



Report

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**A comparison of linguistic landscapes in Manchester:
A case study of The Curry Mile, Chinatown and Moss
Side**

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Introduction

The term 'linguistic landscape' describes the 'visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region' (Landry and Bourhis 1997:23). We will be researching 'The Curry Mile' on Wilmslow road (See appendix 1), popular roads in Chinatown (See appendix 2) and three roads in Moss Side, Great Western Street, Claremont Road and Princess Road (See appendix 3). The main aim of this investigation is to find out how three different linguistic landscapes reflect diversity within one city. This is of interest to us because one of these areas, The Curry Mile, is somewhere that as a group we are very familiar with; however the other areas are two linguistic landscapes that we have not visited before, therefore it will be interesting to look at how three rather different communities represent themselves and their individual cultures through signage.

We will answer the following questions about the variety of signs in each Manchester area:

1. What do the linguistic landscapes tell us about multilingualism in each area?
2. What languages are used on the signs? Does this reflect the culture within the community?
3. Are there differences in the way that communities structure their linguistic landscapes?
4. What is the purpose of the signs? Is this purpose fulfilled?
5. Who are the signs produced by? Are they professionally made or handmade, and how does this affect the purpose?

Our first area of study is Chinatown. It is the second largest Chinatown in the UK, giving a wide scope for collecting data within linguistic landscapes. We are interested to see if the nature of Chinatown's tourism will provide signs with a variety of languages, or if the signs will be authentic and traditional by using mostly varieties of Chinese. We predict that the signs will be authentic, using Chinese script, however we think that when talking to shopkeepers and customers there will be a clear use of English in order to attract tourists, or simply because they will have learnt English when living in the country.

'The Curry Mile' will be our second area of study. It is largely visited by tourists with its famous back-to-back curry restaurants; however it is also a residential area, and with a recent immigration of Middle Eastern communities the change in population may be reflected in the types of businesses and signage used on the street. With a noticeable increase in Afghan and Arab cuisine in the area, we are interested to see if there has been a large influx of languages such as Arabic and Pashto in the community.

We will finally be collecting data from surrounding areas of Rusholme such as Great Western Street and Claremont Road that are situated in Moss Side.

We are interested in looking at advertisements and signs in windows of shops-especially corner shops-to see if the language of the community is used more widely than other languages. Claremont Road has establishments similar to Great Western Street, and with a Somalian culture living in this area we would like to see if this affects the use of different languages in signage.

We think it is important to research less tourist- populated areas to look at smaller community languages and note any differences in comparison to the larger areas that we are investigating.

Methodology

The original research strategy for this study was to make a tally of each establishment on the Curry Mile, Chinatown, Great Western Street and Claremont Road; however on reflection we found that some of the areas were significantly larger than others and that the statistical data would not be representative if we were to compare them. To collect a more representative sample, we changed our method to collect research from 15 signs in each area. To ensure similar types of signage, we recorded signs from a range of restaurants, grocery stores, pharmacies and corner shops in each area. When collecting our data we added two signs from Princess Road which is situated in between Claremont Road and Great Western street; we therefore we combined these streets and collected 15 signs from within this community. This data will be recorded in tables and graphs as shown in our findings.

The next task was to record qualitative data. This was carried out by talking to shopkeepers and customers about the purpose of signs, the production of signs, and finding out what languages the signs were written in. In addition to our original strategy we also asked the shopkeepers about the types of audience that their establishment attracted, as well as asking what their first language was. This helped to answer questions about who the signs were aimed at, and furthered our knowledge of the main languages used within each community. When recording our qualitative data, one member of the group wrote down the utterances in order to provide an accurate recording when we we began to analyse our data.

When recording the linguistic landscapes we took photographs of the 15 signs from each area. By doing this we were able to refer back to the photographs when discussing the scripts used in signs, showing the differences between professional and handmade signs, and analysing the structure of languages on the signs (if there was more than one language used). We also did a bottom-up and top-down analysis of the signs which was a strategy used in some of the literature we read, and we felt that it would be useful in our study. When taking photographs of the signs, we also showed them to people in the community and asked if they could help us decipher the language, which was useful when certain establishments were not open. To ensure accuracy of the languages we received help from friends and course mates who were able to speak and understand languages that we couldn't.

Findings: The Curry Mile

Background

The 'Curry Mile' is located through Wilmslow Road in Rusholme, Manchester. According to Qpzm LocalStats UK only 56.4% of people living in the Rusholme 'Curry mile' area were born in England. Whilst 9.4% were born in Pakistan, 4.50% were born in Bangladesh, 3.60% were born in India, 1.70% were born in Ireland, 1.50% were born in Somalia, 1.20% were born in China and Scotland, 1.10% were born in Northern Ireland, and 0.90% were born in Jamaica (2011 UK Census) The following table represents the percentages of people in the Rusholme area who speak English, along with a variety of other languages. (Qpzm LocalStats UK)

Language Spoken	Percentage
English	71%
Urdu	5.70%
Bengali	4.80%
Arabic	2.50%
Panjabi	2.50%
All other Chinese	1.10%
Somali	1.10%
Malay	0.90%
Persian/Farsi	0.80%
Kurdish	0.70%

Figure 1. Percentage of residents in Rusholme speaking different languages (2011 UK Census)

These percentages suggest that the linguistic landscapes in this area will largely consist of languages other than English, and most markedly Urdu and Bengali.

Presentation of data part 1

Type of Sign	Language	Production of sign	Bottom-up or Top-down style, and which is the dominant language
Grocery store	Arabic, English	Professional	Bottom-up, Arabic
Tailors	Arabic, English	Professional	Bottom-up, Arabic
Sandaf Takeaway	English	A4 Poster	Bottom-up, English
Halal Takeaway	Arabic, English	Printed board	Bottom-up, English
Takeaway	Urdu	Professional	Bottom-up, Urdu
Falafel Restaurant	Arabic, English	Hand written	Bottom-up Arabic
Lebara International Calls	Urdu, English	Professional poster	Bottom-up, Urdu
Food Store	Arabic	Professional	Bottom-up, Arabic
Pharmacy	Chinese	Hand written	Bottom-up, Chinese
Travel Agents	Arabic, English	Professional	Bottom-up, Arabic
Shisha Bar	Arabic, English	Professional	Bottom-up, English
Dessert Café	Arabic, English	Professional	Bottom-up, English
Islamic Life Store	Arabic, English	Professional sign	Bottom-up, English
Barber	Arabic, English	A4 poster	Bottom-up, English
Travel servies	Arabic, English	A4 poster, printed	Bottom-up, Arabic

Figure 2. Signs recorded with their language use, type of production and road in which they are situated

Combinations of languages used on signs:

Language Combinations	Number/Percentage
English	1 - 6.67%
Arabic	1 - 6.67%

English and Arabic	10 - 66.67%
Urdu	1 - 6.67%
Chinese	1 - 6.67%
Urdu and English	1 - 6.67%

Figure 3. Combinations of languages used on each recorded sign.

Part 2: Qualitative data

Sign	Number of staff spoken to	Number of customers spoken to
Grocery store	1	1
Tailors	N/A (sign)	1
Sandaf Takeaway	2	0
Halal Takeaway	2	0
Takeaway	1	0
Falafal Restuarant	1	0
Lebara International Calls	N/A (poster)	N/A (poster)
Food Store	0	1
Pharmacy	2	1
Travel Agents	N/A (closed)	N/A (closed)
Shisha Bar	0	2
Dessert Café	1	0
Islamic Life Store	N/A(sign)	N/A(sign)
Barber	2	0
Travel services	1	0

Figure 4. Qualitative data of staff and customers spoken to for each linguistic landscape

Grocery Store (See appendix 4)

Observation: Written mainly in large Arabic font, with smaller English text dotted around the window of the store. Arabic was the most prominent script visible, however the English language seemed to present the important information and the Arabic script seemed to be placed there simply for customer recognition of the language.

Staff members: “Born in England and have always lived in Manchester”, however his family were originally from Algeria and were speakers of Arabic.

Customer: Native English speaker. Couldn't understand the script but said “the sign doesn't need to be English to know what it sells.”

Tailors (See appendix 5)

Observation: Half in Arabic and the other half in English which split evenly at the middle of the sign. There were also small images on the sign which represented the Tailors themselves.

Staff member/passers by: We asked a shop keeper who's store was located next to the sign if he knew what language the Tailors sign was in and what it meant to him. He told us the language in the sign was Arabic however he did not seem to know much else about it.

Sandaf Takeaway (See appendix 6)

Observations: Sandaf Takeaway used an A4 hand typed sign advertising in English, however with a spelling mistake which may indicate that they are not proficient in writing English and that it could be their second language.

Staff Members: Said “we have all different speakers in here, but the main ones are English, Arabic and Urdu”.

Halal Takeaway (See appendix 7)

Observations: Arabic and English, however the English is written in a much larger font, with the Arabic script underneath.

Staff Members: Spoke to two male staff members, one who was not very fluent in English and the other who confirmed that the sign was in Arabic. He said they were both fluent speakers of Arabic and the majority of the staff were too. However some still had English as a second language.

Takeaway (See appendix 8)

Observations: Professional sign as well as professional free standing board advertisement, both scripts being English and Arabic. English used in a larger font and making it the most prominent text out of the two. Throughout both the professional store stand and the free standing one, Arabic is used in a smaller font.

Staff Members: Born in England and had always lived in Manchester, however his family were originally from Pakistan. He was unsure who had produced the both the signs, but said that they wanted to bring all customers into the takeaway.

Falafel Restaurant (See appendix 9)

Observations: Hand written in chalk sign, which was slightly unclear due to being rubbed off and around the board. Majority of the hand writing was in Arabic, however the word 'Falafel' was used at the top of the sign, explaining what the restaurant sold.

Staff Members: We spoke to a staff member inside who didn't appear to understand what we were asking fully and he did not speak very clear English but explained he had used hand written signs mainly in Arabic because that was his first language and they had lots of Arabic-speaking customers.

Lebara International Calls (See appendix 10)

Observations: Majority of the script on the professional poster was in Urdu, some vital information was still accessible though to others.

Food Store (See appendix 11)

Observations: Used just Arabic script to advertise.

Customers: English customer from Manchester—"my family always have, I've been going here for years because it's got everything I need, it's cheap and it's close to home".

Pharmacy (See appendix 12)

Observations: Chinese hand written A4 poster outside of a pharmacy on The Curry Mile. There were no other professional signs written in Chinese, just a hand written sign on both windows of the store. The professional sign advertising the pharmacy was written in English.

Staff Members: The staff member who owned the store told us he spoke Arabic but was born in Manchester. He also informed us that the signs were to advertise passport photographs, and replied saying, "We find Chinese people are always needing passport photographs, and we always get Chinese people coming in for them".

Travel Agents (See appendix 13)

Observations: A Professional sign which was above a Takeaway. Both Arabic and English script was used.

Shisha Bar (See appendix 14)

Observations: Professional looking, Arabic script printed everywhere around the bar as well as English which was also in just as large a text, which represented the bar and its theme very well.

Customers: The first customer we spoke to was English who had always lived in Manchester. She told us “I come here to sit and socialise with friends....I only speak English”. The second customer we spoke to told us he spoke Urdu but was also born in Manchester, telling us “I’d like to come here often... The language on the sign doesn’t make much difference to me”.

Dessert Café (See appendix 15)

Observations: Both scripts were in Arabic and English and with the same sized font. The majority of the signs up around the café were covered with pictures of desserts and milkshakes.

Staff Members: Early to mid twenties and spoke fluent English, telling us “I speak English and Urdu, but most of my older relatives speak Urdu”. He also informed us he didn’t know who had created the signs, but he thought the images were the most important display feature.

Islamic Life Store (See appendix 16)

Observations: The sign used mainly English, and had a small portion of Arabic underneath which was also in a smaller font. The text they used for ‘Islamic Life’ effectively helped give a cultured and religious representation of the store.

Barber (See appendix 17)

Observations: The A4 poster advertising for a new staff member used English at the top of the page providing the essential details and then below used Arabic script to identify the same information.

Staff Members: Spoke fluent English as well as Arabic and Urdu, they told us the sign was in Arabic as well as English because “we didn’t want someone to miss up on a job opportunity because they didn’t fully understand what we were advertising, many people speak both English and Arabic here”.

Travel Services (See appendix 18)

Observation: A4 printed sign in window. Arabic script presumably writing countries names with the English name translated below or beside it.

Staff member: We spoke to one staff member who was not English but spoke English very well. She said they do cater for English customers, however they mostly work with Asian customers.

Discussion

When looking at Wilmslow Road we found that a large number of linguistic landscapes were written in English, however the examples that we recorded provided a variety of results including Arabic, Urdu and one Chinese sign. With 5.7% speakers in Rusholme reportedly speaking Urdu, we expected to find a substantially larger amount used within this landscape, however we cannot be sure that our sample of 15 signs was representative of the dominant language throughout the street.

The majority language we found in signage was Arabic, indicating that the Arab and Kurdish community is growing with more demand for their food and customs. When recording the qualitative data we found that the majority of shopkeepers spoke the language in which they were advertising on their signs, and there were few that could not speak English at all which may suggest that the linguistic landscapes include different languages to represent individual cultures, but also English to attract a wider audience; especially as many customers included students going to and from University.

The production of the linguistic landscapes showed a variety of professional and hand made or printed signs, however there was a clear divide between the larger food shops/restaurants with professional looking signs and the smaller ones with hand written or printed signs. This is a clear reflection of varying budgets, however in an area where there are many similar establishments such as restaurants, the production of the signs may largely affect the custom that the shops receive due to high competition on this road.

According to Shohamy & Gorter (2009), and Gorter (2006), the top-down and bottom-up strategies that are presented in these combined signs, show that 6 out of 12 signs have English above Arabic, showing that English is the dominant language. This could be used as English is a language that the majority of potential customers know so they are not alienating any customers that may not speak Arabic, but they include Arabic on the signs to make it more appealing for other customers to enter. 9 out of 15 signs have either Arabic, or Urdu above English. This could show that the dominant languages in this area are Arabic and Urdu not English. This may show that the owners of the businesses believe using languages native to the customers will attract more potential business.

Findings: Chinatown

Background

The popular streets in Chinatown, are located in the City Centre Ward of Manchester. The data from Qpzm LocalStats UK from the 2011 census showed that 57.3% of people living in the City Centre were born in England. Also, results showed that 7.9% were born in China, 1.8% in Scotland, 1.7% in Wales, 1.7% in Hong Kong, 1.2% in Northern Ireland, 0.8% in U.S., 0.8% in India, 0.7% in Ireland and 0.6% in South America.

This table presents the percentage of people in the City Centre who speak which languages.

Language Spoken	Percentage
English	71.9
Other Chinese	7.7
Greek	5.0
Arabic	3.4
Spanish	1.5
Cantonese Chinese	1.2
Mandarin Chinese	0.9
French	0.6
Persian/Farsi	0.5
Thai	0.5

Figure 5. Languages percentages for people living in Manchester City Centre

Presentation of data part 1

Type of sign	Language	Production of sign	Bottom-up or Top-down style, and which is the dominant language
Chinese Grocery shop	Chinese and numerals	Handwritten	Bottom-up, Chinese
Betting Shop	English and Chinese	Professional	Bottom-up, English
Chartered Accountants	English and Chinese	Professional Plaque	Bottom-up, English
Sea Food shop	Chinese and numerals	Typed handmade	Bottom-up, Chinese
City travel	Chinese	Printed Board	Bottom-up, Chinese
Travel Centre	Chinese and English	Professional	Bottom-up, Chinese
Spa & Skin Care	English and Chinese	Professional	Bottom-up, Chinese
Hairdressers	English and Chinese	Typed handmade	Bottom-up, English
Genesis City Properties	Chinese	Professional poster in window	Top-down, Chinese
Pearl City Chinese Restaurant	English	A4 poster	Bottom-up, English
Thai Grocery shop	Chinese and English	Professional	Bottom-up, Chinese
Florist	Chinese and English	Printed Poster	Bottom-up, Chinese
Pho restaurant	Vietnamese and English	Printed and Handwritten	Bottom-up, Vietnamese
Western Union Money transfer	Filipino, English, Vietnamese, Chinese	A4 posters	N/A had individual signs for each specific language
Official signs	One with Chinese and English/One with Chinese	Professional	Top-down, Chinese

Figure 6. Signs recorded with their language use, production of sign and result of bottom-up or top-down

Combinations of Languages used on signs:

Combination of Languages	Number/Percentage
Chinese	4 - 21.1%
Chinese and English	8 - 42.12%
Vietnamese and English	1 - 5.23%
Filipino	1 - 5.23%
Vietnamese	1 - 5.23%
Chinese and Numerals	2 - 10.53%
English	2 - 10.53%

Figure 7. Combination of language uses on signs.

Part 2: Qualitative data

Signs	Number of Staff Spoken to	Number of Customers spoken to
Chinese Grocery shop	2	0
Betting Shop	1	0
Chartered Accountants	(NA not open)	(NA not open)
Sea Food shop	1	1
City travel	0	1
Travel Centre	2	0
Spa & Skin Care	1	1
Hairdressers	1	0
Genesis City Properties	1	0
Pearl City Chinese Restaurant	(NA not open)	(NA not open)
Thai Grocery shop	1	1
Florist	0	1

Pho restaurant	2	0
Western Union Money transfer	(NA was a poster on a shop)	(NA was a poster on a shop)
Official signs	(NA)	(NA)

Figure 8. Number of shopkeepers and customers spoken to in each store

Chinese grocery shop (See appendix 19)

Observation: A4 sheet of paper handwritten in Chinese with English numbers next to some of the Chinese. The handmade sign was placed on the door of the shop as you walked in the shop.

Staff Members: When we asked the two shop keepers about the sign on the door, their English was not clear. They told us the sign was in Chinese but did not state what type. There were three Chinese customers speaking in the shop but no English people.

Betting shop (See appendix 20)

Observation: Professional sign on the top of the shop containing the shop's name, LewisBet, then in a smaller font underneath it had bookkeepers and then the Chinese transcription next to it.

Staff Members: The shopkeeper said he didn't know where the sign was made as he didn't own the shop. He said he was born in England but all of his family were from Hong Kong and spoke Cantonese and Mandarin. We asked about the range of customers and he said a mix of English and Chinese but mostly Chinese.

Chartered accounts (See appendix 21)

Observation: Professional placard with English writing on top and the Chinese translation underneath.

Sea food shop (See appendix 22)

Observation: Handmade typed sign on A4 paper with numeral quantities then Chinese, then Pricing then Chinese again. Sign was on the left as you walked through the door.

Staff Members: Once we had got the shop keepers attention we preceded ask him about the sign and after struggling for a few moments he managed to say "no english"

Customers: There was a Chinese speaking customer in there but she also seemed unable to understand our questions too.

City travel (See appendix 23)

Observation: Printed board outside the shop, with only Chinese writing

Staff Members: She said they only got Chinese customers so there was no point in English on the board. Also she said that Mandarin was her first language and had only just learnt English. She was unsure who had printed the board.

Travel centre (See appendix 24)

Physical description: Sign on the side of the shop, Chinese inscription above the English

Staff Members: The two girls who we spoke to said that the purpose of the sign wasn't fulfilled as they only got Chinese customers speaking Mandarin or Cantonese. They also said that they don't speak very good English as it is a second Language they picked up when they moved here recently. They said that they could speak Cantonese and Mandarin as well as a bit of English.

Spa & skin care (See appendix 25)

Observation: Professional made sign with Chinese Pinyin at the top, then English in the middle and Mandarin at the bottom.

Staff Members: Spoke to one staff member who was unsure as to who made the sign, but it was written in Chinese as that was predominately their clientele and English as the minority who enter the shop will know English if they don't speak Chinese.

Customers: Said that she knew both Chinese and English as she was born in the UK but in this area she speaks Chinese more than English.

Hairdressers (See appendix 26)

Observation: Two handmade typed signs, one advertising student discount then with the Chinese translation underneath, the second advertising free haircuts by trainees with Chinese translation underneath.

Staff Members: The staff said that the English was used first on the signs as they mostly get students coming in due to the discount, but also have several Chinese customers, who although speak English appreciate the use of Chinese. He said that the owner made these signs, that he thought he asked a customer to help with the translations.

Genesis city properties (See appendix 27)

Observation: Poster in shop window with Chinese writing on it, the only parts in English was the name of the company and the web address to go to for more information.

Staff Members: The staff member present said the sign was mostly in Chinese as they were their only customers, and although some do speak English they like the sign in their own language. She was Chinese but could speak good English.

Pearl city Chinese restaurant (See appendix 28)

Observation: Menu fully in English with one Chinese character at the bottom for symbolism.

Thai grocery shop (See appendix 29)

Observation: Professional sign above door, Chinese above the English.

Staff Members: Shop keeper said that there was a mix of Asian people that came into the shop. She spoke English but not clearly.

Customers: Went to ask a customer but he didn't speak English fluently.

Pho restaurant (See appendix 30)

Observation: On a board outside the restaurant, had a printed menu and next to it, images on the food they serve with Vietnamese and English descriptions.

Staff Members: Two staff members inside, however both couldn't answer our questions fully as they had just started there, but they said that they mainly got Chinese and Vietnamese people, but they spoke a bit of English too.

Florists (See appendix 31)

Observation: Written in Chinese script, then English below

Customer: A lady buying flowers said her first language was Cantonese but she read Mandarin too. Her English was not very clear.

Western Union money transfer (See appendix 32)

Observation: 'Western Union' written at the top with Chinese underneath. An A4 printed sign underneath the main sign with Chinese script then 'Office Tolet' written, suggesting that English was not the first language of whoever wrote the sign. Separate A4 signs in Filipino, Vietnamese, English and Chinese.

Official signs (See appendix 33)

Observation: The first official sign was written only in Chinese however the second sign was written with Chinese at the top and an English translation underneath it.

Discussion

When looking at the languages used in this linguistic landscape we found that most signs were written in Chinese but the majority also had an English translation. There were uses of some other languages such as Vietnamese and Filipino but on the whole most of the signs were in Chinese. As the shop keepers could not always answer our questions, we asked a friend who knew Chinese to tell us if the characters were all written in the same script or different. He said that the signs were mostly written in Simplified Chinese which has a reduced number of strokes in comparison to traditional Chinese, and is often used in printing because it is more widely recognised. There is one use of pinyin in the Spa sign which is the phonetic translation of Mandarin. This may be used to help those who are not fluent in Chinese, further suggesting that this sign is not only aimed at the Chinese population.

When looking at the structure of signs we found that there were 7 out of the 8 Chinese and English combined signs with the bottom-up approach, with 4 of these placing Chinese above the English making it the dominant language. The top-down official sign with Chinese and English also had Chinese first as the dominant language. There were 3 out of 7 combined signs with English placed above the Chinese writing, however this mostly occurred on signs of English businesses for example Lewisbet and P & Co Chartered accountants which cater for both English and Chinese people equally.

The production of the signs were a mixture of both professional and hand made or printed, however each of the businesses such as the accountants and city properties all had professional signs perhaps to differentiate themselves from unofficial shops surrounding them. The variety of businesses, grocery shops and restaurants reflects a community in itself amongst the rest of Manchester City centre. Many of the shop keepers we spoke to were of Chinese origin and additionally could speak little English or none at all; this indicates an isolation of Chinatown within the city as it has everything that the Chinese population would need-from authentic Chinese food to English companies that have complete Chinese translations on their signs.

Findings: Moss Side

Background:

Great Western Street, Claremont Road and Princess road are each located in Moss Side, Manchester. According to the Qpzm LocalStats UK there are only 52.2% of people living in this area who were born in England, whilst 7.8% were born in Somalia, 4.2% Jamaica, 4.2% Pakistan, 2.4% India, 1.8% China, 1.7% Nigeria, 1.6% North Africa, 1.5% Ireland and 0.8% Kenya. (2011 UK Census). The following table presents the percentage of residents in Moss Side who speak English and other languages.(Qpzm LocalStats UK)

Language Spoken	Percentage
English	69.7%
Somali	6.9%
Arabic	3.4%
Urdu	3.0%
All other Chinese	1.5%
Swahili/Kiswahili	1.4%
Polish	1.4%
Kurdish	1.3%
Panjabi	0.7%
Bengali	0.7%

Figure 9. Percentage of residents in Moss Side speaking different languages (2011 UK Census)

This suggests that the linguistic landscapes in this area will largely consist of languages other than English, and most prominently, Somali.

Presentation of data part 1

Type of Sign	Language	Production of sign	Bottom-up or top-down style, and dominant language
Sport and culture festival	Amharic (Ethiopian), English	A4 Poster, typed	Bottom-up, Amharic (Ethiopian)
Coffee shop	Amharic (Ethiopian), English	Professional	Bottom-up, English,
Libyan football club	Arabic	Printed banner	Bottom-up, Arabic
Corner shop	English, Arabic	Printed poster in window	Bottom-up, English
Convenience store	English	A4 posters	Bottom-up, English
Naan bread shop	Arabic Kufic script	Flag	Bottom-up, Arabic
Restaurant	Ethiopian, English	Handwritten	Bottom-up, Ethiopian
Tailors	English, Arabic	Printed board	Bottom-up, English
Food shop	English, Arabic	Printed board	Bottom-up, English
Internet shop	English, Arabic?	Professional	Bottom-up, English
Restaurant	Arabic	Professional	Bottom-up, Arabic
Chinese take-away	Chinese, English	Printed	Bottom-up, Chinese
Dress shop	Arabic	A4 posters	Bottom-up, Arabic
Grocery store	English	Printed signs	Bottom up, English
Samira clothes shop	English	Printed signs	Bottom up, English

Figure 10. Signs recorded with their language use, type of production and road in which they are situated

Combinations of languages used on signs:

Language combinations	Number	Percentage
English	3	20%
Arabic	4	26.7%
English and Arabic	4	26.7%
Chinese and English	1	6.7%
Ethiopian and English	3	20%

Figure 3. Combinations of languages used on each recorded sign

Part 2: Qualitative data

Sign	Number of staff spoken to	Number of customers spoken to
Sport and Culture festival	N/A (poster)	N/A (poster)
Coffee shop	1	1
Libyan football poster	N/A	N/A
Corner shop	1	2
Convenience Store	1	0
Naan bread shop	2	0
Restaurant	1	0
Tailors	1	1
Food shop	1	2
Internet shop	0	1
Restaurant	1	0

Chinese take away	N/A (not open)	N/A (not open)
Dress shop	N/A (not open)	N/A (not open)
Grocery shop	1	0
Samira clothes shop	N/A (not open)	N/A (not open)

Figure 11. Qualitative data of staff and customers spoken to for each linguistic landscape

Sport and culture festival poster (See appendix 34)

Observation: Informative poster featuring English and Ethiopian text; both languages used interchangeably for translation. The Ethiopian text is larger than the English text in some parts but mostly they are similar sizes. There is an English and Ethiopian flag featured at the top of the poster, equally sized and placed side-by-side.

Coffee shop (See appendix 35)

Observation: The shop advertised itself as ‘Ethiopian culture foods’ written in English, with the Amharic script underneath it. Both scripts were similar in size, however the English language seemed to present the important information and the Ethiopian script seemed to be placed there simply for customer recognition of the language.

Staff member: Said he was born in England and had always lived in Manchester, however his family were originally from Africa. He was unsure who had produced the sign, but stated “we use our language on this sign to connect with other ethiopians around Manchester”.

Customer: Also of African culture however was born in England. When asking about the purpose of the sign, the customer said “When I first saw that this was an Ethiopian shop, I wanted to come in”.

Libyan Poster (See appendix 36)

Observation: Appears to advertise a football club in Arabic script with no English. The banner is placed above a hardware shop suggesting that it has been made by an individual or group of people rather than an organisation.

Corner shop (See appendix 37)

Observation: A sign in the window advertising chicken and beef sold within the shop. Had the English words for chicken and beef, alongside photos of the animals and the Arabic translation.

Staff member: The man working behind the counter was not very open to conversation however confirmed that the writing was in Arabic.

Customers: The two women that we spoke to told us that they were from Somalia and both their first languages were Somali; however they were both fluent in English. One of the women said “there are a lot of different languages where we live”.

Convenience store (See appendix 38)

Observation: A4 posters written in English but advertising ‘talk home’ to people from Ghana, Poland, Jamaica, Turkey and Somalia.

Staff member: When asking about the purpose of the signs, the woman told us that they have to cater for different languages in the community. When we then asked why the posters were written in English she explained “most people speak English so it is easier to make each poster the same and write the country name with the flag”. She suspected that the ‘TALK HOME’ company had produced the signs but was unsure as she was not the owner. There were no customers to speak to but we asked the shop keeper if she thought that the posters achieved their purpose, and she said she had served lots of different nationalities whilst working at the shop so she thought it must be working.

Naan bread shop (See appendix 39)

Observation: The shop sign was written in English however there was a small A4 printed flag that was put up in the window. This appeared to be a sign to represent the culture of the shop owners rather than for informative use.

Staff members: We spoke to two men, one who was not very fluent in English and the other who told us that the flag was from Iraq. He said that they were both fluent speakers of Kurdish and that they knew English as a second language.

Restaurant (See appendix 40)

Observation: Advertised as Ethiopian restaurant in English, but particularly interested in the hand written sign with some form of script and ‘available here’ written next to it in small English script. When speaking to a friend who reads Arabic, she said that it wasn’t Urdu or Arabic however it may be somebody trying to write in Arabic as she understood the first word as ‘meat’ although said it was not spelt correctly.

Staff member: Spoke to one man behind the desk who did not speak very clear English but explained that he had made the sign. We asked why it was hand made but he only replied with “I want people to read both languages”.

Tailors (See appendix 41)

Observation: Printed sign but only on a small board outside. Important information in English along with photos, however there is some Arabic script underneath the ‘Tailors’ sign.

Staff member: Spoke to a lady who told us that her first language was Arabic and that she was originally from Iraq. When asking about the purpose of the sign she said “most people of different

cultures use their own language on shop signs as it shows our customers where we are from". She said that the sign was made by a printing company but suggested that the content was decided by the shop keepers.

Customer: Briefly asked a man waiting at the front desk if he spoke Arabic, in which he replied "yes I do". We asked if the sign made him come into the shop and he said "yes I can see they speak Arabic" but did not add anything else.

Food shop (See appendix 42)

Observation: Printed board outside shop. Written mostly in English but small Arabic script next to English writing.

Staff member: Did not converse much but confirmed that the sign was in Arabic and that his first language was also Arabic.

Customers: Spoke to two men who said that they were both Arabic speakers and went to the shop because they knew that the owners spoke Arabic also. We asked why they thought that the most part of the sign was written in English and one replied that "most people in this area speak English, but I think they want to attract people of the same culture so they show that they speak Arabic".

Internet shop (See appendix 43)

Observation: Professional printing on shop window. 'Dahabshiiil' written in large font with English writing underneath and another script underneath this, which we believe to be Arabic.

Customer: Woman behind desk did not communicate well, however we spoke to a customer who when asked about who explained that Dahabshiiil was a company from Dubai which suggested why the sign looked professional in comparison to most of the signs in this area.

Restaurant (See appendix 44)

Observation: Professional looking, Arabic script printed on the window. Small text, but represented the theme of the restaurant.

Staff member: The staff member told us that they have a wide range of people in the restaurant speaking all different languages such as "Arabic, Urdu, Kurdish and Somali". Said "we want all people to come and eat here but we are proud of our own culture".

Chinese Takeaway (See appendix 45)

Observation: Chinese Take Away sign above a closed shop with English writing but Chinese characters next to the English writing. This was the only form of sign representing Chinese culture within the community.

Dress shop posters (See appendix 46)

Observation: posters put up in the window with no English writing.

Passer-by: This shop was not open but we spoke to a passer-by who told us that they often see ladies of different nationalities in there

Grocery shop (See appendix 47)

We spoke to an owner of a grocery shop on Claremont road who explained that there are a wide variety of cultures that visit his shop, especially Asian cultures. He told us that some of the different languages he knew of in the community were “English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Somali and Swahili”. He had English signs on his shop, some printed and some handwritten. We asked why they were not in his native language which he told us was Urdu, and he replied that “most people within this area speak English even though it is not their first language, so it is easier for me to make my signs readable for everybody.”

Samira clothes shop (See appendix 48)

Observation: One big sign on the wall and one as the shop name board. Both written in English.

Discussion

When looking at the linguistic landscapes of Moss Side we found that a large number of them were written in English, however the 15 examples that we recorded provided a variety of results including Arabic, Ethiopian and one Chinese sign. Our quantitative data showed that the other than three Arabic signs, the others provided English translations either above the language or alongside them. With 6.9% of speakers in Moss side reported to speak Somali, we expected to see more of this language used within the landscapes, however it may be that there is more business in the Arab market therefore the language of Somali is represented mostly amongst speakers rather than signs. When recording our qualitative data we found that there were many more languages spoken such as Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Swahili that were not represented on signs. This could indicate that this area is fast-growing in its culture and that the linguistic landscapes may not reflect each one, but in the future may expand. The number of linguistic landscapes in this area was also much smaller than we anticipated, therefore we could further infer that this particular community could be culturally represented in other surrounding landscapes too such as The Curry Mile which has a larger variety of signs and establishments.

The production of the landscapes were largely printed or handmade signs with what seemed like a low budget. There were three signs that appeared to be professional, these being the Ethiopian coffee shop, an Arabic restaurant and the Dahabshiil internet shop, but overall the aesthetics of the signs in this area didn't seem to represent the purpose, rather it was the structure of the signs which we will discuss below. With this data being situated within a small community in comparison to surrounding areas like the Curry Mile, it could be that the linguistic landscapes are simply used for information and convenience for people living in close proximity, rather than to attract passers-by.

Following Shohamy & Gorter, 2009 and Gorter (2006), on their top-down and bottom-up strategies the combined signs in Moss side are all bottom-up as they are not official or created by public agencies. 5 out of the 8 combined signs have English first, highlighting that the owners view this as the dominant language. When speaking to the owner of a grocery store, he told us that it was easier to use English on shop signs within this area because it is a language that most people can understand rather than using individual languages that discriminate potential customers. The last combined signs, were 2 Ethiopian and one Chinese placed before the English. This could have been as the main audience for them were Ethiopians for the 2 Ethiopian dominant signs, and the use of Chinese first on the Takeaway could be for aesthetic purposes.

Comparison of The Curry Mile, Chinatown and Moss Side

In our introduction we asked the question 'What do the linguistic landscapes tell us about multilingualism in each area?' We have looked at each area individually, but we will now compare the linguistic landscapes and conclude with the aspects that we think are most important in answering this question.

Most importantly this study has researched a range of languages. Our results of the Curry Mile showed that Arabic was most widely used in signs, but we also reported Urdu, Chinese and English. Chinatown expectedly used Chinese and English with some signs using Vietnamese and Filipino. Finally, we reported mostly English and Arabic signs in Moss side, with Ethiopian also present. The languages of The Curry Mile and Moss Side reflected not only one culture, which is what we expected to see, but a range of different cultures represented individually. This was also shown in our qualitative data as we recorded even more languages when speaking to people. An article written by Jasonze Cenoz and Durk Gorter studies the use of two minority languages (Basque and Friesian) in countries with Spanish and Dutch as the official language. Their findings were that although the two streets that they were analysing were in Friesian and Basque regions, 'the national languages dominate the signs in either a monolingual or multilingual fashion' (2008). This result is similar to our findings as although our data is collected from areas where many different nationalities reside, the official language in Manchester is English, which was reflected in all three areas, consisting of many English signs and translations.

The structure of linguistic landscapes was an aspect that we thought would indicate the importance of the languages used in each area, therefore we researched top-down and bottom-up strategies (see figures 2, 6 & 10). In a linguistic case about Israel written by Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Elana Shohamy, Muhammad Hasan Amara & Nira Trumper-Hecht the authors made an analytical distinction between top-down (institutional) and bottom-up (individual) elements, which both contribute to a 'symbolic construction of the public space' (2006). We felt that by determining the strategy of signage, we would have a clearer view of the most dominant languages. In 'Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism' the authors suggest "the main difference between the two categories of LL elements resides in the fact that the former are expected to reflect general commitment to the dominant culture

while the latter are designed much more freely according to the individual strategies" (Gorter 2006:10). In Chinatown we found that the only top-down signs, which were government warning signs, were written in Chinese or with Chinese as the dominant language, which agrees with the statement in this article. On the Curry Mile and in Moss Side, we did not record any top-down signs however the bottom-up signs did appear to have individual strategies; we found that often the dominant language was English, although there were still a number of establishments with other dominant languages showing a commitment to their nationalities.

The purpose of the signs were discussed briefly with shopkeepers and customers however we felt that it was difficult to find an accurate answer as this question is something that many people had not considered. We did however feel that the structure of the signs and languages used on them sometimes suggested a purpose, for example in Chinatown a shopkeeper at City Travel told us that there was no need to include English on the sign because they only aimed to attract Chinese customers, indicating an informative purpose for a specific audience. As an observation we felt that the landscapes in Moss Side held an informative purpose with small local shops using different languages, but mostly English to communicate with everyone. Finally we thought that the Curry Mile often used a variety of languages as symbolism to attract particular nationalities into their establishments, but also structured their signs accordingly; for example some restaurants had big professional signs and some food shops used hand-made signs (such a chalk board) perhaps to personalise their approach.

The production of signs was an aspect that we felt reflected on the economy and nature of each area. For example there was a large variety of professional signs on the Curry Mile which showed a market of more established business than perhaps Moss Side which only consisted of largely run down or handmade signs. In Chinatown there was more of a variety with some smaller shops using printed and hand made signs, and some larger businesses such as the accountants using a golden printed plaque. The variety of production in each area, could reflect on the freedom of individuality (both in the languages used and structure of languages) which is given within the communities, rather than strict rules that have been shown in other studies of linguistic landscapes. 'Linguistic landscape in the city' by Elana Shohamy, Eliezer Ben-Rafeal and Monica Barni (2010) discusses Italy and the effect of immigrant communities. They review a policy in Prato stating that "'Signs or writings inside or outside shop windows should be accompanied by the equivalent translation in Italian when in a foreign language" (*Regulations for Commerce, Retail Activity in Set Premises*. Part VI, article 37, paragraph 3, Municipality of Prato). This is not the case in England as there is no legislation stating that a specific language is mandatory. This could be an indication of why there is a range of handmade and professional signs with a variety of languages used on them, as there are no government regulations. Even an official warning sign in China town (which was presumably erected by the local council) was written in only Chinese as a reflection of the community rather than the official language.

Overall we found that our study revealed general trends in the linguistic landscapes such as establishments that individually represent a wide variety of nationalities and cultures, rather than the

use of a prominent language in each area. We also found that although the range of languages used in signage reflects the influx of immigration within each community (for example a large Middle Eastern population on the Curry Mile), many of our recorded signs included the official language of English. In 'Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel' Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Elana Shohamy, Muhammad Hasan Amara and Nira Trumper-Hecht described English as a "neutral language"; "neither a priori associated with Jews or with Arabs - and allows maintaining of communication over the head of manifestations of animosity, preventing thereby a total cut-off between populations" (2006. pg. 25). Although this statement describes the use of English in a country where it is not the official language, it has similar results to our study where English is used as a gateway between a range of different cultures and religions. The data in this study has demonstrated the broader factors of relationships within Manchester's linguistic landscapes. It has shown that there is no prominent divide between each community, rather, they overlap in their use of languages and production of signs to create an individual representation of religion and culture within a given area.

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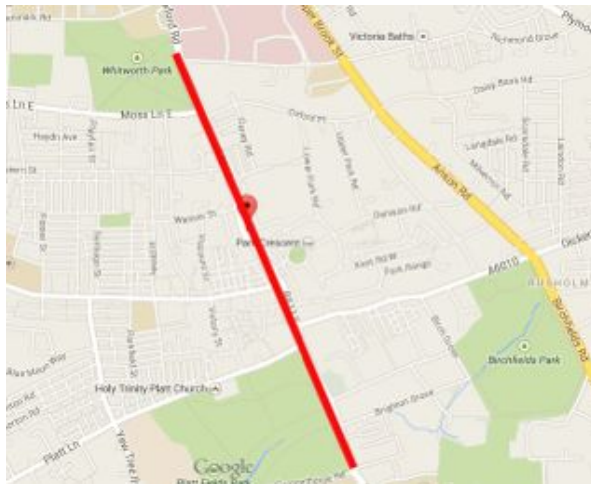
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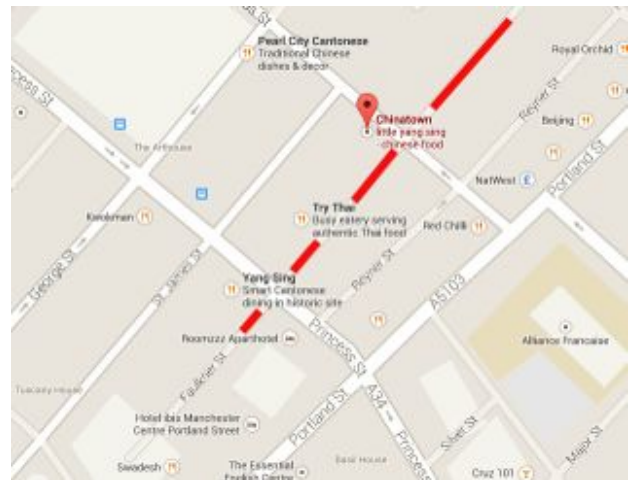
Appendices

Appendix 1. Map of Curry Mile



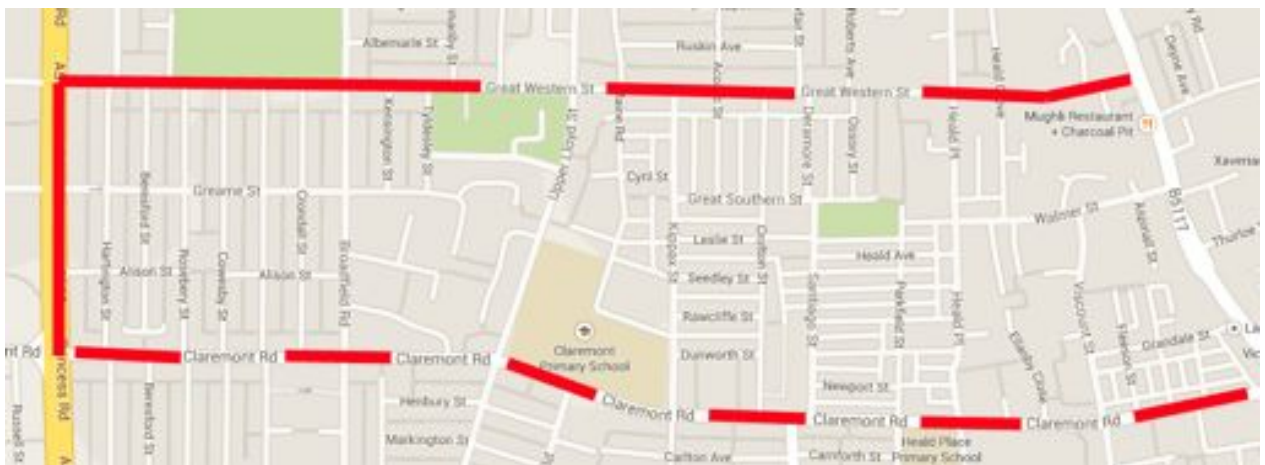
<https://www.google.co.uk/maps/>

Appendix 2. Map of Chinatown



<https://www.google.co.uk/maps/>

Appendix 3. Map of Moss Side: Great Western Street, Claremont Road and Princess Road



<https://www.google.co.uk/maps/>

Appendix 4. Grocery store



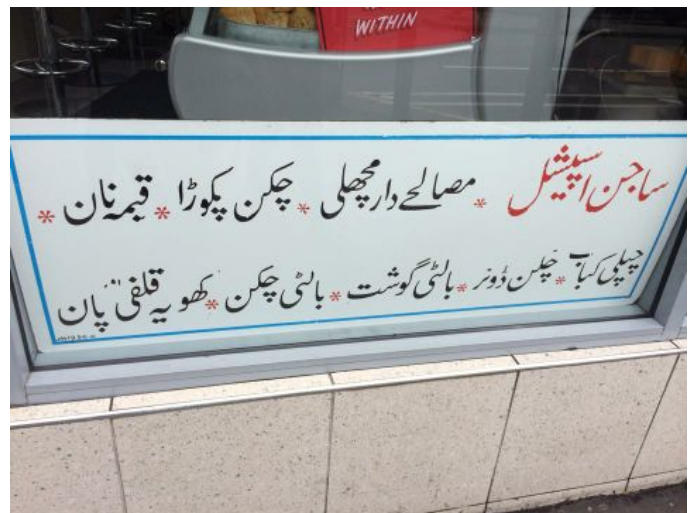
Appendix 5. Tailors



Appendix 6. Sandaf Takeaway



Appendix 7. Halal Takeaway



Appendix 8. Takeaway



Appendix 9. Falafel Restaurant



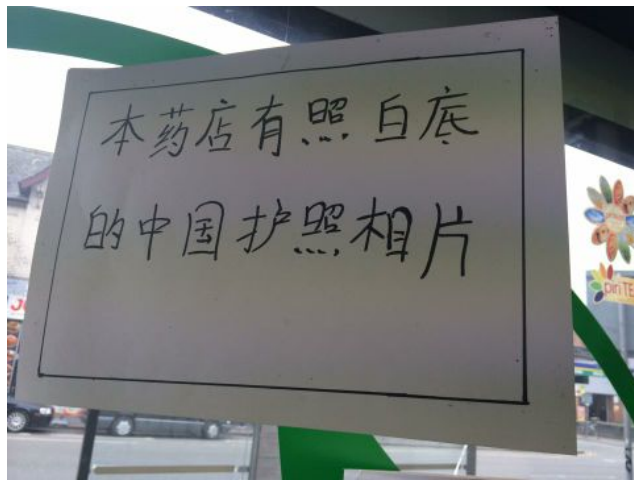
Appendix 10. Lebara International Calls



Appendix 11. Food Store



Appendix 12. Pharmacy



Appendix 13. Travel Agents



Appendix 14. Shisha Bar



Appendix 15. Dessert Café



Appendix 16. Islamic Life Store



Appendix 17. Barber shop



Appendix 18. Travel Services



Appendix 19. Chinese grocery shop



Appendix 20. Betting shop



Appendix 21. Chartered accountants



Appendix 22. Sea food shop



Appendix 23. City travel



Appendix 24. Travel centre



Appendix 25. Spa and skin care



Appendix 26. Hairdressers



Appendix 27. Genesis city properties



Appendix 28. Pearl city restaurant



Appendix 29. Thai food store



Appendix 30. Florist



Appendix 31. Pho Restaurant



Appendix 32. Western Union money transfer



Western Union money transfer: Vietnamese



Western Union money transfer: Filipino



Western Union money transfer: English



Appendix 33. Warning sign



33 Continued: Warning sign





Appendix 34. Sport and culture festival poster



Appendix 35. Coffee shop



Appendix 36: Libyan banner



Appendix 37. Corner shop



Appendix 38. Convenience store



Appendix 40. Restaurant



Appendix 41. Tailors



Appendix 42. Food shop



Appendix 43. Internet shop



Appendix 44. Restaurant



Appendix 45. Chinese takeaway



Appendix 46. Dress shop posters



Appendix 47. Grocery shop



Appendix 47. Samira clothes shop