

Report 2016



The University of Manchester

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Investigating the linguistic landscape of Manchester through a comparative analysis of Longsight and Moss Side: Fieldwork Report

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1. Research questions and methods

We chose to study Manchester's linguistic landscapes using the new app LinguaSnapp (see Appendix 1) as we are interested in the wide variety of languages present in Manchester which are accompanied by a variety of different cultures. We wanted to investigate the different multilingual signs visible around Manchester and present them through LinguaSnapp, as well as survey those distributing these signs. We planned to use the findings to help us answer our research questions, which we initially set out in our fieldwork plan. These research questions are stated below:

- 1. To what extent is linguistic diversity represented through signs in Longsight and why?
- 2. Is there any correlation between the language used in different sectors?
- 3. How do these findings compare to those of another linguistically diverse area in Manchester?

As stated in our fieldwork plan, we decided not to focus on a specific language because we did not want to restrict our findings before the investigation had even begun. Although, from recently studying the Multilingual Manchester Archive, previous reports have suggested cases of Urdu as the subsequent language after English in Longsight and Somali in Moss Side, with a strong use of Arabic apparent in both areas, and so we anticipated finding similar signs that correlate to this patterning.

In terms of methodology, LinguaSnapp was our primary method for collecting and obtaining data; a series of images of multilingual signs found in and around the communities of Longsight and Moss Side in Manchester (see Appendix 2 and 3). Our other source of data collection was the distribution of a short survey consisting of a few relevant questions, which we handed out to shop-keepers, library staff, medical centre staff etc. We split into two sub-groups, one visiting Longsight and the other Moss Side, in order to collect as much data as possible in the given time frame.

We initially stated in our fieldwork plan that we would compare our findings to other studies in different cities, such as London and New York, to see if we could find similar patterns in the use of signs between the two. However, on second thought, we realised we had enough questions to ask in regards to Manchester, and by sticking to a comparison of two areas in the city, we could focus more in depth on this linguistic landscape as opposed to branching out to other cities.

In relation to changes within our fieldwork to our planned research schedule, another key difference was the presentation of our survey questions. We initially stated how we planned to avoid social desirability effect, where participants may change their answer to give more socially desirable ones, by allowing the participants to fill out the surveys anonymously and hand them back to us. However, once we arrived at the locations, we found that it was easier to note down answers to the surveys ourselves based on what we discussed with the shop owners etc. This was largely due to an obvious language barrier between us, as we found some people struggled

to understand exactly what we were asking, and so we put the questions into our own words to simplify the survey for them whilst making note of their responses. We could not prevent demand characteristics, but asked the participants to answer as honestly as possible when responding to our questions. This language barrier also caused us to decide to ignore question 7 from the survey, which was aforementioned in our fieldwork plan (*Would you change the languages you use depending on the sector you're based in?*), because the majority of respondents did not understand this question and thus we got no results for this.

In our fieldwork plan we also said we would present our findings both qualitatively and quantitatively, whilst carrying out a Chi square test to see if there is a significant difference between languages in different sectors or not. However, we soon realised that due to the small scale of our study, we would not find anything statistically significant enough, and so decided against using this test.

2. Findings

2.1 Longsight survey/LinguaSnapp results:

Figure 1:

Names of image	Sector / Shop Type	Image's language	Languages used in store	Language s used by owner	Notes
Mushtaq Halal Meat	Food Store	English, Urdu	Arabic, Urdu	Arabic, English, Urdu	
Longsight Window Advertisement	Takeaway Food Outlet	English, Chinese, Hindi, Polish, Somali, Urdu	English, Somali	English, Somlai	This advertisement was for an expert immigration solicitors and was displayed in a food outlet window.
Longsight Mosque	Religious institution	English, Urdu	Arabic, English, Urdu	N/A	We were not able to gain access to the institution on arrival.
Pakistani Community Centre	Community Centre	English, Urdu	Urdu	Englis, Urdu	
Longsight Library 1	Library	English, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian	Arabic, English, Urdu	N/A	
Longsight Library 2	Library	Albanian, Arabic, English, Hungarian, Kurdish, Romanian	Arabic, English, Urdu	N/A	
Longsight Library 3	Library	Bengali, English, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu	Arabic, English, Urdu	N/A	
Longsight Library 4	Library	English, Chinese, Somali, Tamil, Vietnamese	Arabic, English, Urdu	N/A	
Longsight Medical Centre 1	Medical Centre	Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Polish, Punjabii, Somali, Spanish	English	N/A	
Sanam Food Longsight	Takeaway food outlet/Restauran t	English, Urdu	Arabic, English, Urdu	Urdu, English, Some Arabic	
Longsight Cafe 1	Takeaway food outlet	English, French, German, Hindi, Malay, Polish	Arabic, English	Urdu, English	
Neelam Jewellers	Store	English, Hindi	English, Hindi	English, Gujarati, Hindi	Not available on LinguaSnapp*
Russian Orthodox Church	Religious Institution	English, Russian	Russian	English, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian	Not available on LinguaSnapp*

2.2 Longsight qualitative results:

Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

In the majority of cases, responses suggested that the decision to communicate in a particular language was based on the target audience. For shops and restaurants, this was often down to the fact that the majority of customers' primary language was the one that the institution had chosen to communicate in. However, one business displayed a wide variety of languages so as not to be as exclusive as some others would. Whether they displayed a particular language or a variety, all the institutions appeared to be motivated by providing for the people they were serving - be it customers or visitors to a community centre.

In what circumstances would you use these languages? Do you have any preferences?

There was a split within our respondents about the language they preferred to use. Although many opted to primarily use English out of simplicity, some institutions like the Russian Orthodox Church had the vast majority of visitors communicating in Russian, whilst services were conducted in Church Slavonic. Some institutions attempted to incorporate English alongside their primary language, such as the Pakistani Community Centre's attempts to speak as much English as possible alongside Urdu.

What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

For a few respondents, the benefits of using languages was motivated by business. In a couple of examples, businesses found that using a language other than English was best for them; as the majority of their customers tended to use that particular language. One respondent indicated that he would always attempt to use English as it was easier for him to conduct his business in that language. Overall, the benefits of using a language appeared to be in order to create the best balance between the people in charge of the institution and those who were visiting.

2.3 Moss Side survey/ LinguaSnapp results:

Figure 2:

Names of image	Sector / Shop Type	lmage's language	Languages used in store	Language s used by owner	Notes			
Polish R.C. Church	Religious Institution	English, Polish	Polish	N/A				
Guru Nanak temple	Religious Institution	English, Punjabi	English, Punjabi	N/A				
Mandeeq Boutique	Clothing Store	Arabic, English	Arabic, Somali	Arabic, English, Somali	Not available on LinguaSnapp			
Erim Fabrics	Clothing Store	English, Urdu	English	English, Urdu				
Al-Furqan Islamic Centre	Religious Institution	Arabic, English	Arabic	Arabic, English, French	A volunteer who worked there said they were from Niger, French is the official language there, also because it's heavily Muslim he knows Arabic too.Therefore explaining the languages used by owner.			
Al Rahman Bakery	Café/ Bakery	Arabic, English	Arabic, English, Kurdish	English, Kurdish	Refuses to speak any Pakistani languages (e.g. Urdu, Punjabi)			
AL Rahman food menu	Café /Bakery	Arabic, English	Arabic, English, Kurdish	English, Kurdish	Refuses to speak any Pakistani languages (e.g. Urdu, Punjabi)			
Bahar Cafe	Café /Bakery	Arabic, English, Somali	Arabic, English	Arabic, English				
Red Sea Call Shop	Technology Store	Arabic, English, Somali, Urdu	Arabic, English, Somali	Arabic, English				
Safa Superstore	Food Store	Arabic, English	Arabic, English, Somali	Arabic, English, Somali				
Merhaba Ethiopian Restaurant	Restaurant	English, Turkish	Amharic, Arabic, English, Somali	Arabic, Dutch, English, Somali	Not available on LinguaSnapp*			
Yong Da Restaurant	Take Away	English, Mandarin	English, Mandarin	English, Mandarin	Not available on LinguaSnapp*			

2.4 Moss Side qualitative results:

Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

Many of the sample said that they based their decision to communicate in their chosen languages because of their location. Generally, their location placed them in a heavily Muslim area, meaning they would cater their language choice to the demand of the consumer. It allows them to remain open to their community by being able to communicate in the same languages, thus increasing business too.

In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preference?

In general, the majority of the sample said English, as it is the most commonly spoken language still, despite being such a multilingual area. Nevertheless, most of the time they said it was situational e.g. dependent on the native language of the person they were communicating with. Many of the people we spoke to were open to the idea of multilingualism in their shop/establishment, apart from one respondent who said they made a conscious effort to not converse in languages of Pakistan e.g. Urdu and Punjabi. The respondent based this decision on political reasons, as they originated from Iraq.

What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

The majority of the sample said the benefits of using their chosen language was largely because it was inclusive to the speech community e.g. it was useful to converse with many of the customers as it was often their native tongue. However, with customers who did not share the same first language as the owner, their chosen language of communication was English.

3. Discussion

3.1 Discussion of findings in Longsight

From our findings it is obvious that, English aside, Urdu has been a dominant language in terms of multilingual signage. As indicated by Matras & Robertson (2015), "the most frequently encountered language in public signage outside of Chinatown is Urdu", with reference to, for example, a council sign in Cheetham Hill which advises on litter disposal in English and Urdu. Throughout our observation of Longsight, we found that many businesses display signage in Urdu, for example, Mushtaq Halal Meat (see Figure 1). The 2011 census states that the population of the Pakistani ethnic group had risen from 24.6% to 35.7% in 2001, whereas the British ethnic group in 2011 was 21.5% which had fallen from 39.9% in 2001. We assume, from our findings, that this trend has continued, based on the high percentage multilingual signs which included Urdu that we encountered.

In addition to this we found that, via data provided by the school census for the 2014/2015 academic year, 666 children (over one third) in Longsight schools communicate in Urdu as their first language, whilst in English there is only 331 first language speakers. This census (2015) is

rather interesting considering that the official language of Great Britain is English, and thus highlights the dominance of Urdu in the Longsight area.

Despite Urdu displaying a dominance throughout signage, we did happen to find an array of other languages apparent within multilingual signs. There were two public service buildings of particular interest to our investigation. The first being Longsight Library and Learning Centre, which offered publications in a wide variety of languages, complete with dedicated sections for each language. On Manchester City Council's website, Longsight Library states: 'If your morning newspaper is Bangla or Urdu, we've got it. If you like your picture books in Polish, we have some. If you like your fiction in Farsi, we've got that too', a statement we found to be true on assessment of languages present through linguistic signs present within the library.

Upon arrival to Longsight Library, a member of staff who we surveyed (see Appendix 4) explained to us that their library had some specific sections devoted to languages other than English, and was happy to guide us through which languages were featured in the signs for these sections. The majority of these signs were in Asian languages such as Urdu or Arabic; the most popular languages after English. According to the staff member, there was previously an even wider range of languages within the library that were made available to the public, but the usage of some were discontinued due to lack of demand. Along with this, the library contained an information section offering a number of public information leaflets available in a variety of different languages, ranging from Vietnamese to Romanian (see Figure 1). With these leaflets being so linguistically diverse, this could lead us to believe there's a possible presence of these language speakers in the Longsight area.

Within the library, the only other section available of books written in languages other than English was those written in Arabic, Urdu and Persian. Our findings were as expected, with Arabic being particularly prevalent alongside English. Matras & Robertson (2015) provide evidence for this as they suggested that the usage of Arabic in public signage had shown an increase in Manchester over the last few years.

Longsight Medical Practice was another public institution which provided some interesting signage for us to analyse. For example the self check-in interactive touch screen computer had a welcome screen with several different languages to choose from (see Figure 1). We found this to be of particular interest, as much like the data from the library, it may suggest that the languages apparent for check-in are the majority languages used by the registered patients at the surgery. Along with this we also encountered signs in Urdu and Arabic present at the Medical Practice.

The majority of our remaining data came from independently-owned businesses along the high street, such as restaurants and shops, and in the form of advertisements in the windows of these establishments. All of this data featured Asian languages alongside English, varying from simple greetings to advertisements for other businesses, such as solicitors and government grant schemes. What was found to be a point worthy of analysis within the Longsight community was that even British institutions present in the area such as Asda supermarket had catered

their business towards an Asian community. The supermarket has its own Halal section, which has been personalised especially for the target customer, suggesting that the area may well be primarily Muslim, as Halal meat is an important rule of Islam.

The presence of both top-down and bottom-up signs in Longsight provided some interesting data. As stated by Bogatto & Helot (2010), top-down signs differ from bottom-up in that they are a product of an authoritative body such as the government or council, while bottom-up signs are used by independent owners who have complete control over how the sign represents them and their institution. We found that the majority of our data were bottom-up signs, in private sectors such as shops, however the fact that top-down signs (which we found in the library and medical centre) are present in Longsight is indicative of how established the area is as a multicultural hub. Although the number of bottom-down signs is not interesting in itself, the different motives people had for representing themselves and their business was worthy of analysis.

3.2 Comparing to another linguistically diverse area

In reference to our final research question, we decided to compare Longsight to the multilingual area of Moss Side, an inner-city and electoral ward of Manchester. On the whole, in Longsight we found multilingual signs to be both top-down and bottom-up, highlighting the presence of multilingualism in the public and private sectors of this area, for example Longsight library and Longsight cafe (see Figure 1). Whereas for Moss Side we only found bottom-up multilingual signs, for example Erim Fabrics (see Figure 2), showing a contrast between the languages used in the varying sectors of the different areas.

Although Longsight library contained many documents displaying multilingualism, when we visited the Powerhouse Library in Moss Side (see Appendix), this was not the case. We spoke to a worker there about the lack of multilingual leaflets in the library, asking if they knew why this public establishment chose not to include any leaflets in other languages and to keep it primarily English, unlike Longsight. She explained how the migration of Somali speakers to Moss Side is a much more recent occurrence than the migration of people to Longsight, such as Bengali speakers. This suggests that Moss Side has not yet fully adapted to this influx of migrants, meaning signs used in authority and of public use haven't yet reached places such as the library like they have in Longsight. She did not dismiss the idea, but indicated that this is still a change in progress and may take hold later on.

When analysing the results we obtained from the surveys distributed within the Moss Side area, the data we collected corresponded with the predictions of Matras and Robertson. English and the increasingly popular Arabic were both frequent choices when it came to selecting a language for signage in Moss Side, along with Urdu which also displayed a heavy presence in this area, for example the Red Sea Call Shop (see Figure 2). We can also infer from looking at the table (Figure 2) that Somali was frequently used by the shop owners/spoken in the shop themselves, hinting at a Somali community residing in Moss Side, which was also another prediction previously raised. This contrasts with our data found in Longsight, in that we did not encounter any incidences of Somali signage throughout our investigation.

Although investigating sign use in both public and private sectors is a relevant indicator of potential residents in Moss Side, we cannot conclude this from our data alone, as private sectors such as shops and restaurants only suggest residency, not confirm it. In order to gain assurance, we analysed the Moss Side School Census data from the 2014/2015 academic year as we did for Longsight. The results of the census (2015) showed that around 30% of languages spoken within the schools were English, with Somali (23%) and Arabic (12%) being the next highest figures. Urdu only accounted for 7% of first language speakers in Moss Side, whereas in Longsight the percentage was far higher at 37%. These results aligned well with our Moss Side survey findings, the only difference being that we found Arabic to be a more popular spoken language than the census suggested, such as the Safa Superstore (see Figure 2) which uses both Arabic and English, but no Somali, in its signage. This could be due to the fact that Classical Arabic is the 'sacred language' of Islam and the Qur'an (Pennington, 2009), meaning that the majority of Muslim people speak Arabic, nevertheless the two are not mutually exclusive.

There were some findings from our survey results from Moss Side that we found to be unexpected, for example, despite the fact that the majority of the sample were open to multilingualism, one respondent from the Al-Rahman Bakery (see Figure 2), who originated from Iraq, explained that he refused to converse in languages of Pakistan, e.g. Urdu and Punjabi. We felt that this was a sensitive topic and so did not want to push the respondent to explain why. Nevertheless, after some of our own research into this matter we found that the respondent's aversion to Pakistani languages could potentially be down to Iraq and Pakistan's previous unstable history (Khadduri & Ghareeb, 2001), with this apparent political tension affecting people's language choice, and even becoming apparent in Manchester, as highlighted in our survey response. When comparing these findings to our observation of Longsight, we found that the majority of our predictions remained the same as there were no unexpected findings, suggesting a difference in communities.

When analysing the LinguaSnapp data, we could clearly identify that all of the multilingual signs we captured contained English as one of their languages; which was an obvious expectation, and affirming the role of the standard language as a communicative method no matter the location. In Longsight, Urdu was the most popular language after English in multilingual signs, with 46% of signs we found being written in Urdu. However, we can see in Moss Side how eight of the eleven (72.73%) multilingual signs captured on LinguaSnapp included Arabic as one of the languages, thus indicating a strong Muslim presence in this area and also, again, adhering to Matras and Robertson's observation of Arabic being 'on the rise'.

After conversing with shop owners in Longsight, we found that many of them communicated in Urdu due to the high concentration of Urdu-speaking customers. In Moss Side however, we found that there was a noticeable proportion of shop customers of a Somali background. By studying its history, it is apparent that conflict overseas has caused much immigration to Moss Side since 1971, with the government's profile of Manchester's Migration (2015) reporting many Somali migrants being drawn to the area since then. This recent wave of Somali migrants could

influence the multilingual signs used in Moss Side, as the shops, religious sectors etc. will be catering to the demographic there. For example, the Bahar Cafe sign (see Figure 2) which, as well as using the popular languages of Arabic and English, also incorporates Somali.

3.3 General conclusions

In reference to our first research question, linguistic diversity is arguably represented through a vast amount of signs in Longsight, pointing towards a multilingual society. Not only this, but our data often correlated with other relevant literature along with the Longsight census, which confirmed the presence of several cultures, in particular Urdu speakers.

Top-down and bottom-up signs linked to our second research question regarding language used in different sectors. We found that in Longsight, the more established multicultural hub, there was evidence of top-down signage alongside the more common bottom-up ones, yet in Moss Side we were unable to find any examples top-down signs. This shows how the multilingual community in Longsight is more established than the one in Moss Side, as not only do they have multilingual signs in private sectors, but public sectors communicate in a variety of languages too. As we previously mentioned, this can be related back to the community of migrants in Longsight arriving earlier than those in Moss Side.

Finally, in reference to our third research question, our findings in Longsight differed in a number of ways to our findings from Moss Side. The most prevalent language alongside English in Longsight was Urdu, which we expected considering Matras & Robertson's data which placed it as the most common other than English in the whole of Manchester. In contrast, Urdu accounted for a very small portion of the data for Moss Side, with Arabic the most prevalent in the area as well as people from a Somali background, thus highlighting a contrasting linguistic landscape within the city of Manchester.

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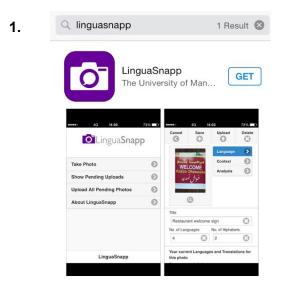
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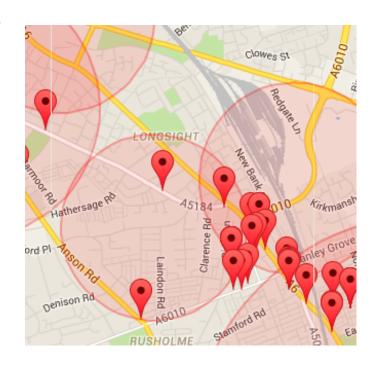
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5. Appendix

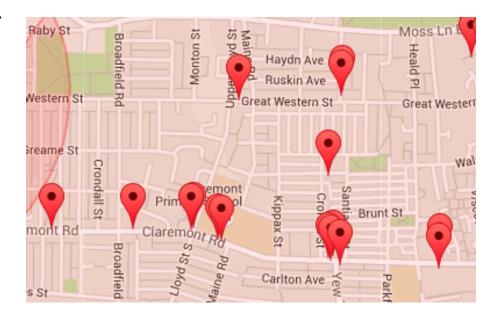


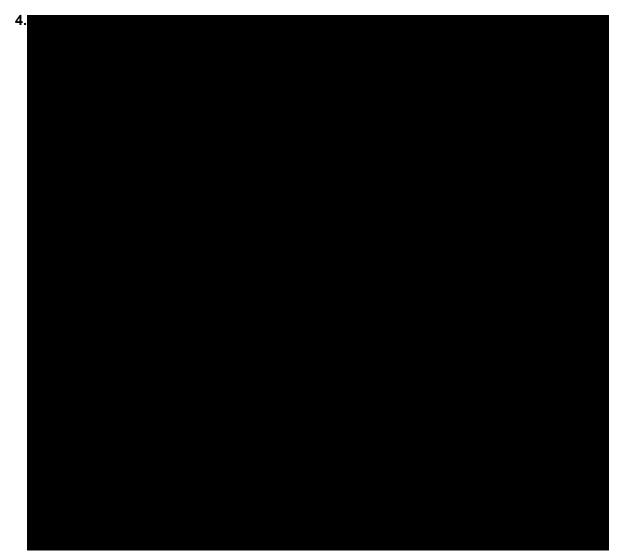


2.



3.





Safa superstore

Multilingual Manchester Survey – Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

Arabic, English

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

Very Arabic anea (location)

3) What languages do you speak yourself?

English, Arabic, Some Somali

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences?

Would use if other longuages became more popular, prefer Arcibic & English 5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

Most spoken in the orea

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

Arcibic, Somali, English

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

English and Urdu

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages? English & morthy spotter in this shap - people use this to communicate to each other (somalians spear 3) What languages do you speak yourself? Urdel and English Urdel and English Engl

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any

preferences? Repending on customer - mostly use English FJ urdu spaller use urdu

5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

Easy to committee with different automers

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

English

Bahar cafo

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

Somali', Arabic, English 2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

- 2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages? MOST people inderstand in Eris and
- 3) What languages do you speak yourself?

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences?

no preference

5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

Arabic, English

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

English and prable

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages? Sight because weare in manchester in an Eight spearing making I mesque so will many spear prable 3) What languages do you speak yourself? French & Ergitch, Prable

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences?
Brabal French at here proble lat hope et .
Grafish when is proble lat hope et .
France at magne
5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?
Arable - most molime speak it i for religions purposes anglish so yos can communicate with tommity French w - family et.
6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

prable

7) Would you change the languages you use depending on the sector you're based in?

> religions different hopublic sector language

Al-Rahman Ballers

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

Arabie and English

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

many people and here are multim to Arabie is red

3) What languages do you speak yourself? wate, Englich, Kurdich

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences? Erglich in spermallet etc.

palitrani of don't want to speale of Myasior under 5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

for the attomers well sided

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

Red Sea Call Shop

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

Somali, Urdu, Arabic, English

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

3) What languages do you speak yourself?

English, Arabic

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences?

Depends who I'M speaking to, MOST customess are Arabic speaking SOMO Somall 5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

- Can use them more / usefulness
- 6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

Somali, English, Arabič milit

Merhaba Ethiopian Restaurant

Multilingual Manchester Survey – Moss Side

1) What language(s) is the sign written in?

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

The area is very Arabic (location)

3) What languages do you speak yourself?

Arabic, English, Dutch (some somali)

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences?

- · English if in an English owned store. · Depending on customer
- 5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

· Most spoken in the restaurant I my everyday life,

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

7) Would you change the languages you use depending on the sector you're based in?

Mandeep boubique

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Moss Side

```
1) What language(s) is the sign written in?
```

2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages?

Unperbation many somali people come to this shop,

many vie Prable to comminicate

3) What languages do you speak yourself?

4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any

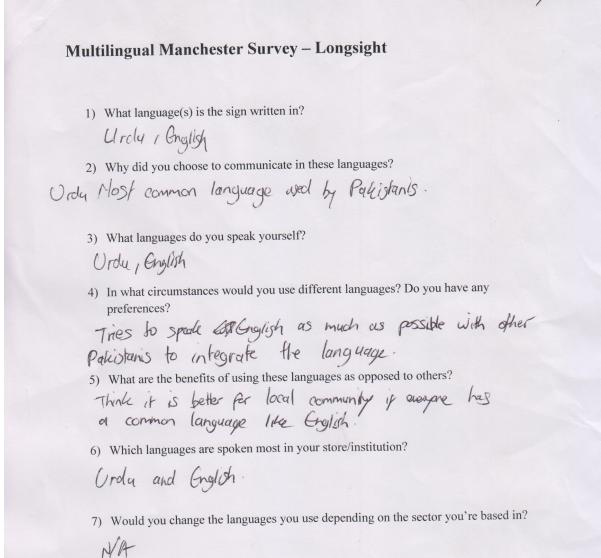
English when outside shop (limited)

prefer somali

5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others?

6) Which languages are spoken the most in your store/institution?

Pakistani commanity centre



25

Sanam Good

Multilingual Manchester Survey - Longsight 1) What language(s) is the sign written in? Urdu 2) Why did you choose to communicate in these languages? Majority of customer first language were Urdy. 3) What languages do you speak yourself? Urdu, Grafich, some Arabic. 4) In what circumstances would you use different languages? Do you have any preferences? Would potentially use Arabic if customer was unable to speak Urdy or Grafish. 5) What are the benefits of using these languages as opposed to others? Some customes prefer to speak custom languages, e.g. Urdu

6) Which languages are spoken most in your store/institution?

Urdy, Cnefsh

Muntaa Italal

