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**Multilingual signage and leaflet usage in Manchester:
Motives, distribution and variety**

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Research Questions and Methods

The main purpose of this research is to investigate the usage of multilingual signage and leaflets in five areas of Greater Manchester: Bury and Rochdale, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Rusholme – Curry Mile, Cheetham Hill and Chorlton. We will examine the motivations behind the choices of languages, how this relates to the population demographics of the area and language use by members of staff.

To gather our data, we took photographs of multilingual signs and leaflets present in three shops in each target area. Our areas were selected due to ethnic and linguistic diversity, Chorlton was included for comparison due to a high percentage of speakers with English as their main language, at 92.8% (Qpzm Local Stats UK. 2012). The owner of each shop was then interviewed with a predetermined set of questions, with permission to gather data having been requested and consent given. The questions were as follows:

1. Where is the sign/leaflet? (Full address)
2. What languages is the sign/leaflet in?
3. Does the sign/leaflet say the same thing in all languages?
4. If 'no' to (3), then what does it say in which language?
5. Is there a target audience for the sign, and, if so, who?
6. Why did they commission the multilingual sign/leaflet, and why in those languages?
7. What influenced their choice of languages?
8. Why are they targeting that specific audience?
9. Who produced the sign/leaflet?

We used a verbal questionnaire-based approach in order to gather data directly from the shop owners. This also allowed us to request permission to undertake the study, and to explain the research in more detail. This also allowed us to elaborate on our questions, and elicit further information if necessary.

Photographs of the entire shop front, plus close-up photos of the signs and leaflets were taken for each shop, and are available in the appendix.

The shop addresses were collected to allow the establishments to be identified, and in case these results needed to be verified by a repeat analysis. The languages of the signs and/or leaflets were noted to allow the signs to be translated. We also collected information about any different scripts that signs were written in. We asked if the signs/leaflets said the same in all languages to determine which aspects of the sign shopkeepers deemed important enough for translation; use of languages other than English without an English translation were also noted. The shop owners were asked

about the reasoning behind their language choices, which we will compare with the shop's perceived target audiences. We also asked who produced the signs/leaflets in order to investigate the costs put into their production and thus the impact of multilingual signage on the local economy.

We chose to investigate the lack of multilingual signage in Chorlton to provide a comparison to the linguistic diversity of the other areas. Our fieldwork plan needed to change quite significantly for this area, as we could not demonstrate an absence of multilingual signs pictorially. We compiled a list of questions to investigate the languages spoken by members of staff, and the customers who regularly visit the shop, along with why English signage was used as opposed to the languages of ethnic minority groups in Chorlton (for figures see Office for National Statistics, 2011(k)). The questions are outlined below:

1. *What language(s) do you speak?*
2. *What languages do your customers speak?*
3. *Why do you choose to use English signs to advertise this business, rather than another language?*

The responses to these questions allow us to analyse the variety of languages spoken by the staff/owners of these establishments, as well as the customers they are addressing. From these responses we were also able to identify the motives for choosing to use particular languages, and ultimately attempt to explain the lack of multilingual signage in Chorlton.

A mixture of restaurants and shops were included; our search was primarily focused around Barlow Moor Road, as there are various businesses in this area which are owned and staffed by members of ethnic minority backgrounds. We also investigated a business in the neighbouring Stretford area, which shares many similarities with Chorlton, to compare whether Chorlton is unique in its lack of multilingual signs.

We have included demographic information for the Rochdale area due to one shop, Internet Pharmacy's, location. The Rochdale shop serves many customers from both the Rochdale and Bury areas; two areas with similar demographics. We have provided data for country of birth and ethnicity of Rochdale residents below, from the 2011 census.

Central Rochdale (Ward) Demographics

Population: 11,304

Countries shown here have been selected based on the relevance of their languages to those we found used in our data. Figures for many specific countries of interest were not available.

Whilst the Office for National Statistics lists 'main' language data from the 2011 census, we do not believe it gives a full reflection of languages spoken, especially in cases of bilingualism. Furthermore, the term 'main' does not target any specific domains, and could be interpreted in multiple ways by respondents, including as the language they use most, which is not necessarily their native language, or the language they use in many domains such as the home or with friends. Resultantly, we have not included data from this dataset in our report.

Country of Birth:

Country	Number of People
United Kingdom	7,656
Pakistan	1612
Bangladesh	824
Poland	235
India	121
Iran	100
China & Hong Kong	39
Italy	18

According to the 2011 Census information (Office for National Statistics, 2011(i)), 2826 people in Rochdale were born in a Middle Eastern or Asian country, and 401 in a European country outside of Britain. 281 were born in Africa, 27 in the Americas & the Caribbean, and 7 in Oceania.

Ethnicity:

Ethnicity	Number of People
White British & White Irish	4036
Pakistani	3412
Bangladeshi	1918
Other Asian	678
Other White	358
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	292
Indian	160
Chinese	70
Arab	41

These data are taken from the Office for National Statistics (2011(j)). As well as the above figures, 228 people declared themselves as being of mixed ethnicity, and 111 as 'Other'.

Findings

Due to the nature of the data we have collected through interviews, photographs and some limited observations, a primarily qualitative approach will be taken in the following discussion. The findings were collected in a question-by-question format; however, in the interests of conciseness, these answers have been condensed. Henceforth, 'Arabic' refers to any Arabic language variety.

Ashton-Under-Lyne

Shop 1: Ashton Travel, 58 Oldham Road, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancashire, OL6 7AP

Photographs: FK01, FK02

Ashton Travel is a travel agent in Ashton-Under-Lyne. The owner organises two Muslim pilgrimages, Hajj and Umrah. Flights are available to Pakistan and other South Asian and Eastern countries. The shop has a sign in both Urdu and English; the Urdu text mentions travel to Pakistan, however, interestingly, the English translation omits this information. The Muslim population in Ashton-Under-

Lyne are mainly Pakistani, so Urdu is used as a lingua franca in the shop. The shop utilised a sign maker to produce the signs.

Translation of Sign

Haj Umrah Pakistan ya dunya bhar kai liai sasti airlines ticket dastiyab hain

Gloss: Hajj, Umrah Pakistan or World outside for cheap airline ticket available are

Translation: 'Cheap Airline Tickets for Hajj, Umrah, Pakistan or Worldwide are available'

Shop 2: Krakow Continental Food, 199 Stamford Street Central, Ashton-Under-Lyne, OL6 7PY

Photographs: FK03, FK04, FK05, FK06, FK07, FK08, FK09

The shop is named after the southern Polish region of Krakow. Polish is used in the shop's literary materials. The posters are solely in Polish with no translation. The target audience for the signs are the small community of Polish speakers in the area, as the shop specialises in selling Polish food. Polish is spoken in the shop by both the customers and members of staff. The company produces the signs internally.

Shop 3: Kang Fu Chinese Medical Centre, 12 Warrington Street, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancashire, OL6 6AS

Photographs: FK10, FK11

Signs are written in English and Chinese. The target audience is anyone interested in Chinese herbal medicine. Chinese is used symbolically and transactionally to indicate the languages and origins of the products. The owner is also Chinese. A sign production company was used to make the sign. The Chinese characters on the sign mean 'Kang Fu', which is a Chinese name.

Bury and Rochdale

Shop 1: Internet Pharmacy, Belfield Road, Rochdale, Lancashire, OL16 2UP

Photographs: CB12, CB13, CB14, CB15, CB16

In Internet Pharmacy, language choice on literary materials correlates with the native languages of many customers, as a high percentage of customers speak Urdu, Bengali or both. The shop sources the leaflets from the Heart Foundation. Urdu and Bengali materials are available upon request, although the owner commented that many of the Urdu/Bengali speakers also speak English. The

owner felt that it was important to maintain the custom of the Urdu/Bengali speaking population. It was also acknowledged that other pharmacies in the area provided language services. The shop has three Urdu-speaking members of staff, who regularly use their bilingual capacities in conversations with customers.

SHOP 2: Michael Cass Limited, Bury Market

Photographs: CB01, CB02, CB03

Product packaging is labelled in a number of different languages. However, the manager commented that this served little informational purpose to the customers. The manager commented that he felt there was no need to provide further multilingual signage, as the shop is self-service; if a customer needs something to be translated, a shop assistant is bilingual in Italian and English, and speaks a small amount of Spanish.

SHOP 3: Saporito, Bury Market

Photographs: CB04, CB05, CB06, CB07, CB08, CB09, CB10, CB11

The shop provides for speakers of a number of European languages. Signs inside the shop display both Italian and English. However, some of the signs do not display the same information in both languages. The owner explained that there are a number of products for which only an Italian name exists. The Italian sign welcoming customers to the shop serves a symbolic function, as the shop specialises in Italian produce. The owner feels that the sign makes the shop feel authentic. The owner's wife is Italian, which inspired the European style of the shop, also influencing the choice of stock. The signs were produced by the owner's son.

Chorlton

Shop 1: Turkish Delight, 573 Barlow Moor Road

Turkish Delight is a Turkish restaurant and takeaway in Chorlton, which specializes in Mediterranean cuisine.

Members of staff at this establishment speak Albanian, with English as a second language. The majority of the customers at Turkish Delight speak English. The owner stated that the reason that Turkish Delight uses English signage is that '99% of customers speak English'.

From the responses in this establishment, it seems that although many of the staff are bilingual, speaking both Albanian and English, English is used as a lingua franca in the restaurant. The owner feels that signage in Albanian would not attract further customers. The lack of multilingual signage can therefore be attributed to a lack of suitable audience.

Shop 2: Restaurant Jasmine, 569 Barlow Moor Road

Restaurant Jasmine specialises in Middle Eastern cuisine. This restaurant featured English signs, but also some significantly smaller Arabic materials.

Two staff members were bilingual: one spoke Polish with English as a second language, and the other spoke Spanish with English as their second language. However, the majority of customers who visit Restaurant Jasmine speak English. This accounts for the use of predominantly English signage.

The responses from Restaurant Jasmine seem to illustrate a similar situation to that of the neighbouring Turkish Delight. Although some members of staff are bilingual, it seems that the majority of their custom comes from the English speaking community. Interestingly though, Restaurant Jasmine does have some, albeit smaller, Arabic signage alongside the English. However, as the customers of Restaurant Jasmine seem to all speak English, this could serve a solely symbolic function in order to attract the small minority Pakistani community in the area, or to legitimise the Middle-Eastern restaurant to Arabic speakers.

Shop 3: Yakisoba, 360 Barlow Moor Road

Yakisoba is a restaurant specialising in fusion cuisine from Far East Asia. This restaurant featured English signage. The staff interviewed spoke English, Cantonese Chinese, Mandarin Chinese and Portuguese. Customers mostly speak English, but also Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese. Yakisoba also offers multilingual materials as some of their menus are written in Cantonese.

Yakisoba's main audience is similar to other establishments which we investigated in the area: customers are predominantly English speaking, hence the use of English signage. Yakisoba does have some customers who speak Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese Chinese; although Yakisoba does not offer signage in these languages, members of staff speak both Mandarin and Cantonese, and materials in Cantonese are also provided. Although the majority of customers and their target market are English-speaking, Yakisoba also seems to accommodate the minority Mandarin and Cantonese speaking customers through these methods.

Interestingly, the name *yakisoba* is a Japanese word, from 1936 or earlier, formed from the stem *yaku* meaning 'cook, grill' and *soba*, which is a type of noodle (OED). It is a Japanese dish, though its origin may actually be from Chinese Chow Mein (OED). The use of Japanese for the restaurant name, despite the staff being speakers of English, two Chinese dialects, and Portuguese, suggests that this language usage is symbolic not transactional. One potential explanation is that, as this is a restaurant serving a wide variety of dishes from across East Asia, Japanese was used to distance the restaurant from perceived cheaper food establishments, such as takeaways, which often use Chinese in their names and signage.

Shop 4: S. R Superstore, 10 Moss Road, Stretford

S. R Superstore is a convenience store with English signage, in the neighbouring Stretford area. We chose this establishment for two specific reasons. We wish to compare whether Chorlton is essentially anomalous in its lack of multilingual signs, or if neighbouring wards shared this characteristic. Secondly, we wanted to investigate into whether requiring less interaction with the customers affected the provision of language services.

The owner of the establishment is multilingual, speaking Urdu, Panjabi and English. The customers at S. R Superstore mainly speak English. Customers who have a language other than English as their native language are generally also L2 speakers of English. Furthermore, it would be impractical to accommodate every single language, as the cost implications for the business would result in a loss of profit.

The lack of multilingual signage in Chorlton also holds for this Stretford establishment.

Summary of Chorlton

In the absence of many multilingual signs, the interviews that we conducted with the owners and members of staff of establishments in Chorlton and neighbouring Stretford allow us to pattern trends in Chorlton more thoroughly. For each shop that we investigated, English is the lingua franca, in that although it is often not the mother tongue of the establishment owners and staff, it is used to facilitate communication between them and their customers. Responses elicited from the interviewees make it apparent that the use of English signage, rather than another minority language, is an issue of practicality. The establishment owners feel that it is prudent to cater to the majority, through use of English. Owners claimed that most of the customers who did not speak English natively were L2 speakers of the language. Interestingly, there seems to be a case of asymmetrical multilingualism in Chorlton; the vast majority of residents can speak English either as a first or second language, whereas many people who speak English as their first language, do not speak the minority languages in Chorlton, such as Urdu, Panjabi and Polish (Qpzm Local Stats UK, 2012).

Cheetham Hill

Shop 1: Bakery & Co, 575 Cheetham Hill Road

Photographs: AE01, AE02, AE03, AE04, AE05

The shop has signs in English, Arabic and Kurdish. These languages are used to target the Arabic, Kurdish and Iranian communities in the area. The shop owner commented that the diverse range of languages in Cheetham Hill motivated the use of multilingual signs. The owner is from Iraq and speaks Kurdish; he wished to be inclusive of his own ethnic community. Staff at the shop speak

Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and Arabic, enabling them to communicate with customers in their native languages. The shop sells Arabic foods consumed in the Kurdistan area of Iraq. The owner of the shop stated that the sign was made by a designer who works in Longsight, costing £750. The sign's purpose is to attract people from a diverse range of backgrounds. Although the shop has leaflets, at the time of reporting none were available, as they were still in production.

Shop 2: Polski Sklep, 583 Cheetham Hill Road

Photographs: AE06, AE07, AE08, AE09, AE10

Polski Sklep is a shop specialising in Polish produce. The shop caters for the small Polish community in the area. The shop has signs in Polish and English; the main sign states the name of the shop in both languages. A shop assistant is monolingual in Polish, demonstrating that the shop expects mainly members of the Polish community to enter. However, the manager does speak English. A Polish designer was employed to create the signs.

This signs can be translated directly into English in each case. However, it must be noted that the only sign where the English translation is given is the name of the shop itself, 'Polski Sklep' as 'Polish Shop'. Other Polish signs only displayed Polish words. The use of Polish alone, without English translation, is interesting, as it indicates that the shop is targeting only Polish speaking citizens. English speakers are unable to interact with the signs, meaning that they would not be attracted to the shop.

Shop 3: Huda Islamic Gift Shop, 40 Bury Road, Cheetham Hill, M8 5EL

Photographs: AE11, AE12, AE13, AE14, AE15, AE16, AE17

The gift shop has signs in Arabic and English. Three main languages are in use in the shop: Arabic, English and Urdu. The shop contains books, Islamic clothing, and other items related to the Muslim faith. The target audience for the signs are the local Arab and Asian populations. The shop specialises in Islamic products; the language of the Quran is Arabic, which influenced the language choice. The shop owner produced the signs internally.

Curry Mile, Rusholme

SHOP 1: Al Jazeera, 22 Wilmslow Road

Photographs: CM01, CM02, CM03

The shop produces signs in Arabic and English to cater for the Asian and Arabic speaking population of Rusholme. The sign has the same meaning in both Arabic and English. There is a large Arab and Asian population in the area, both of whom speak Arabic. Although the owner of the shop could not recall who produced the sign, he commented that it was likely he used a sign maker.

A direct translation of the sign (CM01) is not possible without losing the Arabic meaning. The Arabic phrase has the word 'charcoal', but it also has the word 'grills' (الفتح), a rough translation is 'Grills on Charcoal'. The Arabic phrase is likely to attract more Arabic speakers than the English equivalent, due to the connotations of the phrase in Arabic.

The shop is called 'Al Jazeera', which is also the name of a world-famous Arabic news channel. The logo on the sign is the same as that of the channel.

SHOP 2: Midway Meat Stores, 42-44 Wilmslow Road

Photographs: CM04, CM05

The shop has signs in both English and Arabic. The Arabic text reads 'Halal Meat', however, the English only reads 'Halal'. Meat is almost always the only product which can be classified as 'Halal', as other products simply state 'suitable for vegetarians'. In this particular case, the shop also sells groceries, which do not need to be classified in this way. The shop owner, in specifying 'Halal Meat', appeals to the Muslim population.

The Curry Mile area of Manchester has a high number of Arabs and Asians, who would each be able to understand the content of the sign in Arabic, due to the typographical similarities between Arabic and Urdu.

SHOP 3: Punjaab Collection, 225 Wilmslow Road

Photographs: CM06, CM07, CM08, CM09

Punjaab Collection is a clothes shop providing garments for members of the Muslim community. The signs are in both Urdu and English, and read the same in both languages. The owner used a local sign maker to produce the signs. Urdu was selected to target the local population, as the owner claimed it was used as a 'common language', lingua franca, amongst the diverse range of backgrounds within the area.

Translation for CM09

Original in Latin alphabet:

Shalwar kameez mardana zanana, aur bacho ke liye churiya, mehndi, jewellery, scarf, shawle , ehram, tup (top) shadi suit

Translation:

Shalwar kameez (traditional Asian dress – trousers and shirt) men, ladies and for children.

Bangles, mehndi (henna), jewellery, scarves, shawls, ehram (dress for Hajj -religious pilgrimage), top wedding dress.

The word - ٹوپ (Top) is spelt with an English alveolar plosive 't', but the word سوٹ (suit) is spelt with an Urdu retroflex plosive, despite the fact that they are both English words.

Discussion

We aim to cross examine the five areas of Greater Manchester under study to identify patterns of minority language provision. We will also look for correlations between the ethnic backgrounds of the population, obtained from the 2011 census, and the choices shopkeepers make in using certain languages. Although only a small data set has been gathered, it is hoped that we will be able to elicit emerging patterns, and predict the motivations for language provision. We will also compare our data with that of previous studies in order to draw wider comparisons. We have divided our analysis into several distinct sections: Language Functions, Minority Language Provision, Language Prominence and Benefits of Multilingualism. We will also discuss general trends which emerge from our data.

Language Functions

The function that a language serves on a sign is important. A distinction was made between transactional and symbolic functions of signs by McCormick and Agnihotri (2009). A sign with a transactional function serves to communicate a particular message, whereas a sign with symbolic function serves only to indicate the purpose and/or culture of the shop.

We have found several shops where the signs serve a symbolic function. One such shop was Saporito in Bury. The sign welcoming customers to the shop pictured in CB04 is written in Italian, 'Benvenuti a Saporito'; no direct translation into English is given. The symbolic function of the sign is to demonstrate the authenticity of the shop; it also appeals to non-English visitors to the area. This function is similar to that discussed by McCormick & Agnihotri (2009: 17), where English is used in Delhi and Cape Town to 'evoke connotations which the business owner assumes potential clients would find attractive'. In Saporito, Italian is used on the shop signs to evoke connotations of Italian food, as the shop specialises in many kinds of Italian produce now popular with the English population. Kang Fu Chinese Medical Centre in Ashton-Under-Lyne is a similar example, with the shopkeeper electing to use Chinese in order to make the shop more 'authentic'.

CB07 demonstrates the use of the Italian loanword '*panini caldi*', translated as 'hot sandwiches'. The Italian loanword only entered the English language in 1955 (OED), and is now a popular term. The translation on the sign is semantically broader than the original Italian phrase, as there is no direct

translation. The use of Italian exploits the sophisticated connotations of the word 'panini'. CB07 also demonstrates a number of Italian names and descriptions which cannot be translated directly into English with the same meaning intended on the sign. 'Verde' is one example; when translated directly into English it means 'green', yet has a specific meaning in Italian when related to a sandwich. Whilst English speakers may not have access to these specific Italian meanings, they are immersed in Italian culture through the use of the Italian names and descriptions provided within the shop.

Hult (2009: 95), in his case study of Malmö, Sweden, highlighted the important distinction in multilingual signage between symbolic and instrumental (transactional) functions, also noted by Weber & Horner (2012: 183). Malmö is a city with a rapidly growing immigrant population, developing a similar multilingual situation to Manchester, whose more ethnically-diverse neighbourhood showed a greater number of Swedish-minority language signs. Hult (2009) found that in Malmö, Swedish, the national language, served a communicative function (2009: 99), whereas English, a foreign language, was used more metaphorically/symbolically (2009: 99). In a similar fashion to Hult (2009: 96), we have created a table, presented below, focussing on the areas of our study with high ethnic diversity, similar to Malmö. Due to the emphasis on diversity, Chorlton has been omitted. Due to the small number of shops surveyed, this data may not truly represent each area, however, we hope the results may prove useful and even encourage further research.

The table below shows the proportion of English used in shop signage against the minority language(s) of the shop. Three shops were investigated in each area, so the figures below are raw numbers from a tally. We feel that percentages are inappropriate due to the small sample size.

	English = Minority Language(s)	English > Minority Language(s)	English < Minority Language(s)
RUSHOLME	2		1
CHEETHAM HILL	2		1
ASHTON			3
BURY		2	1
TOTAL	4	2	6

Overall, there is a general trend towards minority language dominance in multilingual shop signage. This is somewhat surprising, as a lack of English could deter monolingual English speakers. However, a lack of English signage encourages custom from speakers of minority languages, who may feel welcome as a result of the high usage of their native language. Only Bury showed any shops with a preference for English over the minority language. Bury does have a large White British population, with the next highest ethnicity being Pakistani (Office for National Statistics, 2011 (c)), which may

explain this trend. The difference in function of the signs may also account for the different proportions of English to minority languages.

The shops surveyed in Manchester appear to be following the opposite trend to those in Hult (2009). Unlike the situation in Malmö, the minority language appears to be serving the communicative function, with the national language of English being used more symbolically. Examples include Kang Fu Chinese Medical Centre in Ashton-Under-Lyne, which utilises a much greater usage of the minority language than it does English within the shop. However, it is noted that the exterior sign displays a preference for English. This suggests that English is serving a different purpose than acting as a lingua franca in many of these cases (as one would expect equal proportions of English and the minority language(s) in such a case). Some shops from our study, such as Kang Fu, and Polski Sklep in Cheetham Hill, suggest that the English used in these shops may be to express the general purpose of the shop to a wider audience, but is certainly not being used to convey the majority of the information, with the exception of where it must be used by law, such as for food ingredients.

Minority Language Provisions

Minority language provision in Manchester appears to be a concern of some local businesses; in our study of sixteen shops in the Greater Manchester area, we found many establishments whose purpose is to serve speakers of minority languages in their towns. Language services take a number of forms which have been identified in our study. Some shops provide only signage, whereas other shops provide both signage and multilingual staff.

Polski Sklep caters to the needs of the Polish speaking community of Ashton-Under-Lyne, numbering 319 residents, through the provision of multilingual signage (Office for National Statistics, 2011 (b)). The Urdu speaking population of Rochdale is catered for by Internet Pharmacy through both signs and three Urdu speaking members of staff. The Pakistani population of Rochdale numbers 9,002 speakers, for whom Urdu is a lingua franca (Office for National Statistics, 2011 (j)). By contrast, Michael Cass Ltd in Bury caters for the non-English speaking community by provision of a multilingual staff member who speaks Spanish and Italian. Although Italian serves a mainly symbolic function at Saporito, members of staff do speak a number of European languages including English and Italian.

Of the three shops examined in Rusholme, two shops contained signs in English and Arabic, and the third contained signs in English and Urdu. According to the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014), Urdu is a language of Pakistan, also spoken in Bangladesh and India. The owner of Punjaab Collection stated that Urdu was selected to target a large, local Urdu speaking population, as he claims it is used locally as a lingua franca. This ties in to the 2011 census data (Office for National Statistics, 2011(g)), where 2,535 people in Rusholme claimed to be of Pakistani ethnicity, 1,272 of Bangladeshi ethnicity, and 683 of Indian ethnicity. These figures are from a total population in Rusholme of 13,643, giving a high number of the local population who are likely to use or know Urdu.

Similarly, Arabic, which according to data from the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) has 206,000,000 first language speakers worldwide, is a language of Saudi Arabia, also spoken as a National Language or de facto National Language in 25 other countries. The 2011 Census data (Office for National Statistics, 2011(g)), however, only lists 443 people of Middle Eastern ethnicity in Rusholme, though many speakers may have given a more detailed ethnicity, and are thus not accounted for in this figure. Furthermore, the term 'Middle East', whilst including Saudi Arabia, only covers 19 countries/areas (CIA, 2013), thus not including many of the aforementioned countries where Arabic is the official national language. This may account for the high Arabic-speaking population in the area, despite the small proportion of people with Middle Eastern ethnicity. Arabic is also widely spoken as a second language (246,000,000 L2 speakers worldwide, according to the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014)), which may account for many more of the speakers in the area, and the reason it was featured predominantly in signage.

Language Prominence

The positioning and size of a language upon a sign is found to be generally indicative of the use, and the importance, of that language within the shop and surrounding community. It also provides information on the perceived power of the languages used within the community, and acts as a reflection of the community's attitudes towards the languages and associated cultures.

In general, we found that the shops investigated tended to have the English text in a larger font, or have both the English and other language(s) in an equally sized font. This can be observed in the photos in the appendix. Only a few shops examined had the minority language(s) in a larger font than the English text.

One example of this is Polski Sklep in Cheetham Hill, where we found very little English text; this suggests that the shop has little interest in English-speaking customers, since this would likely deter them. This finding is surprising, since White British citizens, who are likely to be monolingual speakers of English, account for approximately 29% of the area's population (Office for National Statistics, 2011 (f)). Regarding the larger size of the minority language text in Saporito, Bury, we feel that this is indicative of the shop's function as a retailer of Italian produce, rather than serving any strictly transactional function. In this instance, the prominence of Italian may also suggest perceived positive connotations of Italian culture, particularly with regards to cuisine.

Parallels can be drawn between our findings in Manchester and the findings of Gorter and Cenoz (2006: 75), who found that 'in the case of Ljouwert most commonly the size of the texts on bi/multilingual signs are not the same, in most cases the majority language is bigger'. We found that the majority of shops we investigated had the English in a larger font. However, the high number of shops where the font sizes and placement were equal and side-by-side illustrates a degree of contradiction to Gorter and Cenoz (2006).

Benefits of Multilingualism

Multilingualism impacts businesses in several ways. Whilst there are costs involved in the provision of language services, we observed many advantages of multilingualism to the businesses of Greater Manchester.

Use of local sign makers was noted for two of the shops in Rusholme, suggesting that local shop owners place a high priority on appealing to the diverse range of speech communities in their area. The production of multilingual signs and leaflets benefits the local economy in two ways: firstly, through providing the sign and leaflet makers with work; and secondly, through attracting speakers of foreign languages to use the shop.

Whilst gathering data in Rusholme, it was noted that most of the local signage was in English, despite the presence of a large and diverse speech community. The use of English may be attributable to the close proximity of the shops to the University of Manchester. It is possible that English is used to appeal to the student population, or due to English being the de facto national language of the United Kingdom (Lewis et al. 2014). It is also possible that English is used as a lingua franca between the different minority language communities.

McCormick and Agnihotri (2009: 13) comment with regard to Delhi that 'language choice is dictated largely by the wish to attract buyers and lodgers by addressing them in their own language'. We propose that a similar pattern can be detected in some parts of Rusholme. As the area is very diverse both ethnically and linguistically, some shop keepers seek custom through appealing to potential clients in their native language.

Since professionally produced signs are expensive, it is apparent that many of the shopkeepers we interviewed perceive the custom attracted by a multilingual sign as outweighing the cost of its production. This is a particularly pertinent point in situations where the shop keeper produces or commissions the signs themselves, such as in Saporito, Huda Islamic Gift Shop, and Krakow Continental Food. It should also be noted for the three Rusholme shops, that each one catered to a need mainly provided by the local ethnic minority population: Middle Eastern cuisine, Halal food, and speciality (including religious) clothing.

Multilingual signs serve important purposes in communities, as they not only allow access to information for a wider number of people, but also because they play a large role in the culture of the communities in which they are found. Many of the signs that we have analysed are utilised in shops which specialise in products from the cultures in which the languages are found, but they also serve a much greater symbolic purpose.

The use of a language in multilingual signage provides a good indication of the status of that language within the community. If a language is visible on signage within shops, then it is a good indicator that there is a demand for material in the language, as shopkeepers would not invest in signs and, in some cases, translators without a significant demand. A large number of the signs we

investigated were professionally produced by external companies. If there is a demand for the language, and it is being used within the community, then the language is preserved, and the signage may even encourage its use. These languages are often important aspects of the cultures of the ethnic minorities within the communities as well, meaning that a lack of signage in the language would indicate a decline in representation of its related culture(s) within the community. As Weber & Horner (2012: 35) phrased this, 'if languages are endangered, it is most often because the speakers of these languages are oppressed'.

Language provision in establishments such as Internet Pharmacy and Ashton Travel allow the businesses to compete with other rival companies. As travel agents and pharmacies are commonplace, a competitive advantage may be exploited through the use of multilingual materials.

General Trends

We have identified a number of general trends whilst conducting this study. Overall, we found a tendency for English to predominate within signage, although we also noted a high trend of shops who treated English and the minority language(s) with equal power. In some cases, such as Saporito, Bury, or Yakisoba, Chorlton, a minority language was used to invoke positive connotations of the related culture, aimed at customers from all ethnic backgrounds. However, in other cases, such as Polski Sklep, Cheetham Hill, the minority language is used instrumentally to convey important information. In these cases, its usage was aimed at members of the language's local speech community.

Shop owners displayed a general trend of using professional local sign makers to produce their multilingual signage, which benefits the local economy, and demonstrated that shop owners believe the increased custom attracted from multilingual signage is enough to create a profit, despite the costs of sign production. Shopkeepers actively target minority language speaking communities, regardless of their size.

To investigate how the choice of languages relates to the local community, we created the following table:

	MINORITY LANGUAGES FOUND IN INVESTIGATION	LARGEST ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS WITHIN AREA
RUSHOLME	Arabic, Urdu	White British, Pakistani, Bangladeshi
CHEETHAM HILL	Arabic, Kurdish, Polish, Urdu	White British, Pakistani, African
ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE	Urdu, Polish, Chinese	White British, Pakistani, Indian
BURY	Urdu, Bengali, Italian, (Spanish)	White British, Pakistani, White (non British or Irish)
CHORLTON	(Albanian), Arabic, (Polish), (Spanish), (Portuguese), (Mandarin Chinese), Cantonese, Japanese, (Urdu), (Punjabi)	White British, Pakistani, White (non British or Irish)

Ethnic background data is based on figures from the Office for National Statistics (2011(a-k)) census data. Languages in brackets indicate that the language was spoken by staff members but no signage was reported.

Whilst our sample was small, the purpose of this table is not to explore a quantitative analysis of the languages, but to explore the motivations behind the choice to use them in signage. General trends observable from this table will now be discussed.

In all the targeted areas of Greater Manchester, Pakistani was the second largest ethnic group present. The Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) lists 72 languages as being spoken in Pakistan: the principle languages being English and Urdu, with large numbers of speakers of Arabic, Chinese, Parsi, Rohingya, and Southern Uzbek.

This explains the general trend that Urdu was found in signage across all our targeted diverse areas, and was spoken by one staff member in Chorlton. There is evidently a large Pakistani community in Greater Manchester for whom there is a high demand for multilingual signage in Urdu. Arabic is also widely spoken in Pakistan, and was also found in signage across three of our five areas. Therefore, it appears that much of the Urdu and Arabic signage we investigated is driven by demand from the Pakistani community, with other languages targeting more area-specific ethnic communities. Interestingly, whilst Chorlton demonstrated a low amount of minority language signage, it also demonstrated the highest diversity of spoken languages across the shops we investigated.

The following table will illustrate the perceived large communities in each area, based on the data collected in interviews with shop owners. This will be compared to the actual ethnic groups listed above. Communities in brackets were noted to not be large but provided high amounts of custom for the shop.

	SHOP OWNERS' PERCEIVED COMMUNITIES	LARGEST ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS WITHIN AREA
RUSHOLME	Arab, Asian, Arabic-speaking, Muslim, Urdu-speaking	White British, Pakistani, Bangladeshi
CHEETHAM HILL	Arabic-speaking, (Kurdish-speaking/Iraqi), (Iranian), (Polish), Arab, Asian, Muslim	White British, Pakistani, African
ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE	Pakistani [Muslim], (Polish)	White British, Pakistani, Indian
BURY	Urdu & Bengali speakers, Europeans	White British, Pakistani, White (non British or Irish)
CHORLTON	English speakers, (Chinese speakers)	White British, Pakistani, White (non British or Irish)

At first, it may not appear that many of the shop owners' perceptions about the communities within their areas match the fact. However, having already established that Urdu and Arabic are both widely spoken languages in Pakistan, with people of Pakistani ethnicity falling under the categories of Arab and Asian, it becomes clear that the shop owners' preconceptions about their local communities, which they use to target customers, do reflect the true ethnic make-up of each area's population. Furthermore, shops in three of the five areas claimed to target the Muslim community, with one specifying that the local Pakistani community was mostly Muslim. The Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) gives the full name of the country of Pakistan as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Therefore, it is likely that the majority of the Pakistani community in Greater Manchester is Muslim, and the shop owners' perception that there is a large local Muslim community is accurate.

From all this, we can draw a general conclusion that shop owners in Greater Manchester are aware of the diversity and ethnic backgrounds of local communities, and actively target these communities by selecting suitable languages to include in multilingual signage.

Conclusion

This report examined multilingual signage across five areas of Greater Manchester using a predominantly qualitative approach. Four of these areas were ethnically diverse: Rusholme, Cheetham Hill, Ashton-Under-Lyne, and Bury and Rochdale. The final area, Chorlton, was selected for comparative purposes, as it is predominantly White British.

Many of the languages found in shop signage were reflective of the backgrounds of the local population. Shop owners were aware of the needs of the local communities and actively targeted them with their choices of languages in signage. Due to the large size of the Asian community in Manchester, the majority of shops with signage in Middle-Eastern and Asian languages, such as Arabic and Urdu, used the minority language instrumentally, in order to target custom from the Asian community.

Polish communities in Greater Manchester also displayed a high demand for multilingual signage. Shops with signage in Polish are also using the language instrumentally to target the Polish community. However, other shops with multilingual signage using languages of smaller ethnic communities (those with a small population in Manchester) often use the language symbolically, to evoke positive connotations of the related culture, rather than instrumentally.

English appeared to be the language with most power across the shops examined, as most displayed English text in either a larger font, or above text in the minority language(s). Despite this, some shops gave the minority language(s) more power, though the reason for this was not always evident. In some cases, it appeared to be linked to the use of the minority language as either symbolic or transactional.

Minority language provision in Manchester shops, as demonstrated through the lack of signage in Chorlton, appears to be primarily motivated by large minority language communities. Some smaller communities, such as the Polish-speaking community, also appear to show a strong interest in using their language instrumentally in shops.

Shop owners interviewed used minority language provision in their establishments primarily for profit, rather than language preservation. In general, they felt the increased custom from the local minority community outweighed the costs of sign production. Many of these shops sold products targeted at the same community. Shop owners in Chorlton, with a primarily White British population, stated that they felt it was not profitable for them to produce signage or leaflets in minority languages.

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Appendix- Photographs

CURRY MILE, RUSHOLME

CM01



CM02



CM03



CM04



CM05



CM06



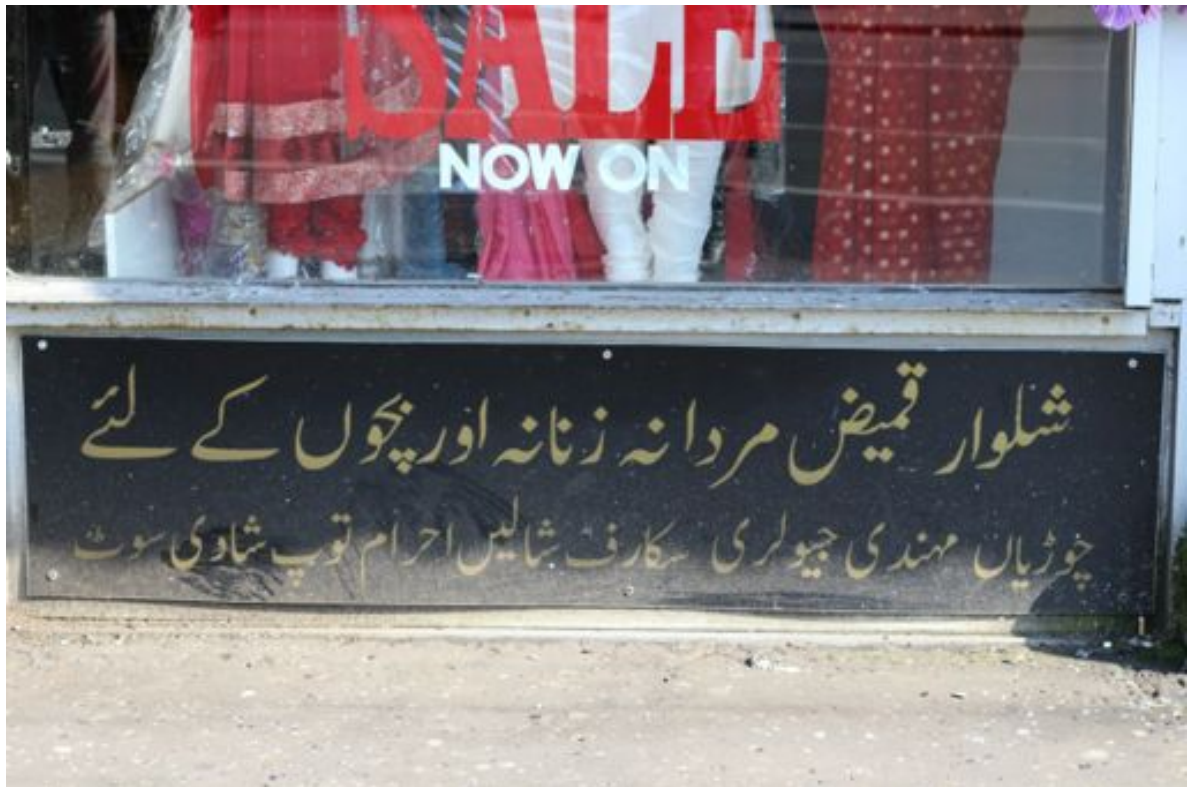
CM07



CM08



CM09



ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE

FK01



FK02



FK03



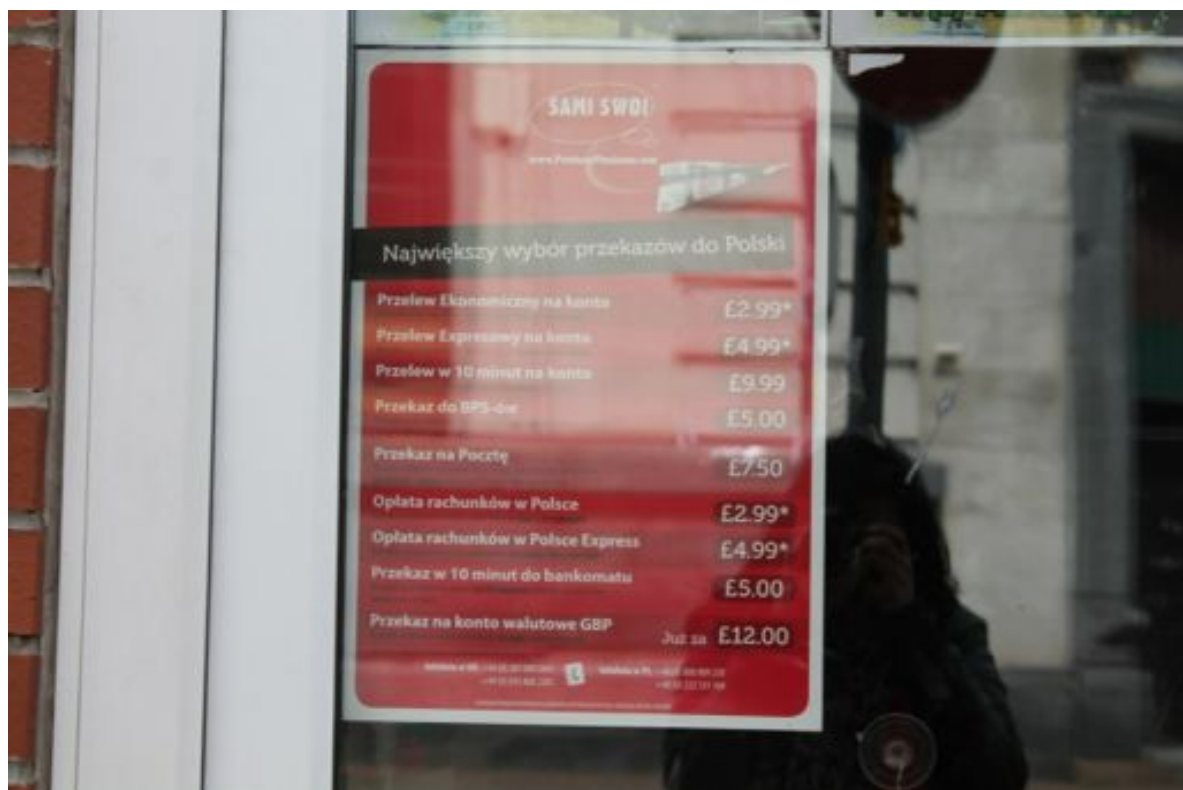
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FK05



FK06



FK07



FK08



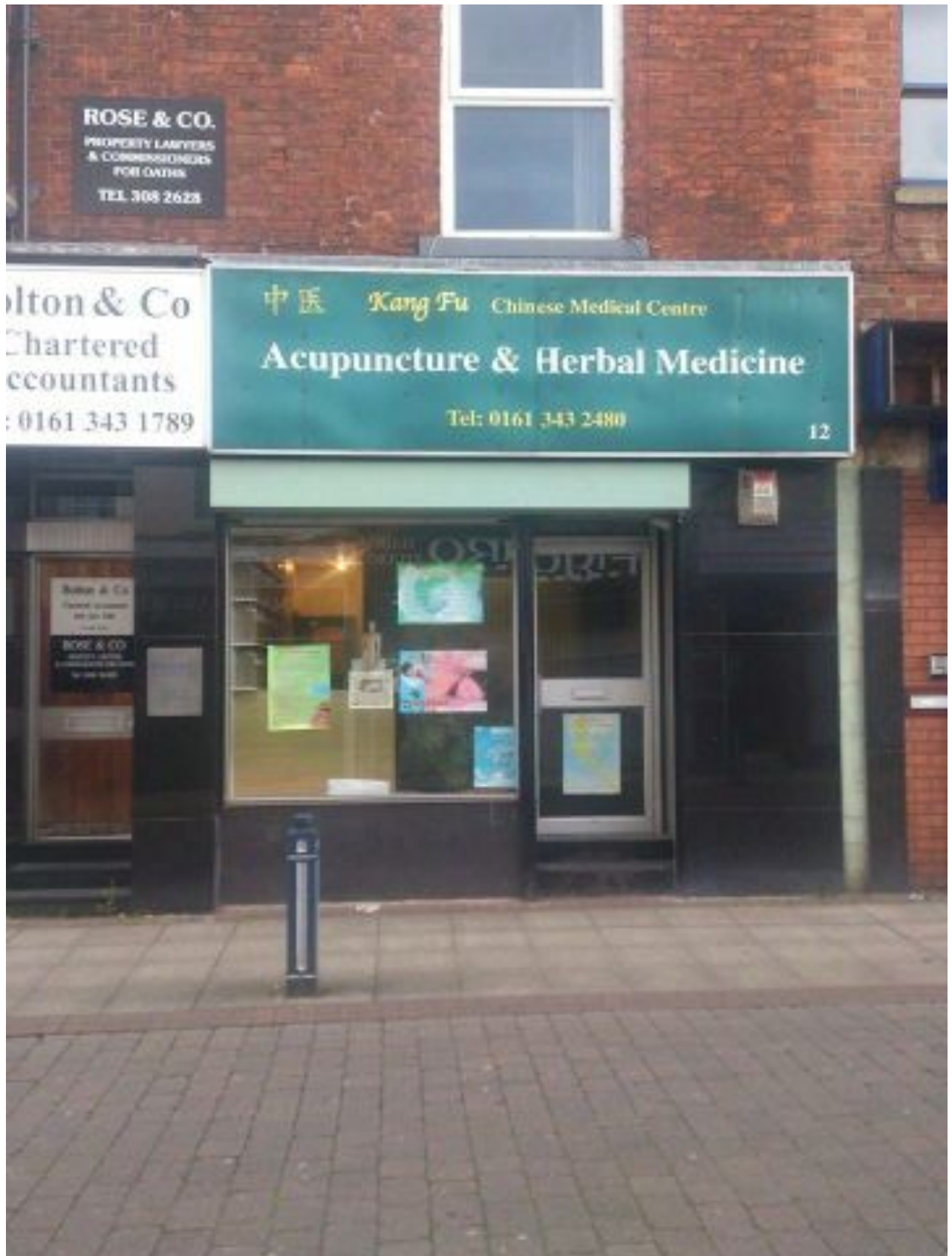
FK09



FK10



FK11



CHEETHAM HILL

AE01



AE02



AE03



AE04



AE05



AE06



AE07



AE08



AE09



AE10



AE11



AE12



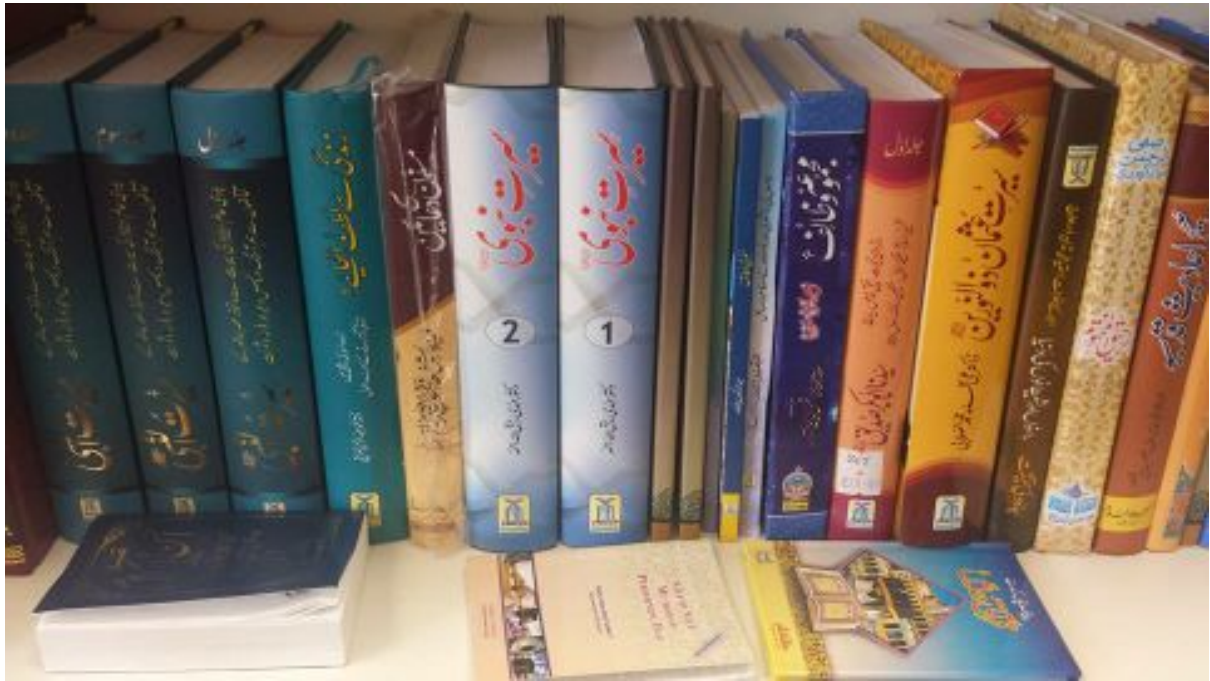
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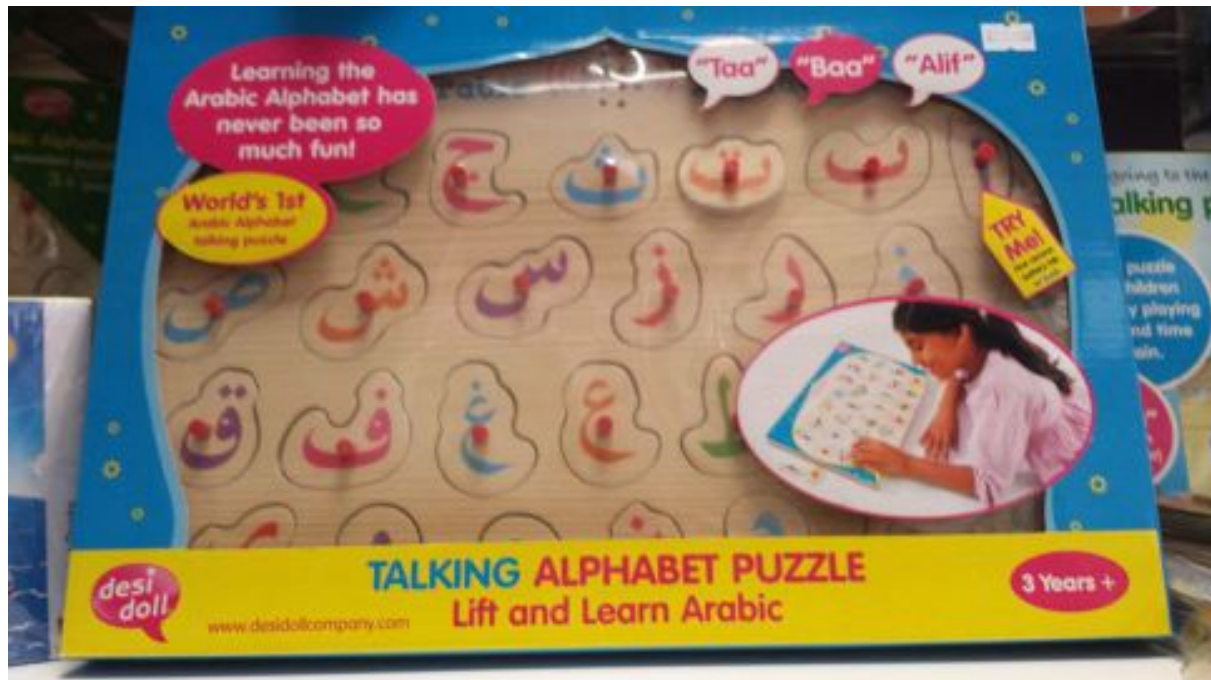
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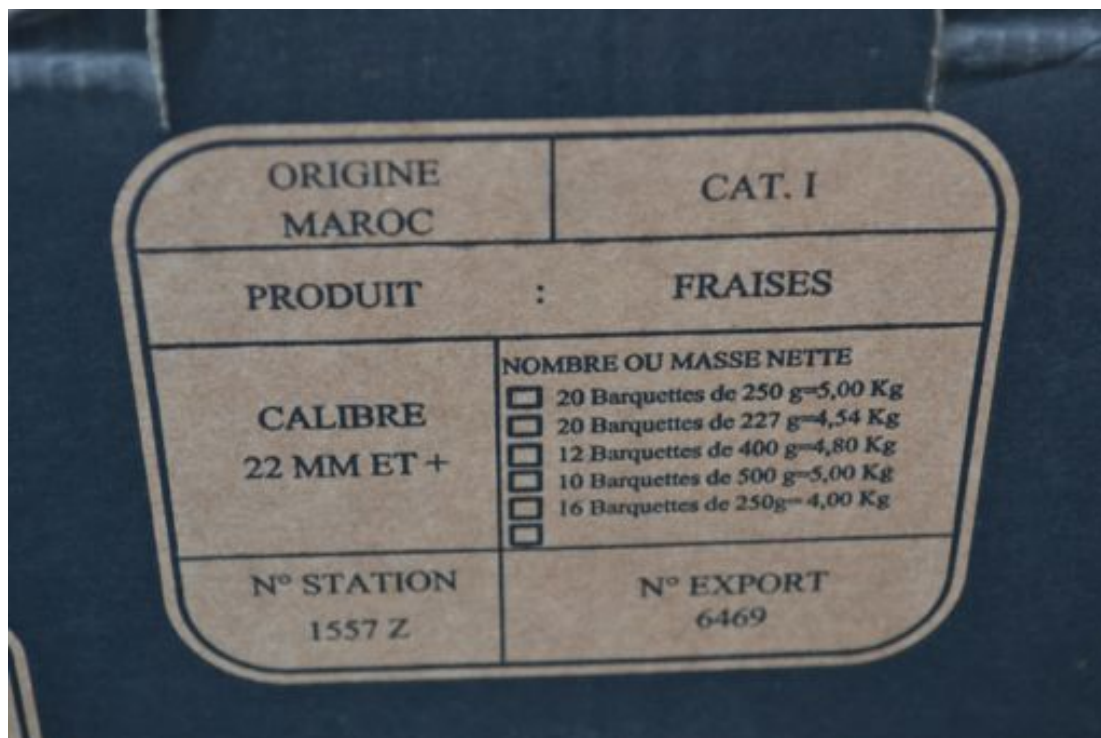


BURY

CB01



CB02



CB03



CB04



CB05



CB06



CB07

Hot Sandwiches

Panini Caldi
Served on toasted Italian Ciabatta

Beef Supreme	Roast topside of beef with spring onions & mushrooms topped with melted mayonnaise	£3.30
Saporito Club	Roast turkey, turkey, fried onion & cheese topped with sage and marinated tomato & mayonnaise	£3.80
Nonna Carmela	Cheese, pepperoni, roasted peppers & mushrooms topped with our own turkey tomato sauce Finished with grated parmesan & smothered olive oil	£3.50
Verde	Melted cheese with roasted pepper mushrooms and tomatoes topped with pesto mayonnaise	£2.90
Tuna Melt	Flaked tuna, spring onion and mushrooms wrapped in creamy mayonnaise topped with melted cheddar cheese	£3.20
Breakfast Giovanni	Creamy egg mayonnaise, cured with crispy smoked ham. Perfect at any time of day	£3.10
Meat Loaf Special	Lightly spiced German style meat loaf served with lettuce & tomato, topped with German mustard	£3.10
Croque Monsieur	A french classic filled with ham and cheese covered in melted cheese sauce	£2.90

All our hot sandwiches are freshly prepared to order



CB08



CB09



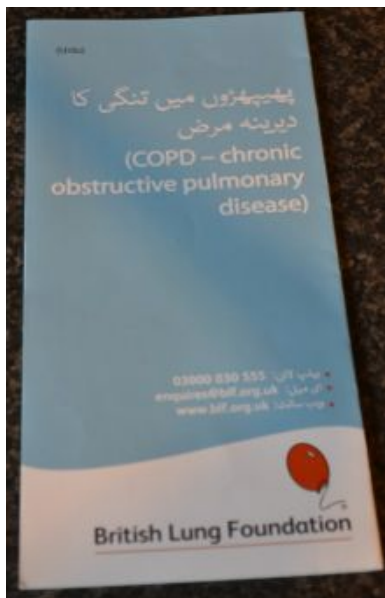
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CB11



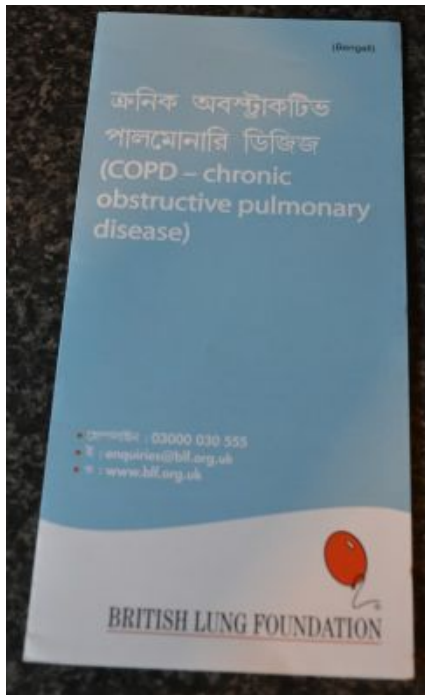
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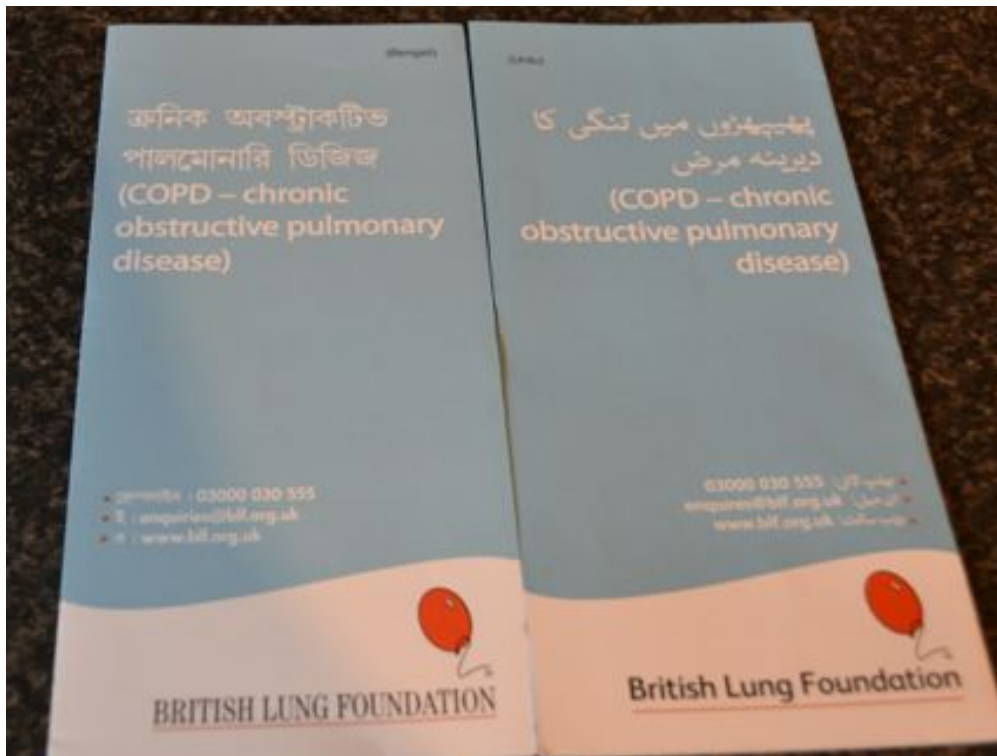
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CB14



CB15



CB16

