

**A Study on Chinese Linguistic Landscapes from the Perspective of
Positioning Theory**

by

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Abstract

Positioning theory is an analytic framework to explore the identity-forming of interlocutors in communications. In this study the author adopts positioning theory to analyze the Chinese linguistic landscapes in the city of Winnipeg in order to explore the positional identities of the Chinese population in western societies. The results show that Chinese Winnipeggers: a) assign high values to the English language but probably not equally to the French language; b) tend to accept western cultures and learn the English language; c) like to express their ethnic identities and inherit and carry the traditional Chinese cultures forward; d) attach importance to the marketing value of English and some Asian languages (like Korean and Vietnamese); e) are supported by some local businesses regarding languages; f) gradually replace the “hostile relationships” between old and new Chinese immigrants with “friendships and partnerships”; and g) identify Chinese newcomers as investors who need and are eager to buy educational products. The writer of this study exposes the power dynamics between the Chinese immigrants and mainstream society in Winnipeg, reveals the relationships between various Chinese sub-groups created during differing waves of immigration, and builds connections among time, space, and people. The functions and roles of linguistic landscapes in language education are discussed in the study.

Keywords: linguistic landscapes, positioning theory, Chinese population, positional identity

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As a multicultural nation, in recent decades Canada has attached more and more importance to its cultural diversity and ethnic equality. Against this background, and for the purpose of providing supports and assistance for marginalized people, in recent years the physical and psychological requirements of visible minority groups have become a popular research topic. In previous studies, many theories and methods have been adopted to understand different aspects of the lives of minorities. Some scholars proposed that analyzing the language practices found in multilingual environments is an effective way to explore cross-cultural encounters as well as the ethnic identities of language users (Pishghadam, Ebrahimi, Meidani, & Derakhshan, 2020; Sierra, 2019). Badia Barrera (2015) reported that dialects and accents can reflect speakers' social classes, educational experiences, and even economic backgrounds. However, it is not only oral communication that can convey extra information, but also written languages are able to reflect more than the information in the content itself (Appel & Szeib, 2018). Landry & Bourhis (1997), for example, claimed that the selection of written languages on signs can reflect awareness of territorial dominion. Similarly, Piller (2001) demonstrated how advertisement posts (on German television networks and in two national newspapers) imply the marketing images (the visible part of identities) businesses want to establish. Since it has been justified that identity is closely connected to the duties and rights negotiated in the past (Glannon, 1998), an assumption could be put forward that analyzing the written languages exhibited in a community could be a feasible way to understand the positionings (the duty and rights negotiation) between writers and their intended readers, which opens a window for observing the power dynamics among different individuals and linguistic groups within a given society.

“Linguistic landscape”, formerly a cross-disciplinary branch of sociolinguistics linking sociology, linguistics, architecture, semiology and aesthetics, is a term referring to the set of written languages in the public space of a given region (Coulmas, 2008). It has been gradually developed to an independent area of study. As a booming research interest area, linguistic landscapes have aroused the interest of scholars all over the world, who investigate the power dynamics among different linguistic groups formed within the interactions between visual space and language practices. A series of forums and academic conferences have been launched around the subject since the early 2000s and since 2015 the journal, *Linguistic Landscapes: An International Journal* has been published quarterly, targeting the latest global research and findings on related topics. As a product of human society, linguistic landscapes are not only a valuable research subject to explore social phenomena, but also a practical tool to adjust and/or influence public behaviours. In other words, linguistic landscapes serve both as monitors and as regulators of the status, power relations, and linguistic/ethnic identity of the inhabitants (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). In order to examine linguistic minority groups’ social statuses, linguistic identities, and ethnic awareness in an English dominated society, the author of this thesis selected the city of Winnipeg as the research spot and the signs containing Chinese characters, located in the public sphere, as the subject of this research. This convenience sampling reflects the availability of this location for me. After collecting the sample signs, I examined the positioning of various Chinese populations in Winnipeg using the lens of positioning theory. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the positioning of different groups of Chinese residents (for example, people from differing locations who have immigrated for different reasons) who have been reflected by the linguistic landscapes in the city of Winnipeg.

Keeping this purpose in mind, in the following section, the city of Winnipeg and immigration patterns that contributed to the social structure and hierarchy of various Chinese populations in the city will be respectively introduced as the geographical background and historical context of this study. Following this context, I will briefly introduce positioning theory, the theoretical framework for this research project.

Winnipeg is the capital city of the province of Manitoba in Canada. Sitting on the flood plain at the junction between the Red River and the Assiniboine Rivers, Winnipeg lies at the east end of the Canadian Prairies. As the longitudinal center of the North America land, it has a long history of being the trading center for Indigenous peoples and was a transportation hub in the European fur trade. Winnipeg was incorporated as a city in 1873 with a population of 1,869 people, and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 brought a huge number of immigrants, which led to rapid development of the city. The unique geographical position as well as its history as a transportation hub initially ensured the position of Winnipeg as the administrative, financial and culture center of Western Canada. At this time, as the eighth largest city in Canada, Winnipeg witnesses much multicultural diversity. Nowadays, the city is not only the home of Indigenous peoples, but it also houses populations from many other distinct ethnicities from both the West and the East. Among all of the visible minority groups, the Chinese population is the fourth largest ethnic group in Winnipeg, representing 19,886 people, occupying around 2.6% of the population of the city (almost equally in men and women). In terms of the newcomers, China is the third largest immigrant source, contributing almost a quarter (5.0%, 4.2% from mainland China) of the current city immigrants (23.9%) following the Philippines and India. Leeman and Modan (2009) proposed that the rationales behind ethnic peoples' social positionings are embedded in their past experiences, and similarly, the identity

forming of a minority group could be influenced by its ethnic history. Therefore, the historical Chinese immigration patterns in Winnipeg will be introduced in the next few paragraphs.

Since Chinese immigration waves in Canada have not been linear, but rather have been affected by governmental policies and the social environments of both China and Canada, I review the historical events as well as the political economic factors that potentially influenced the identities and social status of Chinese populations before moving further into the research. Because the interactions between immigration groups and the host society could be reflected by the community development (Kwong, 1984), the review of the history of Chinese immigration in this city would be connected with the spread of the Chinese communities. The following is a short list of the community areas and the main streets of the city. According to the 2016 census, Winnipeg has 13 community areas, namely Assiniboine South, Charleswood, Downtown, Fort Garry, Inkster, Point Douglas, River East, River Heights, Seven Oaks, St. Boniface, St. James-Assiniboia, St. Vital and Transcona, and 15 main road (Google Map), namely Perimeter Hwy, Pembina Hwy, St. Mary's Rd, Main St, Permor Ave, Lagimodiere Blvd, Chief Peguis Trail, Brookside Blvd, Oak Point-Hwy, King Edward St, Century St, Kenaston Blvd, Bishop Grandin Blvd, Portage Ave and Centre Port Canada Way.

Chinatown is located in downtown area of the city, on King Street between William and Higgins Avenues. The history of Chinatown can be traced back to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Integrating differently from other major cities like Vancouver or Victoria, Chinese immigrants did not participate in the early establishment of the city of Winnipeg; when they first arrived in 1887, a city hall had already been built. The early Chinese settlers banded together by family names and lived together voluntarily to protect themselves from the discrimination from other ethnic groups. They gradually started to communicate with

the society through running small family businesses. However, the threats came from not only the outside groups, but also the inner Chinese populations. By the end of the 1890s, Lee's family (an early Chinese immigrant family from the USA) dominated the laundry trade and suppressed their competitors through cutting prices and blocking Chinese newcomers from entering the city, which led to complaints from the Chinese immigrants and other social members. The Chinese laundry houses spread all over the city rapidly, presenting symbolic red and white advertising signs in the store front. With an increasing number of Chinese entering the city, Chinatown in Winnipeg was formally constructed starting in 1909. In addition to the laundry houses, Chinese immigrants also clustered in some service industries including restaurants, grocery stores and coal-heated greenhouses by the end of 1920. Everyone worked six days per week and gathered together in Chinatown to relax on Sundays. Chinatown was considered to be a site that was both dirty and criminal by mainstream society due to the over-crowded population and illegal activities such as gambling and vaping (Yee, 2005).

Originating from the same villages in China, early Chinese settlers were bound to their clans. From the beginning, they could only work as low-paid labourers because most of them were uneducated and lacked proficiency in English or French. However, the situation started to improve in the early twentieth century. In 1911, speaking for the Kuomintang, Sun Yat-Sen, the father of modern China, came to Winnipeg and advocated for the 1911 Revolution. A series of political and social events in China, including the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty (1912), reformation, the wars against aggression (1937–45), the civil wars (1945–49) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) exerted an obvious influence on the Chinese Winnipeggers' life and identity awareness, which resulted in the replacement of kinship with ethnic identity and political beliefs such as nationalism and charity; these gradually became the core linking strength of

Chinese communities. Many unofficial Chinese associations were established in Winnipeg, collecting donations and giving speeches to support different parties and organizations in China. Although the Chinese population started to participate more actively in social affairs and had more access to professional careers with the improvement in education and English language competency, Chinatown was still the social centre of the Chinese community in this period (Baureiss & Driedger, 1982).

In the 1980s, guided by Canada's national multicultural ideology, Winnipeg governmental authorities together with some leaders of the Chinese communities planned to revitalize Chinatown. Some people suggested building a new one at River Heights; however, the proposal did not obtain consent because the old site in the downtown area carried memories of early Chinese immigrants. With this in mind, several examples of traditional Chinese-style architecture, such as the Dynasty Building, the Mandarin Building, the Housing Complex and the Chinatown gate have been constructed on the model of the original Chinatown (Lai & Chen, 2013). Since then, Chinatown has become one of the city's symbolic landmarks, exhibiting Chinese customs and cultures. Since 1997 when Hong Kong was returned by Britain to China after over 150 years of colonization, mainland China has gradually taken the place of Hong Kong as the greatest source of Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg. Since the start of the 21st century, the Chinese population has also moved into areas along Pembina Highway between the Perimeter and Bishop Grandin Boulevard. Bartley (2011) found that around 25% of Winnipeg's Chinese Canadians settled in the South Fort Garry area close to the University of Manitoba, while downtown's historical Chinatown continues to house around 3% of Winnipeg's Chinese residents. Bartley (2011) also pointed out that unlike early immigrants, who lived and conducted social

activities downtown in Chinatown, most of today's Chinese newcomers prefer to settle down in the southern part of the city.

Since the turn of the century, the boundaries and contradictions between old settlers and newcomers have been gradually broken down. Nowadays, the constitution of Chinese associations largely depends on cultural similarities and interests. Many Chinese clubs like the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Center (WCCCC) provide multiple ethnic culture-related activities like martial arts courses, handwriting competitions, and Chinese festival celebrations for all who are interested. Responding to newcomers' needs, many Chinese organizations offer services and advice regarding English/Chinese language instruction, grocery shopping, tax reporting, passport renewal, immigration, job recommendation, real estate rent and purchase, investigation, health care, legal affairs, and so on. Although there is no Chinese governmental authority in Winnipeg, the Chinese communities and organizations have formed a relatively mature service system that covers a variety of basic living needs. The comparative independence of this system ensures that the Chinese population live in Winnipeg as Chinese, maintaining Chinese languages, beliefs, cultural conventions, and ethnic identities.

Being a large visible minority group, the Chinese population have joined in various social activities with a series of distinctive cultures, habits, and values. However, each Chinese community has its unique sub-features, offering a different cultural atmosphere and leaving the mainstream society with different impressions. Thus, in order to learn about the identities of the Chinese population as reflected in Winnipeg's linguistic landscapes and their effects on individual members of the Chinese population, it is beneficial to have an overview of the use of different Chinese languages. Following Hoque (2018), who remarks on the mother tongue's extraordinary influence on people's linguistic habits and identities, the author adopts the mother

tongue as the defining feature of an area's linguistic demographic. Some information about the mother tongue of the Chinese population in Winnipeg has been reported by Statistics Canada (2016). Among the 98.7% of the Winnipeg population who responded to the questions about their mother tongues in the census survey, there are approximately 19,660 people who identify themselves as Chinese, accounting for around 2.8% of the total population of 705,244. Among the Chinese population, about 16,035 people (81.6%) are self-identified as speakers of Chinese languages, including 6,055 Cantonese speakers (37.8%) and 8,785 Mandarin speakers (54.8%) as well as users of other Chinese languages. As is shown, Cantonese speakers are outnumbered by Mandarin speakers in the city. Although there is a relatively detailed statistical description of oral languages, the data on the use of written languages are not traceable. Since written Chinese is the focus of this study, there will be an introduction to the Chinese writing system in the beginning of discussion.

Since mother tongue reflects people's social background and values, some people want to amplify it, but some others want to hide it. In addition, the process of language assimilation (the transfer from mother tongue to mainstream languages) is typically strengthened in educational environments. For example, in my former homestay, my host's son, a sophomore at my university, was a second-generation Filipino immigrant who can understand Tagalog but cannot speak it very well. He was a member of the Student Union, and I once asked him, "When you designed activity posters, would you ever use Tagalog or some other language besides English?" The answer was "no". He said that all the posters would be written exclusively in English so that everyone can understand them. He was thinking about the readers – but not all of them. Those newcomers who are not proficient at English were excluded because they are linguistic

minorities; if they want to take part in this “game”, they must learn and obey the rules made by the linguistic majority, who in this case were English speakers.

Another example of linguistic assimilation is in the underground tunnel linking most of the buildings on the university campus at the University of Manitoba. I walked through it to my classes every day until the pandemic. A number of posters were stuck on the walls, pillars and noticeboards in the tunnel, showing coming events like course selection, lecture delivery, health instruction, job hunting, social events and many other student service information bulletins. No matter who the sign designers were, whether departmental officers or non-native speakers of English, almost all of the posters and signs were written in English. In most cases, it is difficult to determine the nationalities, races, or mother tongues of the people who produced these posters simply by viewing them. This brings to mind a classmate of mine who claimed to have changed her accent to make herself understood during a class discussion. Since many people are changing themselves to cater to the common denominator, marginalized languages like Tagalog, Mandarin and Cantonese are gradually being replaced and assimilated by English and French in the Winnipeg context.

However, some situations are dramatically different. For example, there are some spare tables on the first floor of the Student Center where student associations promote activities. In contrast to the approach seen on posters in the tunnel, ethnic student associations such as the Chinese Student Union and the Pakistani Student Union, often put up huge banners and send out bilingual leaflets to show their ethnic identities prominently. The desire for identity expression leads to the establishment of the association, and in turn, the existence of the association would enhance its members’ motivation to express their ethnic identities. These contradictory phenomena in daily language practices lead to a series of general questions on inquiring

identities: What are the respective influences of the language policies and dominant languages on minority language use? How do language practices reflect ethnic identities in public areas? In what situations are specific linguistic and ethnic identities expressed? How and why do these processes occur in specific situational contexts? How does authentic language practice affect people's linguistic and ethnic identities? Locating these questions in the current research, particular language practices would be a kind of text or discourse performed in the form of linguistic landscapes. Therefore, as an effective tool to deal with texts and conversations, discourse analysis has been chosen as a framework for analysis in this research. However, discourse analysis is a general concept containing a variety of methods. Instead of conversation analysis, which discusses relationships at sentence level, or critical discourse analysis, which focuses on social inequalities, this study attempts to analyze the linguistic landscapes using positioning theory.

Positioning theory has been introduced by Kayi-Aydar (2018) as a kind of discourse analysis which aims at speculating the duty-and-rights distributions that have been implied in communication and narratives. Like critical discourse analysis, positioning theory also focuses on the power dynamics among the interlocutors conveyed by discourses, but sees lexical selection and power-related social functions in the same value. Kayi-Aydar (2018), divided positionings into three categories (first, second, and third order) according to the different attitudes and reactions of the interlocutors, or into "reflexive positioning" (assigning positions to oneself) and "interactive positioning" (assigning positions to others) based on the different assigned subject positions (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). Being adopted as the theoretical basis of the research, positioning theory is introduced in detail later in the methodology section. Considering the purpose of this thesis, the guiding questions have been narrowed down, and the

general research question has been designed to investigate how Chinese linguistic landscapes reflect the positioning of the Chinese population in Winnipeg. The questions are as follows:

- a) What do Chinese linguistic landscapes look like in Winnipeg?
- b) What images (the visible part of identities) are created by these Chinese linguistic landscapes?
- c) How do these images reflect the positioning of the various Chinese populations (waves of immigrant and refugees from different locations)?
- d) What are the differences in positioning of various Chinese subcultures that are reflected by Winnipeg's linguistic landscapes?

Interdisciplinary methodologies are gradually taking the place of single-subject viewpoints in academia. In addition, linguistic landscapes are a comprehensive topic integrating various subjects like linguistics, sociology, psychology, geography, art design and media studies in the forms of texts, pictures and/or shapes, which cannot be thoroughly understood with a single method. Thus, using cross-subject methods not only follows current research trends but is also appropriate when examining the multi-modeled features of signs. This study therefore takes a blended cross-subject approach, using both quantitative and qualitative methods to find answers to these questions. Social science researchers are not only interested in the relationships among variables but are also curious about the reasons behind different social phenomena. Using blended methods to explore linguistic landscapes can meet both the needs of describing common characters of the regional signs and exposing the power interactions among different linguistic groups.

Unlike quantitative studies, researchers in qualitative studies actively participate or are involved in the research as the research instrument (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). When discussing

the influence of the researchers' roles on the results of the study, the concepts of "insider" and "outsider" should be considered (Kouritzin & Nakagawa, 2018). An insider has been described as a person who belongs to an organization, group or community; by contrast, an outsider is one who does not (Kerstetter, 2012). By this definition, I play the roles of both insider and outsider in this research. Next, I will explain this by positioning myself.

I am Chinese. The record of the branch of my family starts from the year 1613 (the earlier records are lost), and all my forefathers originated from China. Although some of my ancestors and relatives immigrated to other regions or countries, all of the people in my family tree are recorded by their Chinese names. Therefore, I identify myself as Chinese, and if it is necessary, I will advocate for Chinese people as a minority ethnic group in western societies. Besides, although I am studying in Winnipeg as an international student, I am a Chinese citizen who grew up in China and speaks Mandarin. I biologically and politically belong to the Chinese population. As a Chinese person, I am already endowed with certain expectations or stereotypes from other people inside or outside of the Chinese population. Additionally, having been immersed in mainland China's epistemologies and ideologies for over twenty years, I am familiar with mainstream Chinese culture and its ways of thinking. Although I did not take part in any linguistic landscape-designing activities, I am a potential member of the Chinese audience who can understand and are more sensitive to those Chinese characters. From this perspective, I am an insider.

In addition to my ethnic origin, my educational experiences could be an influential factor in my interpreting of the positionings. Growing up in mainland China, I was educated that "Hong Kong and Taiwan are an inalienable part of China". Therefore, I am a bit resistant to separating Taiwanese and Hongkongers from the Chinese mainlanders and might unconsciously

avoid delving into their distinctions in identities and positionings. However, this selective shielding of sensitivity might cause impacts on and biases to the interpretation of my qualitative data (photos), because being similar to the Canadian First Nations, the Anglophones and the Francophones, the Hongkongers and the Taiwanese are different ethnic groups of the Chinese people, unavoidably having different cultural backgrounds and holding subtle linguistic and ethnic identities. Moreover, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) pointed out that beliefs and knowledge are acquirable attributes, and it is challenging for people to understand all the subcultures of a complicated community. Since the research focus of this study is the entire Chinese population, a general concept that refers to the Chinese as a whole, including Chinese Canadian citizens, descendants of immigrants, newcomers, international students and temporary visitors coming from different areas of China (mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong) with different knowledge and experiences, there might probably be a gap in my knowledge of various Chinese immigrants' specific ideologies. In this sense, I would not always be an insider in all cases.

In the next two paragraphs, I will illustrate how my (English language) learning experience developed my linguistic and ethnic identities.

China is a monolingual country, but as a global language, English represents internationalization and enjoys a high social prestige in all the big cities including my hometown, Shenyang. However, English is not practical in China. Although the Chinese-and-English bilingual signs can be found everywhere in major cities, in stores, on subways, and even on the doors of washrooms, it seems that people do not attach enough importance to its correctness because there are many mistakes in the English language use on public signs. I received most of my English training in mainland China where students usually start to learn English from Grade three in elementary school. However, many parents want their children to be exposed to the

language earlier and send them to some special interest classes (also called “cram” schools) before they are school age. I am one of them; I started to learn English at age four. Similar to most Chinese students, I used to learn English for the National College Entry Examination, which is a paper test that only contains reading and writing and mainly focuses on vocabulary and grammar. However, my later college experiences pushed me to exercise more in listening and speaking. For me, English is no more a tool for getting high scores on paper tests; it has gradually become a medium for communicating. Although I am still limping in English conversations and am far away from being a fully proficient English speaker, I am trying to use English to express myself. Therefore, I identify myself as a bilingual speaker in this report: one who uses her entire linguistic repertoire to examine the positionings of the Chinese population reflected by the linguistic landscapes.

This study is of both practical and theoretical value. First, the author is writing this study as a response to the appeal of cultural diversity of Canadian academia. Through exploring the encounters and positioning between a minority group (the Chinese population) and the dominant agencies (mainstream Western English speakers) reflected by linguistic landscapes, the study can provide a deeper understanding of power relationships among different ethnic groups. Exposing these issues is a necessary step toward a series of targeted measures against racial inequality, which is positive for the long-term maintenance of social stability. Second, looking for similarities and differences in positioning among subgroups (mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan) of the same ethnic group (the Chinese population) might help ease the historic estrangement between old and new immigrants, promoting understanding and creating a welcoming atmosphere for newcomers with different geographical backgrounds.

In addition to advocating for cultural diversity, equality and human rights, the research also has theoretical significance. As a visible ethnic group in Canada, the Chinese have aroused the interest of many researchers from both the East and the West. Although Chinese linguistic landscapes have been studied in many multilingual cities, most of them stopped at the surface, mainly focusing on numeric description instead of deeper analysis, while the data collection and analysis lacked systematic theoretical support (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017). Aiming to fill this gap, the author of this study hopes to redefine major problems in previous linguistic landscape research, and endeavor to explore how Chinese linguistic landscapes reflect the positioning of the Chinese population by advancing an interdisciplinary method. According to my current knowledge, this study is the first to use positioning theory to explain Chinese linguistic landscapes in an English-dominated environment. The method would provide a new cross-disciplinary template for further studies of both linguistic landscapes and discourse analysis.

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, presenting the background, research topic, research problems, research purposes and research questions. The second chapter is a literature review comprising definitions of linguistic landscapes, classifications of linguistic landscapes and the applications of linguistic landscapes in the areas of language policy, economics and pedagogy, respectively, followed by a summary of the main defining problems that remain to be clarified. The third chapter is a description of the research methodology. This chapter consists of four major parts: introduction to the theories and methods commonly used in previous linguistic landscape research, the theoretical framework of the current study, the analytic model, and the data collection and analysis processes. The fourth chapter is a presentation of the findings and discussion, in which the author discusses the position of the Chinese population reflected by the linguistic landscapes in the city of Winnipeg.

Discussions are launched around positional identities based on the collected photo signage in this part guided by the theoretical framework. The pedagogical implications are provided in the fifth chapter. In the last chapter the writer starts with a short summary of the study and concludes by presenting some current problems and offering directions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter includes four main parts. The author discusses the concepts and classifications of the linguistic landscape, describes three main research perspectives, reviews practical research in the fields of language policy, economics and language acquisition, and considers current problems and future directions in research on linguistic landscapes.

Definition of Linguistic Landscapes

The concept of the linguistic landscape is derived from social linguistics. It integrates linguistics, sociology, psychology, geography, art design and media studies (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017). Some scholars (Lawrence, 2012) have treated it as an independent subject, but others (Backhaus, 2006) have used it to study complicated social phenomena such as local multilingualism (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017) and the language of power and policies (Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017). To begin, it is important to define the subject that will be studied. Many researchers have offered definitions of the term “linguistic landscape”, and therefore the concept of the linguistic landscape has become increasingly broad.

The term “linguistic landscape” was first introduced by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who defined it as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or reign” (p. 23). Landry and Bourhis studied the linguistic landscape of Belgium and Quebec by considering the written languages used in five domains, namely, “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names and public signs on government buildings” (p. 25). Coulmas (2008) defined linguistic landscape as “the study of writing on display in the public sphere” (p. 14), and Backhaus (2006) identified it as “any piece of written text within a definable frame” (p. 56). In the latter two definitions, the written languages in all public spaces are included in the linguistic landscape.

Gorter (2018) considered Bourhis' definition influential, but "a bit dated" (p. 41) and appealed to researchers to rethink the definition of the linguistic landscape. Barni and Bagna (2008) pointed out that one of the most important problems in defining linguistic landscapes is that it is difficult to clarify the boundaries of public space, which could include cities, towns, streets, private stores, and many other areas. Some scholars (e.g., Shohamy, 2015) have enlarged the scope of public spaces to include some semi-public and non-public areas such as school environments (Brown, 2012) and cyberspace (Ivkovic & Lotherington, 2009). Similarly, Pappenhagen, Scarvaglieri, and Redder (2016) argued that not only written language but also spoken language should be considered in some situations. However, no matter how much the dimension of the linguistic landscape has been enlarged, it has been studied primarily in bilingual and multilingual environments where language contacts and conflicts are frequent.

In previous studies, linguistic landscapes have usually been considered the same thing as signs. However, they are not considered synonymous in this study. Instead, the linguistic landscape is understood as a set of signs displayed in the public space, and the signs are seen as the analysis units of the linguistic landscape. In this sense, this study not only examines the general characters of the linguistic landscapes in an area but also focuses on the features of individual signs.

Classification of Signs

In linguistic landscape studies, photographic databases are most commonly used to collect and manage data (Calvi & Uberti-Bona, 2020). However, the field does not have a unified standard for photo collection and analysis. Researchers have tended to pick and deal with signs based on their research purposes. Often, they have chosen bilingual or multilingual urban areas with diverse populations (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017), including border cities (Ruzaitè, 2017), main

business streets (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008), communities along railway lines (Huebner, 2006) and noticeboards in school buildings (Pakarinen & Bjorklund, 2018). They have taken photos of the signs and posters in certain areas and then classified the photos in ways suitable for the research.

Both synchronic and diachronic methods can be applied in linguistic landscape studies. In diachronic studies, signs are automatically separated according to the times when they were collected. Those collected at the same period are compared horizontally by classifying them by authorship, locations, mediums, functions, topics, or other parameters. For example, Ben-Rafael (2008), who studied the linguistic vitality and power dynamics of competing ethnic groups, claimed that signs could be categorized into official signs (top-down signs) that are designed by governments, such as road signs and the names of parks and public buildings, and private signs (bottom-up signs) that are posted by companies and individuals, such as private shop signs, advertisement boards and private posters. The differences between these two types of signs have been used as an index to examine the linguistic willingness of language users (Shang & Zhao, 2014) and power conflicts among different linguistic groups (Przymus & Kohler, 2018). However, Barni and Bagna (2008) refused to accept this dichotomy. Instead, they proposed that signs form a linear continuum based on power commanded by their authors, from governments to unofficial associations to individuals.

Shang & Zhao (2014) argued that the signs could be classified according to the location and material of their carriers, including stones, wooden boards, paper, TV channels, cyberspace and other stable or fluid platforms. Human beings began to paint designs and images on walls and rocks in prehistory to record major events. In early civilizations, political authorities and religious groups inscribed laws and doctrines on stones to regularize and guide behavior. Today, individuals sometimes express their feelings and vent their dissatisfaction by scratching graffiti

on buildings and walls. People also have tombstones inscribed to commemorate the dead. Because letters engraved in stone are long-lasting, they are advantageous for recording matters of importance. However, many store owners find that wooden and metal boards are an acceptable alternative for stones. They are more affordable and can be used in many locations. Paper is the material most commonly used for signs that provide information that is only useful in the short term, such as announcements of sales and events. People design posters and stick them on walls, pillars and notice boards or place leaflets and booklets in neighborhood mailboxes. Constantly changing information is displayed on digital screens in airports, bus stations and storefronts. As Internet access has become more widespread, public websites have become accessible to an increasing number of people; they could be regarded as public spaces as well. Facebook, Instagram and WeChat, unlimited by time and space, provide platforms for the spread of information. They reach more people than traditional mediums and therefore exert a greater influence. From the fixed (walls and building exteriors) to the mobile (vehicles, clothes, and tattoos), sign carriers are becoming increasingly flexible and diverse.

Function is another way in which signs are classified in linguistic landscape studies. The function of signs can be explored from the perspectives of both applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. Coulmas (2008) observed that the earliest signs usually bore the function of publicly displaying and delivering information to all of the members of a community. Taking an ethnolinguistics perspective, Landry and Bourhis (1997) argued that a linguistic landscape has two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function. They proposed that linguistic landscapes not only disseminate messages to the public but also reflect the cultural vitality, linguistic power, social status and ethnic identity of linguistic groups. From a sociolinguistic aspect, linguistic landscapes deliver information but mainly have cultural,

historical, educational and aesthetic functions. From the perspective of pragmatics, linguistic landscapes have the functions of informing and warning, noticing, forbidding, and recommending. Since linguistic landscapes can mark the boundaries of administrative territories (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), some scholars have classified signs according to the numbers and types of the languages presented on them (e.g., as monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual signs) to understand language power distribution within regions (Pakarinen & Bjorklund, 2018). It is also valuable to explore the different roles that each language plays on bilingual or multilingual signs (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Hasan & Trumper-Hecht, 2006). Malinowski (2008) found that some shop owners use the minority language in dominated language communities to make their shops easily recognizable by certain groups and build a sense of affinity with their inner-group members. Lavender (2021) and Mohebbi and Firoozkahi (2021) have discussed similar micro-linguistic functions of lexicons, collocation, and grammar.

Caldwell (2017) suggested that signs could be categorized thematically—for example, a sign might relate to food, health, housing, education, or entertainment. Certain products are considered particularly characteristic of certain countries, such as Indian food, French perfumes, and German cutlery. Similarly, different ethnic groups in a multicultural community attach importance to different services and tend to be particularly well represented in certain occupations. This offers the possibility of exploring the living status of an ethnic group in a multicultural society through analyzing the group's linguistic landscapes using Maslow's hierarchical theory of needs. According to this theory, there are five levels of needs that can explain human behaviours. From the lowest to the highest level, these are physiological needs, the need for safety, the need to be loved and belong, the need for esteem, and the need for self-actualization. The higher-level requirements are pursued when the lower-level needs have been

satisfied. By focusing on signs for products provided by an ethnic or linguistic group or occupations that these groups engage in and the areas excluded from the signs and classifying the signs based on the different need levels, researchers can describe the group's requirements and then speculate on its social status. For example, if all the signs in a minority language in a certain region only relate to basic foods and clothes, namely, items at the lowest level of needs, the corresponding linguistic group might have low status in the society. In contrast, if a language usually appears signs relating to fashion products and the arts, its speakers may enjoy a relatively higher social status. However, as Desmet & Fokkinga (2020) have mentioned, individuals have varied requirements and people weight values differently. Some high-level needs might be met even when lower-level needs have been only partly realized. Thus, Maslow's theory has some limitations for understanding the social status of the group and should be adopted critically in linguistic landscape studies. It has not yet been applied in analyzing signs. This might be an interesting direction to explore in future studies.

The studies reviewed above explore linguistic landscapes themselves, discussing the micro-features of signs, which could be seen as the "studies of linguistic landscapes". However, linguistic landscapes are formed by power and serve power. From the perspective of positioning theory, identity is accumulated step-by-step through a series of social encounters. Politics (language policy), economic activities and (second language) education are three aspects of immigrants' social encounters that play a significant role in forming identities. The next section explores how linguistic landscapes act to regulate public identities and behaviors. Studies of this nature have appeared predominantly in the fields of politics, economy and education, which could be regarded as the "studies of applied linguistic landscapes".

Applications of Linguistic Landscapes

History consists of repeated circles, and we only need to know one loop at a time. Linguistic landscapes play a transitional role in these loops, which are the results of actions in the past, the situational context of current negotiations, and the presupposed environment of future interactions. Linguistic landscapes have been widely deconstructed and reconstructed in a variety of fields, including language policy, economics, identities, and pedagogy. These areas are largely independent of one another but are also connected because they serve power, which is exhibited externally in the form of capital accumulation. The following section of this review will be a synthesis of research about language policy, economics, and language education. In addition, the influence of COVID-19 on signs will be discussed relative to each of these topics to explore how the pandemic, which has changed almost all aspects of daily life, is reflected in linguistic landscapes.

Linguistic Landscapes and Language Policy

Language practices are regulated by language policies and oriented by market economies. Spolsky (2004) defined language policy as the set of laws, rules and customs affecting language use, which are power-related criteria used to enforce language, ideologies, and beliefs. He proposed that quotidian language practices are guided by language policies; and in turn, language policies can be modified by social developments and real-world language use. Various manipulations have been exerted on languages by countries, states, provinces, and communities for different purposes. National language policies are among the most direct and effective methods. There are two opposing language policies, namely, monolingual policy and multilingual/bilingual policy. In monolingual areas, only one language is promoted as the official language. There are limitations on the use of all other languages in formal contexts, and this is often made clear by top-down signs. Multilingual and bilingual policies are more tolerant of the

use of different languages. Although some differences exist between the two types of policies, regardless of the policy adopted, certain languages are selected and stipulated as the official languages by the authorities. Such languages occupy the dominant position in domains such as political administration, public services, education, and mass media. Other languages are marginalized as minority languages. Thus, certain languages acquire higher status and prestige than others, and their speakers enjoy more social privileges.

Monolingualism is sometimes understood as linguistic purism or linguistic protectionism (Leimgruber, 2020) which is related to colonialism and hegemonism. Some language laws in monolingual areas like China and Quebec (a province of Canada) dictate how written languages should be performed on signs, including orthography, type, size, order, and the relative position of each language. This is done to protect the mainstream status of particular languages, which Backhaus (2008) considers an element of national ethnic identities. Through field observations and empirical analyses, Leclerc (1989) observed that multilingual policies are usually more acceptable in a relatively monolingual environment in which the national security and survival of the predominant languages has been guaranteed. This principle has been used by Backhaus (2008) in his comparison of the language policies and linguistic landscapes of Quebec and Japan. He noted that Québec, faced with the threat of English, has adopted a series of monolingual policies since the 1970s to protect the vitality of French, whereas Japan's international language policy reflects its relatively monolingual environment. A monolingual policy caused by feelings of insecurity can be expressed not only at the national level but also in local institutions. A few months ago, a Tim Hortons in Winnipeg posted a sign regarding working instructions, asking workers to speak English at all times when they were in the workplace. The instruction led to public debates. The sign claimed that the cafeteria was an English-speaking workplace in which

English should be the sole language spoken. The sign was prompted by the suspicions of English-speaking workers that their colleagues who had different first languages were judging them in the other languages.

Appeals for policy reviews often accompany changes in politics, social structure, culture, economics, and religion due to the explicit and implicit redistribution of power. They can also accompany the events that have major societal impact, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, the initial task for governments was to make sure that information on COVID-19 was distributed widely and efficiently. This practical purpose prompted a series of studies and projects to check and improve the match between the level of language used in informational materials and the linguistic diversity of the population. In an examination of language use on Twitter, Dunn, Coupe and Adams (2021) found that linguistic diversity changed worldwide during the pandemic; they attributed it mostly to travel restrictions. Hopkins and van den Hoven (2021) observed an English-only tendency in bottom-up signs in an analysis of pandemic-related signage in Abu Dhabi (the capital city of United Arab Emirates) and expressed concerns over the lack of access of linguistic minorities to COVID-19 warnings. Similarly, while observing the safety signs recently added to park trails of Vancouver's North Shore since the beginning of the pandemic, Marshall (2021) noticed that some symbols, shapes, images, and colors had been combined to make the information about social distancing understandable, but the multicultural (multilingual) policy had not been implemented neither sufficiently in official top-down signs nor unofficial grassroots artifacts.

The pandemic offers an opportunity for linguists to think about how authorities could uphold social equality in times of emergency through adjusting language policies and linguistic landscapes to help vulnerable populations fight against exclusion. Some institutional-level

attempts have been made to solve communication problems. When COVID-19 broke out in Wuhan, China last year (January, 2020), thousands of hospital staff and volunteers from across the country went to support the city. However, it was difficult for the newcomers to communicate with the local people because of linguistic and dialectical differences. The situation did not improve until the publication of a Wuhan dialect guidebook—a vocabulary booklet showing the dialect-to-Mandarin translations of commonly used medical-related terms. Similarly, some Canadian Indigenous people faced problems in accessing health messages and medical supports due to language barriers. The federal and provincial governments took charge of disseminating information, and the task of communicating it fell on Indigenous organizations and local associations. Curve Lake First Nation created a window flag system so that people could indicate their status and needs during the lockdown (Spence, Chau, Farvid, White, Rasalingam, & Loh, 2020). They assigned different meanings to colored flags (a white flag meant “everything is all right”; blue meant “we need water”; yellow meant “we need food”; red meant “we are sick” and green meant “non-health-related help request”). The flags were hung in windows or other places where they were easily visible to volunteers. The dialect guidebook used in Wuhan and the coded visible symbols used by Curve Lake First Nation were efficient communicative scaffolds that should be promoted and used in future emergencies.

Most scholars who consider linguistic equality have focused on marginalized people who are excluded from information due to linguistic gaps. However, with widespread Internet availability, information overabundance has also become a problem in developed and some developing countries. Groups who receive excessive information may suffer difficulties as well. Authorities in different regions may have different policies for dealing with the pandemic. For example, they may establish different rules and standards on self-isolation, vaccines and mask

wearing. People, especially those who are multilingual, may have access to conflicting information. This can lead to confusion, anxiety and even panic. Other people may be misled by rumors. Strong, successful governments are trusted by their people. Therefore, it is important to consider how to improve the acceptance of the information provided by governments and to guide people in filtering information and making better choices.

Linguistic Landscapes and Economics

Although official language policies can have a significant influence on local linguistic landscapes, especially through top-down signs, bottom-up economic signs enjoy more autonomy and flexibility. Thus, in capitalist societies, language use in private posts and signage is more sensitive to the potential economic value of the signs. One of the first principles for designing economically successful signs is that they appeal to their audiences (Kumar & Raju, 2013); that is why foreign languages are often used on signs in local linguistic communities. Lee (2019) argued that the use of English conveyed a sense of modernity, internationalization, and fashion. In contrast, the use of minority languages can create an exotic and mysterious atmosphere (Ruzaitė 2017). This finding has been adopted to identify economic motivations and rationales for linguistic landscape characteristics, such as the use of English names for local stores (Mattfolk, 2017) and the inclusion of Indigenous languages on road signs and signs at tourist spots (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2019).

In terms of pure communication, all languages play homologous roles and have similar functions in monolingual environment. In other words, language as accessory for human beings, itself does not have political power or economic value. However, in capitalist societies, everything has been given and is oriented by economic values. As a kind of commodity (Rubdy & Tan, 2008), languages have been endowed with certain marketing values as well. Therefore,

with globalization and the growth of multilingual societies, different cultures and languages start competing around the world. Competition among different languages relates closely to each language's marketing value, which is also referred to as its linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). This term refers to the benefits that a language can bring, such as job opportunities and social prestige. According to Zhang & Grenier (2013), a society's development and language policies are also affected by the economic value of different languages. Thus, the selection of dominant languages and attitudes toward different languages are largely a function of their marketing values.

Lin and Wang (2016) found that the manufacturers of some famous exported products were more likely to use the language of the product's origin on their packaging and advertisements in foreign markets than to use the local language. They concluded that these products are highly influential and recognizable on the global market, and their names had become symbols of high fashion, high quality, comfort, health and environmental friendliness, giving them a higher marketing value. Similarly, economic interests have driven the use of minority languages on road signs and souvenirs in tourist spots; some people believe that endangered languages and Indigenous cultures could be revitalized in this way. However, there is a long-running debate on the relationship between tourism and language diversity. Ruhanen & Whitford (2019) argued that developing tourism was a way to support minority languages because the economic value of a language can be enhanced when it becomes familiar to the public. However, Harbor & Hunt (2021) worried that tourism could inflict great harm on the preservation of Indigenous languages, because the influx of powerful languages, new lifestyles and values might destroy the local cultural ecosystem, accelerating the disappearance of Indigenous languages.

The global economy has been deeply affected by the pandemic lockdown. Most public places and services, including restaurants, clubs and libraries, have red “CLOSED” signs hanging on their front doors. Life has moved to cyberspace. People shop online, order food through delivery applications and hold online conferences. I looked at the linguistic scaffolding provided by several different mobile platforms. Amazon supports nineteen languages; Zoom supports eleven; Facebook supports thirteen; and RBC Mobile Banking supports two, English and French. Would the languages available in these apps produce anxiety and resistance in minority language customers? How do merchants balance the expenses of language support and maintenance with the profits generated from speakers of minority languages? Who is included and who is abandoned in this trade-off? These are interesting questions to consider. Some for-profit and non-profit businesses and organizations remain open (such as, supermarkets, hotels, hospitals) and have a huge number of health-instructional notices posted. In a study of an industrial site in Abu Dhabi Hopkyns and Van Den Hoven (2021) found that most of the public health messages were written in mainstream languages. This hints at the inequality in information access (the exclusion of minority linguistic groups) that can occur.

Uneven linguistic capital distribution exists in all fields. Therefore, a series of explorations could be conducted to understand language power dynamics in economics. For example, international travellers must isolate in hotels for a few days if they enter certain countries during the pandemic. Does the language used on hotel menus match the international travellers’ linguistic needs? If the same amount of money was spent, could different language speakers get equal access to specific services? Do certain people quit travelling due to language barriers, or in versus, the low mobility of population blocks language promotion? The Olympic Games gather people of different ethnicities and nationalities; this creates a temporary super-

multilingual region. Since the COVID-19 pandemic has made the 2020 Tokyo Olympics Games different from all of the previous Olympics, it seems pertinent to explore health-related linguistic landscapes in the Olympic Village, sports courts, hotels, international airports and other public spaces in Tokyo, Japan, this summer (2021). There is little research on such topics, but the field would be interesting to explore.

The most important concepts in economics are capital and cost. If linguistic capital means the benefits that people can get from their language abilities, we can define linguistic cost correspondingly as what is spent in time, money, energy, and human resources to obtain and maintain certain language abilities. These expenses mostly occur within periods of linguistic capital accumulation, namely, language acquisition. Thus, the next section of this review of practical linguistic landscape studies will focus on language teaching and learning.

Linguistic Landscapes and Education

My field of study is second-language education, and I will probably become a language teacher. Therefore, I am particularly interested in the use of linguistic landscapes in language teaching and learning. Although the influence of linguistic landscapes on language learning is not as obvious as the effects of other teaching methods or instructional elements in classroom, its role should not be ignored. Linguistic landscape research in education can be classified into two main categories: the use of signs as educational resources and their effects on students' linguistic awareness and identity.

In recent years, an increasing number of researchers have shifted their research interests from urban signage to narrower fields. Some have linked the linguistic landscape to language education. Such education-related studies have been conducted both in and outside of schools. Some researchers (Cormier, 2018) have focused on the influence of linguistic landscape on

learners' linguistic habitus, awareness, and identity, whereas others (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008) have used signs as pedagogical tools and treated the linguistic landscape as authentic and valuable social language input material in language instruction (Huebner, 2016). In her doctoral dissertation, Cormier (2018) adopted Pierre Bourdieu's sociolinguistic theory and focused on communicative behaviors. She explored the interaction between signs and "talks and texts" by interviewing sign producers, questioning them about their attitudes towards the languages used on the signs and the values they held related to those languages. She borrowed and created some concepts to explain people's language choices and their positions as well as some power-related issues. She identified the school environment as a relatively independent domain (field) in which the actors (teachers, students, parents, and administrators) were confined in a particular power-hierarchy system. Other factors, including context-dependent "linguistic capital", "linguistic habitus" (referring to the similarities of a certain group of people in their unconscious use of language), and "translanguaging" (seeing the languages, signs, spaces and people as a holistic linguistic landscape repertoire) determined their attitudes toward and use of different languages.

Cenoz and Gorter (2008) discussed the relationship between linguistic landscapes and second language acquisition. They considered the linguistic landscape an authentic learning material that could help learners improve pragmatic competence, literacy skills, and multicompetence. They identified linguistic landscapes as implicit language input resources in second and foreign language education by comparing the learning environment of foreign language classes domestically and abroad. They conceded that the purpose of signs is not language instruction but message delivery. However, language learners may unconsciously pick up words, phrases, and sentence structure when they read signs, which accords with the concept of incidental learning. However, it is difficult to examine the effectiveness of linguistic

landscapes on students' language learning because they are sometimes influenced by other language inputs. Sign designers usually highlight the information they want to transmit. Similarly, in language teaching, educators have found a way method—that is, highlighting certain contents by bolding, underlining and italicizing words—is an effective way to heighten students' awareness (Nassaji & Fotos, 2010). This suggests an idea. If we see a book as a linguistic landscape or an ecological environment, and each page is a sign, could we design a more attractive language learning book to enhance learners' multilingual awareness?

Cenoz and Gorter (2008) also argued that linguistic landscapes could promote the development of pragmatic competence. They claimed that “the linguistic landscape includes texts with different functions” (p 275) and topics. More often than not, the language used on posters consists of words and phrases rather than complete sentences. Sometimes designers use hints to avoid direct and aggressive language, which is referential for language learners when communicating with others. Cenoz and Gorter suggested that linguistic landscapes could be used as pedagogical material to cultivate literacy as well. Signs provide language learners with the opportunity to access different genres of texts. This helps them to understand and use languages in everyday life. Proficiency could be improved by using signs in language learning for observation and imitation. Linguistic landscapes also enhance language learners' multicompetence. Translanguaging theories assert that bilingual or multilingual speakers do not have independent language systems but rather a mixed language repertoire. The linguistic landscape provides a multilingual environment because many signs contain hybrid languages and present information in different languages.

Linguistic landscapes were used as language learning materials in a study by Sayer (2010) that explored why people used English in Oaxaca, a Mexican city. Sayer (2010) collected 250

English signs from all over the city. He classified the signs thematically by their purposes and then synthesized their social meanings—for example, “English is advanced and sophisticated”, “English is fashionable” and “English is for expressing subversive identities”—identifying six different social meanings of the use of English. He suggested that similar projects would be feasible in language learning programs. Educators could ask learners to collect signs and identify themes by asking a guiding question, “Why do people use English on signs in our community” (p 152). This project can be modified for use by learners at different stages by altering the linguistic focus. For example, Sayer’s focus was the social function of language, but the focus could be micro linguistic elements such as vocabulary or grammar instead. This pedagogical model connects classroom language learning to the real world and is practical in a variety of language teaching contexts.

Because it is not limited by location, this instructional method could be used even during pandemic restrictions. Kuße (2021) proposed a similar project in the context of COVID-19. He noted that the coronavirus crisis had enriched the vocabulary of the German language. Many loanwords and neologisms such as “COVID-19”, “coronavirus”, “pandemic”, “social distancing”, “lockdown”, and “handwashing” have entered people’s daily lives since the year 2020. Kuße encouraged linguists to explore these linguistic changes from both the sentence (words and phrases) and communicative (tone of expression) aspects of the linguistic landscape and language learners to improve their understanding of and sensitivity to them by collecting new words and pandemic-related messages from communities and cyberspace and classifying them according to word formation, humor type and degree of politeness. Such techniques are not only suitable for second language education but also native and first language instruction, and these approaches remind me of my experience of language learning. When I was in Grade 1, in

primary school, my teacher asked me to stare at the subtitles when I watched TV programs to memorize Chinese characters (Chinese is my mother tongue). One prominent similarity of the three methods is that all are designed to increase learners' awareness of written language input beyond the school environment.

Some studies have been conducted in bilingual school environments. Pakarinen and Bjorklund (2018) designed an exploratory study that enrolled Swedish second-language students to determine how the campus linguistic landscape influenced and was reflected in learners' language use and linguistic identity. In other words, they investigated how written language use in the school setting affected language learner's linguistic awareness. Firstly, they collected photographs of 450 signs at the school and sorted them according to the number of languages used in the signs, the writers of the signs, and the contents of the signs. Through this process, they explored students' linguistic identities, linguistic awareness, and the roles of the sign designers. Then they held a focus group discussion, inviting three Grade 5 students to talk about their feelings about the signs and the roles of different languages in their lives. Being immersed in a multilingual context, all three participants had high confidence in their language abilities and identified themselves as multilingual speakers; this linguistic identity was also reflected in the multilingual linguistic landscape designed by their schoolmates. Similarly, Cormier (2018) adopted a "frame-analytic approach" (p. 68) and photo-elicitation "semi-structured life world interviews" (p. 73) to learn about the linguistic landscapes of three Canadian French schools and simultaneously explore the students' language awareness, language use, and linguistic identities as reflected in the campus linguistic landscape. Both the designers' and consumers' perspectives were considered. Both of these studies chose bilingual school students as the research subjects and examined the relationship between signs and learners' linguistic identities. However, as

Cormier (2018) observed, sign collection is a subjective process that is highly dependent on researchers' needs.

Current Problems and Future Directions

Power dynamics can be exposed by analyzing linguistic landscapes. First, official signs reflect regional language ideologies and government policies; in contrast, grassroots linguistic landscapes provide an opportunity for underrepresented groups and individuals to be heard. Linguistic landscape studies are supposed to identify power inequalities beneath the surface of languages and advocate for marginalized populations. To retain diversity but ensure equality, language policymakers must think about how to balance the relationship between the majority and minority languages used on public signs. Second, regulating language use in signs can directly and indirectly influence the marketing values of commercial products. Third, linguistic landscapes are valuable language input resources that can link classroom-based language education and everyday life. Incorporating linguistic landscapes in the learning process would be beneficial for learners. Therefore, future studies should consider how linguistic landscapes can be used as teaching materials in learning activities in and outside of school. In addition, the pandemic offers not only a challenge but also an opportunity to solve information accessibility problems and devise better ways to serve local populations who speak diverse languages—languages that are reflected in linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, linguistic landscapes are applicable in many fields of study beyond language policy, economics, and language education. Researching linguistic landscapes in other fields would be a promising direction to explore.

As mentioned previously, the research standards for linguistic landscape studies are still unclear. There are challenges in the data collection and analysis processes. For example, how can we redefine linguistic landscapes? What kind of signs should be collected when we analyze them?

Where should the signs be collected? How many signs are enough for an analysis? How should we classify the collected signs? What theories are suitable for guiding data collection and explaining results? As audiences or participants, how can researchers remain objective? These are the basic questions that should be discussed by scholars and addressed explicitly in each linguistic landscape study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Review of Methodologies in Linguistic Landscape Studies

As they are derived from sociolinguistics, linguistic landscape studies essentially follow sociolinguistic research conventions, and focus on the meaning expression in public signs to investigate their social functions and interactions with society. Since the linguistic landscape has been refined as an independent research field that is distinct from other subjects, it has been explored via various methods from different perspectives; many theoretical frameworks, research approaches and analysis models have been proposed to guide the linguistic landscape analysis in previous studies. In this section, the methodologies that have commonly been used in linguistic landscape studies are reviewed from three aspects, namely the routes of the studies, theoretical perspectives, and data collection and analysis.

Routes of the Studies

Similarly, to studies in other fields of social science, linguistic landscape research could be classified as having quantitative and qualitative roots. In the early period, guided by initial research questions such as “What does the linguistic landscape look like in a given region?”, “What are the structures of linguistic landscapes?” and “Who are the participants in this social interaction?”, scholars tended to provide quantitative descriptions of the distributions, numbers, and visible features of signs within an area using mapping applications and photo corpora. When the descriptive methods were unable to satisfy the further requirements for understanding the reasons behind the formation of the linguistic landscapes, researchers began to turn to interpretative analysis models to investigate the influential factors of public signs from different perspectives to answer questions such as “Why are signs designed in certain languages?” (Shang & Guo, 2017), “How do the interactive processes occur?” and “What are the influences of these

linguistic landscapes on current social encounters?” During this period, the research focus shifted from the social images of different linguistic groups to the powers that participated in forming these images. In other words, the early quantitative studies focus on synthesizing the common features of the linguistic landscapes of different social groups; by contrast, the studies guided by qualitative methods attempt to explain the meaning delivery of each component by deconstructing signs and to see how these elements work together to reconstruct the world and people (Calvi & Uberti-Bona, 2020). As mentioned in the introduction, at present, mixed-method approaches are usually used to study public signs by first extracting the linguistic and non-linguistic features and then determining how the power dynamics related to social issues such as privilege, prejudice, marginalization, and discrimination among different social groups are reflected via those features in daily social practices.

In addition, some studies have followed other distinctive routes, such as time, space, and research subjects. As mentioned previously, in terms of the time span, linguistic landscape studies include both synchronic (Albury, 2021) and diachronic research (Kroon, 2021; Tufi, 2020). From the spatial aspect, some studies have considered a single place (Woo & Nora Riget, 2020), while comparative studies have focused on more than one region (Sakhiyya & Martin-Anatias, 2020). Some studies have also focused on the features of signs in a specific context such as education (Le Pichon-Vorstman, Siarova, & Szőnyi, 2021) and the pandemic situation (Marshall, 2021), while others have examined linguistic landscapes in general as an entirety in the whole community (Gorter, 2013).

Theoretical Perspectives

Linguistic landscapes have been explored from various perspectives. Of them, multilingualism (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017), postcolonialism (Ndlovu, 2021), and ecolinguistics (Yi,

2019) are three emerging theoretical perspectives in linguistic landscape studies. First, as a visible platform for language interactions, linguistic landscapes resulted in a new research direction for the phenomenon of multilingualism (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017) on both individual and social levels. From the perspective of multilingualism, discussions have mainly developed around the core concept of “code-switching”. As it is unlike mixed languages or literal translating, which are regarded by correctionists as the lack of linguistic proficiency in language education, the contrastivist’s (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011) viewpoint is that the code-switching found on multilingual signs is often systematically and deliberately designed with the aim of establishing specific images, and could reflect a personal linguistic repertoire. Reh (2004) summarized four performances of code-switching on signs, namely duplication (all the information is presented in all the languages), fragmentary (one language contains less information than do the others), overlapping (one language contains more information than do the others), and complementary (different languages provide different information), which allows for the exploration of sign makers’ linguistic preferences and identities by identifying the combination of patterns of languages, as well as the roles, functions, and reciprocal influence of each language. However, when expanding the scope of code-switching from the individual to the social level, the conventional roles and symbolic functions of each language would be based on social background. For example, by comparing the language practices on official and unofficial signs, Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006) found that the latter exhibited more linguistic diversity, which is helpful for understanding the public’s language preferences. In this way, the language attitudes of different agencies could be identified by comparing the language selections in formal and informal situations.

Postcolonialism is another popular theoretical perspective for linguistic landscape studies at present. This lens could be used to examine the language conflicts between global languages and Indigenous languages in post-colonies (Ndlovu, 2021; Guissemo, 2019). For example, there was an Indian doctor who sent a tweet about the privilege of social distancing during the pandemic: “Social distancing is a privilege. It means you live in a house large enough to practice it. Hand washing is a privilege too. It means you have access to running water. Hand sanitizers are a privilege. It means you have money to buy them...” (Hiremath, 2020). Why would an Indian person write this in English rather than in Hindi? Postcolonialism would be a possible theoretical perspective to answer this question. During the colonial era, in order to legitimize the rule of colonizers, Indigenous populations, together with their cultures like beliefs, languages, customs, and living habits, were stigmatized as being contemptible and uncivilized, which had an influence on their ethnic identities, knowledge systems, confidence, and language attitudes, and choices (Mignolo, 2003). Although the languages of the colonizers were the dominant languages in formal contexts such as education and administration, and enjoyed more social privilege, they could not completely avoid being assimilated to greater or lesser degrees during daily interactions with the local languages (Mufwene, 2008); thus, some new language varieties that integrated the features of both languages formed gradually. When the colonized regions regained independence, some of the new authorities adopted these new varieties of the colonized languages as their official languages due to their greater economic value; however, others selected local Indigenous languages to replace them due to nationalist ideologies (Gill, 1999 & Wei, 2006).

Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008) noted that the identity-related issues that have been raised by the conflicts between the colonized languages and Indigenous languages could be reflected by

the language use in the linguistic landscapes in some previously colonized regions, such as India and Ukraine. From the postcolonial perspective, researchers have discussed the interactive effects of colonizing and local languages (Demska, 2019), the forming of different varieties of colonized languages and their corresponding identities (Wolff, 2017; Guissemo, 2019). These local language varieties sometimes are regarded as spelling errors, but are they really spelling mistakes? What are the differences between varieties and misspellings such as “colour” in British English and “color” in American English? Who, how, and what determines what is acceptable? What are differences between the description and prescription of languages, and are these affected by political power? Furthermore, rebellion against the colonized languages could be enacted either by nations or by individuals. As Landry and Bourhis (1997) pointed out, the emergence of a language in a different language-dominated environment is a symbol of the flourishing of the collective ethnic awareness, and people’s attitudes toward languages is oriented by their sense of belonging to and alienation from certain groups.

In addition to multilingualism and postcolonialism, it is also interesting to explore linguistic landscapes from the ecolinguistic perspective (Yi, 2019). Based on Haugen’s (1971) ideas, a linguistic landscape could be compared to a micro-ecosystem; languages and influential factors are compared to a species and its living environment, respectively. In order to reveal the contradictions within the environment (a given social community), ecolinguistic researchers attempt to understand the linguistic diversity, language conflicts, and language birth, development and death in competing languages. By contrast, Halliday (1990) focused on the relationships between human beings and natural resources that have been embedded in language practices, which is an efficient way to expose the dominant roles and disruptive behaviours of human beings with regard to the natural environment. Although the linguistic landscape has not

been widely studied from an ecolinguistic perspective, given sustainable and harmonious ideologies between human beings and nature in academia, it would be a fruitful direction in which to move forward.

By reviewing previous studies, one can observe that, regardless of the perspective that has been adopted, qualitative linguistic landscape studies are ultimately rooted in cultural inquiry, power dynamics, and identity formation. Since positioning theory focuses on the duties and rights of interlocutors that are also social oriented, it would be feasible to understand the power negotiations of different Chinese populations in an English-speaking society by viewing the linguistic landscape from this perspective. However, linguistic landscapes are a complicated social phenomenon that is difficult to explain adequately from a single perspective. In other words, in order to display the entire picture of the social interactions behind linguistic landscapes, it is worth considering the merits of various subjects. In addition, as a young theory, positioning theory is still developing, and many concepts need to be clarified. Thus, in this study a cross-disciplinary theoretical framework is provided by absorbing the relevant ideas from multilingualism, postcolonialism, ecolinguistic ideologies and ontologies and locating them on the foundation of positioning theory, as will be explained in detail later in this chapter.

Approaches and Models

Analytic models are tools that can be used directly when dealing with data with the support of theoretical grounds. Some sign analysis models have been extracted from various theories to understand the social relationships, cultural values, and power dynamics within certain speech communities. Most of these models are comprehensive and dynamic, and are developing consistently by adopting new ideas, concepts, and relationships from different fields.

Some of the popular models that have been proposed for analyzing linguistic landscapes are introduced in this section.

Gorter (2006) proposed that a linguistic landscape coding scheme should contain elements such as the way in which languages are arranged on signs, the position, size, and font of the letters and characters, the numbers and orders of the languages, the relative relationships of each language (whether a text has been fully or partly translated) and the roles that they play. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) summarized that the linguistic landscape was affected by three factors, namely language policies, writers, and potential customers. Drawing on cultural geography theories, Leeman and Modan (2009) introduced a contextualized approach to the exploration of linguistic landscapes to reveal the relationship between language-planning policy and public signs in an American Chinatown. They asserted that the urban linguistic landscape could be partly analyzed by adopting Lefebvre's spatial theory concerning the social construction of space from three aspects, which were "spatial practices" (people's daily activities in a certain area), "representations of space" (the government's conception of the area) and "spaces of representation" (individuals' conception of the area). Huebner (2008) turned to Hymes' (1972) SPEAKING model, a comprehensive sociolinguistic approach, to analyze the ethnography of interactive conversations from eight aspects, namely "S: setting and scene" (the time and space of the signs), "P: participants" (the designers and audiences of the signs), "E: ends" (the function of the signs), "A: act sequence" (the sequences and relative visual position of different languages used on the signs), "K: key" (distribution of the characters and tones, and the clarity of the content), "I: instrumentalities" (word selection, orthography, syntax and code-switching), "N: norms" (languages policies and conventions), and "G: genre" (the types of signs).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is another research method in linguistic landscape studies; it is a method for studying written or spoken languages in authentic social contexts to reveal the critical issues implied in language use. The main purpose of CDA when studying linguistic landscapes is to “uncover why and by whom certain content is presented in the public space, and what the rationale is behind presenting them in a certain way” (Grzech & Dohle, 2018, p. 74) during a particular time and in a particular space by identifying the power imbalance and inequality constructed by discourses on the sentence level (linguistic, grammatical and semantic features) but mostly beyond the sentence level (authorities, attitudes and ideologies). Accordingly, CDA pays attention to the needs and rights of socially vulnerable groups. In order to depict the positioning of LGBTQ and people with disabilities, Rapeane-Mathonsi, Adekunle, and Mheta (2019) investigated the linguistic landscapes in two African universities via CDA and exposed the marginalization of people with certain sexualities. Similarly, to determine how signage discursively constructs sexual identity and gender preference, Motschenbacher (2020) analyzed the linguistic landscapes of an American homonormative community using the same analytical tool and found that inequality was prevalent among different social classes and biological genders.

CDA mainly emphasizes the information that is implied in content of texts; however, signs contain not only written content, but also many other visual elements that convey information, such as pictures and shapes. Yusupov et al., (2021) claimed that the use of different colours and shapes could endow posts with different emotional and practical meanings; this theory was originally proved and adopted by Bradley, Moore, Simpson, and Atkinson (2018) in educational situations. Therefore, linguistic landscape studies call for the use of art-based analyses to form a bridge between the non-linguistic artifacts and peoples’ feelings, attitudes and

reactions, which is a valuable complementary approach to CDA and other text-based research models. In next part, the research questions, the theoretical framework, the analytical method, and the procedures for data collection and analysis of this study will be introduced.

Research Questions

The following two research questions including the two sub-questions are addressed in order to understand the positioning of a Chinese population in an English-dominated society:

- 1) What do the differing Chinese linguistic landscapes look like in Winnipeg?
- 2) How is the positioning of the Chinese population reflected in the different Chinese linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg?
 - a) What positional identities have been assigned to the various populations by the Chinese linguistic landscapes?
 - b) How do these artifacts reflect the manner in which different Chinese populations in Winnipeg position themselves and others?

Theoretical Framework

To answer the main research question, which is how linguistic landscapes reflect people's positioning, I examined the position negotiation processes of a Chinese population from the perspective of positioning theory (Kayi-Aydar, 2018) by analyzing the linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg via a multi-modeled approach that combined CDA (Fairclough, 2001) and arts-based analysis (Rolling Jr, 2010) as well as some previous sign analysis models on the basis of the positioning triangle (Kayi-Aydar, 2018).

Rooted in Austin's (1975) speech act theory and Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003), positioning theory provides a theoretical foundation

for social studies by making connections between psychological activities and social practices from a social constructionist viewpoint. Positioning theory was primarily proposed in social psychology, applied in social linguistics by Davies and Harré (1990), developed by Harré, Van Langenhove, Moghaddam, and many other scholars in the last two decades, and systematically introduced as a classroom discourses research approach by Kayi-Aydar (2018), who defined the theory as the study of “rights, duties, and obligations distribution among interlocutors or characters in and through conversations or narratives” (p. 1). Harré and Moghaddam (2003) proposed that by including comprehensive ideas, concepts, and relationships from psychological, historical, and sociological domains, positioning theory offers a potential theoretical perspective for understanding the complicated cause-effect interactions among social encounters, psychological processes, and responsive actions in different contexts. In this way, Kayi-Aydar (2018) assessed that, as a kind of discourse analysis, positioning theory has a bright future to be applied in areas such as language education, anthropology, communication, and political science to explain particular communicative behaviors under specific contexts. She also highlighted that positioning theory attempts to discuss the relationships between “duties and rights” from the aspects of culture (Van Langenhove & Harre, 1994), power (Kayi-Aydar, 2018), and identity forming (McVee, 2011; Taylor, Bougie, & Caouette, 2003).

Because the linguistic landscape is a field reflecting almost all the aspects of social life, including cultural diversity, self-locating of individuals and groups, and power dynamics among different agencies, positioning theory with its particular focus on culture, power, and identity, promises theoretical support on understanding people’s negotiations about duties and rights on these important social facets that are depicted by linguistic landscapes. Thus, taking the lens of positioning theory, it is possible to understand the positioning of the Chinese population reflected

by linguistic landscapes from various social aspects. According to Kayi-Aydar's (2018) viewpoint, in positioning theory, "position", "positioning" and "story line" are three essential elements that, together, constitute the positioning triangle; they are mutually interactive and contribute to identity formation, social structure construction, and power distribution. In the next part, I will introduce these basic concepts and their inner-and-inter relationships in detail and modify them to be located in the linguistic landscape contexts in order to adapt them to the study's research purposes.

Positions

In contrast to the definition of linguistic landscape, which is gradually expanding, the definition of "position" is narrowing and is gaining more precise and concrete meanings as the study moves forward. "Position" was initially used to refer to "self" in Nelson and Holloway's (1999) study of genders. Davies and Harré (1999) borrowed the term and clarified its definition as "a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup, and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster" (p. 1) in positioning theory. The authors later adjusted the concept of position to a cluster of beliefs about how rights and duties are distributed in the course of an episode of personal interaction and the taken-for-granted practices in which most of these beliefs are concretely realized. Harré (2012) then simplified the definition as "a generic concept covering assignments of rights and duties to act and to know or believe at the core to social psychological explanations" (p. 3). Recently, Kayi-Aydar (2018) summarized position as the beliefs to "a cluster or group of rights and duties" (p. 9).

Beliefs are the pre-constructed expectations (or bias and stereotypes) that are accumulated based on past experiences, knowledge, and memories, referring to what is thought as true (Schwitzgebel, 2006), which is explained by Seitz, Paloutzian, and Angel (2016) as a kind of psychological phenomena or activities occurring in the brain. By contrast, expectation is a kind of estimation that points to the current and the future (Farwell, & Wohlwend-Lloyd, 1998), connecting beliefs (thinking) and behaviours (doing), and which can lead to acts (efforts) and is adjustable in different social interactions (Kuchler, & Zafar, 2019). In other words, being extracted from beliefs, expectations (and stereotypes) directly guide the performance behaviours (Harlin, Sirota, & Bailey, 2009). To my understanding, belief belongs to people's mental characters, which is relatively stable but more implicit; however, with its nature of dynamic, positional identities consist of expectations (or bias and stereotypes), which is comparatively more observable. All the discussions about expectations and identity building are based on the features of signs. Thus, in linguistic landscape studies, positions refer to the expectations of language policies, sign designers and readers reflected by the linguistic and non-linguistic characters of signages, which include the language used on both the sentence level and the communicative level, such as the grammatical structures of languages, the communicative functions of each language, the relative status (size, colour and clarity) of each language that is presented on a sign, and the tone and manners (explicit or implicit) implied between the line.

Positioning

Positioning is a way of discussion about positions, including all the steps in negotiating position (Kayi-Aydar, 2018) such as the processes of assigning, questioning, agreeing, and refusing expectations and stereotypes. It is regarded as the process of constructing identities and situating oneself and other people in specific contexts, which could be divided into two

categories according to the targeted subjects (the receivers and the people who receive the positions), namely “reflexive positioning” and “interactive positioning” (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). The former refers to the process of assigning positions to oneself, while the latter is the position assigned to others.

Positioning is a complicated and dynamic balance that consists of a series of negotiations of expectations and stereotypes. Harré et al. (2009) divided positioning into first-, second-, and third-order positioning and provided the following explanation. First, assigners (the people who assign positions) may send out expectations or stereotypes to certain receivers based on their innate characters and social roles within a momentary context. This process is called first-order positioning. Some misunderstandings might occur in this step due to information gaps and cognitive biases. If the receivers accept these positions (speculations) and perform corresponding actions in response to them, the first-order positioning (saying) will lead to the performative positioning (doing), and if this behaviour becomes habitus and occurs repeatedly in future encounters, the positional identity will be internalized to the identity. However, if the receivers refuse to accept these positions (expectations or stereotypes), meaning that an inconsistency exists between the positional identities and the identities, the first-order positioning might result in second-order positioning, which refers to the positioning process that occurs when people question or challenge the positions assigned within the first-order positioning. Then, a new positioning negotiation would be provoked; the negotiation would continue until reaching a new power balance. Third-order positioning refers to the positioning procedures that occur in retellings, and sometimes contain the initial analysis of the narrators (Kayi-Aydar, 2018).

There are two separate positioning phases involving different interlocutors in linguistic landscape analysis. The first occurs during the stage of designing the signs. In this phase, the

sign makers/owners are the receivers, and consider the expectations of the governmental language policy, the conventional linguistic habits of the local inhabitants, and the needs of the potential customers and their own identity expression. The second phase refers to the negotiations between the sign makers/owners and the readers, and communicative positioning is driven by the sign makers/owners in this step. The information spread from signs expressing their thoughts, intentions, beliefs, and identities could be seen as first-order positioning. As the receivers, each individual reader has the opportunity to make decisions about accepting or resisting the expectations and stereotypes that have been delivered by the sign makers/owners. In either case, if the receivers (sign makers/owners in the first positioning phase or sign readers in the second phase) accept the positions of the assigners (regional authorities, conventions, and potential customers in the first phase or sign makers/owners in the second phase) and perform actions based on them, the first-order positioning will lead to performative positioning; however, if they resist the expectations assigned in the first-order positioning, second-order positioning might occur. In this study, I first observe and analyze the linguistic phenomena (features of signs, the results of the positioning in both phases) and to then note my understanding of and feelings about them. All the descriptions and the analysis of signs in the discussion part that I narrated and wrote could be categorized as third-order positioning, which would allow for the inclusion of my personal knowledge and subjective ideas (Schieble, Vetter, & Meacham, 2015).

Unlike daily conversations, there is a power imbalance between assigners and receivers when negotiating positions about linguistic landscapes. In both the positioning phases of linguistic landscapes, the expectations are assigned by one-way deliveries. In the first phase, sign makers/owners discuss the expectations assigned by the government and potential customers; however, the makers'/owners' expectations are less likely to be considered. Similarly, as the

receivers in the second phase, readers are in a relatively weaker position than are the assigners (sign owners/makers). It is not impossible for their voices to be heard and responded to, but it is difficult.

Story Lines

In addition to position and positioning, story line is another important concept in constructing the positioning triangle. Together, position and positioning describe the content and procedures of the negotiation between assigners and receivers; however, story line refers to the influential factors of the interactions. Van Langenhove and Harré (1999) explained that a story line is a series of conventional norms around a certain topic; it has been constructed in the past but would be modified during a conversation, meaning that although each story line contains certain terms, jargon, and potential developmental routes for communicating, these conventional norms can change in authentic interactions. Slocum and Van Langenhove (2003) defined a story line as the context in which positioning occurs. Since positions are various in different situations, it is important to learn about the situational contexts of each communicative interaction in order to understand the complicated relationships within the positioning practices. Harré and Moghaddam (2003) thought that context includes “indexicality, the contribution to the meaning of an expression from knowledge of the place, time and person of utterance” (p. 30). From this perspective, time, place (including both geographical place and field of discourse) and participants are three essential elements of the social situational context need investigating in positioning theory. However, this definition aroused some different voices. Kayi-Aydar (2018) thought that story line could be affected but was not necessarily decided by the macro-social context. She stated that a story line developed around a certain topic, but is flexible and can be changed when the participants challenge the current topic. She also pointed out story lines could

be seen as the inseparable meaningful chunks of a general topic. This idea is applicable in the field of linguistic landscapes as well. For example, a business sign might include information about the functions of a product, its price, and the contacting methods. All these episodes of subtopics are regarded as independent story lines and people can do positioning in each of them.

Overall, a story line has been defined as the predetermined prescription (the communicative and linguistic norms pertaining to a topic), the situational context (time, place, and participants) of communicative practice, and the minimized units (the discursive episodes or plots) of the discourses that affect the content and ways of positioning assigned by different scholars. I am not going to choose among them but will combine all these influential factors in positioning as the story line. In this sense, in relation to linguistic landscape studies, story lines will involve the local language policies and conventional linguistic norms, the time and place in which the positioning occurs, and the concrete themes and topics of the signs. In addition, since the personal characteristics of interlocutors also affect the positioning processes to a large extent, the historical background, as well as the current social status, the biological attributes and the particular personalities of the participants also should be considered as an important part of the story line in linguistic landscape studies. In linguistic landscape studies, participants usually include sign makers/owners and potential sign readers. Although there would be no human research subjects in this study, the understanding of the interlocutors is highly encouraged to obtain their ethnic historical backgrounds by reviewing archives and the existing literature and to determine their current social status, as well as their individual characteristics, via observations, interviews, and other ethnographic methodologies in future studies.

All these influential elements form various story lines and affect how positioning occurs; a change in any one of them will probably result in a change in the direction of negotiations (the

processes), as well as people's behaviours (the results) (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). Each situational interaction is heavily dependent on its particular social background and is regulated by various predetermined expectation distributions of different social groups and individuals, which are presented in the forms of both laws and conventional values and norms (Dequech, 2003). The formation of rules and customs is a long-term process, and current norms are rooted in events that occurred in the past; therefore, taking a historical perspective to look back on the events that affected the formation of the current contexts of positioning ensures the understanding of the rationale behind the production of expectations and stereotypes.

Data Collection and Analysis

This research is primarily a qualitative study, with the addition of quantitative sign counts. In order to learn about the Chinese linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg, a photographic corpus has been created as a means of data collection and analysis. The entire process of data collection was approximately five months, from the end of May 2020 until October 2020, which was at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic (the university closed in March 2020). I explored 14 of the main roads (the roads highlighted in yellow on the Google Map) in the city of Winnipeg, as well as the Chinatown in the downtown area to take pictures of all the signs containing Chinese characters. 316 pictures were taken in total; some supplementary photos were taken in summer 2021 when it was necessary to further document the surrounding areas.

When I collected data in 2020, I only explored one street each time. First, I rode along one side of a street and then rode back on the other side to collect photographs of the Chinese signs from the building surfaces, advertisement boards in storefronts, windows, doors, rubbish bins and bus station benches using my phone's rear camera. I stood in the front of each sign and attempted to ensure that the targeted sign was clearly in the middle of the lens. Since the

numbers of Chinese signs in different roads vary, some roads, such as Pembina Hwy, took me two entire days from morning to night to photograph; by contrast, roads with fewer signs, such as St. Mary's Road and Main Street, took less than half a day each (2-3 hours). Each individual sign was treated equally in this phase without considering the size, the position, the language use (Chinese-only or hybrid) or the repetition (appearing more than once in different locations). When I got home, I downloaded the photos onto my laptop using the File Transfer function of WeChat. The signs were then numbered and arranged as an Excel document and were annotated with the name (the repeated signs of a same store have been put together), the category, language types and numbers, the position, the address, and the date of collection. This constituted one loop. When it was complete, I moved to the next road, repeated the procedures mentioned above until all the areas had been explored.

After that, a general analysis of the collected photos was conducted based on the scaffolding of the positioning triangle. I started the analysis from reading individual signs, analyzing story lines, positions and positionings for each. As is introduced in the theoretical framework, story lines here refer to the reasons behind the formation of linguistic landscape, including the historical background and the situational contexts of the sign designing, the topics of signs as well as the features and experiences of the sign designers as constituted by time, place (both the geographic space and the topics of signs) and participants. But, rather than interview shop owners, I used the literature review of the history and the current demography of the Chinese population in Winnipeg (as found in the introduction), the local language policies and norms in different periods, and the linguistic customs of the Chinese population from different sub-ethnic groups (Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan) to develop the context before embarking on the analysis of the signs themselves. While I realize that this is not definitive, it is

also beyond the scope of this study to engage in interviews with the hundreds of shopkeepers who would be involved. I also defined the intended audiences of each sign through reading the artifacts. In this research, positions refer to the expectations that the signs delivered to readers, which has been obtained through analyzing signs from the aspects of the linguistic features, the tones and manners, the roles and purposes, and the visual characters like typography of each language respectively with the methods of the conversation analysis and the thought of geosemiotics. Positionings are the negotiating processes about the positions, which in this research refer to the third-order positioning, namely my understandings about the positions (expectations) delivered by signs. Therefore, I then jotted down a few words or sentences about my subjective feelings and thoughts for each sign.

After reading the signs individually, I started to analyze them in groups. First, in order to obtain an overview of the distribution of different types of Chinese signs in the city, I highlighted the locations of the traditional and simplified Chinese signs using red and green pins, respectively, on my Google Map and established the relationships between the linguistic landscapes and the communities/streets. Next, I looked for the similarities of the positionings (my thoughts and understandings) and synthesized the commonly outstanding features/themes. For example, Chinese signs are very often “business-related” and different kinds of Chinese signs might be seen “together or separately”. I then regrouped the signs according to these themes as the basis of discussion. Finally, I attempted to figure out the relationships among positions, positionings, story lines, and positional identities by analyzing the Chinese linguistic landscapes as a whole. This part will be explained in detail in discussion, but I will provide an example here. Although most of the Chinese signs in the city were private business signs on the storefronts of buildings, Chinatown featured several road signs in Chinese, which are considered

to be official top-down signs, providing an opportunity to explore the ethnic/linguistic identity negotiations (awareness) of the Chinese population in western society. Considering the linguistic preferences of the readers, the Chinese contents of the presented signs will be paraphrased and/or translated literally into English in the course of the discussion. In addition, I continued to work on the history of the Chinese in Winnipeg, on the literature review of linguistic landscapes, and on the construction of identity while I analyzed the data and wrote up my findings and discussion.

To summarize, this study is an attempt to analyze linguistic landscapes of a minority group in a multicultural environment using a theoretical framework of positioning theory and a cross-disciplinary analytic approach constructed upon positioning triangle. The research could bring some practical benefits to different stakeholders. First, exhibiting the cultural elements reflected by linguistic landscapes can increase the public understandings of Chinese history and culture in the city, which provides a practical resource for cross-cultural studies. Second, exploring positional identities can improve people's understanding about themselves and raise their awareness of the similarities of human beings behind ethnic and cultural differences, which can enhance the feeling of belongingness and can hopefully increase the tolerance and acceptance of differences in the multicultural society. Third, while exposing the power dynamics among minority linguistic groups and mainstream society, the research provides a way for their social status and needs to be noticed. In this way it is helpful for the administrators and educators to learn about the positioning and requirements of the underrepresented population and then adjust policies around education, mass media, and public resources and services to maintain social equality and diversity. For this master's degree thesis, the intended readers are not limited to the defense committee members; it is expected to be helpful for the policy makers, social linguists, cultural researchers, discourse analysis researchers and educators who are interested in

the topic of positioning and those scholars who expect to conduct research and social practices in the area of linguistic landscapes in the future. In addition, the study is an extension of positioning theory, which may hopefully arouse interest in related areas.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

In this chapter the writer will address the research questions by describing the linguistic atmosphere first. Next, I will explore the Chinese linguistic landscapes in the city. Then I will discuss the story lines, the positions, and the positionings reflected by the linguistic landscapes respectively from the aspects of language policy, economics, and education. And finally, I will make connections among the Chinese linguistic landscapes, the city space, the positional identities of the Chinese people and their immigration history.

Story Lines

As explained in the Methodology section, story lines in the positioning triangle refer to the influential factors to positionings, including time, place, and participants. The findings regarding the particular story lines in this study are divided into two parts, the language environment (the language policies and the linguistic customs recently regulated in the city of Winnipeg) and the participants (involved in the linguistic landscapes forming and interpreting). In this research, all the people who attended to the sign designing are supposed to be considered as the participants (position assigners). However, due to the limitation of time and resources, I did not have a chance to get approach to them, so I simplified the position assigners as the Chinese population in the city. At the same time, as the examiner who observes the Chinese signage, I play the role of participant (position reciever), and my experiences, characters, and identities could influence the directions of the analyses and the explanations of the results. Since I have already reviewed the history and characters of Chinese population and done a reflexive positioning to myself in the introduction, to avoid repetition, I will mainly focus on the linguistic environment in this section.

Linguistic Environment of Winnipeg

As the capital city of Manitoba in Canada, Winnipeg's language environment is influenced by the national and provincial language policies. Thus, in this section I will examine the city's language management in a broader context. The national language policies have been modified several times in history, and the following are some important events that affect the city's linguistic atmosphere. As an original First Nations territory, Manitoba was dominated by the Indigenous language speakers before the arrival of European traders. The French was a language that was commonly heard or spoken in the area until the end of the 17th century (Carter, 1999). In 1763, Britain defeated France in the Seven Year War (1756 to 1763), which led to a flood of immigration of British people (Luxton, 2021). The constant influx of the British brought English to Manitoba. Since then, the language of English has gradually become the mainstream language in Canada, which is still the most common language present in the linguistic landscapes. As an official language, English has penetrated Winnipeggers' social life in all aspects and is the dominant language in both the top-down and the bottom-up signs in the city's linguistic landscapes, which makes a massive impact on other languages.

Against the intrusion of English, the Quebec Act, 1774 ensures the significant position of the French language in Canada (Dagenais, 2020). The province of Manitoba joined the Canadian Federation in 1870. The province adopted the national bilingual language policy during that period, identifying both English and French as official languages. However, it abolished the official status of the French language in 1890, which caused resistance among French speakers. Responding to this protest, the government recovered the status of the French to some degree in later years. In 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada claimed that it is illegal to announce legislation in English-only. Later, the Manitoba French Language Services Policy of 1999 prescribes the necessity of the French language in official documents (Civil Service Commission,

2010). Since then, although the English language enjoys the highest linguistic status in the province, the prestige of the French language has been guaranteed. Nowadays, under the influence of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the provincial authority of Manitoba attaches more importance to the French language, establishes French districts, and provides education and public services in French as well (Laing & Cooper, 2019).

In order to support the inheritance of the French language, the government of Manitoba recognizes three Francophone neighborhoods in Winnipeg: St. Boniface, St. Vital, and St. Norbert. It also provides 115 French immersion programs, an adult learning center, and a French university (Université de Saint-Boniface) (Government of Manitoba, 2022). Although French is not an official language in Manitoba, the French signs are widely apparent in the linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg.

In terms of education on minority languages, some universities and colleges have started to offer Indigenous language instructions in recent years. However, other minority languages like Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and even German rarely find themselves attached to importance by the provincial government or instructed in public elementary schools.

Since the Chinese writing languages are essential components of the linguistic landscapes that form the city's social language environment, the Chinese writing systems will be introduced as the linguistic habitus of the Chinese population in the next section.

Chinese Writing Systems

When mentioning Chinese languages, most people may think of Mandarin and Cantonese, the two main spoken Chinese language varieties. Mandarin is a northern Chinese dialect; in contrast, Cantonese originated from the South. Mandarin (Putonghua) was adopted as the official spoken language in mainland China in the mid-20th century. Nowadays, its speakers have

become the largest linguistic group in China, occupying over 80% of the Chinese population (Zhao & Wu, 2020). However, in terms of Chinese written languages, three major systems are currently used on public signs in western countries: traditional Chinese characters, simplified Chinese characters, and Hanyu Pinyin. In general, the traditional Chinese writing system is the previous version(s) of the simplified one that had been a mainstream writing system of mainland China from the 5th century to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949), which has been continuously adopted by Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan till now. The simplified Chinese writing system refers to mainland China's current standard writing forms prescribed in the Table of General Standard Chinese Characters (2013), which the mainland authority has promoted since the 1950s to improve literacy (Rohsenow, 2004). Some apparent differences between the two systems, such as the typesetting of vectors (left-to-right or right-to-left) will be exposed by the photographic cases in the positioning section. Hanyu Pinyin is the romanized transcription of the simplified Chinese characters, regulating the standard Mandarin pronunciation of the (simplified) characters through combining twenty-six International Phonetic Alphabet and four diacritic denoting tones. It was introduced several years later in 1958 in mainland China (Benjamin, 1997).

Although written languages are geography-oriented to some extent, it is not always persuasive to use them as the sole index to recognize peoples' family origins. Lu, Li, and Xu (2020) found that the traditional characters are still used in many historical relics for the purpose of matching their ancient images, and Su and Chun (2021) saw the traditional writing system as a kind of cultural heritage that promotes people's ethnic identities and their sense of knowledge, which is bound together with certain kinds of cultures like traditional Chinese medicine and is preferred by some famous century-aged businesses. Thus, the people who live in mainland China

may also use the traditional Chinese texts. This inconsistency between the spoken and written languages may also be led by the regional language policies and language development.

Regarding language policies, considering bi-literacy and tri-lingual ideologies, both English and traditional Chinese languages have been positioned as the official languages in Hong Kong.

Similarly, Taiwan adopts Mandarin in speaking but traditional Chinese characters for its official signage. Although both authorities advocate for the traditional Chinese system, there are subtle differences between the two varieties. As an outsider to the traditional language using groups, it is challenging for me to distinguish between them.

On the aspect of language development, the official writing system is changing along with social development, which makes a difference in language usage among different generations. Thus, the traditional Chinese writing languages exhibited in Winnipeg public places are not necessarily produced by the newcomers from Hong Kong or Taiwan but might be the artifacts of the early settlers who came from mainland China before 1950 or anyone who is simply interested in the traditional Chinese cultures.

Positions

Positions are the expectations about the characters of (groups of) people in a certain social background, which includes both being and doing (Harré, 2012). The positions of the Chinese population could be obtained by analyzing the features of their artifacts, namely the Chinese linguistic landscapes in this study. In this section, I will depict a picture about the numeric features of the Chinese linguistic landscapes.

There are a total of 316 photos of Chinese signage taken along the 14 major roads in the city. Most of them were gathered in Chinatown or along Pembina Highway. Pembina Highway contributes an enormous number of Chinese signs with 200 signs, followed by Chinatown with

68 and Portage Ave with 23. No Chinese signs have been collected from the Perimeter Highway, Chief Peguis Trail, Bishop Grandin Boulevard, and Kenaston Boulevard because there are relatively few buildings or businesses on these roads. There are also several photos that were taken by chance in other communities. Although most of the photographed signs are bilingual (277), there are also 28 Chinese-only signs and 4 English-only signs with Chinese features (such as the signs holding Chinese dragon images). Besides, there are 7 multilingual signs that combine Chinese, English, and/or Korean. One interesting phenomenon is that all the bilingual Chinese signs are Chinese-English mixed. I never saw any French language appearing in Chinese signage, even in the French districts of the city of Winnipeg. Among all Chinese signs, 149 are written in traditional texts, 163 are designed with simplified characters, and 14 contain Pinyin. Additionally, altogether 6 kinds of different figures and captures exhibited repeatedly on the signs are recognized as typical traditional Chinese cultural symbols, delivering Chinese ethnic identities, which will be introduced in detail in the next section.

In order to examine the positionings of the Chinese population in different contexts, the collected signages were classified into three main categories of topics, namely language policy, economy, and education. The section on language policy will focus on the Chinese population's linguistic and ethnic identity expressions under Winnipeg's cultural and language policies. In the section on economics, the marketing values of Chinese, English, and other languages endowed by the Chinese linguistic landscapes will be explored. Finally, in the section on education, the Chinese viewpoints on teaching and learning about cultures and languages will be discussed. Since language policy, economics, and education are three essential factors in forming social phenomena, an entity system artificially divided into different subjects, it is challenging to avoid the intersection among them while explaining the linguistic landscapes.

Similarly, although story lines, positions, and positionings are cut apart into independent parts in this analysis, the three crucial elements are unified and influential to each other, which are almost impossible to be completely separated. Therefore, although the general characters of the Chinese linguistic landscapes are presented as an independent part in this section, some specific and detailed elements of story lines and positions of the individual signage will be retrospectively examined in the section on positionings.

Positionings

In this section I will reveal how the Chinese population assigns positions to different languages and cultures through linguistic landscapes and attempt to explore the power relationships behind the positions.

Positioning Negotiation in Language Policy

Official signs are directly affected by language policies, but unofficial signs are primarily oriented to the daily language practices. Therefore, the differences in language selection between top-down/official and bottom-up/unofficial signs could reflect the attitudinal inconsistency between the authorities and the public in specific languages. According to Ben-Rafael, Shohamy Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006), top-down signs include governmental information such as street names, public signs of religions, health, education, and public interest and public announcements. On the contrary, bottom-up signs are shop signs, personal business signs, and private announcements. As an international Canadian student from China, I view both the signs produced or approved by the Canadian government and the Chinese government as official signs. In order to learn about the Chinese thoughts about various languages in Winnipeg, I initially focused on the language usage of the above two diatomic groups. Since Chinese is not an official language in Winnipeg and there are no Chinese governmental organizations in the city, most

Chinese signage is bottom-up. However, there are still some historical Chinese top-down signs in Chinatown. Next, I will discuss three significant findings about how the Chinese population responds to the bilingual and multicultural policies obtained while analyzing the Chinese linguistic landscape.

The first finding is that English is widely used in Chinese signs as an official language. Some examples showing English language usage in Chinese signs will be illustrated in this part. *Photo 1* shows the gateway to Chinatown. The gate is shaped in paifang (a typical traditional Chinese arch), usually built in the entry of a community or a street by local authorities or associations in ancient China. It functions as the administrative space for partitioning, memorizing, decorating, and directing. With the typical character of multi-tiered roofs, various supporting pillars, and the archway shape, paifang is a part of Chinese culture and has become a symbol of Chinatowns in worldwide. Similarly, this gate is a symbol, showing the entry of the particular Chinese community. The name of the gate, “光華門”, is printed prominently in gold on the white base and framed by the red square. The name is in traditional characters, matching this ancient-styled architecture. On the gate, the place and time (Winnipeg, 1986) are printed in comparatively smaller English letters above its Chinese name. The gate and its Chinese name separate Chinatown from the other city areas, informing that this is a Chinese-dominated community. In this case, the language use reflects the territory awareness of the Chinese population, which accords with the symbolic function of the linguistic landscapes in Landry and Bourhis' (1997) theory. Although the Chinese language is positioned as the mainly used language in this area, the English word “Winnipeg” also implies the close connection between the community and the city.

Photo 1

Road signs are usually designed or audited by the related administrative offices, using official languages, and represents authority. As an historical spot, Chinatown can be seen as being designed as a display board for Chinese culture, presenting some Chinese-English road signs. However, the higher political status of English is reflected by those bilingual road signs. In *Photo 2*, the English name of the road, “JAMES AVE”, is printed on the top of its Chinese transliteration “占士道” with the same word size and color on the road sign. Similarly, as shown in *Photo 3*, on the blue half-rounded road sign, under the English word “HONOURARY”, the English name “DR. JOSEPH DU WAY” is exhibited in a bigger word size under the Chinese name “餘嶽與大道”. Although both languages are used in this signage, English is more

prominent than Chinese. According to Hyme's (1972) semiotic theory, the dominated languages are usually placed in the top left positions and/or arranged in a bigger word size. Therefore, the higher status of the English language could be recognized in both road signs above. In addition, the absence of the simplified texts in Chinese top-down signs also implies that the traditional Chinese users (Hongkongers and Taiwanese) played a relatively more important role than the simplified writers (mainland Chinese) on the international stage around 40 years ago (around the year of 1985). Shang and Guo (2017) attribute this to a series of Chinese social movements in the last century.

Photo 2



Photo 3



Different from such signage designed decades ago, public health notices are comparatively reliable to reflect the current language status. Taking the signs regarding COVID-19 as an example, in *Photo 4*, the social distancing guidelines are color-printed in Chinese and English, respectively, on two letter-sized papers and stuck side-by-side on the front door of a Chinese shop. The content of the two languages is almost the same, and the details about the requirements are highlighted in the red word color in both signs. *Photo 5* is about the temporary

closing announcement of a Chinese immigration agency. Both English and Chinese information are printed in black and white on letter-sized paper, and an English paragraph is above the Chinese alternative. *Photo 6* shows a similar bilingual post requiring mask-wearing. *Photos 7 to 9* were taken of signs on the front doors of a Chinese supermarket. Beside the bilingual sign (in *Photo 7*), several monolingual English guidelines are posted independently (in *Photos 8 and 9*). At the same time, the mask images are also added in the posts in *Photo 6* and *Photo 8*, to assist readers in understanding the information. I found five COVID-19 related sign posts in Chinese; however, four are written in the simplified Chinese language. Compared with the old top-down signs, the pandemic-related posts reflects a change on Chinese language selection. The signage of public health belongs to top-down signs because it contains official messages; however, because they are designed by private store owners, the above bilingual COVID-19 guides are more flexible than other official signs. Thus, those pandemic health notices can reflect the linguistic attitudes of the public to some degree. In other words, the increasing frequency of the usage of the simplified Chinese language in linguistic landscapes reveals an enhancing social status of the simplified Chinese language among the population of Winnipeg in recent years (since 1985).

Photo 4



Photo 5



Photo 6



Photo 7



Photo 8



Photo 9



Although there are no laws or rules about the language used for private signage, the preference for the English language is still implied by the Chinese grass-root shop name boards. In the database, most private Chinese signs are bilingual, accompanying Chinese languages with English. *Photo 10* shows a Chinese restaurant. Both Chinese and English languages are adopted in its name board. The English “Delicious VEGETARIAN RESTAURANT” is the translation of

the traditional Chinese text “美味齋菜館”, printed on the right. In this sign, the information is equally delivered in the two languages. Here, the English language performs not only a symbolic function, but also an informational function. The word “Delicious” claims the feature and high quality of the restaurant, and “VEGETARIAN RESTAURANT” tells potential patrons what type of food to expect at this restaurant. The different information is separated by the capital and lower case letters as well as the different word fonts and sizes. The other example is the supermarket shown in *Photo 11*. It is located in downtown Chinatown. Similar to the former Chinese restaurant, this Chinese supermarket also adopts a bilingual name board on the store front. In this signage, its Chinese name “天朝大廈商場” is followed by the English translation “DYNASTY SHOPPING ARCADE”.

Photo 10



Photo 11



Although English is widely used in Chinese signs, no intersections between Chinese and French languages could be retrieved from my photo database. That is, from a linguistic landscape perspective, although French is almost considered equal to English in most of the governmental signage, it probably does not enjoy the same status as English for Winnipeg's Chinese population. In other words, in Winnipeg, the Chinese population already accepts the high social status of English and is inclined to use it for its modernized and internationalized prestige, but may do not promise the same merit to the French language. Thus, according to the frequency and the amount of the languages presented in the Chinese linguistic landscapes, the English language ranks higher than Chinese languages (both traditional Chinese language and simplified Chinese language) and then higher than the French language in Winnipeg among the Chinese population.

In addition, when I wandered in Chinatown, I saw many Indigenous people sitting there basking in the sun. Although the Indigenous languages are a critical part of the Indigenous revitalization plan and are advocated by the Canadian government, they are excluded from the Chinese linguistic landscapes. Maybe the authority can involve other cultural groups like Chinese immigrants to support the Indigenous people by organizing the linguistic landscapes.

The second finding is that the Chinese linguistic landscapes adopt English expressions in form and involve western cultural activities in content. There are some examples of English words and letters mixed in some Chinese sentences and paragraphs, reflecting the translanguaging ability of the Chinese store owners. For example, *Photo 12* shows a picture of bubble tea, which is named “阿華田 QQ 冰”. The letters “QQ” are borrowed in this Chinese-dominated name. Similarly, in the shop notice shown in *Photo 13*, the English word “downtown” is used directly in the Chinese paragraph. In *Photo 14*, some English abbreviations like “DIY”, “AP”, “IB”, “CELPIP”, and “CLB” are applied in the Chinese advertisement. In the left bottom corner of *Photo 15*, “Facebook” and “Twitter” are introduced as the contact methods in their original English names, together with other information in Chinese. The use of these words not only reflects that the sign designers position themselves as bilingual users but also implies that the business runners expect the potential customers to understand these words. And this expectation is based on the familiarity with and acceptance of the English language and western cultures by most Chinese immigrants.

Photo 12



Photo 13



Photo 14

赢加国际 移民与教育
服务中心
助您移民加拿大 赢在加拿大

留学移民超市 **赢加首推**

移民文件审理: DIY+Professional
各类移民方式 / 签证 / 公证 / 入籍
留学 / 就业 / 移民
学校 / 学签申请
所有签证类别
移民申请 / 配偶担保

曼省 独家 **补课培训超市**

- AP/IB提升班, 演讲写作, 省考, 雅思
- 数理化/历地/计算机/社会/心理学/写作
- 语言跳级, 基础/专业课, 英语写作
- 雅思/CELPIP/CLB, 入籍专训, 职业技能/英语提高

电话 (204) 809-7717
地址 201B-2989 Pembina Hwy
Winnipeg, Canada, R3T 2H5
www.winplus.ca



Photo 15



Chinese immigrants attempt to use the English language; however, their English expressions are sometimes influenced by their Chinese linguistic habits, and the trace of English language learning is evident. For example, as shown in the “DRAGON PALACE” advertisement post in *Photo 16*, the letter “R” is missing in the word “NOTHERN”. Similarly, there is also a wrong spelling of “SUPER VALU” (which is supposed to be “SUPER VALUE”) in *Photo 17*. Besides, since the use of the Chinese language is pragmatic-oriented in marketing in Winnipeg, it

means that the expression might not be accurate enough, and some mistakes might exist in the posts, such as the error in grammar in the notice “When shopping in the store and keep at least two (2) meter social distance” in *Photo 18*.

Photo 16



Photo 17



Photo 18



Except for English language acquisition, the acceptance of western cultures by the Chinese population is reflected in the following two aspects. First, Chinese are willing to participate in the local cultural activities. *Photo 19* shows a noticeboard of the Mennonite Brethren Church on the sidewalk with a line of Chinese text “华恩堂南区聚会星期六 7PM” at the bottom, which informs a coming event there on Saturday. Christianity and Catholicism do not originate in China but were imported from the English world; therefore, as the primary religious

activity places, churches are a part of the western culture. In this sense, the use of Chinese texts by the Canadian church reflects the assimilation of western religions by the local Chinese population. However, those believers also might have been belonged to that church before coming to Canada. Thus, this bilingual church signage reflects that the multicultural policy assigns the Chinese population the position that they are free to choose or continue the western religious beliefs without the cost of the right to use their mother tongues.

Photo 19



The other example is the teaching and learning of popping (a type of street dance). As shown in *Photo 20*, in the Chinese-and-English bilingual advertisement, two dancing shadows are printed on the grey-lettered background in the middle of the post. Between the two dancers, there is a dark red triangle delivering the contact information (tutor's name and phone number) and the classroom location in white word color. On the top of the post, a line of Chinese characters with an exclamation mark at the end, highlighted in a dark red strip, is used to inform that it is the unique Chinese popping classroom in the city. The traditional Chinese writing and the dark human figures give a sense of time. As a part of hip-hop, popping originated in American, specifically African-American communities, and is a foreign culture to the Chinese. Therefore, this popping instructional post reflects that the Chinese are open to foreign cultures and would like to explore exotic art forms. In addition, different from the western mainstream cultures that are originated among "white people", which represent modern and superior, the dance was created by dark people. The dance was labeled low-class because it prevails among loiterers and jobless youths and played on the streets. Thus, the Chinese post about popping classes also implies that such stereotypes do not keep the hip-hop culture from being adopted as a way of self-expression by Chinese immigrants. In other words, the Chinese do not select specific culture types from certain ethnic groups but show indiscriminate favor to various foreign cultures in this case. Besides, instead of being translated into Chinese, the name of the dance - "popping" - is also presented in its original English version in the post.

Photo 20



Second, the names of Chinese people presented in the advertisement posts raised my interest. In a Chinese name, the last name is usually put ahead of the first name, which is different from the traditions of English names. However, in the Chinese linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg, people adjust their names to western customs rather than following the Chinese habits, putting their given names ahead of the family names. For example, there are three counselors in the post in *Photo 21*. On the right of the picture, the Pinyin “Di Yan” is marked under the

Chinese name “严迪”. His given name “Di” is put in front of his family name “Yan”. A similar case could be found in *Photo 22*, “Yun Ge” is the Pinyin of the Chinese name “葛云” in the opposite order. Some Chinese counsellors provide two names, a Chinese name, and an English name. For example, in *Photo 23*, two realty advisors are introduced on the post, “杨敏言” on the left with her English name “Mandy Yang” and “王语冰” who is also called “Nadia Wang” on the right. However, some people replace their Chinese or English names with Pinyin. For instance, in *Photo 24*, the Pinyin “XIAO XIONG” is followed by the English name “JETT”. A typical English name makes me feel that the person has integrated into the English society, but the use of a Chinese name and Pinyin reveals the ethnic identity of those investment advisors.

Photo 21



Photo 22



Photo 23



Photo 24



The above examples reveal that, under the multicultural policy, Chinese Winnipeggers are willing to learn the English language and would like to adopt western religions, art forms, and naming habits as a way to integrate into the local life. While the Chinese gradually acquired and used the English language in their communication, some Chinese expressions also invaded the original English language system; a new English language variety, Chinglish, has been produced. Consisting of the same 26 letters as English words, Pinyin (the phonetic alternative of Chinese characters) is sometimes mixed into English expressions. For example, the name boards in *Photo 25* and *Photo 26* respectively show the English name “Hai Shang Restaurant” and the Chinese name “海上酒家” of a restaurant. However, rather than a real English word, “Hai

Shang” is the Pinyin of the Chinese word “海上”. The use of Pinyin is also visible in *Photo 27*. “Chang Bai Shan” is a Chinese mountain’s name and the Pinyin of “长白山”. Similarly, as shown in *Photo 28*, “Wenkai” is the phonetic symbol of “文開”. Replacing English words with Pinyin reveals the willingness of the Chinese population to express their linguistic and ethnic identities because it is hard for non-Chinese speakers to understand the meaning of it (Shang & Guo, 2017). I also found several signs containing the phonetic texts different from the modern standard Pinyin system, like the “CHING WU” in *Photo 29* and “SUN WAH” in *Photo 30*, which might be the pronunciation of Cantonese and originated from Taiwan, and which deserves further exploration.

Photo 25



Photo 26



Photo 27



Photo 28



Photo 29



Photo 30



The replacement of English words with Pinyin reveals that the influence of the multicultural policy on the positionings of the Chinese population is not only reflected in the western cultural assimilation but also in the Chinese identity expression, and correspondingly, the third finding is that some traditional Chinese cultural symbols are exhibited in the Chinese linguistic landscapes. The following examples will illustrate how the Chinese ethnic identities are reflected by the non-textual elements in the Chinese signage, including Chinese lion dance clothing, Chinese year animals, traditional Chinese typesetting, and Chinese spring couplets. In Chinatown, some flags that contain Chinese cultural images are tied on lamp poles. For example, *Photo 31* shows an English-only flag. The main body exhibits a lion's head (which is a part of the costume for the lion dance), and the location "DOWNTOWN CHINATOWN" is highlighted

in English at the bottom of the sign. Although there are no Chinese languages in this signage, the image of the lion's head reflects the traditional ethnic identity of the Chinese people.

Photo 31



Besides, both the flags in *Photo 32* and *Photo 33* show the images of the Chinese lunar calendar. There are 12 animal cycling years in the Chinese lunar calendar: rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, dog, and pig. *Photo 32* was taken on Oct 6, 2020. In the photo, an image of a rat is designed in the middle of the flag, claiming that the rats are the

year animal of 2020. Both English and Chinese writings can be seen in this sign. Except for the Chinese character “鼠” (the translation of rat), the English text “Year of the RAT” is printed in black at the top of the post. Although the Chinese character is relatively faint and invisible compared to the English ones, the Chinese identity is obviously expressed. *Photo 33* was taken around one year later (on Aug 13, 2021) in the same area. In this post, the animal image rat is replaced by an ox. Similar to the old flag, the ox signage, including the English content “YEAR OF THE OX” and the Chinese character “牛” (the Chinese translation of “ox”), is also bilingual. The designers of these posts might not only want to give information about time and location but also aim to demonstrate the traditional Chinese cultures like animal years and lion dance to the Winnipeggers, including the non-Chinese speakers.

Photo 32



Photo 33



Different from modern writing habits, the traditional Chinese writing order is from up to down and then from right to left. Some Chinese signs in Winnipeg are designed in a reverse text following the traditional writing style instead of adopting the modern left-to-right writing format. The architecture shown in *Photo 34* is a historical building where Sun Yat-Sen (the founding father of China) gave speeches about the Chinese Revolution and worked in 1911. Its name board is Chinese-only. The name “部分黨民國國中” is in traditional Chinese characters and

organized in the right-to-left order, informing that the institution is a historical organization for Kuomintang. Kuomintang used to be one of the dominant Parties in mainland China at the beginning of the 20th century and has become the governing Party of Taiwan after World War II since 1949. Nowadays, the institution has become a club of the Party. The party flag on the roof also represents its members' political and ethnic identities. When I took photos outside the building, I met a person who lived there. He told me that many Taiwanese came to take photos of the building each year and invited me to visit inside. As a museum, there are many photos and historical slogans for the Chinese Revolution sticking on the wall. However, all the writings in those posts are in the traditional opposite vector. Such a phenomenon appears in several other signs, such as the right-to-left writing “樓酒冠金” in *Photo 35* and the top-to-bottom writing, “天朝大廈” on the right together with “景街一百八十號” on the left in *Photo 36*.

Photo 34



Photo 35



Photo 36



Nowadays, this traditional reversed text vector (reading from top to bottom and then from right to left) is still applied in the Chinese spring couplets, which is another representative of the traditional Chinese culture that has a history of over one thousand years and reflects the ethnic identities of the Chinese population. Chinese people usually glue the new spring couplets on the doorway on the morning of Chinese New Year's Eve to express the hope for prosperity. A complete Chinese couplet commonly consists of four pieces of red paper with texts, a pair of vertical lines of poetry with the same numbers of characters and a particular rhyme, a four-word phrase on the top, and the character “福” on a piece of square paper in the middle. I found two Chinese couplets in the city. For instance, in *Photo 37*, the “平安如意年年好” on the right, the

“人順家和事事興” on the left, the “吉星高照” on the top, and the “福” in the middle are stuck on the door. The fish drawn beside the character also symbolizes the yearning for the new year’s harvest in traditional Chinese culture. Besides, the other “福” in a couplet was found in the doorway of a recently-opened Chinese restaurant, as shown in *Photo 38*.

Photo 37



Photo 38



Positioning Negotiation in Business

In this section, the positioning will be discussed under the scope of business. I have found 230 business-related signage containing 71 traditional Chinese signs and 159 simplified Chinese signs. 21 traditional and 21 simplified signage are found in Chinatown; 37 traditional and 118 simplified Chinese advertisement posts are collected from South Fort Garry; 13 traditional and 20 simplified Chinese signs are recognized in other places in the city. The quantitative results show that the Chinese business signs are mostly gathered in the major Chinese communities like Chinatown and South Fort Garry. However, some Chinese restaurants are also spreading along the streets in western communities in the city. I classified the business advertisements into 10 categories according to topics and themes, including (1) markets and supermarkets, (2) express,

(3) finance and investment, (4) food delivery, (5) restaurant and drink bar, (6) media, (7) travel, (8) health and dental, (9) fashion, and (10) vehicle. Among all these themes, restaurant and bar is one of the most visible categories in the city, followed by finance and investment. Compared with the topics of English signs on streets, although the Chinese linguistic landscapes cover most of the topics about daily life, the Chinese posts are mostly oriented toward immigration. There are rarely Chinese signs related to clothing and pets. In this section, three results will be discussed under the business topic.

First, Chinese business owners pursue the marketing values of languages, and their language selection faces intended customers. As discussed in the last section, Chinese sign designers leverage the English language for its high social and marketing value. In order to attract non-Chinese customers, many Chinese restaurants provide bilingual name boards and dish menus. The name board in *Photo 39* exhibits all the information, including the name of the restaurant, its major services (DELIVERY/TAKE-OUT), and its website in English. The menu in *Photo 40* also adds the English alternatives for the names of the Chinese dishes. In addition, the ingredients are listed in the English translations, such as “Egg and Veggie Stir-fry with Rice” and “Noodles with Soybean Paste”, which is convenient for English users to order food. In this menu, both languages conduct informational functions; however, the two languages deliver different messages and play different roles in some cases. For example, in *Photo 41*, everything is presented in English except for a prominent red Chinese character “意” in the top left corner. This Chinese character does not cover any content about the food or services that the restaurant provides but conducts the symbolic function and represents the restaurant’s logo and brand, which reflects the willingness of the restaurant owners to create the feeling of an insider for Chinese people.

Photo 39



Photo 40

秘制川味麻辣烫 (1份) Spicy Hot Pot

Beef ball牛肉丸/fish ball鱼丸/enoki mushroom金针菇/
fish bean curd鱼豆腐/broccoli西兰花/spinach菠菜
/flavored sesame paste秘制麻酱.....\$8.99

可单加 add on

Beef ball牛肉丸/fish ball鱼丸.....\$1/1个
fish bean curd鱼豆腐 / shrimp 海虾.....\$1.5/2个
enoki mushroom金针菇/Sweet potato vermicelli红薯粉条/mushroom蘑菇
/broccoli西兰花/sausage slice香肠片/chicken strip鸡肉条/
spinach菠菜/quail 鹌鹑蛋/flavored sesame paste芝麻酱.....\$1/1份





JUMBO SLICE \$2.00
(cheese&pepperoni) (plus taxes)

WITH DRINK \$2.50
(plus taxes)

TEL: 2049404950

Photo 41

CLOSED TUESDAY
ALL YOU CAN EAT STOPS 30MIN BEFORE CLOSING TIME



ALL YOU CAN EAT MENU

ADULT (13YR & OVER)

DINNER	\$ 34.95
LUNCH (11:30am - 3pm)	\$ 29.95

CHILDREN (7 - 12 YR)

DINNER	\$ 17.95
LUNCH (11:30am - 3pm)	\$ 15.95

CHILDREN (4 - 6 YR) \$ 7.95

CHILDREN 3 YR & UNDER FREE

PARTIES 5 TO 10 PEOPLE AUTO 10% GRATUITY
 PARTIES OVER 10 PEOPLE AUTO 12% GRATUITY
 PRICES DOES NOT INCLUDE TAXES

MAX 2 HR LIMIT
 2 HR Limit starts at either time of reservation or when party is seated, whichever first.

ADDITIONAL CHARGES FOR LEFTOVERS
 PLEASE ORDER WITH CAUTION
 ITEMS SUBJECT TO AVAILABILITY

2 stoves only available for parties of 5 or more ppl
 Additional \$10 to use second stove for parties of 4 or lower

APPETIZERS

- A1. Agedashi Tofu
- A2. BBQ Salmon Skin
- A3. Calamari
- A4. Chawan Mushi - steamed egg, req. 15 min
- A5. Chicken Karaage
- A6. Corn Croquette (1pc)
- A7. Curry Fishball (2pcs)
- A8. Deep Fried Wontons (1pc)
- A9. Edamame - salted soybean
- A10. Goma Ae - soygach salad w/ sesame dressing
- A11. Gyoza (2pcs)
- A12. Ika Katsu (2pcs) - deep fried cuttlefish ball
- A13. Kimchi
- A14. Mini Crab Cakes (1pc)
- A15. Satay Fishball (2pcs)
- A16. Shrimp Crackers
- A17. Takoyaki (1pc) - dough ball with octopus
- A18. Vegetable Spring Roll (1pc)

SOUP & SALAD

- A19. Miso Soup
- A20. Crab Salad
- A21. Green Salad
- A22. Tempura Salad - Plain
- A23. Tintorido Salad w/ Crab Meat
- A24. Surimi Salad w/ Octopus
- A25. Sunomiso Salad w/ Shrimp
- A26. Wakamshi Salad - seaweed salad

A LA CARTE

- B1. Beef Wrapped Asparagus (2pcs)
- B2. BBQ Sanma - gike mackerel for 2 ppl, req. 15 min
- B3. Crispy Smelt Fish (2pcs)
- B4. Crispy Breaded Scallop (2pcs)
- B5. Crispy Chicken Wings (2pcs)
- B6. Deep Fried Salmon Head (1pc) for 2 ppl
- B7. Grilled Saba (1pc) - grilled mackerel
- B8. Grilled Hamachi Kama (1pc) - yellowtail collar, req. 10 min
- B9. Japanese Fried Rice
- B10. Kimchi Fried Rice
- B11. Udon Soup
- B12. Oven Baked Mussels (2pcs)
- B13. Teriyaki Beef
- B14. Teriyaki Chicken

- B15. Teriyaki Salmon
- B16. Teriyaki Vegetable
- B17. Unadon - BBQ w/ rice
- B18. Yaki Udon - ste fried udon (for 2ppl)

TEMPURA

- B19. Eggplant Tempura (2pcs)
- B20. Mixed Mushroom Tempura (2pcs)
- B21. Pumpkin Tempura (2pcs)
- B22. Shrimp Tempura (2pcs)
- B23. Squid Tempura (2pcs)
- B24. Yam Tempura (2pcs)
- B25. Zucchini Tempura (2pcs)

ROLL/ MAKI

- C1. Avocado Maki (6pcs)
- C2. Avo. Cheese, Kappa (6pcs)
- C3. Avokappa (6pcs)
- C4. Bakudan Salmon Maki (6pcs)
- C5. Bakudan Tuna Maki (6pcs)
- C6. B.C. (5pcs)
- C7. California (6pcs)
- C8. Chopped Scallop (6pcs)
- C9. Crazy Cali (6pcs)
- C10. Crazy Dynamite (5pcs)
- C11. Crazy Yummy (5pcs)
- C12. Cream Cheese Beef (5pcs)
- C13. Crunchy (6pcs)
- C14. Ebikyu Maki (6pcs)
- C15. Explosion (8pcs)

Vegetarian ♡ Spicy ♡ Gluten Free ♡ Dinner Only ♡

In addition to the English language, several minority languages, such as Korean and Vietnamese, are also visible in the Chinese linguistic landscapes. *Photo 42* is an advertisement for picking up, which is written in three languages: traditional Chinese, simplified Chinese, and Korean. Among all the languages, it claims that the business mainly serves international students with the traditional Chinese texts “曼大磚車”. The other multilingual signage is shown in *Photo 43*; English, Chinese and Korean are presented on the window of the dentist’s clinic. The three languages are also applied on the name board of a Chinese Korean restaurant shown in *Photo 44*. Similarly, in *Photo 45*, Korean is used together with Chinese words under the English title on the name board of the barber shop. The Korean text is designed in handwriting style, which creates

an image of fashion and informality. In addition to Korean, there is also a Chinese-English-Vietnamese multilingual sign in *Photo 46*. As shown, both Chinese and Vietnamese languages are used to present the name of the restaurant, and the services (“Vietnamese and Chinese Cuisine”) are provided in English. The use of minority languages aims at attracting more customers from wider linguistic groups. Interestingly, all the minority languages applied by Chinese signage are from Asian countries that are geographically close to China. This might be because of the historical long-term cultural and economic interactions between China and those countries (Kim, 2021).

Photo 42



Photo 43



Photo 44



Photo 45



Photo 46

Being reciprocal to the Chinese stores, western companies like banks also attach importance to the marketing value of Chinese languages. Although RBC Royal Bank is not a governmental business, as one of the biggest banks in Canada, it enjoys a relatively high reputation and trust among the population. *Photo 47* shows that an RBC branch adopts both English and traditional Chinese languages in Richmond West Plaza (a southern Chinese community). The use of both languages implies the gathering of the Chinese immigrants in this area. It also reflects the adjustment of the local company to the customers and the linguistic diversity of the local community. *Photo 48* is an English-and-Chinese bilingual advertisement post about real estate investment exhibited in the window of the bank branch. It seems that English is the dominant language in this sign because of its bigger word size and its relatively

higher visual position on the sign; however, more detailed information is delivered in the simplified Chinese texts. The advertisement also indicates that this branch provides multilingual services (Mandarin, Cantonese, and English) with a smaller word size at the bottom. In addition, four types of contact methods are provided, including the phone number, the E-mail address, the Facebook account, and the WeChat QR code. Wechat is a particular communicating application for Chinese since almost every Chinese uses the app the most among all four methods. Thus, this is also a reflection of its customer-oriented nature. Similarly, in *Photo 49*, the Chinese name is also added behind the English name “CIBC Banking Center” on the name board of a CIBC branch located beside the RBC branch.

Photo 47



Photo 48



The advertisement is a vertical poster for RBC Mortgage Specialist Sandy Chen. It features the RBC logo at the top left, followed by the headline "Your new home doesn't come with mortgage advice. I do." and a photograph of Sandy Chen, a smiling woman in a dark jacket. Below the photo, her name "Sandy Chen 陈珊珊" and title "Mortgage Specialist 房贷专家" are listed. Contact information includes a phone number "204-293-0268" and an email "sandy.chen@rbc.com". Social media links for Facebook (@sandy.chen) and Wechat are provided with a QR code. A block of Chinese text describes RBC as a trusted bank with fast service and low rates, serving various groups like immigrants and high-net-worth individuals. The slogan "Let's Make Someday Happen™" is at the bottom.

 RBC.

Your new home
doesn't come with
mortgage advice.
I do.



Sandy Chen 陈珊珊
Mortgage Specialist 房贷专家

☎ 204-293-0268
✉ sandy.chen@rbc.com

 @sandy.chen Wechat 

皇家银行，加拿大第一大银行，您可信赖的银行。
审批快，成功率高，利率优惠。
服务新移民，工签，工薪族，自雇人士，高资产人士，及海外收入人士。

无论您是要新置业或房贷转入
国粵英三语为您服务各个城市贷款。

Let's Make Someday Happen™

Photo 49



The second finding is that there are no obvious geographical distinctions between the applications of different Chinese language varieties; the traditional and simplified texts sometimes could be found in the same areas. In other words, the language selection is highly individualized, and both traditional and simplified Chinese characters are equally used in different Chinese communities, which means there are fewer contradictions among different Chinese ethnic groups than in the early stage of immigration. For example, although both of the bilingual parking guidelines in *Photo 50* and *Photo 51* are posted in the same neighborhood (downtown Chinatown), the former uses simplified Chinese texts, but the latter is written in the traditional characters. This phenomenon also has been observed in Washington, DC, in Lou's (2007) report. He explained that the appearance of the simplified Chinese texts in the old

Chinese communities reveals an increasing number of immigrants from mainland China and the start of cultural fusion among various Chinese ethnic groups. It also implies that the old Chinese immigrants realize the marketing value of the simplified Chinese language and turn to accept the Chinese newcomers in their neighborhood. In Winnipeg in South Fort Garry, the two language varieties are presented side by side as well, such as the traditional name of the barber shop presented on the left and the simplified Chinese characters used by the immigration agency on the right in *Photo 52*. Although the Winnipeg's authority defines Mandarin and Cantonese as two different languages in official documents, I prefer to view the traditional and the simplified Chinese writings as two versions (or varieties) of the same language because even though I have only learned simplified Chinese writing, I can guess the pronunciations and meanings of most of the traditional Chinese characters.

Photo 50



Photo 51



Photo 52



Additionally, business cooperation between the traditional and the simplified language groups is also reflected in the Chinese linguistic landscapes. As shown in *Photo 53*, a mini-multicultural environment emerges from a photograph. It is taken on a Chinese restaurant window consisting of posts with different business topics. Although the restaurant adopts the traditional Chinese characters “御鑫緣” on its name board, the languages used in the posts are varied. For example, beside the dancing class post written in traditional Chinese in *Photo 54*, the signage in *Photo 55* uses simplified texts to introduce the information about Chapel Lawn, a Chinese-styled cemetery. The other post that deserves to mention is shown in *Photo 56*. It is a simplified texted advertisement for a talk show. This talk show is an entertainment performance,

particularly for Mandarin audiences. Its crew selects Winnipeg as a station for its worldwide tour, which means that the city holds a comparatively large Mandarin speakers in Canada. The bond of these business posts with the traditional and simplified Chinese texts reveals the connection among their owners. In addition, being similar to the vines entangling trees in tropical rainforests, some signs adhere to other businesses. For example, the food delivery signs in simplified Chinese language stuck on the windows of the traditional Chinese restaurants, like the small stickers on the window in *Photo 57*, reflect the cooperation between the two Chinese language groups in business. Similarly, some traditional Chinese stores also use disposable plastic bags printed with the business advertisements in simplified texts.

Photo 53



Photo 54



Photo 55

Chapel Lawn
Funeral Home & Cemetery
by Arbor Memorial

加拿大曼省风水极佳的中国传统福地

Arbor Memorial拥有92间殡仪馆及多达41个优美墓园，遍布整个加拿大，为无数加拿大华裔家庭服务。现如今，更是成为了加拿大最具规模及备受信赖的殡仪公司之一。

Chapel Lawn殡仪馆和墓园，是曼省本地规模最大的华裔墓园。独有的中式墓碑和骨灰土葬福地，是为子孙祈福的极佳风水组合。

使用您最熟悉的语言，站在您的立场，按照您的心愿，用最耐心和最真诚的专业服务，全方位安排好您的百年事宜。

一站式多元化服务

- 风水福地
- 代办先人迁墓
- 私家花园
- 预先安排服务
- 骨灰福置
- 可分期付款

详情请致电：
杨天娇 Tiffany Yang (国、英语)
204-202-8091
网址: arbormemorial.ca/chinese

Chapel Lawn 殡仪馆和墓园
4000 Portage Ave., Winnipeg,
MB R3K 1W3

Photo 56



Photo 57



Third, some traditional Chinese cultural elements are exhibited in some business signage which reflects the ethnic identity of the Chinese population. In this section, two typical Chinese businesses and three traditional Chinese images presented in linguistic landscapes will be discussed. Traditional Chinese medicine is an integral part of Chinese culture. I have found five Chinese treatment clinics in the city. In *Photo 58*, the PAIN CLINIC notes its services in both English and traditional Chinese texts. The word “Bei Jing” in the left top corner reveals that the store owners are proud of their Chinese origin. The other store owners exhibit their ethnic identities in posts in *Photos 59* and *Photo 60*. Although all of the vital information is written in English, the store owners adopt the Chinese cultural images like the Chinese year animals, the panda, and the Yin Yang ball to express their Chinese ethnic identities. Similarly, the two

Chinese characters on the name board of the clinic in *Photo 61* conduct a symbolic function as well. Most Chinese herbal treatment clinics select traditional writings for a cultural inheritance; however, some also use simplified texts such as the one in *Photo 62*. The other one is shown in *Photo 63*, which presents the services in both simplified Chinese and English languages and provides the pictures for each service. The Chinese family name “金” is also printed on the wind bell by the front door, reflecting the owners’ self-and-ethnic identities.

Photo 58



Photo 59



Photo 60



Photo 61



Photo 62



Photo 63



Bubble tea is a part of Chinese culture as well. Made of tea, milk, and tapioca pearls, bubble tea originated in Taiwan and is popular among Chinese people. There are three advertisements with pictures of bubble tea in my signage database. *Photo 64* shows a chain tea bar in Winnipeg. Although English is the most outstanding language on its name board, the traditional Chinese texted logo and the panda and bamboo images reflect the Chinese ethnic identity of the store owners. *Photo 65* is the post stuck on the door of the other tea bar, “Tea Mood”, in Radisson Plaza, close to the University of Manitoba. In this photo, the English and Chinese languages deliver different information and conduct different functions. The “Top Top Refreshment” in English tells the quality of the products, which aims to attract English readers, while the Chinese description “臺灣第一調茶” (that could be translated as “the best tea in

Taiwan”) claims that the tea bar is originated from Taiwan with a high reputation. Interestingly, although the bar originated from Taiwan, its owners adopted simplified Chinese writings instead of using traditional characters. *Photo 66* shows another bubble tea bar named “Yi Fang” nearby the university as well. “Yin Fang” is the Pinyin of its Chinese name. Like “Tea Mood”, its Taiwanese origin is highlighted in both Chinese and English languages; however, being different from the former, it inherits Taiwanese writings, namely the traditional Chinese characters.

Photo 64



Photo 65



Photo 66



No matter what perspective researchers take, they all aim at the same goal, to understand and explain the world. Although people explore knowledge in different contextualized systems, everyone lives on the same Earth, which informs the inextricable connections among those artificially separated areas. Art-based scholars consider language as a form of art; however, linguists view visual artifacts as a kind of discourse. Viewing linguistic landscape as a kind of discourse, I adopted Gillian Rose's (2016) work, which provided an analytic framework for explaining visual arts under the discourse analysis methodology, and then I integrated it into positioning theory. Gill (2000) proposed that all discourse is organized to make itself persuasive, and images and symbols are sometimes more persuasive than words. Thus, in the following

paragraphs, I will focus on the symbolic images that appeared more than once on the name boards of the business stores.

One of the outstanding images is the Chinese dragon (Long/Loong). The Chinese dragon is a traditional Chinese totem that plays an important role in Chinese culture. In Chinese mythology, Long is the God who lives in the seas or rivers, holding power to control the water, rain, and flood. Unlike the dragon that represents greed, anger, and atrocity in western culture, the Chinese dragon symbolizes power, honor, dignity, flourishing, prosperity, fortune, and success to Chinese people. As a sign of divine right, the Chinese dragon symbolizes the king's power in ancient China. People see the kings the son of dragon. Only kings were allowed to use five-legged dragon images on their clothes, furniture, and buildings, and their brothers and sons had the right to use four-legged or three-legged dragons for decoration; however, nowadays, dragon has become a symbol of Chinese people who call themselves the descendants of dragon. Chinese also compare outstanding people to dragons; many parents select “龙” (Long) as their children's names to show their expectations.

Altogether eleven dragon images were collected in the city, including nine printed together with texts and two independent sculptures. *Photo 67* was taken on South Pembina Hwy close to a Chinese neighborhood, exhibiting the bilingual name board of a Chinese restaurant. Its Chinese name means “golden dragon”. In its English name, “Golden Loong Restaurant”, “Loong” is an English translation of the Chinese dragon, which is also pronounced similarly with the character “龍” in traditional writings and “龙” in simplified writings. A small golden dragon is printed on the left-top corner, which coincides with its name. A similar case was found on St. Mary Road. As shown in *Photo 68*, different from the Golden Loong Restaurant, this signage is multilingual, including Chinese, English, and Vietnamese. Its Chinese name “九龍中越美食餐

館” literally means “Nine dragons Chinese and Vietnamese Restaurant”. A four-legged Chinese dragon on the left shows the Chinese ethnic identity. The image of a bowl with chopsticks also implies that it is an Asian-style restaurant. Besides, the dragon image has been integrated into the logos of some Chinese businesses, such as the semicircle around the character of “福” in *Photo 69*, and the small white logo on the top middle part of the signage in *Photo 70*.

Photo 67



Photo 68



Photo 69



Photo 70



The image of pandas is the other symbol emerging from the linguistic landscapes that reflects the ethnic identity of the Chinese population. Like kangaroos to Australians and beavers to Canadians, pandas are usually used to represent Chinese people in international activities events. I have found three panda images in the city. In *Photo 71*, an image of a panda's head is designed as the logo of Panda Tea (a tea bar) on the left of the name board. The photo shows a similar panda image on its disposable cup. The traditional Chinese word “熊猫” (which means panda) together with its irregular red-colored background is used as its brand, but the product “HONEY LEMONADE” is presented in English. The second panda image shown in *Photo 72* is collected in downtown Chinatown. The panda picture has been exhibited on the right door of a

massage therapy clinic. A yellow English word “PANDA” has been added to the bottom of the picture below the image. Another panda image that drew my attention is the logo of Fat Panda. In *Photo 73*, the image of a panda’s head is depicted together with bamboos. I thought it must be a Chinese store when I first saw it. However, later I found that it is a local vaping store selling cannabis products. Marijuana is illegal in China. Obviously, the store owner did not build any connection between the panda and Chinese.

Photo 71



Photo 72



Photo 73



Except for the Chinese dragon and panda, the image of Yin Yang ball is another typical Chinese symbol that stood out in the Chinese linguistic landscapes. The concepts of Yin and Yang originated from dualism, an ancient Chinese philosophy. Yin and Yang respectively represent feminine and masculine. The circle consists of white and black water drops in the Yin Yang ball, illustrating how contrary powers connect and raise each other in nature. As a traditional Chinese religious symbol, the use of the figure of the Yin Yang ball reflects a solid Chinese ethnic identity. I have seen two images of Yin Yang balls in the city. In *Photo 74*, all of the services are written in English, but the two traditional Chinese characters “陰” (Yin) and “陽” (Yang) are labeled beside the Yin Yang ball. English and Chinese languages conduct

informational and symbolic functions, respectively, in this signage, and the symbol together with the figures reflects the Chinese ethnic identity of the store owner. Besides, as a kind of Chinese Kung Fu (martial arts), Tai Chi was created based on the thoughts of dualism, which also adopts the image of Yin Yang ball as its sign. As shown in *Photo 75*, an image of Yin Yang is designed as the stamen of a plum flower, surrounded by five petals. Each petal takes a traditional Chinese character, and all these characters construct its name.

Photo 74



Photo 75

Positioning Negotiation in Education

In this section, three major findings that are related to the topic of education will be discussed. The first one is that the Chinese learners are positioned as investors by both Chinese instructional agencies and Canadian educational institutions. Second, the early Chinese immigrants would like to advance the spread of traditional Chinese cultures and are willing to transmit them to younger generations. Third, the new immigrants hold a higher requirement for English language proficiency. In addition, some thoughts and discussions about the Chinese newcomers' perspectives on education in the post-pandemic era will be presented at the end of the section. *Photo 76* shows an advertisement for an IELTS test center, which implies the need for English language proficiency in the city. As one of the dominant language tests, IELTS

currently cost 2040 RMB per sitting (around 400 Canadian dollars) in mainland China. The testing fee continues to rise every year, which is so expensive that it almost equals the Chinese average monthly minimum wage (2200 RMB) as reported in the article “The minimum wage goes up in China” (2020). I wondered if such Standard English tests and training belong to the scope of education or business. Later I came to understand: education essentially is a type of business. In a capitalist society, like language, education is a commodity that needs payoff. No matter who is paying it (individual, school, or government) and in what form it is paid (cash or tax), it needs payment. Many countries provide their citizens with free compulsory educational welfare, and in public schools, the education costs are borne by the governments with taxpayers’ money. However, since most of the Chinese institutional agencies in Winnipeg are private and aim for profit, the Chinese educational posts mostly have a business nature.

Photo 76



Some examples reveal the business nature of education reflected by the Chinese linguistic landscapes. First, in Winnipeg, most of the education-related Chinese signs are posted by immigration agencies, who identify themselves as the educational institutions and provide language classes and skill training programs since they view the development of those skills as the prelude for immigration. For example, in *Photo 77*, immigration, study abroad, and IELTS training (“留学移民” and “雅思培训”) are juxtaposed on the advertisement board. Similarly, as shown in *Photo 78*, “EDUCATION”, “IMMIGRATION”, and “INVESTIGATION” are listed together on the bench. In *Photo 79*, the post designers compare the immigration agency and the language classes to the supermarket and goods, adding the image of a shopping cart beside the texts. Moreover, in *Photo 80*, the red word color is applied to highlight the features and advantages of the language products provided.

Photo 77



Photo 78



Photo 79

赢加国际 移民与教育中心
服务中心
助您移民加拿大 赢在加拿大

留学移民超市 **赢加首推**

移民文件审理: DIY+Professional
 各类移民方式 / 签证 / 公证 / 入籍
 留学 / 就业 / 移民
 学校 / 学签申请
 所有签证类别
 移民申请 / 配偶担保

曼省独家 补课培训超市

- AP/IB提升班, 演讲写作, 省考, 雅思
- 数理化/历地/计算机/社会/心理学/写作
- 语言跳级, 基础/专业课, 英语写作
- 雅思/CELPIP/CLB, 入籍专训, 职业技能/英语提高

电话 (204) 809-7717
 地址 201B-2989 Pembina Hwy
 Winnipeg, Canada, R3T 2H5
 www.winplus.ca

Photo 80



Second, the immigration companies provide language training programs and a series of other educational services like high school course tutoring, university planning, and vocational training. The themes of the Chinese skill training advertisements contain cooking (in *Photo 81*) and food processing (in *Photo 82*). *Photo 82* shows an advertisement of the oldest Chinese immigration agency (registered in 2001) in Winnipeg, “张学勇移民”. Like other Chinese education-related programs, the training project is packaged as an economic product, sold to

newcomers. The advertisement introduces an 11-month-long food processing course program as a shortcut for immigration and also promises a half-priced IELTS course for the contracted clients. The end date of applying and the red limited number of positions highlighted by the wave lines in the right bottom corner make me feel the product is on sale as well. The business owners are satisfied with the label of “the oldest Chinese immigration company” because the related statement is highlighted in the red word color and emphasized by the red checkmark on the front. In order to show its localization, the post also includes some local elements like the images of the maple leaf in the logo and the Museum of Human Rights (one of the landmarks in Winnipeg) at the bottom.

Photo 81



Photo 82


张学勇移民
 加拿大国际教育服务中心

曼省老牌最大留学移民公司 曼省留学工作移民鼻祖中介

独家创新移民项目
定向雇主 联合培养

11个月快捷移民课程
食品加工技术
 8月份 开课

雅思5.5直入专业课程
 半职学习 半职带薪工作
 公司签约客户 雅思培训半价优惠

25个名额
 4月30日报名截止


 电话: 204 888 3333
 地址: 102-1483 Pembina Hwy.
 网站: www.ciesc.ca
 邮箱: info@ciesc.ca

The commercialization of education causes competition to attract students among educational institutions; they need to attract investors (students) through high prestige and persuasive advertisements. Therefore, although the immigration agencies particularly speak to the Chinese customers as they tend to express their blended identities to show their familiarity with mainstream society and their professionalization. Several agencies designed their logos in English and chose composite names. For example, the immigration company “温博集团” in

Photo 58 is also named “WENBO”, which is the Pinyin of its Chinese name “温博”. The pronunciation of this name can lead people to make connections between the agency and “温尼伯”, the Chinese translation of Winnipeg. The maple leaf in the logo also represents Canada. Similarly, in *Photo 83*, the word “WinPlus” is the translation of the name “赢加”, which also sounds like “to win in Canada”. The agency shown in *Photo 84* is called “加华移民, which could be understood as “Chinese immigration in Canada” as well. All these metaphors or implications are targeted at attracting potential customers from Chinese newcomers.

Photo 83



Photo 84



In the city of Winnipeg, not only do private Chinese educational institutions treat learners as customers, but the public education systems also appear to view (Chinese) newcomers as investors. Many public colleges and universities provide certificate programs, particularly for international students. The commercialization of education is a two-edged sword. It enhances instructional efficiency, helping customers (students) achieve their goals in a short time. At the same time, it also causes some problems. When education is banded together with interest, it becomes a tool for making profits. On the one hand, those commercialized educational products are mostly practice-oriented, which focuses on skill training rather than the value guiding. In this way, the Chinese immigrants may acquire the skills to support basic life skills but lack the awareness of social responsibility and rarely care about social issues. In other words, the

commercialized education system is cultivating the “exquisite egoists”. Therefore, the newcomers may have an enhanced economic status, but the people who only focus on pure economic accumulation cannot win enough respect from society. On the other hand, some Chinese see education as a way of enhancing social status, so they are willing to invest in it. They may spend more time, energy, and money on extra educational programs beyond the public schools. In this way, educational resources would flow to the wealth under the guidance of capital. As a result, the fairness of education might be compromised, and education would be utilized as an instrument for social class division. If the rich monopolized qualified educational resources, the mobility across social classes would be narrowed down. Moreover, the learners and teaching staff have to pay the bills for some extra spending caused by the commercialization of education, such as the advertising expense of private schools as well.

Interestingly, most of these advertisements are located along Pembina Hwy in the south Fort Garry, and all Chinese signs about English language training programs adopt simplified Chinese writings, which reflects a higher need of the mainlanders for English improvement than the Taiwanese and the Hongkongers. By contrast, most Chinese cultural institutions adopt traditional Chinese writings, which implies that attitudes of the Chinese population toward the educational requirement has been gradually changing in the city; the early immigrants turned their focus back to the traditional Chinese cultures. This might be caused by comprehensive political, economic, and social factors. As noted, since the 21st century, mainland China has replaced Taiwan and Hong Kong and turned into the largest source of Chinese immigrants to Canada. Therefore, there is a difference in the construction of the population between the early Chinese immigrants and the Chinese newcomers. Since the 21st century is a significant turning point in Chinese immigration history, the people who immigrated before that are considered to

be the early immigrants and the latter as newcomers. Next, I am going to analyze the educational positionings of the different groups of Chinese population and their educational perspectives according to different periods of time.

The imbalance in the development of politics, economy, and education in different countries and regions is one of the most important reasons for immigration (Polavieja, Fernández-Reino, & Ramos, 2018). As reviewed in the literature, the early Chinese immigrants came to Canada due to the harsh living situation in their home country. In that period, the first generation of Chinese immigrants was mostly born in southern China (the province by the South China Sea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) and was rarely educated. In order to stay alive, the newcomers tended to bind together to run small businesses. Due to their low political and economic status, they were living at the bottom of the society and were viewed by the public through stereotypes of being dirty and vulgar (Yee, 2005). The stigmatization of those Chinese people often made them feel shameful of their ethnic background. In order to get rid of those labels and pursue a better life, these early immigrants asked their children to stay away from their own Chinese culture, accept western values, learn English and French, and behave like “a real Canadian”.

After generations of hard work, some Chinese communities and organizations accumulated certain wealth and decided to bear the duty of Chinese cultural revitalization under the appeal of the multicultural policy. The early Chinese immigrants created an exceptional Chinese cultural environment in Winnipeg, advocating for Chinese cultures specifically including Chinese customs, Chinese festivals, and Chinese languages. There is some signage of Chinese cultural instructions in the Chinese linguistic landscape photo database. The Winnipeg Chinese Cultural & Community in *Photo 85* is located in downtown Chinatown. The club was

established in 1983 to promote and advance Chinese cultures, improve understanding between Chinese and non-Chinese organizations, and provide educational facilities of Chinese cultures (Winnipeg Chinese Cultural & Community Centre, 2022). The ancient Chinese-styled architecture and the traditional Chinese texts “溫城中華文化中心” reflect that the early Chinese immigrants attach importance to the traditional Chinese culture; they are willing to introduce the traditional Chinese cultures to the western society and pass it on to the younger generations. In addition, some educational institutions also impart knowledge and skills about traditional Chinese cultures, such as the traditional Chinese martial art club in *Photo 86* and the traditional Chinese medicine and treatment school in *Photo 87*, which reflects the persistence of the early Chinese immigrants within the traditional Chinese culture as well.

Photo 85



Photo 86



Photo 87



When I was a child, my grandpa used to help me cover my textbooks with thick calendar papers and then write my name on them with traditional Chinese writing brushes. I used to hate it because I thought it was old-fashioned, especially when I saw other kids using the transparent plastic book covers and tagging their names with beautiful stickers. I hated the paper book covers for a long time. However, when I tidied up my shelves recently, I found some old books with paper covers, and I found they are so special and delicate. I suddenly noticed that fashion is also a circular; it is fashionable to follow the tradition while everyone else is pursuing fashion as well. So, I asked my grandpa to help me cover a book again. Unfortunately, we did not find suitable paper because wall calendars are rarely used these days. Nowadays, the social atmosphere in Winnipeg is more supportive for the Chinese newcomers to express their ethnic identities than in

the last century; however, there are rarely signals of modern Chinese identities that can be recognized from the linguistic landscapes. The following analysis will attempt to explain this contradiction from two aspects: namely the characteristics of the modern Chinese immigrants and the positionings of the English language.

On the one hand, Chinese newcomers, as well as their languages, are still marginalized by mainstream society. First, the Canadian multicultural policy provides Chinese immigrants, together with their cultures and businesses, protections through Canadian laws, which promises the Chinese population certain social status. However, no Chinese signage designed by public schools was found in the city, which means that the local public education systems continue conducting the function of assimilation and marginalization of minority (including Chinese) cultures and languages. In other words, the Chinese languages are positioned as an additional or subordinate part of the official languages (English and French languages) by public education. Besides, the anti-China ideology is still visible in the linguistic landscapes, such as the graffiti in *Photo 88*, which implies that effort is still needed to revise Chinese stereotypes in western-dominated societies. In addition, the city is like a history museum for newcomers, recording the history of Chinese immigration, which leaves me with an impression that time has stopped for it. Although the Chinese cultural environment created by early Chinese immigrants offers newcomers' certain psychological comfort and Chinese associations and organizations could provide feeling of belonging to some extent, the environment does not accord with most of current Chinese newcomers' cultural backgrounds. The Chinese cultural atmosphere in Winnipeg mostly presents the scenery of Taiwan in the last century; however, most of the current Chinese newcomers are young people coming from mainland China.

Photo 88



On the other hand, influenced by globalization and internationalization, the young generations of many developing countries like China are relatively familiar with western values and get used to the new lifestyles. Although the lion dance is a widely accepted sign of the traditional Chinese culture, I had never seen it until I came to Winnipeg. It seems that traditional culture is a blurred concept that is already drowned in the river of history. Additionally, some young people instinctively resist traditional cultures but prefer those distinct and fashionable ideas. In this sense, the absence of the simplified Chinese languages in signage about Chinese cultures does not surprise me because the modern Chinese newcomers resist showing their ethnic identities. This could be attributed to the cultural amalgamation/colonization caused by the convergence of the western culture with the traditional Chinese lifestyles and the impact of the western ideologies on Chinese young generations' identity forming.

Nowadays, although the gap in the income between the two countries is still an attractive factor for some Chinese to immigrate, current Chinese newcomers have higher expectations

regarding their future quality of life. There are two main reasons for that. First, the enhancing international prestige of the Republic of China has led to a boom in Chinese people's ethnic and cultural confidence; more and more Chinese do not feel ashamed of their ethnic origin anymore and would like to express their cultural identities in public. Second, a series of screening requirements regarding immigration policies published by the Canadian government mostly limit Chinese newcomers to people with more educational experiences and professional skills. These people who have certain economic and social status in their home countries might not be easily satisfied with staying at the bottom of society in their new environment but expect a better social prestige. Therefore, Chinese newcomers tend to actively explore their positions in the new world and look forward to pursuing self-achievement in mainstream society. Therefore, most Chinese newcomers prefer to explore western society rather than being restricted in Chinese communities, which leads to a higher requirement for English language proficiency. Correspondingly, some Chinese business runners seize this opportunity.

Business owners respond to this marketing requirement and provide language training programs for newcomers who plan to immigrate. Some photos exhibit the Chinese advertisements of two independent language institutions. For example, *Photo 89* shows an advertisement for an IELTS training school, “环球教育”, which is taken from a bus stop close to the University of Manitoba on Pembina Highway. The large white writings on the red bottom paint and the highlighted word “IELTS” are so conspicuous that even the people in moving vehicles could see them. To my understanding, its designers may want Chinese newcomers to obtain the information out of the window of buses. However, being designed for the Chinese people who would like to stop and are patient to read the content in detail, the other IELTS training institution “加育教育” in *Photo 90* is stuck on the window of a Chinese restaurant close

to downtown. With a smaller word size, the signage displays more information, including the name, topic, contact information, and characters of the agency. It also lists details about the classes like lesson hours, class delivery methods, and teaching materials. In this post, the different colors are applied to separate the signage into several independent areas for the different information models.

Photo 89



Photo 90

theforks.com/nye

Wawaresa Insurance

Bobcat

加育教育

7月-8月

雅思

在线

100课时 每周8课时 每周1插班

客户定制 | 零基础 | 移民类雅思 | 学术类雅思

独家单词大全, 模拟题库, 真题预测

zoom

直播 录播

专注 移民英语 学术雅思

额外赠送

听: 听写语料库 模拟练习题

读: 必背单词大全 模拟练习题

写: 全季度话题库 全类别单词大全

b. 雅思机经等 c. 雅思预测

加育国际教育集团

2989 Pembina Hwy Winnipeg, MB

204.809.7717

The Chinese linguistic landscapes also reflect that COVID-19 impacted the area of education. Since 2020, many English language instructional programs have been turned into blended delivery or wholly transferred to the virtual space, reflecting that Chinese educational agencies are positively exploring alternative teaching methods during the pandemic. This change could be seen in the posts. For example, the Chinese texts “在线” in the post in *Photo 90* claims that classes will be conducted online and confirms the new instructional method again by

showing the zoom icon (a live broadcast application). The statement about change of teaching method is emphasized twice in different forms, which implies that the remote teaching method is viewed as a benefit to attract language learners during the pandemic because it helps both learners and instructors decrease risks of being infected. As an international student who experienced both face-to-face and online classes, I feel that it is harder to focus my attention on online classes than in classrooms. This is my personal feeling, and it is interesting to explore the influences of the pandemic on different stakeholders (like institution owners, teachers, and students) in the field of language education and their perspectives on online teaching and learning in future studies.

In this section, the positional identity negotiations of the Chinese population have been discussed respectively under the themes of language policy, economics and education through analyzing the positions of some Chinese signage. In the next chapter, I will introduce how the study contributes to the field of language education.

Chapter 5: Pedagogical Implication

In this section, some suggestions for language policymakers, educational investors, and educators will be respectively provided to contribute to the language learning environment in Winnipeg and to help learners improve their language abilities through managing and utilizing linguistic landscapes.

Language policy could be exerted at various levels, from nations to families. The Chinese languages are rarely adopted by Canadian official signs in Winnipeg, reflecting that the city's language policy assigns Chinese languages a subordinate position. Although Chinese languages play an essential role in business, they are politically marginalized. In this sense, the multicultural policy only ensures basic living conditions for Chinese languages; the language policies do not encourage Chinese languages to persist. Transferring to educational contexts, regarding politics, most public educational institutions are English or French medium schools, imparting knowledge in these official languages. School children could be sensitive to conscious or unconscious language management (Khasawneh, 2022). They will notice the inferiority of their cultural background in light of the absence of their first languages in public spaces. The schools' linguistic environment (including linguistic landscapes) might impact students' language selection and cause language loss. Therefore, educators should consider the following questions: "How can I/we create a linguistic environment for students to express their linguistic identities?", "How can I/we support the minority language speakers?" "How can I/we make the students feel free and confident to use their mother tongues in the public space?" and "How can I/we assist them in finding their positions in different cultural and linguistic communities?" However, the answers to all these questions are also affected by some non-educational factors, such as the teachers' autonomy to advocate for linguistic minority students who can be empowered by

school policies.

On the aspect of business, the Chinese linguistic landscapes reflect the commercialized nature of education. In the private educational systems, the language training programs are considered as products and sold by educational agencies to customers (students). In the free trade market, it will benefit those educational institutions to consider the learners' needs for seeking financial support from customers. Therefore, some pedagogical suggestions will be provided for the private language instructional agencies from the perspective of supply and demand. One of the largest customer sources of the English training programs is adult Chinese newcomers, who are mostly occupation oriented. However, advertisement posts show that English language programs mainly focus on general English education instead of pointing at specific occupational positions. If more professional English educational programs such as business English, engineering English or clinical English language training could be provided, the language classes might be more targeted and attractive to this group. Similar strategies of linking the Chinese language learning with the daily practices are also suitable for younger immigrant generations in Chinese language and culture clubs.

Language teachers should also consider these linguistic landscapes in their own contexts. There was an ice arena close to my residence in Winnipeg. One night when I walked through it, I saw lots of parents waiting outside for their children who were taking ice hockey classes. At that moment, I realized that Canadian youth are similar to Chinese children; they both attend hobby clubs after school. However, they are also different because they probably spend time on different subjects. Many Chinese children learn English after school, but Canadians are probably more passionate about sports. In this way, Chinese students who attend traditional culture clubs like Chinese handwriting or traditional Chinese martial arts courses might lack common topics in

comparison to their western peers. Therefore, considering the goals of integrating into western communities, combining Chinese languages with the activities prevalent in western societies might be a feasible method. Although there might be many problems in implementing this, it would be a tempting attempt for Chinese language institutions, for instance, to provide ice-hockey training programs in Chinese languages.

The results of this research reflect two important issues in English language education for Chinese population. The first one is how to enhance English language proficiency. As I mentioned in the literature review (p.35), linguistic landscapes provide an authentic context for language acquisition. Chinese learners can improve their English skills with the assistance of Chinese linguistic landscapes. Following the ideas of Sayer (2010) who writes regarding the project “Why English is used in my community”, I am going to introduce an instructional activity that could utilize Chinese linguistic landscapes as the learning materials for Chinese English language learners. Since most of the Chinese signs in Winnipeg are accompanied by English, language learners can collect the bilingual signs and focus on translinguaging strategies and accumulate vocabularies and expressions using the scaffolding of Chinese languages. For example, they can pay attention to the word selection in the translations and think about whether there is any synonym that could be used. After that, they can also practice describing the contents while looking at the signs. They can try to add English translations or illustrations for the Chinese monolingual posts as well.

The other issue is how learners can retain their Chinese cultures and ethnic identities while learning English languages. The newcomers can obtain information about Chinese associations from the linguistic landscapes and join Chinese clubs to continue their cultural customs. Besides, it will be helpful for younger immigrant generations to cultivate their Chinese

ethnic identities through exploring traditional Chinese cultures that are implied by the Chinese images. For example, they can conduct a project named “What does this image mean in Chinese culture”. In this project, learners will be asked to collect the Chinese images, such as the Chinese dragons in a physical or virtual space, search for the symbolism and the related folk stories of those images, and then share their findings in English in the class. After that, students could complete the following task of designing their own bilingual signs about specific topics. For example, instructors can ask each student to design a bilingual post on pandemics or holidays with his/her linguistic repertoire and to share the artifacts with others, and then stick their posts on the exhibition board in classrooms or school corridor. In this way, students are invited to build their own linguistic landscapes environment as well.

I used to think that the traditional equals the old-fashioned and that it should be exhibited in museums. However, conducting the research altered my thoughts. I found many traditional Chinese cultural marks in the city, which means that the traditional ethnic cultures are not far away in history but still play significant roles in modern daily life. As a Chinese, I used to be over accustomed to Chinese customs. For instance, I was unable to answer the question “What do people usually do on Chinese New Year?” because I thought everything is too habitual to talk about. Although my family change the old spring couplet with a new one on the morning of the Chinese New Year Eve every year, I just viewed it as a yearly routine and did not think about its importance to the Chinese people until I saw the Winnipeg Chinese immigrants persist with this habit. I realized such common things are a particular part of traditional Chinese cultures, which could reflect Chinese ethnic identities. Next time, if someone asks me that question, I will start my answer with the spring couplets. Such an experience and a deeper understanding of Chinese immigrants made a difference in my view concerning traditional Chinese cultures and the

Chinese people. Therefore, conducting such a project on linguistic landscapes can help learners learn more about the cultures of certain ethnic groups. In addition, if it is possible, learners are also encouraged to interview the early immigrants to learn about their histories and then manage the stories as collections or reports.

In the Chinese language instructions, pronunciation is a difficult teaching and learning point, which is especially hard for younger Chinese immigrant generations and other foreign language speakers to master. This was attributed to the long distance between the Chinese (Sino-Tibetan language) and other language families such as Indo-European languages (Chiswick & Miller, 2005). Looking through the photo database, I found that instead of adopting the complete form of Pinyin (containing vowels, initial symbols, and tone markers), all the Pinyin in Chinese linguistic landscapes are presented as syllables omitting the tone marks. This is not a particular phenomenon in Winnipeg; Pinyin is used similarly on Chinese signage worldwide because the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet Orthography (2012) stipulates that on some occasions the Pinyin of certain proper nouns could be used independently from the tone marks. This regulation simplifies the use of Pinyin but may confuse the pronunciation of the Chinese words simultaneously. Since linguistic landscapes can unconsciously influence people's linguistic practice, it might be beneficial for the Chinese languages to standardize, deliver, and spread if Chinese language policymakers consider presenting the entire Pinyin (with tone markers) in Chinese signs. The other possible barrier to presenting the tone markers might be caused by the difficulties with type-in. The tone markers cannot be found on regular western-orientated keyboards but can only be obtained through special operations with specific Chinese input methods. Therefore, designing and using suitable instruments that accord with Chinese typing habits also could be a possible method for the Chinese language acquisition.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

For this research, the author studied the positionings of the Chinese population that are reflected by the linguistic landscapes in the city of Winnipeg. Guided by both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the Chinese population's general social status, and positional identities were explored respectively in the fields of language policy, economics, and education. As the conclusion, this chapter contains two sections: namely the summary of the research questions and answers, and the problems and future directions of the study.

Answers to the Research Questions

The following section is a summary of the findings of the two research questions:

1) What do the differing Chinese linguistic landscapes look like in Winnipeg?

The Chinese linguistic landscapes show an imbalance in the distribution of Chinese inhabitants. The Chinese signs are mostly gathered in the main Winnipeg Chinese communities, such as downtown Chinatown and South Fort Garry. However, there are rarely geographical or numeric differences in language usage between the traditional and simplified languages. In terms of the topics, most of the Chinese posts are bottom-up business signs. The signs about Chinese cultures are usually written in the traditional Chinese languages; in contrast, the information about language classes are mostly delivered by the simplified Chinese texts. Except for English, some minority languages are also used together with the Chinese languages in the linguistic landscapes. In addition, Pinyin, symbolic images, and pictures are added aside from the texts in some posts.

2) How is the positioning of the Chinese population reflected in the differing Chinese linguistic landscapes in Winnipeg?

The positioning of the Chinese population is reflected by the topic of the signs, language

selection, images, locations, and many other linguistic and non-linguistic elements exhibited in the Chinese linguistic landscapes.

a) What positional identities have been assigned to the various populations by the Chinese linguistic landscapes?

The positional identities assigned by the Chinese linguistic landscapes show that Chinese Winnipeggers:

a) assign high values to the English language but probably not equally to the French language;

b) tend to accept western cultures and learn the English language;

c) like to express their ethnic identities and inherit and carry the traditional Chinese cultures forward;

d) attach importance to the marketing value of English and some Asian languages (like Korean and Vietnamese);

e) are supported by some local businesses regarding languages;

f) gradually replace the “hostile relationships” between old and new Chinese immigrants with “friendships and partnerships”;

and g) identify Chinese newcomers as investors who need and are eager to buy educational products.

b) How do these artifacts reflect the manner in which different Chinese populations in Winnipeg position themselves and others?

For the purpose of exhibiting the way of the positioning in different story lines clearly, this section will be arranged in the order of language policy, economy, and education. From the perspective of language policy, three significant results have been obtained. First, the Chinese

population made a positive response to the bilingual policy. Precisely, the wide use of English in Chinese signage reflects a high status of English to the Chinese population; by contrast, the absence of the language of French probably implies a lower communication frequency between Chinese and French speakers in the city. Through comparing the languages used on the historical buildings and in the current COVID-19 signage, an increasing number of simplified Chinese texts has been noticed, which means a rising status of the simplified Chinese language and an enlarging population of simplified language users in the city. Second, Chinese immigrants gradually accepted and would like to learn about western cultures and English languages. In form, some English expressions, such as English words and letters, are directly used in Chinese texts. In content, some western cultural and interest organizations like churches and popping clubs sometimes post their notices in Chinese. The other example is that Chinese acquire the western custom of presenting their given names ahead of their family names. Third, under the multicultural policy, some traditional Chinese images, including lion dance, year animals, spring couplets, and the special typesettings, are repeatedly exhibited in the Chinese linguistic landscapes, which reflects the ethnic identity negotiations of the Chinese population.

Three critical findings merged from the domain of economics as well. First, Chinese sign makers attach importance to the marketing value of languages and pursue broadened customer groups. One example is that, like the Chinese languages, the English language conducts both symbolic and informational functions in the Chinese signage, which targets to help English speakers understand the content of services or products. Besides, some minority languages like Korean and Vietnamese are adopted to attract customers from corresponding linguistic groups. At the same time, the Chinese names presented on the name boards of bank branches also reflect that local companies admit the marketing values of Chinese languages. Second, an improving

relationship between different Chinese cultural groups is reflected by the exhibition of a mixture of simplified and traditional texts in old and new Chinese communities. The binding of their advertisements also reveals the cooperating relationships in business between the two linguistic groups. Third, the specific images and businesses that are related to traditional Chinese culture like traditional Chinese medicine, bubble tea, and symbolic images (Chinese dragons, pandas, and Yin Yang balls) might expose the willingness of the Chinese population on expressing their ethnic identities to some extent.

In the field of education, discussions started from the comparison of the story lines, positions, and positionings between the early Chinese immigrants and the Chinese newcomers. The traditional texts shown on the old culture institutional buildings reveal that the early immigrants are willing to spread and inherit their traditional cultures. The multicultural environment encourages the Chinese population to retain their cultural customs; however, the Chinese newcomers' cultural identities are rarely reflected by the linguistic landscapes. Therefore, a question arises: "Why are Chinese newcomers not expressing their cultural identities?". After examining the story lines and the positions of Chinese newcomers, the phenomenon was attributed to two factors: namely the social environment and the characters of the Chinese newcomers. On the aspect of social environment, neither western society nor the early Chinese immigrant associations are supportive enough for Chinese newcomers to insist on their ethnic identities or continue their linguistic habits. On the aspect of the characteristics of the Chinese people, the assimilation/colonization of the western cultures have had a considerable influence on younger Chinese generations. Compared with the traditional customs, Chinese youth show more curiosity about "fashionable and modern" lifestyles. In addition, their willingness to look for positions in mainstream society leads to a higher need for English

language proficiency. Moreover, the words and images such as “supermarket”, “product”, “shopping cart”, and “on sale” involved in language training advertisements reveal the commercialization of education among the Chinese population. Although there are several independent English language schools in Winnipeg, most of the language training programs are provided by Chinese immigration agencies. The blended ethnic identities of the agency owners and their educational adjustment to the pandemic are also visible in the Chinese linguistic landscapes.

Problems and Future Directions

After discussing the positionings, the researcher found some pedagogical implications respectively on aspects of language policy, economics, and language teaching and learning. In education, it is recommended that school policy makers examine the resources, the learning environment, and the teachers’ autonomy in supporting the minority language speakers. In order to standardize and to spread the pronunciations of the Chinese characters, the Chinese language policymakers are suggested consider presenting the Pinyin in complete forms in linguistic landscapes. Besides, since the private schools are customer-oriented, the learners’ needs will be one of the most important factors to consider. The comprehensive English language training programs, taking in occupational knowledge or the western interest while conducting language instruction, will be more attractive for Chinese newcomers. In terms of enhancing the English language abilities, the Chinese linguistic landscapes provide a huge amount of learning materials. Learners can focus on vocabularies or the translanguaging strategies in the Chinese-English bilingual signage. They can also explore the Chinese culture and history by conducting learning programs like “What does this image mean in Chinese culture?”

In this research the author proved the feasibility of positioning theory on linguistic

landscapes analysis and provided a new methodological framework for sign studies. The study enriches the practice of linguistic landscape studies and at the same time also enlarges the scope of positioning theory. With the assistance of positioning theory, the relationships among time (the immigration history), space (the city of Winnipeg), and people (the Chinese population) have been built up. However, the study has some limitations.

First, although the definitions of some core concepts like “linguistic landscape” and “positioning” are redefined in the report, they are fluid and still arguable. This study adopts Coulmas’ (2008) definition, which defines linguistic landscape as the signs in public space. However, different people might have a different understanding of the scope of “public space”. For example, some people may run small businesses in their residences. Once when I took photos of a Chinese medicine clinic, its owners ‘came out’ and asked me why I took photos of their house. I explained that I was a student who needed to take photos of Chinese signages in public spaces in the city for a research project. They permitted me to do that, but warned me that usually, people would not be allowed to take photos of others’ personal properties. Their home store on the street is a public place to me but is private for them.

Similarly, as an abstract concept, “positioning” has complicated meanings and could be explained differently. When I started to review the literature, I thought positioning referred to expectations (and stereotypes); however, my understanding of the concept has been refreshed by investigating it more deeply. Now I understand positioning as the mixtures of ideologies, attitudes, perspectives, expectations, viewpoints, and opinions. My understanding of “positioning” has been enlarged, and this understanding might change again in the future, so this report can only represent my current thoughts. Therefore, the results are supposed to be reflected repeatedly in the future.

In addition to the ambiguity of the definitions, the analyzing unit of linguistic landscapes also deserves discussion. As mentioned in the literature, some scholars (like Hopkyns & Van Den Hoven, 2021) saw each sign as a unit. However, some others (such as Calvi & Uberti-Bona, 2020) considered all signage in a shop as an entirety. Spolsky (2008) also questioned whether the huge advertisement posts are the same as the small personal signage. In this research, each photo is treated as an analysis unit. There might be more than one signage in a photo, and all of the elements within a photo, including the carriers of the posts like benches or concrete architectures and the additional decorations such as the flags on the roofs, are viewed as a part of the linguistic landscapes that reflect the positionings of Chinese population.

Some inaccuracies could be caused by the methods applied in data collection and analysis. In order to obtain a relatively complete picture of the Chinese linguistic landscapes in the city, I attempted to collect all of the Chinese signage along the 14 streets. However, some advertisements are repeatedly posted in many different locations in the city. For example, some immigration and investigation agencies posted their advertisements on most benches and garbage bins along the South Pembina Highway. Some of those posts are in the same designs, but some are not. I saved all of those posts into the database and did not remove the repeated advertisements, which might have an impact on the statistical results and then lead to inaccuracy in the numeric description of the Chinese signs.

What's more, in order to learn about the positionings of the Chinese population, I applied a qualitative method. Following the qualitative research ideologies and methodologies, the researcher actively played the role of a participant, joining in the research. Since I am the only researcher in this study, some deficiencies might be caused by my personal limitations. In other word, as the researcher, my current knowledge limitation, linguistic ability, cultural background,

educational experiences, identities and emotional factors might make an impact on the data analyses and results interpretation, which could result in certain inaccuracy and bias.

First, as a simplified Chinese language user, it is challenging for me to recognize the different forms of traditional Chinese writings. I can neither tell any differences between traditional Chinese texts nor their phonetic symbols (Pinyin) from Hong Kong and the ones from Taiwan. Except for the Chinese-English signs, other languages such as Korean and Vietnamese are also used in some Chinese signs. I do not understand the meaning of those languages; therefore, instead of exploring their literal relationships to the Chinese languages, I treated all of them as the supplementary languages of the Chinese languages that are adopted by Chinese sign designers. However, this might not be the fact. Those signs might probably be designed by the foreigners who value the Chinese languages. The researchers with different linguistic abilities may have different understandings of the relationship among these languages. Therefore, multiple perspectives and more fruitful thoughts would be obtained if some researchers from various cultural backgrounds (like Hongkongers, Taiwanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and English monolingual speakers) could be invited in future studies.

Second, since some common sense and my personal experiences are referenced while analyzing the photos, the qualitative results might be somewhat insufficient due to subjectivity. Specifically, I attempted to explain the phenomena through reviewing the Chinese immigration history and to explain design and language usage in the post with some Chinese customs and my personal understandings, which needs a further triangulation. However, because no human subjects attended the research, there was no feedback from the sign designers. Since confirmations and supports from stakeholders would have provided some additional insight, if some human subjects, such as the signage makers and the customers, could be invited for further

studies, the accuracy and trustworthiness of the research could be enhanced. In this way, it is suggested to invite more researchers from other cultural backgrounds and conduct interviews with both the sign makers and readers in further studies.

Third, my personal emotional feelings could make influence on the discussion as well. For example, reviewing the history of immigration, the early Chinese newcomers did not make a favourable impression on the host country, which makes me eager to eliminate the stereotypes and look for the differences between modern Chinese newcomers and early immigrants. This might lead to an exaggeration of the change of demographics in the Chinese people because it could be a relatively long-term process for the ethnic groups to improve their social status. Although the international influence of China has improved in this century (You, 2018), the differences might not be obvious enough to observe in their characters, identities, and levels of confidence within one hundred years.

In this study, the positioning theory is used to explain the positional identities of the Chinese population and the power relationships implied by the linguistic landscapes. However, many other methods like interviews and storytelling are also helpful for researchers to learn about the history of the city and the Chinese immigration, and then to understand the position negotiations behind linguistic landscapes. In order to generalize the results of this study, such a topic also deserves to be explored again in different cultural environments by different scholars who are interested in other theories or research methods.

Besides, in this research I focused on the Chinese linguistic landscapes on the streets and studied the signage in the city, which provided a general depiction of the status of language (English and Chinese) training among Chinese population. In terms of educational studies, schools are the initial research fields. The Chinese language institutional agencies in Winnipeg

may present more educational Chinese posts. It will be interesting to learn about the functions, the forms, and the roles of each language in the Chinese linguistic landscapes in specific educational environments such as the Chinese language training schools in western communities. In addition, it is also valuable to explore instructors' and learners' positionings on Chinese languages, their attitudes to the Chinese language instructions, and why they teach/learn Chinese languages. A similar study also could be conducted in the English language teaching and learning context. Moreover, it will be a potential direction to compare the positionings (on English language learning) of different Chinese population groups, such as Chinese immigrants and Chinese domestic language learners as well.

In conclusion, the author provided a creative framework, interpreting Chinese linguistic landscapes from the perspective of positioning theory. In this chapter, the findings and discussions of the research questions have been briefly summarized first. Then, the sociolinguistic and pedagogical values of the study have been highlighted. Finally, some suggestions like inviting co-researchers and human subjects in further studies were proposed to improve the accuracy of the findings and interpretations based on the limitations of the current research. Through reading the report, people are hopefully to have a deeper understanding on the statuses and way of thinking and communicating of Chinese population in western society. Readers are also expected to get some enlightenment in the field of identity, linguistic landscapes, and culture studies.

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