



Multilingual repertoire management and illocutionary functions in Yiddish signage in Manchester[☆]

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on a corpus of annotated images that capture the linguistic landscape of a residential neighbourhood in Greater Manchester (UK) with a large Hasidic-Haredi (so-called 'ultra-Orthodox') Jewish population, we show how choices within a multilingual repertoire are both indicative and constitutive of different communicative acts and illocutions. Written Yiddish is embedded into an established tradition of literacy where creativity is accompanied by authoritative citations from Hebrew scripture. We discuss the use of Yiddish in affective, appellative, mobilising, regulatory and prohibitive actions. Semi-public use of written Yiddish is directed at participants who share a repertoire of closely intertwined social, religious and linguistic practices. Unlike many other lesser-used languages, the use of Yiddish in Haredi communities is not restricted to indexical identity flagging or commodification purposes. We show how in this multilingual setting, the indexical ordering of languages on written artefacts does not represent a hierarchy of absolute valorisation but rather a complementarity of functions that draws on simultaneous activation of several repertoire components.

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1. Introduction

The linguistic landscape – the configuration of language choices on public signage – in multilingual settings is seen as a marker of territory and a symbol of identity that reflects local power relations and can be used as an indicator of 'ethno-linguistic vitality' (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) as well as of agency (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Many studies draw heavily on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) concept of 'geosemiotics' as the relationship between space and social meaning, captured by the interplay of action (interaction order), the appearance of the sign (visual semiotics), and its location (place semiotics). Signage therefore lends itself for an analysis that is anchored in interaction pragmatics: written practices in multilingual settings show creative and highly localised deployment of linguistic resources, of the kind that is described for spoken language by notions such as 'heterolingualism', 'translanguaging', and 'metrolingualism' (cf. Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Lamarre, 2013; García and Li, 2014; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015). Like speech acts, signs can be defined as localised communicative events (Kallen, 2009) that are embedded into a discourse context, engaging a sender and addressee, drawing on a shared pool of experience

[☆] in memory of Bill Williams, 1932–2018.

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and routines, and carrying a variety of illocutionary and perlocutionary functions – informational, expressive, directive, emblematic, persuasive, and others (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Huebner, 2009).

Collins and Slembrouk (2007) define signage as a contextual act for which readers make use of their repertoire of linguistic forms and cultural knowledge. Based on ethnographic interviews in Ghent they show how readers interpret multilingual choices in signs in different ways, lending such choices a hierarchical frame or ‘indexical order’. Jaworski and Yeung (2010) apply a similar approach to signs in a residential district in Hong Kong, identifying indexing, commodification, and branding as distinct frames that are constructed by the content and position of signs and the accompanying language choices. Huebner (2006) makes the case for analysing signs as sequences of acts, which can be grouped into genres based on their forms and functions. Languages can be mapped in different ways onto individual acts, showing patterns of hierarchical arrangements among languages such as those identified in Reh’s (2004) taxonomy as duplicating, overlapping, fragmentary, or complementary. Malinowski (2009) combines speech act theory with Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of language as symbolic capital to argue that signs have performative power with an intended effect, the success of which depends, as in speech acts, on decoding by an addressee.

A recurring theme in the study of linguistic landscape is the appearance of lesser-used languages in written form in public spaces in two main functions: flagging identity and community vitality, and commodification of language in order to target specific customer audiences for commercial marketing purposes. Agnihotri and McCormick (2010) show how persuasive texts on signage in New Delhi express commercial interests and the wish to flag recognition of group identity, and how boundaries between languages and scripts (including English, Hindi, Urdu and other languages) can be permeable as well as contrastive. Discussing Welsh signage in Patagonia, Coupland and Garrett (2010) show how signs are used for commodification, branding, marketing, and heritage promotion, and how their interpretation is framed by different sets of experiences and activities (historical, contemporary cultural, heritage promotion). Pietikäinen et al. (2011) regard signs as material manifestations of social action. They explain language choice on signs in Arctic settlements as rooted in the local political economy of languages and the local implementation of language policies and ideologies, with the choice of minority languages adding to the information content a flavour of ‘authenticity’.

Discussing signs more generally, Wetzel (2010) sees parallels between public signs and extended discourse. She distinguishes between two genres of signs, informational and marketing signs. They differ firstly in their deictic orientation, the first being indexically anchored in the here and now, while advertisements have a fictional deictic anchor; and secondly in the desired effect on the reader. These and illocutionary properties determine the choice of grammatical devices that are used in sign texts. In this way, signs function as narratives that are shaped and defined by customary practice that draw on users’ extended repertoires of expressive resources, knowledge, and social routines. Pappenhagen, Scarvaglieri and Redder (2016) propose to go beyond surface-level semiotic analysis and to analyse signs as communicative action, addressing the way that languages in a multilingual environment are mapped onto different illocutionary acts. Discussing naming practices in commercial outlets, they demonstrate how sign authors activate shared knowledge by linking outlets to personal biography, migration history, cultural heritage and globalised imagery. With actions such as advising, content duplication in more than one language has the effect of a gesture that valorises a shared background. In this way, a contrast can be recognised between the meaning of so-called global languages and that of immigrant languages in activating shared experience or ‘cultural surplus’ (added emblematic value that is not required in order to understand the message content). There is thus general recognition that globalisation enriches repertoires, but shows different outcomes in different settings (see also Blommaert et al., 2005a; Blommaert, 2013).

In the following we draw on these theoretical insights to discuss the use of Yiddish alongside Hebrew, portions of Aramaic, and English in the Hasidic-Haredi (so-called ‘ultra’ Jewish Orthodox) community of Greater Manchester. Our case study focuses on the use of signage in a lesser-used language that is driven neither by commodification or marketing interests, nor by identity-flagging or authenticity goals. In this respect, Yiddish used in Haredi communities differs from many other lesser-used languages. Use of written Yiddish is exclusively inwards-oriented. It draws on an established and stable tradition of centuries of multilingual literacy in a tight-knit transnational community that shows no obvious interest in asserting itself toward the external environment, yet is permanently pre-occupied with fending off external influences.

We regard signs – the written artefacts that constitute our unit of analysis – as texts that represent communicative events, each of which may consist of several communicative acts. The design, production and reception of signs are part of actions that are embedded into participants’ repertoires of complex activity routines or practices (cf. Rehbein, 1977; Pennycook, 2010). By ‘semi-public’ we mean signs that are positioned either within or on buildings of community institutions, targeting the membership or ‘clients’ of those institutions, or else on the external façade of residential outlets where they address members of the household (see below). Their positioning in such places constitutes what Domke (2014) describes as ‘meso-communication’ – a mode of communication that limits the group of addressees of speech acts used in public. Semi-public use of written Yiddish is thus directed at participants who share a repertoire of social, religious and linguistic practices; it is used as a way of structuring illocutions in community-internal communicative events that can be arranged on a continuum of affective, appellative, mobilising, regulatory and prohibitive actions.

In the Haredi community, behaviour in all areas of life is tightly regimented through stringent rules that are written down, transmitted, studied and recited. Yiddish signage is more often than not intertwined with and embedded into a Hebrew-language frame that lends the message content its authority and validity. This is achieved through the use of headings, summaries, quotations from scripture and deictic references, often amplified through a multi-modal display. Regulatory discourse in particular replicates the structure of argumentative reasoning that is characteristic of Orthodox Jewish religious

learning. In that sense, the indexical ordering of Yiddish and Hebrew (and occasional use of English) on written artefacts does not represent a hierarchy of valorisation but rather a complementarity of functions.

2. Yiddish in the multilingual repertoire of Haredi communities

The term *Haredi* ('fearful of God') refers to those groups within Judaism who are considered to be the most strictly observant. Among them, *Hasidic* (from *Hasid* 'pious') groups are the followers of a number of rabbinical dynasties that began to emerge among the Yiddish-speaking Jewish population of central and eastern Europe in the eighteenth century. Manchester's Yiddish-speaking community goes back to the first waves of Jewish immigrants in the late nineteenth century (Williams, 1989; Wise, 2010). Those who were not Haredi abandoned the language in subsequent generations. After World War II, Haredi survivors of the Holocaust rebuilt their communities mainly in Israel, the United States, Canada, the UK, and Belgium. Yiddish is now used as an everyday language almost exclusively in these Haredi communities. High birth rates have led to a considerable population growth over the past decades. Manchester's Haredi community has also grown as a result of re-location from other communities in the UK and from abroad, especially Israel.

A Hasidic sect is referred to in Yiddish as *hoyf* or 'court'. Those with a strong presence in Manchester include Satmar, Belz, Vizhnitz, and Lubavitch – all named, like other Hasidic sects, after the locations in Eastern Europe in which the individual dynastic courts were founded. Each has its own religious and learning institutions, which are part of a trans-national network run by the sect's own rabbinical authority with its main seat usually in New York or in Israel. Group members maintain close links to affiliated communities in other countries. Sons in particular, but also daughters are often sent abroad to be educated. Marriages very rarely transcend sect boundaries, but are commonly arranged across locations. Haredi residents in Manchester report that relationships among the different denominations are generally free of tension and that there is a fair degree of informal social immersion among them, and that this has been a factor in attracting Haredi immigrants from other locations, especially from Israel.

Historically, Haredi communities maintain a triglossic linguistic repertoire. Yiddish is the in-group vernacular or spoken language. *Loshn koydesh* ('holy tongue') is the term used to designate the Hebrew language of scripture and rabbinical teaching, often also used for institutional correspondence and administrative notices, and its Aramaic component. It is recited or read aloud but not used in conversation. The co-territorial language is used for communication with outsiders. In communities where English or another co-territorial language has gradually taken over the functions of Yiddish, a diglossic setup (co-territorial language and *loshn koydesh*) is emerging (Isaacs, 1999). In Israel, the co-territorial language is modern or Israeli Hebrew, which is referred to by the Yiddish-speaking Haredi community as *ívrís* or *ivrit*. *Loshn koydesh* is kept distinct from *ívrís* not just through function and style but also through its Ashkenazi pronunciation, which is characterised by features such as penultimate word stress, raising of etymological /a/ to /o/ or /u/, diphthongisation of etymological /e/ and /ō/ to /ey/ and /oy/, vowel reduction in final syllables, and shift of final /t/ to /s/. Distinct vocabulary usages are also common. For example, the men's entrance to Haredi synagogues in Manchester is labelled כניסה לאנשים (pronounced *kníso le-anóshim*) while in Israel it is labelled כניסה לגברים (*knísá le-gvarím*) in Israeli Hebrew, the cognate *anashím* in Israeli Hebrew having the gender-neutral meaning 'people'. A convergent Hebrew is used as the Haredi community's principal written medium, combining stylistic and grammatical features of texts from different periods (Assouline, 2017: 13). Transnational networking and mobility have resulted in an enrichment of local language repertoires, with both English and *ívrís* playing a role in most Haredi communities. In Manchester, the recent influx of Haredi families and students from Israel, and frequent travel to Israel, have meant that *ívrís* has acquired an important presence, leading in effect to a quadriglossic setup.

There are differences among the individual sects in regard to language attitudes and practices. The Satmar use Yiddish most consistently, regarding it as a symbol and a means of self-insulation (Fader, 2009). The sect's late leader Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum called on his followers in Israel to resist the adoption of *ívrís* (Poll, 1980; Glinert and Shilhav, 1991), though it is used for practical purposes in group-external communication. Among Belz and Vizhnitz, Yiddish has a more equal standing alongside the co-territorial language. Glinert (1999: 39) reports that Yiddish is used among these sects in the UK but that it is not everyone's mother tongue. For the Lubavitch, Yiddish has a symbolic function as the language in which the dynasty's last Rabbi (Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the *Rebbe*) delivered his sermons, but it is not the principal vehicle of communication (Isaacs, 1999; Baumel, 2003: 95). However, lessons are often delivered in Yiddish and the *Rebbe's* writings are studied in Yiddish. We observed that Lubavitch boys and men in Manchester acquire Yiddish through its use in religious studies (see also Glinert, 1999: 44; Mitchell, 2002: 180).

Gender separation is strict in the Haredi community, and there is a strong gender division in regard to language practices and attitudes. While Yiddish is usually a medium of instruction in the early years for both boys and girls, the focus of boys' education shifts quickly to reading *loshn koydesh* scripture. In most Haredi communities, girls are allowed only limited access to scripture in *loshn koydesh*, which they learn mainly through oral recitation of prayers, while comprehension of the text is not a priority (Fader, 2008: 626). While boys read rabbinical commentaries in Yiddish, girls are more likely to study Yiddish as an academic subject (Mitchell, 2002: 180; Tannenbaum and Cohen, 2017). Glinert (1999: 36) notes that Satmar girls are prohibited from reading Hebrew scripture and instead read its content in Yiddish, and so Yiddish plays a greater role in the education of girls. Women are also more likely than men to use the surrounding majority language. Glinert (1999: 35) notes that among the Satmar in the UK, women tend to speak English among themselves while use of English by men is regarded as a sign of a more compromising attitude toward the secular world. Fader (2009) similarly reports that in New York, Haredi girls are educated in English to a larger extent than boys, as negotiating the outside world is seen as the task of women, thereby

enabling men to concentrate on religious studies. In Manchester, we observed that local women among the Satmar and Belz groups tend to speak native-like British English while men tend to have a more noticeable Yiddish accent.

Historically, written Yiddish served those who were not allowed to learn *loshn koydesh*, first and foremost women, or who could not afford to do so. It emerged in the form of Judeo-German glosses written in Hebrew script, which accompanied the scripture (Timm, 2005) and were referred to as *taitsh* 'German', a term that is used today to denote a vernacular translation or interpretation of Hebrew texts.

The Haredi sects operate their own networks of schools at all levels, where boys and girls are always educated separately. At Manchester's Satmar and Belz primary schools (*kheyder*), literacy is acquired first in Yiddish and boys then gradually acquire *loshn koydesh*. The language of instruction is either Yiddish or English, and individual schools have a preference for one language or the other while some use both languages in the classroom. Boys are educated at secondary and higher levels in the *yeshiva*, where the focus of study is exclusively on scripture in *loshn koydesh*. In Satmar *yeshivas*, the language of instruction and discussion is Yiddish, while Belz, Vizhnitz and Lubavitch use both Yiddish and English. Books and essays with rabbinical commentaries are mainly in *loshn koydesh* but some are in Yiddish. Girls' secondary schools are called *sems* ('seminaries'). In both Satmar and Belz outlets, Yiddish serves as a medium of instruction and textbooks in Yiddish are used, composed by rabbis and covering religious themes. Notice boards in girls' schools reveal that both Yiddish and English are used for administration.

Although Yiddish is used in schools as a medium of instruction and learning, both oral and written, there is general agreement that Haredi communities make little effort to actively promote or cultivate Yiddish or to regulate its usage (Glinert and Shilhav, 1991: 64; Glinert, 1999: 35; Isaacs, 1999: 18).¹

3. Capturing Yiddish signage in Manchester: a walkabout

Our data collection expedition took us through an area of Greater Manchester in the Higher Broughton neighbourhood of Salford, between the intersection of Bury New Road and Northumberland Street in the west, the A576 (Leicester Road) to the east, Broom Lane to the north, and Wellington Street East to the south (Fig. 1-a; see Fig. 1-b for the location of our research area in Greater Manchester). It is populated almost exclusively by Haredi Jews and is a small segment of an area in northern Manchester with a large Orthodox Jewish population. The largely residential segment also contains Jewish institutions including synagogues, schools and religious seminars, charity offices, and small businesses.

We carried out several fieldwork visits, both outdoors and indoors, returning to the same locations. We used the LinguaSnapp smartphone application developed by the Multilingual Manchester research unit at the University of Manchester to capture and annotate images of signs. Permission was obtained to take images indoors, often while promising that no internet connection would be established via a mobile phone while on the premises (see below for a discussion of issues around the use of smartphones in parts of the Haredi community; the LinguaSnapp app allows the user to capture an image and save it onto the phone directly without establishing an internet connection, and to then return to pending uploads at a later point and at another location). No personal information was gathered for the purpose of the study from any individuals with whom we interacted during our fieldwork, and no information was collected that could link images with individuals, nor do any of the images collected contain personal information in the sense of data protection protocols (such as date of birth, personal address, contact details, and so on). A small number of personal notices that were posted outside public buildings and were visible from the street contained mobile phone contact details, but no names. We draw on one such example below, but conceal the telephone number.

Parts of the corpus and the locations of images, displayed on a map, can be accessed via the LinguaSnapp website.² A detailed discussion of the entire corpus, including a statistical breakdown of languages and their distribution over outlets and districts across the city in December 2016, is presented in Gaier and Matras (2016). Since that publication, we carried out additional data collection in the neighbourhood under consideration in this paper, resulting in a combined corpus of altogether 218 images, of which 72 contain text in Yiddish. Of those, 23 images have text only in Yiddish, 24 show Yiddish and Hebrew, 6 show Yiddish and English, and 19 show Yiddish, Hebrew, and English. The remainder show Hebrew only (80) or Hebrew and English (66). We did not document monolingual English signs, and only a very insignificant number of signs in other languages were found within the immediate area of investigation. There are a number of Polish shops on Bury New Road, opposite Northumberland Street, which is the heart of our investigation area, and they contain Polish adverts and personal notes both on the shop front and on its windows and internal notice boards. The nearby community service hub on Bury New Road has a public library, which displays signs in Hebrew, Polish, and Arabic in addition to English. A cluster of Polish shops is also found on Cheetham Street East, to the east of the investigation area, with multiple signs in Polish and Hungarian. For ethnographic background we draw on several years of regular interaction and immersion with members of the Haredi community in the area, through personal contacts, participation at public and family events, visits to community institutions, and conversations with residents. During two of our fieldwork trips we were accompanied by a member of the local Haredi community who gave additional insights and background information.

¹ An indication of this is the presence of spelling variations. For example, 'Manchester' is spelled differently in Yiddish on the signs depicted in Figs. 5 and 7 below.

² <http://www.linguasnapp.manchester.ac.uk/>.



Fig. 1. a: Map of the research area in Higher Broughton, Salford. b: Location of the research area in Greater Manchester.

Walking within the research area one encounters almost exclusively Haredi Jewish residents. The only non-Jewish passers-by are contractors and service personnel, and parents taking their children to and from a state primary school at the corner of Northumberland Street. Leicester Road is the area's commercial High Street. Most of the shops in the segment just south of Northumberland Street are owned by and cater for Jewish residents. The signs on Jewish owned businesses are almost exclusively in English, though the names often reflect Jewish heritage (containing Hebrew or Yiddish words, or the owners' names) and are sometimes accompanied by Hebrew phrases written in Hebrew script that are used ornamentally. Signage in Hebrew appears indoors on certificates of compliance with Kosher food regulations that are issued by local rabbinical authorities using a standard text. Many of the shops on Leicester Road and a small cluster of shops on adjoining Wellington Street carry Israeli products with labels in Hebrew. Hebrew magazines addressed to the international Haredi community are on sale, indicating that there is an audience of readers for current affairs in Israeli Hebrew.

Residential properties in the area tend to carry a family name plaque in Hebrew letters, in a more or less uniform style, using Yiddish orthographic norms. The use of Hebrew script precludes the sign from having information value for group-outsiders (such as contractors, deliveries and so on) and serves instead as an inwards-looking display of solidarity and community identity as well as a symbolic demarcation of space (Gaiser and Matras, 2016). Religious and educational institutions are located mainly between Northumberland Street and Broom Lane and on Bury New Road; others are scattered throughout the area, sometimes operating in converted residential or commercial outlets. The larger institutions usually carry signs in Hebrew that identify the outlet's name and many also have dedication plaques in Hebrew honouring founders and donors.

We documented signage and notice boards at a number of such institutions including a non-affiliated synagogue and two Satmar *yeshivas* on Northumberland Street, a Vizhnitz *yeshiva* on Leicester Road, and a Belz *yeshiva* on Broom Lane, as well as a number of schools. Notice boards in the synagogues and *yeshivas* typically carry a variety of signs: administrative announcements; advertisements for charity fundraising events, public celebrations and weddings, and religious lectures; personal notes such as lost and found, property rental, and sales of items such as furniture and accessories; prayer timetables; house maintenance notices; and news bulletin leaflets. There is a strong presence of regulatory notices, often pertaining to prohibitions on the use of mobile computer devices. They include professionally printed multi-modal posters (often with colour images), leaflets produced with conventional word-processing tools, and handwritten notes. Some of the signs are produced and authorised by the sect leadership and tend to be found only on sect-specific premises. Others, particularly event notices, can be encountered in all the institutions.

The distribution of languages on signage partly reflects the differences among the sects. We found the highest density of Yiddish signs in Satmar institutions, where Yiddish is also the only language that is heard spoken in the corridors. At the Belz institution we heard Israeli Hebrew spoken alongside Yiddish and English. Most of the announcements, posters, and personal messages encountered on the notice boards at both Belz and Vizhnitz adult learning and worship institutions are in English or Hebrew, and often in a combination of both, but Yiddish is also present, while at the schools there is a stronger presence of Yiddish and English on administrative notices. None of the signs in Yiddish show permanent fixtures, and with the exception of some improvised notes and children's drawings (see below) all are displayed indoors; Yiddish is not used to mark out buildings or locations.

4. Analysis

The purpose of the following sections is to identify a number of usage patterns of Yiddish that are common in the corpus that we collected. The approach is a qualitative one, in which we draw on a pragmatic and sequential analysis of individual text samples (and their multi-modal display) and interpret them in the context of the setting and the relevant cultural and institutional practices in which they are deployed. We identify several types of functions that we encountered in the corpus. We do not attribute much significance to a quantitative representation of these individual types across the corpus, for two reasons: First, from our repeated visits to the sites we know that the display of posters and notices can change on a daily basis, and that some of it is seasonal, relating to either Jewish calendar festivities or neighbourhood events. A representative and comprehensive quantitative survey would have to take the possible cyclical occurrence into account. Second, we operate on the assumption that individual examples demonstrate conventionalised modes of communication that are not isolated but reflect the community's routine practices or 'habitus'. Our selection of example images thus offers an insight into single events that represent routine practices.

In proposing a typology of the signs in the sample, we follow Huebner's (2006) suggestion to regard signs as sequences of acts, which can be grouped into genres based on their forms and function, and Malinowski's (2009) argument, based on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of language as symbolic capital, that signs have performative power with an intended effect. Our typology captures positions on a continuum that represent different levels of authority and force through which the sender/owner of the sign is able to intervene with the addressee's action and control the intended effect. The interpretation of such intervention potential rests on a contextual interpretation of the sign, including the reconstructed social relationships between sender/owner and addressee, and the position of the sign in space (which represents the interaction setting and which in turn provides additional clues about that relationship). Key semantic-illocutionary features that characterise the intended effect on the addressee are, at near opposite ends of the continuum, the appeal to the addressee (Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Wetzel, 2010), which seeks to invoke favourable associations and thereby prompt a favourable attitude on the part of the addressee toward the message content and the action that the sender/owner hopes it will instigate, and regulation (Scollon and Scollon,

2003), where the sender/owner is in a position of authority to trigger a course of action on the part of the addressee. To these we add an affective dimension, where the intended effect is not a course of action as such but rather invocation of an emotional stance on the part of the addressee, one that is aligned to that of the sender.

We begin our typology at that end of the continuum where the sign expresses an emotional and, in the case of our example, micro-institutional (family-based) bond, but does not offer an intervention with the addressee's actions. Instead, it offers an affirmation of the addressee and their action in a way that is affective. Next is the effort to appeal to the addressee to carry out an action as an individual gesture, benefiting the sender/owner personally. We refer to this function as appellative. Such appeal gains greater power to intervene and impact on the actions of addressees when it is part of an organised, institutional effort to gain support for a common formulated goal. We regard this as a mobilising function, one in which there is an institutional relationship between sender/owner and addressee, which lends authority to the sender/owner to influence the addressee. The regulatory function draws similarly on an institutional authority, but one that is, in context, absolute and leaves no room for discretion on the part of the addressee as to whether or not to comply with the instruction: It draws on the addressee's contractual obligation to honour the instruction provided by the sender/owner. The prohibitive function, finally, is a form of regulatory discourse which constraints the addressee's freedom in relation to a particular type of action.

The continuum thus mirrors various degrees of control and intervention, authority and power relations between sender/owner and addressee. Our interest is in the way in which elements of the linguistic repertoire are mapped onto individual illocutionary meanings of acts and sequence of acts within this continuum of discourse functions. We show that rather than being associated with different genres wholesale, various linguistic structures and features (or individual languages) combine into an integrated whole that is constantly present, but are mapped within individual communicative events (signs) onto single acts and illocutions. This mapping mirrors the functional distribution of languages across social and cultural communicative practice routines in the community.

4.1. Affective functions

Across the investigation area one finds children's drawings decorating residential doors, bearing the Hebrew greeting 'Welcome' and accompanied by ornaments and text portions in either Yiddish or English (and sometimes both). The community's transnational nature means that there are frequent comings and goings of family members who attend family or community events in other cities and countries. The Welcome signs address fathers and siblings who return from such trips, and mothers who return home after giving birth. The signs are an affective, personal gesture that is put on public display on the door ostensibly to capture the immediate attention of the returning family members, but also as a sign of conformity with community practices.

The drawings are an indicator of the children's linguistic and aesthetic repertoires. The picture in Fig. 2 was drawn by a girl, apparently marking the coming home of her father and two other male family members. The text on the image can be divided into several frames:

Frame 1, centre [Hebrew]: Welcome (pl.)

Frame 2, top centre [Yiddish]: Dear Daddy, Shmili, and Ari. I am waiting so long for you. I want you to come back already

Frame 3, bottom right [Yiddish, Hebrew insertions]: Dear Daddy, Shmili, and Ari. *Thank God* you have arrived *in peace*

Frame 4, bottom left [Yiddish]: Made by Hannah and the whole family

Frame 5, top left [Roman script]: Air France

The first striking feature is the complementarity of language choice, in the terms introduced by Reh (2004). The picture's principal genre identifier is the Hebrew heading, which is ornamented, centred, and always appears in larger letters. (We



Fig. 2. 'Welcome home', residential, Northumberland Street.

classify the relevant text portion generically as ‘Hebrew’ since it lacks the textual context to be classified more specifically as either *loshn koydesh* or Israeli Hebrew, though it is likely that when read aloud it follows Ashkenazi pronunciation). Since Hebrew origin words and phrases are an integral component of Yiddish, singling out elements as ‘Hebrew’ is not always straightforward. However, the greeting in Frame 1 carries a Hebrew plural inflection, showing agreement with the message’s multiple addressees. Drawings of the same genre found in the neighbourhood sometimes show singular inflection when there is just one designated addressee. Moreover, in many of the drawings the language of dialogue is English rather than Yiddish, yet the central frame always carries the Hebrew greeting. From this we can conclude that the greeting is an indicator of the child’s emerging proficiency in *loshn koydesh*. Other formulaic insertions with Hebrew etymology – such as *borukh ha-shem* ‘Thank God’ and *be-shulem* ‘in peace’ (Frame 3) – are an integral part of Yiddish usage but recognisable as *loshn koydesh* through their distribution and association with scripture reciting, while on the other hand the word *mishpukhe* ‘family’ in Frame 4 is Hebrew-derived but tightly integrated into the Yiddish sentence, in contrast to the standalone Hebrew expressions. The use of Roman script in Frame 5 suggests that the child has already acquired basic reading skills in English.

Overall, Fig. 2 offers an insight into the application of a pattern of repertoire management on signage among young people or children, guided no doubt by parental input and the conventions of the genre that serve as a visible model around the neighbourhood: the message-heading appears in Hebrew lending the communicative event legitimacy in the communal context. This is characteristic of Haredi life, where routines are tightly scripted, regulated and controlled by rabbinical authorities and where regulations are explicitly justified with reference to Hebrew scripture (Biblical and Talmudic texts and the body of rabbinical teachings spanning two millennia). The heading also identifies the genre of the communicative event and links it to the community-specific routine that serves as the model. In this way, the heading addresses, as noted above, not just the returning family members, but also the audience of neighbours and by-passers who share local community space, flagging the author’s belonging to that community.

The choice of Yiddish, on the other hand, marks out those communicative acts that are directed specifically to the named addressees, replicating the language of everyday home communication. The incorporation of Roman script shows that, while there is a model template to follow, the author also has flexibility to incorporate elements of her overall repertoire of linguistic forms and shapes. In this way, the various linguistic components achieve a complementarity in their symbolic representation of everyday practice in home and community life, and their alignment with distinct, goal-oriented communicative acts within the sign itself. That complementarity rests on familiarity not just with the distribution of languages by activity domain, but on their association with a range of communicative events, modalities (such as recitation), and the power relations that are represented by authoritative writing portions. As Collins and Slembrouk (2007) remark, the choice of language on the sign is a reflection of linguistic forms and cultural knowledge.

4.2. Appellative functions

The next point on the continuum, the appellative function, pertains to a communicative event through which the sender aims to instigate action on the part of the addressee:

Fig. 3 was captured on a notice board adjacent to a non-affiliated synagogue on Northumberland Street. We found another note with almost identical content on the same day, evidently by the same author, but with minor differences, which indicate that each note was a one-off production. The content shows the following frame:

Frame 1, top, heading [Hebrew]: Return of a loss

Frame 2, lines 1–2 [Yiddish]: between *yohk’p* and *sukes*, was taken

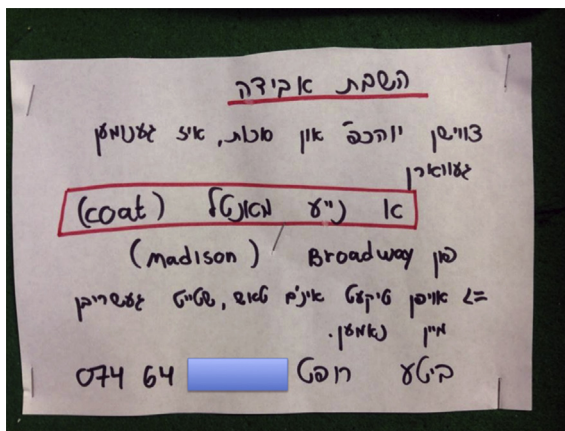


Fig. 3. ‘Lost coat’, synagogue notice board, Northumberland Street.

Frame 3, red outline [Yiddish]: A new coat (*coat*)

Frame 4, identifying information [Yiddish]: from *Broadway (Madison)*

Frame 5, arrow marked, supplementary information [Yiddish]: My name is written on the ticket in the pocket

Frame 6, bottom, action prompt [Yiddish]: Please call 074 64

Here too, a heading in Hebrew (*loshn koydesh*) frames the genre, in this case also lending legitimacy to the appellative event: The phrase *hashoves aveyda* 'Return of a loss' conveys what is known in Orthodox Judaism as a *Mitzvah* or commandment. The writer is thus equipping himself with the generic backing of rabbinical authority in seeking to prompt action by the recipients of the message. The practical and direct communicative content of the message is again conveyed in Yiddish, starting with a description of the state of affairs (Frame 2). The temporal-deictic coordinates are presented in *loshn koydesh* with reference to Jewish holidays, using the abbreviation *yohk'p* for *yom ha-kipurim* 'Day of Atonement' and the Yiddish term for the *Sukkot* festival 'Feast of Tabernacles' (which follows one week later in the Jewish calendar). The orientation is thus indexed to a shared cultural-religious practice. Since the note is only accessible to Yiddish readers, and knowledge of English is ubiquitous in the community, the repetition of 'coat' in English in Frame 3 can be interpreted as a way of drawing attention to a salient element of the propositional content (see Matras, 2009: 120) or possibly a clarification, while the English garment labels are cited as identifying information. The supplementary information and action prompt continue the dialogic nature of the content in Yiddish.

The communicative event in Fig. 3 has an overall appellative function. A high proportion of public signage in general appeals to recipients to buy, consume, commemorate, donate, attend events that support political agendas or to adhere to rules. Fig. 3 stands for a direct appeal, implicitly referring to a religious code of practice. The potential recipients are passers-by and are only specified implicitly, through the spatial positioning of the notice and the temporal reference to the state of affairs, as those who were present in the synagogue and its surroundings during the festive period. The equal power relations between the writer and the recipients merely allow the writer to appeal to the recipients' discretionary cooperation but not to direct them to carry out an action on his behalf. The citing of the commandment in the heading compensates for the writer's lack of directive power by framing the appeal as deriving from shared values and commitments that are enshrined in the higher authority of religious scripture. In this way, the Hebrew authorisation and orientation, the Yiddish descriptions and action prompt, and the English identifiers all serve integrated yet complementary functions.

4.3. Mobilising functions

Our next pair of examples is set in the context of institutional activities, where an audience of recipients is targeted around a shared enterprise to achieve a collective goal – a contribution to a fundraising campaign. That goal, and the procedure through which it is to be pursued, are set out through deliberations involving privileged participants who have an authoritative function by virtue of their institutional roles. The message is communicated on their behalf, yet the writers do not have direct control over the actions of the recipients. The communicative event appeals to the judgement of the recipients by means of persuasion, flagging the merits of collective achievement rather than denouncing non-compliance. The fact that a collective and cooperative effort is required to achieve the goal lends the event a mobilising character.

The poster in Fig. 4 was issued by the Satmar congregation but we encountered copies at all four institutions that we visited on that particular day. It is an invitation to a fundraising event on behalf of a children's education charity, to be held at the residence of the leader of the local rabbinical court. The accompanying imagery reinforces the mobilisation effort by providing a visualisation of the event's long-term deliverables. The frame structure is complex:

Frame 1, top, by line [Yiddish] [Hebrew insertions]:

- Come all
- tonight
- to participate *in body and fortune*
- in order to support the power of the Torah
- of the dear *schoolchildren*

Frame 2, bottom, line 1 [Hebrew] in the home of hgh'tz ab'd of-our community shlyt'a

Frame 3, bottom, line 2 [English]: 100 Northumberland Street

Frame 4, bottom, line 3 [Hebrew]: from 7.30 o'clock to 11:00

Frame 5, lower margin [Hebrew]: Monday Toldot hbel't in the home of hgh'tz rabbi of-our community shlyt'a

Frame 6, logo [Hebrew]: Annual meeting 'Continue walking' on behalf of kh'kh 'Yetev Lev' of-Satmar Manchester, Monday Toldot lp'q in the home of hgh'tz rabbi of-our community shlyt'a

A striking feature of the text is the dense use of Hebrew acronyms, which we encountered already in connection with the reference to a festivity in Fig. 3. Here, they are more specialised and show how full access to the text presupposes familiarity with community-internal titles and institutional routines. We will not dwell on their historical origins but will simply gloss some of them for illustration:



Fig. 4. Children's charity fundraiser, Satmar, Northumberland Street.

hgh'tz = ha-go'on ha-tzadiq 'the righteous genius'

ab'd = av beys-din 'father of the court'

shlyt'a = she-yizke le-oyrekh yoymim toyvim omen 'may he be rewarded by long and good days amen'

hbel't = ha-bo aleynu le-toyv 'which will be arriving upon us with goodness'

lp'q = li-fros qoson 'small denomination' (i.e. excluding full numbers)

The abbreviations are honorifics that accompany the names and titles of community leaders, as in Frames 2, 5, and 6; hedge reference to future events (acknowledging that knowledge of the future is the exclusive property of divine authority), as in Frame 5; and serve as placeholders for full numerical dates, as in Frame 6. Some of the Hebrew complex noun phrases are formed using the Aramaic-derived possessive particle *d-*, a common feature of *loshn koydesh*. Dates are expressed using the Hebrew expression for 'day' followed by the relevant Hebrew letter-numeral (here 'B' for '2' representing Monday, the second working day of the Jewish week) and identifying the week by naming the weekly reading portion from the Torah (Pentateuch), in this case 'Toldot' ('The Generations'). All these reference devices are highly standardised and show again that the recipients' ability to fully comprehend an invitation to an evening community event relies on highly specialised textual knowledge and familiarity with community-internal referencing procedures. The concept of 'schoolchildren' for example is conveyed at the end of Frame 1 by a Hebrew phrase from the scripture that literally means 'the innocent voices of the children of a rabbinical learning house'. It is a Talmudic quote that denotes 'a reality that is known to all, even the most innocent and inexperienced' and serves in rabbinical discourse as a fanciful expression to convey care and responsibility for children.

The distribution of linguistic forms across communicative acts reflects the way in which the daily routines of local Hasidic life involve activation of distinct repertoire components: the direct approach to the audience (Frame 1) is carried out in Yiddish. Procedural information is presented in Hebrew when it is anchored in community-internal routines: The authority behind the appeal (Frame 6), and time management that is guided by the calendar of festivities, weekly readings, and daily prayer times (Frames 4–6). Place, on the other hand, can be indexed either as community-internal knowledge, as in the place of residence of a community figure, in Hebrew (Frames 2, 5, 6); or in terms of the secular world, as represented by the postal address, in English (Frame 3). There is thus a compartmentalisation by language of the acts of prompt for action (Yiddish), orientation (Hebrew or English), and signing off (Hebrew); and within orientation, a compartmentalisation of time (Hebrew) and space (Hebrew or English), and within space, of different deictic reference grids.

The next example (Fig. 5) is a fundraising call issued by a foundation operating in Israel to challenge Haredi youth who show an interest in joining the Israeli Armed Forces. Haredi women are generally exempted from conscription. Haredi men



Fig. 5. Anti-conscription fundraiser, Satmar, Northumberland Street.

can postpone it indefinitely as long as they can prove that they are registered at a higher institute of religious studies, but suffer restrictions on access to certain training and career opportunities as a result. In recent years, as high birth rates have led to greater population density in Orthodox neighbourhoods and fewer economic opportunities are available within the community, some are considering military service. Conservative factions within the Hasidic population have launched campaigns against this trend. They rely on donations from affiliated communities abroad, including in Manchester.

Here too there is a mobilising appeal to participate in a collective effort. This is reinforced by a supporting argument pertaining to a successful past fundraising activity, challenging recipients to match it going forward. There is thus a temporal dimension to the arrangement of propositional content, one on which the writers draw to strengthen the message's primary illocution – the prompt for action (donation). The call is attributed to a committee acting on behalf of an organisation; in this way, the appeal is strengthened through the implicit reference to shared affiliation and ideological disposition:

Frame 1, header [Hebrew]: On behalf of the congregation Yetev Lev of-Satmar Manchester

Frame 2, header logo [Hebrew]: The Yesod Fund to save the boys and girls of Israel from eradication and conscription

Frame 3, header signature [Hebrew]: Directorate of the committee {names}, Executive committee {names}

Frame 4, top right, affirmation [Aramaic]: *bs'd* = *be-siyata di-shmaya* 'with the help of heaven'

Frame 5, upper heading [Hebrew]: Notice about the past

Frame 6, upper content [Yiddish]: That we have been fortunate to raise for the [Hebrew insertion, large font] *month of Tevet* the generous sum of £2600

Frame 7, lower heading [Hebrew]: Request for the future

Frame 8, lower content, line 1–2 [Yiddish]: In order to be able to raise for the coming month we must have the public's cooperation.

line 3, larger font [Yiddish]: Transfer your generous donation by

line 4 large font [Hebrew]: 15 of the month of Shevat

line 5 [Yiddish]: so that we can send it by the end of the month.

Frame 9, bottom [Yiddish]: You can transfer your donation through one of our officers {names}

Frame 10, signature [Hebrew]: Directorate of the committee

The ordering of frames shows a pattern in the choice of linguistic resources for individual communicative acts: Attribution (Frames 1–3), affirmation (Frame 4) and authorship (Frames 1–3, 10) appear in Hebrew-Aramaic. The temporal orientation is also provided in Hebrew, linking the backwards-looking descriptive act (Frames 5–6) with the forward-looking prompt for



Fig. 6. Notice for parents, Belz girls' school, Bury New Road.

action (the request, or appellative act, Frame 7–9). This establishes the argumentative effect of the appeal. The descriptive act on which the argumentation draws (Frame 6), the prompt for action and reasoning (Frame 8), and the practical instructions for action (Frame 9), are all delivered in Yiddish, while the temporal references (Frames 5 and 7, as well as the calendar references in Frame 6 and Frame 8, line 4) appear in Hebrew.

4.4. Regulatory functions

We now present two examples in which power relations are clearly defined: The sign writers are the owners or trustees of the institution premises, while the recipients are participants in the institution's practice, or clients. While regulatory authority rests with the institution's agents, the instruction conveyed by the sign can also be seen as offering clients practical guidance and support. In this sense, it is both a regulatory instruction and an appeal for voluntary participation.

Fig. 6 is an improvised printed note that is attached to the door of a Belz girls' secondary school (*sem*). It shows a simple, single frame:

Frame 1 [Yiddish]: Parents who are bringing or taking home a girl from [Hebrew] *year one* should only use the *Main Entrance*

The practical instruction and prompt are delivered in Yiddish. The message incorporates the Hebrew term for 'Year 1',³ indexing the message in the institutional context. It then contains, for orientation, English 'Main Entrance', through which the external secular and instrumental setting is negotiated. Note that there is no explicit authoritative attribution. Instead, the power relations that lend the writer the authority to prompt an action from the recipient rely on the sign's spatial positioning, allowing the inference that it speaks on behalf of the institution's agents who have control over the premises, to the clients who use the premises. Fig. 6 shows us that even in the minimalist type of sign (in terms of frames, act sequence and illocution structure, and material design), senders draw creatively on a complex repertoire of linguistic resources that are mapped onto distinct functions. This integration of linguistic resources and the fluid transition from one 'language' to another, and in between scripts, amplifies theoretical notions of 'heterolingualism', 'translanguaging', and 'metrolingualism' (cf. Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015) as the fluidity of repertoire management in multilingual settings.

In Fig. 7, a safety instruction is directed at users of a synagogue and learning facility. While the message itself is quite simple, the frame sequence shows a layered structure that identifies the message explicitly as conveyed on behalf of the institution:

Frame 1, heading, attribution [Hebrew]: Byhm'd d-Kehal Yetev Lev d-Satmar Manchester ytz'v

Frame 2, heading, supplementary information [Hebrew]: Founded by our holy rabbi owner of Ve-yoel Moyshe zy'e • under the presidency of k'q rabbi admo'r shlyt'a

Frame 3, heading, orientation, [English]: 11 Northumberland St. Salford M7 4RP

Frame 4, top right, affirmation [Aramaic]: bs'd = be-siyata di-shmaya 'with the help of heaven'

Frame 4, centre, instruction [Yiddish]: Whoever leaves last should please turn off all lights and shut the doors and windows

³ We use British conventions here, corresponding to American 'first class'.



Fig. 7. Safety instruction, Satmar, Northumberland Str.

Again, we find a set of acronyms that serve as honorifics to the names of the institution and its functionaries:

byhm'd = beys ha-midrosch 'learning house'

ytz'v = yishmeryhu tzuro ve-yikhayeyhu 'may his Rock keep him and grant him life'

zy'e = zekhuto yogen aleynu 'may his privilege protect us'

k'q = kevod koydesh 'his holy honour'

admo'r = adoneynu moreynu rabeynu 'our lord, teacher and rabbi'

shlyt'a = she-yizke le-oyrekh yoymim toyvim omen 'may he be rewarded by long and good days amen'

The standardised formulae all serve as the official Hebrew signature of the institution, which lends authority to the message. Part of that signature is the orientation in the form of a reference to the secular address, conveyed in English. It is the citing of the authority that enables the illocution, by validating the request for compliance. The formulation of the request itself is an inter-personal negotiation that is framed as part of the community's everyday household routines, represented by the choice of Yiddish.

4.5. Prohibitive functions

The following example can also be subsumed under the notion of regulatory discourse, however, it operates on the basis of full religious authority. Haredi community life is tightly regimented through a combination of scripted rituals that cover nearly all daily activities and the mediation of local rabbinical interpretation in all daily affairs. Among Israel's Haredi communities, and in New York, posters containing prohibitions called *pashkevilim* are commonly displayed on public walls and dominate the linguistic landscape on the high streets and markets of Haredi neighbourhoods. They are written almost exclusively in Hebrew. In Manchester, we did not encounter any such broadsheets outdoors. However, many of the signs encountered within the religious and learning institutions convey prohibitions. They differ from the *peshkavilim* in their design – they are usually printed posters in A4 format, sometimes accompanied by imagery – and in their content we have not encountered any overtly denunciatory posters. They are issued by the sect's religious authorities based on their interpretation of scripture and often pertain to attitudes toward the secular world. We turn our attention once again to repertoire choices and their meaningful distribution across illocutionary acts.

Fig. 8 from the Belz *yeshiva* is a call on volunteers among the institution's pupils to come forward to supervise the behaviour of other pupils in the corridors and to break up gatherings and conversations that might cause distraction during prayer times. As such, it is ostensibly a call for mobilisation, though it lacks any specific instructions to the would-be volunteers as to where and how they should present themselves for the task. For this reason, we interpret it equally as a formulation of the prohibition on such gatherings and a warning that they will be confronted, and thus as a regulatory event that addresses would-be offenders and is intended to prevent transgressions as much as it calls on recipients of the message to be alert to such transgressions and to take action against their peers:

Frame 1, header [Hebrew]: In honour of God in honour of the Torah in honour of Hasidism

Frame 2, top, [Hebrew]: The true word of God in the [Yiddish] *standing Torah* 5777, concerning the need to appoint pupils to supervise in all areas of the *bhmd'r* and the [Yiddish] *small rooms* of-in each and every place so that there are no gatherings of people who are engaging in conversation during prayers and during the reading of the Torah lest there be casualties



Fig. 8. Supervision volunteers, Belz, Broom Lane.

Frame 3, bottom [Yiddish]: For that we need to have many youngsters who should volunteer for this, but it needs to be done [Hebrew] *in honour of God in honour of the Torah in honour of Hasidism*. We must identify such youngsters who want to volunteer, they should walk around and take care that there are no such gatherings – groups – it's not 'gatherings' and not 'groups', it's simply sacrilege

Firstly, we find the usual marking of the header in Hebrew, identifying the genre as a proclamation made on behalf of rabbinical authority. Next, we find a split between the two principal frames. Frame 2, in Hebrew, contains a paraphrase of the message content delivered by the Belz Rabbi at his latest public address, which quotes an instruction to his followers. The annual event is referred to in Yiddish as *shteydige toyre* (literally 'standing Torah'). Frame 3, in Yiddish, draws practical conclusions from the paraphrase of the Rabbi's speech. The two portions thus combine to allow the anchoring of a prompt for practical action within the context of an authoritative discourse. Note that the visualisation reinforces both the split and the integrated message: There is a clear spatial and graphic separation between the two frames. Diacritic vowel symbols, generally typical of children's books, are used in the Yiddish text in Frame 3 but not in the Hebrew text in Frame 2. Both frames are designed to mimic parchments of scripture (in present day Jewish ritual, parchment is used for the Torah scroll, for the text of the Mezuzah ornament that is fixed to doorposts, and for the text of the Tefilin box worn on the forehead during prayer). The centre of the poster shows the Rabbi himself, an image that is known to his followers since the annual *shteydige toyre* event is filmed and broadcast on the internet.⁴ A further feature of the poster is the reciprocal intertwining of language portions within the frames: Frame 2, primarily in Hebrew, includes a reference to the Yiddish title of the *shteydige toyre* event as well as a reference to the learning facilities known in Yiddish as *shetiblahk* 'small rooms'. Frame 3, in turn, quotes the Hebrew title of the poster (Frame 1) in its entirety, reinforcing the authority of the proclamation. The tight integration of the frames as a single text is represented structurally through the anaphoric reference at the beginning of Frame 3 ('for that'), indicating continuity and reinforcing the view that the switch of languages is a sequencing device and not one that marks out audience design (we return to this point in the concluding remarks).

One of the principal areas of concern to the Haredi community is the exposure to digital technology and internet communication, which is seen as a potential threat to the community's values (Fader, 2009, 2013). The various sects differ in the extent to which they seek to constrain the use of the internet. Attitudes are at times seemingly contradictory, with bans being issued on the one hand, while on the other hand key community events are officially filmed and posted on the internet.

⁴ For the event of 2017 (5777) see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FD8BvIAC_O8, accessed 20.02.2018.

The rabbinical authorities are also aware of the necessity to use the internet for business and for a range of practical arrangements, from booking flights and train tickets to claiming housing benefits. The mood is therefore one of regulating the use of the internet by limiting it to the necessary minimum. Messages to that effect constitute a major portion of the posters encountered within the institutions.

Fig. 9 contains a regulatory prohibition on the use of smartphones within the confines of the *yeshiva*:

Frame 1, heading [Hebrew]: holy decree, by k-q maran rabbi hgh'q shliyt'a on the occasion of the holy blessing at the outset of *Shvues* 5773

Frame 2, top [Yiddish]: “the pocket computers, which are called the intelligent telephones [English in Yiddish orthography] (*smart-phones*) etc whoever does not need it for a grand cause for his livelihood should not have it”

Frame 3, bottom [Yiddish]: “And even those who have a permit for the tools because he has to have it for his livelihood, but not to take it out under any circumstances in bhm'd ...”

Frame 4, bottom, upper [Hebrew]: And you shall do as you are instructed

Frame 5, bottom, lower [Yiddish]: Don't take out a trade-tool in public in bhm'd etc.

Here again, the heading establishes the authority of the regulation by citing a public speech by the sect's leader (Frame 1). The direct quotes are presented as in the original speech in Yiddish (Frame 2–3). As a further reinforcing authority, the writers cite a generic rabbinical quotation from Hebrew scripture (Frame 4). Finally, the actual instruction is provided by the writers in Yiddish (Frame 5). It is this final line that is ultimately the purpose of the sign and which contains the actual prohibition. Yet in compliance with the pattern of reasoning and argumentation that is typical of Hasidic learning of Jewish law, a series of steps citing a variety of authorities is followed in order to arrive at the actual pronouncement.

5. Discussion

Our discussion of semi-public signage in the Yiddish-speaking Haredi community of Manchester addressed the connection between frames, communicative acts, and repertoire management in a multilingual community with a longstanding tradition of many centuries of multilingual literacy. We approached the sign as a communicative event that is embedded into a shared spatial setting and a shared knowledge context of action routines. Each event is composed of individual communicative acts; events can be grouped into genres based on their overall purpose, message content and audience selection. In this particular community with its tightly scripted and regimented practices, we find that there are regular patterns that characterise genres,



Fig. 9. Smartphone prohibition, Satmar

act sequences, and the choice of linguistic resources for particular acts. We find a range of structural resources: Vocabulary and grammatical structures are drawn from Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic and English; the Hebrew component consists of creative text composition, formulaic expressions, and fixed acronyms. Not all samples make use of the full range of resources. In the examples that do – primarily posters issued by the sects' authorities and which address an audience of adult male followers – access to the message content requires immersion in scripture-based learning as well as familiarity with community-internal institutional procedures. But even informal and improvised notices, such as the child's drawing (Fig. 2) and the 'lost coat' note (Fig. 3), replicate similar principles whereby various linguistic resources are distributed across communicative acts and have complementary functions. We have proposed above that it is precisely that complementarity of resource utilisation that lends the sign its illocutionary effect, by weaving together acts that inform, instruct, and appeal to the recipient, with those that provide orientation, authorisation, and legitimation.

We showed that multilingual semi-public signage containing Yiddish as part of its repertoire is predominantly part of an overall regulatory discourse (in the sense of Scollon and Scollon, 2003), which is acted out on a continuum between affective messages, appeals, mobilisation, regulatory instruction and prohibition. In an environment that is tightly regulated, where actions that are not part of a pre-scripted routine require a seal of compliance, citing an authority as proof of legitimacy is paramount. This is achieved on signs by referencing well-known conventions such as commandments or by referencing an institution or a person in a recognised position of authority. Authoritative acts are generally conveyed in *loshn koydesh* (Hebrew and the Aramaic component). The use of Yiddish does not challenge or duplicate, but instead complements the Hebrew by reaching out directly to the intimate level of inter-personal relationships, instigating persuasion and an appeal to recipients' sense of solidarity and cooperation. For this reason, we struggle somewhat to identify the corpus of signs discussed here as 'bilingual' or 'multilingual' in the sense of any cumulative assembly of duplicating or overlapping acts in different languages (cf. Reh, 2004). The signs are of course multilingual in the sense that different portions of them can be attributed structurally to different sets of vocabulary, grammatical rules, orthography, and in the case of English, choice of writing system. But in the functional sense they are all repertoire components that play an integrated role in filling functional slots in the composition of brief, written and highly situation-bound communicative events. This lends support to a series of studies that have questioned the usefulness of conceptualising language boundaries when discussing multilingual language use and which instead theorise multilingual language use as the management of a complex repertoire of linguistic structures, from which individual elements are selected and de-selected in response to setting and interaction context (see Matras, 2009; Lüdi and Py, 2009; Busch, 2012, as well as Jørgensen, 2008 for the view that only individual features can be attributed to language, and Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010 for a critical discussions of terms like 'multilingualism' and 'bilingualism' which imply that languages are countable as discrete entities).

This impression is supported by the clear division of roles among linguistic resources and the way in which their functions are aligned with certain communicative acts, with choice of language indexing illocution. This division of roles mirrors the stability of functions of linguistic repertoire components in daily practice routines that include worship, institutional deliberations, domestic and everyday communication, and instrumental negotiation of the surrounding secular world. While the ubiquitous interplay of authority-legitimizing, orientation, and outreach-cooperation is clearly a reflection of strict power relations within the community, we regard the indexical ordering (Blommaert et al., 2005a) of linguistic resources on the signs not as hierarchical per se but as complementary. In this sense, the status of Yiddish (as a lesser used, or heritage language) on signs differs from that of other immigrant or heritage languages in settings such as those described by Agnihotri and McCormick (2010), Blommaert (2013), Pappenhagen et al. (2016), and others, where the globalisation effect produces relationships among language resources on signs that are aligned with different audiences or with different collective experiences. Instead, our sample shows alignment with different acts, mirroring various action routines in which writers and recipients of the message engage.

Finally, we return to the point about the overt display of signs and its meaning for spatial demarcation. While the dense spatial clustering of public display of Hebrew signage in Manchester certainly amounts to a form of spatial demarcation (see Gaiser and Matras, 2016), Yiddish remains largely hidden from the public eye, save the odd improvised personal note and children's drawings. Without exception, Yiddish signs have a communicative rather than emblematic function and are addressed to the tight-knit community of active readers and speakers of Yiddish, which in turn overlaps with the community of followers of a number of Hasidic sects in Manchester. In this respect, Yiddish used in Haredi communities differs remarkably from many other lesser-used languages where post-vernacular practices tend to become almost as important as the use of these languages in day-to-day communication (Shandler, 2005). Glinert and Shilhav (1991) comment that use of Yiddish in Haredi communities helps create segregated Haredi spaces that are seen symbolically as a continuation of the *heyim*, a reference to the original areas of settlement in pre-war Eastern Europe where Haredi identity evolved. In our conversations we did encounter an awareness of the various sects' origins in Eastern Europe, which appears to be conveyed to contemporary generations via stories about the lives of distinguished Rabbis and the sects' respective founders, including illustrated children's books in Yiddish which offer pictures and descriptions of the 'ancestral' environment in the *heyim*. In our observation setting, use of Yiddish is largely confined to visually demarcated and insulated spaces and is strictly inwards looking. But it is also inherently intertwined with the deployment of other, complementary repertoire components in a way that serves to negotiate practical communicative tasks. In this respect our observations support Blommaert et al. (2005b: 213) conclusion that "Multilingualism is not what individuals have or lack, but what the environment, as structured determination and interactional emergence, enables and disables them to deploy".

Declarations of interest

None.

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