greater utilization of local languages compared to Khao San Road. Another intriguing difference emerges in how these streets handle code-mixing. Khao San Road relies on transliteration, employing Thai script to phonetically represent English words. This is crucial because the Thai script is the dominant writing system for the Thai language. However, Legian Street utilizes transliteration minimally in Balinese script, and two signboards were spotted utilizing this practice. This difference can be attributed, in part, to the language landscape of Bali. Unlike Thailand, Indonesian, written in Roman script, serves as the official language of Indonesia and is widely used for daily communication in Bali, while the local Balinese dialect, although spoken extensively, is not the primary written language. This reduces the necessity for transliteration in Balinese script for local customers on Legian Street.

Furthermore, Legian Street presents a fascinating linguistic phenomenon not observed on Khao San Road: the adoption of English syntax even in brand names where English words are absent. For example, as depicted in Figure 24, the brand name "*Kimia Farma Apotek*" follows English syntax by placing the noun ("*Apotek*") after the modifier ("*Kimia Farma*") instead of following the Indonesian syntax, which puts the modifier after the noun. This indicates the writer's desire to adhere to English syntactical rules while still showcasing their local identity through the use of local words.



Figure 24. Brand names with Indonesian words in English syntax

Unlike on Khao San Road, where local script appears significantly, only a few signboards use Balinese script to transliterate the brand name. Figure 25 shows examples of Balinese script that transliterates English and Indonesian words on the signboards. The Balinese transcripts read "*Hotel Taman Ayu* Legian" and "W Sport Bar *dan Restoran*" (respectively, from left to right), also shown in "*Kimia Farma*," Figure 24. The transcript reads similarly to the Roman script.



Figure 25. Balinese script transliteration in brand names, Legian Street

Languages on information about the products or services

In terms of information about products and services, a total of 88 data samples from Petaling Street and 86 data samples from Colon Street were collected. Malay is the most favored language for this part, at 43.2 percent. English combined with Malay is the second most used language, with 19.3 percent, followed by English, which is only 11.4 percent. Other languages and their combinations only appear in less than 10 percent of the data each. Conversely, with 80.9 percent, English is the most salient language on Colon Street. The combination of English and Filipino/Tagalog ranks second at 15.7 percent, and Filipino/Tagalog appears at 3.4 percent.

Table 13. Information about products and services on Petaling Street

	English	English - Malay	English - Chinese *	English - Chinese - Malay	Malay	Chinese	Malay - Chinese	Total
N	10	17	4	9	38	3	7	88
%	11.4%	19.3%	4.5%	10.2%	43.2%	3.4%	8%	100%

* in either Roman or Chinese script

Table 14. Information about products and services on Colon Street

	English	English - Filipino/Tagalog	Filipino/Tagalog	Total
N	72	14	3	89
%	80.9%	15.7%	3.4%	100%

The following figures show examples of how information appears on Petaling and Colon Streets. In Figure 26, the sign-maker displays a Malaysian phrase, "*Kedai Pakaian*", meaning clothing store. Figure 27 shows a combination of information in English (Silver 925) and Malay (*Pemborong Barangan Perak*, meaning silver goods wholesaler). Lastly, Figure 28 shows information in English. On Colon Street, most information on signboards is conveyed in English, as illustrated in Figure 29.



Figure 26. Information about products and services in Malay, Petaling Street



Figure 27. Information about products and services in English and Malay, Petaling Street



Figure 28. Information about products and services in English, Petaling Street



Figure 29. Information about products and services in English, Colon Street

In the Expanding Circle, English dominates the information sections on signboards. Unlike the brand name sections, where local languages coexist with English, the information sections rarely combine the two languages. Only 9.7 percent of the information on Khao San Road is written bilingually in Thai and English, and on Legian Street, it is only 10 percent bilingually in English and Indonesian. Meanwhile, multilingual information is expressed on one signboard on each street.

Table 15. Information about Products and Services on Khao San Road

	English	English - Thai	English - Chinese	Multi-language	Total
N	45	5	1	1	52
%	86.5%	9.7%	1.9%	1.9%	100%

Table 16. Information about Products and Services on Legian Street

	English	English - Indonesian/Balinese	Multi-language	Total
N	71	8	1	80
P	88.8%	10.0%	1.2%	100%

The following figures show examples of signboards containing information about the product and service. Figures 30 and 31 show the English information on both Khao San Road and Legian Street. Meanwhile, Figures 32 and 33 show the bilingual style of information in both areas. The Thai script on the right side of Figure 33 is the translation of the information written in English on the left side; for example, อุบัติเหตุ-ฉุกเฉิน (RTGS: *ubathetu-chukchoen*) which literally means "emergency-accident." Figures 34 and 35 show the only information written multilingually in both areas. The information in Figure 34 is written in English, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, and all of the scripts mean "massage."

Meanwhile, the information in Figure 35 is written in English, Chinese, and Arabic, all of which mean "milk pie."



Figure 30. English information about the product, Khao San Road



Figure 31. English information about the product, Legian Street



Figure 32. English and Thai service information, Khao San Road



Figure 33. English and Indonesian information about the product, Legian Street



Figure 34. Multiple language information about a product, Khao San Road



Figure 35. Multiple language information about a product, Legian Street

Languages on slogans

Slogans are not as common as the brand names and information on the signboards, with only 98 signboards containing a slogan. Tables 17 and 18 illustrate the slogan's language composition on Petaling and Colon Streets, with Colon Streets having more slogans than Petaling Street. Both areas show a similar

strong tendency to use English since it appears in slightly more than 50 percent in each area. The second highest percentage is the national languages written monolingually, with Malay showing up at 17.6 percent on Petaling Street and Filipino/Tagalog at 26.8 percent on Colon Street. Language combinations have low proportions on this part of the signboards.

Table 17. Slogans on Petaling Street

	English	English - Malay	English - Chinese*	Malay	Chinese	Total
N	9	2	2	3	1	17
%	52.9%	11.8%	11.8%	17.6%	5.9%	100%

* in either Roman or Chinese script

Table 18. Slogans on Colon Street

	English	English - Filipino/Tagalog	Filipino/Tagalog	Total
N	24	6	11	41
%	58.5%	14.6%	26.8%	100%

Below are examples of slogans on Petaling Street. Whereas Figure 36 illustrates a slogan in Malay, *"Lebih luas dan selesa,"* meaning "more spacious and comfortable," Figure 37 is an English slogan "Your Health, My Glory!".



Figure 4. A slogan in Malay, Petaling Street



Figure 37. A slogan in English, Petaling Street

On Colon Street, Figure 38 shows an example of an English slogan: "Experience our fastest internet." The second highest proportion, a slogan in Filipino/Tagalog, is illustrated in Figure 39: "*Buhong ang gugma sa matag tilaw*" (Every taste is rich in love). Lastly, Figure 40 illustrates code-mixing between English and Filipino/Tagalog lexicons: "Real *na* Real," the word *na* in Tagalog/Filipino means "that."



Figure 38. A slogan in English, Colon Street



Figure 39. A slogan in Filipino/Tagalog, Colon Street



Figure 40. A slogan in English and Filipino/Tagalog, Colon Street

The slogans on both Khao San Road and Legian Streets are mostly written in English. Similar to the information section, the combinations of languages on the slogan are rare. Only 15 slogans are found on Khao San Road, with 12 entirely in English. Slogans on the two signboards are bilingual: English-Thai and English-Chinese, and another signboard has a slogan in Chinese. On Legian Street, out of 24 slogans, 21 slogans are in English, while the rest are in Indonesian.

Table 19. Slogans on Khao San Road

	English	English - Thai	English - Chinese	Chinese	Total
N	12	1	1	1	15
P	80.00%	6.67%	6.67%	6.67%	100%

Table 20. Slogans on Legian Street

	English	Indonesian	Total
N	21	3	24
P	87.5%	12.5%	100%

Figures 41 and 42 show slogans in English on both Khao San Road and Legian Street. Figure 43 shows the code-mixing between Thai and English. The phrase "*chai yo*" in "*chai yo* with Leo" is a Thai phrase similar to "hurrah" in English. Meanwhile, Figure 44 displays the Indonesian slogan "*harga kaki lima*,

rasa dan suasana bintang lima", which roughly means that they offer a high-quality meal and place at a very affordable price.



Figure 41. An English slogan, Khao San Road



Figure 42. An English slogan, Legian Street



Figure 43. A code-mixed slogan, Khao San Road



Figure 44. An Indonesian slogan, Legian Street

Revisiting the status of English

Petaling and Colon streets, while belonging to the Outer Circle, display differing English use on signboards. On Petaling Street, English is prominent in names and slogans, emphasizing its efficacy in fostering branding and communication. However, a considerable occurrence of Malay and Chinese is also evident. They closely follow English occurrences in those signage elements, with Malay particularly dominating the information about products and services part, indicating a strong preference for using the national language for public communication.

Various strategies, such as code-mixing and translation, are generally employed to accommodate the existing languages. This code-mixing reflects the speakers' adeptness and creativity in using English, thereby contributing to the increased prevalence of English. Conversely, translation reflects the competitive presence of other prevalent languages, eventually diminishing the salience of English on signboards. Notably, these linguistic phenomena align with characteristics of Outer Circle countries where the choice between national languages and English remains continuous, and various strategies are thus utilized to incorporate them all. The deviating use of certain English words from the common practice in Inner Circle countries, as exemplified by "Enterprise", further indicates the presence of a new English variety that characterizes Outer Circle countries. Overall, these dynamics indicate Malaysia's complex linguistic situation, where local speakers attempt to garner English's communicative benefits while maintaining the existence of their language of identity. This is in line with the finding of Manan et al. (2015) that the complex role of English and the concurrent presence of indigenous languages aimed at appealing to the target demographic reflects the ethnolinguistic identity within Malaysia's multi-ethnic society.

On the contrary, on Colon Street, English is significantly present in all signboard parts. In some cases, the signboard makers mixed English with Filipino/Tagalog morphemes, words, or structures, creating an English variety unique to the area and conforming to the norm-developing characteristics of the

Outer Circle. This prominence indicates not only Filipinos' warm acceptance of English but also the language's significant role as a means of communication.

The differing results in the two countries can be attributed to at least two reasons. First, the Malaysian government has displayed an effort to elevate Malay through the enforcement of The Kuala Lumpur City Hall and Petaling Jaya Municipal Council laws (Manan et al., 2015) that not only prioritize the national language but also diminish the prominence of English in the public sphere. This objective is not recent and can be traced back to their past decision to exclude English from their official language (Omar, 1977, 1992). Consequently, the salience of English has been declining, at least as identified on Petaling Street. On the other hand, the Philippines government's measures are less enforced and apparent.

The second reason might be the differing attitudes between the two countries toward English. Both Malaysia and the Philippines are multilingual and multi-ethnic; thus, competition between languages is inevitable. Malaysia is made up of 22.4 percent Chinese and 6.8 percent Indian residents (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2021), thus, Chinese and Indian languages have a large number of speakers. An appeal to gain formal ground to protect the two languages was once made by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) in 1969 (Ye, 2002). These minority groups have taken great measures to protect their languages through daily usage, education, public signage, and other means (Sam & Wang, 2011). This attempt is observable in our data, as numerous signboards in Petaling Street contain not only Malay or English but also Chinese due to the street's proximity to Chinatown. It is, therefore, safe to assume that English as a second language is seen as a competitor.

On the other hand, the Philippines, despite being similarly multilingual, accepts English as an official language. Dreisbach and Demeterio III (2020) noted a conflict over the establishment of a national language between Filipinos (formerly Tagalog) and Cebuano. Mojares (1990) highlighted that the government's decision to use Tagalog as the national language is perceived negatively for potentially marginalizing local languages like Cebuano. In this context, thus, English appears as a "solution" to the existing conflict instead of a competitor.

Overall, English still seems to be prominent in both countries, particularly in the commercial sector, which underscores its significance for building business identity and engaging with a larger demographic. The differing policies and attitudes do not reduce the prominence but simply lessen its salience in the public domain and magnify the visibility of the other languages. This prevalence and the various linguistic strategies observed, i.e. code-mixing and translation, portray the typicality of the norm-developing Outer Circle countries proposed by Kachru (1986).

A similar situation is apparent on Khao San Road and Legian Street. Despite having low proficiency, Thailand and Indonesia make efforts to incorporate English into their signboards. English dominates all elements of signage in these areas, reflecting locals' attempts to communicate with international tourists.

In the Expanding Circle, both Khao San Road and Legian Street, the characteristics of signboards are straightforward, with English monolingual sign domination in the information and slogan sections, indicating that the signboards

are directed at foreigners. In addition to the English lexicon, the English structure dominates the construction of the names by branching modifier + head. Particularly in Indonesia, English structures are used even when the lexicons are all Indonesian or Balinese. The bilingual style and code-mixing observed on both streets further contribute to the emergence of new Englishes. This linguistic innovation demonstrates the fluidity and adaptability of language in multicultural environments. By incorporating elements from both English and local languages, speakers create new expressions and grammatical structures that effectively communicate within their specific social context.

While the use of the Thai lexicon on proper names could indicate an effort to display national identity, the utilization of local script on Khao San and Legian might serve a different purpose. The Thai government's language policies encourage the use of the national language and script on commercial signs in Bangkok by offering tax incentives to signboard owners (Huebner, 2006). Consequently, some shop owners attempt to incorporate the national language and Thai script. However, the Thai script is often printed small or relegated to a corner of the sign, suggesting its perceived insignificance to the target market, with less than 50 percent of signboards capitalizing on these incentives. This suggests that the incentive might primarily drive the transliteration and translation of non-Thai language into Thai script, appealing more to the authorities than to tourists.

Similarly, Indonesia's Law Number 24 of 2009, Article 25 (2009) stipulates the use of Bahasa Indonesia for public places, but it does not comply with the demand to promote business. The higher use of English on brand names on Legian Street indicates the sophistication of English and the spirit of modernity. Yet, national and local languages are also apparent on this street. However, unlike Khao San Road, which displays intense use of the local script to transliterate, Legian Street uses more Indonesian and Romanized Balinese words. This confirms what Purnawati et al. (2022) found that there is a minimum use of Balinese script, even in a heritage area in Legian, Denpasar. This shows that the Regulation of the Governor of Bali Province Number 80 of 2018 (Balinese Government's Documentation and Legal Information Network, 2018) stipulates the use of Balinese script in public places has not yet been applied. The dominance of Bahasa Indonesia with its Roman script could be the reason for the lesser use of the Balinese script.

The observation of English dominance on signboards in Khao San Road and Legian Street reflects a significant shift in the traditional conceptualization of the concentric circles model of English spread. The phenomenon observed in tourist areas suggests a blurring of the boundaries between the Outer and Expanding Circles. The use of English in Thailand and Indonesia has gone beyond mere second language acquisition or foreign language learning. Instead, it reflects a conscious effort by local populations to engage with the global community, particularly with international tourists. The proliferation of English shown in commercial signage in tourist areas is intricately linked to processes of globalization. As countries become increasingly interconnected through trade, tourism, and communication technologies, English has emerged as a common medium for intercultural exchange.

However, what is particularly noteworthy is not just the widespread use of English but the emergence of new varieties shaped by local linguistic and cultural

influences. The bilingual style and code-mixing observed on signboards in Khao San Road and Legian Street exemplify this trend. These linguistic innovations not only facilitate communication with international visitors but also reflect the dynamic nature of language in response to global interactions. Moreover, the emergence of new varieties of English, characterized by bilingualism, code-mixing, and local linguistic influences, underscores the dynamic nature of language in response to globalization. These linguistic innovations challenge traditional notions of linguistic ownership and signify a shift towards a more inclusive and fluid conception of English as a global lingua franca. This challenges the traditional notion of the Outer Circle as the norm-developing, as the Expanding Circle proved to also develop their norms.

Conclusion

This investigation aimed to revisit the conventional conception of Outer and Expanding Circles by scrutinizing the prevalence and utilization of English within the commercial domain. The findings reveal that as predicted in the Outer Circle countries, English is prominent in fostering identity and facilitating communication with prospective consumers. Unexpectedly, English also shows high prevalence in the Expanding Circle, serving as a lingua franca in the multilingual shopping areas. Various strategies are implemented to utilize English. Both Circles employ code-mixing, displaying new varieties of English as shown in bilingual and multilingual signboards. This suggests that the norm-developing nature of the Outer Circle has also been practised in the Expanding Circle. In Malaysia, where stronger law enforcement and a less receptive disposition prevail, the translation strategy has been adopted. Chinese translations of Malay and English brand names were evident, reducing the salience of English and emphasizing the appearance of national identity. In the Outer Circle, the transliteration strategy of English into Thai was applied, aiming not to increase the visibility of English in the landscape but rather to assist the local people in communicating with their international visitors.

Overall, the high prevalence and adoption of bilingual strategies in those four streets have made the line between the two circles seem indiscernible. With the rapid flow of globalization, it is not impossible that the use of English in other sectors does not differ greatly as well. Thus, the concentric separation will gradually narrow down to the historical basis of contact with English-speaking countries. However, further studies need to be conducted to evaluate this hypothesis. This could involve studies to comprehend the social and cultural factors influencing language choice and attitudes toward English. Additionally, investigating the role of English in non-commercial areas, such as educational, governmental, and community spaces, would provide valuable insights into its prevalence and functions beyond the commercial domain.

Our research introduces a novel approach to data collection by utilizing Google Street View® (GSV®) for capturing public signage. GSV® emerges as a recommended tool for linguistic landscape study due to its accessibility and comprehensive coverage of places worldwide. Researchers, thus, will be able to gather larger data within a shorter time and at lower costs. GSV® enables the user to select specific years, facilitating the scarcely investigated diachronic study in this field. Its slight drawback is its inability to capture signage in narrower

passageways and indoors. However, notwithstanding this limitation, GSV® remains a valuable tool for advancing linguistic landscape study.

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