

Linguistic Landscape as a Bottom-up Approach: Investigation of Semiotic Features and Language Use in the Catering Industry in Hong Kong

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Abstract

Original Research Article

Linguistic landscape (LL) can serve as both top-down and bottom-up approaches to understanding language planning policy in various dimensions. It can reflect the language identities, motives and contestations perceived by stakeholders of different decision-making levels. Prior studies adopted the bottom-up approach to investigate the language practice and ideologies reflected by the design and linguistic features observed in the linguistic landscapes in ethnically and linguistically diverse areas, like Medan in Russia, and Seoul in Korea. As Hong Kong is also a trilingual city with an inclusive combination of nationalities, this paper is intended to take it as a case study to explore the de facto language ideologies reflected by LL at the micro-level. We would look into the catering industry from a holistic perspective by reviewing the food menus of 66 restaurants located in diversified districts and serving different types of cuisines. This bottom-up LL research reveals that business owners and the public shares the language ideologies of perceiving English as prestigious language, multilingualism and traditional Chinese as standard character.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape (LL), language planning policy, language practice, decision-making.

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INTRODUCTION

Linguistic landscape (LL) is a theoretical framework that can be used to analyse various language concepts including language use, ideology and identity and other sociolinguistic representation. It is defined as the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The significance of LL can be further portrayed as what ‘we speak and listen, write and read not only about the world but in the world, and much of what we understand depends on exactly where we and the language are located in the world’ (Scollon, 2003). LL is the “attempts to understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of ‘languages’ (Malinowski, 2015), which can be investigated through both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Many current studies adopted the use of a top-down approach to analysing LL that are designed and produced at the macro- and meso-levels. For instance, Gorter (2018) reviewed LL available in the local school settings in Estonia to interpret the language ideologies and teaching pedagogies of Estonia.

While some researchers focused on LL created by the national or regional government (e.g., signposts, public notice or banners) to reflect the language policy planning and social identity underneath (Manan *et al.*, 2015). Much research has been concentrating on the discussion of LL in schools and universities which demonstrates a rather comprehensive discussion of LL in educational spaces and the association with the language policy and pedagogy initiatives at meso-level. Also, there is a number of discussion on the use of public signs in shared areas which illustrates the recognition of identity and potential political contestation reflected by the use of LL. Yet, there is only considerable research that focuses solely on bottom-up LL. Hence, more research could be done on LL by looking at the micro-level like the local business settings, which could embrace a wide variety of service industries e.g., beauty, food and clothing etc. Most of the prior research was taken place in culturally and linguistically diverse areas. However, Hong Kong as a trilingual city with an inclusive combination of nationalities is rarely under discussion regarding the use of LL. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the language ideologies reflected by LL at the micro-level

by looking into the catering industry as one of the core business areas in Hong Kong.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This session will demonstrate several studies on LL that adopted the bottom-up approach to investigate the language ideologies and language practice reflected in the business settings of various cities:

(1) Language Ideologies

English as Modernity

English is often portrayed as a representation of internationalization and modernity. According to Lee (2019) and Zahra *et al.*, (2021), the majority of the collected signs and advertisements in Seoul and Medan included English brand names, headings, sub-headings or other description texts. Zahra *et al.*, (2021) revealed that English is the most dominant language for the monolingual signboards in the cafes in Medan, which showed that English has a higher priority and visibility than the others if only one language can be used. The author also suggested that almost all the bilingual signposts include English as one of the translations that include all the key information. Therefore, English was becoming the dominant and mandatory use of language in commercial settings. Lee, (2010) characterized English 'as an attention getter and as a symbolic marker indexing consumer's modern, global and internationalized orientation'. It is interpreted that English is a well-recognized lingua franca that most people around the world learn as their other language except their mother tongues. Hence, people who could use and understand the shared language would be regarded as better educated and part of global citizens.

Using English in advertisements or banners in open spaces 'adds an aura of sophistication and embellishment to their products/services' (Manan *et al.*, 2017), hence, the business stores and brands would be perceived as highly reputed if they are able to translate and present their product name or content in English. It affirms the claim by Weyers, (2015) that English is associated with 'prosperity' and 'status' that business owners would like to create a prestigious image of their brands or shops with the use of English. This explains the situation that many local cosmetic products in Seoul (Lee, 2019) have their brand names in English or use English catchphrases on the banners placed in the open space even though the brands are originated and made in Korea. All these support the claim that English is associated with civilization and modernity which represent a higher social status.

Native Language as Superiority

Another ideology is the prioritization of the native language as a superior language compared to other non-mainstream or minority languages. Lee,

(2019)'s study showed that some local food vendors or hawkers operated by the older generations only adopted the use of Korean in the advertisements, banners and food menus. There were no other translations or pictures to assist the interpretation of language content. The products and services are likely to be served only to the locals or those who learn and understand Korean, hence creating an exclusive Korean-dominant community. Stern, (1990) associated this phenomenon with the 'nostalgic typologies' that the local people tend to link the persistence in using their native language as a means to recall 'a favourably recollected past'. The older generations who appreciated and valued their traditional culture e.g., the cuisines and food stores inherited by their parents may insist to use Korean as the only linguistic choice. Some researchers perceived it as a sense of national pride.

For instance, many Korean cosmetic brands advertised their products and brand images with Korean pop singers or actors (Lee, 2019), it is probably influenced by the Korean Wave (namely, 'Hallyu') which refers to the dominance of Korean pop culture in various aspects e.g., movies, music and TV dramas to the rest of East Asia (Chua & Iwabuchi, 2008). Therefore, native people feel a sense of pride to have such an impactful influence on the global trend, tourism and consumer market, so the posters or advertisement signs usually place great emphasis on popular celebrities by taking at least 60 to 70% of the sign space. Besides, descriptive texts are usually written in Korean. Descriptive texts are considered one of the significant components of the advertisement because they provide a reason to persuade the target consumers to purchase the products. Hence, the high visibility of Korean in the descriptive texts reflects people's ideologies in prioritising native languages over others. Besides the portrayal of ideologies, the use of language and semiotic features also reflect the language practice that is commonly recognized and adopted by the general public.

(2) Language Practice

Minority languages for predominantly internal communication

Minority languages are usually used for communication within the exclusive community instead of opening to the public. In Baranova and Fedorova, (2019)'s research, they suggested that minority languages (e.g., Uzbek) were mainly used for internal communication even if it was displayed in the advertisement posters in the open space. For instance, the poster about the medical services in Uzbek signals that the doctors or nurses there could speak and understand Uzbek, also, referring that the price for the services would be comparatively reasonable and affordable for the minority migrants. The use of minority languages is a kind of 'migrant-to-migrant' message within the internal group while the native Russians may not pay much attention to the

advertisement written in minority languages. It is portrayed as a boundary to categorize between the native and migrant groups as well as among migrant groups. Furthermore, the recipients within the inclusive community would feel a sense of intimacy as the use of language is a means to connect and construct a social network. Therefore, Baranova and Fedorova, (2019) observed that posters or advertisements in pure or predominant minority languages would usually provide more personal details and the services are more bodily, for example, the contact point is the private phone number instead of the hotline or email address, and the services may include massage or hairdressing that are comparatively more personal. In short, minority languages are usually applied for internal communication and to create a sense of closeness within the ethnic group.

Language serves as a strategy to target potential customers

The use of language serves as an intuitive way to target potential consumers as people usually consider purchasing the products or services if they could read and understand the content more thoroughly. In reflection to the situation in Myeongdong and Insadong, they are famous tourist spots in Korea, hence, there will be more foreigners concentrated in these areas compared to other districts. So, the brand names or the catchphrases of the cosmetic products are usually in English or Simplified Chinese. It is because English is well recognized as the lingua franca around the globe while mainland visitors are one of the dominant buyers which take up the majority of sales in the sightseeing spots. In view of that, the Korean texts are usually smaller and the language is put in corresponding order such that Korean is placed at the bottom after the English and Chinese catchphrases (Lee, 2019). In Zahra *et al.*, (2021)'s research, even though over half of the signboards in the Medan coffee shops are bilingual, the adopted language other than English revealed the tendency of potential customers (e.g., Japanese, Javanese and Acehnese). The serving cuisines and the origin of certain ingredients might vary and are more likely to adjust to the localised flavour of the target ethnic groups compared to those who adopt the official languages i.e., English only, Indonesian only or Indonesian-English. Therefore, the signs indicate the intended target audience and the potential buyers of the businesses or shops.

Most of the prior bottom-up LL research is conducted in culturally and linguistically diverse areas. The examples are Medan as a multi-religious city where the population includes Javanese, Batak, Chinese, Mandailing, Minang, etc.; Saint-Petersburg in Russia as a multi-ethnic area where many migrants gather and form their community; and Myeongdong and Insadong in Seoul as two core districts in Korea with one of the highest traveling frequency in Korea. Yet, Hong Kong as a trilingual city with an inclusive combination of

nationalities is rarely under discussion regarding the use of LL. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the language ideologies reflected by LL at the micro-level by looking into the catering industry as one of the core business areas in Hong Kong.

METHODOLOGIES

(1) Data Collection

Time and Duration

Referring to Lee, (2019) and Baranova & Fedorova, (2019)'s research, they set a specific time frame for the photo shooting of LL. Lee (2019) took photos of the business signs during the summer period of 2014 while Baranova & Fedorova, (2019) conducted the photo shooting in a year's time between 2016 to 2017. Collecting the data within a shorter duration could ensure timeliness and the data collected could represent the situation at that specific point of time. Contrarily, a longitudinal study that covers a wider duration allows the researchers to revisit the targeted areas and observe the continual changes in LL throughout a certain period. Hence, this research sets a 6-month time frame (i.e., June to October 2022) for the data collection. This is because it takes time to travel to different types of restaurants located in various districts in Hong Kong for the photo shooting of LL. The photo shooting took place once to twice per week to ensure that the data collection is conducted on a regular basis, and LL could represent the half-year duration of data collection.

Source of Data

Many of the previous studies only focus on specific areas or places for investigation, hence, it may not be credible and valid to generalize the derived language ideologies of the city or country as a whole. It may be less fascinating for the audience who would like to learn about language policy planning from a holistic perspective. For instance, Lee, (2019) only collected data from Myeongdong and Insadong which are two popular tourism districts. In the meantime, Zahra *et al.*, (2021) collected data from the coffee shops located on Jalan Ringroad Medan while Baranova & Fedorova, (2019) concentrated on one old market district, *Apraksin dvor* only. Although the selected places may represent certain specificity and representation, the results would be more inclusive if the data could be collected at a broader scope. In this study, we study LL in catering services in the specific form of food menus. We have collected 66 food menus in total, and the restaurants cover the cuisines of a wide range including Spanish, Vietnamese, American, Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean and Thai. They are grouped into three main categories: (1) Asian, (2) Chinese & Local and (3) Western (Table 1). These restaurants are scattered in different parts of Hong Kong including Causeway Bay, Kwun Tong, Mong Kok, Olympic, Sai Ying Pun, and are categorized according to the located districts (Table 2).

Table 1: Category of cuisine served

Serving Cuisine	No. of Restaurant	Percentage (%)
Asian	26	39.39
Chinese & Local	22	33.33
Western	18	27.27
Total:		100.00

Table 2: Location of the restaurants

Main Region	Located District	No. of Restaurant
Hong Kong Island (22 restaurants)	Central and Western	10
	Eastern	1
	Wan Chai	11
Kowloon (41 restaurants)	Kwun Tong	1
	Shum Shui Po	5
	Yau Tsim Mong	35
The New Territories (1 restaurant)	Tsuen Wan	1
Outlying Islands (2 restaurants)	Cheung Chau	2
Total:		66

Besides, referring to Zahra *et al.*, (2021) who have also conducted interviews for deeper interpretation regarding the language ideologies and perceptions. The interviews are recorded and transcribed (*Appendix 1 and 2*). We have adopted the purposive sampling method and conducted 20-minute interviews with two local participants who dine out at least three times per week. The discussion will be conducted in the format of an unstructured interview which includes several open-ended questions (*see below*).

1. How often do you dine out every week?
2. What kind of restaurant do you usually visit?
3. What do you observe in the food menus?
4. What kind of attitude or ideology can it reflect?

It aims to provide a greater depth of insights by allowing more flexibility for the participants to direct the discussion and express their views from diversified aspects like the use of language, semiotic features of LL or relevant personal experience. This can observe their perceptions and attitudes towards the use of language and semiotic features of the food menus in Hong Kong restaurants.

(2) Data Analysis

The photographed LL are scrutinized based on the criteria proposed by Leeman and Modan, (2009) and Vandenbroucke, (2016) in terms of (1) language combinations; (2) distributive type of English display (whether the text is in pure English or multilingual discourse with full-equivalent English translations, or English is only for partial translations or illustrating less important information, or English used for mostly commercial information); (3) nature of the content presented in English (i.e., symbolic or referential) and

(4) nature of commercial establishment (i.e., privately owned or transnational). Furthermore, the language used, order of language, location of LL, font size, amount and type of information of each language will also be examined (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). Meanwhile, the interview information will be used as empirical evidence to explain and support the findings based on the collected LL.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

Based on the collected data, we intend to identify the language ideologies shared by the business operators through the distributive type of language display, design and semiotic features of the food menus. It shows that people share the language ideologies of perceiving English as prestigious language, multilingualism and traditional Chinese as standard character.

English as Prestigious Language

Although most restaurants use Chinese-English bilingual menus, the distribution and proportion of Chinese and English text use vary. Restaurants with relatively higher average spending (i.e., HK\$400/person or above) usually have a higher percentage of text written in English and greater emphasis on presenting the English content information compared to those of medium (i.e., HK\$100-200/person) or relatively low cost (i.e., HK\$50/person or below). This aligns with Weyers, (2015)'s claim that English is 'an appeal to their potential clientele's desire for higher social status' and shares a similar observation as in the research done by Lanza and Woldemariam, (2014) in Ethiopia concluding that 'prestige intersect with English'. It

reflects that English is associated with the prestigious status and branding of restaurants.

Distributive type of language display

The use of English takes up over half of the menu content. Many restaurants with higher average spending adopt English-only or English-translated names. In the menus, the titles (e.g., Set Dinner Menu in figure 2) and subtitles (e.g., 'Appetizer' and 'Soup' in figure 1 and 'First Course' and 'Entrees' in figure 2) are only presented in English. The same applies to several content details like the information about the drinks 'Coffee or Tea included', 'Service Charge' and the self-selected combination of main courses are in English only despite that the information is quite important for the customers to know the content and the cost of the meal so as to decide on what to order. In contrast, the restaurants that serve at a more affordable price have both the Chinese and English titles (i.e., '外賣餐盒' and 'Boxset' in figure 3) and the food descriptions are displayed with an equal proportion of translated text for all items. Besides, the menus of the more expensive restaurants have a full English translation of all the dishes descriptions including the cooking method, ingredients and flavour. For example, 'Roasted Pork Rack with Mixed Salad and Thai Chilli Green Sauce' is a full translation of the cuisine '烤豬架配什沙律跟泰國青辣椒魚露汁' that it

comprehensively mentions the part of the pork, the sauce and flavour, and the way to cook the dish. Hence, people reading either Chinese or English can share exactly the same understanding and expectation towards the item.

Design and semiotic features

As referred to in figure 1 and 2, the English titles (e.g., '4 COURSE SET DINNER') and sub-titles (e.g., 'APPETIZER', 'SOUP', 'MAIN COURSE') are bolded and more eye-catching colours (i.e., yellowish-orange and red) are used. Hence, it hinted that English has much higher visibility compared to Chinese, which is just plainly written in either black or white. It is also observed that the font size of these English headings and sub-headings is at least 50% larger than the content on the name and description of food in Chinese. The designers also prioritised the use of English over Chinese by placing it on top, the customers would probably look at the upper row first when they are reading the menus, therefore, placing more emphasis on the use of English over Chinese. Contradictorily, for restaurants serving more affordable price of food, the Chinese characters are usually placed on top of the English translation (figure 3). The font style is more attention-grabbing and the text size is at least three times larger than the English translation. People may only spot the English translation if they get really close to the menu and search for specific details.



Figure 1 & 2: Food menus of restaurants with higher average spending



Figure 3: Food menu of restaurant with a more affordable price

The use of English correlates with the high-end branding of the restaurants due to the targeting of potential consumers. As mentioned by interviewee 1, this is because the translation of content details into English allows the non-local citizens or travelers to better understand the menu information, so there is a higher possibility for them to choose these restaurants hence enlarging the scope of potential customers compared to those Chinese-dominant restaurants that mainly target the native citizens. This suggestion goes against the claim by Tan and Tan (2015) that English is 'a status marker' and 'symbolic rather than information-giving in nature', it is more than just 'decorative or attention-grabbing devices' (Inagawa, 2015) but serves 'functional purposes' to 'conveying messages in an effective manner' by helping foreigners to read and understand. Furthermore, it also represents a notion of 'economic and cultural globalization' (Bolton, 2012) since English is not the mother tongue for the majority of local Hong Kong citizens, the language skills acquired to translate and read the menus represent a

higher education level and international exposure. These might reveal a sense of superiority over others.

Multilingualism

Trilingual menus are quite common in Hong Kong, the important information is presented in Chinese, English and other third languages, like Korean, Japanese and Spanish (Table 3). It is a way to portray an ethnic-friendly image and bring more convenience to non-local citizens and travelers. Among the collected data, Japanese restaurants are the most popular type to have trilingual menus with Japanese translation included. Adopting a third language in the food menus could be a marketing strategy at the micro level to attract target consumers who admire a particular culture, e.g., animation or Japanese pop music (J-pop) in Japan; Korean pop music (K-pop) or soap drama in Korea. Interviewee 2 mentioned that the language can represent the local culture, like using Thai for Thai restaurants creates a sense of authenticity and immersion into the local community.

Table 3: Language type of menus

Language Type	Language	Amount	Percentage (%)
Monolingual	Chinese	15	22.73
	English	1	1.52
Biligual	Chinese-English	39	59.09
Trilingual	Chinese-English-Spanish	2	3.03
	Chinese-English-Korean	1	1.52
	Chinese-English-Japanese	7	10.61
Multilingual	Chinese-English-Korean-Japanese	1	1.52
Total:		66	100.00%

Distributive type of language display

The trilingual or multilingual menus place the Chinese cuisine names on top, followed by the translation in English or other languages (figure 4 and

5). In most cases, the full-equivalent food descriptions are translated. For the signature dishes with pictures (figure 5), only Chinese texts are used, yet, foreigners can still refer to the item by looking at the dish number

(e.g., 2009 冰鎮咕嚕肉, sweet and sour pork in figure 5). Nonetheless, not all multilingual menus have an approximately equal proportion of all languages. The Japanese in figure 6 serves more like the decoration of menus which promotes the restaurant by branding the Japanese style as a gimmick. Only one catchphrase is written in Japanese, while other description texts of the lunch set content are only in Chinese and English.

Design and semiotic features

In most cases, Chinese characters are dominant among all texts. The colour, font size and font style are usually more exaggerated than the texts in other

languages. In figure 4, the Chinese ramen name ‘黃金蟹糕牛奶沾麵’ is almost four times bigger than the Japanese and English texts. Also, when it mentions the size of ramen, the Chinese word for ‘Normal’ and ‘Big’ is bolded, much more eye-catching and larger than the content in English while the Japanese translation is omitted. Besides, the Japanese and English translation in figure 6 has minimal and low visibility on the menu even though it is a Japanese restaurant. Hence, it might reflect that the priority of multilingual menus is Chinese, followed by English, then the third language in concern of the targeted customers.



Figure 4 & 5: Multilingual food menus in Chinese, English and Japanese



Figure 6: Trilingual food menu with partial translation

Many of the multilingual menus are collected from the major tourist spots in Hong Kong, for example, Causeway Bay, Mong Kok and Tsim Sha Tsui. As many foreign travellers might visit these locations and many commercial buildings of the transnational corporates are located in these districts, more non-locals are concentrated, therefore, it aligns Lee (2019)'s claim of attracting foreigners to appreciate the 'linguistic accommodation' by adopting more languages in the menus would facilitate understanding and attract consumers. Yet, the use of a third language is having a higher symbolic significance compared to the practical reason because the translation is usually partial, decorative with titles/sub-titles only, or carries incomprehensive meaning. The findings echo Song (2020; 2021)'s claims that Hong Kong prioritizes the use of Chinese over foreign languages by placing more exaggeration and ranking it on the top in the neon signs and there is a tendency of domestication which has 'positive connotation in Chinese translation' that usually fantasized the Chinese sociolinguistic cultures and the prevalence of Chinese language ideology in the naming of streets in Hong Kong.

Also, it is noticed that usually dominant third languages like Japanese and Korean are adopted because these cultures are popularly admired and flavored by youngsters, which are the major target consumers. Yet, minority languages like Indonesian, Indian and Tagalog are rarely found on the food menus even though the restaurants are located in the core commercial districts like Causeway Bay, Tsim Sha Tsui and Central which are more linguistically diverse with many transnational corporates and migrant workers concentrating there. Guinto, (2019) provided an interpretation that minority languages like Tagalog are less salient because of the lower perceived status of ethnic minorities – that is because a large proportion of Filipino are working as domestic workers in Hong Kong, which is comparatively a low-skilled and require lower education qualifications, so their social status is less significant hence the business operators are less likely to particularly target the group of consumers and result in lower visibility or proportion of other languages in the linguistic landscapes.

Traditional Chinese as Standard Character

Among the collected menus with Chinese characters, all of them are written in conventional Chinese instead of Simplified Chinese even though there are many mainland Chinese living or traveling to Hong Kong. Similar to the case in Korea (Lee, 2019) which predominantly use Korean in local food stores, it may relate to the sense of identity and belonging to Hong Kong locals. Interviewee 1 mentioned that traditional Chinese is the dominant and standard Chinese character that the native people may not get used to reading simplified Chinese. The interviewee does not agree to change the text to the simplified

version on the menus. This practice may be influenced by the announcement by the Hong Kong government that we adopted Chinese and English as the official and standard languages in Hong Kong and that all the official documents or publications are in traditional Chinese. Hence, the use of text correlates to the collective practice shared by the natives.

Distributive type of language display

For the monolingual menus, usually traditional Chinese will be used if only one language can be adopted regardless of the type of restaurant. Traditional Chinese will be used to present and describe all the important information on the menus, for example, the price, content of the set meal and ingredients (figure 8). In figure 9, the menu is written in verbal and conversational Cantonese like the heading '兩丁友邊爐' which refers to the hotpot set meal for two people; and '茶芥加一唔收你' at the bottom refers to no service charged or additional fee for tea and condiments. There is also a slogan '香港人最愛滾' which is a pun joke saying that Hong Kong people love hotpot. Therefore, using traditional Chinese could arouse people's collective memories and ownership of the particular community. Mainland people, Taiwanese or foreigners who do not have a prior understanding of the slang or dialects in Hong Kong would not be able to understand the meaning of the phrases intuitively without searching online. Hence, it creates a more privately owned commercial establishment with the use of traditional Chinese and verbal Cantonese.

Design and semiotic features

Usually, people use traditional Chinese to present catchphrases and slogans to show the gimmick of the restaurants and are usually placed in the middle, on the top or in the attention-grabbing part of the menus. For instance, '即製厚切三文治' (figure 8) is bolded to show that the sandwiches are made immediately once you order as the selling point of the shop; and '夜晚無堂食, 晏晝係度食' (figure 9) is bolded and larger in font, it is a slogan in spoken Cantonese to ask the people to come here for lunch because you cannot come for dinner. It is considered sarcasm and dissatisfaction towards the policy of no dining in after 6pm per the rule imposed by the Hong Kong government during the pandemic because people considered it inconvenient and the government did not show tactfulness to those who finish their work late and are not able to cook at home due to personal restrictions. The use of traditional Chinese demonstrates a more down-to-earth image and gets closer to the lives of the natives. So, the use of conventional Chinese is not only a way for easy understanding but also a communication medium between business owners and consumers for some shared thoughts or delivery of messages.



Figure 8 & 9: Food menus in Traditional Chinese Characters

The use of traditional Chinese is valued by local people as it is a means to deliver messages and share a common understanding within the closed community. It may exclude outsiders from understanding the messages within the exclusive group, and also serves as a nostalgic emotion that people value the traditional rituals of using Cantonese and the will to inherit the unique linguistic culture to future generations. Furthermore, it is also a way to illustrate their sense of citizenship and belongings as the natives.

CONCLUSION

In sum, this research explores the de facto language ideologies reflected by LL by adopting the bottom-up approach to observe the language policy planning in the catering industry at the micro level. Several language ideologies are observed by reviewing the food menus of different types of restaurants scattered in Hong Kong and collecting opinions from participants who dine out frequently. First, people perceive English as a prestigious language, the use of English is associated with the high-end branding of restaurants in creating internationalized and culturally diverse images. Besides, the food menus reveal the value of multilingualism, which is intended to portray an ethnic-friendly image and bring more convenience to non-local citizens and travelers. It is also a marketing strategy at the micro level to attract target consumers who are fond of a particular culture and create a sense of authenticity as if they are immersed in the local community. Finally, people consider traditional Chinese as the standard character that represents the sense of identity and belongings as the natives. It is also a means to deliver messages and share a common understanding within the closed community.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Transcript 1

Speaker1: So thank you for attending the interview today. Please note that the recorded information will be used only for research and academic purposes and there might be possibilities for publicity. May I check if you agree with all these?

Speaker2: Yes.

Speaker1: Okay. So may I ask, how often do you dine out? Every week.

Speaker2: I usually would try out 3 to 4 times a week.

Speaker1: Okay, So what kind of restaurant do you usually visit?

Speaker2: Um, I would normally, if it's a Dai Pai Dong after work with friends.

Speaker1: Okay, so what do what could you observe in the food menus?

Speaker2: Normally I would observe the language of the shop used on the menu. The first thing come to my mind is that the name of the dish is mainly written in Cantonese, and I think it would reflect some kind of the ideology that the main audience or the reader is Hong Kong people. So it. Has to cater for its main consumer.

Speaker1: Okay, so what kind of attitude that it might reflect?

Speaker2: Um, I think so. That the attitude that the shop would cater for the Hong Kong people, especially for those people aged from like 30 to 50. Because those people are the main customer that would go to that bite down during dinner time.

Speaker1: Okay, so what else do you observe in the food menus.

Speaker2: In comparison to other restaurant like cafe food or other the traditional Chinese food type dong, which has, for example, like. 3 to 40 3 to 4 decades of history, and the menu may have not changed much. And. I think the main changes would be the English translation on the menu that aimed to cater for the for those foreigner who would visit Thai Vidal during their tour in their visit.

Speaker1: Okay, So. So do you mean that the translation is not is sometimes just translating the cooking method or the ingredients instead of the the Chinese name as a whole?

Speaker2: Because as as a Hong Kong who has been living here for like, like 20 years, it is my observation that those name we use that in Cantonese may not accurately depict the ingredient or the cooking method to the to the consumer. So it may confuse those foreigner who just come to Hong Kong for their first time, so their name in English would clearly so the ingredient and the cooking method. So it would be easier for them to choose the food they want.

Speaker1: Okay, So have other information or other observations in the food menus that you would like to add.

Speaker2: And I think on the side the. All foreign that come to Hong Kong. Those people come from mainland China is an other group of consumer that would usually visit Taipei as well. So but interesting. But it is quite interesting that the menu didn't add much

of simplified Chinese for those people. I think one reason for that is those people come from mainland China. They some of them may get used to do traditional Chinese as well. So it is not quite hard for them to get used to do or to read the menu in some old fashioned restaurant like I don't I guess so.

Speaker1: Personally, do you think the restaurants should use simplified Chinese instead of traditional one?

Speaker2: No. Personally I do not think adding too much simplified Chinese is a good choice for the shop owner because. I think first simplified Chinese have something in common with traditional Chinese. And I think it is not quite hard for those people who can read simplified Chinese to read the menu for now, especially with the English translation. So I think it is still okay for those of us to use traditional Chinese and English on menu for now.

Speaker1: Okay. Any other information that you would like to include?

Speaker2: No. That's the sharing that I want to talk about.

Speaker1: Okay. So thank you again for your time and I think that's it.

APPENDIX 2

Interview Transcript 2

Speaker1: Okay. So thank you for attending the interview today. Please note that the recorded information will only be used for research and academic purposes and there might be possibilities for publicity. Do you agree with these?

Speaker2: I'm okay with this.

Speaker1: Okay, so let's start. So how often do you dine out? Every week.

Speaker2: Uh, for me, like in average about 3 to 4 times for it because I'm different along and you know, like cocaine is, it's very annoying stuff. So I usually like, go off of.

Speaker1: Okay, So what kind of restaurant do you usually visit?

Speaker2: Uh, it depends. Like, sometimes, like if I, like, go with friends, maybe like Western restaurant or like cafe or so on, Like, or like. My personal favorite is like Chinese or like Thai food. And so so it's it's really depends on the situation. But like, I'm okay with like any style of food. So but usually like Chinese like cafe something like this.

Speaker1: Okay so you are you're quite get used to visiting different types of restaurants but how what your preference would be the Chinese cuisines. So may I know what do you observe in the food menus when you visit this restaurant?

Speaker2: Hmm. So, like for the Chinese restaurant, usually they are in Chinese, and then it depends on the price. Like for the. For the cheaper one or for the one that we usually go to is usually is Charlie's. Only if for if it goes to the better one, then it may be like both Charlie's and English upper order, which is in parental. And sometimes maybe they will attach the photos and it looks much better. Like for the protesters and like for the cafes and like, those menu usually are more like, simpler, like. And some of them, like, only didn't go frozen without the translation for Thai food. Like sometimes they also attach the the Thai description on the name of the food in the menu. Yeah.

Speaker1: Okay. So the so you think there are some associations between the price and also the language use in the menus, right.

Speaker2: Yes, I think so. So if it is more expensive, like sometimes they would like to sell or they are from like origin and. And. And then they only like the cafe or restaurant. So maybe they would use English on the phone for the menu. And I think. Yes. And for other food like the Thai food, or even for those many usually attached with the language, like not only the Chinese and the English.

Speaker1: So what kind of attitude or ideology that it might reflect?

Speaker2: Attitude and ideology. I think, like for those. The front like. They try to, like, present a style like. Like. Like cut lets you experience like really like having the foot as the. Look at local. It's. And. I think. Now sometimes, for example, like the Japanese food. Like they will attach some Japanese in the menu and try to, like, improve the like user experience at the. And it feels like local. I am not sure like whether it works or not, but like in my point of view, like. That's what they try to do or try to present to us.

Speaker1: So it is like if you are using that language in that country. So probably it would enhance the experience of visiting the restaurant because it feels like a local restaurants. Okay, so what else do you observe in the food menus? Except for the more about the price and more about the visitor experience? What else do you observe in the food menus?

Speaker2: Uh, I think the design of the food menu is also matters. Like, for the. Like. Come on restaurants like they will. Maybe they just like especially for those Chinese restaurant, they would just put everything in every single piece of A4 paper. Or like, just put all the

verse on this. But like, for the one like, way more expensive. Like sometimes they would show some photos and they would try to leave some space and give some design on this. On the on the amended.

Speaker1: So it's more about the design. So what kind of attitude again can it reflect?

Speaker2: The attitude is different.

Speaker1: For example, like how the layout matters.

Speaker2: I think they tried to like. To let the readers feel more comfortable and like, cos like and I think I think the approach like, like attaching a photo could like increase the, the, the will to order the food. Cause like, you know, like when you feel hungry and you look at the food and wow, it's, it's looks good, it seems like it's tasty and then all that effort and I think that that usually

happens like in those restaurants who who also provide a photo in their menus.

Speaker1: Okay. So any other points you would like to add?

Speaker2: Then the other point I would like to ask. I think. I think like the design of the menu, the layout and the wordings that they use. I think it's really like related to the to the price of the of the food and the restaurant and. And like one more thing, like in Hong Kong, I think. I don't know why. Like expressions, like for those just special, they will like more like usually they were attached to Japanese on in their menus or like in their store or like when they are like talking to the, to the customer, they would try to like attach some Japanese like for greeting. So, so that's what I observe. And I think that's it.

Speaker1: So thank you very much for today. And I think that's it.