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Inclusivity and Exclusivity of Chinese and English in Chinatown, Manchester

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1 Introduction

This field report aims to research the extent of inclusivity and exclusivity of Chinese and English in Manchester's Chinatown. More specifically, this is an explorative piece into how the different forms of Chinese and English are used to select audiences within the Linguistic Landscape. The research conducted will focus on the hospitality sector in Chinatown, to be more exact, the restaurants and shops that contain the presence of both Chinese and English in the relevant linguistic landscape in terms of their inclusivity and exclusivity. In addition, a brief comparative study will be conducted from a commercial sector within Beijing, in order to compare results with Manchester's Chinatown and to further examine the mechanisms and motivations behind the purposeful use of multilingualism within the hospitality sector.

2 Literature Review

A useful definition for linguistic landscapes was proposed by Landry & Bourhis (1997). They state that linguistic landscapes (LL) refer to all of the linguistic tokens that encapsulate 'road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs.' (1997: 25). This definition will be used whenever LL is referenced. Two critical terms that are relevant to this report are inclusivity and exclusivity. Inclusivity is described as language that is found within an LL that is intended to make all information, or the majority of information, accessible to a wider audience within a community (Gaiser & Matras, 2019). Contrastingly, exclusivity is found when the wider audience cannot access information and instead, the linguistic features used are aimed to target one specific audience. This is typically done intentionally through the use of a different language or culturally specific trait only understood by those targeted (Gaiser & Matras, 2019). These terms will assist in the analysis of target audience in the discussion. This report will explore the inclusivity and exclusivity of Chinese and English signs, the possible motivations behind these choices, and the mechanisms involved in achieving them.

Gaiser & Matras (2019) provide relevant examples to their definitions of inclusivity and exclusivity. They found that monolingual-Chinese signs for restaurants and shops

are evidence that signs belonging to businesses select only the Chinese speakers to understand the contents of the sign. This simultaneously excludes the wider audience that cannot read Chinese. They also note that the emblematic use of Chinese in signs adjacent to English used to convey information is audience inclusive as, 'For both in-group and out-group members of the Chinese community, the use of Chinese signs contributes to demarcating the area as an ethnically defined place.' (2019: 71). They note the dominance of Chinese within Chinatown as a 'spatial demarcation' of the area contributing to the outward appearance displaying a Chinese community. Leeman & Modan (2009) have explored the emblematic functions of Chinese writing within Chinatown of Washington DC as a form of cultural commodification and consumerism. They maintain that outside of the language, certain features of signs may feature in the selection of target audiences. The current report will explore the possible effects of emblematic features in the LL of Chinatowns restaurant signs.

Piller (2001) provides useful guidance for the analysis of signs. In advertisement, the use of headlines is a strategy for conveying different meanings, and in relevant cases, a means of constructing English as the dominant language, this was referred to as the authority of the 'English voice' (2001: 163). Piller (2001) further adds that 'headlines are salient because of their function, large fonts, strong colours, position, and form.'

3 Methodology

For the aims of this report, both qualitative and quantitative data is used. In terms of qualitative data, six examples were chosen that represented monolingual Chinese, monolingual English and a bilingual mix of English and Chinese with the exception of figure 9 which contains a trilingual mix of English, Chinese and Spanish. Primarily, most of the data presented is taken from Linguasnapp which is an online interactive project that has allowed a multilingual landscape map of Manchester to be created through user submitted photos of texts (Jerrison, 2016). To avoid different language techniques and traits from irrelevant signs that would only convolute the data, the research is narrowed down to the tertiary sector of Manchester's Chinatown and the data represents only restaurants or shops. Some primary data was also gathered, as seen through figure 10 which is an example taken from a similar sector and area within

Beijing. Quantitative data is also used in this report to provide a larger picture of the sample that is being analysed which was done through the categorisation features of Linguasnapp that allow search definitions such as 'emblematic' or 'communicative' to be used to select data. This data comprises a count of the total amount of monolingual and bilingual signs and a table showing the distribution of communicative and emblematic functions across examples of monolingual Chinese, bilingual signs and monolingual English. All of these examples will be analysed in terms of their linguistic features, effects and their degree of inclusivity or exclusivity with some reference to their function.

4 Findings

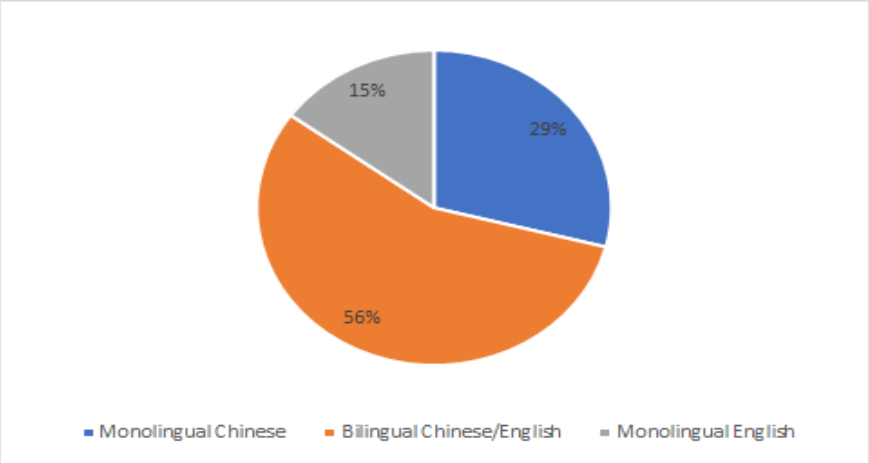

Figure 1: Percentages of Chinese monolingual signs, English monolingual signs and English and Chinese bilingual signs of restaurant signs in Chinatown.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of languages in restaurant signs within Chinatown. The languages are: Chinese monolingual, English and Chinese bilingual, and English monolingual. There is a clear prominence in the bilingual signs, comprising 56% (23) of the signs found, with Chinese monolingual comprising the second most prominent

category of signs at 29% (12). The English monolingual signs were shown to be the least frequent, with only 15% (6) of the signs falling into this category.

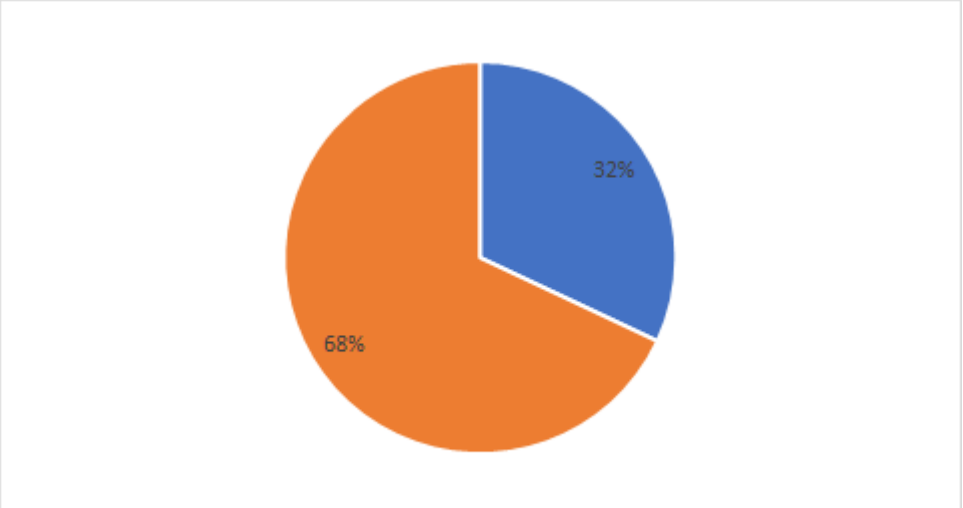

Figure 2: Percentages of English and Chinese dominance in bilingual signs in Chinatown.

Figure 2 shows an intricate pattern within the bilingual English and Chinese restaurant signs. This chart shows which language was dominant on the particular sign in terms of font size, colour, position and quantity. It shows that more of the signs were Chinese dominant, 68% (13) than English dominant, 32% (6).

Figure 3 shows raw statistics for the distribution of communicative and emblematic functions within each category of sign. We can see that a communicative function was most frequent, 32, in comparison to emblematic functioning signs, 9. Interestingly, the

	MC	Bilingual	ME	Total
Communicative function	11	15	6	32
Emblematic function	1	8	0	9
Total	12	23	6	41

Figure 3: Table of function distribution between multilingual sign categories in Chinatown.

highest frequency of emblematic functioning signs was in the bilingual category, 8, compared to monolingual Chinese (MC), 1, and monolingual English (ME), 0.

Bilingual English/Chinese

Figure 4 demonstrates a bilingual sign. The shop is called ‘Happy Lemon’. This example is a job advertisement shown by the Chinese section detailing how to send CV information to the right email address. This section is not translated into English. The shop’s motto is ‘Enjoy real fresh tea’ written in both languages. The predominantly Chinese based sign has more information accessible in simplified Chinese. Furthermore, the QR code is only scannable with the Chinese app ‘Wechat’ with more information underneath it which details that the shop is open and small gifts will be given to some who scan it. This section is not translated into English.

Figure 5, the restaurant, ‘Hunan’ has provided its menu and a description of the background of cooking. The presence of English is seen from the name of the restaurant and the paragraph covering the background of the restaurant. Additionally, the headings of each part of the menu are in English and are made obvious from their different font and colour, this is preceded by the Chinese description. The key for symbols on the menu, i.e. ‘Very Spicy/ Vegetarian’ is also in English reinforcing its dominance in the sign. The arrangement of this bottom-up/private sign is fragmentary, with only some of the information given in Chinese, but all information is given in English.

Figure 11 shows a bilingual sign containing English and traditional Chinese. The sign is a menu placed on the outside wall of the restaurant making it bottom-up. Four bands are present on the sign separating each section, Chinese and English are present together in each band. Apart from the top, each band shows the language-spatial relationship of both languages to be symmetrical. The top band exclusively has an asymmetrical language-spatial relationship, as 'welcome to Red Chilli, Chinese restaurant' is the only unit of text that is left without translating, it appears alongside a diagram of two red chillies with the name of the restaurant both in Chinese and

English. English script precedes the Chinese script in every section and the English subheadings are seen in a larger font.

Monolingual Chinese

Figure 6 is an example of a monolingual Chinese sign. The red sign tells the audience that the name of the restaurant is 川府家宴 ('chuan fu jia yan') and is used as an advertising board and a menu (seen by the prices next to each dish). The name of the restaurant and all the dishes are listed in simplified Chinese.

Monolingual English

Figure 8 is an example of monolingual English being used. The sign is from the restaurant 'Jade City'. Although the sign is written in English, elements from Chinese culture have been included such as the dragon imagery in the bottom right corner.

5 Discussion

The quantitative data shows some significant patterns in the LL of Manchester's Chinatown in relation to the use of Chinese and English. In Figure 1, the largest category (56%) of the signs documented were bilingual Chinese and English. This pattern shows an inclusion of English and Chinese speakers, without showing the complexities of each sign, it can be seen that both communities have been acknowledged by this. Conversely, Figure 3 shows that these signs also had the highest frequency of emblematic functioning features. This points to the use of Chinese in the signs to attract customers interested in 'authentic' Chinese restaurants or simply marking the area as part of the Chinese community of Chinatown. Figure 2 shows the frequencies for any dominance found in bilingual signs. English featured a higher rate of dominance (68%) than Chinese (32%). Figure 4 is an example of a Chinese dominant bilingual sign. This may be a reflection of the use of inclusivity to make the information accessible to any non-Chinese speakers, whilst demarcating the area as ethnically defined by still using Chinese (Gaiser & Matras, 2018). A difficulty in this area is how dominance of a language is defined within a sign. Part of the statistics were taken from

Linguasnapp as well as manual input on the basis of Piller's (2001) discussion on language dominance.

Figure 5 is a bilingual sign demonstrating English dominance. Whilst providing a thorough description of the restaurant in English and the entirety of the menu being communicated in English, it provides fragments of the menu in Chinese. This shows an appreciation of Chinese heritage thus including the Chinese community whilst still being inclusive to English speakers. Additionally, features such as the key for symbols like 'Vegetarian' may be legally required to be in English due to it being the official language of the area, thus a 'required inclusivity' of speakers of English being implemented. However, because the Chinese translations cover little of the information, these features may only serve an emblematic function. With Chinese featuring as part of the logo and small amounts of the text, inclusivity to the Chinese-speaking community cannot be determined, but rather attract an audience looking for an 'authentically Chinese' restaurant (Gaiser & Madras, 2019: 69). This concept was also explored by Leeman and Modan (2009) in relation to Washington DC's Chinatown, posing the interesting question of whether these features are used in Chinatowns worldwide. Figure 5 ultimately highlights the subjectivity in defining inclusivity and the potential motivations of using two different languages in bilingual signs. It also demonstrates that the inclusion of different languages has different aims.

Figure 11 is a bilingual sign that follows a duplicating arrangement, however in the top section of the sign, the 'Welcome to Red Chilli Chinese Restaurant' is the only unit of text which is not translated. It is in a prominent position and precedes all the other units of text. The font is different from the rest of the menu which makes this heading stand out, making the English text seem 'stronger' and to portray English as the 'dominant voice' (Piller, 2001). This combined with the preceding positioning of the English text compared to the Chinese text throughout the menu can be perceived as this sign subtly being more inclusive to English-speakers, however, it is likely the establishment perceive their Chinese audience as being proficient in speaking English too, therefore, the use of English does not fully exclude them.

Examples from commercial districts in Beijing yielded fascinating results. Figure 9 shows a trilingual sign that includes Chinese, English, and Spanish. The Spanish only appears in the name of the restaurant ('Las Musas'), the rest is all in equal amounts of Chinese and English. Both languages give the information of opening hours on different days of the week. The information is equally accessible to speakers of both languages. There are no emblematic features attracting a specific target audience. This is also the case in Figure 10. This sign reveals different offers on different weekdays and each is directly translated from English to Chinese. Similar to Figure 9, this sign demonstrates an intention to appeal to speakers of both English and Chinese. These examples of bilingual English and Chinese indicate a preference of attracting as many customers as possible rather than specifically targeting one type. This may be a result of competition in the commercial district. Another feature that seems consistent is an equal distribution of English and Chinese in their signs which differs from Chinatown's preference of having more English than Chinese in bilingual examples (68%). Bilingual signs in China challenge that idea of English being the 'authoritative' device as Piller (2001) claimed. However, the dominance of English in a bilingual sign within Manchester's Chinatown is clear. This conversely supports Piller's (2001) claims. The difference of dominance of languages in bilingual signs may indicate certain cultural traits that affect language use.

As the monolingual Chinese figures highlighted, some restaurants prefer a Chinese script. Gaiser & Matras (2019) maintain that the use of monolingual Chinese is solely for the signs appealing only to Chinese-speakers. This theory is especially significant in Figure 6. As a monolingual sign, it excludes any non-Chinese speakers from being able to comprehend the sign. More importantly, the use of Chinese reveals the restaurant's true target audience, Chinese speakers. This suggests that all features in the restaurant signs are engineered to appeal to this audience group. For example, the sign tries to offer the Chinese readers an 'authentically Chinese' sign as seen by the emblematic use red, a colour commonly associated with China (Leeman & Modan 2009). Emblematic features are typical in Chinese orientated restaurants for cultural commodification (Leeman & Modan 2009). A potential reason for wanting to appeal to Chinese speakers may be explained by the restaurant's name - 川府家宴 ('chuan

fu jia yan'). This refers to the Sichuan province of China, which further appeals to the authentic experience as the restaurant offers regional dishes from a province in China. This restaurant is marketing to be authentic for the Chinese-speaking audience. It seems that this type of marketing is the minority in Chinatown. As Figure 1 highlights, monolingual Chinese is the second most popular language (29%) in restaurant signs behind bilingual English and Chinese. This indicates that there is a preference to have inclusive signs that appeal to a wider target audience.

There is a limited use of monolingual English signs in Chinatown (15% of all signs). However, Figure 8, ('Jade City') is monolingual English. Elements from Chinese culture such as the dragon, and the red colour could be used as an emblematic function which businesses may use liberally to attract customers. A reason for this sign being in monolingual English may be that the sign is advertising the deal given by the restaurant and not the product. Therefore, the restaurant may want to appeal to English speakers who are in Chinatown as tourists. The deal put on the sign is an English product of Chinese cuisine, geared for an English audience which justifies the use of monolingual English. Furthermore, in Manchester's Chinatown, the assumption is likely that most customers can read English, therefore, the use of monolingual English in this area can be considered highly inclusive.

The limitations of this report stem from the heavy reliance on Linguasnapp for data as not only is the sample size limited, but the data may be out of date due to restaurants updating their menus or signs. In addition, there is a broad use of Chinese in Linguasnapp's database, and the program does not distinguish between the traditional and simplified forms of Chinese when returning search results. This also resulted in examples of Japanese when the search terms were set to Chinese. Furthermore, the quality of the images are not all clear either, leading to difficulty when interpreting the messages of the sign. This is illustrated by figure 7. Difficulty in interpretation also came from what signs could be categorically defined as inclusive or exclusive due to how this concept is not clearly defined or because of the differing viewpoints from contrasting linguistic communities within the same linguistic landscape.

6 Conclusion

This report has found that in Chinatown, the preference is for bilingual signs that are dominant in English followed by monolingual Chinese, then English. The research highlights that the use of emblematic functions in Chinese signs is common practice. Finally, the differences between Bilingual English and Chinese were compared to commercial districts in Beijing. This highlighted an inherent difference between the LL of different regions. This may pose interesting questions for future research that choose to explore the differences of how multilingualism is utilised to achieve different aims in different countries and cultures.

7 References

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Appendix

Figure 1:

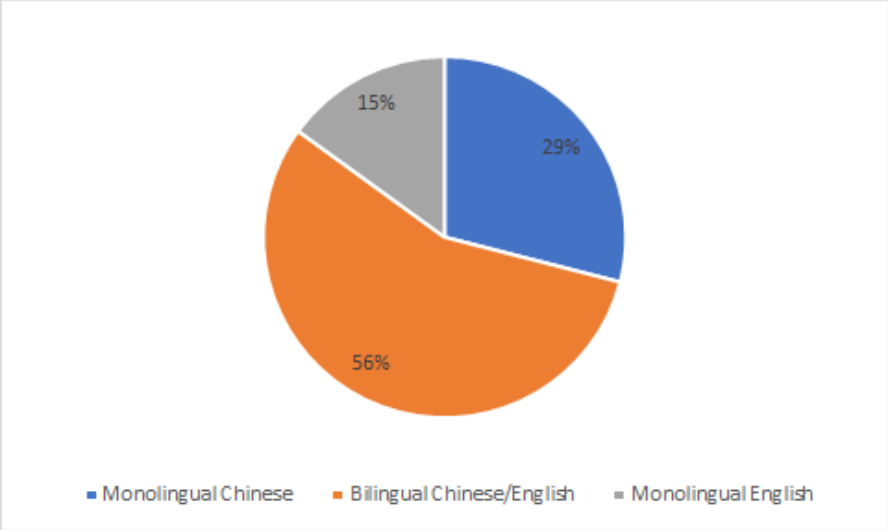

Figure 2:

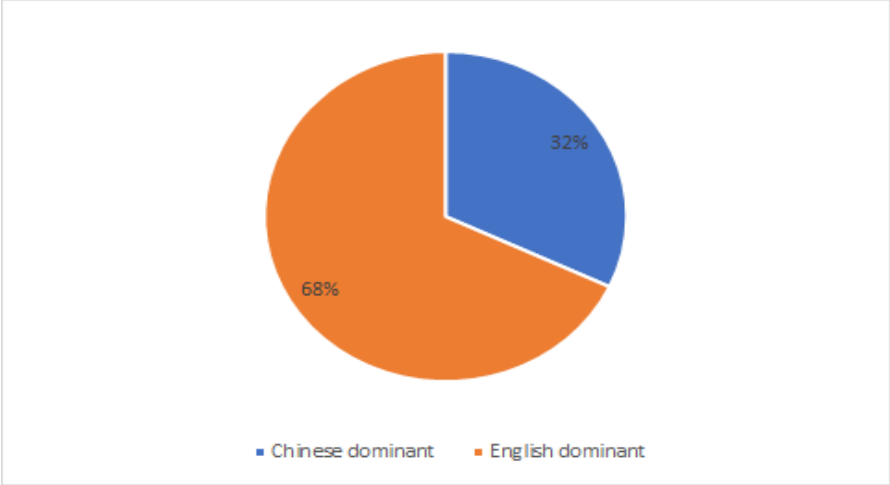

Figure 3:

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Figure 4:

Figure 5:


Xiang Cuisine Restaurant
The southern Chinese province of Hunan is justifiably famous within China for its cuisine. Hunan cuisine,sometimes called Xiang cuisine,is one of the eight major regional schools of cooking in China.The food in Hunan is famous for its liberal use of chili,bold flavors, fragrance,and colorful nature.Chairman Mao himself came from Hunan and he famously said"You can't be a revolutionary if you don't eat chillies".
Hunan lies in southern central China,nestling at the base of the Dongting Lake,where the waters of the Yangtze gather after their thundering passage through the three gorges. The province has a subtropical climate,four distinct seasons,and is one of the richest agricultural regions in China.The Hunanese explain their dietary predilections in terms of the local climate.Winters are cool and damp,summer ineffirably sultry,and Chinese medicine advises that in these unhealthy conditions frying,heating foods like chili that drive out sweat,and restore harmony to the body should be eaten.
Contrary to popular stereotype both in China and abroad,Hunanese cooking is not always fiendishly hot.Hunan is a region of bold spicy tastes,but also of soothing slow-cooked stews,delicate steamed vegetables,delicious smoked meats and refreshing stir-fries.The province also benefits from culinary influences brought by several ethnic minority groups in the west,such as the Tujia,Miao,and Dong.
The mission of our restaurant is to bring to Manchester authentic Hunan cuisine along with southern Chineesehospitality.
=Very Spicy
=Vegetarian
Soup Choice:
Chicken Sweet Corn OR Hot and Sour Soup
Platter Choice:
Deep Fried Combo-Won Ton,Spring Roll,
Sesame Prawn Toast,BBQ Spare Ribs & Seaweed
OR
Dim Sum Combo-Sui Mai,Har Gam,
Bean curd Roll,Beef Dumpling and Spare Ribs
Main Course
Sweet & Sour Chicken
Sizzling Beef with Garlic Chilli(OR without Chilli)
Stir Fried Mix Vegetables
Egg fried Rice
FOR 3 PEOPLE OR MORE,AS ABOVE PLUS
King Prawn with Curry Sauce
FOR 4 PEOPLE OR MORE,AS ABOVE PLUS
Roast Duck in Plum Sauce
FOR 5 PEOPLE OR MORE,AS ABOVE PLUS
VEGETARIAN HAVEN

Figure 6:

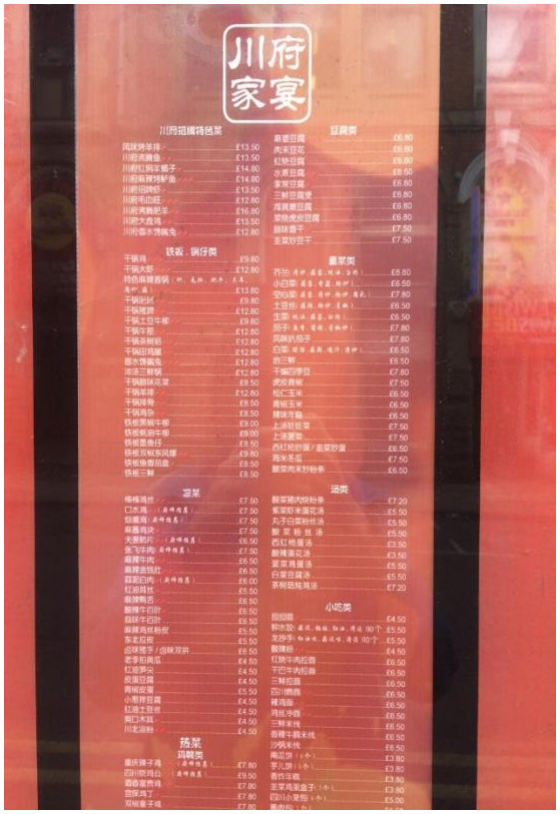

Figure 7:

Figure 8:

Figure 9:

Figure 10:

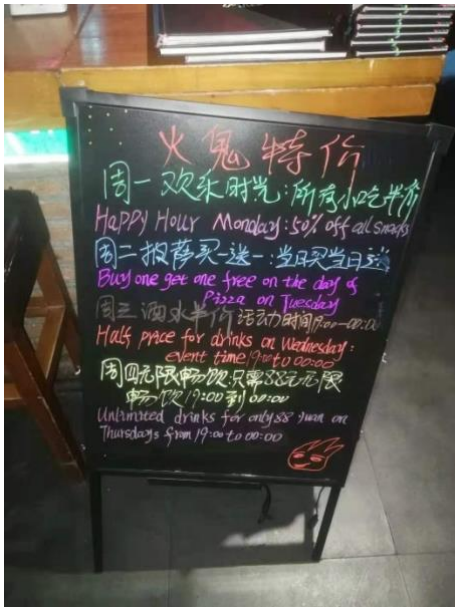

Figure 11: