University of Bahrain

College of Arts

Department of English Language and Literature

The Linguistic Landscape of Bahrain: A Comparative Study of Two Traditional Markets

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Applied English Language Studies

Prepared by

Waleed Mohammed Mahmoud Aboraya

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Supervised by

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Assistant Professor

University of Bahrain

Kingdom of Bahrain

February 2021

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Defense Committee's Approval Page

University of Bahrain

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Department of English Language and Literature

Master Program in Applied English Language Studies

Student **Waleed Mohammed Mahmoud Aboraya**, ID number **20147659**, defended his thesis by which he fulfilled the requirements for the degree of Master in Applied English Language Studies entitled **'The Linguistic Landscape of Bahrain: A Comparative Study of Two Traditional Markets'** on this day of **February 10th, 2021**.

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To my father and my mother, to my wife Nesreen, little Salma, little Ahmed and little Adam, and to the world of academia and the curious researchers who follow the light of others, I dedicate this interesting work.

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Abstract

Along with a modern trend in sociolinguistics, this study, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, can be a blueprint for the investigation of multilingualism, which is found on shop signs in Bahrain. The purpose of the current mixed-method sequential explanatory study is to compare the two traditional commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq. The study has three successive phases. It includes obtaining quantitative data by surveying 1000 photographs of shop signs in the two markets, then conducting semi-structured interviews with two randomly selected groups of sixty-six shop owners in the two compared markets, followed by a number of forty semi-structured interviews with two randomly selected groups of Bahraini shop sign readers. Findings from the first phase of the study reveal the supremacy of the bilingual Arabic-English pattern in the linguistic landscape of the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq. English outshines Arabic in commercial Manama only, though language policies in the country impose the use of Arabic for advertising on shop signs. The Bengali language attends as a third dominant figure after Arabic and English and a third partner on most of the trilingual shop signs in the two markets. Qualitative follow-up semi-structured interviews with shop owners clarify the reasons for the promotion and demotion of different languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain and show how dynamic the linguistic landscape in Bahrain is. Further qualitative follow-up semi-structured interviews with the Bahraini shop sign readers show their positive attitudes towards the complex multilingual context. Nonetheless, a big number of the selected Bahraini sign readers express their concerns about the absence of elements organising shop signs such as the size and position of Arabic -the national language- when compared to other foreign languages. Other concerns are raised about the misspelled Arabic words, as well as the use of inconvenient pictures and graphics inspired by other foreign cultures that defies the values and customs of the society. Implications and recommendations for language policy and language planning, and for future research have been provided. Although the use of Arabic is endorsed and maintained by the official bodies, it is occasionally excluded from attending in the commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain and replaced by English. The study, hence, suggests issuing disciplinary measures to protect the national language of the country and the identity of its people in a way that guarantees an organized multilingual commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain.

مستخلص الدراسة

تماشياً مع الاتجاه الحديث في علم اللغة الاجتماعي، قد تكون هذه الدراسة- حسبما تنامى إلى علم الباحث- مخططًا لدراسة التعددية اللغوية الموجودة على لافتات المتاجر في البحرين. الغرض من الدراسة التفسيرية المتسلسلة المختلطة الحالية مقارنة السوقين التجاريين الشعبيين في المنامة والمحرق. تمر هذه الدراسة بثلاث مراحل متتابعة. أولاً، تتضمن هذه الطريقة الحصول على بيانات كمية بمسح 1000 صورة فوتوغرافية للافتات المحلات في السوقين، ثم إجراء مقابلات شبه منظمة مع مجموعتين تم اختيارهما عشوائياً تتكونان من ستة وستين من أصحاب المتاجر في مناطق السوقين المقارنين، يليها إجراء أربعين مقابلة شبه منظمة مع مجموعتين تم اختيارهما عشوائيًا من قراء بحرينيين للافتات المتاجر. وتكشف نتائج المرحلة الأولى من الدراسة عن تفوق النمط ثنائي اللغة من العربية والإنجليزية في المشهد اللغوي للسوقين الشعبيين في المنامة والمحرق، مع حقيقة غير متوقعة أن اللغة الإنجليزية تتفوق على اللغة العربية في المنامة التجارية فقط، على الرغم من أن السياسات اللغوية في الدولة تفرض استخدام اللغة العربية للإعلان على لافتات المحلات. ورغم أن المجتمع البحريني وصانعي السياسات يقدمون سياسات متعددة اللغات لسياق تجاري متعدد اللغات، فقد شاع فقط مشهد لغوي بصري ثنائي اللغة إلى حد كبير على لافتات المتاجر بسبب التأييد الرسمي للغة العربية، وهي اللغة الوطنية الرسمية من قبل الهيئات الرسمية والاستخدام المكثف للغة الإنجليزية باعتبارها لغة عالمية اختارها أصحاب الأعمال. حضرت اللغة البنغالية كطرف ثالث مهيمن بعد العربية والإنجليزية وشريك ثالث على معظم لافتات المتاجر ثلاثية اللغة في السوقين حيث أعرب البنغاليون عن ولائهم للغتهم. وتوضح المقابلات النوعية شبه المنظمة مع أصحاب المتاجر أسباب ارتفاع وانخفاض تمثيل بعض اللغات المختلفة في المشهد اللغوي التجاري في البحرين كما أظهرت مدى ديناميكية المشهد اللغوي في البحرين. أظهرت المقابلات شبه المنظمة التالية مع القراء البحرينيين للافتات المتاجر مواقفهم الإيجابية تجاه هذا السياق متعدد اللغات. ومع ذلك، يعرب عدد كبير من قراء اللافتات البحرينيين المختارين عن قلقهم من غياب العناصر التي تنظم لافتات المحلات التجارية مثل حجم خط ومكان اللغة العربية - اللغة الوطنية - مقارنة باللغات الأجنبية الأخرى، والأخطاء الإملائية بكلمات اللغة العربية، وكذلك استخدام صور ورسومات غير ملائمة مستوحاة من ثقافات أجنبية أخرى يتحدى قيم وعادات المجتمع. كما تزودنا الدراسة ببعض الاستنتاجات والتوصيات للبحوث المستقبلية والسياسة اللغوية وتخطيط اللغة. وعلى سبيل المثال لا الحصر فإن وضع اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية واستخدامهما في القطاع الاقتصادي في السياق البحريني بحاجة إلى مزيد بحث. وعلى الرغم من أن الجهات الرسمية تدعم استخدام اللغة العربية والحفاظ عليها، إلا أنه يتم استبعاد اللغة العربية في بعض الأحيان من الظهور في المشهد اللغوي التجاري في البحرين واستبدالها باللغة الإنجليزية. وتقترح الدراسة إصدار مراسيم بإجراءات تنظيمية لحماية اللغة الوطنية للبلاد وهوية شعبها بما يضمن ظهور مشهد لغوي تجاري منظم متعدد اللغات في البحرين.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

1. Background about Socio-Economic Situation in Bahrain

The Kingdom of Bahrain is an Arab country located on the south – western coast of the Arabian Gulf. See figure 1 (map of Bahrain) below (Worldatlas, 2021). According to IndexMundi (2020), Bahrainis constitute 46% of the total population of Bahrain, whereas Asians form 45.5%. In addition, 4.7% of the population are Arabs, 1.6% are Africans. Europeans compose 1%, while 1.2% are other nationals from some Gulf countries, North and South America, and others. Nearly 50% of the total population are foreign workers from Asia, Africa, Europe and North and South America (IndexMundi, 2020). Since these groups of expatriates live in the country, they communicate their unique cultures as well as the languages they speak and write. Thus, Bahrain is considered as "a true mosaic of heterogeneous population of ethnic religious diversity." (Gomaa, 2017, p. 250).



Figure 1: Map of the Kingdom of Bahrain

Bahrain has had vast economic developments in sectors such as banking, investment and tourism which benefitted from the great demand for oil starting ever since 2002 (Al-Nabi, 2012). This economic development has offered opportunities for skilled workers who prefer working and living in Manama and Muharraq. Socio-economic changes in the demographic composition have also accelerated (Al-Nabi, 2012). Different types of shops have been staffed or even owned by resident migrants. Foreign communities also seem to be significantly attracted by the designed linguistic or semiotic elements shops in the two cities of Manama and Muharraq offer on signage. Buckingham (2019) confirms that the linguistic and cultural diversity are always present in urban areas since they attract the workforce of migrants. As a result, countless diversity in the context of these areas emerges depending on the diversity of linguistic and ethnic identities of foreign residents.

2. Research Problem

The linguistic landscape of a particular location can powerfully display the existing language policies, language ideologies and literacy in some cases (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, & Aramand, 2009; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen, 2012; Yanguas, 2009).

In Bahrain, where speakers of different languages live, work, and contribute to the development of the economy and diversity of the culture of the area, it is significant to look at the linguistic landscape and determine whether or not it is representative of the population, and what is being conveyed to Arabic- and non-Arabic speaking communities through messages written on signs in the business setting. The investigation of the linguistic landscape of the commercial markets in Bahrain gives us insights into how and why Arabic, English and other foreign languages are

acknowledged in Bahrain, as well as how languages might represent the ethnic groups in an area denoted with ethnic diversity. Bahrain, as mentioned before, is home to a big number of expatriates, who constitute more than 50% of its population. Hence, it is possible that many languages other than Arabic -the national language of the country- can be used on shop signs in the markets of Bahrain. Huebner (2009) affirms that the arrangement of languages in the linguistic landscape is usually influenced by the authors' choice and their expectations of the intended audience. In the Bahraini context, since more than 50% of the population are of different nationalities (IndexMundi, 2020), the attendance of many other languages on shop signs should be a fact that needs further confirmation.

The language a group uses is connected to their identity, and the frequency of the presence of a language in the linguistic landscape can either supports or lowers not only this language, but the group who uses this language (Van Mensel, Vandenbroucke, & Blackwood, 2016). Thus, there is a fear that Arabic in the linguistic landscape could be replaced unless it shows major predominance and pervasive attendance on the commercial shop signs in Bahrain. This consequently has a negative impact on the Bahraini identity. The presence of Arabic indexes nationalism and patriotism when it is seen on the signboards of different shops in the markets. On the contrary, the attendance of other languages indexes different identities and concepts. English, for example has always been indexing foreign businesses, prestige, and modernity. To Taylor-Leech (2012), a monolingual colloquial Australian English restaurant sign solely addresses foreigners using this variety of English and indexes customers who are literate in English and whose income is high.

3. Research Objectives

The purpose of the current study is to investigate the commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain, with careful focus on multilingualism and

linguistic diversity. The study compares two traditional commercial markets in Bahrain: namely the Traditional Market of Muharraq and the area of Bab AlBahrain in Manama. Gomaa (2017) asserts that the linguistic landscape of Bahrain shows a great deal of diversity, which could be attributed to the great diversity of the composition of the population that Bahrain provides. The current study investigates how the linguistic and ethnic groups that compose the population of Bahrain are represented in the linguistic landscape of Bahrain. This comparative study of the two markets adds to the understanding of the entire linguistic landscape of Bahrain given that economy is animportant sector of the modern Bahraini society in which all communities living in the country interact whether as shopkeepers and workers, customers or readers of the shop signs while wandering at these markets.

4. Research Significance

The current study contributes to the existing body of literature on linguistic landscape in Bahrain and the Gulf region and fills a gap in the literature as well. In fact, no previous study has tackled the issue of linguistic landscape in the way the current study has. Gomaa (2017) offers a descriptive quantitative study design, categorizing a corpus of 493 photographs of signs in Manama. Despite the fact that surveying the languages in the commercial market is important to the understanding of the linguistic situation and the social and ethnic groups in Bahrain, the linguistic landscape of Bahrain still shorts further investigation to question the reasons for the representations and the disappearance of particular languages in economy. In addition, using quantitative data analysis to study the linguistic landscape of Bahrain cannot explain how groups of business owners would react in response to restrictive regulations concerning using languages in signage in the public space. Moreover, there are no clear

indications of how distributed languages in the public space are perceived by the general public.

For the aforementioned reasons, the current study utilizes a mixed-method design, applying a comparative quantitative method of categorizing 1000 photographs in Manama and Muharraq, and then interviewing sixty-six shopkeepers and forty Bahraini sign readers in both markets. The study is meant to use a comparative mixed-method approach to investigate the commercial linguistic landscape in the Kingdom of Bahrain to examine the languages distributed in the linguistic landscape in two significant commercial areas, investigate the reasons why business owners choose such languages on signage, and explore the attitudes of the Bahraini sign readers toward the use of these languages and their opinions on how to protect their national language and identity. The current study could confirm Alshurafa's finding (2014) in which she analyses collected data from the six Gulf States to provide conceptualization to the notion of identity. She displays how the sociocultural dynamics of the 21st century reveal a specific discourse. The analysis avers that identity in the Gulf reveals a cultural transformation instead of resisting this discourse, which is a natural result of globalization. The notion of identity emerges following this modernization and is realized in its positive aspect.

In addition, the study significantly focuses on different tools of data collection that investigate a different type of signage in a specific area: the relationship between the languages found in public space, particularly in traditional commercial markets in Bahrain and their implication for social and cultural identity. The study collects and analyses a corpus of 1000 photographs in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq, benefits from, initially, 66 semi-structured interviews with shop owners and 40 semi-structured interviews with Bahraini shop sign readers later. Conclusions

based on this study are expected to inform the public about the value of linguistic diversity in Bahrain and provide significant recommendations for language planning, policy makers and future research.

5. Research Questions

This study, therefore, aims to answer the following questions:

1. What language(s) are used in the linguistic landscape of two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain: the Traditional Market of Bab AlBahrain in Manama and the Traditional Market of Muharraq?
2. What are the common patterns that can be established from the frequency of the languages on both markets' signs?
3. What language has dominance in the linguistic landscape of the two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain?
4. What does the identified language use imply for cultural, social and global identities of the sign maker?
5. What are the attitudes of the Bahraini shop sign readers towards the identified language use in the linguistic landscape of the two Bahraini markets?

6. Research Hypotheses

The aforementioned research questions have been derived from a number of hypotheses. The following assumptions are raised in the current study.

1. The language use in the signage of the two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain is different. Languages vary by the variation of the ethnic groups who visit or live in these areas. They also vary during different periods of time due to socio-economic changes in the society.
2. English shows predominance in the linguistic landscape of different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain. It is present in bilingual and multilingual signage in such business centres.

3. The identified language use on different shop signs reflects globalization and sophistication (to reach wider population), social identity (to increase public image and social acceptance) or cultural identity (linguistic loyalty).
4. The Bahraini sign readers value their national language (Arabic), show openness to other foreign languages, prefer multilingual shop signs, and have concerns about the regulations of advertising on shop signs.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed account of the definition of linguistic landscape, the pioneer studies that brought about its development, its functions, the methodological issues that evolved during the development of the linguistic landscape methodology from merely quantitative, progressing to qualitative, and then mixed-method designs. The chapter also discusses the interdisciplinary nature of the linguistic landscape and its intersection with language policy and planning. Moreover, it highlights how the linguistic landscape is connected to different communities' ideologies and identities. The status of English as a global language is then discussed. Finally, an introduction to the linguistic landscape in Bahrain with an earlier study is provided.

2. The Concept of Linguistic Landscape

Through analyzing signs in a public area, a great amount of information can be inferred about that particular region. The study of language on signs is known as linguistic landscaping and it has become a popular tool to inform and relate to literacy, sociology, ecology, education, anthropology, psycholinguistics, sociocultural and linguistic studies (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009).

Landry and Bourhis (1997) define the linguistic landscape as the attendance of different languages on public and commercial signs. The most commonly quoted definition for the term 'linguistic landscape' is provided by Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25), who define it as:

"The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration."

In addition, Gomaa (2017, p. 248) claims that "linguistic landscape is the physical domain or context where visual messages are displayed as signs and read by passers-by." Thus, any visual tokens of written languages in the public space add to the linguistic landscape of that area.

Linguistic landscapes have often been investigated in some commercial areas of cities since they are rich in signs and other linguistic elements. Dagenais et al. (2009) claim that cities are full of diverse signs that need to be decoded and interpreted. That is why the linguistic landscape is often studied in urban areas that are dense with multilingual features. Coulmas (2009) proposes that the terms multilingual cityscape or linguistic cityscape would be more suitable instead of the term linguistic landscape.

Different economic, cultural, social, political and religious sectors of the society use signboards, billboards, flyers, graffiti, posters, and other means to inform the community about their existence, announce services or events, advertise their products or control people's interaction. They are usually controlled by either an individual or an organisation operating within their certain allowed limits (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Muhammad & Trumper-Hecht, 2006). These individuals or organisations are the actors or agents of the sign that are symbolic of the institution they represent. A very important sector of the society, which is relevant to the current study, is the economic and business sector.

3. Earlier Studies of Linguistic Landscape

Although the concept 'linguistic landscape' has only been researched recently, Coulmas (2009) claims that it could be traced back to the ancient written scripts. The earliest contemporary investigation of the linguistic landscape is recognised by Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper and Fishman (1977). This study evaluates the signs of a single street in

Jerusalem, Keren Kayemet Street, using chance meeting and interviews. The researchers analyse the use of Hebrew and Roman scripts on these signs to find out that Roman script is more dominant on bottom-up signs and therefore they indicate the discrepancies between official governmental language policy which supports the use of Hebrew on signs and the apparent use of English as a foreign language in commercial signs.

Tuıp (1978), in another important study in Brussels, focuses on the use of French and Dutch on billboards and highlights the predominance of French -the lingua franca of the local residents- on private commercial signs in the streets which has been thought to be bilingual, while Dutch only has had limited space on government official signs.

In another pioneer study, Monnier (1989) testifies the significance of having legal measures in Québec, Canada, where there is a strange dichotomy between the official government policy and the linguistic landscape. Although the official bodies support the use of French in the public space, the linguistic landscape in Québec discloses the apparent use of English.

Similarly, Calvet (1990) compares the language in the cities of Paris and Dakar and concludes that although the authorities do not support multilingualism, the two cities disclose multilingual patterns. The languages on signs in Paris never mix and are always kept separate, whereas they interact on the same signs in Dakar. He makes clear the ways the authorities and the citizens mark the region differently. He develops an important variable into the linguistic landscape by assigning the dichotomy of official and nonofficial signs as components of the linguistic landscape. Official signs designate texts written by legal authorities such as the road names or traffic rules signs. However, nonofficial signs manifest what is

written by the individuals and nonofficial bodies such as shop names, flyers, graffiti, etc.

Two decades after the recognition of the concept of 'linguistic landscape', Landry and Bourhis (1997) contribute with a significant paper that lays the foundation for linguistic landscape studies given that they are the first researchers to refer to the term 'Linguistic Landscape' as a construct. At that time, the notion of linguistic landscape developed to signify how public signs contribute to "the visibility and salience of languages on public signs within a territory" (Landry & Bourhis 1997, p. 23). Hence, linguistic landscape has been first used as a sociolinguistic construct to describe and analyse the language situation of a given community or a particular country (Gorter, 2006). This is demanded when several languages exist and are used in a large geographical region, and within a social context where a group of people use more than one language to maintain a bilingual or multilingual situation. Landry and Bourhis (1997) also expand the two functions signs can serve: the 'informational' and the 'symbolic' functions as explained below.

4. Functions of Linguistic Landscape

Landry and Bourhis (1997) classify signs in the linguistic Landscape into two types: government signs and private signs. Signs usually have an informative function, one that directs, gives information, or implores the reader in some way. The informative function of the sign is the basic message the sign conveys. Signs convey that the sign language can be used for communication within a private or government establishment (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). However, a language existing in public areas functions in more ways than to merely communicate information; a linguistic landscape discloses symbolic meanings which accordingly reflect language policy, language imperialism, discrimination, marginalization,

and other important societal factors (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen 2012; Yanguas, 2009). In Saudi Arabian markets, the exclusion of Hebrew is an outcome of political and religious conflicts. So, it is not allowed to use Hebrew on signs. This language exclusion is a process that is applied to the linguistic landscape in order to demote, or even overpower the language (Alhaider, 2018).

5. Methodological Development of Linguistic Landscape

5.1 Issues to Consider within the Linguistic Landscape Studies

A number of key issues related to linguistic landscape methodologies need to be considered when investigating the linguistic landscape of an area, a neighbourhood, a city, or a country. These issues are stressed in a number of studies that have addressed them as methodological problems (Barni & Bagna, 2015; Gorter, 2006; Gorter, 2018). This includes the choice of the research site and defining the survey items. One last issue that needs to be considered is whether the signs are fixed static or non-fixed mobile signs.

The first issue is the choice of the research site. To locate the geographic boundaries for the sake of studying the linguistic landscape, researchers may have difficulty deciding on the starting point and the end point of surveying the linguistic landscape. One solution is to use one or more shopping streets as a research site. Cenoz and Gorter (2003) conducted their first study in one street. In a second study, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compared the signage of a shopping street in the Basque Country with a similar street in Friesland, the Netherlands. In addition, larger areas such as neighbourhoods are suggested as appropriate and suitable level of analysis in a survey area. Gorter and Cenoz (2015) postulate that the linguistic landscape depicts a particular identity for the surveyed neighbourhood.

A rather more complex problem is defining what constitutes the unit of analysis. While Backhaus (2007) considers any piece of text that has a definable frame within the public a unit of analysis, another related problem is having a shop name repeated many times on its front. Consequently, large numbers of signs may be added to the quantified sample. This necessarily implies that the frequency of some distributed languages might lead the results to change in one direction. When Laitinen and Zabrodskaja (2015), for example, apply Backhaus's definition of a sign, they collect an enormous number of signs containing English. Fortunately, this issue is resolved by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) who consider the larger whole of the establishment as the unit of analysis. To them, a whole shopfront or a façade of a building can act as the unit of analysis.

The inclusion or exclusion of non-fixed mobile signs is another related methodological problem. The non-static signs can include texts on moving objects such as cars or buses, bus tickets, T-shirts or even changing texts displayed on street digital screens. This approach can broaden the scope of the unit of analysis to include the smallest individual sign as well an entire establishment.

5.2 Development of Linguistic Landscape Methodologies

As mentioned earlier, numerous linguistic landscape studies have developed since the study of Landry and Bourhis (1997). As a result, the methodologies implemented in investigating linguistic landscape in relation to multilingualism have developed as well. To many researchers, the favoured approach in the beginning has been principally quantitative in nature. They often focus only on investigating the distribution of languages, the predominance of language(s) in a particular area or country, the influence of linguistic minorities, and the presence of English as a universal language. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), for example, investigate the

degree of visibility of Hebrew, Arabic, and English on public and private signs in three different cities. Huebner (2006) studies language dominance and language mixing Bangkok, Thailand. He highlights the linguistic diversity of the linguistic landscape in this area. Huebner (2006) also discovers that English has a significant influence on the linguistic landscape that has caused a shift from Chinese to English as the major language.

Nevertheless, the sole use of quantitative analyses has received significant criticism. Blommaert and Maly (2014) assert that mere quantitative analyses are unable to find out the reasons for the appearance or disappearance of some languages in the linguistic landscape of some regions or to interpret how groups of people would react in response to restrictive regulations concerning using languages in signage in the public space. They highlight the deficiency of quantitative approach in linguistic landscape studies, in which the public languages displayed are merely counted and mapped with regard to their distribution in a particular area, to interpret how the presence of languages could be connected with specific communities and the relationship between them. Add to this, quantitative studies are considered incomplete since they do not give clear indications of how languages displayed in the public space are perceived by the local community (Gorter, 2013).

Recently, more qualitative approaches have been employed to overcome the previous hurdles of the mere quantitative methods to investigate the linguistic landscape. Malinowski (2015) gained insights from some interviews with Korean shopkeepers. Later, he combined them with interpretation of the meaning of shops signs to investigate issues about authorship of the use of English, Korean, or both in the signage. Leeman and Modan (2010) broadened the scope of linguistic landscape studies, turning away from quantitative approaches and studying the spatial and

linguistic context of the signs as their interest was on the meaning the languages written on the signs conveyed.

In sum, it seems that quantitative approaches have proven to be descriptive rather than interpretative. As a result of the inability of quantitative analyses to give an interpretation for many phenomena, as mentioned before, it soon was obvious that there is a new perspective for analysing the linguistic landscape with different geographical, political, semiotic, sociological, and economic approaches that implement quantitative as well as qualitative research methods (Gorter, 2006). Using different methodologies to investigate the linguistic landscape in different contexts has become of paramount importance. Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003) argue that beyond every sign, there is a social meaning that can only be interpreted by considering its placement in a social and cultural context. They call their approach "*geosemiotics*". The methods used for collecting and analysing data can offer different interpretations for different disciplines. Thus, Gorter (2006), Shohamy and Gorter (2008) question the methods that should be used for different goals. To them, interviews work better for sociological analysis than purely static linguistic landscape items, whereas in studies of ethnography, combining qualitative and quantitative data is more pertinent in order to interpret the development of a particular phenomenon. For investigating language policy, the quality of the examined linguistic landscape items can offer other implications for decisions makers (Barni & Bagna, 2015).

5.3 Recent Research in Linguistic Landscape

Recently, studies have begun to use mixed methods in investigating linguistic landscape as a way to overcome the hurdles of applying traditional mere quantitative or qualitative analyses. Some scholars such as Al-Naimat (2015), Carr (2017), Maldonado (2015), and Stoltmann (2016) have used both quantitative and qualitative analyses methods by

investigating the distribution of languages on signs as well as interviewing the residents of the sites. Whereas Carr (2017) analyses a corpus of 4,664 signs, Lyons (2017) examines 16,756 Instagram posts. They also employ inferential statistics that often surpass descriptive statistics with its ability to assess whether the analysed data can be generalized to a broader population. To explore the linguistic landscape of the two commercial sites –Souk Athulatha'a and Asir Mall in Abha City, Saudi Arabia, Alhaider (2018) implements a triangulated method of data collection. The three sources of data are: sign photography, questionnaire and interviews and official documents controlling the 'bottom-up' signs.

In the evolution of linguistic landscape research, argumentation about the use of diverse methods has not yet been exhausted due to the possibility of employing the innovative tools offered by the developments in technology, which have become highly sophisticated and capable of recording all the linguistic landscape data. Another factor is the spreading use of linguistic landscape as an approach for recording and then analysing different phenomena.

Hence, the methods, tools and subjects of analysis in studying the linguistic landscape have advanced in response to the need for more understanding of the public space, achieving different research goals as well as intertwining the linguistic landscape with issues of identity, language policy, and socio-political conflicts (Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). Though employing the same technologies now available to anyone to detect and study a particular object/subject present or moving within the linguistic landscape, researchers are not required to collect and analyse data in a systematic manner. The previous research studies have shown that the linguistic landscape can be researched using different methodologies and from various theoretical perspectives. This has always been inspired by the

diversity of themes investigated in a variety of settings and locations. Methodologies may be quantitative, qualitative, experimental, or even ethnographic studies. Most importantly, it should be eclectic, which can serve the goal of the researcher and avoid the limitations of previous studies. Some studies, as mentioned below, can therefore relate the analysis of the linguistic landscape to different issues of interest such as identity, language policy and language planning and ideologies and power.

6. The Intersection between Linguistic Landscape and Language Policy and Language Planning

Barni and Bagna (2015) aver that linguistic landscape studies are evolutionary given that they have the capacity to intersect with other disciplines that are either linguistic (language policy issues, ecology linguistics, semiotics) or non-linguistic (history, sociology, economics). In particular, the relations between the linguistic landscape studies and studies of language policy have become central, raising discussion about the linguistic management of regions with reference to the political role of languages (May, 2014). Linguistic landscapes are spaces where governments and official bodies often attempt to control linguistic behaviour and beliefs by developing regulations on languages presented in these spaces (Hult, 2018). Hence, the study of linguistic landscape is a key consideration in language policy and planning given that it can offer valuable insight into its concerns and the dynamic relationship between language policy and practice. Moreover, they are also spaces where individual actors can challenge or resist ideologies through their own semiotic practices. Landry and Bourhis (1997) note that officials in contexts such as the Québec and Belgium have developed regulations for public signs in response to increasing linguistic conflicts. In the Québec, strong language policies are enforced to maintain the status and visibility

of French, whereas in Belgium, the same measures are taken to ensure the protection of Dutch in the public sphere.

Language policies have surfaced as vital topics in linguistic landscape studies. Backhaus (2009) relates language policies to two contrasting cases that exist across the globe. The first is the Quebecois "Bill 101" attempt to protect the French domination in all aspects of official and commercial public signage, as previously mentioned. The second is in Tokyo, where the official language policy is more limited and not legally binding, giving some administrative guidelines to use Japanese. Most worldwide language policies fall on a continuum between the two extreme cases of the Quebec and Tokyo. A number of recent dissertations have also strived to connect linguistic landscape with language policy. Stoltmann (2016) in his study questions the effect of policies that date back to 1990. Also, Maldonado (2015) investigates how the application of the de jure and de facto policies can vary. Moreover, these studies focus on the linguistic landscape of different areas of the world such as Jordan (Al-Naimat, 2015), Puerto Rico (Maldonado, 2015), the United States (Carr, 2017; Lyons, 2017) and Germany (Stoltmann, 2016). Overall, they offer the latest research studies about local as well as global languages displayed in the public and private space, and the identities and attitudes of the community members and passers-by of these regions.

In addition, the distinction between official and non-official actors or agencies has been central in linguistic landscape. Landry and Bourhis (1997) distinguish between public government and commercial private signs in the space. Backhaus (2006) affirms that the first manifests overt power, whereas the second expresses covert solidarity. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) add that an official top-down sign reflects a general commitment and compliance to the dominant culture. Conversely, a private bottom-up sign enjoys more freedom allowing individual preferences than public

adherence to official policies. In Brussels, for instance, public signs are produced by law in French and Dutch, whereas all commercial and private signs are produced freely by law. As a result, French, the lingua franca in Brussels, is largely seen. In Saudi Arabia, Alhaider (2018) reports that all signs must be written in Arabic followed by English translation when needed, but in smaller letters below Arabic and not parallel to it.

The connection between language policy and planning and linguistic landscape becomes clear when there is an explicit policy regulating language presented in public spaces. Regulations for linguistic landscapes must be highly detailed and explicit. Manan, David, Dumanig and Naqeebullah (2015) present detailed and explicit policy governing signage in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. These regulations include the use of the national language, its size, the correctness of its grammar, its predominance when accompanied by other foreign languages, as well as the punitive measures for any person who fails to comply with the defined policy.

Developing explicit policy to monitor the linguistic landscape can often help manage the linguistic behaviour of individuals and bodies in any given context. In their study of Donostia-San Sebastián in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain, Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz (2012) affirm that the increased attention to the linguistic landscape in official policy has resulted in the more presence of Basque. However, regardless of any official attempts to enforce explicit and detailed policies about public signage, actors or agents that create linguistic landscapes sometimes subvert or challenge these policies. Such practices of noncompliance to the regulating policies are common when official regulations do not correspond with the actual sociolinguistic circumstances and communicative needs (Spolsky, 2004). In other words, the policy is resisted when it does not align with the linguistic repertoire of the local

community. Pavlenko's study (2010) investigated the language conflict in Kyiv, Ukraine, where the new policy of imposing Ukrainian as the official language has produced a situation of diglossia, a relatively stable language situation in which a divergent variety or language is used side by side with a primary dialect. Whereas the official Ukrainian is more obvious on government-funded signage, both Ukrainian and Russian is used in informal contexts to reflect the individual choices on shop signs and graffiti.

People's attitudes and perceptions toward language policy and planning with reference to the linguistic landscape is another important issue. Zabrodskaja (2014) interviewed language students in her study of the linguistic landscape of Tallinn about their attitudes towards multilingual signage as well as questioning policy in relation to linguistic landscape practice. She reported that the attitudes of native Estonian students aligned with the official policy favouring monolingual Estonian. In addition, they had negative attitudes toward other types of multilingual signs such as Russian or Russian-Estonian signs. On the contrary, Russian-Estonian bilingual students had positive attitudes toward multilingual signs. They also perceived them as useful as means to reach a wider audience.

6.1 Language Policy in Bahrain

While studying the linguistic landscape of an area, a city or a country, researchers can not only explore the dominant language(s), but also need to learn about the existence of some minority languages (Edelman, 2014). To her, these languages are always controlled, supported or refused by the political powers of the country.

The language policy supported and endorsed by the political powers and municipalities in all governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain is in line with the instructions of its constitution. Article Two of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain announces that Arabic is the official language of the country. Likewise, Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 concerning organizing advertisements declares that any advertisement displayed in the public space must be in Arabic; however, other foreign languages can be used in addition to compulsory Arabic (eGovernment Portal, 2019). Even though the language policy in Bahrain imposes restrictive regulations concerning the support of the national language and favouring its use in all domains of advertising or announcing any commercial business, there are no restrictions on using other languages side by side with Arabic in the economic sector. In other words, Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 implies that the Bahraini political powers and municipalities accept and support the multilingual landscape.

This multilingual space may lead to a case of partial 'chaos' in the linguistic landscape in terms of violating the norms by some business owners. A close look at the signage in Bahrain reveals that many shops challenge the language policy in Bahrain by avoiding the use of Arabic and using foreign scripts other than Arabic to advertise their products on their shop signs. This might reflect their resistance to the official endorsed policy since language policy supported in Bahrain does not seem to align with their linguistic repertoire. As mentioned earlier in this section, such practices occur when official regulations do not meet real sociolinguistic circumstances and communicative needs (Spolsky, 2004).

7. Ideologies and Power

Studying the linguistic landscape of a given area can provide clear knowledge about its people. Through investigating the scripts written on

shop signs, posters, flyers or any advertising material, we can gain significant information about what language ideologies are displayed, which languages have dominance, supremacy, prestige, and power, and which languages are demoted and downgraded (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Dagenais et al., 2009; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen 2012; Yanguas, 2009). Spolsky (2009) reports that the order of languages on a sign, or the size of languages on a multilingual sign, can show which language groups have more dominance, power and prestige in a given geographic area. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) assert that "the use of different languages in the sign...reflects power, status and economic importance of the different languages" (p.57). Language is seen as a sign of identity and using a language in a public space indicates that the language group exists. Consequently, if only one language is present on a sign, only the users of that language are invited to that place. Barni and Bagna (2009) add that the presence of only one language on a sign could also show that the language has the prestige and power to stand alone.

Throughout the world, the linguistic landscape reveals competing language ideologies, continuous struggles for power and prestige, and challenging language policy, and provides a map of linguistic territories (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Dagenais et al., 2009; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen 2012; Yanguas, 2009). Studying the world's linguistic landscape also gives a visual and prominent example of the global spread of English, and the symbolic meanings associated with the use of English on signs, such as prestige and modernity. In the case of Bahrain, there seems to be a strong connection between the use of English on signage on different types of shops and the attempt to communicate the meaning of prestige, power, technology and modernity. The extensive use of English, the global

language of economy, has always become a source of promoting businesses such as electronics, accessories and expensive commodities.

8. English as a Global Language in the Linguistic Landscape

Due to the increase of global communication during the last decades, English has become more significant. Rather than functioning merely as a means to communicate with English speaking communities, English is globally viewed as the language of prestige, youth, modernity, sophistication and success and is preferred in advertisements and commercial areas (Bolton, 2012; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008).

Hence, global linguistic landscaping is becoming increasingly multilingual. Bolton (2012) links this phenomenon to the idea of linguistic imperialism, naming it an "intrusion" (p. 31). Knowing and using English increases the likelihood for economic as well as educational prosperity (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009).

Crystal (2012) asserts that the increasing existence of English on shop signs, types of posters, flyers and neon displays is considered one of the most obvious indices of its spread all over the globe. As globalization progresses, it looks as if English is still imposing its influence in many countries and in all domains of life: education, health and of course economy.

In commercial areas, previous literature has observed a growing 'Englishization' of the linguistic landscape in public spaces or in some socially private locations. Buckingham (2018) focuses on three areas with high percentage of foreign-born populations in Costa Rica in her investigation of the linguistic landscape using ethnographic approach. Findings reveal the existence of foreign languages and diverse cultural references in the commercial signage of the three areas. In a similar vein,

in the Arabian Gulf, Buckingham (2015b) presents a study that contributes to a deep understanding of the use of English as a lingua franca, precisely in Oman, a region of obvious ethnolinguistic diversity. There, English is used to communicate traditional cultural practices. In her second study on Oman, Buckingham (2015a) offers an analysis of English as a lingua franca on commercial signs of different types of shops. Common shop signs in Omani markets are mostly bilingual. The frequent use of two languages (Arabic and English only) caters for the ethnical and linguistic heterogeneous inhabitants. Likewise, in Saudi Arabia, Alhaider (2018) English emerges as the written medium in modern areas like Asir Mall, whereas Arabic is used in Souk Athulatha'a to reflect regional tradition.

In Bahrain, English is the de facto second official language after Arabic (Gomaa, 2017). Thus, it is widely used in economic spheres such as the banking and petroleum sectors associated with prosperity and prestige. As a result, this increases the amount of English in the linguistic landscape and can affect non-English speakers who might feel inclined to use English in their social and business meetings. This effect can consequently be reflected in the linguistic landscape. In Bahrain, the use of different foreign languages is not prohibited to accompany Arabic, the official national language. However, it is clear from the first glance at the commercial shop signs that English is more widely spread than the other languages of foreign communities living in Bahrain.

9. Linguistic Landscape and Identity

Language and linguistic landscape are significantly related to identity. The literature is dense with many studies which have studied the connection between social, group, and national identities and the languages presented in the public space. Lanza and Woldemariam (2014) investigated the group identity from a national perspective. They found that

industries in Addis Ababa often use English and the design of English-speaking businesses is so much copied to reflect their orientation to modernity. Similarly, Taylor-Leech (2012) applied a historical approach to question the effect of Timor-Leste's colonial past on the linguistic landscape of Dili, the capital city. The study intended to investigate whether the availability of Tetum, English, Indonesian and Portuguese in signage obeys or disobeys the de jure language policies and finally discloses social and national identities.

10. Linguistic Landscape in Bahrain

Although the Kingdom of Bahrain is a rich context for the investigation of languages in contact, the only existing study, to the researcher's knowledge, that investigates the linguistic landscape in Bahrain is conducted by Gomaa (2017). In this study, he reveals that different combinations of languages exist in the Bahraini linguistic landscape. According to this study, the increasing number of ethnically diverse foreign workers has brought about the emergence of foreign languages in Bahrain. After the collection and analysis of a corpus of 493 photographs of public and private street signs, flyers, and other means of advertising in Manama City, Gomaa (2017) postulates that Modern Standard Arabic is the dominant language shown on public and private street signs. English, which comes second in the Bahraini linguistic landscape, has a vast impact on the linguistic landscape of Bahrain. One important finding in his study is the reasonable presence of some languages such as Bengali, Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Hindi, Tagalog and Chinese. As for the issue of bilingualism and multilingualism, it is postulated that the bilingual pair of Modern Standard Arabic plus English is the most frequent combination seen on street signs in Manama, Bahrain. Gomaa also reveals that different language ideologies are present in Manama which

conceivably promote or demote the use of one language over another since languages are tied to identity.

Despite the fact that surveying the languages quantitatively in the commercial market is important to the understanding of the linguistic situation and the social and ethnic groups in Bahrain, it seems that there is a gap in the literature. The linguistic landscape of Bahrain still shorts further investigation to question the reasons for the representations and the disappearance of particular languages in such an important sector as economy. Moreover, there are no clear indications of how distributed languages in the public space are perceived by the citizens. Using quantitative data analysis to study the linguistic landscape of Bahrain cannot explain how groups of business owners would react in response to restrictive regulations concerning signage in the public space. For this reason, the study is meant to use a mixed-method approach in investigating the commercial linguistic landscape in the Kingdom of Bahrain and to cater for overcoming the limitations in many studies which adopt the quantitative methods. Creswell and Clark (2017) report that this method mixes qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies and guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data.

Another issue that needs further investigation arises from this question: How dynamic is the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain, as seen in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq? In other words, 'which language(s) and which pattern(s) used to gain more dominance in the previous years, is/are being favoured nowadays or will be preferred in the near future in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain?'

In addition, it is true that through the quantitative data analysis, the bilingual pattern is dominating the scene up till now; however, no study, to

the researcher's knowledge, has investigated the status of the indigenous Arabic or the other foreign languages and the language patterns that prevailed the commercial landscape in the country in the past. Predicting the languages and the patterns that might overwhelm the scene in the future is also impossible without a smart method of investigation.

This study, therefore, was developed to investigate the dynamism of the commercial linguistic landscape in the commercial sector of Bahrain. It aimed at recognizing how language patterns as a linguistic element have developed over time in the two significant cities of Manama and Muharraq.

Linguistic landscape has emerged as a field under applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language policy. However, studying it provides significant tools for research. The results of researching linguistic landscape offer fresh perspectives on issues such as multilingualism, globalization, minority languages, and language policy. The chapter has tried to capture the broad scope of this growing field, its development, its intersection with other fields and what it has offered for research so far. Overall, the different perspectives in investigating the linguistic landscape in a region can broaden our understanding of the languages distributed in public and private spaces, the intentions of sign producers, the perceptions of language users and readers, and of societal multilingualism in general.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

Research Methods and Procedures

1. Introduction

The current study follows the previous frameworks of AlHaider (2018), Bakhaus's (2007), Ben Said's (2010), Gomaa's (2017), Huebner's (2006), McArthur's (2000) and Schlick's (2003). They use a classification system of a collection of photographs of the areas visited. Yet, a modified three-level classification system is developed to categorize all collected photographs of signs in the first phase of the current study. It is applied to the two selected commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq to get a clear understanding of the linguistic landscape in both markets.

Gomaa (2017) uses a three-level classification system for a corpus of 493 photographs of shop signs as a quantitative data collection instrument. In his eminent study in the Arabian Gulf, he categorizes public and private signs in Manama according to three levels. The first level manifests the linguistic content and the properties of the surveyed signs; whether they are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual patterns. The second level reveals the degree of multimodality signs; whether the signs are monomodal, displaying either languages or images or multimodal, showing both languages and images. The third level in his classification system offers the source or the status of the selected signs. This includes official or private signs. Figure 2 below displays Gomaa's (2017) three-level classification system.

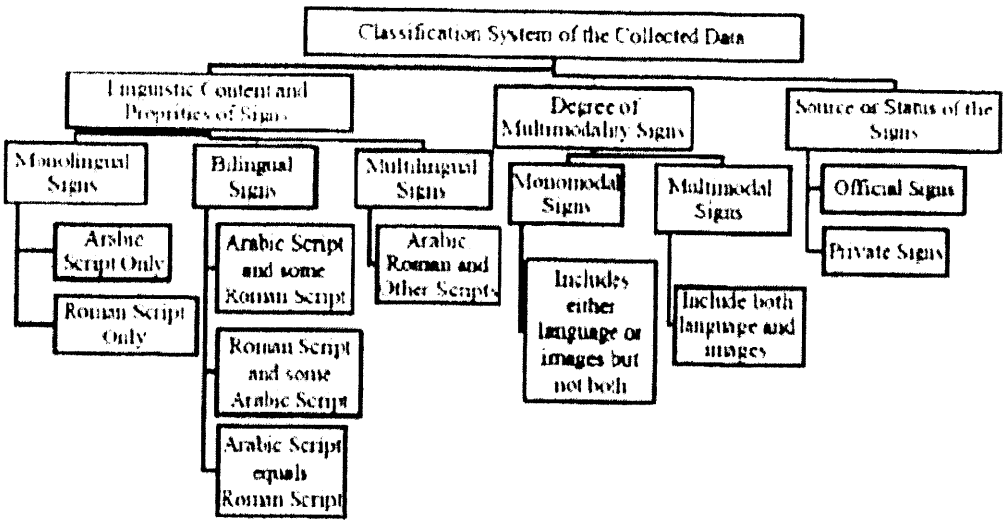


Figure 2: Gomaa's (2017)Classification System of Collected Data

However, the current study uses a modified classification system after collecting a corpus of 1000 photographs of private shop signs in Manama and Muharraq (n=500 in each market) to investigate the linguistic landscape in the two traditional markets in Bahrain. It categorizes the private shop signs in Manama and Muharraq according to three levels. The first level displays the distribution of languages and scripts in the corpus. The second level presents the distribution of common language patterns in the corpus: monolingual, bilingual and multilingual. The third level in this current study's classification system manifests the distribution of some non-linguistic features such as language font size and the language hierarchical order on the shop signs in Manama and Muharraq. See figure 3 below.

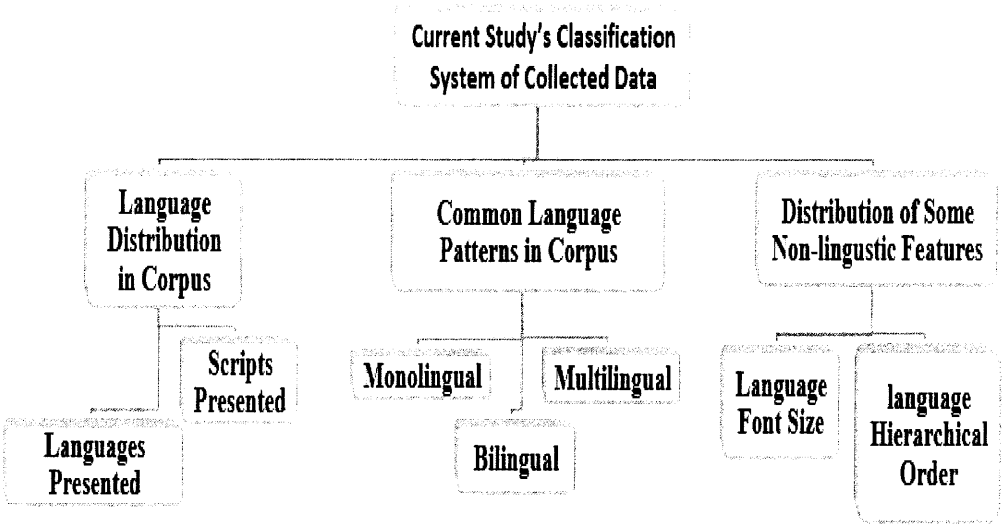


Figure 3 Current Study's Classification System of Collected Data

Moreover, the current study expands its framework adding two significant phases. In the second phase, the study utilizes qualitative data collection instruments in the form of 66 semi-structured interviews with two groups of shop owners and workers. In the third phase, 40 semi-structured interviews with two groups of Bahraini shop sign readers in the two markets are conducted to arrive at an explanation of the major reasons for the language distribution on shop signs and the attitude of Bahraini citizens towards the identified language use in the linguistic landscape of the two Bahraini markets.

2. Setting

2.1. Manama, Bahrain

Manama is the capital and the largest city of the Kingdom of Bahrain. It is located in the northeast of Bahrain. According to Worldmeters (2021), around twenty percent of the population (147,074) live there. For centuries, Manama has been the commercial centre of Arabian Gulf with an accelerating economy which depended on fishing,

building boats, and catching and selling pearl side by side with the trade based on importing (Britannica, 2019).

The Market of Manama, recognised as Souq Bab AlBahrain, was designed in 1946. It enjoys a sole location between the chief business region and the old parts. It is an old unique market with a historic building at the entrance. After many developments, the market consists now of two main parts; the old market, which is available for pedestrians, and the new market, which is available for vehicles and pedestrians. Correspondingly, it witnessed the inaugural of some café shops and restaurants. The market is visited by people who buy old costumes, reminders, handouts, perfumes, spices, and traditional hand-made goods (Britannica, 2019).



Figure 4: Manama Traditional Market

2.2. Muḥarraq, Bahrain

The Island of Muharraq is the third largest island in the Bahraini archipelago. It is linked to the capital city of Manama by a causeway that is commuted by many residents to go to their work. According to Worldmeters (2021), 97,458 people live there. It was settled as a trade centre, by using its harbour as the main location for Bahrain's industry of pearling. Politically, it was used in the past for the residence of the rulers most of the year. Muḥarraq has gained a reputation of a typical Arabian or

Middle Eastern city, being characterized by narrow winding streets and traditional marketplaces. Currently, it resides the International Airport of Bahrain (Britannica, 2019).

In 2012, the UNESCO registered the Traditional Muharraq Market as one of the World spots of Heritage Site, which was developed and renovated severally. Similarly, in 2018, Muharraq was named by The Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) as the Capital of Islamic Culture for the Arab region, recognizing its rich culture, inheritance and the importance of its history to the region of the Gulf as a centre of politics, trade and economy (Britannica, 2019).



Figure 5: Muharraq Traditional Market

To sum up, wondering through the streets of the Traditional Markets of Manama and Muharraq gives clear impression about the opposition of a modern fast growing economic capital city that undergoes quick socio-economic changes compared to an ancient traditional city that has experienced slow and gradual developments. Whereas Manama is rich in international companies and enterprises and is the symbol of the growing economy, modernity, fast change, and urban development, Muharraq is a modernized urban city dense with historical buildings and old traditions

that manifest the historical and cultural identity of the Bahraini society (Alraouf, 2014).

3. Research Methods and Procedures

Different methods are usually applied to investigate the linguistic landscape of an area as mentioned in Chapter Two. However, the current study manages to overcome the hurdles of using mere quantitative or qualitative data collection instruments by implementing a mixed-method design to answer the five research questions mentioned in Chapter one. The study, therefore, applies the explanatory sequential design, benefitting from a three-phase data collection and data analysis process that makes it the first to fill a wide gap in the literature of linguistic landscape in Bahrain and the region in general.

3.1. Explanatory Sequential Design

The research methodology of the current study involves a mixed-method design combining quantitative as well as qualitative methods of analysis. Creswell and Clark (2017) report that a mixed-method design focuses on collecting, analysing, and combining quantitative and qualitative data in a study or series of studies to provide a clearer understanding of the research problem than either approach alone. In the current study, a quantitative method of collecting and analysing the photographs of 1000 shop signs in the two commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq (500 each) to investigate the linguistic landscape of Bahrain is used. However, more methods need to be employed to answer the research questions and explain the initial results based on the quantitative analysis. As a result, a qualitative method, using semi-structured interviews with 66 shopkeepers and 40 Bahraini shop sign readers, is developed on two phases to enhance the primary quantitative one.

Hence, the study has three phases. This three-phase mixed-method design is applied to the present study in order to use a qualitative approach

for further explanation of the quantitative results. This design is often used to interpret the most significant, non-significant, surprising results, or outliers (Creswell, 2009).

Following the steps of Creswell & Clark (2017), quantitative data using the documentation of 1000 photographs of commercial shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama and the Traditional Market of Muharraq are first collected and analysed. During photography, participants (shopkeepers or workers who available at the time of visiting the shops) are informed about the possibility of a second data collection phase. Following that phase, precise quantitative results that needed additional explanation are identified. Next, a qualitative study is designed on the basis of what is learnt from the first phase quantitative results. Then, qualitative data are collected and analysed using a qualitative semi-structured interview instrument. Finally, results were combined and interpreted to answer the research questions.

4. Quantitative and Qualitative Data Collection

In order to investigate the linguistic landscape of the commercial shop signs in the two Bahraini markets, a documentation of all languages found on shop signs is conducted. The analysis of the identified languages on shop signs in the two markets is grounded on data from a random sample. These photographs compile a corpus of 1000 signs in the Traditional Market of Bab AlBahrain in Manama (n=500 photos) and the Traditional Market of Muharraq in Muharraq (n=500 photos). These cities are selected because they have long represented the two most popular traditional markets in Bahrain for the Bahraini citizens and residents. The corpus for this study in addition to the 66 semi-structured interviews with two groups of some shop owners or the working staff as well as 40 Bahraini customers in the two markets are assembled over the first three weeks of

November 2019. The study witnesses three phases of data collection and analysis.

4.1. Quantitative Data Collection: Photographs

4.1.1. Sample, Instrument and Procedures

To collect the corpus of quantitative data, the Traditional Market of Bab AlBahrain in Manama, the capital of Bahrain and the Traditional Market of Muharraq are paid a visit on four successive days in the first phase of the study. A digital camera, Canon EOS 6D Mark II 30 Megapixels, is used to capture the photos. Photos of all available commercial signs on all different shops declaring the presence of any language are taken. The types of shops vary from restaurants, pharmacies, supermarkets, bazars, and shops selling garments, jewellery, electronics, and herbal products in addition to travel agents and electrical and building material and construction shops as well as other businesses such as hotels and hair salons.

During the photography in the two cities' traditional markets, the researcher walks along the main markets' streets and all connected ones capturing the photos of all available commercial signs on all different shops. Shopkeepers and salespeople help recognize and explain the language(s) used in the signs other than Arabic and English. The consent of the participants is asked to participate and provide some clarifications about the sign(s) that are on their shops (*See* Appendix A). They are informed that another visit could be paid to their shops in the second phase of the study. In addition, to verify the recognition of the type of foreign languages, the Online Encyclopaedia of Writing Systems and Languages (Omniglot, 2020) is used to confirm the reliability of the information obtained from the shopkeepers or workers in these shops.

This quantitative data collection is the first phase of the study to help recognize the number of languages used in the selected shop signs, the frequency of their use, the scripts often used, the common patterns of languages and the dominant languages in terms of their font and location in the shop signs in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq. However, the reason(s) for the attendance of the identified languages and language patterns in the linguistic landscape of the two commercial markets could not be thoroughly explained or verified without the semi-structured interviews conducted with the two groups of shopkeepers at the visited shops in the two markets. Moreover, the attitudes of the Bahraini citizens could not be measured without the help of the semi-structured interviews conducted with the two groups of Bahraini shop sign readers in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq.

4.2. Qualitative Data Collection: Interviews with Shop Owners and Workers

4.2.1. Sample, Instrument and Procedures

After collecting the quantitative data through photographing the shop signs in the two traditional markets in Manama and Muharraq and analysing them, it is necessary to follow up with a qualitative strand of data to help explain the given outcomes of the quantitative data, enhance the primary quantitative method, and combine, compare and interpret the outcomes of the two methods. The information gained adds to the understanding of the linguistic situation in the two cities and Bahrain in general.

Significant anecdotal data are collected through 66 semi-structured interviews with some shopkeepers or workers in sixty-six shops who are part of a two group in each of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. (ten representing monolingual Arabic or English signs, ten representing

bilingual Arabic English combination, ten displaying trilingual Arabic-English-Bengali pattern, and three showing trilingual Arabic-English-Malayalam pattern in each market). Selected interviewees are either representatives of different shops displaying different languages and language patterns, representatives of shop signs with extreme scores or unexpected findings.

These 66 semi-structured interviews combine a mixture of open-ended questions and WH-questions, which aim at gaining clearer knowledge of the written languages in the selected shop signs, the reason for using (a) certain language(s) in the shop sign, factors affecting the increased use of a particular language or the use of larger fonts, and the targeted customers. The interviews also question the year the shop signs are placed in order to receive additional information about how dynamic the linguistic landscape is in Bahrain and more particularly in the two cities of Muharraq and Manama (*See* Appendix B).

4.3. Qualitative Data Collection: Interviews with Bahraini Shop Sign Readers

4.3.1. Sample, Instrument and Procedures

After conducting the semi-structured interviews with the shopkeepers or workers in each of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq, 20 Bahraini shop customers and passers-by are randomly selected in each market (total number is forty in the two markets) to be interviewed. The interviews aim at investigating the attitudes of the native resident sign readers towards the linguistic landscape in the two selected cities of Muharraq and Manama. These 40 semi-structured interviews combine a mixture of open-ended questions and wh-questions. The interview questions are divided into three parts. The first part investigates the sign readers' perceptions about the use of language on shop signs. The

second part addresses the sign readers' opinions on the importance of the different languages used on the signboards of shops. The third part enquires about their attitudes towards using multilingual signs, while the fourth part questions their opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society (*See* Appendix C). A translation of the interview questions is provided in Arabic in Appendix D.

5. Analysis of Data

5.1. Quantitative Analysis of Data Retrieved from the Photographs

The collected photographs are sorted and collated according to the identified language use of each commercial market. The study adopts a modified classification of a corpus of shop signs following the steps of significant studies such as AlHaider's (2018), Bakhaus's (2007), Ben Said's (2010), Gomaa's (2017), Huebner's (2006), McArthur's (2000) and Schlick's (2003). The photographs are identified and analysed to find out the existing and dominant languages on shop signs according to the presence of languages, the font size of languages and their order of appearance. The language patterns the photographs display are analysed: monolingual (having one language used on a sign), bilingual (with two different languages written on a single sign) or multilingual (using more than two distinct languages on the same sign). These linguistic features are exposed to quantitative analysis and presented using simple measures of central tendency in the next chapter along with a thorough analysis on the major findings.

5.2. Qualitative Analysis of Data Retrieved from the Interviews

The qualitative data collected from the first semi-structured interviews with the two groups of 66 shop owners or working staff in the two markets help explain the major finding, the unexpected results, and the outliers of the outcomes after analysing the quantitative data from the photographs. However, the second semi-structured interviews with two the

groups of Bahraini sign readers in the two markets help analyse their opinions, thoughts and attitudes towards the linguistic landscape of the two cities. This analysis provokes their opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society as well. The interviews with the shopkeepers and workers in the two markets in the second phase of the study in addition to the interviews with the Bahraini sign readers are transcribed to record the original responses of the interviewees in a nuanced approach. Later, the interview questions are divided into three parts. The results and findings are provided with a detailed discussion in the next chapter.

This chapter introduces a detailed account of the methodology implemented in the current study. The current study experiences three successive phases, applying a mixed-method design to answer the targeted research questions. It uses three tools to achieve this: the documentation and categorization of 1000 photographs of shop signs, interviewing 66 shop owners and workers, and interviewing 40 shop sign readers in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. By doing this, it could overcome the limitations of most of the mere quantitative or mere qualitative studies and add to the literature of linguistic landscape.

Chapter Four

Results and Discussion

Results and Discussion

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the comparative empirical results of the quantitative analysis of the content of collected shop signs. Qualitative analysis of the semi-structured interviews with shopkeepers and salespeople or staff in the shops visited in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq is also provided. Hereinafter, the Traditional Market of Manama is sometimes referred to as Manama whereas the Traditional Market of Muharraq is referred to as Muharraq for ease in writing.

Besides, the current chapter proceeds with disclosing the findings of the third phase semi-structured interviews with the Bahraini shop customers and passers-by. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the results, and some significant implications for the identified language use with particular reference to cultural, social and global identities of the sign producers. This is accompanied by a part providing the limitations of the study, and eventually some significant recommendations and suggestions for future research.

2. Results of Quantitative Data Analysis

2.1. Languages Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs

2.1.1. Languages Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs in Manama

As illustrated, Table 1 and Figure 6 below present the languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market in Manama and the area in Bab AlBahrain as well as the frequency in these languages' presence on shop signs.

Table (1): Language Distribution in Manama (n=500 shop signs)

	Language	No of signs	Percentage
1	Arabic	438	87.6%
2	English	458	91.6%
3	Bengali	66	13.2 %
4	Malayalam	26	5.2 %
5	Urdu	6	1.2 %
6	Thai	3	0.6 %
7	Kannada	1	0.2 %
8	Tamil	1	0.2 %
9	Hindi	1	0.2 %
10	Nepalese	1	0.2 %

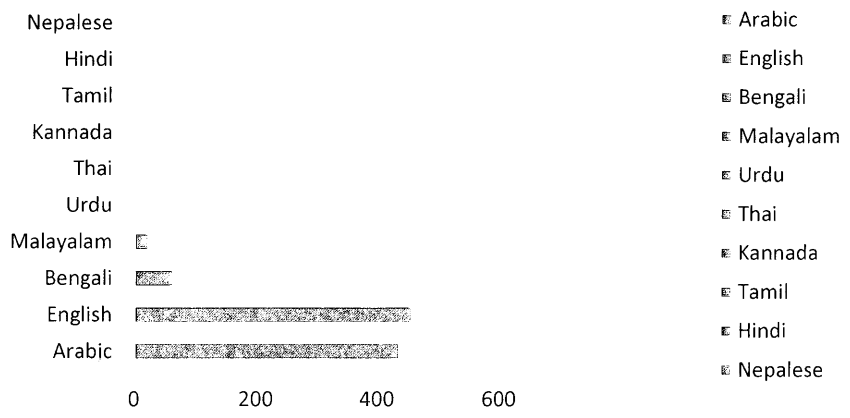


Fig. 6: Language Distribution in Manama (n= 500 shop signs)

Table 1 and Figure 6 above reveal that the corpus of collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Manama is dense with some diverse languages. Ten different languages are distributed in the linguistic landscape of Manama shop signs: Arabic, English, Bengali, Malayalam, Urdu, Thai, Kannada, Tamil, Hindi, and Nepalese.

Of all the ten available languages, Arabic and English are the most predominant languages in comparison to all other languages in terms of their presence in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama. Yet, it is surprising that the use of English, which is often stated as having the status of a foreign or a second language in Bahrain, outnumbered Arabic, the official language of the country as declared in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain. Despite Alshurafa's (2014) affirmation that English is increasingly becoming a universal language and as a result dominating various significant educational, social and economic sectors in the Gulf, surpassing Arabic on Manama shop signs is considered an outlier; a result that yields arguments. An investigation of the probable reasons is provided in the discussion section.



Figure 7: Examples of Arabic Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama



Figures 8: Examples of English Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama

Another unexpected result is the presence of a big number of shop signs displaying the Bengali language, especially when compared to other languages spoken in India like Malayalam and other languages such as Hindi, Tamil and Kannada. Malayalam is a Southern Dravidian language, spoken mainly in the Indian state of Kerala in southern India (Ager, 2014). It comes fourth in the categorization of existing languages. Urdu, the Indo-Aryan, is ranked fifth in the category with a decent representation in the whole corpus, while other languages such as Thai, Kannada, Tamil, Hindi and Nepalese show the next-to-nothing presentation in the corpus of commercial signage of Manama.



Figures 9: Examples of Bengali Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 3)



Figure 10: Examples of Malayalam Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 3)

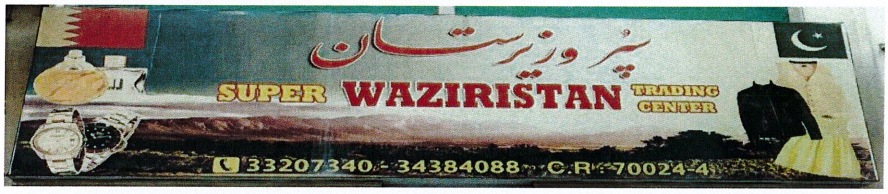


Figure 11: Examples of Urdu Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 1)



Figure 12: Examples of Thai Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 2)



Figure 13: Examples of Tamil Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 2)



Figure 14: Examples of Hindi Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 1)



Figure 15: Examples of Nepalese Language Representation in the Corpus of Manama (Line 3)

2.1.2. Languages Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs in Muharraq

Table 2 and Figure 16 below present the languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Muharraq as well as the frequency of the presence of these languages on shop signs.

Table (2): Language Distribution in Muharraq (n=500 shop signs; more than a language can appear on a single sign)

	Language	No of signs	Percentage
1	Arabic	479	95.8 %
2	English	421	84.2 %
3	Bengali	53	10.6 %
4	Malayalam	12	2.4 %
5	Urdu	4	0.8 %
6	Kannada	1	0.2 %
7	Tamil	1	0.2 %

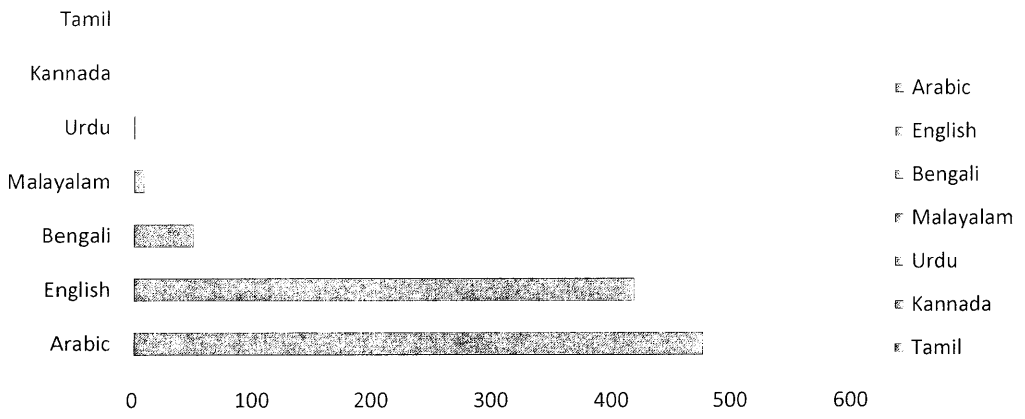


Fig. 16: Language Distribution in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs)

Looking at the data in Table 2 and Figure 16 above, it is observable that the corpus of collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq displays a special language representation in a historic city that was once the ancient capital city of Bahrain. A mixture of seven different languages is apparent in the linguistic landscape of the shop signs of Muharraq: Arabic, English, Bengali, Malayalam, Urdu, Kannada and Tamil.

In the corpus of available languages, Arabic and English are the major languages compared to all other languages in terms of their presence in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq. However, Arabic, the official language of the country as declared in the constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain, remains the first language to exist on shop signs. English, the language of economy and marketing in most of the world, follows Arabic in its availability on shop signs.



Figure 17: Examples of Arabic Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

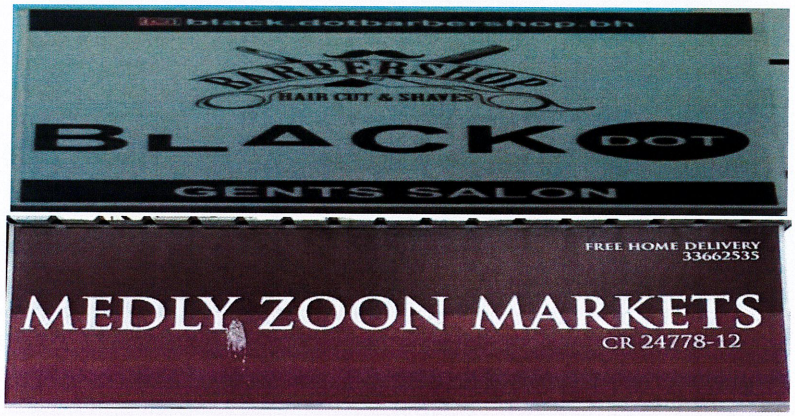


Figure 18: Examples of English Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

Another unpredicted result that needs further investigation is the presence of Bengali on a big number of shop signs. This is unpredictable with regard to the slight representation of the languages of other widespread demographic forces that reside Muharraq such as Pakistanis, Indians and Filipinos. It is peculiar and illogic to find out that their languages are either scarce or not existing at all in the linguistic landscape of Muharraq. Malayalam comes fourth, Urdu fifth whereas other languages such as Kannada and Tamil are at the end of the category with only one representation in the whole corpus of existing languages of the commercial market of Muharraq.



Figure 19: Example of Bengali Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

(Line 3)



Figure 20: Examples of Malayalam Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

(Line 4)



Figure 21: Examples of Urdu Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq



Figure 22: Example of Kannada Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

(Line **2 Left)**



Figure 23: Example of Tamil Language Representation in the Corpus of Muharraq

(Line 1)

2.2. Scripts Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs

2.2.1 Scripts Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs in Manama

Table 3 and Figure 24 below display the scripts distributed in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Manama as well as the frequency of the presence of these scripts on shop signs.

Table (3): Scripts Presented in Manama

(n=500 shop signs; more than a script can appear on a single sign)

	Script	No of Signs	%
1	Arabic (Arabic + Urdu)	377	75.4
2	Latin (representing English instances only)	403	80.6
3	Arabic Transliteration of English	67	13.4
4	English Transliteration of Arabic	55	11
5	Assamese (representing Bengali)	66	13.2
6	Malayalam	26	5.2
7	Thai	3	0.6
8	Devanagari (Hindi + Nepalese)	2	0.4
9	Kannada	1	0.2
10	Tamil	1	0.2

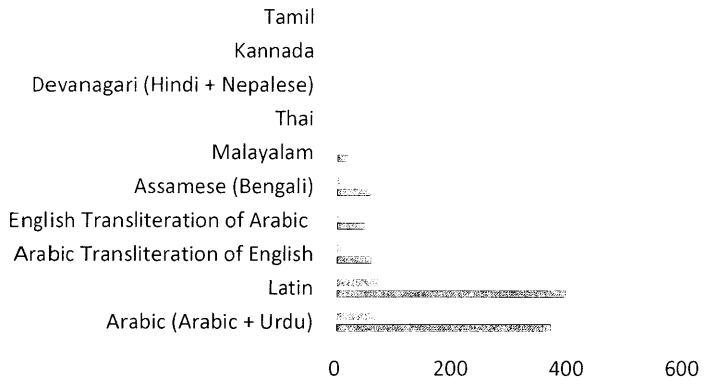


Fig. 24: Scripts Presented in Manama (n= 500 shop signs)

By examining Table 3 and Figure 24 above, the corpus of the collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Manama shows some various scripts. Eight different scripts are distributed in the linguistic landscape of Manama shop signs: Arabic, Latin, the Bengali Assamese, Malayalam, Thai, Devanagari, which represents Hindi and Nepalese (Ager, 2014), Kannada and Tamil. Two patterns of transliteration are also used in commercial Manama's linguistic landscape: the Arabic transliteration of English and the English transliteration of Arabic.

Exclusively, the Arabic script and the English script show great superiority in comparison to all the other scripts in terms of their occurrence in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama, with Latin surprisingly surpassing Arabic, the official language of the country as declared in the constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain. This is considered an outlier; a result that needs further investigation to arrive at a possible justification. Thus, an investigation of the full picture is provided in the discussion section.

The Assamese (in the form of Bengali) occupies the third class after Latin and Arabic in the corpus of scripts in commercial Manama. The

Malayalam script follows Assamese, fourth in queue. At the bottom of the script list lied Thai, Devanagari (representing Hindi + Nepalese), Kannada and Tamil with a next to nothing representation.

Moreover, the Arabic transliteration of English and the English transliteration of Arabic are the two patterns of transliteration that appear in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama. Counting the frequency of the instances uncovers the supremacy of the Arabic transliteration of English in comparison to the English transliteration of Arabic, which is justified in the discussion section below.



Figure 25: Examples of Arabic Transliteration of English in the Corpus of Manama



Figure 26: Examples of English Transliteration of Arabic in the Corpus of Manama

2.2.2 Scripts Presented in Corpus of Shop Signs in Muharraq

Table 24 and Figure 27 below manifest the scripts distributed in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Muharraq as well as the frequency of the presence of these scripts on shop signs.

Table (4): Scripts Presented in Muharraq

	Script	No. of Signs	%
1	Arabic (Arabic + Urdu)	450	83.2
2	Latin (representing English instances only)	350	70
3	Arabic Transliteration of English	33	6.6
4	English Transliteration of Arabic	71	14.2
5	Assamese (representing Bengali only)	53	10.6
6	Malayalam	12	2.4
7	Kannada	1	0.2
8	Tamil	1	0.2

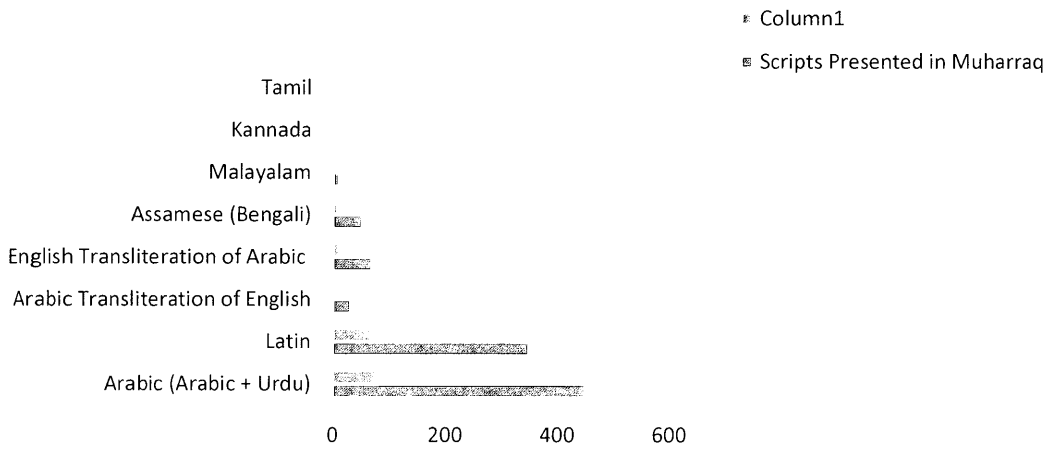


Fig. 27: Scripts Presented in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs)

By reviewing Table 4 and Figure 27 above, it is apparent that the corpus of the collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq displays a variety of scripts. Six diverse scripts are presented in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq: Arabic, Latin, the Bengali Assamese, Malayalam, Kannada and Tamil. Two patterns of transliteration are also used in commercial Muharraq's linguistic landscape: the Arabic transliteration of English and the English transliteration of Arabic.

On top of the script list, the Arabic script and the English script show large attendance when compared to all other scripts in terms of their availability in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq, with Arabic, the official language of the country as declared in the constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain, much preceding the Latin script. This is considered an unexpected finding; a result that is further interpreted and deliberated in the discussion section below.

Remarkably, the Bengali Assamese wins the third class after the Arabic and Latin scripts in the corpus of scripts in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq. The Malayalam script tails Assamese, fourth in queue. The lowest position of the script list is occupied by Kannada and Tamil with only a single instance representation.

In addition, the Arabic transliteration of English and the English transliteration of Arabic, the two patterns of transliterations that act in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama, show great representation. Exploring the frequency of the instances is indicative of the inferiority of the Arabic transliteration of English in comparison to the wide distribution of the English transliteration of Arabic, which is also justified in the discussion section below.



Figure 28: Example of Arabic Transliteration of English in the Corpus of Muharraq

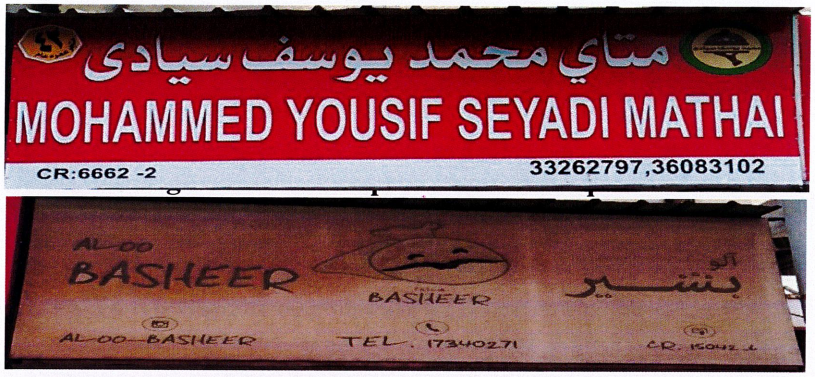


Figure 29: Example of English Transliteration of Arabic in the Corpus of Muharraq

2.3. Common Language Patterns in Corpus of Shop Signs

Classifying the languages on the shop signs in the current study into patterns in the linguistic landscape of the traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq follow Gomaa (2017) who systematically categorizes the corpus of the collected photographs of his study on street signs into monolingual, bilingual and trilingual: First, monolingual is the pattern that has one language used on a sign, bilingual possesses two different languages written on a single sign whereas multilingual (using more than two distinct languages on the same sign). This also follows the

classification adopted by significant studies such as Alhaider (2018), Ben Said's (2010), Bakhaus's (2007), Gomaa (2017), Huebner's (2006), McArthur's (2000), and Schlick's (2003).

2.3.1. Common Language Patterns in Corpus of Shop Signs in Manama

Three significant patterns are identified in commercial Manama depending on the language or combination of languages used on the shop signs. These patterns are the monolingual, the bilingual and the trilingual. Table 5 below manifests the common patterns that can be elicited from the corpus of photographs collected for the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Muharraq as well as the frequency of the presence of these patterns on shop signs.

Table (5): Monolingual Patterns Presented in Manama

(n= 500 shop signs) ; monolingual signs = 97

	Language	No. of Signs	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in all Signs
1	Arabic	41	42.2	8.2
2	English	55	56.7	11
3	Malayalam	1	1.03	0.2
Total		97		

Table 5 above illustrates the monolingual patterns in the corpus of the collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Manama and the area in Bab AlBahrain. Only three languages appear monolingually in the linguistic landscape of Manama shop signs: Arabic, English and Malayalam.

Exclusively, the Arabic language and the English language disclose great advantage in comparison to all other languages in terms of their occurrence in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama. However,

English amazingly surpasses Arabic, the official language of the country as declared in the constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain. This is considered an outlier; an investigation of the possible reasons is provided in the discussion section. Malayalam only shows once in the entire corpus.

Table (6): Bilingual Patterns Presented in Manama (n= 500 shop signs); (bilingual signs = 305)

	Languages	No.	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in All Signs
1	Arabic+ English	299	98.03	59.8
2	English+Bengali	5	1.63	1
3	English+Hindi	1	0.32	0.2
Total		305		

Here, it is clear enough that around two thirds of the shop signs in Manama were bilingual. Chiefly, the bilingual Arabic-English pattern is roughly the most generic one in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama, with the exception of very few instances of the bilingual pattern of English-Bengali in the whole corpus. The bilingual English-Hindi pattern only appears once in the commercial Manama corpus to tail the list. Above all, the broad attendance of the combination of Arabic and English, surpassing all other patterns through the whole corpus of the Traditional Market of Manama is a significant case that is further investigated and interpreted in the discussion section below.

Table (7): Trilingual Patterns Presented in Manama

(n= 500 shop signs); Trilingual signs = 98

	Languages	No. of Signs	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in all Signs
1	Arabic + English + Bengali	61	62.24	12.2
2	Arabic+ English + Malayalam	25	25.51	5
3	Arabic + English + Urdu	6	6.12	1.2
4	Arabic + English + Thai	3	3.06	0.6
5	Arabic + English + Kannada	1	1.02	0.2
6	Arabic + English + Tamil	1	1.02	0.2
7	Arabic + English + Nepalese	1	1.02	0.2
	Total	98		

Exploring the table above shows the dominance of the trilingual pattern of Arabic-English-Bengali which rises above other existing patterns of the trilingual signs, by two third, in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama. Simply, this combination represents the three significant languages that have the highest frequency on all shop signs in the corpus of commercial Manama: Arabic, the official language, English, the market language, and Bengali, a third partner of the two vital languages that overshadows all other foreign languages.

The Arabic-English-Malayalam pattern comes second in rank with less than a quarter of the whole trilingual patterns. Later, the Arabic English Urdu and the Arabic English Thai followed with weak representations. The least representations come very late with the combinations of Arabic, English and Kannada, Arabic, English and Tamil, and finally, Arabic, English and Nepalese.

Table (8): Distribution of Patterns in Corpus of Shop Signs in Manama

	Sign Pattern	No.	Percent. in All Signs
1	Monolingual Signs	97	19.4
2	Bilingual Signs	305	60
3	Trilingual Signs	98	19.6
	Total No. of Signs	500	

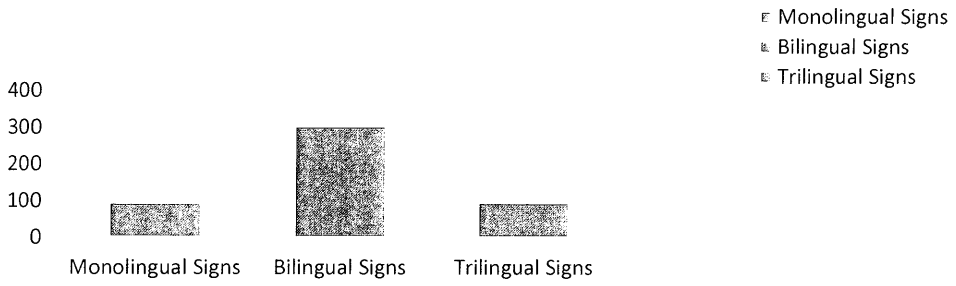


Fig. 30: Distribution of Patterns of Shop Signs in Manama (n= 500 shop signs)

Table 8 and Figure 30 above explicit the frequency of instances of the different patterns of languages distributed in the corpus of the shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama. It is obvious that the bilingual patterns broadly surpassed the two other patterns. 60% of the whole shop signs use the bilingual patterns. The monolingual as well as the trilingual pattern have an equal representation in the corpus of the shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama.

2.3.2. Common Language Patterns in Corpus of Shop Signs in Muharraq

Table (9): Monolingual Patterns Presented in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs) ; (Monolingual signs = 98)

	Language	No of signs	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in All Signs
1	Arabic	78	79.59	15.6
2	English	19	19.38	3.8
3	Bengali	1	1.02	0.2
	Total	98		

Table 9 above manifests the monolingual patterns in the corpus of the collected photographs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq. Three unique languages act monolingually in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq: Arabic, English and Bengali.

Solely, the Arabic language reveal great popularity in comparison to English and Bengali in terms of their occurrence in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq. Expectedly, Arabic occupied approximately 80% of the whole representation of the monolingual patterns in commercial Muharraq since it is the official language of the country as declared in the constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain, while English only gains nearly 20% in the same corpus of the Traditional Market of Muharraq. Bengali only appears once in the entire corpus.

Table (10): Bilingual Patterns Presented in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs) ; (Bilingual signs = 332)

	Languages	No	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in All Signs
1	Arabic+ English	331	98.03	59.8
2	English + Malayalam	1	1.63	1
	Total	332		

Using Table 10 above, more than two thirds of the shop signs in Manama are bilingual. Above all, the bilingual Arabic-English pattern sweeps all other possible patterns and is largely the most generic one in the commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq. Only once, the bilingual pattern of English-Malayalam shows in the whole corpus. Moreover, the broad appearance of the combination of Arabic and English through the collected corpus of the Traditional Market of Muharraq is so significant that it needs further investigation and interpretation in the discussion section below.

Table (11): Trilingual Patterns Presented in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs); Trilingual signs = 70

	Languages	No of signs	Percent. in Pattern	Percent. in All Signs
1	Arabic + English + Bengali	52	74.28	10.4
2	Arabic+ English + Malayalam	12	17.14	2.4
3	Arabic + English + Urdu	4	5.71	0.8
4	Arabic + English + Kannada	1	1.42	0.2
5	Arabic + English + Tamil	1	1.42	0.2
	Total	70		

Exploring the table above shows the dominance of the trilingual pattern of Arabic-English-Bengali which gain predominance over the other existing patterns of the trilingual signs -nearly three quarters of all

trilingual patterns- in the linguistic landscape of commercial Muharraq. Basically, this combination retains the three significant languages that have the highest frequency on all shop signs in the corpus of commercial Muharraq: Arabic, the official language, English, the market language and Bengali, the third partner of the two vital languages that outshined all the other foreign languages.

The Arabic-English-Malayalam pattern comes second in rank, with less than a fifth of the whole trilingual patterns. Next is the Arabic-English-Urdu, followed by the Arabic-English-Kannada and finally the Arabic-English-Tamil which lies at the bottom of the list of the corpus of trilingual signs in commercial Muharraq.

Table (12): Distribution of Patterns in Corpus of Shop Signs in Muharraq

	Sign Pattern	**No**	**Percent. in All Signs**
1	Monolingual Signs	98	19.6
2	Bilingual Signs	332	66.4
3	Trilingual Signs	70	14
	Total	500	

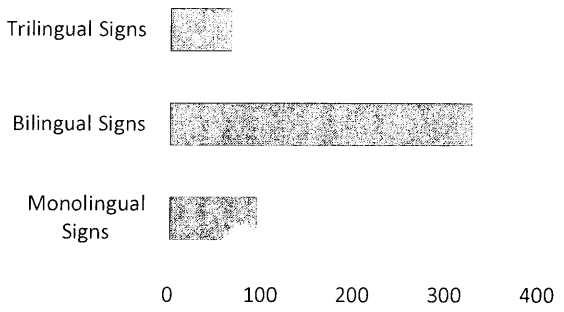


Fig. 31: Distribution of Patterns of Shop Signs in Muharraq (n= 500 shop signs)

Table 12 and Figure 28 above indicates the frequency of instances of the different patterns of languages distributed in the corpus of the shop signs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq. The bilingual patterns are by large dominating the whole scene in comparison to the two other patterns. Around 66.5% of the whole shop signs are exhausting the bilingual patterns. The monolingual pattern as well as the trilingual one only have a slight representation of 19.6 % and 14 % respectively in the corpus of the shop signs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq.

2.4. Comparing Arabic and English on Shop Signs by Language Dominance Features

As a way of investigating the dominance of a language in comparison to the other existing languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of the traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq, only Arabic and English are chosen to be examined since they are supposed to have the biggest representation. This investigation is also closely related to the

Table 13 illustrates the dominance of either Arabic or English in the Traditional Market of Manama by the use of a larger font size and their placement high in the top-to-down hierarchy. Counting the frequency of instances proves that the two languages have an equal dominance in nearly half of the corpus of bilingual shop signs. However, in the other half of the corpus, English unexpectedly outnumbers Arabic in the use of larger font size and its hierarchal order on the bilingual shop signs in commercial Manama. A few examples showing language dominance by non-linguistic features are provided below in Figures 32, 33, 34 and 35.



Figure 32: Example of English Language Larger in Font Size and Higher Than Arabic



Figure 33: Example of Arabic Language Higher Than English but Equal in Font Size



Figure 34: Example of Arabic Equal to English in Font Size and at Same Level



Figure 35: Example of Arabic Higher Than English but Smaller in Font Size

research question '*Does English show predominance in the linguistic landscape of the two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain?*' So, the comparison between Arabic and English is of paramount importance in this sense.

The tables below (Table 13 & Table 14) are used to examine the presence of some non-linguistic features used on the selected bilingual Arabic English shop signs in the corpus of the two markets. The non-linguistic features investigated are the size of used font and the position on the sign. Spolsky (2009) confirms that the order of languages on a sign, or the size of languages on a multilingual sign, can show which language groups have more dominance, power and prestige in a given geographic area. In a similar vein, Gomaa (2017) asserts that placing a language first in the top-to-down hierarchy is clearly indicative of the immense power and the official status this language possesses.

2.4.1 Comparing Arabic and English on Manama Shop Signs by Language Dominance Features

The table below displays the availability of some non-linguistic features used on the selected shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama.

Table (13): The Distribution of Some Non-linguistic Features on Bilingual Arabic-English Shop Signs in Manama

Non-Linguistic Feature	Arabic	Percent.	English	Percent.
Larger Font	69	23.07 %	88	29.43 %
Top Hierarchical Order	56	18.72 %	101	33.77 %
Equal Font Size and Order	142	47.49 %	142	47.49 %
Total No. of Bilingual Signs	299		299	

2.4.2 Comparing Arabic and English on Muharraq Shop Signs by Language Dominance Features

The table below displays the attendance of some non-linguistic features used on the selected shop signs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq.

Table (14): The Distribution of Some Non-linguistic Features on Bilingual Arabic-English Shop Signs in Muharraq

Non-Linguistic Feature	Arabic	Percent.	English	Percent
Larger Font	106	32.02 %	61	18.42 %
Top Hierarchical Order	111	33.53 %	56	16.91
Equal Font Size and order	164	49.54 %	164	49.54
Total No of Bilingual Signs	331			

Table 14 above clarifies the dominance of either Arabic or English in the Traditional Market of Muharraq by the use of a larger font size and their placement high in the top-to-down hierarchy. Calculating the frequency of instances verifies that the two languages have an equal dominance in nearly half of the corpus of bilingual shop signs. However, in the other half of the corpus, Arabic roughly outstrips English either in the use of a larger font size or its hierarchal position on the bilingual shop signs in commercial Muharraq. The position of different languages on a sign can prove the significance of some languages in the linguistic landscape of a region. (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006). Figures 36, 37, 38 and 39 below display a few examples showing language dominance by non-linguistic features.



Figure 36: Example of Arabic Larger in Font Size and higher Than English

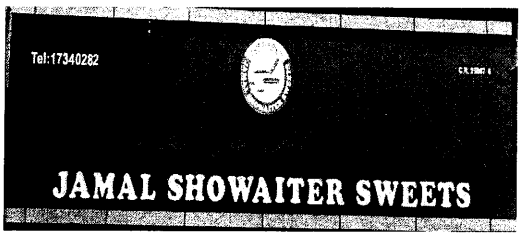


Figure 37: Example of Arabic Higher Than English but Equal in Font Size



Figure 38: Example of Arabic Equal to English in Font Size and at Same Level



Figure 39: Example of Arabic Higher Than English but Smaller in Font Size

3. Discussion of Quantitative Data Analysis Results

The aim of this section is to combine and discuss the findings from the quantitative data analysis. The initial results from the previous quantitative analysis revealed a great deal of significant results, unexpected findings and unusual outliers for the qualitative instrument and data analysis to interpret. These significant findings are given in the form of organized points based on the previous analysis in the previous section and later discussed, interpreted and justified in detail in the next section in the light of the results of the qualitative data collected in the second phase of the study.

3.1 Major, Unexpected Results and Outliers in the First Phase of Study Retrieved from the Corpus of Photographs

Depending on the quantitative analysis of the first phase by categorizing the corpus of 500 photographs in each of the two traditional commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq, some major findings

emerged as in the previous discussion. Thus, they need further explanation and justification and are considered during the second phase of the study. These findings are summarized below as follows.

1- Arabic and English are by far the most pervasive languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.
2- The use of English outnumbers the use of Arabic in the selected corpus of shop signs in Manama whereas in Muharraq Arabic has slight increase over English.
3- The use of Bengali as a foreign language surpasses the use of other foreign languages (Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Indian), Urdu, or Tagalog (the official language of the Philippines).
4- Malayalam shows its presence only in some domains such as restaurants or herbal remedies shops
5- Except for Malayalam, other languages used in India (Tamil, Kannada, Indian) are almost unavailable in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.
6- Only monolingual Arabic and English are available in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.
7- Monolingual English outshines Monolingual Arabic in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama Market unlike the case of Muharraq Market.
8- The bilingual Arabic English pattern was by a long way the most common one in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.
9- The trilingual Arabic-English-Bengali is significantly the most common pattern in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.
10- The bilingual pattern overshadows the trilingual pattern in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq.

11- English shows more dominance than Arabic in terms of the size of used font and the hierarchical order of both languages in the same signs in the commercial shops of Manama only.

4. Results of Qualitative Data Analysis Retrieved from the Interviews with Shop Owners

The below-mentioned questions are used in the semi-structured interviews with the two groups of 66 shopkeepers or workers at the shops visited in each of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq: each respondent at a time. Sixty-six shops (twenty representing monolingual Arabic or English signs, twenty representing bilingual Arabic English combination, twenty displaying trilingual Arabic English Bengali pattern and six showing trilingual Arabic English Malayalam pattern) were selected purposively in each market to conduct semi-structured interviews with their owners or the staff available at that time in the shops. Selected participants are either representatives of different shops displaying different languages and language patterns, representatives of shop signs with major findings, extreme scores or unexpected findings.

The following is a set of significant questions that are asked to the two groups in the two traditional markets of Bahrain. These two aforementioned groups are selected randomly to help interpret, justify and add to the results of the quantitative analysis in the previous section. A sample of the questions is also given in Appendix B.

1- Which year was this shop signboard placed in its position?
2- What language(s) are displayed in this sign?
3- Why did you choose this language/these languages in the shop sign?

4- What nationality/kind of customers would you like to visit your business?
5- Why is [language] positioned top/bottom first?
6- Why is [language] written in bigger/smaller font?
7- Why did you choose not to use [language] on your sign?

5. Discussion of Qualitative Data Analysis Results (The Second Phase of the Study

Since the analysis of the second phase qualitative data is employed in order to combine and compare the quantitative and the qualitative data altogether in an attempt to interpret the quantitative data of the study, this section collects and shows the main findings in the quantitative phase. It also combines and compares these findings with the results that are derived from the analysis of the second phase of study.

5.1. The Pervasiveness of Arabic and English in the Commercial Linguistic Landscape of Manama and Muharraq

Arabic and English are, by far, the most used languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq. This finding is in line with Gomaa's (2017) who reveals that Modern Standard Arabic is the dominant language shown on public and private street signs. These findings disclose the dominance of Arabic and English in Bahrain and is emphasized by the fact that Arabic is the national official language of Bahrain. Article Two of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain announces that Arabic is the official language of Bahrain. Likewise, Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 concerning organizing advertisements declares that any advertisement displayed in the public space must be in the Arabic language (Legislation and Legal Opinion Commission, 1973). When asked about the reason for choosing Arabic as a language on shop signs, three main answers are collected from the shopkeepers and working

staff. Part of them report that Arabic is compulsory to use and is imposed by the municipalities and Commercial Register Directorate. Another answer reveals that Arabic is the language of the society that attracts citizens and Arab residents to visit their shops and buy their commodities. The last answer is concerned with being loyal to the Arabic language as it represents their own identity.

English, then, is also found omnipresent when exploring the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq. The large visibility of English could be attributed to the historical fact that from 1820 to 1971, the year of the independence of Bahrain, Bahrain was a British protectorate (Al-Nabi, 2012). Bahrain still has strong relationships with Britain in politics and economy. When asked about the reason why they choose to use English in announcing their premises and advertising their products, a big number of shopkeepers and shop staff justify their choice by the fact that English is a global language that everyone respects. Some others relate their choice to considering English the language of prestige, power and possessing the ability to urge customers of different cultures and nationalities to visit their shops and buy their commodities. In fact, some shops displaying modern technological items choose to use English in their signs and call it the language of modernity and technology or either. This result, which largely prevails the linguistic landscape of the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq is supported by Buckingham (2018) who has observed a growing 'Englishization' of the linguistic landscape, either in public or in some socially private locations in her study on the commercial signage of three areas in Costa Rica.

5.2. Favouring English over Arabic in the Linguistic Landscape of Manama only

The quantitative analysis of the first phase displays the frequent use of English more than Arabic in the Traditional Market of Manama. It is a surprising finding that English outnumbers Arabic in the selected corpus of shop signs in Manama, whereas in Muharraq Arabic has slight increase over English. In both cases, it is unpredicted to find out that a second/foreign language can outshine the national official language in a region, especially when there is a language policy that imposes restrictions on language use in commercial areas. Despite the fact that a signboard having no Arabic is prohibited by the law of the Kingdom of Bahrain and is considered an illegal practice, some commercial shops, especially in Manama more than Muharraq, violate the norms and laws. As a result, using English in the linguistic landscape of Manama appears more frequent than Arabic.

Investigating the above issue through conducting semi-structured interviews with the two groups of shopkeepers or workers confirm that although shop owners believe that Arabic, the national language of the country, is important and compulsory to use in advertising, they do believe that English is of paramount significance. To most of them, the Latin script can be read by almost all customers as well as it attracts the visitors of the market to buy modern and technological items. A big number of those shops which use English more frequent than Arabic were travel agent's, casual clothes shops, phones and communications shops, and computer and accessories stores. Bolton (2012); Cenoz & Gorter (2008) postulate that English is globally seen as the language of prestige, youth, modernity, sophistication, and success.

5.3. The Copious Availability of Bengali in Comparison to Other Foreign Languages

Findings disclose that Bengali as a foreign language outdoes other foreign languages Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Indian, Urdu, Tagalog (the official language of the Philippines) in the two compared traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq. As a matter of fact, IndexMundi (2020) indicates that Bahrain is inhabited by the number of 1,410,942 people. Whereas Bahrainis constitute 46%, all Asians constitute 45.5% of the total population. However, the Bengali community does not constitute the whole Asians. There are other significant groups of Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos. The large representation of the Bengali language in the two cities of Manama and Muharraq is investigated in the interviews with the shop owners and staff displaying the Bengali language on their shop signs. Their justification is almost the same in all the shops that were visited in the two traditional markets. They state that they respect using Arabic and English in their shop signs. Nonetheless, they feel proud of displaying their linguistic identity that is part of their culture. Other answers reveal that they believe they should be loyal to their language. Bengali rises on most of the trilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama and Muharraq as a third partner of the two vital languages, Arabic and English, overshadowing the other foreign languages.

If this is the case of Bengali, why does other foreign languages of India (Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Indian), Pakistani Urdu, Tagalog (the official language of the Philippines) not have equal representation although they are used by strong demographic forces living in the two selected cities of Bahrain and even all over the country? Further investigations with the two groups of shop owners and workers representing these languages indicate a different way of dealing with language use by a large portion of foreign communities. Most of the representatives of these communities

prefer to follow the norms of the Bahraini society by using the traditional favoured combination of Arabic and English. This is to show two important issues: they are sociable and using the national Arabic to get social acceptance of the Bahraini citizens and they belong to the global market in terms of their use of English as the powerful language of economy and modernity.

Unexpectedly, while visiting some Pakistani restaurants to inspect their limited use of the Urdu language on their shops, a repeated startling answer arises. The owners of these restaurants report that they opt for using the Arabic script in the writing of their shop signs since Urdu and Arabic are by large similar in their alphabet. The language policy endorsed by the official bodies in Bahrain enforces the use of Arabic in all types of advertising or announcing a business. Another answer is recorded to justify and complement the first one. Pakistani restaurant owners prefer to be practical and language economic in the sense that they use one Arabic script that represents Arabic and Urdu and, therefore, leave enough space for the presentation of the bilingual Arabic English in a big font in a way that gives more chance for passers-by to recognize and read the shop signs.

5.4. Malayalam Is the Only Language of India Displayed in Manama and Muharraq

It is striking to find out that almost all Dravidian and Sanskrit proto-Indo European languages are absent in terms of not occupying a prominent rank analogous to the strong representation of the Indian community in the two cities of Manama and Muharraq, and Bahrain as a whole. See figure 40 (Map of languages in India). Malayalam has a slight exceptional representation, fourth after Arabic, English, Bengali, in two domains of commercial Manama and Muharraq according to our collected data: restaurants and herbal remedies shops. Following up with the interviews

with the staff and the shopkeepers of these businesses clarifies and interprets this important finding.

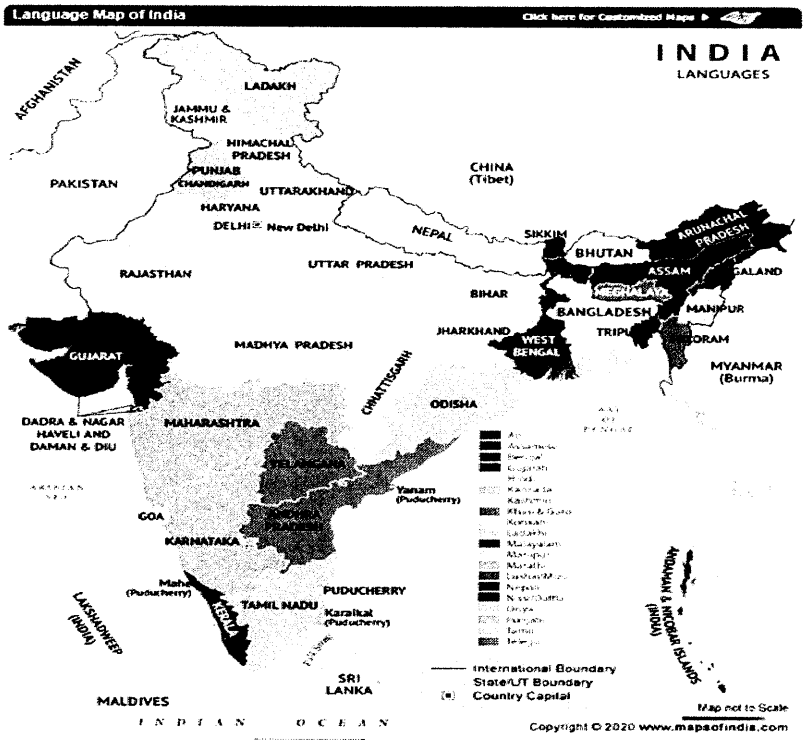


Figure 40: Map of languages in India

Indian restaurant owners indicate that Malayalam is the language used in Bahrain by a big percentage of the Indian community who come from Kerala, a state on the south-western Malabar Coast of India. Malayalam is the official and the most widely spoken language in Kerala (Ager, 2020). Thus, these restaurants using Malayalam would like to attract the Indian residents and inform them about their Indian cuisine.

Analogously, herbal-remedy shops in Manama and Muharraq are visited as well. However, their justification of the use of Malayalam in their shop signs is a lot discrete. Shopkeepers and workers assert that Malayalam is strongly linked to Keralan population who are very famous for the production of natural herbs and homeopathic remedies. In other words, the presence of Malayalam in an herbal-remedy shop sign informs customers

and passers-by that professional experts in homeopathic remedies are available in such premises.

As mentioned earlier in this section, other languages used in India (Tamil, Kannada, Hindi) are almost unavailable in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq as the shop owners who are representative of these languages prefer to prioritize Arabic, the official national language, and English, the global language of power, economy and prestige in the linguistic landscape of the two cities of Manama and Muharraq. In addition, English is considered one of the official languages used by the government of India. Ager (2020) notes that it is frequently used in the Indian parliament, and in daily communications between their central government and other state government, as well as other official purposes.

5.5. Monolingual Patterns Are Limited Only to Arabic and English in the Commercial Linguistic Landscape of Manama and Muharraq

It is disclosed through the quantitative analysis of the results that only two languages are available monolingually in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq: Arabic and English. Yet, the number of monolingual Arabic signs increase in the case of Muharraq Market, whereas in Manama Market monolingual English signs outnumber the monolingual Arabic shop signs. This result needs further investigation and additional interpretation. Since shops displaying the monolingual pattern in their signs are among the two group in each of the two traditional markets in Manama and Muharraq, a visit is paid to a number of these shops. The semi-structured interviews with the shop owners and workers of these shops reveal different reasons for justifying their language use.

On the one hand, the shops and stores that only use Arabic in their shop signs disclose that Arabic is the official national language of the society and is compulsory to use by the municipalities and the Commercial

Register Directorate in Bahrain. Some shops in both markets -especially in Muharraq- report that they are very proud of their national and cultural identity and they consider using only Arabic in their shop signs as an expression of their patriotism and that its use reflects their language loyalty. Some of them feel that Arabic can be used on its own to advertise their commodities since it is a powerful national language endorsed by the society and maintained by the laws of the official bodies in the country. It is therefore noteworthy reporting an interesting justification by a number of traditional Arab products such men's thobes and ladies' abayat who prefer to use Arabic only to attract sole Arab customers to visit their stores. This leads us to conclude that sometimes if only one language is present on a sign, only those users of that language are invited to that place.

On the other hand, it is clear enough through the quantitative analysis of the data in the first phase of the study that the use of English monolingually outshined monolingual Arabic only in commercial Manama when compared to the Traditional Market of Muharraq. Semi-structured interviews indicate that a great percentage of shopkeepers in Manama pay great respect to English as a global language that carries the symbols of globalization, youth, modernity, power, technology, sophistication and competition. Some instances of these shop owners feel that English can be used alone to announce their availability in the market with no need to use another language to the extent that they violate the norms of the society and the regulations of the commercial register directorate in that they do not use Arabic, the official language imposed in Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 concerning organizing advertisements. The decree declares that any advertisement displayed in the public space must be in the Arabic language (Legislation and Legal Opinion Commission, 1973).

To sum up, comparing the two traditional markets in Manama and Muharraq justifies the monolingual language use of either Arabic to express patriotism, language loyalty and the pride of national and cultural identity, especially in commercial Muharraq, or English as a symbol of power, prestige, economic competition and globalization in the case of commercial Manama. A simple justification of their use is in accordance with Barni and Bagna (2009) who postulate that the manifestation of only a single language on a sign could possibly show that the language has the prestige and power to stand alone. Hence, in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq, only Arabic and English had the prestige and power to attend exclusively on their own in the commercial linguistic landscape.

5.6. The Bilingual Arabic-English Is the Most Prevalent Pattern in the Commercial Linguistic Landscape of Manama and Muharraq

It is apparent through the data analysis of the first phase of the study that nearly two thirds of the shop signs in Manama and Muharraq are bilingual. Moreover, the bilingual Arabic-English pattern is by a long way the most common one in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq, with the exception of a few instances of the bilingual combination of English-Bengali that are available in Manama only. Following with the interviews with shopkeepers and workers in the shops that represent the bilingual combination of Arabic-English in the writing of their shop signs, is indicative of the reasons for their pattern choice. They claim that Arabic and English are the two languages almost all visitors can easily recognize: either citizens and residents or tourists from other countries. In fact, this makes clear sense since, in reality, Arabic is the official national language of Bahrain and the whole Arab visitors. Add to this, the encouraged and even enforced use of Arabic by the official powers in the country is another respected justification reported by almost all shopkeepers. To them repeatedly, English is the global language that is

used by a large percentage of the whole world population: the prestigious language that can compete in global market and bring about economic successes.

The combination of Arabic and English on the shop signs of the traditional markets of Manama and Arabic is the most favoured by a great deal of shop owners not only to obey the language policies of the official bodies and the norms of the global market, but to attract the indigenous as well as the foreign customers and achieve better economic successes also.

5.7. The Bilingual Pattern Outnumbered the Trilingual Pattern in the Commercial Linguistic Landscape of Manama and Muharraq

The demographic data in the two cities suggest that the context of the two cities of Manama and Muharraq is multilingual. For example, the statistics of IndexMundi (2020) state that Bahrainis constitute 46% of the total population of Bahrain, whereas Asians form 45.5%. In addition, other Arabs shape 4.7% and Africans 1.6%. Europeans compose 1%, while others compose 1.2% (includes nationals from some Gulf countries, North and South Americans, and Others). These foreign communities must show their cultural as well as their linguistic identities in the surrounding linguistic landscape. Yet, the current study reveals that the bilingual pattern, especially that of Arabic-English, is a lot more widespread than any trilingual pattern of any other languages. Undoubtedly, the trilingual pattern of Arabic, English and Bengali is gradually gaining more position recently; however, the bilingual Arabic-English is still dominating the linguistic landscape of the commercial markets of the two cities crucially.

It is obvious that the significance of the two languages, Arabic and English, and the status they possess in the Bahraini society is reflected in the predominance of their overwhelming use in the commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain. Arabic is the national official language of Bahrain

and the language of everyday communication for all citizens. English is the language of power and prestige for historical and economic reasons. Thus, instead of having a multicultural context that leads to a multilingual landscape, a closely related Arabic-English bilingual landscape is governing the scene, with a slight hope for development in the future that may or may not occur. Anyway, rapid socio-economic changes that take place in such locations and the continuous engagements among indigenous and expatriate communities may bring about and speed up the dynamism of the linguistic landscape by a great scale.

5.8. The Dominance of English in Manama and Arabic in Muharraq in the Use of Non-linguistic Elements

Spolsky (2009) confirms that the order of languages on a sign, or the size of languages on a multilingual sign, can show which language groups have more dominance, power and prestige in a given geographic area. Through categorizing the shop signs in the two selected markets of Manama and Muharraq, English shows more dominance than Arabic in terms of using some non-linguistic elements such as the size of used font and the hierarchical order of both languages in the same signs in the commercial shops of Manama only. On the contrary, in the Traditional Market of Muharraq the picture is totally different. Arabic gains superiority over English in terms of the use of the same non-linguistic features. Gomaa (2017) asserts that placing a language first in the top-to-down hierarchy is clearly indicative of the immense power and the official status this language possesses. As well, the position of different languages on a sign can manifest the significance of some languages in the linguistic landscape of a region. (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006).

On the one hand, Manama, the modern capital of Bahrain and the first area of attraction to business owners, global companies and tourists

from all over the world favours English by employing non-linguistic elements. Manama shop owners report that the use of such non-linguistic elements as the large font size and the placement of English top on the sign is a priority for business reasons. English as a global language is recognized by almost all passers-by in the marketplace. Moreover, the competing shops and companies elevate English either by enlarging its font or uplifting it to the top of shop signs .o attract the largest number of customers and visitors to visit their shops and buy their products.

On the other hand, Muharraq, the ancient capital of Bahrain and the historical destination for traditional culture and history lovers prefers Arabic by the advantage of using non-linguistic elements. Muharraq shop owners convey that the use of such non-linguistic elements as the big font size and the placement of Arabic top in the sign is an expression of the compliance to the traditional norms of the Bahraini society. In addition, to them, the use of such non-linguistic features elevates Arabic as a language they have to show their love and loyalty to. They strongly relate this to their cultural identity.

To conclude, the dominance of English in commercial Manama compared to the supremacy of Arabic in commercial Muharraq in terms of the use of non-linguistic features is attributed to the opposition of a modern fast growing economic capital city that undergoes quick socio-economic changes (Manama), compared to an ancient traditional capital that experiences slow gradual developments (Muharraq). Whereas Manama is rich in global companies and significant enterprises and is the symbol of growing economy, modernity, fast change, sophistication and urban development, Muharraq is dense with historical buildings and old traditions that manifest the loyalty to historical and cultural identity of the Bahraini society.

5.9. Dynamism of the Linguistic Landscape

Another issue that needed further investigation arises in this question: How dynamic is the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain, as seen in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq? In other words, a crucial question that arises concerning the dynamism of the linguistic landscape of the region is 'which language(s) and which pattern(s) used to gain more dominance in the previous years, is/are being favoured nowadays or will be preferred in the near future in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain?'

It is true that through the quantitative data analysis, the bilingual pattern is dominating the scene up till now. However, no studies have investigated the status of the indigenous Arabic or the other foreign languages and the language patterns that prevailed the commercial landscape in the country in the past. Predicting the languages and the patterns that might overwhelm the scene in the future is also impossible without a further research for a professional result.

Hence, after collecting the data for the second phase of the study by conducting the semi-structured interviews with the two groups of shopkeepers in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq, the shop signs representing the shops are systematically classified into four time divisions: shop signs placed before 1990, shop signs placed from 1990 to 1999, shop signs placed from 2000 to 2009 and shop signs placed from 2010 to 2019. This method is developed to investigate the dynamism of the commercial linguistic landscape in the commercial sector of Bahrain. It aims at recognizing how language patterns as a linguistic element have developed over time in the two significant cities of Manama and Muharraq.

5.9.1 Categorizing the Corpus of Shop Signs According to Date of Sign Placement

The shops that are selected include sixty-six shops in each of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq displaying the major different languages and language patterns on basis of the quantitative analysis (twenty representing monolingual Arabic or English signs, twenty representing bilingual Arabic-English combination, twenty displaying trilingual Arabic-English-Bengali pattern and six showing trilingual Arabic-English-Malayalam pattern). Semi-structured interviews are conducted with these shop owners or the staff of these shops. On basis of the question '*Which year was this shop signboard placed in its position?*' the selected shop signs are analysed according to the four time divisions.

5.9.1.1 Categorizing Corpus of Shop Signs in Manama According to Date of Sign Placement

Table 15 below represents the categorization of the shop signs in the Manama during four time divisions according to their placement on shops.

Table (15): Shop Signs in Manama Categorized into Time Divisions

Sample= 66 shop signs

	Before 1990	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2009	2010 to 2019
Monolingual Signs N= 20	Arabic 2	Arabic 4	Arabic 4 English 2	English 8
Bilingual Arabic English Signs N=20	3	2	7	8
Trilingual Arabic English Bengali Signs N= 20			6	14
Trilingual Arabic English Malayalam Signs N= 6			4	2
Total= 66				

Table 15 above represents the corpus of the selected photographs of shop signs in Manama. The monolingual Arabic shop signs in the corpus are available until the year 2009 but then show absence in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama. In contrast, monolingual English shop signs are absent for a long time in the past until they gain presence starting from the year 2000. From 2010 onward, monolingual English dominate this pattern in the linguistic landscape of Manama.

The bilingual Arabic-English pattern, being the omnipresent pattern in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama, show stability in its presence on Manama shop signs during the four given time divisions. By statistics, it is still the most favoured combination on all shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama.

The trilingual Arabic-English-Bengali pattern is the fastest growing of all patterns in the corpus of commercial Manama shop signs. Even though this pattern has not gained any presence until the year 2000. During the last decade, the number of shop signs which favour this combination double through the last two decades in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Manama.

Unlike the trilingual combination of Arabic English Bengali, the trilingual pattern of Arabic, English and Malayalam, which start to appear by the year 2000, does not show any high jump in its presence in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Manama.

To conclude, it is clear that the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama is dense with a lot of surprises. Even though statistics from the first phase of study indicate that English outnumber Arabic in their presence on shop signs, it is not clear how dynamic the picture is. Nonetheless, table 15 above shows that English only starts to dominate the monolingual pattern in the last two decades, whereas monolingual Arabic showed a sharp decline in its attendance. Moreover, despite the bilingual

Arabic-English is the most pervasive pattern in the whole commercial linguistic landscape of Manama, it is not the fast growing one nowadays. In fact, the trilingual Arabic English Bengali is increasingly mounting through the scene. What is unexpected is the fact that it only emerges in the last two decades. This could be an indicator that it could control the whole picture in the near future in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Manama.

5.9.1.2 Categorizing Corpus of Shop Signs in Muharraq According to Date of Sign Placement

Table 16 below represents the categorization of the corpus of selected shop signs in the Traditional Market of Manama during four time divisions according to their placement on shops.

Table (16): Shop Signs in Muharraq Categorized into Time Divisions

Sample = 66 shop signs

	Before 1990	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2009	2010 to 2019
Monolingual Signs N= 20	Arabic 5	Arabic 6	Arabic 2 English 1	Arabic 3 English 3
Bilingual Arabic English Signs N=20	3	5	4	8
Trilingual Arabic English Bengali Signs N= 20			9	11
Trilingual Arabic English Malayalam Signs N= 6			3	3
Total= 66				

Table 16 above represents the corpus of the selected photographs of shop signs in Muharraq. The monolingual Arabic shop signs in the selected corpus are available during the four provided time divisions but then shows minor attendance in the last two decades in the linguistic landscape of commercial Muharraq. In contrast, the monolingual English shop signs are absent for a long time in the past until they gain slight presence in the linguistic landscape of Muharraq starting from the year 2000 onward.

The bilingual Arabic-English pattern, being the most common pattern in the linguistic landscape of commercial Muharraq, shows stability in its presence on Muharraq shop signs during the four given time divisions. By statistics, it is still the most favoured combination on all shop signs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq nowadays.

The trilingual Arabic-English-Bengali pattern is the fastest growing of all patterns in the corpus of commercial Muharraq shop signs. Despite the fact that this pattern has not attended in the scene until the year 2000, all of a sudden, it gains superiority over the other combinations. During the last two decades, this pattern emerges with the appearance of Bengali as a foreign language on a number of shop signs in the Traditional Market of Muharraq.

Unlike the preferential pattern of Arabic-English-Bengali, the trilingual pattern of Arabic, English and Malayalam, which starts to appear by the year 2000, does not show any major rise in its attendance in the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Muharraq.

To sum up, it is observable that the second phase of studying the linguistic landscape of commercial Muharraq reveals some additional findings. Although it confirms the statistics from the first phase of study and indicates that Arabic outstrips English in terms of its presence on shop signs, it could clarify the ambiguity of how dynamic the scene is. Remarkably, the table above shows that monolingual Arabic, which

develops as the only monolingual pattern to the year 1999, shows a slight decline in its attendance in the last two decades, whereas English only emerges as a monolingual pattern in the last two decades. Moreover, despite the bilingual Arabic-English is the most omnipresent pattern in the whole commercial linguistic landscape of Muharraq, it is not the most developing one today. The trilingual-Arabic-English-Bengali is increasingly mounting through the scene. Strikingly, it only emerges in the last two decades to sweep the other existing patterns and probably control the whole picture of the linguistic landscape of the Traditional Market of Manama in the near future.

6. Results of Qualitative Data Analysis Retrieved from Interviews with Bahraini Shop Sign Readers

The sample semi-structured interview questions in Appendix C are asked to the two groups of 40 Bahraini shop customers and passers-by, 20 in each of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq, who are selected randomly. The aim is to investigate the attitudes of the Bahraini community towards the complex multilingual linguistic landscape in Bahrain.

7. Discussion of Qualitative Data Analysis Results

To investigate the attitudes of the Bahraini shop visitors and passers-by in the two commercial cities of Manama and Muharraq, the ten questions used in the interview are divided into three parts; each part adds to the understanding of the multilingual context of the linguistic landscape. Question 1 investigates the sign readers' perceptions about the use of languages on shop signs, questions 2,3,4,5 and 6 address the sign readers' opinions on the importance of the different languages used on the signboards of shops. Question 7 looks into their attitudes towards using multilingual signs. Question 8 is triggered to investigate their opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society.

Question 1 addresses how the forty randomly-selected Bahraini sign readers' perceive the use of languages on shop signs. While a total number of 24 persons (60%) think that monolingual Arabic is used most often on Bahrain's shop signs, 11 participants (27.5%) guess that Bilingual Arabic English is the dominant pattern used and 5 others (12.5%) think that the trilingual Arabic English Indian is the prevailing pattern. In fact, according to the findings in the first phase of this study, Monolingual Arabic has not had a big representation on Manama and Muharraq's shop signs. It only constitutes 8.2% and 15.6% in the two cities respectively, whereas the bilingual Arabic English pattern forms 59.8 % on all shop signs in the two cities. Needless to say, the trilingual Arabic English Chinese shows no presence in the two commercial markets at all.

Questions 2,3,4,5,6 and 7 investigate the opinions of the Bahraini sign readers on the importance of the different languages used on the signboards of shops. Question 2 investigates the importance of Arabic, the official national language in Bahrain. The use of monolingual Arabic on commercial shop signs in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq is favoured by 26 Bahraini sign readers (65%), whereas 35% (n=14) do not accept using Arabic only on the shop signs. The proponents aver that Arabic is the language that all citizens can read and use well and using mere Arabic on shop signs could maintain their cultural identity. Their opponents express their pride of the Arabic language; however, they affirm that Bahrain is rich in foreign cultures and the two popular markets of Manama and Muharraq are visited by different multinational residents. As a result, they think that using other foreign languages can help shop owners and companies advertise their commodities for expatriates to buy them.

Question 3 addresses the importance of prioritizing Arabic over the other foreign languages in terms of the use of the non-linguistic features.

31 Bahraini shop sign readers (77.5%) confirm the importance to care for the order and font size of languages on a multilingual sign. They believe that Arabic must have the priority to appear on top of the shop signs and in bigger font size. These non-linguistic features can show which language groups have more dominance, power and prestige in a given geographic area (Spolsky, 2009).

To answer question 4, Bahraini shop visitors have been invited to choose another language that they think is important to show with Arabic on shop signs. 21 shop visitors (52.5%) indicate that English is an important language to accompany Arabic on shop signs, while 17.5% choose Chinese (n=7), another 17.5% (n=7) choose Malayalam and 12.5% (n=5) express that Bengali could be as important as a choice to use side by side with Arabic on shop signs. It is expected that English comes in the first rank, surpassing the other languages; however, the Chinese presence as second in the list, with the same percentage as Malayalam, and the delay of Bengali is not in conformity with the real distribution of the languages in the two commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq. It is revealed in the first phase of the study that Bengali comes third after Arabic and English on the shop signs of the two cities of Manama and Muharraq, whereas Chinese has no attendance at all.

Questions 5 and 6 investigates whether Bahraini sign readers accept to see a foreign language used by itself on a shop sign. 33 participants out of 40 (82.5%) decline the use of monolingual foreign languages on Bahrain's shop signs. This manifests their strong preference to protect their national language. Only 17.5% (n=7) accept the appearance of a foreign language (only English) on a shop sign in the commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq. To justify their choice, they report that English

has become a worldly language that is used increasingly in all life domains, especially in commerce and technology.

Item 7 in the semi-structured interview questions the attitudes of Bahraini sign readers towards the multilingual commercial linguistic landscape of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. The use of different languages on the signs of shop fronts is supported by 57.5% of the whole sample (n=23). Reasons that belong to globalization, openness to other cultures and accepting the other minorities living in Bahrain or visiting the traditional markets justify their tendency to prefer the distribution of different multilingual shop signs in the markets of Bahrain.

Nonetheless, 17 participants (42.5/) express their concerns about the absence of the organization of elements on signs such as the size and order of Arabic -the national language- compared to other foreign languages, the wrong spelling of Arabic words on some shop signs, as well as the use of inconvenient pictures and graphics inspired by other foreign cultures that defy the values and customs of the society.

Finally, question 8 is triggered to investigate the Bahraini sign readers' opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society. In fact, this inquiry calls for their opinion regarding the current language policy and the regulations that have long organized the commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain in general. Participants are informed about the regulations in Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 concerning organizing the advertisements to give their opinions and recommendations. 60 % of the participants recommend that a new law needs to be issued to organize the commercial advertisements on shop fronts. Some of the suggestions include the supervision of the municipal officials to guarantee the use of Arabic on all shop signs, the supremacy of Arabic by elevating it on top of the shop signs and using it in bigger size.

Moreover, other sign readers affirm the importance of prohibiting the use of inconvenient foreign pictures and symbols that challenge the Bahraini society customs and traditions. To some shop visitors, it will be essential for a new advertising law or regulation to specify the size and colours of the shop signs to maintain a quality commercial linguistic landscape in the country. Finally, a large number of Bahraini sign readers recommend imposing some penal measures and fines to protect the national language against any shop owners' infringements of the language policy and the municipal regulations concerning advertising in Bahrain.

To sum up, this section gives a clear account of the discussion of the findings of the third phase of the study, investigating the attitudes of the Bahraini shop sign readers towards the commercial linguistic landscape in the two cities of Manama and Muharraq. The responses in the semi-structured interviews add to the understanding of the multilingual context of the linguistic landscape. The sign readers' perceptions about the use of languages on shop signs, their opinions on the importance of the different languages used on the signboards of shops, their attitudes towards using multilingual signs, in addition to their opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society could help get better interpretation of the multilingual context of the linguistic landscape of Bahrain.

8. General Discussion of Results

In this chapter, the main findings of this research study are summarized. The summary sheds light on the core findings which emerged in accordance with the discussion of the quantitative and qualitative results in the previous section study. These include the answer to the four main research questions

8.1. The Study's First Question

To answer the first question presented in the study: '*What language(s) are used in the linguistic landscape of two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain (the Traditional Market of Bab AlBahrain in Manama, and the Traditional Market of Muharraq in Muharraq City)?*', the first level of the classification system was used to examine the linguistic content of signs and the frequency of existing languages on the commercial shop signs in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. The study shows that Arabic and English are discovered, by far, the most used languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq. This finding is in line with Gomaa's study (2017). These findings disclose the dominance of Arabic and English in Bahrain which is emphasized by the fact that Arabic is the national official language of Bahrain. As for English, the large visibility of it could be attributed to the historical fact that Bahrain still has strong relationships with Britain in politics and economy (Al-Nabi, 2012). A big number of shopkeepers justify their choice of English by perceiving English as a global language that everyone respects. Others relate their choice to considering English the language of prestige, power, sophistication and modernity. It is used to urge customers to visit their shops and buy their commodities.

8.2. The Study's Second Question

To find a precise answer to the second question presented in the study: *What are the generic patterns that can be established from the frequency of the languages on both markets' signs?* The second level of classification is used to determine the common language patterns used on the commercial shop signs in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. The study discloses that the linguistic landscapes of the two traditional commercial markets is dense with three patterns: the monolingual, the bilingual and the trilingual.

Only Arabic and English are frequently used monolingually, with Arabic superior in Muharraq and English top in Manama. As for bilingual patterns, bilingual patterns include the bilingual Arabic English, the bilingual English and Bengali, the bilingual English and Hindi in Manama, while in Muharraq, there exist the bilingual Arabic English and the bilingual English and Malayalam. In the two markets, the bilingual pattern of Arabic and English greatly outshines all the other bilingual patterns.

As for the trilingual patterns which attend in the linguistic landscapes of the two traditional commercial markets, there are some combinations of Arabic, English and Bengali, Arabic, English and Malayalam, Arabic, English and Urdu, Arabic, English and Thai, Arabic, English and Kannada, Arabic, English and Tamil, and last, Arabic, English and Nepalese in commercial Manama. In commercial Muharraq there are five trilingual patterns of Arabic, English and Bengali, Arabic, English and Malayalam, Arabic, English and Urdu, Arabic, English and Kannada, and finally Arabic, English and Tamil. Again, the Arabic, English and Bengali pattern has the largest representation in the corpus of the two commercial markets in Bahrain.

Finally, in the two markets, the bilingual pattern of Arabic and English outshines the two other patterns: the monolingual and the trilingual. It shows steady increase by investigating its dynamism through the last two decades. However, the trilingual pattern was the second in terms of its attendance in the linguistic landscape, but it shows large jump in the investigation of its dynamism during the last two decades. This could be an indication that it might overwhelm the linguistic landscape in the near future.

8.3. The Study's Third Question

The third research question is *''Does English as a global language show predominance in the linguistic landscape of the two different*

traditional commercial markets in Bahrain?'' The answer to this question relies on the first classification system of languages distributed in the corpus, the second classification of language patterns identified in the corpus and the third classification that shows language dominance by the use of non-linguistic language features.

It is clear through the distribution of languages in the corpus of photographs in the two commercial markets of Manama and Muharraq that English is a predominant language, which appears on the majority of shop signs in Manama and Muharraq. Moreover, the use of English outnumbers the use of Arabic in the selected corpus of shop signs in Manama, whereas in Muharraq Arabic English has the second rank after Arabic. English also shows vast attendance in the bilingual as well as the trilingual patterns of shop signs in the linguistic landscape of the two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain. Finally, English shows more dominance than Arabic in terms of the size of used font and the hierarchical order of both languages on the same signs in the commercial market of Manama, whereas in Muharraq it comes second after Arabic. Business owners in the two commercial markets reveal that English is the language of prestige, power, modernity, sophistication, technology and global connection.

To sum up, the current study displays the predominance of English in the linguistic landscape of the two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain. The importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that English is a non-native language that is not imposed by the official bodies in Bahrain. Yet, it surpasses Arabic, the official national language in terms of its distribution in the Traditional Market of Manama, while Arabic, the national native language, has slight increase over it in Muharraq. This implies that the free choice of English by business owners increases its status as a global language of an elevated value.

8.4. The Study's Fourth Question

The fourth research question is *'What does the identified language use imply for cultural, social and global identities of the sign maker?'* The answer to the fourth question emerges depending on the data collected in the two phases of the study. Combining the two quantitative and qualitative strands of data helps for gaining knowledge about the languages and language patterns used by the business owners and their reasons for choosing or not choosing a particular language on shop signs. Here is a discussion of some implications depending on the identified language use.

8.4.1 Implications for Social and Global Identities

The current study reveals that English, as a non-native language in the Bahraini society enjoys predominance in the commercial linguistic landscape of the two cities of Manama and Muharraq. In the second phase of the study, English is described by participants as a global language that has an elevated social as well as educational status granted to the users of English accordingly. Moreover, the increasing use of English on shop signs depicts the great social status of the business owners and the customers or visitors who come to their shops as well. English is used extensively in commercial Manama and Bahrain. These shops include casual clothes shops, electronics shops, accessories shops, travel agent's, pharmacies, jewellery shops and other modern enterprises. The extensive use of English implies that these shops -and certainly their owners- enjoy a prestigious social status of literacy, modernity, sophistication, power, and globalization. As well, English is used in such a multilingual context that is denoted with linguistic and ethnic diversity to reach a wider range of customers since almost all passers-by can understand English.

8.4.2 Implications for Linguistic and Cultural Identities

The preference of a large percentage of shop owners to use Arabic on their shop signs to advertise their commodities and attract customers to

visit their shops is clear in terms of the frequency of using Arabic in the traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq. Many business owners use Arabic in different types of shops such as herbal remedies shops, tailoring shops, perfumes shops, boutiques, classic wear shops, abayat shops and Arabian thobe shops. A huge portion of business owners report that they choose Arabic as it is the national language of the country. Their interest in the indigenous language reflects their language loyalty, patriotism and the pride of their cultural identity. In addition, some shop owners report that their use of the national language, Arabic is attributed to the fact that it can easily convey meaning without the need to use a foreign language as Arabic is connected to their identities and reflects their culture and traditions.

In a similar vein, the use of Bengali on some shop signs by Bengali shop owners depicts how closely they are connected to their linguistic and cultural identity. IndexMundi (2020) indicates that Asians constitute 45.5% of the total population of Bahrain. However, the Bengali community does not constitute the whole Asian communities. There are other significant groups of Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos and other nationalities. Yet, the Bengali language occupies the third class after Arabic and English in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama and Muharraq, while no other Asian language has an apparent representation in the two cities. During the interviews with the shop owners and staff displaying the Bengali language in their shops, they justify their choice of their indigenous language by reporting that they feel proud of displaying their linguistic identity that is part of their culture. This implies that the Bengali community are loyal to their language and proud of their cultural identities.

8.5. The Study's Fifth Question

The fifth research question is *'What are the attitudes of the Bahraini shop sign readers towards the identified language use in the linguistic landscape of the two Bahraini markets?'* To answer this question, the required data are collected in the semi-structured interviews during the third phase of the study. An investigation of four aspects is conducted to cover: the sign readers' perceptions about the use of languages on shop signs, their opinions on the importance of the different languages used on the signboards of shops, their attitudes towards using multilingual signs, in addition to their opinions on how to protect the national language and cultural identity of the society.

It was clear from the previous section that the sign readers' perceptions about the languages used on shop signs do not show conformity with the real linguistic landscape as shown in statistics derived from the first and the second phase of the current study. For example, (60%) expect wrongly that monolingual Arabic was the language used most often on Bahrain's shop signs.

The study makes clear that Bahraini citizens are proud of their language, identity, solidarity and that they show strong signs of linguistic loyalty. For instance, 65% of the Bahraini sign readers prefer the use of monolingual Arabic on commercial shop signs in the two markets of Manama and Muharraq. To them, using mere Arabic on shop signs could maintain their cultural identity. One more evidence to stress their solidarity, language loyalty and pride of their cultural identity is that 77.5% of the sample participants emphasise the importance of the order and font size of Arabic on a multilingual sign. They believe that Arabic must have the priority to appear on top of the shop signs and in bigger font size. A final proof is the participants 82.5%'s refusal to use a monolingual foreign language on Bahrain's shop signs. This manifests the Bahrainis' strong desire to protect their national language and cultural identity.

However, the Bahraini sign readers express their tendency to use other foreign languages side by side with Arabic. They much prefer English as a second partner on commercial shop signs (52.5% of the participants). To a big number of them, English as a worldly language of power, prestige, modernity and technology has been continuously used in different life domains, especially economy.

The Bahraini sign readers' attitudes towards the multilingual commercial linguistic landscape of the two markets of Manama and Muharraq is very positive by statistics. 57.5% of them approve the use of different languages on the shop signs. They accept globalization, openness to other cultures and supporting the other minorities living in Bahrain or visiting the traditional markets.

Concerns about some chaotic infringements in terms of demoting Arabic, the official national language of Bahrain as well as the advocates to issue a new law to regulate the commercial advertisements on shop fronts are raised during the semi-structured interviews with the Bahraini sign readers. Further suggestions include the request of official bodies' supervision to impose restrictive regulations concerning the support of the national language and favouring its use in all domains of advertising. Moreover, other sign readers affirm the importance of prohibiting the use of inconvenient foreign pictures and symbols that defy the Bahraini society customs and traditions. Final suggestions to impose penal measures and fines are offered to help control those shop owners who might show their resistance to the language policy and the regulations endorsed by the municipalities concerning advertising in Bahrain.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Introduction

The current study aims at investigating the commercial linguistic landscape of two traditional markets in the Kingdom of Bahrain. This is an attempt to gain knowledge about a vital sector that composes a multilingual context in which multilingualism could be a fundamental element. The study seeks to give clear knowledge about the languages and the language patterns that are distributed in the linguistic landscape of two different traditional commercial markets in Bahrain (the Traditional Market of Bab AlBahrain in Manama and the Traditional Market of Muharraq in Muharraq City). Investigating the dominance of English as a global language in addition to the implications of the identified language use for the identity of the sign producer are the focus of the research study too.

In this chapter, the main findings of this research study are summarized. This includes the limitations, the main findings and the crucial issues that should be suggested for language planning and language policy, education and curriculum designers and future research.

2. Limitations

As it is the case with other older works, this research is subject to several limitations. Garvin (2010) states that a linguistic landscape is a snap of a particular moment in a while. It really gives detailed knowledge about the languages used at that time and that place; however, it is very sensitive to possible changes due to the dynamic nature of the linguistic landscape. Hence, one of the limitations of the current study is that the linguistic landscape cannot be static at any rate as it is continuously shifting. Languages and language pattern used in a region at a specific time can change from time to time. Moreover, the current research study does not claim to give a complete account of the entire linguistic landscape in Bahrain. It only investigates two different cities in a single domain.

However, this study meets these limitations with a number of merits within its implementation since the two selected cities are the most popular and they represent the best opportunity to investigate the significant domain of economy and business in the country. As well as that, using a synchronic and a comparative record of the construction of the linguistic landscape of the two commercial markets, this study provides a foundation for further diachronic and comparative ones in the future. Moreover, the study addresses a gap in the current literature of linguistic landscape by investigating the attitudes of the Bahraini sign readers towards the linguistic landscape, which had not been investigated before the study commenced Finally, the study manages to use a mixed-method design, applying data triangulation so as to convey a more comprehensive picture of a complex multilingual context and helps to overcome any methodological problems in collecting the data.

3. The Dominance of Arabic and English in the Linguistic Landscape of Bahrain

The importance of Arabic and English in Bahrain is emphasized since Arabic is the national official language of Bahrain. Article Two of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bahrain announces that Arabic is the official language of Bahrain. Likewise, Decree-Law No. (14) of 1973 concerning organizing advertisements declares that any advertisement displayed for in the public space must be in the Arabic language (Legislation and Legal Opinion Commission, 1973). Thus, Using Arabic could be an indication of business owners' compliance to an attempt of the political bodies to impose strict regulations and laws to maintain some order in two economic areas that encourage socio-economic competitions and conflicts among indigenous as well as foreign groups and communities. To a lot of shop owners, using Arabic is a sign of showing

national pride and patriotism. In other words, they show their linguistic and cultural loyalty by the use of linguistic and non-linguistic elements to make Arabic the most dominant on their shop signs.

As for English, the large visibility of it could be attributed to the historical fact that from 1820 to 1971, Bahrain was a British protectorate (Al-Nabi, 2012). Bahrain still has strong relationships with Britain in politics and economy. A big number of shopkeepers justify their choice of English by perceiving English as a global language that everyone respects. Others relate their choice to considering English the language of prestige, power, sophistication and modernity. It is therefore used to urge customers to visit their shops and buy their commodities.

The superiority of English in the linguistic landscape of commercial Manama is encountered by its inferiority in Muharraq as Arabic is by far the most dominant language there.

4. Dynamism of the Linguistic Landscape in Bahrain

It is crucial through this study to investigate how dynamic is the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain is, as seen in the two traditional markets of Manama and Muharraq. This could be done by focussing on which language(s) and which pattern(s) were used to gain more dominance in the previous years, is/are favoured nowadays or will be preferred in the near future in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain.

Some sudden developments can accelerate the emergence of new languages and new combinations that may change the whole picture within a particular period of time: years, months, days or even hours. Rapid socio-economic-political changes that may take place in such locations as well as the continuous engagements among indigenous and expatriate communities might alter the type of languages used and the patterns distributed, bring about and speed up the dynamism of the linguistic landscape by a great scale.

Examples of the socio-economic-political changes that may take place in the areas where linguistic landscape is investigated are the social demographic developments. This could include the rise of population of a specific community such as the increase growth of the Bengali community in the commercial areas of Manama and Muharraq. This is observed during the data collection of the study.

Moreover, the emergence of new businesses in the commercial markets is another example of an economic change that largely affects the linguistic landscape of a region by the development of new languages and language patterns there. Whereas herbal remedies are strongly tied to Malayalam, Thai is connected to Massage. Thus, it is expected for these two languages to appear on such businesses shop signs monolingually or accompanying other languages. In the near future, there is a possibility that the Chinese language might dominate the advertising of technological commodities in case China controls the global market with the best and cheapest products.

Adopting new language policies in a country is also one of the political factors that could bring about rapid crucial changes in the linguistic landscape of an area generally and particularly in the commercial linguistic landscape of such an area. Policy makers usually design their language policies so as to support the use of the official national language in the country or encourage some minority languages for reasons of language maintenance or fearing that (a) certain language(s) might face the risk of death in the future.

The results of the analysis can only be applied to this corpus available now. A dynamic landscape has the ability and probability to show sudden changes every now and then due to unexpected socio-economic developments in societies. At the time of writing this paper, there may be some changes in the same corpus the study has already investigated. This

proposal indicates that the linguistic landscape of any region can never be static forever under any planned conditions. In fact, prescribed regulations and legislations can organize and control it somehow; however, rapid socio-economic changes that take place in such locations and continuous conflicts among indigenous and expatriate communities may bring about and speed up the dynamism of the linguistic landscape at a great scale.

5. Language Choice and Language Shifts

The current study reveals that some business owners in the two traditional markets of Muharraq and Bahrain favour the use of English to Arabic on their shop signs. English by far outnumbers Arabic in terms of its appearance on Manama's shop signs and appears solely in many cases in Muharraq. This phenomenon must be questioned for two main reasons. First, even though English is a global language that can be described as the language of power, prestige, modernity and sophistication, Arabic is certainly the official national language in the Kingdom of Bahrain and a large portion of its population are Bahrainis and Arabs and they are using Arabic in all domains in their everyday life these days. Second, some business owners make their choice of English despite they know that it is illegal by law to exclude Arabic from the languages used for advertising a commodity on shop signs in Bahrain. Their choice implies that their need to use English is more persistent than the fear of any measures taken against them in the future. This also implies that Arabic could be endangered. Although its use is endorsed and maintained by the official bodies, in some instances it is excluded from attending in the linguistic landscape.

The pervasive use of English and this exclusion of Arabic from the commercial linguistic landscape of Manama and Muharraq in many instances might also imply that Arabic is now being displaced in the commercial linguistic landscape or could be displaced in the near future by

English in the domain of economy and business: a hypothesis that needs further investigation. Although it is hard to believe that Arabic may be shifted to be a second language, the limited use of it in a particular domain may lead to its replacement by another powerful language in the future. In Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Nurani (2015) reported that despite the Javanese language is still marking the identity of the Javanese community, it is facing the risk of displacement because of its limited use in many domains in the Javanese community.

6. Implications for Language Policy and Language Planning

Even though the language policy in Bahrain imposes some restrictive measures and regulations to support the official national language and favour its use in all domains of advertising or announcing any commercial business in the country, there are no restrictions on using other languages side by side with Arabic in the economic sector. In other words, the official Bahraini bodies and municipalities seem to accept and support the existence of a multilingual landscape. This may have led to a case of partial 'chaos' in the linguistic landscape in terms of the violation of laws and norms by some business owners. The exclusion of the Arabic language from a number of shop signs should be prohibited. For language maintenance reasons, these illegal infringements need to be met with disciplinary as well as penal measures so as to protect the national language of the country and the identity of its people in a way that supports other languages to show presence without violating the laws.

7. Implications for Education and Curriculum Designers

The extensive use of English in an important sector in the Bahraini society such as economy imposes the need for curricula specialists to set suitable plans for designing new curricula, programs and resources that can cope with the latest developments in the linguistic situation in different sectors of the society. They also need to investigate the real status of

English and whether it is a foreign or a second language in Bahrain. The predominance of English in significant markets in urban areas in Bahrain can be an indicator that at least English could be shifted to act as second language in Bahrain.

8. Suggestions for Future Research

In light of the findings of the current study, some crucial suggestions can be elicited for other researchers in the region to investigate. Below are nine significant suggestions.

First, the study suggests investigating other non-linguistic elements in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain such as the use of graphics, different types of materials and modern technology features. Whereas the official national language is still protected against any probable infringements by laws and regulations, the use of these non-linguistic elements is not controlled by any means of policies. This analysis of such non-linguistic elements in the commercial landscape might uncover the violations of some inherited cultural values and norms in the society due to sudden technological developments or rapid socio-economic changes.

Secondly, it is important to investigate the linguistic landscape in other private sectors in the region such as private and international schools, religious centres, or community clubs where the official language policies might not control the linguistic landscape there. Official measures and legislations endorsed by official powers and municipalities could disappear in these private bodies and winning the dominance in the language competition could depend on other factors rather than laws and norms.

Another suggestion is to investigate the aural (sound) linguistic landscape in commercial markets. This would be another interesting field if analysed. While in official organizations some language policies can control the whole linguistic landscape to maintain the official national

language of a country, in such commercial areas, that can be described as multilingual contexts, no official policies can be imposed to maintain the national language of the region. Instead, different languages and varieties might be used depending on various actors such as the identity of the enterprise owner or staff, the identity of the customers, the national language of the region or maybe the type of commodities displayed.

Moreover, a significant suggestion is to develop a longitudinal/diachronic study of the linguistic landscape in the same areas investigated. The linguistic landscape of an area cannot be static at any rate. It is always changing due to a variety of factors such as the sudden technological developments or the rapid socio-economic changes or changing the language policies in an area or a country.

In addition, it is expected that a future study may investigate all types of writing scripts visible on streets in the two studied commercial markets in Manama and Muharraq in a way to question the 'completely unofficial' commercial linguistic landscape in Bahrain. This might include graffiti, flyers, brochures, handouts, and all means of free advertising in the markets since they might not be controlled by any measures, regulations or municipal language policies, as in the case of shop signs.

Besides, exploring the different reasons why some foreign migrant communities in the two cities of Manama, and Muharraq, and of course around the globe, though having great demographic representations, show decent representations in terms of the distribution of their languages in the linguistic landscape of the area they work and live is a field of interest.

Add to this, it is certainly necessary, depending on the findings of the current study to question the factors of language loyalty that urge some foreign migrant communities in the two cities of Manama, and Muharraq, such as the Bengali community, and of course around the globe to show their linguistic identity in a multilingual context.

Furthermore, the current study sheds light on the importance of investigating the status of Arabic and English and their use in the economic sector of the Bahraini society. As shown in the findings, English has outnumbered Arabic in terms of its appearance on Manama's shop signs and the use of non-linguistic features such as large font size and high position in order. So, is Arabic displaced by English in the business domain? This question should be answered in future study.

Finally, it has become motivating and promising to explore whether English is a foreign or a second language in the other domains of the Bahraini society. The current study illustrates that English is pervasively used in the commercial linguistic landscape of Bahrain. This could be an indication that we need to question its status and know whether it is a foreign or a second language.

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Appendix A
Participation Consent Letter

Dear Participant:

In case we are given your consent to participate in the interview, you are informed that you will participate in a research study of the sign hung on your shop. The purpose of this current study is to find what the signs found in the city's landscape reflect, and to determine the reason for your choice of certain language(s). I will be taking pictures of signs and I would like to ask some clarification questions about the sign that are on your shop. It will only take little of your time to answer a few questions. There is no discomfort or risk to you. Everything is very confidential even your name as it will not appear in the study. Your consent to participate in this study is voluntary and, as a result, you may opt for cancelling the interview at any time.

Sincerely,
Waleed M. Aboraya

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Appendix B

Semi-Structured Shop Owners Interview Questions

- Which year was this shop signboard placed in its position?
- What language(s) are displayed in this sign?
- Why did you choose this language/these languages in the shop sign?
- What nationality/kind of customers would you like to visit your business?
- Why is [language] positioned top/bottom first?
- Why is [language] written in bigger/smaller font?
- Why did you choose not to use [language] on your sign?

Appendix C

Semi-Structured Bahraini Shop Sign Readers Interview Questions

1. Which language(s) do you think is/are used most often on Bahrain's shop signs?
2. Do you accept only Arabic on shop signs? Why/Why not?
3. How important is it to put Arabic on top of the shop signs and in bigger font size?
4. Which language do you think is important to accompany Arabic on shop signs? Why?
5. Do you accept to see any foreign language on a shop sign by itself?
6. If yes, which language do you accept to see alone on commercial shop signs? English, French, Chinese, Filipino, Urdu, Indian languages (specify), others (specify).
7. Do you prefer to see multilingual signs on shop signs? Justify.
8. What can be done to maintain the national identity of the country in light the laws regulating the advertisements?

Appendix D

Translation of the Bahraini Shop Sign Readers Interview Questions

عينة من أسئلة المقابلة شبه المنظمة مع القراء البحرينيين للافتات المتاجر

1. ما اللغة (اللغات) التي تعتقد أنها تُستخدم في أغلب الأحيان على لافتات المتاجر في البحرين؟
2. هل تقبل رؤية اللغة العربية فقط على لافتات المحلات؟ لماذا/ لم لا؟
3. ما مدى أهمية وضع اللغة العربية في أعلى لافتات المتاجر بحجم خط أكبر من غيرها من اللغات؟
4. ما هي اللغة التي تظن أنها مهمة لمرافقة اللغة العربية على لافتات المحلات؟ لماذا ا؟
5. هل تقبل رؤية أي لغة أجنبية على لافتة متجر بمفردها؟
6. إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، فما اللغة التي تقبل رؤيتها بمفردها في لافتات المحلات التجارية؟ الإنجليزية، الفرنسية، الصينية، الفلبينية، الأردية، اللغات الهندية (حدد)، أم غيرها (حدد).
7. هل تفضل رؤية اللافتات متعددة اللغات الموجودة على لافتات المتاجر؟ برر اختيارك.
8. ما الذي يمكن عمله لحماية الهوية الوطنية للبلد فيما يخص اللوائح المنظمة للإعلانات؟

جامعة البحرين

كلية الآداب

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها

المشهد اللغوي للبحرين: دراسة مقارنة لسوقين شعبيين

أطروحة تكميلية مقدمة لاستيفاء متطلبات نيل درجة الماجستير في دراسات اللغة الإنجليزية التطبيقية

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مملكة البحرين

فبراير 2021