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LANGUAGE, SPACE, AND COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY
IN CONTEMPORARY SHANGHAI

Thesis submitted to
BIRKBECK, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
by
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London

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Abstract

This thesis examines the cosmopolitanization of identities at the intersection of language and space. While cosmopolitanism has been touched upon in sociolinguistic studies of globalization, few studies directly attend to its inherent spatial implications. In this background, this study aims to underscore a spatial-linguistic approach by integrating linguistic landscape studies, interactional sociolinguistics, and metrolingualism.

Situated in Shanghai, a growing global metropolis with glamorous cosmopolitan past and ambitious international look, data of this research were mainly collected during an overall five-month ethnographic fieldwork from 2018 to 2019. Data consist of images, interviews, fieldnotes, and public discourses were qualitatively coded and triangulated in Nvivo.

The study first examines the representation of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity in its linguistic landscape, and underlines time-space configurations of the nostalgic 'Shanghai Modern' and the embracing 'global city' chronotope in the curation of a cosmopolitan Shanghai. Then, it delves into people's stance acts as they talk about places and people of the city. The analysis reveals that people's place-identities in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai are organized through the intertwined identifications of the 'real' Shanghai and the 'real' Shanghainese which mutually implicate each other on a chronotopic level. Further, focusing on individual's everyday metrolingual experiences and practices, discussions also underscore two aspects of the lived cosmopolitan identities, i.e., the management of metrolingual diversities in order to transcend intercultural boundaries, and the organization and stylization of everyday life to achieve distinctions and differentiations.

The integrated spatial-linguistic approach employed in this study illuminates cosmopolitanization of identities in Shanghai from three perspectives: cosmopolitan

identity of the city, people's place-identities in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai, and their cosmopolitan identities lived in everyday space. Attending to the relatively understudied subject of language and cosmopolitanism, this thesis underscores space and place as essential analytic aspects in sociolinguistic studies on cosmopolitanism.

Dedicated to my mother Yang Yuzhen
For her courage, wisdom, and love
That have shaped who I am

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Living in a cosmopolitan city in a global age

My interests in language, space, and cosmopolitan identity can be traced back to 2017, when I was doing my master dissertation research on Paris' Chinatown, for which I mainly examined its linguistic landscape as an identity resource for newly arrived Chinese migrants. During the fieldwork, I noticed a sense of cosmopolitanism among participants when they mentioned that they did not quite feel like belonging to a particular country or place. In spite of that, their cultural identities as 'Chinese' were still noted in the very details of their everyday lives such as habits and preferences, activity spaces, values and stances, etc. These observations, together with my own trajectories working and studying in four different countries, sparked my interest in two questions. Firstly, how unprecedented global mobility and connectedness, which are now part of the essential living conditions for human beings in a global age, influence the way we lead our lives and position ourselves in relation to others. Secondly, how language and space intermingle in this lived reality and would work in tandem to help us depict and interpret this process.

My following working and living experiences in Shanghai, the economic, trading, and financial centre of China, made these inquiries more specific and concrete thanks to the distinctive cosmopolitan character of the city. As the most populous urban area in China, Shanghai emerged as the country's commercial and industrial centre since it became a treaty port in 1843 after the first Opium War. Governed by a coalition of colonial powers in the following century, the city gradually grew into a prosperous modern metropolis as 'Paris of the East', especially in between the 1920s and 1940s. In recent decades, with China's market reform and entry into the global economy since 1978, Shanghai has been re-establishing its status as a global hub for business, finance, transportation, and technology. In the city's most recent urban planning document, *Shanghai Master Plan 2017-2035*, the municipal envisions 'an excellent

global city and a modern socialist international metropolis with world influence' (p.20).

Therefore, Shanghai, as a 'once-and-now-again' cosmopolis (Wasserstrom, 2008), provides an ideal empirical context to examine cosmopolitanism as both lived reality and cultural ideology. This understanding, together with my vigorous interests in language and space in a world of interconnections, brings forth this research on language, space, and cosmopolitan identity in contemporary Shanghai. In this introductory chapter, I will first briefly explain the theoretical background of this research, and then outline the overall layout of the thesis.

1.2 Approaching cosmopolitanism from a spatial-linguistic perspective

Whether defined as a kind of value, stance, or predisposition, cosmopolitanism is often characterised by an openness towards differences, a readiness to engage with new cultural experiences, and an orientation towards the world beyond sociocultural as well as geopolitical borders (e.g., Hannerz, 1990; Urry, 1995; Appiah, 1997, 2006; Vertovec, 2002). While early conceptualisation of the term has been critiqued for its elitist bias as a romantic ideal to which only those with material, cultural, and symbolic capital can aspire, the individual qualities outlined above can also be used to describe what Wessendorf (2010) terms as 'corner-shop cosmopolitanism', namely a set of intercultural communicative skills and competences developed during everyday encounters in superdiverse urban contexts. Therefore, cosmopolitanism encompasses a wide spectrum of experiences in response to the unparalleled movement and flow across the boundaries of nation-states (Appadurai, 1996), as the result of a 'cosmopolitanization' process (Beck, 2002). Referring to 'internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies ... that transforms everyday consciousness and identities significantly' (ibid., p.17), cosmopolitanization emphasizes on the mutually implicating dynamics of local-global, especially how global connectedness is locally experienced and lived and hence fosters a cosmopolitan society.

While much sociolinguistic research on the subject of globalization and transnationalism have touched upon the either elite or vernacular cosmopolitan experiences of people (e.g., Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009; Blommaert, 2010; Gao, 2012), relatively few studies, mainly in the field of global Englishes (e.g., Block, 2003; Canagarajah, 2013; De Costa, 2014; De Costa and Jou, 2016), have made cosmopolitanism their central concerns. However, as Canagarajah (2013) demonstrates in his seminal book on the topic, linguists have much to offer, as ‘conversation is not just a useful metaphor (for cosmopolitan relationships), it is a practice’ (p.194). Attending to the micro-level social interactions constituting cosmopolitan relationship, this dialogical perspective treats cosmopolitanism as ‘a process, achieved and co-constructed through mutually responsive practices’, which ‘help negotiate the shifting, fluid, and hybrid values in changing situations and interlocutors to achieve community’ (p. 195). Resonating with Beck’s (2002) conceptualization of cosmopolitanization, Canagarajah’s viewpoint underscores the reconfigured local spaces and the fluid contexts in which linguistic resources are given new indexical meanings.

In this process, space and place emerge as essential aspects of the local-global dynamics inherent in cosmopolitanism. To delineate the conceptual pair, space is traditionally seen in human geography as physical coordinates and hence ‘a realm without meaning’ (Cresswell, 2004, p.10); place, in contrast, refers to a proportion of space invested with meanings by human beings. However, some theoretical works (e.g., Foucault, 1980; De Certeau, 1984; Bourdieu, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991) have underscored the conceptual pair not only as a subject of investigation but also a way of conceptualization to formulate issues such as power, class, resistance, identity, etc., both within macro economic, social, and political structures, and on a micro, everyday level. The two terms are hence subjected to different interpretations. For example, De Certeau (1984) sees place as being static and stable informed by a given ideology, and space as ‘a practiced place’, a process involving the realization and

modification of the pre-existing script. Lefebvre (1991), in his theory of space production, takes space as continuous social dynamics constantly changing and developing, and place as the momentary stop where space unfolds and manifests itself. His viewpoint further influences Massey's (1991) proposal to conceptualize a global sense of place, for which she takes place as a process as well, with its multiple identities shaped by not only its internalized history but also its linkage to places beyond. This emphasis on the fluidity of place also resonates with the internal globalization of local place implied by cosmopolitanization.

However, as Warf (2012) once notes, 'for too long cosmopolitan writers have failed to take space and place seriously, and geographers have turned a blind eye toward an ideology with profoundly spatial implication' (p.v). The statement might still be true now since space and place have seldom been incorporated as key analytic aspects in previous cosmopolitanism research both in sociology and sociolinguistics. In fact, emphasizing the necessity of an empirical sociology to research on the global, Beck's (2002) proposal of 'cosmopolitanization', according to him, is to provide a frame of reference for empirical explorations into globalization from within in concrete geographic circumstances.

Therefore, grounding the explorations into cosmopolitanization in the context of Shanghai, this study aims to contribute to the understudied subject of language and cosmopolitanism by adopting a spatial-linguist approach which underlines the significance of space and place as both central research objects and key analytic aspects in sociolinguistic studies. Inspired by previous literature that has integrated language and space in their research to engage with either material space, spatial representations, or spatial practices (Lou, 2016a), this study integrates linguistic landscape studies, interactional sociolinguistics, and metrolingualism in its analytic c

1.3 Outline of chapters

This thesis consists of seven chapters. After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents a review of literature on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization, both in social sciences in general and in sociolinguistics in particular. Overall, it underscores the local-global dialogue embodied in the process of ‘cosmopolitanization’ and the necessity of a spatial-linguistic perspective in cosmopolitanism research. In light of previous research integrating language and space in their studies, three sets of research questions are devised regarding various forms of cosmopolitan identities in Shanghai: cosmopolitan identity of the city, people’s place-identities in relation to it, and their lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday space.

Chapter 3 then specifies background information of Shanghai as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis and details the ethnographic design and methods of this research. Based on an overall five-month ethnographic fieldwork in Shanghai conducted in 2018 and 2019, data of this research consist of 722 images of semiotic landscapes mostly collected in 3 sites, 15 interviews with 14 participants, participant observations documented in fieldnotes, and public discourses such as urban planning documents, regulations, social media posts, etc. During the fieldwork, I used the word ‘国际化’ (pinyin: *guójì huà*, literal meaning: ‘international’ and ‘internationalized’) to refer to ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘cosmopolitanism’ with Chinese participants. Compared with other possible Chinese translations such as ‘世界性’ (pinyin: *shìjiè xìng*, literal meaning: ‘worldness’) and ‘洋气’ (pinyin: *yáng qì*, literal meaning: ‘cosmopolitan flair’), ‘国际化’ is thought to better grasp both the ideological and substantive connotations of ‘cosmopolitanism’. Data analysis has further revealed that the actual meaning of ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘cosmopolitanism’ as people understand it is largely discursively constructed and negotiated in social interactions.

The following three chapters constitute the main body of data analysis and discussions in this research. Chapter 4 mainly examines semiotic landscapes in cosmopolitan places identified by participants and underscores the significance of

time-space configurations in the organization of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity. Employing the concept of chronotope which refers to the intrinsic connectedness of time and space (Bakhtin, 1981), this chapter accentuates two chronotopes that have been drawn upon to imagine a cosmopolitan Shanghai, i.e., the nostalgic 'Shanghai Modern' chronotope that recalls the old Shanghai back to the colonial age especially the 1930s and 40s when the city gained its status as a modern cosmopolis, and the embracing 'global city' chronotope through which the connectedness of contemporary Shanghai with other time-spaces on the global scale is conceived.

With the aim to unpack people's cosmopolitan place-identities (Proshansky et al., 1983), Chapter 5 discusses people's stance acts as they talk about place and people in Shanghai from an interactional perspective. Through the exploration into 'where is the *real* Shanghai' and 'who are the *real* Shanghainese' in participants' 'place talks', it is shown that people's sense of place and sense of people are intertwined as to the uneven valorisations of different kinds of cosmopolitanisms.

Chapter 6 delves into individual's cosmopolitan identity as it is lived in their everyday metrolingual experiences and practices. Focusing on different groups of individuals living in Shanghai, discussions demonstrate two aspects of lived cosmopolitan identities of individuals: the management of metrolingual diversities in order to transcend intercultural boundaries, and the organization and stylization of everyday life to achieve distinctions and differentiations.

Lastly, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by summarizing main findings of this research and outlining its theoretical contributions. Attending to the dialogical cosmopolitanization process in Shanghai on three dimensions: cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai represented in its semiotic landscape, people's place-identities in relation to the cosmopolitan city, and their cosmopolitan identities lived in everyday metrolingual space, this thesis aims to contribute to the under researched area of language and cosmopolitanism from a spatially informed sociolinguistic perspective.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter elaborates on theoretical and analytic framework of this research. Through a general review of cosmopolitanism research from various perspectives in social sciences, section 2.1 highlights the process of ‘cosmopolitanization’, i.e., ‘internal globalization’ or ‘globalization from within’ (Beck, 2002, p.17), accentuating the local-global dynamics embodied in cosmopolitanism as both cultural ideology and substantive reality. Section 2.2 looks back on sociolinguistic literature about language, globalization and cosmopolitanism, and underscores insufficient consideration of the spatial implications in sociolinguistic inquiries into cosmopolitanism. Section 2.3 hence reviews sociolinguistic studies that have integrated language and space in their research to shed light on the spatial-linguistic approach employed in this study. Based on these theoretical and analytical insights, this chapter concludes by formulating three sets of research questions.

2.1 Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization

The unparalleled flow of people, objects, texts, images and information across time and space (Appadurai, 1996) in the era of globalization has complicated the living conditions of human beings and led to extensive scholarships not only on the concepts of globalization and transnationalism, but also cosmopolitanism. Deriving from the Greek word *kosmopolitēs* (‘citizen of the world’), ‘cosmopolitan’ has been conceptualized as an ideal in favour of a universal human community from the Stoics to Kant, which imbues the notion with political, moral, and cultural implications (Delanty, 2006; 2018). Constituting an interdisciplinary ‘cosmopolitan revival’ in humanities and social sciences at the turn of the 21st century, cosmopolitanism has attracted wide interests across anthropology, philosophy, sociology, political sciences, geography (e.g., Hannerz, 1990; Appiah, 2006; Beck, 2002; Roudometof, 2005; Warf, 2012). Despite the term ‘cosmopolitanism’ sometimes refers to a moral philosophy

(Appiah, 2006) or a principle of democratic governance (Held, 1995), this study sees it to a greater extent as individual response to globalization and hence mainly draws on sociological literature.

Hannerz (1990) opens up the resurging intellectual interests in cosmopolitanism as he observes the changing organization of culture marked by the organization of diversity in a global age. He describes cosmopolitanism as ‘an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other’, which entails ‘an intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity’ (p.239). Besides the appreciation of diversities, cosmopolitanism is also ‘a matter of competence... a state of readiness, a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures’ (ibid.). Cosmopolitanism is hence a personal stance toward diversity, in particular the meaning management of ‘the cosmopolitans’ as opposed to ‘the locals’ when they deal with divergent social and cultural experiences. Drawing on the argument that the decultured cosmopolitan universe composed of hybrid cultural vocabularies and discourses is the only alternative in migrating societies (in reference to Waldron, 1992), Hall (2002) favours the proposition to take cosmopolitanism as a personal management of discursive meanings across different cultures. In his own words,

‘It is not that we are without culture, but we are drawing on the traces and residues of many cultural systems, of many ethical systems – and that is precisely what cosmopolitanism means. It means the ability to stand outside of having one’s life written and scripted by any one community, whether that is a faith or tradition or religion or culture – whatever it might be – and to draw selectively on a variety of discursive meanings’ (p.26).

However, the appreciation and management of diverse discursive meanings do not take place automatically in a vacuum. Concerned with diaspora and their living conditions specifically, Vertovec (2009) elaborates on cosmopolitan practices, taking it as a discrete aspect as important as cosmopolitan attitudes and competences

delineated by Hannerz. As Vertovec notes, people in their transnational experiences and contacts would on one hand keep and enhance their original cultural practices selectively, and on the other hand adopt and appropriate cultural practices drawn from others. One way to understand the mechanism of people's traverse across different cultural registers is through Bourdieu's (1984) concept of 'habitus' by considering culture as a set of resources from which individuals construct their strategies of actions. The practices of the cosmopolitans in this sense are the appropriate selections of relevant cultural elements from their accumulated repertoires and their enactments in concrete life circumstances.

This emphasis on everyday practices and enactments underlines a pragmatic dimension of cosmopolitan worldview, which is not limited to the 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' (Urry, 1995) of the elites, but also includes ordinary cosmopolitanism on the everyday level. The burgeoning studies on cosmopolitanism 'from below' (e.g., Hiebert, 2002; Binnie et al., 2006; Noble, 2009; Wise, 2009) have framed the everyday ordinariness of cosmopolitanism in phenomenon such as 'working-class cosmopolitanism' (Werbner, 1999) and 'corner-shop cosmopolitanism' (Wessendorf, 2010), focusing on the localized forms of interactions and negotiations in face of commonplace diversities (which are always accompanied with linguistic process; I will turn to this point later in section 2.2). Wise (2009) in particular illuminates the pragmatic goal of cosmopolitanism, i.e., the achievement of commensality and conviviality by conceiving 'quotidian transversality'. In relation to 'how individual in everyday spaces uses particular modes of sociality to produce or smooth interrelations across cultural difference' (p.23), quotidian transversality suggests the reciprocal rather than hierarchical dynamics between cultures.

The practical orientation towards 'banal' or 'ordinary' cosmopolitanism tends to formulate cosmopolitanism as 'situated' and 'rooted' in concrete empirical contexts (Appiah, 1997; Tomlinson, 1999; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002; Beck, 2002), which brings the local-global dialectic to the fore. The theoretical opposition between the

local and the global has implicated the ‘either/or’ binary between the cosmopolitans and the locals. For example, Hannerz (1990) differentiates the cosmopolitans by foregrounding their efforts in bringing about a degree of coherence to the world culture which would otherwise stay a sum of separate parts with the locals. Recognizing the bias of sheer contextual and situational ‘openness’ formulated by Hannerz, Roudometof (2005) argues that the cosmopolitans and the locals shall be operationalized in a continuum of attitudes in terms of degree of territorial and cultural attachment. His conception nevertheless still suggests the binary between cosmopolitans and locals as they are the ideal types occupying the opposite ends of the continuum.

However, concerned with the liquid modernity in which constant mobility and changes become the *conditio humana* (Bauman, 2000), some discussions and debates transcend the local-global binary by highlighting the process of ‘glocalization’ (Robertson, 1994), or ‘internal globalization’ (Beck, 2002). According to Beck, we all live in the age of dialectic globalization in which ‘the global and the local do not exist as cultural polarities but as combined and mutually implicating principles’ (ibid., p.17). Therefore, globalization goes beyond the homogeneity of transnational interconnectivity, and its actual influence is not the dissolution of territoriality but rather the transformation of locality. In other words, the global not only ‘de-places’ but also ‘re-places’ by superimposing place on place and hence reforms the local. In this sense, a place is a meeting place with its identity framed by its relationship with elsewhere (Massey, 1991), and the imagined relatedness would go around the world so that the global is just as ‘real’, ‘grounded’, and ‘everyday’ as the local (Beck, 2004, p.295).

This dialogic imagination of globalization goes beyond the ‘either/or’ binary of the cosmopolitans and the locals and construes a cosmopolitan society with new and transformed social realities (Beck, 2002; Delanty, 2006). It calls for a cosmopolitan sociology to investigate how globally networked experiences enter into local

lifeworlds (the world as it is experienced and lived by human subjects) and influence people's everyday consciousness and identities. Beck defines this process as 'cosmopolitanization' and argues that it provides rich possibility to explore globalization from within with systematic empirical references.

The orientation to situate cosmopolitanism in concrete geographic circumstances resonates with geographers' urge to examine cosmopolitanism in place, especially to consider the localized struggles and negotiations over difference and diversity, and their contributions to cosmopolitan imaginations and the production of global or cosmopolitan space (e.g., Latham, 2006; Binnie et al., 2006; Warf, 2012, 2015; Zukin et al., 2015; Butcher, 2016). In particular, the edited volume by Binnie et al. (2006) as a whole has conceived a perspective of cosmopolitan urbanism, engaging with the spatialization and articulation of cosmopolitanism in cities within the context of class, commerce, commodities, and political economy. Situating studies of cosmopolitanism in specific spatial and temporal contexts, cosmopolitan urbanism accentuates 'the rhetorics deployed and practices performed in local, ordinary and mundane times and spaces' as they are 'arguably where cosmopolitanism takes its forms and shapes in contemporary societies' (p.12).

Previous discussions on cosmopolitanism have roughly examined its three comprising dimensions, i.e., cosmopolitanism as moral and political positions, a reality or forms of experiences, and an approach to interpret and analyse the social world (Delanty, 2018). Recent cosmopolitan scholarship has further connected the concept as frames of interpretation with diverse social and cultural issues such as cultural and aesthetic consumptions (e.g., Cicchelli and Octobre, 2018), reflexive solidarities and citizenship (e.g., Appiah, 2019; Wood and Black, 2018; Agustín and Jørgensen, 2019), sexualities and gender justice (e.g., Plummer, 2018; Rosamond, 2020), mediated communication and technologies (e.g., Elkins, 2019; Chib and Aricat, 2022), etc.

In order to discern the actual contribution of the concept ‘cosmopolitanism’ and its cognate ‘cosmopolitanization’, several key issues should be elaborated. First of all, often used in parallel to ‘globalization’, cosmopolitanism is of its distinct meaning and importance with different theoretical background and analytic focus. Delanty (2018) argues that the normative stance of cosmopolitanism does not makes it reducible to globalization especially when global interdependencies and interconnectedness do not necessarily bring greater cosmopolitanism. In addition, as alternative ways to interpret major social changes and to imagine co-existing communities of the modern world, cosmopolitanism provides frameworks of interpretations similar notions such as ‘globalization’ and ‘transnationalism’ cannot offer. Beck (2016) addresses this contestation by identifying cosmopolitanization as a specific phase underpinning the use of ‘globalization’ in social sciences, emphasizing on the internal operations of global dependencies, flows, links, threats, etc., in the everyday life of people.

As such, cosmopolitanism is by no means an elite-only phenomenon but rather concerns rooted experiences of wider social spectrum. For one thing, as global connectedness enters into local space, cosmopolitanism implies blurring borders and intermingling lifeworlds of common people and highlights a transformative and dialogical cosmopolitanization process. For another, apart from people’s positive and often idealized stance towards social and cultural differences and diversities, cosmopolitan realities also involve involuntary interfaces with the alienated others and hence tensions and inequalities on different socioeconomic, cultural, and political levels (e.g., Hartman, 2018; Agustín and Jørgensen, 2019).

Besides, the concept of cosmopolitanism should be critically received considering its Western genealogy. From the Stoics to Kant, and to recent cosmopolitan revival in social sciences, cosmopolitan scholarship has essentially presupposed a Western approach and historicity, whereas experiences and views of the non-Western context are very much ignored (Delanty, 2018). This is particularly pertinent to this thesis in

regard to the reference of ‘cosmopolitanism’ with Chinese participants, as there is not a single normative translation of the concept in Chinese language. According to Cambridge English-Chinese Dictionary, the word ‘cosmopolitan’ can be translated as ‘来自世界各地’ (*‘laizi shijie gedi’*, ‘from all over the world’), ‘国际大都会’ (*‘guoji da duhui’*, ‘metropolitan’), ‘世界性’ (*‘shijie xing’*, ‘worldly’), and ‘国际化’ (*‘guojihua’*, ‘internationalized’). Rofel (2018) has also discussed the percept of ‘天下’ (*‘tianxia’*, ‘all under heaven’, original translation) as the conceptual equivalent of the western notion. In this sense, cultural translations and interpretations of cosmopolitanism are open-ended and illuminate world varieties of cosmopolitanism(s) taking into account diverse local experiences and historicities.

Based on these theoretical insights, this thesis delves into cosmopolitanization process at the intersection of language and space in the context of Shanghai, presenting an interdisciplinary study on a particular Chinese variety of cosmopolitanism. In section 2.2, I will discuss how subject of cosmopolitanism and its related issues are previously approached and studied in sociolinguistics.

2.2 Sociolinguistics of cosmopolitanism

The relevance of linguistic process has been marked in sociological studies on cosmopolitanism. For example, in her examinations on corner-shop cosmopolitanism, Wessendorf (2015) underlines people’s skilful strategies in bridging language differences not only in terms of communication across diverse languages, but also linguistic adaption to cultural differences. Besides, scholars also use linguistic analogy to explain their ideas of cosmopolitanism, such as the understanding of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism as akin to multilingualism in which people would need to switch code as situation requires (Vertovec, 2009, in reference to Ballard, 1994), and Appiah’s (2006) proposal for amicable ‘conversation’ between cultures in favour of a cosmopolitan ethic in a world of strangers.

However, not many sociolinguistic studies have explicitly taken cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitanization as their essential concerns, as scholarship on the theme largely overlaps with studies on globalization and transnationalism in which it is often touched upon implicitly as an ideology to index modernity and prestige. As such, in order to elaborate on the sociolinguistics of cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to discuss how language and globalization are brought together in previous literature.

As Coupland (2010) summarized, examinations on language and globalization can be generally categorised into four themes. The first strand is multilingualism and world languages concerned with linguistic systems in global contacts. Typical examples are seen in early linguistic landscape studies which make systematic quantitative sampling of displayed language(s) in a given territory, aiming to describe languages distributions and different patterns of multilingualism (such as Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2007). Besides, the theoretical focus on plurality and hybridity to challenge the essentialist connection between language and speech community has also boosted the plural/trans turn, such as ‘polylingual languaging’ (Jørgensen, 2008), ‘transglossia’ (García, 2013), ‘translanguaging’ (García, 2009; García and Li, 2018), ‘translingual practice’ (Canagarajah, 2013), ‘metrolinguism’ (Pennycook and Ostij, 2015), etc. However, the advocacy for multi/plural or trans- orientations also generates new critiques about power asymmetry and inequality involved in multilingualism and neoliberal multiculturalism (Kubota, 2014).

The second theme is related to language as social action to contest globalism as an order of discourse. In his studies on social consequences of discursive practices, Fairclough (1995) highlights the contribution of new structures of discourse, genres, and styles to the process of globalization. A representative in this regard is the series of work by Jaworski and Thurlow on tourism discourse as globally situated interactions (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010b; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010a; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2015), which examine how local discursive practices is not only

permeated with but also constitute and enhance global social processes. Particularly, Jaworski (2015) examines a visual-linguistic genre which he terms as ‘globalese’, and argues that the multimodal, spectacularized, and commodified display of the creative semiotic forms (such as the misplaced or invented uses of punctuation marks, diacritics, and tittles) in urban spaces has constructed their indexical relations on a global scale.

Thirdly, from the perspective of neoliberalism, language in relation to globalization also suggests market and values of various sorts (monetary, material, and cultural, etc) on a global scale. Bourdieu (1991) has proposed the notion of linguistic market to describe how linguistic formations and uses are received and valued by others. In current global political-economy, English as the global language is not only endowed with the highest market value as a commodity, but also ‘fetishized’ for its symbolic value (Kelly-Holmes, 2014) as a global resource. This indexical order underpinned by the aspiration for modernity and prestige has been examined by many empirical studies in different social and spatial contexts (e.g., Gao, 2012; Seargeant, 2012; Lanza and Woldemariam, 2014; Li, 2015).

Besides, the sociolinguistic implications of globalization also imply languages and meanings across distance and their effects on personal and social identities. Moving beyond traditional theorization on language and identity as in speech community and the ‘native speaker’ norm, conceptual developments have taken account of more mobile trajectories and flows of people when formulating models of social identities, such as studies on language dynamics and transnational identities of diaspora (e.g., Li and Zhu, 2010; Woldemariam and Lanza, 2014), or interethnic interactions in which ethnic identities interact and compete with other dimensions of identification (e.g., Rampton, 2017).

The intersections of these issues and themes are connected to cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization process both empirically and theoretically. The multilingual

speakers largely overlap with the transnational elites, the individual cosmopolites with socioeconomic mobility and privilege; and these linguistically hybrid subjects are often considered as more superior to monolingual speakers from the perspective of global neoliberalism (Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2014). Issues of power and inequality behind this neoliberal multilingualism are immanent to elitist cosmopolitanism, and scholarships on elite discourse further illuminate the discursive and semiotic construction of status and privilege on a global scale (e.g., Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010b; Mapes, 2021). Besides, the symbolic value of the global English is often associated with its indexicality towards global aspiration and cosmopolitan identity.

Nevertheless, sociolinguistic studies have yet much more to offer in the inquiry into people's diverse cosmopolitan experiences in complex local-global dynamics. As Canagarajah (2013) maintains in his seminal work on translingual practices and cosmopolitan relations, 'conversation is not just a useful metaphor (for cosmopolitan relationships), it is a practice (p.194)'. Cosmopolitan relations are in this sense dialogically achieved through mutually responsive practices during which linguistic resources are given new indexical meanings in fluid contexts. Theoretical studies, in particular Blommaert's (2010) work on sociolinguistics of globalization, have particularly shed light on the dialogism and fluidity of cosmopolitanism, and hence shall be explicated.

Emphasizing on language-in-motion rather than language-in-place, Blommaert challenges traditional sociolinguistic formulation of 'language and globalization' and proposes 'sociolinguistics of globalization', as globalization is not merely a new context where language is practiced. Instead, it has dislodged and destabilized the traditional concept of language. Taking into account not only linguistic, but also social and cultural variations entering the big sociolinguistic picture, Blommaert further calls for a turn of sociolinguistics. In his own words,

'The sociolinguistics we need is one that addresses not the traditional object of

linguistics, but something far more dynamic, something fundamentally cultural, social, political and historical. That object cannot be understood as autonomous, but needs to be examined as part of the larger package: as the sociolinguistic side of a larger system' (ibid., p.2)

Blommaert principally formulates sociolinguistics of globalization through three concepts: *scales*, *orders of indexicality*, and *polycentricity*. Focusing on language-in-motion, sociolinguistics of globalization is concerned with the actual resources moving across layered spatiotemporal frames (scales). Mobility across these scales involves shifts in the indexical potentials of the resources, and these stratified and ordered normative complexes (orders of indexicality) are organized in polycentric systems where multiple evaluative authorities co-exist and interact (polycentricity). The sociolinguistic world is hence 'a system of relatively autonomous local systems' (p.197), operating on different scales with varied orders of indexicality and value schemes. This dynamics of sociolinguistic world in a sense resonates with the cosmopolitanization process in which global conditions enter into local systems and become localized reality.

So far, I have discussed how issues of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization are touched upon implicitly in previous sociolinguistic research on globalization. Now, I will recall studies directly addressing the subjects in order to discern how cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan identity are theoretically positioned and methodologically framed in these exceptions.

Firstly, Zhang's (2005) work on 'Beijing Yuppie' presents an interesting aspect of the sociolinguistic consequences of cosmopolitan society. By quantitatively comparing the use of four phonological variables between two professional groups in Beijing, Zhang discerns a cosmopolitan variety of Mandarin that draws on both local and global resources among participants working in international companies, in contrast to speech characterized by local Beijing accent among those who work in

state-owned enterprises. She argues that the linguistic variation of cosmopolitan Mandarin not only features a more desirable and competitive style in transnational Chinese linguistic market, but also constitutes a distinctive yuppie habitus and identity marked by cosmopolitan lifestyles. Instead of strictly local context, the ground of speech community and identity in Zhang's research is situated in a deterritorialized supra-local space which is a result of the changing sociolinguistic world in cosmopolitan society.

Another line of research is in general related to the field of global Englishes. Drawing on two case studies of English L2 (second language) learning stories, Block (2003) examines distinct types of cosmopolitan subjects with different individual circumstances (in terms of their transnational movements and experiences) in order to outline the impact of L2 on cosmopolitan identities. He suggests that people's prolonged contact with L2 and shifted social-cultural settings in their transnational movements constitute their critical experience with a 'before and after' effect which would come to destabilize their senses of self. In these cases, Block maintains that English and what the L2 learners experienced in English are part of their senses of self, and the sum of their accumulated experiences along movements across geographic borders has boosted a 'third-place', hybridized cosmopolitan identity.

Delineating the development of cosmopolitan outlook and relationships with more precision, Canagarajah (2013) delves into individual's translingual practices in global contact zones focusing on their cooperative dispositions and performative competences from a micro interactive perspective. By proposing a practice-based dialogical cosmopolitanism, he argues that cosmopolitan relationship is 'a process achieved and co-constructed through mutually responsive practices. Practices help negotiate the shifting, fluid, and hybrid values in changing situations and interlocutors to achieve community' (p.195). People's interactive strategies and negotiations for meanings and collaborations thus play a significant role in their alignment and realignment across disparate values and features.

In line with Canagarajah's viewpoint, De Costa (2014) explores the discursive nature of cosmopolitanism from the perspective of 'English as a Lingua Franca', relying on his school-based ethnographic studies. Focusing on cosmopolitanism conceived outside the English language classroom (a strong stance advocating global citizenship), and cosmopolitanism enacted on a classroom interactive level (a moderate stance locally rooted but still in favour of larger human community), De Costa studies how the two dimensions contribute to the cosmopolitan outlook of language learners in their literacy development. Noting that the two cosmopolitan stances are by nature interlocking and overlapping in everyday languages practices, De Costa's study goes beyond a pedagogical frame by depicting people's braided experiences of cosmopolitanism. Drawing on the concepts of heteroglossia and dialogue as well as Systemic Functional Linguistics, De Costa and Jou (2016) further illustrate how cosmopolitanism as ideological enterprise is constructed in discourse through analysis of political speeches, educational documents, and classroom interactions.

Lastly, some linguistic landscape studies also speak to cosmopolitanism and individual's cosmopolitan identity directly, foregrounding a spatial perspective to understand language and cosmopolitanism. For example, in his ethnographic study on the linguistic landscape of a gay district in Tokyo, Baudinette (2018) illustrates how participants would project a sense of cosmopolitan worldliness into signage with English, which have tied language desire with cosmopolitan identities in a queer space. Taking cosmopolitanism more of a substantive fact, Abas (2019) examines cosmopolitanism in ethnic foodscapes in a college town and argues that the cosmopolitan semiotic aggregate is comprised of not only signage and artefacts, but also cosmopolitan literacies of people and their social interactions within the shared space.

To sum up, existing sociolinguistic literature on cosmopolitanism has explored the

role of language in the process of ‘internal globalization’ from various viewpoints, and many of them have touched upon what Canagarajah (2013) theorized as reconfigured translocal space characterized by diversity and plurality rather than homogeneity and uniformity. However, the majority of these studies take space and place as context or backdrop rather than key analytic aspects, though the ideas of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization are by nature spatially organized with the implication of the intersecting ‘de-place’ and ‘re-place’ process (Beck, 2002, 2004). In light of the insufficient examinations on the role of space and place in sociolinguistic studies on cosmopolitanism, this study advocates more spatially informed approaches towards language and cosmopolitanism and presents a spatial-linguistic perspective by integrating multiple methods and tools in sociolinguistics.

2.3 A spatial-linguistic perspective: spatially informed sociolinguistic approaches

Previous sections have highlighted the significance of space and place as both central research objects and key analytic aspects in this research. This section thereupon reviews previous literature that has integrated language and space in their research to illuminate a spatial-linguistic perspective which informs this study’s grounded inquiries into various forms of cosmopolitan identities in Shanghai.

Sociolinguistics has been engaged with language and space/place since the birth of the discipline when traditional dialectology associated place with linguistic features as an important variable. In her review of the thereafter research related to language, space and place, Lou (2016a) offers an inspiring way to summarize different lines of studies in this regard through the lens of a modified Lefebvrian space triad, i.e., material space, spatial representation, and spatial practices. Following this way of categorization, I will briefly review some representative works under each stream that have informed the analytic framework of this study.

Concerned with language in the material space, some researchers accentuate the material situatedness of language and discourse in the making of social meanings. The most typical example is Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geo-semiotic framework, in which they propose three social-semiotic systems to formulate language as it is materially placed in the world: visual semiotics (the combination of semiotic elements as a meaningful whole for visual interpretation), place semiotics (the meaning system of spatial organization), and interaction order (sets of social relationships in place), all together forming the semiotic aggregate in space. Geo-semiotics as analytic model is particularly relevant to linguistic landscape studies which attend to the material situatedness of language as it is displayed in public space. Originated from the seminal work of Landry and Bouris (1997) in which they define linguistic landscape as 'the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings' (p.25), the field of linguistic landscape studies grows to understand 'the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of 'languages' as they are displayed in public spaces' (Gorter, 2015). Moving from preoccupations with the presence and distribution of languages (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2007), linguistic landscape studies in recent years have witnessed a paradigmatic shift to engage more with various forms of meanings manifested in 'semiotic landscape' (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010a; e.g., Pennycook, 2010; Peck and Stroud, 2015), and their connections with people and place in wider social, cultural, and historical context (e.g., Garvin, 2010; Malinowski, 2010; Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert and Maly, 2016; Lou, 2016a; Peck et al., 2018).

The second stream is preoccupied with linguistic forms and spatial representations, such as linguistic features that draw upon place as a resource to represent and construct social identities, or the constructive power of language and discourse to formulate place (e.g., Johnstone, 1990; Johnstone et al, 2006; Myers; 2006; Lou,

2010a; Ilbury, 2021). For example, Johnstone et al. (2006) observe how people use a set of linguistic features enregistered as Pittsburghese to project and claim social identities on different orders of indexicality. In an earlier research, Johnstone (1990) analyses a corpus of personal and public stories and illustrates how narratives would create and reflect regional ethos and unite with place to reinforce a sense of community pride. From a more interactional perspective, Myers (2006) studies passages of focus group interviews when people were asked ‘where are you from’. His study suggests that, for one thing, the question helps illicit talk and conversations among participants as they would evaluate or defend the place, telling stories about it, or develop arguments around this topic; for another thing, the way people answer this question interactively reflects how they see themselves and how they map the world.

Besides, scholars especially linguistic anthropologists have examined the connection between language and space from the perspective of human practices. Keating (2015) once underlines the significance of space in understanding human’s symbolic behaviour since ‘cultural categorization of space influences people as they arrange themselves’ (p.244). In other words, to fit in a particular ‘place’, people would adopt different genres and styles in communication activities during which their identities and subjectivities are shaped and negotiated. This practice- and activity- centred viewpoint is particularly advocated by Pennycook and Ostuji (2015) in their research on metrolingualism, i.e., ‘the everyday use of mobile linguistic resources in relation to urban space’ (p.4). Aiming to approach ‘the everyday multilingualism (practices and experiences) and the interrelationships between language, mobility and urban space’ (p.49), metrolingualism looks at the dynamic ways in which languages, activities, and urban spaces are ‘thrown together’ in people’s everyday life.

These various spatial-linguistic approaches have greatly informed this study’s exploration into cosmopolitanization and cosmopolitan identities in Shanghai. Based on the prominent themes emerged during the fieldwork, i.e., cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai constructed and represented in space, individual’s interactive construction

of cosmopolitan places and place-identities in relation to them, and their lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday space and activities, this study integrates linguistic landscape studies, interactional sociolinguistics, and metrolingualism in its analytic framework. In next section, I will specify three sets of research questions accordingly.

2.4 Summary and research questions

The literature review of cosmopolitan studies in social sciences and sociolinguistics has underscored the dialogical dynamics of global interconnections and local space discursively experienced and lived by people. In light of this theoretical background, this thesis concerns itself with the cosmopolitanization process of people and place at the intersection of language and space in contemporary Shanghai.

Based on the theoretical and analytic insights as reviewed in this chapter, three sets of research questions are developed in the examination of language, space, and cosmopolitan identity in Shanghai:

1. Which places are cosmopolitan for people? What are the characteristics of their semiotic landscapes? How do they shape or influence people's perceptions of place?
2. How do people think and talk about places in Shanghai? How do these place talks reflect their attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, and behaviour tendencies in relation to the cosmopolitan city?
3. How do people encounter and experience space as they move across the city? What are the roles of language and space in their diversified cosmopolitan experiences?

Before entering into the analytic chapters in which these questions are explored and discussed, I will specify the contextual background and methodological design of this research in next chapter.

Chapter 3

Research setting and methods

This chapter presents contextual information and methodological details of this research. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, to situate the inquiry into cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization in the context of Shanghai is based on the unique cosmopolitan character of the city. Section 3.1 traces the urban history of Shanghai and underscores its status as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis which deeply affects cosmopolitan identities of place and people in the city. Afterwards, section 3.2 specifies the ethnographic design and methods of data collection and analysis in this research.

3.1 Shanghai: a ‘once-and-now-again’ cosmopolis

Shanghai, getting its current name ‘above the sea’ in 1280, used to be a fishing village on the southern estuary of the Yangtze River with convenient trading position. In November 1843, it became one of the five treaty ports following the ratification of the *Treaty of Nanjing* after the first Opium War, which signifies the beginning of its ‘treaty port century’ (Wasserstrom, 2008). In 1845, the local administration issued *the Shanghai Land Regulation*, bringing in foreign settlements and concessions to the city. Starting from scratch to large, the foreign settlements in Shanghai gradually became the largest living place for foreigners in China and the city ended up being administrated by three authorities which were the International Settlement, the French Concession, and the Chinese Section till the end of Second World War (see Figure 3.1 a map illustrating Shanghai’s foreign settlements in 1937).

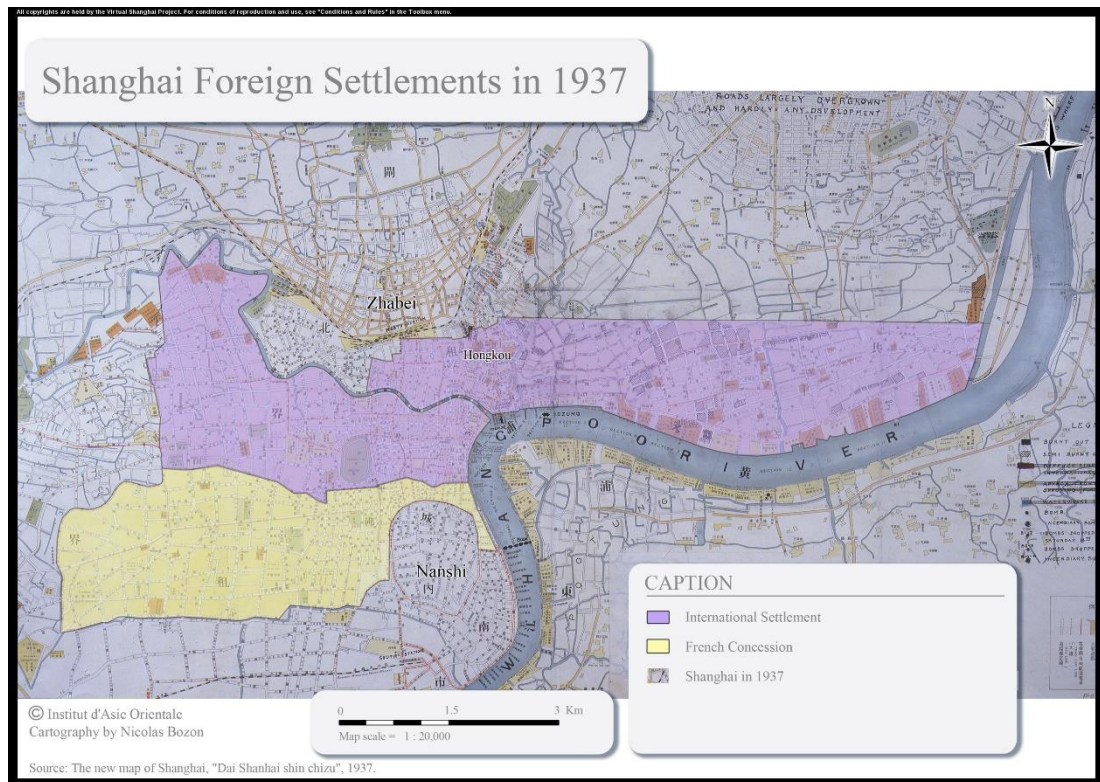


Figure 3.1 Shanghai Foreign Settlements in 1937

https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Asset/Preview/vcMap_ID-298_No-1.jpeg

During the treaty port century, Shanghai established itself as the most populous and developed city in China with its rapid adoption of modern modes of production, technologies, management, urban governance, lifestyle, etc. With the introduction of modern urban facilities and infrastructure such as banks, western-style streets, gaslights, electricity, telephone, running water, automobiles and public transportations, the material living environment made Shanghai into a modernized and advanced cosmopolis (Xiong, 1999). This material matrix also brought the flowering of new urban consumer culture influenced by western living styles manifested in urban spaces such as cinemas, department stores, coffeehouses, dancing halls, public parks, racing clubs, etc., and boosted the unique modernity of Shanghai which Lee (1991) refers to as 'Shanghai Modern'. Emerging and reaching to its peak during 1930-1945, Shanghai Modern represents the time when the old and the new, the East and the West were bound together and intertwined as a manifestation of Chinese cosmopolitanism. In the book *All about Shanghai and*

Environs: The 1934-35 Standard Guide Book, the city's cosmopolitan allure is described in the following passage:

‘...Shanghai, the Paris of the East! Shanghai, the New York of the West! Shanghai, the most cosmopolitan city in the world, the fishing village on a mudflat which almost literally overnight became a great metropolis. Inevitable meeting place of world travellers, the habitat of people of forty-eight different nationalities, of the Orient yet Occidental, the city of glamorous night life and throbbing with activity, Shanghai offers the full composite allurements of the Far East.’ (Anonymous author, 2008, p.1)

After the founding of People's Republic of China, the cosmopolitan outlook of 'Shanghai Modern' was subsumed under national unity. Though Shanghai still served as the industrial and economic centre of the country, the material and cultural dynamics of the city itself was rather restrained. Not until the Chinese Economic Reform from 1978 and more remarkably the development of Pudong with its spectacular cityscape of Lujiazui in the 1990s did the city start to 'wake up' like the 'sleeping beauty', 'a once lively and then for a time dormant metropolis reawaken' (Wasserstrom, 2008, p.6, in reference to Huang, 2004). With its embrace of international investments and exchanges and large-scale urban developments and renewals, Shanghai becomes the pioneer and 'showpiece' of the economic reform, a now-again international hub of trade, finance, transportation, technological innovation and culture. In the governmental master development plan taking effect from 2017, Shanghai is envisioned to be 'an excellent global city' ('卓越的全球城市'), 'a modern socialist international metropolis with world influence' ('社会主义现代化国际大都市') by 2035 (p.20). The city's global ambition is also demonstrated in its public discourse, as shown in Li and Yang's (2021) multimodal study on the semiotic landscape in Shanghai Pudong International Airport. Semioscoping its image as being 'open, inclusive, closely connected to the world, culturally distinctive, pioneering, risk-taking, and committed to the world's future' (ibid., p.14), Shanghai is self-constructed as a competitive and responsible global

city.

On the material level, the construction of the globalizing Shanghai is largely achieved through its massive urban constructions and redevelopments marked by joint efforts of state interventions and neoliberal urbanism. Massive demolitions and constructions in Puxi (the old urban core of the city) in the 1990s have particularly generated controversy in terms of large-scale displacements of original residents and the ignorance of cultural heritage and local spirits (see He, 2007; Xu, 2020). From the 2000s onwards, the success of Xintiandi, a commercial real estate project featured by the protective development of a traditional shikumen neighbourhood, has stimulated a new ideology of city regeneration, namely the focus on local culture, history, and collective memory in space production and narrative (Yu, 2019). In 2003, the municipal issued the *Protection regulation of historical and cultural street block and architecture in Shanghai*, and officially proposed the concept of ‘风貌区’ (pinyin: ‘fēngmào qū’, ‘historical and cultural area’) to preserve not only a single historic building or site, but rather integral areas in terms of architectures, spatial layouts and streetscapes as a whole (such as Waitan and area near Hengshan Road and Fuxing Road). The municipal management of urban space is to present the unique cosmopolitan characteristic of Shanghai where ‘nature, tradition, and modernity intermingle one another, and the East and the West bring out the best in each other’ (*Shanghai Master Development Plan, 2017-2035*, p.6).

As such, the cosmopolitan spirit of Shanghai as a ‘once-and-now-again’ cosmopolis (Wasserstrom, 2008) is organized on various temporal and spatial scales. As grasped in the following account by Shing and Smith (2010),

‘Shanghai is one of a small handful of cities worldwide about which everyone has an idea - even if in the imagination alone. It has the romance that perfumes pictures of Paris; it has a grand array of period architecture that echoes European Art Deco and the docks of Liverpool upon which the Bund was modelled; it has the soaring futuristic skyscrapers that people once associated with New York or

Chicago; and its port is a trading hub bigger than Singapore, Rotterdam and Hong Kong.’ (p.25)

On the whole, the unique historic, spatial, and semiotic dynamics of Shanghai have made the inquiry into cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization very relevant to the city. As will be seen in chapters thereafter, the cosmopolitan past and the global vision of Shanghai have implicated not only the cosmopolitan identity of the city, but also individual’s place-identities and everyday practices. In next section, I will illustrate how various forms of cosmopolitan identities in Shanghai are methodologically approached in this study.

3.2 Research design and methods

Informed by previous ethnographic studies in sociolinguistics (e.g., Blommaert, 2013; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015; Blommaert and Maly, 2016; Lou, 2016a) which paradigmatically situate linguistic phenomenon in concrete living contexts of people in place, this research is ethnographically designed to probe into the cosmopolitanization process in Shanghai.

In particular, the methodological design of this research is very much influenced by the field of linguistic landscape studies (LLS) in which language is formulated and studied as a spatially organized system. In the early stage of LLS, linguistic landscape is treated as place where ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) is recorded and documented. The mainstream data collection method at this time is the systematic quantitative sampling of the displayed linguistic facts in a given territory, aiming to make a possible comparison of languages distribution and different patterns of multilingualism (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter, 2006, Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2007). With the progression of the field, researchers later on start to shift their focus ‘from mapping to speaking with people, from languages to bodies’ both in terms of methodologies and objects of analysis (Barni

and Bagna, 2015, p.7), in order to formulate how the displayed and distributed languages can be connected to people and communities living in the territory and to examine the interactions and relationships among the groups (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert and Maly, 2016). LL data thus can be a relatively smaller set and nonrandomly selected, supplemented by and often triangulated with other qualitative data such as interviews, participant observations, public discourses, etc. (see Said, 2011; and Lou, 2016a in particular).

Interviews, especially in-depth individual interviews are very helpful to examine the motivations, understandings, and perceptions of displayed written signs. For example, in his research on LL authorships, Malinowski (2009) interviews 12 owners of Korean restaurants in California about their actual involvements in their restaurants' sign making process, and then reveals the performative nature of LL and its often excessive meaning potentials. From a different direction, Garvin (2010) conducts onsite interviews with her participants about how they perceive and feel about LL in a neighbourhood with increasing international immigrants. In the 'walking tour', LL is used as a stimulus text to illicit cognitive and emotional responses and reactions from the participants, from which the researcher can observe and probe into the dynamics of migrant identities, connections of cultures, etc. The interactive nature of this discursive method and the co-construction of knowledge of space and place have deeply informed the way interview is employed in data collection and analysis of this research.

Participant observations, often documented in the form of fieldnotes or research diaries, also play an important part to gain greater contextual understandings of people and place in linguistic landscape. For example, in her ethnographic study on the Chinatown of Washington D.C., Lou (2016a) attends and observes local community meetings to delve into the decision making process behind the displayed linguistic landscape. Szabo and Troyer (2017) further illuminate how observations of situated practices, encounters, and interactions can contribute not only to emic

understandings of LL, but also to more inclusive ethnographies in which new insights are co-constructed by the observer and the observed. In addition, considering that objects of analysis in LLS have been gradually expanded to include space-bounded semiosis made through ‘deliberate human intervention and meaning making’ (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010a, p.2), observations and thick descriptions are particularly useful to record and analyse phenomenon and experiences beyond linguistic, visual, and even concrete material level. In this study specifically, observations and reflections on the lived experiences and practices of participants contribute to explicate how language and space are embedded in their fabric of everyday lifeworld.

Lastly, public discourses, triangulating with other types of data, can also enhance the interpretation and analysis of LL. This is manifested in Lou’s (2013) socio-semiotic studies on urban planning policies to examine the representation and reconstruction of Washington’s ‘Chinatown’, and her later work (2016b) which traces the discourse trajectory of a shop sign to unpack how it is made into a local ‘monument’ via public imaginations and sentiments. In this light, this study draws on public discourses such as government regulations and urban planning documents, news and discussions in social media and so on, in order to approach the nexus of meaning making, distribution, and circulation.

Specifically, data of this research were mainly collected through an onsite 5-month fieldwork in two periods of time: June 2018 - August 2018, and June 2019 - July 2019, consisting of four types:

1. Images of semiotic landscapes in multiple sites. I started to take photos of public signage as I traveled through urban space since 2017 when I lived and worked in the city. More extensive collections of visual data took place in 2018 and 2019 after a clearer formulation of research objectives and scope, especially the decision to focus on three specific sites identified by participants as being

cosmopolitan: Xintiandi, area near Hengshan Road and Fuxing Road, and Waitan together with its spectacular view of Lujiazui (see Figure 3.2 a map of central Shanghai showing the rough locations and relative positions of the three places). Apart from the purpose to gain an emic perspective grounded in the lifeworlds of the participants, the focus on the three identified sites was also an attempt to address the methodological issue in terms of units of analysis in linguistic landscape studies on the scale of cities. In contrast to systematic quantitative sampling, the selected images were collected as examples of urban discourse, and were subjected to interpretations and analysis together with other types of data within wider social and cultural frame. By the end of July 2019, a total of 722 images of public space were collected.



Figure 3.2 Three key research sites. 1: 2000 ft.

Retrieved from Google map on 9 August 2022.

2. In-depth interviews with 14 participants. Relying on my social network and snowballing technique, 14 interviewees were recruited based on their residential status (long-term residents who have lived in Shanghai for at least 12 months by June 2019), during which factors such as age, gender, and origin (Chinese nationals from Shanghai, Chinese nationals from other provinces, and foreigners)

were also considered. This again was not for an ultimate quantitative representativeness, but rather to cover a wider range of voices and experiences as far as possible. Nevertheless, it should be noted that every participant recruited in the research has university or higher degrees and is relatively better off socioeconomically, which reflects the study's empirical focus on the somewhat 'middle class' in contrast to the 'working class' cosmopolitanism (e.g., Werbner, 1999; Wise, 2009). Table 3.1 lists names of participants (all are pseudonyms) and information about their age, gender, origin, occupation and years of residence by the time of the interviews.

Table 3.1 List of participants

Name	Age	Gender	Origin	Occupation	Years of residence
Chu	20s	Female	Shanghai	Students	Since born
Liang	20s	Male	Shanghai	Students	Since born
Ming	40s	Female	Shanghai	Freelancer	Since born
Hua	40s	Female	Shanghai	Manager	Since born
Lin	40s	Male	Shanghai	Business professional	Since born
Dong	50s	Female	Shanghai	Entrepreneur	Since born
Young	20s	Female	Liaoning	Business professional	4
Lina	20s	Female	Beijing	Business professional	3
Fei	30s	Female	Fujian	Business professional	1.5
Wen	30s	Male	Liaoning	Entrepreneur	8
Anna	20s	Female	Ukraine	Teacher	3

Ryan	20s	Male	UK	Publisher	2
Max	30s	Male	UK	Publisher	7
Patrick	50s	Male	Ireland	Teacher	1

Most interviews were conducted face-to-face individually, each lasting 2 hours on average. A few exceptions include a written interview through email for practical reasons, and 3 small ‘focus group’ interviews with 2 or 3 participants at a time to bring participants into dialogue with each other for the observation of more interactional group dynamics. During the interviews, participants were briefed about the general theme and concerns of this research and then were invited to talk about anything in this regard as they lead their lives in Shanghai. It typically includes their personal trajectories, stories and anecdotes, knowledge, experiences, and opinions related to place and language uses, etc. The conversational flow of the interviews was hence co-constructed spontaneously by the interviewer and the interviewee which have given participants more freedom to present their perspectives and thus contributed to the gathering of more diverse information.

3. Fieldnotes of participant observations. I have been taking reflective notes observing space and people around me as I commuted and lived in Shanghai throughout the fieldwork (in fact also in pre- and post- fieldwork phases). What is worth mentioning here is the significant value of my working and living experiences in Shanghai which have given me a good position to enter the field. Thanks to my previous job in a Shanghai-based art gallery with multiple working locations and flexible working hours, I had the mobility and flexibility to explore and experience Shanghai’s urban space as it was embedded in my everyday experiences, instead of simply doing a ‘snapshot’ survey. Besides, my social network developed during the time greatly contributed to the recruitment of several key participants with whom I could sustain long-term relationship and

collect more ethnographic details through daily conversations, informal interviews, etc. Especially, during the fieldwork in both 2018 and 2019, I lived with some of my close friends who were also key participants under my observations as we were very often eating, drinking, shopping, chatting, exploring and traveling through the city together.

4. Public discourses including governmental regulations and archives, city planning documents, historic documents, maps, news reports, websites, social media posts, etc. Some of them were retrieved to introduce the research background about Shanghai, and some were used as supporting evidences to interpret and analyze particular data within wider social, cultural, and historical context.

In sum, data of this research include 722 images of public signage, 15 fully transcribed interviews (12 individual and 3 focus group interviews), fieldnotes of participant observations, and a collection of relevant public discourses, which all together form into a triangulated data set subjected to holistic and systematic interpretations and analysis. Both visual and textual data were coded and sorted through qualitative data analysis software, Nvivo. The collection, storage, and dissemination of data have received Birkbeck ethics clearance.

The overall research design has reflected my position as not only the researcher but also the ‘researched’, as the rationale of this study is rooted in my own experiences and lifeworlds living in Shanghai and is thus projected with my own subjective state. On one hand, the recruited participants are largely composed of well educated, socioeconomically better off individuals who have been equipped with a cosmopolitan outlook, and my working and educational trajectory and network have made me a member of them. My study on the lived cosmopolitanization process of their everyday life is thus tightly connected with a self reflection on my own activity spaces, behavioural patterns, stances and values, etc. On the other hand, my identities as a UK-affiliated Ph.D. student and a non-Shanghainese Chinese have

kept me neither too far nor too close to the field, so that I can manage to observe the familiar with the estranged eyes.

During data collecting, coding, and analysing process, several themes emerge: spatial-temporal connectedness in the representation of cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai in space; individual's interactive construction of cosmopolitan place and place-identity in place talk; their lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday space. Conceptualizing them with relevant notions and theories such as chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981), orders of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003; also Blommaert, 2010), place-identity (Proshansky et al., 1983), stance triangle (Du Bois 2007), spatial repertoire and metrolingual franca (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015), distinction and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), etc., discussions of this research comprise three parts: chronotopic organization of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity in semiotic landscape; individual's stance act in 'place talk' and the interactive construction of cosmopolitan place-identity; their lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday metrolingual experiences and practices.

In Chapter 4, I will address the layered spatial-temporal configurations in the semiotic landscapes of cosmopolitan places in Shanghai and demonstrate how they have played a role in the representation and construction of the city's cosmopolitan identity.

Chapter 4

Chronotopic organization of cosmopolitan identity in urban space

This chapter attends to the layered spatial-temporal configurations in the curation of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity in its semiotic landscape. The theme becomes prominent as data analysis underscores a common referential practice through which people tend to evoke and align themselves with certain time-spaces, or 'chronotope', which according to Bakhtin (1981), refers to 'the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships' (p.84). In section 4.1, I will elaborate on the concept of chronotope based on Bakhtin's work and its applications in sociolinguistic studies. After that, I will discuss two most salient chronotopes in the representation and construction of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity in urban space: the Shanghai Modern chronotope and the global city chronotope. Lastly, I will sum up and suggest how these time-space structures would also implicate other aspects of cosmopolitan identities.

4.1 Chronotope: time-space connectedness in discourse

The concept of chronotope is originally invented by Bakhtin to describe the artistic expression of time-space fused as one concrete whole in literature, highlighting its organizing role in literary work and its generic significance. Expanding utility of the term as an analytic category rather than simply associating it with literature, Bakhtin (1981) points out the quality of chronotope as the intrinsic entry to the sphere of meanings, as seen in the following quotation:

'We somehow manage however to endow all phenomenon with meaning, that is, we incorporate them not only into the sphere of spatial and temporal existence but also into a semantic sphere ... whatever these meanings turn out to be, in order to enter our experience (which is social experience) they must take on the form of a sign that is audible and visible for us...without such temporal-spatial expression, even abstract thought is impossible. Consequently, every entry into the sphere of

meanings is accomplished only through the gates of the chronotope (pp.257-258)

This understanding associates chronotope with wider social-semiotic frames, which makes the notion a useful conceptual tool to address not only the issue of historicity or temporality, but also the non-linear complexity of time-space connectedness. Expanding the application of chronotope from written discourse to discursive signs of any kind, Agha (2007) uses ‘cultural chronotope’ to depict ‘place-time-and-personhood to which social interactants orient when they engage each other’ (p.320). Blommaert (2015) sees chronotopes as chunks of ‘historically configured and ordered tropes’ that can be evoked in discourse as ‘meaning-attributing resource’ (p.111) in his essay on timescale contextualization of language in society. He also points out that the evoked chronotope not only organizes the indexical orders of discourse, but also produces ‘specific kind of person, actions, meanings, values’ (p.109). Chronotopes in this sense provide time-space constraints for actual practices in people’s identity work and hence can be seen as identity frames (Blommaert and De Fina, 2017). In this respect, some research specifically highlights the agency of people in the process, such as to evoke and shape the nexus of time, space and identity in their narratives (Schiffrin, 2009; Pritzker and Perrino, 2020), or to align and misalign with selected chronotopes in their interactive acts (Davidson, 2007; Woolard 2013; Karimzad, 2016; Karimzad and Catedral, 2018).

Besides, there is also the issue of interrelationships among different chronotopes in discourse. As Bakhtin (1981) emphasizes, ‘(chronotopes) may be interwoven with, replace or contradict one another, or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships’ (p.252). Chronotopes are hence often multi-layered and in dialogue with each other, which underlines the chronotopic hierarchy in terms of the ideological salience of particular chronotope in discourse. One typical example is Karimzad and Catedral’s (2018) study on the chronotopic organization of ethnolinguistic identities. Through their analysis of linguistic data collected from Azerbaijani and Uzbek communities, they underscore the imbalanced ideological

power of different large- and small-scale chronotopes and illustrate how the power differentials further influence participant's acts of ethnolinguistic identification.

Informed by existing literature that integrates time and space as a unified analytic structure in discourse, and previous linguistic landscape studies that have employed chronotope to address the spatial-temporal entanglement embodied in urban space (e.g., Pietikäinen, 2014; Guissemo, 2018; Lyons and Karimzad, 2019), this chapter examines the chronotopic organization of Shanghai's cosmopolitan identity in its semiotic landscape. A close reading of collected data based on the contextual background of Shanghai as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis has accentuated two ideologically salient chronotopes in urban space of Shanghai: the Shanghai Modern chronotope and the global city chronotope. The following two sections will examine how these two chronotopes are evoked and represented in semiotic landscape, and how different orders of indexicality are organized in the overall chronotopic structure of discourse to curate a cosmopolitan Shanghai.

4.2 Shanghai Modern chronotope: evoking the cosmopolitan past

This section investigates the Shanghai Modern chronotope which has often been evoked to index a historically cosmopolitan metropolis in the urban space of Shanghai. Shanghai Modern, according to Lee (1999), refers to the unique modernity of Shanghai which is essentially Chinese and profoundly foreign at the same time. It is largely associated with the 'golden age' of Shanghai from the 1920s to 1940s during which the city became a special municipality with its relatively autonomous administrative status and gained its utmost urban modernization and economic development. It is also during this period when Shanghai nurtured its own commercial culture and urban living style known as '摩登' (pinyin: *módēng*, literal meaning: 'modern'), with its flourishing publishing and filmmaking industries and a whole generation of intellectuals and artists. In this sense, Shanghai Modern is an intrinsically chronotopic structure recalling the cosmopolitan past of the city, which

as a discursive resource has deeply influenced the cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai. In this section, I will focus on three specific places: Xintiandi, area near Hengshan and Fuxing Road, and Waitan (including the view of Lujiazui), as they were generally considered as the most cosmopolitan places in Shanghai by participants. Associating each of them with a particular theme, I will analyse how the chronotope of Shanghai Modern is evoked in semiotic landscapes and how it interacts with other chronotopes on multiple scales to curate and represent a cosmopolitan Shanghai in space.

Xintiandi: shikumen chronotope and the making of a cosmopolitan place

Xintiandi, literally means ‘the New World’, is an affluent shopping, eating and entertainment district centred around Madang Road in Huangpu District (see Figure 4.1 a map of the area). Different from other shopping spaces in Shanghai which typically are gigantic indoor malls, Xintiandi is a unique pedestrian passage known for its renovated shikumen lane houses (Chinese original: ‘石库门’, literal meaning: ‘stone gate’). Combining both Western and Chinese architectural elements, shikumen lane houses can be dated back to the 1860s and represent traditional Shanghainese architecture. However, as most shikumen lane houses were old and in poor condition, lots of them were demolished and replaced by modern buildings along with the city’s regeneration in the 1990s. As part of the overall redevelopment of the city, the original residential area of Xintiandi was gentrified by the real estate company Rui’an Group, and a ‘new world’ was produced out of the old and crowded lane houses. The renovation has preserved and to a large extent elevated the original appearance of the shikumen buildings. On the outside, Xintiandi presents a consistent semiotic environment of an authentic shikumen neighbourhood: exposed unsplashed brick walls, original grey tiles in roof and ground, doors and windows resembling the original design, lane lights in traditional style and so on. On the inside, these shikumen lane houses now accommodate exotic foreign restaurants, designer stores, cosy cafés and bars, etc., transforming the traditional Shanghainese neighbourhood into a chic commercial area.

semiotic landscape. For example, Figure 4.2a shows a sign board of a high-end fashion house dedicated to rejuvenate Shanghai fashion of the 1930s and 1940s, ‘上海滩’ (pinyin: *Shànghǎi tān*, literal meaning: ‘Shanghai Bund’; its English name ‘Shanghai Tang’ is not a direct counterpart but rather from the brand owner David Tang). A close reading of its semiotic details demonstrates how the Shanghai Modern Chronotope is evoked through various semiotic resources. Firstly, the vector of the Chinese text in the bilingual presentations of shop names is from left to right, which is a traditional writing practice in China till 1950s. Besides, in terms of its aesthetic design, the bronze material with bevelled corners, colour scheme of dark and golden, ornament lines in the motif of floating clouds, and typographic choice of font have all together presented a retro look in art-deco style recalling the glamorous 1920s and 30s. Moreover, the name of the store ‘上海滩’ is itself a chronotopic reference as it is a nickname of Shanghai which was made extremely popular through a TV series set in the old Shanghai during the 1930s.



Figure 4.2 Layered chronotopes in Xintiandi

Meanwhile, there are also semiotic resources indexing other time-spaces which generate starker chronotopic contrast in the semiotic landscape of Xintiandi, and the

presence of foreign languages is the most notable phenomenon. Apart from the prevalent English, languages such as Italian, Spanish, German, Japanese, etc., can also be seen. In most cases, they are part of the commercial space of foreign restaurants, chic cafés and bars, upscale boutiques, etc., whose visual fronts are appropriated with individual design schemes making reference to various time-space structures. For example, the SHAKE SHACK sign in Figure 4.2b is adhered to the exterior surface of a shikumen building, taking up space right between the door and windows. The illuminating English characters together with the icon of a burger represents an international fast-food chain, adding a spatially foreign and temporally modern layer on top of the traditional shikumen building indexing the old Shanghai.

Despite diverse time-space references, the chronotopic structure of the semiotic landscape in Xintiandi is carefully devised and managed as a whole to foreground the prominence of the renovated shikumen as its key place-making resource. For example, the collaged images in Figure 4.3 demonstrate a coherent displaying scheme in terms of form, position, and size of the hanging panels of individual shops in Xintiandi's passage space, which contributes to the visual and aesthetic coherence of the place. Besides, as shown in Figure 4.4, the kind of name plaques often found on the walls of shikumen buildings in Xintiandi also embody this chronotopic management. Almost identical in terms of their content and form, these plaques display information about individual stores (postal address on the left, name in multiple languages on the right). They are rather small (the size is around 30 cm by 40 cm) and subtle in the semiotic landscape, making them rather decorative than informative, since details of their retro design such as the materiality of bronze, low-relief carving, and embellishment of sleek streamlines all together evoke the shikumen chronotope. As the prevailing components of the semiotic environment, both the hanging panels and the names plaques contribute to the coordination of various chronotopes by foregrounding the time-space structure of the renovated shikumen chronotope which has played an essential role in the place-making of Xintiandi.



Figure 4.3 Hanging panels in passage space of Xintiandi



Figure 4.4 Name plaques on walls of shikumen buildings

One thing to be noted is the reshaped indexicality of shikumen chronotope through its superimposition on the Shanghai Modern chronotope. As previously mentioned, the development of Xintiandi was based on large-scale renovations of the once crowded and dilapidated shikumen lane houses. According to Yu (2019), shikumen by itself does not represent the charm and glamour of the Shanghai Modern which has been more associated with garden houses and upscale apartments in the former French concession, or the exotic building clusters in Waitan. However, thanks to deliberate selections and organizations of chronotopic elements as discussed earlier, the lane houses were polished and elevated to their finest condition ever to evoke a nostalgic imagination of the cosmopolitan old Shanghai, with its history as buildings for the working class throughout the 20th century carefully eradicated (Ren, 2008). In this sense, the renovated shikumen buildings in Xintiandi is a recreation rather than a representation of the past, and the renovated new look of shikumen resulting from the selection of “what is worth remembering” (Baro, 2018, p. 50) has re-semiotized (Iedema, 2003) the lane houses for a new imagination of the past and hence restructured its indexicality. Instead of crowded and cramped living space in the old time, shikumen chronotope now evokes more romantic and nostalgic sentiments which are normally associated with the Shanghai Modern Chronotope.

The reshaped indexicality of shikumen chronotope in the place-making of Xintiandi can also be understood through the idea of ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannell, 1973) with two implications. Firstly, the quality of authenticity is not only applicable to things, but also experiences and feelings. Driven by profit and marketing strategies, the purpose to renovate shikumen in Xintiandi is not to restore and present authentic lane houses but rather to produce an experience and a sense of authenticity. To achieve this, the chronotope of shikumen is modified to make the spatial experience more desirable with more symbolic values. Secondly, the degree of authenticity depends on the representation of the original, the more ‘convincing’ it is, the better the ‘staged authenticity’ is accomplished. In other words, authenticity has little to do

with the original but rather styles and aesthetics associated with it (Zukin, 2009). In Xintiandi, the desired spatial experience is not about shikumen per se, but rather the style and aesthetics of the shikumen chronotope and its indexical values. The shikumen lane houses in Xintiandi are thus ‘made up’ and polished to fulfil people’s expectations and beliefs projected onto the cosmopolitan past of Shanghai, which endows Xintiandi with more symbolic capital to stage a cosmopolitan place.

Concession chronotope and indexicality of place names

In contrast to the contested Xintiandi, a more widely acknowledged cosmopolitan place among participants is the former French Concession area (Chinese: ‘法租界’; pinyin: *fǎ zūjiè*) represented by places such as Hengshan Road, Fuxing Road, Wukang Road, etc. The French Concession was first established in 1849 and had been expanded several times to cover the north-eastern part of today’s Xuhui District and the western part of Huangpu District (the former Luwan District). With regulations and efforts of its ruling authority Conseil Municipal, the built environment (landscaped streets, parks, gardens, etc.) and urban facilities (such as schools, universities, churches, hospitals) of the French Concession were developed and managed at a higher level compared to the International Settlement, and hence attracted both foreign and Chinese elites to reside here. By the 1920s, the French Concession had become the premier residential area with luxurious garden houses and deluxe apartments primarily in its western part (which largely covers today’s ‘Hengshan Road-Fuxing Road Historic and Cultural Area’ as will be discussed later; see Figure 4.5). Besides, a commercial and cultural vibrance had also been fostered in the area with its coffeehouses, clubs, bars, theatre, cinema, gardens, etc., especially with the arrival of Russian elite diaspora fleeing from the Russian civil war. In 1943, the French Concession was handed over to Chinese authorities but the area remained to be the most attractive area to accommodate social and cultural elites and institutions. As such, as the most prestigious part of the city’s ‘upper corner’ on the local spatial-social hierarchy, the French Concession as a spatial-temporal configuration (thereafter ‘concession chronotope’) has ‘truly’ represented the cultural

and intellectual essence of the Shanghai Modern (see the previously mentioned comment about Xintiandi by Yu, 2018), and is tightly connected to the ideological dynamics underpinning the cosmopolitan identification of Shanghai.

Figure 4.5 Hengshan Road-Fuxing Road Historic and Cultural Area.
(Cartography by Xin, 2018)

This section is particularly concerned with the semiotic and ideological dynamics manifested in practices and issues of place naming connected to the concession chronotope. Special attention is given to the indexical fact, which according to Silverstein (2003), refers to ‘a way in which linguistic and penumbral signs-in-use point to contexts of occurrence structured for sign-users in one or another sort of way’ (p.195).

To begin with, Figure 4.6 shows the storefront of small-scale commercial complex ‘Ferguson Lane’ emplaced in Wukang Road, a historic street in the western part of

the former French Concession. As the recognized ‘National Historic and Cultural Streets of China’, the street accommodates many historical buildings in diverse styles including Mediterranean, French Renaissance, English, and Art Deco, etc., and lots of them were residences of social and cultural celebrities throughout the 20th century. At present, with the buzz of trendy restaurants, cafés, boutiques, art galleries, etc., Wukang Road is a popular leisure space among the locals and the tourists to seek the charm of the former French Concession.



Figure 4.6 ‘Ferguson Lane’ in Wukang Road

Ferguson Lane is one of the feature properties in Wukang Road and its development and representation reflect a typical nostalgic reference to the concession chronotope in terms of its naming and aesthetics. The name ‘Ferguson’ derives from the original name of Wukang Road before 1943 when the street was named ‘Route Ferguson’ in honour of American missionary and educator John Calvin Ferguson. With time, the indexicality of ‘Ferguson’ as it is used in place naming has shifted. From ‘Ferguson’

to ‘Route Ferguson’, it is originally a memorial representation of a person; from ‘Route Ferguson’ to ‘Ferguson Lane’, it becomes a time-space reference to the concession chronotope. In other words, the use of ‘Ferguson’ in this situation operates on a second order indexicality pointing at the concession chronotope. The representation of ‘Ferguson Lane’ as stylistic resource further evokes the Shanghai Modern chronotope, together with the art deco design elements of the visual front (black marble, colour scheme of black and golden, and typographic design, etc.)

Apart from place names displayed in space, the practice of place referencing also includes the way a place is addressed in wider context of communications. This is particularly relevant to the concession chronotope considering the ideological dynamics involved in the term ‘concession’. As reference to a geographic and cultural area that only exist administratively in the treaty-port era, the term ‘concession’ itself is a specific time-space representation indexing the Shanghai Modern chronotope, and it is not rare to hear ‘the French concession’ (without the emphasis on ‘former’) in people’s daily conversations, and from time to time in public discourses. However, the use of ‘the French Concession’ is sometimes contested due to its stigmatic association with colonial suppressions.

For example, in September 2019, the use of ‘the French Concession’ in an event post for a marketing campaign of a Japanese brand, Muji, has generated widespread dissatisfactions and criticism on Weibo, an influential social media platform in China. The context of the usage is shown in Excerpt 4.1.

Excerpt 4.1

都市 WALKER--在法租界红灯右转... 以 MUJI 淮海 755 旗舰店为起点, 在 法租界梧桐树夹道间慢跑, 行至路口, 若是红灯便右转, 绿灯则直行.	Urban <i>WALKER</i> – Turn right when it’s red light in the French Concession ... Starting from MUJI flagship store in Huaihai Road 755, let’s jog along the lanes lined with plane trees in the French Concession . In the intersection,
--	--

	turn right if it's red light, otherwise go straight.
--	--

Most comments about the post expressed a negative feeling towards the use of ‘the French Concession’ as place reference since the term is only applicable in the colonial era when China as a nation was suppressed and humiliated. However, there were also voices criticizing that people were being too sensitive as ‘the French Concession’ is simply an accustomed reference to the area which covers the former French Concession.

This controversy reveals complex semiotic dynamics associated with the symbolic value of ‘the French Concession’. From the perspective of Muji, the motivation to use the name is based on its indexical value to evoke the Shanghai Modern chronotope. This indexical reference is not rare in people’s discursive practices (see Excerpt 5.3 in Chapter 5 as an example), and often comes together with descriptions of material streetscape such as the lanes lined with French plane trees, garden houses, bourgeoisie cafés, etc. It can be seen as a strategic identity act by ‘looking back to our past’ and then ‘situating us now’ in pursuit of the authenticity and locality unique to Shanghai, and concession chronotope in this sense is an ideological resource to construct the cosmopolitan ‘here-and-now’. However, the indexical value of ‘the French concession’ that is sought and ‘safely’ accepted in other urban discourse does not work properly in the case of this post, which is partly due to its improper discursive layering of different chronotopes and the consequent inappropriate indexical order. As the term appears in ‘turn right when it’s red light in *the French Concession*’ and ‘let’s jog along the lanes lined with plane trees in *the French Concession*’, the term is used as if it is a ‘real’ place reference which projects the concession chronotope onto the real-life time-space. It is this intentional blurring of the boundaries between the two chronotopes that intrigues the discomfort among the public, as its semantic context has shifted the indexicality of ‘the French Concession’ from a second-order indexical when it is used as a pure chronotopic resource to

evoke the cosmopolitan past of Shanghai, to a first-order indexical which is problematic as foreign concessions were originally the product of colonialization and is hence stigmatized. In this respect, it is interesting to compare the acclaimed use of the ancient name of Xi'an (another Chinese city), *Chang'an* in popular discourse, as it evokes the glorious history of the city as the ancient capital of Han and Tang dynasty.

In official discourse, the term 'the French Concession' seldom appears. Instead, a new name 'Hengshan Road-Fuxing Road Historic and Cultural Area' ('衡山路-复兴路历史文化风貌区'), or in abbreviation 'Hengfu Area' ('衡复风貌区') is invented and used to address the historic and cultural importance of the geographic area. 'Hengfu Area' is widely used in official discourse such as the urban planning document *Shanghai Master Plan 2017-2035*, and Figure 4.7 shows a displayed use of it in a standing canvas of a renovative historic site managed by the city council in the area.



Figure 4.7 ‘Amazing Hengfu’ slogan on a canvas

The concept of ‘historical and cultural area’ (‘风貌区’) was officially proposed in the *Protection regulation of historical and cultural street block and architecture in Shanghai* taking effect from 2003. The purpose is to preserve areas where historical buildings conglomerate or the integral architectural patterns, spatial layouts and streetscapes represent local characteristics of a certain historic period in Shanghai (see Article 8 of the regulation). Up to now, there are around 300 areas being recognized as historical and cultural conserve zones, and Hengfu Area is one of them. In this sense, in contrast to ‘the French Concession’ which specifically evokes the Shanghai Modern chronotope, ‘Hengfu Area’ is situated under a collective preservation frame acknowledging the historical and cultural value of urban space in

general. In this sense, by foregrounding the spatiality ('Hengfu' as the abbreviation of Hengshan Road and Fuxing Road which are two main streets in the former French Concession), the invention and usage of 'Hengfu Area' index a new time-space structure different from the concession chronotope.

Waitan: chronotopic dialogue in an urban spectacle

Another cosmopolitan place identified by participants is Waitan (Chinese original: '外滩', literally means 'the outer bank', also known as 'the Bund'). It is a waterfront area stretching around 1.6 km along the western bank of the Huangpu River, covering the East Zhongshan Road No.1 between Waibaidu Bridge and Yan'an Road (see Figure 4.8). Located in the former International Settlement, Waitan had been the centre of international business and commerce in Shanghai throughout the treaty-port era, housing numerous banks and trading companies from many countries. The magnificent commercial buildings such as the Shanghai Club, the HSBC Building, the Custom House, the Peach Hotel, etc., are built in various architectural styles including Neo-Romanesque, Gothic Revival, Renaissance Revival, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Classical, Beaux-Arts, Art-deco, etc., making Waitan the most representative 'foreign place' (Nield, 2015) tracing back to the Shanghai Modern era. From the 1950s, buildings in Waitan had mostly been used as government offices and institutions till the 1990s when they were repurposed to house commercial and financial companies again. Under Shanghai's general urban planning and redevelopment, Waitan is now promoted as a tourist site with its 'Exotic Building Clusters' ('万国建筑博览群') as a 'Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level' ('全国重点文物保护单位').

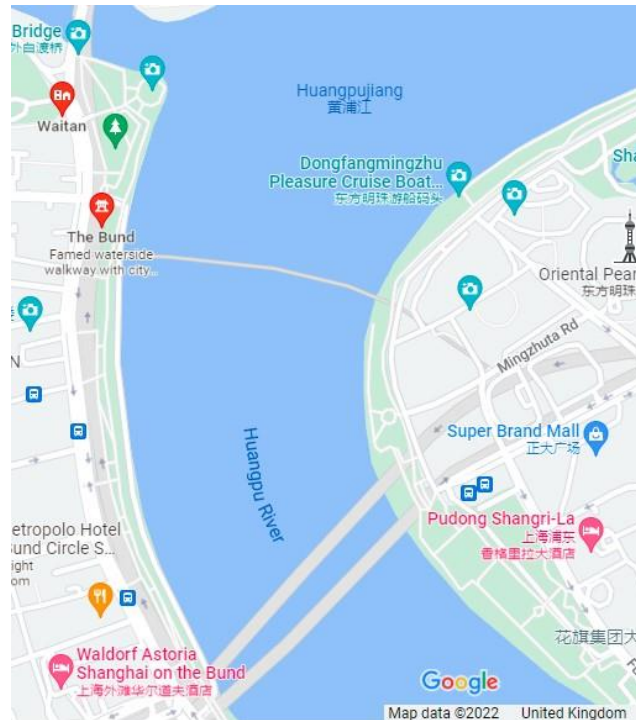


Figure 4.8. The Bund. 1:500 feet.
Retrieved from Google map on August 5, 2022.

Attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists every day, the appeal of Waitan for a large part also comes from the vantage point of its landscaped promenade where Lujiazui, the city's new international financial centre siting right across the Huangpu River, can be seen and appreciated. After the opening of Shanghai as a treaty-port in 1843, Lujiazui had been used as a supporting industrial land but remained underdeveloped till the late 20th century. Since the 1990s, as part of the plan to 'develop and open up Pudong' (a decision made by the State Council of the central government), Lujiazui has been quickly developed into a prosperous financial and commercial centre housing numerous multinational corporations and companies. The urban scape of the area has also been transformed by its modernized and futuristic skyscrapers such as the Oriental Pearl Radio & Television Tower, Jin Mao Tower, Shanghai International Finance Centre, etc.

As such, discussions in this section also take into account the cityscape and skyline of Lujiazui as it also comprises the semiotic landscape of Waitan. In fact, this

spectacular contrast (Figure 4.9) has visually showcased two dialogical chronotopes in the semiotic landscape of Waitan, as described by Lin, a Shanghai born participant in his 40s in Excerpt 4.2.



Figure 4.9 The spectacular contrast between Waitan and Lujiazui

Excerpt 4.2. Extracted from the interview with Lin, July 3, 2019

Speaker	Original	English translation
Lin:	...上海是一个国际化的城市。如果没有国际化，你也看不到外滩的万国楼，就是 30 年代的上海。你站在陆家嘴，晚上夜景是看的 30 年代的上海。这是黄金荣，杜月笙那时候的上海。叱咤风云是吧...赤手空拳打天下的上海。你站在浦西的外滩，看陆家嘴，看的是现代化的上海 [pointing at Waitan in a map] ... 外滩嘛 ... 这是新上海，这是老上海。	Shanghai is a cosmopolitan city. Without its cosmopolitanism, you won't see the exotic buildings in Waitan, which represents Shanghai back to the 1930s. When you stand in Lujiazui, the cityscape you see is Shanghai in the 1930s. This is the Shanghai of Huang Jinrong, Du Yuesheng [well-known gangster figures in the Republic of China era], the Shanghai you build your success and power from scratch. When you stand in Waitan in Puxi and look at Lujiazui, what you see is a modernized Shanghai ... [pointing at Waitan in a map] Waitan...this side is the new Shanghai , the other side is the old Shanghai .

As can be seen in Figure 4.9, the old and the new financial centres of Shanghai are juxtaposed with each other across the Huangpu River. The exotic building cluster in Waitan in various architectural styles has by itself displayed an eclecticist 'mixing' genre which is local to the city and hence evokes 'the old Shanghai back then'. In contrast, the soaring and luminous skyscrapers on the side of Lujiazui exhibit 'the new Shanghai' as a modern and vigorous international city staying ahead of the global competition. The spectacular juxtaposition thus brings together the historic

glory of Shanghai's cosmopolitan past and its modern ambition as a prosperous global city.



Figure 4.10 The view of Lujiazui from Waitan

Apart from architecture, other semiotic resources also vigorously participate in this chronotopic dialogue. Among others, the giant electronic screens covering façades of the skyscrapers in Lujiazui (as shown in Figure 4.10) provide the most prominent semiotic space due to its salient public visibility and rotating displaying contents. As ‘faces of place’, these giant façades can be seen as an urban spectacle onto which imaginative meanings attached to the city are projected (see Gendelman and Aiello, 2010). In the case here, the spectacle is mainly a discursive space where the identity

of Shanghai is constructed and represented through various semiotic resources such as slogans, icons, symbols, images, etc. For example, in Figure 4.10, the skyline of Lujiazui seen from Waitan is itself being iconized and represented, which together with the underneath words ‘我爱上海’ (‘I love Shanghai’) generates a sense of place for viewers (see more examples of this kind in Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.11 A collage of the ‘city branding’ façade in Lujiazui

Under this identity building and displaying frame, many semiotic resources that evoke the Shanghai Modern chronotope are employed (sometimes with a fluid indexicality), and their emplacement in the modern high-rises has synchronized the old and the new Shanghai to represent the place identity of Shanghai as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis. A typical example is the popular nickname of Shanghai, ‘魔都’ (pinyin: *modu*, ‘Magic City’). The origin of the term comes from the novel *Mato* (‘Demon City’, 1924) by Japanese novelist Shōfu Muramatsu who portrayed the dichotomy of Shanghai in the 1920s as a modern civilized metropolis with a dark side of chaos and crimes. However, ‘魔都’ as it is used nowadays has gradually lost its original negative implication and become a widespread nickname of Shanghai especially in popular culture. The display of ‘魔都’ in the ‘city branding’ façade of Lujiazui demonstrates the acknowledged symbolic value of the term and is also a testimony of its shifted indexicality from ‘Demon City’ to ‘Magic City’.

This chronotopic dialogue also operates on a more symbolic level. In Figure 4.12, the façade displays the icons of saxophone and phonograph in a retro colour scheme of neon lighting which is a symbolic reference to *shidaiqu* (Chinese: ‘时代曲’, ‘songs of the era’), a type of Chinese folk/American jazz fusion music originated in Shanghai in the 1920s and has been popular in the following decades till the 1950s. This style of music is marked by the instrumentation of American jazz orchestra, and the typical recording method on 78rpm gramophone shellac records. In this sense, the saxophone and phonograph icons are chronotopic indexes evoking the Shanghai Modern chronotope.



Figure 4.12 ‘The jazz Shanghai’ façade in Lujiazui

With the juxtaposition of the exotic building cluster inherited from the treaty-port era and the modernized skyscrapers in Lujiazui, Waitan presents an urban spectacle where various semiotic resources layered in its semiotic landscape collaborate to generate the chronotopic dialogue between ‘the glorious old Shanghai’ and ‘the brave new Shanghai’.

Discussions so far have dedicated to ‘the old Shanghai’ and the Shanghai Modern chronotope. In next section, I will probe into ‘the new Shanghai’ and the global city chronotope as they are represented in semiotic landscapes.

4.3 Global city chronotope: conceiving a global player

As previously mentioned, Shanghai gradually regained its economic and cultural status as the international hub of business, trade and finance since China's economic reform, and is envisioned to become an excellent global city with world influence in its latest master development plan. This ideal of Shanghai as a global player is observed to be another significant time-space structure in urban space of the city. In this section, based on the corpus of semiotic landscape data, I will focus on two semiotic practices through which the global city chronotope is evoked: the reference to foreign places to generate and imagine a sense of global connectedness, and the innovative use of semiotic resources transcending the national frame to form a unique global register, or in Jaworski's (2015) word, 'globalese'.

Reference to foreign places: chronotopic imagination of a connected globe

Figure 4.13 presents a selection of shop signs that explicitly make reference to foreign places on various geographic scales, such as units of urban area (Brooklyn, Hollywood), cities (Tokyo, Paris, New York, London, Munich), regions (Provence, west France), countries (France, Italy, Germany, Korea), continents (Europe, North European), etc. The references are displayed mostly in English, sometimes in Chinese (such as '韩国货' for 'Korean produce', '欧洲生活馆' for 'European living hall', '北欧小餐馆' for 'north European bistro') or languages used in the referred place ('München', 'Soleil Provence', 'Ouest France', etc.).



Figure 4.13 A collage of signs with linguistic place references

This place referencing practice is largely a stylistic act to evoke knowledge, experiences, stereotypes, and imaginations associated with the referred foreign places, such as weather, food, beverage, artifact, local industry, as well as living style, ambiance, spirit, taste, etc., on a more cultural and abstract level. The evoked imaginations of these foreign places constitute the semiotic environments of these commercial spaces and largely aim to index the quality and authenticity of their products and services.

Based on the first order indexicality, the reference to distant foreign places further generates a new indexicality to evoke a sense of global connectedness for their viewers. Representing a diverse repertoire consisting of cultural vocabularies from various time-spaces, this place referencing can be seen as a ‘worlding practice’ (Ong, 2011, p.4) which aligns Shanghai with other places in the world and positions the city in a globally connected network.

Apart from explicit linguistic references, the affordances of other semiotic resources are also employed as seen in Figure 4.14, such as scripts (1, 2, 3, 4, 5), signs include symbols (3) and icons (4), objects (5, 6), physical faces/bodies of people (7), etc.



Figure 4.14 A collage of signs drawing on various semiotic affordances

One thing to be noted is the materiality of foreign scripts (Seargeant, 2012) in the generation of sense of foreignness. Displayed in many cases to be ‘seen’ rather than to be ‘read’ (Fraenkel, 1994), multilingual scripts, especially those other than English such as Korean, Japanese, Italian, French, etc., are rather symbolic than informational (Landry and Bouris, 1997), which would influence viewer’s perceptions and evaluations of space. Excerpt 4.3, a clip extracted from a focus group interview, presents an example that manifests this process when Young, a participant who has worked and lived in Shanghai for 4 years, talked about an authentic Korean town.

Excerpt 4.3 Extracted from the interview with Young, June 27, 2019

Speaker	Original	English translation
Young:	...在紫藤路这里有一个韩国城，里面全部都是韩餐，而且挺正宗的。你可以去那里看一下，就你去那里就觉得全部都是韩文这样子的感觉。	... There is a Korean town near Ziteng Road, and inside the building there are so many Korean restaurants, and they are quite authentic. You can go and check it. It feels like, when you are there, everything is in Korean.

In the context of this excerpt, participants were invited to talk about cosmopolitan places in Shanghai, and Young intended to suggest a Korean enclave centred around a commercial building near Ziteng Road as a cosmopolitan place considering its Korean authenticity. She raised two points about the place to support her statement: there are many authentic Korean restaurants inside the building, and Korean script are overwhelmingly seen here. Considering the sequence of two sentences in terms of the discursive structure, ‘you will find everything in Korean’ can be seen as a development of the previous remark to illustrate the authenticity of both the restaurants and the place in general. In this sense, the visibility of foreign scripts itself has worked as a semiotic resource for the viewer to make sense of space and place.

The reference to global connectedness is more ‘bodily’ achieved in the advertising post of a home designing studio ‘Zaozuo’ (image no.7 in Figure 4.11), in which a Caucasian male face is displayed with the words, ‘我不是平面模特，我是造作艺术总监 Luca Nichetto’ (‘I’m not a model, I’m Zaozuo’s head designer Luca Nichetto’). On the bottom of the poster, the slogan ‘全世界为你设计’ (‘the world designs for

you’) is displayed, with the word ‘全世界’ (pinyin: *Quán shìjiè*, ‘the whole world’) highlighted in red. Taking the picture as a whole, by displaying a ‘foreign’ face, the poster first generates a sense of foreignness for the viewers; and through the text that specifies his identity, it displays the globally resourced design expertise of the company. Therefore, the face of a ‘foreigner’ is not only a representation of a person, but also a visual index to the connected professional network on a global scale.

In short, the reference to foreign places in space through linguistic or semiotic resources such as scripts, symbols, objects, and human bodies, etc., has in essence evoked a chronotopic imagination based on global connectedness. By generating a sense of connection between ‘here’ and ‘there’ and the idea of the world as one place, this imagination facilitates the situation of Shanghai on a global scale, as a global city.

Globalese: registering a global consumerist chronotope

Besides the reference to foreign places, creative uses of orthographic and typographic features are also widely noted in the semiotic landscapes of Shanghai’s cosmopolitan places, as shown in Figure 4.15. These examples include script mixing (1), invented words (2), typographic design features such as new letter forms (3), mixing of upper and lower cases (4), font variations (5), use of punctuation marks and mathematic symbols (7, 8), reversing letters (9), and other design tactics in the spatial layout for a visual effect (6). This ‘poetic’ rather than referential ‘play’ of script has been examined by Jaworski (2015) as a new ‘multimodal, spectacularized, and largely commodified register’ (p.232). Terming it as ‘globalese’, he argues that these new semiotic forms have transcended ethno-national languages and constructed new set of indexical relations on a global scale.



Figure 4.15 A collage of signs with creative use of scripts

Despite the creativity involved in this global register, Jaworski also points out the de facto lack of diversity of these visual-linguistic building blocks and hence the formulaic and conventionalized nature of such discourse. In this sense, the register

itself represents a ‘global style’ in terms of visual design, which meets the ‘gentrified aesthetics’ (Zukin, 1993) catered to the taste of cosmopolitan-minded middle-class consumers. Featuring unique visual affect, globalese transcends traditional time-space structure of ‘place’ and makes reference to global consumerist ‘space’, and in this sense registers a homogeneous and de-placed global chronotope.

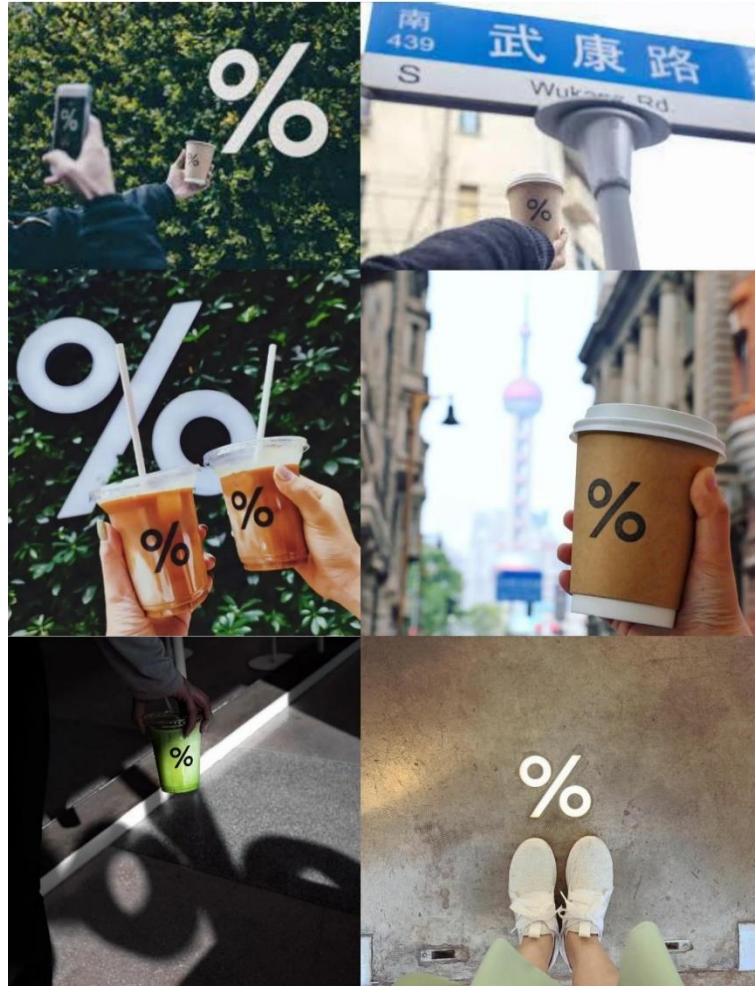


Figure 4.16 Photo-taking-and-sharing practices in % Arabica

Figure 4.16 demonstrates how consumerist chronotope embodied in globalese is situated in people’s collective social experience. The collaged social media posts are all about the logo of a Japanese café shop %Arabica, an ‘Internet-famous store’ (‘网红店’, pinyin: *Wanghongdian*) in Shanghai. On site, it is a common scene to see people queueing up outside the store and then taking photos of the percent sign displayed in its exterior and interior space such as shop front, windows, floor, and on

products including coffee cup, coffee package bag, shopping bag, etc. These photos very often would then be uploaded to social media platforms popular in China such as WeChat moments (‘朋友圈’), Weibo (‘微博’), Little Red Book (‘小红书’), etc. By doing so, the café gains more publicity and more people are attracted to have a physical visit to ‘punch the card’ (‘打卡’, pinyin: *daka*, literally means to experience what others recommend or what is trendy), and many would take and share photos with the percent sign just like others, either formulaically (holding the paper cup in hand is the most typical way among others) or creatively. This photo-taking-and-sharing practice is in this sense a part of people’s consuming experience on the scale of a ‘carnival’ time-space (Bakhtin,1984) where everybody is both the ‘audience’ and the ‘actor’ in a collective activity.

In short, Shanghai as a global city can be chronotopically conceived in space to imagine a global time-space connectedness and consumerist space. Semiotic landscapes analysis in this section underlines two semiotic practices in the representation of the global city chronotope: reference to foreign spaces to situate Shanghai in a globally connected network, and the use of globalese to register a homogeneous consumerist space.

4.4 Summary

To conclude, this chapter has discussed how cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis is chronotopically organized and represented in its semiotic landscape, in which the Shanghai Modern chronotope and the global city chronotope enjoy the ideological salience and overarch other time-space configurations.

Specifically, I have examined how the Shanghai Modern chronotope is evoked to index the cosmopolitan past of the city in relation to other time-space structures in three cosmopolitan places: the chronotopic layering with shikumen chronotope under

the place-making frame in Xintiandi, the semiotic dynamics involved in place naming regarding the concession chronotope, and the chronotopic juxtaposition and dialogue in the cityscape of Waitan. As for the global city chronotope, I have focused on how it is evoked in semiotic landscapes and specified two semiotic practices: the reference to foreign places to generate and imagine a sense of global connectedness, and the innovative use of globalese to register a global consumerist space.

In short, this chapter studies the cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai chronotopically organized and represented in its semiotic landscape. The examined time-space structures, especially the Shanghai Modern chronotope, also play a significant role in people's place-identity in terms of their attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, etc., about people and place. In Chapter 5, I will examine how people position and identify themselves in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective.

Chapter 5

Stance act in place talk and individual's cosmopolitan place-identity

Chapter 4 has examined the cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai as it is chronotopically organized and represented in semiotic landscape. To carry on the exploration into cosmopolitanization of identities, Chapter 5 delves into individual's place-identity in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai from an interactional perspective. Section 5.1 introduces the specific genre of 'place talk' in which people talk about place, and stance as the main analytic tool in this chapter's interactional analysis. The following Section 5.2 and Section 5.3 respectively probe into individual's stance acts in place talk from two perspectives, i.e., how people identify the 'real' Shanghai and the 'real' Shanghainese. Lastly, Section 5.4 sums up this chapter by underscoring individual's uneven valorisations of different kinds of cosmopolitanisms.

5.1 Stance act in place talk: an interactional approach towards place-identity

Place talk as a specific genre has been previously examined from an interactional perspective in both geographic and sociolinguistic studies. For instance, Housley and Smith (2011) analyse people's situated talk about a regenerated urban area through which they explore the interpretative and interactive reasoning practices of people when they navigate and make sense of urban space. A sociolinguistic example is Myers' (2006) study on passages of focus group interviews when people were asked 'where are you from'. He argues that questions of this kind help illicit conversations among participants as they would evaluate or defend a place, tell stories about it, or develop arguments around this topic. Myers further suggests that the way people answer this question interactively reflects how they see themselves and how they map the world. Place, in this sense, is the organizing trope of interactions during which identities of people and place are established and negotiated (see also Iibury, 2021).

Research on place talk underlines a spatially informed interactional perspective to approach individual's place-identity. According to Proshansky et al. (1983), place-identity refers to people's 'positively and negatively valenced cognitions of physical setting' (p.74), which naturally underscores the relevance of stance act when being studied from an interactional perspective. In this sense, people's place-identity is largely the constellations of their stances towards places. Therefore, focusing on place talk about Shanghai in order to unpack people's place-identity in terms of their 'memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience' (ibid., p.59) in relation to the city, this chapter draws on the analytic strength of stance especially Dubois' (2007) framework of stance triangle in data analysis and discussions.

Taking stance as both linguistic and social act, the framework formulates the socio-cognitive relations between the objective, the subjective, and intersubjective (as shown in Figure 5.1). In this study, place is taken as the stance object evaluated by interactants, through which they position themselves in relation to the place and align or misalign with the immediate interlocutor(s) or those distant from the interaction (see Lempert, 2009; Stockburger, 2015).

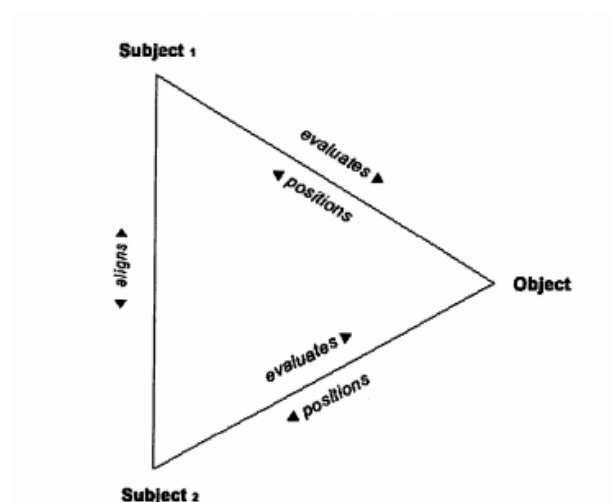


Figure 5.1 The stance triangle (Dubois, 2007, p.163)

Besides, with the aim to approach the ideological dynamics involved in people's stance act, this chapter also underlines the conceptual importance of indexicality. Originated from Peirce's (1933) term 'index' as one of the fundamental modalities of sign, indexicality emphasizes the context-dependency of meaning and hence connects the micro-contextual with the macro-sociological order of analysis (Silverstein, 2003). In this light, to formulate the indexical order when people talk about place is crucial to approach their ideological positions about both the place and people. For one thing, the interactional aspects involved in people's talk in relation to place may index their epistemic and affective stances towards place. For another, a typified stance towards place ratified over time and space also reflects place ideology of certain social groups and hence indexes the social identity of people.

With the analytical focus on individual's stance acts in order to illuminate their place-identities, this chapter examines place-related passages generated from in-depth interviews with participants. Close readings of these place talks have noted two recurring topics which are themes of discussions in this chapter, i.e., where is the 'real' Shanghai, and who are the 'real' Shanghainese. In the context of Shanghai, a similar distinction is made by Xu (2020) between the place identity of Shanghai and people's self-identification as Shanghainese, for which she argues that it is through the mis- or re-alignment of the two that the native Shanghainese assert their rights to the city. Different from Xu's perspective, I aim to bring the two facets together in order to reveal the ideological dynamics involved in people's cosmopolitan place-identity.

5.2 Where is the 'real' Shanghai: identifying the cosmopolitan Shanghai

According to Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Statistics, the administrative area of Shanghai covers 6340.50 km², consisting of 16 county-level districts (see Figure 5.2 a map of Shanghai's administrative layout) up to 2019. However, the meaning of

‘Shanghai’ as a geographic reference in people’s place talk is sometimes blurring, as the use and understanding of it is largely a subjective matter based on individual’s spatial, social, and cultural position or perspective. This contested ideology over ‘Shanghai’ mainly takes form in participants’ perceptions of somewhere as not the ‘real’ Shanghai, as shown in the following excerpts. They are extracted from interviews when participants either implicitly or explicitly categorize somewhere as not ‘Shanghai’, and a closer look into these place talks can help us understand the meaning of the ‘real’ Shanghai for the speakers.



Figure 5.2 Shanghai district layout.
Retrieved from Travel China Guide on March 3rd, 2021

Excerpt 5.1 demonstrates a typical example of this kind, when Fei, a female business professional in her early 30s, was asked to talk about her residential history in Shanghai.

Excerpt 5.1 Extracted from the interview with Fei, June 30, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Zhao:	你在上海的生活 (...) 什么时候第一次来↑,待了多长时间↑, 什么时候决定来这边生活↑, 这样的.	Your life in Shanghai (...) When was your first visit↑, how long did you stay↑, when did you decide to live here↑, like that.
2	Fei:	我是去年来的上海, 然后呢, 9 月份开始第一份在上海的工作.	I came to Shanghai last year and start my first job in Shanghai from September.
3	Zhao:	嗯	Em.
4	Fei:	然后住在 <u>奉贤</u> , 公司也在 <u>奉贤</u> . 你知道的, 离上海很远的, 所以(2.0), <i>technically</i> , 它不算上海 (haha).	(I) live in <u>Fengxian</u> . My company was also in <u>Fengxian</u> . You know it, quite far from Shanghai, so (2.0) <i>technically</i> , it's not Shanghai (haha).
5	Zhao:	嗯嗯.	Em em.
6	Fei:	对. 然后跟上海稍微更近一点, 拉近一点距离, 应该是从今年的一月开始, 我的工作换到了市中心, 在普陀区.	Yes. Then I shall say I became a bit closer to Shanghai, less distance from it, since this January. I changed my job to the city centre, in Putuo district.
7	Zhao:	嗯.	Em.
8	Fei:	然后每一天大部分的时间, 都在上海.	Then most of my time during the day, (I'm) in Shanghai.

In this short strip of talk, 'Shanghai' appears 7 times and the referents across these usages are not all the same. In line 1, I ask Fei to talk about her history and experience in Shanghai, establishing the meaning of 'Shanghai' in a general administrative sense. Accepting this denotation, Fei describes in line 2 her personal

trajectories after moving to Shanghai, the administrative zone covering a huge amount of land including Fengxian, a less developed suburb area where she works and lives in. However, in line 4 and afterwards, Fei starts to contest the meaning of ‘Shanghai’ by excluding Fengxian as part of it. By saying Fengxian is ‘quite far from Shanghai’, she positions ‘Fengxian’ against ‘Shanghai’ as a separate entity rather than a constituent of it. Fei then explicitly claims that Fengxian is *technically* not Shanghai, which creates a paradox against the common knowledge and breaks the established meaning of ‘Shanghai’ built in the first adjacency pair (line 1 and line 2). To convene this contradiction, Fei invites the alignment from me through interactional cues such as ‘you know it’ (‘你知道的’) in line 4 alongside her laughter here to hedge the statement. I then confirm my agreement in line 5, acknowledging the alignment with Fei’s stance. In the following line 6 and line 8, Fei further enhances the negotiated meaning of ‘Shanghai’, making it an equivalent to the city centre, to which Putuo district belongs but Fengxian does not.

The use of ‘Shanghai’ as an exclusive reference to the city centre is not restricted to migrants like Fei but also a very common practice among those categorized as Shanghai locals. Liang and Chu are two master students in their 20s, born and grew up in another suburb area in Shanghai, Minhang. Excerpt 5.2 shows how they talk about places in Shanghai especially the use of ‘去上海’ (pinyin: *qù shànghǎi*, ‘go to Shanghai’) in daily conversations. Their talk not only underlines the contested meaning of ‘Shanghai’ but also a geographic delimitation of the ‘real’ Shanghai.

Excerpt 5.2 Extracted from the interview with Liang and Chu, July 18, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Liang:	(...) 就我们那个地方<很 <u>村</u> 儿, 很 <u>偏僻</u> , 很 <u>乡下</u> >。观念就是说, 大概从这边开始往外 [demonstrating with a map]	(...) Our place is <very <u>rural</u> , very <u>far-off</u> , very <u>country</u> . > The belief is, roughly (anywhere) outside this circle

- (1.0) 乡下地方。 [demonstrating with a map]
(1.0), (is) countryside.
- 2 Chu: 就基本上内环那一圈嘛= Roughly the circle of the Inner Ring Road-EMP=
- 3 Liang: =内环那一圈 =the circle of the Inner Ring
- 4 Chu: 四号线以外= Outside Line 4=
- 5 Liang: =欸! 对对, 四号线以外. 就我们这边 (.) 这边上海人就直接说, 到市中心叫 ‘进城’, {‘去上海’}。
=Ay-EMP! yes yes, outside Line 4. Our place (.) Shanghai here will directly say, if they are going to the city centre, ‘go to the city’, {‘go to Shanghai’}.
- 6 Chu: >{ ‘去上海’! 对, 真的就是说{‘去上海’}.< > {‘go to Shanghai’! Yes. Really, (people) will say {‘go to Shanghai’}.<
- 7 Liang: {‘去上海’, 对. 我们就从这边 [pointing at Minhang in the map], 就这边本地人= {‘go to Shanghai’, yes. We, from here [pointing at Minhang in the map], local people here=
- 8 Chu: =不仅仅是闵行啊↑, 还有松江, 浦东, 还有嘉定的人啊什么的, 他们进到内环以内都会说‘去上海’。
=not only Minhang-EMP↑, but also Songjiang, Pudong, and people in Jiading, etc. If they go inside the Inner Ring Road, they will say ‘go to Shanghai’.
- 9 Liang: 松江很明显, 奉贤很明显= It’s obvious in Songjiang, in Fengxian =
- 10 Chu: =嗯嗯= =yes yes=
- 11 Liang: =还有这边 [pointing at Pudong in the map], 浦东, 南汇什么 =also here [pointing at Pudong in the map], Pudong, Nanhui,

- | | | | |
|----|--------|---|--|
| | | 的。(2.0)嘉定倒是不清楚。 | etc. (2.0) Not sure about Jiading. |
| 12 | Chu: | 主要是这一片不太熟。 | Not quite familiar with this area. |
| 13 | Zhao: | 就至少你们了解的范围内大家都是这么说的。 | So at least in places you know, people say it. |
| 14 | Chu: | 对。(...) 只要进内环就是‘去上海’。 | Yes. (...) As long as it's inside the Inner Ring Road, that's 'go to Shanghai'. |
| 15 | Liang: | 你看它这个环包括了很多重要的中心, 其他重要的中心也都在这个环附近。这以内的绝对是‘去上海’。 | You see, this circle contains many important centres, and many other important centres are close to it. Within this circle it's definitively 'go to Shanghai'. |
| 16 | Chu: | 基本就是上海的中心城区。 | Basically, it's the central districts of Shanghai. |

This clip of talk begins with Liang's evaluation of Minhang through three paralleled adjectives, 'rural' ('村儿'), 'far-off' ('偏僻'), and 'country' ('乡下'), which form a chain of synonyms and display Liang's assertiveness in terms of his statement. The object of his place evaluation then moves from 'our place' ('我们那个地方') to other places which he also terms as 'countryside' ('乡下地方'). Taking over the floor in line 2, Chu tries to verbalize Liang's mapping of the 'countryside' and suggests that the Inner Ring Road of Shanghai¹ or the Line 4² is the spatial boundary. Liang latches on and repeats Chu's statement both in line 3 and line 5, showing his strong agreement with her, especially through the emphatic particle 'Ay-EMP!' ('欸!') and the double confirmation 'yes yes' ('对对'). Thus, the two interactants have established the common stance towards places outside the Inner Ring Road or Line 4

¹ Inner Ring Road (simplified Chinese: 上海内环线) is an elevated expressway loop in the city of Shanghai. It mainly crosses central districts like Jing'an, Xuhui, Huangpu, Putuo, etc.

² Line 4 is a loop line of the Shanghai Metro network. It also crosses the central area of Shanghai and is within the circle of the Inner Ring Road.

as being ‘countryside’. The word ‘countryside’ (‘乡下’, pinyin: *xiāngxià*) in Chinese symbolically denotes a undesirable state of being rudimentary and undeveloped, and its usage in this context is rather an exaggeration since the suburb areas of the most developed and urbanized city in China are de facto far from being rudimentary and undeveloped. The use of it here is hence to contrast the places outside the Inner Ring Road with the prosperous city centre of Shanghai.

After establishing the stance regarding places outside the Inner Ring Road as being ‘countryside’, Liang further contrasts them with the city centre by introducing the use of ‘go to Shanghai’ (‘去上海’) among local Shanghainese in ‘*our* place’. Chu exclaims ‘go to Shanghai’ in line 6 almost immediately after she figured out Liang’s intention, speeding up and emphasizing ‘yes’ (‘对’), ‘really’ (‘真的’) to show her support for Liang’s statement about ‘go to Shanghai’. In line 7, Liang overlaps with Chu and repeats ‘go to Shanghai’ again as ‘*we* local people’. Chu then latches on and extends the spatial scope in which the usage of ‘go to Shanghai’ is applicable: not only Minhang but also other ‘countryside’ places. They then discuss to what extent they can speak for these places in between line 9 and line 14. In the end, they make clear the epistemic stance that the meaning of ‘Shanghai’ as people in the ‘countryside’ talk about it as in ‘go to Shanghai’ refers to areas inside the Inner Ring Road.

In sum, this stretch of talk is centred around three places/clusters of places: Minhang, places outside the Inner Ring Road, and places inside the Inner Ring Road, and they are the stance objects onto which the two participants project their ideologies in relation to the ‘real’ Shanghai. For Liang and Chu, Minhang is *our* place for *we* local Shanghainese, but it is ‘countryside’ since only places inside the Inner Ring Road are the ‘real’ Shanghai. In other words, even though *we* are local Shanghainese, *our* place is not the ‘real’ Shanghai.

The importance of the Inner Ring Road, according to Liang as seen in line 15, is

related to the fact that many important economic and commercial centres are within or close to it. However, for some other participants, the ‘real’ Shanghai in their eyes is not simply determined by economic significance and degree of development. Excerpt 5.3 presents the perspective of Hua, a local Shanghainese in her 40s. She grew up in the former Luwan district, a previous administrative unit which was a part of the former French Concession. Though it has been merged with Huangpu district in 2011, the notion of Luwan stays ‘alive’ for former residents like Hua.

Excerpt 5.3 Extracted from the interview with Hua, July 23, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Hua:	(...) 我 19 岁开始，就是上大学那一年，我从卢湾区搬到了静安区，然后去看我们家现在那个房子，就是我爸妈现在住的那个房子，<我 <u>根本</u> 不屑一顾>.	When I was 19, the year I went to college, I moved from Luwan district to Jing'an district, and I saw our house, the house where my parents still live in now, <I <u>utterly</u> turned up my nose>.
2	Zhao:	为什么会这样呢？	Why?
3	Hua:	因为我觉得那不是上海。它街边也没有梧桐树，也没有复兴公园，也没有淮海路。因为那个时候静安寺 (.) 还不像现在的静安寺，没有久光百货，也没有嘉里中心，也没有静安公园。那个时候上海是以 (.) 所以上海会有‘上只角’的概念。啊↓，卢湾区是‘上只角’的地方，啊↓，你是很 <u>洋范</u> 儿的，很 <u>海派</u> 的，所以你去复兴中路那一带去看，两边都是高大的	Because I think that's not Shanghai. There are no plane trees in streets, no Fuxing Park, no Huaihai Road. At that time Jing'an Temple (.), was not like it is today. There was no Jiu Guang department store, no Kerry Centre, no Jing'an Park. By the time Shanghai (.) so there is the concept of ‘upper corner’ in Shanghai. Ah-EMP↓, Luwan is an upper corner place,

梧桐树，法租界嘛。

Ah-EMP↓, you are very cosmopolitan, very haipai (shanghai-like). So, in areas near Mid-Fuxing Road, there are many plane trees, tall and lining in the streets, (this is) the French concession-EMP.

4 Zhao: 嗯嗯。

Emem.

5 Hua: 对。像我们这一片也是法租界嘛，你去安福路，湖南路，武康路那边看，也是不一样的。所以这种氛围，奠定了我那个时候到，(.) 其他区里面去看都觉得特别傻 (haha)，你知不知道吧，就特别破就感觉，就没有那种上海 (的感觉)。

Yes. Like our place here is also the French Concession-EMP. Anfu Road, Hunan Road, Wukang Road, they are also different. So, this ambiance, at that time made me feel that (.) other districts were very silly (haha). You know, very shabby, there was no that (sense of) Shanghai.

In this clip of talk, Hua displays her stance on the ‘real’ Shanghai through her evaluations of places on different scales: ‘our house in Jing’an’, ‘Luwan’ (an upper corner place), ‘the French concession’, and ‘other districts’. In line 1, Hua shares an episode of her personal trajectory, introducing ‘our house in Jing’an’ as the first stance object. Slowing down her speed, Hua expresses her strong disdain for it with the emphatic adverb ‘utterly’ (‘根本’) to intensify her stance. She then denies the value of it as being ‘Shanghai’ in line 3 in answer to my question, and the following sentences about plane trees, Fuxing Park, and Huaihai Road are the reasons for this statement considering the sequential order. This has directly positioned Jing’an vis-à-vis Luwan, as it is where Fuxing Park and Huaihai Road is located. In this sense, Luwan is taken as the model of the ‘real’ Shanghai to which places are

calibrated. In fact, calling Jian'an not Shanghai is quite against the common sense as it is one of the most affluent areas in the urban core, which explains why Hua tries to justify her stance right after by telling how Jing'an was not like it is today.

Hua then introduces the concept of 'upper corner' ('上只角', pinyin: *shàng zhǐ jiǎo*,) into the stance act. The socio-spatial distinction between the 'upper corner' and the 'lower corner' ('下只角', pinyin: *xià zhǐ jiǎo*) is well-known among all Chinese participants in this study despite the two words are in fact local Shanghainese expressions. Originated in the treaty-port era, the 'upper corner' refers to the prestigious areas covering the French Concession and the International Settlement, in contrast to the 'lower corner', the industrial land in the foreign settlement and areas under China's rule. Identifying Luwan as an upper corner place, Hua attributes the prestige of the upper corner to Luwan as being upscale and Shanghai-like.

A noteworthy detail here is the personal pronoun Hua uses in reference to Luwan. Instead of the third-person pronoun '它' ('it') to refer to Jing'an as in '*it* has no plane trees in streets', she uses '你' ('you') to describe Luwan which is 'foreign' and 'cosmopolitan' ('洋范儿的'), and 'Shanghai-like' ('海派的'). To make sense of this seemingly abnormal usage of the second-person pronoun 'you' in this context, it is useful to consider it as part of a constructed dialogue. Appearing after the descending particle '啊' ('ah') which in a sense functions as a prosodic signpost, the sentence '*you* are very cosmopolitan, very shanghai-like' looks like a reported speech quoting the comment of a third party who is absent from the interaction. For one thing, this constructed dialogue has introduced the voice of other people, reflecting the general opinions about Luwan among the public which Hua aligns herself with. In this sense, this quoted evaluation can be seen as an intertextual support for Hua's stance. Besides, the deictic addressee of this constructed dialogue, '我' ('I'), is also a stance object being evaluated in this context. In this sense, if the voice of Hua and that of other people are taken as a whole, the subjective state of Hua is bounded with Luwan, so that Luwan is on 'my' side, and 'we' are cosmopolitan and Shanghai-like. This

nuanced combination of multiple voices has shown how Hua's stance act is organized intertextually, and has echoed Trester's (2009) study which reveals how discourse markers like 'oh' works together with constructed dialogue to display speaker's stance and identity.

In the following line, Hua labels Luwan with another tag: the French Concession, and displays her appreciation of places belongs to the former French Concession as being 'different', or rather 'distinguished' ('不一样') from other districts. Here, Hua projects her stance on 'other districts' through adjectives like 'very silly' ('特别傻') and 'very shabby' ('特别破'), and her scoff here intensifies the contempt. The remark afterwards further positions 'other districts' as not Shanghai-like, bringing the meaning of 'Shanghai' under contestation again.

To sum up, Hua's place stance can be organized into the appreciations of places that are Shanghai-like (Luwan; the upper corner; the French Concession), and the disdain for those not (Jing'an *at that time*; other districts). Luwan, categorized by Hua as an upper corner place which is prestigious and cosmopolitan representing the former French Concession, is with no doubt the 'real' Shanghai.

Analysis of these place talks has revealed the identification of the 'real' Shanghai as the cosmopolitan Shanghai, which is chronotopically organized as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis as discussed in Chapter 4. This chronotopic dimension of people's place-identity in terms of the 'real' Shanghai will be more directly examined in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 5.4 is extracted from the interview with Max, a 35-year-old British male who have worked and lived in Shanghai for 7 years. When being asked to identify cosmopolitan places in Shanghai, he shares his opinion based on what feels as 'Shanghai' to him by comparing areas that used to be the former French concession with places like Dalian Road, a modernized commercial centre located in Yangpu

District where Max lives in.

Excerpt 5.4 Extracted from the interview with Max, July 10, 2019

Speaker Original

Max: ...If you wander around the area (the former French concession), the type of architecture, the architecture there I would say is (.) <when I see Shanghai, that's what I feel Shanghai is>. It's art deco↑. It's turn of the century↑. It's a mix, a fusion of Chinese style and French style kind of buildings↑ (...). So in that respect you can see how the city is developed and grow.

Whereas if I go to, somewhere like Dalian Road. Dalian Road has (.) food, coffee, shoe shops, clothes shops. But it's modern. It's two short skyscrapers, it's a couple of tyrant companies, it's Starbucks, it's blue frog, it's all kind of these things I said. It's not cosmopolitan in the same way. I think it still is cosmopolitan, you have all these things. But it doesn't feel as Shanghai. It could be anywhere. It could be Seoul↑, it could be Tokyo↑, it could be Milan↑. Whereas about in the former French concession area, you get a feel for Shanghai.

Max has casted his stance towards the two places as he talks about his perception of them in terms of whether they 'feel as Shanghai'. He first states that the former French concession area is where he feels Shanghai is, and specifies the feeling through three paralleled sentences, 'it's ...'. The descriptions, including 'art deco', 'turn of century', 'mix of Chinese style and French style' depict both the architecture and the spatial affect evoking the Shanghai Modern chronotope.

In the second part, Max expresses his stance on Dalian Road in contrast to the former French concession area. Starting again with a series of paralleled sentences to articulate how Dalian Road feels to him, he sees the place as somewhere modern and

international which indexes global connectedness. Max then acknowledges that Dalian Road is cosmopolitan, but ‘it’s not cosmopolitan in the same way’ as the former French concession area. This implies his differentiation between ‘cosmopolitanism’ in the general sense and ‘cosmopolitanism’ in the context of Shanghai. By indicating ‘you have all these things’ (foreign restaurants, cafés, global chain stores, multinational companies, etc.) in Dalian Road so that the place is cosmopolitan, Max sees ‘cosmopolitan’ as being modern, diverse, and transnational. However, he then states that these qualities do not make a place cosmopolitan in Shanghai’s way, as they index the homogeneity of globalization (‘it could be anywhere’). Therefore, the cosmopolitanism in the context of cosmopolitan Shanghai does not only suggest being modern and global, but also being local and unique to Shanghai. A cosmopolitan place in this sense should be Shanghai-like, which is chronotopically organized through both the global city and the Shanghai Modern chronotope as a whole.

The emphasis on the chronotopic nature of the cosmopolitan Shanghai is also noted in other place talks, such as the extended discussion and debate between Chu and Liang about the meaning of ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘cosmopolitan places’ in Shanghai as presented in Excerpt 5.5 and 5.6. Nuanced stance acts are displayed in their place talks, which involves persuasions, hesitations, and compromises in the alignment and misalignment between the two stance subjects.

Excerpt 5.5 Extracted from the interview with Liang and Chu, July 18, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Zhao:	你们觉得上海的哪些地方是国际化的？我是指英文中‘ <i>cosmopolitan</i> ’这个意念，如果你们知道这个词的话。	Which areas in Shanghai do you think are cosmopolitan? I mean ‘ <i>cosmopolitan</i> ’ in English if you know the word.
2	Liang:	...其实讲道理，‘国际化’这个	...as a matter of fact,

- 感觉就像, 就相当于我们理解的‘小资’(2.0), 你有这种想法吗? [look at Chu] ‘cosmopolitan’ feels like what we understand as ‘petite bourgeoisie’, (2.0), do you think so? [look at Chu]
- 3 Chu: 我, 我可以吧? {可以认同 I, I think yes? {(I) can agree on that
- 4 Liang: {我觉得在我的 {I think in my
心目当中, 国际化就和那个小 mind, cosmopolitanism has
资情调浓厚是有一定关系的= something to do with a strong
sentiment of petite bourgeoisie=
- 5 Chu: =>我同意, 我同意< =>I agree, I agree<
- 6 Zhao: 那什么叫小资呢? Then what do you mean by
‘petite bourgeoisie’?
- 7 Liang: 嗯 (.), 就你能感受到小资那个 Em (.) It’s like you can feel the
氛围, 比如说周边的建筑, ambiance of petite bourgeoisie,
(1.0)就那个路啊↑, 那个房子啊 such as the surrounding
↑, 周围那个人就能看出来. buildings, (1.0) the street↑, the
(...) 就是在上海人心目当中 house↑, and the surrounding
这个地方是小资的, 去这个地 people (from which) you can
方都有那个= tell. (...) It’s like if this place is
petite bourgeoisie in the eyes of
Shanghainese, going to this
place will have that=
- 8 Chu: =高级的感觉= =posh feel=
- 9 Liang: =有腔调, 那个腔调就是, 欸, =with style, the style is like,
你走到那个路上, 欸, 就自带 Ay-EMP, you walk on that
BGM. street, Ay-EMP, carrying your
own BGM (Background Music).
- 10 Chu: 哈哈! [burst into laughter] **Haha!** [burst into laughter]

- 11 Liang: 欸，就感觉‘夜上海’的音乐放起来了.
 Ay-EMP, it feels like that ‘Ye Shanghai’ is on play.

This clip of talk first shows how a joint epistemic stance is built towards what is ‘cosmopolitan’ as understood by the two participants. In line 2, Liang proposes an understanding of ‘cosmopolitan’ as similar to the feel of ‘小资’ (pinyin: *xiaozi*, ‘petite bourgeois’). Originated from Marxist theory, *xiaozi* originally refers to the social class of semi-autonomous peasantry and small-scale merchants. However, the meaning of *xiaozi* has changed since 1990s, referring to in particular a taste or living style pursuing western material and cultural values (online Chinese Dictionary, *Handian*). Liang’s use of hedges such as ‘as a matter of fact’ (‘其实讲道理’) and the question ‘do you think so?’ (‘你有这种想法吗’) shows that he is not quite sure about this connection. Being invited to share her stance on it, Chu in line 3 is not that assertive as well since she also hedges through her intonation ‘I think yes?’ (‘我可以吧?’) and modal auxiliary ‘I *can* agree on that’ (‘可以认同’). Liang then latches on and specifies his use of *xiaozi* as sentiments of petite bourgeoisie, again with hedges such as ‘has *something* to do’ (‘有一定关系’) and ‘in *my* mind’ (‘在我的心目当中’) to speak for *me*. Afterwards Chu speeds up and repeats ‘I agree’ (‘我同意’) twice, expressing a stronger alignment with Liang. At this moment, Liang and Chu have interactively co-constructed an epistemic stance on the understanding of ‘cosmopolitan’ as being petite bourgeoisie, during which many nuanced qualifications and negotiations are involved.

I then ask them to further explain about *xiaozi*. After a thought, Liang describes it in the context of ‘the ambiance of petite bourgeoisie’, emphasizing in essence the affective atmosphere in the identification of cosmopolitan Shanghai. In this sense, both ‘petite bourgeoisie’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ for them are affective conditions of place, generated from ‘the buildings, the streets, and the people’. However, the cosmopolitan affect is more than ensembles of these objects and bodies; it is rather, according to Anderson (2014), ‘a kind of indeterminate affective excess through

which intensive space-times are created and come to envelop specific bodies, sites, objects and people' (p.160). Here, it is the Shanghai Modern chronotope that is evoked in this cosmopolitan atmosphere, as illustrated by Liang's later depiction of a specific scene which indexes the old Shanghai in the 1930s and 40s.

In line 9 and line 11, Liang illustrates that the prestige and style of the cosmopolitan affect is felt like walking on the street with the song *Ye Shanghai* (Chinese: '夜上海', 'Night in Shanghai') as background music. Produced in the 1940s by iconic Chinese singer Zhou Xuan, the song is arguably the most well-known *shidaiqu* ('时代曲', 'pop songs of the era') of the old Shanghai, featuring the mix of Chinese folk and American jazz. The lyric of the song is about night life in Shanghai and presents a city that never sleeps with its bright lights and sounds of music. The fame of the song has made it a popular cultural symbol of Shanghai in the Republic of China era, and hence a common resource to evoke the Shanghai Modern chronotope. For example, Figure 5.3 shows a sign of *Ye Shanghai*, which belongs to a high-end restaurant specialized in local Shanghai cuisines. The sign is designed to evoke the Shanghai Modern chronotope not only through the place name *Ye Shanghai*, but also through its visual semiotics. Materially, the sign is made of neon light which is reminiscent of the streetscapes of the 1930s and 40s. Besides, the displayed characters are visually designed in strokes handwritten with a fountain pen, a writing instrument started to become very popular in the beginning of 20th century and gradually replaced the traditional Chinese brush writing.



Figure 5.3 ‘Ye Shanghai’ sign of a restaurant located in Xintiandi.

The interactions between Liang and Chu between line 7 and line 11 also suggest that the cosmopolitan affect has indexed prestige and style not only for them but also for other Shanghainese as a shared ideology. Specifically, when Liang puts forward the association between cosmopolitan affect with style, he speaks for Shanghainese (‘in the eyes of Shanghainese’), indicating that it is a commonly acknowledged stance among the local. Chu then interrupts and chimes in with the remark ‘posh feel’, which demonstrates not only her own stance on this indexicality, but also her support for Liang’s generalized statement.

At this point, the two participants have reached to a joint understanding of ‘cosmopolitan’ as an affective ambience chronotopically centred around the time-space of Shanghai Modern, and this affect indexes prestige and class as the Shanghai Modern chronotope is ideologically appreciated and admired by local Shanghainese. In Excerpt 5.6, they continue their interactive explorations into ways to understand cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan places in Shanghai, but with more overt disagreements, negotiations, and joint efforts to articulate their stances.

Excerpt 5.6 Extracted from the interview with Liang and Chu, July 18, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Liang:	国际化(的地方)还有一种理解就是，游客比较多	Another understanding of cosmopolitan (place) is, having lots of tourists.
2	Chu:	欸↑那我不同意	Ay-EMP↑ Then I disagree.
3	Liang:	那你这个，文化交流，一个是它当地的氛围，另外一个就是你来的人，各种各样国家的，各种文化的人，欸，不同文化的人过来，聚集在某一个区域 (2.0) 但其实说，它这个还是没有刚才说的小资那么明显。其实游客的话，上海几个好玩的地方，什么城隍庙，豫园啊，本地人其实都不去的	Well, cultural exchange, for one thing it is about a local atmosphere, and for another thing it is about people who come here, people from various countries, various cultures, Ay-EMP, people from different cultures come and agglomerate in one area (2.0). But admittedly, this is not as obvious as petite bourgeoisie as we just discussed. In fact, in terms of tourists, some of the fun places in Shanghai, like the City God Temple, Yu

- Garden, local people don't really go there.
- 4 Chu: 那你城隍庙，豫园你不能说国际化吧？ Then you can't say the City God Temple, Yu Garden are cosmopolitan, right?
- 5 Liang: 对，他这个不是国际化 Yes, this is not cosmopolitan.
- 6 Chu: 这点我跟他不同意，我是完全反对游客多这一点的 On this matter I disagree with him, I am totally against this point about tourists.
- 7 Liang: 游客多(.) >对对对<, 我提了一个错误观点 (...) Many tourists (.) >yes yes yes< I raised a wrong point (...)
- 8 Chu: 说到这个，说实话陆家嘴根本就不可能成为一个国际化的地方... Speaking of that, in fact Lujiazui can not be seen as a cosmopolitan place at all (...)
- 9 Liang: 它是现代化，不是国际化 It's modern, not cosmopolitan.
- 10 Chu: 我同意。那即使东方明珠这里游客很多 I agree. Even if there are a lot of tourists in the Oriental Pearl TV Tower.
- 11 Liang: 楼很高，但我宁愿说浦西这边是国际化的 The buildings are tall, but I would rather say the Puxi side is cosmopolitan.
- 12 Chu: 我同意。我觉得外滩是国际化的 I agree. I think Waitan is cosmopolitan.
- 13 Liang: 你过了个江就不一样了 It's a different scenario if you cross the river.
- 14 Chu: 但你说陆家嘴，东方明珠，金茂大厦是国际化的，不同意。外滩你知道吧，以前是英殖民地，万国建筑博览群。就那一 But if you say Lujiazui, the Oriental Pearl TV Tower, or Jin Mao Tower are cosmopolitan, (I) don't agree. Waitan, you know it

- 片是国际化的 right? It used to be British colony, the exotic building clusters. That area is cosmopolitan.
- 15 Liang: 就海关大楼啊，和平饭店那一块 The Custom House↑ the Peace Hotel↑ that area.
- 16 Chu: 对对对，我同意的 >Yes yes yes< I agree.
- 17 Liang: 那个地方有那个感觉的。但对面明显就是，就是楼高了一点，现代化了一点。纯粹就是看的，办公的，没有什么内涵。它没有那个所谓的文化内涵 purely for looking, for working, there's no essence. It doesn't have that so-called cultural essence.
- 18 Chu: 我附议。(1.0) 对的，就是没有被殖民过. I agree. (1.0) Right, it's like it has not been colonized.
- 19 Zhao: 哈哈! Hahaha!
- 20 Liang: 你就看一下当时的那个什么租界啊 You shall look at places which used to be foreign concessions at the time.
- 21 Chu: 真的！我觉得国际化真的和这个很有很有关系的。 **True!** I think cosmopolitanism **really** has **much** to do with this.
- 22 Liang: 它还是有这个影响的。 The impact is nevertheless there.

In the beginning of this clip, Liang proposed that cosmopolitan places are also those places with lots of tourists, but the reactions from Chu including the rising intonation of 'Ay' and the following 'then I disagree' ('那我不同意') show her strong misalignment with Liang's statement. Liang then tries to defend his stance by

categorizing cosmopolitanism (in his own words, ‘文化交流’, ‘cultural exchange’) into two strands, the affective atmosphere of the petite bourgeoisie which has already been aligned by Chu previously, and the agglomeration of people from different cultures, which for him are obviously tourist places. The two seconds silence afterwards is possibly the time during which Liang observes the conversational floor, as he might expect Chu’s alignment with his explanations. However, Chu is still not convinced so Liang chooses to make concessions in the following sentences. For one thing, he acknowledges that tourist places are not as distinctively cosmopolitan as petite bourgeoisie places; for another thing, he lists some tourist places and draws distance from them (‘local people don’t really go there’). Chu grabs the floor in line 4 and makes her evaluation on these tourist places through a rhetoric question, insisting that they are not cosmopolitan. Liang then shifted his evaluation by saying, ‘yes, this is not cosmopolitan’, in response to Chu’s question. To further enhance her stance, Chu directly addresses me in line 6, saying ‘I disagree with *him*’ (‘我跟他不同意’), which has in a sense distanced herself from Liang and his association of tourist places with cosmopolitan places; and the following ‘I’m *totally* against this point’ (‘我完全反对’) shows the assertiveness of her misalignment. After a short pause of hesitation, Liang completely yields his original stance by speeding up and repeating ‘yes yes yes’ (‘对对对’), admitting that ‘I raised a *wrong* point’ (‘我提了个错误观点’).

This negotiation on cosmopolitan places of Shanghai echoes previous discussions about the discrepancy between what is commonly understood as ‘cosmopolitan’ (such as Liang’s account in line 3 about the agglomeration of people from different cultures) and ‘cosmopolitan’ as in ‘cosmopolitan Shanghai’ (in Excerpt 5.4), and the nuance is displayed more directly in their following interactions from line 8 during which they compare Lujiazui with Waitan.

After turning down Liang’s association of tourist places with cosmopolitan places, Chu further comments on Lujiazui claiming that it cannot be seen as cosmopolitan *at*

all (‘根本就不’). The reason to contest Lujiazui in particular here is to challenge a common appraisal and hence a typified stance in urban discourse that takes Lujiazui, the modern and prosperous financial centre of the city, as icon of the cosmopolitan Shanghai (some other participants in this research do hold this opinion which intrigues the discussions on ‘who are the real Shanghainese’ in next section). Liang agrees on Chu’s evaluation and further specifies that being modern is different from being cosmopolitan. Then from line 10 to line 16, they quite interactively construct and juxtapose two sets of stances based on their evaluations of places in two areas: the ones on the western side of the Huangpu River (‘浦西’, ‘Puxi’) including Waitan, the Custom House, the Peace Hotel, etc., are cosmopolitan; and those on the eastern side (‘浦东’, ‘Pudong’) including Lujiazui, the Oriental Pearl TV Tower, Jin Mao Tower are modern but not cosmopolitan. In Line 17, Liang illustrates this differentiation from an affective perspective again: places near Waitan have ‘that *feel*’ (‘那个感觉’), and those on Pudong are ‘simply’ and ‘purely’ (‘纯粹就是’) lacking ‘cultural essence’ (‘文化内涵’). Chu then attributes this lack of ‘cultural essence’ to the fact that Pudong was not colonized which in a sense reappraises the stigmatized concept of ‘colony’ and the city’s history as a semi-colonized treaty-port. This statement is aligned by Liang in line 20, highlighting *zujie* (‘租界’, ‘foreign concession areas’), the term referring to colonized enclaves in general in the treaty-port era. Chu right after exclaims ‘true!’, stressing ‘really’ (‘真的!’) and ‘very much’ (‘很有很有’) to reinforce the stance that cosmopolitan Shanghai is tightly connected to its colonized history. Liang’s following comment is supportive but relatively moderate, with ‘nevertheless’ (‘还是’) suggesting that despite the stigmatization of the colonized past, the cosmopolitan Shanghai does grow out of this part of history.

The extended discussions on Liang and Chu’s place talk in Excerpt 5.5 and 5.6 have underscored the essential role of the Shanghai Modern chronotope in their identification of cosmopolitan Shanghai, which is very much ideologically loaded. For one thing, their stance acts in the dispute over tourist places and the common

ground about Lujiazui both have to do with the ideological ‘dominance’ of the Shanghai Modern chronotope in the cosmopolitan Shanghai. For another thing, Chu and Liang’s aligned evaluations on places of Puxi and Pudong explicitly reflect their ideological reappraisal of the colonized history of Shanghai, for which they appreciate and admire the unique cosmopolitan modernity of the old Shanghai despite the stigmatization of the associated suppressions and aggressions.

In sum, discussions in this section have examined people’s place-identities in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai which mainly take form in their identifications of the ‘real’ Shanghai. Analysis of stance acts in these place talks have particularly demonstrated the significance or rather dominance of the Shanghai Modern chronotope in people’s place ideology. In the meantime, this identification of cosmopolitan Shanghai is also tightly intertwined with the way people position themselves and others in relation to the city. In next section, I would explore how stances on the cosmopolitan Shanghai would further influence the social identifications of people.

5.2 Who are the ‘real’ Shanghainese: identifying people in a cosmopolitan city

Close readings of collected place talks have marked another thematic thread in this chapter, i.e., who are the ‘real’ Shanghainese. Resonating with previous research that illuminates the role of place in supporting and developing people’s self-concept as part of their place-identities (such as Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Xu, 2020), this section examines how people identify themselves and others in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai in their place talks.

To classify someone as ‘Shanghainese’ is in a sense to attribute a social identity to people based on their spatial relations to the city: Were they born and raised in Shanghai? Are their parents Shanghainese or ‘new Shanghainese’ (‘新上海人’,

‘recent migrants to Shanghai’)? Do they own Shanghai *hukou* (‘户口’, registered residential status)? Can they speak Shanghainese (‘上海话’, local dialect of Shanghai)? Do they own an apartment or a house in Shanghai? Do they live inside the Inner Ring Road? Do they lead a life as the ‘proper’ Shanghainese? All these issues come together to present a complicated picture of the ‘real’ Shanghainese as people talk about it, as will be shown in the following excerpts when participants evaluate themselves and others (either a specific person or a group of people in general) regarding whether they are the ‘real’ Shanghainese.

Excerpt 5.7 is extracted from the interview with Ming, a Shanghai-born freelancer in her late 30s. This clip of talk is situated in our discussions about which areas she thinks are cosmopolitan in Shanghai and demonstrates specifically how stance on the cosmopolitan Shanghai would influence the identification of the ‘real’ Shanghainese.

Excerpt 5.7 Extracted from the interview with Ming, July 15, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Ming:	(...) 所谓的国际化,就是我们刚刚主要说的,我们有‘租界’这个概念. (...)	The so called ‘cosmopolitan place’, as we have just discussed, there is the concept of ‘foreign concessions’ (...)
2	Zhao:	很有意思的一个点是,我之前问我的朋友,‘你觉得上海哪里比较国际化’之类的,她就说,‘哦,我觉得陆家嘴。’我当时就是,‘欸↑,怎么会是陆家嘴呢’。	One interesting point is, I once asked my friend ‘which area do you think is cosmopolitan in Shanghai’, and she said, ‘oh, I think it’s Lujiazui.’ Then I was like, ‘ay↑, why Lujiazui?’
3	Ming:	那,那就不是本土的上海人了(haha).	Then, (she) can’t be native Shanghainese (haha).
4	Zhao:	是=	No (she’s not) =

- 5 Ming: =因为上海的，我之前有跟你
说吗，我们的一句老话就是，
'宁要浦西一张床，不要浦东
一，一=
=Because in Shanghai, have I
mentioned this before? We have
an old saying, 'a bed in Puxi is
better than a, a=
- 6 Zhao: =一套房=
=a house=
- 7 Ming: =一间房'。这个就是你过了黄
浦江以东，那都不是上海。感
觉就是，那个叫 (.) '本地人'，
就是上海土著，土著你知道嘛
(haha). 就好像说 (3.0) 他就
好像是村儿，你要用北京话来
说他就是村儿。
=a house in Pudong'. It's like all
places on the east side of
Huangpu River is not Shanghai.
It feels like, it's called (.) 'the
natives', the indigenes of
Shanghai, indigenes you know
(haha). It's like (3.0) It feels like
village, if you put it in Beijing
dialect, it's village-like.
- 8 Zhao: 就是你住在这儿的是村儿
So, if you live here, you are
village-like.
- 9 Ming: 不是住在这儿，就是(.)真真正
正的上海人，原始上海人是
浦东人和崇明人。所有其他其
实都是外来人口，上海本来就
是个渔村。但是你要说，在我
们看，整个浦东他都是属于，
不是上海。他就是浦东，他就
是浦东。你要说上海就是浦西。
但是你在课本上，或者作为外
来人的语境里看到的，上海，
有黄浦江，有浦西和浦东，但
在真正的上海人，我们的语境
里，浦东那哪儿是上海呀！
Not living here, it's like (.) the
real Shanghainese, the original
Shanghainese are people from
Pudong and Chongming. All
others are migrants. Shanghai
originally was a fishing village.
But if you say, in our eyes,
Pudong as a whole is not
Shanghai. It's just Pudong, it's
just Pudong. If you say
Shanghai, it is Puxi. But in
textbook, or in non-local
context, you see that there is

(haha) 浦东那就是浦东 Huangpu River in Shanghai,
 (hahaha). there are Puxi and Pudong. But
 for the real Shanghainese, in our
 context, how come Pudong is
Shanghai! (haha). Pudong is just
 Pudong (hahaha).

Line 1 shows Ming's own summary of the previous talk about her stance on cosmopolitan place highlighting, like other participants, the role of former foreign concessions that represent the Shanghai Modern chronotope. Then I present a divergent stance of a distal subject (another participant Young) into our discussion through a constructed dialogue, inviting Ming to comment on it. This move, in this context, is in the meantime where I as the interviewer projects my own stance towards the cosmopolitan Shanghai. For one thing, the intonation of 'Ay↑ why Lujiazui?' makes the question more of a doubt than a wonder, and hence displays my misalignment with Young's statement. Besides, in terms of turn-taking, though I do not make direct remark on what Ming has said and bring the discussion to a seemingly new topic, the introduction of this 'interesting point' with which I misalign can be seen as an act to establish a common ground with Ming, suggesting that this statement does not make as much sense as 'yours'. In this respect, the quoted stance works as an interactional resource employed by both the interviewer and the interviewee to project their own viewpoints and to co-construct a shared stance (see also Stockburger's study in 2015 on interviewer and participants' joint construction of zine producer identities in their interview).

Ming's following comment in line 3 displays the nuanced connection between stances towards cosmopolitan Shanghai and the identification of Shanghainese. Simply based on the spatial stance that takes Lujiazui as a cosmopolitan place, Ming identifies Young as a 'non-native' Shanghainese, which connects the social identity of Shanghainese with the spatial identification of cosmopolitan place. The discrepant

stances towards Pudong among the ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ Shanghainese are also noted in Xu’s (2020) study. Based on her interviews with both native and non-native Shanghainese, Xu argues that native Shanghainese who have been replaced in newly developed urban space would give more emotional responses such as ‘Pudong is not my Shanghai’, which strategically construct their identity of the city in resistance to the rhetoric and vision of the overall state and municipal urban planning. On the contrary, the non-natives are more comfortable to align their identity of the proper Shanghai with Pudong and its newly urbanized and ‘non-place’ (Auge, 1995, original reference) look. In this sense, the stance towards place has become an ideological resource to tell whether someone is ‘native’ Shanghainese or not.

Ming then tries to illustrate and justify her evaluation speaking for *we* Shanghainese by recalling a popular saying, ‘a bed in Puxi is better than a house in Pudong’ (‘宁要浦西一张床，不要浦东一间房’), which reflects a stereotype among local Shanghainese regarding their place ideology. In fact, this idiom is widely known among other groups as well, as almost every Chinese participant has mentioned it in their interviews regardless of their origins and backgrounds. Having heard this saying many times, I latch on in line 6 which displays my knowledge of it as a popular belief. Interpreting this typified stance by casting her own opinion, Ming identifies ‘all’ places on the east side as being ‘not Shanghai’. Thereupon she associates Pudong with identities of ‘Shanghai indigenes’ (‘上海土著’), and further relates the ‘indigenes’ to the perception of Pudong being ‘village-like’ (‘村儿’). In this sense, the identity of people also indexes the identity of place.

In line 9, Ming further explains this indexicality tracing back to the city’s history. Describing these Shanghai indigenes as the ‘real’ Shanghainese, Ming presents a diachronic dimension of the term. In this context, ‘real’ Shanghainese are those who originally reside in the land of Shanghai when it was still a fishing village; correspondingly, *their* Shanghai indexes the original fishing village before 1845 rather than Shanghai in *our* eyes as ‘Paris of the East’ in the 1930s. With this

indexicality, ‘It is just Pudong’ (‘它就是浦东’, repeated twice with a stress on ‘dong’, ‘east’). Ming then positions the generally known epistemic stance about Shanghai in ‘non-local’ context against the one among the native Shanghainese by exclaiming ‘how come Pudong is Shanghai!’ (‘浦东那哪儿是上海呀!’) in a sneering tone. Speaking for *we*, Ming has typified this contemptuous stance on Pudong and attributed it to ‘the real Shanghainese’ (this ‘realness’ of Shanghainese in this context is very different from that of the Shanghai indigenes). In this process, Ming has also established her own identity as a ‘real Shanghainese’, who is from the ‘real’ Shanghai (which in her standard is Puxi) and holds the spatial stance that ‘Pudong is not Shanghai’.

In short, the place talk with Ming has demonstrated the intricate connection between people’s stances towards the cosmopolitan Shanghai and the identification of the ‘native’ or ‘real’ Shanghainese. If one appreciates (if not denies) the symbolic value of Lujiazui in the representation of cosmopolitan Shanghai, they are not ‘native’ Shanghainese because they do not have the spatial knowledge of this social-geographical distinction in local discourse which is rooted in the city’s history. From this perspective, the epistemic stance to understand the cosmopolitan nature of Shanghai as deeply rooted in the Shanghai Modern period works as a key ideological resource in the identification of ‘native’ or ‘real’ Shanghainese.

In Excerpt 5.8, the identity of the ‘real’ Shanghainese (in their word, ‘正经’, ‘proper’) is contested between Chu and Liang, underlining the intertwined time and space from different perspectives.

Excerpt 5.8 Extracted from the interview with Liang and Chu, July 18, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Zhao:	作为上海人来讲, 你觉得上海人是什么样的?	As a Shanghainese, how do you think about being Shanghainese?

- 2 Chu: (2.0) 我觉得我不典型 (1.0) (2.0) I think I'm not typical.
 我觉得正经的上海人 (3.0) 主 (1.0) I think the proper
 要是我，我不把自己认为是正 Shanghai (3.0) the point is, I
 经上海人。(2.0) 因为我觉得正 don't take myself as proper
 经的上海人是住在城里的。 Shanghai. (2.0) I think the
 proper Shanghai are living
 in the city.
- 3 Liang: 欸↑那我是不是更不正经了? Ay↑then am I even less proper?
- 4 Chu: 但现在也没多少正经上海人 But now there aren't many
 了。 proper Shanghai anyway.

Ethnographic information about the two participants is important to make sense of their talk and identity play here. As mentioned in previous analysis, both Chu and Liang were born and live in Minhang, a suburb district to the southwest of the inner city. However, they are demographically different in terms of origin and family background. Chu was born in a very traditional Shanghai family who has resided in the counties of Minhang for generations. After the marriage of her parents, they moved and lived in the urbanized district centre of Minhang. Hence Chu in a sense can be seen as the indigenes of Shanghai ('上海土著') or the so-called 'the old Shanghai' ('老上海', an idiom referring to people whose family has resided in Shanghai since long). Different from Chu, Liang is from a migrant family and his parents belong to the so-called 'new Shanghai' ('新上海人') emplaced in Shanghai as high-level professionals from other provinces in the 1980s.

When answering my question to speak for their identities as Shanghai, Chu is rather reluctant to identify herself as the 'proper' Shanghai, taking several long pauses in between her utterance in line 2. The 'proper' Shanghai in her eyes are those who live in the 'city' ('城里'), which means the 'real' Shanghai within the Inner Ring Road in this context (see Excerpt 5.2). Thus, the identity of the 'real' Shanghai is here formulated under a spatial frame based on whether one lives in

the ‘real’ Shanghai, which implicates not only geographic positions of people but also their spatial activities and living styles (I will return to this point in Chapter 6).

Liang’s response in line 3 is in line with Chu, but he also adds a diachronic dimension to the identification of the ‘proper’ Shanghainese. By saying ‘am I even less proper?’ (‘那我是不是更不正经了?’), Liang first implies his agreement with Chu about the spatial criteria speaking of the proper Shanghainese. Besides, it shows that Liang is positioning himself both in relation to the epistemic stance by presupposing ‘both of us are not proper as we live in Minhang’, and also in relation to Chu who is the ‘indigene’ of Shanghai by suggesting ‘I’m less proper than you as I’m from a migrant family’. Chu in her following comment in line 4 recognizes Liang’s implicated emphasis on origin as another facet of being the ‘proper’ Shanghainese and expresses her stance that there then are not many proper Shanghainese considering Shanghai’s developing trajectory as a migration city.

In this talk, Chu and Liang’s identifications of ‘proper’ Shanghainese display how they position themselves against the cosmopolitan city on different spatial-temporal scales. For one thing, the imprinted social-geographical distinctions about urban space in her place ideology makes Chu hesitant to identify herself as ‘proper’ Shanghainese, even though she belongs to what many other participants term as Shanghai indigenes. For another thing, the ideological differentiation between ‘the old Shanghai’ (‘老上海’) as opposed to the ‘new Shanghainese’ (‘新上海人’) endows people’s residential history in the city with symbolic values in the sense that those who arrived earlier is more authentic and ‘proper’. In this light, the discursive identification of the ‘real’ Shanghainese is associated not only with space and geographic positions, but also with history and lived experiences.

Despite explicit discussions and debates about the identification of the ‘real’ Shanghainese, place talks can also illuminate how the identity of Shanghainese is interactively implied and constructed, as seen in Excerpt 5.9. It is extracted from the

interview with Dong, a Shanghai local in her 50s grew up in the former Luwan district, and Wen, a migrant in his 30s who have lived in Shanghai since 2012. This piece of talk follows our discussions on where the former French concession is for them as they identify it as a cosmopolitan place, during which an interactive detail in line 4 regarding code-switching is particularly noteworthy.

Excerpt 5.9 Extracted from the interview with Dong and Wen, July 26, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Zhao:	对您来说，法租界在哪儿？	Where is the French concession in your opinion?
2	Dong:	法租界？法租界给我的印象就是 (.) 淮海路。	The French concession? My impression of the French concession is (.) Huaihai Road.
3	Zhao:	淮海路。	Huaihai Road.
4	Dong:	淮海路 (2.0) 淮海路，复兴路 [in Shanghainese].	Huaihai Road (2.0) <i>Huaihai Road, Fuxing Road</i> [in Shanghainese].
5	Zhao:	淮海路，复兴路。	Huaihai Road, Fuxing Road.
6	Dong:	嗯，淮海路和复兴路几乎是相对平行的两条路。然后在它的两周再这么扩展下去。这么一个条状的区域。	Yeah, Huaihai Road and Fuxing Road are mostly in parallel to each other. And then a strip-shape area extended from them.

Throughout the interview, Mandarin is the dominant language except some occasional English, French or Shanghainese words depending on the expressive needs of the participants. The code-switching in line 4 is one of them where Dong uses Shanghainese to address places. When locating the former French Concession which is rather culturally conceptualized, Dong first states and repeats in Mandarin

about ‘Huaihai Road’ (‘淮海路’). After a short pause, she repeats again and adds on ‘Fuxing Road’ (‘复兴路’) as well in Shanghainese. Then I repeat these names in Mandarin, largely to verify their meanings as I am not a Shanghainese user. Dong confirms my interpretation in line 6 and further remarks on the surrounding area of the streets as the French concession. Taking the interactive context into consideration, as Dong is well aware that both me and Wen are not Shanghainese users, her motivation to use Shanghainese here is rather indexical.

One possible explanation is, Dong uses Shanghainese (the language) to speak for the Shanghainese (the people). Though not explicitly using phrases like ‘as Shanghainese’ or ‘we Shanghainese’ like other local Shanghainese participants, Dong displays her identity as ‘the old Shanghai’ (‘老上海’) by talking with the local dialect. Moreover, the code-switching practice in the identification of cosmopolitan places in Shanghai in particular can be seen as an act to enhance the authority of her epistemic stance about urban space as the local dialect in a sense introduces voices of local Shanghainese as a group. This particular interactive detail thus illustrates how discursive practices such as code-switching would play a role to accentuate the identity of the ‘real’ Shanghainese and reinforce people’s stance in place talk.

5.4 Summary

This chapter presents an interactional analysis of participants’ stance acts when they talk about places and people in Shanghai. Focusing on their identifications of the ‘real’ Shanghai and the ‘real’ Shanghainese whose meanings are ambiguous, fluid and discursively constructed, stance analysis in this chapter has situated individual’s place-identities in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai in their epistemic, affective, as well as relational engagement with the city.

It is also noted that, the identification of the ‘real’ Shanghai and the ‘real’ Shanghainese are intertwined and mutually implicating as to the uneven valorisations

of different kinds of cosmopolitanisms. Firstly, both of them manifest the spatial-social hierarchy in people's place ideology in which the Shanghai Modern chronotope is the most valued ideological resource. The cosmopolitan past of Shanghai as 'Paris of the East' has made places associated with the Shanghai Modern chronotope (such as the former French concession area, Luwan district, etc.) the 'real' Shanghai, and people associated with these cosmopolitan places are consequently seen as the 'real' Shanghainese. Besides, the spatial stance which highlights the dominant symbolic value of the Shanghai Modern chronotope when identifying cosmopolitan places in Shanghai would further influence the identification of the 'real' Shanghainese on a second indexical order.

Apart from the discursive and interactive process as discussed in this chapter, cosmopolitanization of identities is also organized in the everyday life of people. In next chapter, I will focus on individual's metrolingual experiences and practices as they live and travel in the cosmopolitan city, with the aim to unpack how these experiences and practices contribute to their lived cosmopolitan identities.

Chapter 6

Lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday metrolingual practices

Previous discussions in chapter 4 and chapter 5 largely attend to the cosmopolitanization of identities in Shanghai on the level of material space and spatial representations. Adopting an activity-centred perspective, this chapter examines cosmopolitan identities of people enacted and lived in their everyday metrolingual experiences and practices. Section 6.1 elaborates on metrolingualism and previous research related to the two prominent aspects of lived cosmopolitan identities discussed in the chapter. Section 6.2 addresses metrolingual experiences of expatriates living in Shanghai and their practices to transcend linguistic, spatial, and social borders to complete daily tasks and maintain conviviality in urban space. Section 6.3 examines individual's everyday metrolingual habitus in which their cosmopolitan identities in terms of distinctions and differentiations are embedded. Section 6.4 summarizes analysis and discussions in this chapter.

6.1 Metrolingualism and everyday cosmopolitanism

The conceptualization of the lived cosmopolitan identities is grounded in the understanding of 'identity' as a social action rooted in social practices (Foucault, 1984), through which the 'unstable, multiple, fluctuating, and fragmented nature of contemporary self' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p.8) is performed and enacted. In this light, individual's cosmopolitan identity should be approached as a fluid and ever going process lived and practiced in everyday life.

This chapter examines individual's lived cosmopolitan identity through the lens of metrolingualism, which according to Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), pertains to 'the everyday use of mobile linguistic resources in relation to urban space' (p.4). Organized through several key notions including *metrolingual multitasking*, *spatial repertoire*, and *metrolingual franca*, metrolingualism highlights the thrown

togetherness (Massey, 2005) of languages, artefacts, activities, and multifarious spatiotemporal entanglements in space. Suggesting an intertwining status of semiotic resources, everyday tasks and social spaces in interactions, *metrolingual multitasking* underlines activities and practices as essential analytic aspects in metrolingualism. This combination of languages, activities, and spaces produces *spatial repertoire*, namely the constellation of semiotic resources in a given place; and *metrolingual franca* which refers to people's linguistic practices based on the spatial repertoire in a given situation. Related to ordinariness of diversity in particular, Pennycook and Ostuji (2019) further formulate 'mundane metrolingualism' to illustrate the way in which diversity operates on a temporal dimension such as everydayness and simultaneity. In short, metrolingualism is intrinsically concerned with language as it emerges in everyday urban space, and thus provides the research with a helpful analytic lens to describe how individual's cosmopolitan identity is organized and practiced in everyday space.

Based on triangulated data including close ethnographic observations of key participants and their self-reported accounts about daily experiences and activities in interviews, two lines of inquiry emerge in the examinations on lived cosmopolitan identities. The first stream of discussion is related to metrolingual experiences and practices of expatriates living in Shanghai, especially their everyday strategies to transcend borders embodied in languages, signs, objects, bodies, and other forms of meanings. This aspect of individual's cosmopolitan identity echoes previous research on individual's cultural competence to live with differences (Vertovec, 2009; Butcher, 2016) in response to transnational flow of people. For example, in her ethnographic studies on two multicultural communities in Australia, Wise (2009) notes a 'quotidian transversality' where people would either purposefully or unconsciously adopt particular 'modes of sociality' (p.23) to smooth their everyday multicultural encounters. From a more interactional perspective, Rampton (2015) underlines that people would manage their repertoires of sociolinguistic styles for interactive alignment across cultural differences in their everyday conversations.

Apart from competences and strategies to deal with everyday multicultural encounters, there is also an overtly curated element of individual's lived cosmopolitan identity. The second line of discussion thus pertains to how people would more actively embrace cultural diversities and curate their experiential milieu to inhabit a distinctive habitus. Though an everyday reading of cosmopolitanism tends to disassociate it with elitism, cosmopolitanism at its heart suggests a state of social, cultural, and aesthetic privilege and status. This implication is particularly grasped in Urry's (1995) notion of 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' in which cosmopolitanism is conceived as an acquired taste, mostly through the consumption of foreign spaces and artefacts (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002).

These two aspects of lived cosmopolitan identities are respectively related to individual's competences and strategies to transcend metrolingual diversities in order to 'fit in', and their organizations and stylizations of everyday metrolingual habitus to 'stand out'. The following two sections address the two dimensions through detailed data analysis and discussions.

6.2 Living in Shanghai as a foreigner: experiencing, constructing, and transcending borders

According to the seventh national census in 2021, there are 163,954 registered overseas residents in Shanghai, constituting around 0.6% of its total population. Compared with superdiverse cities such as London (37% non-UK born residents in 2011 census) and New York (36.8% foreign persons during 2015-2019) which accommodate large proportion of foreign residents from various corners of the world, Shanghai is less diverse with its predominantly Chinese-born population. This demographic fact, together with some peculiarities of Chinese culture, has led to a larger degree of local fixity and more distinct linguistic, spatial, and social borders for the outsiders, specifically, the residents from other nation-states who live in

Shanghai as expatriates. Focusing on this group of participants, this section aims to unpack how they experience and make sense of these borders in their everyday metrolingual practices, and how they adapt to negotiate and transcend these exclusions.

Linguistic-spatial border in space navigation

Excerpt 6.1 demonstrates how it feels like to live in Shanghai as a foreigner as one travels and navigates in space. Patrick is an English teacher in his 50s from Ireland. He came to work and live in Shanghai in 2018, but still felt that he was settling down after moving to the city for more than a year by the time of the interview. In Excerpt 6.1, Patrick talks about how different it feels like for him to navigate the city as the linguistic environment in Shanghai is very different.

Excerpt 6.1 Extracted from the interview with Patrick, July 16, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original
1	Zhao:	How do you think yourself as a foreigner living in different cultures (1.0) what's unique about Shanghai?
2	Patrick:	It's a good question. (2.0) It's hard to say...(omission)... In Turkey, the alphabet is almost the same as the English alphabet. So I can very quickly read signs and so on and so forth. So just navigating, this is about language and living in environment. Navigating the space in Istanbul is relatively easy. Because I can read road signs, street signs and shop signs. Even though I don't know Turkish very well, but you can start to figure things out. While Chinese characters are completely alien to me and it's completely different from the Latin alphabet... I'm much more alienated, much more... Just walking down the street, it's much more disoriented than in Turkey because I cannot recognize things like I do in

Turkey. So the language aspects out of this is very different.

Before Patrick moved to China, he taught at a university in Turkey for 2 years. Here in the interview, he draws on his previous living experience in Istanbul, a city which is also foreign but much easier to navigate for him. Even though he does not know Turkish, the linguistic landscapes there ('road signs, street signs and shop signs') are felt more comprehensible for him due to the Latin alphabet of the language. However, Patrick's cultural competence acquired through his previous expatriate trajectory could not be appropriated in the context of Shanghai, as the logographic form of Chinese characters in the lived linguistic environment has made them less comprehensible to him. This linguistic alienation in space directly leads to a mental disorientation when Patrick moves across the city.

Linguistic landscape is argued to function as the discursive frame which structures the way people make sense of a place, especially for the newcomers (Zhao, 2021). The accessibility of it in this sense defines how people come to approach and engage with a place during which they develop their lifeworlds. In the case of Patrick, the peculiarity of Chinese characters' logographic nature sets up an experiential border for foreigners like him, which in a manner further influences the way they engage with the city. For instance, shops and restaurants with Chinese-only signs would make foreign residents especially the newcomers feel out of place, so that they are less likely to frequent these places as everyday activity space. This observation echoes the perception reported by many participants that 'foreigners' always hang out in 'foreign spaces', such as Xintiandi and Wukang Road in the former French concession area. With the omnipresent English (and other foreign scripts like Italian, Spanish, German, Japanese, etc.) in their linguistic landscapes, these spaces cater to a larger international readership and hence become the activity space for many expatriates to hang out and relax. Considering that these places are also identified by participants as the cosmopolitan places in Shanghai (as seen in discussions in previous chapters), this observation from another angle also implicates that, semiotic

landscapes contributing to the perception of somewhere as being cosmopolitan comprise not only languages and objects, but also people seen in public space.

Strategic engagement with spatial repertoire

The experienced linguistic-spatial border, as demonstrated by observations of another participant Max, can be transcended by adopting tacit metrolingual strategies which involve nuanced semiotic process. Excerpt 6.2 and 6.3 are extracted from field notes observing how Max makes use of available semiotic resources in situ to navigate in space and to complete transactional tasks in his daily activities.

Max is a 35-year-old British national who has worked and lived in Shanghai since 2012. Though he has lived in China for almost 7 years and has taken some Chinese language courses, his level of Chinese is limited to basic words and phrases. However, having worked and lived in different parts of the city including suburb areas such as Songjiang and Pudong which are not as comprehensible as those ‘foreign spaces’ in city centre, Max seems quite comfortable to deal with the linguistic-spatial border by developing his own way of sense-making, as shown in the scenarios depicted in Excerpt 6.2 and 6.3.

Excerpt 6.2 Making sense of an installation in a metro station. Field notes, August 19, 2018.

Max was with me on our way home, and we were transferring in Nanjing Xi Road (metro station). After getting off the escalator, we noticed that there were some kinds of low-relief sculptures and installations on the walls of the passage. They looked very interesting, so we had a quick look as we walked past them. It was an advertising event of a lately issued Chinese adventurous series. I asked Max, ‘do you know what that’s about?’ and was just going to explain it to him. However, he seemed quite confident and said it must be about a movie or some kind of TV program. I exclaimed in surprise and asked him how he knew it. ‘It’s because of this logo,’ he said, pointing to the little symbol situated in the up corner, ‘I knew it represents Tencent video’.



As Max’s flat mate and close friend, I travelled together with him across the city very often. Being aware of the linguistic and sometimes rather discursive and cultural borders in everyday space, I always tried to accommodate Max to make him feel included even though he had lived in the city much longer than me (I will return to this point later). In the scenario shown in Excerpt 6.2, we both noticed something unusual in the semiotic environment and made sense of it in rather different ways. After seeing the installation, my attention immediately went to the heading of the series, ‘沙海’ (‘Sea of Sand’), the most visually conspicuous words in the centre and in the biggest size. Then I noticed the smaller words over it: ‘腾讯视频 VIP’ (‘Tencent video VIP’) and ‘腾讯视频，全网独播’ (‘exclusive on Tencent Video’), and came to know that it was about an online series. As I interpreted the scene mostly through the text, I expected the same process for Max as well, so I thought he would

be confused as the words were Chinese-only. However, even though Max cannot read the Chinese text, he figured out the relevance of the installation through the logo of Tencent video. Though Max might not be able to decipher the specific cultural meanings behind the scene ('Sea of sand' suggests desert and the design of the sculpture implies the setting of ancient China), he was good enough to make sense of what was going on in the space (there is something interesting and it is about an advertising campaign of an online series). As Max's level of Chinese was limited, he just observe other available semiotic resources that were comprehensible to him to make sense of the scene. Here, his knowledge of the symbol sedimented from his previous living experiences in China was employed as part of the spatial repertoire for Max to engage with the discursive space. In this sense, through the more semiotic sense-making process which compensates for his limited proficiency in Chinese language, Max found his own way to transcend the linguistic-spatial border.

A similar scenario is shown in Excerpt 6.3. In this case (and in many other everyday situations), Max needed to navigate the space to find his way and complete his transactional tasks. Instead of directly asking the direction from the shopping assistant, he was more active to engage with surrounding semiotic resources, such as the symbol of Chinese yuan '¥'. Based on our follow-up informal conversations, this has less to do with Max's disposition as a more independent person, but rather because that the interactive cost for him to ask a Chinese-speaking assistant would be higher than making use of the spatial repertoire. In contrast, I did not notice this sign at the moment (and would normally ignore it in similar situations) as the semiotic environment in this scene was filled with excessive information – wide arrays of different shoes displayed in shelves and boxes, their price tags, sales notices of each counter, signboards overhead displaying information about exit, toilets, cashier, escalator, etc.

Excerpt 6.3 Purchasing shoes in a shopping mall. Field notes, July 24, 2019

After dinner, we wandered into a shopping mall nearby ... Max grabbed the shoes and asked the shop assistant to wrap them by saying ‘我要这个’ (‘I want this’). I asked the assistant where the cashier was and was meant to keep Max accompany there. Then he said, ‘you guys can just wait me here, I knew where it is.’ He headed to the cashier and then I realized how he figured out the direction. There were some sign instructions right over us, including the symbol of Chinese RMB ‘¥’ representing the cashier. He paid attention to signs that I ignored.



This scenario leads to a reflection on how we normally experience and navigate urban space which is always imbued with texts, images, artefacts, and people. Though people encounter and process them constantly as they carry themselves through the city, these semiotic resources are not equally prominent or important for everyone to make sense of surrounding environment. In other words, the degree of the spontaneous sensitivity to perceive what semiotic resources are available in space may vary so that the spatial repertoire is approached and processed differently based on personal disposition.

Both the two scenarios demonstrate Max’s metrolingual competence accumulated through his transnational living experiences which takes form in his strategic engagement with spatial repertoire. Beyond the linguistic-spatial border, another important observation is associated with a rather implicit social bordering. As has been mentioned, Max’s residential history in Shanghai was in fact much longer than me (I came to live in Shanghai in November 2017), and he was in fact one of the friends who had offered tremendous help to accommodate and orient me as a

newcomer to Shanghai. In other words, Max has managed his life in the city very well, and in a manner, he knew Shanghai better than me. But when we were together, my subconscious mentality was always an exclusion of him as being ‘capable’ of managing his daily activities, and I was always ready to help him ‘out’, simply because he is a foreigner who does not speak many Chinese. This in a sense manifests a social bordering between me as a native Chinese speaker, and Max as a ‘forever’ foreigner no matter how long he has lived in the city and how many cultural competences he has accumulated throughout his residential trajectory.

Linguistic-social bordering in everyday encounters

Though I have not talked to Max explicitly about his perception of this kind of social bordering, it is experienced and reported by other foreign participants. For example, in Excerpt 6.4, Ryan, a 27-year-old British national who used to live in Shanghai during his childhood and now returned to live in the city again, reported his experience of social exclusions in his everyday linguistic encounters, which has affected his social life and the way he sees the city.

Excerpt 6.4 Extracted from written interview with Ryan, August 6, 2019

Speaker Original

Ryan Shanghai is a tough place for foreigners to use Chinese as 上海人 [‘Shanghainese’, Chinese script in the original] assume you cannot speak Chinese. Even if you are speaking to them in perfect Chinese, they answer ‘I don’t speak English’...while I interact with lots of expats, I rarely spend social time with Chinese people and I see that with other expats too. There is a divide which to me prevents Shanghai from being a truly cosmopolitan city. It’s like a cosmopolitan city for non-Chinese people.

Due to pragmatic reasons, the interview with Ryan was alternatively conducted in a written form in which he directly put his thoughts in words according to the

structured questions of my interview plan. Despite the loss of interactive and ethnographic details, the written interview is informative in its own way, such as the specific wording of Ryan's written account. For example, the use of '上海人' (pinyin: *Shànghǎi rén*, 'Shanghainese') in this clip exhibits in the first place his literacy of Chinese (Ryan passed HSK4, a Chinese Proficiency Test and is hence at an intermediate level). Besides, it also suggests that Chinese is a part of his written repertoire, and he must have installed a Chinese input editor in his computer, which is not common in cases of other foreign participants like Max and Patrick. Most interestingly, the use of '上海人' instead of 'Shanghainese' here mixes Chinese with English both semantically and syntactically, displaying an intentional translanguaging practice to underline the border between himself and Shanghainese. Taking the specific context into consideration, the use of '上海人' here also carries a sense of sarcasm as Ryan was talking about how Shanghainese would just suppose a foreigner cannot speak Chinese, but ironically some foreigners like him do speak and write proper Chinese. For Ryan, the underpinning social bordering in his everyday linguistic encounters has in a way contributed to an enclosed circle of friends in his social life. Since he also observes similar situations in cases of other expatriates as well, Ryan addresses the enclosed circle as 'expatriate bubble' (Max in fact reports the same phenomenon and terms it 'linguistic group' as English normally works as the social glue in this kind of groups). This distinct Chinese - foreigner divide also makes Ryan challenge the cosmopolitan ideal of Shanghai.

Management of metrolingual franca

The linguistic-social bordering, however, is noted to be a mutual process as people would often experience and construct borders at the same time in their everyday metrolingual activities. In Excerpt 6.5, Anna, a 26-year-old Ukrainian woman who have worked in Shanghai since 2015 shared an anecdote when she was asked her usage of language in everyday space. It demonstrates how people living with diversity would always need to evaluate the spatial repertoire in a given situation and manage the proper metrolingual franca accordingly in order to achieve social

conviviality.

Excerpt 6.5 Extracted from the interview with Anna, July 8, 2019

Speaker Original

Anna: ...We were sitting in a table, it was me, a guy from UK and a Chinese colleague. We were sitting at a table, and there were 4 people. There is another Chinese, a stranger, sitting with us. And my UK friend said, 'oh my god, I would feel so awkward if I were that guy!' We were talking and he was sitting just next to us. So, I turned around and said, 'why do you think he won't get you, we're in Shanghai, everyone speaks English!' you know. And he was like 'oh my god! I forgot it!!' And he was embarrassed! He was like 'yeah it's true that people here speak English!' And I told this to Young, and she said it's normal here. So, when Chinese get together and they speak in Chinese, and they assume foreigners around them don't speak Chinese. But a lot of foreigners they speak Chinese!

The story is about an embarrassing scenario in which Anna's friend was considered as presumptuous when he failed to observe the spatial repertoire in a shared dining table. By commenting an unknown Chinese person in English right in front of him, this friend naturally assumed that this person could not speak English. However, Anna was well aware of people's common knowledge of English in Shanghai and hence presupposed its status as part of the metrolingual franca in this table, even though it was uncertain whether the Chinese man can indeed speak English as there was no reaction from his side. By reminding her friend, 'we're in Shanghai, everyone speaks English', Anna was in a manner policing his sociolinguistic behaviours based on the presence of this Chinese man in space. In this sense, the co-present stranger was part of the spatial repertoire which define the metrolingual franca in this shared social space.

Anna's later reference to her discussion with another Chinese friend reveals a similar linguistic-social exclusion when some Chinese people may take for granted that Chinese is not part of the metrolingual franca when a foreigner is present. For Anna, both the two kinds of scenarios reflect inconsiderate and improper social conduct of people, and her message here is a critique of the social bordering embodied in language use in space. Afterward, Anna also reported in her interview how she would switch her use of different languages (Ukrainian, Russian, English, Chinese) to accommodate and include everyone involved in the interactive space, and how she would assess people as being rude and not 'cosmopolitan' if they neglect the co-presence of others who speak different languages from them. In this sense, in order to establish or maintain social conviviality in space imbued with diversities, the proper observation of the spatial repertoire and the according management of the metrolingual franca in a given situation are part of the cultural competence pertaining to a lived cosmopolitan identity.

Discussions in this section have examined the linguistic, spatial, and social exclusions manifested in everyday metrolingual experiences of expatriates living in Shanghai. Feelings such as the sensorial alienation when reading linguistic landscapes as one navigates through urban space, and the encountered either implicit or explicit social bordering have contributed to the formation of the 'expatriate bubble', which can be seen as the enclosed living space with both physical and social implications (such as the socialization with other fellow expatriates in certain 'foreign spaces'). In the meantime, as they carry themselves across urban space, people would develop metrolingual strategies to deal with their everyday tasks and to achieve social conviviality, such as more semiotic engagement with the spatial repertoire and close monitoring and management of the metrolingual franca in a given space. The discussions also demonstrate that the transcendence over the metrolingual borders and exclusions varies across individuals, which is associated with their personal dispositions, proficiency of Chinese, years of residence in Shanghai, previous trajectories and transnational experiences, etc.

6.3 Distinction and cosmopolitan identities in metrolingual habitus

Apart from metrolingual strategies in order to ‘fit in’, a lived cosmopolitan identity is also found to do with ideologies and practices to ‘stand out’. This observation underlines the relevance of taste, distinction, and elite status often embodied in people’s everyday consumptive practices. Weaving together Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984, 1991) concepts such as practice and habitus, taste and distinction, symbolic capitals and power, this section focuses on the aesthetic and consumptive dimension of people’s cosmopolitan identities, which is often associated with the acquired taste of social and cultural elites.

Taste, according to Bourdieu (1984), is an ‘acquired disposition to “differentiate” and “appreciate”’, ‘a practical mastery of distributions’ of social, economic and cultural capitals to fit in a given social space’ (p.466). It is manifested in the systematic choices in all areas of practices whose configurations form into certain systems of dispositions, i.e., *habitus*. In his own words, habitus refers to ‘a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks’ (1977, p.82-83). In other words, habitus is a socially constituted structure of cognitive and motivating principles in all practices of everyday life. These choices, moreover, are signs of distinctions indexing one’s relational self-representation, or a ‘sense of one’s place’ (p.466).

The relational positioning of one’s social place brings about stratified social status of people, and a lived cosmopolitan identity often suggests an eliteness either claimed by oneself or positioned by others. This sense of eliteness behind cosmopolitan identities often operates under the guise of more democratic and inclusive ideal so that the cosmopolitans are the cultural omnivores with confidence and grace to move between various cultural forms (Savage, 2015). As such, cosmopolitan identities is

lived and enacted in omnivorous consumptions of global commodities or adoption of consumption practices, which are always mediated and highly visible in global media discourse (Iqani, 2016). Along the global distribution and mediation of material objects and practices, the appeal and success of the cosmopolitan omnivorousness is performed and normalized in the construction of ‘elite authenticity’, in which distinction is implicitly orchestrated and avowed/disavowed (Mapes, 2021).

By focusing on what I call the ‘metrolingual habitus’, i.e., people’s spatial, linguistic, and social dispositions and choices in their everyday consumptive encounters with language and urban space, the following discussions aim to discern individual’s lived cosmopolitan identity in terms of the materially and discursively accomplished distinctions and differentiations.

Reading cosmopolitan indexicalities in space

Excerpt 6.6 describes a scenario when Fei, a female business professional in her early 30s, was wandering together with me in the city centre and trying to find a café to sit down and relax. It demonstrates how people engage with space by evaluating semiotic landscapes and reading the indexicalities which would further influence their spatial decisions and activities.

Excerpt 6.6 Choosing a café to relax. Field notes, July 7, 2019

I met Fei somewhere near Mid Huaihai Road. After a visit to a celebrity house, we wandered around the area, looking to find a café to sit down and relax before we meet other friends in a nearby restaurant. Then we were in Wukang Road, stopped by a place called ‘Ferguson Lane’. I pointed at it



and said to Fei, ‘here is a café.’ Fei had a look and said, ‘but it looks very expensive.’ Then we walked away.	
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The café in this scene is located in Wukang Road, one of the identified cosmopolitan places in the former French concession area. It is at the entrance to ‘Ferguson Lane’, a high-end commercial complex developed from former elite residencies and offices, which represents the nostalgic reference to the cosmopolitan past of the city by evoking the Shanghai Modern chronotope (see analysis of Figure 4.4 in this regard). In the situation of choosing a place to sit down and relax, Fei denied the proposal to have a coffee in Ferguson Lane as she thought the place to be too expensive based on her reading and evaluation of its visual front.

The figure attached to Excerpt 6.6 reflects Fei’s glimpse of the scene at the moment. The building is a two-story house with an open terrace, a typical design of garden houses back to the Shanghai Modern era. The terrace and its supporting columns are attached to the main building, visually salient for its materiality (marble) and colour scheme (black and golden). The name of it is presented in English only, styled with an art deco typeface. The interior of the café is a bit dark with some dim glow from the top lights, and its English-only menu board shows that it not only serves coffee, but also pasta and wine. It is the constellation of these semiotic details that leads to Fei’s upscaling reading of this place, and this is made possible because of her previously sedimented knowledge which associates certain styles of architecture, material, type face, colour schemes, objects, etc., with prestige and class. In this sense, the spatial repertoire in this place not only consists of semiotic resources themselves, but also includes their indexicalities on wider social and cultural level.

In addition, Fei explained in our informal conversation afterwards that she turned the place down for rather personal preference as an expensive-looking café is not

necessarily a bad choice to hang out and relax. As a coffee connoisseur who hand-brews her own coffee every morning, Fei seldom consumes in exquisite café for the sake of coffee, but rather for the space per se. For her, having coffee in cafés is neither an economical nor a good option for coffee savouring. In her own words, ‘a cup of plain coffee in a fancy café sometimes will cover the cost for my hand brewed coffee for a week’. Thus, Fei spends time and money in cafés largely for social purposes, either to meet with friends or for business meetings. In the scenario here, the decision-making for Fei is to evaluate whether the place is reasonably priced for what she is willing to pay. In this sense, Fei’s reading of the indexicalities of space is an application of her spatial-social literacy in order to make sensible spatial and economic decisions in her metrolingual activities.

This case also supplements previous semiotic landscape analysis in Chapter 4 which has revealed how the indexicalities of semiotic resources are drawn upon to produce cosmopolitan places. It brings us to reflect from another angle that the reading of these indexicalities is equally important as the employment of them to accomplish the making of cosmopolitan place, since the cosmopolitan image of a place is not fully established until these indexicalities are acknowledged by the readers. In this view, the indexical meanings of semiotic resources require spatial and social knowledge, or in other words, the *cosmopolitan literacy* from the readers to recognize and validate the symbolic values attached to these places. In other words, for the place, to establish its cosmopolitan image, the indexicalities of its semiotic resources need to be acknowledged in its ‘cycle of discourse’ (Scollon, 2004); for the individuals, their cosmopolitan literacy to complete the discourse cycle comprises their metrolingual habitus in their everyday engagement with urban space.

Cosmopolitan literacy and activity space

Further readings of ethnographic data note that cosmopolitan literacy takes form in not only the recognition but also the appreciation of the indexical meanings of semiotic resources. Excerpt 6.7 demonstrates how Young, a 27-year-old business

developer makes her spatial decision in terms of where to live based on her pursuit of a particular way of living indexed by place.

Excerpt 6.7 Extracted from the interview with Young, June 27, 2019

Speaker	Original	Translation
Young	浦东区是我工作的主要场所，那我也曾经在那边居住过一段时间。我觉得这个区在我的印象中是一个非常新的地方，道路也很宽，然后楼也蛮新的，然后也很少会堵车。这点是我觉得蛮喜欢的地方。但是为什么我上班工作的地方都在浦东区我还是住在了徐汇区，是因为我很喜欢这个区。法租界的很大一部分都是在这个区。那我是觉得这里就是很有，嗯，当时，就是上海比较有名的是民国那个时候的那种...情调嘛。那在徐汇区我觉得是可以看的比较多的。还有很多的小商铺啊，很多老的这种欧洲建筑呀，然后很多的咖啡厅，很多的吃早午餐的地方。那这种都是我觉得就给自己的日常生活比较增色的这部分。	Pudong is mainly where I work. I used to live there for a while, too. I think it is a very new place, broad streets, new buildings, less traffic jams. This is what I like about it. But why I choose to live in Xuhui even though I work in Pudong? I think it's because I like Xuhui very much. A large part of French concession is here. So, I think it's full of, em, back to that time, the style of the Republic of China which is what Shanghai is famous for. In Xuhui I think you can see a lot of that. There are also boutiques, many old European buildings, a lot of cafés, a lot of brunch places. I think they are all nice additions to my everyday life.

Young has lived in Shanghai since 2015 when she started to work in one of the skyscrapers in Lujiazui. During these years, she moved several times, and all of her residences were located in Xuhui district. In Young's situation, the most sensible accommodation option would be Pudong, as it will be more convenient for her to

commute between home and work, and the rent in Pudong is cheaper compared to Xuhui. However, Young would rather spend extra 30 minutes each way to commute in between the two districts and more money in rent to enjoy what she believes a different lifestyle. For Young, since a large part of the former French concession area is in Xuhui, the district is tightly linked to the time-space in which the Republic of China era in between 1920s and 1940s mingles with the upscaling French concession. In other words, Xuhui as a spatial option is indexical to a cosmopolitan living style through its spatial-temporal association with the Shanghai Modern chronotope. The operation of this indexicality is based on Young's cosmopolitan literacy, specifically her knowledge of related urban history (a large part of the former French concession was in nowadays Xuhui) and cultural ideologies (the Shanghai Modern style is what Shanghai is famous for). Young's cosmopolitan literacy underlines the symbolic value of Xuhui district and determines her spatial stance reflected in her decision to live here at the cost of travel convenience and higher living expenses.

Young's further explanations also demonstrate that her cosmopolitan reading of Xuhui comes from not only its chronotopic association with the Shanghai Modern, but also the commonplace spatial activities in the district: to appreciate exotic European buildings, to shop in boutiques, to chill out in exquisite cafés, to have brunch with friends, etc. These activities are themselves indexical pointing at a living style of *xiaozhi* (petite bourgeoisie) which is endowed with the symbolic value to be cosmopolitan (as discussed in Chapter 5, 'petite bourgeoisie' equals to 'being cosmopolitan' for some participants). In this sense, Young's motivation to live in Xuhui is not only to stay closer to cosmopolitan places but also to keep a cosmopolitan living style by incorporating spatial activities indexing a sense of cosmopolitanism into her metrolingual habitus. In this sense, Young's cosmopolitan literacy has influenced the way she arranges and organizes her activity space in which her cosmopolitan identity is lived in the routineness of certain spatial activities.

Stratified metrolingual habitus

Readings of data also underline that cosmopolitan literacy and metrolingual habitus of people are rather stratified based on their income, age, level of education, personal trajectory (such as residential history, oversea experiences, circle of friends), etc. These intermingled factors are arguably most mediated through people's mastery of English. Excerpt 6.8 is an example which reflects on how English is made a part of the metrolingual franca in space but not necessarily the case for some social groups, and how this phenomenon would further influence people's activity space and hence their metrolingual habitus.

Excerpt 6.8 Finding Mellow Coffee. Field notes, June 28, 2019

We were going to meet in a café called 'Mellow Coffee' [its name is originally in English] located in a shopping mall. Like other typical Chinese malls, it was a super big complex. As it was my first time there, I got lost the moment I got off the metro. Baidu Map [a Chinese App similar to Google map] didn't work properly as I was inside the building. I didn't want to run late so I decided to ask the direction from someone around me. Then I saw an elder woman who seemed like a cleaning staff there. While I walked towards her, it suddenly came to me how I should describe the place to her. I had never been to Mellow Coffee so I didn't know how it looked like. The only reference I knew was its name, 'Mellow Coffee' in English, and I thought '您知道 Mellow Coffee 在哪儿吗' ('do you know where is Mellow coffee') would probably not get through. I thus gave up the plan and walked away to find the way by myself.

The place at the centre of this scenario, 'Mellow coffee', is a coffeehouse originated from China, and it does have a Chinese name, '麦隆咖啡'(pinyin: *màilóng kāfēi*). However, the place is largely known by its English rather than Chinese name, manifested by the process of how I made my spatial decision to have a meeting there. It was at the beginning of my summer fieldwork, and I was new to

the neighbourhood in which I was lodged. Knowing that I was looking for a café near home for a meeting, a flat mate recommended ‘Mellow coffee’ to me. Then I searched in a Chinese reviewing app which listed the place as ‘Mellow coffee’. After the meeting was set up, I put the words ‘Mellow coffee’ in the search bar of Baidu Map to find my way. All these practices in operation suggest that English (however basic it is) has been assumed as part of the metrolingual franca in space referencing. However, as shown in the scenario described in Excerpt 6.8, an elderly janitor may be reasonably assumed as not English-speaking so that the literacy of English is in fact not as commonplace as it is supposed to be.

From the viewpoint of people, if one cannot properly address and talk about a place, it is unlikely for them to have a habitual engagement with it. From the perspective of Mellow coffee and many other cafés, boutiques, bars and restaurants in Shanghai which only have or are generally known by their English names (or languages of countries of origin), this multilingual practice might be considered as a semiotic strategy to differentiate themselves by attracting particular social groups as their target customers, i.e., those who are not only competent but also comfortable to comprehend and access these spaces. In this sense, the varied degrees of people’s knowledge and adaption to multilingual contacts which comprise their cosmopolitan literacy have led to different compositions of activity space and hence stratified metrolingual habitus.

Experiencing cosmopolitanism at RAC

As has been discussed, spatial activities to meet in cafés, to dine out in exotic restaurants, to have cocktail in bars are indexical pointing at a cosmopolitan living style, and people who has the privilege to adopt these activities as their metrolingual habitus are thus indexed as ‘being cosmopolitan’. These indexical relations in this sense make these places the ‘identity space’ and call into focus how their semiotic environments are experientially curated to accommodate people’s cosmopolitan identities.

One typical example of this kind of identity space is RAC, a French café and bar highly rated by many participants as a cosmopolitan place when they were asked to talk about their cosmopolitan experiences in Shanghai. The place is located in Anfu Road, another Internet-famous street (‘网红路’, pinyin: *wǎnghóng lù*), which together with Wukang Road, represents the allure of the former French concession in public discourse. According to SmartShanghai, an English city-guide and event-calendar App quite popular among expatriates, RAC is a ‘wanghong crepe and galette place by day, wine purveyor by night’, and is mostly known for its brunch. It is ‘a little bit of everything’, a combination of café, bar and restaurant, and is extremely popular seeing ‘constant lines’ since it opened.

To closely observe the metrolingual experiences in this place ascribed with a cosmopolitan flair, I visited RAC in an afternoon with two participants, Max and Lina, and collected a series of images trying to record its semiotic environment and ambiance (as shown in Figure 6.1). The place was rather inconspicuously enclosed in a court, with only one transaction window facing the street. The panel of this window was printed with a brief drink menu written solely in English (a). It then came to me that this must be the counter where Hua, another participant who works in Anfu Road, orders her takeaway coffee during working days. We then went into the courtyard and found its entrance door on which there were stickers displaying ‘RAC’ and ‘crêpes, brunch, wine’ (b). We walked inside, and there was a big wine cabinet taking up space of the whole wall (c). A variety of wines were carefully compartmented here, labelled by green handwritten words indicating their regions of production (including specific regions within France such as Provence, Sud Ouest, etc., and countries such as Australia, Spain, and so on). Next to the cabinet was a blackboard showing their wine menu ‘wine by the glass’, listing grapes type, origin, name, production year, and price of the wine (d). The words were handwritten by chalk and were mostly a mixture of English with languages of the origin countries, except a Chinese wine labelled as ‘summer is coming’ in English instead of Chinese. To its

further left was a glass counter case displaying some croissants, cranberry twists, and apple chaussons, also with their names and prices handwritten by a white marker (e). There were some empty wine bottles on top of the case and some on the window boards at corners, presumably as decorations (f). We took a table, and a Chinese waitress came and brought us their menu of food and drink. After browsing them I noticed that the menu for beer, wine and cocktail was entirely in English, but on the ones for food and soft drinks there were correspondent Chinese translation (g, h). As I had never tried alcohol-free cocktail before, I ordered a berries-mint vinegar from the waitress using Chinese, and Max ordered for him and his girlfriend Lina some crepes, snacks, and drinks in English. While waiting, I looked around and noticed both Chinese and foreign faces chatting in Chinese, English, and some other foreign languages. It was a bit noisy, but the general atmosphere was relaxing. When our order arrived, I found the drinking vinegar pretty sour and the flavour very weird, but the crepe on the table smelled quite buttery and Max and Lina seemed satisfied with its taste. We sat and chatted for a while and then asked the waitress to bring our bill. The receipt was in English solely, and we found the waitress' name was Doris (i).

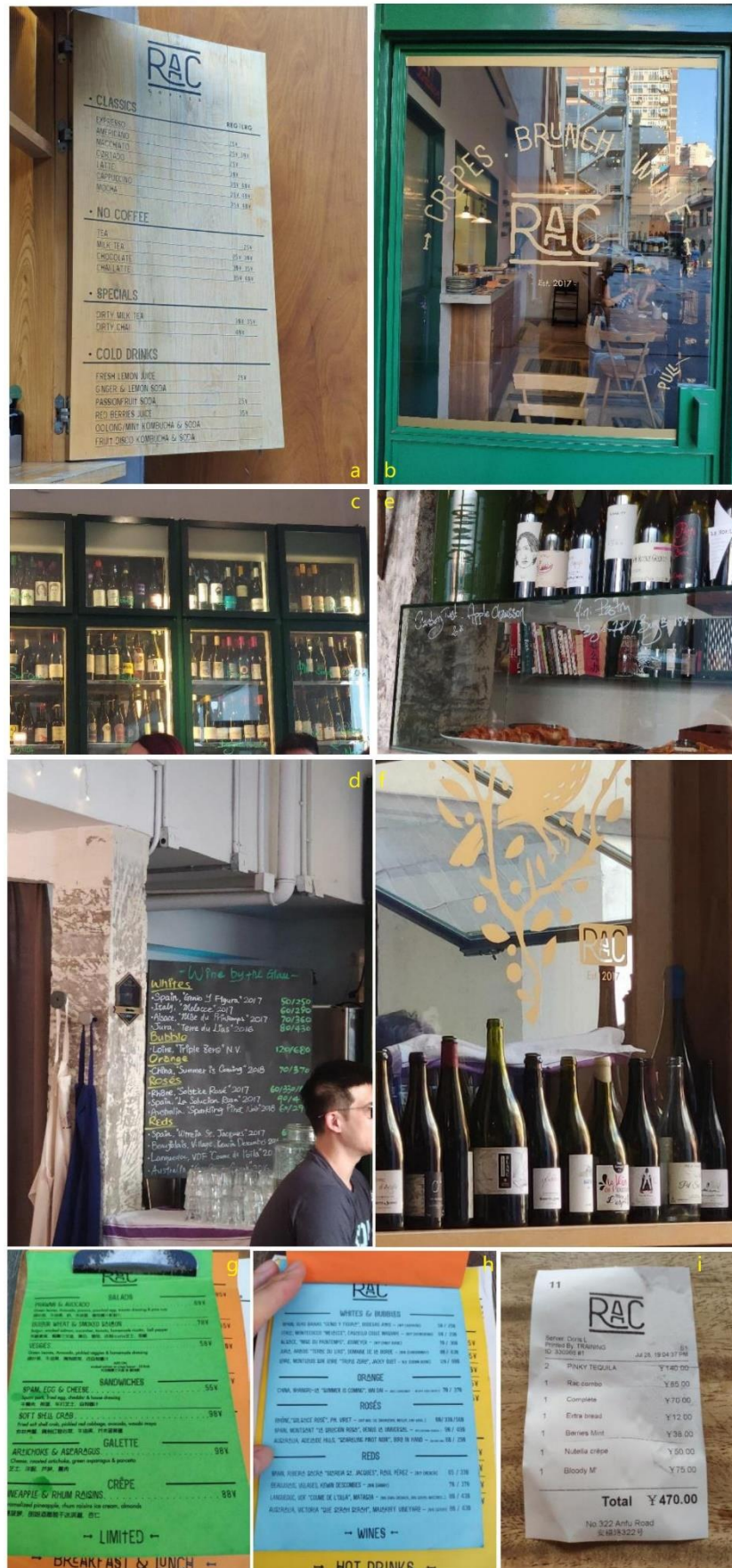


Figure 6.1 Semiotic environment of RAC

The metrolingual experiences in RAC are informative to make sense of how various multi-sensorial resources are thrown together in space to curate a cosmopolitan experiential milieu for people who eat and drink there. Despite its rather simplistic interior design, RAC has established its identity and character through the semiotic affordances of languages (both script and speech), objects, human bodies, scents, tastes, etc.

In terms of its linguistic environment, English is apparently the lingua franca in this place: its name, menu, receipt are in English, and its staff can speak fluent English and is referenced by an English name. This is convincingly driven by the global status attached to English so that the space could embrace and accommodate an international clientele. In parallel, the use of foreign languages other than English here involves the indexical work connected to the cosmopolitan and authentic quality of their food and drink. For instance, for customers on an experiential level, a French word especially the diacritic is part of the French-ness of ‘crêpe’, and a wine label like ‘la Solución Rosa’ gives off a feel of Spain-ness straightaway.

As to its material fabric, the huge wine cabinet with carefully categorized compartments indexes a wine connoisseurship in the place, and the involved expertise in terms of their wine selections further indexes the quality of both the goods and the space. The display of detailed information about the wine such as country and origin, name of producer, year, variety of grapes in the menu makes the ‘proper’ ordering of the wine an appreciative activity based on customers’ knowledge of wine as a product of craftsmanship. This sophistication has elevated wine drinking into wine tasting, in the sense that it is not limited to a sensory pleasure but also an activity that requires cognitive knowledge from the customers. Their culturally cumulative competence of wine apprehension hence constitutes the spatial repertoire of the place.

Furthermore, the spatial arrangement of empty wine bottles has taken advantage of

the semiotic affordance of their materiality and has reframed the original waste into cunning decorations. This aesthetic value is generated through the staging of these bottles which intrinsically represent a delicate abstraction of wine through the synecdochic connection between bottles and wine. In this sense, the idea of wine is appreciated and worshipped through the practice of staging and gazing, in which an appreciative stance towards wine is spatially established and experienced.

Besides, the scent of butter and the taste of wine also convey experiential meanings in the space as they embody global gastronomic experiences foreign to mainstream Chinese taste buds. According to Johnston and Bauman (2007), a world of options in terms of food and beverage manifest an omnivorousness, ‘a measure of the breadth of taste and cultural consumption’ (in citation of Peterson, 2005, p. 264) in the field of gourmet food culture. Considering that the curiosity and appreciation of exotic food and drinks require cultural capital, and the consumption of them normally requires economic capital (as exotic food often involves higher expenses), the omnivorousness of tastes as a sensory experience is endowed with symbolic value which generates distinction and status as an alternative to that of the exclusive highbrow cuisines (see also Mapes, 2021). In particular, as Johnston and Bauman (2007) point out, omnivorousness bears significant similarities with cosmopolitanization, since both of them involve the ‘broadening of interests’ and ‘the bridging of some kinds of boundaries’ (p.167). In this sense, the cultural valorisation of exotic gastronomic experiences reflects a cosmopolitan ideology rooted in the embracing and appreciation of foreign spaces, as the worldwide flow of food and drinks has brought people the most sensorily tangible global experiences.

Habitualization of cosmopolitan taste

To further the inquiry into omnivorousness of tastes and cosmopolitanization, Excerpt 6.9 presents an emic perspective about how people frame these exotic gastronomic experiences in relation to their everyday life. The clip of talk is extracted from a focus group interview, in which Lina, a business professional

working in an international trading company, and Young, also a staff of a multinational company, talk about their dine-out preferences and experiences. Both of them are key participants of this research as I have lived with Lina for 10 months and Young for 2 months during the fieldwork. Based on my observations, both Lina and Young have quite active social life and dining out is an important part of it. As Lina mentioned in Line 6, for her and her friends, to eat out and try good and authentic food is more of a leisure activity, and restaurants and bars are hence important components of their activity space. In the interview, I also asked them to reflect on how they make their decisions about what to eat and where to go in these occasions.

Excerpt 6.9 Extracted from a focus group interview, June 29, 2019

Line	Speaker	Original	English translation
1	Zhao:	选择餐厅的时候, 你们更倾向于吃哪种菜?	When you dine out, what do you prefer to eat?
2	Lina:	这取决于我当时想吃什么。我已经开始想念我吃过的西班牙菜, 墨西哥菜...我会有选择性, 我已经开始怀念那些外国菜了...	It depends on what I want to eat at the moment. I start to miss Spanish and Mexican food I tried before...I will select. I start to miss those foreign cuisines...
3	Zhao:	那是不是你以前并不怀念这些外国菜	Do you mean you didn't miss these foreign cuisines before?
4	Lina:	对。	No.
5	Zhao:	为什么会有这种转变?	Why this change?
6	Lina:	因为你尝试过了呀, 而且就是说你在 <i>social</i> 的环境下, 自从就是有了这个外国文化的那个男朋友之后...这是他的朋友 <i>social</i> 的场所,大部分都偏向于	Because you've tried them, especially in a <i>social</i> scenario, ever since I got this foreign boyfriend...This is where him and his friends <i>social(-ize)</i> , and

说，就是墨西哥餐厅，西班牙餐厅啊，意大利餐厅啊，就是有外国特色的这种餐厅。比如说一家西班牙餐厅就经常去经常去，时间长了吧我就开始想念它们家的菜。[laugh] 我个人看重菜甚于餐厅。我会怀念那个味道.

most of them prefer Mexican restaurant, Spanish restaurant, Italian restaurant, these kinds of exotic foreign restaurants. For example, we go to a Spanish restaurant very often so gradually I start to miss their food [laugh]. I value the food itself more than the restaurant. I miss that taste.

- 7 Young: 我有时候会突然很想吃印度菜。因为我喜欢吃那个馕，那个馕太好吃了实在是。还有泰国菜，越南菜，我喜欢吃那个 *Pho*。对我来说，韩国菜非常重要。韩国菜算是我一般的家乡菜。所以说我经常吃。然后我还会想念日本的咖喱。
- I sometimes want to have Indian food all of a sudden, because I like naan, naan is so delicious! Also Thai food, Vietnamese food, I like *Pho*. For me, Korean food in particular is very important, because it is like my hometown food, so I have Korean food very often. I will also miss Japanese curry.
- 8 Lina: 就是你怀念的，你记忆的味道那个 *list* 在拉长。你就是体验不同的餐厅.
- It's like the *list* of tastes that you would remember and miss is getting longer. You are experiencing different cuisines.
- 9 Young: 在我看来和我喜欢吃东北菜，粤菜没有什么不同
- For me it is not different from the fact that I like north-eastern and Cantonese food.

Lina's accounts between line 2 and line 6 demonstrate how particular tastes are added into her repertoire of good and quality food along her social life. Apart from

personal curiosity and interest, Lina's reach to the kind of foreign spaces largely owes to her social network. Having a foreign boyfriend whose circle of friends mainly consisting of expatriates like himself, Lina spent at least half of her social life with this group of friends who prefer to meet and dine out in exotic foreign restaurants. What is particularly interesting here is her use of the English word 'social' in line 6. Referring to an occasion of group gathering, or something related to meeting and spending time with other people, the word 'social' is originally a noun or an adjective. However, Lina's second use of it in 'this is where him and his friends *social*' verbizes it so that in this context, 'social' means to 'socialize'. This verbizing usage of 'social' is in fact a quite common translingual practice in nowadays Chinese, so instead of a foreign word as in code-mixing, 'social' is more of a loanword with inflections in Chinese context, which denotes the act to socialize in particular with foreigners or strangers. In Lina's case, going 'social' has been a habitual practice which involves the physical gathering in a shared place for an informal meeting, and has implicated her adoption of exotic restaurants and bars as activity space. Her gastronomic experience in this sense is a lamination of social, physical, and sensory space where she inhabits her leisure lifeworld.

To dine out in foreign restaurants also gains a habitual meaning in the sense that the curious exploration into exotic food gradually turns into a segment of people's 'list of tastes', during which their indexicality pointing at exoticness becomes normalized and sedimented as everyday circumstance. In line 7, Young listed specific items of particular cuisines, taking them as stance objects onto which she projects her evaluations ('it is delicious'; 'I like that') and attachments ('it is like my hometown food'; 'I will miss it'). The constellation of these stances towards food forms into one's taste (in its literal sense) and can be seen as a manner of self-expression. In Young's case in particular, her positive attitudes towards various exotic food reflect a gastronomic openness and her particular preference for pan-Asian food. Later on in line 9, Young claims that for her foreign food is not different from other Chinese local cuisines which in a fashion suggests her misalignment with the presupposed

ideology which associates the consumption of foreign food with its symbolic values. For Young, being omnivorous is a genuine choice based on personal taste, rather than a symbolic labour indexing the state of being cosmopolitan. In this sense, through the genuine appreciation of foreign food and tastes, Young is being authentic to herself as the motivation of her decision is straightforward and honest. This stance act has implicated that the habitualization and internalization of exoticness also involve the pursuit of personal authenticity which is foregrounded as being more rightful.

This section has demonstrated how a lived cosmopolitan identity is embedded in the metrolingual habitus of individuals. In the first place, it involves people's cosmopolitan literacy to acknowledge the indexicalities of semiotic resources and to appreciate the symbolic values of cosmopolitan places. There are two spatial implications of cosmopolitan literacy. For one thing, it would affect people's stance towards particular place and further inform their spatial decisions such as where to eat and where to live based on how they see and organize themselves. For another thing, as cosmopolitan literacy itself represents individual's accumulated cultural capital, it plays a part in their spatial engagements with particular places and in this sense stratify the activity space and metrolingual habitus of different people.

In this respect, places seen as being cosmopolitan constitute activity space for the cosmopolites with an identifying effect. A detailed investigation of metrolingual experiences in a cosmopolitan place of this sort reflects how multifarious semiotic resources are thrown together in space to establish a cosmopolitan experiential milieu for people. In particular, the display and consumption of exotic food and drink, and the involved sensorial experiences such as smell and taste are noted to embody the very hedonic side of a cosmopolitan lifeworld. The gastronomic exoticness as people experience it is manifested not only in particular cuisine and ingredient foreign to local Chinese food, but also in associated semiotic processes such as language use (e.g., food name in its original language can give off a sense of foreignness) and peculiar ideologies or beliefs to appreciate them (e.g., listing the origin, production

year, etc., to demonstrate different aspects to properly taste a wine).

The broadened gastronomic repertoire of people is connected to the omnivorousness of tastes which indexes cosmopolitan openness and curiosity. This cosmopolitan taste would become habitual when people take foreign restaurants and bars as their activity space, which is often a lamination of social, physical, and sensory experiences. Besides, with the habitual consumptions of foreign comestibles, this omnivorous appetite would sediment into people's metrolingual habitus in which its indexical value associated with foreign exoticness is normalized and a genuine, authentic cosmopolitan taste is sustained.

Besides, it shall be particularly emphasized that people's metrolingual habitus is operated and organized in their everyday consumptions, and to live and enact a cosmopolitan identity involves omnivorous consumption practices marked by an 'inclusive' exclusivity. This seemingly equalitarian and embracing cosmopolitan habitus, however, is still underpinned by economic, social and cultural capital unevenly distributed among social class. In this study, the live cosmopolitan identity is made relevant to the globally consuming middle class who can not only access the world consumption opportunities but is also equipped with the cosmopolitan literacy and curiosity. As such, a lived cosmopolitan identity is both a material experience and a socio-cultural practice in people's everyday consumptive encounters with objects, language, and urban space.

6.4 Summary

This chapter examines how cosmopolitan identities are lived in people's everyday metrolingual practices. The two sections of discussions respectively focus on two dimensions to understand a lived cosmopolitan identity, i.e., to 'fit in' and to 'stand out', both of which essentially reflect the attempts to conciliate and negotiate

boundaries in face of global connectedness. On one hand, in response to the illusionary cosmopolitan ideal of dissolving boundaries, being cosmopolitan involves people's metrolingual competence and strategies to transcend the linguistic, spatial, and social boundaries and exclusions in their everyday contacts with cultural diversities. In order to smooth these contacts when trying to complete their daily tasks and achieve social conviviality in their metrolingual activities, people would tactically engage with the spatial repertoire of a place and attentively manage the proper metrolingual franca in situ. On the other hand, a lived cosmopolitan identity is also related to a sense of distinction which differentiates particular metrolingual habitus from others and hence draws boundaries between different social groups. The cosmopolitan literacy to access and engage with indexical meanings of space and the habitual metrolingual experiences and practices both implicate exclusiveness and stratification.

The perspective of metrolingualism has shaped this chapter in terms of its activity-centred nature. Having focused on the generation and communication of meanings in people's everyday activities across urban space, analysis and discussions in this chapter situate the lived cosmopolitan identities in people's mobility in urban space and the habitual patterns behind their spatial experiences and practices.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Overall, this thesis has presented an interdisciplinary exploration into language, space, and cosmopolitan identities in contemporary Shanghai. In this concluding chapter, I will first summarize findings of individual chapters and clarify their connections, and then specify the contributions of this research.

7.1 Summary of findings

Originated in my vigorous interests in language and space in a world of interconnections and the understanding of Shanghai as an intrinsic cosmopolitan city, this study aims to contribute to the relatively under researched subject of language and cosmopolitanism from a spatially informed sociolinguistic perspective. Enlightened by previous literature which underscores the dialogical dynamics of global connectedness and local space experienced and lived by people, this study concerns itself with the internal globalization of people and place in the context of Shanghai by probing into the cosmopolitanization of identities at the intersection of language and space.

Situating the inquiry in individual's everyday experiences and practices, this study is ethnographically designed with data collected through an overall five-month fieldwork in the city. Analysis of the triangulating data including images, interviews, field notes, and public discourses underscores three dimensions of cosmopolitan identities in Shanghai: cosmopolitan identity of the city, individual's place-identity in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai, and their lived cosmopolitan identities in everyday space. These various forms of cosmopolitan identities are examined from a spatial-linguistic perspective integrating linguistic landscape studies, interactional sociolinguistics, and metrolingualism.

Studies on semiotic landscapes in Shanghai demonstrate that the cosmopolitan identity of Shanghai is chronotopically organized through the overarching ‘Shanghai Modern’ and ‘global city’ chronotope which together represent a once-and-now-again cosmopolis. In particular, I have examined how the two chronotopes are evoked through various semiotic resources and practices, and how they operate in relation to other time-space configurations on different spatial scales. The hierarchy of the layered time-space structures also has implications for individual’s attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, etc., about people and place.

The following interactional analysis of place talk hence delves into individual’s stance acts in their identifications of the ‘real’ Shanghai and the ‘real’ Shanghainese. Situating individual’s place-identity in relation to the cosmopolitan Shanghai in their epistemic, affective, and relational engagement with the city, discussions in this chapter underlines the uneven valorisations of different kinds of cosmopolitanisms in people’s place ideology, in which the time-space structure of the Shanghai Modern indexing the city’s cosmopolitan past is particularly valued and celebrated over the one shaped by contemporary globalization.

The afterward exploration of individual’s lived cosmopolitan identity has placed the inquiry into cosmopolitanization in people’s everyday metrolingual experiences and practices. Data analysis has underscored two aspects of the lived cosmopolitan identities, i.e., the competences and strategies to transcend metrolingual diversities in order to ‘fit in’, and organizations and stylizations of everyday metrolingual habitus to ‘stand out’. Both of them are related to individual’s attempts to conciliate and negotiate boundaries in face of global connectedness.

Overall, this thesis has approached cosmopolitanism as both a cultural ideology and a substantive reality. For one thing, it can refer or be related to individual’s subjective positions, either an ideal homogeneous vision, an open and embracing attitude and curiosity, or a competence to cohabit with others across cultural diversities. For

another thing, cosmopolitanism also denotes a hybrid reality that can be seen as on one hand a neutral and apolitical convergence of people, objects, values, etc., on a global scale, and on the other hand a process permeated with power and privileges, causing inequalities and tensions. Framing cosmopolitanism at the intersection of language and space, this thesis demonstrates how it can work as a source of identity for individuals to establish their relational stances to themselves, their local space and community, and the globally connected world.

7.2 Contributions

The contributions of this study are threefold. For one thing, in contrast to the extensive studies on language and globalization, research directly addressing language and cosmopolitanism is few, and the existing literature has mostly not engaged with space and place enough despite their conceptual significance in cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization studies. Therefore, attending to cosmopolitanization of identities at the intersection of language and space, this study aims to contribute to this under researched subject by adopting space and place as essential analytic aspects of research. In particular, different from the de-territorialized understanding of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan identities transcending local context, this study is firmly rooted in local time-space and examines cosmopolitanism as a relationship to place in which the conventional local-global binary comes into local-global dialogue.

In this process, language and space are brought together not only as intermingled social phenomenon, but also as an integrated perspective both theoretically and methodologically to approach and understand the local-global dynamics in everyday lived reality. Through the interpretive nexus of spatial-temporal connectedness in linguistic landscapes, place-identity in place talk, and everyday metrolingual experiences and practices, this study engages with the constant exchange between language and space, i.e., how language is spatially organized, and how space is

discursively carved out.

Moreover, in terms of the empirical context, the ‘cosmopolitan revival’ in both theoretical and empirical social research are mostly located in the so-called Global North, and there is thus a lack of research on cosmopolitanism in non-Western especially Asian contexts. Situating the empirical foci in Shanghai, this thesis has grounded its investigations in the unique social and cultural dynamics of the city, and underscored cosmopolitanism as a historical relationship to place within the contextual frame of Shanghai as a once-and-now-again cosmopolis. By doing so, this study presents a Chinese variety of cosmopolitanism deviant from the Western narrative and imagination.

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APPENDIX I: Transcription conventions

(...)	intervening material has been omitted
(.)	brief pause
(1.0, 2.0, 3.0)	Pause for seconds
(haha)	laughter
()	Information added for clarification
[]	Description of interactional details
{	speakers overlap
<i>italics</i>	Code switching
<u>Underline</u>	emphatic stress
EMP	Emphatic particles
Bold	Volume increased
=	contiguous utterances
,	utterance signaling more to come
. / 。	utterance final intonation
:	lengthening of preceding sound
↑	rising intonation
↓	falling intonation
!	Exclamation
><	Speed up
<>	Speed down
em	English translation of ‘ 嗯 ’, the most commonly used backchanneling particle in Chinese

APPENDIX II: Interview Plan

Demographic questions:

Can you tell me something about you? How old are you? Where are you from? What is your job?

About space, place, and Shanghai:

How long have you lived in Shanghai? Why do you come to China and choose to live in Shanghai? How do you feel about Shanghai and your life here (image of the city, plan of life, etc.)?

Where do you live? In terms of the organization of life (working, shopping, socializing, studying, etc.), where do you often go, what do you usually do, and what do you experience there?

In your opinion, what places in Shanghai are cosmopolitan and why? How often do you come to these places? How do you feel about them?

About social life:

Who do you meet regularly to spend time with as friends or workmates? Where are they from? Where do you go and what do you do together with them? What languages do you use with them?

Have you ever experienced cultural shock or moments when you observe strong cultural differences? How do you feel and deal with them? Do you have any suggestions for newcomers who would reside in Shanghai?

About language:

How many languages do you speak and what are they? What is your level of Chinese? How do you use them in different situations and why?

What languages or scripts do you see in public space in Shanghai? How do you think and feel when you see them?

About cosmopolitan identity:

What does cosmopolitanism mean to you? Do you consider yourself as a cosmopolitan? To what level do you think yourself and your way of living is changed or influenced by living in Shanghai?

Chinese version:

访谈纲要

背景信息：

您可以简单介绍一下自己吗？多大年纪？是哪里人？做什么工作？

关于上海：

您在上海生活了多久？为什么选择在上海工作/生活？感觉上海和在上海的生活怎么样？

您住在哪里？平常工作、学习、购物、社交等都会去哪些地方？在那里都做些什么？感觉这些地方怎么样？

上海的哪些地方让您觉得比较国际化？为什么？平常会经常去这些地方吗？对这些地方感觉如何？

关于社交：

您有哪些会经常见面的朋友和同事？他们都是哪里人？您有关系比较亲密的外国朋友吗？

您在平常的社交生活中一般会做什么，去哪些地方？大家在一起时，你们会说哪一种语言？

在和朋友交往时，您有经历过文化冲击或者文化差异吗？您当时感觉如何？如何处理？

您会对其他新搬到上海的朋友提出怎样的建议？

关于语言：

您英文水平如何？还会说其它的语言吗？您会在什么时候使用这些语言？为什么？

您在上海的公共空间里一般可以见到或听到哪些语言/文字？每当听到或见到这些不同的语言/符号后有何感受或感想？

关于国际化：

在您看来，什么是“国际化”？您觉得自己是不是一个“国际化”的人？您如何看待上海这座城市对您和您生活方式的影响？