Language Ideology in Vietnam from Linguistic Landscape Perspective

by

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Abstract

In light of scarce research on language ideology in post-reform Vietnam and the field's current literature which shows excessive focus on top-down ideologies (the view from above) indicated in state-sponsored language policies and inadequate attention to bottom-up ideologies (the view from below) embedded in actual language practice, this dissertation sets out to investigate language ideologies of Vietnamese people as constructed and mediated through signage and interview interaction. The combination of these two types of data renders a simultaneous identification of ideologies in both language practice and metalinguistic talk.

The first dataset has been collected from three neighbourhoods in the city of Hanoi and analyzed using a triangulation of 'geosemiotics' (the framework that studies meaning of signs in the material world) (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and ELLA (the ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis) (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019). The second dataset, which includes interviews with local shopkeepers and residents in these neighbourhoods, has been analyzed using the 'language attitudes in interaction' approach (Dailey-O'Cain, 2017; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009) supported by the 'positioning' theory (Davies & Harré, 1990).

The results indicate that language ideologies become entangled with two reversing ideological propensities in Vietnamese society defined respectively by a promotion of reform and a revitalization of tradition. The findings demonstrate that language ideologies of Vietnamese people mediate their endeavours to reconcile an embrace of regional modernity with an awareness of upholding and renegotiating national and cultural identity. This dissertation contributes to knowledge on the multiplicity of language ideologies and realizes the potential of using linguistic landscape as an effective interdisciplinary approach to language ideology and identity construction. Moreover, it provides further insightful understanding of global English and cultural flows in the globalizing Southeast Asia.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Tu Thien Tran. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Language Practice, Language Ideology and Cultural Identity in the Linguistic Landscape of Hanoi", No. 00089599, May 23, 2019.

A version of Chapter 4 of this thesis will be published in the form of a book chapter as T. T. Tran, "Language Ideology in the Linguistic Landscape of Hanoi" in the forthcoming anthology entitled *Linguistic Landscapes in Southeast Asia: The Politics of Signage and Language* (Routledge Publisher). Parts of Chapter 1 and 6 will be published in the form of a book chapter as T. T. Tran, "Language Ideology in Vietnam" in the forthcoming book entitled *The Routledge Handbook of Asian Linguistics* (Routledge Publisher).

The fact that ideology is not at root a matter of reason does not license us to equate it with irrationality. (Terry Eagleton, 2007, pp. 25-26)

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List of abbreviations

DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
ELLA	Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Analysis
LL	Linguistic Landscape
SEA	Southeast Asia

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Prologue

A young man left the countryside to go to work in the city. A few years later, he came back to visit his parents. He had changed, and the people living nearby all recognized it. They asked what happened to his voice. Some of them even mocked that drinking water of the city had stiffened his tongue. One day when he was getting ready to return to the city, an old man approached him and asked if he could take a puppy with him to the city. Realizing that the young man looked really confused, the old man explained: ‘I just want to see if the dog can bark in the city’s voice when you bring it back here in a few years.’ The young man burst into laughing but felt hurtful inside.

An article published online on October 10th, 2010 by Tuổi Trẻ (a local Vietnamese newspaper) says that this anecdote has been shared from personal experience by a young man, whose nickname is Trần Quảng Nam, in a virtual forum on Vietnamese regional dialects. Since I started writing this dissertation, I have come across quite a few personal narratives of this kind most of which revolved around the storytellers’ dilemma in either keeping or changing their regional accents when moving to live elsewhere in the city and the stigmatization they have experienced when they chose the latter. Regardless of these urban myths’ dubious authenticity, it goes without saying that their major theme has a lot to do with one of the most fervent awarenesses of Vietnamese laypersons about their vernacular tongue. This awareness has been deeply ingrained in folk wisdom and continues to be maintained with influences strong enough to sway beliefs about language in the current society.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Vietnamese people take pride in their own language, albeit probably not just simply because of its conventional role in the 'imagination' of nation and identity but also as a manifestation of patriotism and a reminder of all the ordeals they have gotten over throughout historical ebbs and flows in order to protect national independence and long-established tradition and culture. Such a national spirit is represented in the folk saying *phong ba bão táp không bằng ngữ pháp Việt Nam* ('the upheavals of heavy winds and storms cannot compare to the challenges of Vietnamese grammar'), which is shared widely among Vietnamese people – both lay and professional alike. When it comes to their passion for the national language, this pride is often accompanied by a fervent awareness of protecting, refining and promoting what is deemed, as the former Vietnamese president Hồ Chí Minh puts it, the 'utterly valuable treasure' (*của cải vô cùng quý báu*) of the nation and its populace. During the development of a modern Vietnamese nation-state, a prudent upholding of the national language was manifested even during the hardest times of history when there seemed to be many more urgent priorities to attend to.

In the summer 1966, amid American bombs dropping on Hanoi, under the shade of an old Banyan tree near the iconic Hoàn Kiếm Lake ('Sword-Returned Lake')[1], a provisional metal-roofed canopy was erected to accommodate a national symposium on preserving the purity and clarity of Vietnamese language which was participated by the then Prime Minister of Vietnam

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[1] Considered one of the symbols of Hanoi, Hoàn Kiếm Lake has its name associated with a locally known legend about the King of Le Dynasty who, after having expelled the Chinese invaders, returned the sacred sword to a mythical tortoise living in the lake.

Phạm Văn Đồng. The international Reuters News Agency captured this special event in its news brief the next morning that while the White House was hastily planning new attacks in the capital of North Vietnam, the Prime Minister had immersed himself in a discussion on language. Such an anecdote[2] indicates that Vietnamese language has been cast as a national symbol with potentials to strike 'a deep emotional chord' in the populace and boost their patriotic and nationalist fervour to its peak during the most critical times in the country's history (Le & O'Harrow, 2007, p. 434). This is a manifestation of the idea that Vietnamese and the corresponding ideology of linguistic nationalism have played an important role in the construction of modern Vietnam and its identity.

The Vietnamese folk saying *chém cha không bằng pha tiếng*[3] ('cursing someone is not as bad as mocking their accent') is probably one of the most conspicuous attestations to how the issue of language diversity – which originates from the reality that peoples from different regions in the country speak their own dialects with significantly different accents[4] – has been attended to and become aware of by Vietnamese laypersons. In a culture that has high opinion of dignity, such a comparison bears witness to a special attention they pay to and a high respect they have for regional dialects and cultures. However, it is an alternative interpretation of this very saying, which can be rendered into something like 'cursing one's own self is not as bad as changing one's own accent,' that actually defines how it has currently been perceived and brought into use widely among contemporary Vietnamese people and in cultural narratives. Such a way of understanding this folk saying shifts the original meaning and its focus on respecting other peoples' accents to a different interpretation that emphasizes the protection of one's own accent, and this in turn reflects some major changes in the social structure of modern Vietnam.

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[2] This anecdote was adapted from a report entitled 'Finding Causes and Solutions' (*Thử Tìm Nguyên Nhân và Giải Pháp*) presented by Phan Quang at the symposium on 'Preserving the Purity and Clarity of Vietnamese in Mass Media' (*Giữ Gìn Sự Trong Sáng của Tiếng Việt trên Các Phương Tiện Thông Tin Đại Chúng*) organized in Hanoi in 2016.

[3] A variant of this saying is *chửi cha không bằng pha tiếng* ('cursing someone's father is not as bad as mocking their accent'). The choice in this dissertation is justified by the reasoning that *chém cha* is a fixed colloquial expression in Vietnamese functioning as a vulgar curse that can be found in literary works of medieval writers such as Nguyễn Du and Hồ Xuân Hương.

[4] There are three main distinctive dialect regions in the North, the Centre and the South of Vietnam.

First of all, it originates from a reality that an increasing number of people who have moved from the countryside to the city and are inclined to acclimate to the new place by emulating the city people's accent, lest they be seen as 'country rustics' (*nhà quê*). Such an imitation of the ostensibly prestigious urban accent is despised first by those living in the places where they come from (this explains why these people when visiting home are apt to 'come back' to their old accents) and then even by the people in the city who ascribe this adaptation attempt to a deliberate disguise that indicates a disrespect of one's own origin.

What seems to be even more remarkable is that, in line with the second interpretation, this saying has also taken on a new meaning that casts the mixing of Vietnamese with a certain foreign language (such as the mixing with English in spoken or written language) as a practice that violates social and moral taboos and hence deserves to be condemned. Accordingly, the new meaning of an old saying has instilled a belief that the practice of language mixing indicates a disrespect now presumably not only for 'one's own self' but also for one's own country. Needless to say, the accumulation of meanings in this folk saying makes it one of the most vehement beliefs about language and a stronghold of linguistic protectionism that serves as a guardian of Vietnamese language and determines the attitudes of Vietnamese people towards languages other than their own.

It is the beliefs that mediate between language use and social organization, referred to as *language ideologies* (cf. Kroskrity, 2006; Woolard, 1998), that are the subject of study in this dissertation. Heretofore, the introduction may have made it discernible that getting to know the language ideologies of Vietnamese people is a passage to understanding why they have a vigorously inherent awareness of their own language as opposed to those of the others, and more broadly, what Vietnamese language has contributed to the construction of their nation and identity. Over the course of its history, apart from being known first and foremost for having won some incredible wars to protect national independence, Vietnam has also made a remarkable success – which has even been deemed a 'miracle' (Logan, 2000) – in resisting the Sinophication and Francization of language and culture that lasted roughly one millennium and one century respectively. The immanent awareness to protect their own language by Vietnamese people does not seem to lose its robustness in postcolonial time, which is probably the reason making Vietnamese one of the most successful national languages in Southeast Asia (SEA) today (Le & O'Harrow, 2007).

Against the backdrop of this allegedly established and consistent language-ideological tradition, this dissertation sets out to look into language ideologies in contemporary Vietnam when the country, after more than three decades of launching its economic reform, is facing a new reality whereby there has been a remarkable ascendency of English. More astoundingly, it is the Vietnamese people themselves (or more precisely, some of them) who now see to it that English has recently been in a status that deserves an official position as the second language in this country (to be elaborated further below). As such, it is intriguing to know how Vietnamese people are resolving the aforementioned ideological tradition of language protectionism and nationalism to accommodate the hegemonic global language of English. Furthermore, it is no less captivating to see what the new reality of accommodating, adapting and appropriating English may render a reconsideration of an allegedly consistent and monolithic system of language ideology in Vietnam, especially when this dissertation chooses to look at it through the glass of language practices.

1.1 Ideologies in language practice

In my first ethnographic fieldwork session in Hanoi in the summer 2018, on my way to the city's Ancient quarter, which is also unofficially called by Hanoians as the 'thirty-six guild streets' (*ba sáu phố phường*), I walked across the small historic square of Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục (Tonkin Free School)[5] – which is named after the former school that housed an influential patriotic movement launched by Vietnamese intellectuals against French protectorate at the turn of the twentieth century. Being located just over one hundred metres away from the venue of the aforementioned 1966's historic symposium on Vietnamese language, this square becomes a symbol of the struggle for national independence and is therefore chosen to bear the name of one of the first schools in modern Vietnamese history that promoted the teaching and learning of *quốc ngữ* (literally means 'national language') – the Romanized writing system of Vietnamese.

Behind an elegant French-built fountain set amid the square lingering around all day by old-timers and visitors alike, two slogans in Vietnamese whose content commemorates the longevity of the socialist nation-state and the communist party run across the façade of a four-storey building. Even though these two slogans are highlighted in bold large-sized, red-coloured capital letters, passers-by can easily be distracted by numerous colourful commercial signs of different sizes and shapes filling the frontside space of this white-painted building. Featuring from the internationally recognizable trademark of KFC fast-food chain to regional Japanese and

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[5] During colonialism, it was at this place – which was by then called Place du Général Négrier – that some Vietnamese patriots were publicly executed after having been convicted of treason against the colonial government.

Korean electronic brands and local recreational and dining services, these commercial signs are mostly written in English instead of the Vietnamese *quốc ngữ*. Right there on the façade of a building overlooking a historically symbolic space which borders the Ancient and French quarters, two major parts of the current city, a message of patriotism and nationalism is put side by side with icons of neoliberalism and market economy.

When inside the narrow streets of the Ancient quarter which were overwhelmed by people, motorbikes and a cacophony of noises, I stopped in front of a small building which had formerly been the office of an assembly responsible for the dissemination of *quốc ngữ* writing system in the 1930s. A stone plaque engraved solemnly with Vietnamese text was attached onto the building's frontside entrance whose content commemorates this Romanized script and the role it had played in contributing to the success of patriotic and nationalist movements in the early half of the twentieth century, which thereby led to national independence and the inception of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in 1945.

Across from this historic building, one might come across an outdoor food parlour whose hand-written standing menu showcased a variety of local street foods. The menu features some local dishes whose culinary and linguistic origins are significantly varied including *bánh mỳ patê* (Vietnamese-style sandwich served with French-style pâté), *xôi xúc xích* (sticky rice served with sausage), *mỳ vằn thắn* (wonton noddle soup), and *phở* (rice noodle soup). The list of drinks, which is more humble but not less linguistically diverse, includes the locally favoured beverages of *trà đá* (iced tea), *cà̀fê* (coffee), and *beer* (written in English). Two young girls arrived on a Vespa scooter, ordered two take-aways, paid the seller and rode away. A seemingly habitual diner squatting on a low plastic stool nearby started a conversation with the seller after having taken a sip of local *bia hơi* (draught beer): *Hai đứa vừa rồi như kiểu lét le* ('Those two girls look like lesbians'). The cook-cum-seller who was busy preparing an order she had just received from her mobile phone did not care to reply. After having finished wrapping up the food and putting it into a plastic box, she told a motorbike-taxi rider waiting nearby: *Ship cái này đến địa chỉ ghi trên giấy* ('Deliver this to the address on the paper').

The snapshot that I have just captured can only describe a small angle of the vibrance of language use available on signage in the bustling streets of Hanoi and a little bit of the lively ambiance of accompanied language practice of local people that I could regularly observe during my two ethnographic fieldwork sessions in the summers 2018 and 2019. In order to illustrate the heterogeneity of their language practice, let me run through the examples above in turn. In *bánh mỳ patê*, *bánh mỳ* and *patê* were borrowed from two French terms 'pain de mie' and 'pâté' respectively. Likewise, *xúc xích* was borrowed from the French 'saucisse' and *vằn thắn* from the Chinese 雲吞 (yún tūn). The etymology of *phở* (the staple dish of Hanoi) is controversial but there is a convincing theory that it came from the Chinese 粉 (fěn) (see Tran, 2021). *Càfê* is an orthographic variant of the Vietnamese 'cà phê' that was also borrowed from the French 'café.' Similarly, *bia*, which was borrowed from the French 'bière,' has gradually been replaced by the English 'beer' on shop signs in recent years. While *lét le* – which originates from the English 'lesbian' – is not used very popularly among the locals, *ship* is heard quite regularly in colloquial spoken Vietnamese these days.

Looking back at the examples above, it is not hard to realize that the language practice of ordinary people on a daily basis presents a reality whereby language mixing, hybridity and appropriation are not unusual. This is a manifestation that the language practice of Vietnamese people can diverge and become significantly different from the dominant beliefs about how language should be used, as indicated in the ideologies of linguistic purism, conservatism and nationalism mentioned above.

Half a century after the aforementioned 1966's historic national symposium on Vietnamese language, another one entitled 'Preserving the Purity and Clarity of Vietnamese Language in Mass Media' (*Giữ Gìn Sự Trong Sáng của Tiếng Việt trên Các Phương Tiện Thông Tin Đại Chúng*) was organized in Hanoi by the Institute of Linguistics and participated by the Association of Journalists and the Radio Voice of Vietnam – three organizations which are seen as the major stakeholders assigned with a common responsibility in upholding the national language and its immanent purity. This symposium showcased more than two hundred reports from linguists, journalists and other intellectuals and professionals most of which focus on how to either rectify and standardize the use of Vietnamese in mass media or keep it from being sullied by imprudent loans from foreign languages, especially English. The overall purpose of this symposium is not only to reiterate an essential message of the former Prime Minister Phạm Văn Đồng about the inherent purity, affluence and elegance of Vietnamese language but also to present new challenges in upholding the integrity of these valued qualities in the time of socioeconomic reform and under the massive influences of global integration. Being organized in 2016, this symposium was a special event marking a thirty-year anniversary of applying the economic reform policy – known locally as *đổi mới* ('renovation') – in the country.

As has thus far been elaborated, contrary to a reality characterized by the people's *laissez-faire* attitudes towards language practice, it seems that the ideologies of linguistic preservationism and nationalism continue to shape the language-ideological landscape and the current national discourses on language in Vietnam. This is an indication of plausible discrepancies between dominant state-endorsed language ideologies as mediated in master narratives and ordinary people's language ideologies as represented in their daily practices and in their own assessments of what those language practices should ideally look like.

Such a reality is the rationale behind the aim to study language ideologies as embedded in the people's language practice in this dissertation. With an intention to address this language-ideological site, which thereby increases potentials to look into the multiplicity of language ideologies, this research direction is guided by the theoretical premise that language ideologies – preferably in the plural form (Kroskrity, 2006) – should not be seen as a coherent system of beliefs about language. Instead, they comprise of piecemeal and contradictory beliefs that can be expressed subjectively and explicitly through metalinguistic talk on the one hand, and constructively and implicitly through language practice on the other (Woolard, 1998). In order to identify language ideologies embedded in the latter site and fulfill the aforementioned research aim, this dissertation investigates the use of language on signage in the public spaces of Hanoi using *linguistic landscape* (henceforth LL) approach. Known as the study of language use on signage, LL has been developed for more than two decades and is currently seen as a branch of sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2013). With its immense interdisciplinary values, this burgeoning field of research has shown formidable potentials in analyzing the mediation of ideology, identity and social diversity on signage in public spaces (Blommaert, 2013; Putz & Mundt, 2019; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; see also Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

1.2 Linguistic landscape and globalization

In one of the widely read books about Hanoi entitled *Hà Nội Băm Sáu Phố Phường* ('Hanoi's Thirty-Six Guild Streets'), the eloquent local essayist Thạch Lam described the use of language on shopfronts in this city at the turn of the twentieth century as follows:

> *Bây giờ các biển hàng chữ Pháp chiếm đến chín phần mười trong các biển hàng. Nhiều hàng tuy chỉ giao thiệp với khách hàng Việt Nam thôi, cũng để toàn chữ Pháp, cũng như ngày xưa họ toàn dùng chữ Nho (p. 9).*

> These days shop signs written in French account for almost nine tenths of the total. Many of these stores only serve Vietnamese customers, but they still write in French, just like they had formerly used Sino-script[6] (p. 9).

Almost a century has passed since this piece of essay saw the light of the day, reading Thạch Lam today one has the feeling that his writing can still be relatable to the present situation of language use on signage if French is substituted by English, even though, despite the ubiquity of English shop signs, their number does not seem to measure up to the quantity mentioned in his description.

Not unlike some other urban centres in SEA, the spread of English and its increased visibility in the public spaces of Hanoi is an indication of the full swing of global integration that this city is getting into. The use of English in the streets, accompanied by other social practices of the people out there, may be seen as the impacts of globalization and its presumably one-way flows of language, ideology and culture from the West as the Centre to a city in the Periphery. Without much attention, it is not unusual to see young Hanoian boys and girls who don Adidas t-shirts and Nike shoes humming along some Anglo-American music tunes coming from their Apple AirPods while climbing up the stairs leading to a newly opened international school with a cup of Starbucks coffee in hand. The latte index shows that the money one pays for a tall Starbucks latte in Hanoi can buy him or her three to four cups of locally brewed coffee. But it does not stop these youngsters from consuming and living in the Western style. The ostensible influences from the West, in terms of language, culture and hedonist lifestyle, on Vietnamese people has become a topic in local cultural narratives especially when referring to young generations who are deemed the most vulnerable group of all. This is a surmise for educationists, culturalists and ideologues to voice their concerns over the issue of how to uphold tradition and culture of this over one-millennium old city in the time of economic reform and global integration.

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[6] The writing system of Sino-characters or *chữ Hán* (also called *chữ Nho*, which literally means ‘Scholars’ characters’) had been used in Vietnam before the invention of the Romanized script of *quốc ngữ* in the 17th century.

That being said, it has now become something of a commonplace that globalization does not only mean homogeneity and sameness, but also heterogeneity and difference. The economic, cultural and ideological flows between the global and the local in our globalizing world have become a subject of enquiry of major concern in social sciences. Robertson (1995) uses the concept of 'glocalization' to capture the nature of the bidirectional force of globalization that involves the 'universalization of particularism' and the 'particularization of universalism' (see also Robertson, 1992). Nederveen Pieterse (2004) describes globalization as the process of hybridization in which the outcome of mixing is referred to as a 'global mélange' (see also Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). According to Giddens (1990), in the time of globalization, a certain cultural practice after having been taken out or 'dis-embedded' from a specific context must experience significant social changes before being placed or 're-embedded' in another new context (see also Giddens, 1991). Appadurai (1996) sees the flows of people, cultures, ideologies in globalization as 'disjunctive' flows, which means they are never one-way flows from the West to the rest of world. Instead, these flows are spatially inconsistent with various points of origin and destination (see also Appadurai, 2001).

In general, these studies challenge the homogeneity and highlight the hybridity of extant cultural forms in the age of globalization. In addition, there has been a common attempt to bring to the fore the bidirectional process (and possibly multidirectional process in the case of Appadurai's theory) of globalization represented in numerous cultural practices in a variety of social contexts. But above all, the literature of the field, even in the theory of Appadurai, shows an apparent confirmation that globalization does not mean one-way influences from the West (as the Centre) to the rest of the world (as the Periphery), but instead it runs both ways.

In Applied Linguistics, the erstwhile view of English's global spread as a form of cultural imperialism cannot have reflected appropriately transcultural flows of English and the reality of how it has been localized in different contexts of use as well as how it has become entrenched in local identities (see Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2007; Young, 2017). The study of LL in general and in SEA in particular has thus far presented no shortage of case studies discussing the inroads of English in urban spaces of the region as a manifestation of influences from globalization, neoliberalism and Western cultures (see Huebner, 2006; Kasanga, 2012; Manan, David, Dumanig, & Nageebullah, 2015; Phan & Starks, 2019; Taylor-Leech, 2012). While this direction elucidates eloquently the homogenization process of globalization, it gives rise to a research bias whereby inadequate attention has been paid to the reality that local appropriation of linguistic resources, alongside reaction to globalization, has actually reinforced heterogeneity in language, culture and identity.

With the objective to address such an insufficiency, this dissertation bears witness to a coexistence of the bidirectional process of globalization and illustrates how *homogenization* and *heterogenization* are (re)produced through language use on signage in the public spaces of Hanoi, one of the oldest capital cities in SEA. In order to realize this purpose, this dissertation uses two major categories of signage (see Chapter 4). The first one includes signs that reflect a proclivity for international integration and a desire for modernity and cosmopolitanism. The second one contains signs that are underlain by the ideologies of tradition and culture and hence show a propensity to promote distinctive local cultural identity.

Based on this demonstration, I want to reason that the study of LL can contribute to the understanding of globalization not simply as a homogenizing process with its tendency towards global sameness and uniformity, but also as a 'heterogenizing' process represented by a reclamation of local differences and diversities in language, ideology and culture. This finding is intended to be a contribution to the current LL literature, especially in terms of realizing its potentials in studying social changes and diversity. Furthermore, through the representation of language ideologies in the LL of Hanoi, this dissertation also has in view the objective of adding to the knowledge of unpredictable translocal flows –referred to earlier as 'disjunctive' flows (Appadurai, 1996, 2001) – of language, ideology and culture in the age of globalization. Alongside the previous studies of Blommaert (2010), Canagarajah (2012), and Pennycook and Otsuji (2015a), to name just the most notable examples, the findings of this dissertation render its engagement in a more insightful discussion on realizing possible future contribution of Applied Linguistics to the field of globalization studies.

1.3 Ideologies of English in Vietnam

Hanoi after more than three decades of applying economic reform policy and boosting global integration becomes a city whose physiognomy has experienced significant changes and the current situation indicates that this transformation is still in the making. When I was still a little boy who had just started my very first lessons in Vietnamese, I used to practice reading out loud the names of the shops scattering the streets on my way back home from school. I can imagine how hard it is these days for schoolboys and girls to be able to hone their Vietnamese pronunciation skill as I had done when I was their ages, not just simply because shop signs are many times multiplied but many of them are also written in English (and/or other foreign languages) with or without being accompanied by Vietnamese.

The incumbent Minister of Information and Communications, in an open forum for business start-up activities in 2018, made a proposal to the Vietnamese Prime Minister to consider giving English the official status of the second language in the country. This proposal triggers a national debate on the role and position of English in Vietnam and the issue as to whether English should be given an official status or remain to be the ‘chief’ foreign language, as it has often been referred to in the official documents of Vietnamese government in a few recent years (Doan et al., 2018). Even though this proposal received many contradictory opinions from such a nationwide debate, it was embraced by no shortage of proponents who reasoned that Vietnam should learn from Singapore – a neighbouring country in SEA – where the official status of English has created favourable conditions for economic development and global integration. Roughly one year later in 2019, when this debate reached its climax, the ‘English as the second language’ proposal was put on the discussion table of the country’s highest legislative body – the National Assembly of Vietnam. A decision was made in the same year and this proposal was repudiated, which means English has yet become an official language of Vietnam.

Even though this proposal had been rejected, the novel idea of giving English an official status and the fact that such an unprecedented idea has generated a national debate involving government officials, educationists, intellectuals and people from all professions and walks of life is a testament that the position of English in Vietnam has become an issue of nationwide concern. That the Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training has also considered the preparation of sufficient conditions to turn English into the second language of Vietnam as one of its fundamental objectives since 2016 is another testimony to the reality that English has recently been given a remarkably unprecedented attention commensurate with its importance in the society.

With respect to the fact that English used to be seen as the language of the former enemy (Do, 1996), due to the involvement of the United States of America in the Second Indochina War[7] (lasting from 1955 to 1975), the anomalous idea of giving this language an official status in Vietnam is a big milestone marking possible changes in attitudes towards English recently. It is not to mention that English had also been deemed associated with capitalism in this socialist country, especially in the period from 1950s to 1980s when Vietnam came under the Soviet Union's tutelage. This ideology has started to change since Vietnam decided to open its door to the world at large for economic development purpose in 1986 – the year the reform policy of *đổi mới* came into effect. Even after the application of this reform policy, in its preparation to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995, Vietnam was the first member who challenged the exclusive role of English as the official language of this regional organization with a recommendation to add French as its second official language, though this proposal was turned down by other membership countries (Kirkpatrick, 2010).

The aforementioned evidence is somehow able to call our attention to contradictory attitudes towards English in Vietnam, especially in the period starting from the North and South Vietnam's reunification (after the ending of the Second Indochina War) in 1975 to the present when the country is getting into the full swing of global integration. With that in mind, this dissertation sets out to cast some light into the development of English language ideologies in Vietnam after the country has experienced more than three decades of reform with a transition from a centralized to 'socialist-oriented' market economy. The objective is to find out about ideological and attitudinal changes towards English that serve as the motives underlying its ascendency in the post-reform period.

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[7] The Second Indochina War is also known widely as the Vietnam War. In Hanoi and North Vietnam, it is referred to as the war of national salvation against the Americans (Ho Tai, 2001).

The attainment of such an objective is supposed to give credence to this dissertation's argument that changes in attitudes towards English cannot simply be attributed to the overwhelming impacts of globalization and neoliberalism which are likely to be treated as an unavoidably natural process. Instead, this language-attitudinal reformation should also be considered based on how the ideologies of English are intermingled with and/or influenced by broader (societal) ideologies that either have already been grounded in the society for an extended period of time or are being continuously developed in the time of reform and globalization. Such a research direction opens the possibility to see not only how English is pursued and treated in awe but also why it also experiences a concomitant resistance in Vietnam at the present time.

Based on the insights getting from tracking down the development of English ideologies in Vietnam after more than thirty years of economic reform, another objective this dissertation has in view is to contribute to the current theory of global English. Specifically, it is intended to provide a more solid base to consolidate the argument that English is not an ideologically neutral language, as it has often been mentioned in the widely-read book *English as a Global Language* by David Crystal (1997) and reiterated in the discourses of transnational educational institutions like TESOL and British Council (Pennycook, 2000; see also Canagarajah, 2000). Rather, I would like to argue that the spread of global English and its position in a specific context, especially with a country in the Expanding Circle[8] of world English like Vietnam (to be discussed further in the next section), is inevitably associated with, surrounded by and enmeshed in local language ideologies.

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[8] Kachru (1990) divides the countries in the world into three groups based on their usage of English. The Inner Circle (including countries such as the UK, the USA, Australia and Canada) has a large number of the population

Accordingly, the study of global English in this dissertation, as will be illustrated in the following chapters, is approached from ‘ideological positions’ (Pennycook, 2000), and understood as a ‘language-ideological issue’ (Park, 2009, p. 5). In tandem with its contribution to the understanding of global English, this ideological approach to English renders the accomplishment of other major objectives in this dissertation (as mentioned above) including the identification of ideologies in language practice and the demonstration of bidirectional process of globalization, both of which can benefit from a meticulous analysis of English usages from an ideological perspective.

1.4 Language ideology and identity construction

Having attracted over a million followers on its YouTube channel apart from a big number of local televiewers, the hip-hop music show entitled *Rap Việt* (Vietnamese Rap) became one of the most successful TV shows in Vietnam in 2020. It is special not only because this is the first time ever a ‘Made-in-Vietnam’ program dedicated to underground music has been produced and aired for nationwide televiewers but also it is probably also the first domestic TV show, as I have noticed, wherein the MC and judges and contestants could codeswitch rather freely between Vietnamese and English. Not unlike rappers in other Asian countries, the participants of Rap Việt mostly rapped under some stage names which are appropriated from English (sometimes

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uses English as their native language. The Outer Circle (including countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong) recognizes English as the official language to be used for certain purposes like administration and education. In the Expanding Circle (including countries such as Japan, South Korea and Vietnam), English is not given an official status, but it is learnt widely as a foreign language.

with elements from Vietnamese and/or other languages) and their song lyrics are also heavily mixed between Vietnamese and English contents. Yuno Bigboi – a contestant in the show – in one of his performing sessions entitled *Gu của anh là châu Á* ('My taste is Asian') rapped as follows:

> *I'm in love with Tokyo girls*
> *With Indian girls*
> *With Korean girls*
> *With Thailand girls*
> *With nét đẹp tự nhiên* ('With natural beauty')
> *Từ cái nhìn đầu tiên* ('At the first sight')
> *Love em Vietnamese girl khi em có tất vẻ đẹp anh mơ* ('Love you the Vietnamese girl who has all the beauties that I've dreamed of')

Setting aside musical substances, the lyrics of this rap song indicate that neither hip hop as an African American music genre nor English as the global language carries with them homogeneous influences from the Centre to the Periphery. Instead, it seems that they merge with local materials and serve as a means to convey a content laden with Asian and Vietnamese values. Following Pennycook (2007), the use of hip-hop music and English as the international 'languages' to promote local and regional values in Vietnamese rap music should therefore be looked at in terms of identity performance and construction.

Returning to the main concern of this dissertation about language use on signage, we now revisit the above-quoted description of the essayist Thạch Lam who, albeit not a LL practitioner, noticed a reality that local shopkeepers preferred to use French even though they only did business with Vietnamese customers. This is not much different from the fact that rapper Yuno Bigboi chooses to send a message to his Vietnamese girl in English – or to be more precise with a combination of English and Vietnamese content. The point I am after here is that language is not just used simply to carry information but also to perform and construct identity. Apart from choosing what to say, the addressers also make their own decision how to deliver it in the way they see appropriate, which makes it possible for them to display and project the identities that they wish to be identified with. Therefore, the use of English today on shop signs in Hanoi by shopkeepers in order to address their local customers, both of whom are at home with Vietnamese, should be interpreted in terms of how such a display of English can help both of them construct their corresponding identities through the social practice of consumption.

Based on the intertwined relations between language, ideology and identity and the theoretical premise according to which identity is not given but constructed through language practice (Kroskrity, 2006; Makihara & Schieffelin, 2007; Rosa & Burdick, 2017), this dissertation looks into the identity construction of Vietnamese people through their language practices and ideologies. Since identity in this dissertation is perceived as constructively built, it is not monolithic and fixed but should rather be seen as multiple and continuously in the process of (re)construction. As such, the involvement of people in a variety of social practices can project their corresponding identities which may presumably be seen at odds with each other on the outside. Young Hanoian boys and girls may congregate outside the Saint Joseph Church in the French quarter to celebrate Christmas Eve, but just one or two months later they may themselves be seen kneeling reverently in a Buddhist temple in their neighbourhoods to pray for an upcoming happy lunar new year. By the same token, when choosing to display English or Vietnamese or both, proprietors of small local shops, not unlike the aforementioned rapper, are actually ‘acting out’ their respective identities based on language choice and preference. For that reason, language use on signage should be a site into which we can look to get to know the identity construction of present-day Vietnamese people.

As has been mentioned above, the display of foreign languages in the LL of Hanoi is not unprecedented. In the past, it was not uncommon to see Chinese and French in public spaces, but recently there has been a considerably increasing visibility of English. Apparently, there are differences between the 'display' of Chinese and French in the past and the 'favour' of English at present, since the former involves the languages of imperialism and colonialism while the latter is all about the language of neoliberalism and global integration. However, there seems to be one thing in common. In both cases, these 'foreign' languages were and are not simply written out there in the streets because they functioned or are functioning as a means of communication shared widely among local people. Instead, the number of local Vietnamese who could use Chinese or French in the past and English at present are both rather limited with respect to the total population. (Chinese and French were basically known to an elite coterie of Vietnamese, cf. Marr, 1984.) With regard to the theory of world English presented by Kachru (1990), Vietnam is the country in the Expanding Circle (mentioned above in Section 1.3) where English is not only learnt popularly as a major foreign language but even pursued as a hegemonic language, although it neither has an official status nor serves as a common means of communication among Vietnamese people.

This is the rationale for this dissertation to simultaneously approach the practice of using English in Vietnam as an identity-related issue. As such, English usages, apart from being approached as a language-ideological issue (as discussed above), are contemplated in terms of how they function as a vehicle for identity performance and construction. The display of certain foreign languages in the public spaces of Hanoi has represented itself as a recurrent motif over the course of modern Vietnamese history. Moreover, such a reality exists in parallel with the fact that Vietnamese has retained its strong position as the language of officialdom and the major means of communication among the populace. This is the backdrop against which we can think about how present-day Vietnamese people reconcile the coexistence of English and Vietnamese and construct their respective identities through these two languages. Such a research direction not only facilitates an understanding of identity construction through English but also casts light into the issue of how Vietnamese people (re)negotiate their cultural and national identities through their own language in the time of socioeconomic reform.

Apart from focusing on language use on signage, this dissertation also takes into consideration the expressions of language ideologies and identities in interview interaction in order to effectively make use of the close connections between language, ideology and identity. The former dataset was collected and analyzed using an ethnographic approach that renders the ‘reading’ of signs as a social practice, which provides favourable conditions to identify mediated language ideologies and corresponding identity performances. The latter dataset includes interviews with local shopkeepers and residents who took part in answering questions and expressing attitudes about language use on signage in the public spaces of Hanoi. While the interview enables an investigation of language attitudes in interaction represented through both explicit and implicit expressions, this dataset also serves as a site upon which we can analyze the identity performance/construction of interview participants.

The combination of language use on signage (language practice) and interview interaction (metalinguistic talk) is intended to offer a holistic approach that facilitates a more inclusive coverage of ideological manifestations and is thereby able to attend to the multiple ‘sitings’ (Woolard, 1998), or the ‘multi-sitedness’ (Philips, 2000), of language ideologies. Drawing on such a combination of data sources, this dissertation asks what the language use on signage and the interview interaction reveal about the language ideologies of Vietnamese people and how the acquired knowledge of language ideologies enables an understanding of their identity construction in the post-reform period (more detailed research questions will be introduced in the following chapter and reiterated subsequently in Chapter 4 and 5).

While a triangulation of these two datasets opens possibilities to address the grounding of language ideologies in more than one location, the addition of interviews with shopkeepers (who are sign producers and/or owners) and local residents (who are presumed sign readers/viewers) has also become a recently pursued research direction in the field of LL (see Albury, 2018; Manan et al., 2015; Papen, 2015; Selvi, 2016). As has been demonstrated in these previous studies, the endeavour to 'go beyond the signs' renders the identification of language ideologies more feasible (cf. Hatoss, 2018).

The theoretical and analytical frameworks adopted in this dissertation for the LL session are combined of *geosemiotics* – which deals with the social meaning of signs in the material world (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) – and ELLA (the ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis) (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019). The analysis of interview data is carried out using the 'language attitudes in interaction' framework, one which discusses the expression of language attitudes as a form of social positioning (Dailey-O'Cain, 2017; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). In addition, the interview data analysis is also supported by a further reference to Davies and Harré's (1990) *positioning* theory and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) identity-analytical framework, both of which are intended to engender a more insightful look into the construction of identity in interview interaction.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

In the next chapter, I will introduce the concept of language ideology and the research field of LL before reviewing the literature of language ideology in previous LL studies and establishing research gaps. Afterwards, I provide an account of the sociocultural background of Hanoi and introduce the research questions. Chapter 3 presents the methodology of research. After introducing three neighbourhoods under investigation, I explain the method of data collection and give an account of collected LL data. Then I introduce the two theoretical and analytical frameworks of geosemiotics and ELLA before explicating on how they have been put into use for LL data analysis in this dissertation. Chapter 4 presents the results of LL data analysis. This chapter is divided into eight sections each of which focuses on discussing one particular language-ideological theme. These sections are arranged in a logical order which is intended to illustrate the homogenization and heterogenization (the bidirectional process of globalization) of language, ideology and culture in the LL of Hanoi. Chapter 5 presents the results of interview data analysis. In this chapter, I go over some interview excerpts wherein the respondents express their attitudes, either explicitly or implicitly, towards English and Vietnamese. The analysis of these excerpts also elaborates on how these two languages take part in the interview participants' identity construction. This chapter not only consolidates the results of LL data analysis but also adds further findings that can provide more insightful and comprehensive understanding of language ideology and identity construction in Vietnam today. In Chapter 6, I begin by combining the results of Chapter 4 and 5 to answer the research questions of this dissertation and present its overall findings. The subsequent sections discuss further implications and contributions that this dissertation may have for the fields of LL and globalization studies, the study of global English, the theory of language ideology, the analytical approach of language attitudes in interaction, and lastly the restructuring of nationalism in Vietnam. Lastly, this chapter ends with a discussion on the limitations of this dissertation before giving some suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2 Language ideology and linguistic landscape studies

After introducing the concept of language ideology and the research field of LL, this chapter reviews the literature of language ideology in previous LL studies and establish research gaps. Then it gives an account of the sociocultural background of Hanoi and presents the research questions of this dissertation. More specifically, it is arranged in the following order.

First, I begin by introducing the concept of language ideology. This introduction highlights how language ideology has moved from a peripheral topic in linguistics and anthropology to a field of enquiry that can provide insights into language practice and social structure.

Next, I proceed with an introduction of the burgeoning research field of LL and its major developments in scope and methodology. This section illustrates how LL has moved from a discipline that focuses restrictively on 'written texts' in public spaces to one with an 'expanded' perspective that takes into account other semiotic modes (including, for instance, images and visual designs) in order to get more meanings from signs. Then I discuss the development of LL in term of research methodologies and elaborate on how such a development can be divided into two separate stages characterized by the use of different research approaches.

Afterwards, I review the literature of language ideology in LL research. This section clarifies how the ideologies of power, nationalism and cultural identity become recognized as some of the major factors shaping the LL of cities around the world. Then, I proceed to establish research gaps based on the observation that LL studies have heretofore focused rather exclusively on top-down, state-endorsed ideologies as indicated in official language policies and there has not been adequate attention paid to bottom-up ideologies as mediated in the people's actual language practice.

Lastly, I present the research questions to be addressed in this dissertation after having elaborated on the social background of Hanoi and its suitability as the research site for a LL study on language ideology. Apart from introducing Hanoi as an over one-millennium-old capital with its different cultural layers representing pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and globalization periods, this section highlights the fact that this city has always been considered the emblematic head of the whole nation and the guardian of Vietnamese identity. This section also discusses the historical milestone of *đổi mới* (the reform policy launched in 1986) and how it becomes a major socioeconomic factor having had significant impacts on the present-day Vietnamese society. Now let us begin with the concept of language ideology.

2.1 Defining language ideology

Language ideology has been a concept of controversy because its meaning, scope and application are not easy to delimit. (This is understandable for it is linked closely with *ideology* – one of the most controversial concepts in social sciences and humanities, see further in Eagleton, 2007 and Thompson, 1990.) If one puts it simply that language ideologies are ideas about language, there is immediately a paradox that ideas about language are never simply about language (Rosa & Burdick, 2017). It is even argued that ideas about language are not about language at all, because language use is tied to and governed by a variety of factors such as identity, power, morality, aesthetics, and epistemology (Woolard, 1998). The notion of identity, for instance, is linked so closely to language ideology that, in Lanza and Woldemariam's (2009) words, '[w]hat we think about language will be related to how we perceive ourselves and eventually how others perceive us' (p. 189). For this reason, language ideologies underlie and regulate language practice, language shift and change. A particular analysis of language practice should always justify its meaningfulness based on a certain point of view on language. And these viewpoints of language are all ideological for they represent specific perspectives and develop in particular social, political, and cultural contexts (Rosa & Burdick, 2017).

Even though language ideology has now become an issue of major concern in linguistic anthropology, it used to be regarded as a peripheral topic in anthropology as well as linguistics (Kroskrity, 2006). Boas, Bloomfield, and Labov, just to name the most prominent, continually rejected the significance of what has been referred to now as language ideology (Rosa & Burdick, 2017). The renowned anthropologist Franz Boas (1911) prioritizes linguists' expertise over local ideas about language. He refers to the linguistic consciousness of speakers as 'secondary rationalizations' that have no analytical value. The structuralist linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1993) considers the local notions of language as merely one minor part in linguistic data. In other words, language ideology is only one among the issues of linguistics and it is actually 'not a fundamental one' (p. 22). In his view, speakers' language ideologies only have trivial effects on their speech. Even though the sociolinguist William Labov (1964) acknowledges the role of 'social attitudes' towards language, he refuses to recognize that speakers' awareness leads to linguistic change or affects speech forms (Woolard, 1998). In the meantime, in his viewpoint, language practice indicates preexisting identities instead of continually constructing, reproducing, and transforming them (Rosa & Burdick, 2017).

With regard to a long tradition being seen as a marginalized topic, the development of language ideology into a field of enquiry is quite recent. It started with Silverstein's (1979) article which, according to Kroskrity (2006), 'rescued linguistic awareness from ongoing scholarly neglect' (p. 499). In this article, Silverstein lays an emphasis on speakers' awareness of linguistic structure and defines language ideology as 'a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p. 193). As he argues, language change (such as the rejection of use the 'generic *he*' in English initiated by American feminist movement in the second half of the twentieth century, see Silverstein, 1985) stems from language ideologies or articulated beliefs about language.

However, Silverstein's approach to language ideology privileges the role of cognitive awareness over political and sociocultural processes in foregrounding certain linguistic structure features (Phillips, 2015). For this reason, subsequent approaches to language ideology tend to put greater emphasis on social, political, and cultural facets of language ideology. Irvine (1989), for instance, defines language ideology as 'the cultural (and subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (p. 255). And according to Heath (1989), language ideologies are 'self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning the roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group' (p. 393).

Though these definitions may have their own emphases, it is not hard to realize that different approaches to language ideology tend to focus on, as Woolard (1998) says, 'a mediating link between social forms and forms of talk' (p. 3). To put it differently, language ideologies are conceptualized as 'models that link types of linguistic forms with the types of people who stereotypically use them' (Wortham, 2008, p. 43). Accordingly, in Gal's (1989) viewpoint, social groups hold differentiated language ideologies based on their various positions in political economy. All in all, language ideologies construct linguistic forms and uses as well as the very notion of person and social group; moreover, they also underpin fundamental social institutions like nation-state, education, law and religion (Phillips, 2015; Woolard, 1998).

In order to capture its diversity, Kroskrity (2006) refers to language ideology as a 'cluster concept' consisting of five converging dimensions (see below). As for now, I would argue that this approach to language ideology facilitates a comprehensive coverage of overlapping but distinguishable dimensions of this concept. Therefore, I adopt the language-ideology-as-cluster-concept approach for this dissertation. According to Kroskrity (2006), this cluster concept includes the following dimensions: '*One,* language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group'; '*Two*, language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple'; '*Three*, members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies'; '*Four*, members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk'; '*Five*, language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities' (pp. 501-509). These five dimensions make it clear a number of important points.

First, language ideologies are critically conceived as 'derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience of interests of a particular social position' (Woolard, 1998, p. 6). Accordingly, language ideologies are understood as closely tied to political and economic interests and therefore serve as a tool in the struggle to acquire and maintain power. This is significantly different from the neutral perspective that considers language ideologies as 'shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world' (Rumsey, 1990, p. 346). The neutral view on culturally shared beliefs fails to recognize that cultural conceptions are also ‘partial, contestable, and interest-laden’ even among homogeneous cultural groups (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 58), notwithstanding that ‘homogeneity’ is only relative, if not to say imprecise, in the time of globalization.

Second, language ideologies should be viewed as naturally multiple because of social divisions within a population such as class, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, etc. These differences lead to divergent perspectives even among members of the same sociocultural group. In other words, language ideologies are plural because they are ‘grounded in social experience which is never uniformly distributed throughout polities of any scale’ (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 503).

Third, local language ideologies can be articulated and displayed explicitly but with varying degrees of awareness from the members. Therefore, it is important that studying language ideologies requires us to read not only from the members’ articulated beliefs but also from their actual language practice.

Fourth, the idea that language ideologies mediate language use and social structure, which has already been illustrated in the aforementioned Silverstein’s approach, emphasizes the following focal point. Since language use is a social practice, ideologies underlying language use are therefore determined by the society and a variety of social factors (such as identity, morality, epistemology, etc.) that define its organization.

Finally, language ideologies are closely bound up with the notion of identity. Since they are not static and can potentially be inconsistent (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007), language ideologies do not index preexisting identities. Instead, they participate in the continual process of (re)constructing identities.

In short, the cluster concept is chosen as an inclusive theoretical approach to render an investigation of changes in language ideologies, which are seen as piecemeal and contradictory beliefs about language, in post-reform Vietnamese society. The acquired knowledge of these language-ideological changes is later used to shed light into the identity construction of contemporary Vietnamese people.

2.2 Linguistic landscape as a field of research

The study of language use on signage in public places has attracted an increasing interest from sociolinguists since the publication of Landry and Bourhis's (1997) seminar on the interrelationship between LL and ethnolinguistic vitality. The development of LL into a burgeoning field of enquiry is an indication of renewed interest in space and place, which has been witnessed in social sciences since the 1990s (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003). LL was originally defined as 'the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 23). Since then, it has been expanded in both scope and aims to become acknowledged as a new approach to multilingualism (Gorter, 2006), a multimodal approach to the study of signs in public spaces (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010), and a sociolinguistic discipline that studies social diversity and changes (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019).

The scope of LL is no longer restricted to written texts in public spaces. It also studies meanings of other semiotic systems in the environment (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009). With the adoption of this broad perspective, LL takes into account semiotic modes other than 'written language' such as images and visual designs (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), the transgressive art of graffiti (Pennycook, 2009), sounds (Hu, 2018), smells (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015b), and even human bodies (Peck & Stroud, 2015; Pennycook, 2018; Scolon & Scolon, 2003) in order to facilitate a better understanding of multiple layers of meaning in public spaces (Jaworski &

Thurlow, 2010; Shohamy, 2018; Shohamy & Waksman, 2009). While the narrow perspective that strictly limits LL resources to just written language on signage is becoming less convincing (Shohamy & Wakman, 2009), the issue as to how 'inclusive' LL should be has yet to be seriously addressed or more precisely has been left unattended.

For this reason, the scope of LL has been expanded to include 'the language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces' (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p. 1). However, the term LL is considered problematic since it has recently been used in a general sense to include concepts other than just language visibility, which subsequently leads to the suggestion to use 'semiotic landscape' as a replacement (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Puzey, 2016). In addition, LL has no longer been restricted as a field of enquiry that studies multilingualism on signage in public spaces. It now covers a variety of subject matters including but not limited to language policy and planning, language conflicts, minority languages and tokenistic commodification, sociolinguistic scale and mobility (Blommaert, 2013; Gorter, Marten, & Mensel, 2012; Spolsky, 2009; Van Mensel, Vandenbroucke, & Blackwood, 2016).

Therefore, on the one hand there have been attempts to bring forward a broader and more workable definition with respect to the field's development. Gorter (2018), for instance, redefines LL as the study of 'the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of "languages" as they are displayed in public spaces' (pp. 41-42). On the other hand, there has been a mutual agreement among LL practitioners to let the field, which is still in its infancy, develop openly in various directions without any limits on definitions and meanings (Shohamy, 2018). And as for now, LL is welcomed as one sociolinguistic branch that has immense interdisciplinary potentials to study how ideology, identity and social diversity are constructed and mediated in language use on signage in public spaces.

The development of LL hitherto can roughly be divided into two stages that are characterized by two different approaches: the *quantitative-distributive* (see Backhaus, 2007) and the *historical-ethnographic* (see Blommaert, 2013) (for a further discussion on these two developmental stages see Blackwood, 2015; Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016; Huebner, 2016; Pütz & Mundt, 2018; Shohamy, 2018; Van Mensel et al., 2016).

In the first stage, LL was mainly counting isolated 'languages' as they are shown on signage in public places. The research questions and themes mostly concentrated on providing a quantitative-distributive account of the situation of multilingualism in a specific city or town. In his study in Tokyo, Backhaus (2007) defines a sign as 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame' (p. 66) and collects only signs with more than one language. Kasanga (2012) counts the number of languages on each shopfront sign in central Phnom Penh with no concern to the amount of text in each language. Other studies of the same type include those trying to map the LL of, for instance, Zurich, Uppsala and Klagenfurt (Schlick, 2002), Rome (Griffin, 2004), Ankara (Selvi, 2016), and Athens (Nikolaou, 2017), to name just a few.

Apart from having some methodological problems including an inconsistency in defining and counting signs and a subjectiveness and/or arbitrariness in assigning 'languages' to the texts on signs (especially when it comes to brand names and hybrid business names), the quantitative approach is also limited in its adoption of a modernist perspective on language whereby languages are seen as fixed, bounded and isolated entities (see Van Mendel et al., 2016). The modernist view which presupposes a correlation between a specific language and a respective ethnolinguistic group is no longer viable in the age of globalization. In many cases, the (in)visibility of language(s) misrepresents the ethnolinguistic diversity in a specific area. Leeman and Modan (2009), for example, demonstrate that the ubiquity of Chinese in Washington DC's

Chinatown is used as a ‘floating’ signifier to capitalize on Chinese language and values rather than indexing a vibrant Chinese community, who have already moved out of the neighbourhood. On the contrary, a very limited visibility of Spanish in some American towns and cities fails to represent quite considerable amounts of Hispanic-American population living there (Betti, 2018). These examples indicate that LL should go further than its quantitative analysis in order to get more ‘meaningful’ interpretation of signs in public spaces.

In the subsequent stage, LL has gradually turned towards ethnography not only as a methodology but also as a perspective, which is marked firstly by the tendency to analyze the social meaning of signs based on their emplacement in the material world and in relation to human actions (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). The ethnographic approach, which is more concerned with a deep historical qualitative analysis of signs based on a rigorous reference to the physical environment where they are located, tends to choose one specific neighbourhood as the research site.

An archetypal study of this stage is Blommaert’s (2013) sociolinguistic analysis of Berchem, a neighbourhood in the city of Antwerp (Belgium). The study takes a deep historical-ethnographic approach to track the mobilities and complexities of residential communities and the social changes at various scales that underlie sign display in this neighbourhood. In a subsequent study in the neighbourhood of Wondelgemstraat in Ghent (Belgium), Blommaert and Maly (2016) continue with their intention to develop a LL-specific ethnographic approach called ELLA in order to study social diversity and mobility in the age of globalization. In the most recent study in the inner city of Antwerp (Belgium), Blommaert and Maly (2019) emphasize the importance of doing ethnography in virtual spaces and develop the later ethnographic version of ELLA 2.0. Other studies that adopt ethnographic approaches and therefore can be counted in this second wave of LL include Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) on the township of Khayelitsha (South Africa), Lou (2016) on Washington DC's Chinatown, and Maly (2016) on the coastal city of Ostend (Belgium).

In summary, over the course of its development, LL has experienced significant changes in its scope and aims, approaches and methods, and analytical tools, which taken all together is described as a 'critical turn' in the field (Barni & Barna, 2015). The transition from the first stage of quantitative-distributive approach to the next stage of historical-ethnographic one enables LL to move from basically 'describing' to having been capable of 'analyzing' the sociolinguistics of a particular research area. However, it does not actually mean that the quantitative-distributive approach has retreated since even the authors who refrain from this approach – such as Jaworski and Thurlow – still count languages on signs (Van Mensel et al., 2016). Since the quantitative-distributive approach continues to be used and is even regarded as an established 'tradition' of LL, this situation is critically referred to as the 'conservative turn' in the field (Blommaert, 2016).

I would agree with Blommaert that a return to use a purely quantitative approach would limit the possibility to analyze the meaning of signs in public spaces. But it is also worth acknowledging that the selection of one or a combination of appropriate approaches, after all, should be justified based on the research questions one asks and the themes he or she pursues. Furthermore, it should also be noted that a symbiotic approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods in LL still proves viable and necessary – as having been demonstrated in the recent literature (see Blackwood, 2015). While the quantitative approach renders a synchronic descriptive picture of multilingualism in a particular research area possible especially when one wants to cover a large amount of data, the qualitative approach has more potentials to facilitate a deep historical diagnosis of signs and hence provide better analytical insights into how ideologies, identities and social structures are mediated through landscape signage.

2.3 Language ideology in linguistic landscape research

As indicated in Chapter 1, language ideology can be expressed not only subjectively through metalinguistic talk but also constructively through language practice (Woolard, 1998). Drawing on this theoretical premise, LL has been able to address insightful ideology-related issues by focusing on translingual practice on signage (Pennycook, 2017; Zhang & Chan, 2017). These issues include but not limited to language policy and contestation (Backhaus, 2009; Pavlenko, 2009; Shohamy, 2015), language and power (David & Manan, 2015; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009), language and identity (Aristova, 2016; Manan, David, Dumanig & Nageebullah, 2015; Trumper-Hecht, 2009), and attitudes towards minority languages (Marten, Mensel & Gorter, 2012; Muth, 2012). Even though public space is likely to be under the control of a certain political power at a particular period of time, it is where a democratic society represents itself by enabling different voices to be heard (Habermas, 1991; Rubdy, 2015). Therefore, by looking into language use on signage in public spaces, LL has been able to identify the ideologies underlying various sociopolitical positions and viewpoints (Leeman & Modan, 2009). In this section, I review the literature on language ideology in LL research.

The visibility of some languages (with or without other accompanied semiotic resources such as images and other visual modes) and the lack of others in public spaces carry ideological messages concerning the values and/or priorities of certain languages over others, which makes public space an arena for language battles (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009; Shohamy, 2006). The literature on the LL as the site of conflicts and protests is exuberant and centres around how written language, be it on signs or other linguistic/semiotic artifacts, in the public spaces of multilingual cities especially those characterized by political disputes does not reflect actual language diversity but is employed as a vehicle for social contestation (see Blackwood et al. 2016; Pütz & Mundt, 2019; Rojo, 2016; Rubdy & Ben Said, 2015).

In one of the earliest studies of this type, Spolsky & Cooper (1991) demonstrate how a deliberate omission of Arabic from official signage in the Old City of Jerusalem indicates an intense ideological battle between the Jews and the Arabs and is a ruthless message from the former to the latter that ‘this is not your state’ (p. 117). Subsequent studies carried out in Israel show that the language battle between Hebrew and Arabic on signage ‘serves as an instrument within a wider status struggle between the two national groups’ (Trumper-Hecht, 2009, p. 238; see also Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Shohamy & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). Through their language conflict, the Jews and the Arabs not only produce and propagate their language ideologies but also construct and define their respective identities in the public spaces they share with each other.

Along the same line, the LL can also be the battlefield for sociopolitical protests in Tunisia, Egypt, and Turkey (Kasanga, 2014; Seloni & Sarfati, 2017), religious wars in Ethiopia (Woldemariam and Lanza, 2014), and unresolved language conflicts leading to the erasure or overpainting of language(s) on official signage in post-Soviet states (Pavlenko, 2009). Furthermore, the field also looks into social unrest of smaller scales such as the use of transgressive art of graffiti by local residents to raise their voice against the refurbishment and selling of their flats in the neighbourhood of Prenzlauer Berg in East Berlin (Germany) (Papen, 2012). Through this study, Papen demonstrates that the LL can be the location of ideological conflicts involving three different parties: the civil society, the private businesses, and the nation-state.

A special attention in the field has also been paid to the (in)visibility, marginalization, and erasure of minority languages in public spaces, which indicates that the LL is not only the site of contestation but also of exclusion. Marten (2012) demonstrates how the centralist language ideology of the Eastern Latvia state leads to the reduction of functions and the absence of a minority language called Latgalian in the public spaces of Latgale. Despite positive attitudes of the people towards it and how popularly it is used as a spoken language, Latgalian is considered inappropriate for written purposes, which leads to its having been marginalized in public spaces. This study concludes that language ideology of central authorities can give rise to the neutralization of even widely spoken minority languages. In the same direction, Thislethwaite and Sebba (2015) discuss an underrepresentation of Irish in the Irish town of Ennis.

Another aspect of concern is the focus on whether the visibility of a minority language in public spaces indicates its identity, status, and revitalization or is used mainly for tokenistic and symbolic functions (Gorter, Marten, & Mensel, 2012). By reconsidering Leeman and Modan's (2009) study on the gentrification of Washington DC's Chinatown, it is possible to see that the increasing spread of Chinese as a minority language is used by urban developers as a 'floating' signifier to capitalize on Chinese language and values rather than promoting minority language revitalization and empowerment. The increasing visibility of Chinese therefore does not index a vibrant Chinese community since most of them have already moved out of the neighbourhood. Accordingly, Chinese in this Chinatown has lost its status as a means of communication and gradually become a commodified ornament. The findings of this study demonstrate how commodifying Chinese language and values has become a part of the larger ideological process of Chinatown gentrification.

By the same token, Troyer, Cáceda and Giménez Equíbar (2015) explore written language displays in Oregon, a small town with thirty-five percent of Latino/Hispanic residents in the USA, to identify a tokenistic presentation of Spanish in the limited domains of restaurants and convenience stores. In addition, the LL as the site of exclusion has also been studied in other geographical spaces including Japan (Tan & Ben Said, 2015), Bahrain, Congo and Singapore (Kasanga, 2015), and Taiwan (Curtin, 2015).

And a remarkable literature on language ideology in LL research is dedicated to the nationalist language ideology, how it is realized through the institutionalization of official language policies, and what influences it has on the public display of written language. Here, it is demonstrated that language ideology rationalizes not only dominant language(s) and linguistic practices but also extant social structures in order to serve the struggle to acquire and maintain asymmetrical power relations (Lanza and Woldemariam, 2009; Woolard, 1998). In a study carried out in Petaling (Malaysia), David and Manan (2015) conclude that language policy on signage in Malaysia embodies one-nation one-language ideology, which is represented through the governmental attempt to essentialize Bahasa Malayu (the national language) and neutralize the languages of rival groups such as Chinese and Tamils. For this reason, the nationalist ideology embedded in official language policy has considerable direct influences on language diversity in public spaces through two contrastive processes: centralizing (the national language) and peripheralizing (the other languages).

The aforementioned nationalist ideology is realized most clearly in postcolonial nation-states. In order to reinforce national independence and promote national identity, or what May

(2005) calls the ‘politics of state-making,’ there has been a tendency to eliminate languages of the colonialists in the LL. Pavlenko (2012), for instance, recognizes the Ukrainian government’s attempt to erase Russian in the LL of Kyiv (Ukraine). Nevertheless, even though Russian has been removed from official signs, it continues to be present on commercial ones, which indicates its position as a language of daily use in Kyiv. In this case, the official language policy indexes the stringency of nationalist ideology rather than reflecting actual language diversity in Ukrainian society.

In order to dig deeper into the discrepancy between language ideologies of the nation-state and its people and how it is represented in the LL, a number of studies have focused specifically on comparing language use on governmental and private signage (Albury, 2018; David & Manan, 2015; Manan, David, Dumanig, & Naqeebullah, 2015; Pavlenko, 2012). The results of these studies show that there is a discordance between the rigidity of nation-state language ideology institutionalized in official language policy and the fluidity of language ideology at grassroots levels. Albury (2018) identifies that despite the rigid top-down policy using law enforcement to pedestalize the language of ethnic Malays over those of Chinese and Indians, language diversity remains significant in the LL of Malaysia, which is a testimony to the flexibility of language ideology at bottom-up levels. In a further effort to understand the people’s discursive defiance to official language policy, Manan et al. (2015) identify some major reasons including pragmatism, religion, and identity.

The argument that the versatility of bottom-up language ideology is driven by a pragmatic motivation of the people in order to capitalize on languages other than just the official one has also been demonstrated by Pavlenko (2012). In this case, Russian is favoured and becomes a comfortably effective language for business in Kyiv. The bilingual Russian-Ukrainian combination adopted by the people, which is in stark contrast with the state language policy, reflects a ‘tacitly agreed-upon local norm’ (p. 51) stemming from a language ideology that aspires to actual language competency and personal preference of language users. Moriarty (2013) succinctly describes this discrepancy as contesting language ideologies between the state’s modernist position of one-nation one-language and the people’s postmodernist practice of multilingualism.

The discrepancy between the state and the people’s language ideologies becomes even more complicated in studies that discuss the visibility of English in coexistence with the national language and other native ones (David & Manan, 2015; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009; Manan et al., 2015). David and Manan (2015), for instance, identify one common problem facing multilingual postcolonial countries in the time of globalization according to which the state is inclined to wield the national language as a tool to promote nationalism. But it may also be put under certain pressure to accommodate languages of other major ethnic groups and at the same time recognize the role of English. Therefore, LL studies with an eye to language ideology have simultaneously taken into consideration two major issues. On the one hand, it is the top-down ideology endorsed by the state and mediated in official language policy that regulate language use on public signage in order to serve the purpose of maintaining asymmetrical power relations. On the other hand, it is the transgression, circumvention and resistance of language use on signage at bottom-up levels represented most clearly by a special favour of English and other high-cultural-capital languages, which is a true reflection of the postmodernist ideology of multilingualism and the pragmatic needs of the market, also referred to elsewhere as ‘sociolinguistic pragmatism’ (David & Manan, 2015) and economic ‘good-reasons’ (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Lipovsky, 2018).

The language ideology that turns English into an emblem of modernity and internationality has also become the subject of enquiry in studies carried out in geographical spaces from Global North countries such as France and Singapore (Lipovsky, 2018; Shang & Guo, 2017) to Global South ones like Cambodia and Timo-Leste (Kasanga, 2012; Taylor-Leech, 2012). In a study in Ethiopia, a country without colonial past in Africa, Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) discover that the English word 'modern' appears regularly in business names of tailors and boutiques shops in Mekele. In this African country, English is also used as a sign of modernity even by shopkeepers whose stores are located in small villages of the countryside. In consistence with the need to embrace modernity, the favour of English in public spaces also indexes a demand for an 'imagined' global identity (Kasanga, 2010; see also Bhatt, 2008).

In short, the review of LL literature indicates that public spaces are seen as platforms for the establishment of power and identity (cf. Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009). Accordingly, language use on signage tends to be manipulated by the power of dominant political groups and languages of ethnic minorities are likely to be marginalized, erased, and excluded from public view. The tendency to focus exclusively on influences of the nation-state, the nationalist ideology, and cultural identity and how these factors, if taken together, play a decisive role in shaping the LL is rather clear. However, the field has also identified a discrepancy in the ideologies of the state and its people as illustrated in the differences of language use on official and private signage, especially when taking into consideration the ubiquity of English, sometimes alongside other languages with high cultural capital like French and Italian. This is a prelude for this dissertation to have a more rigorous inquiry into how the people's ideology and identity are constructed and represented in the LL of their own living environment.

2.4 Establishing research gaps

The literature review shows that, when addressing the issue of language ideology, LL studies have the tendency to focus rather exclusively on the ideology of state-making and how it is represented in one way or another in official language policies on signage. The field has heretofore developed elaborated discussions on how the ideology of linguistic nationalism influence, regulate and shape the overall picture of written language in public spaces. There is a common norm that language practice at grassroots levels is approached in a way so as to discuss the people's circumvention, transgression and resistance to official language policies rather than providing insights into their actual kaleidoscopic language ideologies (see David & Manan, 2015; Manan et al., 2015; Moriarty, 2013; Pavlenko, 2012). Since it is more likely that previous studies approached language ideology as a universally fixed concept associated with nationalism, they have failed to address the existence of multiple language ideologies in the LL especially in the dynamics of our globalizing world.

As having been demonstrated, language ideologies do not merely come from the ruling class; they are also 'ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs […] used by speakers of all types as models for constructing linguistic evaluations and engaging in communicative activity' (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 497). However, this research direction has yet received adequate attention in the field of LL, which can therefore be seen as a research gap that needs to be addressed. Taking a rigorous account of language ideologies that govern the people's language practice and how they are mediated in their actual language use on signage is intended to overcome this shortcoming. Since public space is a constitutive component of democratic society where the people's wills are articulated and their uninhibited voices are given a chance to be heard (Habermas, 1991; Rubdy, 2015), it is where the diversity of the people's language ideologies comes into view and waits to be revealed. Such a potential becomes even more feasible in the time of globalization when residents within each urban neighbourhood are getting more heterogenous and dynamic than ever.

When it comes to the issue of identity, LL displays a special interest in cultural/national identity, which is understandably a direct consequence of the field's biased engagement with the nationalist ideology discussed above. In addressing the identity associated with English and its being favoured in public spaces worldwide, LL studies tend to provide a general discussion on the use of this global language to either perform or construct an imagined cosmopolitan identity, which originates from the observation that English symbolically connotes internationality and modernity (see Kasanga, 2010, 2012; Kelly-Holmes, 2014; Nikolaou, 2017; Selvi, 2006). Such an overgeneralization overlooks the reality that English has been practiced differently in different contexts and societies. Accordingly, it has also been localized and even becomes the language associated with local identities (Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2007). Since the identity of language users is neither inherent nor static, it is ceaselessly (re)constructed through language practice and their accumulation of linguistic resources. Young (2017) argues that 'people from different parts of the world use different varieties of English in different ways to construct identities for themselves' (p. 505).

Therefore, the commonplace of English in public spaces worldwide should not be simply interpreted as either a kind of ornamentation or alternatively being motivated by the purpose to measure up to what often referred to as global identity. While this judgement runs the risk of being oversimplified, it also overlooks the cultural diversity of 'Englishes' when it is practiced differently worldwide. I believe that there exist multiple identities associated with English in different contexts where it is not the first language or not even spoken at all on a daily basis.

Accordingly, a scrupulous emphasis on multiplex identities that language users wish to be identified with when making English visible in public spaces is intended to provide a more elaborative discussion than a simplified contention that English embodies modernity and indexes an imagined global identity.

In addition, when discussing the combination of a local language and English on bilingual signs, LL research to date tends to rationalize this language combination as a 'division of labour' (Kasanga, 2010) wherein the local language fulfills informational function or carries the message while English serves to perform or construct identity. By neutralizing the identities associated with local languages and emphasizing the global identity relating to English, the field has an inclination to consider globalization as the process of cultural homogenization while neglecting the opposing process of cultural heterogenization, which thereby disregards cultural diversity and local identity revitalization – 'the central problem of today's global interaction' (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32).

In order to address such a research bias, this dissertation pays due attention to language ideologies and identities associated with the native language, in our case Vietnamese, as well as languages other than English, the intention being to provide a more comprehensive and precise discussion on identity construction in the specific context of post-reform Vietnam. This direction is consistent with the postmodern perspective on identity whereby both individuals and social groups are considered having multiple identities that can be contradicted and contested (Jenkins, 2014; Lemke, 2008). This viewpoint on the hybridity of identities reflects better the complexity of globalization whereby ethnic, national and cultural boundaries are becoming more versatile. Since it is (re)constructed through a complicated web of affiliations such as ethnicity, nationality, culture, race, language, etc. (Lemke, 2008), the term 'identity' in this dissertation is used to cover multiple identities which come from engaging in different cultural and social connections or moving between different cultural and social groups. It is an umbrella term that covers cultural, social and national identity.

Drawing on the observation above, this dissertation sets out to pay primary attention to the language ideologies of the people and concomitantly investigate how they as language users (re)construct their identities at a time when globalization, alongside with a universal favour of English in public spaces worldwide, allegedly generates a uniform cosmopolitanism. With Hanoi being chosen as the research site, it is also intended to contribute a case study to the literature on LL research in SEA which has already included Bangkok (Thailand), Phnom Penh (Cambodia), Dili (Timor Leste), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) and Singapore (see Huebner, 2006; Kasanga, 2012; Taylor-Leech, 2012; Manan et al., 2015, Shang & Guo, 2017; Shang & Zhao, 2017).

The literature on LL research in Hanoi includes two recent studies both of which focus on a small area in the city centre. Starks and Phan (2019) provide a semiotic discussion on the stabilities and mobilities of visual and aural resources in a small park in the French quarter. Phan and Starks (2019) offer an analysis of monolingual, bilingual and multilingual commercial signs in the streets surrounding a lake in downtown Hanoi to elaborate on a mismatch between language policies and *de facto* written language displays. What this dissertation chooses to do is looking into language ideologies of the *vox populi* in order to understand their identity (re)construction in the post-reform period. But before we can do that, let’s have a look into the sociohistorical background of Hanoi together with an explication of its suitability for the research aim of this dissertation.

2.5 Hanoi and national reform

In 2010, Hanoi (literally means ‘amid the rivers’) celebrated its millennial anniversary marking the milestone when Thăng Long[9] (‘the rising dragon’) was officially chosen as the capital of Đại Cồ Việt (‘Great Viet’), the official name of Vietnam from 968 to 1054 AD. During more than one thousand years of history, the city has been called by a number of different names including Đông Kinh[10] (‘royal capital of the east’), which was in fact a similar name to Tokyo (Japan) despite the difference in two transcriptions of the same Chinese characters 東京 (dong jīng) (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002). As one of the oldest capitals in SEA, Hanoi has a diverse linguistic history characterized by centuries of pre-colonization, colonization, decolonization, and a recent wave of globalization.

The multilayered characteristic of Hanoi’s sociocultural milieu is represented in the cultural landscape of the city which is comparable to a palimpsest, a manuscript with a continuous emergence of new texts on the surface (Logan, 2000, Thomas, 2002, Van Horen, 2005). Prior to French colonialism (1873-1945), Hanoi had been under heavy influences of Sinitic culture, notably Confucianism and Sinology. The eleventh century built complex of Văn Miếu (temple of literature) – Quốc Tử Giám (imperial academy) in homage of Confucius and his disciples, which still stands today and is referred to as Vietnam’s first university, bears witness to how Confucian ideology had formed a fundamental basis for national education in the feudal times (Sidel, 1998). Right after Vietnam declared its independence in September 1945, in an endeavour to build a sovereign modern nation-state, the government of Hanoi chose Vietnamese, with its Romanized writing system entitled *quốc ngữ*, as the national language. Supported by the official language policy, Vietnamese has maintained its status quo as the national language and the common means of communication for the majority of Vietnamese people ever since.

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[9] The former name of Hanoi. Legend has it that on his boat trip from the old capital in Ninh Bình to the area that is presently Hanoi, King Lý Thái Tổ (1009-1028) saw a dragon ascending into the sky. He decided to turn the area into the capital city of Vietnam and named it Thăng Long – which means ‘The Rising Dragon.’

[10] The name Tonkin that the French used to call North Vietnam during the colonial period came from the pronunciation of Đông Kinh by foreign traders in the 17th and 18th centuries (Sidel, 1998).

As the emblematic head of the whole nation, Hanoi takes pride in being the guardian of Vietnamese identity and the hub of ideologues (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002; Logan, 2005). The city has witnessed an enduring and uncompromising struggle of Vietnamese people to resist the Sinicization and Francization of language and culture, which indicates their firmly consistent ideology. The survival of Vietnamese identity after two millennia of foreign cultural dominance is deeply surprising or even referred to as a 'miracle' (Logan, 1994). In postcolonial period, after the French completely withdrew from the North in 1954 in the aftermath of the first Indochina War, the colonial language has gradually disappeared in the public spaces of Hanoi. In the meantime, Vietnamese has been developed into the symbol of patriotism and national identity and continuously promoted for its contribution to the course of national liberation and the building of a new sovereign nation-state. Even though reminiscences of linguistic contact with Chinese and French can still be seen in both language practice and the cultural landscape, a primordial linkage between Vietnamese, nation and cultural identity has been forged and consolidated, which perhaps explains why it has presently become one of the most successful national languages in the SEA region (Le & O'Harrow, 2007).

Even today the ideology of one-nation one-language is still evident in the government's endeavour to empower the status of Vietnamese and prevent it from being sullied by imprudent foreign loans (see Nguyen, 2016). Thus far, three national conventions on preserving the purity and clarity of Vietnamese with the participation of government officials have been held in Hanoi, two of which took place during wartime (one in 1966 during the Second Indochina War and one in 1979 during the Sino-Vietnamese War) and the most recent one in 2016 marking three decades of reform (as discussed in Chapter 1).

In the new chapter of national independence, Hanoi continues its tradition as the centre of politics, economics, and culture of the whole nation. A master narrative on the venerable cultural identity of this one-thousand-year land and its people has taken shape. However, the gentility of Thăng Long, the elegance of Tràng An[11], and the tradition of Hanoi have been put into a new challenge under the influence of *đổi mới*, a new discontinuity in the city's history.

Đổi mới (literally 'changing for the new'), the Vietnamese version of Soviet perestroika, was a reform policy launched by the government in 1986 in order to save the economy which was by then in serious recession with inflation as high as four hundred percent (Elliott, 2012). This reform policy, which marked a transition from centralized to socialist-oriented market economy, has had profound influences on various aspects of Hanoi's socioeconomic life. Apart from giving a green light to private economy and global integration, it also marked a breakup with the Soviet Union – the socialist bloc that had significant ideological influences on the city in the period from 1954 to the 1980s. Consequently, Russian immediately lost its status as the primary foreign language to pave the way for English to gradually become the major language to communicate with foreign business partners in the Western global system and later turn into a 'gatekeeping tool' in the post-reform society (Phan et al., 2014). Even though Vietnam became the official member of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in 1995, it was not until 2000 that the Bilateral Trade Agreement was signed with the USA, which served as the springboard for the country to become an official member of WTO in 2007 – a milestone marking its full immersion in the global economy (Grinter, 2006).

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[11] Tràng An, though not an official name of Hanoi, is used figuratively in literary works to refer to the capital, especially when mentioning the elegance of the land and its people. Both Tràng An and Thăng Long these days appear regularly in cultural narratives about the identity of Hanoians.

The continuously transforming landscape in the post-reform period, especially since the 2010s, makes Hanoi one of the most rapid developing cities in the region with GDP (gross domestic product) growth rate among the highest in the world (Ariffin, 2018). The streets of Hanoi these days are visually stimulating, since they are 'crammed with more details than a pair of eyes is capable of registering at one time' (Gross, 2015, p. 23). As a layered city, Hanoi's cultural landscape has recently become even more diverse with the addition of another layer of globalization. The iconic Ngọc Sơn Temple[12] is just a few steps away from the Chavassieux Square[13] and a newly opened McDonald's restaurant. The city in reform has continuously been expanded with the urbanization of surrounding suburban areas and the building of more high-rise buildings to house a population which has recently reached over eight million (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, 2019).

The Hanoi of post-reform and globalization witnesses a considerable increase in the visibility of English and other foreign languages in the streets. Such a reality can be noteworthy not just because this is basically a monolingual city with Vietnamese functioning as the official and major language for daily communication and in domestic business. But more importantly, it is because of a historical past. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the aftermath of the Second Indochina War, English had become entangled with anti-American ideology. Ideological discrimination and prejudice towards English then not only kept people away from English classes but also, according to Do (1996), led to the incineration of English books and the destruction of certificates granted by English-speaking countries.

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[12] Ngọc Sơn is a precolonial construction located at a place surrounded by the legends relating to the development of Hanoi. Three Chinese characters 寫青天 ('writing on the blue sky') in front of the temple symbolically represent the educational tradition and the cultural identity of the city.

[13] Chavassieux Square was built in 1901 by the French colonialists. The Square with its iconic fountain is situated next to the Metropole Hotel Hanoi. Both constructions are symbolic vestiges of colonialism in Hanoi.

A decade after launching reform, a milestone supposedly marking a profound change in attitudes towards English, in the Eighth Congress of Communist Party taking place in June 1996, the use of English on commercial signage in the streets of Hanoi, according to Logan (2000), was criticized as cultural pollution and categorized as one of the 'foreign social evils.' Earlier in the same year, prior to the above Congress, a move against shopfront signage bearing foreign names had been made in Hanoi and later spread south to Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), the largest commercial centre of the country. The campaign was recorded by Jeremy Grant, in the Financial Times (London) issued on 9 February 1996, that shopkeepers were requested to remove all shopfront signs using foreign languages within a short notice of ten days or else they would face a fine.

More than two decades have passed since 1996 when the alleged violations of business owners in the use of foreign languages on shop fronts in Hanoi were addressed and remedied. Walking the streets of the city today, one is surrounded by a myriad of shop signs, many of which boast partial or whole content in English. The developing orientation towards a more modern and cosmopolitan city is also designated by the visibility of other high-cultural-capital European languages, such as French and Italian. Additionally, there is no shortage of street advertisements using the languages of major Asian economies which are considered symbols of modernity in the region such as Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan. This reality illustrates how *đổi mới* has been executed by the government, a major accomplishment of which is the diversification of economic relationships with potential counterparts regardless of differences in ideological bases. It seems that the worry, according to Ton (2005), about 'the mosquitoes and flies' accompanying foreign capitalist dollars has given way to the priorities for global integration and economic development.

However, the LL takes its shape not only from top-down interference or management, but also from the, if not to say 'major,' contribution at bottom-up levels or the people. Therefore, one may be inquisitive about the participatory role of the people and what they have contributed to bring the currently diverse LL configuration into shape. From the display of written language in the streets, it seems that the LL of Hanoi, with visible influences from reform and globalization, shows a proclivity for modernity and a pursuit of cosmopolitanism, a common motif for globalizing cities in the region. Such a reality may suggest that Vietnamese people have ostensibly prioritized economic development over the needs to preserve cultural tradition and identity. Mindful of this pragmatic and/or ideological motivation, this dissertation carries out an investigation into language displays in Hanoi's public spaces in order to understand the people's language ideologies underlying the shaping of current LL configuration, which subsequently becomes the premise to look further into how they are (re)constructing their own identities in accordance with the course of national reform.

2.6 Introducing research questions

The aforementioned diversity of language use observed in the public spaces of Hanoi suggests a less 'xenophobic' attitude towards capitalism and an inclination to open to the world at large to reach economic efficiency and global integration, which makes it reasonable to ask whether these changes indicate a possible alteration of language ideology and a reconstruction of cultural identity. Specifically, this dissertation is going to ask the following questions: (1) What can the use of language (with other accompanied semiotic resources) on signage in public spaces reveal about the language ideologies of Vietnamese people? (2) How can these language ideologies help understand the identities of Vietnamese people in the time of reform and globalization?

Based on the premise that language ideologies underpin language use (Makihara & Schieffelin, 2007), the first research question is designed to look into the representation, whether explicit or implicit, of the people's language ideologies when they choose to make (in)visible certain languages and display some particular arrangements of Vietnamese, English and other foreign languages on signage. This is done alongside an analysis of other semiotic resources such as images and additional visual displays on signs (to be elaborated in Chapter 3). With reference to the linguistic history deeply reflecting its political relations (Denham, 1992; Doan et al., 2018; Phan et al., 2014) and the unchallenged status of Vietnamese as the official language and the symbol of national identity (see Nguyen, 2016), an analysis of written language in public spaces with an eye to the visibility of English, and other foreign languages, helps understand more thoroughly the (dis)continuity of language ideologies in present-day Vietnam.

While there is nothing special about the visibility of English in urban spaces worldwide these days, the unprecedented ubiquity of English on commercial signage in Hanoi is worth an attention, since it is the capital of a country whose aforementioned move against English and other foreign language shop signs indicates that the post-war anti-American ideology had been extended into the Western capitalist sphere and the English language. Likewise, the remaining of Sino-script (*chữ Hán*), the addition of traditional Chinese characters (used by Cantonese Chinese communities in Hong Kong and Taiwan), the resurgence of French after having been made almost invisible from public view since the late 1950s, and lastly, but not the least, the inroads of Japanese and especially Korean in public spaces serve as the backdrop against which the first research question investigates possible changes in language ideologies of Vietnamese people.

Since language ideologies also undergird the notion of personal and group identities and therefore are productively used to construct social and cultural identities (Kroskrity, 2006; Makihara & Schieffelin, 2007), the second research question explores the intersection of language, ideology and identity. The display of written language in public spaces not only indexes language ideologies of the people but also indicates their corresponding identities. In this dissertation, the social practice of 'displaying' written language on signage by language users is not perceived as reflecting their preexisting identities, but instead participating in a continuous process of (re)constructing their social/cultural identities. This approach renders a look into the identity construction of Vietnamese people in the dynamics of reform and globalization. The literature of LL research has shown its potential in providing insights into the process of identity construction in public spheres (see Aristova, 2016; Kasanga, 2010; Manan et al., 2015; Taylor-Leech, 2012; Tran, 2021; Trumper-Hecht, 2009). This dissertation is intended to make further contribution in this direction in order to elucidate the relation between language ideology and identity construction.

Chapter 3 Ethnographic linguistic landscape data and approach

This chapter focuses on research methodology. It discusses three neighbourhoods under investigation, the procedure of ethnographic observation and LL data collection, and the analytical frameworks used for LL data analysis. More specifically, it is arranged as follows.

First, I start by locating three neighbourhoods under investigation, introducing the distinctiveness of their historical and demographic backgrounds, and explicating why they all together make up a research site that can represent the diversity of Hanoi's cultural landscape.

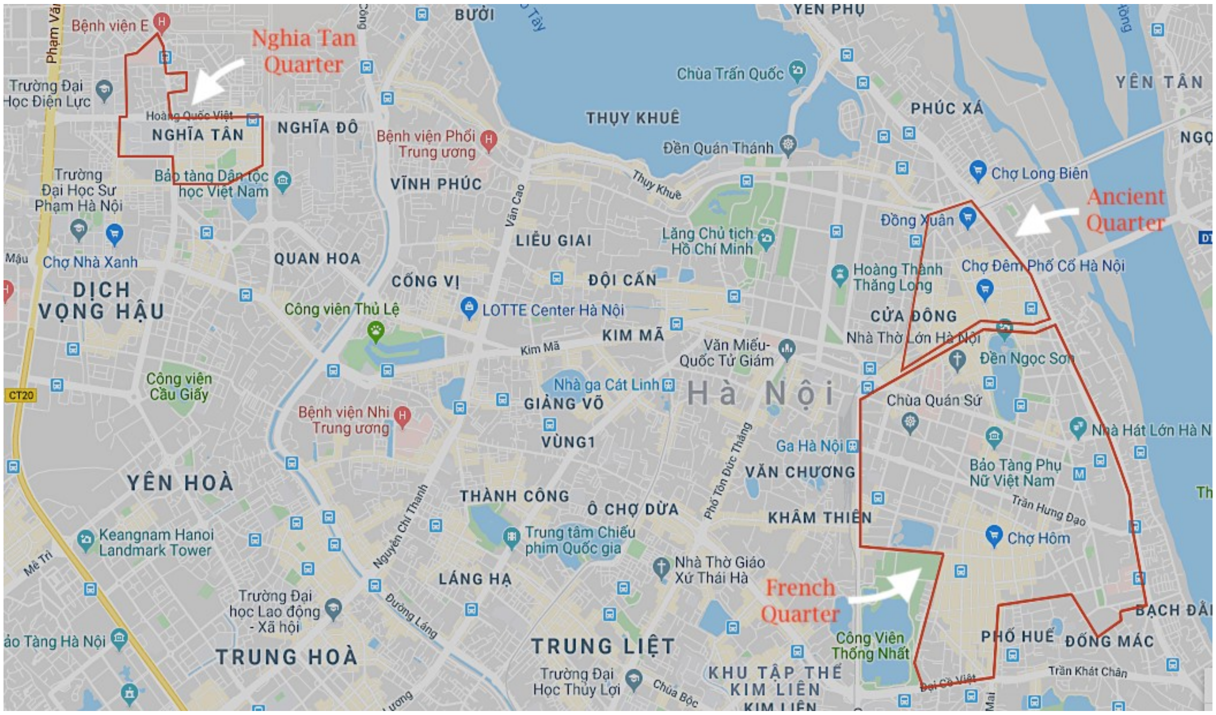
Then I proceed to describe the process of data collection and ethnographic observation carried out in these three research neighbourhoods before providing an account of the collected LL data. This account provides a bird's-eye view of the visible languages in the data. It is intended to show how the applied ethnographic approach can provide a historical look into language use on signage through an identification of different language layers, trends, and tendencies.

Afterwards, I elaborate on the two employed theoretical and analytical approaches and later explicate why a combination of them provides better tools for the analysis of LL data in this dissertation. Accordingly, this section not only introduces the two ethnographic approaches of geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and ELLA (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019) separately but also explain how they support each other in studying the meaning of signs in public spaces.

In the last section, I introduce in detail elements in the two analytical frameworks of geosemiotics and ELLA before moving on to illustrate how they are utilized to perform the analysis of LL signs. For the purpose of demonstration, I present a sample analysis of a shop sign taken from the collected data to illustrate how different analytical elements from these two frameworks work together to facilitate a more insightful understanding of this particular sign. Now I begin by introducing the three research neighbourhoods.

3.1 Locating the research site

The research site includes three neighbourhoods: the Ancient quarter, the French quarter and the new quarter of Nghĩa Tân, which are differentiated by two main criteria: historical background and demography. The choice of these three distinctive neighbourhoods aims to represent in the most appropriate way the diversity of the historical, socioeconomic, and cultural landscape of the whole city. A detailed description of each neighbourhood is provided hereafter.


Nghia Tan Quarter
Ancient Quarter
French Quarter
NGHĨA TÂN
NGHĨA ĐÔ
BƯỞI
YÊN PHỤ
THỤY KHUÊ
PHÚC XÁ
YÊN TÂN
VĨNH PHÚC
LIỄU GIAI
QUAN HOA
DỊCH VỌNG HẬU
CỐNG VỊ
ĐỘI CẤN
KIM MÃ
CỬA ĐÔNG
GIẢNG VÕ
VÙNG1
Hà Nội
VĂN CHƯƠNG
KHÂM THIÊN
YÊN HOÀ
THÀNH CÔNG
Ô CHỢ DỪA
LÁNG HẠ
TRUNG LIỆT
TRUNG HOÀ
KHU TẬP THỂ KIM LIÊN
PHỐ HUẾ
ĐỒNG MÁC
BẠCH ĐẰ
Bệnh viện E
Chùa Trấn Quốc
Đền Quán Thánh
Chợ Long Biên
Đồng Xuân
Chợ Đêm Phố Cổ Hà Nội
Hoàng Thành Thăng Long
Nhà Thờ Lớn Hà Nội
Đền Ngọc Sơn
Chùa Quán Sứ
Văn Miếu-Quốc Tử Giám
Lăng Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh
LOTTE Center Hà Nội
Công viên Thủ Lệ
Nhà ga Cát Linh
Ga Hà Nội
Bảo Tàng Phụ Nữ Việt Nam
Chợ Hôm
Công Viên Thống Nhất
Nhà Thờ Giáo Xứ Thái Hà
Trung tâm Chiếu phim Quốc gia
Bệnh viện Nhi Trung ương
Bệnh viện Phổi Trung ương
Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam
Trường Đại Học Điện Lực
Trường Đại Học Sư Phạm Hà Nội
Chợ Nhà Xanh
Công viên Cầu Giấy
Keangnam Hanoi Landmark Tower
Trường Đại học Lao động - Xã hội
Trường Đại Học Thủy Lợi
Nhà Hát Lớn Hà N
Trần Hưng Đạo
Trần Khát Chân

Map 3.1 Three neighbourhoods under research (Source: Google Maps 2018)

3.1.1 Ancient quarter

The Ancient quarter (*phố cổ*)[14] is the oldest residential and commercial area of Hanoi. It has a history dating back to the eleventh century when the city was chosen as the capital of Vietnam. The neighbourhood embodies the ethos of Kẻ Chợ[15], the Market or Commoner's City, which together with the Citadel or Imperial City had made up two essential parts of the former ancient city. This two-component structure is indicated in the Vietnamese term *thành thị* (town or city) which is the juxtaposition of *thành* (citadel) and *thị* (market). Since the Citadel was mostly destroyed by the French during the 1894-1897 period, the Ancient quarter with its thirty-six guild streets[16] is what remains of the early Hanoi's residential and commercial landscape and it is still the heart and soul of the whole city today (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002; Logan, 2000; Waibel, 2004).

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[14] The term Ancient quarter *(phố cổ)* is used to differentiate with the Old quarter (*phố cũ*) which is normally used by local residents to refer to the French quarter.

[15] The name Kẻ Chợ, literally means 'People of the Market,' has been used unofficially since the 13th century to refer to the hustling marketplace which is presently the Ancient quarter. During the 16th and 17th centuries, this name was used popularly by Western traders and merchants.

The layout of thirty-six guild streets took its shape in the fifteenth century with each guild being inhabited by people coming from the same village, sharing the same profession, and practicing the same trade (Huu Ngoc, 2009). This is reflected in the names of these streets many of which combine the prefix *hàng* (goods) with the names of certain goods (for instance, *hàng đường*, literrally means *goods sugar*, specializes in selling sugar and sweets). During the colonial period (1873-1945), the physiognomic appearance of this quarter changed with the construction of drainage system, the upgrading of street networks, and most importantly the dismantling of the gates that closed one guild from the others (Logan, 2000; Weibel, 2004). The deletion of physical boundaries between guilds has created favourable conditions for better linkages among them and became the premise for significant subsequent changes in this quarter's structure. In the post-reform years, only a few of these guild streets can retain their former professions and trades. Even within the remaining guild streets, there has been a significant restructuration with traditional trades having shrunk to save space for new forms of business. In the silversmiths' guild street of *hàng bạc*, for instance, one can find apart from stores that sell silver articles and jewllery a bunch of cafés, boutiques, mini hotels, mobile phone accessories stores, etc.

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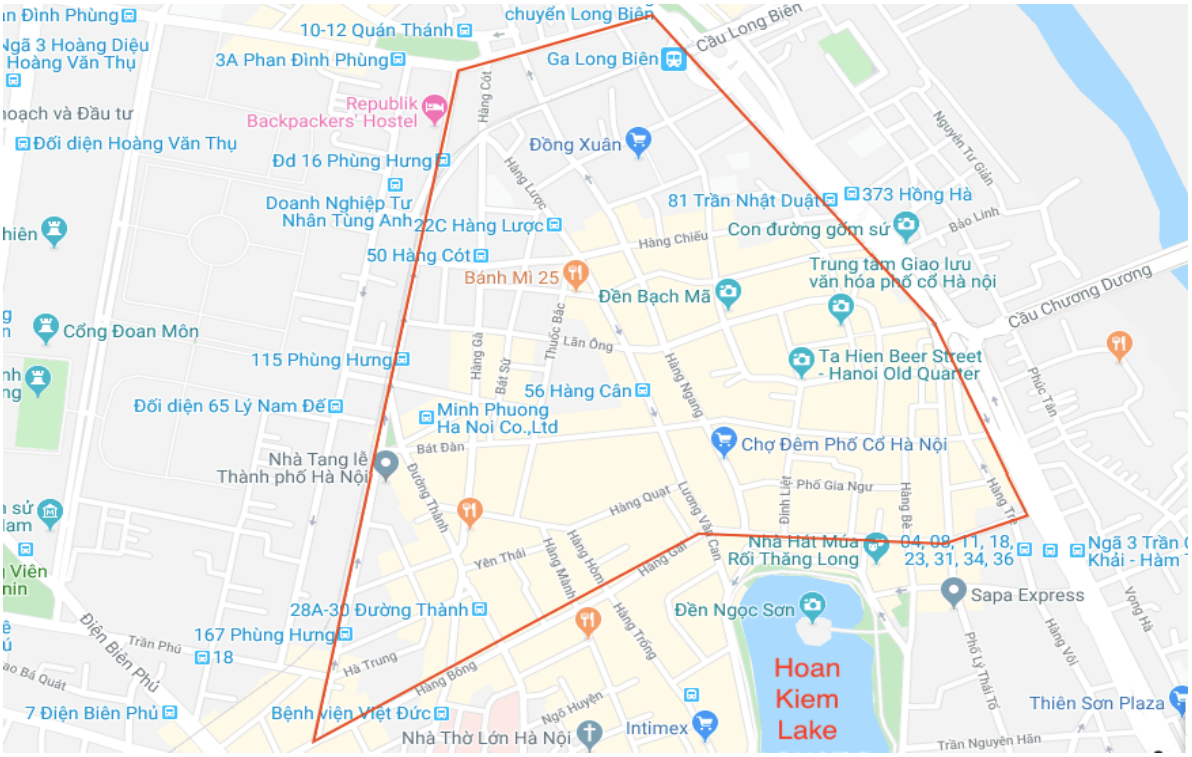
[16] Guild streets in the Ancient quarter of Hanoi possess many similarities in comparison with medieval guild streets in Central Europe (Waibel, 2004).


Hoan Kiem Lake
Cầu Long Biên
Ga Long Biên
Đồng Xuân
Cầu Chương Dương
Chợ Đêm Phố Cổ Hà Nội
Ta Hien Beer Street - Hanoi Old Quarter
Đền Ngọc Sơn
Nhà Hát Múa Rối Thăng Long
Đền Bạch Mã
Trung tâm Giao lưu văn hóa phố cổ Hà nội
Con đường gốm sứ
Nhà Thờ Lớn Hà Nội
Bệnh viện Việt Đức
Republik Backpackers' Hostel
Sapa Express
Thiên Sơn Plaza
Intimex

Map 3.2 Ancient quarter (Source: Google Maps 2018)

Despite these changes, the Ancient quarter these days still retains its vibrancy and has probably the highest density of trade activities in SEA with an estimation of over ninety-five percent of retail outlets having a sales space of less than fifty square metres (Waibel, 2004). The design of Chinese 'shophouses' (or 'compartment' houses), which is the most popular architectural style in this neighbourhood, enables all the front portions contiguous to the streets to become business outlets while the rear portions to be used for residence (Nguyen, 2008). Therefore, the whole quarter is a large commercial-cum-residential neighbourhood which has the most complicated web of traders, artisans, residents, frequenters, customers, and visitors. It is where one may come across Hanoi people of different walks of life, from a rich middle-aged lady coming here to enjoy a lazy afternoon in a trendy beauty spa to a student gathering with his cohort for a cheap cold beer in an outdoor beer parlour or a hawker walking the streets all day to sell one or two baskets of fruit.

It was estimated that in 1995 the Ancient quarter had the most densely populated area in SEA with a living space per person falling to a minimum of 1.5 square metre (Waibel, 2004). According to a calculation in 2000, over half a million people moved in and out of this neighbourhood daily (Logan, 2000). Even though a number of residents who could afford larger houses in new and gentrified areas of the city have moved out of this quarter in recent years, the hustle and bustle of the neighbourhood remains, if not to say grows even more intense. With a proliferation of sidewalk cafés, restaurants, bars, pubs, and mini hotels, the neighbourhood has turned into a favoured hangout place for local residents from other neighbourhoods and a popular destination for an ever-increasing number of visitors.

3.1.2 French quarter

Hanoi enjoyed its official status as the capital of French Indochina, which was comprised of Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchina[17], Laos and Cambodia, from 1887 until 1945. It was also the period that witnessed the French performing their *mission civilisatrice* to design, construct and consolidate urbanization with an aim to turn Hanoi into the *Paris de l'Annam* (Logan, 2000; Nguyen, 2008). Similar to other colonial cities in Asia, Hanoi was developed into a 'dual' or 'bipolar' city with the indigenous town (presently the Ancient quarter) sitting side by side with the modern town (presently the French quarter), a plan belonged to the renowned urbanist Ernes Hébrard who was dubbed Haussmann in the colonies (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002). The neighbourhood of what is often referred to now as the French quarter (local residents also call it 'the old quarter') is located to the south of Hoàn Kiếm Lake ('Sword-Returned Lake')[18] within the area of Hoàn Kiếm and Hai Bà Trưng districts[19] (Hanoi Municipal People's Committee, 2015; Nguyen, 2008). The quarter is characterized by wide streets with pavements on each side and two lines of trees. A considerable number of housing blocks or detached villas used for colonial settlers still remain.

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[17] Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina were used respectively by the French to call the North, the Centre and the South of Vietnam.

[18] Hoàn Kiếm Lake is an iconic site located in the city's centre (see chapter 1).

In addition, the French quarter also includes an important area lying to the east and west of Hoàn Kiếm Lake (Nguyen, 1996). Since this area is adjacent to the Ancient quarter, it is also considered the buffer zone where the Ancient and French quarters meet and mix with each other (Huu Ngoc, 2010). Because of the location near Hoàn Kiếm Lake and its symbolic Tortoise Stupa[20], this area has been not only culturally significant but also ideologically sensitive. It is where iconic constructions of the feudal times were demolished and replaced by colonial-era ones. During colonialism, the French reconstructed this area, erected iconic buildings and statues, and showcased colonial symbols including the widely denounced placement of the Statue of Liberty Illuminating the World (a small replica of the one in New York) on top of the Tortoise Stupa (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002). After Vietnam declared its independence, the national flag was seen flying on top of this stupa for the first time in 1948. What remains in this area these days carries the spirit of a 'little Paris' with French-style buildings and parks being kept either untouched or modified. The area also houses upmarket hotels, a theatre, a church, art galleries, and commercial streets lined with posh malls, shops, and cafés.

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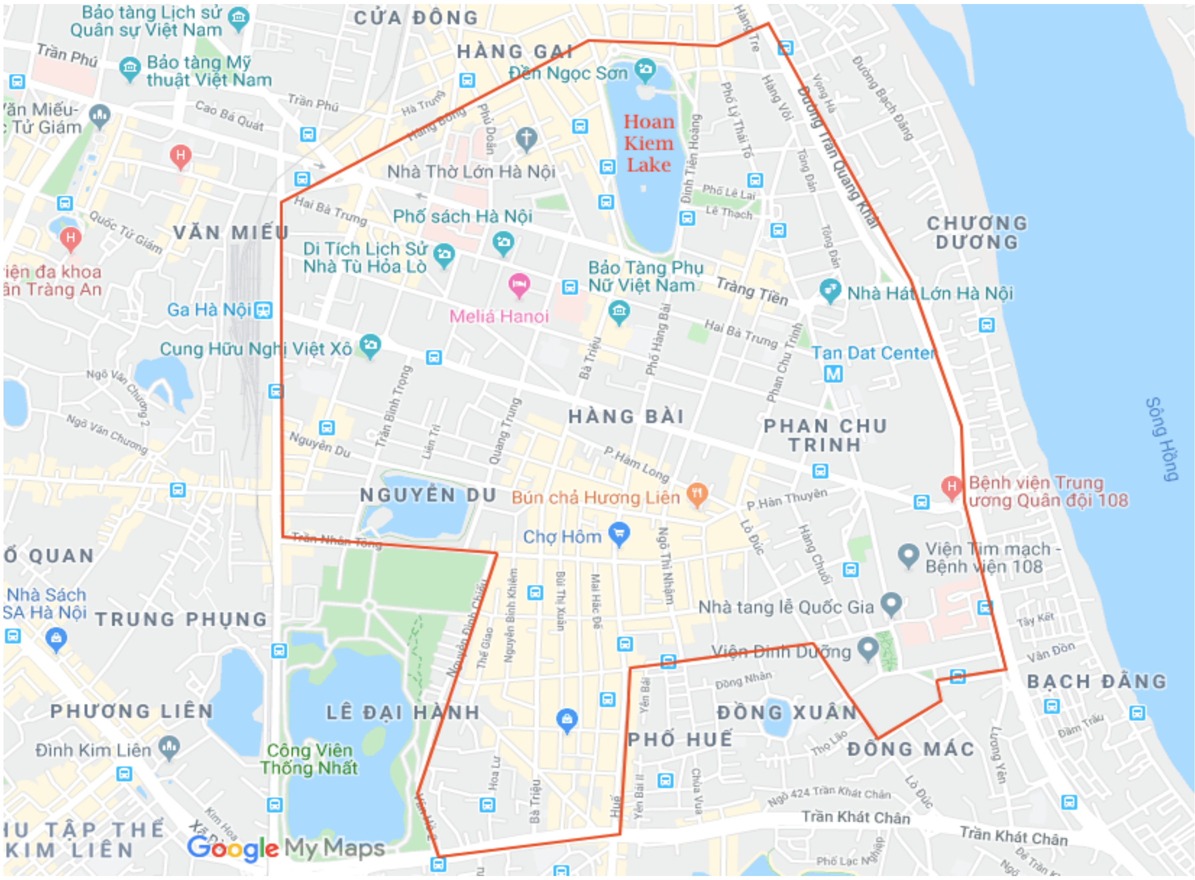
[19] The French quarter also covers an area in Ba Đình district near the former Imperial Citadel. This area, which is presently the government district, is not covered in this dissertation.

[20] The Tortoise Stupa (Tháp Rùa) was built on a small islet in the middle of Hoàn Kiếm Lake. For many Hanoians, it is an unofficial symbol of the city comparable to the Eiffel Tower for Parisians or the Statute of Liberty for New Yorkers (Huu Ngoc, 2010)


Bảo tàng Lịch sử Quân sự Việt Nam
CỬA ĐÔNG
HÀNG GAI
Đền Ngọc Sơn
Trần Phú
Bảo tàng Mỹ thuật Việt Nam
Văn Miếu-Tử Giám
Cao Bá Quát
Hoan Kiem Lake
Đường Trần Quang Khải
Đường Bạch Đằng
Nhà Thờ Lớn Hà Nội
Phố sách Hà Nội
VĂN MIẾU
Di Tích Lịch Sử Nhà Tù Hỏa Lò
Bảo Tàng Phụ Nữ Việt Nam
Tràng Tiền
Nhà Hát Lớn Hà Nội
CHƯƠNG DƯƠNG
Ga Hà Nội
Melià Hanoi
Hai Bà Trưng
Cung Hữu Nghị Việt Xô
Tan Dat Center
HÀNG BÀI
PHAN CHU TRINH
Sông Hồng
NGUYỄN DU
Bún chả Hương Liên
Bệnh viện Trung ương Quân đội 108
Chợ Hôm
Viện Tim mạch - Bệnh viện 108
TRUNG PHỤNG
Nhà tang lễ Quốc Gia
Viện Đinh Dưỡng
BẠCH ĐẰNG
PHƯƠNG LIÊN
LÊ ĐẠI HÀNH
ĐỒNG XUÂN
PHỐ HUẾ
ĐỒNG MÁC
Đình Kim Liên
Công Viên Thống Nhất
Trần Khát Chân
KIM LIÊN
Google My Maps

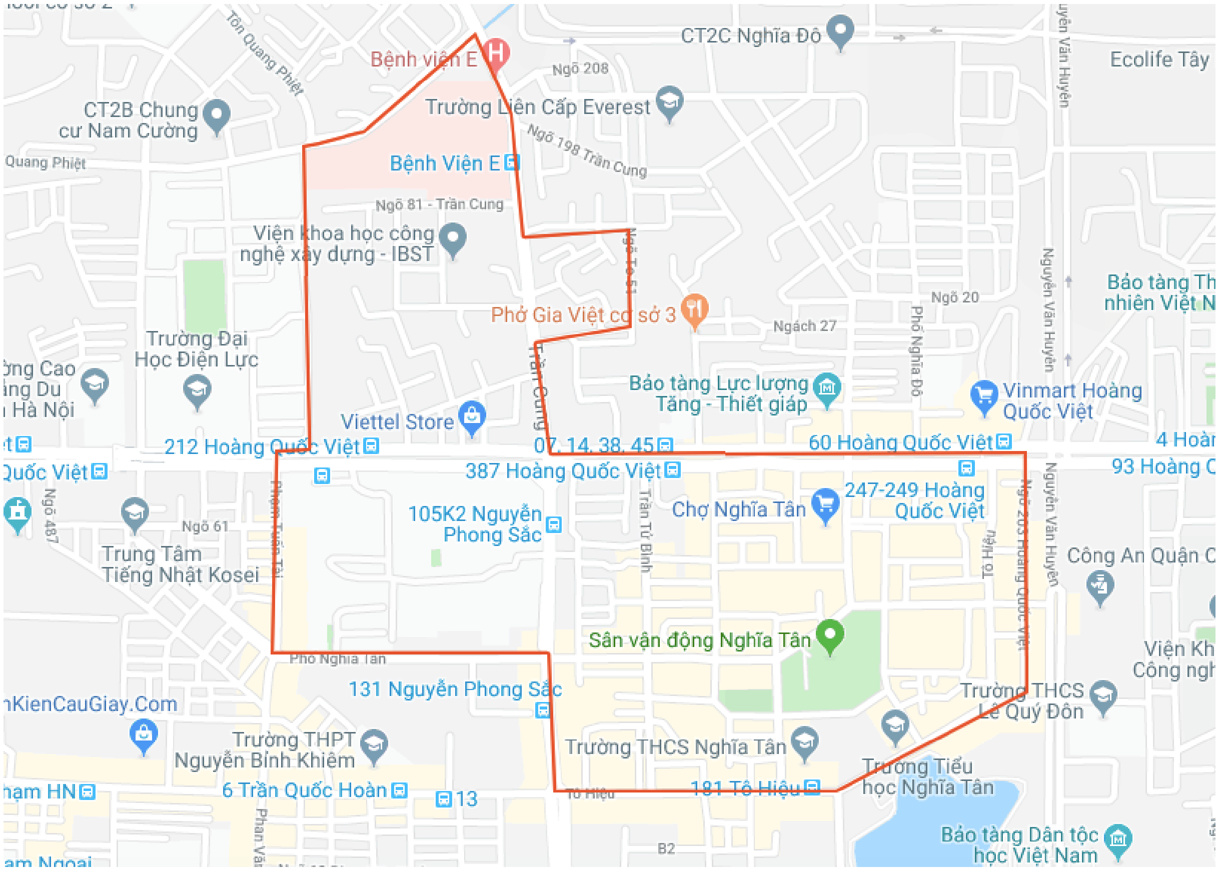
Map 3.3 French Quarter (Source: Google Maps 2018)

After the launching of reform, the French quarter has developed into a quasi-central business district (Nguyen, 2008; Waibei, 2002). Apart from the concentration of international, national and municipal offices and financial institutions, the neighbourhood also enjoys an exuberant atmosphere of commercial activities thanks to wider street patterns and more spacious business outlets. It is also a large residential area with residents consisting mainly of civil servants, government employees, craftsmen, tradesmen, and shopkeepers. Possessing a strategic location with favourable conditions in living and doing business, this neighbourhood is the convergence of middle-class inhabitants in the post-reform period. However, high population density in this neighbourhood is also a problem due to an overlap of commercial, home-production and residential activities (Parenteau et al., 1995). French villas built before 1945 for one household now accommodate from five up to more than ten households (Nguyen, 1996), some of which even house small cafés, boutiques, and handicraft workshops inside. Therefore, even though the French quarter has the physiognomy of a Western-imposed town, it is localized in many respects and carries deep down inside the spirit of its local residents.

3.1.3 New quarter

The new quarter chosen is located to the west of central Hanoi. It has officially adopted the administrative name of Nghĩa Tân from the municipal government since 1992. This quarter had formerly been a suburban area inhabited by villagers. After the French colonialists withdrew from North Vietnam in 1954, in an effort to expand the capital of the then new independent nation-state to serve economic reconstruction and human settlement, factories and residential apartments started being built in this quarter using financial aids from the Soviet Union.

Until the 1980s, the construction of this quarter as well as other parts of Hanoi, which came under the Soviet Union's tutelage with influences from Marxist socialist ideology, belonged to an overall plan to build a 'City of Socialist Man' (Logan, 2000). The erection of an ensemble of Soviet-style medium-rise apartment blocks whose flats were assigned to workers and government employees in 1985 was a turning point marking the urbanization of this quarter. Apart from these housing blocks, other elements that have contributed to its development into a 'living quarter' following the 'microrayon' (micro-region) concept of the Soviet Union include parks and open spaces, a stadium for sports and cultural activities, and schools and kindergartens. However, few commercial activities had been developed due to a suppression of private economy and a deliberate elimination of 'consumer town' during the pre-reform period (Dao, 1980). In 1996, ten years following the application of reform policy, a twenty-five-meterwide street connecting this quarter to the west of central Hanoi was opened, which has ever since created favourable conditions for commercial activities and led to the neighbourhood's gentrification.


Bệnh viện E
Tôn Quang Phiệt
Ngõ 208
CT2C Nghĩa Đô
Ecolife Tây
CT2B Chung
cư Nam Cường
Trường Liên Cấp Everest
Ngõ 198 Trần Cung
Quang Phiệt
Bệnh Viện E
Ngõ 81 - Trần Cung
Viện khoa học công
nghệ xây dựng - IBST
Ngõ To 51
Phở Gia Việt cơ sở 3
Ngõ 20
Ngách 27
Phố Nghĩa Đô
Nguyễn Văn Huyên
Bảo tàng Th
nhiên Việt N
Trường Đại
Học Điện Lực
Bảo tàng Lực lượng
Tăng - Thiết giáp
Trần Cung
Vinmart Hoàng
Quốc Việt
Viettel Store
212 Hoàng Quốc Việt
07, 14, 38, 45
60 Hoàng Quốc Việt
4 Hoà
93 Hoàng Q
387 Hoàng Quốc Việt
Quốc Việt
Ngõ 487
Ngõ 61
105K2 Nguyễn
Phong Sắc
Trần Tử Bình
Chợ Nghĩa Tân
247-249 Hoàng
Quốc Việt
Ngõ 203 Hoàng Quốc Việt
Tô Hiệu
Phạm Tuấn Tài
Trung Tâm
Tiếng Nhật Kosei
Công An Quận C
Sân vận động Nghĩa Tân
Viện Kh
Công ngh
Phố Nghĩa Tân
131 Nguyễn Phong Sắc
KienCauGiay.Com
Trường THCS
Lê Quý Đôn
Trường THPT
Nguyễn Bỉnh Khiêm
Trường THCS Nghĩa Tân
Trường Tiểu
học Nghĩa Tân
6 Trần Quốc Hoàn
13
181 Tô Hiệu
Tô Hiệu
B2
Phan Văn
Bảo tàng Dân tộc
học Việt Nam

Map 3.4 New Quarter (Source: Google Maps 2018)

Nghĩa Tân has recently been known as a lively residential quarter located adjacent to national and municipal institutions, universities and academic institutes, hospitals, malls and supermarkets, and major arteries one of which connecting to Nội Bài international airport. The neighbourhood with its advantageous location has now boasted a more varied and populous residential community consisting of not just a homogeneity of government employees and workers but also small business owners, shopkeepers, scholars, and students. Commercial activities in the neighbourhood have also burgeoned. The first floor of old Soviet-style apartment blocks has been renovated and turned into business outlets. A formerly half-day traditional market now runs from early morning until dusk. Cafés, restaurants and convenient stores are flourishing to cater for the needs of not just the quarter's residents but also office workers, university students and residents living in neighbouring high-rise apartments. A proliferation of bookstores, fashion boutiques, hair and beauty salons, and mini hotels has also contributed to the commercial vibrancy of this neighbourhood.

The new quarter chosen embodies the spirit of urban planning, infrastructural construction, and economic development of Hanoi in postcolonial time under the socialist state's leadership. The development of this quarter exemplifies urban sprawl and the urbanization of suburban villages surrounding the city centre. In addition, this new quarter has been developed during two important historical periods following national independence: the pre-reform period (1954-1986) with significant influences from the socialist Soviet Union and the reform-cum-globalization period (1986-present) with a resilient revitalization of private economy and a more open attitude of the society towards capitalism and the West. Therefore, Nghĩa Tân, together with the Ancient and French quarters, forms a comprehensive picture representing in an appropriate way the culturally diverse landscape of Hanoi throughout its major historical and ideological chapters.

3.2 Ethnographic linguistic landscape data

The photographic data was collected in two different periods. The first phase of data collection was carried out in the Ancient and French quarters in the summer 2018 and the second one took place in the new quarter in the summer 2019. During these two data collection periods, I paid recurrent visits to each neighbourhood to walk the streets and take photos of language use on signage and perform ethnographic observation. The ethnographic observation section includes but is not limited to taking fieldnotes of the places where photos of signage are located and engaging in informal conversation with local residents to get to know not only about the specific histories of these particular places and the people involved, but also about the broader historical backgrounds of these neighbourhoods and the socio-demographic characteristics of the residents there. In case of commercial signs, I might play the role of a customer to perform further observation inside the stores to get more information on other relevant linguistic and non-linguistic practices of business establishments whose signs are under investigation.

In addition, the ethnographic observation is also expanded to the cyberspace with relevant consultation of websites and social media platforms of the commercial and non-commercial establishments under research. The virtual ethnography is intended to deal with the social practice of posting, sharing and disseminating texts, images and other semiotic resources of those establishments online. Since such dissemination of information in the cyberspace may involve more social actors who participate in digital practices and hence are not limited by whether they have or have not been to the actual position of those establishments in the physical world, it can accumulate further meanings that transverse the line between the physically local and digitally translocal worlds. Further details as to how this virtual ethnographic segment provides a more meaningful analysis of signs in the physical world will be discussed in Section 3.3.2 below.

Among three quarters under investigation, the French quarter covers a rather large area, which therefore needs some delimitation to render the data collection feasible within the timeline of this dissertation. In order to collect the photographic data and perform ethnographic observation in this quarter, I started with an area to the west and east of Hoàn Kiếm Lake since it was here in 1874 that the Nguyen Dynasty of Vietnam had granted the first French colonialists a land area stretching 18.5 hectares known as Concession District (Logan, 2000; Nguyen, 2008). From here, I continued southward along one of the major north-south streets called Phố Huế (Hue Street), which links the French quarter with Hoàn Kiếm Lake and the Ancient quarter. Being constructed during the colonial time under the name Rue de Hue, presently Phố Huế is one of the major and most favourable shopping streets for local residents in the French quarter. This street alongside an adjacent neighbourhood to its southwest is not only characterized by commercial activity vibrancy but also local resident diversity, which is favourably aligned with the intended research direction of this dissertation.

For the purpose of studying the people's language ideologies, I focused on taking photos of mostly but not limited to language use on commercial signs of privately owned stores. A total number of 278 photographs have been collected, which are distributed among three neighbourhoods as follows: 96 photographs are in the Ancient quarter, 132 in the French quarter, and 50 in the new quarter (see Table 3.1 below). With respect to sign categories, 110 out of 278 belong to the category of cafés, restaurants, bars, and other types of food and beverage shops (see Table 3.2 below). This is also the category that has the biggest number of signs under investigation. The category of fashion and beauty, which includes clothes shops and boutiques, beauty spas, and stores providing other services such as barber and tattoo, has 89 signs. Another number of 54 signs are distributed among other business categories including convenient stores, pharmacies, flower stores, private schools, stationery stores, home furniture and accessories, laundries, tobacco stores, mini hotels, and guest houses, etc. And the remaining number of 25 photos consist of other types of language displays which can be categorized as non-commercial signs. This group contains, for instance, signs on monuments and buildings, commemorative plagues, street signs, etc. These language displays are taken into account since they are closely linked to the people's linguistic and non-linguistic practices and hence have possibility to contribute further understanding of their language ideologies.

Table 3.1 Distribution of signs by quarters

Ancient quarter	French quarter	New quarter	Total
96	132	50	278

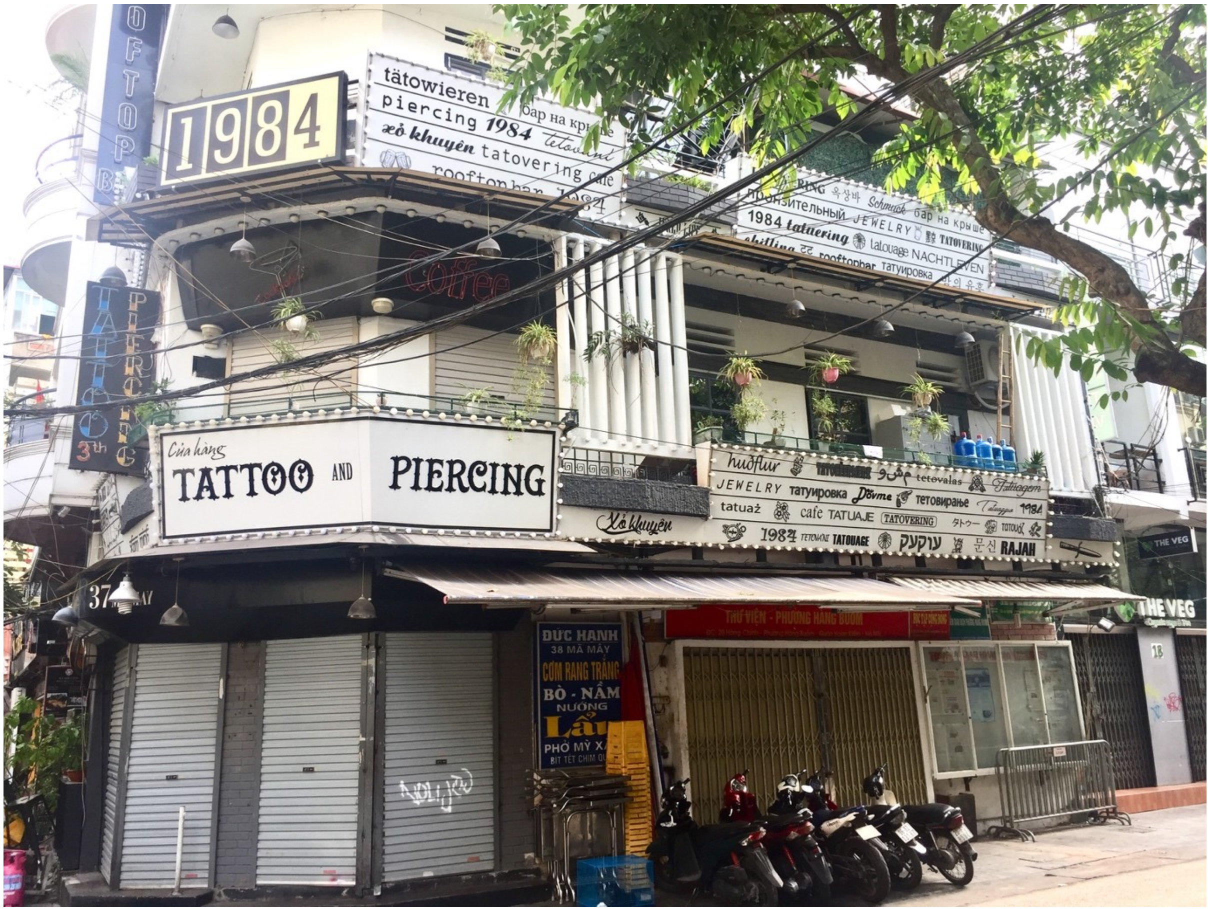
Table 3.2 Distribution of signs by categories

Food and beverage shop signs	Fashion and beauty shop signs	Other types of shop signs	Non-commercial signs	Total number of signs
110	89	54	25	278

Table 3.3 Distribution of signs by number of languages

Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Total
98	136	44	278

The languages in the collected data include Vietnamese, English, French, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Hindi, Arabic, Latin and Esperanto. The list would have ended here if it had not been for the signs of a rooftop bar-cum-tattoo parlour in Figure 3.1 below. This single establishment showcases 21 languages on its shopfront. (There may probably be one or two more languages, but they are either partially or fully blocked from view and hence cannot be identified.) Apart from the languages listed above (including Vietnamese, English, French, Chinese, Italian, Korean, Japanese, Spanish, and Hindi), its shopfront also showcases other languages such as German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak, Portuguese, Icelandic, and Afrikaans. The contents in most of these languages mainly repeat either the term *tattoo* or *piercing* or sometimes both, but some languages also cover other terms like *rooftop bar*, *nightlife,* and *jewelry*. Apart from this special case, there are a total of 136 bilingual and 43 multilingual (more than two languages) signs in the collected data. Of the latter group, 39 signs are trilingual and 4 are quadrilingual (see Table 3.3 above).



1984
tätowieren
бар на крыше
piercing 1984
xỏ khuyên tatovering cafe
rooftopbar 1984
прохзительный JEWELRY
Schmuck бар на крыше
옥상바
1984 tatuering
tatouage NACHTLEVEN
rooftopbar татуировка
Coffee
TATTOO PIERCING
Cửa hàng
TATTOO AND PIERCING
Xỏ khuyên
hudflur
tetovalas
Tatuagem
JEWELRY татуировка Dövme тетовирање
tatuaż cafe TATUAJE TATOVERING 1984
タトゥー
1984 TETOVÁNÍ TATOUAGE קעקוע 문신 RAJAH
THƯ VIỆN - PHƯỜNG HÀNG BUỒM
ĐỨC HẠNH
38 MÃ MÂY
CƠM RANG TRẮNG
BÒ - NẤM
NƯỚNG
THE VEG

Figure 3.1 Languages at a rooftop bar-cum-tattoo parlour

Now I proceed with a bird's-eye view description of languages in the LL data.

Vietnamese is the most visible language in the collected data, which is predictable based on its status as the national and official language and its role as the principal language of daily communication and business transaction for a majority of local residents. The use of Vietnamese consists of some main layers and indicates a few major tendencies as follows.

First, Vietnamese secures its position on a layer of mostly monolingual signs that belong to a considerable number of old mom-and-pop stores scattered in the streets of three quarters. The reality that these stores take pride in and capitalize on an established tradition and their clientele mostly comprise of local patrons makes this Vietnamese layer rather stable. It seems that recent changes in clientele composition, owing to an increase of expatriate and tourist customers, have not necessarily led to the addition of English and/or other foreign languages onto their shopfronts (see further in Chapter 4 and 5).

Second, Vietnamese is the most frequently used language on bilingual and multilingual signs of different combinations and arrangements (such as English-Vietnamese bilingual signs or English-Japanese-Vietnamese trilingual signs), which indicates sign owners' deliberation not to leave out the language of the majority in order to reach the widest circle of customers. When Vietnamese is not seen on primary shopfront signs written in English or other foreign languages, it tends to appear on additional window signs, and sometimes temporary notices, on which shop owners provide practical information concerning opening hours, sale, recruitment, etc.

Third, Vietnamese is also added to shop signs as a way to demonstrate 'obedience' to official language policy whereby business owners are required to use Vietnamese to show local customers the types of business they run inside. For example, the use of *cửa hàng* ('shop') at the tattoo parlour in Figure 3.1 indicates an adherence to this policy, even though the information provided, which is a sort of ‘circumvention,’ is far from sufficient considering the fact that the terms *tattoo* and *piercing* are not given in Vietnamese equivalents. In some cases, owners of beauty spas, souvenir shops, restaurants, etc. display a small plaque located separately away from the primary sign, normally in a lower and less visible position, on which the required information about their business is presented in Vietnamese.

Fourth, a new layer of ‘stylized’ Vietnamese shows a tendency to leave out diacritical marks in Vietnamese script and delete spaces between one-syllable words to form ‘novel’ multi-syllable words that look ‘exotic’ for local readers. (Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language.) For instance, the name *tadioto* of a local pub actually comes from the whole Vietnamese sentence that reads *ta đi ô tô* (‘we go by car’). Also, Vietnamese name order of shopkeepers on shop signs is likely to be reversed so that the surname comes after the given name. (The surname comes first in Vietnamese.)

English is the second most visible language in the data. It proliferates with the decision to adopt a market economy and ‘untie’ private businesses, the influx of migrants and tourists, and the formation of middle class and nouveau riche. The proliferation of English stems from the following proclivities and practices: the addition of English onto the shopfronts where signs in Vietnamese have already existed, the replacement of Vietnamese and other languages on shop signs by English, and above all the display of English on a new burgeoning layer of bilingual and multilingual shop signs. On these bilingual/multilingual signs, English normally accompanies or is accompanied by Vietnamese. In addition, it also goes with other languages such as French, Italian, Korean, Chinese and Japanese in various types of combinations and arrangements.

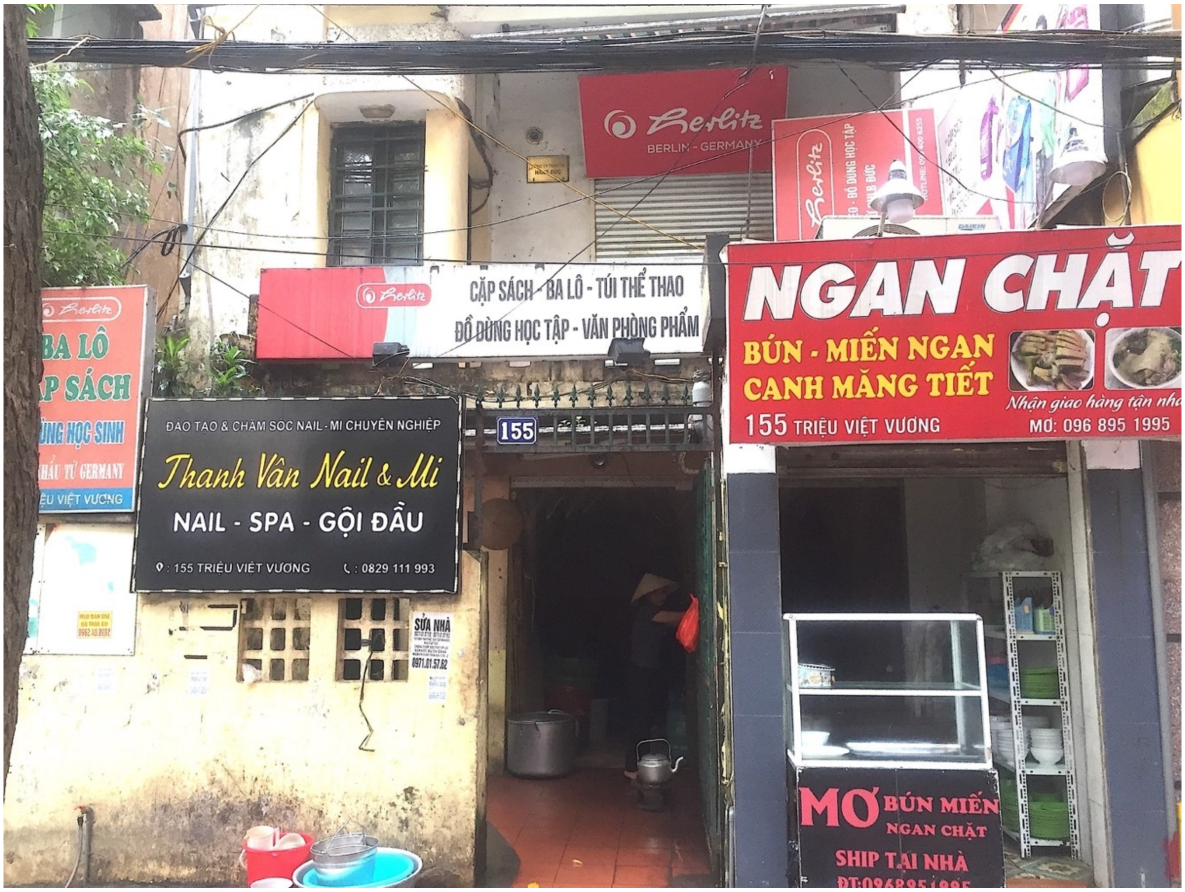

Berlitz
BERLIN - GERMANY
CẶP SÁCH - BA LÔ - TÚI THỂ THAO
ĐỒ DÙNG HỌC TẬP - VĂN PHÒNG PHẨM
NGAN CHẶT
BÚN - MIẾN NGAN
CANH MĂNG TIẾT
155 TRIỆU VIỆT VƯƠNG
MƠ: 096 895 1995
ĐÀO TẠO & CHĂM SÓC NAIL - MI CHUYÊN NGHIỆP
Thanh Vân Nail & Mi
NAIL - SPA - GỘI ĐẦU
155 TRIỆU VIỆT VƯƠNG
0829 111 993
155
BA LÔ
MƠ
BÚN MIẾN
NGAN CHẶT
SHIP TẠI NHÀ

Figure 3.2 English at a home-based beauty spa and a food stall

On the new layer of shop signs, the use of English also indicates the flows of ‘new’ goods and services, many of which had previously been unknown or had rarely been seen available in the local market before the launching of reform. A snapshot of LL configuration in Figure 3.2, for instance, indicates how the English terms *nail, spa* and *ship* mix naturally with Vietnamese on two separate shop signs: one ‘downmarket’ home-based beauty spa (which can be told based on its location) and one ‘humble’ stall selling duck noodles. In the former case, *nail* and *spa* mingle naturally with *mi* (‘eyelash’) and *gội đầu* (‘hairwash’) to compose the name and a menu of services for Thanh Vân beauty spa. In the latter case, an additional sign located below the food-keeping glass case shows a line that reads *ship tại nhà* (literally, ‘ship at home’) to inform customers of its home delivery service.

Apart from the tendency to display English words, linguistic units smaller than words are also used to 'hybridize' with local language materials, which is represented, for instance, in the name *Hanoinia* of a small T-shirt store in the Ancient quarter. In some cases, the impact of English, though indirectly, may lead to changes in Vietnamese on shop signs. The name *Dzung Biez* of a small boutique is an example. The Vietnamese name *Dung* (without 'z') – a popular local name that refers to one of the four major virtues[21] for women according to Confucian values – of the shopkeeper has been given an extra 'z' (even though 'dz' is not a consonant cluster available in Vietnamese) to avoid being assigned with an 'unpleasant' meaning if it comes into the view of English readers.

French can be divided into colonial and post-reform layers. Since the French names of streets and colonial buildings and monuments have basically been either erased or replaced by Vietnamese during the postcolonial period, there is now a very limited visibility of colonial French in public spaces. In the French quarter, one can see a monument carrying the name of Louis Pasteur, a French scientist, who had had significant contribution in disease control and healthcare improvement in the city during colonialism. It may probably because of this reason that his commemorative statue still stands today. Alexandre Yersin – another colonial scientist and friend of Annam people who was the first president of Hanoi University of Medicine – has his name given to a street in the French quarter, but it has been 'Vietnamized' into *Yec Xanh* (an effort to make it suitable for the readers of a monosyllabic language like Vietnamese). However, colonial French has been borrowed and incorporated in Vietnamese through a variety of exchanges in daily cultural practices one of which is cuisine. An outdoor food stall has a sign that reads *Bánh mỳ Patê* (Vietnamese baguettes served with pâté) (see also Chapter 1). While it is not hard to recognize the French origin of the word *patê*[22], it is however not easy, even for Vietnamese speakers, to realize that the term *bánh mỳ* itself has also been borrowed from the French *pain de mie*.

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[21] These four virtues include Công- Dung- Ngôn- Hạnh (Work- Appearance- Speech- Behaviour).

The post-reform French layer is getting more vibrant lately. The French names *La Fleur d'Amour* of a tea and coffee shop, *La Table du Chef* of a restaurant, and *Métaphore Artisan Fleuriste* of a florist are some examples. This new layer also indicates a 'colonial nostalgia'[23] through the names that reminisce readers of a colonial past. Some examples are *Porte D'Annam*, *Indochine*, and *Club De L'Oriental*. However, the resurgence of French does not mean that it has come back as a language of communication, even though Hanoi has become a member in the Francophone world and hosted the seventh summit of this organization in 1997 (the first one ever held in Asia). A collection of signs and informational plaques serving that summit still stand today in front of major historical sites in the city on which the languages were 'carefully' arranged so that French stands before and above English. However, at some of these places lately, one can see a newer layer of informational plaques with a reversed language order that prioritizes English over French.

Chinese can be divided into different layers that feature Sino-script (*chữ Hán*) and traditional and simplified Chinese characters. The pre-colonial layer of Sino-script appears mostly on old religious constructions (such as temples, pagodas, and communal houses) and historical monuments of other types. This layer embodies the influences of Sinology and Confucianism. Even though local people still take pride in this long-established Sinology tradition, few of them can read and understand Sino-script these days, which explains a common addition of informational plaques and signs in Vietnamese at these historical monuments. In three neighbourhoods under investigation, there are just a few constructions left which show the use of Sino-script in commercial activities. Five Sino-characters 同 樂 絹 𧞣 亭 (tóng lè juàn yǎn tíng)[24] (which means ‘Dong Lac Silk Undergarment House’[25]) on the front of a 17th century built house in the Ancient quarter (see Figure 3.3) indicate that it used to be a shophouse selling a type of traditional silk bodice – which resembles the Chinese dudou – for local women in the old times.

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[22] This is the conventional orthography of this word in Vietnamese. A less common variant is *pa-tê.*

[23] Colonial nostalgia or colonial blues refers to the nostalgia for a colonial past by the ex-colonized (Peleggi, 2005; see also Panivong, 1996 and Peleggi, 1996).

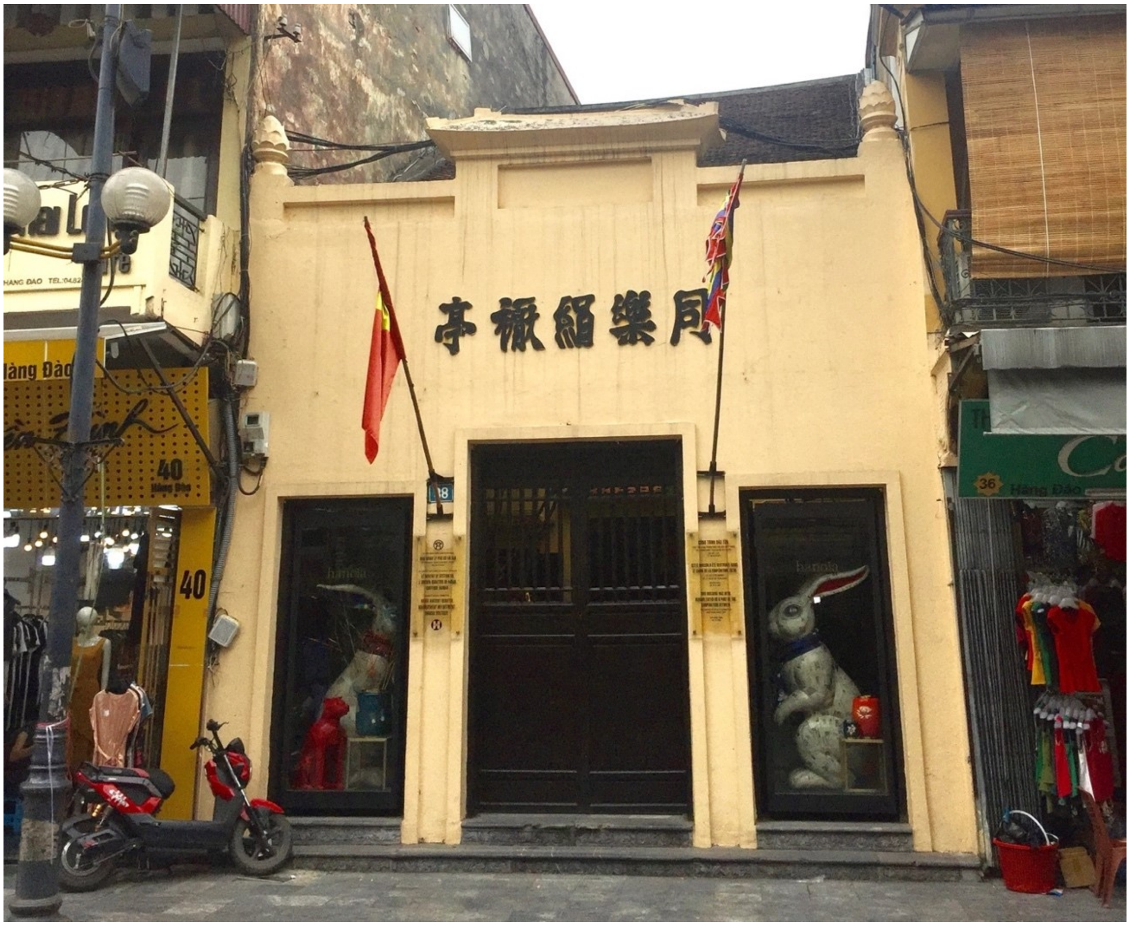

Figure 3.3 Sino-script at an old shophouse

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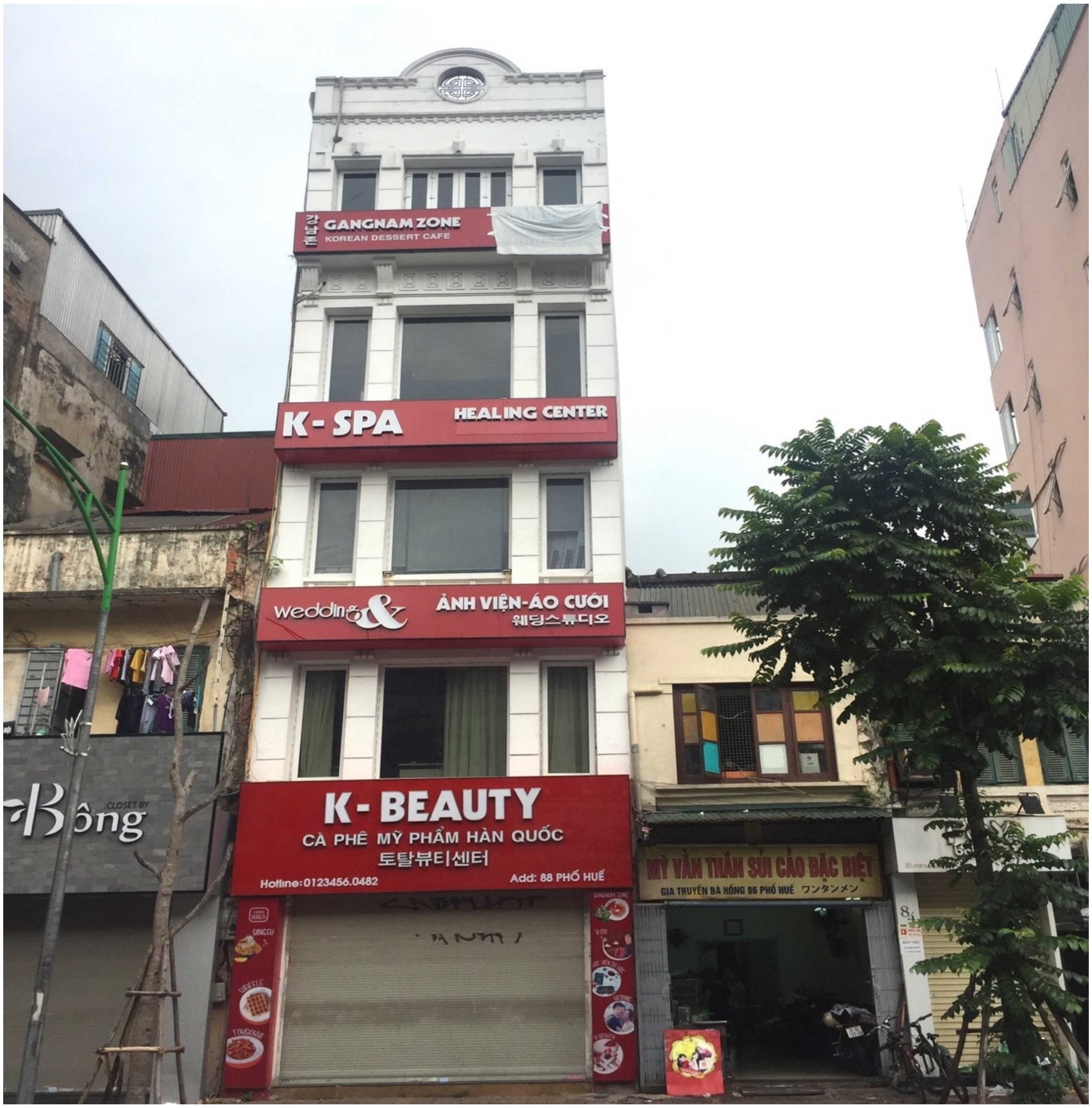
[24] On the wall of this building, these Chinese characters are written in the ‘traditional’ order from the right to the left (see Figure 3.3).

[25] People living in the neighbourhood often calls it Dong Lac Communal House, which means that it is more likely to be seen as a religious establishment rather than a former shophouse.

Traditional Chinese characters are composed of two main layers. The older one is associated with migrant communities, mostly from the two provinces of Guangdong and Fujian (China), who had lived and run business in the Ancient quarter from the 15th century until the outbreak of Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979. Even though they have now evacuated, Chinese inscriptions on shophouses are left behind. Meanwhile, some business forms inherited from these Cantonese communities are still practiced today in the streets that they had formerly congregated (for instance, shops selling accessories to practice calligraphy, stalls serving Cantonese-style noodles and roast ducks, and clinics practicing medical treatment using herbs and plants). Having taken shape lately, the new layer of traditional Chinese characters indicates a trend to consume products and services from Hong Kong and Taiwan – two symbols of modernity in the region. This Chinese layer is normally seen at the shops frequented by young locals such as bubble tea houses from Taiwan and street food restaurants from Hong Kong. Similarly, a layer of simplified Chinese characters also appears on shopfronts. However, in the collected data, this layer is not as common as the aforementioned new layer of traditional Chinese characters and is likely to be seen on the signs of small travel agencies.

Korean and Japanese are two other East Asian languages visible on shop signs as the result of recent economic and cultural influences from both countries in the region. In comparison with Japanese, Korean is becoming increasingly more visible, partly because of a recent wave of pop culture from South Korea known as Hallyu (한류) and an increase of economic ties and cultural exchanges between Hanoi and Seoul. Apart from Hangul visibility, the display of Korean-related elements including *Korean, K* and *Hàn Quốc* (the Vietnamese term for 'Korea') on shop signs, such as in *Korean food*, *K-beauty*, and *Mỹ phẩm Hàn Quốc* (Korean cosmetics), has also become rather common (see Figure 3.4). Korean is seen in broader categories of goods and services from restaurants and cafés to beauty spas, hair salons, fashion boutiques, and bars and clubs. Meanwhile, Japanese is limited mostly to the category of cafés and restaurants and a few cases of fashion boutiques and stores selling housewares and electronics imported from Japan. Both Korean and Japanese on shop signs are likely to be accompanied by English and/or Vietnamese.



GANGNAM ZONE
KOREAN DESSERT CAFE
K-SPA
HEALING CENTER
wedding &
ẢNH VIỆN-ÁO CƯỚI
웨딩스튜디오
K-BEAUTY
CÀ PHÊ MỸ PHẨM HÀN QUỐC
토탈뷰티센터
Hotline: 0123456.0482
Add: 88 PHỐ HUẾ
Bông
MỲ VẰN THẮN SỦI CẢO ĐẶC BIỆT
GIA TRUYỀN BÀ HỒNG 86 PHỐ HUẾ ワンタンメン

Figure 3.4 Hangul and Korean-related elements at a four-story shophouse

Russian has a very limited visibility in the data, despite its former status as the major foreign language in the pre-reform period during which there were frequent flows of finances, goods, people, and cultures between Hanoi and Moscow and other republics in the Soviet Union. Russian only appears alongside Vietnamese on the shop signs of two convenience stores both of which sell products imported from Russia as the content продукты из России (‘groceries from Russia’) indicates. These two stores mainly sell a variety of imported food and some souvenir. In another case, a Russian ethnic restaurant has its shop sign written in Vietnamese and English. By the same token, a souvenir shop in the Ancient quarter displays on its sign the content ‘Russian house’ written bilingually in Vietnamese and English. A few steps away in the same neighbourhood, a small shop selling Russian Matryoshka and tumbler dolls – two iconic gift toys for local children in pre-reform years – has recently shuttered its business. In the new quarter where Soviet-style apartment blocks still stand, there are no shop signs either in Russian or with Russian-related elements.

Italian is mainly used by small local shops in the categories of fashion, café and restaurant. Italian on these shop signs is normally accompanied by English. *Pane e Vino Italian Restaurant and Wine Shop Hanoi* is an example. In another case, a cocktail bar called *Cosa Nostra Coffee Food Cocktail* has one of its corners set up like the working office of Don Corleone, the renowned Godfather in Mario Puzo’s novel-turned-movie of the same name. Italianism can also be seen in the name *Mikenco by La Dolce Vita Co.,* of a small fashion store. Mikenco, however, is a deliberation to replicate the name of Michael Kors – an international American brand. Nevertheless, Italianism may probably have deeper roots in the city. The outdoor space of *Casa Italia* in the French quarter showcases some Vespas, the Italian scooters which have been admired for their elegance by generations of Vietnamese users and are still seen in the streets of Hanoi today, while a small shop-cum-workshop in the Ancient quarter restores and sells hundreds of antique fans of the Italian brand Marelli which are still being yearned for because of their Italian-style decorative values rather than for cooling down summer heat in the city.

Other languages in the data such as Thai, Spanish, and Hindi are all used at ethnic restaurants mostly for their commodity identity. Arabic is seen on the door of a mosque which was built towards the end of the nineteenth century to serve Muslim merchants from India and is now home to Hanoi Muslim community. Esperanto appears on a sign located in front of an office building where the movement to study this language was launched in the 1930s. This building also housed the former office responsible for the dissemination of *quốc ngữ* writing system in the 1938-1945 period, which has contributed to the success of subsequent patriotic movements leading to the inception of the DRV in 1945 (see Chapter 1). The Latin content *Regina Pacis* (‘Queen of Peace’) is written on a statue in front of the French-built St. Joseph Cathedral – another case of inscription that survives postcolonial erasure.

3.3 Integrated ethnographic approach

In order to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of signs, this dissertation takes a broad LL perspective (as discussed in detail in Chapter 2) that renders the incorporation of semiotic modes other than written texts (such as visual designs and images) into the analysis. In accordance with such an expanded view on LL and for the purpose of an in-depth historical ethnographic analysis of signs, this dissertation combine geosemiotics, a theoretical approach developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their work entitled ‘Discourse in place: Language in the material world,’ and ELLA, the analytical approach proposed firstly in Blommaert’s (2013) work named

‘Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscape: Chronicles of complexity’ and elaborated further in two subsequent case studies by Blommaert and Maly (2016, 2019). The suitability of these two approaches and how they are brought into use in this dissertation are discussed in detail below.

3.3.1 Geosemiotics

Geosemiotics is defined as ‘the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. 2). Not only does it mark a spatial turn in the study of urban multilingualism, but geosemiotics also serves as a rich analytical framework built on three major components, i.e., *visual semiotics, place semiotics* and *interaction order*, each of which has its own significance for LL research.

First, *visual semiotics*, which is adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and their well-known work ‘Reading image: The study of visual design,’ provides a multimodal tool to analyze signs in public spaces. The feasibility of developing a ‘language’ for visual presentation that has an independent grammar of its own highlights the significance of visual semiotics. Specifically, this means two things. On the one hand, linguistic mode is no longer the only central mode that has priority over other modes in meaning making. On the other hand, a semiotic mode other than language – such as the visual one – is able to communicate meaning independently. Hence, visual semiotics renders the inclusion of visual resources (such as images, colours, visual presentations, etc.) that work independently from written language and have potentials to contribute additional meanings to the analysis. It therefore facilitates a better understanding of signs through a vigorous consideration of the interplay between texts and images. The preeminence of visual semiotics in ‘reading’ signs becomes even more significantly relevant in our time when technical advances enable more semiotic resources to be added onto signs in public spaces.

Second, central to geosemiotics is the question of how a sign acquires meaning from its placement in the material world. *Place semiotics* permits us to look ‘outside’ the signage frame and locate a sign in its social, historical and political context. Place semiotics considers indexicality and context-dependency as the principal property of signs. The concern is not just what we can read from a sign but how to read it because of the relationship between it and its placement in the material world. It is the focus on the emplacement and situatedness of signs that makes it most evident how geosemiotics deals with the spatiality of language and the meaning that comes from place. Since a spatial orientation renders the analysis of ‘text’ in ‘context,’ it also adds more meanings from a variety of semiotic resources (for instance, auditory and olfactory resources) available in public spaces. With an emphasis not only on signs but also on the place where signs are located, place semiotics also enhances the depth of LL analysis based on insightful ethnographic knowledge.

Third, the study of signs in the material world cannot be fulfilled without considering the role of humans, who take part in the bidirectional process of sign production and consumption. Using the *interaction order* theory of Erving Goffman, geosemiotics considers the owners/producers and viewers/readers of signs as social actors and puts them into a multidirectional web of social interaction (which includes their interaction with signs and with each other). The act that humans perform in public spaces, in our case putting up signs, is seen as a social action which not only indexes their identity but also indicates the social, cultural, and political structures among which they act on the others. In other words, interaction order enables us to analyze the use of language on signage as a social action performed by proprietors who are involved in a nexus of social interaction with presumed customers and all other possible social actors who are either ‘present’ or ‘absent’ in public spaces.

In summary, geosemiotics with its three main components (visual semiotics, place semiotics and interaction order) puts the triad of texts, places, and humans all together into the analysis, which makes it the framework that addresses sufficiently interactional forces of meanings in public spaces. The triangulation of theories in multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001), social semiotics (Halliday, 1978), and sociology (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1971) enables geosemiotics to handle appropriately the interplay of multimodal texts, space and place, and social actors in the study of LL. As an analytical framework, geosemiotics not only addresses the complexity of public spaces but also acknowledges the interdisciplinary nature of LL research.

As mentioned above in the discussion on place semiotics, a geosemiotic analysis of LL signs does involve ethnographic knowledge of the place where signs are located. Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that ‘the understanding of the visual semiotic systems at play in any particular instance relies crucially on an *ethnographic understanding* [emphasis added] of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice’ (p. 160). In other words, when it comes to the study of LL, ethnographic knowledge of the place and its people is required in order to understand the meaning of a particular semiotic system used on signs. Regardless of such an acknowledgement, it has become discernible that geosemiotics does not introduce in an explicit way an ethnographic approach of its own (cf. Blommaert, 2013). As a consequence, the historicity of place and people is not given a due consideration in geosemiotics, which thereby limits the possibility to identify different historical layers of the LL because the aim of the field is providing not only a synchronic description of the place under investigation but also a historical account of layers that makes the place a discourse in time (Blommaert, 2013). It is for the purpose of filling this methodological gap and strengthening the analytical framework that this dissertation uses a combination of geosemiotics and ELLA. Such a triangulation is a deliberation to construct a more holistic and efficacious ethnographic approach to the study of LL. A detailed discussion of ELLA and how it supports geosemiotics will be elaborated in the upcoming section.

3.3.2 ELLA

ELLA is defined as ‘a combination of longitudinal fieldwork, detailed observations of changes in the landscape, and an ethnographic-theoretical framework in which landscape signs are seen as traces of (and instrument for) social action’ (Blommaert & Maly, 2019, p. 1). As a historical ethnographic approach, it involves deep ethnographic observation and centres on a number of significant points as follows.

First, signs should be analyzed based on three temporal dimensions, i.e., *the past, the present* and *the future*, each of which facilitates a respective concentration on the following elements: the history of signs and the social conditions under which they are manufactured and put into use, the emplacement of signs and the possible relations they have with other signs, and the uptake of signs and the intended effects they may have on presumed viewers or addressees. This three-dimensional analysis prevents the limitation of focusing solely on a static and synchronic snapshot of language use on signage but instead provides a historical account of various dynamic layers making up the LL of a particular area. In other words, it renders the analysis of a particular sign not as a synchronic object but a temporary outcome of historical process. The purpose is to discover a continual process of formation, development, and transformation of the LL (Blommaert, 2013). With its potentials to identify different historical layers encapsulated in the LL, ELLA becomes an efficacious analytical approach to study social changes and diagnose sociolinguistic diversity.

Second, signs mostly have specific rather than general meaning because they are located in a specified physical space and operate within a certain demarcated spatial scope. The specific meaning of a sign is not only defined by its location but also by the selective addressees it aims at. Therefore, ELLA highlights the necessity to pay due attention to particularized details (or the ‘specifics’) of signs, which unequivocally justifies the requirement for a deep ethnographic observation approach. Meanwhile, even though each sign has a specific meaning and function, it is not entirely isolated from other signs especially those which share with it a particular space. The relative independence of signs in space has a relevant implication: a specific sign should also be analyzed in the coexistent relations it has with other signs that share a certain demarcated space. This is a fundamental step to identify systemic relationships between signs, which serves to understand two major points. On the one hand, the overlap and contradiction of signs indicate the existence of various interacting social orders. On the other hand, the amendment, erasure, and replacement of older signs by newer ones reveal various historical layers making up the LL of a certain area. Such an approach enables us to see the profusion of signs in public spaces not as a chaos but an order of complexity that requires a meticulous analysis.

Third, signs should be analyzed in a close connection with space because space is not neutral. Space is a social actor that has material forces on what people can and cannot do once they enter it. Being considered a ‘historically configured phenomenon’ (Blommaert, 2013), public space has normative expectation for humans and social actions taking place under its scope. The social action of displaying signs in public spaces is no exception. Therefore, for the purpose of studying sign meaning, ELLA addresses the nexus of interaction between people and space or more precisely, to use Scollon and Scollon's (2003, 2004) concepts, between *historical body* (the social actor with his/her experiences) and *historical space* (the space with its norms and traditions). The historical body upon entering the historical space has to act according to norms. Understanding the norms that have control over the social action of what language(s) to use on signage and how to display a sign in public spaces appropriately provides essential ethnographic knowledge to understand sign meaning based on its connection with involved social actors. It is at this point that ELLA consolidates and develops geosemiotics.

Fourth and last, the next version of ELLA, as the name ELLA 2.0 indicates, highlights the importance of virtual ethnography in LL research. The reality that a social action can be performed and distributed in both online and offline spaces in our time makes cyber-ethnography an essential move to get more meaning from signs in the physical world. A small hashtag or QR code displayed on physical signs in the streets these days may refer readers to websites and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter where a vast amount of additional information is displayed. (The English content *Share with us your shining moments at #tunhamay* on the window of a boutique in the French quarter in Figure 3.5 below is an example.) Since the social practice of sharing information online may involve the interaction of social actors who are less likely to be restricted by boundaries in the physical world, additional meanings are expected to be constructed through a much more complicated web of online and offline interaction. Such a reality has extended the public dimension of signs from a 'local public emplacement' to a 'translocal [and] online public sphere' (Blommaert & Maly, 2019, p. 4). Accordingly, ELLA 2.0 addresses this online public dimension based on website addresses and/or social media accounts which either are available on signs in the physical world or can be searchable by Google. For instance, Blommaert and Maly (2019) follow a website address available on the sign of a religious establishment in Antwerp (Belgium) to find out how the practice at a local church there is linked to a superdiverse network through social media platforms and a YouTube channel with the participation of followers/subscribers worldwide.

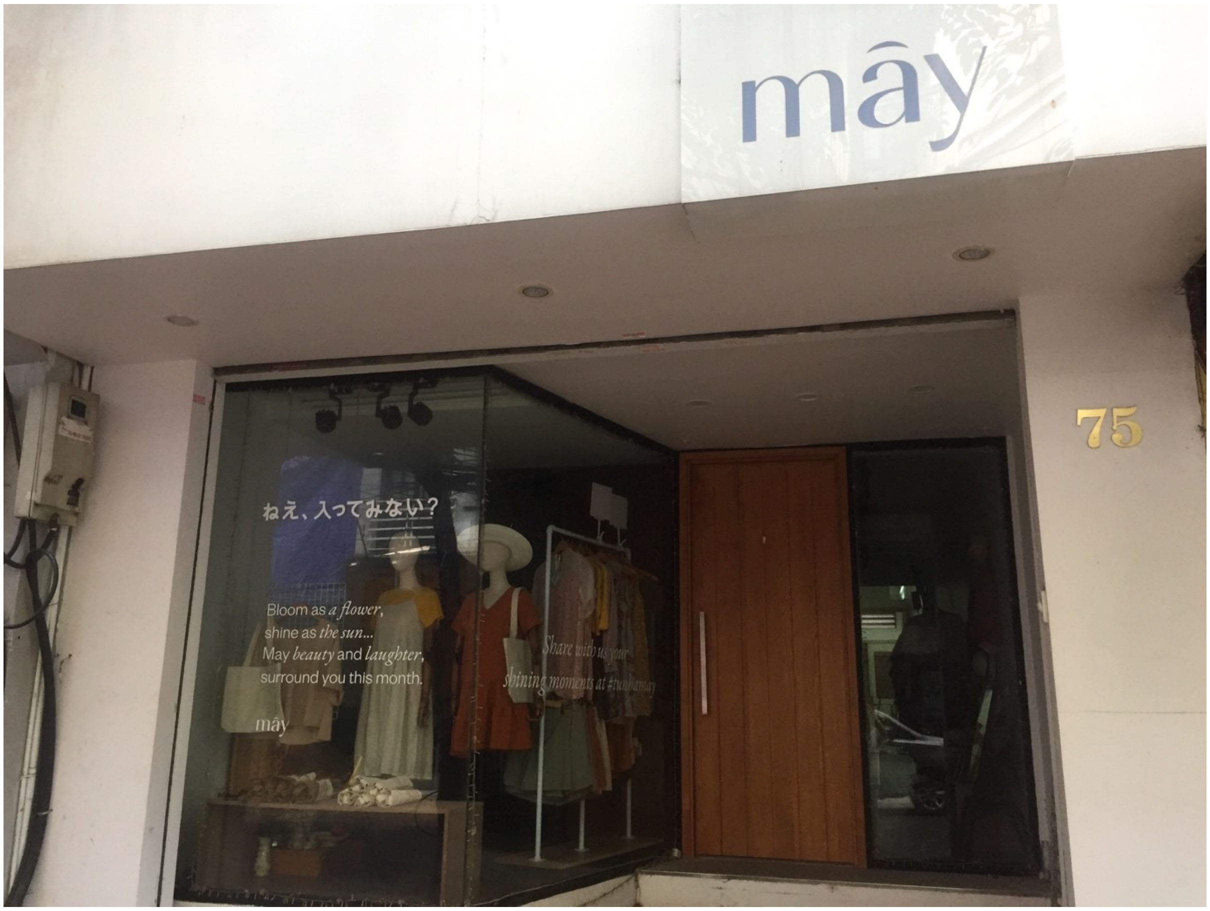

mây
75
ねえ、入ってみない？
Bloom as a flower,
shine as the sun...
May beauty and laughter,
surround you this month.
mây
Share with us your
shining moments at #tunhamay

Figure 3.5 Hashtag on the window of a boutique

As will be discussed further in Section 3.4 below and illustrated in the next chapter, ELLA 2.0 performs an investigation of accumulated meanings coming from the online dissemination of texts and images (including signs and other visual resources) of establishments under research. Such investigation not only provides further insight into the meaning of signs in the physical world but also renders an understanding of how social actions/practices related to these establishments take on additional meanings because of the interaction in the digital world.

Because of the virtual reality's versatility, ELLA 2.0 approaches online dimension in a very flexible way depending on each specific case. As indicated in the sample analysis below, a Google search of 'Little Papa Pho' showcases an interface wherein only information about Pho restaurants in Korea, instead of Hanoi, can be retrieved. However, based on the resemblance between the shop signs in Hanoi and Seoul (including a replication of linguistic and non-linguistic contents), one can easily identify a connection between them and therefore understand how such a 'cultural exchange' may reveal about ideological flows in the region. In another case discussed in the next chapter, ELLA 2.0 analyses how the social action of taking photos in front of an old newspaper office by local boys and girls in Hanoi takes on additional meanings when their photos are posted, liked, and shared on social medial accounts. The accumulated meanings developed in the online public sphere have subsequently influenced attitudes and actions of the people in the offline world by encouraging more young adults nationwide to come and check-in at this place, which turns that newspaper office (with all semiotic systems available at its gate such as the sign featuring the newspaper's masthead, the public news board, the wall and window, etc.) into a symbol of Hanoi's tradition.

In summary, ELLA elaborates on geosemiotics and develops a solid historical ethnographic approach 'tailor-made' for LL research. The triangulation of ELLA and geosemiotics facilitates an analysis of signs that looks not only inside language but also outside language into the society. With this methodological triangulation, signs are not simply approached as linguistic objects but also as ethnographic objects that have potentials to give insightful information about social diversity and social changes (Blommaert & Maly, 2019). In addition, such a triangulation provides efficacious tools to understand language use on signage locally, historically and in the dynamic of globalization.

With regard to this dissertation specifically, ELLA is also seen as an appropriate approach for two main reasons. On the one hand, with its potentials to reveal different historical layers in the LL, this is an advantageously suitable approach to be applied in the case study of Hanoi because of its layered landscape with a diverse sociolinguistic history as discussed in Chapter 2. On the other hand, as a citizen of this eight-million-people city, I have walked, cycled and ridden my scooter through its hustling streets and witnessed gradual changes of the city after its embrace of reform, which provides an ethnographic observation that can benefit the ELLA analysis in this dissertation.

3.4 Analyzing linguistic landscape data

In this section, I explain how the two aforementioned frameworks are applied in the analysis of LL data in this dissertation. First, I commence by introducing the elements in these two analytical frameworks. Afterwards, for the sake of demonstration and in order to illustrate how geosemiotics and ELLA complement each other when putting in use, I proceed with a sample analysis of one shop sign taken from the collected data.

3.4.1 Elements of analytical frameworks

Table 3.4 outlines the elements of geosemiotic framework with respect to the three major components of *visual semiotics*, *place semiotics* and *interaction order* which have been discussed above in Section 3.3.1. The elements in the following table have been adapted from Scollon and Scollon's (2003) original framework.

Table 3.4 Elements of geosemiotics

Visual semiotics	Place semiotics	Interaction order
1. Inscription (font/letterform, material quality, layering/add-on, state change) 2. Composition of information (centred, polarized) 3. Modality and visual design (colour, colour differentiation, image)	1. Code preference (centre-margin, top-bottom, left-right, earlier-later) 2. Emplacement (decontextualized, misplaced, situated) 3. Types of discourse (regulatory, infrastructural, commercial, transgressive)	1. Interactive participants (sign owner, sign reader) 2. Unit of interaction order (service encounter, platform event) 3. Interaction of perceptual spaces (visual space, auditory space, olfactory space, thermal space, haptic space)

Visual semiotics includes three main elements: inscription, composition of information, and modality and visual design. *Inscription* deals with the fonts of inscribed letters, the physical substances of signs, layering or ‘add-on’ signs (such as temporary notices), and the changes of status in case of electronic signs. *Composition of information* discusses whether information values – which refers to given-new and ideal-real information – are organized within signage frame according to horizontal, vertical, or central-marginal structure. The element of *modality and visual design* analyzes non-linguistic resources such as colours, colour differentiation and images.

Place semiotics covers the elements of code preference, emplacement, and types of discourse. *Code preference* discusses how languages are arranged in bilingual or multilingual signs, which helps identify which language(s) is/are preferred and what meanings we can get from these preferences with regard to the place where signs are located. *Emplacement* deals with the use of decontextualized items such as international brand names and logos, the placement of signs in ‘wrong’ places, and how signs get meaning from immediate physical environment. The element of *types of discourse* discusses whether a sign is a regulatory public notice, an infrastructural public label (such as a street sign), a commercial sign, or an advertising note posted in a prohibited area.

Interaction order involves the elements of interactive participants, unit of interaction order and interaction of perceptual spaces. The element of *interactive participants* focuses on possible interactions and relationships between sign owners/producers and sign viewers/readers. *Unit of interaction order* discusses encounters between sellers and customers and how shop signs and other visual resources at business outlets support each other to co-construct a spectacle or a ‘platform event’ (Goffman, 1983). *Interaction of perceptual spaces* deals with possible meanings that come from an interplay between visual and other semiotic resources (such as auditory, olfactory, thermal, and haptic) available at the place where signs are located.

Table 3.5 introduces elements in the analytical framework of two ELLA versions (which cover the analysis of signs with reference to physical and virtual spaces respectively). The elements in the following table are based on the analytical approach developed in Blommaert (2013) and Blommaert and Maly (2016, 2019).

Table 3.5 Elements of ELLA

ELLA	ELLA 2.0
1. Three historical dimensions of signs (the past, the present, and the future)	1. Virtual ethnographic information (websites, social media platforms, google reviews, YouTube, etc.)
2. Systemic relationships among signs (overlap, contradiction, erasure, amendment, and replacement)	2. Nexus of two public spaces (local physical space and translocal online space)
3. Historicity of place and people	

The ethnographic LL analysis of signs in the physical world focuses on three main elements: *three historical dimensions of signs, systemic relationships among signs,* and *historicity of place and people*. While the first element deals with historical dimensions within a sign, the second one analyzes relationships between signs and identifies different layers of signs in a neighbourhood or a certain demarcated area under investigation. The third element discusses how historical knowledge of a place and its people can contribute to the understanding of signs. In this dissertation, it is the historicity of not only the city as a whole but also the neighbourhoods each of which has its own particularities in residential composition and sociocultural background.

The virtual ethnographic observation and analysis involve two elements, i.e., *virtual ethnographic information* and *nexus of two public spaces*. The former element focuses on getting additional information of the establishments to which signs belong. This is done based on a consultation of relevant websites and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc. (Many signs in the physical world today display information such as website addresses and/or social media accounts.) This phase of virtual ethnography is intended to get to know more about the social actions/practices related to the signs/establishments, those which are not observable at their locations in the physical world. The acquired information serves as an input for the latter analytical phase wherein a further discussion as to how signs and social actions/practices related to the establishments in local physical space accumulate additional meanings in translocal online space because of the participation and interaction of more social actors. In other words, the analysis of the latter element, which is also the fundamental of ELLA

2.0, centres around getting more meanings from the nexus between offline and online, local and translocal spaces.

3.4.2 A sample analysis

Now I combine these two analytical frameworks to perform a sample analysis of a shop sign taken from the collected LL data. But I would like to clarify one thing first. The sample analysis below is intended to illustrate how geosemiotics and ELLA support each other in the analytical process. Therefore, the purpose here is not to delve deeply into a discussion on language ideology which will be the focus of the subsequent chapter.

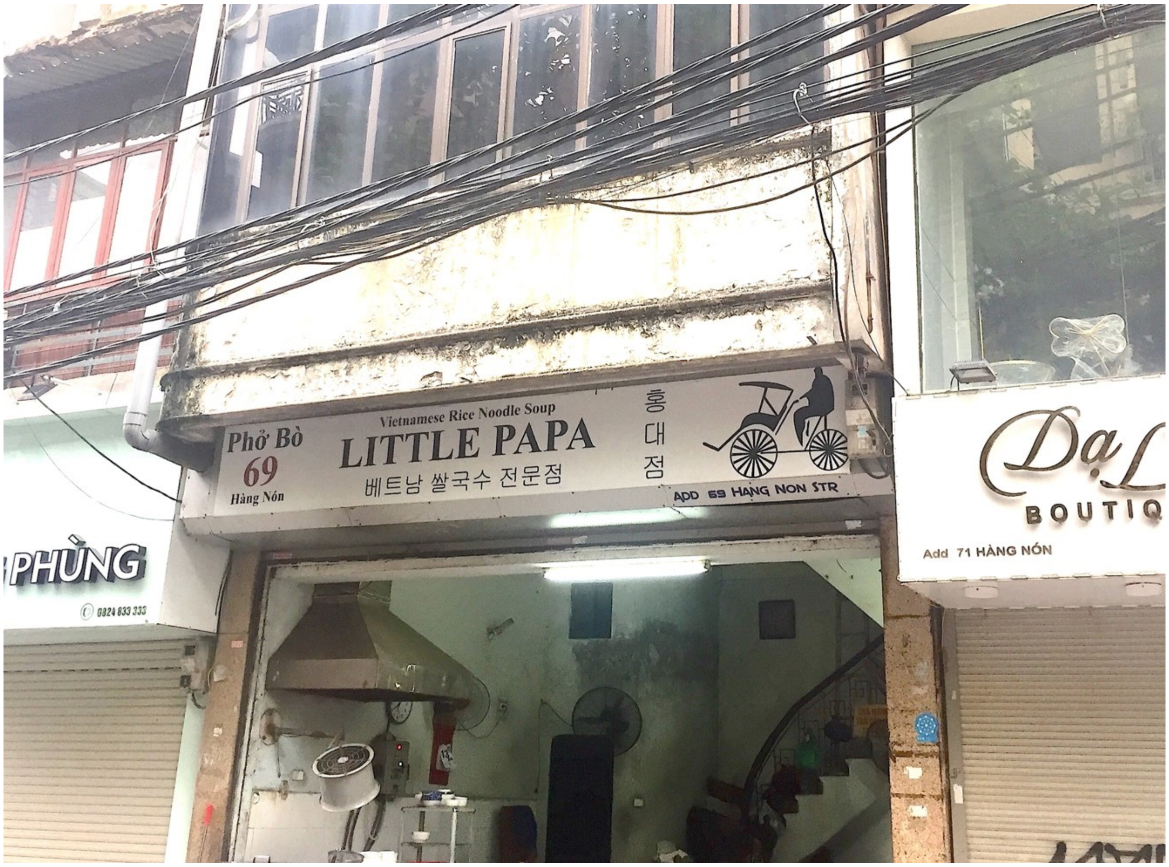

Phở Bò
69
Hàng Nón
Vietnamese Rice Noodle Soup
LITTLE PAPA
베트남 쌀국수 전문점
홍대점
ADD 69 HANG NON STR
PHÙNG
Dạ L
BOUTIQ
Add 71 HÀNG NÓN

Figure 3.6 Vietnamese, English and Hangul at a noodle bar

The shop sign of a noodle bar (see Figure 3.6) in the Ancient quarter is one of a kind because, different from its counterparts, it showcases three different languages: Vietnamese, English and Korean. The arrangement of languages indicates a preference for English. Even though information is arranged so that the Vietnamese content *Phở Bò 69 Hàng Nón* ('Beef Noodle 69 Hang Non Street') is read first (according to conventional left-to-right reading and writing vector), the English content *Little Papa* is foregrounded with a much larger font in comparison with both Vietnamese and Korean contents. The position of English above Korean also indicates that it is the preferred code. But more importantly, if taking the *centre-margin* composition of information into consideration, the position of *Little Papa* in the centre of the sign underlines its significance. Such an inference is based on the sign's *emplacement* in Vietnam, a SEA country with Confucian tradition where, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) have observed in Singapore, the emphasis on hierarchy and harmony in Confucian thinking makes centring 'a fundamental organizational principle in the visual semiotics' (p. 195) and gives the central position greater importance.

With regard to the use of colours, both linguistic and non-linguistic contents on the sign are basically monochromatically black and set against a monotonous white background. The only exception is the street number highlighted in red, the purpose of which is hard to identify if we only stick to geosemiotics. But if we turn to ELLA and make a connection with other Pho shop signs in the same neighbourhood where the tendency to call Pho eateries using street names and numbers has been followed as a tradition, we can see an *overlap* in their naming practice. The fact that there is an old small *add-on* sign, on which the content *Phở bò 69* is showcased in red letter font, located at the order counter confirms the use of the street number as its 'unofficial' name that was formerly known among local patrons. The reason why this old name continues to be written on the new sign is justified by an attempt to inform local patrons that this is still the same old eatery (a practical effort to avoid losing old customers). In addition to the deliberation to keep the old name, the street number is also highlighted in red colour to reinforce the tradition of this eatery in a neighbourhood where time-honoured noodle bars are preferable. Hence, the whole content in Vietnamese is actually *the past* dimension of the sign (to address old customers and capitalize on tradition) incorporated with *the present* layer in English and Korean (to reach new potential customers and make use of new symbolisms as discussed below). Consequently, this noodle bar concurrently maintains two 'names' on its sign that represent two respective dimensions of the past and the present, which demonstrates how ELLA supports geosemiotics in identifying different historical layers coexisting within a single sign.

It is now time to look at the linguistic contents in English and Korean. Except for *Little Papa* which at this point can be considered the new name of this eatery, both the English content *Vietnamese Rice Noodle Soup* and the Korean one 베트남 쌀국수 전문점 ('Vietnamese Rice Noodle Specialty Store') indicate an effort to describe *Pho* for readers of these two languages. However, the Korean content, which runs vertically and separately from the rest, that reads 홍대점 ('Hongdae Branch') is worthy of attention. As far as the *emplacement* element in geosemiotics is concerned, this content is considered *misplaced* because Hongdae is a street located in Seoul (South Korea). Such a 'misplacement' of these Hangul characters can be explained by performing an ELLA 2.0 ethnographic observation in the cyberspace. A Google search of this eatery's name show that the name Little Papa is favoured by a number of Pho restaurants in South Korea one of which is located in Hongdae Street – an iconic place of foods, arts and modern cultures for South Korean youth. Apart from copying the name Little Papa and the linguistic content *Hongdae branch*, an image of a trishaw – which appears on the sign in

Seoul as a symbolic evocation of Hanoi (to be explained further below) – is also replicated on the sign in Hanoi. When *Hongdae Branch* is reproduced in a new context away from Korea, it functions as a piece of symbolic text to be 'displayed' and signify 'Koreanness' and contemporary regional modernity rather than to provide information and possibly to be read. Such a signage reproduction can provide insights into the spread of Korean culture wave in Vietnam and the contemporary ideology of regionalism in Asia. In addition, further elaboration as to how the name of a Pho restaurant in an East Asian city can make its way to and be adopted in the place which is known as the 'hometown' of Pho, where it is an iconic culinary staple (Tran, 2021), may shed light into the flows of language and culture in globalization, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Now we look at the image of a trishaw on the sign. The trishaw is a means of transport that has been introduced in Hanoi since the colonial time. The Vietnamese term *xích lô* – as it has been called by local people – is the transliteration of *cyclo*. Even though in recent years the trishaw has only been used for sight-seeing tours in downtown area and the Ancient quarter, it has become Hanoi's 'unofficial' iconic means of transport. Within the context of Seoul, the juxtaposition of Pho and a trishaw is an amalgamation of icons; one supports the other in constructing a 'text' about Vietnamese food and culture. When the sign is moved to Hanoi, the 'text' remains but its meaning has been made anew. On the one hand, it may indicate a return to culture and tradition of local people, especially in the Ancient quarter where old trishaws keep being pedaled along its narrow bustling streets as a nostalgic and pleasurable means of transport. On the other hand, this reinvigoration of culture and tradition is put side by side with Korean and English, the symbols of modernity in the region and worldwide, which may reveal about *the future* dimension of this sign and, if speaking more broadly, probably of the city's LL in general.

Such a future dimension indicates the need to address a growing number of expatriates and foreign visitors some of whom are from neighbouring Asian countries. But it may also suggest a tendency to open to the world, embrace modernity, and capitalize on English and Korean symbolisms since the ethnographic observation shows that the clientele of this eatery are still basically local residents.

We end the analysis by focusing on how a discussion of *interaction order* within the space of this noodle bar with reference to historicity of the place where it is located contributes further understanding to the practice of displaying shop signs in Hanoi's Ancient quarter. First, this eatery is half-open to the street because the structure of a 'compartment' house (see Section 3.1.1 in this chapter) enables the owner to use only the front portion for business. As a passerby, one can see the cook, who as a convention is also the cashier, preparing food and diners eating at the nearby tables. One can also smell the food, feel the warmth of the cooker upon which a big pot of soup is evaporating, and hear the sound of *service encounter* talks. All the *interaction of perceptual spaces* occurring in front of the eatery makes the shop sign just a 'minor' supplement to the already 'rich' visual resources that are by themselves able to signify the types of food served inside. Therefore, it can be said loosely that the shop sign is turned into something of no more than a 'decoration.' In the past, many food bars like this did not have shopfront signs and 'official' names. The names actually came from what local patrons normally called them, either by the first names of the owners or the numbers of the streets where they were located. The 'former' name *Phở Bò 69 Hàng Nón* ('Beef Noodle 69 Hang Non Street') of this noodle bar is an example. The erstwhile tendency to downplay the role of shopfront signs also indicates an important aspect in the social background of this neighbourhood. During the pre-reform period, the whole quarter was basically a 'village' with limited mobility. Food bars and eateries mainly served people living in the neighbourhood and sometime in the same streets. Now at a time when the neighbourhood is frequented more often by people from outside, the display of a new shop sign in this case is a ‘gentrification’ indicating a shift in clientele composition.

In short, the sample analysis above has demonstrated the importance of ethnographic observation in understanding the meaning of signs and the necessity of combining geosemiotics and ELLA for LL data analysis. The analytical approach that incorporated elements in these two frameworks will manifest itself more clearly in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Language ideologies in linguistic landscape data

This chapter presents the results of LL data analysis. The findings and discussion here are intended to answer two main research questions which have been introduced in Chapter 2 as follows: (1) What can the use of language (with other accompanied semiotic resources) on signage in public spaces reveal about the language ideologies of Vietnamese people? (2) How can these language ideologies help us understand the identities of Vietnamese people in the time of reform and globalization? Now I will present them in a more specific way for the purpose of clarification.

The first research question can be broken down into more specific ones as follows: What can the choice of languages (Vietnamese, English, and other languages), their arrangements on signage, and their linguistic content tell us about the attitudes towards these languages and other language ideologies of Vietnamese people? What can other semiotic resources (images, visual designs, etc.) contribute to the understanding of these language ideologies? How can these language ideologies help us understand the roles and positions of these languages in post-reform Vietnam?

Similarly, the second research question can be broken down into the following: What can the acquired knowledge about the roles and positions of Vietnamese, English, and other languages (as asked and answered in the first research question) tell us about their participation in the construction of Vietnamese identity? How can an investigation of language ideologies on signage and the relation (and/or interaction) between them and broader societal ideologies help us understand the identity construction of language users in post-reform Vietnam?

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this dissertation looks into the bidirectional process of globalization (referred to as the *universalization* and *particularization* of languages and cultures) and how it is represented in the use of language on signage. The aim is to highlight how the study of LL can contribute to the understanding of globalization not simply as a homogenizing process with its tendency towards global sameness and uniformity, but also as a 'heterogenizing' process represented by a reclamation of local difference and diversity in language, ideology, and culture.

Thus far, when addressing the influence of globalization on language use, LL research tends to put a rather exclusive focus on the inroads of English on signage in urban spaces worldwide, mostly as the language of neoliberalism and sometimes as a form of cultural imperialism (cf. Selvi, 2016), which mainly addresses the homogenization process of globalization. There is a limited elaboration on how globalization may become a vehicle for difference and diversity, which has been represented, for instance, in the way English is localized and (re)embedded with different ideologies in different contexts of use as indicated in the literature of Applied Linguistics (see Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2007; Young, 2017). It is not to mention that both the visibility of local languages in public spaces and the ideologies associated with them have not been given due attention in the field.

In order to address this imbalance and realize the aforementioned purpose, this chapter will be arranged in a way so as to demonstrate and foreground the idea that language use on signage in the LL of Hanoi not just reflects a propensity to cultural homogeneity and uniformity, but also indicates other orientations that promote local culture and identity. Specifically, this chapter presents the findings of LL data analysis in eight different sections in the following order.

The first section analyzes a propensity to either use only English or put it in a dominant position on shop signs. In the latter case, English is normally followed by Vietnamese and sometimes alongside other foreign languages. These shop signs basically indicate a strong favour of English as the language of neoliberalism and global market on the one hand, and showcase an open-minded attitude towards multilingualism on the other. The analysis in this section is intended to show an appeal to internationality and modernity and an embrace of an imagined Western and cosmopolitan identity. This research direction, which has been pursued and addressed in an abundant number of previous LL studies (see Huebner, 2006; Kasanga, 2012; Manan et al., 2015; Shang & Zhao, 2017; Taylor-Leech, 2012), is not the primary focus of this dissertation and hence will not be discussed at length in this chapter. Instead, the aim of this section, apart from indicating the existence of a 'globalizing' process in the LL of Hanoi, is to highlight that the orientation towards favouring English and multilingualism, with regard to the specific case of this city, is consistent with the ideology of reform and opening up to the world and how this ideology has been mediated through signage.

The remaining sections of this chapter centre around the 'localizing' process and how it is represented in language use on signage through a number of ideological phenomena and themes. The three earlier sections discuss a return to and revitalization of Hanoi's tradition, culture, and identity, which altogether explicate how the city and its neighbourhoods have become acknowledged as the identity badge of local people. The four subsequent sections present the following ideological orientations: an evocation of historical memory and national identity, an emergence of neo-nationalism, a reconstruction of modern Vietnamese identity based on tradition and culture, and a promotion of regional modernity and Asian identity. All of these seven sections, which make up the main contents of this chapter, are intended to facilitate an insight into the localizing process of language, ideology and culture in the LL of Hanoi. Such a focus on the localizing process in this chapter renders it possible to address a major objective of this dissertation by underlining the heterogenous consequences of globalization on the one hand, and contributing a more elaborated discussion on a research direction that is less explored in the field of LL on the other.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the analysis of signs in this chapter uses a combination of the two analytical frameworks of geosemiotic*s* (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and ELLA (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019). In each section, a number of signs in the collected data which reflect a similar ideological theme, phenomenon and tendency will be grouped and analyzed together so as to enrich the discussion and strengthen the argument. While a discussion on a specified ideological theme may use signs coming from one or more neighbourhoods at the same time, the analysis of each particular sign will be related to the specific neighbourhood where it is located and supported by relevant information from ethnographic observation. Whenever appropriate, ethnographic information collected from informal talks with local people and other sources in the cyberspace is also discussed in order to have a better understanding of signs (alongside other social actions/practices related to them) and hence consolidate relevant arguments under discussion. Furthermore, the analysis of these signs is not only linked to their specific neighbourhoods but, whenever appropriate, can also be related to broader societal contexts involving the city, the country, and the region, which enables this dissertation to put the analysis of language ideologies mediated through specific signs into the cultural and ideological traditions of a globalizing city and country in SEA.

In order to come up with the ideological themes presented below, the analysis of LL data has been carried out according to a procedure that can be summarized loosely as follows. Photographs of signs are firstly incorporated into Atlas.ti 8 (a qualitative analysis software) and then classified on this software's platform based on a variety of factors such as the use of different languages (for instance, Vietnamese, English, Korean, etc.), the various layers of a particular language (see Chapter 3), and the types of language combination and/or mixing. Afterwards, based on ethnographic knowledge (which is also supported by background cultural knowledge), each aforementioned broad category is re-classified into smaller groups representing observable ideological tendencies. For instance, different layers of Vietnamese may represent different ideological phenomena relatable respectively to the ideologies of nationalism, modernist nostalgia, modernity, tradition, etc. Then I rearrange signs across the whole dataset according to the ideological themes they represent, so that each of which may include a number of signs originally belonged to different broad categories mentioned above. Accordingly, the ideological theme of neo-nationalism may include, for instance, signs of both English and Vietnamese categories.

However, the grouping of signs into delineated ideological themes below (which first and foremost serves the purpose of presentation in this chapter) should not be seen as firmly fixed, since a single sign can be assigned simultaneously to more than one ideological theme. As such, a sign showing 'Made in Vietnam' content may be underlain primarily by the ideology of neo-nationalism but can also indicate a favour for development and modernity (even though this ideology is less significant than the former one). Therefore, the number of signs co-constructing a particular ideological theme discussed below should be treated flexibly. That being said, it is possible to affirm that some ideological themes involve more signs than the others. Among those presented in this chapter, the ideological theme of neo-nationalism (see Section 4.6 below), for instance, is constructed by a noticeable number of signs among which those with 'Made in Vietnam' content are twenty-six. Meanwhile, the ideology of Western centrism, though may be implicitly mediated through a number of signs showing a preference for English and/or other European languages, is displayed explicitly on the only one sign which bears the name *Loan Tây* ('Loan the Westerner') (see Figure 4.2 below). Now I proceed with the analysis of language-ideological themes in the LL of Hanoi.

4.1 Internationality, modernity and cosmopolitanism

Vietnam had been in a 'long night' before *đổi mới* with a subsidy economy wherein a scarcity of goods and services seriously affected the living standards and left its mark on the people's psychology. An underdeveloped manufacturing system due to enduring wartime influenced the customers' trust in domestic goods and services and people have therefore developed a strong favour of foreign goods especially those from the West (cf. Vann, 2012). The rule of thumb for modern local customers is that foreign goods are better than domestic ones and sometimes they are even considered status symbols. Now that a new post-reform middle class is taking shape (Bélanger, Drummond & Nguyen-Marshall, 2012), the fashion is to buy foreign goods and use 'international' (a term normally used to refer to 'Western') services, since foreign or imported goods (*hàng ngoại*) have not only been associated with quality but also prestige and class. The yearning for all things international opens up prospects for many types of business ranging from foods and drinks to fashion, household utilities, cosmetic services, health care and education. In the streets, stores that boast imported goods and services from Western markets such as Europe, the USA and other developed economies proliferate. In order to strengthen their authenticity, English is normally chosen to write on shopfronts and the term 'international' is foregrounded.

In education, for instance, there is a big market for locally owned international schools[26] where parents of well-off families pay tuition fees much higher than public schools to send their children to learn in bilingual environment where partial contents are taught in English. The ethnographic observation in the cyberspace of a small locally owned kindergarten called *Winston International School* (see Figure 4.1) indicates that language use and visual presentation on its website foreground the promise to turn children into global citizens who possess valuable English skills to be able to live and work internationally. Even though the website is in Vietnamese, English is selectively chosen to display the ideal information relating to educational philosophy and school curriculum. (In geosemiotics, the ideal information, which is distinguished with the real information, tends to take up an upper position in the vertical arrangement of information to visualize the promise of products and services, see Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996.) This is also supported by the flashing images of smart Caucasian kids, sometimes alongside their parents or instructors, that occupy an upper position in the vertical information structure of the webpage. The 'internationality' is further strengthened by some practical information such as a team of teachers from English-speaking countries like England, America, and Australia, which is carefully presented in Vietnamese so as to ease parents' decision-making process. All of these details bring international characters to the fore and target the customers' fascination with English language, a future life in Global North countries, and especially the Western lifestyle.

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[26] In 2019, the Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) carried out an investigation in Hanoi and made some 'self-proclaimed' international schools erase the term 'international' from their names due to their inability to meet certain specified requirements.

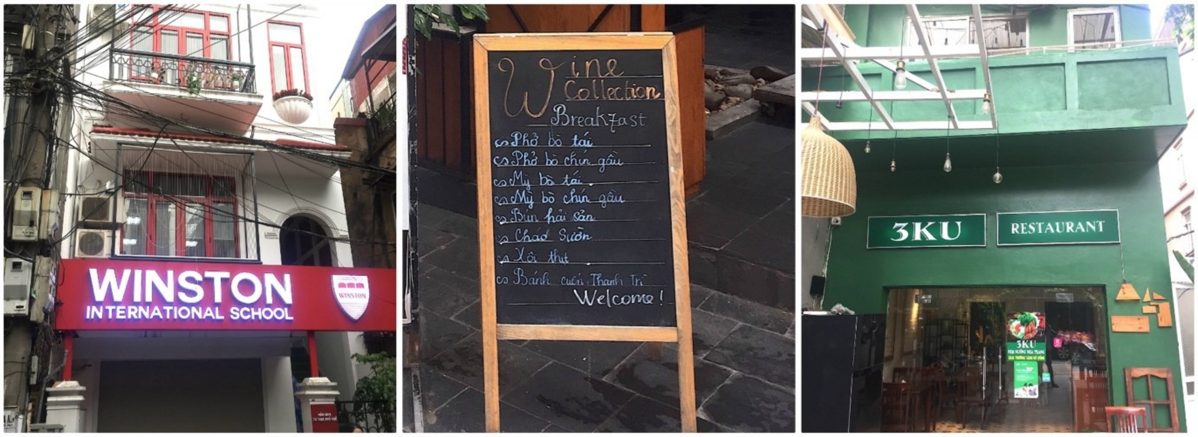
WINSTON
INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL
Wine Collection
Breakfast
Phở bò tái
Phở bò chín gầu
Mỳ bò tái
Mỳ bò chín gầu
Bún hải sản
Cháo Sườn
Xôi thịt
Bánh cuốn Thanh Trì
Welcome!
3KU
RESTAURANT

Figure 4.1 Internationality, modernity and class

English is not only an embodiment of internationality based on its status as the global language but also used as an evocation of modernity. The arrangement of English and Vietnamese on the standing menu board of a restaurant in the French quarter in Figure 4.1 enables us to see rather clearly the ‘intended’ function of each language. English appears on the top, which means it is read first (or in this case may simply be ‘displayed’ first), and it is carefully selected so as to cover just the restaurant’s name *Wine Collection* and the English term *breakfast*. Local customers need not read and understand this English content in order to know that the forthcoming list of dishes written in Vietnamese are for breakfast. Under the list of these local breakfast dishes, another English term – i.e., *welcome* – is chosen to end the menu. This arrangement wherein the native language carries informative content while English, as the global language, is more likely to serve a ‘symbolic’ function to evoke modernity and an imagined cosmopolitan identity has been discussed rather sufficiently in previous LL studies (see Kasanga, 2010). Here in our case, considering the upmarket status of this restaurant in its neighbourhood, it is not unreasonable to tell from the bilingual arrangement in this chalkboard menu that Vietnamese is used to fulfill its function of presenting the names of breakfast dishes that the restaurant has to offer for upscale local diners who in the meantime also require an element of modernity and class which is brought about by a careful embellishment of a few English words that they may or may not know.

The ideology of English as the language associated with upper class and prestige is also mediated through signage and is shown more clearly in the following case. *3KU Restaurant*[27], which had been moved to its new location in the new quarter for just a few months before the photograph in Figure 4.1 was taken, has also had its name changed from the old one called *3KU Quán* (the Vietnamese terms *quán* and *nhà hàng* are equivalent to the English *restaurant*). Despite the fact that the owners of this mom-and-pop restaurant do not know or speak any foreign language, they explained to me that *restaurant* is no longer a 'foreign' word among those working in food and beverage business in Hanoi, since there is an unofficially locally accepted norm that *restaurant* indexes a level higher than its counterpart Vietnamese term *nhà hàng* (or *quán*). Therefore, they believe that using *restaurant* helps upgrade their business at this new location into a higher level, even though many things relating to it remain almost unchanged: the same cooks, the same menu (in Vietnamese only), the same price and even pretty much the same clientele who after being informed of the new location continue to come and dine at the new place. Even though, according to their own observation, these old patrons may not notice the linguistic move from *quán* to *restaurant*, the owners believe that the English term *restaurant* not only better reflects the quality of foods and services they have to offer but also helps them select new prospective (upper) middle-class customers in the neighbourhood. As a result, English has been chosen here as a deliberate attempt to lend an aura of 'class' to the restaurant in discussion.

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[27] The name '3KU,' which is coined by the owners in an effort to opt for an intriguing name, is read 'BAKU' based on the pronunciation of number '3' in Vietnamese.

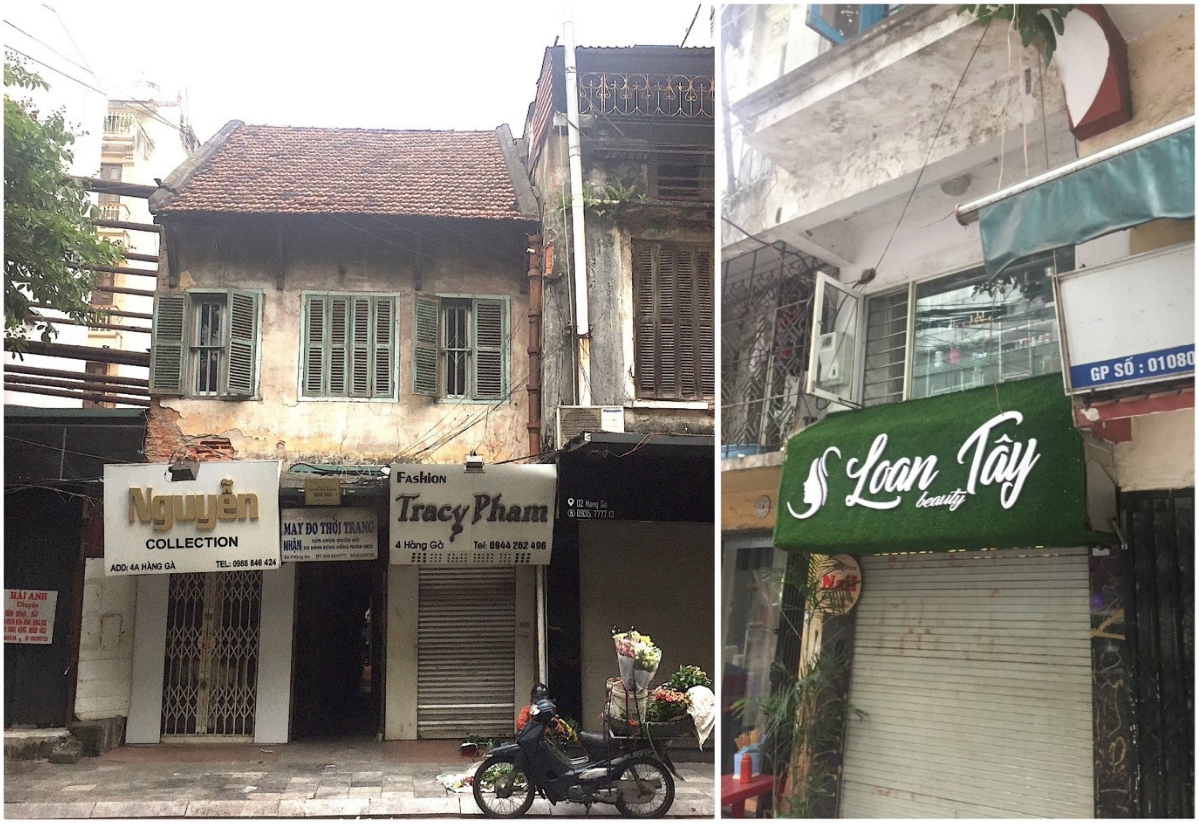
Nguyễn
COLLECTION
ADD: 4A HÀNG GÀ
TEL: 0988 846 424
MAY ĐO THỜI TRANG
NHÂN
FASHION
Tracy Pham
4 Hàng Gà
Tel: 0944 262 496
GP SỐ : 01080
Loan Tây
beauty

Figure 4.2 Western and cosmopolitan identity

The use of language on shop signs to embrace modernity is normally accompanied by an appeal to an imagined Western and cosmopolitan identity. A very small fashion store in the Ancient quarter called *Tracy Pham* (see Figure 4.2) has the Vietnamese surname *Pham* written without diacritics[28] and positioned behind a self-chosen English-origin first name *Tracy*, which is a reverse name order in Vietnamese. (The convention requires the surname to come first in Vietnamese names.) Such a simulation of the names of Việt Kiều[29] ('overseas Vietnamese') – both by adopting a 'cool' foreign first name and reversing the name order – is becoming a trendy practice[30] that is followed by fashion shops and boutiques in order to evoke a relation to the

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[28] With diacritics, this Vietnamese surname is written as *Phạm.*
[29] Việt Kiều refers to the diaspora of Vietnamese living mainly in North America and Europe.
[30] There is a trend to reverse name order and adopt a 'cool' foreign stage name among young local pop artists.

Western style. This evocation is based on the connection between these hybrid names and the worldwide Vietnamese diasporas especially those living in the United States of America. Meanwhile, the deliberation to leave out Vietnamese diacritics, which is normally seen in English texts, in the local context of use reflects a desire to be seen and identified in the wider world.

In some cases, the yearning for an imagined 'Western-specific' identity is made explicit through linguistic content. An example is the name *Loan Tây* ('Loan the Westerner') (see Figure 4.2) of a downmarket beauty salon in the Ancient quarter wherein a female name is juxtaposed with the Vietnamese term *tây* (literally 'occidental,' more generally 'from the West' or 'following Western style') whose metaphorical connotations in the local context of use indicate a symbolic 'superiority' of people and things from the West. Even though the English word *beauty* under this name appears in a smaller font, it plays an important role in reinforcing the connection with the Western style indicated by the Vietnamese term *tây*, which demonstrates an efficacy of applying the 'translanguaging' practice of going between and beyond languages (Li, 2011).

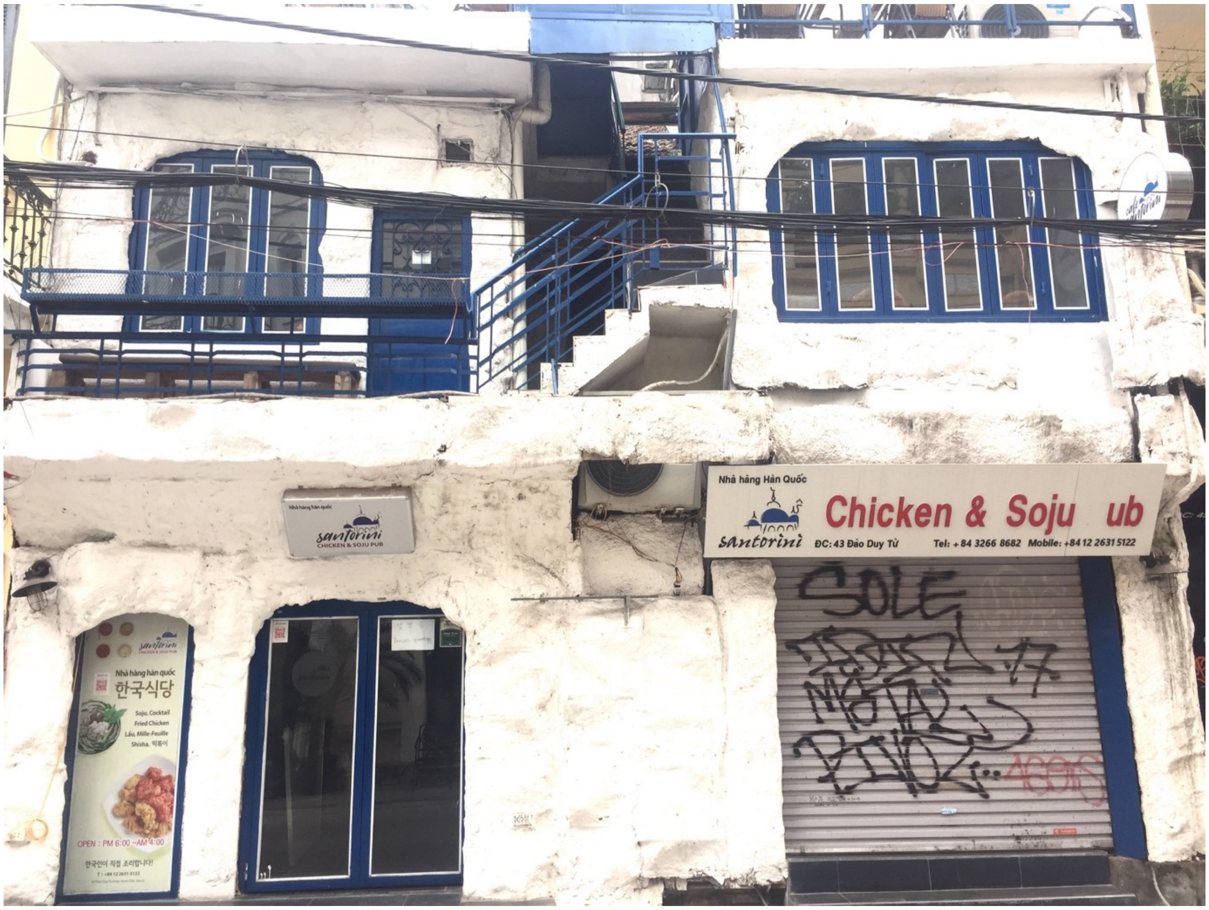
Nhà hàng Hàn Quốc
Santorini
Chicken & Soju ub
ĐC: 43 Đào Duy Từ
Tel: +84 3266 8682 Mobile: +84 12 2631 5122
SANTORINI CHICKEN & SOJU PUB
Nhà hàng hàn quốc
한국식당
OPEN : PM 6:00 ~AM 4:00

Figure 4.3 Cosmopolitanism at a pub

As an illustration for his point about the affluence of cultural forms in globalization, Nederveen Pieterse (1995) mentions the phenomena such as ‘Thai boxing by Morocco girls in Amsterdam, […], Chinese tacos and Mardi Gras Indians in the United States, or Mexican schoolgirls dressed in Greek togas dancing in the style of Isidora Duncan’ (p. 53). The idea of eating Korean foods and drinking soju (a Korean liquor) in a white-painted Santorini-style restaurant set at a bustling corner of Hanoi’s Ancient quarter (see Figure 4.3 – Santorini Chicken and Soju Pub) is another example of ‘global mélange’[31] that can also be added to the list above.

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[31] This term is used by Nederveen Pieterse (1995, 2004) to refer to the hybridity of cultural forms in globalization.

And it is not to mention that this restaurant chooses English, the global language that is likely to be associated with cosmopolitanism, as the dominant language on its shopfront signs.

The combination of symbolisms from the foods of South Korea (a new icon of modernity in East Asia) and the beauty of a European (Greek) island supported by the internationality of English indicates how the idea of opening to the world and living globally is mediated in the semiotics of a small restaurant frequented mostly by young local diners. Apart from the visibility of English and Vietnamese, Hangul is also included into what can be called a large window sign. On this window sign, the display of a shortlisted menu, which is an amalgamation of international-cum-local foods and drinks including soju, cocktail, fried chicken, *lẩu* (the Vietnamese term for *hot pot*), mill-feuille (a French pastry), shisha, and 떡볶이 (the Korean dish of *tteok-bokki*), is a further confirmation of an open attitude not just to multilingualism but also to multiculturalism. The variety of multicultural culinary practices inside is a testimony to the spirit of ‘open door era’ (*thời mở cửa*) – as *đổi mới* is often called by Vietnamese people – when local residents welcome different flows of languages and cultures with open-mindedness and show a desire for cosmopolitanism.

Heretofore, the analysis in this section has made it perceptible how the quintessential spirits of reform are represented in the LL of Hanoi. Accordingly, the people’s language ideologies mediated in their use of language on signage indicate an obvious priority of global integration and a fervid quest for modernity. Such a finding is in consistence with the tendency to display English and associate it with modernity, the West, and cosmopolitanism in the LL of globalizing cities worldwide (see Kasanga, 2012; Selvi, 2026). The findings in this section also support previous social science research on the middle class in post-reform Vietnam whose identity is closely related to consumption, modernity and cosmopolitanism (see Bélanger, Drummond & Nguyen-Marshall, 2012). In the following sections, I concentrate on discussing how other flows of language, culture and ideology, which taken together indicates a direction in opposition to the homogenization of globalization, are represented in language use on signage in the LL of Hanoi.

4.2 Revitalization of Hanoi's tradition

When the office gate of *Hànộimới* ('New Hanoi'), a local newspaper associated with postcolonial Hanoi, becomes one of the most popular check-in points for young Facebookers and *#hanoimoi* turns into a fashionable hashtag among Instagrammers, it marks a remarkable ideological move when young Hanoians start to search for and become proud of the city's historical tradition and culture. The burgeoning popularity of this office gate (see Figure 4.4) as a destination for young local residents and nationwide visitors made it a nominee for the most inspiring places in Vietnam in the 2018's We Choice Award (WCA)[32].

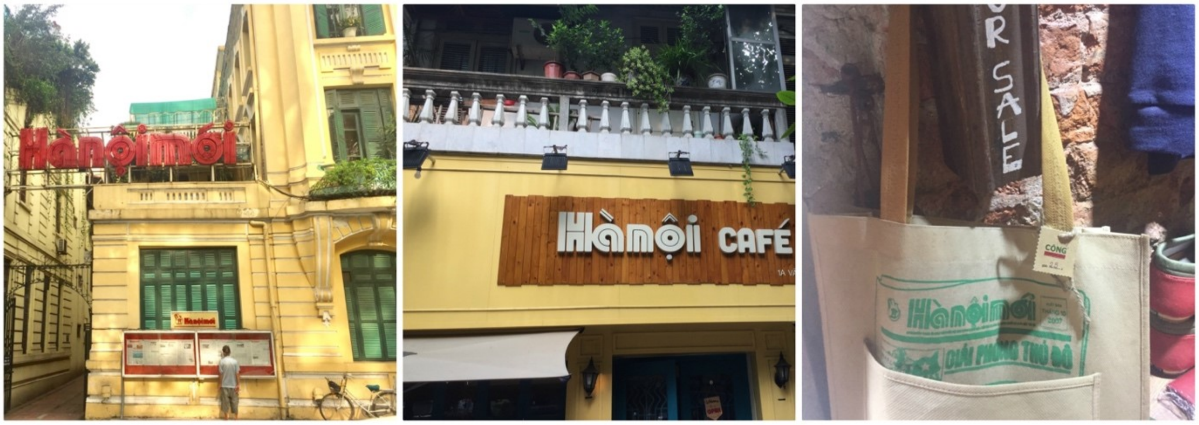

Figure 4.4 Phenomenon of Hànộimới

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[32] The awards for the most inspiring people, events, and places of the year chosen by young Vietnamese. WCA is an important channel to understand the life of young generations in present-day Vietnam.

Located in a neoclassical building that housed the former colonial newspaper *L'Avenir du Tonkin*[33] ('the future of Tonkin') in the French quarter, Hànộimới office is special because it overlooks the city's landmark, the legendary Hoàn Kiếm Lake and the Tortoise Stupa – an unofficial symbol of Hanoi. With regard to its location in a culturally and ideologically sensitive area (as discussed in Chapter 3) where symbols of different times from the feudal to colonial and postcolonial ones have continuously been erected, the name 'New Hanoi' given to a local newspaper, whose office had formerly belonged to the French colonialists, reflects an attempt to eradicate the vestige of colonialism. Such a name might be able to conjure up an image of a new chapter in the city's history in the minds of older generations especially those who directly took back Hanoi from the French. With the young adults who have visited this office gate recently, it may connote something differently or may simply be a historic site associated with a time-honoured practice (to be discussed below) of preceding local generations that can still be observable today.

Hànộimới is known as a destination that offers an open-to-public news board where people can come and read daily news. This free service is unique to this newspaper and reading news here has been a regular practice of many local generations. When I took the photograph for this dissertation, an old man, whose bike stood against the wall, was immersing himself in reading a newspaper article on the board (see Figure 4.4). In our talk later, he claimed that reading newspaper here, for him and other old-timers, was not just to update news, it was also a place for them to socialize and respect a tradition. It was here that they could have small talks with their fellows on one or two socio-political issues that they had just read on the same newspaper. The practice also reminds them of a period in the past when it was common for local residents to come here or other news boards located at their living quarters to read daily news. Now when newspapers are delivered to people's homes and reading electronic news has gradually become the norm, many news boards throughout the city have been left unattended. Some of them become notice boards where political advertising pictures are hung throughout the year. However, the tradition still runs in front of Hànộimới office. An update daily keeps being displayed each morning and a few old-timers keep walking or cycling here to maintain a long-established tradition that is on the verge of dying.

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[33] Tonkin was used as the name of North Vietnam during the colonial time.

But they are not alone. Young locals have made it one of the most popular destinations for themselves in a few recent years, even though reading news is not the reason for their visits. They come here to take photos with the news board in the background. Some pose in the positions of their old fellows and pretend to be reading the newspapers. By so doing, they maintain an old tradition of the city, but in a way different from their predecessors. And somehow, the tradition is not dying. It survives or is reincarnated in a new form of practice in the life of young generations. An in-depth analysis of these photographs is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the point I am after here is that the meaning of this new real-life practice can only be fully understood if one keeps an eye on the virtual space of social media where these photographs have been posted, shared, and disseminated and later become viral as mentioned above.

With young Instagrammers, *#hanoimoi* is a retro photography concept with a background featuring some authentic elements of Hanoi from the old yellow wall to the green window and the unique news board upon which the city's name is embedded in an old local newspaper's name. These things are simple, but they basically carry authentic images of the city. Furthermore, the photos taken at this office gate are also posted with the *#ootd* (outfit of the day) hashtag, which indicates that local youngsters and their new practice have developed a new meaning for this office gate, one which is totally different from the old-timers. When this practice is disseminated translocally in the cyberspace, Hànộimới office has been perceived as a popular check-in point, a must-see destination for travellers, or even a newly discovered icon of Hanoi among young people nationwide. This finding indicates that the social action of revitalizing a time-honoured tradition by young locals has been (re)embedded with new layers of meaning in the cyberspace, which thereby highlights the role of virtual ethnography in LL studies and the importance of online-offline nexus consideration as discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. Blommaert & Maly, 2019).

In addition to numerous photos taken in front of the news board that have been uploaded on Facebook walls and Instagram feeds, Hànộimới also has its own life in the physical world away from this office gate. Among the shop signs that take Hanoi into their names that scatter the city's LL, *Hànội Café* (see Figure 4.4) is a remarkable case in which the letter font for *Hànội* is carbon copied from Hànộimới. Since this old 'handwritten' letter font is probably no longer available, another newer 'computer' font is used for the word *café*. Likewise, the souvenir counter in one of the most favoured local coffee chains has on its shelf a tote bag with the masthead of Hànộimới newspaper printed on the front (see Figure 4.4). The reproduction of Hànộimới in various contexts indicates a return to the city's tradition. The social semiotics of young people's practice both in the physical and virtual worlds indicate an awareness of upholding and promoting historical and cultural values that seems to have been forgotten since the city started welcoming the new winds of reform.

4.3 Identification of Hanoi's identity

The government of Hanoi has considered the issue of how to balance development and culture for years after launching the reform policy. The economic boom together with an influx of migrants has resulted in changes in demographic and culture, which raises concern over the city's core values and identity (Tran, 2010). Where to look for the 'real' Hanoi becomes a difficult question even for those who have been living in the city for a long time. Many are caught in the dilemma to choose between a city of modernity and one of tradition. The ambivalence manifests itself in the city's LL, where viewpoints of the people are indicated on shop signs.

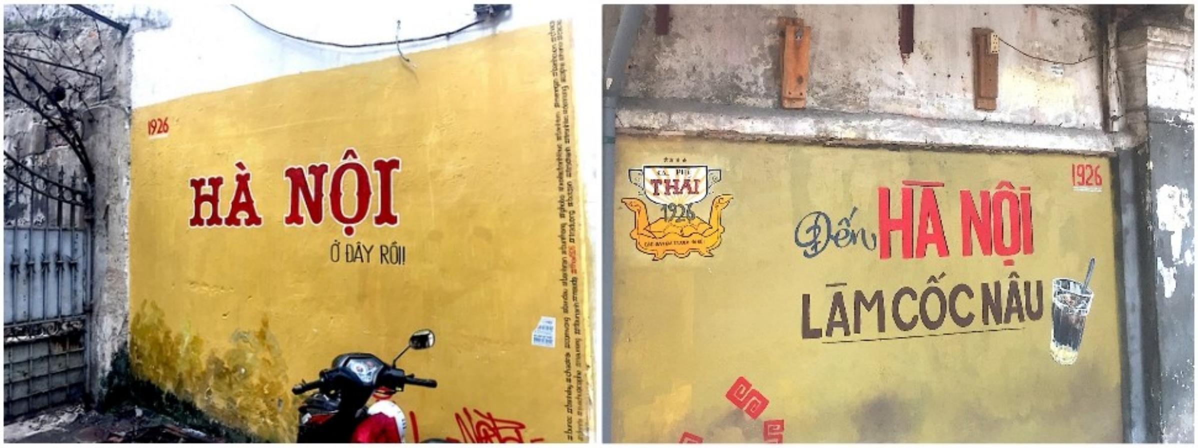

Figure 4.5 Hanoi's identity at a café

Café Thái, an old heirloom coffee house located in the French quarter, captures the city's spirit on two wall paintings facing the street (see Figure 4.5). On one of these two frescos, the Vietnamese content *Hà Nội ở đây rồi!* ('Hanoi is right here!'), which is displayed in bold colours on a monotonous yellow background, a simulation of the colour of Hanoi old houses, offers an answer to the aforementioned question. Such an answer from this four-generation-old café is also fabricated with the fibers of modernity and youth culture. To the right end of one fresco (in

Figure 4.5, it is the one on the left), two long lines of hashtags, which run vertically in a small font, show briefly a list of Hanoi’s food specialties among which *#thai1926* stands out in red colour. The idea of these wall painting comes from the young owner of the fourth generation in the family, which reflects a reality that, after being put in a matrix of globalization, there is a tendency that people, both old and young alike, want to return to tradition. It is like they want to come home after a long journey.

The answer of this café seems to be accepted by customers of different generations. Apart from old patrons, the number of young customers who have recently frequented this café also increases, which is linked very closely with the burgeoning visibility of these wall paintings in Facebook and Instagram. Local coffee lovers find their ways here to retreat into an authentic space of the city that has increasingly been swallowed by changes due to massive post-reform infrastructure development. Although it has recently become a destination for a number of domestic and foreign travellers, the use of language on shop signs, menus and other instruction signs inside this café remains in Vietnamese as it has ever been. I was told in the talk with the owner that he considered language use an important part that supported the tradition he wanted to maintain. It is the distinctive tradition of not just his family business but also the local coffee culture. Vietnamese is therefore seen as the language that embodies tradition and culture. The awareness of protecting tradition is also figuratively hidden in the logo. A tortoise with two heads was chosen in order to remind customers of an important icon of the city associated with the legend of Hoàn Kiếm Lake (the legend about a mythical tortoise living in the lake, see Chapter 1). Many things can change in the modern city, but its historical legends and traditions survive. And they are the core elements that make up Hanoi’s identity.

Thus far, the discussion in this section has indicated that globalization can reinforce local cultural identity. This concluding remark becomes more relevant if one relates to the neighbourhood where this café is located. As mentioned earlier, historically speaking, the French quarter had been built into a modern town that sat side by side with the indigenous town (presently the Ancient quarter), a plan to develop Hanoi into a bipolar city by the French colonialists (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002). In the time of reform, the French quarter's modern infrastructure has attracted foreign investors and expatriates to base their offices and rent living apartments. It has therefore developed into a quasi-central business district (Nguyen, 2008) with a concentration of international, national and municipal organizations and an exuberant atmosphere of commercial activities thanks to wider street patterns and more spacious business outlets. Accordingly, the cityscape of this neighbourhood tends to be more influenced by international protagonists than the Ancient quarter where local residents, salesmen and craftsmen are key players (Wabei, 2004).

When the city is in its globalizing process, the interaction between the old and the new, the local and the global becomes stronger here than in the Ancient quarter. The message from Café Thái and the practice of young locals at Hànộimới office, both of which are located in the French quarter, can be seen (against the backdrop of the homogenizing impacts of globalization in the quarter) as a manifestation of the localizing process of globalization demonstrated by a revitalization of tradition and a reinforcement of identity. In addition, the (re)production of the name of Hanoi on shop signs and in the cyberspace of social media also demonstrates the rise of this city as an important space of citizenship and the prime identity badge for its local residents (cf. Holston & Appadurai, 1996). It is once again a testimony to how globalization can make people become more aware of their local culture and identity.

4.4 Commodification of old Hanoi's authenticity

In 2016, the municipal government of Hanoi extended the curfew hour for local stores, cafés and restaurants in the Ancient quarter to 2 a.m. and subsequently ran a walking street of roughly two kilometres around the neighbouring Hoàn Kiếm Lake to cater for the growing crowds of mostly young locals who flocked to this old neighbourhood in the weekends for dining, hanging out and other recreational activities. Notwithstanding a proliferation of modern recreational centres that disperse across the post-reform city's twelve urban districts, a fetish for the old neighbourhood of '36 streets and guilds' regardless of its downgraded infrastructure is a local phenomenon involving consumption, taste and nostalgia. The ethnographic observation indicates that the additional content of *phố cổ* ('ancient quarter') has recently been written onto shopfronts in this quarter not only for its indexical function but also as an evocation of 'old' Hanoi and a floating referent of high quality, authenticity and prestige. Let's discuss two specific examples below.

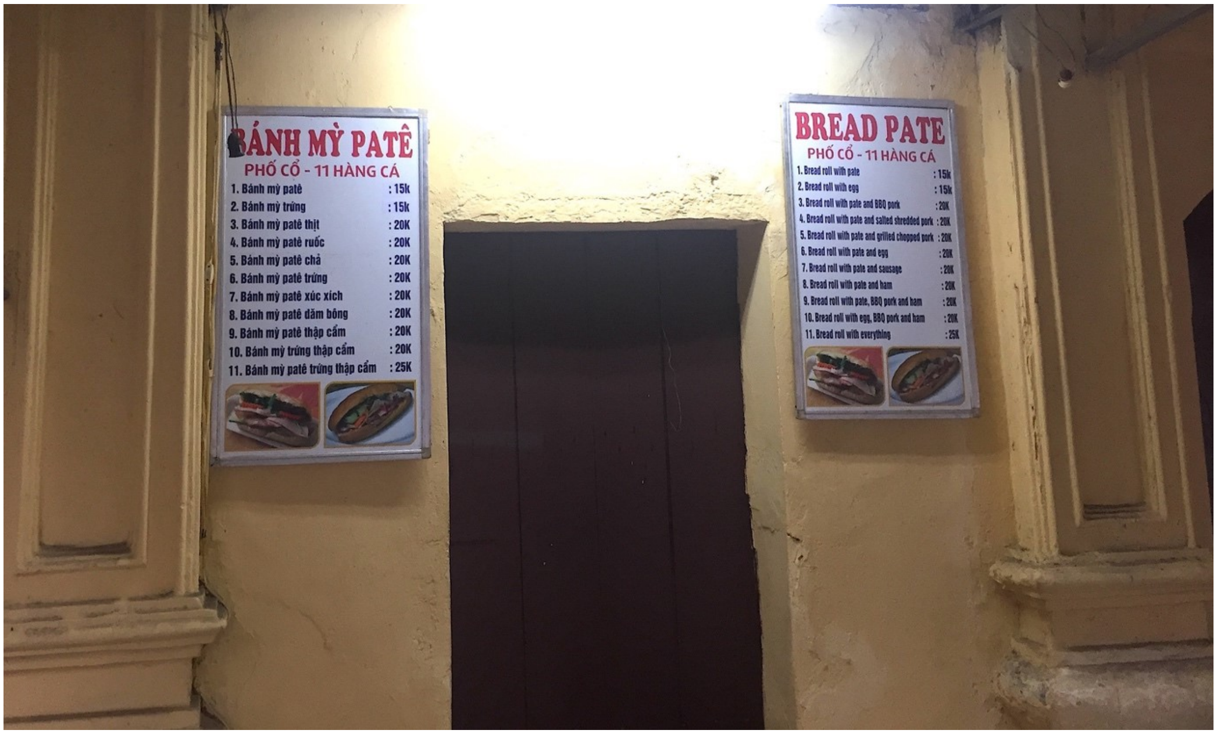
BÁNH MỲ PATÊ
PHỐ CỔ - 11 HÀNG CÁ
1. Bánh mỳ patê : 15k
2. Bánh mỳ trứng : 15k
3. Bánh mỳ patê thịt : 20K
4. Bánh mỳ patê ruốc : 20K
5. Bánh mỳ patê chả : 20K
6. Bánh mỳ patê trứng : 20K
7. Bánh mỳ patê xúc xích : 20K
8. Bánh mỳ patê dăm bông : 20K
9. Bánh mỳ patê thập cẩm : 20K
10. Bánh mỳ trứng thập cẩm : 20K
11. Bánh mỳ patê trứng thập cẩm : 25K
BREAD PATE
PHỐ CỔ - 11 HÀNG CÁ
1. Bread roll with pate : 15k
2. Bread roll with egg : 15k
3. Bread roll with pate and BBQ pork : 20K
4. Bread roll with pate and salted shredded pork : 20K
5. Bread roll with pate and grilled chopped pork : 20K
6. Bread roll with pate and egg : 20K
7. Bread roll with pate and sausage : 20K
8. Bread roll with pate and ham : 20K
9. Bread roll with pate, BBQ pork and ham : 20K
10. Bread roll with egg, BBQ pork and ham : 20K
11. Bread roll with everything : 25K

Figure 4.6 Phenomenon of *phố cổ*

The two menus-cum-shop signs in Figure 4.6 belong to a food stall that serves different types of local sandwich known as *bánh mỳ*[34]. This outdoor eatery is basically located on the pavement and opened for breakfast time only. Ingredients and logistic stuffs are stored behind a brown door opening to the street, but it is the world hidden to customers. Breakfast diners sit on small plastic stools lingering around an outdoor gas cooker and two frying pans. Here, the person who receives orders, the cook, and the cashier are all rolled into one. The simplified dining space and serving practice of this eatery render the offering of an affordable[35] 'eat-out' breakfast for normal people possible. The customers, many of whom choose the take-away option before hurrying to work and school, are mainly residents in this neighbourhood. That the food stall is opened to the street makes it convenient for its customers most of whom navigate by motorbikes and can therefore order the foods while still remaining seated on their vehicles. The menu in Vietnamese is located to the left, which means it is intended to be read first (in geosemiotics, the conventional reading and writing vector is from the left to the right[36]) and the target customers are local residents.

So why is the English menu there? From what has been discussed so far concerning the setting, food and price, the use of English here plays a very practical function: for non-native customers (mostly expatriates and tourists in the neighbourhood) to read, even though they do not make up a considerable part of the clientele[37]. The owner's pragmatic effort to use English in order not to lose a new layer of potential non-local customers, despite having limited English resources, is shown in the literacy problems from grammatical order (*Bread Pate*) to orthography

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[34] *Bánh mỳ* is an orthographic variant of *bánh mì.*

[35] The average price of a sandwich here costs around twenty thousand Vietnamese Dong, which is less than half the price of a normal breakfast item (like a noodle soup) that the locals pay for in this neighbourhood.

[36] However, in some cultures, it is not unusual to read and write from the right to the left. Japan is an example.

[37] During the ethnographic observation, I rarely saw foreign customers.

(*Pate*) and stylistics (*Bread roll with everything*). The choice to write *Bread Pate* (instead of *Pate Bread*), for instance, indicates a word-by-word translation from the Vietnamese content *Bánh mỳ Patê* without an awareness of, or a lack of knowledge about, grammatical order in English. Even the choice of the term *bread* indicates a limited vocabulary since there are better equivalents in English to refer to what is being sold such as *sandwich*, *submarine* and *baguette*.

It can be reasoned that the symbolism of English may still have certain effects on local diners, but the ethnographic observation indicates that the patrons came and ordered without even noticing that the menus were there. So even the menu in Vietnamese is a sort of 'gentrification' that targets an increasing number of new local customers who live outside the neighbourhood but have recently become a part of the clientele. This is consistent with a self-conscious display of the additional content of *phố cổ* ('ancient quarter') next to the eatery's address, which together reads *Phố Cổ - 11 Hàng Cá* (Ancient Quarter - 11 Hang Ca Street). The addition of the neighbourhood's name before the address is technically redundant, but in this case is a deliberate promotion of symbolic values stemming from the evocation that the Ancient quarter has a prestigious culinary tradition, which has recently been acknowledged and shared widely among local residents. It is probably because this symbolism is seen as a 'local' phenomenon (to be discussed further below) that this content (*Phố Cổ - 11 Hàng Cá*) remains untranslated in the English menu. Even though it is uncertain that this self-conscious commodification of the neighbourhood's prestige works with English readers, it is worthwhile to note here that Vietnamese rather than English is chosen as the language carrying with it the symbolic values the owner wants to capitalize on. In this case, Vietnamese is seen as the language that not only embodies tradition and culture as previously mentioned but also represents local identity and pride, which will be discussed further in the analysis of the following shop sign.

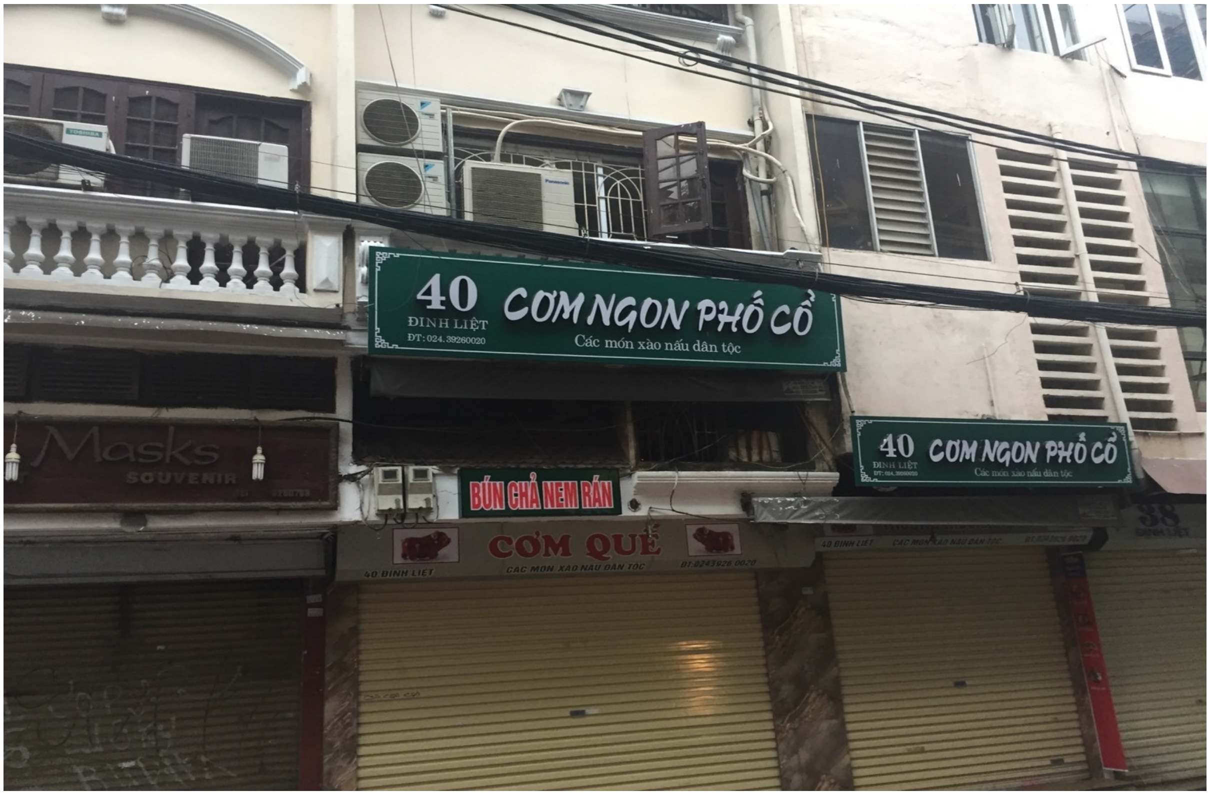
40 ĐINH LIỆT
ĐT: 024.39260020
CƠM NGON PHỐ CỔ
Các món xào nấu dân tộc
Masks
SOUVENIR
BÚN CHẢ NEM RÁN
CƠM QUÊ
40 ĐINH LIỆT
CÁC MÓN XÀO NẤU DÂN TỘC
40 ĐINH LIỆT
CƠM NGON PHỐ CỔ
Các món xào nấu dân tộc
38

Figure 4.7 Commodification of *phố cổ* at an eatery

Another eatery, which is also located in the Ancient quarter, serves *rice* – a staple dish of Vietnamese. At lunchtime, its small inside space is normally jammed with local diners sitting elbow to elbow behind small plastic tables filled with traditional local dishes. Despite its humble and somewhat incovenient eating space, the eatery is frequented mostly by middle class customers (many of them are from nearby neighbourhoods) who pay for what have long been considered 'the commoners' rice' (*cơm bình dân*) with an exorbitant price that can buy them a decent lunch in more comfortable restaurants elsewhere. The owner's deliberation to commodify the advancing symbolic values of her neighbourhood as a desired consumption space for local residents is indicated in the new layer of shopfront signs (see Figure 4.7, the signs in green) which was added in 2019. The new content that reads *Cơm Ngon Phố Cổ* ('Ancient Quarter's Delicious Rice') adds the element of 'ancient quarter' – which is not available in the old sign[38] – to the shopfront and turns it into a concept of high taste and nostalgic consumption.

What is the justification for the local phenomenon that fetishizes this neighbourhood? Back in 2004, the Ancient quarter was officially recognized as a National Heritage Site. By then, a considerable number[39] of its residents, who could afford more modern and spacious houses in newly planned residential areas, had moved out of the neighbourhood. But in a few recent years, there is a tendency that these very residents and/or their children, alongside an ever-increasing number of residents from other neighbourhoods, are coming back to the old and narrow streets of their former homes to indulge in recreational activities in the heritage space that is being imagined as representing the city's authenticity. The Ancient quarter, which had been enlivened and valorized in the literary works of former local essayists[40], is being reimaged as a neighbourhood of prestige and a hub of connoisseurs. More broadly, a contemporaneous narrative is being constructed whereby 'old' Hanoi is deemed an urban centre of noble intelligentsia, high culture and elegant manner that has been or is being lost to the fast and uncontrollable development of a 'new' globalizing city. That the bygone nobility and allure are being retrieved and put against the backdrop of present-day 'deculturation' turn what the Ancient quarter has to offer into a status marker and the consumption of things here a nostalgic taste of prestigious tradition.

The retrieval of a 'lost' high culture in the past and how this concept is being commodified through consumption can be seen even more clearly in modern dining spaces of the

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[38] The old sign reads *Cơm Quế* ('Ms. Que's Rice').

[39] According to Weibei (2004), there were from 10,000 to 15,000 residents moving out of this quarter in the 1997-2004 period.

[40] Some of these writers are *Thạch Lam*, *Nguyễn Tuân*, and *Vũ Bằng.*

French and new quarters where the concepts of ‘ancient quarter’s delicious dishes’ (*món ngon phố cổ*) and ‘old Hanoi’s taste’ (*hương vị Hà Nội xưa*) are highlighted and sold to middle-class customers. The concept of ‘ancient quarter’ here is selectively appropriated (leaving out uninviting information about an overcrowded neighbourhood with downgraded living and business spaces) and re-embedded as a referent of ‘high taste’ that is likely to be associated with local middle-class diners some of whom rarely, or may not even want to, try the real but less comfortable dining spaces in the Ancient quarter. The self-conscious desire to consume ‘old’ values in ‘new’ globalizing spaces relates closely to the imagination of a new middle class that is taking shape after *đổi mới* and the elevation of ‘eat-out’ culture in the city. A tendency to return to the old cities while not rejecting Western and global cultures associated with the new cities has been seen as a characteristic in the construction of (globalized) middle-class identity (see Gandhi, 2016; Salamandra, 2012). Here in this case, showing a self-conscious appraisal of local traditions against the backdrop of global cultures through consumption reflects the idea of being able to straddle the old and the new, and it is what defines the identity construction of new middle-class Hanoians.

4.5 Historical memory and national identity

More than thirty years after the launching of reform, the difficult time predating this historical milestone has recently been revisited and even becomes a historical and cultural topic attracting local people, old and young alike, who had and had not lived through that period. The pre-reform living space featuring old cassettes and televisions and humble wooden furniture has been reproduced and turned into a nostalgic theme or concept that is being commodified in local stores, which creates a mediated consumption phenomenon quite different from the orientation towards modernity as discussed above in Section 4.1. In this section, I focus on discussing one specific example.

Standing out from its counterparts, the retro-style coffee house called *Cộng Cà Phê* ('Cộng Café') has a distinctiveness that comes from a combination of language use and other visual resources.

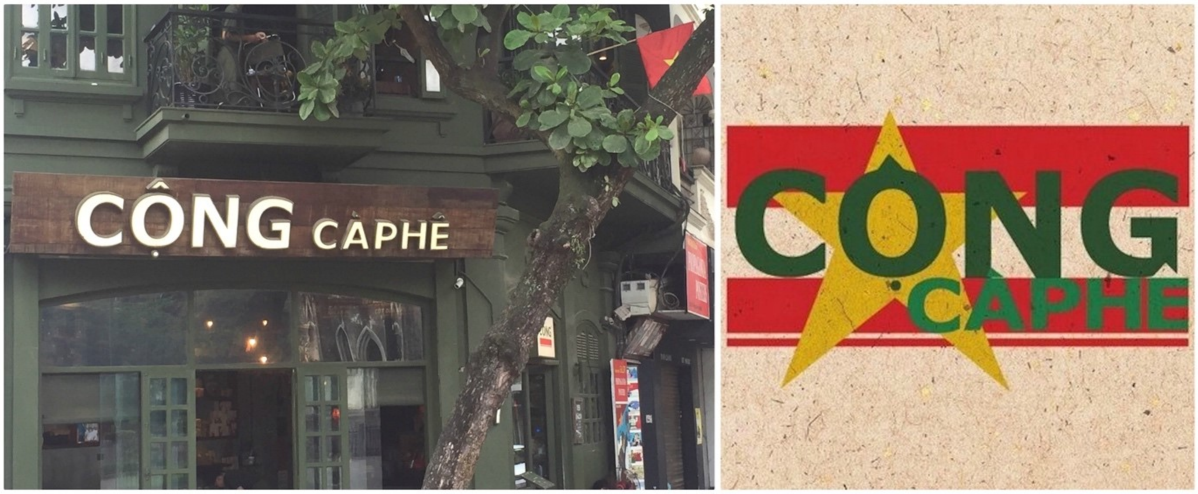

Figure 4.8 National identity at a *cà phê*

In terms of language, it chooses *cà phê*[41] (see Figure 4.8), the Vietnamese term for coffee, instead of using *café* or *coffee* – the two terms favoured by other local coffee houses. The deliberation to use the Vietnamese term here not only creates a difference for this coffee house and enables it to claim a distinctiveness of local coffee culture but also renders the association between Vietnamese and national identity possible (to be illustrated below). It is a remarkable perspective since coffee used to be seen as an exotic drink in the country where tea had long been the daily beverage of the majority[42]. The national identity is foregrounded in both the name

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[41] The Vietnamese term 'cà phê' was borrowed and transcribed from the French 'café.' A newer Vietnamese variant of 'cà phê' is 'càfê.'

[42] Coffee was brought to and domesticated in Indochina in 1857 either by French landowners or missionaries (Thurston, 2013). It was the drink of the French and native elite throughout the colonial period. Until the 1970s, coffee remained scarce due to economic stagnation when Hanoi suppressed private economy in the North and became involved in the Second Indochina War. Since the 1990s, after Vietnam surpassed Colombia to become the

Cộng and the logo's visual design. Cộng is explained as the word that begins the country's official name that reads *Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam* (Socialist Republic of Vietnam)[43]. In its logo, the linguistic content Cộng Cà Phê is set in a red background with a gold five-pointed star resembling the national flag. The space outside of the café also showcases a real national flag placed against the green wall background. The cup of coffee you ordered inside is decorated with a five-pointed star and brought to you by a barista whose costume simulates military uniform colour, a purposive reminder of a heroic chapter in Vietnamese history (the Vietnam War) and an indispensable part that shapes the national character.

The whole atmosphere inside the café is embraced by a strong nostalgia for the so-called 'subsidy period' (*thời bao cấp*), which is referred to as the 'long night' before *đổi mới* (Bodemer, 2010). The subsidy period, which lasted from 1975 to 1986, was marked by a centralized economy in which goods and services were rationed and subsidized by the government and private economy was neutralized. It was also the time Vietnam experienced a severe economic stagnation, which heavily influenced the people's living conditions. The lack of a market economy then made it hard to pursue even basic necessities. Memories of the past are made alive inside the café with exhibition of memorabilia and furniture. Language items such as propaganda slogans, poems, and sayings of that period are also displayed on the walls. The nostalgic interior co-constructed by language, visual decoration, and embodied objects has captured the spirits of a supposedly forgotten past. Customers, most of whom are young adults, have a journey back through time to experience the nostalgic living space of a pre-reform family, which recalls collective memory of a difficult time still evoking mixed feelings among the people.

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second largest coffee producer in the world (Pendergrast, 2010), coffee has become more popular with normal people and a native coffee culture has gradually taken shape.

[43] This explanation is on the official website of this café. The term *cộng*, if standing alone, is equivalent in meaning to *plus* in English.

What is the connection between collective memory and national identity? Wang (2018) argues that historical memory plays a key role in constructing national identity, since it serves as a norm that defines a group and constitutes references to other groups. The phenomenon of *Ostalgie* ('Ost' means 'East' in German), which is the modernist nostalgia for aspects of life in the socialist past, among East-Germans is an example (see Bach, 2002). The evocation of collective memory related to national history in this café is therefore a way to recall and share in-group experiences among Vietnamese. It is this national memory that indicates their shared culture and becomes an integral part of their identity.

After all, what do all these nostalgic sentiments mean for young Vietnamese generations who are supposed to be the key protagonists of development and modernization in a country that is getting into the full swing of reform and striving to narrow the gap with developed nations? And is there anything contradictory when it is these very young adults who linger in Cộng Cà Phê and many other 'subsidy-era-theme' cafés and restaurants can also be seen wandering in lavish shopping malls or hanging out in chic night clubs in their very own neighbourhoods? The answer to the second question is more likely a 'no' since nostalgia in Hanoi should not be understood as a negative and dissident attitude towards the present (cf. Lu, 2002); instead, it originates from a consciousness of rediscovering a historical past.

An exhibition entitled *Life in Hanoi in subsidy era (1975-1986)* hosted by the National Museum of Ethnology in 2006 was used by the state as a platform for the people (especially those of young post-reform generations) to relearn a difficult period in modern Vietnamese history. It was intended to simultaneously celebrate successful achievements of the country and its people after twenty years of applying the economic reform policy. Accordingly, remembering a time past here not only creates a necessary incentive for the presently national course of reform and modernization but also reinforces the people's beliefs in the righteousness of the socialist path of development[44] that the country has been following. This exhibition became a phenomenon with a record surge in the number of visitors and the time of exhibit being extended from six months, according to the original plan, to eighteen months (Bodemer, 2010).

Subsequent to this successful event, a movement[45] to not only rethink but also relive this difficult past has gradually taken shape. Such a movement makes the nostalgic consumption in Cộng Cà Phê (first opened in 2007), and other subsidy-era-theme cafés and restaurants, resonate remarkably well with a broader national narrative whereby the ideology of nostalgia is not at odds with those of reform and development but instead supports the current pursuit of modernity (cf. Boym, 2001). Bearing on the idea that 'the past, like the future, is an eternally unfinished project, constantly under construction and constantly being revised' (Tai, 2017, p. 3), the nostalgia mediated in such a master narrative reflects an attempt to redefine the meaning of a historical past in order to serve the national struggle for modernization at present whose aim is to create a new and promising future for the people. In addition, against the backdrop of a post-reform and globalizing society which is struggling to reconcile capitalist benefits with socialist values and traditional morality, the nostalgia for a difficult subsidy period links the past and the present and hence works as an enabler of national continuity (cf. Sedikides et al., 2008). Thus, the subsidy era, according to Maclean (2008) (see also Were, 2017), has moved from a previously unnamed period in the national history to one which has recently been referred to among Vietnamese people as an essential period of transition to the present stage of development.

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[44] The direction to develop a 'socialist market economy' has always been (re)emphasized in the speeches and writings of Vietnamese government since 1986 in order to highlight the purpose to build a market economy along the line of socialism rather than capitalism.

[45] Many other exhibitions have subsequently been held in various types of showrooms around the city. There has also been a surge in publications on the subsidy era in various forms (books, essays, newspaper articles, etc.) One book entitled *Thương Nhớ Thời Bao Cấp* ('Remembering the Subsidy Era') has been sold very well.

In the Cộng Cà Phê located in the Ancient quarter, the ethnographic observation indicates that foreigners, including tourists from other Asian countries, make up a small segment of clientele. As the talks with a few of them reveal, this café simply offers a very different coffee experience using visual resources that not only represent a period in Vietnamese history but also purvey distinctive national essences. The feelings these tourists have when indulging in a distinctive coffee space in Hanoi are different from the nostalgic solace of local patrons. But there is one thing in common. It is the experience of 'Vietnameseness.' The promotion of national identity in Cộng Cà Phê turns it into a cultural product that is now sold, purchased, and consumed not only in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (the capital of South Vietnam) but also in Seoul (Korea) and Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) where this coffee chain has its first branches opened outside national borders. With respect to the modernist nostalgia among young generations in Japan, Singapore, China (see Bergman, 2013; Iwabuchi, 2002; Lu, 2002; Martinez, 2013) and possibly other Asian countries, the presence of this café in Hanoi and other cosmopolitan cities of the region is an indication as to how globalization not only reinforces local identity but also supports cultural and ideological flows among countries in the same region. It once again indicates that the cultural flows in globalization are never one-way flows from the West to the East and the rest of the world; they are flows with various points of origin and destination (Appadurai, 1996, 2001).

4.6 Made in Vietnam and neo-nationalism

Among the fibers that make up the fabric of Hanoi's fashion landscape, outlet stores sharing the same name *Made in Vietnam* provides an important gateway to the understanding of local customers' psychology and ideologies. From a humble phrase indicating the products' country of origin (COO), Made in Vietnam has found its way to shopfronts in a few recent years and has subsequently led to an elevation of consumer nationalism in the local market. What is worth noticing is that it is not a trademark, which is indicated by significant differences of these stores in style on the one hand, and a myriad of orthographic variations that this 'business-name' phrase is printed on their shopfront signs (such as *Made in Viet Nam*, *Made in Việt Nam*, *Made by Vietnam,* and even *Ma de in Việt Nam*[46] – *Ma* and *de* are separated by a space) on the other hand.

Despite these linguistically varied presentations, which is mainly due to the sign owners' own way of 'understanding' this phrase and/or their deliberation to 'Vietnamize' it, the wide variety of these outlet stores all claim to sell fashion products made domestically in Vietnam for export markets. Some stores make this claim explicit through the English terms like *outlet, factory,* and *original* (see Figure 4.9) or the Vietnamese contents like *thời trang xuất khẩu* ('exported fashion products') and *thương hiệu quốc tế* ('international brands'), which also appear in a variety of arrangements. In addition, the informal talks with some shop owners show that there exists a small glossary of terms, which are mutually shared and used between local shopkeepers and frequent buyers, that justify the authenticity and legitimacy of the products on sale. (In general, these terms explain why these 'export products' are retained and sold in the domestic market.) So basically, the special favour of Made-in-Vietnam products is not going against the local customers' craze for Western and foreign products (discussed in Section 4.1 above), since fashion items sold and purchased inside are all from well-known international brands such as Zara, H&M, Adidas, etc. However, the burgeoning of this trend does not simply indicate a practical need to wear international brands but is also backed up by relevant ideological assumptions.

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[46] The writing of 'Made' into two words 'Ma' and 'de' can be read as an attempt to make it suitable for the readers of a monosyllabic language like Vietnamese.

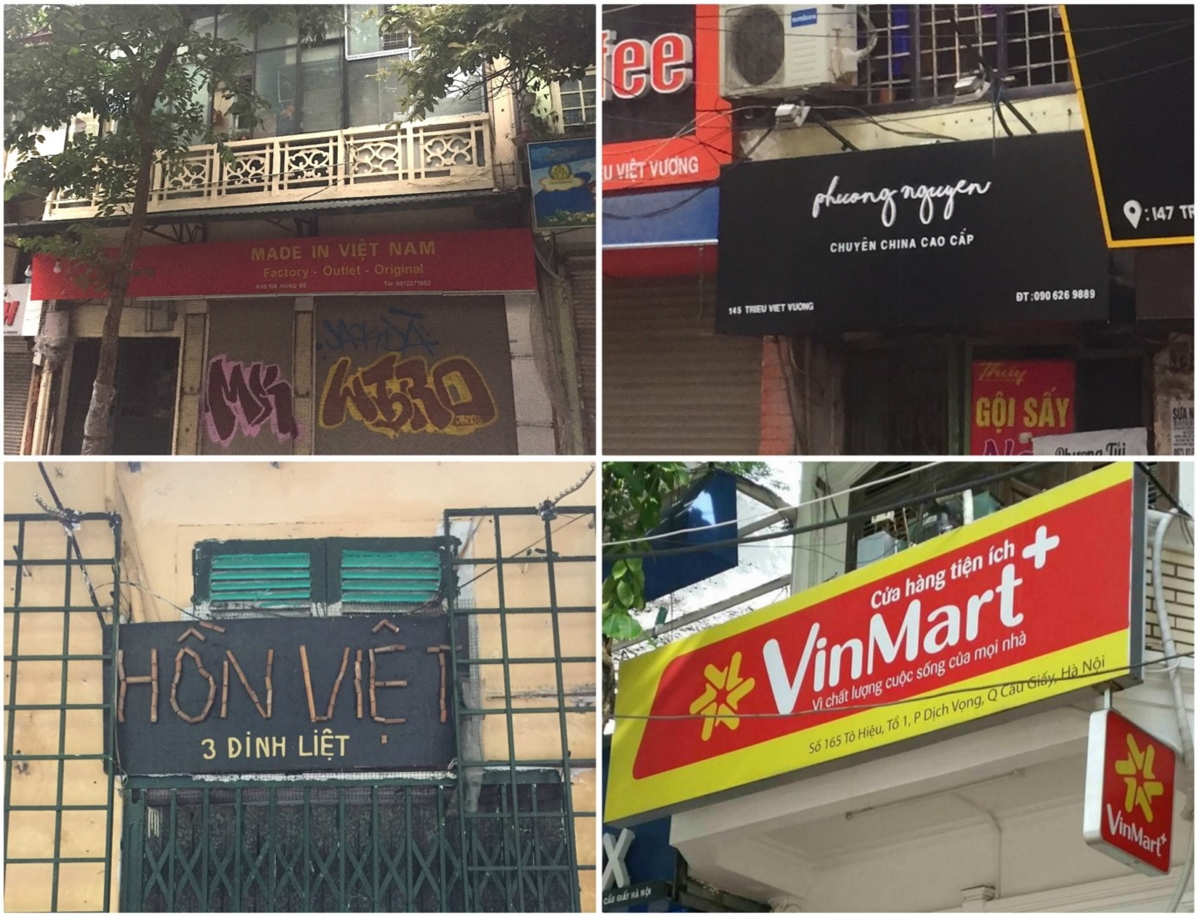
MADE IN VIỆT NAM
Factory - Outlet - Original
phuong nguyen
CHUYÊN CHINA CAO CẤP
145 TRIEU VIET VUONG
ĐT: 090 626 9889
GỘI SẤY
HỒN VIỆT
3 ĐINH LIỆT
Cửa hàng tiện ích
VinMart+
Vì chất lượng cuộc sống của mọi nhà
Số 165 Tô Hiệu, Tổ 1, P Dịch Vọng, Q Cầu Giấy, Hà Nội

Figure 4.9 Neo-nationalism and shop signs

What are the reasons that lead to the priority of Made-in-Vietnam goods in the domestic market? First of all, it was born out of the negative attitudes towards Chinese goods and the movements to boycott them among local customers (Ngoc Lan, 2014). Sinophobic attitudes in consumption mediated in public discourses have made a large number of local customers believe that most of the goods produced in China and imported into the local market are not of good quality. Furthermore, fears of threats lurking in the goods (especially foods) imported from China to their health have become a heated topic among local customers and in the social media (Mai Ha, 2012). The elevating favour of Made-in-Vietnam products therefore indicates the ideology of consumer ethnocentrism, which is defined as the views held by customers in one country about the superiority of their domestic goods compared to those from another country (Shimp & Sharma, 1987).

The ethnocentric view of local customers on Chinese goods explains why some Made-in-Vietnam stores in Hanoi add the names of whatever countries (for instance, *Made in Cambodia*, *Made in Thailand, Made in Turkey* etc.) to their shopfronts except for China. However, during my ethnographic observation, I found a rare case of a small boutique (see Figure 4.9) which has on its shopfront sign the content that reads *chuyên China cao cấp* ('specialized in high-quality Chinese goods'). The deliberate addition of and emphasis on 'high-quality' presupposes that normally, if not explicitly specified, Chinese goods are not of reliable quality. Meanwhile, claiming to sell Chinese goods also indicates that the owner of this store and probably its customers have already recognized that recently the goods (including fashion products) produced in China had been tagged 'Made in Vietnam' either before or after entering the local market (Nguyen, 2019), which makes the ideology underlying the advocacy of domestic (i.e., Made-in-Vietnam) products become paradoxical and puts local customers in a dilemma.

The proliferation of Made-in-Vietnam stores and the supporting attitudes of local customers towards them should be considered against the backdrop of a nationwide campaign that was launched by the state in 2009 to encourage the people to use domestic products and services – this campaign is entitled *Người Việt Nam Ưu Tiên Dùng Hàng Việt Nam* ('Vietnamese

People Use Vietnamese Goods'). While the rise of economic nationalism in the world, triggered by the global economic crisis in 2008, is seen as a mechanism to defend national interests (Iliescu, 2017), it has its own distinctive characteristics in Vietnam, a country with a long period of time under Chinese imperialism in the past. The awareness of a now-independent country urges Vietnam and its people to develop domestic production and avoid being dependent on China in terms of economy, despite the fact that China has recently become one of the major suppliers of goods for its market (Do & Ha, 2013).

Accordingly, the local customers' priority of domestic goods over foreign ones (not excluding those from Western countries) has been promoted as a patriotic move to help improve the national economy. Such consumer ethnocentrism and governmental protectionism are symptoms of neo-nationalism, a new nationalism which is intrinsically linked to the global market economy and the defense of national interests (Lee, Jon, & Byun, 2017). The fact that the pseudo-brand Made in Vietnam is not written in Vietnamese can also be seen as a neo-nationalist act to promote domestic goods using English as a medium, since it is considered the language of neoliberalism and the global market.

The deliberation to boost a preference for domestic goods and capitalize on the ideology of neo-nationalism can also be seen in the names of various stores that promote Vietnamese values and identities through a conscious inclusion of *V*, *Vin*, and *Viet* elements in their business names (see Figure 4.9). These 'Vietnamese-centric' elements, apart from asserting the domestic origin of goods and services, send a message about patriotism and national pride to local customers, as the store name *Hồn Việt* – which means 'the soul of Viet(nam)' – in Figure 4.9 indicates. Once the economic ethnocentrism has been built among customers, it may have certain influences on their preference for domestic products. In many cases, it creates a moral obligation to use domestic goods, even though foreign products are still regarded as status symbols in Global South countries (Wang & Chen, 2004).

However, in Vietnam, the master narrative on encouraging people to use domestic goods are gradually moving from asking them to show their patriotism in consumption to convincing them of the good quality of domestic products (Bao Phuong, 2019). *Vingroup*, a Vietnamese version of *chaebol* that owns the *Vinmart* convenient store in the new quarter (see Figure 4.9), is a typical example of how a post-reform private business learns to improve the quality of their products and services to increase competitiveness with foreign products on the one hand, and thrives on neo-nationalism on the other. That Vietnamese is becoming the land of 'Vin-everything' is an observation by Reed (2019) who notices that Vietnamese people now live in *Vinhome*, buy groceries at *Vinmart*, send their children to *Vinschool*, drive *Vinfast* (cars), etc. The list can go much longer and in the near future Vingroup is going to run its own air carrier. With support from the state and the people, Vingroup succeeds in building an image that represents the power of and confidence in domestic production, promoting national pride in the global market, and securing national interests, all of which provide essential conditions to further consolidate the ideology of neo-nationalism.

4.7 Modern Vietnam and traditional culture

In the LL of Hanoi, there is also an emergence of a new layer of Vietnamese which carries the spirit of modernity but is rich in tradition and culture. Different from the tendency to use monolingual English content, this layer reflects in a conspicuous way results of interaction between the local and global cultures that the city has experienced over three decades of reform. The examples below discuss this modernity-cum-tradition hybridity.

RuNam Càfê (see Figure 4.10) is a local high-end bistro serving upper middle class and nouveau riche customers, because the foods and drinks here are of considerable higher price ranges. With its location in the heart of the French quarter, the bistro is housed in a renovated colonial-style building with modern design, furniture and serving style. However, both the name and philosophy of this bistro highlight Vietnamese tradition, culture and identity.

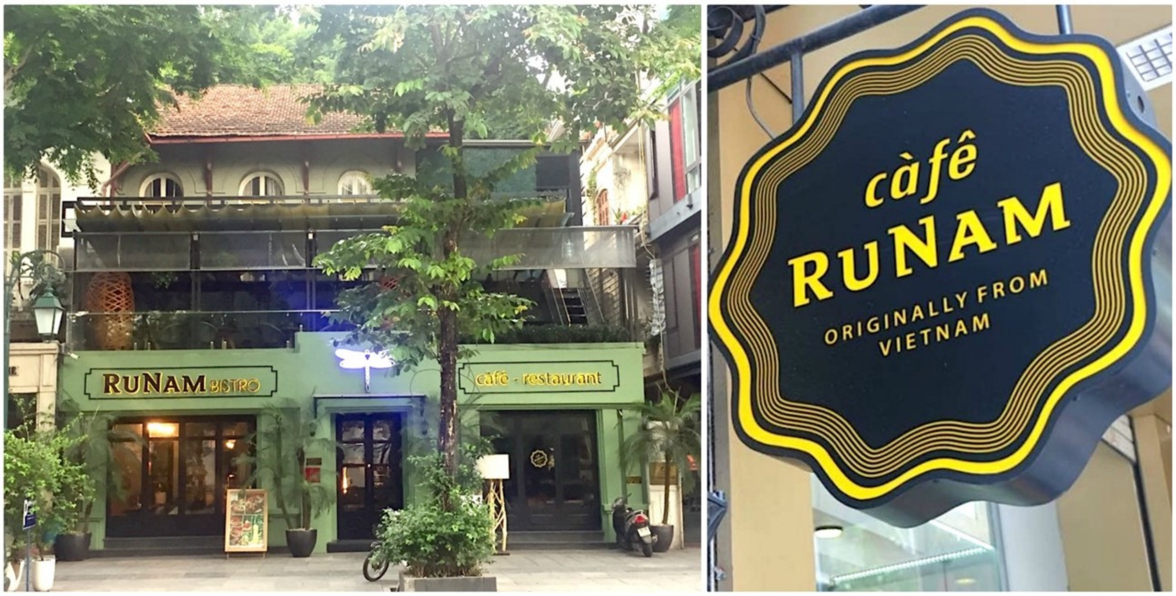

Figure 4.10 Modern Vietnam at a *càfê*

The name RuNam is a portmanteau of two Vietnamese elements *lời ru* (lullaby) and *Việt Nam* (Vietnam). It is therefore assigned with the following meaning: ‘the lullaby from Vietnam.’ The letter N, which is printed in a font larger than the other letters in the word Nam, is a deliberate adherence to the conventional orthographic rule which requires V and N to be capitalized in the name of Việt Nam. Apart from meaning, the two-syllable novel word RuNam lends an exotic sense to the name (based on the fact that Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language) and enables it to mix harmoniously with the English words on shopfront signs to generate a modern outlook. In addition, the use of *càfê*, a modern variant of the Vietnamese *cà phê* (as discussed in Section 4.5 in this chapter), which is supported by the English slogan *originally from Vietnam*, has the purpose to promote the Vietnamese identity. All these details show a conscious respect for cultural tradition and indicate how Vietnamese is represented as the language that not only embodies cultural tradition and identity but can also be 'modernized' to carry the spirit of modernity.

The name of this bistro evokes early experiences in the childhood of each person using the element of lullaby as a purveyor of national spirit and an embodiment of Vietnamese origin. Apart from language, the image of a dragonfly in the logo adds more nuances to its name. The following folk rhymes about dragonflies are familiar with every single local child from their early ages:

Chuồn chuồn bay thấp thì mưa
Bay cao thì nắng, bay vừa thì râm
(If dragonflies fly low, expect rain
If high, expect sun; if averagely, expect cloud)

Apart from conveying an important weather forecast experience in a country with agrarian tradition, these folk rhymes, which are also used widely as nursery rhymes, call to mind an image of the countryside – the cradle of Vietnamese culture and the romanticized rural living space of nostalgic middle-class urbanites in Hanoi (To, 2012). The logo with a flying dragonfly, which is accompanied and supported by the slogan *originally from Vietnam*, expresses a desire to bring a humble but authentic local culture to the outside world. This is justified by a segment of diasporic Vietnamese nationals who make up the overseas clientele of Runam coffee products. With these customers, the evocation of origin and identity coming from the name RuNam and the dragonfly logo may become even stronger.

In another case, the sound of a lullaby echoes in the name of a restaurant which is humbly and thoughtfully constructed in the shape of an old Vietnamese kitchen set amid high-rise buildings of a street in the French quarter (see Figure 4.11). Using the onomatopoeia *ầu ơ* (oh a-ee) commonly heard in Vietnamese lullabies and the image of a traditional kitchen, this restaurant takes diners back to the core elements making up the childhood of each person. The shop sign features a big green banana leaf bending down to cover entirely the word *ầu ơ*, which summons up a culinary symbol that is ordinary but essential in Vietnamese traditional cuisine. Banana leaves had formerly been used rather popularly in the countryside to wrap and carry food from market back home. Sometimes, they functioned as tablecloths upon which food was served. The 'banal' banana leaf therefore embodies the authentic spirit of a traditional kitchen, home and culture. Similar to RuNam Càfê, the evocation of culture and identity in this restaurant is once again rendered possible owing to the use of the romanticized countryside as 'the repository of traditional values [and] national identity' (Thomas & Drummond, 2003, p. 8).

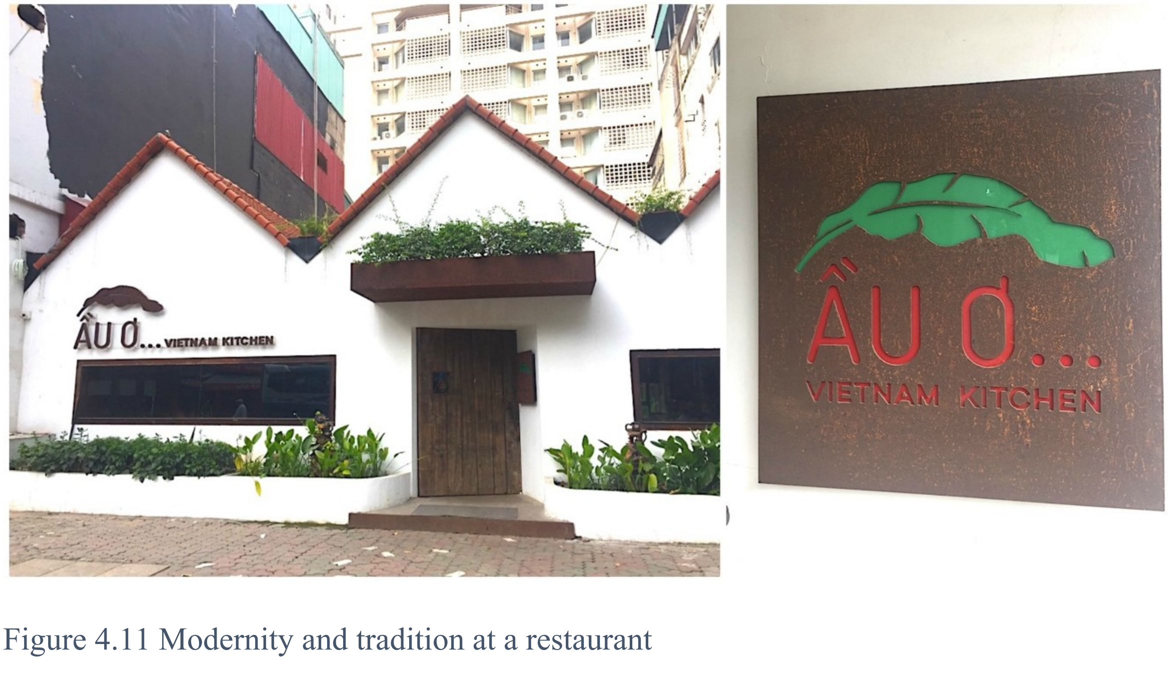

Figure 4.11 Modernity and tradition at a restaurant

The juxtaposition of Vietnamese elements (including the onomatopoeia *ầu ơ* and the image of a banana leaf) and the English content *Vietnam Kitchen* also indicates an attempt to use English as a medium to disseminate tradition and culture (not unlike the use of the English content *originally from Vietnam* by RuNam Càfê). In such a way, the national spirit is successfully captured and conveyed through a tool which is the emblem of modernity. By harmoniously displaying a hybridization of locality and internationality and of tradition and modernity, the restaurant owner manages to perform and construct a modern Vietnamese identity built upon the traditional culture.

The location of these two commercial establishments in a metropolitan area of the French quarter strengthens the argument given above (see Section 4.3) concerning how the heterogenization process of globalization is represented more clearly in the neighbourhood that experiences more intensely the flows of finances, people, and ideas from the outside world. In the meantime, these two cases contribute more nuances to our understanding of this localizing process. While *Hànộimới* and *Thái Café* showcase an endeavour to preserve the traditional culture in its original form, *RuNam Càfê* and *Ầu Ơ... Vietnam Kitchen* renew it by hybridizing the old and the new, the local and the international in order to construct a modern Vietnamese identity. Within the broader context of the globalizing Asia, the practice of two commercial establishments in this section, which indicates a reconciliation of culture and development in post-reform Vietnam, resonates remarkably well with contemporary cultural phenomena in the region as discussed in the following section.

4.8 Hallyu, Pan-Asianism and Vietnamese identity

Vietnam is one of the Asian countries that has been awash in Hallyu, the wave of popular culture from South Korea. This burgeoning cultural wave gives rise to the inroads of Korean symbolism and is shown first and foremost in the proliferation of K-style beauty spas, fashion boutiques, restaurants and cafés in the cityscape of Hanoi (which has partially been shown in Figure 3.4 and 3.6 in Chapter 3 and Figure 4.3 in this chapter). On the signs of these stores, English rather than Hangul is the preferable language, which means a number of things. First, even though the impacts of Hallyu are rather remarkable in Hanoi, a very limited number of local residents can read it. English is then used to reach a wider circle of local customers, which is also justified by the addition of Vietnamese (the language of the majority) on these signs. In some cases, Hangul is available but not necessarily to be read. Instead, it lends an aura of authenticity to the stores (see Figure 3.4, Figure 3.6 and Figure 4.3). Second, English is used not only to increase the intended readers but also to reinforce the modernity and internationality of these stores, which is made possible owing to the symbolic value of English as the language of global market.

On the shop sign of a spa in Figure 4.12 below, the English content covers two important elements (i.e., *beauty* and *Korea*) on which the owner wants to capitalize. Korean symbolism and authenticity are evoked and strengthened by adding the Korean surname *Lee* (one of the most popular surnames in Korea) following the Vietnamese first name *Giang*. The hybrid name *Giang Lee Korea* reminds us of the practice of choosing the English name *Tracy* as discussed in Section 4.1 above. The difference here however is in the wish to be identified as a(n) Asian/Korean rather than a Westerner, as the names *Tracy Pham* and *Loan Tây* (see Section 4.1) are intended to show.

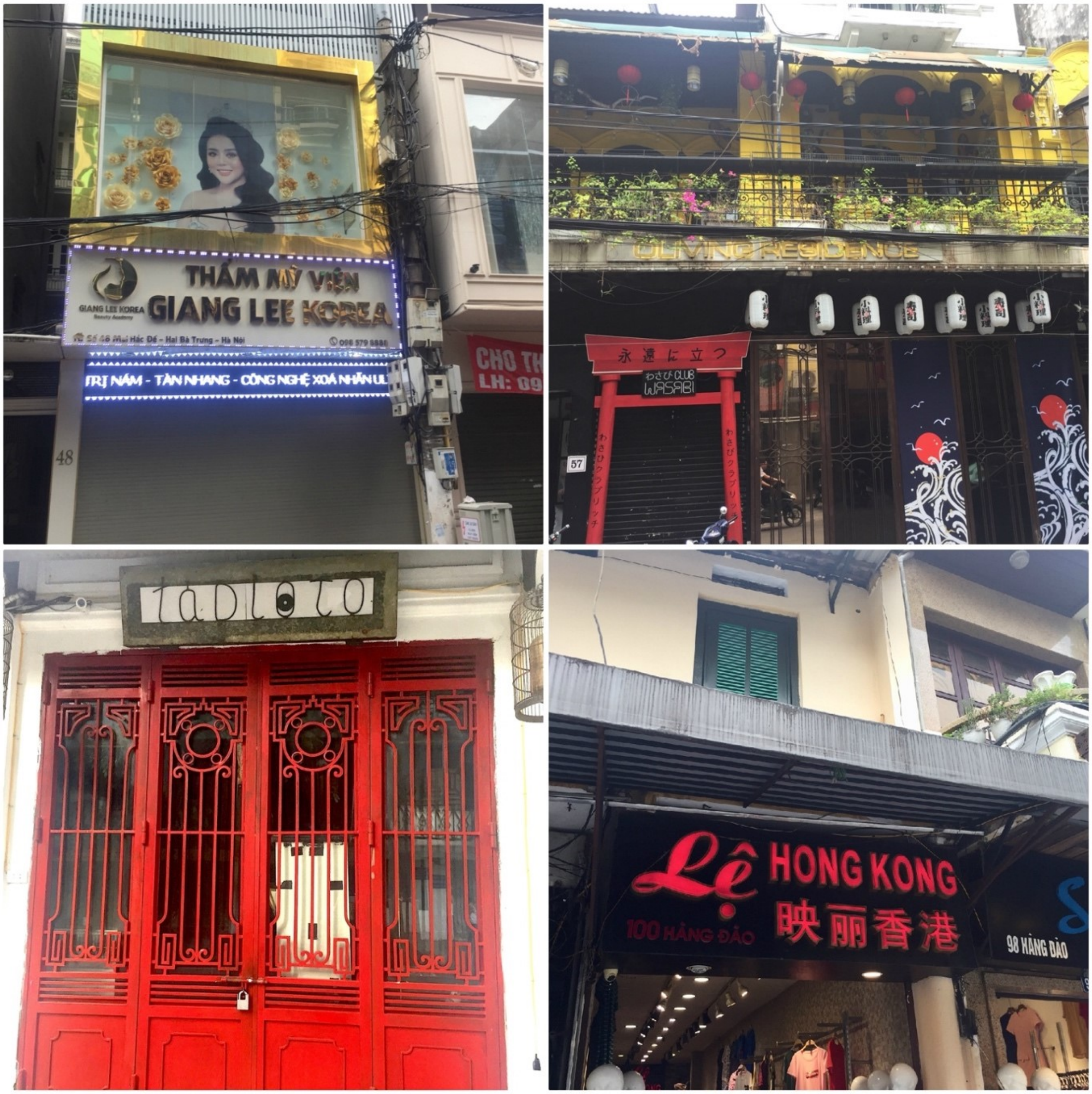
THẨM MỸ VIỆN
GIANG LEE KOREA
TRỊ NÁM - TÀN NHANG - CÔNG NGHỆ XOÁ NHĂN
48
永遠に立つ
わさびCLUB
WASABI
57
tadioto
Lệ
HONG KONG
映丽香港
100 HÀNG ĐÀO
98 HÀNG ĐÀO

Figure 4.12 Pan-Asianism and modern Vietnamese identity

The blending of international, regional and local materials through a utilization of English, Korean and Vietnamese elements conveys important ideologies relating to the post-reform Vietnam. Not unlike other Asian countries, the spread of Hallyu in Vietnam is a manifestation of Pan-Asian culture, a re-assertion of Asian identity, and a reaction to the popularization and domination of Western cultures in the region (Dator & Seo, 2004). In Vietnam, Hallyu also serves as a suggestive solution to its future development, since this cultural wave carries exuberant images of a modern South Korea which is built on traditional cultural values and Confucian ideology (Nguyen, 2014). As a country in the region sharing certain cultural and ideological similarities, South Korea may be an example that Vietnam can learn from in order to address the issue of reconciling modernity and tradition. The emergence of a new layer of Vietnamese on shop signs discussed in the previous section (the cases of *RuNam Càfê* and *Ẩu Ơ... Vietnam Kitchen*) indicates that Vietnam is possibly adopting the same approach. By following the example of an East Asian country which has been successful in creating a harmonious combination of development and culture, Vietnam can (re)construct its modern identity, one which is being shaped by an integration of a long-lasting Confucian tradition, an almost one-hundred-year period of Westernization, and a recent touch of reform and globalization.

Apart from Hallyu, the elements of some other Asian cultures that are considered symbols of modernity in the region like Japan and Hong Kong can also be seen on signage. A chic club in Figure 4.12 has its English name *Wasabi Club* surrounded by Japanese symbolisms, from traditional paintings to lanterns and a Shinto temple gate inscribed with Kanji and Kana characters the meaning of which young local club goers may not know, or care to know. All of these symbols, not excluding the Japanese characters, are displayed there to conjure up an image of the Asian metropolis of Tokyo or Yokohama and hence to evoke a sense of regional modernity and cosmopolitanism among local customers. In a different case, the foregrounding and commodification of Japanese values are rendered possible owing to the stylization of the whole Vietnamese sentence *ta đi ô tô* ('we go by car') to turn it into a 'novel' word *tadioto* that sounds like Japanese (see Figure 4.12). The effort to create a 'Japanese-style' word from local substances enables the owner to capitalize on the outstanding symbolic merits of ramen, sushi, Sapporo beer, and Yamazaki whiskies that this bar offers to its customers.

In a small fashion store, the symbolism of regional modernity is capitalized through the name *Lệ Hong Kong* (*Lệ* is a female Vietnamese name) wherein the owner's first name is followed by the name of a cosmopolitan city in the region (see Figure 4.12). Similar to Giang Lee Korea, the use of Hong Kong here is not to show a 'real' connection between the owner and the city involved. Instead, it indicates a wish to be seen with an 'imagined' identity associated with one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Asia. The equivalent content in Chinese 映丽香港 (yìng lì xiāng gǎng), which displays the 'simplified' script (the script used in mainland China) rather than the 'traditional' one (as being used in Hong Kong), further explicates that the addition of these Chinese characters only has an aim to enhance a symbolic association with the city involved rather than indexing a real connection with it. Once again, after the case of Giang Lee Korea, the yearning to have a modern Asian identity has been showcased on shopfronts, which indicates that Vietnamese people are apt to take pride in the modern culture of their own Asian region. Being modern in the post-reform Vietnam therefore does not mean becoming 'Westernized.' Instead, it is constructing its own version of modern regional identity, one which combines harmoniously culture, tradition and modernization.

4.9 Summary of findings

Using the analytical frameworks of geosemiotics and ELLA presented in Chapter 3, this chapter has demonstrated why the LL of post-reform Hanoi is not just a picture dominated by an orientation to open to the world. Instead, there is an increasing tendency to preserve and revitalize local cultural values and traditions. The language use on signage in public spaces and the daily practice of people indicate an effort to reinforce national and municipal authenticities and (re)negotiate the modern Vietnamese identity. In addition, this chapter consolidates the argument concerning the inroads of cities as the space of citizenship and the prime identity badge for individuals. It also demonstrates how a new Pan-Asianism, in the form of contemporary Asian regionalism, is awakened as a reaction to globalization and the popularization of Western cultures in the region. This is indicated in an embrace of the cultural wave of Hallyu, a stimulation of cultural and ideological flows in the region, and a (re)construction of modern Asian identity.

Through the LL of Hanoi, this chapter offers an inquisitive look into the development of globalizing SEA whereby two reverse tendencies of modernity and tradition co-exist. Within the context of Vietnam, the harmonious combination of the old and the new is what defines the modern Vietnamese identity, one which is fabricated by traditional and modern fibers of the local, the global and the Asian region.

The findings of this chapter also indicate rather clearly the ideologies of English as the language that represents modernity and cosmopolitanism and how it tends to be associated specifically with modern consumption and the identity of post-reform middle class in Vietnam. In addition, the languages of developed Asian countries, especially those in East Asia, such as Korea and Japan are likely to be seen as symbols of regional modernity.

Meanwhile, there is a tendency that Vietnamese appears on signage as the language that embodies tradition, culture and identity of the neighbourhood, the city, and the nation. But Vietnamese also mingles with English and other foreign languages on signage and has even been ‘stylized’ and/or ‘modernized’ so as to become the language that can carry the spirits of international and regional modernity, despite the established tradition of linguistic purism in

Vietnam discussed in Chapter 2. This is a testimony to how the ideology of nationalism is confronted by those of reform and development in the time of globalization and how this confrontation may have influenced the way people use and perceive the roles and positions of Vietnamese in the current society.

The next chapter will look more closely into the people’s attitudes towards English and Vietnamese, the positions of these two languages in post-reform Vietnam, and the roles they play in (re)constructing the people’s identities.

Chapter 5 Language ideologies in interview data

The analysis in the previous chapter has shown that there exists a rather clear ‘localizing’ process, in tandem with the ‘globalizing’ one, in language use on signage in Hanoi’s public spaces. Meanwhile, the language practice as having been observed in the LL data also indicates that the use of English and Vietnamese – the two most prominent languages on signage – are associated with different tendencies whereby English is more likely to be related to internationality, modernity and cosmopolitanism while Vietnamese is closely linked with tradition, culture and national identity. However, the analysis of LL data alone cannot make it explicitly certain whether these tendencies of language use are underlain by respective differences in the people’s ideologies of these two languages, because in some cases even Vietnamese can carry the spirit of modernity (see Section 4.7 and 4.8 in Chapter 4) and English can also be used as a medium to convey ethnocentric and neo-nationalist contents (see Section 4.6 in Chapter 4). Additionally, the language ideologies constructed and mediated through signage have yet made it obvious the roles and positions of English and Vietnamese and how they take part in constructing the people’s identities in the current society. And lastly, even though the LL data analysis has related the ideologies of English and Vietnamese on signage to the broader ideology of *đổi mới*, it is not yet clear how the former is influenced by the latter and furthermore how this process is partaken by the national rhetoric on development and modernization in present-day Vietnam. For these reasons, it is necessary for this dissertation to go beyond signs and incorporate interviews with local shopkeepers and residents.

Hatoss (2018) suggests that the inclusion of interview in LL research renders the investigation of language attitudes and awareness more feasible, and this research direction has been pursued in a number of previous studies which choose to interview either shop proprietors (Manan et al., 2015; Papen, 2015; Selvi, 2016) or local residents (Albury, 2018; Kasanga, 2012). The former group of studies interviews people who are sign owners/producers and has accordingly been able to get further insights into their language choices and preferences which cannot be found based solely on sign analysis. The latter group interviews those who are presumed sign readers/viewers and has therefore been able to look into their awareness of the status of certain languages and their corresponding attitudes towards them. Results of these two groups of LL studies have demonstrated that getting insights from shopkeepers and local residents facilitates a more holistic understanding of signs, since it involves two main ‘actors’ of the LL (the sign owners/producers and sign readers/viewers renders). Therefore, this dissertation sets out to interview both the shop owners and local inhabitants in three chosen research neighbourhoods. Being able to talk directly with the social actors who involve in the bidirectional process of sign production and consumption opens a possibility to approach signs as social actions and hence enables this dissertation to go beyond signs to understand the people’s social practices.

More specifically, the interviews in this dissertation are intended to address the following questions: What can the shop owners and local inhabitants’ discussion on the use of languages (Vietnamese, English and possibly other languages) on signage tell us about their attitudes towards and ideologies of these languages? How can these attitudes and ideologies help us understand the roles and positions of these languages in the present-day society on the one hand,

and the participation of these languages in the construction of the people's identities on the other?

In order to realize this purpose, this dissertation uses a semi-structured and open-ended interview that includes two respective sets of major themes, instead of a rigorous set of questions, to guide the questioning of two groups of participants: the shop owners and local inhabitants. The outlined set of questions as included in the Appendix are not fixed but subject to appropriate rephrasing to adjust the formality levels to suit each individual participant. This interview approach not only increases the researcher's adaptability to different participants and situations but also allows the participants to engage in more in-depth discussion on the chosen themes and gives them more space to express their viewpoints, stances and attitudes. In other words, this interview approach enables the construction of each interview as a 'natural conversation' guided by a predetermined framework of questioning themes at hand. While I begin each interview by asking some demographic information of the participants from both groups, the subsequent interview themes for each group of participants can be briefly described as follows.

The interviews with shop owners cover three main themes. The first one, which looks into their motivations for choosing to use Vietnamese and/or foreign language(s), includes the questions centring around things that explained their choices, for instance, of English and/or other foreign languages on their shop signs. The second theme allows shop owners to elaborate further on their language preferences and more importantly their views on or attitudes towards Vietnamese, English and other foreign languages (if applicable)[47]. The third theme elicits shop owners' opinions on the influences of using foreign languages (on signage) on the Vietnamese language, the LL of Hanoi, and cultural identity. The questions here aim to find out whether the shop owners are aware of upholding the purity of Vietnamese (considering the reality that the ideology of linguistic purism has been instilled in the society and continues to be mediated in current national narratives), which then leads to further inquiries about their attitudes towards multilingualism and their perception of other issues related to language use, language ideologies and cultural identities.

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[47] The interview indicated that two out of four shop owners, who had directly taken part in the production of their shop signs, were responsible for both the linguistic contents and graphic designs of the signs. One of whom even came up with the idea for the business logo. With the other two shop owners, one chose the linguistic content before

The interviews with local inhabitants also cover three main themes. The first one aims to identify whether they as presumed customers have any biases towards stores that use English and/or other foreign languages on their signs. The questions here ask if they care about the use of language(s) on shop signs before they decide to buy goods and use services at a certain place. The second theme elicits their attitudes towards the display of English and other foreign languages in Hanoi's public spaces. The questions centre on asking not only about their perception of the burgeoning visibility of foreign languages (mostly English) in their immediate living environment but also their attitudes towards this phenomenon. Similar to the interviews with shop owners, the third theme enquires about the local inhabitants' opinions on the influences of using foreign languages (on signage) on the Vietnamese language, the LL of Hanoi, and cultural identity. The third-theme questions here basically have the same purpose in comparison with those used for shop owners, even though during the interviews I could realize that these questions had different effects on the two groups of participants. Participants who are local inhabitants are apt to feel less constrained than shop owners when raising their voices over the issue of purism, culture and identity, which is probably because they only take part in the

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having the sign designed and printed, the other was responsible for the linguistic content in Vietnamese while the English content was added with the support of a person outside his family.

‘consumption’ of signs while the shop owners directly engage in producing signs and using languages on them and hence seem to be aware of their responsibilities for changes in the LL.

A total of eight separate interviews were performed and audio-recorded in the summer of 2019. Each interview was carried out with one participant who was interviewed directly by the researcher. The number of interviews is divided equally between two groups of participants, four for shop owners and four for local inhabitants. Of the interviews with shop owners, one is in the Ancient quarter, two in the French quarter and one in the new quarter. The inhabitant group includes two participants in the Ancient quarter, one in French quarter and one in the new quarter. All participants are permanent residents of Hanoi, five of whom were born in the city while the rest have at least 16 years of residency. The age range of interviewees varies from twenty-three to seventy-two years old. Two out of eight participants have experiences both living and working in the pre-reform period. Four others were born from 2 to 12 years before the launching of this reform policy in 1986. The two left participants were born 2 and 10 years respectively after this historical milestone. This varied age range renders the inclusion of participants who represent appropriately the people of what can roughly be called pre-reform*,* transition*,* and post-reform periods.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the settings that allowed the interviewer and interviewees to have a view of shop signs in the streets of three neighbourhoods under investigation. Three out of four interviews with shop owners were conducted right at their business premises. The rest of the participants, with only one case who preferred to be interviewed at his own home, chose to meet at the cafés located in their neighbourhoods. In all cases, we managed to find seats, which were located either by the windows in the upper floor of two-storey cafés or out in the balconies, that had a view of shop signs across the streets.

Throughout the interviews, the shop signs in view served as authentic examples and useful prompts that facilitated interaction between the interviewer and interviewees and helped us elaborate on the discussion. Two participants, after having accomplished their interviews, walked with me through the streets of their neighbourhoods and exchanged talks on their perception, feelings and attitudes towards language use on the shop signs showing up along both sides of the streets. Even though this portion of exchanges was not recorded, I did take notes of our talks. The notes contained information as to how local inhabitants, who are the presumed readers of signs, interacted with signs and voiced their stances on language displays in the public space of their living environment. In addition, these informal talks also add other valuable ethnographic information relating to the neighbourhoods under investigation from emic perspective. All these notes can later support the analysis and understanding of language attitudes of the involved participants.

The total amount of recording time of eight interviews is approximately ten hours in which the shortest interview lasts nearly one hour while the longest one lasts more than two hours. The transcription of interview data was carried out in the platform of Atlas.ti 8, the software for qualitative analysis which enabled me to select, navigate and work with specifically chosen segments of an audio file in a way similar to picking out a quotation from a text. For the purpose of interview data analysis, Atlas.ti 8 also facilitated the assigning of codes (or names) to interested audio segments so that it would be easier to locate, identify, and link recurrent and related themes and/or contents between different participants' interviews.

Now I proceed to introduce the method of analyzing interview data used in this dissertation before presenting the analysis of four chosen excerpts taken from the interviews with the participants. The choice of these interview excerpts and how they are arranged will be discussed in detail at the beginning of Section 5.2 below. This chapter will subsequently end with a summary of findings and an extended discussion on the results of interview data analysis.

5.1 Analytical approach

The analysis of interview data in this dissertation adopts the *language attitudes in interaction* approach developed by Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) and Dailey-O'Cain (2017). The use of *language attitudes* here refers to the beliefs and feelings about language held by individuals, which is differentiated with the *language ideologies* shared by a group, community and society. This section discusses the major points in this discourse analysis approach to language attitudes and concomitantly elaborates on how it is put into use in this dissertation.

Firstly, the expressions of language attitudes in interaction are seen, approached and analyzed as forms of *positioning* (Davies & Harré, 1990), a discursive and relational process wherein participants in social interaction construct, negotiate and signal their ideological *stance* – 'an act of evaluation owned by a social actor' (DuBois, 2007, p. 173) through which he/she shows 'attitude towards, feelings about, level of commitment to, or degree of belief or trust in what is being said or what is going on' (Jones, 2013, p. 5). Being considered a phenomenon of conversation and an appropriate approach to the dynamics of social behaviour (Hirvonen, 2016; Tirado & Galvet, 2008), the positioning approach renders the study of ideological stances as being constructed in interaction and through intersubjective negotiation. A certain ideological stance, which is conceived as indexing and being related to a particular *position* (the concept of *position* refers to the standing that a person takes up for himself in social interaction based on moral rights and duties and it is considered more dynamic and contingent than the notion of *role* which is construed as static and unitary, see Harré, 2012; Hirvonen, 2016; Jones, 2013), does not stay put; instead, it is changeable and dependent on context and situation-specific speech acts. Therefore, approaching language attitudes as language-ideological stances (Dailey-O'Cain, 2017) can address the dynamics and contingency of language attitudes in interaction. Accordingly, language attitudes are not seen as something fixed and stable but negotiable over the course of interaction and dependent on contexts. In addition, language attitudes are not only different between individuals but can also change (and become contradicted) within one individual during social interaction.

Secondly, language attitudes in interaction are not only expressed explicitly through metalinguistic talk on language but also implicitly through indirect expressions in conversation. Therefore, instead of performing a content-based analysis that focuses solely on surface-level assertions or direct expressions of language attitudes, this analytical approach also looks into indirect expressions of language attitudes by considering the two other layers of semantic/pragmatic and interactional information (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). The former concentrates on turn-internal semantic and pragmatic features ranging from the choice of particular words to the manipulation of linguistic phenomena like entailment, presupposition and implicature (which helps understand the meaning of actual speech acts), while the latter encompasses interactional or discursive features existing between individual turns such as pauses, pitch changes, laughter, etc. The combination of three different layers of analysis renders it possible to cover in a comprehensive way direct and indirect expressions of language attitudes embedded in interview interaction. In other words, this three-layered analysis is intended to address both *explicit* and *implicit* positionings, which are referred to as the way people position themselves or others directly and indirectly to a relevant social category (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). Other authors also highlight this distinction by suggesting a comparison between *deliberate*/*intentional* positioning (the positionings that are explicitly referred to) and *tacit* positioning (the positionings that are simply assumed) (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1991; Hirvonen, 2016).

Thirdly, language attitudes should be analyzed not only in the immediate context of the interview but also in the broader societal context which includes, for instance, the sociocultural background of the city where the interview takes place. Both of these contexts are expected to have influences on the interview participants' expressions of language attitudes (to be discussed further below). In this study specifically, it is important to locate language attitudes not only within the sociocultural context of the city as a whole but also of each particular neighbourhood. (The distinctive characteristics of a particular neighbourhood in which the participants live and do business have certain impacts on how they position themselves with people living in other neighbourhoods.) By so doing, we are able to make a connection between the language attitudes positioned in the interview with the language ideologies mediated in the wider societal context, since 'individual [language] attitudes both shape and are shaped by wider [language] ideologies' (Dailey-O'Cain, 2017, p. 173).

Fourthly, in order to elaborate on the third point above, in this study I take the element of *story-lines* in the positioning triad[48] developed by Davies and Harré (1990) into the analysis in order to enable a closer look into the aforementioned link between language attitudes and language ideologies. Being considered a unique contribution of the positioning theory to the study of social interaction, the element of story-lines permits analysts to connect what is going on in interaction not only to the private 'stories' participants bring with them to that particular interaction but also to the mutual ‘stories’ shared by their culture or the ‘master narratives’ (Jones, 2013). The story-lines of a culture affect both the way a person acts and expects others to act, even though he/she may be consciously unaware of the influences these master narratives have upon him/her and therefore tends to take them for granted (Harré, 2012). Such cultural story-lines are often mediated and naturalized in different types of discourses in the society. For instance, the discourse on language and nation in Vietnam, which have established a primordial link between Vietnamese and cultural identity since the inception of the DRV in 1945, may naturalize the ideology of linguistic purism and consider upholding the purity of Vietnamese as an indisputable responsibility of each individual. It goes without saying that this presumption can have impacts on the people’s attitudes towards their national language. Meanwhile, the recent discourse on *đổi mới* and development, which highlights the role of English as a medium to open to the world at large and perform global integration, can change the people’s attitudes towards English as well as the use and/or favour of this global language in daily life. Therefore, when discussing the participants’ attitudes towards Vietnamese and English in interview interaction, it is important to relate these attitudes to the ideologies mediated in the aforementioned discourses.

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[48] Two other elements are *position* and *speech acts* – the illocutionary force as discussed in the Speech Act Theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Both of them have been discussed respectively in the first and second points of this section.

Fifthly, even though positioning serves as an advantageous interaction-based approach to study social behaviour, whenever necessary the analysis of interview interaction in this dissertation can also be supported by other concepts in order to give a more elaborate account of language attitudes in interaction. These concepts include *stance* (DuBois, 2007 – as discussed above), *perspective* – the position from which an individual views something (see Graumann & Kallmeyer, 2002), and *footing* (Goffman, 1981). The concept of footing is used to indicate the positions – which include *principal*, *author*, and *animator*[49] – that a speaker commits to in relation to his/her utterances. It is an important way to understand the responsibility a speaker takes for the speech he/she produces (Deppermann, 2013). In interview interaction, a participant may use, for example, indirect speech so that he/she can act as an animator who only reports what other people have said and hence is less likely to be hold responsible for what has actually been said. In short, the aforementioned concepts provide more useful tools to study the positioning of language attitudes in interview interaction.

Sixthly and last, as a framework that analyzes identity in interaction, the positioning approach renders the capture of identity negotiation based on discursive practice in changing situations (Deppermann, 2013). This direction corresponds with the idea that identity is not fixed but changeable even within a single individual. As mentioned earlier, the concept of positioning offers a way to look into the dynamics and contingency of position and identity, as opposed to the concept of role, which is conceived as static, unitary and pre-determined. An individual's identity, in Davies and Harré's (1990) own words, 'is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own […] discursive practice' (p.46). In this study, the identities of interview participants are therefore observed based on how they position themselves during the interview with regard to relevant master narratives and other dominant discourses. According to Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) and their identity analytical framework, this is an important level of analyzing positioning since it looks into the 'acts of identity' through the moves in interview interaction. The objective here is to observe as to how these moves position the speaker in relation to dominant discourses, of which he/she is under the spell, and subsequently to see how he/she establishes ‘a sense of self/identity’ (p. 385) through such a positioning.

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[49] According to Goffman (1981), *principal* refers the individual whose beliefs are represented in the words to which he or she is committed. *Author* is the one who composes the words, and *animator* is the one who produces the utterance. In social interaction, these three roles can be performed by the same or different individual.

In short, the language attitudes in interaction approach, which sees language attitudes as a form of positioning, offers a three-layered analysis covering both explicit and implicit expressions of language attitudes. Here, language attitudes are analyzed not only in the immediate context of the interview but also in the wider societal context with reference to the concept of story-lines in Davies and Harré’s (1990) positioning theory. By putting language attitudes into the connection with wider language ideologies, dominant discourses and master narratives, the analysis of interview data in this dissertation gives insights into the establishment of the participants’ selves and identities. Last but not least, this analytical approach is also strengthened by consulting other concepts that study social behavior in interaction such as footing (Goffman, 1981) and stance (DuBois, 2007).

5.2 Language attitudes in interview interaction

As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interviews aim to look further into the attitudes towards Vietnamese and English (the two most visible languages in Hanoi’s LL), which helps understand not only the roles and positions of these languages but also their participation in the (re)construction of the people’s identities in post-reform Vietnam.

In order to realize this purpose, this section presents four different interview excerpts which represent the ideological themes shared most commonly among the interview participants. In addition, each of the following excerpt contains within itself expressions of attitudes towards both Vietnamese and English. Such a juxtaposition is intended to highlight differences, and even contrasts, in the people’s attitudes towards these two languages in the current society.

Furthermore, a focus on four specific excerpts renders a cogent and in-depth analysis of language attitudes in interaction as introduced in the analytical approach in the previous section. That being said, language-attitudinal expressions from other interview participants will also be included in the last section of this chapter to further support, illustrate and elaborate on the points discussed in the four following excerpts.

The selection of excerpts wherein attitudes towards Vietnamese and English are juxtaposed is also intended to illustrate how the semiotic process of *iconization* – one of the three main semiotic process[50] taking part in the construction of language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000) – is realized in the way whereby these languages are 'iconized' and linked to particular social groups, categories, and values through interview interaction. As will be discussed in the following analysis, the participants in these chosen excerpts cast these two languages with their 'distinctive' qualities and allow them to be iconically associated with corresponding social categories and values that differ considerably with respect to the old and new society, the low and high culture, and the traditional and modern identity. Being able to look into this iconization semiotic process enables us to understand more clearly different roles and positions of these two languages in the society and see how they are taking part in the construction of the people's identities.

The four chosen interview excerpts are presented in the following order. The first two ones discuss changes in attitudes towards English and how it has become the language carrying the spirit of *đổi mới* and the ideologies of internationality, modernity and cosmopolitanism, both in business environment and everyday life. Besides, English also plays an important role in constructing the interview participants' identities, especially those of younger generations. Meanwhile, Vietnamese is likely to lag behind in keeping up with the dynamics of reform and representing the identities of certain groups of people and it even becomes recognized as old-fashioned and obsolete. The third excerpt provides a considerably different viewpoint whereby English is associated with superficialism and even 'low culture' while Vietnamese represents self-confidence, stable development and national identity. Apart from indicating that language attitudes can differ significantly between individuals, this arrangement, which foregrounds a contradiction in language attitudes between the first two excerpts and the third one, is intended to illustrate how the bidirectional processes of 'globalizing' and 'localizing' are represented in the interview participants' attitudes towards the 'global' language (English) and the local one (Vietnamese). The fourth and last excerpt presents an attitude that acknowledges the roles of both English and Vietnamese; accordingly, each language is assigned with its own delineated functions in the current society. This is intended not only to indicate an emergent propensity which reconciles the ideological differences and/or contrasts existing in the first three excerpts but also to illustrate that this new language-ideological propensity is consistent with the current orientation which combines modernity and tradition to reconstruct a new identity for Vietnam and its young generations of people.

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[50] According to Irvine and Gal (2000), there are three semiotic processes taking part in the construction of language ideologies. *Iconization* refers to the process in which a language is made into an iconic representation of a particular social group or category. *Fractal recursivity* refers to 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level' (p. 38). *Erasure* refers to the process that makes a certain sociolinguistic phenomenon invisible.

Because of their length and in order to ease the process of reading, each interview excerpt will be presented in the following order. The original version of transcription in Vietnamese comes first in its entirety and is then followed by the equivalent translation in English. For the sake of aiding the description and reference during the analysis, the transcripts are organized around the turn, which means each turn in the following excerpts is also numbered. As mentioned earlier, using *language attitudes in interaction* (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009) as the analytical approach, the analysis of each following interview excerpt covers not just the explicit expressions of language attitudes but also the implicit ones that are mediated in pragmatic/interactional features (see Section 5.1 above). Therefore, even though reaching perfection in translation is almost impossible, the translation of these excerpts into English tries to convey accurately the meaning in the source language on the one hand, and retain the interactional features of interview data that later become the subjects of analysis on the other.

The rules for transcription in this dissertation are adopted from Dailey-O'Cain (2017). First, my name, the interviewer's, is abbreviated as TT. The names of the interviewees are abbreviated accordingly based on their real names as HS, LM, NV and TN respectively. All the interviews are carried out in Vietnamese; however, the interviewees, especially those who knows or can speak English, may at times codeswitch to English during interview interaction. In the transcript, these English words are **bolded** in both the original and translated versions to highlight this language mixing and render any description of mixing later in the analysis more convenient. The CAPITALIZATION of characters indicates sound loudness (the part of an utterance spoken significantly louder than the surrounding talk), while the lengthening of either a vowel or consonant sound is marked by repeating the letter that represents it (for instance, '*Nooo*, I don't think so!'). Other transcription conventions (or symbols) are included in the Appendix. Now we shall begin with the analysis of the chosen interview excerpts.

5.2.1 English and *đổi mới* ideology

Following the exchange on the symbolism of English on shop signs and how shop owners capitalize on it, the interview with HS – an inhabitant in the new quarter – turns into a different direction in which she claims that even in daily conversation, especially in working environment, there is a tendency that more Vietnamese speakers are mixing English with Vietnamese. In the following excerpt, she elaborates on the practice of using some English words in communication of both spoken and written forms between her – who claimed earlier that she picked up English mainly in work-related environment and through business transaction – and her colleagues in a local medical firm with all of the staff being Vietnamese.

***Excerpt 1**. It sounds unprofessional*

01 HS: ngày xưa cách đây tầm khoảng ừ (..) năm sáu năm (.) khi mà cái thế hệ học sinh du học bắt đầu quay ngược trở về việt nam (.) có những người người làm việc được- có những người tồn tại được có những người không (.) thì cái tiếng anh bồi (.) nó tạo ra một cảm giác rất dị hợm. (.) người ta rất ghét (.) NHƯNG đến bây giờ thì (..) lại- nó LẠI trở thành một cái làm cho mình quên đi tiếng việt

02 TT: ừ

03 HS: có nghĩa là- ví dụ như em sẽ không có cái nhu CẦU nghĩ là *ơ tiếng việt là nó cái GÌ?*

04 TT: ừ

05 HS: giống như lần trước em. (..) ừ em phải làm một cái quyển **company profile** cho công ty (.) NẾU như em đặt một cái chữ tiếng anh vào đấy là **company profile**. (.) em **design** ra nó rất ĐẸP (.) em dùng LUÔN cái từ **DESIGN** nhớ? (.) bản thân bây giờ công ty em luôn dùng cái từ đấy. nếu mà em nói là *$chị ơi em thiết kế?$* nghe nó cứ bị làm SAO? (..) tức là gì nếu như dùng một cái chữ nôm na (.) thì em đẩy lên em bảo *ồ ôi chị ơi nếu em cho chữ hồ sơ năng lực vào quê LẮM í.*=

06 TT: ừ

07 HS: =nếu để chữ **company profile** THÌ nếu chúng ta hướng tới một cái đối tượng là- bây giờ vẫn là các giám đốc bệnh viện (.) những người thế hệ cũ người ta sẽ KHÔNG hiểu nó là cái gì

08 TT: ừ

09 HS: vậy thì phương án của em là gì (.) bỏ luôn chữ ấy đi. (.) em bỏ luôn em đặt đúng cái **logo** vào trong í. chấm HẾT? (.) và cái **logo** lại là gì. **vietmedical**. (.) tên là tên tây đấy?

10 TT: ừ. @@ (..) tức là- với những gì em nói í thì anh có thể hiểu là một bộ phận từ vựng trong tiếng anh nó đã vào tiếng việt. [theo cái nghĩa=

11 HS: [chính XÁC

12 TT: =tức là (.) người ta dùng nó (.) một cách thông thường [rồi.=

13 HS: [chính xác.

14 TT: =và không có nhu cầu phải chuyển dịch nữa.

15 HS: chính xác. ngày xưa khi mà (.) viết **email** ở trong công ty thì (.) những cái **email** mà mang tính chất **formal** (.) công văn này kia (.) không phải là công văn nhưng mà bây giờ có rất nhiều **email** nó mang tính chất là- anh có thể- anh là- anh là giám đốc anh có thể **confirm** luôn (.) anh XÁC NHẬN anh PHÊ DUYỆT bằng **email** được luôn. chứ không cần phải ký tươi nữa. đó? thì (.) cái hồi đầu í. là em luôn luôn là kính gửi xong ở dưới là trân trọng (.) nhưng bây giờ là gì (.) ở trên là **dear** (.) **dear** anh **dear** chị xong dưới một đống là toàn tiếng VIỆT (.) xong ở dưới là $**thanks and best reGARDs** chẳng hạn THẾ$ đúng không (.) bản thân ở trong cái- cái chúng ta sử dụng hàng ngày (.) đã CẢM thấy cái chuyện đấy là việc tiếp nhận hoàn toàn bình thường.

16 TT: [cái đấy là

17 HS: [bây giờ chỉ nói đơn giản là cái từ **logo** (.) **logo** là cái gì hả anh (.) tiếng Việt em không BIẾT nó là cái gì luôn (.) nhưng em cũng không có nhu CẦU để em đi tìm hiểu em sử dụng cho đúng nhớ? tức là cái tiêu chí đó hoàn toàn mất đi rồi. (..) hay là tuyển dụng chẳng hạn (.) em sẽ ghi vào trong cái **form** tuyển dụng của công ty luôn. em- tôi muốn tuyển một bạn **content** (.) **contenter** ((editor)) một bạn **desSIGNer** (.) **photoGRAPHer** (.) **videoGRAPHer** (.) em không có phải là ờ một bạn biên tập hình ảnh (.) quay phim chụp ảnh (.) và TỰ nhiên nhớ. trong- ở trong một cái góc độ làm nghề của em (.) nghe nó quê

18 TT: ừ

19 HS: NẾU anh dùng tiếng việt (.) tự nhiên cái **level** nó bị thấp xuống (.) nên anh phải dùng tiếng anh.

01 HS: formerly about um (..) five or six years ago (.) when a number of vietnamese students who had graduated from overseas universities returned to work in vietnam (.) some of them managed to work in this environment- some were able to adapt to the work here some weren't (.) the pidgin english then (.) it provoked a sense of irritation. (.) people really hated it (.) BUT at present (..) has- this practice HAS become a factor that makes us forget vietnamese

02 TT: mhm

03 HS: i mean- for instance i don't even find it NECessary to think *so, what is IT in vietnamese then?*

04 TT: mhm

05 HS: it’s like there was one time i. (..) um i had to create a **company profile** for my company (.) IF i put in there the english words **company profile**. (.) when i had it **designed** out it looked really NICE (.) i used DIRECTLY the word **DESIGN** you see? (.) now people in my company always use that word. if i said *$sister i’ll design ((the vietnamese term))?$* it sounds like there is something WRONG? (..) what i mean is when i had to tell the manager my opinion in a concise manner (.) i told her that *oh well sister if i put the words company profile ((the vietnamese term)) in here it sounds REALLY awkward.*=

06 TT: mhm

07 HS: =but if we keep using the words **company profile** THEN and we want to reach the kind of readers who are- who are now hospital directors (.) some of them belong to the older generations they WON’T understand what it means

08 TT: mhm

09 HS: so what was my solution (.) i left these words out. (.) i left them out straight away and put just the **logo** in it. that’s IT? (.) and what was inside the **logo** then. **vietmedical.** (.) it is an english name you see?

10 TT: um. @@ (..) it means- from what you have said i understand that a certain amount of english vocabulary has been introduced into vietnamese. [in a way=

11 HS: [exACTly

12 TT: =that (.) people have used these words (.) in a quite natural manner [already.=

13 HS: [exactly.

14 TT: =and there is no need to look for the vietnamese equivalents anymore.

15 HS: exactly. recently when um (.) writing **emails** to people inside the company (.) with the **emails** that are **formal** (.) official correspondence or similar sort of things (.) not exactly official correspondence but recently there are many **emails** that are- you can- you are- if you are director you can **confirm** directly on them (.) you are able to CONFIRM and APPROVE directly through emails. you no longer need to sign the printed documents. you see? so (.) formerly. i always began an email with dear ((the vietnamese term) and ended it with regards ((the vietnamese term)) (.) but what i do now is (.) i begin with **dear** (.) **dear** brother **dear** sister then i write the whole content of the body in VIETnamese (.) and finally i end it by $**thanks and best reGARDs** for exAMple$ you see (.) right in the way- the way we use language everyday (.) we already SEE that this practice is accepted in a totally normal way.

16 TT: [that is

17 HS: [now let’s take a simple word like **logo** (.) what is **logo** (.) i really don’t KNOW the vietnamese term for it (.) but i don't find the NEED to look for an accurate vietnamese equivalent to use then? that is to say i absolutely

don't care about it anymore. (..) or in writing job adverts for example (.) i will write in the recruitment **form** of my company. i- i want to recruit a **content** (.) **contenter** ((editor)) a **desSIGNer** (.) **photoGRAPHer** (.) **videoGRAPHer** (.) i find it unnecessary to write um a designer (.) a videographer or photographer ((the vietnamese terms)) (.) and NATurally. from- from the perspective of my profession (.) it sounds unprofessional

18 TT: mhm

19 HS: IF you use vietnamese (.) your **level** of professionalism is naturally lowered down (.) so you have to use english.

In this excerpt, HS elaborates on how the attitudes towards language mixing have changed from a provocative practice to one that is naturally accepted and has even become essential in the workplace. Meanwhile, the examples that she uses throughout the excerpt also reveal her attitudes towards English and Vietnamese and the influences that the former has already had on the latter. I will start by analyzing how she positions herself within the recent change of attitudes towards mixing English with Vietnamese.

In turn 1, upon mentioning the negative attitude towards this practice in the past, she refers to it by the term 'pidgin English.' Within the context of Hanoi, *tiếng bồi* ('pidgin') provokes negative connotations relating to the former pidgin French known as *tây bồi* ('Vietnamese pidgin French') that used to be spoken by the local servants working in French households during the colonial period. Relating the practice of language mixing to a pidgin language, even though there has not actually been any kind of pidgin English existed in the city recently, is therefore an allusion to how people formerly saw this kind of practice as 'uneducated' and worth denouncing. Here, it reflects a spontaneous reaction that not only originates from stigmatized ideologies towards English and capitalism but also resonates with an ideological tradition of ‘linguistic purism’ and a tendency to relate Vietnamese to patriotism, culture and identity in the postcolonial period.

Afterwards, she also states explicitly that this practice provokes irritation and subsequently reemphasizes that ‘people really hated it’ (turn 1). By using the Vietnamese pronoun *người ta* (‘people’)[51], which in this context refers to unspecified people not including the speaker, she deliberately puts it that the negative attitude she has been talking about belongs to other people rather than herself. This way of positioning enables her to act as an *animator* (Goffman, 1981) who refers to what she is talking about as a witness, which thereby implicates that she may not share the same perception, feelings, and attitudes with the people she has just mentioned. It is worthwhile to note here that later in this excerpt, she continues to use this pronoun (in turn 7), alongside the other Vietnamese pronoun *chúng ta* (‘we’ or ‘us’) (turns 7 and 15), as a pair to make a comparison between the language attitudes of older generations (or pre-reform generations) and those of her generations including herself (or post-reform generations) (see turn 7). By so doing, she has made a contrast between *they/them* and *we/us* and this will be elaborated further in the analysis that follows.

Towards the end of turn 15, she raises a point that marks an important change in the attitudes towards language mixing with a confirmation that reads, ‘we already see that this practice is accepted in a totally normal way.’ While ‘totally’ strengthens the absolute certainty of her belief, the use of the Vietnamese pronoun *chúng ta* (which corresponds to the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ in English) in the proposition ‘we already see that’ shows that she does include herself in it. This positioning indicates that she herself sees language mixing as a ‘totally normal’ practice. The use of the inclusive ‘we’ also means that the practice has become accepted not only among those she has been working with but also in a bigger language-user community, not even excluding the interviewer with whom she is talking. In other words, her stance not only confirms that she has an open and positive attitude towards this practice in the workplace but also claims that this attitude does not belong to her personally but other people as well.

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[51] The absolute pronoun *người ta* in Vietnamese, which resembles *on* in French and *man* in German, has a variety of meanings including ‘one, we, they, someone, people in general’ (Thompson, 1965, p. 252).

More significantly, at the end of turn 19, she emphasizes the need for language mixing in the working environment. Her firm remark that reads ‘so you have to use English’ indicates that this practice in her consideration is no longer a subjective choice but an objective imperative. Her stance is expressed through the use of the Vietnamese verb *phải* (‘have to’) (in this case, the extended state verb *phải* in Vietnamese functions like the English modal verbs ‘have to,’ cf. Thompson, 1965) and the second-person pronoun *anh* (‘you’). While ‘have to’ turns using English into an external obligation rather than a personal choice, the use of ‘you’ (instead of the first-person pronoun ‘I’) indicates that, not only her, but any person including the interviewer will definitely do the same if they are put into the working environment like hers.

Thus far, the analysis summarizes briefly the development of this excerpt with respect to the changing attitudes towards language mixing and how the interviewee positions herself as someone who sees it as a normal and even necessary practice. Now, we focus more specifically on how her attitudes towards English and Vietnamese are mediated in the excerpt through a recital of her own experience with language use in the workplace. The subsequent analysis discusses some specific examples of English versus Vietnamese words/phrases given by herself and how she deals with her own language choice.

In turn 5, she recalls the real experience that she had when working with her manager to design a company profile. By elaborating on her consideration to choose between the English content ‘company profile’ and the equivalent Vietnamese term on the book cover, she reveals her contrasting attitudes towards these two languages. While the English term is seen as looking ‘really nice,’ the Vietnamese one on the contrary sounds ‘really awkward’ (turn 5). (Here, ‘awkward’ is rendered as an equivalent of the Vietnamese term *quê* – which literally means ‘countrified.’ The ideology associated with this term in the local context of Hanoi will be discussed in detail in the anlysis of the second excerpt in the next section.) Her attitude towards the Vietnamese term for ‘design’ is also expressed rather explicitly that ‘it sounds like there is something wrong’ (turn 5). This negativity is also foregrounded by the ironic voice and smile she shows when pronouncing this term in Vietnamese, which indicates her belief that it is inappropriate or even ‘awkward’ to turn to use some Vietnamese words whose English equivalents have become established in everyday conversation. Her stance suggests that she has a total sympathy for the people in her company who, as mentioned earlier in this turn, ‘always’ use the English term ‘design.’

Later in the excerpt, she reiterates this attitude when she emphatically claims that she ‘really’ does not know the Vietnamese term for the English ‘logo’ (turn 17). Again, it is to illustrate that her aforementioned belief is even more appropriate with words that are borrowed from English. Her priority of English over Vietnamese in the context of her workplace is also highlighted when she continuously reiterates that she no longer cares to find and use Vietnamese equivalents for the English terms she has already become familiar with through a series of expressions such as ‘I don’t even find it necessary’ (turn 3), ‘I don’t find the need to’ (turn 17), ‘I absolutely don’t care about it anymore’ (turn 17), and ‘I find it unnecessary’ (turn 17). Even though it does not directly explain the use of language on signage, this language attitude of HS (as a local resident and a presumed reader of LL signs) may well be related to the display of some English terms like *spa, nail, ship, restaurant, beauty,* etc. on shop signs in the LL data that we have discussed in Chapter 3 and 4.

Towards the end of the excerpt, more conscious judgements about two languages are disclosed. Her elaboration in turn 17 and 19 indicates that English represents a higher level of professionalism than Vietnamese in the working environment. Different from earlier expressions in turn 5, the judgement 'it sounds unprofessional' (turn 17) not just indicates her personal perception, it is more of a conscious reasoning introduced by the preceding adverbial phrase 'from the perspective of my profession' (turn 17). This expression turns her judgement ('it sounds unprofessional') into a viewpoint or a stance that is shared commonly between her and the people working in her profession. In other words, it is seen as a shared culture in the workplace rather than just a personal judgement. Furthermore, this perspective is 'naturally' (turn 17 and 19) conceived rather than being guided by an explicit rule or convention.

Now we will look more closely at the 'company profile' example (turn 5 to 9) in which she elaborates on the process as to how she reconciles a language choice conflict in order to deal with the intended readers of different generations. After expressing her priority of English over Vietnamese in turn 5, she raises her concern with a manager over the fact that using English conversely cannot help them reach the intended readers who are of older generations (turn 7). However, her final decision to use just a logo (turn 9) – a language-neutral presentation – does not actually reflect this concern because if she really wants them to read, she can definitely put it either in Vietnamese or bilingually.

Such a decision reveals an important point in her language attitudes which can only be understood if we consider her age, her living and working places in the new quarter, and the wider societal context of the city. HS was born before *đổi mới* but only started working over ten years after the implementation of this policy when English has not only represented ‘the key’ and ‘the gatekeeping tool’ to open to the outside world (Denham, 1992; Phan et al., 2014) but also embodied the imagined future identity of young generations (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2017). The determination not to use Vietnamese on the cover of the company profile book in this case demonstrates her firm commitment to a change in the language ideologies of her generations. Meanwhile, the decision to also leave out English represents an effort to avoid confrontation with the older generations who do not know English and possibly whose stigmatized ideologies against English and capitalism as mentioned earlier may still linger on.

Based on the reasoning above, it is possible to say that English represents a new way of thinking and working of younger generations in post-reform Vietnam, while Vietnamese indicates the former way of life that is associated with older generations and the pre-reform period. While the choice to use just a logo can be seen as a compromise from her and her manager who represent younger generations, the visibility of company name in English (Vietmedical) inside the logo and the way she emphasizes it – she raises her voice when mentioning that ‘it is an English name you see’ (turn 9) – indicates a consistent commitment to her attitude towards English and even a challenge to the ideological stance of older generations.

It is at this point that we can see a relationship between her attitudes towards English and the wider language ideologies mediated in master narratives on *đổi mới*. Accordingly, English (as mentioned above) is seen as a medium to open up to the world in order to gain advanced knowledge in science and technology to serve the national course of development and modernization and therefore is more likely to be linked to young generations who are the protagonists of reform. Therefore, English not only represents an embrace of international integration and modernity but is more likely associated with the identity of young post-reform generations (to be elaborated further in the next excerpt). Here, English and reform are the cultural story-lines that HS and the people of her generation take for granted and draw upon to shape their language-ideological stances in a way not unlike her preceding generations who had once seen a link between Russian and the course of socialist construction.

Next, we turn to discuss the influences of English on Vietnamese. As she mentions right from the beginning of the excerpt, HS sees from her own experiences that language mixing practice 'has become a factor that make us forget Vietnamese' (turn 1). The rest of this analysis discusses how she illustrates this point by referring to relevant examples given by herself throughout the excerpt. Further, her practice of code-switching to English is also considered in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of language ideologies in this excerpt.

The most notable evidence enabling us to see her use of English in daily language practice is the frequency of her going between two languages in this interview. In this excerpt alone, she turns to use English twenty-three times, many of which are subconscious. It is rather considerable and is in sharp contrast with the exiting ideology of linguistic purism in the country. As represented through her own examples, English not only reduces the need for some Vietnamese words in certain contexts (for instance, the word 'design' mentioned in turn 5) but also makes people like her unaware of equivalent Vietnamese terms for some English-borrowed words (for instance, the word 'logo' mentioned in turn 17). Furthermore, English also changes the naming practice of some Vietnamese businesses (the name 'Vietmedical' in turn 9 is an example), which is consistent with the practice of shop-naming as shown in the LL data in Chapter 4. More significantly, English even has influences on communication practice in the working environment (for instance, the practice of writing emails in turn 15 and composing recruitment forms in turn 17).

Now if we consider all the examples she has mentioned including her own subconscious shifting to English, it is not hard to realize that mixing mostly happens at word level. The only exception is when she writes emails. Here, English interferes into discourse level wherein it begins and ends emails. But even then, the English used is basically formulaic and does not carry main contents, since Vietnamese is always chosen for this function in the email body. It is quite similar to the practice of using English for symbolic function in the bilingual shop signs that we have witnessed in the LL data analysis (especially the case of the standing menu in Section 4.1 of Chapter 4) wherein English is used to invoke modernity, prestige and class. And it also corresponds with what Androutsopoulos (2012) refers to as the symbolic discourse function of English when it is used in the headings, beginnings and endings of media texts. Based on this observation, it is possible to infer that even though she claims explicitly that English is synonymous with professionalism, the English she uses and refers to tends to carry more of symbolism than indexing the ‘real’ professionalism in the workplace. To put it differently, English here embodies the symbolism of professionalism, creates a sort of modern ‘style’ in the workplace, and reflects the spirit of a newly acclaimed culture in the working environment, which is probably represented most clearly among the people of post-reform generations whose ideologies of English are significantly different from those of pre-reform generations as indicated above.

In this excerpt, HS has talked about a significant change in attitudes towards English and how it has been associated with young generations and the ideologies of reform, international integration and modernity in the current society. Such an attitudinal change should be seen as one of the major reasons underlying the burgeoning of English in Hanoi’s LL as indicated in Chapter 3 and 4. In the following excerpt, we will look more closely into how English takes part in the construction of youth culture and the modern and cosmopolitan identity of post-reform generations, while Vietnamese becomes outdated and less exciting to them.

5.2.2 Vietnamese and *nhà quê* ideology

The subsequent excerpt follows a segment of interview interaction in which LM – the owner of a small beauty clinic in the French quarter – explains that the name 'Jollie' (the letter 'l' is doubled) on the sign of her store comes from her fancy nickname she has chosen because of her admiration for the famous American actress Angelina Jolie. Being born and having grown up after *đổi mới*, LM well represents the young middle-class generations who learned English in their early ages at schools and have had more chances and better conditions to open to the outside world.

Excerpt 2. *It also sounds more modern*

01 TT: thế khi mà em chọn lấy cái tên đấy cho vào cửa hàng í. thì em có nghĩ là cái tên **Jollie** nóóó. tốt hơn là lấy một cái tên tiếng việt [không.

02 LM: [@@ (..) nhưng mà bởi vì vốn dĩ em thích tiếng anh rồi nên em CHẲNG bao giờ em lấy tiếng việt cả

03 TT: [à.

04 LM: [chả bao giờ em nghĩ (.) em đặt tên thương hiệu của em là tiếng việt cả. dù cóóó (.) bây giờ hay là sau này em có làm cái gì đi chăng nữa thì em cũng sẽ chỉ đặt $tiếng anh thôi$. @@

05 TT: à. (.) tức là kiểu mình nghĩ là tiếng anh nó sẽ kiểu. hợp với mình hơn đúng không.

06 LM: đúng rồi ạ. với cả nghe nó cũng hiện ĐẠI hơn chứ $em không thích tiếng việt$ [@@@

07 TT: [**ok**. ầ. được rồi. [[thế?

08 LM: [[nghe tiếng Việt nó cứ bị kiểu (.) không được- không được (..) không được hay cho lắm í ạ. @@

09 TT: ừ. [đúng là bây giờ mà

10 LM: [ví dụ như bây giờ mà mở **spa** tên là @((tên riêng, ở lượt này và lượt thứ 12 người được phỏng vấn thử tạo ra những cái tên cửa hàng khác nhau từ tên riêng của mình)) hay là ((tên riêng)) thì nghe nó buồn cười@ [@@ nghe quê. @

11 TT: [@

12 LM: hoặc là **spa** ((tên riêng)) hay **spa** ((tên riêng)) nghe nó cứ quê quê í ạ. [@@@@@.

13 TT: [ừ. nghe giống hãng **taxi**? @@@

14 LM: nên em phải đặt là **jollie** thì nghe nó kiểu hay hơn (.) còn bây giờ mọi người- ví dụ như đối tác của em ở nước ngoài đi (.) hay là bạn bè của em mà ai ở nước ngoài người ta đều gọi em tên là **jollie** hết. không ai gọi em tên là ((tên riêng)) cả. [@@

15 TT: [à. **ok**. thế là kiểu mình mà đặt cái tên tiếng anh đấy là- thực ra nó cũng có lợi đúng không.

16 LM: đúng rồi ạ. có lợi ạ. thực ra bây giờ kể cả như các thương hiệu (.) ở việt nam mà anh thấy nó có- có tên tuổi một tí í? chả có thương hiệu nào là tên tiếng việt cả

17 TT: không biết là cái lí do chủ yếu là do cái gì nhở?

18 LM: (…) [@@

19 TT [thực ra mình nhìn biển đúng là thấy [[chủ yếu các cửa hàng quần áo

20 LM: [[toàn là tiếng anh ạ (.) vầng (..) ừm đấy thí dụ như kiểu **vincom** ((tên của toà nhà cao tầng bên cạnh khu vực phỏng vấn)) các thứ này này người ta cũng có đặt tiếng việt đâu ạ (.) mà rõ ràng là chủ là người việt (.) rồi các tập đoàn bất động sản? ví dụ như **novaLAND** rồi này kia các thứ người ta cũng toàn đặt tiếng anh? không ai người ta đặt tiếng việt cả. (..) rồi ừ các trung tâm mua sắm này hoặc là những cái (…) cái- cái- cái nơi lớn lớn **bar**- **bar** đi ví dụ như club này vũ trường **bar** (.) đa số toàn chủ là người việt. nhưng toàn lấy thương hiệu là tiếng anh (..) [đấy nói chung

21 TT: [ừ. như kiểu thế là cho nó kiểu hợp xu thế đúng không.

22 LM: em không biết được nhưng mà nói chung dân việt nam mình bị bệnh sính ngoại ạ. [@@@@

23 TT: [à à à. tức là khi mình làm chủ mình ý thức là nếu mình đặt kiểu tiếng anh chẳng hạn thì khách hàng nó sẽ [[cảm thấy

24 LM: [[một phần là thế với một phần cũng là do em cũng (.) học trường ngoại ngữ rồi em cũng thích tiếng anh nên đâm ra em cũng chỉ suy nghĩ đến tiếng anh nhiều hơn ạ.

01 TT: so when you chose that name for your shop. did you consider whether the name **Jollie** iiit. is better than a vietnamese [one.

02 LM: [@@ (..) but since i have always liked english so i DON’T ever think of using a vietnamese name

03 TT: [ah.

04 LM: [i never think (.) i will take a vietnamese name for my business. eveeen (.) now or later whatever kind of business that i may run i will also choose $just english$. @@

05 TT: ah. (.) does it mean that you think english is like. more suitable with you.

06 LM: right. and it also sounds more MODern and $i don’t like vietnamese$ [@@@

07 TT: [**ok**. yeah. alright. [[so?

08 LM: [[vietnamese sounds like it is like (.) not- not (..) not really exciting. @@

09 TT: um. [now it seems true that

10 LM: [for example now if i open a **spa** called @ ((her name, in this turn and turn 12 she tries a different combinations and arrangements of her real name to create possible business names in vietnamese)) or ((her name)) it sounds funny@ [@@ and outdated. @

11 TT: [@

12 LM: or **spa** called ((her name)) or ((her name)) it sounds a bit obsolete. [@@@@@.

13 TT: [um. one of them sounds like the name of a **taxi** company? @@@

14 LM: so i have to name it **jollie** ((dʒəʊˈli)) it sounds better (.) and now people- for example my foreign business partners (.) or my friends who live abroad they all call me by **jollie**. no one calls me by ((her vietnamese name)) at all. [@@

15 TT: [ah. **ok**. so it seems like that english name is- it is actually advantageous is that right.

16 LM: right. it has advantages. actually you can see that recently even brand names (.) in vietnam that- that are known more or less? none of them is in vietnamese

17 TT: and what is the main reason for that?

18 LM: (…) [@@

19 TT [i can see it on shop signs myself [[most of the fashion shops

20 LM: [[they all use english (.) yeah (..) um for example **vincom** ((the name of the modern building located right next to the venue where the interview took place)) and things like that

they aren't given any vietnamese names at all (.) even though the owners are absolutely vietnamese (.) and then the real estate companies? for example **novaLAND** and similar stuffs they are all given english names? no one uses vietnamese names. (..) and then um shopping malls or some (…) some- some- some rather big places like **bars**- let's say **bars**- for example clubs discotheques **bars** (.) most owners are vietnamese. but they all take english names for their businesses (..) [so you see in general

21 TT: [um. is it a way to make it like suitable with the trend.

22 LM: i'm not sure but in general we vietnamese people have xenocentric mentality. [@@@@

23 TT: [ah ah ah. so it means that as a shop owner you are aware that if you use like an english name for example the customers they may [[feel

24 LM: [[that is one thing and another thing is because i also (.) studied in a foreign language college and furthermore i like english so i tend to think more about using english names.

This excerpt shows my intention to elicit her responses about the benefits of using an English name for her business in Hanoi's context. Such an intention is indicated right from the first question in turn 1 and is reproduced in subsequent questions in turn 15, 17, 21 and 23. As the talk proceeds, the way she answers the questions, ranging from addressing them directly (turn 16, 24) to taking them to a different direction (turn 2, 22) or just returning them with laughter (turn 18), indicates her stances and gives insight into her language attitudes. The following analysis discusses how she refers to English as a vehicle for youth culture and a badge of modern identity, what contrasting attitudes she has towards English and Vietnamese, and what reasons she gives to explain for her favour of English. All these points will then facilitate our further discussion as to how her language attitudes are related to wider societal language ideologies.

In turn 2, in answering the first question, she starts with the contrasting conjunction *nhưng mà* ('but') to provide an argument which is in contrast with the presupposition in my question. The subsequent content in her answer, which uses expressions such as 'always' ('I have always liked English') and 'don't ever' ('I don't ever think of using a Vietnamese name') with 'don't' being delivered with an increase in voice intensity, emphasizes that she has never had a consideration as presupposed in my question in turn 1. Her positioning shows that English has always been her first and only choice while Vietnamese has never been her consideration. The existence of no such consideration may possibly be the reason explaining why she bursts into laughter before giving the answer.

After her elaboration in turn 4 in which she reiterates that English has always been her choice even in her future business and the opposite is true with Vietnamese, she answers my question unhesitantly in turn 6 to confirm that English is more suitable with her before adding that 'it also sounds more modern' (turn 6). This assertion, which comes immediately after her answer 'right' to the question in turn 5, can be seen as the reason explaining why she considers English as more suitable for her. In other words, this interactional sequence facilitates a logical inference that English is believed to be more suitable because it represents in a better way the image of her as a young modern person.

Later in turn 14, she emphasizes that the people of her circle including her friends prefer addressing her with the name 'Jollie.' Despite its French origin, this name is associated with an 'icon' of American pop culture and becomes known to young Vietnamese people through the medium of English. Therefore, it functions more like an English name for her, as indicated in the way it is pronounced. (The IPA transcription in turn 14 shows that it is pronounced in the English way. The accent on the second syllable may indicate an interference from Vietnamese.) And the way she positions herself in relation to this reality indicates that she also likes being addressed by this fancy name better, which is shown through the excitement in her voice – when she mentions that no one calls her by the Vietnamese name at all – and the delighted laughter following her utterance.

A shared preference for an adopted name from an American actress between her and the people of her (young) age indicates that English is mutually favoured and chosen as the language to represent the ‘culture’ of her group. In other words, English is seen as an identity tag for the young local people who want to live a modern life, be seen as ‘cool’ and fashionable, and get closer to the youth culture in the West and worldwide. This explains why in her talk she would rather mention her friends and business partners from ‘abroad’ (turn 14) even though her business mostly involves local customers. It is here that we can see more clearly (in comparison with the first excerpt) how English takes part in constructing the modern and cosmopolitan identity of young post-reform generations in Vietnam, which resonates with and sets more light into the practice of business naming in the LL that we have discussed in Chapter 4 (especially the case of *Tracy Pham*). Now, considering her preceding confirmation that reads ‘so I have to name it Jollie’ (turn 14), it is possible to see that using English name is more likely to be an obligation for her to be recognized as a member of that ‘youth culture’ rather than just to have a name that ‘sounds better’ (turn 14).

Next, we will look more closely at her attitudes towards English and Vietnamese. After expressing her high priority of English in turn 2, 4 and 6 as previously discussed, towards the end of turn 6 she claims explicitly that she does not like Vietnamese. However, the smiling voice when she says it and the laughter she places subsequently serve as mitigating devices allowing her to make a less critical attitude. This is an indication of how laughter is used to manage the delicacy of the moment in interaction (Gleen, 2013; Raclaw & Ford, 2017) (to be elaborated below). In three subsequent turns (8, 10 and 12), she elaborates on her attitude towards

Vietnamese through such expressions as ‘not really exciting’ (turn 8), ‘funny and outdated’ (turn 10), and ‘a bit obsolete’ (turn 12). These expressions, which are all followed by laughter, again mark an awareness to lessen the negative attitude in her words. This effort is also represented in her hesitation to try and find appropriate words in turn 8 and her deliberation to use other mitigating expressions such as ‘not very’ (turn 8) and ‘a bit’ (turn 12). All these mitigating measures taken together seem to show that she does not have a severe and prejudiced attitude against Vietnamese. Instead, Vietnamese is just no longer exciting to her, and more importantly it cannot carry the spirit of youth culture and the modern and cosmopolitan identity that English is believed to be able to do for her and the people of her generations.

It should be noted that when elaborating on her attitude towards Vietnamese, she uses the term *quê* (‘countrified’) to refer to the use of some Vietnamese names as being ‘outdated’ and ‘obsolete’ (turn 10 and 12). The concept of *quê* (‘countrified’) or *nhà quê* (‘country rustic’) and its ideological associations has a tradition of use dating back to the colonial time when the colonialists called the common indigenous people *nhà quê* to show their contempt (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002). Later, this term has been used to refer to the rural people who come to do business and live in the city but retaining the rustic manners of their former lives. Recently, considering Hanoi’s expansion and development into an economic hub that attracts people in all walks of life from neighbouring regions, this term is not only used to ridicule anyone who shows an unsophisticated mannerism unfitting for the city’s ways of life but also laden with other connotations from being ‘outdated’ and ‘backward’ to ‘ignorant’ and ‘uneducated.’ The association of Vietnamese with *nhà quê* is an ideological indication of how Vietnamese lags behind in the construction of modern identity for a segment of young local people. With her store being located in the neighbourhood converged by ‘long-timer’ middle class inhabitants, it can also be seen as an indication of how the French quarter's social background may have impacts on the way she positions herself (and her language use) with other people (and their language use), especially those living in the neighbourhoods where there are more newcomer inhabitants. When answering my question about her attitude towards shop owners who use Vietnamese on their shopfronts in another part of the interview, she again replies that she finds it rather *quê*.

Later in turn 16, she uses the expression 'you can see that' to present an objective rather than personal observation that Vietnamese has recently not been favoured by local businesses especially those whose brand names are more or less locally known. Considering it as an explanation for her preceding confirmation that an English name has its advantages, her implication here is that English has been favoured over Vietnamese because it is associated with success. Her elaboration in turn 20 makes this implication clearer. In order to illustrate that successful local businesses normally take English names, she provides examples of an upmarket apartment building in the neighbourhood (Vincom), a real estate company selling luxury apartments (Novaland), and shopping malls and other businesses that provide modern entertainment services such as night clubs, bars and discotheques. All these examples, which centre around upmarket businesses and services in her own neighbourhood, indicate that English from her personal perspective is associated with the successful life and identity of the middle class to which she herself belongs. The association of English with prestige and class here corresponds to the ideologies underlying language use on shop signs in the LL data wherein the owners of *3KU Restaurant*, for instance, choose English as a tool to select middle-class customers for their eatery.

Thus far, the analysis focusing on her attitudinal positionings towards English and Vietnamese has facilitated our understanding of her language-ideological stance whereby

English, apart from its association with youth culture, modernity and cosmopolitanism, also represents prestige and middle-class identity. Now we look more closely into the reasons leading to her favour of English.

In turn 18, when being asked to give a reason for the recent disfavour of Vietnamese she has mentioned, she pauses for a while before bursting into laughter and does not say any word. In this case, her laughter bears resemblance to what has been referred to as a device that helps the speaker navigates the awkward moment in interaction (Raclaw & Ford, 2017). Her response suggests the possibility that her favour of English may possibly be because she is following a trend. Therefore, after hearing her elaboration in turn 20 the content of which, apart from what have been discussed earlier, may also suggest the existence of a trend, I take another move in turn 21 to ask her directly whether she thinks that the naming practice in fashion indicates a trend. Her answer that reads 'I'm not sure' (turn 22) indicates that she neither explicitly admits nor denies it. Such an ambivalent reply, wherein she avoids acknowledging explicitly the existence of a trend, can be seen as being consistent with her earlier positioning that English has become recognized as a language representing the identity of her social group so that using it should no longer be seen as a trend.

But later in turn 22, she gives an explanation for the favour of English when she claims that 'in general we Vietnamese people have xenocentric mentality.' Here, the Vietnamese expression *bệnh sính ngoại* ('xenocentric mentality') is used most occasionally in the local context to refer to the phenomenon of consumer xenocentrism (the preference of foreign products over domestic ones, see Muller et al., 2015). However, this concept has also been developed to cover all kinds of fetishism of Western things, from languages to cultures and people and therefore is used to refer to the general phenomenon of cultural cringe (or cultural xenophilia) that links closely with the internalized inferiority complex of peoples from countries with colonial background. Because the ideology of xenocentrism is cast with criticism in Vietnam, her laughter at the end of the utterance can be understood as a way to lessen the negative attitudes associated with it, which is another indication of how laughter is used as a 'delicacy-mitigating' device (Raclaw & Ford, 2017). Furthermore, the expression 'we Vietnamese people' enables her to seek a mutual agreement from the interviewer and present her viewpoint in the form of a common belief that Vietnamese people are apt to yearn for Western values. However, her positioning does not necessarily mean that she includes herself in it, especially when the use of 'in general' indicates that it is not true with everyone who is Vietnamese. But what is more important here is that she relates the recent burgeoning of English to a broader ideological phenomenon which considers Western values as status symbol. Despite her earlier reluctance to confirm the existence of a trend, it is possible to infer from what she has elaborated here that the xenocentrism she mentions may serve as a backup for the burgeoning of English and probably a trend that favours English and its symbolism.

In turn 24, she does not wait until I finish my question in which I want to ask whether her choice of a foreign name is to make use of the aforementioned ideological phenomenon. Her ability to make sense of my question without having to hear the rest of it, which is also supported by a partial agreement in her reply ('that is one thing'), suggests that she may have been aware of it. However, right afterwards, she immediately reiterates her earlier attitude that she likes English and tends to think about using it. But this time, she mentions her educational background as an explanation for her 'English-only' ideology. As mentioned earlier, she was born and has grown up and been educated in a period when there has been a surge in demand for learning and using English in Vietnam, which is referred to as the 'English language fever' (Le, 2006). A change in the educational policy of Vietnamese government has given English the status of the ‘chief’ foreign language (Doan et al., 2018) and made it a driver of social mobility. With LM and the people of her generations, English not only takes part in constructing their identity as young modern people but is also an indication of ‘educatedness.’ Being able to use English allows them to avoid being lagged behind in the course of national reform and modernization.

In short, the first two excerpts indicate that English not only represents an embrace of international integration and modernization but also takes part in building a youth culture and constructing the modern and cosmopolitan identity of young post-reform Vietnamese generations. These findings resonate remarkably well with what have been identified in the LL data analysis in Chapter 4 concerning the ideologies of internationality, modernity and cosmopolitanism associated with the use of English on signage. But more than that, these two excerpts also show an attitudinal change towards English and how it has become a language associated with and necessary to the course of national reform. This is an important background rendering the understanding of English language ideologies in present-day Vietnam possible (to be discussed further in the last section of this chapter). Likewise, the analysis of the first two excerpts also sets light into how Vietnamese lags behind in its ability to embody the spirit of reform and the desire for modernization of young generations, which cannot be seen based solely on the analysis of LL data in Chapter 4.

In the following excerpt, I will present a significantly different attitude towards English and its bourgeoning in public spaces. It not only gives an additional insight into the ideologies of English as discussed in the first two excerpts above (as well as in Chapter 4) but also helps understand more comprehensively the ideologies of Vietnamese and its position in the current society.

5.2.3 Vietnamese and neo-nationalist ideology

Towards the middle of the interview, TN describes the proliferation of English on shopfronts in the Ancient quarter where he lives as a sort of ‘herd behaviour.’ Based on his own observation as a middle-aged inhabitant who has experienced changes in this neighbourhood in the post-reform years, the stores which follow the trend to use English of this type have intermittently been changed hands or repurposed. In his opinion, this reality indicates that these proprietors failed to run their businesses efficiently, which is largely due to their inability to understand the market and customers. The following excerpt continues that interaction and focuses more specifically on language choice on shopfronts.

Excerpt 3*. I believe that they just ape each other*

01 TT: thế chứng tỏ là cái- cái sự lây lan- kiểu hiệu ứng dùng tiếng nước ngoài đấy nó chủ yếu là do làm THEO thôi đúng không.

02 TN: ăn theo thôi (.) mà thậm chí bản thân CHÚNG NÓ cũng chả có cái chủ đích [gì.

03 TT: [ờ. @

04 TN: nhiều khi nó đặt tên nó cũng chả biết là cái gì. *nó là tây thì tôi cũng phải đặt tên tây* (.) đấy? (..) thế nhưng mà- nghĩa là tôi cảm nhận là. chúng nó không có kiến thức và thậm chí rất là dốt về những vấn đề ấy. (.) à vì- vì chúng nó đặt tên là vì- lí do chúng nó đặt tên tây là vì những cửa hàng khác nó đặt tên tây.

05 TT: ừ

06 TN: đấy (.) còn những thằng mà nó- nó hảo thủ í [thì nó lại tên việt nam.

07 TT: [ừ

08 TN: ví dụ (.) nhà may cao minh rồi nhà may chương [này

09 TT: [giá của nó đắt

10 TN: đúng KHÔNG? đấy? anh để í những thằng ấy sao- tại sao nó không đặt tên tiếng anh? bởi vì sao. nó là- nó mang tính chất gọi là thương HIỆU=

11 TT: ừ

12 TN: =còn lại những thằng kia là (.) nào là lá LÚA rồi các kiểu lá sen lá ổi các thứ (.) vứt hết. chỉ là- nghĩa là- nghĩa là- nếu mà đặt tên tây thì nó chỉ là sự học đòi theo nhau thôi (.) còn những thằng bản lĩnh không bao giờ nó đặt

13 TT: [chứng tỏ

14 TN: [nghĩa là TÔI nghĩ rằng í. lí do chính mà chúng nó đặt là ngẫu NHIÊN và chúng nó (.) học đòi theo nhau chứ chả có cái- cái mục đích gì đâu

15 TT: KHÔNG có mục đích cụ thể?

16 TN: không có mục đích cụ thể luôn. và tôi tin rằng những thằng ấy đú theo nhau.

17 TT: ừ

18 TN: đấy? nghĩa là nhiều khi cái ngôn ngữ (.) những cái đấy gọi là cái sự phản ảnh của đời sống (.) hàng ngày mà đời sống hàng ngày thì văn hoá chúng nó kém (.) thì- thì- thì CẢ một hội nó giống nhau và chúng nó ấy với nhau thôi

19 TT: @@

20 TN: đấy? (.) nó không có chiều sâu. thế nào cứ đưa đẩy nó vào

01 TT: from what you've said you mean that the- the spread- the kind of phenomenon of using foreign languages on shop signs mainly reflects the tendency to FOLlow each other is that right.

02 TN: it is just following each other (.) even the owners THEMSELVES don't have any practical purposes [at all.

03 TT: [yeah.@

04 TN: sometimes they don't even know the meaning of the names they use. *i choose a foreign name because the other shops use foreign names* (.) there you see? (..) but- i mean i feel that. they are lack of knowledge and even ignorant of their choices. (.) ah why- why they use foreign names- the reason they use foreign names is because other shops use foreign names.

05 TT: mhm

06 TN: you see (.) but the owners who- who own successful businesses [tend to choose vietnamese names for their shops.

07 TT: [umm

08 TN: for example (.) *cao minh* tailor *chương* tailor ((the names of two successful local tailors)) [and the like

09 TT: [their services are quite expensive

10 TN: is that RIGHT? you see? you may notice that why these shops- why don’t they use english names? why. because it is- it has something to do with building a BRAND=

11 TT: mhm

12 TN: =and the shops that have foreign names (.) such as RICE leaves and similar stuffs like lotus leaves guava leaves ((examples of english names but mentioned in vietnamese)) and that sort of things (.) all these names don't work at all. it is just- i mean- i mean- they use foreign names because they imitate each other that's it (.) and the owners with self-confidence never use foreign names like that

13 TT: [it means that

14 TN: [i mean I think that. the main reason is that they use foreign names at RANdom and they (.) imitate each other rather than having any- any practical purposes

15 TT: NOT a single concrete purpose?

16 TN: not at all. i believe that they just ape each other.

17 TT: umm

18 TN: you see? i mean that normally language (.) it is like a reflection of life (.) of everyday life and in this case it indicates their low-level culture (.) since- since- since ALL of them are of the same cultural level they just imitate their fellows

19 TT: @@

20 TN: that’s it? (.) it is a lack of deep consideration. they unreasonably tried to put foreign languages onto signs

This excerpt develops on his attitudes towards the use of English and Vietnamese on shopfronts whereby the former represents a superficial trend, a lack of practical purposes and business knowledge, and a ‘low-level’ culture, while the latter indicates an adherence to stable and long-term development, an awareness of self-reliance, and a promotion of national identity. The subsequent analysis shows how these ideological stances are expressed in interaction.

At the beginning of the excerpt, after I take the first turn to recapitulate what he has discussed in the preceding interview segment and ask for his confirmation, he reiterates that the English usage on shopfronts is ‘just following each other’ (turn 2). Later in turn 2 and 4, he provides reasons to explain his point. These reasons vary from the proprietors not having ‘any practical purposes' (turn 2) to showing a 'lack of knowledge' and being 'ignorant' (turn 4) of their own language choice. What is worth noticing is the way he presents each single reason and makes use of appropriate linguistic expressions to render the conveyance of his respective attitudes. In turn 2, for instance, apart from an increase in voice intensity to highlight that it is the owners 'themselves' who have no practical purposes whatsoever, his reasoning is also highlighted by the expression *thậm chí* ('even'). Likewise, in the earlier part of turn 4, the assertion 'they don't even know' emphasizes that the meaning of these English names is surprisingly unknown to the proprietors themselves. Later in turn 4, the clause 'I feel that' serves as a hedging expression marking an awareness to shift what he is going to say about the proprietors' ignorance in their language choice into a subjective personal perception. Here, his choice of the Vietnamese verb *cảm nhận* ('feel'), which is inclined towards a less rational thought, will later be compared with other verbs that indicate more rational thoughts such as *nghĩ* ('think') (turn 14) and *tin* ('believe') (turn 16) to elaborate on how the degrees of rationality and certainty in his positionings increase with the development of this excerpt.

In turn 4, it is also worth attending to a change in his voice's pitch when he says, 'I choose a foreign name because other shops use foreign names.' By lending his voice to a proprietor, TN facilitates an understanding that the reason is being given by the proprietors themselves. This way of positioning permits him to deny the role of the person who actually says it and hence increases the objectivity and persuasiveness of his reasoning. The interjection 'there you see' (turn 4) that immediately follows this utterance renders the understanding of it as an objective fact rather than a personal observation. This is also a way to seek for an agreement from the interviewer and hence to negotiate the reasonability of his argument, as he continues using interjections of this type later in turn 6, 10 and 18. By the end of turn 4, he reports the previous ‘direct’ utterance in indirect voice that reads ‘the reason they use foreign names is because other shops use foreign names.’ Such a repetition of the same content in both direct and indirect speech once again reinforces the objectivity and persuasiveness of his reasoning.

As the interaction proceeds, he reconfirms the existence of the aforementioned superficial imitation by repeating the same content that ‘they imitate each other’ in turn 12 and 14. In turn 14, the lack of conscious consideration in using foreign names is seen as ‘the main reason’ and foregrounded by the phrase ‘at random.’ Here, the introductory clause ‘I mean I think that’ indicates an advancement in the rationality of his reasoning, if we compare with the use of the expression ‘I feel that’ in turn 4. The arbitrariness and lack of consciousness in foreign language usage is subsequently reemphasized by repeating for the second time (the first time in turn 2) that the proprietors have no particular practical purposes. Overall, up to this point, he sees the use of English on shopfronts as a superficial trend that lacks conscious consideration, knowledge, and practicality.

Meanwhile, the segment from turn 6 to 12 develops on his attitudes towards Vietnamese. Here, he specifies a tendency wherein Vietnamese names are associated with successful local businesses, which is significantly different from what LM has expressed in the previous excerpt. This is an attestation to the multiplicity of language attitudes and how they can vary between individuals due to differences in a variety of factors involving their social backgrounds. After he takes two locally acclaimed tailors as examples to illustrate his point in turn 8, I add some information about these two tailors (‘their services are quite expensive’) in the following turn. In return, he replies using two consecutive interjections ‘is that right’ and ‘you see’ (turn 10). These interjections, apart from reconfirming his point and strengthening his reasoning, highlight the fact that these tailors can sell their products at high prices. With regard to the reality that local goods and services have normally been sold at a price range way lower than those of the same types imported from Euro-American markets, his emphasis on high price ranges should be understood as an illustration of success and an implication of prestige and class, the features that are not conventionally associated with Vietnamese businesses.

The question afterwards ('why don't they use English?') (turn 10), which sounds more like a rhetorical question, presupposes that English tends to be used in the stores that sell or 'want' to sell products at higher prices. Here, regardless of their upscale positions, the reason why these two tailors do not choose English names is later related to the aim of brand building. The Vietnamese term *thương hiệu* ('brand') (turn 10) which is underscored by an increase in voice intensity, apart from indexing an adherence to stable and long-term development, has a special connotation in its local context. Building local brands has recently been given due attention by Vietnamese government and seen as an economic strategy to increase the competitiveness of local businesses, especially when there has been an influx of foreign products into the local market since the country implemented its open-door policy. Being mediated in national discourses on *đổi mới* and development, the building of brand names by small and medium local businesses is not only seen as a way to protect national interests and strengthen national economy but also to promote national pride and identity (Pham, 2013) – an indication of neo-nationalism. By relating the choice of Vietnamese (instead of English) to local brand building and national identity construction, TN has therefore highlighted the link between Vietnamese and national identity.

Towards the end of turn 12, he underscores that self-confident business owners 'never' resort to superficial foreign names. His judgement suggests that the proprietors' deliberation to stick to using Vietnamese is a demonstration of their faith and confidence in the national language. And this positioning implicates that at a time when shop owners turn to use English and capitalize on its values, using Vietnamese indicates a determination to base on domestic resources and not to rely on those from the outside world. In other words, Vietnamese becomes acknowledged as a manifestation of self-reliance. It is here that we can see an important point in his language-ideological stance whereby he is inclined to make a distinction between Vietnamese as 'our' language, one which symbolizes internal strength, and English as 'their' language, one which is attached to external power. This justifies how the nationalist (or Herderian) language ideology, which links a language with a nation and its people, is reproduced in the time of reform whereby using Vietnamese is not only seen as promoting national identity but also protecting national resources and developing national power. Together with his earlier perspective on brand building, his stance here makes it more evident how the ideologies of ethnocentrism and neo-nationalism, which we have already seen in the LL data analysis in Chapter 4, are mediated in the national rhetoric of *đổi mới* and development and hence have influenced the interview participant's language attitudes towards Vietnamese.

In turn 12, he also uses a metaphorical expression that adds more nuances to his contrasting attitudes towards the use of English and Vietnamese on shopfronts that he has so far elaborated. When giving examples of shop signs in English, the names he mentions, which include 'rice leaves,' 'lotus leaves' and 'guava leaves,' all have 'leaves' as a common element. The content of these names suggests that they are just fictitious names he comes up with to illustrate his point. But more importantly, using Vietnamese to provide examples of English names is a deliberate attempt[52] to make use of the metaphorical connotations of the term *lá* ('leaves') that he expects to share with me as a Vietnamese speaker. In Vietnamese, the term *lá*, especially when it enters the expressions such as *hoa lá* ('flowers and leaves') and *hoa lá cành* ('flowers, leaves and branches'), implicates an excessive focus on outside appearance or even a pretentious display. Besides, the leaves are the part of the tree that have temporary existence, which are normally contrasted with the stability and durability of the trunks or roots. Therefore, the figurative image of 'leaves' here implies that the use of English on shopfronts is shallow, pretentious and temporary.

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[52] Since he is capable of using English, the use of Vietnamese here is considered a deliberate intention.

His association of English with impermanence should be related to and understood in the context of Hanoi's linguistic background. Over the course of history, except for an extended period of time under the Sinitic influence, the shift from one major foreign language to another in the city has happened for a few times with the most recent move from Russian to English. Regardless of different ideologies associated with these two languages in two distinctive historical periods (characterized respectively by a restriction to the socialist world and an opening up to the world at large), such a change cannot help leaving marks on the psychology of the people, especially those who have had time living and working in the pre-reform period. A volte-face turn from Russian and a plunge in Russian learners, despite its former status as the major foreign language and a seemingly close and durable relationship with Russian language and culture in pre-reform period, gives people a reason to think that the 'English language fever' (Le, 2006), which marks a sudden turn to favour English after the initiation of reform, is just a temporary propensity. From such a perspective, the prevalence of a certain foreign language at present is susceptible to change in accordance with possible future socio-political changes in the city, as it had ever happened in the past.

Towards the end of the excerpt (turn 15 to 20), he elaborates on his attitude towards the use of English on shopfronts. In turn 15, when I ask him to confirm his judgement that the proprietors do not have any ‘concrete’ purposes with their English usage, he answers quickly and firmly that ‘not at all’ (turn 16) and then adds that they just ‘ape’ each other. Different from previous hedging expressions in turn 4 and 14, here he uses the clause ‘I believe that,’ which indicates a more solid certainty, confidence and rationality in his positioning. In addition, the Vietnamese verb *đú* (‘ape’) also conveys a more intense attitude compared to a series of the verb *học đòi* (‘imitate’) that has previously been used, since it exacerbates the absurdity and thoughtlessness in the proprietors’ language choice.

But even more strikingly, in turn 18, he considers using English a manifestation of a ‘low-level’ culture. Based on the elaboration after that, he wants to refer to these proprietors as a social group who are of the ‘same cultural level’ (turn 18) because of their tendency to imitate from their own fellows. The way he refers to this superficial imitation as a low culture and addresses its members using ‘all of them’ (turn 18) permits him to position himself as not belonging to this ‘sub-culture’ and even in a position that can judge and look down on it. It is here that his attitude towards the superficialism of English usage is displayed most intensely and we can also see quite clearly how the semiotic process of *iconization* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) is represented in the way English is assigned to a specific social category.

With regard to the association of English with professionalism and educatedness that we have seen in the interview excerpts of HS and LM, his language-ideological stance here is significantly different. It also goes against the general tendency that relates English to prestige and the reality in which it is fetishized in the LL worldwide (Kelly-Holmes, 2014). Therefore, in order to understand his stance, let us try putting it into the context of the neighbourhood where he lives. Different from other parts of the city, the Ancient quarter, due to the limitation of its infrastructure with small business outlets and narrow streets, is basically dominated by small retailer stores. After *đổi mới*, in order to adapt to the changes in customer composition which has now included more non-local residents, many mum-and-pop stores add English onto their shop signs. However, due to the proprietors' limited access to English, their shop signs showcase literacy-related problems of different types. (The case of the *Bread Pate* eatery in Chapter 4 can be seen as an example[53].) It may possibly be due to this 'substandard' English usage and the inroads of this superficial trend in the neighbourhood that have led to his 'negative' language attitudes. The fact that he turns to other neighbourhoods for 'better' examples of language use on signage may support this judgement. (The two tailors he mentions in turn 8 are not located in the Ancient quarter.) Mindful of this observation, the English associated with 'low culture' that he refers to here should be limited to a superficial trend in English usage among just a certain number of shop owners.

Moreover, his language attitude should also be considered against the backdrop of the aforementioned ideologies of 'pidgin' and linguistic purism. As mentioned earlier in the analysis of excerpt 1, the tendency to associate pidgin with 'uneducatedness' has originated since the colonial time and this association seemingly remains applicable to 'substandard' language usage today. But more importantly, the ideology of 'purism' in language and culture has continuously been highlighted in master narratives since the inception of the DRV. It is mediated in the movements to 'uphold the purity and clarity of the Vietnamese language' (*giữ gìn sự trong sáng của tiếng Việt*) and, more broadly, in the national concerns over cultural encroachment from the West. In 2011, in the 11th Congress of Vietnamese Communist Party marking nearly 30 years of reform, the mixing of external cultural elements was considered the cause leading to the degradation and deformation of national culture. Accordingly, in the current cultural story-lines, purity in language use is promoted and associated with high culture and put in sharp contrast with the low culture of language hybridity. The interaction in this excerpt and throughout the interview shows that TN barely mixes English into his utterances except for some conscious attempts to provide examples in English. Even though it can be arbitrary to consider it an awareness of upholding the purity of Vietnamese, judging from his attitudes towards Vietnamese he has elaborated on and comparing with the codeswitching practiced by two interview participants (in excerpt 1 and 2), it can be a possibility.

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[53] During the ethnographic observation in this quarter, I had seen many other examples of 'substandard' English usages on shop signs. In some cases, based on the content in Vietnamese, I can see that the English equivalent shows a totally 'different' content. For instance, a liquor store boasts the English content 'special alcohol-beverage' while the content in Vietnamese means 'specialized in alcoholic drinks and beverage.'

In short, this excerpt indicates how the nationalist ideology is mediated in the interview participant's language-ideological stance. Accordingly, English represents external cultural influences, or cultural 'Others,' and therefore its position is seen as superficial and temporary. Different from LM, he confirms decisively that the burgeoning of English only shows a superficial trend. But more importantly, going against the emerging inclination to relate Vietnamese to the ideology of *nhà quê* ('country rustic'), the interview participant in this excerpt associates it with national identity and a neo-nationalist awareness of promoting national power and status, which resonates remarkably well with the language ideologies identified in the LL data analysis in Sections 4.5 and 4.6 of Chapter 4. This language-ideological perspective renders it possible to not only explain for an undeniable prominence of Vietnamese on signage but also give a more comprehensive understanding of the ideologies of Vietnamese as well as its status in the current society, which will be discussed further by the end of this chapter (in Section 5.3).

Up to this point, the analysis of the first three excerpts has presented contrasting language attitudes towards English and Vietnamese. Accordingly, the preference for English as the language of internationality and cosmopolitanism is accompanied by the promotion of

Vietnamese as the language of national pride and identity. This finding illustrates rather clearly the bidirectional flows of language, ideology and culture in post-reform Vietnam as having already been demonstrated using the LL data in Chapter 4. In order to further understand these different language-ideological stances and more importantly how they co-exist in the current society, let us proceed to the next excerpt.

5.2.4 English and Vietnamese and reconciliation ideology

In the interactional segment leading to the following excerpt, NV – a local resident in the French quarter – talks about her perception of language use on shop signs in her own neighbourhood according to which she has become aware of an increasing visibility of English and other foreign languages such as French on shopfronts. As the youngest of all participants, she works as a barista for a modern coffee house in the neighbourhood where she lives. Before that, she had done the same type of job for a traditional style café. Her experience working in these two different environments is reflected in the following interview interaction.

Excerpt 4*. I prefer them to use purely Vietnamese names*

01 TT: thế thì (.) em có- khi nhìn vào những cái hàng nó là tiếng anh hoặc tiếng pháp kiểu đấy thì (..) em có- kiểu thái độ của em. thấy nó như nào

02 NV: (…) [em thấy

03 TT: [SO với việc những cái hàng mà nó vẫn dùng tiếng việt. thí dụ như cà phê hằng cà phê lâm các kiểu đấy?

04 NV: àaà (.) nghe- thực ra là cũng tuỳ (.) tại vì nếu mà- ví dụ (.) một cái quán như này ((một quán cà phê hiện đại nơi diễn ra cuộc phỏng vấn)) mà nói tiếng anh thì em thấy tự nhiên nó sang hẳn lên [@@@.

05 TT: [ừ. [[có vẻ đấy nhỉ.

06 NV: [[đấy- đấy là (.) $vầng$ còn nếu ví dụ- ví dụ cà phê trông như này mà cái gì cô BA cô biếc đấy thì em- em thấy nó lại (..) nói như nào nhỉ. tức là nó chưa- nó không hợp lắm với cả cái- cái **décor** của cái quan đấy (.) ĐẤY?

07 TT: ừ hứ. tức là- thế- thế bây giờ lại nói về chuyện hợp nhớ? (.) khi nào dùng tiếng anh thì hợp khi nào dùng tiếng việt thì hợp

08 NV: (3 giây)

09 TT: thí dụ trong cái phố nhà thờ này ((phố này nằm trong khu phố pháp với nhiều cửa hiệu hiện đại)). đúng không. (.) thì mình nên dùng tiếng anh à?

10 NV: $KHÔÔÔNG$ (.) tại sao lại thế? (..) KHÔNG

11 TT: không phải hả.

12 NV: [vâng

13 TT: [thế ý em là như nào

14 NV: em không biết nữa nhưng mà ý là- nếu mà- ví dụ nhớ cái tadi- cái tadiiii (.) oto (.) ((tên một quán cà phê nằm trong khu phố pháp gần đó)) nó là tiếng việt nhưng mà nó có một cái gì cách điệu nó rất tây (..) nó kiểu- nó kiểu rất là la tinh hả? [hay là

15 TT: [ừ. nó không dùng dấu [[trông nó- trông giống

16 NV: [[phát âm lên nó cũng hay (.) mặc dù đấy là tiếng việt nhưng kiểu nó lại- đấy nó- nghe nó rất là $nước ngoài$. @ [đấy?

17 TT: [tức là em vẫn thích yếu tố nước ngoài trong biển hàng biển hiệu hơn đúng không.

18 NV: ừm cũng- cũng tuỳ ví dụ như là những cái nào mà mang hơi hướng- ý là cái **concept** của người ta là về (.) cái ý tưởng màaà (.) tạo nên cái cửa hàng đấy là thuộc về- về cái- về những cái giá trị mà kiểu xưa cũ chẳng hạn (.) thì là em thích là dùng thuần việt hơn (.) anh hiểu ý em không?

19 TT: à à (.) kiểu như cộng cà phê hả.

20 NV: vâng đúng rồi (.) đấy kiểu đấy

21 TT: [bây giờ anh

22 NV: [ví dụ như đặt- đặt là **plus** cà phê thì đương nhiên em thấy nó (.) em thích cộng hơn. nghe nó vẫn thuần thuần hơn.

23 TT: tức là- tức là em đồng ý là có hai xu hướng. khi mà mình dùng tiếng anh thì là (.) mình kiểu hiện đại đúng không. còn nếu mà- khi mà hướng về giá trị việt nam thì nên dùng tiếng- tiếng- tiếng việt.

24 NV: đúng rồi.

25 TT: thí dụ như bà mỹ ((cửa hàng ăn truyền thống có thể nhìn qua cửa sổ quán cà phê nơi diễn ra phỏng vấn)) này thì như nào? (.) @bây giờ bà í chuyển thành tiếng anh anh thấy cũng được vì toàn khách tây.@
26 NV: KHÔNG em vẫn thích bà í để tiếng việt hơn
27 TT: vì sao?
28 NV: tại vì (.) em không biết mà tại bà mỹ này bán lâu rồi (.) nên em vẫn muốn bà í giữ là bà mỹ như ngày xưa (.) mặc dù em chả ăn quán bà í.

01 TT: so (.) do you- when you see shop signs which use english or french like that (..) do you- i mean your attitudes. how do you feel
02 NV: (…) [i find
03 TT: [in COMPARISON with shop signs that still use vietnamese. for example *hằng* café or *lâm* café ((the examples of old coffee house names)) and the like?
04 NV: aaah (.) it sounds- actually it depends (.) because if- for example (.) if they use english for a shop like this ((the high-end coffee shop where the interview is taking place)) i think that it certainly makes the shop look much more classy [@@@.
05 TT: [um. [[it seems reasonable.
06 NV: [[that- that is (.) $yeah$ but if for example- for example if they call a coffee shop like this one by a name such as ms. BA ((an old-fashioned vietnamese name)) and things like that then i- i think that it is against (..) how should i put it. i mean it hasn’t- it is not very suitable with the- the **décor** of the shop (.) you SEE?
07 TT: uh-huh. it means- so- so let’s talk a bit about the suitability okay? when do you find it suitable to use english and when it is suitable to use vietnamese
08 NV: (3 seconds)
09 TT: for example in this *nhà thờ* street ((a street in the French quarter lined with modern shops)). okay. (.) do you think that we should use english?
10 NV: $NOOO$ (.) why is it like that? (..) NO
11 TT: you don't think so.
12 NV: [no
13 TT: [so what is your opinion

14 NV: i don’t know but i think- like- for example the tadi- the tadiiii (.) oto ((tadioto is the name of a local bar located in the vinicity of the same neighbourhood)) (.) it is vietnamese but it is sort of stylized therefore it looks very occidental ((a translation of the term *tây* in vietnamese)) (..) it is like- it is like very Latino isn’t it? [or
15 TT: [um. it doesn't use any diacritics [[it looks- it looks like
16 NV: [[its pronunciation sounds exciting too (.) even though it is vietnamese it is like- it is- it sounds really $exotic$. @ [you see?
17 TT: [does it mean that you like foreign elements in shop signs better.
18 NV: um it- it depends for example with the shops that have the tendency- i mean the **concept** of the owners is about- (.) the idea tooo (.) create those shops is about- about the- about sort of old values for example (.) then i prefer them to use purely vietnamese names (.) do you understand what i mean?
19 TT: ah ah (.) you mean like *cộng* café ((a local brand that promotes vietnamese traditions)).
20 NV: yeah you are right (.) like that
21 TT: [now i
22 NV: [for example if they name- name it **plus** ((a translation of *cộng* into english)) café then i certainly feel that it is (.) i like *cộng* better. it sounds purer.
23 TT: so- so you see that there are two tendencies. when they use english (.) they want to be sort of modern is that right. and if- when they aim to return to vietnamese traditional values they should use the- the- the vietnamese language.
24 NV: that’s right.
25 TT: for example how about the case of mrs. *mỹ*’s shop? ((an old vietnamese shop that could be overlooked from the window of the café where the interview took place)) (.) @now if she changes the shop sign into english i think that it is acceptable because her shop has many foreign customers.@
26 NV: NO i prefer her to use vietnamese
27 TT: why is that?
28 NV: because (.) i don't know but her shop has been here for a long time (.) so i still want her to keep the name mrs. *mỹ* as it is (.) even though i don't eat there.

This excerpt discloses her language attitudes whereby English is believed to represent modernity while Vietnamese embodies tradition. Despite her young age, she shows a rather strong awareness of the relation between language, tradition and culture. That being said, she also acknowledges that Vietnamese, if undergoing an appropriate process of stylization, can be turned into a medium being able to carry the spirit of modernity. The following analysis discusses in succession how these points are represented in the excerpt.

Let us start with the expression of her attitudes towards the use of English and Vietnamese on shopfronts and how these two languages are 'iconized' as the embodiment of modernity and tradition respectively.

At the beginning of the excerpt, it takes me two turns (turn 1 and 3) to elicit her answer in turn 4. The exclamation 'aaah,' which appears right at the beginning of turn 4, indicates that the question now makes sense to her. Since there is not actually any ambiguity in the question in turn 1 on her attitudes towards the use of foreign languages on shop signs, her hesitance in turn 2 is worth an attention. Considering her answer that reads 'actually it depends' and the subsequent explanation in turn 4, it is conceivable that her attitudes towards English depend on when, where and probably how it is used. Hence, her hesitance can possibly be seen as an indication that she may not have any preconceived attitudes towards English and the use of it on shopfronts. This detail suggests that her stance can be markedly different from the other three participants whose interview excerpts have been analyzed above.

As she elaborates later in turn 4 and 6, the use of English at the café where the interview takes place is believed to make it look 'much more classy' (turn 4). With regard to the setting and style of this place, what she implies is English fits in with and even enhances the elegant and modern outlook of this café. On the contrary, Vietnamese, if it is used, will not suit its modern décor and more broadly its modern style. The example of an old-fashioned Vietnamese name

(‘Ms. Ba’[54]) she gives in turn 6 highlights her stance that it is certainly inappropriate to stick to using Vietnamese in modern places where English can function better. Therefore, up to turn 6, her positioning indicates that English represents modernity while Vietnamese is limited in this function, which can be thought of as the first half of her argument.

As the interaction proceeds, she adds the second half to her argument from turn 17 to 24. After being asked if what she has talked about until then means she prefers seeing foreign languages on shopfronts, she reiterates her earlier answer that ‘it depends’ (turn 18). However, this time she reinforces her argument by elaborating on when it is preferable to use Vietnamese. In turn 18, she claims that ‘purely Vietnamese names’ are more suitable with the stores whose ‘concept’ and ‘idea’ are about old traditional values. Her choice of the English word ‘concept,’ which is getting closer to a marketing term, makes it conceivable that using Vietnamese is to construct and market a traditional ‘content,’ not just to generate a traditional outlook. In other words, Vietnamese is believed to embody and be a part of tradition. Such a connection between Vietnamese and the conceptual level of tradition is different from the link between English and its modern outlook that she has mentioned before. This difference indicates that she may have a deeper connection with Vietnamese, which serves as a backdrop against which we can look further into her language attitudes as it will subsequently be revealed.

Her argument on using Vietnamese to embody tradition continues to be elaborated from turn 19 to 22. In turn 22, she illustrates the inappropriateness of using English names at the shops with traditional themes or concepts by trying to translate the name of a café from *cộng* in Vietnamese to *plus* in English. Through this example, she wants to show how this translation loses important connotations that have contributed to the traditional values of this café (see

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[54] The practice of giving names to children based on their birth order in the family.

Chapter 4 for the explanation of the name *cộng*). Therefore, she is able to demonstrate that English is limited in its functioning in the places that promote tradition. Later, she adds that she prefers the name *cộng* because 'it sounds purer,' which justifies that the use of English may influence the purity of traditional content that this café carries. If looking back at her preference for 'purely Vietnamese names' in turn 18, we can see her consistent belief in using Vietnamese to reinforce the purity of tradition. So, it is possible at this point to combine the two halves of her argument to see its entirety that English represents modernity while Vietnamese embodies tradition. The firm agreement ('that's right') in turn 24 about the coexistence of modernity and tradition relating respectively to English and Vietnamese, which I summarize in turn 23, is her direct confirmation of this argument.

The language ideology that associates English with modernity and Vietnamese with tradition should be understood in and related to the social background of the neighbourhood where she lives and works. As mentioned in the LL data analysis in Chapter 4, the development of the French quarter after *đổi mới* makes it the meeting point of local and global cultures. Therefore, it is here that local residents have been exposed to and experienced more strongly old and new cultural flows than the other quarters, which leads to a more fervent awareness of addressing the issue of tradition and modernity in their daily life. The assigning of each language with a different function reflects how this interview participant reconciles the issue of culture and development in a city that has decidedly opened its doors to the outside world and is getting into full swing of reform. While Vietnamese continues to serve as an embodiment of culture and identity, English opens opportunities for development and modernization. This stance, which indicates how she reconciles the contrasting attitudes represented in three earlier excerpts, renders both the respect for tradition and Vietnamese and the yearning for modernity and English possible.

Now we turn to discuss her awareness of protecting tradition by using Vietnamese. Towards the end of the excerpt in turn 25, I choose an old restaurant in the street, whose clientele composition has recently changed because of an increase in non-local diners, that still uses Vietnamese on its shopfront sign as an example to check on her stance that Vietnamese represents old values and tradition. The firm answer 'no' with a marked increase in voice intensity in turn 26 indicates her objection to the intention to use English at this restaurant and her preference that the proprietor should remain using Vietnamese ('I prefer her to use Vietnamese'). After being asked for an explanation, she replies in turn 28 that she wants the restaurant to remain as it has been for a long time, which suggests that her preference for Vietnamese here comes from an awareness to maintain its tradition. Since Vietnamese on its shopfront is a component of the restaurant's tradition, it should be kept unchanged. Once again, she brings to the fore the connection between Vietnamese and tradition and reconfirms that Vietnamese not just represents tradition but is a part of it.

However, her awareness of using Vietnamese and protecting tradition is not limited to a specific case but can be seen more broadly. After her silence in turn 8 upon being asked when it is considered suitable to use English and Vietnamese, I take another turn to check whether she thinks that it is better to use English in the street where the interview takes place. The reason I asked this question is not just because this rather short street[55] is lined mostly with modern and upmarket boutiques, cafés and restaurants, but my ethnographic observation also shows that English (alongside French) really dominates the shopfronts here[56]. Even though her reply 'no' in turn 10 is given in a smiling voice, her disagreement is still shown rather intensely through a combination of an increase in voice intensity and an extended vowel length. It is later followed by an exclamation question ('why is it like that?') and a reinforced repetition of the reply 'no.' Her response shows that even though she understands that English fits in with modern stores, she cannot help feeling discontented upon becoming aware of the possibility that Vietnamese may be replaced by English in the streets. Such a simultaneous response indicates her deep-down awareness of the official status of Vietnamese and its expected visibility in public spaces. When I take another turn to reconfirm her disagreement, she replies quickly with a firm 'no' in turn 12. After this interview was over, she walked with me through that street and showed a surprise after having paid deliberate[57] attention to the shopfronts and seeing for herself that there were just a few shop signs in Vietnamese. Although this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worthwhile to note the following point. Since it is not unusual to see that the inhabitants' perception may not reflect adequately the actual reality of visual multilingualism in their living environment, it may be exciting to look into how their various levels of awareness may have different influences on their language attitudes.

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[55] This street is just over one hundred metre in length.

[56] Vietnamese is only used on the shopfront signs of a café and an old restaurant.

Even though the analysis so far indicates that she relates English to modernity and Vietnamese to tradition, it does not mean that there is a rigid dichotomy between the two. Despite her awareness of Vietnamese and tradition, the interaction from turn 13 to 16 reveals that, from her perspective, Vietnamese can be 'stylized' to become the language being able to carry the spirit of modernity.

After being asked to explain for her objection in turn 10 and 12, in turn 14 she gives an example of a shop sign in the neighbourhood whose name *tadioto* is a 'novel word' coined by joining a whole sentence in Vietnamese (for a detailed explanation, see Section 4.8 in Chapter 4). She later describes such a stylization of Vietnamese as looking 'very occidental' and sounding 'really exotic' (turn 14 and 16). In the translation, I remain loyal to her use of the Vietnamese term *tây* ('occidental') – which means 'following Western style.' This term has rather positive connotations in the local context of use since it is associated with modernity and refers to 'superior' qualities of the people and things from the West, as it has already been demonstrated in the discussion of the shop sign *Loan Tây* ('Loan the Westerner') in Chapter 4. Her word choice here therefore indicates that stylized names with *tadioto* as an example are able to create a modernity outlook (a characteristic normally associated with English) for Vietnamese.

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[57] It was the first time she did it deliberately even though she went past that street regularly.

This 'loosening' attitude towards the 'modernized' Vietnamese on shopfronts illuminates an angle concerning how people of young generations renegotiate the linguistic purism ideology that has had a tradition in post-colonial Vietnam. Despite bearing an awareness of the relation between language and tradition, she shows a flexible attitude towards 'renewing' Vietnamese so as to make it a medium of modernity. This attitude does not go against her awareness of preserving tradition, but instead indicates her acknowledgement of the contemporaneous function of Vietnamese. Accordingly, aside from embodying tradition, Vietnamese needs to be modernized so that it can keep up with the development of a renovating society and construct the modern identity of young generations. Within the broader context of Hanoi as a city in Asia, *đổi mới*, apart from being a vehicle for development, also gives rise to a more fervent awareness of the East and the West, the local and the global. The need to renew Vietnamese is analogous to the necessity to modernize the local culture and bring it to the world, which has also been demonstrated in the LL data analysis, especially in the discussion of *RuNam Càfê* and *Ẩu Ơ ... Vietnam Kitchen* (see Section 4.7 in Chapter 4). This language-ideological stance is therefore an extension of the aforementioned reconciliation ideology. It reflects a reality in which people of young post-reform generations are straddling the Eastern and Western cultures and maneuvering their way towards constructing an ‘indigenized’ modernity, a type of modernity for Asian regions (see Iwabuchi, 2002). Such an indigenized modernity reflects not only a desire to become global and have a cosmopolitan identity but also an awareness of (re)confirming local and regional identities among young Asian people – an indication of a new pan-Asian ideology that has also been discussed in Section 4.8 of Chapter 4.

In order to understand more about this reconciliation ideology, let us revisit her expression ‘very occidental’ in turn 14. This expression, supported by her subsequent elaboration, indicates her tendency to see Western values not only as standards to compare with but also as a status to yearn for, which resonates remarkably well with the ideology of Western centrism mentioned above. Such a craving for Western values makes it discernible that apart from a respect for tradition and culture, she also displays an admiration for modernity and modernization. Her ability to harmonize these seemingly contrasting beliefs and feelings allows her to keep a reconciliatory language attitude in the way that she shows no prejudice against either English or Vietnamese. Instead, each language has its own status and fulfills its own delineated role in performing social practice and constructing local identity.

In short, in this excerpt, it has become more obvious that English is associated with the ideology of modernity and assigned a demarcated role and position in the society that is aiming for modernization. What are new here are the ideologies of Vietnamese whereby it not only embodies tradition and culture but can also carry the spirit of modernity. This is indicated in the tendency to modernize Vietnamese and turn it into a medium that conveys traditional contents in modern forms and therefore reflects the ideology of regional modernity in SEA.

5.3 Further discussion and summary

Apart from the notable view of English as the language of modernity and cosmopolitanism, which is presumably shared ‘universally’ with the global spread of English in the LL worldwide (cf. Kasanga, 2012; Selvi, 2016), there are also some other recurrent ideological themes in the interview data whereby English is seen as a lingua franca for international integration, an essential and practical tool of modern life, a representation of a new way of thinking and living, a medium to pursue advanced education and better life abroad, a vehicle to bring Vietnamese values to the world, and a means to construct a modern Vietnamese identity. Furthermore, English also embodies social mobility, high technology, educatedness, youth culture and identity, new trends, class, and urban life. And when related specifically to consumption, it represents either *foreign* or *international* goods and services (both of which are likely to be understood by Vietnamese consumers as coming from the West) and therefore implies premium quality and prestige.

As complicated and possibly wide-ranging as the ideologies of English (as listed above) may be, the analysis of four interview excerpts in the previous section has made it discernible that English in Vietnam becomes associated very closely with the course of national reform. The open-door policy and the ideology of *đổi mới* prioritize global integration and economic development, which has not only changed the former stigmas against English but also turned it into a medium that facilitates opening up to the world at large, not excluding countries in the West, for the purpose of modernization. The choice of English rather than any other ‘foreign’ languages in Vietnam and the reshaping of English ideologies from a language attached to a specific country/enemy to a 'world language' that belongs to no particular 'owner' and therefore can be at anyone's disposal will be discussed further in the next chapter.

In this section, I include more interview excerpts from other interview participants (whose names are abbreviated as CL, DN, HT and VN) not only to extend the discussion and strengthen the major arguments presented in four previous excerpts but also to add more nuances to the understanding of language ideologies as constructed and mediated in the interview data as a whole. The following analysis elaborates further on how the interview participants' attitudes towards English and Vietnamese are fundamentally influenced by the ideology of *đổi mới*. In the meantime, it also discusses how a more open attitude towards English (and multilingualism) is accompanied by a promotion of Vietnamese, with the former representing the push for reform and development and the latter the pull of tradition and identity. And lastly, it explicates the ideology of reconciliation – which balances two existing propensities of modernity pursuance and tradition preservation – and how it is shown in the way English and Vietnamese are assigned with their demarcated and supplementary roles in post-reform Vietnamese society.

The interweaving of the ideologies of English and *đổi mới* is shown rather promiscuously in the interview data. Apart from the young interview participants (as discussed in four excerpts above), the older ones, not excluding those belonging to the generations who had studied Russian in schools and experienced firsthand negative attitudes towards English during the pre-reform period, also acknowledge that they now see English as the language of open-door era, one which facilitates the country's integration into the world economy. A middle-aged shop owner in the new quarter considers the burgeoning of English on shopfronts in Hanoi as acceptable and quite normal because of a substantial increase in the number of foreigners moving to visit, work and live in Vietnam in the years after the initiation of reform.

01 CL: với cả là hội nhập í
02 TT: ừ
03 CL: bọn tây nó sang bên mình ĐẦY í mà mà sao- mà sao mình cứ phải viết tiếng việt (.) để nó vào đấy xong rồi
nó hiểu thì có phải hay hơn không

01 CL: now that we are joining the world economy
02 TT: uh
03 CL: a LOT of westerners come to our country so why- why must we keep writing in vietnamese (.) isn't it better
if we let them in and understand what they see

By assigning the use of English on signage for the purpose of enabling foreigners to read and neglecting the reality that Vietnamese people are also, if not to say the main, intended readers, he underscores that English functions as a medium through which the world gets to know Vietnam. As such, an essential connection between English and global integration – the sine qua non of *đổi mới* – has been rendered possible.

The ideology of reform and opening up to the world is not only represented in the interview participants' attitudes towards English, which as mentioned above is seen as the lingua franca serving the purpose of global integration, but also expanded into their viewpoints on the issue of multilingualism in general. Accordingly, using a foreign language other than English is also considered necessary as long as it helps reach a wider circle of readers in order to promote global integration for the purpose of economic development. After having added English into his shop sign for a few years now, the oldest interview participant who owns a small coffee shop in the Ancient quarter highlights the importance of using other foreign languages (such as Japanese) as well.

01 TT: nếu để ý. bác sẽ thấy đài báo thường hay nói về việc (.) giữ gìn sự trong sáng của tiếng việt
02 DN: à rồi
03 TT: theo ý bác. việc dùng tiếng anh trên biển hiệu như hiện nay có ảnh hưởng đến tiếng việt không?

04 DN: không ảnh hưởng gì. là bởi vì bây giờ mình mở rộng ra khắp thế giới rồi. không phải là chỉ anh quốc và mỹ mà kể cả nhật (.) những thứ tiếng đó đều là quan trọng hết. chẳng qua tiếng nhật thì bây giờ chưa được phổ biến lắm. nếu không mình cũng sẽ đưa vào

01 TT: if you've noticed. you can see that there are discussions in newspaper and on radio about (.) preserving the purity and clarity of vietnamese language
02 DN: ah alright
03 TT: so in your opinion. does the use of english on commercial signs at present have any impacts on vietnamese?
04 DN: it doesn't affect anything whatsoever. because we are now open to the whole world. not only to england and the usa but also to japan (.) so their languages are all important. japanese isn't very popular now. otherwise i'll also include it into my shop sign

With an unequivocal negation of the necessity to uphold the purity of Vietnamese and an open attitude towards multilingualism, this excerpt mediates the ideology of open-door era that resonates remarkably well with the tendency to write not just Vietnamese and English on shop signs as already discussed in the LL data analysis in Chapter 4, especially the case of *Santorini Chicken and Soju Pub* in Section 4.1.

The intertwinement of the ideologies of English and *đổi mới* in the context of present-day Vietnam is probably shown most evidently in the way this international language is likely to be seen basically as a driver or 'tool' for economic development rather than being associated with the local culture. (The primary priority of *đổi mới* in Vietnam is economic development.) Accordingly, the addition of a new layer of English in public spaces is remarkably perceived by the interview participants not as enriching but instead diminishing local cultural values and affecting Vietnamese identity, even though they are apt to agree that using English on signage makes shopping streets look more modern. Notwithstanding her elaboration on the important role of English in the current working environment and daily life, when expressing her opinion on whether English may contribute to the affluence of language and culture in Hanoi's public spaces, HS claims explicitly that English is not the language that can represent Vietnamese culture, and worse 'it even causes the loss of Vietnamese identity features.'

01 HS: xét về mặt văn hoá thì nó không làm giàu cho văn hoá việt nam (.) chắc chắn là như thế. nó còn làm mất đi
nét việt nam
02 TT: tại sao lại mất? bây giờ thêm một lớp tiếng anh nữa thì càng phong phú chứ
03 HS: không. tiếng anh không phải là văn hoá của việt nam

01 HS: as long as culture is concerned it ((english)) doesn't enrich vietnamese culture (.) it certainly doesn't. it even
causes the loss of vietnamese identity features
02 TT: why is it like that? don't you think that adding a layer of english can make it ((vietnamese culture)) richer
03 HS: no. english doesn't represent vietnamese culture

In line with what has been mentioned in the excerpt above, LM makes a generalization that the use of English by her as well as other Vietnamese people 'develops the culture for England' (*phát triển văn hoá cho nước anh*). Accordingly, the expressions of these two interview participants confirm their view of English as the language of 'the Others' (another indication of the Herderian ideology that has been shown by TN in excerpt 3 above), notwithstanding their prior acknowledgement of its importance to their daily lives and its functioning as a constituent of their identity.

In order to explain for this seemingly contradictory treatment of English, these interview participants explicate that they see English as an indispensable tool for economic development especially when the national capability is still limited (due to the fact that Vietnam is not a developed country). According to LM, English works as leverage for her private business, since, as she explains afterwards, it enables her to approach and profit from new and modern technology (related to plastic surgery) unavailable in the domestic market.

01 LM: chỉ vì đất nước mình nó chưa phát triển
02 TT: ừ
03 LM: có dùng tiếng việt cũng KHÔNG phát triển được cho cái kinh doanh của mình thì mình mới @phải dùng tiếng anh@

01 LM: just because our country isn't developed
02 TT: uh
03 LM: using vienamese is NOT good for developing my own business (.) so i @have to use english@

Therefore, despite being aware of its possible ‘impingement’ on Vietnamese culture and identity, these interview participants turn to English since the topmost priority of them, and probably also of post-reform Vietnamese people in general, is to develop their own business. When such a trade-off between cultural preservation and economic development is made, we can see rather clearly how English is associated with the latter.

And lastly, it is important to note the following point. Since English functions as a means to reach the purpose of *đổi mới*, it is consequently seen as a vehicle for modernization, Therefore, English can easily become associated with a yearning for modernity and an embrace of imagined cosmopolitan identity among post-reform Vietnamese generations. That being said, the link between English and this ‘youth culture’ at best is seen by some interview participants as superficial and temporary, and at worst is spelt out as a ‘low culture’ (as indicated in the analysis of excerpt 3 in the previous section) or even related directly to the enduring ideology of Western centrism – a devout reverence of occidental cultural elements which originated in the colonial time (Cao, 2003) and has recently been referred to in national rhetoric as a representation of xenocentrism and a self-denial of traditional identity.

Notwithstanding the practical role of English in the current Vietnamese society, most of the interview participants, not excluding those who realize the importance of English in the workplace as well as daily life, see to it that the inroads of English and especially its burgeoning in the LL are more or less relatable to this ‘xenocentric mentality’ (*bệnh sính ngoại*). Some of them voluntarily brought up this issue in their talks either directly or indirectly even before being questioned about it. An inhabitant in the Ancient quarter claims that the significantly increasing visibility of English on shop signs reflects a trend underlain by a pragmatic motivation of shopkeepers to capitalize on a fetishization of English in the local context. Accordingly, English is added and utilized as a means to increase the value of products owing to its evocation of class, quality and elegance.

01 HT: nó như kiểu một cái phong TRÀO í. tức là (.) cứ thứ gì có dính tiếng anh trên đó được xem là sang xịn và mịn
02 TT: ừ
03 HT: tức là (.) hầu hết những người muốn chêm tiếng anh vào biển hiệu là muốn nâng tầm bản thân và giá trị hàng hoá của mình

01 HT: it's like a TREND. i mean (.) anything with english on its label will be thought of as high class, good quality and elegance
02 TT: uh
03 HT: i mean (.) most of the proprietors add english to their shop signs in order to increase their own value as well as the value of their goods and services

In other words, as she elaborates further after this excerpt, English is manipulated as ‘a faux cover for uncertified quality’ (*lấy hình thức để lấn át nội dung*). While this excerpt illustrates that English is associated with the zeal for modernity based on its accumulation of symbolisms in the local context of use, it also shows how this world language and *đổi mới* are tied together to convey the people’s passion for modernization.

All in all, English is closely related to *đổi mới* in the way that the former, as elaborated heretofore, is seen as a medium for global integration, a tool for economic development, and a vehicle for modernization. Nevertheless, opposing reactions of the interview participants to the ascendency of English in the local context has also been made known through the analysis above. Next, we proceed with a further discussion of the interview participants' attitudes towards Vietnamese.

Since the country entered the full swing of reform, Vietnamese seems to lag behind in keeping up with the spirit of modernity and representing the identity of young post-reform generations who are apt to associate it with the ideology of *nhà quê* ('country rustic'). As such, using Vietnamese may ostensibly be seen as awkward, unprofessional, obsolete and possibly even 'uneducated.' However, there is a likelihood that this ideology accompanies the 'trend' to promote English and its symbolisms among Vietnamese youth and therefore has also been seen by some other interview participants as superficial and temporary. Deep down, the interview participants, not excluding those who are prone to favour using English and think of Vietnamese as not being in a very good position to convey the sprits of reform and modernity, see to it that Vietnamese is the language of tradition and culture. Their stance indicates an undisputable and cemented link between Vietnamese and cultural identity, even though this is sometimes not acknowledged explicitly and may even be obscured by the proclivity for modern and cosmopolitan identity.

In the interviews, this link is probably represented most clearly in the participants' attitudes towards the way some local people deal with their own personal names. CL, for instance, shows a strong objection to the practice of some local shop owners who adopt and write 'hybrid' (normally combining English and Vietnamese) names on their shop signs (such as the case of *Tracy Pham* in Chapter 4), despite his support of using English on signage as discussed above. In his opinion, Vietnamese people should be proud of their surnames, since it is a way to show respect for their own families. In the excerpt below, he displays a rather intense distaste for this practice through the use of words and ironic intonation.

01 CL: một cái xấu nhất đấy là thí dụ như là ***jenny** nguyễn* này với cả ***tommy** ngô* với cả các thứ
02 TT: @@@
03 CL: đến dòng họ của mình mình phải tự hào về nó chứ. mà sao mình lại BỎ cái họ của mình đi để mình lấy những cái của nước ngoài

01 CL: the most disgraceful thing is the use of names such as ***jenny** nguyễn* and ***tommy** ngô* and the like
02 TT: @@@
03 CL: we should at least be proud of our own family names. why do we ABANDON our family names to adopt foreign ones

Despite misunderstanding the practice of adopting English (or foreign) first names, which is understandable for someone who does not speak English and bases himself on the name order in Vietnamese (in which the surname comes first), he manages to show an awareness of protecting Vietnamese identity and therefore is also able to make an implication on the connection between Vietnamese language and cultural identity. As he elaborates further in the interaction following this excerpt, a surname is not just attached to one's family but more broadly to national history and hence a denial of it is a disrespect of national tradition.

The decision to stick to Vietnamese by another shop owner in the French quarter after all the amendments and replacements of his shop signs enables him to proudly confirm that his customers, and probably the local people in general, now see in this consistency a demonstration of the stable tradition of not just his own store but also the city as a whole. As indicated in the excerpt below, the deliberation not to include any foreign languages, whether it is English or

Japanese, into the shop sign renders a link between Vietnamese and the said tradition on the one hand, and a promotion of the status of Vietnamese in the local context of use on the other.

01 VN: tôi không phát triển thêm bất cứ một cái gì. không tiếng anh không tiếng nhật (.) tôi chỉ giữ ĐÚNG tinh thần này trước khi bàn giao cho thế hệ tiếp theo
02 TT: vâng
03 VN: nên đến bây giờ nhìn vào cái biển này. người ta thấy một cái truyền thống (...) và có thể nói là một sự bền vững

01 VN: i won't add anything new whatsoever. no english no japanese (.) i'll keep everything EXACTLY as it is before passing on to the next generation
02 TT: yeah
03 VN: so now looking at the shop sign. people see a tradition (...) and probably a stability

Thus far, it has become discernible that language ideologies in post-modern Vietnam are influenced by the call for reform and development at one end and the preservation of tradition and identity at the other end. The former creates more open attitudes towards English (and other foreign languages) but may consequently slide into a promotion or even fetishism of this international language. Meanwhile, the latter promotes Vietnamese as an embodiment of tradition but can easily be gripped by the ideology of linguistic protectionism which is represented in the downplaying or even negation of the role of foreign languages and their participation in the construction of post-reform Vietnamese identity.

That being said, the language-ideological landscape as represented in the interview data is characterized not simply by confrontation but also by reconciliation. Accordingly, while English is seen as the leverage that helps accelerate global integration and take advantage of resources from outside, Vietnamese embodies the ideology that promotes internal strength and improves the country’s status. Within the social context of reform that prioritizes modernization, the ideology of Vietnamese, which has been backed up by a tradition of linguistic purism (as discussed in Chapter 2), has also experienced changes. Accordingly, Vietnamese is now seen as a language that is not just simply associated with culture and identity but instead can be made anew so as to reflect the spirits of modernity and global integration.

The ‘loosening’ attitude towards the ideology of linguistic purism and standardization is indicated in the people’s willing to ‘modernize’ Vietnamese on shop signs (as exhibited in the LL data in Chapter 4) and voice their tolerance and support for this practice (as expressed in the interview excerpts in the previous section). Apart from NV’s support of the practice of ‘stylizing’ Vietnamese (see Section 5.2.4), even the oldest interview participant, who belongs to a generation that may have more fervent consciousness of preserving the purity of Vietnamese, sees that post-reform Vietnamese people should be more open-minded in terms of language use and give a priority to economic development.

01 DN: mình nên mở lòng ra. còn nếu mình chỉ nghĩ rằng *tôi chỉ bảo lưu cái tiếng việt của tôi* thì kinh doanh của mình sẽ kém đi. đúng không?
02 TT: vâng

01 DN: we should open our mind. if we keep thinking that *i want to protect my own language* then it may affect our business. is that right?
02 TT: yeah

This advice from the oldest interview participant, which I have chosen to conclude this section, bears witness to how the ideologies of Vietnamese language have also experienced changes to get in tune with the broader societal ideology of *đổi mới*. Against the backdrop of a tradition of linguistic nationalism and an establishment of the primordial link between Vietnamese and national tradition that has been forged since the inception of the DRV in 1945 (see Chapter 2), Vietnamese has now become intertwined with not only culture and identity but also national development and prosperity.

But above all, the reconciliation ideology is represented most clearly in the way the interview participants assign each language with its own function whereby English and Vietnamese are respectively associated with modernity and tradition. This not only reflects a practical need to harmonize modern and traditional values in the current society but also indicates the roles and positions of these two languages and how they work in tandem with each other in constructing the people's identities. In the following chapter, I will combine the findings of LL and interview data analyses and provide further discussion on the contribution of this dissertation to the understanding of language ideology and identity construction in present-day Vietnam.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I have presented results of the LL and interview data analyses. The former concentrates on how language ideologies and identity construction are mediated in language practice in the LL of Hanoi, while the latter revolves around how the involved people expressed, whether explicitly or implicitly, their ideologies of English (the major foreign language) and Vietnamese (the national language) and constructed their corresponding identities through these two principal languages in Vietnam today. In this chapter, I want to recapitulate the findings of this dissertation and elaborate on its academic contributions. In the first section, I am going to combine the results of the last two previous chapters and present the major findings of this dissertation concerning language ideology and identity construction in post-reform Vietnam. The subsequent section discusses the other major findings and what implications they have to contribute to the fields of LL and globalization studies, the theory of global English, the study of language ideology, the analytical approach of language attitudes in interaction, and lastly the understanding of nationalism in Vietnam. This chapter ends with a brief discussion on the limitations of this dissertation which are accompanied by some corresponding suggestions for future research.

6.1 Language ideology and identity construction in post-reform Vietnam

I begin this section by presenting the major findings of this dissertation about language ideologies of Vietnamese people as mediated in LL and interview data and then elaborates on what these language ideologies may render an understanding of their identity performance and construction. Afterwards, I continue with a further discussion on the ideologies of English and Vietnamese, together with some other notable languages displayed in the LL of Hanoi, in order to illustrate as to how these language ideologies have become entangled with and influenced by the broader ideologies of reform and regionalism in current Vietnamese society.

6.1.1 Language ideologies

The language ideologies as mediated in the people's language practice (LL data) and their talks about language (interview data) are diverse and can at times be contradictory, which reflects rather precisely different cultural and ideological flows in Hanoi and how they have become more affluent since the city embraced economic reform and took gradual steps to enhance global integration. Be that as it may, the findings of this dissertation indicate that there are two major conspicuous ideological propensities as follows.

The first propensity shows a motivation for international integration and modernization and a desire for modernity and cosmopolitanism, which are underlain by the ideology of *đổi mới* whose priorities are placed on economic development and opening up to the world to narrow the gap with developed countries and improve national status. While this reform ideology may be seen as playing a pivotal role in shaping this language-ideological propensity, the analysis of interview data shows that it is also accompanied by other ideological beliefs that have their roots established in the society at least since the colonial period. The ideology of *sính ngoại* ('xenocentrism') (see Chapter 5), which is closely linked to the colonial mentality (Muller et al., 2015), can be seen as a factor having certain impacts on the ascendency of English on signage and how it is especially favoured as a medium that promotes the trend of modern consumption in the local market. This ideology, which is also mediated in a deferential attitude towards *tây* ('occidental') elements, has precipitated a tendency to downplay Vietnamese and even associate it with the lingering derogatory concept of *nhà quê* ('country rustic') whose implication is a testimony that Vietnamese seems to fall behind in keeping up with the sprits of reform and modernity.

The second propensity indicates the necessity of preserving traditional culture and promoting national identity, which is underlain respectively by the ideologies of tradition and nationalism. While the former is represented in a reinvigorated interest in traditional cultural values of the city and its neighbourhoods, the latter is mediated in the nostalgia for a historical past and the use of national memories as a vehicle to reinforce Vietnamese identity. Meanwhile, there is also an emergence of the neo-nationalist ideology which is represented in the people's awareness of promoting the values of national resources, protecting national interests, and improving national status and pride. The concept of *thuần Việt* ('pure Vietnamese'), which was originally used as a linguistic-purist term to refer to 'vernacular Vietnamese' words (as opposed to 'Sino-Vietnamese' ones), has recently been expanded into an 'umbrella' term covering the whole ideology of cultural purism. Accordingly, this term is now linked closely with an awareness of protecting Vietnam from an encroachment of not just foreign languages (especially English) but also Western cultural elements in general. Furthermore, it has also become intermingled with the neo-nationalist ideology, which is represented in an attempt to promote domestic production by encouraging Vietnamese people to purchase and consume 'pure Vietnamese' goods and services, notwithstanding the fact that there have been inconsistencies in defining the two concepts of 'pure Vietnamese' and 'Made in Vietnam' (see further in Chapter 4).

The two aforementioned ideological propensities reflect rather accurately the development of Vietnam in the time of reform when '[t]he quest to preserve, to salvage, comes precisely at the moment when the sense of inevitable global homogenization and subsequent extinguishing of cultural diversity is at its most compelling' (Thomas & Drummond, 2003, p. 2). However, drawing on the two sets of LL and interview data, this dissertation also recognizes the coming into being of another ideological propensity. Accordingly, there have been efforts to reconcile the ideologies of modernity and tradition that define the two reversing propensities mentioned above. Characterized by the ideology of *reconciliation*, this newly emergent propensity is shown most conspicuously in the way the people (especially those of young post-reform generations) see to it that English and Vietnamese can cohabit since each of which plays its own delineated functions. By assigning English and Vietnamese as the languages of modernity and tradition respectively, they render it possible that their admiration for modernity and modernization exists in tandem with their respect for tradition and culture. Such a reconciliation ideology not only facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of the roles and positions of these two languages but also casts light into the process whereby they both take part in constructing the identities of Vietnamese people in the post-reform period.

6.1.2 Identity construction

In terms of identity, Vietnamese people of post-reform generations want to use and be seen using both English and Vietnamese, which is not only a manifestation that they can straddle both the modern and traditional worlds but also an indication of their effort to construct an ‘indigenized’ modern identity – one which can harmonize Western modernization and Eastern culture. However, the interpretation of Vietnamese identity based simply on these ideological dichotomies runs the risk of being oversimplified, since it may oversee the reality that language ideologies are composed of a complexity of beliefs that not only have already been grounded in Vietnamese society for an extended period of time but also are being developed with continuous cultural flows in the time of reform and globalization.

Therefore, I want to suggest that the identity of Vietnamese people today should be understood not just simply based on the dyad of modernity and tradition but also by taking into account a coalescence of elements involving the West and the East, the ‘Occidentals’ (*tây*) and the ‘native Vietnamese’ (*ta*), and the cosmopolitan and the national. While the West, the ‘Occidentals,’ and the cosmopolitan relate to the ideology of modernity and hence have the possibility to evoke the corresponding modern and international identities in the time of reform and globalization, they are also intertwined with the other ideological beliefs that determine how Vietnamese people have positioned themselves with respect to the West and the rest of the world since the colonial time. Likewise, the East, the ‘native Vietnamese,’ and the national indicate their consciousness of constructing an identity that is imbued with Eastern culture, vernacular tradition, and Vietnamese essence, as they have relentlessly been trying to do throughout the course of national history. But these very elements also reflect how Vietnamese people are currently reconstructing their identities in accordance with their own reimagination of the global, the regional, and the national, especially when the country is getting into the full swing of global integration.

In addition, in order to elaborate further on the dyad of the East and the West and avoid the oversimplification of relying solely on the dichotomy of the national and the global when discussing identity construction, this dissertation also suggests that the understanding of Vietnamese identity should also be contemplated with a rigorous reference to the sociocultural context of Asia. Here, a regional cultural dimension we cannot overlook is that the longing for modernization tends to go in tandem with the efforts to reinforce Asian identity, reinvigorate pan-Asian tradition, and resist the overpopularization of Western culture. The rise of cultural nationalisms (to be discussed further below) in the forms of *Nihonjinron* (theories on Japanese culture and identity), *Hindutva* (a form of Hindu nationalism in India), and *Confucianism* (see Desai, 2008) are regional ideological flows that, if taken as a whole, can promote the establishment of 'Asian values' in the region.

And lastly, the findings within the framework of this dissertation show that the identity construction of the people should also be considered in terms of the city and neighbourhood in which they live and work. Specifically, the people in Hanoi refer to the long tradition and rich culture of the city and its neighbourhoods as an essential part of their cultural identities. I therefore would like to suggest that future LL studies with an eye on social and cultural identities should pay more attention to the way the people relate not only to their cities as a whole but also to the idiosyncrasies of their own neighbourhoods.

With respect to the specific context of Hanoi and the identities of its people, there is one point that I want to discuss further in order to facilitate a better understanding of the identity provoked by the derogatory concept of *nhà quê* ('country rustic'). Over the course of its development, Hanoi has always been the city where Vietnamese people from elsewhere converge, hence the name *kẻ chợ* ('the people of the market' – see Chapter 3). That these people come to this city to work and trade and make their livings while still retaining a close connection with their hometowns (normally in the countryside) continues to be a reality even now. This reality creates a situation wherein internal migrants live a 'double life' between their 'two worlds' (Boudarel & Nguyen, 2002) – one in the city and one in the countryside.

Accordingly, these people carry with them a double identity. On the one hand, they gradually construct an identity of an urban dweller based on the social connections that they have made in the city. On the other hand, they have the tendency to identify themselves as the people who come from the countryside. The latter identity is not just a 'symbolic' one but in many aspects a 'real' one sustained by all the real-life connections they still keep with the countryside in terms of family relationships (including those who still live in the countryside and those who have already moved to the city), holiday celebrations and other spiritual/religious activities, and sometimes even business and financial transactions (especially with those who are traders). Keeping that 'countryside' identity is also ideologically important because they do not want other people from the countryside to think of them as someone who forget their own origins – one important moral and cultural taboo in Vietnamese tradition. And for some of them, staying well-connected with the countryside is also practically important, since it will be their safe haven where they would return to when things do not work in the city.

Therefore, the countryside may be geographically distant but is likely to be more psychologically close to these people as it is associated with something more stable than their changeable and potentially 'temporary' city life. Accordingly, some of them may feel less attached to the city but instead more obliged to stick to the countryside and its way of life, which explains the lingering of *nhà quê* identity. In line with this identity construction, I have demonstrated how middle-class urbanites in Hanoi continue to 'imagine' and 'reproduce' a rural living space in the city to address their nostalgia and maintain their continual connections with the countryside (see Section 4.7 in Chapter 4).

6.1.3 Ideologies of English and Vietnamese revisited

In terms of the roles and positions of English and Vietnamese, this dissertation has identified some major subsequent points. After more than three decades of reform with the establishment of a socialist market economy in Vietnam, English has come to be associated with the ideology of *đổi mới* and its aim for global integration. It is seen as not only a tool to open to and learn from the outside world but also a medium to bring the local culture to the whole world. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the proposal to give English an official position as the second language in Vietnam was put on the discussion table of the highest legislative body of the country in 2019, after it had generated a nationwide debate involving government officials, educationists, intellectuals, professionals, and people from all walks of life. This national event bears witness to a remarkable importance of English in the current Vietnamese society (to be discussed further below).

Meanwhile, despite having lagged behind in its representation of modern identity for a segment of Vietnamese people and even being associated with the disparaging ideology of *nhà quê*, Vietnamese with its official status as the national language continues to be seen as a solidified embodiment of tradition and culture. It seems that this reality is likely to change in the future since Vietnamese is also experiencing its own process of modernization in order to catch up with extensive social changes. But as for now, it continues to be attached to the aforementioned function and takes part in constructing cultural identity of a majority of Vietnamese people, while English is seen as the language of economic development and becomes associated with the modern identity of young post-reform generations.

In order for English and Vietnamese to be cast with their respective roles and functions as mentioned above, it is important to reiterate that the ideology of *đổi mới*, alongside its priorities for development, has done its fair share in shaping the attitudes towards these two languages. Or to put it more precisely, *đổi mới*, together with its accompanied ideology, is the substrate upon which the ideologies of English and Vietnamese have taken shape. This is a justification for the argument in Chapter 2 as to how beliefs about language are grounded in the society and serve as the rationalization of social structure. In the current social context of Vietnam, apart from being the main driver for a change in the ideologies of English (from the language of the former enemy to the 'chief' foreign language, see Do, 1996 and Doan et al. 2018), the ideology of *đổi mới* and its aim for modernization not only become guidelines for the people to recognize the roles and positions of Vietnamese and English but also determine how these two languages should be put into use.

Therefore, despite an established ideological tradition of linguistic purification and standardization that have been closely attached to this national language, Vietnamese has recently experienced, as previously indicated, the process of being 'renovated' so as to be able to become a medium of modernity. Likewise, notwithstanding being seen as associated with external cultures, English can still be used as a means to convey neo-nationalist contents. While the renewing of Vietnamese indicates a desire for modernization, the appropriation of English demonstrates a priority for economic development, both of which represent precisely the nuts and bolts of *đổi mới* ideology.

Other than English and Vietnamese, the roles and positions of other foreign languages in the society have also been influenced by the ideology of *đổi mới*. The re-emergence of French and the addition of Japanese, despite their links to the colonial past (the Japanese also occupied Vietnam in the 1940s, see Chapter 5), are a testament for this open-door policy and how it leads to the favour of multilingualism and multiculturalism. While the European languages other than English, such as French and Italian, become entwined with the ideology of cosmopolitanism, the languages of Asian countries, especially those of the East Asian region like Korean and Japanese, enmesh with the ideology of regional modernity. The case of Hangul, which accompanies the cultural wave of Hallyu, is an indication of how an Asian language has gained ground to become an embodiment of modern 'indigenized' modernity and a new pan-Asian culture in post-reform Vietnam.

6.2 Implications and contributions

In this section, I elaborate on the other findings of this dissertation and concurrently discuss its contributions to the understanding, consolidation and illumination of certain theoretical and analytical aspects in the studies of LL and globalization, the theory of global English, the enquiry field of language ideology, the analytical approach of language attitudes in interaction, and lastly the restructuring of nationalism in Vietnam and Asia.

6.2.1 Linguistic landscape and globalization studies

Against the backdrop of current LL literature which tends to focus on the homogeneity of globalization and how this is represented in the ascendant visibility of English (as the global language) in public spaces of the cities in the region (see Huebner, 2006; Kasanga, 2012; Manan et al., 2015; Shang & Zhao, 2017; Taylor-Leech, 2012), this dissertation offers a look into the opposite direction of globalization which is characterized by the diversity and idiosyncrasy of language practice and ideology in the local context of use. As a result, it has pointed out two rather conspicuous language-ideological tendencies in the LL of Hanoi: one towards global uniformity, the other towards local diversity. This dissertation has accordingly made its contribution to the field by highlighting the potentials of LL research in addressing the bidirectional process of globalization referred to earlier as *homogenization* and *heterogenization* (see Chapter 1 and 4). As a further implication based on this contribution, I would like to suggest that in the future the field should take more rigorous consideration of the localization process and focus more attentively on the particularities of language ideology and the specificities of local context.

Beyond its contribution to the understanding of the bidirectional process of globalization, this dissertation also supports Appadurai's (1996, 2001) theory of globalization by consolidating his argument on the unpredictable flows of cultures and ideologies. Accordingly, they are not seen as one-way flows from the West to the East and the rest of the world, but instead as flows with various points of origin and destination. Specifically, in Chapter 4, I have demonstrated that the ideology of modernity in Vietnam, for instance, is determined by the ideas not only from the West but also from other countries in East Asia. This explains why the concept of modernity in Vietnam, as well as throughout the Asian region, should be seen as a type of 'regional' or 'indigenized' modernity which combines Western modernization and Asian values. Similarly, the various directions of cultural flows in the region are also shown in the way Hallyu (the cultural wave from South Korea) not only brings K-pop icons, K-beauty products and K-foods but also *phở* (Vietnamese noodle soup) from Seoul back to Hanoi where it is the culinary icon (see Chapter 3). The return of *phở* to its very own home casts new meanings to the consumption of this noodle bowl in its local context so that it has now moved from a simply local specialty to a dish that may embody the spirit of regional modernity and youth culture. Likewise, the ideology of nationalism and its promotion of Vietnamese identity, which is mediated through the nostalgia for a historical period of socialist construction referred to as 'the subsidy era' (*thời bao cấp*), is not only shared among Hanoians but also spread to some other Asian cities such as Seoul and Kuala Lumpur (see Chapter 4), even though the people there did not share such a historical past and its concomitant emotions due to differences in political regimes and historical trajectories. To reiterate, these examples demonstrate that globalization does not just carry with it influences from the Centre (the West) but also increase the affluence of cultural and ideological flows among cities, countries and regions in the Periphery (the rest of the world).

In order to elaborate further on the centrifugal and centripetal flows of languages, cultures, ideas, goods and people in globalization, let us revisit the term 'nails' which appears on shopfronts in the LL of Hanoi recently (see Chapter 3). To begin with, the model of beauty salons specializing in manicure-only service has been developed by Vietnamese Americans and nail care has become a Vietnamese ethnic niche in the USA labour market (Eckstein & Nguyen, 2011). According to these two authors, the US-style manicure salons, after having spread across the states, have gone global to European markets and back to Vietnam in the form of 'McNails'[58] stores. However, in Vietnam, since these US-style manicure salons are exclusively for well-off customers, nail-care service has been adapted in different ways (see the shop in Figure 3.2 of Chapter 3 for an example) including manicurists hawking the streets offering door to door service with more reasonable prices. Therefore, on the one hand, McNails, which was brought into Vietnam from the USA by Vietnamese Americans, has been received as a beauty service formerly unknown in the local market and then appropriated to suit the specific financial situation of local customers. But on the other hand, Vietnam has recently become the main supplier of manicure labour (domestically trained manicurists move to work abroad) and nail-care materials (equipment for nail salons) for nail stores and chains abroad including the USA (Eckstein & Nguyen, 2011). This is an indication that the flows of labour and material supplies from Vietnam are making significant changes to the services and beauty concepts of nail-care industry in the USA. In other words, the US-born McNails stores are being 'Vietnamized' right in their homeland market with the flows of people, goods and aesthetic ideas from Vietnam.

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[58] According to Eckstein and Nguyen (2011), Vietnamese Americans transformed the nail-care industry in the USA by turning it into a service affordable and attainable for the mass customers (instead of having formerly been found only in upscale beauty salons). The development of nail-care salons and the services provided bear resemblances to the manner of McDonald's food chain.

In terms of research methodology, by combining geosemiotics (a perspicacious analytical framework that attends to the dimensions of *space*, see Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and ELLA (an astute ethnographic tool that handles the dimensions of *time*, see Blommaert 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019), this dissertation manages to construct and put into use an effective *ethnographic approach* to the study of LL that renders the investigation of each specific sign as an ethnographic object whose spatial and temporal dimensions carry different layers of meaning. Following this approach, the collection of LL data was not defined simply by the act of taking pictures of signs but also characterized by an ethnographic observation process that facilitates the understanding of signs in the idiosyncrasy of the places where they are brought into use. Inherent to this ethnographic approach is an observation-cum-analysis portion performed at the data collection stage.

Furthermore, this ethnographic approach also renders the collection of signs within and across the neighbourhood(s) to be carried out with a stern awareness that signs should not be seen separately but instead in their connections with each other. Such an approach facilitates the recognition of not only different historical layers of signs but also the conceptual themes formed and shared among them, which is crucial for the identification of different sign-mediated language-ideological themes as presented in the findings of Chapter 4. I consider the presentation of these findings in different ideological themes each of which discusses a number of 'related' signs, instead of focusing on each sign separately, as a new and useful trajectory in LL research that this dissertation has initiated in order to provide not only a more insightful elaboration on each theme but also a more holistic understanding of the LL as a whole. And lastly, apart from applying an approach that combines ethnographic observation and informal on-the-spot talks with the involved people during data collection, the use of an in-depth interview with the proprietors and local residents in this dissertation demonstrates the decision to 'go beyond the signs' in LL research is a necessary step. It renders the study of signs in their close relationship with corresponding social actors and hence strengthens the possibility to analyze signs as a social practice.

In addition, incorporating the dimension of virtual ethnography into this approach proves to be a promising research direction that has potentials to address the fluidity of online-offline space in LL research. Through this dissertation, it has become increasingly apparent that the analysis of a sign in its specific physical space and in relation to social actors who are directly involved in producing and 'consuming' it can be supported by an understanding of additional meanings it gets from being disseminated in translocal space of the online world with the participation of a boundless virtual community. In alignment with Blommaert & Maly (2019), this dissertation contributes further to the construction of an ethnographic LL approach that can handle effectively social mobility in the age when physical and virtual spaces intertwine and become much harder to delimit. The analysis of Hanoi's LL in Chapter 4 has demonstrated that a social action performed in a local physical setting these days cannot be fully understood without a consultation as to how it is dispersed and re-embedded with new meanings in the translocal context of virtual spaces.

When this chapter is being written, photos of the *Hànộimới* office (see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4) are taking on new meanings in a broader virtual discourse about how the city has always been resilient when facing extreme challenges in history. Different from what has been discussed, the new discourse is being built in social media by netizens in an endeavour to support the measures from the municipal government to fight off the novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) and reassure eight million citizens of the city amid the catastrophic world pandemic. For many of internet users who are living in the city and probably including those who were born there but are now living elsewhere in Vietnam and abroad, the images of this newspaper office gate now convey an important message about solidarity and are therefore used to call for the strength of national unanimity in order to confront a new challenge. This is not unlike the way their predecessors had managed to gather nationhood spirit in the past in order to overcome difficult wartimes.

6.2.2 Global English studies

In accordance with Pennycook (2000), who argues that 'in discussing the global spread of English, we can't escape ideological positions' (p. 107), this dissertation makes it apparent that English is not an ideologically neutral language (see also Canagarajah, 2000). Instead, the global spread of English and its position in a specific context is always associated with, surrounded by and enmeshed in local language ideologies. Based on such findings, this dissertation strengthens the argument that the global spread of English should be approached as ‘a language-ideological issue’ (Park, 2009, p. 5). This approach is especially relevant for a country in the Expanding Circle (following Kachru’s (1990) three concentric circles of world English, see Chapter 1) like Vietnam where English is not only learnt popularly but even pursued as a hegemonic foreign language, although it neither has an official status nor serves as a means of communication shared by the local people.

In alignment with the previous studies on English language ideologies in the Asian context (cf. Park, 2009; Toh, 2015), this dissertation suggests that the position of English in Vietnam cannot be understood based simply on the asymmetrical relationship between English as the hegemonic global language and Vietnamese as the local language. Instead, one should take into consideration the entwinement of an entirety of factors involving the economy, politics, history, education, culture and identity. These interwoven social factors create an equivocal attitude towards English whereby it is both pursued and resisted in this SEA country. Based on the current theoretical frameworks that attend to the ideologies of English, especially the one developed by Pennycook (2000), this section elaborates on the language ideologies underlying the ambivalent position of English in Vietnam, which may hopefully contribute further understanding to the theory of global English in the Asian context.

First of all, let us start with the ideological position of liberalism which tends to be misleadingly claimed by its proponents as an ideologically-free approach to the global spread of English. The ideology of liberalism, or *laissez faire liberalism* (Pennycook, 2000), sees English as a neutral language that is free from ideological, political and cultural ties. While this ideology serves as a catalyst to promote the spread and position of English in the postcolonial world, the inculcation of it in Vietnam has created specifically favourable conditions for the ascendency of

English because of the idiosyncrasies of this country's socio-political background. Historically speaking, the appearance of a certain foreign language in Vietnam has mostly originated from the political and cultural domination of this country by external powers, or else it was related directly to the political liaisons the country had had with the outside world (Denham, 1992; Doan et al., 2018; Phan et al., 2014). Therefore, notwithstanding the former presence of Americans in South Vietnam (which by now has officially been considered as *the past* in the national rhetoric), the ideology of English as the global language not being tied to a specific 'proprietor' renders it easier for English to be accepted in Vietnam, since it neither raises specific concerns over political and cultural interference from other powerful countries nor poses any other eminent threats of other types from the outside world.

With regard to the possible influences of English on cultural identity, the liberal laissez-faire ideology provides a solution, albeit probably a misleading one (see below), by suggesting the complementary roles of English and the local language whereby they are seen to be used for international and intranational communication respectively. Accordingly, this *complementary* ideology disseminates the belief that the coexistence of English and the local language in bilinguals (or sometimes polyglots) allows them to use the former for international identity performance and the latter for national/cultural identity construction (cf. Kuppens, 2013).

In this dissertation, this complementary ideology is represented most clearly in the tendency to associate English with modernity and Vietnamese with culture and tradition, which has been referred to in Chapter 5 as the *reconciliation* ideology. This division of labour may look fair and meritorious on the outside but actually conceals a major surreptitious effect wherein English is given a privileged position as a vehicle for development and modernization while Vietnamese is unchangeably tied to the 'conservative' and nondescript duty of preserving traditional culture. Such a solution is misleading since it creates an inequality between English and Vietnamese and can easily lead to the degradation of the latter by having it associated with backwardness and stagnation (cf. Park, 2009; Pennycook, 2000). It explains remarkably well why the interview participants (in Chapter 5) refer to Vietnamese as a language of 'unprofessionalism' and even relate it to the derogatory concept of *nhà quê*. Meanwhile, English is given a prioritized position as elaborated below.

The idea of having a politically neutral language that is owned by no specific 'proprietor' and can be shared globally and adapted freely based on each individual country's needs without even affecting the national identity creates favourable conditions for the ascendency of English in Vietnam. More importantly, this ideology has been especially well received since the launching of *đổi mới* (as discussed throughout this dissertation) because of the need to have a language that can enhance international integration process. The timely confluence of the liberal ideology of English and the ideology of reform in Vietnam has made English a 'natural' choice for the purpose of opening up to the world for economic development.

Having been mediated in the narratives of reform, the ideology of English as a driver for development and modernization can easily be turned into an excessive promotion of English. Accordingly, it can be seen as an advantageous and even superior language that helps the country thrive both economically and intellectually, and probably also culturally for a segment of Vietnamese youth. Such a deviation renders an uncritical treatment of English and turns it into a language accompanying wealth, knowledge and civilization, which bears resemblances to the ideology of *colonial-celebration* (Pennycook, 2000). (This ideology attributes English with intrinsic qualities that help make the world at large better.) Even though Vietnam was not a British colony, the ideology of Western centrism (see Chapter 4 and 5) developed as the result of having been a former French colony, alongside the ‘inferiority complex’ (*tâm lý tự ti*) of a country trying to narrow the gap of development with other countries in the world, can be seen as the factors that have probably led to such an exaggeration of the position of English.

As mentioned above in Section 6.1.3 (see also Chapter 1), the government of Vietnam turned down the proposal to give English an official position as the second language of this country in 2019. The key proponents of this proposal believe that giving English an official status may leave out the hurdles preventing Vietnamese businesses from going global and competing internationally. Apart from the reason involving the language rights of fifty-three ethnic minority groups[59] (which account for about 15 percent of the population) whose first languages are not Vietnamese and hence Vietnamese is already their second language, the principal reason justifying the government’s disapproval is the reality that Vietnam is basically a monolingual country. Since the majority of Vietnamese people are at ease with their own language, there is not much need to communicate in English among themselves. As a result, the number of people who can use English are still limited in both quantity and quality and tend to concentrate in the cities. While the importance of English for the modern life in Vietnam is undeniably a reality especially in terms of educational and vocational opportunities, the idea of turning English into an official language lacks a practical consideration of the real situation of English usage and the actual need for it, which bears witness to an overemphasis of the inherently hegemonic power of this language for development.

Within the context of Asia, the idea of giving English an official status is not unprecedented and has also become an issue of national concern in some countries like South Korea and Japan. In Korea, the advocates who acknowledged the importance of giving English an official status even went so far as to recommend replacing Korean by English (Park, 2009). More than that, the fetishism of English in Korean society even induces parents to have their children undertake tongue surgery in order to make them speak English better[60]. Even though the frenzy for English in Vietnam does not reach that level of excessive obsession, the pursuit of English has gradually become more intensive especially from the perspective of education. Recently, the display of public profiles of Vietnamese people, especially those of young generations and in their school ages, in the media landscape has the tendency to highlight the 'impressive' test scores they have received in a kind of internationally recognized English tests such as the IELTS (International English Language Testing System). These high English test scores may serve as either a qualification to be seen as 'talented' or 'well-educated' persons or a passport to a good future job even though that kind of job may not require these IELTS certificate holders to use English for any tangible purposes. This is an indication of the ideology of linguistic entrepreneurship whereby a good command of English is seen as increasing the value of oneself in the world (De Costa et al., 2020).

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[59] Vietnam has 54 ethnic groups. Vietnamese is the language of the Kinh (or Viet) people who account for about 85 percent of the population (Vietnam National Census, 2019).

The elaboration so far indicates how English has been given felicitous ideological conditions to establish its position as a hegemonic language in Vietnam. However, it does not mean that the ascendency of English in this country has not met with any ideological resistance. While the global spread of English as a form of *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 2000) may be discussed worldwide because of its homogenizing effects, in a number of countries (like France in Europe or Japan in Asia, to name just a few, see Lipovsky, 2018 and Toh, 2015), not excluding Vietnam, it is likely to trigger concerns over the purity of the national language. With a long tradition of fighting against the assimilation of language and culture (see Chapter 1 and 2), the ideology of *linguistic purism* in Vietnam tends to go in tandem with linguistic conservatism, nationalism and a strong awareness of cultural identity. Therefore, protecting Vietnamese from the influences of English in the post-reform period goes hand in hand with the reinforcement of national identity. As a result, the ideology of *thuần Việt* ('pure Vietnamese') reinvigorates in expanded national narratives on language and culture in which English and 'external' cultural elements from the West are considered having negative influences on vernacular cultural identity. Accordingly, the use of English among local people, especially when it does not serve the purpose of communicating with foreigners, can be referred to in a variety of cultural discourses as a representation of 'xenocentric mentality' (see Chapter 5) and a form of 'hybridity' that indicates either a contamination from foreign cultures or a denial of traditional values. In Chapter 5, the interview participants have shown their resistant attitudes rather obviously by referring to the favour of English on signage as an act of self-denial and a sort of 'low culture.' Mindful of these language attitudes, this dissertation reiterates that, in order to approach the position of English in Vietnam holistically, it is important to contemplate the complexity of how it is concurrently pursued and resisted.

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[60] According to Park (2009), this kind of surgery cuts off a certain band of tissue under the tongue which is believed to help child learners pronounce better the retroflex consonant in English – a sound seen as particularly hard to pronounce for Korean learners of English.

However, a bias focus on the ideology of resistance runs the risk of overseeing how English has also experienced a process of appropriation. In the light of *postcolonial performativity* theory and its ideological implication, using English is seen as a way 'to perform English anew' instead of being tied to the past history of its usage (Pennycook, 2010, p. 50). Accordingly, the appropriation of English in Vietnam should also be seen as a form of 'performance' and approached as a way to construct new identities or create a new culture in global English usage. In the LL data of this dissertation, there is no shortage of examples illustrating the process of appropriation and the performance of new identities based on the sociologies of the local context. The appropriated 'English' names *Mikenco* (Michael Kors) and *HNM* (H&M) of two fashion boutiques in Hanoi not only indicate a desire for international brands and a performance of modern consumer identity in the local market but also represent a very practical purpose of avoiding copyright issues. A local food store finds a 'cool,' creative, and probably economical way to spell it out for customers that it sells 'Italian-styled pizza' through the hybridized name *Pizzý*, which is a portmanteau of *pizza* and *ý* (the Vietnamese term for *Italia*). And as indicated in Chapter 3, the combination *ship tại nhà* ('ship at home'), which informs customers of the eatery's home delivery service, indicates that 'ship' is cognitively perceived not as an English verb that goes with the preposition 'to' but instead seen as a service that can be done 'at' the customers' home.

In addition to the data of this dissertation, a lot more examples of different types can easily be seen, especially on social media where the appropriation of sounds and meanings of English vocabulary is showcased exuberantly. The use of *thứ high*, instead of *thứ hai* (Monday), in a Facebook post gives more emotions (which are related to the English meaning of 'high' – the euphoric feelings getting from using alcoholic drinks) for a youngster who spends a weekday night in a local bar. *Tuesday* is used to refer to *the third person* in a relationship (sometimes *the homewrecker*) in a 'cool' and probably less serious manner, which is rendered possible because *thứ ba* (Tuesday) literally means *the third* in Vietnamese. And lastly, it is *Make in Viet Nam* (not *Made in Vietnam* as we have discussed in Chapter 4). Before rushing into a discussion about this English phrase, let me inform you that this is the name of a new business campaign launched by a few leading technological companies in Vietnam most of whose CEOs are graduates from some English-speaking countries. Whether it is a marketing idea to attract attention (based on a ‘substandard’ use of English) or a deliberation to create an English phrase in the local style (note that the name of Vietnam is written in two separate words instead of one as it often appears in English texts), this campaign’s name reflects an effort to address the dilemma caused by the Sinification of the phrase ‘Made in Vietnam’ (some of the goods tagged ‘Made in Vietnam’ are actually produced in China, see Chapter 4). Accordingly, an English phrase is appropriated, by choosing understandability and/or acceptability over grammaticality, to be cast with an important neo-nationalist message about commerce protectionism, internal force development, and above all patriotism and national pride.

6.2.3 Language ideology studies

In this section, I would like to discuss the contribution of this dissertation to the understanding of the *multiplicity* of language ideology, which is intended to consolidate the current literature in this field, especially the ‘cluster concept’ proposed by Kroskrity (2006). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, this dissertation sets out to address the research gap left unattended due to the reality that LL studies tend to focus exclusively on the language ideology of the state and how it is represented in the language policy on signage. There has been inadequate attention paid to how the people’s language ideologies are mediated in their actual language use on signage. By having avoided such a biased approach, this dissertation manages to identify both interindividual and intraindividual differences in the people’s language ideologies. After elaborating on the contribution of this dissertation to a further understanding of the multiplicity of language ideologies, this section also discusses two other major implications for current theories on language ideology. The first one focuses on how ordinary people show different awarenesses of existing local language ideologies and the second one on how they use different language attitudes/ideologies to construct their corresponding identities.

To begin with, both the language use on signage and the expression of language-ideological stances in interview interaction show that the people's language ideologies are of varying degrees of confluence and diffluence with the dominant language ideologies. In order to illustrate this diversity, I want to focus first on how the interview participants discern and acknowledge the roles and positions of Vietnamese in the current society.

Regardless of its official status as the national language and how it is referred to in national narratives not only as the embodiment of culture and identity but also as a medium for socioeconomic development in the time of global integration, a small segment of the people especially those of post-reform generations see to it that Vietnamese seems to lag behind in its representation of modernity and some of them even relate it to the derogatory concept of *nhà quê*. In other words, even though it has always been promoted by the state and continues to be seen widely by the people as an embodiment of tradition, culture and national identity, Vietnamese has become less likely to be chosen as a language representing the modern identity of a certain segment of the people. This is an indication that the people's language ideologies can diverge from the dominant ones, not to mention that they can differ significantly between and within individuals (to be discussed further below). A divergence of this type renders a recognition of the diversity of language ideologies and attitudes in the post-reform period. By using the term 'divergence,' I want to emphasize that the people's language ideologies should not necessarily be seen as a form of reaction to and put into an adversary relationship with the dominant state-endorsed language ideologies (cf. Kroskrity, 2006) as it has been done in previous LL studies (see Chapter 2). Instead, they should be seen as the language-ideological variations that reflect independent and ‘valid’ viewpoints of the masses on language. Only by so doing can we thereby challenge the tradition of delegitimating folk awareness of language in anthropology and linguistics as already discussed in Chapter 2.

The findings of this dissertation also confirm that, due to their varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies, the people who belong to different or similar social groups can displayed significantly varied or even contradictory language attitudes. The interview data analysis indicates that the participants show significantly different ideological positions towards English whereby it may be associated with prestige and class by some and looked down on as an indication of low culture by others, notwithstanding a general ideological propensity to relate this global language with development and modernization in the local context of Vietnam. With respect to Vietnamese and the ideology of linguistic purism, the interview participants are caught between two main language-ideological tendencies. While the first one acknowledges the importance of upholding the purity of Vietnamese as a way to promote national identity, the second one finds it no longer necessary since doing so may either have negative influences on economic development or cause pragmatic problems for daily communication especially in working environment.

Moreover, even within a particular individual, his or her awareness of local language ideologies has also been displayed differently over the course of interview interaction, which is rendered possible because this dissertation analyzes ideological stances as instances of positioning. Such ideological stances are therefore not fixed and enduring, but always highly context-dependent and changeable from one moment to the next. Accordingly, an interview participant may somewhere in her interview imply that English represents the cultural identity of her social group, but later claim explicitly that English belongs to ‘external’ cultures. While her former language-attitudinal expression may indicate an individual awareness of the position of English in her own personal experiences, the latter one shows how the ideology of Herderianism has been inculcated into her generation through master narratives on language, nation and identity. This intraindividual 'inconsistency' is not abnormal but instead indicates that the language-attitudinal expressions of each individual have always been a combination of factors involving how he or she addresses a personal awareness of language and concurrently incorporates and reconciles influences from the dominant state-endorsed language ideologies mediated in master narratives.

Apart from addressing the need to approach multiple language ideologies of both the state and the people, I would also like to suggest that a rigorous contemplation of the relationship between the language ideologies of these two groups is a useful research direction that promises more insights but has yet been given adequate attention. Drawing on the LL and interview data analyses, this dissertation has made it obvious that master narratives play an important role in disseminating the dominant language ideologies before ingraining them in the society and passing them through different generations of people. Therefore, these narratives should be an important channel to look into how the dominant language ideologies have become naturalized and unchallenged before exercising their influences on the masses in a way the people are unlikely to be aware of them. In the LL data analysis, I have demonstrated that the nostalgia for a difficult but peaceful historical past known as *subsidy era* in Hanoi, which reflects natural feelings of local people when the country entered the new chapter of reform and globalization, is also the ideological propensity whose purposes are not only to consolidate the people's faith in the state's leadership and evoke their gratitude for *đổi mới* and its achievements but also to involve the people in 'reimagining' the past and co-constructing the ideology of 'memory.' In the interview data analysis, the interaction between the language ideologies of both groups has also been represented evidently and I will discuss it in more detail in the next section.

Therefore, based on the findings of both Chapter 4 and 5, it is possible for this dissertation to claim that the involved people have shown not only their practical consciousness (the language-ideological awareness represented implicitly through language practice) but also their discursive consciousness (the language-ideological awareness represented explicitly through metapragmatic talk) of the naturalized state-endorsed language ideologies (cf. Kroskrity, 1998). By having pointed out how these two types of consciousness are represented in two different datasets, this dissertation has demonstrated that an investigation of the relation between the language ideologies of the state and those of the people can provide a more insightful understanding of both the former and the latter. This should justify the aforementioned recommendation for a more rigorous attention in this direction in future research.

In terms of identity, this dissertation has demonstrated how language ideologies are 'productively' used by people to construct their corresponding identities and how this identity construction procedure is realized through the semiotic process of *iconization* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) (see further in Chapter 5). Following this semiotic process, people are apt to assign a certain language with some particular features that represent certain social categories, which thereby renders the utilization of that language as a medium to construct their identities accordingly. In Chapter 4 and 5, it has been illustrated that both the use of language on signage and the expression of language attitudes in interview interaction facilitate the iconization of English and Vietnamese so that they can participate in constructing respective identities for language users and interview participants.

The association of English with the ideologies of development and modernization in post-reform Vietnam let it be iconized not only as the language representing modern and cosmopolitan identities but also as a valued possession that translates a few identity-related features ranging from prestige to class and educatedness. Furthermore, apart from enabling Vietnamese bilinguals (those who can use both English and Vietnamese) to display their ‘regional’ modern identity, which harmonizes the duality of modern and traditional identities, English also functions as a compensation for the ‘inferiority complex’ (as mentioned above in Section 6.2.2) which has recently led to a linkage of Vietnamese with the ‘countrified’ (*quê*) and ‘backward’ (*lạc hậu*) identities. Similarly, the association of Vietnamese with the ideology of tradition and culture enables it to be iconized as the language taking part in the construction of the people’s cultural identity. During this iconization process, the primordial connection between language, culture and identity has been effectively naturalized in order to construct a monolithic Vietnamese cultural identity. In addition, Asian languages such as Korean, Japanese and traditional Chinese (used in Hong Kong and Taiwan) are also used accordingly by Vietnamese people to construct their regional modern identity as indicated above.

6.2.4 Language attitudes in interaction

This section continues the discussion in the previous section on the relationship between the people’s language attitudes as expressed in interview interaction and the naturalized state-endorsed language ideologies as mediated in master narratives. Therefore, it serves as an extended discussion on the contribution of this dissertation to the studies of language ideology as having been initiated above. However, with its specific focus on how the aforementioned relationship is represented in interview interaction, this section is intended to highlight what this dissertation can contribute to the *language attitudes in interaction* approach developed in Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009 and Dailey-O'Cain, 2017. In order to realize this purpose, I elaborate on how an attentive concentration on the relationship mentioned above not only reinforces the possibility to analyze language attitudes in interaction – which thereby strengthens the use of this analytical framework as a helpful interaction approach to the studies of language ideology – but also contributes an effective way to look into the identity construction of interview participants.

Based on the concept of *story-lines* in the positioning framework developed by David and Harré (1990), this dissertation has demonstrated that the direction that puts the people's language attitudes into interaction with the dominant state-endorsed language ideologies presents itself as a useful and effective analytical approach. The interview data analysis has shown that the language-attitudinal positionings of the participants as expressed in interview interaction can mediate the dominant state-endorsed language ideologies that have been embedded in a variety of national discourses. Since these dominant state-endorsed language ideologies have been naturalized (and hence become unchallenged), inculcated, established and then passed down through different generations, they become a part of the cultural story-lines which are shared and taken for granted by local people and therefore tend to influence their language-attitudinal positionings. Accordingly, the act of relating the latter to the former not only renders a realization and/or confirmation of the relationship between them but also facilitates a better understanding of how the interview participants position themselves against the backdrop of these dominant state-endorsed language ideologies.

In Chapter 5, I have demonstrated that the highly dominant ideology that relates language to nation and identity, which has been established since the inception of the modern Vietnamese nation-state and continues to be reinforced in master narratives in the time of reform, enables the interview participants to make an unchallenged and naturalized association of Vietnamese with tradition and cultural identity. Further, this ideology has also paved the way for them to see that English represents a cultural other, notwithstanding the reality that some of them not only acknowledge the importance of this global language in their daily life but have also built a certain identity connection with it. Meanwhile, this ideology also takes the form of linguistic nationalism or may even turn into a sort of chauvinist conservatism indicated in the way the interview participants express an attitude of language protectionism that at best downplays the role of English as an 'external' cultural element or at worst associates it with the disparaging term of 'low culture.'

The aforementioned relationship is also represented in the way the interview participants, through their metapragmatic comments on language practice, can only show partially their discursive consciousness of naturalized state-endorsed language ideologies. In order to illustrate this point, let us revisit the concept of *thuần Việt* ('pure Vietnamese') and how it has been used by the interview participants in Chapter 5. In the interview excerpt with NV, she mentions the term *thuần* ('pure') two times ('I want them to use purely Vietnamese names' in turn 18 and 'it sounds purer' in turn 22). As indicated in the analysis of this excerpt, she has a quite open attitude towards the appropriation of Vietnamese; accordingly, it can be 'stylized' or 'renewed' to look and sound more modern. This is a testimony to her unawareness of the long-established ideological tradition of linguistic purism represented in the concept of 'pure Vietnamese.' Therefore, the appearance of the 'pure Vietnamese' element in her interview interaction should not be understood as a conscious expression coming from a person who is a proponent of the ideology of linguistic purism. Instead, this should be seen as an indication that this concept has been disseminated so widely in the local context of use that it has become instilled and incorporated into her vocabulary as a term that means ‘using only Vietnamese’ (as opposed to bilingual or multilingual language use) and brought out into use without even considering the purist ideology that goes with it. With that in mind, I would like to suggest that the discursive expressions of language attitudes of interview participants, especially those including the terms that have a direct connection to dominant language ideologies, should be contemplated more thoroughly by taking into account the expressions of their language attitudes, both explicitly and implicitly, throughout the interview interaction instead of rushing into a conclusion based simply on the corresponding language ideologies to which these terms conventionally refer.

In addition, because of the close relationship between ideology and identity and the perception of identity not as something preexisting but instead continuously in the process of (re)construction (see Chapter 2), the *language attitudes in interaction* approach can also be used productively as a framework to analyze the identity construction of interview participants. Based on the way they position themselves with respect to dominant language ideologies and how this positioning functions as an ‘act of identity’ (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), this dissertation has offered an approach to look into the display, performance and construction of their corresponding identities. The analysis in Chapter 5 has demonstrated that when an interview participant shows her commitment to the English-only ideology, she gives us a ‘sense’ of how she wants to project herself as a modern person who may want to resist a certain tradition she no longer sees fit. Alternatively, when one refers to the use of English in the workplace as an indication of professionalism, she wants to perform the identity of a post-reform middle-class professional who considers English as a novel icon of ‘educatedness’ rather than simply as a new tool of communication for global integration and national reform. But on the contrary, when one plays down the role of English in the society, it does not necessarily mean he has not seen for himself the global spread of English as an indispensable reality. Instead, his reaction should be seen as a way for him to 'act out' a resistance of English and a promotion of Vietnamese language and culture. Through such a positioning of language attitudes, he renders the construction of an identity that is associated with Vietnamese tradition and culture and simultaneously dissociated from the interference of English and its accompanied cultural elements.

6.2.5 Nationalism studies

While this dissertation supports Appadurai's (1996) argument on the unpredictable flows of ideas, ideologies and cultures in globalization (see also Appadurai, 2001), its findings show evidence against another argument of his whereby the profound impact of globalization is seen as having marked a decline in the role of nation-states since the late twentieth century. In his opinion, the nation-state as a political form has been in a crisis and is described as standing 'on its last legs' (Appadurai, 1996, p. 19). In the same line, the historian Hobsbawm (1992) claims that the phenomenon of nationalism has been 'past its peak' and is on the verge of gradual declining (p. 192). That being said, based on the findings of this dissertation about the development of nationalism in the specific context of Vietnam, I would like to suggest that even though nationalism may have experienced some forms of restructuring (to be discussed further below) in the years after the launching of reform policy (see Luong, 2007), the ideology of nationalism and its developing variations still play an important role in shaping the language-ideological landscape and influencing the people's language attitudes in Vietnam. This is an indication that the status of nation and nationalism in Vietnam remains quite stably strong regardless of massive changes caused by socioeconomic reform. The results of this dissertation are in alignment with other studies that have been carried out elsewhere in the Asian regions (see Vaish, 2012). Accordingly, even in a highly globalized SEA country like Singapore, the role of nation-state proves to be dominantly influential.

Apart from shedding light into the status of nation-state in the time of large-scale globalization of the world economy, the findings of this dissertation provide further insights into the current development of nationalism in Asia. Resisting the view that nationalism is on the verge of declining, the research literature in Asian context indicates that the development of nationalism in this region at the turn of the twenty-first century should be seen as having actually experienced a transition between its two forms from *developmental nationalism* to *cultural nationalism* (Desai, 2008). In Desai's elaboration, the former lays more emphasis on the dimension of the political economy of nationalism and hence tends to promote the idea of building a prosperous national economy or more generally a better future for the country. Meanwhile, the latter shifts its focus to the dimension of the cultural politics of nationalism and therefore aims at celebrating and glorifying elements of national culture and tradition. Accordingly, the former normally goes with the promise of a 'better tomorrow' while the latter has the tendency to recall the golden pasts and offer a 'better yesterday' (Desai, 2008, p. 400). Such a transition is historical and reflects an ideological shift from developmentalism that accompanies the dominance of state-driven policies to neoliberalism that goes along with the influences of market-driven forces. Now, based on the findings of this dissertation, I would like to present two major points relating to the representation of nationalism in current Vietnamese society, which can hopefully contribute further understanding of the aforementioned transition between these two forms of nationalism in Asia.

On the one hand, in line with the findings of previous studies on the restructuring of nationalism in Vietnam (see Luong, 2007), this dissertation contributes to an understanding of the ascendency of cultural nationalism in the period following the application of reform policy. Specifically, it has identified a revitalization of traditional culture which is represented rather obviously in the LL of Hanoi. Accordingly, it brings to our attention how cultural traditions of the country and the city have been reinvigorated and promoted through language use on signage and social practice of the involved people. An emergence of the nostalgic discourses that have been constructed to revitalize valuable cultural traditions and especially glorify a ‘golden past’ of the city, which renders the reminiscence of a ‘better yesterday’ possible, is a feature (as discussed above) indicating the inroads of cultural nationalism in Vietnam. In addition, resonating with existing ‘counter-narratives’ on the downsides of globalization, some of the interview participants in this dissertation also mention a recent degradation of traditional culture and identity in current Vietnamese society. This is a testament to the fact that a promotion of traditional culture in the form of glorifying the past has not only been realized in language use on signage but also in the people’s metapragmatic talk about language and culture. If looking more broadly into the social practices of Vietnamese people, as indicated in Luong (2007), there is a revitalization of the past practices including the religious rituals and festivals which used to be seen as superstitious and contradictory to the materialist ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Up to this point, it is possible to come up with a tentative claim that there has been an indication of the restructuring of nationalism in Vietnam, which is represented in a shift of focus onto the dimension of cultural politics.

On the other hand, this dissertation indicates that cultural nationalism in Vietnam exists in tandem with developmental nationalism, or at least this is seen rather conspicuously at present, when the necessity of improving national status, or building a ‘better tomorrow’ for the country, continues to be seen as the upmost priority guiding the whole national course of reform and modernization. In alignment with the preference for *đổi mới*, the ideologies of development and modernity become some of the key players in the ideological landscape of Vietnam. More noticeably, an indication of developmental nationalism is seen in a recent emergence of neo-nationalism (as represented in the LL and interview data analyses in Chapter 4 and 5) which above all aims at protecting and promoting the national economy. Therefore, I would like to suggest that, in the current situation of Vietnam, it is important to realize that developmental and cultural nationalisms intertwine and have equally important roles in the future development of the country. Accordingly, the dimensions of political economy and cultural politics come hand in hand and support each other in performing two concurrent purposes that can be seen as two sides of the same coin. The first one focuses on developing national economy and improving national status, while the second one aims at promoting cultural traditions and reinforcing national identity. Therefore, the two purposes of ‘economic growth and cultural development’ (*tăng trưởng kinh tế và phát triển văn hoá*) normally go together in national discourses. In the official documents of Vietnamese government recently, ‘building a progressive culture permeated with national identity’ (*xây dựng nền văn hoá tiên tiến, đậm đà bản sắc dân tộc*) (cf. Luong, 2007) is considered the beacon of the country’s future development. Here, the element of ‘progressive[ness]’ is placed ahead to highlight the priority for development, which is followed right afterwards by the responsibility to protect national identity. Once again, this is a choice reflecting rather accurately the current situation of Vietnam, and probably some other countries in Asia as well, whose upmost priority for narrowing the gaps of economic development with the

West makes political economy an indispensably crucial dimension in the current construction of nationalism in the country.

6.3 Limitations and future research directions

One of the major issues in the study of language ideologies is to take into account their manifestations in both subjectively explicit and constructively implicit manners (Woolard, 1998). The former indicates metadiscursive expressions of language ideologies and the latter refers to language-ideological awareness mediated in language practice. Accordingly, it is suggested that the groundings or *sitings* of language ideologies should be given a rigorous concentration. Since language ideologies are believed to exist in more than one single site, hence the term *multi-sitedness* (Philips, 2000), this dissertation has set out to investigate the expressions of the people's language ideologies not only in the site of ideological production (their language use on signage) but also in the site of metapragmatic commentary (their talks about language) (see also Chapter 1). Furthermore, as indicated in Kroskrity (1998) and has also been mentioned earlier in this chapter, this research direction also renders a possibility to look into the process wherein the people show their practical consciousness (their tacit knowledge represented through language practice) and discursive consciousness (their explicit knowledge through metalinguistic talk) of dominant language ideologies. As a result, it has facilitated an understanding of varying degrees of the people's language-ideological awareness and therefore demonstrated the multiplicity of language ideologies.

However, the limited time frame of this dissertation makes it impossible to take into account other language-ideological sites that may contribute to a more holistic understanding of language ideologies in Vietnam today. One of these sites, for instance, is the social media which has developed immensely and attracted a substantial number of Vietnamese users[61] recently. The virtual ethnography accompanying the LL data analysis in Chapter 4 has set light into the possibility of using social media platforms as a site to see how clearly the people's ideologies are represented in their actual language practice. Moreover, through my observation of the public debates taking place most intensely in social media platforms over the issue as to whether Vietnam should give English the status of an official language, I have seen a kaleidoscopic picture of metadiscursive expressions of attitudes and viewpoints on language with the participation of a noticeable number of Vietnamese people from different professions and walks of life who are apt to feel less pressure expressing themselves under their virtual identities. With that in mind, I consider social media as a double-layered language-ideological site where language ideologies are constructed and mediated in both language practice and metalinguistic talk. I therefore would like to suggest that a further study on the people's language ideologies in this direction may have promising results (see Dailey-O'Cain, 2017 for a study on the ideologies of English in social media).

Furthermore, even though this dissertation was set out to focus on the people's language ideologies, it has done so with reference to state-endorsed language ideologies. Accordingly, I have managed to identify a relationship between the people's language-ideological awareness – which is represented in various degrees of their practical and discursive consciousness – and the dominant language ideologies mediated in master narratives. However, the interaction between the people's and the state's language ideologies identified in this dissertation is rather one-sided, which means a research direction focusing on how dominant language ideologies may be adjusted and reproduced because of efficacious influences from the people has yet been given a deserved attention. The LL and interview data analyses in the two previous chapters, for instance, have shown how tolerant and open-minded some people can be to the practice of ‘renewing’ their own language, which therefore indicates a language attitude that differs from the dominant ideology of linguistic purism. However, the influences this language attitude has had on the dominant language ideologies, which include an adjustment that casts Vietnamese as the language of tradition and *development* (Nguyen, 2016, my emphasis), is the process that has yet been discussed in this dissertation. Likewise, the analysis in Chapter 4 has demonstrated that the ideology of neo-nationalism mediated in the national discourse of ‘Made in Vietnam’ is driven rather substantially by the Sinophobia of Vietnamese people and how this attitude is manifested in their social practice of goods consumption. But how such an English phrase has been appropriated as a message of nationalism and patriotism by the people nationwide can affect a modification of the dominant ideologies of English and how this modification can be reconciled with the extant beliefs of English as a representation of an external culture and identity is the research direction that needs further exploration.

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[61] According to the statistics of Vietnamese government, there are about 64 million internet users in Vietnam in 2019, which accounts for about 70 percent of the population.

But more importantly, in order to investigate the two-way process of interaction between the people’s and the state’s language ideologies, let us not forget the aforementioned social debate on the position of English in Vietnam. This is an especially important language-ideological site to investigate this symbiotic process, since it is where the dominant language ideologies – those which have been naturalized and taken for granted for years – are brought to the discussion table, challenged and may subsequently become contending ones. Therefore, it is worth noting that the social debates on language of this type should be considered a major channel to look into the mobility of language ideologies, whereby even the most dominant and highly naturalized language ideologies can be contested, adjusted and reproduced (see Park, 2009 for a discussion on the ideologies of English in South Korea in this direction). It is argued that ‘contestation is a crucial facet of how particular ideologies and practices come to be dominant’ (Briggs, 1998, p. 249). Accordingly, focusing on the social debates on language not just helps understand language ideologies better by bringing the contending ones to the fore but also creates an environment to demonstrate that ‘beliefs about language are multiple, competing, contradictory and contested’ (Kroskrity, 1998, p. 117). That being the case, I would like to suggest that a future research direction that looks into the interaction of the people’s and the state’s language ideologies as a two-way process can be a promising one because it not only provides a more holistic view of the language-ideological landscape of Vietnam but also renders a possibility to see how language ideologies are grounded in and appropriated to sociopolitical conditions and contingencies.

6.4 Coda

In this dissertation, the language practice and interview interaction construct and mediate the ideologies and identities of post-reform Vietnamese people which reflect two major trends of modernity pursuance and tradition preservation and an effort to reconcile these two aims. The crux of the matter is that while the people of Vietnam are inclined to be flexible in dealing with languages other than their own, they have quite consistent ideology of Vietnamese as the language embodying national culture and identity. Such an insight not only unravels one of the reasons why Vietnamese holds on to its status quo as one of the most stable national languages in contemporary SEA and but also contributes substantial understanding of identity construction in post-reform Vietnam.

Epilogue

Rapper Dế Choắt (‘Small Cricket’) won the Rap Việt competition in 2020 and has thereafter become one of the leading rappers in Vietnam. He is seen as a uniquely special rapper in the country not just because his stage name reminds of a humble character in a literary work read by generations of Vietnamese children, but also because his rap songs are all written in ‘pure Vietnamese’ lyrics. In an interview with local news media following his receiving of the first prize of this competition, he talked about rap and Vietnamese language. As an explanation for having always rapped purely in Vietnamese, he confided that his rap journey so far has been defined by a relentless effort to make use of the depth of the national language. Then he proceeded to claim that there are a lot of interesting things in Vietnamese waiting to be explored by local rappers and as for him he wanted to do his share to ‘reproduce’ rap language in Vietnam. Notwithstanding a rough outlook created by face tattoos and piercings and streetwear outfits and a childhood full of ebbs and flows, Dế Choắt demonstrates a surprisingly vigorous love for the national language. For this ‘Small Cricket’ continues his adventures through the new territory of underground music fully equiped with an ardent appreciation of the beauty and affluence of Vietnamese language, it is a testimony to how young, post-reform Vietnamese generations are in good control of the balance between development pursuance and tradition preservation. On that account, there should be cogent reasons to believe that Vietnamese will continue to develop its status and solidify its position in the heart of the populace.

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Appendix A Interview themes and suggested questions for shop owners

Part 1. Respondent's demographic information

1.1 How old are you? How long have you been living in Hanoi?

1.2 How long have you been running this shop? Do you own the shop by yourself?

1.3 Do you speak any foreign language? What foreign language(s) do you speak?

1.4 Who are the frequent customers of your shop? Can you tell me about their ages, social classes, educational background, etc.?

1.5 Do you have foreign customers in your shop? If yes, what language(s) do you or your employees use to communicate with these foreign customers?

Part 2. Respondent's motivations for choosing to use Vietnamese and foreign languages on shop signs

2.1 Can you explain the name of your shop? Why did you choose this name? Does this name have any meaning to you personally?

2.2 Why did you choose to use Vietnamese and/or foreign language(s) on your shop sign?

2.3 What advantages do you have when you use Vietnamese and/or foreign language(s) on shop sign?

2.4 Do you use foreign language(s) on your shop sign to keep up with the current trend? Or are there any other reasons?

2.5 What do you think of other stores in this neighbourhood that only use Vietnamese or foreign language(s) on their shop signs?

Part 3. Respondent's explanation for the arrangement of languages on shop sign. Questions of this section aim to understand further the respondent's language preference and his/her attitudes towards Vietnamese, English, and other foreign languages (if available).

3.1 Did you choose the languages on shop sign on your own? Did you participate in designing the sign? If yes, what did you do?

3.2 Why did you choose to arrange the languages on shop sign in that order? Further questions will be asked accordingly depending on the actual arrangement of languages on each specific shop sign (e.g., Why was English text put above Vietnamese one? Why did you put English text to the left and Vietnamese one to the right? Why did you put English text in the centre?).

3.3 Why did you choose to present the shop sign in this way? Further questions will also be asked accordingly based on other details relating to the size, shape, and colour of the text in each language (e.g., Why was English text in bigger font size than Vietnamese one? Why did you put English text in red colour?).

3.4 Why did you have (the) same/different contents for the texts in Vietnamese and foreign language(s)?

3.5 Can you explain the meaning of the logo and image (or other visual designs) on shop sign (if applicable)?

Part 4. Respondent's opinions on the effects of English and other foreign languages on Vietnamese language, the linguistic landscape of Hanoi, and Vietnamese cultural identity

4.1 Do you think that using foreign language(s) on signage in public spaces has negative effects on the purity of Vietnamese? Why (not)?

4.2 Can the presence of foreign language(s) in Hanoi's public spaces affect the cultural landscape of the city? Why (not)?

4.3 Why do we favour English these days (mentioning that it was different in Vietnam in the past)? What do you think have changed in Vietnamese people?

4.4 Do you think that the favour of English and/or other foreign languages is a proof of xenocentrism? Or are there any other reasons?

4.5 What do you think about the identity of Vietnamese people these days, considering the increased visibility of English and other foreign languages in public spaces?

4.6 Do you think that the preference for English and other foreign languages in Hanoi's public spaces affects Vietnamese cultural identity? Why (not)?

Appendix B Interview themes and suggested questions for local inhabitants

Part 1. Respondent's demographic information

1.1 How old are you? How long have you been living in this neighbourhood?

1.2 Why did you choose to live in this neighbourhood?

1.3 Have there been many changes in the neighbourhood since you moved here?

1.4 Do you speak any foreign language? What foreign language(s) do you speak?

1.5 Have you ever been (or lived) outside Vietnam? Which countries have you been to?

Part 2. Respondent's attitudes towards the use of Vietnamese and foreign languages on shopfronts

2.1 Where do you often go shopping and hang out? Why do you prefer to go shopping and hang out there?

2.2 What do you think about the stores in the neighbourhood that use foreign languages on their shopfront signs? What about those using Vietnamese?

2.3 When you go shopping or hang out, do you care about the language(s) used on the shopfront signs of shops, café, and restaurants? Why (not)?

2.4 Do you prefer to go into the shops, cafés or restaurants that use foreign languages on their shopfront signs? Why (not)?

2.5 How often do you go to shopping malls? What do you think about the use of English and other foreign languages there?

Part 3. Respondent's attitudes towards the use of English and other foreign languages in the public spaces of Hanoi in general

3.1 What do you think about the increased visibility of English and other foreign languages in public spaces?

3.2 In your opinion, why is English used so popularly in public spaces?

3.3 Are you in favour of the use of English and other foreign languages in public spaces? Why (not)?

3.4 What are the benefits of using English in public spaces? Any drawbacks?

3.5 Do you think that using English and foreign languages in public spaces is to keep up with a particular trend in the world? Or are there any other reasons?

Part 4. Respondent's opinions on the effects of English and other foreign languages on Vietnamese language, the linguistic landscape of Hanoi, and Vietnamese cultural identity

4.1 Do you think that using foreign language(s) on public signage has negative effects on the purity of Vietnamese? Why (not)?

4.2 Can the presence of foreign language(s) in Hanoi's public spaces affect the cultural landscape of the city? Why (not)?

4.3 Why do we favour English these days (mentioning that it was different in Vietnam in the past)? What do you think have changed in Vietnamese people?

4.4 Do you think that the favour of English and/or other foreign languages is a proof of xenocentrism? Or are there any other reasons?

4.5 What do you think about the identity of Vietnamese people these days, considering the increased visibility of English and other foreign languages in public spaces?

4.6 Do you think that the preference for English and other foreign languages in Hanoi’s public spaces affects Vietnamese cultural identity? Why (not)?

Appendix C Transcription conventions

Symbol	**Definition and use**
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
asterisks	A change in pitch
$dollar signs$	A smiling voice
@at signs@	A laughing voice
(.), (..), (…)	Pauses that last one, two, and three beats respectively (longer pauses are marked by the relevant number of seconds)
-	Putting behind a word for a false start
(single brackets)	An unclear passage
((double brackets))	A commentary or descriptive passage of the analyst (such as providing further explanation for a translation)
[single square brackets] and [[double square brackets]]	Overlapping utterances
=	Using one at the end of the interrupted turn and one at beginning of the next turn of the same speaker to mark the flow of speech