



Report

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**The Linguistic Landscape of Manchester
A Case Study on the Multilingual Signs of
Longsight, Moss Side and Rusholme**

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1. Introduction

Manchester, the world's first industrial city, has embraced ethnic diversity and multilingualism ever since the nineteenth century. It is a key reception to immigrants from around the globe and is home to more than 200 languages. In particular, the multicultural mosaic is vividly displayed on the multilingual signages in Manchester. The aim of this project is to investigate the linguistic landscape in three culturally diverse suburbs in South Manchester: Longsight, Moss Side and Rusholme. The main focus lies on multilingual signs of local shops and private businesses in order to find out the reasons behind the choice to use more than one language. Did the shop owners aim to display their own culture or did they have a target customer group in mind? Furthermore, we attempt to examine the effects that the use of multilingual signs has on the community. Do these signs evoke certain emotions? Do they have an influence on consumer behavior? In this report we will first introduce the background information on the areas. Then, we will critically evaluate the topic with the data collected from our fieldwork investigation which provides both a quantitative and qualitative approach.

2. Background

2.1 Rusholme, Moss Side and Longsight

Immigrants from all over the world settled down in Manchester, which is known as a multicultural city. They form an important part of the city's residential, social and economic development. Three areas in South Manchester are particularly known for their cultural diversity: Longsight, Moss Side and Rusholme. They show a higher percentage of multi-ethnicity compared to other areas in Manchester, as more than half of the population of these areas has a first language that is not English (Manchester City Council, 2011). Rusholme is situated two miles south of the city center and is a key reception region for newly arrived immigrants and an accommodation base for international students. This study does not deal with the Curry Mile in Rusholme, but focusses on the parts of Rusholme where the people reside. Moss Side is situated to the west of Rusholme and it also features a constant inflow of people from multiple backgrounds. Having previously been the home to the 'Maine Road' stadium and having had a reputation for gun crime, rebuilds in the area have been started. Longsight is situated to the east of Rusholme. It has also been known for its gang related violence. It is the one with the greatest number of people with a non-white background out of these three areas.

2.2 Signs and Linguistic Landscape

Signs are a main element in the visual appearance and a specific part of communication which convey both a verbal and a non-verbal message. In the case of Manchester, signs display the city's multiculturalism on the urban surface. Many of the businesses can be associated with an ethnic

background that is non-native English through their display of signs and their choice of food or products. The term 'Linguistic Landscape' stands for the visibility of languages on public and commercial signs in a particular region. The linguistic landscape can be an indicator for the status of the linguistic community that lives in this region. It is also believed to present a 'carryover effect' to other areas of language, for example, the in-group use of this language. Based on the ethnolinguistic vitality, which is represented through signs, conclusions can be drawn as to the vitality of the languages in other domains. A linguistic landscape tells in-group and out-group members something about the linguistic characteristics that are prevalent in that region. It also signals which languages can be used to communicate in the institutions in the respective territory (Landry and Bourhis, 1997)

2.3 Preferred Language

A preferred language is the language which is used most frequently by speakers of more than one language and often their first language. This holds true for speakers who are either immigrants themselves or for their children who were born in the country to which their parents immigrated. Advertisers use this knowledge to reach out to their target group by using this particular language or models of the respective ethnic origin. This creates an emotional bond between the target and the advertisement, which is evoked by a sense of belonging and identity, and makes them more likely to buy the product (Ueltschy and Krampf, 1997). The same emotional process takes place by the use of multilingual signs. By reaching out to the consumers in their preferred language their buying impulses are more likely to be appealed to.

3. Methodology

3.1 Fieldwork Preparation

Before setting up a fieldwork plan, we conducted a pilot study to obtain a general overview of two of the three areas we had chosen to investigate. We visited Moss Side and Rusholme, took some pictures and got a first general impression. Afterwards we evaluated our findings and decided to carry out the questionnaire elicitation technique for our main study by filling out the questionnaires ourselves instead of recording the interviewees. We drew up some questions that could be answered without consuming too much time, as we expected the staff in the shops to be busy. These questions would provide the framework for our qualitative analyses. We also agreed to carry out a quantitative observation by counting the numbers of shops in total and the numbers of shops that used more than one language on their sign. For the qualitative and the quantitative approach we decided to leave out any expressions related to 'halal' as they are a very common feature in the areas we investigated. We regarded them as irrelevant for our research, as our focus was on signs and not on details regarding the menu. We also took into consideration only permanent signs, which have been in use for at least six months and excluded any temporary announcements.

Since our initial fieldwork plan was compiled, we have adopted two minor changes. The first one concerns one question on the questionnaire, namely number 4: 'Who took the decision to use more than one language? And why?' While questioning the interviewees, we realised that some of them had problems recalling the reason for their choice to use more than one language or that they simply didn't know who took the decision. So we decided to handle this question rather liberally and to leave it without an answer if necessary. The second alteration concerns the number of shops we had planned to count and analyse in total. In practise, this method was not feasible due to the unexpectedly high number of shops in general. We focussed on particular sections of the streets instead. Also, due to some shop owners refusing our request, we only did two questionnaires per area instead of three.

3.2 Quantitative Approach

For the quantitative approach we first determined in which sections of the main roads most of the businesses were situated. Afterwards we counted the number of businesses in total in this particular sections while identifying and counting the signs which were written in more than one language. After the fieldtrip we calculated the percentage of businesses with multilingual signs in relation to those with monolingual signs. These numbers can be used for future research in order to find any trends within the use of multilingual signs in the specific areas we investigated.

Initially we had planned to find about 20 businesses per area, but we discovered that the actual number of businesses situated along the main roads was much higher. Due to this unexpected outcome we decided to focus on particular sections of the roads instead of the number of businesses. Various fieldwork techniques were employed such as observation, participation observation, survey interview and visual analysis. All the data collected are verified by a native speaker of the language respectively.

3.3 Qualitative Approach

Our original aim was to obtain three completed questionnaires per area, of which we obtained two in each area and six in total. This is due to the relatively low number of shops with multilingual signs in Rusholme, two of them were closed and another shop owner refused to answer the questionnaire. Hence we interviewed the owners of the two remaining shops. In Moss Side the number of shops was higher, but some of the shops were not approached as the shopkeepers appeared reluctant and in others the owners were unwilling to cooperate. In Longsight some shop owners refused the request because they were too busy.

We decided to approach the business owners in person, as this was the most convenient way for them to be interviewed. In some shops we had to pause the interview due to customers approaching the shop owner/staff, but we continued after the customers had left. Before we took pictures of the respective signs we asked for permission which was always granted without any hesitation. These pictures were then used for further analyses of the signs. At the end of the interviews we expressed our gratitude and gave the

people that helped us one of the 'Multilingual Manchester' postcards with a short explanation about the website. In general, the owners and staff whom we interviewed were happy to help us and we had some enjoyable conversations. Most of the interviewees were open and willing to cooperate.

4. Fieldwork Investigation

An overview of our fieldwork investigation is provided by Table 1 and detail of fieldwork in each area will be discussed in the following section:

Table 1: Overview of Fieldwork Investigation

	Streets in total	Names of streets	Sections of streets	Shops in total	Shops with a sign in more than one language	Percentage of multilingual signs
Rusholme	2	a) Claremont Road b) Great Western Street	a) between Union Street and Kippax Street b) between Heald Grove and Lloyd Street	40 (35 English +5 multilingual)	5	12.50%
Moss Side	3	a) Great Western Street b) Princess Road c) Claremont Road	a) between Lloyd Street and Princess Road b) between Great Western Street and Claremont Road c) between Princess Road and Lloyd Street	81 (68 English +13 multilingual)	13	16.05%
Longsight	2	a) Stockport Road b) Slade Lane	a) between Dickenson Road and East Road b) between Stamford Road and Slade Grove	81 (64 English + 17 multilingual)	17	20.99%
Total	7			202	35	17.33%

4.1 Longsight

In Longsight we focused our attention on Stockport Road between Dickenson Road and East Road and on Slade Lane between Stamford Road and Slade Grove. There were 81 businesses counted in total, with 64 of them having only English signs and 17 of them having multilingual signs, occupying 21 percent. We encountered a comparatively high ethnolinguistic vitality with the percentage of multilingual signs being higher than in Rusholme and Moss Side.

The first business was a fabric and fashion shop on Stockport Road. We interviewed the shop assistance, who is also the daughter of the shop owner. There is a sign with both Arabic and English. The Arabic part symbolises the blessing 'protect us from the bad eye', while the part that is written in Latin script, Rewaj, is the name of the shop, transliterated from an Arabic word, which can be translated as 'tradition'. The shop owner decided to make the sign in more than one language because she also wanted to use her preferred language, which is Arabic. The sign was put up seven years ago by a professional company, which downloaded the picture online. The interviewee said that they target customers from the entire surrounding community and that all ethnicities are welcome. She uses English and Urdu to communicate with both customers and colleagues and regards them as the languages she is most fluent in.

The second questionnaire was answered by the shop owner of a phone store, with the sign in Bengali. It is attached to the entrance door and means 'from here you can top up to any Bangladeshi mobile'. The sign was put up in 2013 to show that they offer top ups and sell mobile phones to all customers. Their special target group are Bengali speakers as they try to address them in a language which they assume to be their preferred choice. The shop owner himself made the sign. It is interesting that he said he language in which he is most fluent had changed from Bengali into English since he immigrated to the United Kingdom and he used English most with colleagues and customers.

4.2 Rusholme

In Rusholme we focused on Claremont Road between Union Street and Kippax Road and on Great Western Street between Heald Grove and Lloyd Street. We counted 40 businesses in total, 5 of them used multilingual signs which makes up to 12.5 percent. As we have mentioned in the fieldwork plan, we only took the side roads, apart from the Curry Mile, into consideration because the Curry Mile has already been subject to much other research. The linguistic landscape in Rusholme in the particular streets did not meet our expectations as we had estimated to find more multilingual signs.

The first business was a fabric shop on Great Western Street. We talked to the wife of the shop owner. According to her, the sign was put up in English and Urdu about 6 years ago. Both languages express the same meaning, which is the name of the shop, Erim, which is also a first name. She could not tell us who produced the sign because her husband was in charge of this task. The language she is most fluent in is

Urdu which is also the language which she speaks with her husband and there are no other employees that work in the family business. Her customers are of mixed background and she communicates with them either in Urdu or in English. In this case the shop owners also use their own preferred language on the sign.

The second business was a food store. We talked to the shop owner who had taken over the shop only a few months ago. The sign that had drawn our attention was not the sign of the shop, but a display poster that was attached to the shop window. Unfortunately he could not tell us about its origins because it was already put up when he started managing the business. The poster displays the words 'chicken' and 'beef' in English and Arabic and additionally demonstrates pictures of the respective animals and their meat. The shop owner carried over the sign from the previous owners because most of his customers and colleagues speak Arabic anyway. This sign is not only addressing speakers whose preferred language is Arabic or English, but also everyone else, even illiterates, through the use of pictures. The shop owner's first language is Arabic, but he is also fluent in English and Somali.

4.3 Moss Side

In Moss Side we looked at Great Western Street between Lloyd Street and Princess Road, at Princess Road between Great Western Street and Claremont Road and Claremont Road between Princess Road and Lloyd Street. We found 81 businesses in total, 13 of them had signs with more than one language which makes up to 16.1 percent. Similarly to Rusholme, the variety within the linguistic landscape in Moss Side was lower than we had expected.

The first shop that we visited was a fast food shop called "Café Noor", which also had this title in Arabic. According to the interviewee Arabic was chosen due to the neighbourhood in which a lot of Somalian people live, who also speak Arabic, which is a clear sign of solidarity towards the surrounding community. In addition to Somali, Arabic, which is also an Afro-Asiatic tongue, is an official national language in both Somalia and Djibouti. Many Somalis speak it due to centuries-old ties with the Arab world, the far-reaching influence of the Arabic media, and religious education. This shop was a family business, as the father and the uncle of the employee own the shop, they decided to put up the sign in Arabic. In this case they did not need anyone else for producing the sign since they did it themselves in another business that they run. The employee speaks Urdu, Panjabi and English, so he himself does not speak Arabic which was displayed outside the shop. The languages that were used most with colleagues are English and Urdu and with customers it was mixed.

The second business that we analysed was a money transfer shop. The shop seems to belong to a bigger company as we encountered another shop in Moss Side with the same name. The shop owner told us, however, that it was his own decision to choose the languages on the sign. The languages were Somali, Arabic and English and they all said 'Welcome'. It was also the only shop in Moss Side that displayed

more than two languages, as all the other signs were bilingual. He explained that the speakers of these languages are also the targeted customers, as he believed the majority of the neighborhood to speak at least one of them. The language that he was most fluent in was Somali, but he was able to speak the other languages that were on the sign. In fact, he informed us that most of the customers were of Somalian background. In the shop he spoke English and Somali with his colleagues. In this case the signage displays both, the use of the preferred language of the shop owner and also an adaptation towards the preferred languages of the community.

5. Discussion

All the people that used bilingual signs for their shops shared their non-British background. The signs always express their ethnical background since the native language reflects the roots of the people. Moreover, all signs that we found were of exact translation from English to their mother tongue, with one exception of a shop in Longsight. In the following discussion we will critically examine the meaning associated with the preferred language and the content of multilingual signs including the emblematic function, social solidarity, advertising effectiveness and the power relations among the languages.

5.1 Emblematic Function

Signage is one of the many discourses that offers shop owners, customers and the community ways to think about their identities and social relations. The multilingual signs in the three cultural diversified areas allow them to act as a compensatory sign of their cultural heritage, emotional bonding and a glue to their communities, with the specific choice of language and content displayed (Piller, 2001).

5.1.1 Identity

In a multicultural society the topic of identity confronting migrants is compound (Bauman,1999). Language and culture have played a vital role in our perception of ethnic identity. The identity of both the indigenous and migrant population always undergoes fluctuation and cross-cultural communication (Conzen, 1979). In the case of the fabric shop in Rusholme, the preferred languages of the sign holder are English and Urdu as it is a family business operated by the shop owner and his wife. As a traditional fabric and garment shop of India, it is not only natural to put up signs in Urdu or Hindi, but a necessity to do so, as it acts as a sign of ethnic consciousness. Every ethnicity has a strong sense of ethnic pride and identity, which are often enhanced away from the home and during cultural fluctuation (Piller, 2003). By displaying a sign with a native language of the business owner, he or she is publicly expressing their pride to their own nation or ethnicity.

To sum up, even before any real-time interaction between the shop owner and customers, both the ethnic identity and the sign serve as a public declaration of shop information to customers and the community.

5.1.2 Culture

Language has often been used to emphasise the individual's and group's ownership of its culture (Matras, 2008). In the case of the fabric shop Rewaj in Longsight, a bilingual sign of Arabic and English is put up intentionally to express their culture. In the show window long-sleeved clothes and niqabs are displayed as the main products of the garment shop. The Arabic name of the shop symbolises 'the blessing to protect us from the evil eye', which is a tradition of Muslim and Arab countries. According to Saudi Arabia's Shariah law, there are certain conditions that women's clothing should meet. First, women should cover their entire body except exposing one or both eyes if necessary. Second, women should wear niqab, abaya and a headscarf thick enough to conceal what is underneath, and the abaya should be loose-fitting. Muslims believe that with the power and protection of Quran women are safe from the evil eye. Another remarkable example is the food store in Rusholme in which a bilingual picture of English and Arabic is put up on the show window. The sign displays the words 'chicken' and 'beef' in the two languages with pictures of the respective animals and their meat. From our interview we know that the shopowner has adopted this poster from the previous owner and found it a good visual information of the food store. In his visual bilingual sign Nisma food store has specified its food source and culture of not eating pork in Muslim religion.

To sum up, most bilingual signs function symbolically as markers of identity and culture and a secondary consideration to target their customers or appeal to ethnic groups which share the same sense of ethnic pride and cultural recognition.

5.2 Social Solidarity

Since the 1960s, the United Kingdom has addressed the social integration of migrants based on a complex range of ideologies such as 'assimilation', 'integration' and 'multiculturalism' (Cheong et al., 2007). Since then the language of multiculturalism has become dominant and small scale community cohesion is encouraged rather than a large-scale assimilation to English culture in the UK. In the case of 'Cafe Noor' in Moss Side, the bilingual sign of Arabic and English shows that the construction of social solidarity in a community is built via shared language, values, symbols and tradition. 'Noor' is a common Arabic unisex name meaning light.

An-Noor, meaning "the light" in Arabic, is the 24th sura of the Qur'an (Behind the names 2014). Although Arabic is the preferred language on the signs it is not the native language of the family business owners, who are Somali people. We have been told by the owners that Somali people usually speak Arabic as their second language and they intentionally put up a meaningful name and other signs in Arabic to

express their common values shared with all Arab countries. This phenomenon may hint that Somalians have submitted themselves to the dominant culture of Arabic to the extent that an emotional bonding to the language is built. The owners have explained to us that no certain group of targeted customers was in mind when the sign was built, but to address the solidarity of the community in which a mix background of Somalians and Arabs live. With 'God of the light' as the name of the cafe in Arabic, a sense of emotional attachment and auspiciousness is delivered (Cheong et al., 2007). This is particularly important for a business like a cafe where people choose to spend precious time with family and friends in their neighborhood.

To sum up, both the name and the choice of language of the sign are intentionally designed to build up social cohesion in the neighbourhood in which the majority of them are Somalians and Arabs in Moss Side.

5.3 Advertising effectiveness

5.3.1 English as a *Lingua Franca*

Although multilingualism is ubiquitous and spreading at a considerable speed, English has become a world *lingua franca* with diversified usage: the essential function of communicating, trading and identity constructing for individuals and the community (Aronin and Singleton, 2008). In our study of the three multicultural areas in Manchester, it is naturally assumed that English as the official language of the country will be understood by most. In other words, English has been perceived as a language for international communication regardless of ethnicity and culture (Jenkins, 2009). Advertising has been regarded as a form of social communication in which the reflection of cultural values take place. The fundamental function of advertisements and signs is to allow the viewer to discover similarity and create a sense of linkage between themselves and the advertisement (House, 2003). In most of the cases a majority of the shops in all three areas are of monolingual signs of English and thus assumed to be maximising the effectiveness of advertisement. Moreover, no further translation would be necessary since often just the names of the shops were translated which does not include any meaningful content for the potential customer. This assumption may be reflected in our investigation as all bilingual signs consists of English and another language. To sum up English is arguably the *Lingua Franca* in multicultural communities and by using it the maximum effect of advertisement can be achieved.

5.3.2 Marketing strategy for targeted customers

In the discussion above English is suggested to be an effective language in advertising. However, it is often a rather sophisticated business strategy to segment customers and specialise in products and services that are tailored to the needs of these customers (Kim et al., 2006). In the case of the phone

store in Longsight, a monolingual sign of Bengali is posted on the front door of the shop describing that 'From here you can top up to any Bangladeshi mobile'. The aim of the sign may be to solely target customers who speak Bengali as their preferred language. This assumption derived from the fact that mobile phones are daily devices which can be set into a certain type of language on display and this means that phones with a language of minor use will be a specialised product in the market. To sum up, marketing to target customers with the target language of the customers is one of the most effective advertisement tools as it 'filters' the range of customer to a certain degree.

5.3.3 Multilingual signs for all potential customers

Sometimes multilingual signs with three or more languages are put up for various reasons, such as targeting all potential customers or simply creating a sense of cultural diversity. In the case of the money transfer shop in Moss Side, it is the only trilingual sign we have seen in the three areas. The owner decided to display the word 'Welcome' in the three languages, namely Somali, Arabic and English on the show window in the aim to target all customers. This can be seen as another effective strategy in relation to the specialization of market and customer we have mentioned above.

5.4 Power Relations

Previous studies of multiculturalism have all defined power relation as a significant feature in the analysis of linguistic landscapes. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Cenoz and Durk (2006) and Landry and Bourhis (1997) have all expressed a similar opinion on the power relation as an inevitable cause of linguistic pattern shaped by sociopolitical and cultural forces. Comparing the three areas, various characteristics related to power and language choice are shown. First, all bilingual and multilingual signs will consist of the use of English. Second, some languages are chosen not because it is the native language of the shop owner but a more dominant and culturally stronger language impacting over their own language; in this case it is Arabic. In areas such as Moss Side Arabic is used particularly as it is as an influential language of the Middle East and African countries. Third, the ratio of multilingual signs is surprisingly low to the range of 10% to 20%. It is interesting to note that Rusholme, located near the Curry Mile, actually has the lowest percentage of 12.5%, hinting that the effect of English as a culturally and economically powerful language may be the strongest. In conclusion, the power relations of a linguistic landscape may indicatively be reflected by the ethnic and cultural landscape of a community.

6. Conclusion

As we predicted in our first report, most of the signs we encountered were monolingual signs in English. The reason for this can be found in the fact that English is the official language of the United Kingdom as well as, to an increasing extent, the international *lingua franca*, therefore it cannot be neglected in the

decision to put up a sign in Manchester. Moreover, even if the shop owners have different ethnic backgrounds, you can mostly find English on these signs.

These might be the reasons why most of the signs were only in English even though the high percentage of immigrant residents would have indicated differently. Nonetheless, we have also found multilingual signs in these areas: the most in Longsight (20.99%), followed by Moss Side (16.05%) and Rusholme (12.50%).

In each case, the assumed target group played a crucial role in the decision to use more than just English. Arguably, the salesperson follows economic marketing strategies to address a specific language group and thus to attract a certain clientele for goods and services. However, the multilingual signage also gives foreigners the chance to buy the food from home they might miss, as such the signs have a 'home sweet home' function.

Moreover, multilingual signs are also practical guides for a person who is not very fluent in English. To him/her it shows that the people in the shop speak his/her language and that he/she is thus welcomed, too. These multilingual signs also represent the shop owner's pride of being fluent in more than one language at the same time and thus reflects the components of his or her identities.

From our investigation, we learned that the decision to use bilingual signs in local shops has various and complex reasons behind it. By putting up multilingual signs, shop owners had customers of their own culture in mind and at the same time customers from all other ethnicities, such as in the case of the fabric shop Rewaj in Longsight.

In most cases, the English translations of the signs were exact translations from their foreign language, for example the Arabic translation of the 'Café Noor' which we found in Moss Side. Here the sign had a symbolic function in terms of solidarity, as the neighbourhood consisted of many Arabic speakers. Interestingly, it can be assumed that most of the people can understand the words in English that were chosen to be translated, since those were mainly simple words like 'Café' or 'Welcome'. This confirms the argument that the content of the translation of the English parts was less relevant but the use of other languages rather had a symbolic and emotional function.

To conclude, multilingual signs are ultimately expressions of one's own individual culture, pride and ultimately identity. The latter strongly correlates with their own preferred language which in turn reflects their ethnical background and emotional ties to the owner's own cultural community. Finally, it also has a practical function to attract both non-native and native speakers.

7. Recommendations and Limitations

7.1 Limitations

In our fieldwork we focussed on the choice of languages that were made on multilingual signs. However, we did not include the spatial proportions of each sign as we treated other aspects very detailed. With 'proportions' we mean the spaces which were given to the English word and its equivalent and the placement of both or several words. Further analysis could have been taken into consideration, by looking at the word order, the position and the size of the words in different languages in relation to each other.

Due to a restricted schedule, we carried out our research in Longsight, Moss Side and Rusholme only which led to a relatively small number of questionnaires. If we had more time, we could have investigated additional areas in Manchester to achieve a wider result.

7.2 Recommendations

To be well prepared for such fieldwork in culturally diverse areas we would recommend paying special attention to ethical considerations and personal safety such as asking for permission when taking pictures of signs. Moreover, pictures should be taken with a mobile phone as a camera can make people conspicuous. Before doing a pilot study we would highly recommend conducting background research on the areas which will be investigated. This means having a look at ethnic groups which live there and indicating the areas of interest. For us, 'Google Maps' helped us to orientate where we had to walk to and made it easier for us to highlight the visited areas. The researchers should also try to carry out their work as unobtrusively as possible, walking around in a big group may draw unwanted attention.

In conclusion, when carrying out research on linguistic landscapes, a focus on commercial areas is also recommended. These areas help to understand power relations better through their various display of multilingual signs which also reflect the dynamics within the community.

We hope that the results of our fieldwork are helpful and informative for the research on 'societal multilingualism' in Manchester as well as for students, staff and faculties working on multilingualism in Longsight, Moss Side and Rusholme.

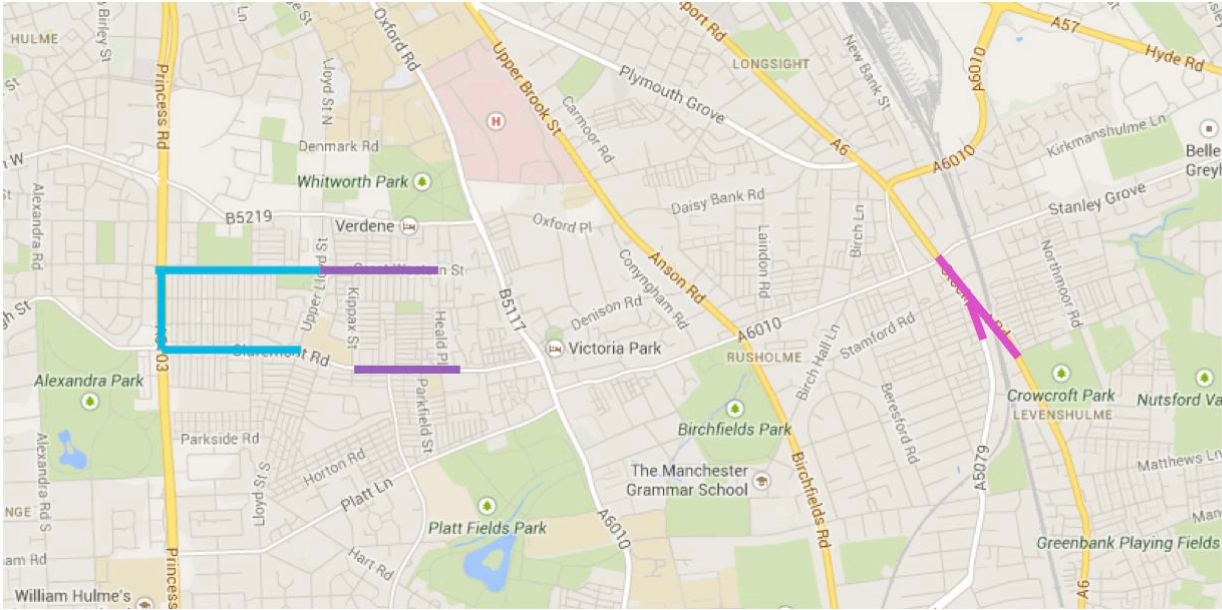
We think it would be helpful to continue our quantitative and qualitative approach to different areas in Manchester to compare it and complete this approach.

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9. Appendix

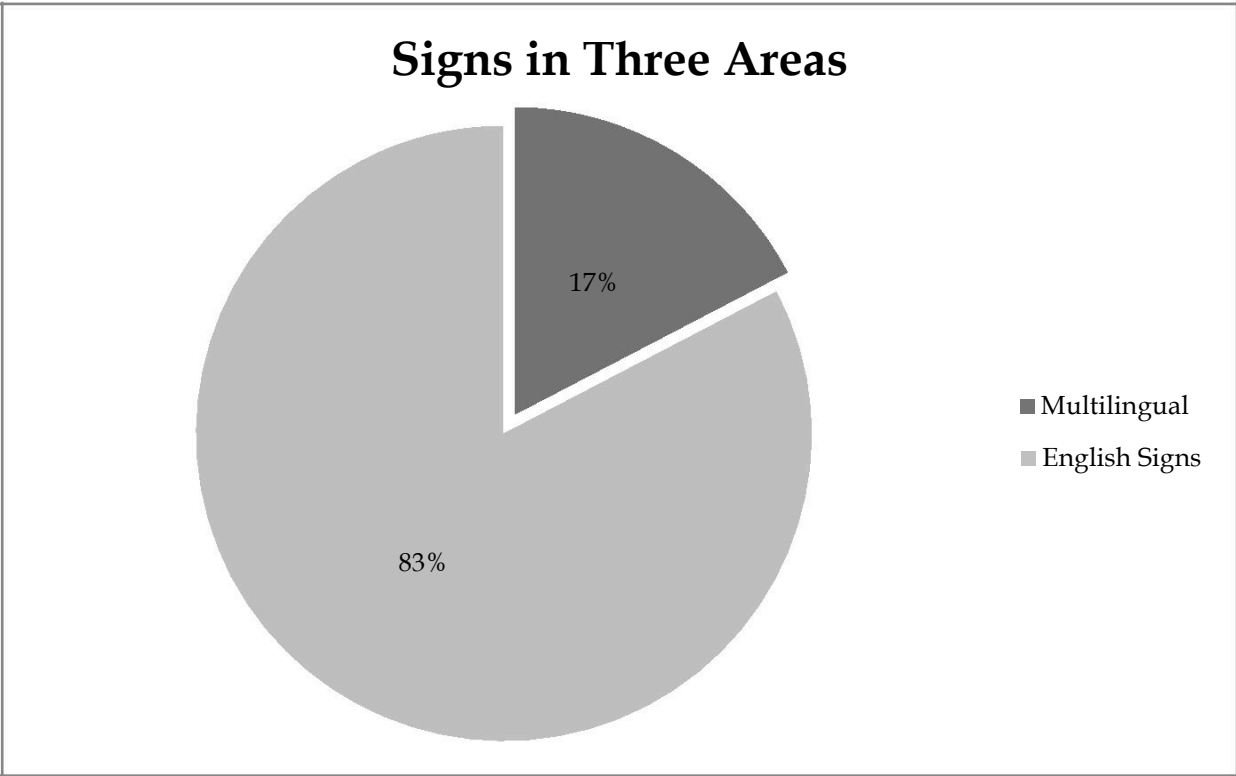
Appendix 1: Map of Investigated Street Sections in South Manchester



Source: maps.google.com [18th May 2014]

- Moss Side
- Rusholme
- Longsight

Appendix 2: Diagram Showing the Percentage of Multilingual Signs in Relation to English Signs



Appendix 3: Summary of the Fieldwork Investigation in Rusholme, Moss Side and Longsight

	Name of the shop	Type of the shop	Translation of the sign in English	Has an English equivalent on the sign	Languages used in the sign	The Language that the interviewee		
						is most influential in	uses most with colleagues	uses most with customers
Rusholme	Erim Fabrics	Fabric store	Erim Fabrics	Yes	English and Urdu	Urdu	Urdu	Urdu or English
	Nisma Food Store	Food store	Chicken and beef	Yes	English and Arabic	Arabic	Somali and Arabic	Somali and Arabic
Moss Side	Cafe Noor	Cafe	Cafe Noor	Yes	English and Arabic	English	English and Urdu	Urdu, Panjabi and English
	Princess Internet Cafe	Money transfer shop	Welcome	Yes	English, Somali and Arabic	Somali	English and Somali	Somali
Longsight	Rewaj	Fabric and fashion shop	Protect us from the bad eye	No	English and Urdu	English and Urdu	English and Urdu	English and Urdu
	M-E Newsagent	Phone shop	From here you can top up to any Bangladeshi mobile	No	Bangla	English	English	English

Appendix 4: Pictures of the Shops and Signs



Picture 1: Erim Fabrics, fabric and fashion shop in Rusholme



Picture 2: Nisma Food Store in Rusholme



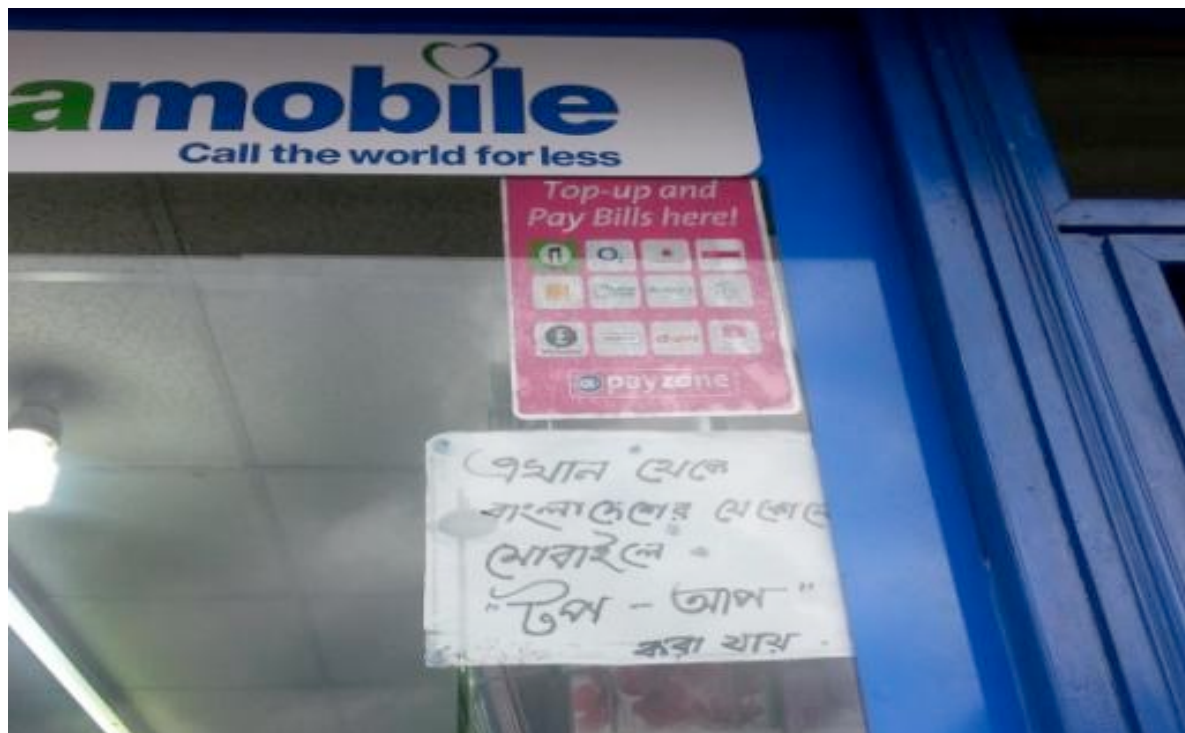
Picture 3: Princess Internet Cafe, the money transfer shop in Moss Side



Picture 4: Cafe Noor in Moss Side



Picture 5: M-E Newsagent in Longsight



Picture 6: Multilingual signs on the display window of M-E Newsagent in Longsight



Picture 7: Rewaj, fashion Fabrics in Longsight