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Linguistic Landscapes across Manchester:

A comparative analysis of five areas

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1.   Introduction

1.1.   Introduction and research questions

This report focuses on the linguistic landscape in five different areas of Manchester, namely Longsight, Portland Street, Chinatown, Whalley Range and Cheetham Hill. According to Landry and Bourhis' (1997: 23) definition, the linguistic landscape is made up out of the entirety of signs visible in a given area. Backhaus (2007: 6) states that in order for a linguistic sign to function properly, it needs to be put up in a conducive geographical environment. Furthermore, the messages on the sign are only useful when conveyed in a language that matches the languages understood by the community in its vicinity. In this way, multilingual linguistic landscapes can often show the ethnic distribution in an area and it is interesting to see how the different waves of immigrants have influenced the development and adaptation of languages. Through the LL, sign commissioners may have different reasons for creating a sign to transmit cultural values, marketing strategies and religious beliefs. Given the above background, we have formulated the following research questions to investigate the influence of these factors on the LL:

- What is the correlation between multilingual signs and the demographic composition in these areas?
- By whom, for whom and why are the signs produced?
- What effect/rule can a multilingual sign have on a target audience?
- Do the languages used on the signs function exclusively or inclusively?
- If a sign is written in both English and another language, do the translation provide different meaning and if so, for what reasons?

1.2   Literature Review

In this section, we will discuss previous studies and their findings in order to draw on their methodology and outcomes, as well as to relate our findings to the larger body of LL research.

Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2010) differentiate between signs that can be categorised into *top-down*, which are those created by a public body, such as a municipal administration, and *bottom-up* items, such as shop signs, which represent individuals and their businesses. *Bottom-up* signs differ in language use and layout as they act as a diversifying force whilst *top-down* items function as normative elements. The authors argue that, especially within *bottom-up* signage, three considerations factor into the layout decisions: *good reason, collective identity and cultural and national stereotypes,*

the latter two being relevant to our study. The use of languages on a sign illustrates the sign commissioners' cultural preferences, which, in return, may relate to the cultural identity of the surrounding community. A common, collective identity thus ties together cultural groups and manifests itself in signage. The more multicultural a community, the more of these *collective identities* different from the 'all-societal identity' exist. Rexrodt *et al.* (2014) add that, while the usage of specific languages and cultural associations can be inclusive by presenting a common cultural identity, it can also be exclusive for passers-by unable to relate to the culture represented on the sign.

Certain language tokens also function on an associative level, as Holmes (2005) establishes. The principle behind this is that cultural and national stereotypes are used to market products, for example, the usage of French names or terms suggests product quality in fashion and cosmetics. This works because passers-by have previous knowledge of the established relationship between country and product. A relation is also established by geographical references. Bogatto and Hélot (2010) explain how referencing a geographical place in a different country can create a strong cultural association, similar to the association caused by the product-language connection mentioned by Holmes (2005). Both require neither seller nor customer to have any direct connection to the referred and associated culture, so that signage that operates on this associative basis does not necessarily relate to the cultural community that forms the LL.

Finally, Amoah *et al.* (2011) investigated language usage in different domains in *The Linguistic Profile of Whalley Range*. The group found that usage differs across the domains they investigated. Within the business context, English turned out to be dominant while other languages were spoken as well, albeit somewhat underrepresented. If spoken communication in commerce is predominantly English, we can expect signage to mirror that preference. The commerce-related LL is thus likely to underrepresent the proportion of community language speakers.

Following from the above, we assumed that LLs were directly related to their geographical environment and represented its cultural composition to a certain degree. Power relations within multicultural environments influence the LL as much as business considerations do. Since we expected – and found – the *top-down* signage in our research areas to be exclusively monolingual, our investigation focused on private, mostly commercial signage instead.

1.3 Methodology

In this section, we will explain how we collected our data. We firstly focused on the quantitative method, which included taking pictures of public signs such as billboards, street names, place names, shop signs, signs on religious places of worship, educational institutions and government buildings found in the respective areas, as they constitute the LL according to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25). We then conducted interviews through a set of standardised questions (see Appendix, Questionnaire) in order to produce reliable data and elicit natural speech. Additionally, we observed the role of language on different signs through participant observation. Subsequently, we did a combination of random and stratified sampling and aimed to interview six people per area. On the one hand, we chose the interviewees randomly but on the other hand, we were particular to select establishments with only multilingual signage. Therefore, this qualitative method provided for data for our research questions and complemented our quantitative findings.

Finally, we made several amendments to our original fieldwork plan. Firstly, we made changes to the documentation table (Appendix, Documentation Table) by adding columns for English only signs, non-English monolingual signs and multilingual signs, which we then replaced with columns for religious supplications, transliterated and translated signs after we investigated the signage in Longsight. As Portland Street and Chinatown are primarily business areas and people were unwilling to be interviewed, we decided to limit the interviews to four people per area. In Whalley Range we extended our documentation to parts of Chorlton as we could not find as many multilingual signs as we had expected to find. Initially, we planned to study the areas in smaller groups and document the data the next day, but decided to approach each area together and alternated the work among ourselves and we documented the data on the same day. Furthermore, we modified the research areas of Chinatown, Whalley Range and Cheetham Hill to include as many signs as possible and have a larger sample size.

2. Findings

This section will present the collected data of each area we investigated. Our sample comprised of 550 pictures to document the linguistic landscapes of the areas. The following graph shows the percentage of multilingual sign per area and in total.

Per cent multilingual
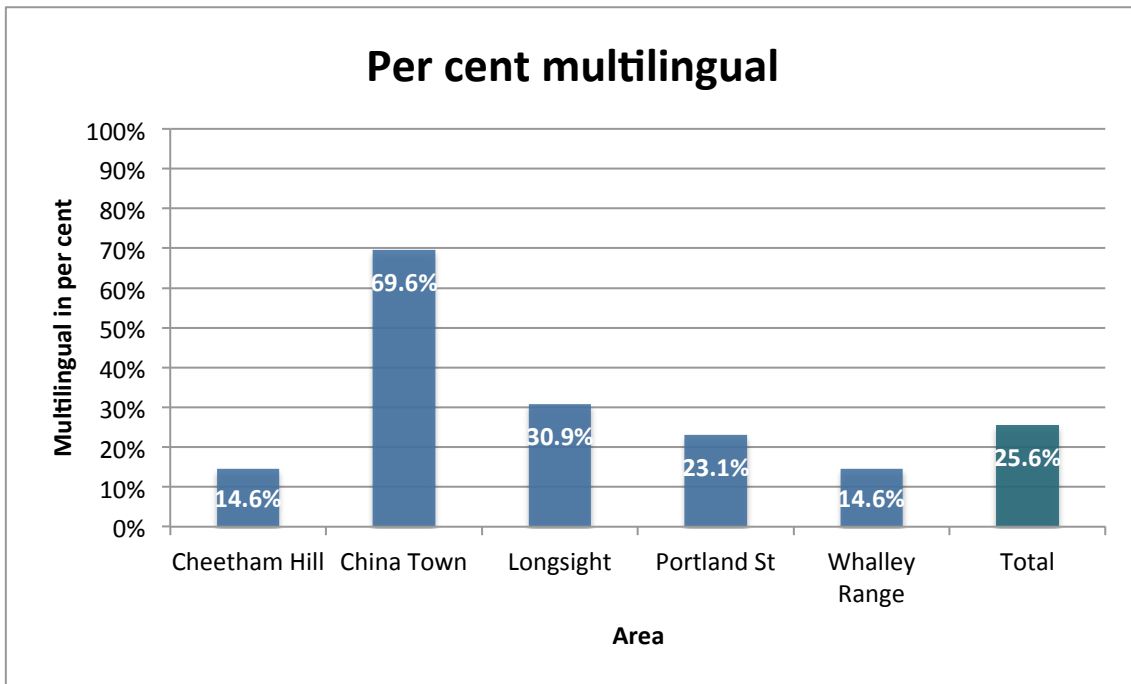
Graph 1: Share of multilingual signs in research areas.

The graph shows that the largest share of multilingual signs, more than 2/3, were found in Chinatown. On the other hand, Cheetham Hill and Whalley Range had the lowest percentage of multilingual signage; something we did not expect because of the ethnic composition of the respective areas

2.1 Longsight

The first area we visited for our research was Longsight, which is an inner city area of Manchester. After the Second World War, immigration from Asia and the Commonwealth Nations transformed Longsight into a cosmopolitan area (Cronin and Rhodes, 2010: 5–6). According to the 2011 census information, the biggest non-British communities in Longsight are Pakistani, Bangladeshi, African black and other Asians (Appendix, Table 2), so that we expected to find Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Arabic and other African languages to prevail in the area. Figure (1a) shows the absolute number of language occurrences on signs within the research area. This corresponds with the data on self-reported first language obtained from the 2011 census (Figure 1b). The linguistic landscape thus seems to mirror the language preferences of larger ethnic groups in the area.
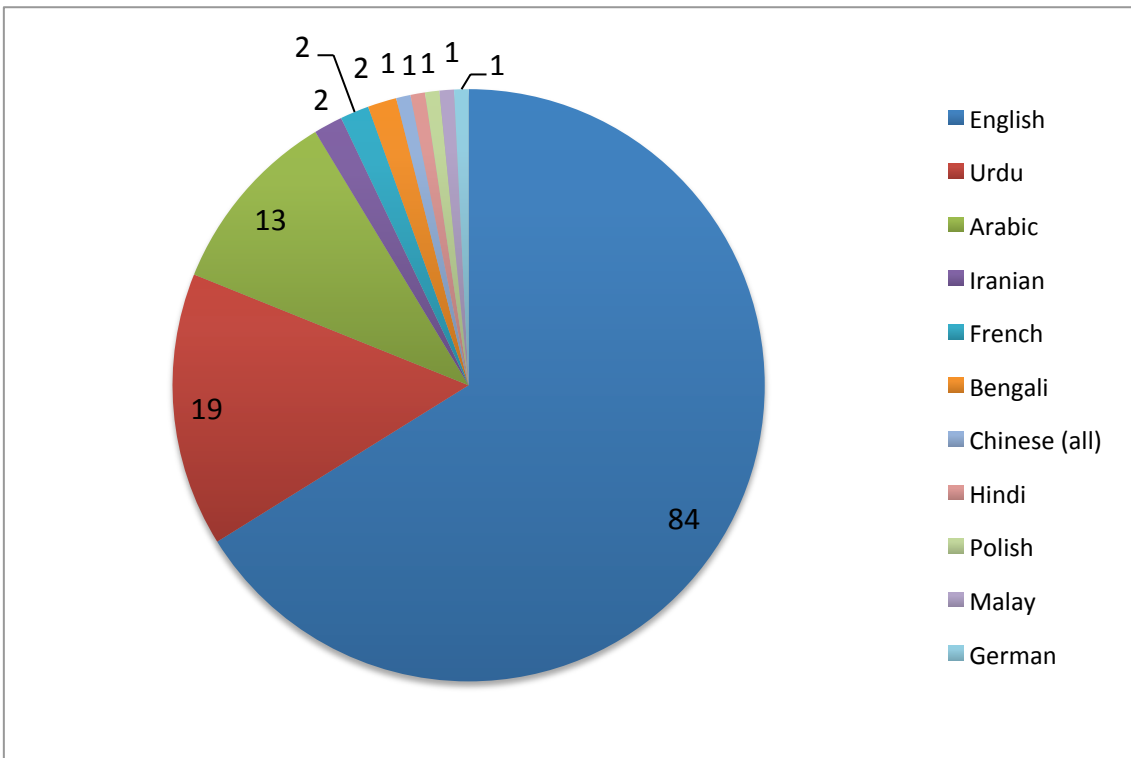
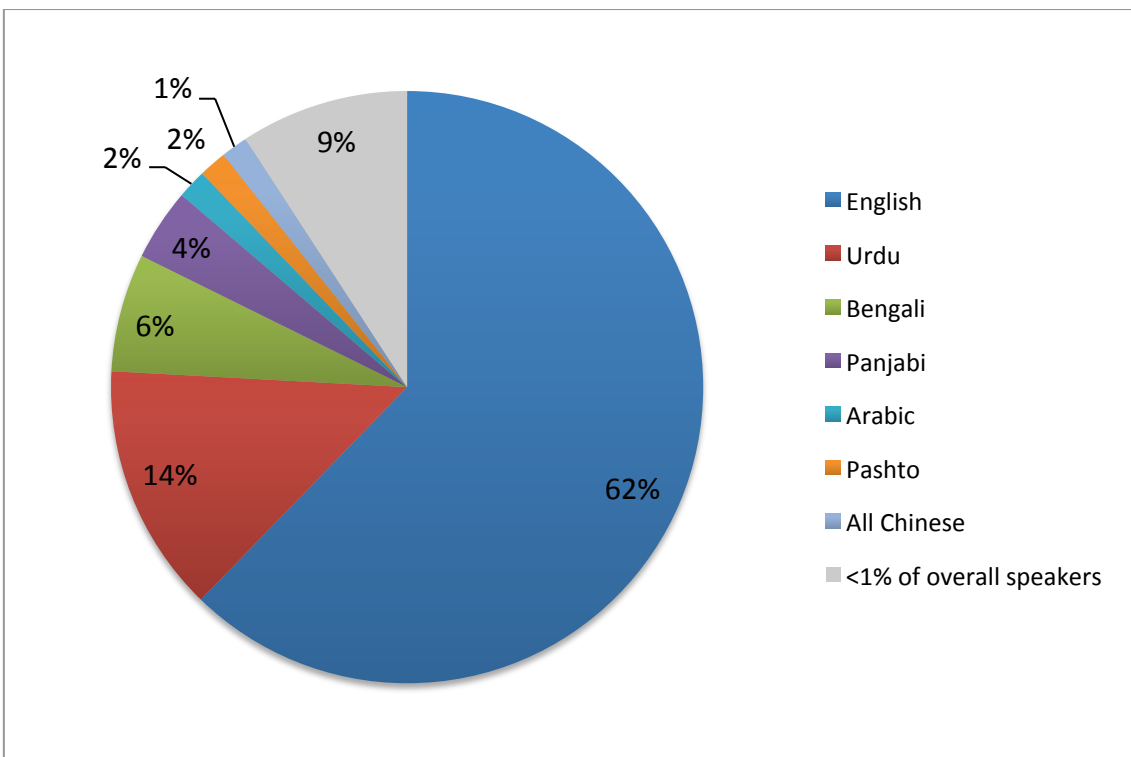Figure 1a: Absolute occurrence of languages on signs, Longsight.

Figure 1b: Self-reported first language according to 2011 census, Longsight.

The first establishment we visited was *Neelam Jewellers* (Appendix, Figure 6) where the manager was a British Asian who was fluent in English, Urdu and Punjabi. While he addressed most of his customers and co-workers in English only, the manager would switch between English, Urdu and Punjabi with regular customers. He felt that English,

as a lingua franca, was the most useful language to communicate with everybody. Consequently, the shop sign was written in English only. However, the word 'Neelam' on the shop sign was a transliteration from Urdu. The word 'Neelam' on the sign, which was designed by the interviewee's father, had a personal and cultural background: Not only was 'Neelam' the name of the interviewee's sister but it was also the name of a blue sapphire used in the craft of jewellery.

Next, we visited the *Pakistani Community Centre* (Appendix, Figure 5) where we interviewed the chairperson, a first-generation immigrant from Pakistan. He was fluent in English, Urdu and Punjabi. In the community centre, he spoke Punjabi to the visitors while Urdu was used amongst the co-workers. Dating back to the 1970s, the community centre sign featured English accompanied by an Urdu translation to increase its visibility for Pakistanis in the area, when the Pakistani community was smaller and less visible. However, the centre was not exclusively for the Pakistani community and 'had no religious or ethnic affiliations.'

In *Madina Property Services* (Appendix, Figure 1), the interviewee was a British Born Asian. While he generally addressed customers and co-workers in English, he would also accommodate the language needs of customers by using Urdu. The shop sign featured the word 'Madina', a transliteration from Arabic and Urdu to English. This word was used to make a religious reference to the city in Saudi Arabia and as a word that would imply blessing or good fortune for the shop. While he did state that shop sign did reflect his personal values and culture; he argued that there was no direct relation between the city of Madina and the sign.

Following this, we went to a restaurant called *Sanam* (Appendix, Figure 3) where we interviewed the Pakistani manager who had been living in Manchester for 10 years. He spoke Urdu and Punjabi fluently and English at a business level. While talking to his customers, he switched between Urdu and English, depending on how he perceived their ethnic backgrounds. With his co-workers, he spoke in both Punjabi and Urdu but discouraged the use of Punjabi in front of customers. The featured word 'Sanam', means 'beloved', and was both transliterated and written in Urdu. Although the manager had no influence on the design of the shop-sign, he felt that it reflected the culture of the subcontinent. The sign was in Urdu since Punjabi was difficult to transcribe into a formal writing system.

The manager of *Mushtaq Halal Meat* (Appendix, Figure 2) was a native Pakistani, who spoke Urdu and Kashmiri fluently, and English at a conversational level. While he talked to his customers in English, he addressed co-workers in Urdu. He would initiate conversations with his customers in English and switch to Urdu to accommodate his

customers' needs. English and Urdu were featured on the shop sign as direct translations of each other. The interviewee did not think that the shop sign reflected his cultural values or targeted a specific audience, but still noticed that most of his customers were either English or Urdu speakers.

Finally, we visited the restaurant *Lahori Dera* (Appendix, Figure 8) where the owner was British Born and spoke English, Urdu and Punjabi fluently. The most common language among both customers and co-workers was Urdu. He did not use Punjabi because he considered it as a rude vernacular, which coincides with *Sanam*'s workplace-policy. The languages used on the restaurant's sign were Urdu and English, Urdu being more prominent and the English only a transliteration. The self-designed sign, as well as most of the interior, was imported from Pakistan. He said that the sign was supposed to address the Pakistani community, and especially the first generation immigrants unable to speak English, meaning that most of the customers spoke Urdu and Punjabi.

2.2   Portland Street:

The second area we documented was Portland Street, a present-day multicultural and multi-lingual area because of the continuous waves of immigrants. As it is primarily a business area, we expected English to be the prevalent language in accordance with Amoah *et al.* (2011). The 2011 census data for the City Centre ward supports this as 72% of speakers reported English as their first language while 28% of speakers reported another language as their main language (Figure 2b). Regarding its ethnicities, 68% are white, of which 55% were born in Britain (Appendix, Table 1). Figure (2a) again concords with the census data (Figure 2b) as varieties of Chinese were the second most common language featured on public signs after English (Figure 2a). As the area is made up of a large number of restaurants, the use of languages such as Italian, Hindi and Urdu were expected because these languages tried to reflect the culture of the countries being represented, as will be explored in further detail below. Portland Street, dominated by White British, was relevant for our research because it enabled a cross-comparison with the more multicultural areas of Manchester.
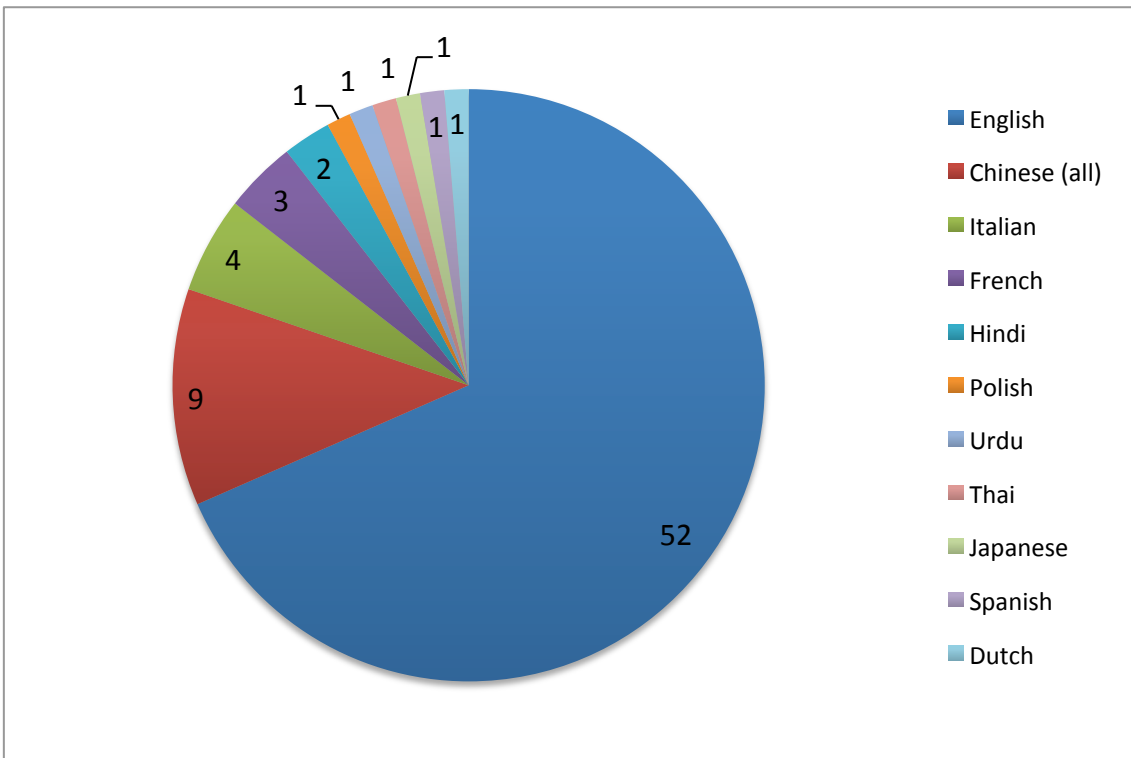
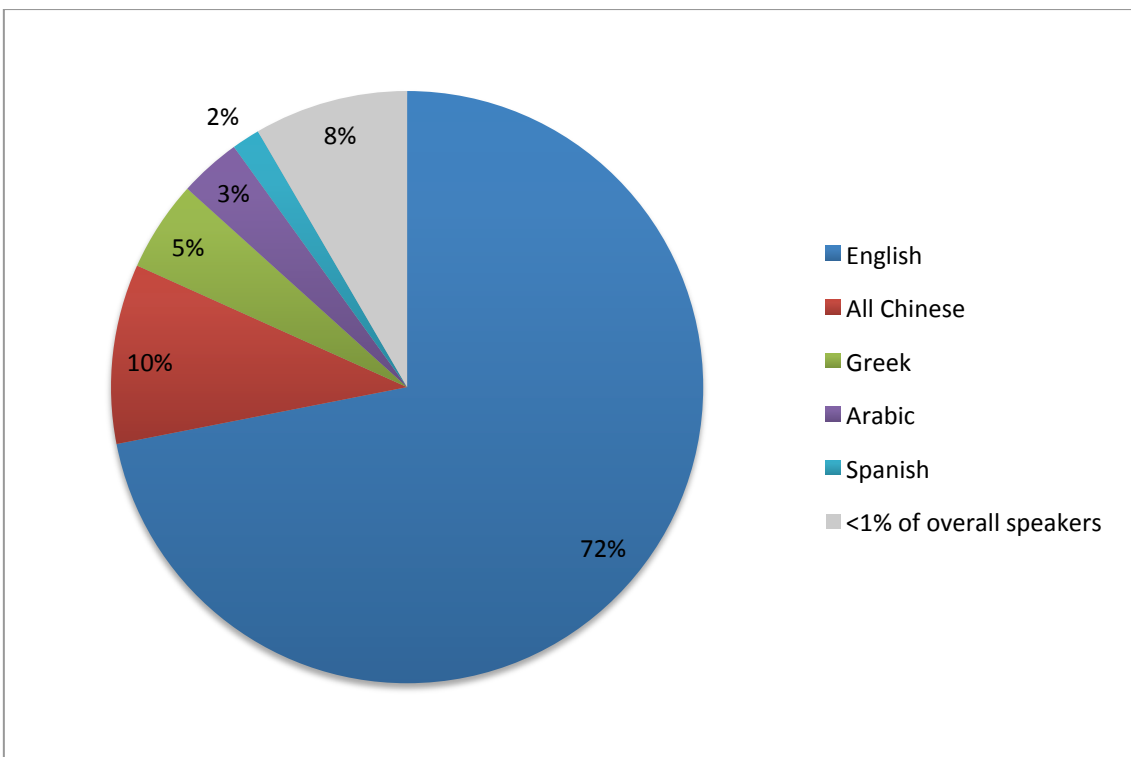Figure 2a: Absolute occurrence of languages on signs, Portland St.

Figure 2b: Self-reported first language according to 2011 census, City Centre ward.

Janam (Appendix, Figure 10) was the first establishment we visited. The interviewee was Turkish and spoke Turkish fluently and English at a business level. Because of their different backgrounds, co-workers communicated in English, which was also used to address customers. She identified the transliterated word 'Janam' as an Urdu word but also noticed that it was a Turkish word meaning "my dear". Inside the take-away, we noticed that there was a religious supplication on the wall to assure Muslims that the meat was halal. She states that the sign did not reflect cultural or personal values. She states that the sign did target a specific audience as the halal sign attracts Muslims

The owner of *Ciao Bella* (Appendix, Figure 9a,b), a restaurant, was British Born and could speak English and Italian fluently and used these languages when talking to staff and customers. However, she would often switch to Italian to accommodate customers' needs. The phrase "Ciao Bella" is translated as "Hello Beautiful". The owner said that Italian was only used to mark Italian cuisine and did not reflect her personal values or culture. Furthermore, she said that the sign did not target a specific clientele.

The interviewee of the restaurant *Swadesh* (Appendix, Figure 12a,b) was Bangladeshi and spoke English, Hindi, Urdu and Bangladeshi fluently. When communicating with customers, he used English and Urdu and only Hindi with some Asian customers. As with *Janam*, the interviewee and his co-workers communicated in English only. The word 'Swadesh' is a transliteration of a Hindi/Bangladeshi word meaning 'own country' or 'native country'. As with *Ciao Bella*, the name was chosen to represent Indian and Bengali cuisine, which would allow the customers to associate the name with the food offered. The sign is not intended to target a specific consumer group, but it might still attract people aware of the transliteration's meaning.

Finally, we visited the pub *Circus Tavern* (Appendix, Figure 11) where the employee was British Born, speaking only English. The bar attracted a diverse range of nationalities such as Norwegian, German, Spanish, Polish and Slovakian. The predominant language on the permanent signs was English, but they also featured translations of 'welcome' in Norwegian, Spanish, Italian and French. The interviewee stated that the bar welcomes everybody and thus tries to address several cultures therefore it does not target a specific audience.

2.3   Chinatown

The third area we visited was Chinatown. Situated in Manchester's city centre, it is a place full of Asian culture. The area was established in the 1940s when Chinese immigrants first arrived in Manchester. Since then a lot of new business were launched.

For our research, we interviewed four businesses. Unlike the other research areas, which featured predominantly English signage, Chinatown exhibits a dual visibility of English and varieties of Chinese (Figure 3), while other languages were virtually absent. With its high concentration of Chinese businesses, Chinatown forms an ethnic enclave shaped by Chinese commerce and its visibility as a means of marketing. We also observed that a majority of the signs were in Cantonese because the first wave of immigrants were predominantly speakers of Cantonese. Only recently has Chinatown seen an increased usage of Mandarin on signs due its spread in business and education, according to our interviewees.
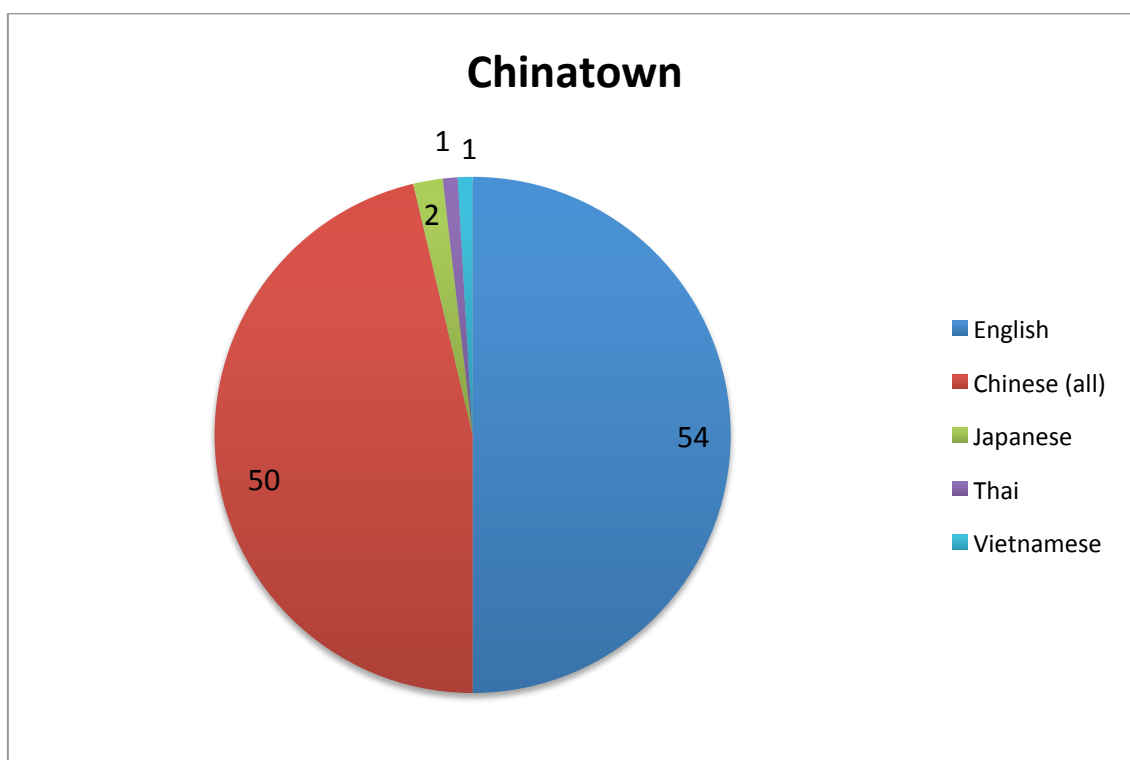

Figure 3: Absolute occurrence of languages on signs, Chinatown.

Firstly, we visited the restaurant *Wasabi* (Appendix, Figure 13). We interviewed the manager of the restaurant who was Chinese and could speak Cantonese and English fluently. When approached by customers who could not speak either of these languages, he would direct them to staff who could speak their language. The staff in the restaurant belonged to various ethnicities such as Malaysian, Taiwanese and Chinese. The restaurant sign was a transliterated word from Japanese to English and reflected the Japanese culture. The Japanese transliteration was used for marketing strategy and showed that Japanese cuisine is being served.

The second place we investigated was the hair salon, *Lily Chen* (Appendix, Figure 14), where the interviewee was Chinese. The languages used on the sign were English and Cantonese; however, she only spoke Cantonese fluently while she spoke English

conversationally. She would wait until the customer initiated a conversation and if they started talking in Cantonese she would respond likewise. However, due to the fact that all the staff in the salon were Chinese immigrants she would use Cantonese while addressing them. She chose to use Chinese and English on the sign to accommodate the customer's needs.

The manager of the next restaurant, *Pacific Restaurant* (Appendix, Figure 16a,b), was also Chinese. The word "Pacific" was written in English and was directly translated into Cantonese. The owner could speak both Mandarin and Cantonese as well as English fluently. The customers at *Pacific* mostly communicated in Cantonese and English. However, the marketing manager decided to include an English translation of the name as well, because representatives of other nationalities would visit sometimes for a lunch.

Finally, we interviewed the owner of the supermarket *Woo Sang* (Appendix, Figure 15), who was Chinese. The languages represented on the sign were English and Cantonese and the owner spoke both of them fluently. The owner used Cantonese while talking to Chinese customers and the staff and communicated with all other customers in English. Even though, the sign displayed only two languages, there were many Thai and Japanese products, which attracted people of these ethnicities.

2.4   Whalley Range

Whalley Range is an area two miles southwest from Manchester city centre. Originally laid out as a suburb, this area used to accommodate the housing needs of the upper middle class in the early 19th century. After the Second World War, the area saw successive waves of immigration and settlement of various ethnicities in this area. As shown in 2011 census data, the ethnic composition of Whalley Range comprised of 48.2% White backed by 30.8% Asian or Asian British and 10.1% Black or Black British (Appendix, Table 4). In the context of the ethnic background of Whalley Range, we expected the linguistic landscape of the shops and other establishments such as places of worship to be representative of the language needs of its residents. As Figures (4a,b) show, English is the predominant language used in the area. However, most of the population's background is South Asian. This is displayed in Figure 4b where Urdu is the second most common first language, something we also observed on the signage of the area.
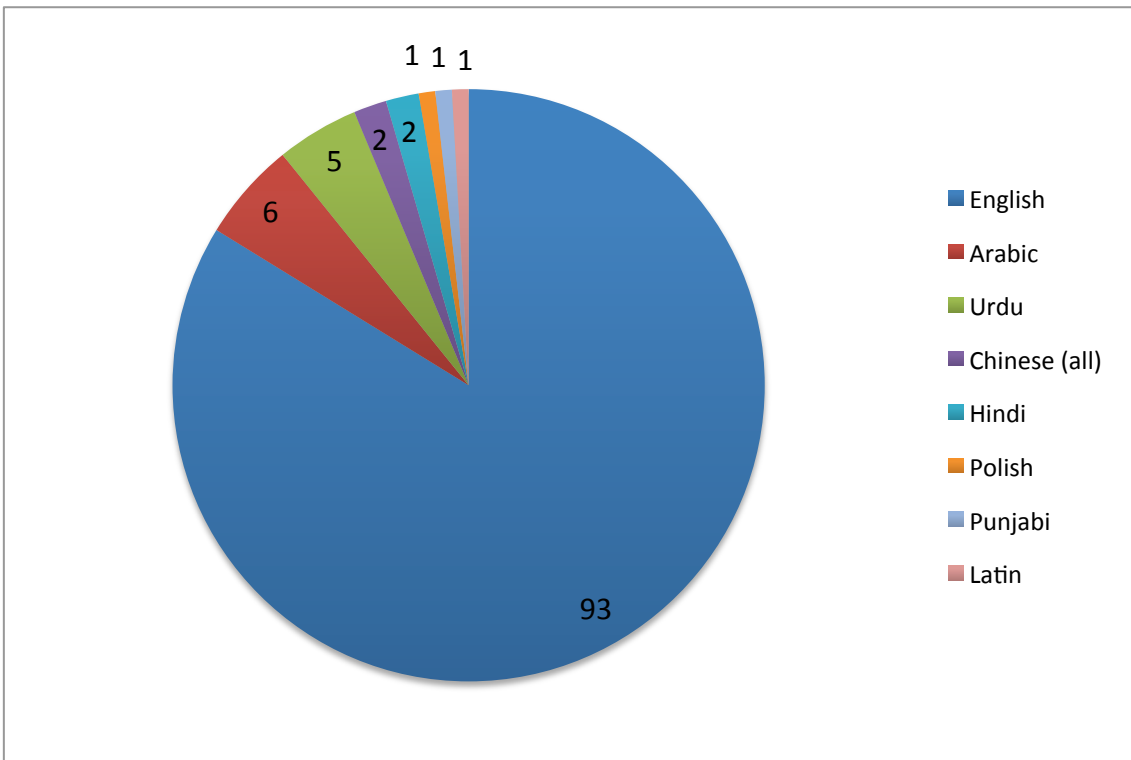
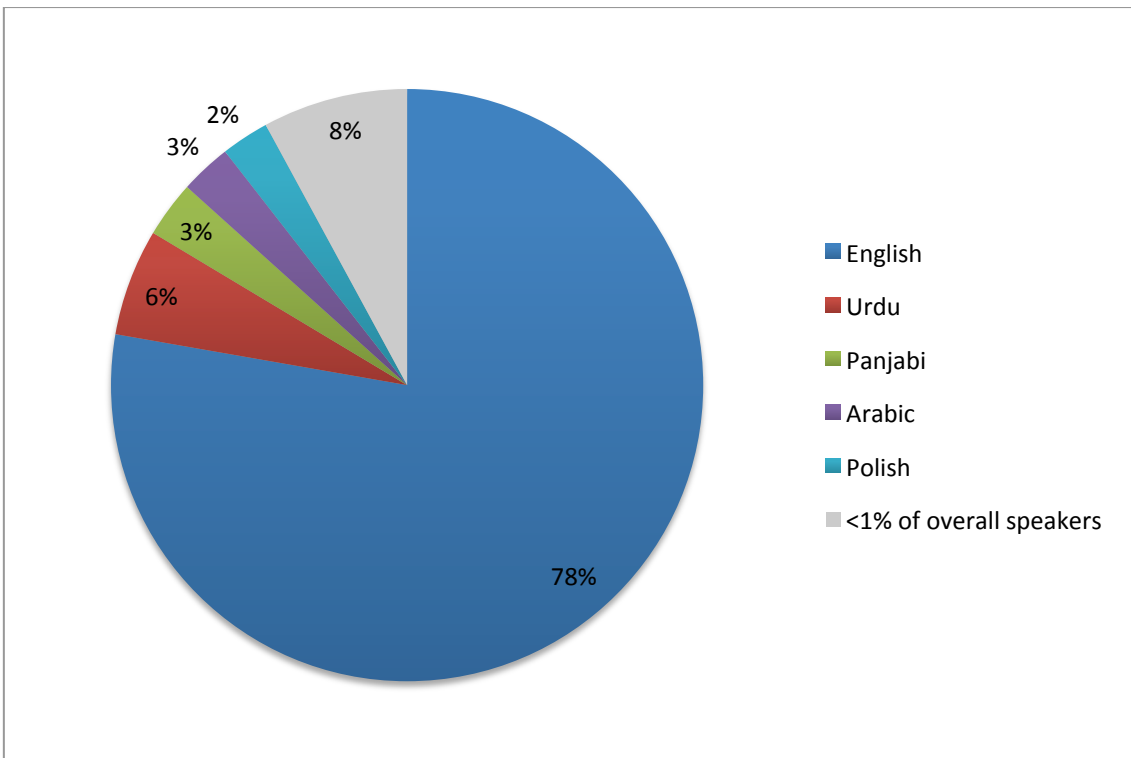Figure 4a: Absolute occurrence of languages on signs, Whalley Range.

Figure 4b: Self-reported first language according to 2011 census, Whalley Range ward.

Our first interviewee was a White British of the church community of *St. Werburgh Church* (Appendix, Figure 18) on Wilbraham Road. The interviewee was British Born and spoke Italian, French, German and English fluently. Most of the worshippers spoke in English and the interviewee herself spoke to worshippers and fellow co-workers in

English. The father of the church, a Pakistani, often spoke to the members of the ethnic community in Urdu. The sign was commissioned in Urdu, Arabic, Punjabi, Hindi and English and was designed by the father of the church who was bilingual. The church sign was commissioned in various languages to make it more accessible and to symbolize respect for worshippers of various ethnicities.

Next, we went into another place of worship, a Hindu Temple called *Gita Bhavan* (Appendix, Figure 17) on Wilbraham Road. The interviewee was a trustee and an Indian who spoke English, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu fluently. While the worshippers could switch between English and Hindi, the interviewee preferred talking to fellow worshippers in Hindi and switched between these languages when talking to the co-workers in the temple. The temple sign was in Devangiri script transliterated in English, which had a religious significance and helped to communicate with the local community. Furthermore, the interviewee confirmed the diglossic relationship of Hindi and English on the temple sign, a theme already explored in the *et al.* (2014) study.

On Upper Chorlton Road, we first interviewed the owner of a clothes shop called *Shareen Fashions* (Appendix, Figure 20). Being a British Born Asian, he could speak Punjabi and English fluently whereas he could speak Urdu up to a conversational level. He spoke in English with the co-workers in the shop who belonged to non-Asian backgrounds. However, as this shop had a large section dedicated to uniforms for school children, the interviewee had customers from diverse ethnic backgrounds: from Spanish, Polish, Italian, Russian, French, Jamaican, Romanians, Somalians and Arabs and so English was the preferred medium of communication. The shop sign was an invented family name from Urdu transliterated in English.

Following this, we went in to interview the manager of a bar called *Dulcimer* (Appendix, Figure 19). The manager was Scottish so he could speak English fluently. While speaking to both customers and co-workers, he used English for communication. This was largely because the customers were again from diverse ethnic backgrounds such as English, Latin- American, Portuguese, Spanish and it was easier to use English as a common mode of communication. As the manager explained, the word 'Dulcimer' had extended etymological roots. In Irish, Dulcimer represented a popular folk music instrument, whereas it had its oldest linguistic origins in French and Latin. Even though, this bar was not aimed at attracting specific audiences, the shop sign reflected the folk music giving a look into the types of music and the atmosphere in the bar.

On Withington Road we first visited the *Farghana Institute* (Appendix, Figure 21). The Director was a Pakistani who could speak Urdu and Arabic fluently and English and Pashto at a conversational level. Even though the worshippers belonged to various

ethnicities, the interviewee spoke to them in Arabic, Urdu and English. The diglossic relationship as explored by Amoah *et al.* (2011) was again confirmed in this interview as Arabic was used for religious purposes, whereas English was used for social communication. Though the sign was designed in Arabic transliterated in English, the word 'Farghana Institute,' was a bottom up sign, which had a cultural significance as explored by Bogatto and Hélot (2010). 'Farghana' was a name of a valley on the silk route on Uzbekistan, which was popular, in pre-historic times to signify a learning place comprising of the renowned Muslim scholars of the time. This is why, the religious organization designed the sign as *Farghana Institute* instead of calling it a mosque to signify the range of its operations such as its religious section dedicated to education and preaching and its Non-Governmental Organization section dedicated to welfare in countries of need. Even though the institute did not aim to specify a particular religious group, the sign itself had English and Arabic with English taking precedence to promote the ethos of Islam by respecting the country the mosque was in.

Lastly, we approached an interviewee in *Newsagents & Off-License* (Appendix, Figure 22) that displayed multilingual leaflets on the shop front. The manager was a native Pakistani living in Manchester for the last 9 years. He was fluent in Urdu and Punjabi, he mostly spoke in English with its customers- even though 90% of them were Polish. Aside from Polish, he had English, Somali, Jamaican and Pakistani customers to the shop. The shop sign was in Polish, English and Arabic and was used as a marketing strategy to attract the customers of particular ethnicities as the shop sold items, such as Polish food. Nevertheless, the interviewee could not speak all the languages on the sign and the information provided in various languages was not the same: as it was aimed at providing certain services to specific ethnicities.

2.5   Cheetham Hill

The final area we visited was Cheetham Hill, which is located in North Manchester. It became an important area in the 19th century when it attracted Irish and Jewish people, escaping from the potato famine, who settled in the area because of the textile business. The 2011 Census points out that almost half of Cheetham Hill's population currently consist of Asian, Asian-British and Black ethnicities (Appendix, Table 3). With regard to language, English is the main language spoken in Cheetham Hill, followed by Urdu, Punjabi, Polish and Arabic (Figure 5b). The area was included in our research as it is a home to people of many different ethnicities, cultures and religious backgrounds. Cheetham Hill displayed more signs in English than any other areas as shown in Figure (5a). This was unexpected because most of the population is South Asian and Eastern European so we expect there to be more representation of these cultures in

the linguistic landscape. As was also found by O'Connell *et al.*'s (2014) study, English, Urdu and Arabic were the next most prevalent languages displayed on signs and, in total, we only found four examples of Eastern European languages on signs.
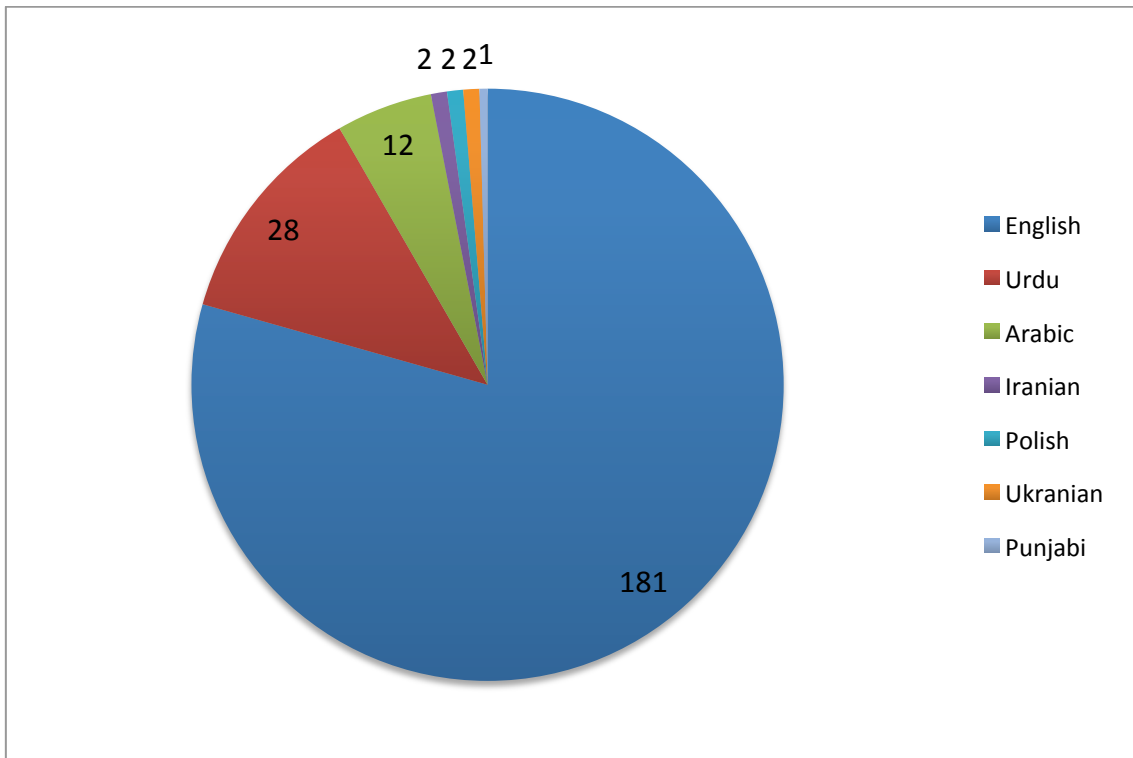

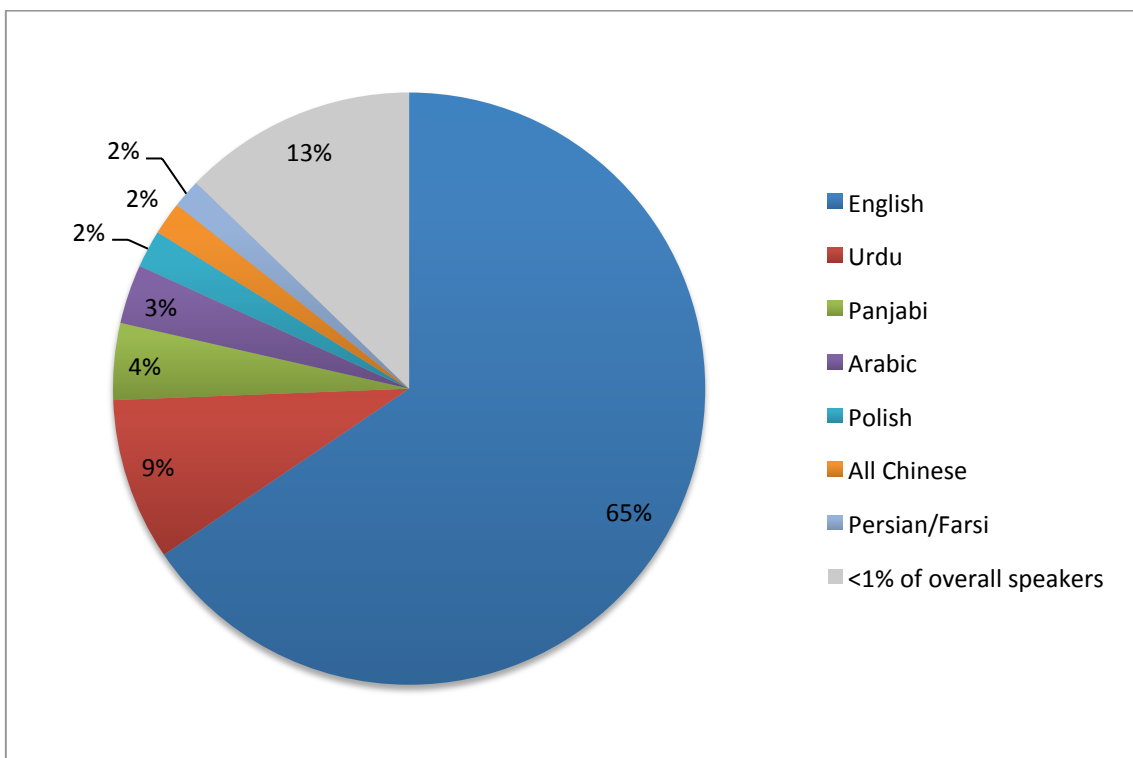Figure 5a: Absolute occurrence of languages on signs, Cheetham Hill.

Figure 5b: Self-reported first language according to 2011 census, Cheetham Hill ward.

The first multilingual establishment we visited was the *Dnipro Ukrainian Social Club*, (Appendix, Figure 23). The interviewee was a British Ukrainian and could speak Ukrainian and English fluently. When he talked to the community members, he spoke to them in English because only the older members could speak in traditional Ukrainian. When he communicated with co-workers, he used either Ukrainian or English depending on the individual proficiency levels of the co-worker. The community members predominantly spoke in Ukrainian and English. He informed us that the Ukrainian word 'Dnipro' used on the sign is the name of the main river that flows through Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. Furthermore, he said that the sign reflected the Ukrainian culture because of the use of the colours on the Ukrainian flag, and the use of tridents, which are a national symbol in Ukraine. Additionally, he explained that the language is important for a preservation of culture as the Ukrainian language that is used amongst the younger generation is predominantly Russian based while the Ukrainian the interviewee identified as using was the language of his parents and therefore more traditional.

The sale assistant of *Qaaf Aid* (Appendix, Figure 27), a charity shop, was a British born Pakistani and spoke English and Urdu at a fluent level. She communicated with co-workers and customers in English and switched to Urdu if needed. The name of the charity shop was written phonetically in English and the single letter was also displayed in Arabic. When asked why this was in Arabic, the sales assistant replied that she did not know, as it was an international charity shop and had not designed the sign herself. As the vast majority of their aid was sent to Islamic countries such as Somalia, Palestine and Pakistan it did reflect certain values and cultures although she mentioned that aid would be sent to anyone in need. They did not wish to target a specific audience and anybody was welcome to use the shop.

The owner of the next shop, *Pawel's Dumplings* (Appendix, Figure 26) was Polish and spoke Polish fluently and English at a conversational level. When communicating with customers he spoke Polish and English depending on the ethnicity of the customer. As the staff were all Polish, he communicated in Polish with them. The languages used on the shop sign were Polish and English. Polish was specifically used on the public sign to identify Polish foods on sale in the shop. He stated that the sign did reflect his personal values and culture because the shop offered traditional Polish food. The Polish language was specifically used to target a certain audience but he did indicate that the shop was welcome to other ethnicities. Inside the shop, Polish signs were used to identify vegetables and other products such as 'meat loaf' and 'chicken breasts' being sold in the takeaway and there were leaflets that were written completely in Polish.

The volunteer in the shop فروشگاه الوند (*Faroshgha Alwand*; Appendix, Figure 28) was a native Pakistani who could speak Urdu and Punjabi fluently whereas he spoke English at a business level. Depending on the customers and co-workers, he would switch between Urdu, Punjabi and English. He also added that most of his customers spoke to him in Punjabi whereas some of them used English. The languages featured on the sign were English and Persian. As the shop was under new management, the interviewee did not design the sign himself but suggested that the Persian used on the sign means an area where something is being sold. After later investigation, we discovered that 'Alwand' or 'Alvand' is a mountain in Iran. Moreover, he told us that the shop sign acted as a marketing strategy and represented the Iranian population in the area. Interestingly, he informed us that they planned to change the shop sign to English only, because English is understood by most of the ethnicities living in the area. When asked about the relationship between the shop sign and the kind of product they sold, he said that there is a link because they did sell Iranian product in the shop.

The interviewee of the shop *Shah Trading* (Appendix, Figure 24) was a native Pakistani who spoke Urdu and Punjabi fluently whereas he spoke English at a conversation level. When talking to his customers, he spoke to them mostly in Punjabi whereas sometimes he used English but only used Urdu amongst his co-workers. He told us that the shop sign was in English and the word 'Shah' was a transliterated surname from Urdu, meaning 'king'. Moreover, he told us that he could speak the languages on the shop sign that is Urdu and English, and the shop sign was a reference to the Pakistani culture. Lastly, he informed us that he did not wish to target a specific audience.

The final shop we visited was *Bhatti Fabrics* (Appendix, Figure 25a,b), a shop that sold Asian fabrics. The owner of this fabric shop was a British born Asian and spoke English, Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi all at a fluent level. He that he initiates conversations with customers in English first and then depending on the preference of the customer he would switch to another language, to accommodate their language needs. With co-workers, he strictly used English. The languages featured on the sign were English, Urdu and Arabic. The Arabic phrase 'Mashallah' on the sign had a religious function and meant 'God has willed it' and had been added later. The Urdu provided was a translation of the shop's name. The owner said that the use of these languages on the sign did reflect his culture and it reflected the language and demographics of the area. Furthermore, the interviewee stated that the shop was open to everybody and the use of Urdu and Arabic on the shop sign did not target a specific audience.

3.   Discussion

In this section, we will summarize the findings discussed in the previous section. We will also look at how these findings are linked to the research questions and how they differ from our initial expectations towards our study. Following this, we will point out interesting aspects of our findings, unexplored in the previous studies. Lastly, we will propose some suggestions that might be invaluable to future points of investigation.

As shown in our findings, we observed that most of the signage either had cultural or socioeconomic references. Many of the signs we documented featured cultural references. These references included geographical locations and features and their historical context (e.g. valleys (*Farghana Institute*), cities (*Lahori Dera*), mountains (*Alvand*), religious elements (*Gita Bhavan*), culture-related names and phrases (e.g. salutations (*Ciao Bella*), endearments (*Sanam*, *Janam*), family members'/owner's names (*Neelam*, *Shareen Fashions*, *Mushtaq*), cuisine related vocabulary (*Swadesh*, *Wasabi*, *Pawel's Dumplings*) and music (*Dulcimer*). Looking at the findings, we identified that most of the participants being interviewed did not associate the signage of the establishment to their culture. This perception informs us that even though they were consciously not acknowledging the association, they were unconsciously representing their native culture through the inscriptions on the sign. For instance, according to the manager of *Swadesh*, the shop sign did not have any cultural values; however the name of the shop is a word mutually intelligible in the subcontinent. On the other hand, the trustee of the *Gita Bhavan* temple did recognise that the Devanagari script used on the temple reflected Hinduism, which is a religion predominant in India.

Moving on, there was a correlation between multilingual signage and the ethnic composition, for example in Cheetham Hill. This is why the signage was represented in many languages other than English such as Polish, Urdu, Arabic and Ukranian, which showed the inclusiveness of the signage of the ethnic groups in the area. We also tried to deduce the power relations by looking at the signage in Cheetham Hill. The Jews and Eastern Europeans were one of the first settlers in this area. However, with large waves of immigration of South Asians in the previous century, we observed that the majority of the signage was in Urdu. In Whalley Range, we saw that there was no correlation between the multilingual signage and the ethnic composition of the area. Except the shop signs which featured in English, the places of worship such as *Gita Bhavan* and *Farghana Institute* had particular inscriptions that could be understood to have a function which is exclusive to a particular community, an idea explored by Rexrodt *et al.* (2014).

The cultural references were also used for different reasons. Some establishments sought to target specific customers (*Pawel's Dumplings*, *Lahori Dera*). The owner of *Lahori Dera* informed us of his preferences to use Urdu followed by an English transliteration on the sign. Furthermore, he explained that most of the customers were first generation Pakistani immigrants who could not understand English and came to enjoy the authentic Pakistani food being offered. On the other hand, in Longsight the manager of *Mushtaq Halal Meat* stated that the business did not wish to target specific customers. However, the shop sign was a traditional Pakistani name and had the religious reference 'halal', which in a way was trying to attract customers from a particular ethnic and religious identity. This theme had also been explored in Ben Rafael *et al.'s* (2010) study in which he stated that signs designers usually create a sign to reflect their own cultural preferences. We found this to be true even though sign designers were not conscious of this fact.

Other sign designers made a geographical connection through the language and certain phrases they used on the signs. In Cheetham Hill, the name of the social club *Dnipro*, which refers to the most famous river in Ukraine. This can also be seen in *Farghana Institute* in Whalley Range, which alluded to a valley in Uzbekistan, which historically was a valley frequented by Muslim scholars. Bogatto and Hélot (2010) investigated the same geographical relation in their study where they found many establishments referred to cities and countries to establish their identity.

Other shop signs used the references to create associations with their products (*Ciao Bella*, *Swadesh*, *Wasabi*). In Portland Street the restaurant *Ciao Bella* tried to associate the Italian cuisine being offered with the colloquial expression of *Ciao Bella* in Italian. Similarly, in Chinatown *Wasabi* tried to deduce a direct relationship with the name of the restaurant and the Japanese cuisine being offered. As mentioned in the above examples, these shop signs had a direct association with the products being sold there. From what we could understand these shops signs used these associations to add authenticity and appeal to customers of various backgrounds to the food being offered there. This can be found in Holmes' (2005) study where it was stated that cultural stereotypes are used to market products, which made it easier to associate the signage with the products being sold or offered in the establishment.

Certain signs commissioners tried to stand out from other businesses in the area by using family names or proper nouns on their signs. This was seen in both Longsight (*Neelam Jewellers*) and Whalley Range (*Shareen Fashions*). Bogatto and Hélot (2010) found that this idea of choosing a specific name was another way of making a direct connection with the owner's identity.

In Whalley Range, the sign of *St. Werburgh Church* included a welcome in several languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Arabic and Punjabi. In this way, we noticed that language could have a non-linguistic function, in this case the sign wanted to symbolize respect of the ethnicities in the area and possible worshippers. In relation to our research questions, the church sign had been designed with particular care to be inclusive of the ethnicities that make up the majority of the population in the area. We saw that the sign in Urdu, Hindi, Arabic and Punjabi correlated to the existence of the South Asian and Middle Eastern community as confirmed by the 2011 census data. However, we did not see a depiction of African and East Asian languages because of the unnoticeable presence of the Black and the Chinese community in the area. Gorter (2013) also found this geographical relation stating that there is a geographical connection between languages and communities, which, explains why these minorities communities are not represented in Whalley Range.

Lastly, the diglossic relationship as explored by Amoah *et al*. (2011) was confirmed by our findings in the places of worship, such as *Gita Bhavan*, *Farghana Institute* and the *St. Werburgh Church*. While the ceremonial language might have been a language other than English, English was still used for social interaction. Moreover, we saw an interesting pattern of alignment on the signs of the religious places in Whalley Range. For instance, the Devanagari script was followed by an English transliteration in *Gita Bhavan* Temple. Similarly, we saw the name of *St. Werburgh Church* exclusively to be in English whereas it greeted its worshipers with a warm welcome sign translated into different languages. This again shows the salience of the ceremonial language in these signs, while English was used for social communication in these places. Contrastingly, we saw an English transliteration of *Farghana Institute* followed by an Arabic translation. This did not show this place to be primarily a religious place for Muslims (a mosque), and was rather an institute providing welfare services to visitors, which in turn is also inclusive of the different audiences who would perceive this sign.

Our research not only corresponds with findings of previous studies, but also contributes new ideas and suggestions, which can be invaluable for future investigations. We found that the linguistic landscape is not only influenced by linguistic functions in the creation of signs but other factors are also relevant such as geographical and historical features, business considerations and religious values and beliefs. Unexpectedly, we noticed that a majority of the signs in each area were only in English even in diverse areas such as Cheetham Hill and Whalley Range where a large amount of the population are non-Whites. Thus, the collected data more or less is representative of the 2011 Census data even though there had been certain incongruent findings as explained above.

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Appendix

<u>Questionnaire</u>

<u>Multilingual Signs- Questionnaire</u>

Hello, we would like to ask you some questions. Please take a moment to make sure you agree with what we want to do.

Who we are and what we do:

We are language students from the University of Manchester researching language communities and multiculturalism in different city areas. We are interested in how the signs in your area represent the language communities around you.

Your privacy:

You will remain anonymous. We aim to collect as little personal information as possible and our research report will not include any personal information whatsoever.

Opting Out:

You can always choose not to answer questions or to opt out of this research altogether. If you should decide that you do not want us to use your data for our project after the interview, you can contact us via mail.

Further Questions:

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact us via email.

Thank you for your participation in our interview/questionnaire. Your time and response is much appreciated.

Signature

_____

Please specify your age.

□ 16-24	□ 25-34	□ 35-44	□ 45-54	□ 55-64	□ 65+

1. What is your work position?

□ owner	□ manager	□ employee	□ other: _____

2. How long have you been living in Manchester?
   For _____ years/months.

3. Please specify your ethnicity:

White	Mixed	Asian or Asian British	Black or Black British	Other ethnic group
□English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British Irish	□ White and Black Caribbean	□ Indian	□ African	□ Arab
□ Gypsy or Irish Traveller	□ White and Asian	□ Pakistani	□ Caribbean	
		□ Bangladeshi		
		□ Chinese		
□ Other White background	□ Other Mixed/multiple ethnic background	□ Other Asian background	□ Other Black/African/Caribbean background	□ Other Ethnic group

4. Which languages do you speak and how would you indicate your proficiency in these languages?

Language	Beginner level	Conversational level	Business level	Fluent level
	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Please specify the language(s) used and spoken at the workplace.

Talking to customers	Talking to co-workers

6. In which language(s) do you address new customers and why?

_____   _____   _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Which languages are most commonly spoken by your customers?

_____   _____   _____

_____

8. Please specify the language(s) that are featured on your sign.

_____   _____   _____

_____

9. Please provide a translation of the sign.

_____

_____

_____

10. Who designed the sign?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. Can you speak all of the languages on your sign?

□ Yes   □ No

12. If no, why did you choose to use this particular language on the sign?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. Is the information provided in all languages the same?
    □ Yes   □ No

14. If not, why have you provided different information for different languages?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

15. Does the sign reflect your personal values/cultures?

□ Yes   No

16. If yes, how?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

17. Do you wish to target a specific audience?

□ Yes   □No

18. If yes, who and for which purposes?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Area _____

Road	Where was the sign found (shop, place of worship)	Hand-written or professionally made	Signs in English only	Signs in 1 language only	Signs in 2+ languages	Translated or Transliterated	Religious Prayers/ Supplications
…	…	…	…	….	…	…	…

Documentation Table: The table used for sign documentation.

Area findings

Area	Street name	Section	Shops total	Signs in more than 1 language	Percentage of multilingual signs
Chinatown	Faulkner St	Charlotte St to Princes St	56	39	69.6%
	George St	Charlotte St to Nicolas St			
	Charlotte St	Portland St to George St		[5 in one language other than English]	[8.9%]
Portland St	Portland St	Ayton St to Oxford St	52	12	23.1%

Longsight	Stockport Rd	Dickenson Rd to East Rd	81	25	30.8%
	Slade Lane	Stanford Rd to Slade Gr			
Cheetham Hill	Cheetham Hill Rd / Bury old Rd	Smedley Ln to Upper Park Rd	171	25	14.6%
	Smedley Ln	Cheetham Hill Rd to Langdale Ct			
Whalley Range	Wilbraham Rd	Barlow Moor Rd to Arnold Rd	82	12	14.6%
	Withington Rd	Wilbraham Rd to Yorburgh St			
Total			442	113	25.6%

Tab 2: Research area borders and findings.
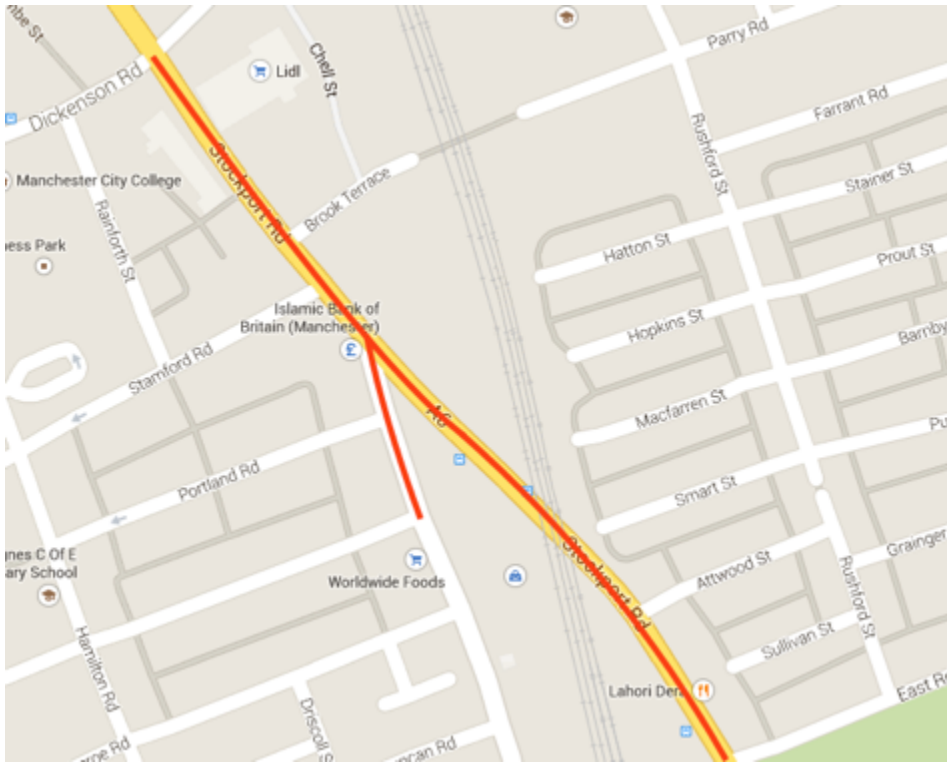
Map 1: Longsight research area.
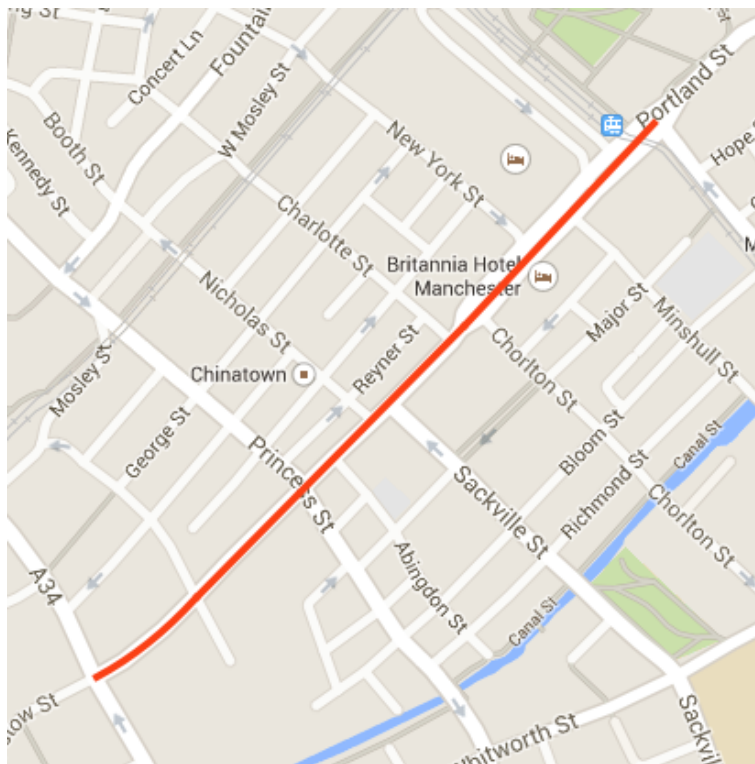
Map 2: Portland St research area.
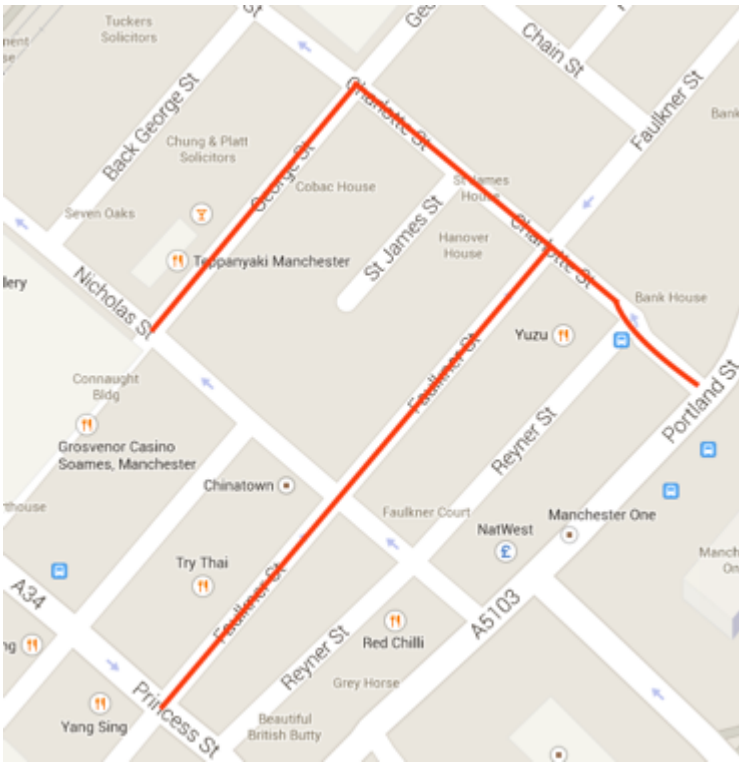
Map 3: Chinatown research area.
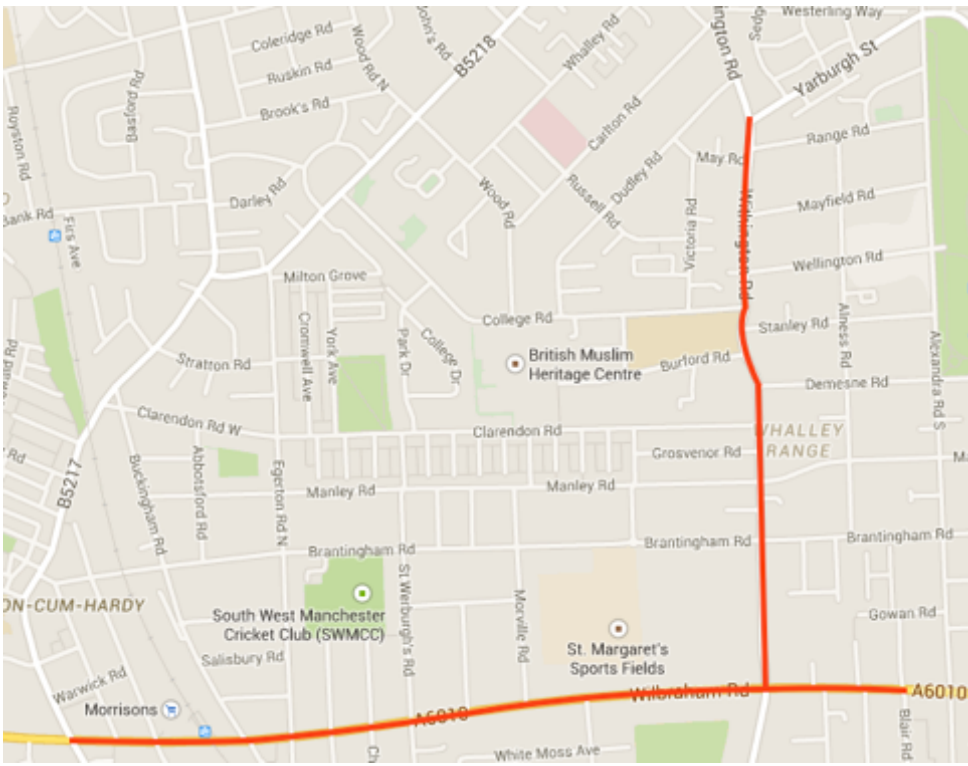
Map 4: Whalley Range research area.
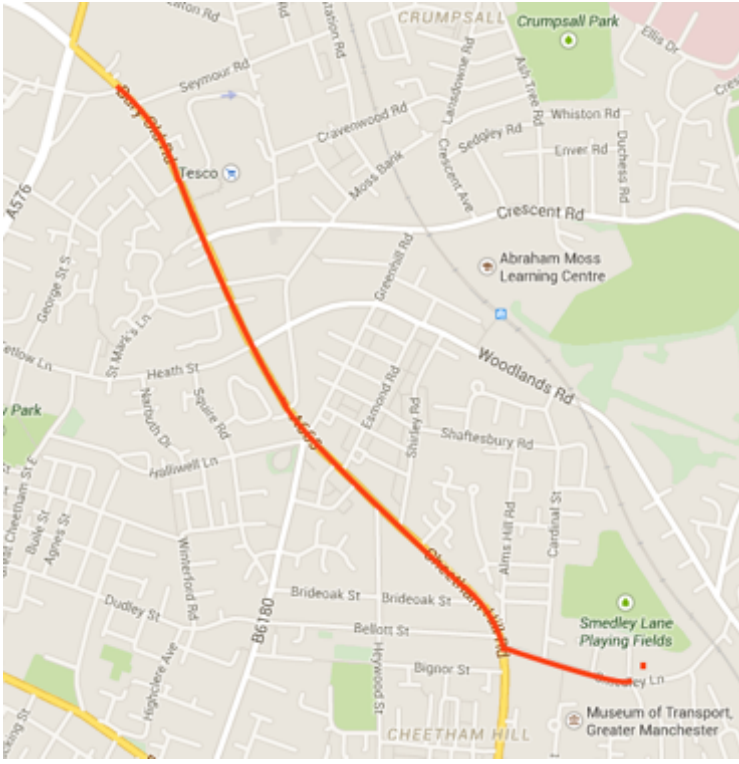
Map 5: Cheetham Hill research area.

Census ethnicity data

Ethnic Group City Centre	E05000697	
All usual residents	17,861	100.00%
White	12,140	67.97%
Asian/Asian British	3,808	21.32%
Other ethnic group	887	4.97%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	603	3.38%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	423	2.37%
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	9,753	54.61%
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	2,366	13.25%
White: Other White	2,127	11.91%
Other ethnic group: Arab	651	3.64%
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	598	3.35%
Asian/Asian British: Indian	561	3.14%
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	253	1.42%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	253	1.42%
White: Irish	248	1.39%
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	236	1.32%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Asian	203	1.14%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: Other Mixed	191	1.07%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black Caribbean	118	0.66%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black African	91	0.51%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	88	0.49%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Other Black	82	0.46%
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	30	0.17%
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	12	0.07%

Table 1: Ethnical Groups, City Centre; 2011 census.

Ethnic Group Longsight	E05000708	
All usual residents	15,429	100.00%
Asian/Asian British	8,527	55.27%
White	4,189	27.15%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	1,506	9.76%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	642	4.16%
Other ethnic group	565	3.66%
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	5,502	35.66%
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	3,323	21.54%
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	1,761	11.41%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	788	5.11%
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	522	3.38%
White: Other White	486	3.15%
Asian/Asian British: Indian	444	2.88%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	424	2.75%
White: Irish	309	2.00%
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	298	1.93%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Other Black	294	1.91%
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	287	1.86%
Other ethnic group: Arab	278	1.80%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black Caribbean	228	1.48%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Asian	201	1.30%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: Other Mixed	118	0.76%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black African	95	0.62%
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	71	0.46%

Table 2: Ethnical Groups, Longsight; 2011 census.

Ethnic Group Cheetham HIll	E05000697	
All usual residents	17,861	100.00%
White	12,140	67.97%
Asian/Asian British	3,808	21.32%
Other ethnic group	887	4.97%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	603	3.38%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	423	2.37%
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	9,753	54.61%
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	2,366	13.25%
White: Other White	2,127	11.91%
Other ethnic group: Arab	651	3.64%
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	598	3.35%
Asian/Asian British: Indian	561	3.14%
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	253	1.42%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	253	1.42%
White: Irish	248	1.39%
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	236	1.32%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Asian	203	1.14%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: Other Mixed	191	1.07%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black Caribbean	118	0.66%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black African	91	0.51%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	88	0.49%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Other Black	82	0.46%
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	30	0.17%
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	12	0.07%

Table 3: Ethnical Groups, Cheetham Hill; 2011 census.

Ethnic Group Whalley Range	E05000716	
All usual residents	15,430	100.00%
White	7,442	48.23%
Asian/Asian British	4,745	30.75%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	1,559	10.10%
Other ethnic group	854	5.53%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	830	5.38%
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	5,964	38.65%
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	3,631	23.53%
White: Other White	1,078	6.99%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	651	4.22%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	587	3.80%
Other ethnic group: Arab	570	3.69%
Asian/Asian British: Indian	458	2.97%
White: Irish	390	2.53%
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	328	2.13%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Other Black	321	2.08%
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	284	1.84%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black Caribbean	269	1.74%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: Other Mixed	240	1.56%
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	220	1.43%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Asian	206	1.34%
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups: White and Black African	115	0.75%
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	108	0.70%
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	10	0.06%

Table 4: Whalley Range, City Centre; 2011 census.

<u>Interviewed establishments</u>

The full set of photographic documentation is available via:

https://www.flickr.com/photos/132935386@N07/albums

a   **Longsight**

Fig. 1: Madina Property services.

Fig. 2: Mushtaq Halal Meat.

Fig. 3: Sanam restaurant (a).

Fig. 4: Sanam restaurant (b).

Fig. 5: Pakistani Community Centre.

Fig. 6: Neelam Jewellers (a).

Fig. 7: Neelam Jewellers (b).

Fig. 8: Lahori Dera.

b   Portland Street

Fig. 9a: Ciao Bella.

Fig. 9b: Ciao Bella.

Fig. 10: Janam Fast Food.

Fig. 11: Circus Tavern.

Fig. 12a: Swadesh restaurant.

Fig. 12b: Swadesh restaurant menu.

Fig. 13: Wasabi restaurant.

Fig. 14: Lily Chen salon.

Fig. 15: Woo Sang market.

Fig. 16a: Pacific restaurant.

Fig. 16b: Pacific restaurant.

Fig. 17: Gita Bhavan Hindu temple.

Fig. 18: St. Werburgh Church.

Fig. 19: Dulcimer bar.

Fig. 20: Shareen Fashions.

Fig. 21: Farghana Institute.

Fig. 22: Newsagents.

Fig. 23: Dnipro Ukrainian club.

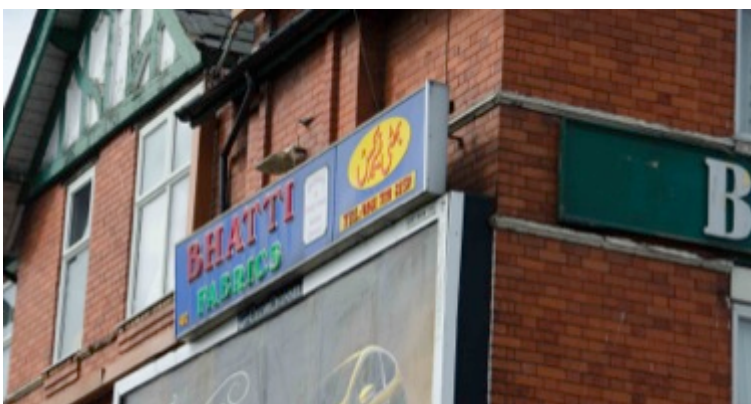

Fig. 24: Shah Trading.

Fig. 25a: Bhatti Fabrics.

Fig. 25b: Bhatti Fabrics.

Fig. 26: Pawel's Dumplings.

Fig. 27: Qaaf Aid.

Fig. 28: Faroshgha Alwand.