

NAXI, CHINESE AND ENGLISH: MULTILINGUALISM IN LIJIANG

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Abstract

This study examines language learning and language use among the Naxi, one of the 55 officially-recognized ethnic minorities in China. Generally speaking, the majority of Naxi resides in Lijiang, Yunnan Province, Southwest China, a city which is attracting considerable domestic and international interest due to its UNESCO World Heritage status. This thesis attempts to situate multilingual language learning and use among the Naxi within the broader socio-political and economic contexts of Lijiang, contemporary China and global tourism.

This study employs a qualitative methodology to examine the relationship between the learning and use of the Naxi, Chinese and English languages as they are mediated by local beliefs and practices, state language policies and a rapidly globalizing economy. Specifically, the study draws on three sets of data to present a holistic picture of multilingual language learning and use: (1) language policy documents and government reports related to the learning and promotion of the Naxi, Chinese and English languages; (2) individual and group interviews conducted with 46 individuals in Lijiang and two other cities in Yunnan province between 2009 and 2010; (3) the interviews were complemented by participant observation in language classes at different levels of education from primary to tertiary.

The findings reveal that learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English in Lijiang is embedded in a range of complex local, national and global factors. Although the statuses of all three languages have been legislated, the actual use of Naxi, Chinese and English in Lijiang, as well as the beliefs about these languages, is embedded in the ways in which they are used in schools and in the burgeoning tourism industry. The prevalent belief in Lijiang is that Chinese and English constitute a form of linguistic capital which enables individual, socio-economic mobility whereas Naxi is mostly seen as of symbolic value,

tied to Naxi ethnic heritage and identity, and thus of limited socio-economic value. However, these beliefs do not translate into straightforward language use practices. For most of the ethnic Naxi interviewed, Naxi is still the main language of the home and community and a marker of their ethnic identity. The relatively higher status of Chinese and English, by contrast, does not always translate into high levels of language use. These two languages are in the main restricted to the educational domain and to interaction with non-Naxi, particularly in the tourism industry.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “Naxi, Chinese and English: Multilingualism in Lijiang” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) with the reference number of HSHE25SEP2009-D00028 on 14 October 2009.

Hongyan YANG (Student ID: 41337212)

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Dedication

To my father and mother

For their overwhelming support and immense love

To my husband and daughter

For their endless love, understanding and encouragement

*And to the memory of my brother who has always been in my heart
throughout this long journey although he could not see this
achievement in his life*

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As a Bai from Yunnan, Southwest China, I follow the Bai traditions to:

Thank Heaven;
Thank Earth;
Thank the God of the Mountains;
Thank the God of our Village.

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Abbreviations

CELEA	China English Language Education Association
CET	College English Test
CET4	College English Test Band 4
CET6	College English Test Band 6
CNME	The Chinese National Matriculation Examination
CPC	The Communist Party of China
EANLIC	English acquired as a 'native' language in China
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELL	English language learning
ELT	English language teaching
FLE	Foreign language education
FLT	Foreign language teaching
GNCCS	The Global Naxi Culture Conservation Society
Han Hua	The local Chinese dialect
LEP	Language education policy
LICAS	The Language Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
Lijiang	Lijiang Naxi Autonomous Administrative Prefecture
LP	Language policy
MOE	The Ministry of Education of the PRC
MUC	Minzu University of China (The Central University for the Nationalities)
NES	The native English speakers
NESTs	Native English Speaker Teachers
NNESTs	Non-Native English Speaker Teachers
NPC	The National People's Congress
ONOL	One-nation-one-language
PEP	The People's Education Press of the PRC

PRC	The People's Republic of China
SEAC	The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the PRC
SEC	The State Education Commission of the PRC
TEM	Test for English Majors
TEM4	Test for English Majors Band 4
TEM8	Test for English Majors Band 8
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YUN	Yunnan University of Nationalities

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of China	5
Figure 2. Map of Yunnan Showing Composition of Ethnic Minorities	6
Figure 3. An Example of Naxi Hieroglyphics	7
Figure 4. A Model of Language Policy	22
Figure 5. Ideology-mechanism-practice	23
Figure 6. List of Mechanisms between Ideology and Practice (Source: Shohamy, 2006, p. 58)	23
Figure 7. An Example of a Poster Promoting Chinese in Schools	100

List of Tables

Table 1. An Overview of the Focus Groups	42
Table 2. An Overview of Onsite Observations of Individual Participants	45
Table 3. Curriculum for the Naxi Major (BA Program)	68
Table 4. English Proficiency Levels for Primary and Secondary Leavers	120

List of Appendices

Appendix 1. Statistical Data of Tourists in Lijiang and of Tourism Revenue	175
Appendix 2. A List of the Official Websites Referred by this Study	177
Appendix 3. Policies and Regulations Quoted.....	178
Appendix 4. Ethics Approval Letter.....	180
Appendix 5. Consent Form for Individual Participants (English).....	182
Appendix 6. Consent Form for Individual Participants (Chinese).....	184
Appendix 7. Personal Information of the Individual Participants	186
Appendix 8. Individual Interview Timetables and Venues.....	189
Appendix 9. Individual Interview Protocol.....	191
Appendix 10. Focus Group Interview Timetable	193
Appendix 11. Onsite Observation Timetables	194
Appendix 12. Confidential Consent Form for Audio-data Transcribers	195
Appendix 13. Key to Transcription Conventions	197
Appendix 14. A Summary of Actions Taken to Preserve the Naxi and Dongba cultures (1978-2009)	198

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Statement of Candidate	iii
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	xiii
List of Figures	xv
List of Tables	xvii
List of Appendices	xix
Table of Contents	xxi
Chapter One Introduction	1
1.1 An Autoethnography of an Ethnic Minority ‘Insider’	1
1.1.1 Becoming trilingual in China	1
1.1.2 Learning English as an ethnic minority student	2
1.2 The Naxi of Lijiang	4
1.3 Significance of the Study	11
1.4 Overview of the Thesis	13
Chapter Two Literature Review	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Language Policy	17
2.2.1 Language policy from a national perspective	17
2.2.2 Language ideology and language practice	19
2.2.3 Models and mechanisms of language policy	21

2.2.4 Summary.....	25
2.3 Multilingualism in China.....	25
2.3.1 Minority languages in China	25
2.3.2 Ethnic tourism and minority language maintenance.....	26
2.3.3 English in China	28
2.3.4 Summary.....	29
2.4 Conclusion.....	29
Chapter Three Research Methodology	31
3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Research Questions	31
3.3 Overall Approach and Rationale	32
3.4 Data Collection.....	36
3.4.1 Language policy documents	37
3.4.2 Selection of research sites.....	38
3.4.3 Individual participants	39
3.4.3.1 Selection and recruitment of individual participants	39
3.4.3.2 Personal background of individual participants	40
3.4.4 Individual interviews	40
3.4.5 Focus group interviews.....	41
3.4.6 On-site observations	44
3.5 Data Analysis.....	46
3.5.1 Transcription.....	46
3.5.2. Content analysis.....	47
3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Research Design	48
Chapter Four Naxi—The Local Language.....	51

4.1 Introduction.....	51
4.2 The Legislative Framework	51
4.2.1 Introduction.....	51
4.2.2 Strong minority language rights in China	51
4.2.3 Naxi-specific preservation efforts	56
4.2.4 Summary	58
4.3 Naxi in Education.....	59
4.3.1 Introduction.....	59
4.3.2 Transitional bilingual education.....	59
4.3.3 Heritage language streams	63
4.3.4 University degrees.....	67
4.3.5 Naxi language learning outside of formal education	73
4.3.6 Summary	74
4.4 Individual Beliefs about the Naxi Language.....	74
4.4.1 Introduction.....	74
4.4.2 Naxi as identity and habit.....	75
4.4.3 Naxi as effort.....	77
4.4.4 Summary	82
4.5 Conclusion	83
Chapter Five Chinese—The National Language.....	85
5.1 Introduction.....	85
5.2 Legislation for the Promotion of Chinese.....	85
5.2.1 Introduction.....	85
5.2.2 Chinese for national unity	85
5.2.3 Chinese for education.....	90
5.2.4 Summary	92

5.3 Chinese in Education.....	92
5.3.1 Introduction	92
5.3.2 Learning Chinese.....	93
5.3.3 Chinese as a high-stakes school subject	97
5.3.4 The dominant semiotics in educational settings	100
5.3.5 Summary.....	102
5.4 Individual Beliefs about Chinese.....	102
5.4.1 Introduction	102
5.4.2 Chinese as national identity.....	102
5.4.3 Chinese as linguistic capital	104
5.4.4 Summary.....	111
5.5 Conclusion.....	112
Chapter Six English — The Global Language.....	115
6.1 Introduction	115
6.2 The Legislative Framework.....	115
6.2.1 Introduction	115
6.2.2 The rise of English in China.....	115
6.2.3 China’s English education policy	117
6.2.3.1 Elementary level.....	117
6.2.3.2 Secondary level.....	119
6.2.3.3 Tertiary level.....	121
6.2.4 Summary.....	123
6.3 English in Education.....	124
6.3.1 Introduction	124
6.3.2 Educational inequality	125
6.3.3 English as a high-stakes subject	133

6.3.4 English language learning: much hard work with little gain.....	138
6.3.5 Summary	142
6.4 Individual Beliefs about English.....	142
6.4.1 Introduction.....	142
6.4.2 English for economic gain	143
6.4.3 English for global communication.....	145
6.4.4 Summary	149
6.5 Conclusion	149
Chapter Seven Conclusion.....	151
7.1 Introduction.....	151
7.2 Research Questions Revisited.....	151
7.2.1 Research question one: language policies in Lijiang	151
7.2.2 Research question two: implementation of language policies in education.....	152
7.2.3 Research question three: language ideologies held by individual Naxi.....	154
7.3 Will Tourism Save Naxi?.....	155
7.4 Implications.....	156
7.4.1 Implications for minority languages maintenance in the “New China”.....	157
7.4.2 Implications for the global spread of English	158
Bibliography.....	159
Appendices.....	175

Chapter One Introduction

1.1 An Autoethnography of an Ethnic Minority ‘Insider’

The focus of this thesis is upon the sociolinguistics of Naxi, Chinese and English language learning and use in Lijiang, Yunnan. As an ethnic minority member from Yunnan, not Naxi but Bai, I come to this research as an insider-outsider. I will begin this chapter with an autoethnography in which I describe my own trajectory of becoming trilingual as an ethnic minority member resident in Southwest China. In the following sections, I present a detailed account of my journey which leads into the topic and context of the present research.

1.1.1 Becoming trilingual in China

My own trajectory of becoming trilingual was initially somewhat traumatic; but, it proved crucial to my journey as a researcher with an ethnic minority background. At the age of six, I was left with my grandparents in a Bai ethnic minority village in the Dali area of Yunnan, some 159 kilometers from the main data collection site of Lijiang. When I first started Year One class in that Bai village, I found myself in a small Bai-Chinese bilingual program. Unfortunately, at the time, I was monolingual in the local Chinese dialect Han Hua (汉语) whereas my peers were monolingual in the Bai language, a linguistic mismatch that afforded me some very bitter experiences. As we had no common language, no one wanted to play with me: I found myself totally excluded. Class-time failed to provide me with any solace, as the national curriculum was taught through the medium of Bai for the five years of primary school education. Most of the time I felt miserable: I sat in the back row of the classroom, unable to grasp what the teachers were saying. I kept silent and felt very lonely. My Bai-monolingual grandparents, uncles and aunts were of little help, although they tried their best to communicate with me in a mixture of Bai and basic Han Hua.

Six months later, however, I emerged a fluent Bai speaker as a result of this ‘sink-or-swim’ immersion method. When I rejoined my parents at the age of six, they were working in a Han majority area. So, I was transferred to a Han primary school with Standard Chinese (Putonghua) as the instructional language and Han Hua as the community language. Thus, I became trilingual in Han Hua, Bai and Putonghua from an early age.

Fortunately, the trauma of my early immersion into Bai soon faded, leaving language education an abiding passion in my life and the basis for my vocation. Upon reaching adulthood, I took a position as an English teacher at Yunnan University of Nationalities (YUN) where at least seventy-five per cent of the students were ethnic minority members (Yunnan University of Nationalities, 2012). Whenever my students told me how they had struggled to learn Putonghua and English well enough to be able to enter university, I recognized their linguistic struggles as my own. I began to ask myself whether it was doubly hard for linguistic minority students in China to become multilingual and why it was so.

Ethnic minority students have to face the reality that they have to know Putonghua well to succeed in contemporary China. However, it doesn’t end there; nowadays, Putonghua is no longer enough. In a competitive job market and for the purposes of university entrance and employment in general, much depends upon applicants doing well in English exams.

1.1.2 Learning English as an ethnic minority student

When I was a high-school student in No.3 High School of Dali in Fengyi in the 1980s, few of my peers gained university entrance. Also, few of my childhood friends aspired to go to university because they were guaranteed a position in the factory where my parents were working. Those who aspired to go to university found that they were ill-equipped to be competitive in the Chinese National Matriculation Examination (CNME) because the educational level in underdeveloped rural Fengyi was much lower than that in urban areas. English was one of the subjects in which we significantly lagged behind our urban

counterparts. However, becoming a factory worker was not my ambition; so, studying hard was my only option. In addition to being good at Putonghua and mathematics, I knew I would need to do well in English to achieve my goal. I believed that anyone who dreamed of becoming a diplomat or a journalist had to have a good grasp of the English language.

Few of my peers shared my ambition or desire to study English. For example, when a new, young and beautiful but inexperienced English teacher arrived at our school, the boys played many nasty tricks on her. My sympathy for the teacher made me want to study English even harder as I thought that I could make her feel better and make up for the boys' loutish behavior by being a conscientious, hard-working student. The harder I studied, the more interested I became in the English language.

In Year Twelve, I decided to apply to undertake an English major at university although the enrolment score in CNME for English majors was much higher than that for other arts majors. In the process of studying hard and achieving that goal, English became an object of ever-growing fascination and desire for me. I began to dream of enjoying the perceived exotic cultures of English-speaking countries.

My cherished identity as a good student of English and – today – as a university teacher of English, has not only filled me with pride, but has enabled me to serve as a role model for students from backgrounds similar to my own. My experience of learning English has been a positive one and has developed in a virtuous circle; the harder I worked, the better I became and the more I wanted to extend myself. But, language learning as a virtuous circle never ceases to remind me that it can also operate as a vicious circle.

In sum, my research interest is based upon my own experience of multilingual language learning and use in China. When I commenced my PhD, the questions I wanted to explore kept changing; but, in effect, they were questions I had grappled with ever since I was a lonely six-year-old unable to communicate with those around me. Why, I asked myself, do ethnic learners need to learn Standard Chinese when they may never use it in their “real”

adult lives? Why does bilingual education only play a transitional role from ethnic languages to Chinese in the early stages of primary education? Why is it that ethnic learners in China are often labeled ‘poor’ Chinese or English learners when my own experience proved that it does not have to be that way? How do ethnic minority members construct their identities through languages? Why is it that my ethnic students often fail to secure jobs that they are fully qualified for despite the fact that they have learnt English and Putonghua very well? Endless questions perplexed me. I became increasingly interested in ideology and identity as represented in language learning and the influence of language policies on language learning and use. I started to think that perhaps the disadvantages that ethnic learners find themselves facing when learning English or Chinese are not inherent. Rather, what affects them most when learning different languages is more related to the national educational system, language policies, testing systems and the job market at the national level, teaching approaches, facilities and resources at the local level, and individual idiosyncrasies such as the learners’ personal ambitions and desires.

These questions finally came together to represent the core research concerns of this thesis, which aims to delineate how Naxi, Chinese and English are learnt by and taught to Naxi ethnic minority people, how the Naxi experience their language learning, and how the various languages in their repertoire relate to each other. In the next section, I will discuss why this research focuses on the Naxi people of Lijiang.

1.2 The Naxi of Lijiang

The Naxi of Lijiang were chosen to be the focus of this study for the following four reasons: (1) their unique forms of ethnic culture and traditions; (2) the diverse forms of written and spoken ethnic languages which are still in use in different domains; (3) a long history of contact with the Han people and their language; and (4) an influx of tourism attributable to Lijiang’s reputation as a World Heritage site which has facilitated its close contact with the international world.

The Naxi (纳西) constitute one of the 55 ethnic groups officially recognized by the People's Republic of China (PRC). In Standard Chinese, the term 'Naxi' comprises the characters 纳 ('senior, honored') and 西('people') (J. He & Jiang, 1985). Being titled 'the honoured people' by the Han reflects the socio-political status of the Naxi in the central empires in different historical times. The majority of the Naxi in China reside in Lijiang Naxi Autonomous Administrative Prefecture (Lijiang) see Figure 1 for its location in China) (Lijiang Population and Family Planning Commission, 2008). Others live in the nearby counties of Yunnan, Sichuan, the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other areas of China (The People's Government of Yunnan Province, 2006).

Figure 1. Map of China

(Source: <http://www.rvsci.us/lijiang.htm>)



Figure 2 shows the location of Lijiang in the northwest of ethnically diverse Yunnan Province. According to the most recently released statistical data from the Sixth National Population Census of China on 11 November 2010 (Yunnan Wang/YNNET, 2011), the Naxi people total 240,580, which accounts for 19.33% of the total population and 36.4% of the minority population of Lijiang.

Figure 2. Map of Yunnan Showing Composition of Ethnic Minorities

(Source: http://www.johomaps.com/as/china/yunnan/yunnan1_ch.html)



The Naxi language, the Dongba scripts, and their ethnic and cultural traditions make the Naxi a special, ethnic minority group. After Lijiang was listed among UNESCO's World Heritage sites (UNESCO, 1997, 2003a, 2003b), booming tourism has made Lijiang

popular in both the home and international tourist markets. Therefore, the Naxi have become one of China's most famous and iconic minority groups.

The spoken language of the Naxi, which belongs to the Yi language branch of the Tibetan-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan language family, can be further divided into Eastern Naxi and Western Naxi (J. He & Jiang, 1985). The Naxi used in Lijiang is based upon Western Naxi: the Naxi accent in the Ancient Town of Dayan (hereafter Dayan Town) is taken as the standard Naxi pronunciation (D. Guo & He, 1999; J. He & Jiang, 1985). In contrast to most other ethnic minority languages in China, the Naxi have a long tradition of literacy. More than a millennium ago, they had already created hieroglyphic characters called the "Dongba" scripts (see examples of Naxi hieroglyphics in Figure 3) and a syllabic writing system known as the "Geba" script (J. He & Jiang, 1985). In 1957, the Chinese central government created a Romanized alphabetic script for Naxi.

Figure 3. An Example of Naxi Hieroglyphics

(Source: <http://www.chinaodysseytours.com/yunnan/naxi-and-bai-ethnic-minority-groups.html>)



The Dongba scripts include over 1,400 single characters which consist of hieroglyphic symbols, phonetic symbols and additional codes (G. Fang & He, 1981). They are considered unique living pictographs because they are the only hieroglyphics still used in

the world today, albeit they are restricted to use in religious rituals by Dongba priests, academic research and art rather than more mundane activities.

The Naxi and the Han Chinese have long co-existed and influenced each other: the spread of Han culture into Lijiang dates back to the 13th century, i.e., to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) (F. Yang, 2006). Its influence on Lijiang and the Naxi can be divided into three critical periods: the first, which operated on a caste system, extended from the early 10th century to the mid-13th century (Duan & Min, 2005; Gong, 1992; J. Li, 2007; S. Yang & Ding, 2003). Hereditary Chieftain Mu, a local administrator of Lijiang, together with his successors from the Mu Clan, served the central empires for 470 years from 1253 to 1723 and played a significant role in the teaching and spread of the Han culture (Duan & Min, 2005). Confucian thought specific to the inland areas of China was introduced into Lijiang with special emphasis on teaching the Han culture in order to demonstrate the Naxi chieftain's loyalty to the Han Central Empire (Gong, 1988, 1992).

During the second period, in the 17th century, the Central Empire implemented administrative reform. The hereditary chieftain system was abolished and Han officials were assigned to replace the local chieftains due to fear of possible rebellions in the frontier ethnic minority areas (Duan & Min, 2005; Yunnan Provincial Chronicles Compiling Committee, 2005). During this period, Han culture was a major feature of local education. Academies of classical learning were established, books related to the Han increased in number, and renowned scholars from the inland were invited to teach in Lijiang (X. Zhang, 2006), all of which rendered Han education and culture available to increasing numbers of local people (Duan & Min, 2005). In addition, academies were opened for children from Naxi families (R. Li, 2001). Today, this period is recognized as marking the beginning of an era of rapid spread of the dominant Han culture and language in Lijiang (D. Guo & He, 1999; Local Chronicles Compiling Committee of Yunnan, 2000, 2004). But, Han officials often adopted oppressive attitudes towards the Naxi and their culture (L. Wu, 2007); for this reason, the promotion of Han culture and Han language often came at the cost of the suppression of Naxi culture and traditional mores.

The subordination of Naxi culture and language continued in the third critical period from the late Qing Dynasty to 1949. The years 1723 to 1903 were notable both for the fast development of education among the Naxi in Lijiang (Cai, 2001) and the deeper influence of the Han language and culture on the Naxi. Both classical learning and ‘new learning’ expanded more extensively (D. Guo & He, 1999). ‘New learning’, a system advocated by progressive scholars and built around the development of society and the infiltration of Western knowledge, called for learning from the West to deal with the West (师夷长技以制夷) and finding solutions to social issues caused by conflict between the feudal social system of the late Qing and invasion by Western countries. There was a time in the Republic of China (founded in 1912 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen) which saw Han culture encouraged and Naxi totally prohibited. In contemporary times, Lijiang’s mushrooming primary schools and high schools have focused on teaching ‘new learning’. Public primary, junior and senior high schools in Lijiang numbered 91 in 1929, 230 in 1937, and 274 in 1949 (R. Li, 2001). In July 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) reestablished and reorganized the region’s primary and high schools, a process of change that saw Naxi students incorporated into the mainstream education system in 1952 (Cai, 2001).

Economic development, in particular booming tourism, has brought Lijiang huge numbers of tourists from home and abroad, who have impacted significantly on the locals’ ethnic culture and language learning. Lijiang had been an important fortress in the Ancient Tea and Horse Trade Route (D. Guo & He, 1999; S. He, 2001). This burgeoning trade not only brought economic development to Lijiang, and promoted commercial and cultural exchange between the Naxi and outsiders, but also introduced exotic cultures and languages (J. Li, 2007).

In modern times, Lijiang’s listing as a World Heritage site (UNESCO, 1997, 2003a, 2003b) has had a significant economic impact on Lijiang, by extension making tourism a pillar industry. Further global attention has been drawn to Lijiang because of the 1996 earthquake, which destroyed two thirds of the city. This natural disaster, while proving a disaster for the local people, drew world attention to Lijiang. Post-earthquake

reconstruction afforded the region a golden opportunity to develop tourism in both the home and international markets, giving a new look to the city while at the same time reproducing its original ethnic minority building style. Shortly after the quake, in December 1997, Lijiang was listed as a World Cultural Heritage site, confirming it as a well-known historical and cultural city. Since that time, tourism has grown rapidly. Lijiang, a small city with approximately 300,000 permanent residents, has 26 nationally-ranked scenic spots. As of 2007, registered tour guides numbered 4,707 among whom 149 were working as foreign language tour guides for 9 international and 20 national travel agencies. There are approximately 200 1-Star to 5-Star hotels and 800 privately-owned hotels and inns scattered throughout the city (Lijiang Tourism Bureau of Yunnan Province, 2010). Two local universities (one public and the other private) offer university majors or degrees related to tourism, i.e., tourism management and tourism English, to ensure qualified hospitality personnel able to cater for the tourism industry (The Editing Board of Lijiang Local Chronicles, 2007).

Tourism foreign exchange income increased from US\$ 21.309 million in 1999 to US\$171 million in 2009. The total number of tourists visiting Lijiang increased from 280.90 million in 1999 to 1,092 million in 2011 (Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2011; also see Appendix 1). Tourism income, which has accounted for approximately half of Lijiang's revenue since 2003 (Zeng, 2011), has now become the area's 3rd industry (Lijiang People's Government, 2011). Lijiang has been credited by various tourism organizations with being "one of the top ten most desirable cities for living in China of 2002" (China Tongyong Tour, 2012), "one of the top 10 most popular scenic areas in Yunnan" (Ouyang & Yue, 2012), "one of the top 100 small cities worth visiting in the world", "one of the best living environment cities" (Foreign Affairs Office of Lijiang City Government, 2003) and, as "one of the most popular Chinese cities among European tourists" at the 2005 Euro-China Tourism Forum in Switzerland (Yunnan Xinhuanet, 2007). In both the 11th and 12th Five-year Development Programs (Lijiang People's Government, 2006, 2011), Lijiang set itself the goal to establish Lijiang as a first-rate international tourist destination. At the time of writing this

thesis in 2012, it was in the process of applying for three more World Heritage site statuses (Lijiang People's Government, 2011).

In addition to experiencing change resulting from tourism's acceleration of local economic development, Lijiang has also experienced a change of ideology regarding Naxi language learning and preservation. In the late 1990s, Naxi, as a community language, gradually lost its vitality due to its subordinate role to Chinese. However, when the local authority set the goals of tourism development and maintenance of Lijiang's World Heritage projects, the protection of the Naxi ethnic culture and the preservation of Naxi became important aspects of developing the Lijiang tourism 'brand'.

In sum, the Naxi form a unique, multilingual ethnic minority group in contemporary China, who are experiencing rapid social transformation. Therefore, exploration of the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English by the Naxi of Lijiang is both timely and important.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research is significant because it explores the interrelationship of an ethnic minority language, the national language and the global language of English in the context of complex and often conflictual language policies and language ideologies. It provides an insight into how local, national and international languages develop in contexts wherein there is a trend towards both national unity and social diversity.

First, this study will provide an important insight into critical issues in China, in particular how ethnic minorities and their languages co-exist in modern China alongside the dominant Han Chinese. Language is of importance in China; it is about power, identity, opportunities, and, above all, passion and nationalism (Blachford, 2004; Zhou & Sun, 2004). The situation of the Naxi can be considered as reflecting the situation of other ethnic minorities in China. Furthermore, the study will aim to contribute insights into how

national political security is sought through the implementation of language policies (Dai, 2008; Ha, 2009; The Ministry of Education, 2010).

Second, this study explores how the Naxi view the Naxi and Chinese languages in the specific area of Lijiang: in the process, it investigates policies, practices and ideologies at both the macro and micro levels. It will not only describe language policies and practices, but will also examine the measures taken by the local authorities and non-government organizations in Lijiang to preserve Naxi, the degree of success that has been achieved, and the strategies employed. This study thus aims to inform policy in the area.

Third, this work explores how the Naxi learn and use English as an international language. In recent times, the fast pace of globalization has impacted upon nationalities worldwide, including the ethnic minority groups in contemporary China. My own experience as an ethnic minority learner shows the degrees to which motivations for learning English and among ethnic minorities vary. This study, as well as investigating the language ideologies of English held by the Naxi and how they use English, in particular in the educational domain, provides a general insight into English language policy and English teaching in the ethnic minority areas of China and into what English means to ethnic minorities.

Fourth, this study investigates the impact of tourism upon ethnic minority areas, i.e., on Lijiang, which is now attracting enormous domestic and international interest. Due to the promotion of its ethnic culture and a consequent influx of tourism, Lijiang has become renowned as a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual site. In a positive sense, ethnicity, cultural and heritage tourism all play critical and significant roles in preserving ethnic languages and cultures (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Jaworski, Thurlow, Ylänne-McEwen, & Lawson, 2009; Kelly-Holmes & Mautner, 2010). However, because booming tourism has quickened the pace of urbanization in Lijiang, it now poses a potential threat to the preservation and development of the Naxi language and traditional mores (Sun, 2004; Veek, Pannell, Smith, & Huang, 2007). This study investigates the impact of tourism on the linguistic landscape of Lijiang and examines the extent to which Naxi has become an

authentic ‘commodity of consumption’ (Duchêne & Piller, 2009; Heller, 2003, 2005, 2010; Jaworski & Piller, 2008; Piller, 2007) in the global tourism economy. Tourism is also crucially related to the role of English, the third linguistic focus of this study.

In sum, investigation of Naxi, Chinese and English language policies, their implementation in the educational domain in Lijiang, the Naxi individual’s beliefs about the three languages and how ethnic minority languages become revitalized by international tourism is of great significance to the study of the interrelationships that appertain between ethnic minority languages, the national language and the global language. Exploration of the interrelationships between language policies, language practices and language ideologies in the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English in contemporary Lijiang will provide implications to build China into a unified nation with linguistic multilingualism in a real sense.

1.4 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis presents my research into language learning and use in multilingual Lijiang. In addition to this introductory chapter, it consists of six chapters.

Chapter Two reviews the literature and the theoretical frameworks informing the approach taken in this study to the exploration of the relationship between language policies, language practice and language ideology in Lijiang. The literature on how language policy relates to issues of implementation on the ground and impacts on language learners’ beliefs about languages in minority contexts in China will be explored. The review will also address the roles of minority languages, Chinese and English in multilingual minority contexts and how these languages are constructed with different status, power and identity.

Chapter Three outlines the research design. A multi-method qualitative research design was selected. The chapter also includes a detailed description of data collection during my fieldwork in Lijiang and the interpretive methods chosen for analysis.

Chapters Four to Six present the findings of the research relative to each language under examination, namely Naxi as the local language (Chapter 4), Chinese as the national language (Chapter 5) and English as the global language (Chapter 6). Each chapter begins with an examination of the legislative framework, followed by an inquiry into language use in educational domains and closes with an overview of individual beliefs about the language as expressed in individual and group interviews.

It is the key finding of Chapter 4 that Naxi language learning and use is embedded in a range of contradictions at different levels. While on the one hand, Naxi language maintenance is strongly supported by relevant national and regional legislative frameworks, on the other, educational practices in Lijiang often result in transitional bilingualism, by extension transforming Naxi speakers into Chinese speakers. While this has changed in recent years with the introduction of Naxi Heritage Classes, I will argue that such classes primarily serve symbolic functions. The tensions between the valorization of Naxi as a marker of ethnic identity, and the fact that de facto it is onerous and costly to maintain, are also evident in the beliefs about Naxi held by individual speakers.

With regard to Chinese, Chapter 5 shows that Chinese has been legislated as the language of national unity and social progress under a ‘one nation, one language’ ideology. The national legislative framework to promote Chinese nationwide and to make Chinese the sole medium of instruction has resulted in Chinese dominating formal education. Unsurprisingly, the power of Chinese as the language of national identity and a means of individual advancement is almost uniformly recognized by individual speakers.

Chapter 6 is devoted to English and demonstrates that the imposition of English further complicates the already complex field of minority language education in China. Like Chinese, English has been imposed as a high-stakes school subject for educational advancement and social mobility. However, evidence from English language teaching and learning in schools in Lijiang reveals that English teaching is largely unsatisfactory and

further serves to disadvantage minority learners – despite the fact that they share the belief in the promise of English as a means of socio-economic development.

In Chapter Seven, the concluding chapter, I summarize the research findings and draw conclusions by revisiting my research questions. Specifically, I conclude that a possible resolution of the tensions between Naxi, Chinese and English is to retain Naxi as a symbolic language with limited communicative use but to conduct the community's transactional communication in Chinese, highlighting the symbols of international tourism and World Heritage status in English. The thesis ends with an outline of the implications of my research for minority language maintenance in multilingual China and the global spread of English.

Chapter Two Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The present study explores multilingualism in an ethnic minority context in China. Focus is upon the Naxi, Chinese and English languages in their political, social and economic contexts at the local, national and global levels. In this chapter, I review theoretical frameworks relating to language policy in general, and to components of language policy from an expanded perspective. The literature on multilingualism in China will then be reviewed with particular attention to minority languages and English as a global language. I finish with an overview of the relationships between languages in the context of increased tourism in China and particularly in Yunnan. Specific language policies as they pertain to Naxi, Chinese and English will be treated in detail in Chapters Four, Five and Six respectively together with an analysis of their actual implementation in Lijiang.

2.2 Language Policy

In this section, I review the literature on language policy (LP) in language planning and how language policy is manifested through various LP mechanisms.

2.2.1 Language policy from a national perspective

Language, a “personal, dynamic, open, free, energetic, unique, creative and constantly evolving entity just like a living organism” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 1), includes not only a particular system of words and grammatical rules, but also a set of practices. It also often involves “a more or less covert struggle over the symbolic power of a particular way of communicating” (Duranti, 1997, p. 45). Thus, language, from this perspective, both reflects and constitutes the social structure of a community. It can function as an instrument through which authorities can control society and its people because of its

ability to “create group membership (‘us/them’) ... to determine loyalty or patriotism, and to show economic status (‘haves/have nots’) and classification of people and personal identities” (Shohamy, 2006, p. xv). The status and roles of different languages in a nation state are designated in national language policies developed by its government through language planning for political, social and economic reasons.

Through language planning, a nation state is able to develop and implement legislation that encourages or limits individual choice of language behavior and the language(s) that people will learn and use in a given context. This may be undertaken in order to pursue goals for unification (of a region, a nation, a religious group, a political group, or other kinds of groups), or for reasons related to a desire for modernization, efficiency or democratization (Rubin, 1971).

State actors confer official status to a specific language or languages as dominant, often with the goal of encouraging the integration of its citizens into a single linguistic community. This is often an important part of the process of the formation of a nation state (Bourdieu, 1991). Once a specific language has been designated through legislation, management, planning and practices as the majority language in a linguistically and culturally diverse society, it will serve the specific political interests and will maintain the power of the dominant group. Language policy thus enables powerful groups to facilitate national, political, social and economic agendas (Shohamy, 2006).

Spolsky (2011, p. 148) identifies language policy as being constructed by three independent but interrelated components: the language practices of a speech community or domain; language beliefs or ideologies of a speech community; and, any language management activities of an individual or institution claiming authority over the community and wishing to modify their language practices or language beliefs. Having just briefly discussed language planning/management, in the following section I will review the other two components of this tripartite relationship: language ideology and language practice.

2.2.2 Language ideology and language practice

Language ideologies are built around a set of beliefs about language, a language, a language variety, language use and language structure (Silverstein, 1979; Watts, 2001) and can be seen as constituting a “linguistic culture” encompassing “behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and the religion-historical circumstances associated with a particular language” (Schiffman, 1996, p. 5). A combination of the above reifies “a speech community’s consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14) and give insight into how languages are understood locally (Pennycook, 2010).

Language ideology has a strong impact on language learning and use. As a “a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk”, language ideology is significant because of “its role in envisioning and enacting links of language to group and personal identity” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, pp. 55-56). Dominant ideologies are expressed in official language policies and influence bilingual or multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001). Language ideologies thus not only play a significant role in forming and implementing language policies but are also reflected in them (Canagarajah, 2000; Pennycook, 2000a; Phillipson, 2000; Wiley, 2000).

As Zhou (2011) argues, language ideology drives decisions regarding the role a language should or should not play in a nation and/or global community and reflects and/or drives an order behind languages. Thus, in multilingual societies, different languages in communities are institutionalized into hierarchical relationships. And, since these hierarchical relationships influence how language learners or users value a language and how they use it, it is crucial to understand language ideology at a macro level (Zhou, 2011).

In the case of minority contexts, at the micro level, individual language learners’ ideologies about the various languages in their repertoire are influenced by various factors. On the

one hand, the national language ideology, language planning, management and legislation, and the national language testing system have a huge impact on learners' beliefs. On the other, ethnic affiliation and even more idiosyncratic factors such as desires and imagined identities may also play a significant role in forming an individual's ideologies regarding languages (Williams, 2009). Some language learners, who believe that language learning will contribute to their future success, are motivated primarily by considerations of how useful it will be to learn a particular language (Norton & Toohey, 2001). A language can unquestionably bring economic benefit to its learners; that is, knowing a language is a kind of symbolic capital that can be turned into economic benefit. By extension, opportunities to access a particular language can be transformed into material or economic opportunities (Heller, 1999; Norton, 2000; Pennycook, 1994).

Research has shown that inequitable distribution of power in the social world can affect language learning and use. Learners are constructing and constructed by their contexts "which change over time and space, and possibly coexist in contradictory ways in a single individual" (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Thus, individuals' language ideologies, too, are changeable and often contradictory. It is quite possible for people to shift their language attitudes towards different languages and language practices according to changing social and economic relations.

Language practices, that is, how people actually use language, constitutes the most "commonly accepted rules of language choice and variety within a speech community or a domain" (Spolsky, 2011, p. 149). These include how people habitually select from among different languages under the influence of language ideologies. As a result, their language choice and language ideologies mutually reinforce each other (van Leeuwen, 2008). The use of a particular language is associated not only with cultural, ethnic, geographical, economic and social factors but is also motivated and influenced by language attitudes and the beliefs of speakers and speech communities, and by macro-economic and political forces (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011).

Language practice can reveal the language ideologies prevalent in a region and the relations between different linguistic communities because these cultural markers are embodied in language, learnt through language and reinforced in language use. Thus, as well as being articulated in language policy documents, ideologies can be manifested in specific contexts of language use (Jaworski & Piller, 2008; G. Kress & Hodge, 1993). This close relationship leads Pennycook (2000b) to argue that “language policy can only be understood in the complex contexts of language use” (p. 64).

Language ideology exists at both national and individual levels; that is, language ideologies not only drive national agendas regarding language policy, but also influence individuals’ attitudes regarding their own language choices. In order to understand the whole picture of multilingual ideologies among the Naxi towards the Naxi, Chinese and English languages, the notions of language ideology and language practice are particularly useful. The exploration of these two crucial areas can reveal how language learners and users understand their socio-historically constructed relationships to a target language in a given community, and how language learners and users understand their future possibilities from learning and using a target language (Heller, 2005, 2010; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001, 2002; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). They can also illuminate how language learning and use are constructed both at the macro and micro levels. Language ideology and practice interact with language policy and are crucial to it. These two notions will guide my review of the literature on language policies in multilingual minority contexts in this chapter and also provide the basis for discussion of actual language learning and use in Lijiang in later chapters of this thesis.

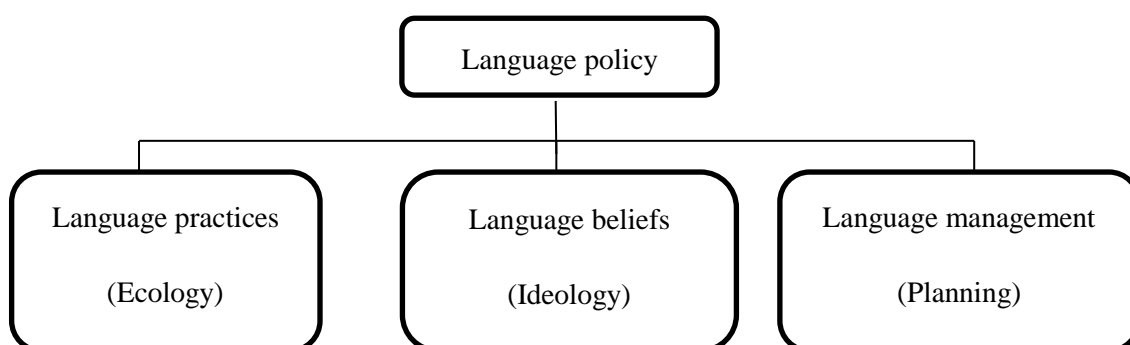
2.2.3 Models and mechanisms of language policy

As discussed in Section 2.2.1, LP can be used by those in authority to manipulate or control languages; it may be either explicit/overt or implicit/covert, that is, it can either be very detailed and specific or very vague and general. Overt LP, the official LP mandated by the authorities, involves language laws and regulations while covert LP refers to something

which has not been publicly declared but actually plays an important role such as linguistic cultures, language ideologies, behaviors and attitudes (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). As a set of principles relating to language behavior, LP may vary from one context to another and can operate both at the national political level and at the level of the individual who needs to decide which languages to use in different contexts. At the national political level, the status of a language can be established through the laws and regulations that drive language practice (Seargeant, 2009; Woolard, 1992). At the level of the individual, LP can, in turn, influence language choices and language beliefs since the more prestigious and useful a language is, the more motivated individuals will be to learn or use it (Hornberger, 1988).

Language policy consists of decisions made about languages and the ways in which they are used in society. Of the three major components of language policy identified by Spolsky (2004) — belief, practice and management (see Section 2.2.2) — language practice focuses on the actual use of a language, while language management focuses on specific acts that take place to manage and manipulate language behavior in a given nation. It is in the former, Spolsky (2004) argues, that “the real language policy of a community” is to be found (p. 222). Figure 4 illustrates the relationships that obtain these three components.

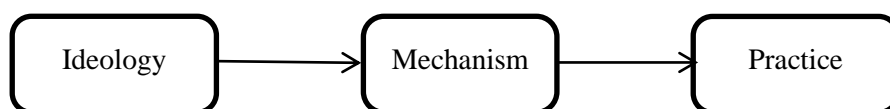
Figure 4. A Model of Language Policy



(Source: Shohamy, 2006, p. 53; Spolsky, 2004)

Shohamy (2006), who identifies the various mechanisms that interface between the ideologies underlying a language and the way it is used in a community (see Figure 5), argues that it is through these mechanisms that LP impacts on language ideologies and decides where various linguistic battles for power and control take place.

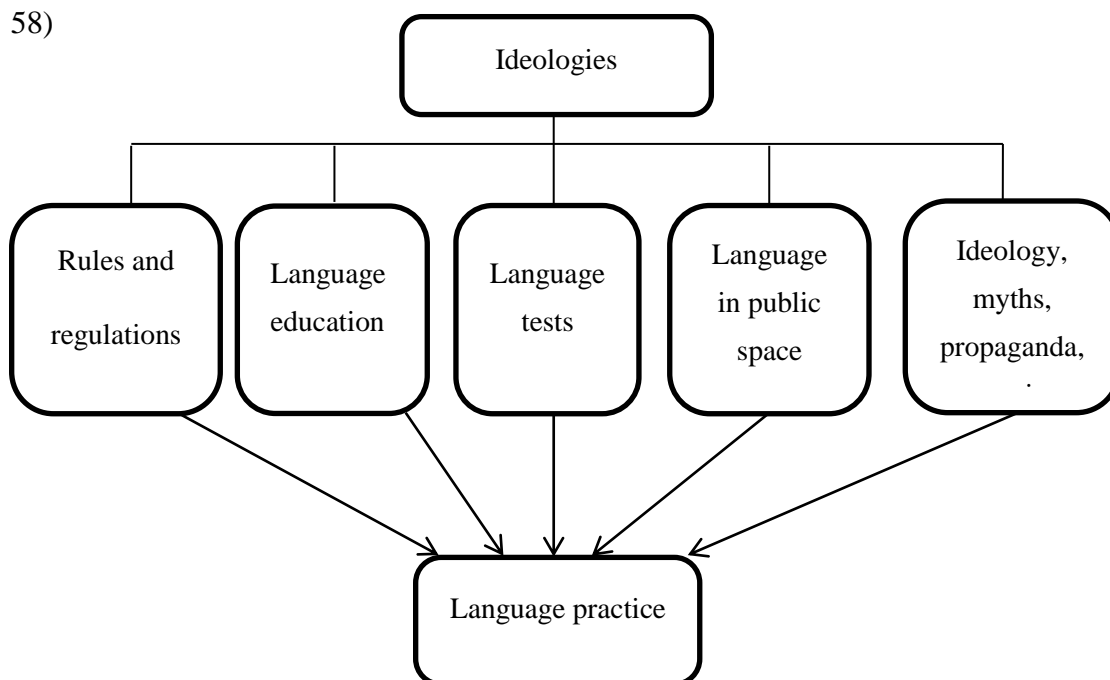
Figure 5. Ideology-mechanism-practice



(Source: Shohamy, 2006, p. 54)

The aforementioned various mechanisms, then, may be seen as the major means by which policymakers actually establish the status and role of a specific language as prominent through its national LP. As shown in Figure 6, Shohamy (2006) identifies five categories of mechanisms: (1) laws, rules and regulations, officiality and standardization; (2) language education policies; (3) language tests; (4) language in public spaces; and, (5) myths, propaganda and coercion.

Figure 6. List of Mechanisms between Ideology and Practice (Source: Shohamy, 2006, p. 58)



From among the above, Shohamy (2006) identifies language laws and regulations as the most powerful mechanism since they are the means by which central authorities impose language behaviors in a nation and ensure that policies designed to turn language ideologies into practice are implemented. And, while they are evident in the public domain, especially in official government domains, they are not always fully implemented.

Language laws can play an important role in educational settings through language education policies (LEP) which are used to “create de facto language practices in educational institutions, especially in centralized educational systems” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76) and are, therefore, a mechanism for implementing national LP agendas through government agencies, the ministries of education, regional and local educational boards and schools. LEPs cover issues such as which language is to be used for school instruction, which is to be learnt because of its importance to globalization, which heritage or indigenous language should be used in indigenous communities and what it should look like. There are close links between LEPs and political, social and economic goals; so, they are generally imposed top-down from state, to municipal and local levels (Feng, 2009). This imposition of language behavior establishes a linguistic order which can create or maintain an imbalance of power between different groups.

Language tests enforce LPs which are widely-used to “manipulate language and create de facto language policies” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 93). Where language tests in the powerful and dominant language are conducted in schools, pride of place is given to that language in the curriculum and other languages are marginalized. Test takers change their language behaviors according to the requirements of the testing system. The scores associated with such tests are of vital importance to the lives of individuals since they are often used as the sole criterion for determining their future success. As such, they have enormous impact on both the individual and society because they determine the status and hierarchies of languages and, in so doing, suppress language diversity (Shohamy, 2006). In multilingual and multicultural societies, language tests can be used deliberately to affect social control. Thus, if only some languages are tested, it is only those languages that will be taught:

others will disappear from the curriculum and lose importance in daily life. The languages that are tested will have higher linguistic capital and thus be more highly valued by test takers.

2.2.4 Summary

The LP framework discussed in this section provides insight into the relationships between language policies, ideology and practice in multilingual contexts. To date, very few researchers have applied this LP framework to a minority context in China (J. Zhang, 2011) and none to the Naxi of Lijiang. This study attempts to bridge this gap in the literature.

2.3 Multilingualism in China

The literature on three strands of multilingualism in China will be covered in this section: first, minority languages in China; second, English in China and third, ethnic tourism and minority language maintenance.

2.3.1 Minority languages in China

This section comprises a brief review of the history of minority languages and their current situation in China.

From 1949 to 1982, the PRC recognized 55 ethnic minorities in total. According to the sixth national census data, although ethnic minorities account for only 8.49% of the national population, the ethnic minority autonomous regions in China cover 60% of the nation's total area. Ethnic minorities mainly live in the southwest, northwest and northeast of China (The National Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Like elsewhere in the world, ethnic minority languages in China are disappearing at a fast rate as children no longer learn them as their first languages (Krauss, 1998; McCarty, 2002, 2003; McConvell, Simpson, & Wigglesworth, 2005; McConvell & Thieberger, 2001).

As noted in Section 2.2.3, the reasons for this are manifold and include language policies that devalue minority languages. When that happens, mother-tongue speakers, too, will stop valuing their languages. Indeed, the language beliefs and attitudes towards minority languages held by ethnic minorities themselves significantly impact upon their maintenance and development (Turin, 2005). Finally, migration and rapid urbanization affect the maintenance of minority languages (Dong, 2011; S. Gu, Zheng, & Yi, 2007).

The Chinese state has implemented a minority language-Chinese bilingual education policy with the aim of maintaining minority languages for either political unity or economic development (Z. Zhao, 2010), a policy I discuss in detail in Section 4.2.2. Compared to other strong bilingual or multilingual programs found around the world, the approach to the minority language-Chinese bilingual education implemented in most ethnic minority areas in China can be characterized as one that encourages non-interference; that is; it relies on legislation but does not enforce ethnic minority language use in other domains. This non-interference attitude towards minority languages is in stark contrast to the powerful promotion of the national language and English as a global language nationwide (B. Adamson & Feng, 2009). It gives authority and language power to the language of the majority group while at the same time marginalizing other minority languages. The power relations at play between Naxi and Chinese have been particularly important in the context of this study. In the next section, I will review the literature on ethnic tourism and minority language maintenance.

2.3.2 Ethnic tourism and minority language maintenance

With the development of the global economy, tourism in minority contexts has burgeoned and, since language is central to the success of tourism in many different ways, this increase has impacted on the preservation of minority languages. International tourism in a global economic system has considerably impacted upon the teaching of global languages such as English (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). It has also played a role in the vitality, maintenance or revitalization of ethnic minority languages. As a consequence, language

has been variously commoditized as a marketplace skill, a tourism resource and an irreplaceable resource (Coupland, 2010b; Heller, 2003).

Ethnic tourism, culture tourism and heritage tourism have flourished in minority contexts. In this type of tourism, ethnic languages and culture are seen as a core part of the tourist experience (Chang, Wall, & Hung, 2012). In some locations, tourism based on ethnicity, culture and heritage has motivated a fundamental turnabout in national cultural and linguistic policy, resulting in tourism policy becoming increasingly important for language maintenance. As the demand for heritage, cultural and linguistic attractions as commodities of tourism increases, the focus of the political and economic agendas shifts towards their revival, preservation and maintenance. The local, national and global interest of ethnic culture and language is both a cause and effect of tourism. Tourism can thus contribute to cultural and ethnic language revitalization by feeding the demand of increasing numbers of tourists for authenticity in ethnic culture. The ‘authenticity’ of indigenous language varieties has played a central role in revitalizing ethnic languages (Barrett, 2008).

Economic dependence on ethnic tourism can also influence the perceptions or attitudes that the people of a particular tourism site have towards their native culture and language (Besculides, Lee, & McCormick, 2002). The fate of languages can be evaluated in terms of the changes that take place their speakers and in the societies they form, including relationships between speakers within the community, their relations to the languages they speak, the statuses of the languages in the community — majority or minority languages — and, above all, the economic power of the language (Anchimbe, 2007).

Because of their important role in the local political economy, the ethnic languages at tourist destinations are now heavily involved in bringing life back to their communities, that is, in restoring their ethnolinguistic “distinctiveness as a collective entity” (Coupland, Bishop, Williams, Evans, & Garrett, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005, p. 332). Because of the economic benefit that flows from tourism, it has in many areas changed the attitudes of both the government and individuals towards ethnic/local languages (van den Berghe,

1995). LEP are seen as key instruments of social policy in support of language maintenance/revival. In such tourism destinations, legislation of bilingual or multilingual education is introduced specifically “for the cultural, economic, and tourist benefits” (Esman, 1984, p. 461).

While tourism can contribute to language preservation, it can also contribute to the spread of English, as I will discuss in the next section.

2.3.3 English in China

As the language of “modernity, science and technology, success, national ‘unity’, democracy, and other such positive features” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. xi), English “seems to turn up everywhere” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 4). Like most non-native English speaking countries around the world, China has “inevitably gravitated towards English” (Bamgbose, 2003, p. 419). Influenced by a national orientation towards the English language, studies of English in China have mushroomed, with numerous studies focusing on the history of English education in China, its development, language policy (B. Adamson, 2004; Fong, 2009; G. Hu & Alsagoff, 2010; Wen & Hu, 2007; Y. Zhao & Campbell, 1995; X. Zheng & Adamson, 2003), English curricula and teaching pedagogy (B. Adamson & Morris, 1997; X. T. Chen, 2011). Others have focused on individual factors that influence language learning (M. Gu, 2009; Jie Li & Qin, 2006), learners’ identities (Bian, 2009; Y. Gao, 2009a; Y. Gao, Cheng, Zhao, & Zhou, 2005) or the social context of learning English (Y. Gao, 2009b). These studies, which have mainly been conducted from a national-level perspective, have focused on an overall picture of English in China, with scant attention paid to the situation of English language education in the minority context.

Only a few researchers have opted to study the learning of English in minority contexts in China. Focus has been upon bilingual or trilingual education (Feng, 2005, 2011; Gai, 2003; G. Hu, 2007; Tsung, 2009; Jian Yang, 2005; Z. Zhao, 2010), the specific situation of some

ethnic minorities or specific minority regions (B. Adamson & Feng, 2009; D. R. Blachford & M. C. Jones, 2011; Feng & Sunuodula, 2009; Huang, 2007, 2011; J. Zhang, 2011) and the experience of trilingual minority learners (Wang, Tsung, & Ki, 2012). In the case of the Naxi ethnic minority, Blachford & Jones (2011) investigated the trilingual education ideals and realities in Lijiang, while Wang, Tsung & Ki (2012) explored the difficulties associated with being trilingual in a case study of a Naxi English-major undergraduate. These studies, however, focused mainly on English learning in the educational domain: they did not explore English language ideology and use. In view of the vast number of ethnic minority English learners in China, more studies are urgently needed to explore the impact of this push towards English and how minority learners learn and use English on the ground. This study addresses this gap in the literature.

2.3.4 Summary

The multilingual situation in minority regions of China is becoming more complicated involving, as it does, the relationship between the minority language and Chinese and the relationship between the national language and the global language, English. With international tourism booming in some minority regions, the emphasis on minority language maintenance has made these relations more complex. Various desires compete, including the desire for the preservation of the minority languages, the political need to enhance national unity and cohesion, and the economic and national need for internationalization. In Lijiang, Naxi, Chinese and English interrelate in a complex way. To date, no study has focused on language policy, practice, and individual beliefs about language in a multilingual tourism context in a minority area. This study aims to provide insight into the complex situation in Lijiang.

2.4 Conclusion

In an attempt to investigate multilingualism among the Naxi in Lijiang, I will explore their

learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English focusing on three perspectives: legislation as it affects Naxi, Chinese and English; language use in education in relation to each language, and the Naxi individuals' beliefs about each language. LP models, and an expanded theoretical framework drawn from Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006) which I reviewed in Section 2.2.3, will be used to investigate the legislative framework of the three languages in Lijiang. This framework sees language policy as being constructed, discussed and negotiated in policies, mechanisms and practices on the ground. This will allow me to focus on the impact of macro-social factors on language learning and use and on language practices at the micro-level of educational institutions and individuals.

Language learning and use are shaped by political, social and economic factors. The interplay of language ideology, language learning, and language values in the new economy of burgeoning ethnic tourism are of particular relevance to my study. I investigate how Naxi, Chinese, and English are learned and used in the particular context of Lijiang, with particular attention to the local, national, and global constructions of these languages. To date, few studies have researched the complex relations between language policies appertaining Naxi, Chinese and English in the tourism context of Lijiang. In particular, there is a need to investigate (1) the legislation that undergirds the relative value of Naxi, Chinese and English; (2) the educational practices in which the relative value of these three languages is embedded; and, (3) the beliefs the Naxi themselves hold about these three languages. This study aims to address these issues.

The next chapter outlines the research questions that have guided this exploration and the research methodology employed.

Chapter Three Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and methodology of this study. I will briefly review the research objectives of the study and then explain my reasons for taking a qualitative approach with a social constructionist and ethnographic orientation. This will be followed by an outline of the procedures of data collection, processing and analysis, and discussion of the reliability and validity of the research design.

3.2 Research Questions

This dissertation aims to explore the interrelationship between language policies, language practices and language ideologies in the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English in contemporary Lijiang. It attempts to situate multilingual language learning and use among the Naxi within the broader political, social and economic contexts of Lijiang, contemporary China and global tourism. The status of these languages has been legislated in language policies and implemented either nationally (Chinese and English) or regionally (Naxi). However, the translation of language policies into actual language practices is not always straightforward. To this end, the study investigates how relevant language policies play out in education and have been translated into individuals' beliefs about these languages. The following research questions guide this exploration.

(1) What are the language policies governing language learning and use in Lijiang?

To understand the overall framework in which language learning and use in Lijiang is embedded, I will explore the extant language policies for the preservation and maintenance of Naxi as well as those for the promotion of Chinese and English languages.

(2) How are language policies implemented in Lijiang's education program?

In an attempt to understand how language policies are translated into actual educational practices, I will explore the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English in a range of educational institutional sites in Lijiang.

(3) What language ideologies are held by the Naxi regarding the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English?

To understand how individual language learners and users position themselves vis-à-vis official language policies and actual language practices, I will explore the beliefs about and attitudes towards the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English as expressed by private citizens in Lijiang.

Research question (1), which appertains to the local and national language policies relative to Naxi, Chinese and English, will be addressed through a macro-level analysis of the relevant legislative documents. Research question (2), which explores the use of the three languages in the education domain, will be addressed through observational and interview data collecting during my fieldwork in the relevant sites. Research question (3) examines the prevailing language beliefs about the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English on the basis of interview data.

3.3 Overall Approach and Rationale

In order to explore the interrelationship between language learning, language use and language policies among the Naxi, a qualitative approach has been adopted with a social-constructionist and ethnographic orientation as an effective way of understanding language learning and use because as Heller (2006) maintains: “Social processes happen on the ground in real life and that is where we have to look if we want to understand them” (p. ix).

A social constructionist epistemology has been chosen to investigate language learning as a

‘real world’ phenomenon given that language learners learn and use languages ‘in real life’ (Heller, 2006). The term ‘social construction’ refers to the process of creating social reality by individuals, groups or organizations in interaction with social structures (Social constructionism, 2008). While we actively participate in creating social reality, we are also influenced by social reality: we socially construct ourselves (Lock & Strong, 2010) so that everyday realities are “actively constructed in and through forms of social action” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p. 341). This involves taking a stance which is critical and historically and culturally specific, and supported by socially-processed and socially-interacted knowledge (Burr, 1995).

A social constructionist approach (1) focuses upon the different meanings with which our worlds become invested, and (2) is underpinned by the perspective that “if it is human beings who have built these constructions, then it is (at least in principle) possible to re-construct ourselves in ways which might be more facilitating for us” (Burr, 1998, p. 13). Since events are brought into being through people and their actions and interactions with people and society, nothing is “fixed or inevitable” (Burr, 1995, pp. 5-6). “Social groups can choose to replace old conventions, theories, ideologies, practice and bodies of knowledge with new ones” (Hibberd, 2005, p. 3). This approach also allows consideration of the Naxi, Chinese and English languages as formed through human action and language learning and used as forms of social action that take place on many levels, from mundane everyday language choices to policy decrees at the national and global levels.

It also allows exploration of how learning and using Naxi, Chinese and English have been constructed in the shared lives of the Naxi, i.e., the lives they aspire to or have been imposed on them. It allows deep exploration of “the processes that operate in the socio-cultural conduct of action to produce the discourses within which people construe themselves” (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 7). Among the Naxi, Chinese has been historically, socially and institutionally constructed as a language which is dominant in the educational domain and will bring national mobility. The status, values and beliefs about the Chinese language held by the Naxi are subject to change at particular times and places. English,

which has been associated with the promise of a rosy future, is legislatively defined in the education of the Naxi. It is also a symbol of internationalization and a language of international mobility. As such it is embedded in the socio-economic process and tourism development in Lijiang. And, because such processes are social, it changes with different social, economic and political factors.

This study aims to investigate how the Naxi learn and use different languages in multiethnic and multilingual Lijiang. To this end, it explores the interrelationship of language policies, language ideologies, identities and language learning. Both the aims of this research and research questions are directed towards understanding how the Naxi experience learning and using languages in this specific context. To achieving this, a qualitative methodology was deemed the most appropriate approach as it appeared consistent with the social-constructionist orientation and aims of the study. It stresses the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape the inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; T. M. Kress, 2011; Silverman, 2009). As well, it is appropriate for seeking answers to questions that seek to ascertain how social experience is created and given meaning (Silverman, 2005, p. 10). The observer uses a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4) by turning it into a series of representations through field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos. Adopting an interpretive, naturalistic approach to studying phenomena in their natural settings also allows the researcher to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

As a qualitative researcher, I situate myself as both ‘emic’ (as an ethnic minority insider) and ‘etic’ (as a researcher outsider). As a multilingual learner and user, I can be self-reflexive (see Section 1.1) and attempt to understand and interpret the unfolded real and natural situations (Patton, 2002) and the authentic interplay between languages, identities and hierarchies in the “unique, dynamic and complex” (Hatch, 2002, p. 9) context of burgeoning tourism in Lijiang. I also explore how language ideologies stem

from regional, national and global political, social, and economic contexts.

An ethnographic approach was taken in order to explore how the Naxi experience learning languages. As Morgan (1997, p. 8) argues, ethnographic observation allows: (1) data to be collected on a large range of behaviors; (2) a greater variety of interactions with the study participants, and (3) open discussion of the research topic. Holstein & Gubrium (2011) argue to the effect that, “Ethnomethodologists focus on how members ‘do’ social life, aiming in particular to document the distinct processes by which they concretely construct and sustain the objects and appearances of the life world” (p. 342).

An ethnographic approach places the researcher at the heart of the research. Here s/he can observe the relationships between language practices and the broader context and social order. Because it starts from the theoretical position of describing social realities and their construction, this approach also leaves a range of questions that can be addressed relatively widely, thus reducing the risk of intrinsic bias (Tusting & Maybin, 2007). In addition, it allows the exploration of the real voices on the ground and strongly emphasizes the nature of a particular social phenomenon through the investigation of primarily ‘unstructured’ data assembled from a small number of cases. Analysis of these allows the explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998).

By employing systemic observation of and inquiry into social contexts over a sustained period, ethnographic study gains access to an insider’s (‘emic’) perspective; that is, to a holistic view of what is being studied within a certain period of engagement. This form of enquiry enables the researcher to delve more deeply into the cultural and social scene (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). Interviews conducted as parts of an ethnographic approach can provide “a deeper understanding and appreciation of the amazing intricacies and, yet, coherence of people’s experiences” (Seidman, 1998, p. 112). Understanding the nature of that situation and relationship, how it affects what transpires during the interviews, and how the interviewees’ actions and views could differ in other

situations is crucial to the validity of accounts based on interviews (Maxwell, 2002; Spradley, 1979). Interviews interpreted in this light can provide a more conscious awareness of the power of the social and organizational context of the participants' experiences and an in-depth understanding of their opinions and experiences. However, such interviews must involve "active listening" (Seidman, 1998, pp. 63-64), both to discern what the participants are saying and to access the "inner voice" (Steiner, 1978) as opposed to an outer, more public voice. In this way, in-depth interviewing can facilitate an understanding of the experiences of others and the meanings they take from said experiences.

In sum, a qualitative approach with a social constructionist and ethnographic orientation was adopted to collect the research data. At the macro level, the study conducted an in-depth probe of the interrelationship between policies and ideologies via investigation of language policies and documents related to the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English undertaken by the government at different levels at different times. At the micro level, this study has explored how these policies and ideologies have impacted upon language practices and identity construction at ground level. In order to understand how the Naxi have experienced learning and using Naxi, Chinese and English and their views regarding this, interviews were followed by focus group discussions and observations of multiple sites. These interviews involved more than 40 participants recruited from Lijiang, Kunming and Qujing, who were contacted via my local connections and by a snowball technique with pre-set selection criteria. Public signs at schools were also collected in order to understand the interplay of language policy and practices on the local educational domain. An interpretive content analysis approach was employed to analyze the data.

The details of data collection will be addressed in the next section.

3.4 Data Collection

Macro and micro level data were collected from multiple and diverse sources.

At the macro-level, I collected a broad range of language policy documents which will be illustrated in detail in the following section.

The intensive fieldwork conducted from November 2009 to February 2010 involved individual and focus group interviews and observations. The data collected included:

- (1) Original audio-recorded data from interviews, focus groups and observations;
- (2) Transcriptions of audio recordings from individual interviews and focus groups;
- (3) Field notes of fieldwork, interviews, focus group discussions and onsite observations;

3.4.1 Language policy documents

I collected data that were publicly available (see Appendix 2 for the official websites) and relevant to language policies as they affect Naxi, Chinese and English learning and use in Lijiang.

The aim of this study has been to address the interrelationships between language policies, language ideologies and identity negotiation among the Naxi in Lijiang in learning and using Naxi, Chinese and English. Language policy documents related to Naxi, Chinese and English provided the legislative framework; i.e., national and regional policies focusing particularly on laws, regulations, policy documents, government guidelines, reports and constitutions related to language learning released by the Chinese central government, Yunnan People's Government and Lijiang People's Government in publications or government archives.

I collected details of the regulations protecting the Naxi language issued by the Yunnan Provincial Government in 2005, and some relevant regulations passed by Lijiang People's Government and Yulong Naxi Autonomous County (Yulong County, for short) on the preservation and protection of Naxi. Central government documents and legislations on regional autonomous administration and ethnic minority language rights from 1949 up to the present were also collected.

Documents relating to Chinese language policy included government instructions, and laws and regulations on promoting and standardizing spoken and written Chinese and the language situation of the PRC from 1955 to 2010.

Official documents such as these are treated as data sources to “describe policy documents and the general outcomes in their historical contexts” (Feng & Sunuodula, 2009, p. 687). They will be used as content indicators (see details in Section 3.5.2) in my interpretation.

I also collected English syllabi and curricula for primary schools, junior and senior high schools, university English majors and non-English majors, published by the Ministry of Education of the PRC between 1949 and 2010. These policy documents, laws, national outlines, guidelines and regulations on English language learning and English language teaching not only outlined the central government’s goals for English education but also defined the content and pedagogy of teaching, the standard of ELL levels, and test requirements.

In addition, copies of conference proceedings and archived documents related to language education policy and Naxi preservation and inheritance in the Naxi Dongba Museum and the Naxi Dongba Institute were also collected. Documentary archives in Lijiang People’s Government, Lijiang Foreign Affairs Office, the Naxi Dongba Museum and the Naxi Dongba Institute were also collected as were non-official websites detailing tourism and travelling, or data pertinent to the ethnic minorities of China, Yunnan tourism, Lijiang tourism and some private website blogs written by Naxi academics.

A full list of these documents may be found in the Bibliography and language policies related to Naxi, Chinese and English referred by this thesis are presented in Appendix 3.

3.4.2 Selection of research sites

Since most Naxi in China live in Lijiang, Yunnan Province (see Section 1.2), Lijiang was chosen as the main data collection site. I conducted my field work in both a primary school

and a boarding middle school, in a university, various tourism destinations, a local museum, some government offices, cafes, restaurants, business shops, and in the homes of some participants. Since some Naxi live outside of Lijiang, I also interviewed Naxi in Kunming, the provincial capital city of Yunnan, and in Qujing, a Han-dominated city in northeast Yunnan.

In Kunming, individual and focus group interviews and observation were conducted on the campuses of three universities (Yunnan University, Yunnan Normal University and Yunnan University of Nationalities), in the classroom of a private English school, and at the home of participants or at their workplaces. My field work in Qujing was conducted on the campus of Qujing Normal University.

3.4.3 Individual participants

3.4.3.1 Selection and recruitment of individual participants

In line with the aims of the study, I sought to recruit a wide range of participants from multiple sites in order to better understand how the Naxi experience language learning and use. Potential participants included any teenaged or adult ethnic Naxi.

Following ethics approval for the study (see the Ethics Approval Letter in Appendix 4), a team of five local facilitators approached participants through their personal, social and professional contacts in each field work site to help me recruit the first participants. The two facilitators in Lijiang were former students of mine. The first facilitator worked for the Lijiang People's Government and recruited two participants working in a local university and the Lijiang Dongba Museum respectively. The second facilitator, who was a graduate from a local middle school, helped me to contact her former class teacher. I recruited some middle school students from that school. The third and fourth facilitators were studying postgraduate programs in different universities in Kunming. Through them, I recruited a number of university undergraduates and postgraduates. The fifth facilitator,

who was teaching English at Qujing Normal University in Qujing, helped me to contact Naxi students studying there.

Contact with additional participants was made through snowball sampling through which the participants helped me to recruit future participants from among their acquaintances (Bertaux, 1981; Goodman, 1961). In addition to Naxi participants, I also interviewed an international tourist in Lijiang, who was selected randomly and opportunistically. All the individual participants signed consent forms (see Appendix 5 for English version and Appendix 6 for Chinese version) before they participated in this research.

In the next section, I will provide an overview of the participants.

3.4.3.2 Personal background of individual participants

Individual participants included a wide range of ethnic Naxi from all walks of life; but, most were engaged in some form of education, e.g., middle school students through to university students. Included also were people who worked as museum staff, musicians, tourist guides, university EFL teachers, doctors and local government employees (see Appendix 7 for a detailed overview). In total, I interviewed 46 individual participants, 42 of whom were Naxi. The remaining four included one Han tour guide working in Lijiang, one French tourist and two EFL lecturers from Lijiang Teachers' College (one was of Bai ethnicity and one was a Singaporean national). These participants provided perspectives that differed from those of the non-Naxi community. In total, twenty-five participants were recruited in Lijiang, sixteen in Kunming and five in Qujing: their age ranged from 16 to 86.

3.4.4 Individual interviews

All interviews were conducted in Han Hua, Putonghua or English or a mix of the three according to the preferences of the participants. They were audio-recorded with the participants' consent in locations they found convenient including the university campuses, their workplaces, restaurants or other public places. Eight-five hours of audio-recorded

interviews were undertaken; a further 10 hours were conducted but not audio-recorded. They were recorded in field notes immediately after the interviews. Details of individual interviews timetables and venues are provided in Appendix 8.

As the individual interviews were semi-structured, open-ended questions were used to guide the participants' responses. The interviews included four main parts. In the first part, general questions were asked about the languages they spoke in different situations. This included questions about the number of languages they used, the order of their language acquisition and the languages they spoke in different domains. The second part explored their opinions about learning Chinese, English and Naxi and their experiences when using these languages. The third part focused on their views of how the process of learning and using different languages related to their identities. The last part elicited their opinions on language use following the boom in local tourism. After the first four interviews, extra questions were added which sought participants' views on how they felt as multilingual learners, their school experiences of learning Naxi, Chinese and English, and the involvement of their parents in the education and language learning of the younger generation. Details of the individual interview protocol are provided in Appendix 9. It is important to note that in each interview I used the interview protocol as a general guide: I adjusted the questions according to the participant's responses where necessary.

I conducted one round of interviews lasting 0.5-2 hours with all of the participants listed above; in some cases, where additional questions arose and the participants were available, a second, shorter interview was conducted.

3.4.5 Focus group interviews

Five focus groups were conducted in addition to individual interview sessions in order to capture participants' views in a more relaxed group setting. Interviews and focus group are complementary techniques that can be used to strengthen the total research project (Morgan, 1997). In focus group interviews, wherein small groups of people are questioned

on specific topics (Patton, 1990), “attitudes, opinions or perceptions towards an issue, product, service or program” are explored through a free and open discussion between “members of a group and the researcher who raises issues or asks questions that stimulate discussion” (Kumar, 2010, pp. 127-128). As a self-contained method, focus groups can either explore new research areas or examine well-known research questions from the participants’ own perspectives.

Focus groups differ from interviews in that they allow the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a given topic in a limited period of time. They also provide direct evidence of the similarities and differences in the participants’ opinions and experiences (Morgan, 1997); thus, they offer “something of a compromise between the strengths of participant observation and individual interviewing” (Morgan, 1997, p. 16). Participants may be more inclined to disclose stories of their own in focus groups than in interviews (Sussman, Burton, Dent, Stacy, & Flay, 1991). As Morgan and Krueger (1998) note, the comparisons that participants make concerning each other’s experiences and opinions constitute a valuable source of insights into complex behaviors and motivations. Therefore focus group interviews facilitate to produce concentrated amounts of data on precisely the topic on interest and provide access to reports on a wide range of topics that may not be observable (Morgan, 1997). Han Hua and Putonghua were used during focus group interviews according to the participants’ preferences.

For the focus groups, I was guided by principles of non-direction, specificity, range, depth and personal context advocated by Flick (2002) according to the availability of participants. The following Table 1 (also see Appendix 10) shows the composition and focus of each group interview.

Table 1. An Overview of the Focus Groups

Focus groups	Age range	Participants	Gender	Venue	Date & Time	Topic
LJ-FG1	60-86	Senior lady dancers	13 F	Square Street in Dayan	2009-11-23 12:40-14:10	Language learning and

				Town		tourism
LJ-FG2	16-17	Middle school students	7 F	The middle school	2009-11-24 16:30-18:00	ELT in senior secondary school
KM-FG3	22	University undergraduate and postgraduates	3 F	Campus of Yunnan University of Nationalities	2009-11-30 19:00-21:00	Language learning and employment
QJ-FG4	18-22	University undergraduates	3 F 2 M	Campus of Qujing Normal University	2009-12-8 16:30-18:00	Language learning and individuals' futures
LJ-FG5	28-33	College teachers of English	2 F 1 M	A Restaurant in Lijiang	2010-1-15 19:00-21:00	ELL and ELT

All of the topics of the focus group interviews were related to language learning. LJ-FG1 comprised senior lady dancers, most of whom lived in Dayan Town. They regularly danced in Square Street (四方街) (the hub of Dayan Town) for exercise, and also to show tourists the traditional Naxi dances. According to the dance leader, the local government encourages this troupe by providing them with a recorder on which to play music and a small monthly allowance. I asked members of the dance group for their views on language learning and tourism.

LJ-FG2 was formed by seven Year 11 students from a common class (The name of 'common classes' is used to distinguish 'outstanding classes' and 'ethnic minority classes' in each Year) at a local prestigious secondary middle school. Three of them were from rural Lijiang while the other four lived in Lijiang city. They told me how their English teachers taught them in school.

The participants in KM-FG3 included two postgraduates and one undergraduate majoring in different subjects at a local ethnic minority university. They were from villages in the suburban areas of Lijiang. They talked about learning languages, their majors and future employment.

QJ-FG4 was made up of five undergraduates studying in a normal university in the Han region where very few Naxi were studying. This group with members from rural Lijiang centered on language learning and their individual futures.

LJ-FG5 consisted of three university graduate teaching English at a local college. One had studied for a Master's degree in Education Administration in the USA, another had gained his MA in English Language and Literature from a top-ranking university in central China, and the third had a BA in English Language and Literature from a normal university in Yunnan. They discussed ELL and ELT and a college research project called "EANLIC".

To summarize, all of the participants in each focus group discussion knew each other. This ensured that the participants in each group had something to say about the topic and felt comfortable discussing with to each other.

In addition to the individual and focus groups, there were a small number of on-site observations of participants outside of the interview context. I discuss these observations in the following section.

3.4.6 On-site observations

Observation was mainly conducted in educational and commercial sites although it extended to cultural and tourist sites in Lijiang and Kunming: (1) *Commercial sites*: Central business districts; Dayan Town business center; souvenir shops; restaurants; (2) *Cultural sites*: Lijiang Dongba Museum; (3) *Tourist destinations*; and, (4) *Educational sites*: primary, middle school and university classrooms; student's learning activities. Observation was conducted after gaining written or oral consent from the individual participants. Focus was upon how the participants interacted with their students, colleagues and friends, how they used different languages in communication, and what identities were embedded in the languages they used. The details of these observations appear in Table 2 (also see Appendix 11).

Table 2. An Overview of Onsite Observations of Individual Participants

Participant	Observation Date & time	Observation venue	The participant's main activity
LJ-P1-OBFN1	2009-11-26 12:45-13:45	Sports Court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students at noon on Happy English Day
LJ-P1-OBFN2	2009-12-21 8:00-9:30	A classroom (R501) at a college in Lijiang	Teaching Intensive English for 3-year university program
LJ-P1-OBFN3	2009-12-23 9:30-11:00	Office of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her university colleagues in Naxi and Han Hua
LJ-P1-OBFN4	2010-1-10 18:00-20:00	A restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her friends
LJ-P3-OBFN	2009-11-19 12:45-13:45	Sports Court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with his students at noon on Happy English Day
LJ-P4-OBFN1	2009-11-19 19:00-20:30	A classroom (R202) at a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students on English Evening
LJ-P4-OBFN2	2009-12-24 13:00-14:00	Sports court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students on Happy English Day
LJ-P4-OBFN3	2009-12-25 19:00-21:00	A local restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her colleagues and friends
LJ-P5-OBFN	2009-12-17 11:00-13:40	A local Naxi Restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her colleagues and recounting her overseas experience
LJ-P17-OBFN 1	2009-12-14 10:20-11:20	Classroom for Year 1 of a primary school in Lijiang	Teaching Naxi Heritage Class
LJ-P17-OBFN 2	2009-12-16 10:20-11:20	Multimedia classroom of a local primary school in Lijiang	Giving a demonstration class to teachers of English
LJ-P17-OBFN 3	2009-12-19 18:30-20:00	The participant's home in Lijiang City	Interaction at home with her Naxi parents, her son and her Han husband
KM-P11-OBFN	2010-2-1 9:30-10:30	A private English school in Kunming	Teaching English in a private cram school

During my data collection trip, I observed daily life in Dayan Town on an ongoing basis. As Dayan Town is the hub of the ancient town of Lijiang, it is a multilingual site taming with domestic and international tourists as well as local people.

3.5 Data Analysis

In this section, I introduce the procedures I used to process the data and analyze them using content analysis involving the identification of themes through a process of coding and condensing codes (Creswell, 2012).

3.5.1 Transcription

Of the four major categories of data I collected, i.e., language policy documents (see Section 3.4.1), audio-recorded data, field notes and public signs, only the audio-recorded data needed to be transcribed to facilitate thematic coding. I personally transcribed one third of the 85 hours of audio recordings. The remainders were transcribed by 11 research assistants, who were English-major undergraduates from a university in southwest China. The transcribers all signed confidential agreements (see Appendix 12) and I trained them with some transcription conventions (Appendix 13) at a distance through electronic media such as QQ (an online chat tool which is very popular in China and is similar to MSN or Skype). I then checked and proofread the transcriptions multiple times and categorized and coded them together with the written data.

In order to protect their identities, each participant was assigned a code name using a system which identified the location in which s/he was interviewed (LJ=Lijiang, KM=Kunming and QJ=Qujing), their participant number, and the date they were interviewed. If a participant was interviewed twice, I used the codes “I1” or “I2” to show whether the data was from the first or second interview. FG refers to focus groups, which were numbered 1 to 5. OBFN refers to the field notes taken from onsite observation and numbered YYYYMMDD to show the exact date of data collection. For example, “LJ-P1, 20091109” refers to data obtained from the first participant in Lijiang interviewed on 9 November 2009. “LJ-P1-I2, 20091109” refers to data from the second interview with Lijiang participant one on 9 November 2009. “LJ-FG1, 20091109” refers to data from the focus group conducted in Lijiang on 9 November 2009, and “KM-P1-OBFN, 20091109”

refers to data from my field notes that I recorded during onsite observation with Kunming participant one on 9 November 2009. If the data is from my field notes, I mark the sources in the following order “Field notes, the location field work conducted and YYYYMMDD”. For example, “Field notes, Square Street, Dayan Town, 20091109” indicates that the data is from my field observation at Square Street, Dayan Town on 9 November 2009.

As noted earlier, individual interviews were conducted in Han Hua, Putonghua, and English or a mix of the three according to participant preference. Three focus groups were conducted in Han Hua and two in Putonghua. Most of the participants felt better able to express their opinions to me in Han Hua since I cannot understand Naxi. Because Han Hua is only a spoken dialect and has no written system, all of the audio data recorded in Han Hua was transcribed into standard Chinese characters, but with the original expression in Han Hua (this means that sometimes the expression may not sound like standard Chinese). Data originally collected in English were transcribed to English.

Data analysis was conducted in the language in which they were recorded: only those segments which are cited in this thesis were translated into English. In each instance, I provide the Chinese original first, followed by an English translation for the convenience of non-Chinese-speaking readers. All of the translations from the Chinese originals into English are mine.

3.5.2. Content analysis

A combination of interpretive content analysis and multimodal discourse analysis was adopted for the purposes of analyzing the research data.

Interpretive analyses are based upon the work on culture by Geertz who sees humans as animals suspended in webs of significance they have spun, and culture as comprising those webs. Analyses of culture are, therefore, interpretive, in search of meaning rather than scientific (Geertz, 1973a). Geertz sees patterns within cultures as ordered clusters of significant symbols. According to him, the study of such patterns is the study of “the

machinery individuals and groups of individuals employ to orient themselves in a world otherwise opaque” (Geertz, 1973b, p. 363). Human behavior, including linguistic behavior, is seen as symbolic action which signifies and expresses meaning which is inter-woven with the world of actions, signs and symbols. Interpretive approaches present self-validating picture accounts, stay closely grounded, and explain the current condition and realities in order to yield interpretations of new social phenomena.

In a bid to guide my content analysis of the rich macro- and micro-level data I have collected, I used “*the presence or absence* of a given content characteristic” as indicators to analyze the themes evident in my data (George, 2009, p. 145). In this sense, the approach used in this study is in effect a “more conventional way of interpreting” the documents (ibid, p. 146). For example, I used the content indicator to deal with policy documents related to Naxi, Chinese and English to determine whether there was any content in those specific documents about language rights, stipulations or policy implementation; and, if presents, how was it legislated. Drawing on data pertaining to language ideologies, I focused on the content and interpretation of how the individual participants view of Naxi, Chinese or English in their life, study and future.

The analyses are presented in three chapters (Chapter 4-6). The local language (Naxi) is discussed in Chapter 4 followed by the national language (Chinese) in Chapter 5 and then the international language (English) in Chapter 6. A parallel structure moving from language policies to language in education, and then to language ideologies held by the individual participants is followed in each chapter.

Before I move on to presenting the findings of my analysis, I briefly discuss the reliability and validity of this study in the following section.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Research Design

Silverman (2000), who uses the term ‘credibility’ to refer to reliability and validity, stresses

that it is essential to both qualitative and quantitative research. Some qualitative researchers use the notion of validity (Seidman, 1998); Lincoln and Guba (1985) substitute the notion of ‘trustworthiness’. ‘Reliability’ and ‘validity’ are two concepts central to any discussion of credibility and trustworthiness (Zhu, 2011, p. 113). Hammersley provides frequently quoted definitions of ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’:

By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (Hammersley, 1990, p. 57).

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley, 1990, p. 67).

Creswell (2007) and Silverman (2001) argue that reliability mainly concerns whether the data and the methods of data gathering are reliable and lead to valid results, while validity mainly concerns the ‘accuracy’ of the findings. Johnson (1997, pp. 285-286) argues that there are three types of validity in qualitative research: (1) descriptive validity (factual accuracy of reporting by the researcher); (2) interpretive validity (the actual portrayal of the meaning, i.e., the participants’ viewpoints attached by participants and the researcher); and, (3) theoretical validity (the degree to which a theory or theoretical explanation developed from a research study fits the data and is therefore credible and defensible).

In this study, I have employed multiple triangulation of theory, method, investigator or analyst and data source to ensure validity as proposed by Denzin (2006).

- (1) *Triangulation of research approaches*: This study combines language policy analysis, linguistic ethnography in educational settings, language ideology analysis and multimodal analysis of the linguistic landscape.
- (2) *Triangulation of participant’s background*: The participants were recruited from different areas. Some were university undergraduates and postgraduates from various majors. Some were engaged in different occupations in different data collection sites.
- (3) *Triangulation of data collection sites and methods*: I collected data from different institutional sites in three different cities using a range of data collection techniques,

including individual interviews, focus groups, observation, language policy documents and public signage. Intensive data collection over the course of three months helped me ensure internal consistency, as did interviewing a number of participants from different fields. I was thus able to connect their experiences and check the comments of one participant against those of others.

(4) *Triangulation of data types*: I collected language policy documents, data from individual interview, focus group and observation, field notes and public signs.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the learning and use of Naxi from three perspectives: the legislative framework of Naxi language policy, Naxi in education, and the beliefs that the Naxi have vis-a-vis learning and using of their ethnic minority language.

Chapter Four Naxi—The Local Language

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the historically embedded status of contemporary Naxi language learning and use. It explores three key areas: the status of Naxi in the legislative framework; the use of Naxi in education; and the beliefs about Naxi held by private citizens.

4.2 The Legislative Framework

4.2.1 Introduction

As regards Naxi language policy, two relevant strands can be identified: first, there is strong legislative support for minority rights, including language rights, on the national level; second, since the 1990s, regional and local legislation specific to Naxi has emerged as part of the application process for the World Heritage site status.

4.2.2 Strong minority language rights in China

There is strong legislative support for minority languages on the national level from official recognition to the development of linguistic systems. The Naxi are one among 55 officially recognized minorities in the PRC, for whom official recognition was achieved in a number of steps. In 1938, Mao Zedong argued:

The ethnic culture, religion, traditions and customs should be respected. We not only couldn't force the ethnic minorities to learn Chinese but we should help them to develop their education in their own ethnic minority languages (The United Front Work Department of the CPC, 1991, p. 95). (Here and elsewhere: all translations from Chinese originals are mine.)

Consequently, when the PRC was founded in 1949, the *Common Program* (The Communist Party of China, 1949) declared in Article 53 of Chapter 6 that:

各少数民族均有发展其语言文字、保持或改革其风俗习惯及宗教信仰的自由。人民政府应帮助各少数民族的人民群众发展其政治、经济、文化、教育的建设事业。

Different ethnic minorities all have the freedom to use or develop their own languages, to preserve or reform their traditional customs, and to have religious beliefs. The People's Government should help ethnic minorities to develop politics, economy, culture and education.

Official recognition of the language and cultural rights of ethnic minorities in China was very important because it underpinned the new regime's attention to language policy in ethnic minority areas, an aspect of the Chinese national government that had been lacking until then.

Guided by the *Common Program*, the central government put in place a series of measures designed to both study the ethnic minority languages and facilitate their development. In October 1949, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) was set up to implement the central government policies in ethnic minority areas. The Naxi were officially recognized by the SEAC as an independent ethnic minority group in 1954. In 1956, the first work team organized by the SEAC and the Language Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (LICAS), which had been established in Beijing in 1950 (Tan, 2006), went to minority regions to investigate their linguistic and literacy cultures and to collect cultural data relating to each ethnic minority. It was around this time that the Naxi language was recognized (Tan, 2006; Xia, 2007). The SEAC also built primary and secondary boarding schools for Naxi ethnic students: their accommodation, transportation and food were fully funded by the central government as a way of promoting the educational development of the area.

Following the establishment of LICAS on 11 June 1951, the Central University for the Nationalities (now Minzu University of China / MUC) was officially set up. These two

institutions shared two initial aims: (1) to train senior and middle rank cadres who would administer the autonomous ethnic minority regions and their political, economic and cultural development; and (2) to undertake research into Chinese ethnic minority issues including language and literacy, history, culture, society and the economy. A few other ethnic minority universities were set up in various provinces in the same year with similar aims. Although there was no special department for Naxi in the newly-founded MUC, Naxi students were afforded the ethnic privilege of being enrolled and supported by the government.

LICAS began to collect and catalogue the currently extant Naxi scripts and proposed creating a Naxi Pinyin writing system (also called the Naxi alphabetic script). Between 1957 and 1958, Naxi Pinyin was devised based upon the Latin alphabet (J. He & Jiang, 1985) under the guidance of *The National Scheme for the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet* (The Ministry of Education, 1958). *A Brief Introduction to the Naxi Language* by He Jiren and Jiang Zhuyi (1985) was compiled and published as the first systematic and standard Naxi grammar.

In 1954, the first Constitution of the PRC further strengthened the rights of the ethnic minorities of China to equality, freedom, the right to use and develop their own languages and to preserve their respective cultures and customs. Chapter I, Article 3 (The Communist Party of China, 1954) stated:

中华人民共和国是统一的多民族的国家。各民族一律平等。禁止对任何民族的歧视和压迫，禁止破坏民族团结的行为。各民族都有使用和发展自己的语言文字的自由，都有保持或者改革自己的风俗习惯的自由。各少数民族聚居的地方实行区域自治。各民族自治地方都是中华人民共和国不可分离的部分。

The People's Republic of China is a unified state with different ethnic minorities. All ethnic minorities in the People's Republic of China are equal. Discrimination against and oppression of any ethnic minority are prohibited: any act which undermines the unity of the ethnic minorities or instigates division is prohibited. All ethnic minorities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs. All national autonomous areas are integral parts of the People's Republic of China.

The revised Constitution of 1982 continued to uphold and reaffirm the same principles (The Communist Party of China, 1982). Law on Regional Autonomy in Ethnic Minority Regions (The Central People's Government, 1984) was legislated to further guarantee ethnic minority rights. Through the stipulations of the Constitution and relevant by-laws, the rights and obligations of the ethnic minorities in China have thus been enshrined for the unity and stability of the nation.

Many efforts to support bilingual education in ethnic minority areas have been undertaken. For example, in 1981, the Third National Ethnic Minority Educational Conference was devoted to bilingual teaching resource development. In 1984 and 1986, the Law of Regional Autonomy in Ethnic Minorities Regions (The Central People's Government, 1984; The State Council, 2005) and the Law of Compulsory Education of PRC (The Ministry of Education, 2006) again stipulated bilingual education in schools with a majority of ethnic minority students, as did the 1991 *Report on Making Further Improvement in Ethnic Minority Spoken and Written Languages* (The State Council, 1991). Both the National Elementary Conference convened in June 2001 and the Fifth National Ethnic Minority Educational Conference held in July 2002 emphasized the importance of and necessity for bilingual education. Also, in July 2002, the State Council implemented the *Resolution of Intensifying Reform and Accelerating Ethnic Minority Educational Development* (2002) in both primary and middle schools. The most recently-issued document by the SEAC of the PRC [Document No. 53, 2010] (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 2010) on *Opinions of Administration of the Ethnic Minority Spoken and Written Languages* further stressed the importance of minority languages in great detail.

Recognition of the country's ethnic minority languages and cultures continues to be expanded and built upon. Of particular relevance was the implementation of *the National Commonly-Used Language Law of the People's Republic of China* in 2000 (The Central People's Government, 2000), passed by the National People's Congress (NPC). Article 8 of Chapter I reiterate that:

各民族都有使用和发展自己的语言文字的自由。少数民族语言文字的使用依据宪法、民族区域自治法及其他法律的有关规定。

All ethnic minorities have the freedom to use and develop their own languages and characters. Use of ethnic minority languages should abide by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Law on Regional Autonomy in Ethnic Minority Regions and other legislative regulations.

In summary, the important constitutional and institutional foundations laid during this phase served to “position the status of ethnic minority languages, legislate language rights, investigate and identify languages, and create and reform the languages and written forms” (Z. Chen & Xie, 2009, p. 5).

Since 2000s, due to the booming market economy and fast urbanization and migration in China, the Chinese Central Government have switched their focus from emphasis on ethnic rights, freedoms and peculiarities during the previous phase to harmonious inter-ethnic relationships and unity in the current phase, as evidenced by Premier Wen Jiabao's Report on the Work of the Government at the First Session of the 11th National People's Congress on March 5, 2008:

我国是统一的多民族国家，必须坚持各民族共同团结奋斗、共同繁荣发展。坚持和完善民族区域自治制度，促进少数民族和民族地区经济社会发展，巩固和发展平等团结互助和谐的社会主义民族关系。

China is a unified, multiethnic country. We must promote unity among all ethnic groups and make a concerted effort to achieve prosperity and development for all. We will follow and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, promote economic and social development of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas, and consolidate and develop socialist ethnic relations of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony.

(The Central People's Government, 2008)

This new policy focus on multilingualism in China has coincided with a new distinct phase in language policies related to Naxi that commenced in 2003.

4.2.3 Naxi-specific preservation efforts

In addition to enjoying strong legislative support for minority languages at the national level, Naxi has also received strong legislative support at the local and regional levels, particularly since it gained renewed currency when it became instrumental to the success of Lijiang's application for the World Heritage status in 1997 (see Section 1.2). In this context, "Naxi" became an ethnic symbol, which made Lijiang unique. The application for UNESCO World Heritage site status changed people's awareness of Naxi and Dongba, which came to be seen not so much as 'languages for communication' but 'languages as a resource.' This resource now has to be carefully managed to reach the UNESCO's annual assessment criteria, to ensure that the World Heritage site status is maintained. In addition to architectural measures such as keeping the original look of the area's ancient houses, the preservation, systematizing and expanding of Naxi has now become vital to maintaining the stream of tourism revenue resulting from the World Heritage site status (Lijiang People's Government, 2006, 2011).

As a result, the Education Department of Lijiang Gucheng District recommended the teaching of the Naxi language and traditional Dongba culture in the region's schools (The Education Department of Lijiang Gucheng District, 2003). In January 2006, the Yunnan Provincial Government and the People's Government of Lijiang implemented *Protection Regulations for the Dongba Culture of the Naxi in Yunnan* (The People's Government of Yunnan Province, 2005). The *Protection Regulations* state:

第三条: 本条例所保护的纳西族东巴文化是指: (1)1966年前出版或手抄的纳西族东巴古籍文献; (2)纳西族东巴语言文字、音乐、舞蹈、曲艺、绘画、雕塑、服饰、器皿、代表性建筑及设施和场所等; (3)纳西族东巴文化传承人及其所掌握的传统知识和技艺; (4)具有纳西族东巴文化特色的传统民俗活动; (5)其他有保护价值的纳西族东巴文化。

第五条: 丽江市和有关县（市、区）人民政府文化行政部门是纳西族东巴文化保护工作的主管部门，其职责是：(1)宣传、贯彻有关法律、法规和本条例；(2)制定纳西族东巴文化的保护、开发规划和措施，并组织实施；(3)组织对纳西族东巴文化资源进行调查、收集、整理；(4)监督、规范纳西族东巴文化产品的开发利用和市场经营；(5)支持纳西族东巴文化的开发利用工作，发展纳西族东巴文化产业；(6)配合有关部门做好纳西族东巴文字规范化、标准化的有关工作；(7)查处违反本条例的行为。

第七条: 纳西族东巴文化保护所需专项经费列入丽江市和有关县（市、区）财政预算，由同级文化行政部门统一管理，专款专用。

第八条: 丽江市和有关县（市、区）人民政府可以在纳西族群众集中居住、东巴传统民俗活动和纳西族东巴文化传承活动开展较好的地方设立纳西族东巴文化保护区。

第十条: 丽江市和有关县（市、区）人民政府鼓励和支持研究院、博物院及社会兴办纳西族东巴文化学校和传习馆，培养纳西族东巴文化传承人；改善纳西族东巴文化传承人的工作和生活条件，鼓励和支持他们收徒授艺。

Article 3: The Dongba cultural artifacts to be protected in this Regulation include: (1) the ancient Dongba scripts or manuscripts published or handwritten before 1966; (2) the Naxi language, Dongba scripts, music, dance, crafts, paintings, sculpture, attire, household utensils, representative ethnic buildings and facilities; (3) the Naxi Dongba culture inheritors, their knowledge and skills; (4) traditional folk activities of representative Dongba culture; and (5) Dongba culture which is worth protecting but has not been listed above.

Article 5: The government at different levels in Lijiang is the administrative organ charged with protecting Dongba culture. The responsibilities include: (1) to publicize and implement laws, rules and regulations related to the protection of Dongba culture; (2) to plan, draw up and implement the protection of Dongba culture; (3) to organize research into and the archiving of Dongba cultural resources; (4) to supervise and standardize development and market management of Dongba cultural products; (5) to support and develop Dongba cultural industry; (6) to cooperate with other divisions to standardize use of Dongba scripts and (7) to investigate and penalize any violation of this Regulation.

Article 7: The government at different levels in Lijiang ought to assemble a budget for the cost of preserving Naxi and Dongba culture. This budget must be managed by the cultural administrative department and can only be used for this specific purpose.

Article 8: The government at different levels in Lijiang can establish protection zones for the Naxi and Dongba cultures in areas where the Naxi constitute the

majority of the population or where traditional Dongba folk activities have been well developed and the Dongba culture is well preserved and handed on.

Article 10: The government at different levels in Lijiang ought to encourage and support institutions, museums and different organizations to establish Naxi or Dongba schools to spread the Naxi language and culture, cultivate the inheritors of Dongba culture, improve the working and living conditions of the Dongba inheritors, encourage them to recruit apprentices and to pass on their skills.

It is clear that the focus of *the Protection Regulations* is upon the Dongba culture and the collection and maintenance of cultural artifacts rather than language-specific support measures. As a result of *the Protection Regulations*, primary schools and some high schools started Naxi Heritage Classes in the autumns of 1999 and 2002. Since then, more local people have joined in the preservation campaign of Naxi, an activity I describe in detail in Section 4.3.3 below.

4.2.4 Summary

Language policies are being made and re-made in a multifaceted process. This dynamic and complex process exposes how language policies are generated, implemented, regenerated and negotiated “between relevant social agents or actors in the matrix of the social hierarchy in which each has the potential power to insert an influence or effect on the policy” (Feng & Sunuodula, 2009, p. 688; Trowler, 1998). Naxi has gone through a history that extends from gaining official recognition to finally reaching a stage of renewed recognition of its value as ethnic heritage. This process, on the one hand, symbolizes the political status of Naxi in Chinese mainstream society and its fate of unavoidable transition to Chinese through a bilingual education system. Only by conforming to the uniformity of the dominant education system and the talent selection system will the Naxi language gain a position in the majority society. On the other hand, in this new era of market economy in China, Naxi continues to play its irreplaceable role as an inexhaustible and ecological resource in ethnic tourism, a role that stirred the government to recommence examining the value of Naxi and accordingly adjust their language policies. From language policies

affecting Naxi, I will now move on to explore how these policies are actually implemented in education.

4.3 Naxi in Education

4.3.1 Introduction

The legislative framework discussed in the previous section undergirds education, which has often been considered a crucial site for language maintenance and loss (D. Guo & Huang, 2005; H. He & Li, 2010). Four key areas can be identified: transitional bilingual education systems implemented throughout most of the second half of the 20th century resulting from policy tensions arising from support for Naxi and support for a strong national language (also see Section 5.2.3); the introduction of heritage language classes between 1999 and the early 2000s as a result of the Naxi-specific preservation efforts described above; the introduction of university degrees in Naxi; and, the Naxi language learning outside of the official education system.

4.3.2 Transitional bilingual education

Despite the strong support for minority languages in the PRC outlined in Section 4.2.2, the actual implementation of the legislation has often proven difficult. For this reason, Naxi use has declined considerably as evidenced by two recent surveys. Guo Dalie (Editing Board of Lijiang Local Chronicles, 1998) found that 30% of Naxi elementary and middle school students could not speak Naxi. Similarly, Yang & Zhang's study (2009, p. 79) found that among 960 pupils in a primary school in Lijiang city, only 110 (less than 20%) of the 570 Naxi pupils could speak Naxi, facts that aroused Naxi intellectuals' concerns for preserving Naxi (Yu, 2009). These dire findings were confirmed during my own fieldwork. For example, a departmental director of the Educational Bureau of Lijiang explained to me that:

Excerpt 4.1

LJ-P6: 丽江的双语教学么五十年代就开始了，那个时候么没有几个人听得懂汉语和普通话，只能是从双语入手。纳西语-汉语双语教学么现在丽江城区里面是没有了，城里面的学校么从小学一年级开始，应该说，从幼儿园开始，都是用普通话上课。双语教学么主要还是集中在丽江的纳西族聚居乡村和一些边远地区的小学，原因么是那些小娃娃出生后都是讲纳西话，一年级入学一下子学汉语听不懂。城郊乡村么也只是一年级用双语教学稍微过渡一下，但是以普通话为主，二年级开始就完全是普通话教学了。边远地区和山区么普通话形式严峻点，在那些地方，小学一、二年级教师讲课的时候，先用普通话读一遍，然后么用纳西话解释给孩子听，一年级以纳西话为主、普通话辅助，二年级以普通话为主、纳西话辅助，基本到三年级娃娃些都听得懂普通话了。偶尔极个别的地方也有娃娃读到初一才开始学说普通话，不过这种情况在丽江现在是少之又少了。

LJ-P6: The Naxi-Chinese bilingual education in Lijiang started in the 1950s when few people could understand Han Hua and Putonghua. The Naxi-Chinese bilingual education was the only way out. Now there is no bilingual education in Lijiang city area. In the city, kids from Grade 1 in the primary school or even from kindergarten start with Putonghua as the instruction language. Bilingual education can be found mainly in the villages and some rural and mountainous areas because the kids speak Naxi from birth. When they start Grade 1 in school, they can't understand Putonghua. In the villages, the school teachers use both Naxi and Putonghua in Grade 1 for bilingual transition to Grade 2 in Putonghua. In the rural areas or remote mountainous villages, the teachers first read the textbook in Putonghua and explain the meaning in Naxi. Naxi is used more than Putonghua in Grade 1 but Putonghua is more used than Naxi in Grade 2. From Grade 3, almost all the kids can understand Putonghua. Very occasionally some kids only learn to speak Putonghua by the time they go to junior middle school; however, such cases are really very rare in Lijiang now. (LJ-P6, 20091120)

Another participant, KM-P8, a 21-year-old undergraduate majoring in Naxi Language and Literature, confirmed this assessment when informing me of his personal experience with transitional bilingual education in a rural area.

Excerpt 4.2

Hongyan: 上小学的时候，老师讲语文课是怎么讲的？

Hongyan: How did your teacher teach Chinese in primary school?

KM-P8: 一开始就是先把语文呀那些读一遍，然后又用纳西话来解释。

KM-P8: He read Chinese textbooks *first in Putonghua* and then *explained in Naxi*.

Hongyan: 那你上小学一年级的時候会不会讲汉语了？

Hongyan: Were you able to speak Han Hua when you were in Year 1?

KM-P8: 讲汉语了<,>，但是，不是很熟，不怎么熟练！会讲一些普通话。老师是到四年级吧开始是完全用，完全用这个普通话来教学，其实老师基本上在一、二、三年级基本上也在用普通话，然后用纳西话来作一种过渡，慢慢过渡到普通话的教学。

KM-P8: Yeah, I could speak Han Hua. *But I was not very proficient. Not very proficient!* I could speak some (Putonghua). The teacher used Putonghua in Year 4 as the instruction language. He completely spoke Putonghua in teaching. *In fact, the teacher also used Putonghua from year 1-3.* He only used Naxi as a transitional language to achieve the transition from Naxi to Chinese.

(KM-P8, 20091130)

Reports such as these are common in my data. Another example came from KM-P16, a 3rd Year undergraduate majoring in Secretarial Education, who reminisced about the languages used in her elementary education:

Excerpt 4.3

KM-P16: 一般的话，小学上语文、上数学，老师还是会用普通话，但是如果我们听不懂那些，他们会用纳西话来说一下，那种，然后到四年级开始就基本上就很少很少说了，因为我们也可以理解了。

KM-P16: In general, when teachers taught Chinese and Math in the primary school, they mainly spoke Putonghua. When we could not understand, they would explain in Naxi. But when we were in Year 4, they seldom used Naxi because we all could understand Putonghua.

Hongyan: 那你觉得那个时候说纳西话对你学习汉语有没有影响？

Hongyan: Do you think speaking Naxi affected your Chinese learning and use then?

KM-P16: 有，有时候那个 < , > 三年级开始写作文，对吧，写作文的时候我第一反应就是纳西话的那种语序、语言，我又要翻译一遍才能写成汉语的那种。然后写出来的话就非常搞笑，因为语序不对嘛。搭配那些，Uhm *那些会特别搞笑，反正就念不通啊*，说不通那种，纳西话理解是对的，但是汉语来说就是不一样的，那种。

KM-P16: Yeah. We started learning to write Chinese composition in Year 3. At that time, <,> I thought of it first in Naxi and then translated it into Chinese. Through this process of translation, my Chinese writing was very funny because it was in the sentence order and word order of Naxi. Uhm, *it was very funny because it did not make any sense in Putonghua*. When you understood it in Naxi, it made sense. But it was non-sense if read in Putonghua.

(KM-P16, 20091202)

Evidence such as the excerpts shown above suggests that despite pro-minority and pro-Naxi legislation throughout the second half of the 20th century, actual educational practices have resulted in transitional bilingualism, which has weakened and devalued Naxi during the process. However, my fieldwork took place during a period when the

pendulum had begun to slightly swing back in favor of Naxi. It is those newly-established efforts to maintain Naxi that I will now address.

4.3.3 Heritage language streams

The gradual loss of Naxi as described in the previous section has caused considerable concern among Naxi intellectuals (Yu, 2009). Together with the Naxi-specific legislation described in Section 4.2.3, it has resulted in the implementation of new preservation strategies. Teaching Naxi and Dongba culture in primary schools was initiated by a few Naxi individuals in the 1980s: “The courses ranged from painting, music, writing, story-telling to sewing and traditional Naxi decorative embroidery” (Yu, 2009, p. 26). Heritage language classes were added to this mix as late as 1999, when Naxi Heritage Classes were introduced for students in Grades 1 to 4 in primary schools in six townships (The Education Department of Lijiang Gucheng District, 2003). In the same year, an experimental Naxi course was set up for two periods each week in two primary schools (Huangshan and Xingren), located on the outskirts of Lijiang Gucheng District. These experimental courses differed from the previous heritage classes in that they aimed at teaching basic linguistic knowledge of Naxi pictographs and literature pertinent to Dongba culture to students in Years 3 to 6. The courses included “1,000 Naxi hieroglyphs, 100 Dongba aphorisms, the Dongba script *Genesis* and a set of Dongba dances” along with traditional Naxi crafts and songs (D. Guo & Huang, 2005, p. 232). Funding for this project came from private sources raised through the efforts of overseas and local Naxi.

After these experimental classes proved successful, Naxi Heritage Classes were established for students in Years 1 and 2 in all primary schools in 2003 (The Education Department of Lijiang Gucheng District, 2003). But, due to the lack of textbooks, teachers had to resort to using self-collected materials until 2006 when *Naxi Pictographs and Dongba Characters* (D. Guo & Yang, 2006) was published. It was the first Naxi textbook and included an introduction to the Naxi, their culture in Yunnan, Naxi Pinyin, Dongba pictographs, Dongba aphorisms and Naxi sayings.

I observed a Year 1 Naxi Heritage Class in a Lijiang urban primary school (LJ-P17-OBFN1, 20091214) in mid-December 2009 close to the end of the term. The 40-minute-long class was taught by LJ-P17, a female teacher taking the Naxi Heritage and English language classes. Tellingly, the instruction language for the Naxi class was Putonghua. The class started with a review of 19 Dongba pictographs and some simple phrases from these pictographs that the students had previously learnt. Three procedures were employed to review the 19 pictographs: first, the teacher asked a Naxi word in Chinese, the students pronounced in Naxi, and then the teacher wrote the pictograph on the blackboard stressing its structure; second, the teacher wrote a number of Chinese words on the blackboard: some student volunteers came to the platform and wrote down the corresponding pictographs; last, the teacher asked other students to rewrite the incorrect pictographs or correct the pictographs collectively. After 23 minutes of pictograph review, the next activity was singing *The Song for the Naxi Student* (纳西学生歌) that the students had previously learnt and knew by heart.

There were approximately 40 students in the class, two thirds of whom enthusiastically participated in the pictograph review and the singing activities while the remaining 10 appeared disengaged, especially those sitting in the back rows of the classroom. Unfortunately, I was unable to establish the ethnic minority backgrounds of those who were less engaged in the class activities because I was told by LJ-P17 that the class was heterogeneous. Another two minutes were spent on summarizing what they had learned in the current Naxi class (16 weeks): 19 Naxi pictographs, *the Song for the Naxi Student* and making Dongba puppets with play dough. Then, the class closed with an assignment which took approximately 13 minutes to explain. The students were asked to design a small Naxi handwritten assignment (母语手抄报) featuring the 19 Dongba pictographs and submit it the following Monday morning. The teacher showed the class some excellent Naxi assignments handwritten by Year 1 students the previous year and explained to the students in some detail why these assignments were well-done from the overall design. Four patterns of the sample assignments were shown to the students: the first exemplary

assignment consisted of 19 squares featuring one colored-in Naxi pictograph in each. At the foot of each square was a Chinese explanation of the pictogram. The second assignment showed some Naxi folk stories and knowledge in addition to all of the contents presented in the first assignment. The third example, which was similar to the first, featured 19 Naxi pictographs in each square with coloring and paintings. The fourth had been done by a very creative student, who had drawn the Naxi ethnic costume for women and written pictographs on the shawls. Most of the students were surprised to see these beautifully constructed assignments and accordingly showed their admiration and appreciation. They all seemed keen to express their ambition to do equally well this year. The teacher then informed the students of the five requirements for their assignment: (1) an 8k-sized sheet paper; (2) the work should first be done in pencil, then sketched in ink and coloring; (3) the Chinese explanation of the meaning was compulsory; (4) information regarding the class, name and student number should appear on the back, and (5) parents could help their children to look up some stories to use in the assignment. In the last few minutes of the class, the teacher asked the students to take an 8k-sized sheet of paper and design the square for each pictograph. As they did, she wandered through the room, pointing out any problems she detected.

In a follow-up interview, LJ-P17 informed me that the teaching of Naxi pictographs was only a recent addition to the class as it had been impossible to teach them prior to the introduction of the 2006 textbook. However, overall, she was pessimistic about teaching outcomes, adding that even though they were required to teach only 15-20 Dongba pictographs each term, and that most of the students initially showed great interest and became enthusiastically involved in learning Naxi, they had usually forgotten half of the pictographs by the beginning of the next term.

Naxi Heritage Classes in middle schools, which were launched in 2002, were funded by non-governmental organizations, e.g., the Global Naxi Culture Conservation Society (GNCCS). The GNCCS which was launched in the USA in 1996 (see <http://www.gnccs.org/gnccs-history.html>; last accessed on 4 September 2012) has played a

significant role in Naxi preservation ever since. In 2002, it provided financial support to convene a Naxi Study Course Program at Lijiang No.1 Senior High School from 2002 to 2007 (see <http://www.gnccs.org/projects.html>; last accessed on 4 September 2012). During three years of high school, each student in this program had one hour of Naxi Heritage Class per week. If a student attended the class for a semester and met the course requirement, the GNCCS paid him/her a stipend of RMB 120 Yuan. It also paid stipends to teachers. However, this system lasted only for five years as Part A of the GNCCS Naxi Education Program. Since 2007, Part B of the Program has switched to perpetually provide financial assistance to less advantaged students with academic merit (see <http://www.gnccs.org/projects.html>; last accessed on 4 September 2012).

In order to gain a better understanding of the GNCCS program, I requested an interview with LJ-P18, a teacher attached to the program and a staff member in the Language and Scripts Office of the Educational Bureau of the People's Government of Gucheng District of Lijiang. Given her long involvement and various roles in Naxi education, it seemed prudent to gain LJ-P18's perspective. Unfortunately, due to a scheduling conflict, she could only spare me 15 minutes in which she summarized a few key factors she considered important. She began by pointing out that the Naxi class was not listed in the school curriculum and did not count for anything in the CNME. As a consequence, students were poorly motivated and failed to take learning Naxi seriously. She then moved on to stress that most schools did not have any permanent position for a Naxi class teacher and that teacher qualification requirements tended to vary. She also observed that until 2006 there had been no textbooks available: teachers could only use self-collected material. This situation, however, has changed since a textbook titled *Naxi Pictographs and Dongba Characters* (D. Guo & Yang, 2006) was published in 2006 and provided free of charge to schools and students. Overall, I got the impression from the interview that this highly committed and experienced Naxi educator struggled with a sense of the futility of her efforts, particularly as she referring to Naxi in terms of '挣扎'—'struggle.' (Field notes, the Educational Bureau of Gucheng District, 20091125)

Furthermore, the time allocated to these programs was insufficient; on average, 1 or 2 hours per week of instruction. Thus, it was impossible for the students to achieve more than basic competence. In addition, the status of the Naxi classes was very low according to one informant.

Excerpt 4.4

LJ-P6: 有几个小学，纳西母语课平时没有开起来，上面来检查的时候来评估的时候么临时开开。因为没有纳西母语课考试或者地区统测，大家也没有压力，上面也就睁只眼闭只眼。

LJ-P6: In several primary schools, the Naxi Heritage Class was only offered ad hoc when there was some authoritative inspection or official evaluation. Because there was no examination or unified regional test, there was no pressure in the Naxi class. The authorities turned a blind eye to this situation.

(LJ-P6, 20091120)

Interview data such as the above show that teaching Naxi does not necessarily contribute either to raising the status of the language to the students' proficiency in it. On the contrary, because many teaching practices related to Naxi are suggestive of 'tokenism,' they actually serve to further devalue Naxi.

It is also important to note that teachers' qualifications were problematic. Recently, in 2003, 2004 and 2007, some participated in intensive training courses provided by the Dongba Culture Research Institute (see Section 4.3.5). However, many teachers have never received any formal training in Naxi: their only qualification is the fact that they can speak the language.

4.3.4 University degrees

The establishment of Bachelor's and Master's degrees in the Naxi language and Dongba culture in the School of Ethnic Minority Languages and Cultural Studies, Yunnan

University of Nationalities (YUN) in 2002 was a key factor in the preservation of Naxi (Jiehong Yang & Zhang, 2009). Due to this university program, which was jointly funded by the People’s Government of Lijiang Gucheng District and YUN, there is now a stream of Naxi heritage education from elementary through to higher education although there are difficulties and problems at each level.

Table 3. Curriculum for the Naxi Major (BA Program)

Major	Ethnic Minority Languages and Literatures of China		
Direction	Naxi Language, Literature and Dongba Culture		
Degree	Bachelor of Arts (4-year program)		
Six categories of courses	No. of courses	Credits required	
General education compulsory courses	11	49	
Naxi major basic compulsory courses	6	34	
Naxi major compulsory courses	5	26	
Naxi major selective courses	29	16	
General education selective courses	5-8	14	
Internship and practical training	4-6	13	
Credits required	152 credits		

The School worked on *the Naxi Language and Literature and Dongba Cultural Studies Major Undergraduate Development Plan* (School of Ethnic Minority Languages and Cultural Studies of Yunnan University of Nationalities, 2010) in its attempt to develop the Naxi major. This plan stresses the objectives that the Naxi talents development are to cultivate: (1) Naxi linguistic and cultural talents of the 21st century for the Naxi regions; (2) talents who may continue postgraduate studies at Master’s or Doctoral levels in the same discipline or other disciplines; (3) talents who are capable of or proficient at different types of work related to the Naxi language, literature and Dongba culture. Table 3 above shows the curriculum for the Naxi major BA program. In sum, courses related to the discipline total 76 credits and thus account for only 50% of all of the course credits.

The first eight undergraduates were enrolled in 2002: the first cohort of 8 students graduated with Bachelor's degrees in 2006. At the time of my fieldwork in 2009/10, approximately 70 students were enrolled in the degree course and 38 had already graduated. The first two batches of graduates returned to Lijiang to work for the local radio broadcasting company, TV stations, the Naxi Dongba Culture Research Institute and other Naxi-related positions in Lijiang.

In 2004 and 2006, the two universities in Lijiang, i.e., Lijiang Teachers' College and the School of Tourism of Yunnan University Lijiang Campus also introduced undergraduate courses related to Naxi, Lijiang tourism and Dongba culture. In 2008, Southwest China University established a doctoral degree in Naxi pictograph research with special focus on research into the ancient Naxi Dongba literature manuscripts. Being a fluent Naxi speaker constitutes a prerequisite for pursuing any of these degrees and proficiency in Naxi is assessed in a pre-enrolment interview.

KM-P9 was one of the first eight Naxi majors at YUN to graduate with a Bachelor's degree in 2006. After graduation, she obtained a position in the Dongba Culture Research Institute where she worked as a Dongba script researcher. One year later, she re-enrolled at YUN to further her studies in a 3-year postgraduate program on Ethnic Minority Languages and Cultures in China. At the time of our interview, she was revising her MA thesis on Naxi literature. She told me why she chose to do the Naxi major and spoke about the employment of her BA classmates.

Excerpt 4.5

KM-P9: 出于现实的就业考虑,我爸爸坚决的让我报这个专业,2002年我们是第一个本科班,我爸爸说第一批肯定好找工作,说到第二批第三批就不一定了,所以他就坚决让我报了。< @@@> 我们当时班上8个人都是来自丽江人,然后都是纳西族。全部都是清一色的纳西。而且都是其中一个方言区的,纳西语不是分什么东部西部嘛,全部都是西部方言区的,第一届纳西班学生。

KM-P9: Considering the future employment, my father urged me to do this major (the Naxi major) for a BA because we were the first class in 2002. *My father was sure then that it would be easy for me to find a job since that was the first class in Naxi major.* He said it was hard to predict the employment situation of the second and third batch of graduates. So, he firmly decided to let me put it as my first choice of university major. <@@@> Eight of us admitted in the class were from Lijiang and we were all Naxi. *We were homogeneous Naxi in the class.* In addition, we came from the same Naxi dialect region. You know, the Naxi dialect is divided into the Western Dialect and the Eastern Dialect. The students in our class all come from the Western Dialect region.

Hongyan: 你能不能介绍一下你们第一届的分工情况？

Hongyan: Could you please tell me the employment situation of the students in this class?

KM-P9: Uhm, 第一届都分了。我们单位（东巴文化研究所）分着我，*当时八个人嘛都分掉了。*有个男生是在博物馆，还有一个在中央电视台，有一个女生是在玉龙县电视台搞纳西语的新闻播音，有两个一开始是在那种基层呢文化站，祥和还有金山两个乡呢文化站，有个女生回到中甸和丽江交界处的医院，还有一个男生后面也是在一个学校，也是教这种<,>纳西文化，06年毕业到现在，应该是后面又有三届了07，08，09。后面这几届的分工听说好像不太好分了，没有我们那届好。

KM-P9: Uhm, we all got job positions. I work with the Dongba Culture Research Institute. *Eight of us all got jobs.* A male graduate is working with the Lijiang Dongba Museum. One is in the China Central Television Station. A female graduate is now working as a Naxi newscaster in Yulong County Television Station. Two are in cultural stations of Xianghe Township and Jinshan Township. Another female works in a hospital at the border of Shangari-la Zang Ethnic Minority Autonomous Prefecture and Lijiang and a male graduate is teaching the Naxi Heritage Class in a

local school. There were three batches of graduates following us in 2007, 2008 and 2009. I heard it was not easy for them to get jobs like what we have got.

(KM-P9, 20091130)

As KM-P9 pointed out, while the initial cohorts of graduates found it easy to enter the labor market, the situation has changed for current students because the Naxi-specific labor market obviously became saturated quite quickly. One 4th year female undergraduate student in the Naxi major in YUN (KM-P7) shared her concerns with me.

Excerpt 4.6

KM-P7: 但是我们五个学这个专业的学生，可能以后<,>从事的工作很<,>不确定，很可能不是从事这方面的工作，像纳西文化，虽然学的这个专业，*但是本科开的课程很浅*，可能以后从事的不是纳西文化（这些方面的工作）。现在嘛，我觉得还是<,>*还是挺难的*，因为他们现在招的都是（纳西语专业的）研究生好像。因为我们毕业回去还是<,>工作还是挺难找，像<,>他们东巴（文化）研究所啊什么的，他们<,>他们现在都只要研究生了而且他们岗位的空缺也不多。一想到这些学习动力就弱了。

KM-P7: Although five of us are studying in the Naxi major, we are not sure of what kinds of jobs we may do after graduation. We are doing the major; however, the courses for the Naxi bachelor's degree are shallow. Probably we won't get any work related to Naxi. Now I find *it very difficult* because the employers all seem to prefer employing postgraduates of the Naxi major. It will be very difficult for us to find a job after graduation. The Dongba Culture Research Institute only recruits postgraduates and it doesn't have a lot of job vacancies. *Thinking of these, I am less motivated to study.*

(KM-P7, 20091130)

Testimonies such as the above reveal the tension between the need to foster the inheritors of the Naxi language and Dongba culture and its small employment market. They reflect

the dilemma that Naxi majors in higher education have to face in the chain of supply and demand in the administrative system of China while on the one hand, Naxi scholars with Bachelors' degrees find it hard to find permanent positions related to Naxi, on the other, local primary schools lack qualified teachers for their Naxi classes. Apropos of this dilemma, one of the informants, LJ-P6, who was in charge of the Section of Elementary Education and Junior Secondary Education, Division of Scientific Research of the Lijiang Education Bureau, disclosed some concerns of primary school principals appertaining to the recruitment of Naxi class teachers:

Excerpt 4.7

LJ-P6: 这些校长了嘛，不咋个喜欢招聘纳西母语课老师，主要是因为了嘛，一个是现在小学老师的编制紧张起，每年进几个老师也不容易，一般就优先考虑进主科的老师，英语老师也会优先考虑了嘛，因为现在小学开始英语了。二是纳西母语课只是丽江的一个地方性课程，没有纳入正规国家教学课程范围，这门课可能开多长时间还是个未知数。还有么没有严格的考试，么一般学校觉得叫起会纳西话的老师培训一下也就可以教纳西母语课了，没有必要浪费一个人事编织。

LJ-P6: These principals were not keen to recruit teachers for the Naxi Heritage Class mainly because: there were not many vacancies for recruitment of new school teachers. It was not easy to get new vacant positions each year so top-priority would usually be given to those who would be recruited to teach the key subjects. Teachers of English were on the list because English is a subject in primary school now. The second reason was that the Naxi Heritage Class was only set up as a local-regional course which hadn't been listed in the normal national curriculum and no one could be sure of how long this course would be in the school. There are no formal and strict exams for Naxi in primary school. Therefore, in general, in schools with a shortage of Naxi Class teachers, the school authority would choose to arrange some

teachers with a Naxi background to receive short-term training and put them to teach the Naxi Class rather than waste a recruitment quota.

(LJ-P6, 20091119)

In sum, the ambiguity surrounding Naxi majors derives from two problems associated with the course: first, there is a gap between the objectives of the Naxi curriculum and the actual credit allocation to Naxi-specific units, which, as I have shown above, is relatively low. Second, because the job market quickly becomes saturated, Naxi majors now face uncertain employment prospects. Earlier it was suggested that Naxi majors could expect to “harvest a bowl of gold” (Wang, et al., 2012, p. 262); but, in less than four years, it has emerged that these dreams were just that: dreams.

4.3.5 Naxi language learning outside of formal education

Naxi learning nowadays not only occurs within the formal public education system but also through individuals and non-government organizations setting up of private Naxi schools and courses in order to promote Naxi traditional culture and to construct Naxi-themed tourist sites.

Two types of private Naxi schools can be distinguished: first, the small schools set up by individuals who love the Naxi and their language and culture (J. Li, 2006). Second is the Naxi Language Institute, which is affiliated with the Lijiang Dongba Culture Museum and the Dongba Culture Research Institute and financially supported by the Nature Conservancy (<http://www.nature.org/>; last accessed on 4 September 2012) and the Ford Foundation (Yu, 2009). The latter has provided both long-and short-term training to the men aspiring to the Dongba priesthood (see Section 1.2), teachers of Naxi Heritage Classes, business people in Dayan Town and individual lovers of the Naxi language and culture (<http://www.fordfound.org/regions/china/>; last accessed on 4 September 2012).

Additionally, the Naxi and Dongba cultures can be learnt through traditional Naxi songs and ancient Dongba music. For example, Dongba Ancient Music Cultural Spread Ltd. was

established in the late 1980s to preserve Naxi music. This troupe is extremely successful and has been performing in Europe, America and across Asia.

Tourist sites, Naxi protection zones and model villages are also sources for learning Naxi. One typical example is *Yushuizhai* (玉水寨/Jade Water Village), a heritage center where tourists can learn about the Dongba script, religion and culture. In 2012, *Yushuizhai* hosted the first qualification assessment ceremony of Dongba priests, an event that constituted a major step in the scientific and systematic development of the Dongba religion (Yushuizhai Dongba Culture Tourism Company, 2012).

4.3.6 Summary

In China, the strong legislative support for minority languages in general and Naxi in particular has not always easily translated into high levels of Naxi learning and use in the education system. The reason for this is because Naxi is in direct competition with Standard Chinese (see Chapter 5 for more detail). The outcomes of renewed efforts to enhance Naxi made in the new millennium remain to be seen; but, the under-resourcing of heritage classes and the limited job opportunities for graduates do not give cause for strong optimism. No matter how hard governmental or non-governmental institutions try to preserve Naxi, they still face the following practical difficulties: education budget constraints, insufficient time allocated to tasks, inadequately qualified teachers, and limited job opportunities for graduates. A summary of events regarding Naxi preservation is provided in Appendix 14.

4.4 Individual Beliefs about the Naxi Language

4.4.1 Introduction

Language maintenance and use depend in the main upon the legislative framework in place and the actual language learning and language practices provided by the education system.

In order to gain a fuller picture it is also important to understand individual attitudes and beliefs about the language in question. In this section, I will explore how Naxi individuals speak about Naxi learning and use. The beliefs about Naxi they expressed to me can be categorized as follows: Naxi as identity and habit and Naxi as effort. The first may be considered positive and supporting Naxi language maintenance efforts. The latter is broadly negative and underpins the Naxi language loss.

4.4.2 Naxi as identity and habit

Many participants stressed that speaking Naxi is an expression of Naxi identity, as evident in this excerpt from a group interview with the Naxi dance group:

Excerpt 4.8

Dancer 1: 纳西人么就应该要讲纳西话了嘛，不然么还算什么纳西人<@@>。

Dancer 1: The Naxi should be able to speak Naxi. Otherwise they shouldn't be seen as the Naxi <@@>.

Dancers 3, 8 and 9 all agreed with Dancer 1.

Dancer 3: 像我们这辈纳西人在一起么都是说纳西话噶，不说纳西话么总觉得不像是纳西族，有点格外的感觉。

Dancer 3: When the Naxi of our generation get together, we just speak Naxi. If we don't speak Naxi, we feel very uncomfortable. We feel like we are outsiders.

Dancer 8: 穿着纳西服装，说着纳西话，觉得很自然，也容易交流些。

Dancer 8: I feel it is quite natural to speak Naxi with someone dressed in the Naxi traditional costume. It is much easier to communicate.

Dancer 9: 我觉得政府还是要鼓励大家学习纳西话、讲纳西话，如果纳西族连纳西话都不会讲，么就都变成汉族了。

Dancer 9: I think the government should encourage everyone to learn and speak Naxi. If the Naxi can't speak Naxi, then we all become Han.

Later in the conversation, Dancer 12 shared her family experience as follows:

Dancer 12: 我家儿子找的媳妇是外省的汉族,她一来么家里面就只好说普通话,说起也怪怪呢, <@@@>。等他们一走么,家里面开始讲纳西话,就觉得像一个纳西人家了。儿子媳妇来的时候家里就是觉得隔起点。可能就是不讲纳西话的原因了。

Dancer 12: My son married a Han girl from another province of China. When she came to visit us, we had to struggle to speak Putonghua <@@@>. We felt very bad when we spoke Putonghua. When they left, we started speaking Naxi and we felt like we were a Naxi family. When my daughter-in-law came to visit us, we felt there was something that separated us. I guess that's because we didn't speak Naxi at home as usual.

(LJ-FG1, 20091123)

While this informant alluded to her sense of alienation when she has to speak Chinese with close family members, others reported that speaking Naxi helps them achieve a sense of ethnic belonging, a good feeling that all seemed to enjoy. The following excerpt from a teacher of English in the local college provides an example:

Excerpt 4.9

LJ-P1: 说纳西话让我觉得比较自在。如果说我的谈话对象像我一样是纳西族噶、也说纳西话噶,那我就觉得这个人比别的不说纳西话的人更值得我信任。

LJ-P1: Speaking Naxi makes me feel comfortable. If I am talking with a Naxi who also speaks Naxi, then I will feel this person is more trustworthy than another people who are not Naxi.

(LJ-P1, 20091113)

Examples such as these demonstrate that many of my interlocutors attached great importance to the Naxi language as a marker of their Naxi identity. Regarding Naxi as an ethnic identity marker, speaking Naxi as a matter of habit was evident in the above quotes. Some participants, for whom this belief was even stronger, explained their preference for speaking Naxi solely in terms of habit (e.g., KM-P6, an undergraduate majoring in English Language and Literature).

Excerpt 4.10

KM-P6: 我觉得这个应该是<>应该是一种习惯，爹妈生下来就是纳西，我们生下来也是纳西，没有那样稀奇呢。说纳西话也是一种本能反应了嘛，大家都是纳西族然后也会讲纳西话，么大家在一起就自然而然讲纳西话。

KM-P6: I see it (being a Naxi and speaking Naxi) <> as a habit. Our parents were born as Naxi. We were born as Naxi. There is nothing special about it. Speaking Naxi is an instinctive behavior. We are all Naxi and we can all speak Naxi. So it is quite natural to speak Naxi.

(KM-P6, 20091129)

In sum, many of the Naxi I interviewed spoke of their preference for speaking Naxi. They felt that speaking Naxi was not only closely tied to who they were, but also gave them a sense of belonging or the simple comfort of an unquestioned ‘natural’ habit. However, for many participants, these positive attitudes towards Naxi were often mitigated by the fact that speaking Naxi was also associated with making an extra effort.

4.4.3 Naxi as effort

Contrary to the strong belief that Naxi, as symbolic of their ethnic identity provides them with the comfort of habit, some participants reported that occasionally they encountered others who refused to speak Naxi, and that sometimes they refused to speak Naxi to others.

Such was the case with QJ-P2 (a 4th Year undergraduate majoring in Ideological and Political Education) and LJ-P13 (a Year 11 middle school student):

Excerpt 4.11

Hongyan: 你和纳西族同学在一起都说纳西话吗?

Hongyan: Do you speak Naxi with your Naxi classmates?

QJ-P2: 我们在一起不说纳西话的。因为我的纳西族，我的伙伴嘛，他们不讲纳西话的，他们来自汉族地方的纳西族嘛，然后我就说，*哎呀，讲纳西话，讲纳西话*。然后他们就说多别扭啊，他们说其他的那些同学都讲汉话，我们为什么要讲纳西话呢，*感觉是纳西族很低人一等，然后就是他们自己讲汉话*。

QJP2: We didn't speak Naxi when we were together. My Naxi friends didn't speak Naxi because they were the Naxi from the Han region. *I suggested speaking Naxi, speaking Naxi*. Then they would say speaking Naxi would make them feel very weird and strange. They would say that other students were speaking Han Hua and why should we speak Naxi? *It sounds like the Naxi is inferior to the Han and so are the languages. Then they will speak Han Hua*.

(QJ-P2, 20091209)

LJ-P13: 我家里面呢人强迫我说纳西话。我堂哥说了嘛，作为纳西族，我应该说纳西话。么他们就强迫我说纳西话。*但是我就是不说，不管他们咋个整，我就是不说。就是坚持不说*。

LJ-P13: My family members forced me to speak Naxi because my cousin said that, as a Naxi, I should speak Naxi. So they forced me to speak Naxi. *But I didn't speak Naxi. No matter how they forced me, I didn't speak Naxi. I insisted on not speaking Naxi*.

(LJ-P13, 20091124)

In addition to the above negative experiences, some participants found learning and using Naxi onerous. Lijiang is a multilingual community (see Section 1.2 and Chapter 7); consequently, some Naxi parents seek to ease the burden for their children by eliminating Naxi from their linguistic repertoire. LJ-P17, a primary school teacher of English and Naxi, described this as a common phenomenon: “the closer a place is to Lijiang city, the fewer children can speak Naxi; the younger the kids are, the fewer can speak Naxi, and the Naxi grandparents struggle to speak Putonghua with their grandchildren believing that learning Putonghua is the best way out”. This view was evidenced in my interviews with LJ-P12 (a Year 11 middle school student), KM-P4 (a 4th Year undergraduate majoring in English Language and Literature from a tourist town in suburban Lijiang) and QJ-P2 which featured below.

Excerpt 4.12

LJ-P12: 我家妈觉得说纳西话对学普通话不好，所以她不想让我说纳西话。

LJ-P12: My mum thinks that speaking Naxi is not good for learning Putonghua so she doesn't want me to speak Naxi.

(LJ-P12, 20091124)

KM-P4: 有一些家庭，小孩子小的时候不教纳西话，只教普通话或是汉话。他们觉得纳西话对以后的学习是一种累赘。还有就是感觉教小孩纳西话就是挺土的。教<,>普通话有点洋气，时髦。

KM-P4: Some (Naxi) families just teach their children Putonghua or Han Hua rather than Naxi. They think learning Naxi will be an extra burden for their children in future study. They also think it is not fashionable to teach Naxi to kids. <,> Speaking Putonghua sounds more fashionable and stylish.

(KM-P4, 20091129)

QJ-P2: 现在很多小孩子，父母都希望他讲普通话，而不讲纳西话，..... 就拿我哥跟我嫂子比个例子吧。我哥是纳西族嘛，跟我一样嘛噶，我嫂子是汉族，讲

汉话。然后是我，<,> 我的侄姑娘嘛，她就是讲汉话，然后我爸我妈经常教她讲纳西话嘛，我嫂子就特别反对，觉得那个小孩子受纳西语言的影响可能会对以后<,>可能就会影响到教育方面，怎么说呢，可能怕她受到影响嘛，然后就把我侄女带回去了<@>。

QJ-P2: Many parents hope their children can speak Putonghua not Naxi. ... Take my brother and sister-in-law as an example. Like me, my brother is a Naxi, too. My sister-in-law is Han and speaks Han Hua <,>. My niece first spoke Han Hua. *Then my parents often taught her Naxi. My sister-in-law was unhappy and strongly against it* because she thought learning Naxi would affect the performance of my niece in the Han educational system. How to say, she worried that my niece would be affected in Putonghua or Han Hua because of speaking Naxi. So she took my niece back to their city <@>.

(QJ-P2, 20091209)

The belief that having to speak both Naxi and Chinese was onerous, and that Chinese had to be prioritized over Naxi, was expressed frequently. KM-P6, a university student from a suburban township in Lijiang, provided another example:

Excerpt 4.13

KM-P6: 上幼儿园那个时候老师就用普通话教我们，全部都是普通话，老师尽量呢那种不让我们讲纳西话，好像就是<,>，就是尽量的，怕纳西语影响到我们以后语言的发展嘛，然后也禁止你在那个<,>讲纳西语，比如说在学校里边，老师不愿意听到，不愿意听到你讲纳西语嘛，尽量呢教你讲那种讲普通话讲汉语。

KM-P6: All teachers in kindergarten taught us in Putonghua, completely in Putonghua. The teachers tried hard not to let us speak Naxi. It seemed <, > that they were doing that purposefully for fear that speaking Naxi would affect our linguistic development in Chinese in the future. We were also prohibited <,> to speak Naxi;

for example, in the kindergarten, the teachers didn't like to hear, to hear we were speaking Naxi. They tried their best to teach us Putonghua and Han Hua.

(KM-P6, 20091129)

Many participants reported similar experiences of having Naxi devalued in the educational sphere. LJ-P8, a department head in the Tourism Bureau of the People's Government of Lijiang Gucheng District told me how his daughter had refused to speak Naxi after she entered pre-school:

Excerpt 4.14

LJ-P8:咋个说呢，我也说不清楚，我呢娃娃么，生出来嘛，我们都是教她纳西话，上幼儿园之前都只讲纳西话，汉话都不会讲，但一送到幼儿园以后就<,>纳西话都不会讲了。像我<,>我现在跟娃娃讲话，我跟她讲纳西话，但是她跟我讲汉话，纳西话她只是会听，不会讲了。以后么怕是听也听不来咯。

LJ-P8: ...How to say? I really have no idea. We taught our child Naxi since she was born. She could only speak Naxi before she went to kindergarten and couldn't speak any Han Hua. But, after she went to kindergarten, <,>, she couldn't speak Naxi anymore. Now, whenever I speak Naxi to her, she responds me in Han Hua. She can understand Naxi but cannot speak. I am afraid that she won't understand any Naxi someday in the future.

(LJ-P8, 20091123)

While her daughter's loss of Naxi was a cause of concern for LJ-P8, others were anxious for their children and grandchildren not to be held back by Naxi. Even members of the Naxi dance troupes, who were adamant that speaking Naxi was part of being Naxi, also expressed their desire for their grandchildren to prioritize Chinese and English over Naxi. Dancer 9 said:

现在很多家小娃娃户口本上写的是纳西族，有些纳西话讲呢还可以，有呢么是一句纳西话都讲不来，有时候觉得那种就不能算是真正的纳西族。但是么光光会讲纳西话也不得，克到学校里面个个讲汉话、普通话还要学起英语，只要他们会讲汉话、普通话、英语么就可以了，以后出门找得着路，找工作找得着么就得了！

Many kids have been registered Naxi in their household registration book; however, some can speak Naxi well while some cannot even articulate a single Naxi word. Sometimes we don't regard them as real Naxi because they cannot speak Naxi. But sometimes, only speaking Naxi is not good. When they go to school, all students speak Han Hua, Putonghua and they learn English. It is fine if they can learn to speak Han Hua, Putonghua and English to find the ways to places and find a job!

(LJ-FG1, 20091123)

Attitudes such as these, i.e., that for some, speaking Naxi could prove onerous were expressed in other minority contexts. In her research into Gaelic, Dorian (1998), for example, found a similar system of beliefs wherein bilingualism was regarded as onerous, where there was contempt for subordinate, non-standardized languages, and where a certain social Darwinism of language, or linguistic 'survival of the fittest', could be observed.

4.4.4 Summary

Language beliefs influence community language practices inasmuch as they “alter the willingness and opportunities for learning and use” (Spolsky, 2011, p. 149). In this section, I have explored the beliefs about Naxi held by my participants and identified two broad – and contradictory – themes. While many participants expressed positive attitudes towards Naxi as the language of their ethnic identity and as something inborn and natural, many (and sometimes the same participants) saw it as a burden they would rather not impose on the next generation.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have exposed contradictions relative to Naxi at various levels. To begin with, Naxi is embedded in a highly favorable, legislative framework both at the national and regional levels. At the same time, this favorable policy framework is internally conflicted given that Naxi, like all minority languages in China, is indirectly pitched in competition with the national language of Standard Chinese.

Even stronger cracks become visible when one moves from the policy level to the actual implementation of language policies in the education system. Naxi has not been a medium of instruction in Lijiang since the 1980s. It has been restricted to use in rural and remote areas where its function is to support transition from Naxi to Chinese within the first few years of elementary schooling. Since the late 1990s, however, this trend has been slightly reversed: Naxi Heritage Classes have been introduced at the primary level in some middle schools and also as a degree program in higher education. However, closer examination revealed that these classes are more symbolic than substantial because budgetary allocations, time spent on tasks, teaching resources and teacher qualifications are severely limited. In addition, Naxi university graduates area faced with limited job prospects.

The largely symbolic character of Naxi, evident in inconsistent, unenforced or poorly enforced legislation, is not lost upon the Naxi people, evident in the fact that when exploring individuals' language attitudes, similar contradictions and inconsistencies were observed. While on the one hand, Naxi is close to the hearts of many Naxi as the language of their ethnic identity and an inborn habit, on the other, some view Naxi as a burden that, given the choice, they would rather not impose on the next generation.

Taken together, these contradictions seem largely irresolvable. It appears that the future of Naxi is pulled in many different directions by decision-makers at various levels. As I will argue in Chapter 7, one way to resolve these tensions is to retain Naxi as a symbolic

language with limited communicative use and to conduct the community's transactional communication in Chinese.

Chapter Five Chinese—The National Language

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to understanding the learning and use of Chinese, the national language of China. It is organized parallel to the previous and following chapters and investigates the learning and use of Chinese from three critical perspectives: from the perspectives of language legislation; practices in education; and, participants' individual beliefs about Chinese language learning and use.

5.2 Legislation for the Promotion of Chinese

5.2.1 Introduction

In the People's Republic of China (PRC), Chinese has been promoted as “a symbolic tool for the manipulation of political, social, educational and economic agendas” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 1) because two aspects of the legislated national promotion of Putonghua are particularly relevant, I will discuss each in turn, namely the promotion of a unified nation through a unified language and promotion of the eradication of illiteracy through the national language.

5.2.2 Chinese for national unity

Post-1949, achieving social unity and warding off the potential danger of national disintegration was a national priority; and, the promotion of a unified national language was considered a key means of achieving this. Chapter I, Article 3 of the first Constitution of the PRC (The Communist Party of China, 1954) made clear to all citizens that “中华人民共和国是统一的多民族的国家 [The People's Republic of China is a unified state with different ethnic minorities]”. Although the Article clearly expressed the government's

political attitude towards the languages of all of the country's ethnic minorities, i.e., that “各民族都有使用和发展自己的语言文字的自由 [All ethnic minorities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages]” (see Section 4.2.2), the belief prevailed that a national standard language was urgently needed to achieve national unity and harmony in this multiethnic nation. On the basis of this national ideology, government work on language in this new historical era included simplifying Chinese characters, promoting Putonghua nationwide, formulating and promoting Chinese Pinyin and standardizing the language.

The foundations for this work were laid at the National Conference of Language Reform and Modern Chinese Standardization held in Beijing in October 1955, and further reinforced in the speech delivered by Premier Zou Enlai on 6 February 1956 on *Instructions on the Promotion of Standard Chinese* (The State Council, 1956). The Premier's address not only emphasized the function of Chinese as a linguistic tool for communication, class struggle and development, but also stressed its great significance for the socialist construction of the nation-state. The Chinese Committee for Reforming the Chinese Script was assigned to complete the Pinyin Scheme in the first half of 1956. In addition, the State Council established the Standard Chinese Promotion Committee to take charge of the promotion of standard Chinese.

Following these high-level pronouncements, from the autumn of 1956 onwards, primary and middle schools located outside of the designated ethnic minority regions were required to teach the Pinyin System and to use Putonghua as the instruction language for all students above Year 3. In effect, all staff and students were required to speak Putonghua. Concomitant with the above, the central government further intensified the promotion and training of Putonghua outside of the educational domain. Putonghua programs were inserted into daily TV programs in regions where different dialects were spoken in order to help non-standard speakers gradually learn to speak Putonghua.

The central government adjusted its measures to promote Chinese nationwide in different times. In the 1980s, for example, due to the economic reforms and opening policy and that influence on social development, technological innovation and human minds, the government adjusted the direction, target, policy and core part of the language program. *The Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (The Communist Party of China, 1982) further legislated the national promotion of standard Chinese in Article 19:

国家发展社会主义的教育事业，提高全国人民的科学文化水平。国家举办各种学校，普及初等义务教育，发展中等教育、职业教育和高等教育，并且发展学前教育 **国家推广全国通用的普通话。**

The State undertakes the development of socialist education and works to improve the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. The State establishes and administers schools of various types, popularizes compulsory primary education and promotes secondary, vocational and higher education as well as pre-school education. ... **The State promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua.** [Emphasis added.]

This Article implied that the promotion of Putonghua was justified because it was the language of scientific, educational and cultural advancement. As a result, notifications on the promotion of Putonghua in teachers' training schools, normal universities, and other primary to secondary schools (including vocational schools) were successively issued between 1986 and 1993. In 1994, the National Language and Character Working Committee, the State Education Commission (now the Ministry of Education) and the Ministry of Broadcasting, Film and Television issue a joint announcement introducing Putonghua testing, which served as another symbolic (and practical) endorsement of Chinese as the language of institutions, standards and science.

China's commitment to the promotion of a unified nation through a unified language has been unwavering over time evident in the Second National Language and Character

Working Committee, which was launched in 1996 and focused on the macro-administration of the promotion of Chinese through formulating comprehensive assessment criteria. *The National Commonly-Used Language Law of the People's Republic of China* (The State Council, 2000) which was approved on 31 October 2000 and took effect from 1 January 2001, further served to reify the status of Chinese as the national language. The General Principles in Chapter 1 of *the Law* stated that:

第一条：为推动国家通用语言文字的规范化、标准化及其健康发展，使国家通用语言文字在社会生活中更好地发挥作用，促进各民族、各地区经济文化交流，根据宪法，制定本法。

第二条：本法所称的国家通用语言文字是普通话和规范汉字。

第三条：国家推广普通话，推行规范汉字。

第四条：公民有学习和使用国家通用语言文字的权利。国家为公民学习和使用国家通用语言文字提供条件。地方各级人民政府及其有关部门应当采取措施，推广普通话和推行规范汉字。

第五条：国家通用语言文字的使用应当有利于维护国家主权和民族尊严，有利于国家统一和民族团结，有利于社会主义物质文明建设和精神文明建设。

Article 1: This Law is based on the Constitution of the PRC. It is formulated to promote the standardization and better development of the standard spoken and written Chinese language and to make standard spoken and written Chinese language play a greater role in the social life of the Chinese and to promote economic and cultural exchange between different regions and different nationalities.

Article 2: 'Standard spoken and written Chinese language' in the Law refers to Putonghua and standardized Chinese characters.

Article 3: The State promotes Putonghua and standard Chinese characters.

Article 4: All citizens have the right to learn and use the standard spoken and written Chinese language. The State provides conditions for citizens to learn and use standard spoken and written Chinese language. The government at different levels in China ought to take measures to promote Putonghua and standard Chinese characters.

Article 5: Use of the standard spoken and written Chinese language ought to benefit and maintain State sovereignty and national dignity, benefit national unity and ethnic solidarity, and benefit the construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilization.

In the General Principles, Article 1 clearly stated the legislative objectives of *the Law*: Article 2 defined the standard spoken and written Chinese language. While Articles 3 and 4 stressed that it was the duty and responsibility of the government at different levels to promote Chinese, and the Chinese citizens' right to learn and use Chinese, Article 5 stressed the rationale for the promotion of Putonghua.

Article 10 in Chapter 2 stipulated the role of instructional language in public education as follows (see Section 5.2.3):

第十条: 学校及其他教育机构以普通话和规范汉字为基本的教育教学用语用字。
[...] 学校及其他教育机构通过汉语文课程教授普通话和规范汉字。使用的汉语文教材，应当符合国家通用语言文字的规范和标准。

Article 10: All schools or other educational institutions should use Putonghua and standard Chinese characters as their instructional written and spoken languages. [...] All schools or other educational institutions will teach Putonghua and standard Chinese characters through the Chinese course. The textbooks used should conform to the standardization of the standard spoken and written Chinese language.

Radio and television stations were mandated to use Putonghua as their basic broadcasting language; and, Article 13 stipulated the use of languages in the public service as follows:

第十三条：公共服务行业以规范汉字为基本的服务用字。因公共服务需要，招牌、广告、告示、标志牌等使用外国文字并同时使用中文的，应当使用规范汉字。提倡公共服务行业以普通话为服务用语。

Article 13: The public service should use standard Chinese characters as the written language. When occasion requires foreign languages and Chinese to be used on signboards, billboards and bulletin boards in the public service, standard Chinese characters should be used. People working in the service trade are encouraged to use Putonghua when providing services.

Article 19 stressed that those working in positions where public speaking was required should speak Putonghua. The Putonghua spoken by announcers, hosts, actors and actresses, teachers and government staff was required to have reached a certain level. In cases where these had not been achieved, those concerned were required to undergo extra Putonghua training.

In sum, the constitution and its revisions laid the foundations for promoting Chinese nationwide in the interests of national unity and ethnic solidarity. High-level pronouncements in different historical times have legislated Chinese as the language of economic, social and cultural advancement as well as social mobility.

5.2.3 Chinese for education

Since 1949, Putonghua has been promoted as the national language in conformity with the ideology of “one nation, one language” (ONOL). However, as I suggest in Section 4.2.2, ethnic minorities were simultaneously guaranteed strong language rights; thus they were initially exempt – and, officially continue to be exempt – from adopting Chinese as their language of interaction. However, another national priority served to undercut this

prerogative and to promote Chinese among ethnic minorities, namely the imperative to educate the nation as a whole and particularly to eradicate illiteracy.

The promotion of Chinese among ethnic minorities first started with the literacy campaign of 1952 (Zhou, 2000). In 1949, China's overall illiteracy rate was 80%; in the countryside, it was as high as 95%. Although the illiteracy rate of the Naxi in the early years of the PRC is not known, it is likely that it was lower than that of other ethnic minorities (which is the case today). In 1985, the illiteracy rate among the Naxi was the lowest of all of the groups in Yunnan Province, including the Han (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 2009). In the most recent statistics (2000), their illiteracy rate was 15.21% (The Division of Population and Social Sciences of the National Bureau of Statistics & The Economy Department of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 2002).

Determined to improve the low levels of education evident in the illiteracy rate in the interests of political and economic development (Zhou, 2005), the PRC government has chosen to promote literacy in the Chinese language.

As part of the literacy campaign, the national government authorized the use of both ethnic minority languages and Chinese as languages of instruction in schools. *The Plan to Cultivate the Ethnic Minority Cadres* (The Central People's Government, 1950) approved in 1950 was a launching pad for the campaign. At the First National Ethnic Minority Educational Conference in 1951 (The Ministry of Education, 2005) it was argued that if ethnic minority students who used their mother-tongue languages had difficulty understanding Chinese, the schools could only use ethnic languages as instruction languages. But, to improve these students' understanding of Chinese, bilingual education should be established in ethnic minority regions as soon as conditions permitted.

Thus, Chinese, at the expense of the minority languages, was promoted among ethnic minorities with the express aim of eradicating illiteracy. An article published in 1958 (The State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1958) specifically recommended teaching standard

Chinese in primary schools in minority communities. This article, which was widely interpreted as the central government's directive, defined bilingual education as transitional from ethnic minority languages to Chinese (see Section 4.3.2).

Through this process, Chinese moved from the language of literacy (or rather the language to eradicate illiteracy) to the language of education more generally.

5.2.4 Summary

In effect, the promotion of Chinese as the language of national unity and education has been legislated in national policies in China since 1949. The establishment of numerous administrative structures and committees at various levels ensured the success of the legislation for the promotion of Chinese. While officially exempt from the promotion of Chinese, the language has been forced on ethnic minorities through policies ostensibly focused upon the eradication of illiteracy, which eventually morphed into the de facto establishment of Chinese as the language of education throughout the whole nation. These legislative and administrative foundations have resulted in the supreme status of Chinese in education, as I will demonstrate in the next section.

5.3 Chinese in Education

5.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I start by exploring Naxi speakers' experiences of learning Chinese (5.3.2) before moving on to Chinese as a high-stakes school subject (5.3.3). In the final section, I will explore Chinese as a dominant semiotics in educational settings (5.3.4).

5.3.2 Learning Chinese

In this section, my participants' experiences of learning Chinese will be explored. I begin by presenting two excerpts that are typical of the ways in which my Naxi participants recounted their experiences of learning Putonghua during their primary or early education. The first experience recounted is that of a 4th Year undergraduate majoring in English Language and Literature from a tourist town in suburban Lijiang. At the time of the interview she was in her early 20s; thus, the elementary education she reminisced about would have taken place in the early 1990s.

Excerpt 5.1

KM-P4: 小学的话就是开始就学习普通话。

KM-P4: We started learning Putonghua in primary school.

Hongyan: 一年级开始呢?

Hongyan: From Year One?

KM-P4: 是呢, 就是正式开始学习拼音和普通话。 <,> 就开始学国家规定的那些教材了嘛。语文课老师她就是 <,> 上课不讲纳西话。下课的话也是比较提倡讲普通话这样一个老师。

KM-P4: Yes, we formally started learning Pinyin and Putonghua. <,> We studied the nationally prescribed textbooks. The teacher of Chinese <,> didn't speak Naxi in class. She advocated speaking Putonghua even after class.

(KM-P4, 20091129)

The second interviewee was a 3rd Year Master's student in Naxi Language and Literature who had grown up in Lijiang city, and would have been in preschool and elementary school in the late 1980s and early 1990s, similar to KM-P4.

Excerpt 5.2

Hongyan: 你在上幼儿园之前会不会说普通话或者是汉语方言?

Hongyan: Were you able to speak Putonghua or Han Hua before you went to kindergarten?

KM-P9: 不会，小时候我奶奶带我，<,> 然后呢我从小第一语言是那个纳西语。然后在去读幼儿园的时候，就开始跟小朋友说那种方言，Uhm，就是汉话。普通话应该是从那个入学，对，小学一年级才开始正式学习普通话和拼音的。

KM-P9: I couldn't. My grandma took care of me when I was a kid. <,> My first language is Naxi. Then, when I went to kindergarten, I started speaking the local Chinese dialect with my friends, Uhm, that was Han Hua. I started formal learning of Putonghua and Pinyin from Year One in primary school.

Hongyan: 幼儿园上课是用纳西语还是普通话？

Hongyan: Which language was the instruction language in your kindergarten, Naxi or Putonghua?

KM-P9: 是普通话。

KM-P9: Putonghua.

Hongyan: 你会用普通话跟小朋友交流吗？

Hongyan: Were you able to speak to your kindergarten friends in Putonghua?

KM-P9: 不会。不是，那个时候开始学着跟他们学习那个用方言。然后据我奶奶说幼儿园读了两年，快毕业的时候，就已经基本上不会用纳西语了。环境影响啊。

KM-P9: No, I couldn't. At that time, I started learning Han Hua with them. My grandma said that I couldn't even speak Naxi any more when I graduated from kindergarten two years later. I was influenced by my surroundings.

Hongyan: 你上幼儿园大概是哪年？

Hongyan: When did you go to kindergarten?

KM-P9: 大概是 1988 年的样子。

KM-P9: It was about 1988.

(KM-P9, 20091130)

From the experiences of KM-P4 and KM-P9, it is obvious that Naxi children both in the city and the villages were exposed to Putonghua and Pinyin in Year 1. In the process of acquiring Chinese, they stopped speaking Naxi. Children in the remote areas found themselves in the same situation, albeit slightly delayed. KM-P1, a 1st Year postgraduate majoring in Southeast Asian Languages, who grew up in a rural area in the early 1990s, explained as follows:

Excerpt 5.3

KM-P1: 到了五年级，就能大概听得懂（普通话）是什么意思了。但是那个时候也不用，学校里面和同学交流就是用纳西话。或者白族话，因为班上有白族的。然后到了初中会用方言，到高中用普通话。<>@<>

KM-P1: When I was in Year Five, I was able to roughly understand Putonghua. But I didn't speak Putonghua. When I communicated with my classmates or friends at school, I spoke Naxi or Bai because there were Bai students in my class. Then I spoke Han Hua in the junior middle school and Putonghua in senior middle school.

<>@<>

Hongyan: 那你什么时候上一年级？

Hongyan: When did you start Year One?

KM-P1:我上一年级时 6 岁、93 年。

KM-P1: In 1993 when I was 6.

Hongyan: 当时普通话一点都不讲？

Hongyan: So you didn't speak any Putonghua then?

KM-P1:不会<>@<>, 因为害羞，才会几个词汇，后来就是 4、5 年级学会了还是觉得害羞。大家都习惯了。跟他们（同学）说纳西话或者白族话。从小就是说少数民族语言，上小学才学普通话。但是我觉得上小学时那些老师说的普通话不标准。都是本地的人，说不标准。到了高中和大学才慢慢的纠正。虽然不

标准，但是还是使用普通话来教学的。我们小时候接触了电视广播，对普通话有了一些了解，也不太说，但是后来上学就慢慢的说了。

KM-P1: No, I wasn't able to <@> because I was so shy. I was only able to speak a few words in Putonghua. Even when I was in Year Four and Five, I still felt very shy (speaking Putonghua). Everyone was used to this. We spoke Naxi or Bai. We spoke ethnic minority languages when we were very young. We learned Putonghua when we were Year One students. The teachers in the primary school couldn't speak standard Putonghua. They were all local people. Their Putonghua was not standard. I started correcting my pronunciation of Putonghua when I went to secondary middle school and university. Although the primary school teachers didn't speak standard Putonghua, they still used Putonghua as the instruction language. We watched TV and listened to broadcasting programs in Putonghua so we had some knowledge of Putonghua; but, we didn't speak it. We started speaking Putonghua gradually after we went to school. (KM-P1, 20091128)

In addition to exposure at school, as suggested by LJ-P1, the media exposed Naxi children to Chinese at an increasingly early age. As a result, today all children are familiar with Chinese by the time they enter school. As staff members in the Division of Educational and Scientific Research of the Lijiang Education Bureau explain in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 5.4

Hongyan: 现在丽江的小学、初中和高中里面教学用的语言是哪样？

Hongyan: What is the instruction language now in primary, junior secondary and senior secondary school in Lijiang?

LJ-P7: 基本上是普通话,可能极个别的会用方言<@@@>。先用普通话带读、再用纳西话解释的那种情况现在没有了吧,只是现在那种偏远的乡下吧,<@@> 和老师 <@@@> 不会用纳西话教语文数学了吧?

LJ-P7: They use Putonghua, except for a couple of schools in which teachers speak Han Hua as the instruction language <>@@@<>. It is no longer the case that teachers first read Chinese and then explain in Naxi. If that happens, it must be somewhere in the remotest villages. <>@@<> Mr. He, <>@@@<> do you know whether Naxi is still used to teach Chinese and Mathematics?

LJ-P6: 小学一年级民族比较聚集的地方会有一点，它过渡，但是现在基本上没有了，比过去好多了。

LJ-P6: In some areas where the Naxi form the largest composition, some schools may use Naxi in Year One as a transition to Chinese. However, on the whole, Naxi is no longer used now as the instruction language. This situation is better than before.

(LJ-P6&P7, 20091120)

The fact that LJ-P6 used the word ‘比过去好多了’ [better than before] to refer to the replacement of Naxi with Chinese as the language of instruction reflects the official association of Chinese with progress, as described in Section 5.2.2 above.

In sum, participants transitioned from Naxi into Chinese relatively early in life, particularly through formal school. Additionally, throughout schooling, the importance of Chinese continues to grow because it is such a high-stakes subject.

5.3.3 Chinese as a high-stakes school subject

Chinese is one of the most important subjects in elementary, secondary and high schools — even in universities nationwide. In all secondary, high schools and universities’ admission exams, the total score for Chinese varies from 100 to 150 in the different provinces of China. Chinese is, therefore, considered one of the most important three school subjects, i.e., Chinese, Mathematics and English. China’s powerful centralized educational and testing system contributes to the promotion of Chinese nationwide. The importance of Chinese is well exemplified in the following excerpt, wherein LJ-P16, a

Year 11 senior middle school student, emphasizes that no one dares not to study Chinese well.

Excerpt 5.5

Hongyan: 据我所知，小学毕业考试有语文、数学，别的还有那些科目？

Hongyan: As far as I know, in the primary school graduation test, there are subjects like Chinese, Mathematics, and what else?

LJ-P16: 语文、数学、还有自然、科学、英语和思想品德是作为一个综合科目来考。语文在小升初、初升高、高升大学都是重量级科目，哪个敢不好好学嘛。

LJ-P16: Chinese, Mathematics, and, other subjects such as Nature, Science, English, Personality and Morality Education are included in the comprehensive test as one subject. Chinese is one of the most important subjects in the admission exam from primary school to junior secondary school, from junior secondary school to high school, and from high school to university. Everyone is aware of the supreme importance of Chinese; so, they study it very hard.

(LJ-P16, 20091124)

Indeed, the importance of Chinese for educational success in China is such that some Naxi make sure that their children learn Chinese before Naxi so that their Naxi does not influence their pronunciation of Chinese. As KM-P5, a 4th Year undergraduate in English Language and Literature explained to me:

Excerpt 5.6

KM-P5: 我就是那种从小接受的第一语言是汉语，不是纳西语。主要是，入学以后要学那个汉语拼音嘛，（纳西语）对汉语拼音的发音有影响，丽江人，就是纳西族的那种不分那个前后鼻音，就是讲完纳西话以后，去学那个普通话就是对那个发音有影响嘛，所以我就是那个小学汉语拼音学完以后才开始学纳西话。

KM-P5: Han Hua is my first language, not Naxi. The main reason was that I had to learn Chinese phonetic alphabet [Chinese Pinyin]. The pronunciation of Naxi would have affected my pronunciation of Chinese Pinyin. Lijiang people, I mean the Naxi, do not distinguish front and back nasals. If I first spoke Naxi, then my pronunciation of Pinyin would be influenced by my Naxi accent. Therefore, I started learning Naxi after I had learnt Chinese Pinyin.

Hongyan: 是你爸妈觉得应该这样，是吧？

Hongyan: Was it because your parents advocated this?

KM-P5: 是呢，我哥哥基本上就是跟我差不多，也是先说汉语然后再说纳西话。

KM-P5: Yes, my brother also experienced the same order of language acquisition, first Han Hua and then Naxi.

Hongyan: 那你是几年级以后才学说纳西话的？

Hongyan: So, when did you start learning Naxi?

KM-P5: 是那个<,>我好像是，是四年级才开始学的。

KM-P5: It was <,>, it seemed that when I was in Year Four I started learning Naxi.

(KM-P5, 20091129)

The importance of Chinese for educational success as a high-stakes school subject has been legislated and reinforced in teaching practices. As Excerpt 5.6 demonstrates, this has also resulted in Naxi parents' artificial arrangement of their children's order of language acquisition in order to ensure that their Chinese would not be influenced by their Naxi. Pronunciation of Chinese Pinyin is tested in school exams from Years 1 to 3 in primary education. The success or failure of the Naxi students' performance in Chinese test will impact on their educational and social advancement.

5.3.4 The dominant semiotics in educational settings

Education settings also act as a context in which to promote national identity and a national language. When the Naxi first attend kindergartens and primary schools in urban areas, they are taught in Putonghua. Normally, teachers in the city speak better Putonghua than those in the countryside. Students in the countryside, especially those in rural and mountainous areas, are also taught in Putonghua although there may have been between 1 and 3 years of transitional bilingual education in the past. In addition to Chinese being the medium of instruction, its importance is constantly reinforced through the schools' overall semiotics, as evidenced in posters highlighting Chinese language and culture. On the campuses of the primary school, middle school and Teachers' College where I conducted my onsite observations, I noted many public posters on the walls of the corridors of the teaching buildings promoting the speaking of Chinese. Many were bilingual – not in Chinese and Naxi but in Chinese and English. For example, one poster said: “请讲普通话、请用规范字” in Chinese and “Please speak in Mandarin and write with criterion's word” in English (see Figure 7). Somewhat intriguingly, the English was purely symbolic: it made no sense without the Chinese original. An appropriate translation would have been: “Please speak Putonghua and write standard Chinese characters”. Another example was less of a request and more of a descriptive statement about identity: “中国是我们的祖国，我们讲汉语/ China is our motherland and we speak Chinese.” While seemingly descriptive, slogans such as this in fact have a performative function: they serve to normalize the choice of Chinese and the association between one language and one nation.

Figure 7. An Example of a Poster Promoting Chinese in Schools



The semiotics that promoted Chinese as the language of education and the nation were not restricted to signage but also to required ways of speaking as LJ-P2, a teacher of English at a local college, informed me.

Excerpt 5.7

LJ-P2: Uhm, 我遇到陌生的同学, 他其实跟我讲方言, 我都会跟他讲普通话。因为这种习惯了, 学校也提倡我们讲普通话, 所以跟同学的话都是讲普通话, 即使遇到非常熟悉的同学, 他跟我讲方言, 我也跟他讲普通话。

LJ-P2: Uhm, when I meet students I don't know, even when they speak Han Hua to me, I still respond in Putonghua. This has been a habit. In addition, the university requires us to speak Putonghua so I speak Putonghua to all of the students. Even if a student who is very familiar with me speaks Han Hua to me, I will speak Putonghua with him or her.

(LJ-P2, 20091115)

Clearly, both the semiotics of public signage and of the imposed ways of speaking serve to undergird the primacy of Chinese in education.

5.3.5 Summary

The high status of Chinese in education was constructed in the legislative framework of China's language policies. Under the 'one nation, one language' ideology described in 5.2.2, Chinese has become one of the most important school subjects that everyone in China has to master for educational success. The importance of Chinese is also expressed in the semiotics of schools in Lijiang. The fundamental national importance of Chinese has greatly impacted upon the Naxi people's beliefs about Chinese as I demonstrate in the following section.

5.4 Individual Beliefs about Chinese

5.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I investigate Naxi speakers' ideologies vis-a-vis the Chinese language. All of my participants without exception expressed highly favorable views of Chinese and accorded the language prime importance. However, two different rationales for the importance of Chinese can be distinguished in my data while on the one hand, Chinese is seen as important because it is the language of national identity and unity, on the other, Chinese is considered important because it can serve as linguistic capital and a means to individual advancement.

5.4.2 Chinese as national identity

Speaking Chinese is widely, if not universally, seen as a linguistic marker of being a member of the Chinese nation; and, the Naxi participants in this study are no exception to this ideology as the following excerpts show:

Excerpt 5.8

会说普通话、会写汉字才表现出我是一个中国人。

Being able to speak Putonghua and write Chinese shows that I am a Chinese.

(LJ-P15, 20091124)

作为一个中国人，我觉得学习中文是应该的。

As a Chinese, it is necessary to learn to speak Chinese.

(KM-P4, 20091129)

说纳西话在丽江是行得通的，但是你去到外面，你就要说普通话了，不然么咋个和外面的人交流，所以还是要好好呢学习普通话。

It is fine to speak Naxi in Lijiang. But, if you go outside, you have to speak Putonghua. Otherwise, how can you communicate with other people in the outside world? So, we must learn Putonghua well.

(QJ-P3, 2009123)

中国人不会说中国话么，你出去讲给人家听，都会让人家笑话你，会问你你到底给是中国人？

When you tell other people that you are Chinese but you can't speak Chinese, they will laugh at you and ask you whether you are a Chinese.

(LJ-P24, 20100114)

Whether in individual or group interviews, all participants expressed their commitment to their membership of the Chinese nation: many expressed pride in this national identity. For them, speaking Chinese was an important part of being Chinese. My findings mirror those of Yu's study on the identity construction of the Naxi (Yu, 2007) in which the Naxi informants admitted to have a very strong sense of being Chinese. However, idealistic views of national identity were not the only reason my participants considered Chinese important. They also saw Chinese as an important form of linguistic capital, which would enable their personal social mobility.

5.4.3 Chinese as linguistic capital

Chinese language proficiency is conceived of as “a crucial part of human resource development and human capital” (Silver, 2005) in the discourse of language policy in China. Thus, it is not surprising that my participants expressed their belief in the use value of the Chinese language. Indeed, as Spolsky (2011) explains, this is a frequent dynamic in minority contexts, the more the majority language is used in practice, the more valuable it seems. The following examples demonstrate the ways in which my participants expected that Chinese proficiency could be translated into socio-economic gain.

Excerpt 5.9

Dancer 4: 我们这辈人在一起都是说纳西话，不说普通话，也说不来 <@>。我的孙子孙女从幼儿园开始就学普通话，老师上课讲（普通话），放学回来看电视里的儿童动画片或者放影碟片，都是讲普通话，他们也就会讲了，不讲也不行。感觉是，克到外面有用，学校里面要考试，考不好么连大学都考不起，还是重要呢。

Dancer 4: We speak Naxi when we are with the Naxi of our generation. We don't speak Putonghua and we are not able to <@>. My grandchildren started learning Putonghua when they went to kindergarten. The teachers spoke Putonghua in class. After class, the children watched cartoon programs on TV or DVDs, so they were exposed to Putonghua nearly most of the time. They can speak Putonghua. It seems that they have to speak Putonghua. They have got no choice. Putonghua is useful when they go outside. There are Chinese exams at school. If you can't get a good score in Chinese exam, you cannot obtain a chance to study in university. Chinese is very important.

Dancer 11: 我家孙子在外省读研究生，大学就考出克外面了，他高考呢时候语文、数学都得着高分了，语文还是拉分呢，主科么学不好还是影响大噶，考初中、考高中、考大学考哪样都重要。语文、数学、英语都是主科呢。我么老了，

学也学不来了，不然么我也学学普通话，学学英语，么还可以跟老外吹吹牛，么多好玩呢 <@@@>。

Dancer 11: My grandson is studying in a postgraduate program in another province. He was enrolled by a university to do a BA. When he took CNME, he achieved high scores in Chinese and Mathematics. Chinese is a high-stakes subject. High-stakes subjects play a very important role in the enrolment examinations from primary school to junior secondary school, then to high school and university. *Chinese, Mathematics and English are all high-stake subjects.* I am getting old now and it is difficult for me to learn (Putonghua). Otherwise, I would learn some Putonghua and some English so I could chat with the foreigners. How much fun it would be <@ @ @>!

(LJ-FG1, 20091123)

The senior lady dancers voiced the opinion that, the legislated importance of Chinese and the government's Chinese language policy has been interwoven with the national education policies and ensured by the testing system. As a high-stakes school subject, Chinese is treated as a necessity, a means of educational advancement and success which will then translate into economic development. Chinese has "a gatekeeping function which allows, or prevents, continued education and, thus, future job opportunities (for the individual) and fulfillment of labor market needs (for the society)" (Silver, 2005, p. 13).

Participants in the other two focus group interviews (LJ-FG2-20091124, KM-FG3-20091130) expressed their unanimous belief that by extension if the Naxi only spoke Naxi, they would not be able to take their places in Han society and would be disadvantaged. The participants in LJ-FG2 were middle school students, while KM-FG3 included two postgraduates and one undergraduate. For them, Chinese proficiency and their exam performances in the Chinese test will decide their university enrolment and inevitably their career opportunities.

Excerpt 5.10

LJ-P12: 我小时候跟我呢好朋友在一起玩嘛，我妈就用录音机放一些中文故事或者英语故事来培养我们的语言兴趣。我们一边玩一边听那些故事，*可能是她那哈子觉得中文和英语很重要。*

LJ-P12: When I was very young and played with my good friends, my mum always played some tapes of Chinese or English stories on the tape recorder to cultivate our interest in these languages so we could hear the Chinese or English stories while we were playing. *Maybe she thought Chinese and English were very important.*

LJ-P15: 我家妈哈哈叫我说普通话。她说以后我要克城里面读书，*么她就故意逼起我在家也说，说是练习练习。*

LJ-P15: My mum pushed me to speak Putonghua. She told me that I would go to the middle school in the city. *So, she purposefully forced me to speak Putonghua at home as a form of practice.*

(LJ-FG2, 20091124)

KM-P1: 我觉得他们大人怕我们小时候讲少数民族话，对学习汉语有影响。从小就教汉语，希望孩子讲标准的普通话，以后好找工作。

KM-P1: I think the adults just worry that we will be affected by learning and speaking Chinese if we learn ethnic minority languages when we are very young. So, they teach us Chinese at an early age and hope that we are able to speak standard Putonghua and find a job easily in the future.

KM-P2: 还是觉得（普通话）对以后我找工作有很大的影响。现在我们老师也鼓励我们去填汉办的志愿者。出国教汉语的话，每个月有 800 美元的补助，800 美金到国外生活的话可能还是够了，还有剩余，出去多锻炼一下。如果有经验的话，回来也好找工作。

KM-P2: I think Chinese will impact greatly on my future employment. Now our teachers encourage us to sign up to be volunteer teachers with the Confucius Institute Headquarters of China (Hanban/汉办). If we can go overseas to teach Chinese as an international language, we will be provided US\$800 as our living stipend per month. I think US\$800 may be enough to live on in the target country

and maybe I can save a bit. It is good to have some internship and practice overseas for me to find a good job in China after I come back.

(KM-FG3, 20091130)

These Naxi parents and students equate proficiency in Putonghua with their future job prospects. A similarly rosy picture of Putonghua was presented by people already in the workforce, such as LJ-P5, who works for the Lijiang Dongba Museum:

Excerpt 5.11

LJ-P5: 因为这种，很多时候外面的人来采访或者国外的纳西学者来访问，老辈对那种普通话是很不熟悉的，么我会说普通话，会纳西语，又懂英语，可能我就是那种优先被选择的对象。

LJ-P5: Sometimes when we were interviewed by someone from outside or visited by some international academics of the Naxi study, while the elder ones were poor in Putonghua, I was able to speak Putonghua, Naxi and English. So, I was the one first to be chosen to go for the interviews or to meet the international scholars.

(LJ-P5-I1, 20091118)

Her ability to speak Putonghua, Naxi and English earned LJ-P5 professional advancement chances that other people could not obtain. KM-P13, a 4th Year undergraduate majoring in Teaching Chinese as an International Language, had this to add:

Excerpt 5.12

KM-P13: 我觉得就是，掌握了一门语言嘛，毕竟就是说给自己就是出去找工作加了一分砝码嘛，就更自信一些。现在汉语，你知道吗，好多人就是老外，都比较喜欢学中文，在中国这边找工作啊，都是必须的。他们都学么我们更是要学了。

KM-P13: I think that mastering a language is to add some qualifications to myself and I will be more confident when I go job-hunting. Now Chinese, do you know?

Many people, foreigners, are keen on learning Chinese. It is a must-learn if they want to get a job in China. And, if even they are learning it, we don't have any excuse not to learn it.

(KM-P13, 20091203)

Inevitably, however, the high value placed on Chinese is affecting the language attitudes of the Naxi towards Naxi and the use of Naxi in their daily lives, as the following examples show:

Excerpt 5.13

KM-P6: 靠近城一点的纳西族，原来还是就讲一些纳西话。但是因为可能是为了孩子好发展一些还是怎么搞的，慢慢慢慢，纳西话就讲得少一些。然后在家里也是讲方言。

KM-P6: The Naxi living in the suburbs of Lijiang city used to speak some Naxi. However, maybe because they think that speaking good Putonghua is better for the children, they gradually speak less and less Naxi and switch to speaking Han Hua at home.

(KM-P6, 20091129)

KM-P15: 纳西话么村里面现在有些人在讲，小学现在老师都是用普通话。然后好多我发觉就是身边的那些，好多村子里的小娃娃的父母都是用汉话跟他们讲话那种。有些可能父母虽然也是农村的，但是受过那个一定的教育的话，他们还是能说一定的普通话。就觉得跟孩子说普通话对孩子好。

KM-P15: Some villagers are still speaking Naxi. Teachers in primary schools all speak Putonghua as the instruction language. I noticed that even the parents in villages are trying to speak Han Hua with their children. Although they are in villages, some of them have received education and are able to speak Putonghua. They think it good to speak Putonghua with their children rather than speaking Naxi.

As the senior Naxi lady dancers had insisted, Chinese is the language that enables Naxi mobility.

Excerpt 5.14

Hongyan: 你们觉得会说普通话怎么样?

Hongyan: What do you think of speaking Putonghua?

Dancer 1: 我们么也不去哪点, 不出远门, 不会说普通话也不咋个。我家娃娃在昆明工作, 不说普通话么就不行了, 他和别人工作上、业务上打交道, 主要还是说汉话和普通话。不说汉话和普通话么, 连别人的圈子都进不去, 天天就和纳西在一起么不行的噶。

Dancer 1: We don't go outside (Lijiang). We don't go somewhere far away. So, even if we can't speak Putonghua, it does not matter. My child is working in Kunming (the capital city of Yunnan Province) and it is impossible for him not being able to speak Putonghua. He needs Han Hua and Putonghua to communicate with others at work. If he couldn't speak Han Hua and Putonghua, he couldn't get access to the others' social circle. It is not good to stay with Naxi all the time.

Dancer 5: 说普通话么还是重要呢。你看丽江这哈(现在)旅游发达了, 有好多导游在带起团, 他们不会说普通话么就带不成团了。那些客人基本都是外地人噶, 要不然就是老外。我们天天在这里锻炼跳舞, 有时候有游客来问我们一些问题, 我们听不来普通话, 又说不上来, 也是没有办法跟他们讲, 还是有点不方便噶。

Dancer 5: It is important to speak Putonghua. You can see the fast development of tourism in Lijiang. There are many tourist guides. If they can't speak Putonghua, they can't guide the Putonghua tour groups. The tourists are mainly from other places of China or are international tourists. We dance here every day. Sometimes tourists ask us some questions (about the Naxi language and culture) in Putonghua,

and because we can neither understand nor speak Putonghua, we don't know how to communicate with them. It is quite inconvenient.

(LJ-FG1, 20091123)

In Excerpt 5.14, Dancer 1 regards Putonghua as “a going-outside language” which enables the speaker to gain access to wider social networks, to obtain more power, and to experience less inequality. Putonghua acts as a language which can facilitate social network expansion and social status advancement. Dancer 5, adopting a pragmatic perspective, claimed that Putonghua competency opens up employment opportunities and facilitates intra-national communication. Although Dancer 1 thought it irrelevant if she couldn't speak Putonghua, I observed an example of communicative ‘inconvenience’ when a male tourist, attracted by the ladies’ traditional dress, asked their permission to take a photo of them. Because the dancers could not understand what he said in Putonghua, it took them a long time to interpret his request. I acted as an interpreter from Putonghua to Han Hua that day. (Field notes, Square Street, Dayan Town, 20091112)

Before I move on to explore the learning and use of English in the next chapter, I deem it stressing that Chinese and English are often mentioned together as the combination that will yield the highest return (see Excerpt 5.11 above). LJ-P23, the head of a local Naxi ancient music performance band, explained the enhanced use value of Chinese-English bilingualism to me as follows:

Excerpt 5.15

LJ-P23: 来我这里听古乐的人基本都是游客，有云南其它县市来的，更多的是中国其它地方来的，也有很多国际游客。本地人一般自己不来。我作为主持人，会说普通话、精通英语，我在监狱里面那几十年读过很多书籍，汉语的，也读了很多英语的书，在主持节目的过程中，我能够很好的发挥普通话的幽默和英语的幽默，让听众很开心来听纳西古乐，听得高兴了，我们的名气也出去了，经济也有了收入，民族音乐文化也得到宣传和传承，这个于公于私来讲都是件好事。

LJ-P23: In general, those who come for the Naxi ancient music performance are tourists, some from other places of Yunnan, mostly from other cities in China or overseas countries. The local people usually don't come for the performance themselves. As the host, I can speak Putonghua and I am also good at English. In those decades when I was in prison, I read huge numbers of books in both Chinese and English. I can make full use of Chinese and western humor to entertain the audience. If they are happy, we will gain our good reputation and have a good income. In the meantime, (Naxi) ethnic minority ancient music is preserved and inherited. It is good both for the public and for the band.

(LJ-P23, 20100111)

In sum, Chinese linguistic capital predominates in the majority world as human capital both in education and the workforce. Learning and speaking Chinese has enabled Naxi upward mobility (Gao Fang, 2011) in the new socialist market economy system. With the development of the local tourism industry and more exposure to the outside world, numbers of Naxi are migrating to other parts of China, for education, career development or for temporary work. The individual mobility of minority-language speakers is far better served by shifting to a majority language (May, 2005). Chinese language competence provides the linguistic prerequisite for social and economic mobility.

5.4.4 Summary

Whereas the dominance of Chinese is rooted in the central political demands for national unity, identity and cohesion, this section has made clear that while these ideologies may emanate from the center, they were widely shared by my participants. The preeminence of Chinese has become self-evident 'common sense' to all of the people I spoke to. Due to their having experienced education in Chinese, and the fact that Chinese is a central aspect of the standardized national testing system as well as the dominant semiotics privileging Chinese from an early age, it is not surprising that their belief in the power of Chinese –

both as the language of national unity and the language of individual advancement – is pervasive in my data.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the interconnection between the legislative framework for the promotion of Chinese as the language both of national unity and of educational and social progress with the ways in which these policies are enacted in educational practices and individual beliefs. Education has served to translate the promotion of Chinese into the dominance of Chinese over Naxi, both as a language of instruction, as a high-stakes subject and relative to the semiotics of educational spaces. Individual beliefs have further served to reify the status of Chinese. My participants viewed the Chinese language highly. They favor the language highly both as an expression of national identity and as a means of individual socio-economic advancement.

Chinese has been legislated as the national language under a “one nation, one language” ideology. National constitutional and legislative foundations have been solidly laid to promote Chinese nationwide in the interest of national unity and ethnic harmony. Additionally, the centrality of Chinese in education stems from another educational imperative, namely the eradication of illiteracy. Chinese has thus become entrenched for two different reasons, i.e., national unity and national development.

The power of Chinese has been embedded in learning Chinese since Year 1 in the country’s primary schools — even at kindergarten level. Increasing exposure to Chinese from an early age through daily TV programs and other broadcasting programs has seen the usage of Naxi gradually reduced to family spaces and particularly to communication with the older generation. By contrast, Chinese has taken root both in social life and as the language of modern life, including science, technology and popular culture.

The importance of Chinese continues to be strengthened throughout adolescence and early adulthood as the Naxi progress through the education system and is confronted with the need to succeed in Chinese language tests, both for their personal advancement and to consolidate community development. Public service messages further reinforce the status of Chinese in education.

The language policies and educational practices strengthening the Chinese ‘percolate down’ phenomenon also find expression in individual beliefs about the symbolic and economic power of Chinese as the language of national unity and socio-economic advancement.

My analysis has shown that Chinese has become both the national language in the socialist process of nation building and the most valuable form of economic linguistic capital in the national economy. Their need to acquire Chinese, the language of the dominant cultural group, has resulted in speakers of ethnic minority languages having to adapt to its position of symbolic and socio-economic privilege. For the Naxi, this complex situation for the Naxi is further complicated by the insertion of English as the global language in the political economy of languages in Lijiang. It is to English that I will now turn.

Chapter Six English—The Global Language

6.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is upon English language learning and use among the Naxi. I explore three main areas: English in the legislative framework; English in education, demonstrated in three cases from Lijiang; and, Naxi individuals' beliefs about English learning and use.

6.2 The Legislative Framework

6.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I will first briefly illustrate how English has permeated the Chinese education system and the important role that it has played accordingly. Then I will discuss English language policies in education.

6.2.2 The rise of English in China

The rise and importance of English has been constructed in the specific political, social, economic and cultural contexts of contemporary China and has played a decisive role in English legislation in education as identified and discussed in numerous studies (B. Adamson, 2002; K. Bolton & Q. Tong, 2002; Feng, 2009; Fong, 2009; Y. Gao, 2009b; G. Hu, 2005, 2009; G. Hu & Alsagoff, 2010; Jianhua Li, Zhong, & Ye, 2011; Y. Zhao & Campbell, 1995). The English language, which was formerly regarded as “the tongue of military aggressors, barbarians, imperialists and virulent anti-Communists, as well as of trade partners, academics, technical experts, advisers, tourists and popular culture” (B. Adamson, 2002, p. 231), has in more recent times experienced a role swing from a language considered detrimental to national unity and integrity to a desirable language

upon which to build the international stature of China. The process of its role change echoed “love/hate” attitude generally evinced towards the English language in China (Y. Zhao & Campbell, 1995). In the former case, English was considered a ‘low’ language and was not stressed in the national policies: it was even seen by some as a potential ideological danger to the construction of socialism. In the latter case, English has been treated as a ‘high’ language; that is, as a means of access to advanced science and technology and, by extension, essential in all curricula in education. This positive attitude towards has English facilitated its promotion nationwide.

Irrespective of how the national context has changed with history and time, and how attitudes towards English have changed accordingly, in China, English has gained the highest position among foreign languages. Its importance as a high-stakes subject has warranted its inclusion in the curricula for higher levels of schooling, as a crucial subject which determines university admission, individual and social advancement, as a language requirement for well-paid jobs (Liu, 1995) and for international communication (Pride & Liu, 1988). The lofty position of English reflects the government’s concern regarding English and the official force behind its promotion and spread. The prominence it affords its speakers makes English learners regard English proficiency as “a personal asset” (G. Hu, 2005, p. 5). Hence, the speakers put huge investment in English learning.

English will no doubt continue to play an increasingly important role in Chinese education. With the nation’s “emergence as a world power, [and] with its increasing integration into the world system, China will need English to project its own presence” on the international stage (K. Bolton & Q. S. Tong, 2002, p. 180). This government orientation has resulted in the policy-makers placing more emphasis on English education. I will now turn to the legislation of English in the education context.

6.2.3 China's English education policy

English has become the most significant international language in China (see Section 2.4.3 and Section 6.2.2). The legislation of English language teaching in the primary, secondary and tertiary education systems has facilitated the promotion of English nationwide and made English a gatekeeper in Chinese education.

6.2.3.1 Elementary level

The English policy for primary education has experienced uneven development. In 1962, the Ministry of Education (the MOE), having developed specific opinions about foreign language teaching (FLT) in primary schools, approved the introduction of foreign languages as school subjects in Years 4 and 5 without prescribing any national curriculum or syllabus. The primary English education policy thus came into existence; but, it changed in tandem with social, economic, educational and political forces of the nation (Y. Hu, 2007). Since the launch of the Four Modernizations program in 1978, English has been regarded as the path to advanced science and technology and as a form of access to the international forums (G. Hu, 2002a, 2005; Y. Hu, 2007), both of which motivated the expansion of primary and secondary English education. The ideology driving English learning at the elementary level maintains that English needs to be learnt at an early age; in fact, the earlier the better. The MOE subsequently released “the first unified primary and secondary curriculum and accompanying draft” (G. Hu, 2005, p. 7) of an English language teaching (ELT) syllabus in 1978, which suggested that English could be set up either in Year Three or Year Seven.

In 1984, a national curriculum was issued. However, it omitted any requirement for foreign languages; thus, “English disappeared from the curriculum for rural primary schools and was restricted only to urban primary schools which had qualified teachers and whose programs were well connected with secondary ones” (G. Hu, 2005, p. 9). Until the mid-1980s, only a small number of well-resourced urban primary schools offered English

language teaching. Between 1990 and 2000, an increasing number of primary schools introduced English language classes and, by 1999, approximately 7 million out of 130 million primary schools were including English in their curricula (Liu & Gong, 2001).

From then on, there was policy reform and more assiduous implementation. In 1998, the MOE released its *Action Plan for Rejuvenating Education in the 21st Century* (*The Action Plan* for short) with the aim of promoting quality education by reforming elementary education from the traditional exam-centered to quality-centered. This document was immediately followed by *Decisions on Deepening Education Reform and Fully Promoting Quality Education* issued by the State Council on 13 June 1999. This policy supported the implementation of *The Action Plan* by proposing to draft a new curriculum to match the new quality education system. Both documents indicated the direction of English reform in elementary education (Y. Hu, 2007).

In 1999, the MOE organized a committee to develop English curriculum standards. Chinese Vice Premier Li Lanqing's visit to Zhejiang Province triggered the draft of "the tentative plan for promotion of primary English education in Zhejiang Province" (W. Zheng, 2000, 2001) from Year 3 or Year 1 in Zhejiang. The year 2001 saw the release of the primary English compulsory education document (The Ministry of Education, 2001a) and the English curriculum standard (The Ministry of Education, 2001b) for the stage of compulsory education. On 18 January 2001, the MOE's *Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting Setting up English Courses in Primary Schools in China* (The Ministry of Education, 2001a) obliged primary schools to teach English as a school subject from Year One in the coastal or economically developed areas in the autumn of 2001 and from Year Three in the less developed regions in the fall of 2002.

This nationwide policy mandated all students in primary schools to learn English as a compulsory subject regardless of the big gap in educational level between the developed regions and the underdeveloped areas and the current conditions of English language

education in the country's primary schools. But, the policy had inherent "problems in its formulation" (Y. Hu, 2007, p. 359).

6.2.3.2 Secondary level

Like the problematic development of English in primary education, English in secondary education also went through an uneven transition. Secondary English education could be traced back to 1902, to the late Qing Dynasty when the New Policy (xinzheng /新政) was initiated and traditional provincial academies were transformed into modern universities (J. Zhang, 2011). English was first officially listed in the *Qinding Regulations on Secondary Schools* (*Qinding zhongxuetang zhangcheng*/钦定中学堂章程) as one of the school subjects, and as one of the applied disciplines to take over elementary disciplines in modern education. These innovations marked the beginning of secondary English education in China.

In 1951, the MOE issued *The Draft of English Curriculum Standards in High Schools*, which advocated ELT in both junior and senior high schools. Then, in 1954, in order to lessen the students' burden, the MOE decided to cease FLT in junior secondary schools. It accordingly released its *Explanations for Cancelling Foreign Languages Teaching in Junior High Schools*. The first *English Syllabus for Secondary Schools (Draft)* was released in 1956 followed by *The Announcement on Reinforcing and Setting up Foreign Languages in Secondary Schools* in 1959 (Lam, 2002). The latter document stipulated that one third of all secondary schools could teach Russian while the other two thirds could teach English or other foreign languages.

In 1963, following an official struggle over whether or not to introduce Russian or English at the secondary level, the MOE drew up and promulgated *The Full-time Secondary School English Syllabus (Draft)*, the first syllabus to set high requirements for ELT, teaching content, and the stipulated number of teaching hours for secondary education after the founding of the PRC. After a decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), during which

ELT came to a virtual standstill, instruction was resumed. English teaching materials, replete with political slogans, were compiled. In 1978, the MOE released its *Full-time Syllabus for Ten Years' Primary and Secondary English Teaching (Experimental Version)*, the only syllabus to include both primary and secondary schools in the PRC's educational history. It required English to be taught in the first year of junior secondary schooling. While the curricula and syllabi for teaching English in secondary schools included listening, speaking, reading and writing, listening and speaking were emphasized. This syllabus was revised a second time but, there was no change in its content.

In 1986, the State Education Commission (SEC) issued *The Full-time English Syllabus for Secondary Schools* with a glossary which was revised and reissued in 1990. In 1988, *The Full-time English Syllabus for Junior Secondary School in the Nine-year Compulsory Education (The first experimental version)* was drawn up and released by the SEC and formally issued in 1992 after two years of trial. It was later revised in 1995 as a second version. *The Full-time English Syllabus for Senior Secondary School (The first trial version)* was promulgated in 1993 and later revised as an the experimental version in 1996. It was formally released in early 2000. In the following year, the MOE issued the new *Full-time Compulsory Education Curriculum Standard for English Teaching in General Secondary School (Experimental Version)* (Editorial Committee of the Annals of Education in China, 2007) which saw English education in China turn a new page (Liu & Gong, 2001).

In the new secondary English curriculum standard, English curriculum requirements were divided into nine levels from the lowest Level 1 to the highest Level 9 (as shown in Table 4) (The Ministry of Education, 2001b).

Table 4. English Proficiency Levels for Primary and Secondary Leavers

University	Level 9	
Year 12	Level 8	Required level for senior secondary school leavers

Year 11	Level 7	
Year 10	Level 6	
Year 9	Level 5	Required level for junior secondary school leavers
Year 8	Level 4	
Year 7	Level 3	
Year 5-6	Level 2	Required level for primary school leavers
Year 3-4	Level 1	
Year 1-2		

Each level had set very clear aims and requirements vis-a-vis listening, speaking, reading, writing and the target country's cultural knowledge, with particular emphasis on communicative competence. Levels 2, 5 and 8 were the requirement levels for Year 6, 9 and 12 leavers respectively.

6.2.3.3 Tertiary level

English in higher education has experienced a trajectory from a minor role to a leading role. Similar to English in secondary education, English in higher education in China can be traced back to 1902 when the late Qing Dynasty first officially listed English in *Qinding Regulations on Secondary Schools* as a university subject. In July 1956, the MOE issued *The Notice on Foreign Language Subject in Secondary Schools* (Xie, 2009), an event that proved a huge turning point in English education. In 1962, English was officially listed as one of the university entrance examination subjects, greatly increased the status of English as a foreign language in China (Fu, 2004; C. Li & Xu, 2006; L. Li, Zhang, & Liu, 1988). The MOE issued its *Foreign Language Education Plan for Seven Years* (*The Plan* for short) in October 1964. *The Plan*, which outlined the policies for foreign language education (FLE), stressed the importance of both major and non-major FLE, promoted English as the

first foreign language, and placed emphasis on English education quality (J. Guo, 2001). Around this time, a few universities introduced English majors; and, in excess of ten foreign language universities were built or expanded. By March 1966, 74 universities had set up English majors and English language teaching staff increased from 1015 in 1957 to 4621 in 1965 (X. Li, 2001).

English language education was not only destroyed by the Cultural Revolution: the destruction of English major education at the tertiary level was unprecedented. Universities stopped enrolling English major students from 1966 to 1970. In 1969, English reappeared in the school timetables; but, the new English textbooks were replete with political slogans inspired by the Cultural Revolution. Some universities resumed their enrolment of students in 1971 and, in 1978, the university entrance examination system recommenced (X. Li, 2001; Xie, 2009).

Shortly after the Third Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1978, foreign languages were again listed as compulsory subjects for the university entrance examination. The percentage of English in the university admission exam scores increased sequentially from 10% in 1979, 30% in 1980, 50% in 1981, 70% in 1982 and finally to 100% in 1983 (Z. Wu, 1999). The English syllabi for university English majors were improved. The first Foreign Language Education Conference was held in Beijing in 1978; the same year, the MOE drew up development policies for FLE in China (L. Li, et al., 1988). In 1979, the National Language Conference held in Shanghai drafted plans to increase university foreign language teaching through additional examinations to test the students' language levels. Meanwhile, different academic associations were founded; for example, the China English Language Education Association (CELEA). This period saw English in tertiary education and college English develop rapidly (J. Guo, 2001).

College English was the English course for non-English majors. In the mid-1980s, College English underwent great change. In September 1985, the CELEA and Guangzhou

co-sponsored the first symposium on English Language Teaching and Learning Research in China to promote research into English teaching approaches and the reform of English teaching (Xie, 2009). At the end of 1985, an Expert Panel was established to design the standard tests of College English Test Band 4 (CET4) and College English Test Band 6 (CET6). CET4 started in 1986 and CET6 was tested in 1989. CET4 and CET6, now the largest national English tests in China, have impacted considerably upon ELT and ELL development in China (X. Li, 2001). The 1986 Syllabus for College English became the guideline for college English teaching. The English Syllabi for English majors, for the elementary and advanced stages, were drafted in the early 1980s and approved in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Forum on ELT in China, held at the Tianjin Normal University in 1992, elevated ELT and academic research in this field to a new stage.

College English teaching made great progress under the guidance of the new syllabus in 1993. The Conference on College English teaching and textbooks convened in Qingdao in 1997 analyzed the situation of College English teaching and made clear its future development direction, indicating the importance attached to the course. The revised College English syllabus was approved in December 1998 (Xie, 2009). The most notable revision of College English education made in 2004 was *the College English Curriculum Requirements (A Trial Version)* which was formally promulgated in 2007 (The Ministry of Education, 2007) offered “a better link with the English curriculum standards for schools”, and played down the summative CET4 and CET6 (Feng, 2009). The syllabus for English majors was drafted in June 1999, approved by the MOE in December of the same year, and took effect in 2000. This syllabus, which served as a guideline for organizing teaching, compiling textbooks and evaluating the teaching quality of the English majors (X. Li, 2001), was particularly important as it guaranteed education reform for the English majors.

6.2.4 Summary

English education policies “pushed the popularity of English language learning to an exceptional height in the country”. Proficiency in English was “nationally perceived as the

key to personal and institutional success” (Feng, 2009, p. 86). However, as I will demonstrate in the next section, the English language education policies proved overly ambitious. The policy-makers not only overgeneralized the ideologies and sociopolitical factors of China, but failed to fully balance the various ideologies and different geographical conditions that constituted the country’s unique social and cultural contexts. In other words, national English policies made no allowance for the multilingual/peripheral contexts.

The policy-makers’ ignorance caused cultural and linguistic tension and had sociopolitical consequences that led to educational inequality in the minority contexts. Examinations of the practice of English teaching and learning will provide an opportunity to assess the implementation of language policy in the various educational contexts —how English was taught, learned and to what extent it was used to accommodate the presumed or actual local linguistic and cultural contexts (Coupland, 2010a). In the following section, drawing upon my research data, I will discuss how the centralized English language policy has affected minority and peripheral students. In particular, I will focus upon what English language teaching and learning looks like ‘on the ground’ in schools in Lijiang.

6.3 English in Education

6.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I will investigate the practical situation of English language teaching and learning in the local contexts. In order to facilitate a more in-depth assessment of ELT and ELL, I will present three cases from an urban primary school, a key secondary school and a local public college respectively. These educational sites, from where I recruited my participants, allowed me to explore teaching practices, conduct interviews and carry out onsite observations. I found that, compared to other schools in the Lijiang countryside, the primary school and the secondary school were better equipped with teachers and teaching resources. The college was the only public college in the area. I will now explore the

problematic issues inherent in the top-down nationwide English language policy implemented in peripheral educational locales such as Lijiang.

6.3.2 Educational inequality

I found that in the main, educational inequality in elementary English education in both the rural and urban areas, was attributable to problematic policy action, the standard of teacher qualifications and teacher training, approaches to primary English teaching, teaching materials, the availability of teaching resources in English to both students and teachers, and student workloads (J. Li, 2001a, 2001b). As discussed in Section 6.2.3, the official document (The Ministry of Education, 2001a) issued by the MOE on 18 January 2001 required primary schools to set up English language classes from Year One or Year Three. This gave the developed areas eight months to prepare, and the less developed one year and eight months to implement their English courses respectively. Although Lijiang is situated in a less developed region, after only eight months' preparation, English was taught all of its primary schools of Lijiang. As LJ-P6, a departmental director of the Educational Bureau of Lijiang, details in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 6.1

整个云南省英语这个学科薄弱了点。小学英语在全省来讲，我们丽江是首家全部开展。尽管现在来看，小学开设英语问题还是多的，老师知识上欠缺，教学设施也不到开设英语课的成熟条件，但从全省来讲，我们能够全面的开起来，这个不错。再说，国家的政策，哪个敢说不开，必须开，必须按时开。

The overall education level of English in Yunnan was still low. Lijiang was *the first Prefecture in Yunnan to teach English in all primary schools* though there were a lot of problems, for example, lack of teaching staff with solid English knowledge and lack of teaching facilities. However, we were very proud that we set up English (as required within the short time limit). *In addition, it is the national policy. Who dares to say 'no' to the government policy? We had to. We had to set it up on time.*

According to LJ-P6, by setting up English in Year 3, Lijiang provided a model for Yunnan, a border province in southwest China with lower levels of education compared to the coastal cities. The implementation of such a language policy was a serious issue for the local Lijiang education department. However, when confronted with a top-down policy, the administrators set up English within eight months, showing complete disregard for the underdeveloped conditions and for any problems that might arise later.

In reality, however, English was not implemented in all of the primary schools in Lijiang from Year 3 according to some secondary high school participants in the second focus group.

Excerpt 6.2

Hongyan: 你们小学什么时候开始学英语?

Hongyan: When did you start learning English in primary school?

LJ-P15: 五年级开始学。我们三年级领到了英语课本，但是英语老师没有来，所以三、四年级都没有开英语。所以我们是五年级开始学的。五年级开始学的时候，我们学习三年级的英语课本。六年级第一学期我们用四年级英语课本第一册、第二学期我们用四年级英语课本第二册。

LJ-P15: I started learning English at Year 5. We got our textbooks in Year 3 but there was no English teacher so we didn't have English in Year 3 and Year 4. We started English in Year 5. When we learnt English in Year 5, we used the English textbook for Year 3. When we were in Year 6, we used English Book One for Year 4 in Term 1 and Book Two for Year 4 in Term 2.

LJ-P16: 我不能准确记得什么时候开始学小学英语。但是因为我们没有英语老师，所以一个教我们其他科目的老师来教我们英语。他的英语发音不好因为他不是专门的英语老师。

LJ-P16: I can't remember exactly when I started learning English in primary school. There was no teacher of English, so a teacher who taught other subjects came to teach us English. His English pronunciation was not good because he was not a professional teacher of English.

(LJ-FG2, 20091124)

In addition to the problems associated with policy implementation, teacher qualifications in primary English education were among the major reasons that contributed to educational inequality in the country's minority regions. Measures such as retraining teachers who were teaching Chinese, Mathematics or Physical Education (or other school subjects but had some knowledge of English) to solve the huge shortage of primary school English teachers did little to alleviate inequities in the different regions that impacted upon the students' elementary education (Yuan, 2005). Teachers were assigned to teach English after short periods of intensive training (for a few months only). However, such limited training did not guarantee quality: non-professional teachers sometimes mixed English phonetics with the Chinese *Pinyin* system (LJ-FG2, 20091124) rendering the students' foundation of English pronunciation flawed. In addition, often the training and certification agencies were neither of sufficient quality nor trustworthy.

LJ-P7, who had 15 years of English teaching experience in a middle school, was now working with the educational bureau in charge of the ELT and ELL Sections of elementary schools and junior secondary schools in Lijiang. According to the findings of her annual fieldwork in local schools, the situations and realities of English teaching and teacher qualifications in the primary schools in Lijiang can be generally summed up as follows:

Firstly, English is offered in all private kindergartens and a couple of public kindergartens in the city. All elementary schools in Lijiang city officially start teaching English from Year 3 while schools in the rural areas start English from Year 4 or 5 or 6.

Secondly, it is a phenomenon commonly-existed in less developed areas that most teachers of English used to teach Chinese or Mathematics and they were not English majors. Some English teachers of secondary schools were transferred to primary schools when more teachers are needed there. The primary schools in the city or city suburbs have more English-major teachers. For example, in Gucheng District of Lijiang (the hub of the World Heritage Site), 35.4% of teachers were English majors while in Yulong County and Huaping County, this rate is as low as 6-8%. In recent years, it is easier to recruit new teachers of English because of university expanding enrolment since 1999. However, novice teachers lack teaching experience. Additionally, some schools technically have had enough staff numbers and they are not able to find any vacancies for new English teachers. University graduates also desire a position in big cities with better teaching conditions.

Finally, although there are ELT trainings provided locally or provincially by educational departments or by textbook publishers on teaching approaches, teaching theories and techniques, the trainings are far more than enough.

(LJ-P7, 20091120)

LJ-P7's summary revealed that the big gap in English language teacher qualifications in the urban and rural areas of Lijiang was due to geographical and economic factors, similar to the situation in other less developed areas of China. While urban schools commenced English courses in Year 3 as prescribed by the MOE, and many have employed native English speaker teachers (NESTs), schools in the rural or mountainous areas remains undecided whether to introduce English in Year 3, 4 or 5 and how English should be taught. Furthermore, many urban Naxi parents send their children to private Chinese-English bilingual kindergartens to get an early start in ELL. In contrast, children from the rural areas, who lack this opportunity, lag far behind their urban counterparts from an early age.

I will now illustrate, based upon my observation of a demonstration class in a local public primary school, how ELT played out in this model school. The school was located in Lijiang City and most of the students were from the city areas. It had a long history and was listed as one of the top primary schools in Lijiang. It was financially well-supported, very active in teaching and education reform, and had established a sisterhood with selected schools in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. As well, it had established international contacts with the USA, Canada and Japan through international exchange programs. Each year, a few students participated in the exchange programs, some visiting their sister schools in other cities in China. Teachers of English had the opportunity to go overseas to visit their international sister schools for periods of one year.

This school started English as a subject from Year 3 in the autumn of 2001 as directed by the MOE (see Section 6.2.3.1). There were 24 classes from Year 3 to Year 6, 6 classes in each grade and two 40-minute English lessons per week for each class of approximately 40~50 students, of whom two thirds were Naxi (LJ-P17, 20091125). On the walls along the corridors of the bright and spacious buildings were posters in both simplified Chinese characters and English featuring propaganda (see Section 5.3.4).

There were four local teachers (two Naxi and two Han), but one of them was in the USA teaching Chinese assigned by a Sino-USA education exchange program. The local teachers, who originally graduated from Teachers' Colleges, had majored in a 3-year English program and later gained their Bachelor's degrees in English through correspondence courses of an adult distance education program. All had taught English for more than 12 years. LJ-P17, one of the teachers, had rich experience in primary English teaching. An American teacher attached to the same exchange program was teaching 12 English lessons to Year 3.

Facilities for teaching English were poor, even in what appeared to be a well-supported model school. Except for a few traditional cassette recorders, some English tapes and Chinese-English bilingual pictures, there was no other equipment or teaching aids for the

teachers to use. The multimedia classroom, which had a projector and Internet access, and could hold approximately 150 students, could only be used by teachers of English once a month when they had teaching and research activities or demonstration classes. The common practice of ELT was in typical “blackboard-chalk” mode.

The English textbooks were published by the People’s Education Press (PEP). In primary English education, English exams were not as yet the focus of ELT and ELL. Students from Year 3 to Year 5 were required to take an oral English exam which included singing songs, reciting chants, reading words and encouraging in dialogue with their teachers, face-to-face and one-on-one. In Year 6, when the students went to sit the enrolment exam for junior high school, the key subjects included Chinese, Mathematics, and a comprehensive subject comprising English, Science and Moral Education. I noted that the children did not speak English after class or during breaks at school. I could hear them talking to one another in Han Hua or Naxi in the playground but they switched to Putonghua in the presence of their teachers.

I observed a demonstration English class for Year 4 in the school multimedia classroom (LJ-P17-OBFN2, 20091216). Both Chinese and simple English were used as the instruction language. The lesson was organized into six procedures.

Before the class started, an English song was played repeatedly with the simple words “I love mother, I love father, they love me, they love me”. It sounded rhythmic and idiomatic. When the class began, LJ-P17 greeted the students as follows:

LJ-P17: Good morning, how are you?

Students (Ss): I am fine. Thank you. And you?

LJ-P17: What day is today?

Ss: (Ss mumbled from Tuesday to Thursday and finally figured out) Wednesday.

LJ-P17: Yes, today is Wednesday.

LJ-P17: What is the weather like today?

Ss: It's sunny.

LJ-P17: Yes, today is sunny. Today, we are going to learn Unit 6- Meet My Family.

Then, LJ-P17 asked the students to review some rhymes they had learnt by heart (e.g., “ABCDEFGH, father, mother and me...”), and taught them the meaning of “how many/how much” and “how many people are there in your family?” The whole class practiced together “how many people are there in your family” five times and eight students were asked to repeat the sentence one after another. The last one made some mistakes, mispronouncing ‘people’ as ‘pig’. The whole class was given another 2 minutes to practice the sentence again. LJ-P17 then provided an example of the answer: “There are (3, 5, 7, 10, and 11)... There are three, father, mother and I”. She asked four students to answer the question “how many people are there in your family? Who are they?” by imitating the example answers. Next, the class played a game of throwing a handkerchief randomly. The one who threw the handkerchief asked two questions and the other one who received the handkerchief answered the questions. During this procedure, LJ-P17 explained the grammatical rule about nouns to be used after ‘how many’/ ‘how much’ and why ‘how many people’ cannot be ‘how many peoples’.

Then, she showed a ‘finger family’ on a slide with five fingers each representing ‘father, mother, brother, sister and baby’. Most of the students actually came from one-child families, in line with China’s one-child policy. A family picture was presented to let students articulate the words for ‘father, mother, brother, sister, grandma, grandpa, aunt, uncle’. LJ-P17 emphasized the spelling of these words by asking all of the students to read each word together twice and to spell each word together once; for example, the students read the word ‘father, father’ twice and then ‘f-a-t-h-e-r’ letter by letter once.

Following this, LJ-P17 helped the students to review certain words that were used to describe people and to learn the last term; for example, ‘tall, short, thin, strong, big eyes,

wide eyes, small eyes, long hair, small ears, big nose, small nose, etc.’ Then she asked: ‘father’s sister is ____; father’s brother is ____; mother’s mother is ____’ to acquaint the students with words like ‘aunt, uncle, grandma, grandpa’. When she asked ‘sister’s brother is ____’, the students struggled to answer ‘brother’. Two class activities were used: in one, the teacher asked the students to match the description of a person with a picture. In the other, she asked every four students to form a group and to introduce their fathers or mothers using the words they had learnt. After five minutes of group practice, three students volunteered to introduce their fathers or mothers.

In the fifth procedure, LJ-P17 showed a slide introducing the family of Amy: ‘Hello, I’m Amy. There are six people in my family. There are mother, father, brother, sister, pretty brother and I. My father is tall and strong. He likes sports. My mother is smart. She likes music. My brother is thin. He likes cooking. I like watching TV’. LJ-P17 read it to the students, who first read it together, then took out their family photos and practiced in groups of four for five minutes. Several students were invited to introduce their own families. The class ended with a summary of what the students had learnt in this lesson. They learnt the English song again which was played before the class (LJ-P17-OBFN1, 20091114).

The ELT practice of this demonstration class, and the class interaction between the teacher and the students, showed that use of multimedia facilities made the lesson more appealing and interesting. Most of the students became actively involved in the class activities. They were eager to speak. However, I noted the problems surrounding ELT, even in a model school. For example, lack of the opportunity to use modern facilities in daily ELT generally diminished the learners’ interest in English. Again, the teaching approaches varied considerably, influenced by the level of the teachers’ qualifications and other personal and individual factors. The teaching resources and teaching materials were poor even in an urban school. Finally, the learning capability of the students varied according to whether they were from rural or urban areas. LJ-P17 said that one fourth of the students in this class were attending private English schools or having private tutoring in the homes of

some university English teachers in their spare time. These students performed more actively and ably in class and spoke reasonably good English whereas some other students found it hard to produce what they were taught. And, the pronunciation of some sounded really strange despite repeated practice.

The implementation of the MOE's English primary education policy depended upon various factors such as geographic location, administration, availability and qualifications of teachers, teaching facilities and funding. In the less privileged rural schools that lacked adequate funding, teacher education and/or the provision of resources (Nunan, 2003), the implementation of this policy under the prevailing conditions had an undesirable impact and further widened the gap between the advantaged and less advantaged children (Y. Hu, 2008).

6.3.3 English as a high-stakes subject

In mid-1990s, the central government adjusted its new, educational direction for the 21st century from exam-oriented to quality-oriented. Emphasis was now firmly upon English education with particular focus on practically improving the learners' overall English proficiency. However, in the minority context, where access to higher education symbolizes opportunities for individual advancement and social mobility, English is still viewed as a high-stakes subject; and, ELT and ELL in secondary education are still exam-oriented, as evident in the case of a key secondary school in Lijiang.

This boarding secondary high school, which was founded in 1969, has gained an excellent reputation in Lijiang for its high student enrolment rate in the Chinese National Matriculation Examination (CNME). According to the school Honors List affixed to a wall, approximately 90% of its graduates in 2009 and 2010 were enrolled in universities, an enrolment rate that ranked top among all of the secondary high schools in Lijiang. This school was also well-supported by the People's Government of Gucheng District. There is an official local slogan quoted in the area which says "tourism boosts education and

education pushes tourism (旅游振兴教育, 教育推动旅游)”. The Gucheng District government has invested considerable money in the development of this school and has established an ‘Outstanding Graduate Scholarship’ which is divided into two ranks: (1) a grant of RMB 30,000 Yuan to reward each graduate enrolled in the ‘211’ or ‘985’ universities of China (the universities in the top list); (2) RMB 3,000 Yuan awarded to each graduate whose CNME scores reached the minimum admission line for first-batch enrolment in key universities. In 2008, 737 of the 907 graduates reached the enrolment line of universities’ admission. Eight graduates were awarded RMB 30,000 Yuan each, and 85 were awarded RMB 3,000 Yuan each. The 2009 bulletin announced that 724 of 834 graduates had reached the university admission line (Field notes, Gucheng No. 1 Middle School, 20091123).

There were approximately 25 English teachers in charge of English teaching for 51 classes, with 6 hours allocated to the English classes. Ninety-five per cent of the teachers had a BA in English. The average weekly formal teaching load for each teacher was 12 classes plus four hours’ supervision of students’ self-study before or after the formal classes in the morning and evening. One class lasts 45 minutes. Each classroom was equipped with standard multimedia facilities which could be used by every teacher in each lesson.

The English textbook in use was published by PEP: each lesson covered skills in speaking, listening, reading, writing and sentence translation. However, the middle school students (LJ-FG2, 20091125) informed me that, due to pressure imposed by CNME, ELT at this school was still exam-oriented to maintain its inordinately high university enrolment rate. Most of the teachers opted to omit all oral activities from each lesson, only focusing on grammar and explanations of the reading texts despite that fact that the students enjoyed the oral topics and needed them to improve their oral competence. Teachers used Chinese as the instruction language in the English language classes.

The class I observed was an outstanding Year 11 class so the students’ English was better than that of other students in the general classes. However, most of the students seemed too

shy to speak in English. They answered the questions loudly together; but, individually they often spoke in very low voices. I noted that they only spoke Han Hua or Naxi (no Putonghua) during the class break. When asked when they practiced their English, the students said that they sometimes visited international friends or talked with their classmates in English in the school dormitories. However, the latter was undertaken rarely. A few said that they had registered with some private oral English classes in case they wanted to study English majors in university later. Throughout the whole lesson, the English teacher focused on English grammar, sentence structure, set phrases and expressions. The students were not given any time to do oral activities. The national testing system of CNME has played a significant role in the formulation of this exam preparation English class. It is now using a '3+X' pattern with a total score of 750: '3' refers to Chinese, Mathematics and English, 150 scores for each; and, 'X' represents a comprehensive subject which is a combination of other subjects and accounts for 300 scores in the exam. All of the participants in LJ-FG2 said that their performance in the '3' high-stakes subjects would make a great difference to the results of the CNME scores.

The real situation of ELT in this school revealed a picture somewhat different from the spirit of the central education policy. In this context, the teaching performances of secondary school teachers, the evaluation and assessment of their teaching achievements and their bonuses are all decided by the students' examination outcomes. The teachers' professional promotion opportunities are influenced by the number of their students enrolled in universities. However, the teachers' overemphasis on exam preparation during teaching, and their best efforts to help the students score high marks based on exam-driven teaching, does not necessarily improve the latter's English proficiency.

English is such a high-stakes subject in Lijiang's high schools that most Naxi learners of English are exam-motivated. LJ-P24, who had worked as an English-speaking tour guide for an international travel agency in Lijiang for more than 13 years, had earlier sojourned for two years in Germany. She explained that her interest in English was rooted in the fact that "English was a compulsory subject and a good English score would play a very

important role in whether I would be enrolled by a university. I *firmly believed* that if I learnt English well and did well in the English exam, I would *have more chances to be enrolled by a university*” (LJ-P24, 20100114). When asked whether she had thought of learning English for going abroad at that time, she answered:

Excerpt 6.3

LJ-P24: My parents even couldn't afford my school fees. They felt so difficulty to support us three children in schools. I didn't know why we were so poor then, <>@@@<>. I felt uncertain whether I was able to continue secondary education. I couldn't imagine and *I had never imagined* what it would be like to go abroad, to go to the Western countries. *I even had no concept of 'going abroad'*. My only aim was to get high scores in key subjects including English in order to get a chance to go to university. English learning for me was *to get more scores to be enrolled in a university*...But after I worked in the tour agency and later went abroad, I regarded English as a linguistic tool.

(LJ-P24, 20100114)

A postgraduate in Chinese Applied Linguistics, KM-P12 emphasized that importance of learning English lay in passing CET4, CET6 and the postgraduate program entrance exam.

Excerpt 6.4

KM-P12:刚开始就是想跟他们交谈那种愿望，所以就很喜欢英语。后来嘛主要是因为考试。<>@<> Uhm 考研啊，考大学啊不是都要考英语嘛，兴趣就变成一种需要了。学英语也就是应付考试啦，<>@<>。如果说考研这个希望不大，就是肯定会被英语拉分拉下来。学英语就是属于应试学习型的<>@@@<>。大一大二上英语大家都是为考英语四级，每一次报名，但是呢每一次都不过，后来大家就放弃了。学英语的兴趣也减弱。大三的时候就不开设英语课啦，课不上，课后就更不可能去看了呀，宁愿看小说也不去看英语。你说吧，我现在考研究生，考上研究生肯定对我以后的生活来说肯定是件好事，

但我英语成绩被卡在那儿的话，我就考不上研究生了呀，就会影响你的生活。英语在我们生活当中的使用真的没有啊，因为我们又不接触老外，在平时日常生活当中就接触不到。除了学校学习之外，生活还根本就接触不到英语。

KM-P12: ...At the beginning, I was interested in English because I had a desire to communicate (with the international tourists). *Later, the main reason (to learn English) was to pass exams.* <>@<>. Uhm. English is a must in university and postgraduate entrance exams. Interest in English had turned into a kind of need. *Learning English is to cope with exams.* <>@<> If I achieve a poor score in English, the chance of being enrolled in a postgraduate program is slim. English learning becomes exam-motivated learning <>@@@<>. The first two years in university everyone learns English in order to pass CET4. *But every time when we took the test, we failed and finally we all gave up learning English.* Our interest in English weakened. We no longer had English in the third year. If there is no course requirement, it is impossible to take initiative to learn it in your spare time. I'd rather read a novel than learn English. I am going to take a postgraduate exam. If I can be enrolled, it will be good for my future and life. But if I can't get the required score in English, I won't be enrolled and my life will change. We don't use English in our daily life because we have no contact with the foreigners in our daily life. *Except learning English in education, we don't have any opportunity to use English.*

(KM-P12, 20091203)

Most non-English-major university participants echoed KM-P12 sentiments, i.e., that they were motivated to learn English to pass the critical exams. LJ-P20 explained that: “我只要考过公务员考试，我就再也不学英语了[I would never study English once I passed the civil servant examination]” (LJ-P20, 20091213). KM-P3 said: “对于我们少数民族学生，学习英语的动机还是拿到些英语过级证书，找到个工作 [For us ethnic minority EFL learners, the motivation for learning English was to obtain a job with certificates of English tests]” (KM-P3, 20091128). CET4 and CET6 certificates have acted as threshold requirements for positions. “按照学校要求，没有四六级过级证，我们连学位都拿不到！”

没有大学毕业证么，哪点克找好工作 [Without a pass on CET4 and CET6, *we cannot even get a university degree* because this was the course requirement. Without a university graduation certificate, *it would be impossible to find a decent job*]” (KM-FG3, 20091130).

The status of English is becoming unprecedentedly high: (1) because of its position as a compulsory set subject in the curricula; (2) due to “its importance in examinations to higher levels of schooling” (B. Adamson, 2002, p. 240); and (3) because it is the threshold for procuring well-paid jobs in China’s extremely competitive employment market. Although ideally from a quality education perspective English should be treated as a universal modern communicative skill (Fong, 2009), most ethnic learners learn English for fear that if they fail to learn English well, they will be politically, socially and economically marginalized. In the following section, I will explore the reality of ELT and ELL at the tertiary level.

6.3.4 English language learning: much hard work with little gain

“ELT in China, particularly at the tertiary level, has frustrated the students, the instructors, and the various employers who, when making hiring decisions, consider proficiency in English an indispensable qualification” (J. Yang, 2006, p. 5). The identified reasons are rigid teaching methods, shortage of qualified teachers, examination-oriented instruction (G. Hu, 2002a, 2002b, 2003) and insufficient instructional time (Nunan, 2002). In the country’s less developed regions, students work extremely hard in ELL due to their limited and disadvantaged access to English resources. They spend considerable time in ELL but gain little. This section argues that it is not enough for students only to spend more hours on ELL tasks to improve their English, even in an environment such as an “EANLIC” English program, an ELT research program offered at a local public teachers’ college in Lijiang which is intended to produce native speakers competent in English. I will now explore how much time and energy the learners of English in this context have invested in ELL and how little they have gained.

This college had 6,426 full-time 3-year program students from local and other provinces in China. Its development goals were to provide qualified English teachers to primary and secondary education level and to be a university with a capacity for 10,000 full-time undergraduate students studying for Bachelor's degrees. The Department of Foreign Languages, established in 1980, was responsible for the ELT for all English majors and non-English majors. As the largest department of the college, it had 52 teaching staff (16 MAs and 36 BAs) and 1,100 full-time students majoring in English Education or Tourism English.

The Department had been conducting a project called "English acquired as a 'native' language in China" (EANLIC/英力克英语) which was jointly funded by the college and the Yunnan provincial department of education. EANLIC aimed to provide the learners with an environment in which to practise English in addition to the normal classroom learning setting in order to help the learners to become fluent English speakers (as fluent as the native English speakers/NES). EANLIC was stratified into three levels: Level 1 aimed to cultivate the habit in the first-year students to speak English; Level 2 aimed to foster the ability of the second-year students to improve their accuracy in grammar and vocabulary in English communication; and Level 3 aimed to improve the overall oral English proficiency of the third-year students.

Under this Project, each English-major class offered an extra 2.5 hours of EANLIC Oral English each week. Seventy per cent of the score for EANLIC Oral English was based on the student's daily performance in English learning and communication, thirty per cent on the exam scores. EANLIC Oral English emphasized achieving English learning objectives through extracurricular language practice in an artificially-made language environment. For example, Thursday was EANLIC Happy English Day at this teachers' college. All of the teaching staff and students in the department had to speak English the whole day. In addition, there was an English Corner from 1-2 p.m. and an EANLIC Evening from 7:00-8:30 p.m. The EANLIC Café opened daily between 7:30 and 9:30 p.m. where all visitors could practise English.

The EANLIC English corner was held on the sports court between 1 and 2 p.m. Attendance was compulsory; thus students had to sign in and sign out. Compulsory attendance guaranteed implementation of EANLIC program; but, it also caused discontent among the attendees. Attending the English corner would not be the first choice for most Chinese teachers and students who were used to having a siesta around this time. However, if there was no attendance requirement record, as suggested by some teachers in the interviews, the numbers of participants would definitely decrease. Students from the same class sat in a circle with the class English teacher and talked about a topic which was predetermined or chosen from an Intensive English Reading Textbook. Then, each class (between 35 and 50 students) was divided into small groups with 6-9 students in each. They took turns in talking or reporting to the teacher. Most students prepared for it with some key words or key sentences written on notebooks. Their oral English was still poor although they had learnt English for at least 6 years in junior and senior secondary schools. The students were very shy when they took turns to speak. When it was not their turn, some listened to the speaker attentively: others murmured in Chinese or Han Hua about something irrelevant. On occasion, some staff members and students complained saying that the English corner had become a routine and was boring sometimes. It was not really an effective means of practising language. Additionally, if for some reason a teacher didn't turn up on a particular day, his/her students would simply idle their time instead of taking the initiative to practise in groups or pairs. (LJ-P3-OBFN, 20091119; LJ-P1-OBFN1, 20091126; LJ-P4-OBFN2, 20091224)

When the EANLIC Evening was held, the desks in the classroom were moved to form a circle and designated groups of 4-6 students would organize some English activities: e.g., teaching some new English words or idioms, performing dramas, teaching songs or playing some games. They usually discussed with the Intensive English Reading teacher in advance what they should do that evening. At the EANLIC Evening, language interaction was emphasized so that extra students could participate in the activity. I noted that if an activity organizer spoke in a quiet and low voice, audience interest dwindled. I also

observed that if a performer's English pronunciation was poor, the audience's attention would be lost. (LJ-P4-OBFN1, 20091119)

English learning in the formal class teaching was similarly pessimistic. According to my onsite observation (LJ-P5-OBFN, 20091217), the students were not highly motivated to speak English, even with their teacher. LJ-P5 used half English and half Chinese as an instructional language: she should have used 100% English but she told me that if she used English only, some students would not be able to understand and would feel very frustrated.

In contrast to the secondary high school students who are studying under the pressure imposed by the CNME, the three-year program college students were not subjected to the pressure of taking CET4/6 or TEM4/8. Their teachers were not judged by the students' exam scores although English was a required core course of the college. However, when the students sought employment post-graduation, they would have to compete with those who had gained more English exam certificates. Constrained by lack of instructional time, poor provision and accessibility to English resources, this artificially imposed environment of English practice at least went some way towards increasing their exposure to the English language. However, the extra 2.5 hours of oral English practice in the 36 weeks of the university calendar year only added up to 90 hours. According to Nunan (2002), learners need at least 200 hours per year of systemic exposure to a language being learned in instructional contexts to achieve consistent and measurable improvements in said language. "Language use is communication which requires a motivated community, the right tasks and appropriate settings" (J. Yang, 2006, p. 7). For majors in colleges lacking an EANLIC initiative, learners experienced little exposure to English. With little comprehensible input available outside of the class (J. Yang, 2006), students became even more disadvantaged in English learning and failed to do well in ELL.

6.3.5 Summary

When English language policies were legislated and implemented in China post-1950s, the regional and local socio-economic and educational factors had not been taken into account. As a result, these factors caused educational inequality in language learning, access to social resources and mobility. However, the national legislative framework had firmly incorporated English as a high-stakes school subject to the national education and testing system. Learning English had become a collective fever. Apropos of their children's primary education, Naxi parents from better-off families invested all they could afford so that their children would benefit from English education opportunities. This left the poorer village children far behind in ELL. In the secondary schools, English learning and teaching were exam-motivated: quality education was politically advocated and English oral competence stressed in syllabi and curricula. 'EANLIC' in the local college administratively provided 2.5 extra hours each week for the students and teachers to practise English; but, notwithstanding, the outcome was far from satisfactory despite the good intentions motivating it. Much time was spent on ELL with little gain. Based upon the three cases discussed in this section, when English language policies were stipulated in China, certain critical factors on the ground had not been fully taken into account, factors that not only contributed to education inequality but also to social inequality.

6.4 Individual Beliefs about English

6.4.1 Introduction

The national legislative framework of English prescribed and directed English language education for different levels; however, exploration of ELT and ELL in actual practice in the three educational settings (as presented in the previous section) revealed only a part of the real picture of language policy implementation. In order to gain a complete picture, it is important to investigate the individual attitudes and beliefs about English learning and use.

In this section, I will study the Naxi participants' language ideologies vis-a-vis English learning and use. Two strands of individual desires and expectations related to English emerged: English for economic gain and English for global communication and involvement.

6.4.2 English for economic gain

English was viewed by most Naxi participants as symbolic capital. They equated English with material rewards such as more income, employment chances and facilitating touristic economy as evident in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 6.5

LJ-P4, a teacher of English in a local college, had an MA from a university in the USA.

LJ-P4:现在都是<>我们外语系的学生在这个学校里面是比较受人尊重的。或者是受人欢迎，么外语系的学生就比较好一些。他们有一种优越感。就业么还是外语专业学生比较高，尤其是旅游英语么几乎是百分之百的就业率。

LJ-P4: Now the students in the department (of foreign languages) are the most respected and popular in our college. *They feel superior to the students from other departments.* The employment rate of the students of our department is very high. *The students majoring in tourism English have achieved 100% employment rate.*

Hongyan:主要去哪些单位呢?

Hongyan: Where do they work?

LJ-P4:主要去旅游局，当导游啊，酒店管理啊那些。英语教育这块也是。主要是中学，小学。中学少得很，中学的相当少。就是村小。现在正在配备英语老师的这些学校，实际上。主要是小学英语教师要得多点。

LJ-P4: Most of them became tourist guides. Some are doing hotel management. They have also gone onto teaching English in secondary and primary schools. But

only a few can get teaching positions in secondary schools. Most jobs are in primary schools. *There is a big need for English teachers in primary schools.*

(LJ-P4, 20091117)

LJ-P3, a teacher of English in the local college, LJ-P24, a tourist guide working for an international tourism agency, and KM-P1, a postgraduate majoring in the Thai language added:

Excerpt 6.6

LJ-P3: <>@<> 学英语找工作方面比较吃香一点, 特别是男生, 因为英语老师中男生可能是稍微更受欢迎一点了嘛。◇@◇

LJ-P3: <>@<> *It is easier for English majors to get a job; especially males are more popular to get a teaching position.* ◇@◇ (LJ-P3, 20091117)

KM-P1: 就是可能我本科是英语专业, 现在研究生好多同学都找不到兼职, 兼职很难找。对我来说 (找个) 当英语家教啊英语学校培训老师啊 (的工作) 挺简单, 我现在都不给家里面要钱, 完全自己自立了!

KM-P1: Because I have a BA in English, my classmates in Master's program couldn't find any part-time job. But for me, *it is quite easy to find a job to be an English tutor or teacher in a private training school.* I don't need financial support from my parent. I can live on my own now.

(KM-P1, 20091128)

In addition to the accounts presented above, KM-P2 (a 4th Year undergraduate majoring in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language) and KM-P13 (a 1st Year postgraduate majoring in English) both echoed that English would be a very important linguistic capital for them to teach Chinese as a foreign language overseas (KM-FG3, 20091130; KM-P13, 20091203). KM-P12 (a 1st Year postgraduate in Chinese Applied Linguistics) observed that speaking English in Dayan Town in Lijiang helped make more deals with international tourists. LJ-P4 earned money guiding international tourists around her hometown in the

vacations to cover her university tuition and living expenses. This experience made her feel that “英语就是挣钱的工具，我一辈子都可以用这个不错的工具来挣钱 [English is a tool to earn money and I can earn money all my life with this wonderful tool]” (LJ-P4, 20091119). From these interview excerpts, the belief in English as linguistic capital which will be later converted into human and economic capital and material wealth (Bourdieu, 1991) urged the Naxi to invest more in English learning.

The booming international tourism in the local context has greatly increased the emphasis on English education and impacted upon the Naxi's attitudes towards English as resources for economic development, both for the individual and society (Silver, 2005). Although the policymakers in China have recently made efforts to weaken the impact of English (Feng, 2009) on procuring human and social resources, the fallacy of ‘the promise of English’, i.e., that good English secures a well-paid job, is deeply rooted in the Naxi psyche.

6.4.3 English for global communication

For some Naxi participants, learning English fulfilled their desire for global communication. They saw English as a linguistic tool for building an international identity and that learning English would bring more opportunities for international mobility (as evidenced in the following excerpts).

Excerpt 6.7

LJ-P4: 好象有句话叫做是懂英语你面对的是整个世界，懂中文你就在中国呆起。说的有点过分但确实实是这种，*因为我懂英语我可以跟日本人讲话，也可以跟非洲人讲话，跟全世界的人讲话*。并且是中国人很多人不懂英语。所以（我懂英语）对我的生活，事业有很大的扩大。

LJ-P4: It is said that speaking English makes you go freely around the whole world while you can only stay in China if you only speak Chinese. It sounds exaggerated but it is true. *I can speak English so that I can communicate with Japanese, African and the whole world.* Many Chinese can't speak English but I can speak English. It

is very good to my life. My career has been expanded because of English.

(LJ-P4, 20091119)

KM-P2: 英语对现在的生活已经有了很大影响。前两天去昆交会做志愿者的时候发现好多国家的人都会说英语。像泰国人和越南人之间的交流，除了那些会彼此的语言的人，不知道彼此的语言的时候，*英语真的是最重要的交流工具。*

KM-P2: English has influenced people's life now. A couple of days ago, when I volunteered as an interpreter at the Kunming Trade Fair, I found that people from many countries now can speak English. When the Thai communicate with the Vietnamese, they speak English unless they speak each other's language. When people don't know each other's language, *English becomes the most important linguistic tool for communication.*

(KM-FG3, 20091130)

KM-P9: 英语作为使用人最多呢这种一个语言，*它就是世界通用语言了嘛。*

KM-P9: English is the most popularly-used (Western) language. *It is a lingua franca.*

(KM-P9, 20091130)

KM-P7 (20091130) and KM-P14 (20091204) (undergraduates majoring in Chinese Ethnic Minority Languages and Literatures and IT respectively) both stressed that English had very high importance because it has developed into a global lingua franca.

English was, therefore, regarded as the most important tool for social contact and communication globally, an opinion voiced by a few participants in KM-FG3.

Excerpt 6.8

KM-P1: 英语能交流也比较好玩，学校里一些外教老师都特别好，经常邀请我们去他家里 party 然后跟他们聊聊天，坐在一起玩。一个月会有一两次。所以多一种语言的话，还是能交到更多的外国朋友，可能以后的交际就也会广一些。

KM-P1: I got a lot of fun when I communicated with others in English. The teachers (of the English training school) are very nice. They often invite us to have party at their homes, chatting and playing, once or twice each month. So knowing an additional language will help make international friends and have wider social circle.

KM-P2: 网上聊天的时候会用英语交流。

KM-P2: I use English in online chatting.

Hongyan: 是跟国外的同学是吧？

Hongyan: Chat with your former classmates overseas?

KM-P2: 就是外国的朋友。有的是泰国的或者是其他国家的。也有沙特阿拉伯的，巴基斯坦，加拿大，美国的。有的是以前我们在那边（泰国）留学认识的，他们回国了。其他的像我说的迪拜的，巴基斯坦的，是在网上聊天的时候知道的，也没有多深的了解。就只是问一些生活习惯之类的吧。中国现在的变化怎样 Uhm 什么的。聊天的内容主要是旅游方面。对旅游感兴趣，问中国什么地方好玩，我就推荐什么丽江，北京，长城，故宫，还有桂林，还有云南的民族风情。他们只知道我是中国人。 <>@<>

KM-P2: They are foreigners from Thailand or other countries such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Canada and USA. We got to know each other when we were studying in Thailand. Some other friends are from Dubai and Pakistan. We got to know each other over online chat. We usually just ask some questions on life, habit and modern China. The topic focuses on tourism information. They were interested in which places in China were worth visiting. I often recommended Lijiang, Beijing, the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, Guilin and the ethnic cultures in Yunnan. They only know I am a Chinese. <>@<>

Hongyan: 那你日常生活中有没有一些国外朋友呢？

Hongyan: Then do you have some international friends in your daily life?

KM-P2: 有, 这段时间我们在实习, 在华侨学校, 实习的时候也接触到一些留学生, 我们就跟那些老师去听课讲课, 他们主要是日本的, 韩国、泰国、越南、老挝还有沙特阿拉伯有一个。

KM-P2: Yes, I do. We are now practicing as student teachers in the Overseas Chinese High School and we have contact with international students. We audit some classes and we also give lectures under our supervisors. The international students mainly come from Japan, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos and one from Saudi Arabia.

Hongyan: 有用英语交流吗?

Hongyan: Do you speak English?

KM-P2: 有, 有一个学生, 泰国的, 在西方留过学, 受过西方教育。后来学汉语, 才六个月。他去旅游, 叫我带他还有我老师的女儿一起去丽江旅游, 好多他听不懂, 只能用英语跟他解释。

KM-P2: Yes, with one Thai student. He once studied in a Western country and he has learnt Chinese for six months. I was assigned to take him and my supervisor's daughter to go travelling in Lijiang. He couldn't understand (Chinese) so I had to explain to him in English.

(KM-FG3, 20091130)

Similar themes also emerged in the interview data (LJ-P4, LJ-P5, LJ-P22, LJ-P23 and KM-P10). With the exception of KM-P1 and KM-P3, the other six participants mentioned here all have had overseas experience. While it would be hasty to conclude that this ideology was restricted to ethnic EFL learners with overseas experience, nevertheless, the higher proficiency and the more international contact in English, the stronger the notion that learners need to socialize using English. In this context, English represents cultural capital which may prove “convertible into economic capital through mutual agreement” (Silver, 2005, p. 49).

6.4.4 Summary

As regards the individual Naxi participants, the two themes of beliefs about English reflected the perceived impact of the national English policy, the testing system, social economic development, globalization and internationalization. Their beliefs about English not only influence the English language practices of the Naxi but also forge a wider gap between them and the people living in the stratified society of China who have different abilities to access the social resources.

6.5 Conclusion

The national ideology has not only justified the necessity and urgency to implement English education policies in primary schools but has also increased the linguistic value and status of English in secondary and tertiary education. Although the primary English education policy stressed that its implementation needed to fully consider the differences between the coastal, developed areas and the underprivileged areas, and gave one year duration for this gap, there was no clear definition of conditions needed to set up English language teaching and no other forms of top-down support. The extant English policy has created inequity between the Naxi and the Han. The legislation of secondary and tertiary education has established English as a high-stakes school subject which determines the learners' opportunities for personal advancement and social mobility.

Drawing upon discussion of the cases of the urban primary school, the key secondary high school and the local public college, I provide a clearer and closer look at English at three educational levels in Lijiang. Despite the best efforts of the EFL learners and education administrators, the ELL situation is still unsatisfactory. Learners cannot speak English fluently after many years of learning and spending so much time on ELL. Although the problem is prominent in the Han regions, it is even worse in the ethnic minority regions. These issues have resulted in unbalanced development of English in higher education.

English is recognized as the world's lingua franca; thus, English learning is considered to be symbolic capital invested for people's better sociolinguistic, economic and/or social futures. There is a perception that the more the learner invests, the more returns he gets. This ideology has given rise to the fallacy of the 'rosy promise of English'. These beliefs about English reflect the impact of the national English policy, the testing system, socio-economic development, and internationalization on the individual Naxi participants. These ideologies and their chain reaction to English learning have further widened the gap between the advantaged and the less privileged learners and caused inequity between the rich and the poor and the urban dwellers and the rural villagers. These beliefs have not only influenced the learners' English practices but have proven a critical factor in the social stratification of China.

Chapter Seven Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored language policies, policies in education, and individual language ideologies in the multilingual context of Lijiang. In this concluding chapter, I first summarize the main findings presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, then, discuss the implications of these findings for the fields of LP, ELT and ELL and minority language maintenance and multilingual development in China. I finally review the limitations of this study and recommend future directions.

7.2 Research Questions Revisited

7.2.1 Research question one: language policies in Lijiang

RQ1: What are the language policies governing language learning and use in Lijiang?

This research question was addressed relative to Naxi, Chinese and English. Here I intend to present a holistic view of how language policies affect all three languages taken together.

To begin with, as one of China's officially-recognized ethnic minority languages, Naxi enjoys strong legislative protection and is recognized as part of the nation's irreplaceable ethnic heritage. In addition to affording strong national legislative protection, regional and local authorities have enthusiastically supported Naxi since its tourist value - in conjunction with Lijiang obtaining World Heritage status - was recognized. However, the accumulative effect of the legislation, directives and regulations intended to ensure the continued use, development and preservation of Naxi has been undermined by one single factor emanating from the central government: the promotion of the national language and the consequent provision of mainstream education in Chinese.

Chinese is promoted as the language of national unity and the language of education. It enjoys the highest political status commensurate with its role in the process of nation building, educating the nation, eradicating illiteracy, and, generally, as the language of national development.

Today, the Chinese language no longer enjoys uncontested pride of place, due to the fact that English language learning has also been legislated as a language of Lijiang. English has been promoted as the language through which China can gain access to advanced science and technology and take its place on the global stage. The implementation nationwide of English education policies at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels has reified English as a high-stakes school subject. The promotion of English, as well as of Chinese, has been uniform across the country without reference to local conditions.

It is already on the level of centralized language policy that one sees contradictions emerging: the language policy for Naxi maintenance is in conflict with the promotion of both Chinese and English. However, much starker contradictions become apparent when one considers the actual implementation of these central language policies in the local context of Lijiang, as the findings relative to my second research question demonstrate.

7.2.2 Research question two: implementation of language policies in education

RQ2: How are language policies implemented in Lijiang's education program?

This question, which concerns the practice of Naxi, Chinese and English language policies in the educational domain in Lijiang, focuses upon how the policies relating to these three languages are actually implemented; that is, upon linguistic practice in the primary, secondary and tertiary contexts.

Despite central policy support for ethnic minority language maintenance, Chinese – not Naxi - has become the medium of instruction at educational levels nationwide since the

1950s. Naxi has been re-introduced in education in the form of heritage classes at the primary and secondary levels and in the form of Naxi majors at university level since the 1990s. However, as I have found, teaching in all of these contexts has been mostly symbolical; that is, it is under-resourced, there is insufficient time allocated to tasks, teachers are often under-qualified, and there are limited job opportunities available to Naxi majors.

In contrast, Chinese, the language of highest utility, pervaded all of the educational spaces in which I conducted my fieldwork; it was the medium of instruction, a high-stakes subject that allows progression to higher educational levels and is valuable in the ‘real’ world of work and socio-economic opportunities outside of school. In addition, Chinese enjoys high visibility in informal and symbolic educational spaces, such as in break times or in propaganda signage.

Having to compete with Chinese to succeed educationally is onerous for the Naxi who attempt to level the playing-field for their children by teaching them Chinese as early as possible, often resulting in the disappearance of Naxi from the familial domain. The burden of languages imposed from outside of Lijiang is even greater when it comes to English, which is a challenge for everyone in China. However, as my fieldwork revealed, in peripheral areas such as Lijiang, its centralized imposition presents a further challenge: as with Naxi, the teaching of English is comparatively under-resourced. In particular, under-qualified teachers and the lack of real practice opportunities disadvantage English learners in peripheral Lijiang in contrast to the more advanced and resourced programs enjoyed by their metropolitan peers. In contrast to Naxi, however, the under-resourcing of English has real-life consequences for the educational and economic advancement of the next generation in Lijiang, a fact that is not lost on individual Naxi, as I found in my research relative to the third research question.

7.2.3 Research question three: language ideologies held by individual Naxi

RQ3: What language ideologies are held by the Naxi regarding the learning and use of Naxi, Chinese and English?

The contradictions inherent in the language policies and practices in Lijiang are not lost upon the Naxi, who remain conflicted about their language, seeing it both as boon and bane. Their attitudes towards both Chinese and English are much more uniformly positive. As was to be expected, my respondents not only saw Naxi as a positive marker of their ethnic identity, but also as symbolically valuable in the new tourist economy. However, they recognized that the market for this symbolic value of Naxi – as ethnic identity and as commodified tourist commodity – was very small. They realize that in order to succeed educationally and economically, they need to become proficient in both Chinese and English, languages perceived as having high-value for educational and economic advancement.

This finding has significant implications for multicultural education policies as the desire for national unity on the one hand and ethnic diversity on the other also plays out in language ideologies held by the Naxi. Like many other ethnic minorities in China, the Naxi, too, have been going through the “push and pull experience between homogenizing forces and indigenous cultures” where Chinese and English promise integration with the wider world while Naxi only “occupies a more confined role of heritage culture maintenance” (F. Gao & Park, 2012, p. 539). Naxi will not provide a means to integrate into mainstream society. Chinese and English were not only seen as educationally and economically valuable but also as laden with desirable symbolism; that is, Chinese as the language of national identity and upward mobility and English as the language of global connectedness.

In sum, individual Naxi see language learning as a way to acquire social, economic and cultural capital and their language ideologies are intertwined with the “social, economic and political struggles” (Tollefson, 2002, p. 5) connected to these different languages. In contrast to minority languages that provide their speakers with access to transnational economic, social and cultural mobility such as Korean (see F. Gao & Park, 2012), Naxi, a language without national status anywhere, provides no such additional value. The Naxi see Chinese and English as economically and symbolically valuable. Naxi, by contrast, while viewed as symbolically valuable, lacks economic value; for this reason, the Naxi favor the more valuable acquisition of Chinese and English.

7.3 Will Tourism Save Naxi?

My choice of Lijiang as the site for my research was partly motivated both by its status as a UNESCO World Heritage site and the resultant tourism economy which has given Naxi new “currency” after half a century of decline. Both the Yunnan provincial government and the Lijiang local government have implemented local language policies to enhance the role of Naxi. In this section, I address the potential of the tourism industry for revitalizing the local language.

To begin with, it is obvious that significant progress has been made since the 1990s as regards language policies for the protection of Naxi and its implementation in education through (1) Naxi Heritage Classes; (2) the introduction of the Naxi major and, (3) the introduction of Naxi language and cultural classes outside the sphere of formal education. However, I did not find much evidence of this ‘new value’ of Naxi being recognized by individual Naxi, who seemed to consider Naxi as valorized symbolically but not economically.

This lack of economic valorization of Naxi was evident in the fact that there were only a few job opportunities open to Naxi speakers and these were quickly filled by Naxi graduates. The lack of economic valorization of Naxi was also obvious in the fact that

while tourists are eager to see the Dongba script and hear Naxi songs, they cannot – and do not wish to – communicate in Naxi. Thus, even the economic value of Naxi derived from tourism is symbolical: greetings, songs, and proverbs inscribed on souvenirs are eagerly sought but not Naxi for communication purposes. And, it is exactly this kind of ‘symbolic proficiency’ that the limited heritage education in primary and secondary school inculcates.

Indeed, the economic potential that Lijiang as a tourism site presents for the Naxi rests much more upon their ability to communicate in Chinese (with national visitors) and in English (with international visitors) than upon Naxi. What the tourist comes to see and hear are the symbols of Naxi communicated via Chinese and English. Chalmers and Danson (2004) suggest that it is increasingly possible to create a ‘virtuous circle’ in the cultural, linguistic and business community by a joined-up approach to investment in areas with ethnic minorities. The virtuous cycle observed in my research context does indeed exist but it is limited to symbolism.

In sum, my research suggests that the potential of tourism for Naxi maintenance lies in retaining Naxi as a symbolic language with limited communicative use and in conducting transactional communication in Chinese, highlighting the symbols of international tourism and the region’s World Heritage status in English.

7.4 Implications

This study has provided a systematic look at the relationship of three languages in an ethnic minority context in China: Naxi as the local language, Chinese as the national language and English as the global language. My findings have implications both for minority language maintenance in the “New China” and for the global spread of English.

7.4.1 Implications for minority languages maintenance in the “New China”

Despite strong legislative support for ethnic minorities, ethnic minority languages have been rapidly disappearing in the PRC. My research has added to the literature on why ethnic minorities in China nowadays are less likely to transmit their languages to their children than they were half a century ago. However, my research has gone beyond this well-recognized problem of minority language loss by asking what has happened since China’s opening up in 1978. Tourism, now a major industry in China, has obviously significantly impacted upon the country’s ethnic minorities; e.g., the Naxi, who have been exceptionally successful in capitalizing on China’s new tourism economy. It is, therefore, essential to ask whether they have been able to turn the fate of their language around by turning it into a tourism commodity.

My research suggests a complex answer; after decades of decline, Naxi now has a solid (even if relatively minor) position in formal education. The program of maintenance and revitalization it has undergone has seen its change in the process. While Naxi as a language of communication continues to disappear, as a symbol of ethnic authenticity it is thriving.

Bourdieu (1991) insists that it is impossible to save a language without saving its market. My research confirms his proposition. The ‘market’ for Naxi as a language of educational and socio-economic advancement, as a language of public life and even as a language of community affiliation has disappeared or is disappearing fast. However, in the New China, a new market for Naxi has appeared: one where the symbol of Naxi has become an object of tourist consumption. And, while national integration has resulted in the decline of Naxi as a language of communication, globalization has resulted in Naxi as a language symbolic of the local burgeoning tourism once again.

7.4.2 Implications for the global spread of English

The Naxi people I met during my research all professed to be working hard to learn English, not only because they have to get ahead in China but also because they want to participate in a globalized world. Unfortunately, their efforts have not proven very successful: it may be that they have worked hard for little gain. My research goes beyond the well-known fact of English fever culminating in poor results in China by showing how the imposition of English as a high-stakes subject is further disadvantaging an already peripheral population. As Park (2011) argues: “Simply offering English is in itself not likely to lead to successful social advancement” (p. 454). The acquisition of English skills holds significant promise for all Chinese; but, as long as it is implemented centrally without recognition of the local specificity of peripheral locations it will continue to reproduce existing inequalities.

As with Naxi, it is also interesting to ask what English in Lijiang actually represents. For most of my participants, it is not a language of communication but yet another symbol of the capacity to cram and pass (or fail) a high-stakes school subject. While English as a school subject can be useful for individual advancement (for instance, it may facilitate university entrance), it is not suggestive of a successful language policy when English is only learnt for schooling purposes.

Beyond asking what ‘English’ actually means in a context such as the one under examination, my research also calls into question the blind faith surrounding seeing the English language as an avenue to progress. In a border province such as Yunnan, might it not be more useful to learn Thai or Burmese for cross-border trade rather than English solely for the purposes of passing exams? In a tourist destination where most international tourists come from other Asian countries, might it not be more useful to study Japanese or Korean rather than a form of English that is not useful for communicative purposes?

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Statistical Data of Tourists in Lijiang and of Tourism

Revenue

Category Year	Total number of tourists (million persons)	Total Tourism revenue (million RMB <i>Yuan</i>)	Number of National tourists (million persons)	Tourist revenue from National tourists (million RMB <i>Yuan</i>)	Number of International tourists (persons)	Tourism foreign exchange (million US dollars)
1995	0.8405	326	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1996	1.1059	301	1.06	219	45,900	9.8633
1999	2.809	1587	2.74	1410	69,000	21.309
2000	2.9042	1865	2.812	1636	92,200	27.556
2001	3.2152	2260	3.11	2007	105,200	30.53
2002	3.3754	2337	3.227	1989	148,400	41.868
2003	3.0224	2988	2.92.5	2779	97,400	25.17
2004	3.6018	3609	3.5097	3387	92,100	26.33
2005	4.0423	3859	3.8595	3605	182,800	49.3188

2006	4.6009	4629	4.2922	3894	308,700	88.2
2007	5.3093	5824	4.9086	4932	400,700	119
2008	6.2549	6954	5.7891	5945	465,800	148
2009	7.5814	8866	7.0555	7699	525,900	171
2010	9.1	11246	8.4886	10000	611,400	202
2011	11.8405	15222	11.0797	13573	761,200	253.6798

(Source: Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2011)

Appendix 2. A List of the Official Websites Referred by this Study

The Chinese Central People's Government's Official Website (<http://www.gov.cn/>);

The Ministry of Education of PRC (<http://www.moe.edu.cn/>);

The State Ethnic Affairs' Commission (SEAC) (<http://www.seac.gov.cn/>);

The People's Government of Yunnan Province (<http://www.yn.gov.cn/>);

Yunnan Tourism Bureau (<http://www.ynta.gov.cn/>);

Yunnan Xinhua Net (<http://www.un.xinhuanet.com>).

The People's Government of Lijiang Naxi Ethnic Minority Autonomous Prefecture (<http://www.lijiang.gov.cn/>);

The People's Government of Yulong Naxi Autonomous County (<http://www.ynyl.gov.cn/>);

The People's Government of Gucheng District of Lijiang (<http://www.ljgc.gov.cn/>);

The National Tourism Administration of The People's Republic of China (<http://www.cnta.gov.cn/>);

Tourism Bureau of Lijiang (<http://www.ljta.gov.cn/>);

Appendix 3. Policies and Regulations Quoted

All the laws, policies or regulations here are implemented nationally except those that I specially marked “local level” or “provincial level”.

On Naxi/Ethnic Minorities

- 1949 The Guiding Principles Issued in the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
- 1950 The Plan to Cultivate the Ethnic Minority Cadres
- 1954 The Constitution of the PRC
- 1958 Strive to correctly carry out the minority language policy of the Communist Party of China
- 1982 The Constitution of the PRC (Adopted on 4 December 1982)
- 1984 Law on Regional Autonomy in Ethnic Minority Regions of the PRC
- 1991 Report on Further Improvement in Ethnic Minority Spoken and Written Languages by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the PRC
- 2002 Resolutions on Intensifying Reform and Accelerating Ethnic Minority Educational Development
- 2003 The Education Department of Lijiang Gucheng District: Proposal of Teaching the Naxi Culture (*local level*)
- 2005 Regulations on Protection of the Dongba Culture of the Naxi Ethnic Minority in Yunnan (*provincial level*)
- 2005 Law on Regional Autonomy in Ethnic Minorities Regions of the PRC
- 2010 Opinions of Administration of the Ethnic Minority Spoken and Written Languages

On Chinese

- 1954 The Constitution of the PRC
- 1956 Instructions on the Promotion of Standard Chinese
- 1982 The Constitution of the PRC (Adopted on 4 December 1982)
- 2000 The National Commonly-Used Language Law of the PRC
- 2006 Law on Compulsory Education of the PRC (Revised)

On English

- 2001a Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting Setting up English Courses in Primary Schools in China by the Ministry of Education of PRC
- 2001b Standard of English Courses for 9-Year Compulsory Education and General Senior Secondary Schools (*Experimental Version*)
- 2007 College English Curriculum Requirements

Appendix 4. Ethics Approval Letter

MACQUARIE
UNIVERSITY



15 October 2009

Ms Hongyan Yang
Room 128, W6C AMEP RC
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Reference: HSHE25SEP2009-D00028

Dear Ms Yang,

FINAL APPROVAL

Title of Project: Identities, EFL & Tourism: the Nazi Ethnic Minority Learners in Southwest China

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your responses have addressed the issues raised by The Faculty of Human Sciences Sub-Committee of the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). Approval of the above application is granted, effective 14th October 2009, and you may now proceed with your research.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is **conditional** upon your continuing compliance with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*.
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5 years) subject to the provision of annual reports. **Your first progress report is due on 1st October 2010.**

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report on the project.

Progress Reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. Please notify the Sub-Committee of any amendment to the project.
5. Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at:
<http://www.research.mq.edu.au/policy>

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone +61 (0)2 9850 8612
Fax +61 (0)2 9850 4465

Ethics
Phone +61 (0)2 9850 6848

Email ethics.secretariat@ro.mq.edu.au
Web www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide Macquarie University's Research Grants Officer with a copy of this letter as soon as possible. The Research Grants Officer will not inform external funding agencies that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Officer has received a copy of this final approval letter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Peter Roger', written in a cursive style.

Dr Peter Roger
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics Review Sub-Committee
Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

Cc: Associate Professor Lynda Yates, Department of Linguistics
Professor Ingrid Piller, Department of Linguistics

Appendix 5. Consent Form for Individual Participants (English)

Title of Project: **Identities, EFL & Tourism: the Naxi Ethnic Minority Learners in Southwest China**

You are invited to participate in a study of EFL learning and identity construction among the Naxi Ethnic Minority Learners in Southwest China and the impact of local tourism has on this. The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship between EFL learning, motivation and experiences. This is a Macquarie University Research Excellence Scholarship (MQRES) research project.

The study is being conducted by Hongyan Yang in fulfilment of a PhD in applied linguistics within the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Human Sciences in Macquarie University. Associate Professor Lynda Yates in Department of Linguistics is the principal supervisor. Contact details for further information are as follows:

Hongyan Yang (researcher)

Ph. +61 (2) 9850 7957

Email hongyan.yang@students.mq.edu.au

Lynda Yates (principal supervisor)

Ph. +61 (2) 9850 9646

Email lynda.yates@ling.mq.edu.au

As the research findings will contribute to the completion of a PhD thesis, participants in this research will not be involved in any other studies.

If you decide to participate, Hongyan would like to talk to you about your EFL experience and audio record the interview at a place of your choice. All forms of data collection will be discussed with you in advance. The questions will be broadly on learning English as a foreign language and will be asked in a very friendly way. The interview will be audio recorded. The researcher may take some notes. The interview will last for one hour or less at a time. You may be interviewed more than once.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential. Code names will be made on all data records, analysis and publications. Nobody can be identified in any presentation or publication of the findings.

Digital audio recorded data will be downloaded as electronic files and stored on a password protected computer in the researcher's university office. The researcher's home computer is also password-protected. Only the researcher and supervisors will have access to the data.

You can request a review of any quotes that will be attributed to you and family members by contacting the researcher on + 61 (2) 9850 7957 or the supervisor on + 61 (2) 9850

9646 and by their emails above. A written abbreviated copy of the thesis will be made available and you can request a copy when the study is completed.

If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I(block letters) have read/have had read and explained to me and understand the information above. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I am aware that de-identified data may be made available for use by other researchers in the future. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

I would like to be a participant in: (please “√”)

Individual interview:

Focus group interview:

Onsite observation:

Participant’s Name (block letters): _____

Participant’s Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator’s Name (block letters): _____

Investigator’s Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Ethics Review Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (telephone [02] 9850 7854, fax [02] 9850 8799, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR’S [OR PARTICIPANT’S] COPY)

Appendix 6. Consent Form for Individual Participants (Chinese)

个人参与者信息与同意书

纳西族英语学习者的英语学习和身份构建研究

尊敬的参与者：

诚邀您参与“纳西族英语学习者的英语学习和身份构建”研究课题的调查活动。本课题旨在研究纳西族英语学习者的英语学习动机和经历与民族身份构建之间的相互关系。

本课题为澳大利亚悉尼麦考利大学人文学院语言学系博士研究生杨红艳的语言学博士学位研究项目,并由麦考利大学语言学系 Lynda Yates 副教授和 Ingrid Piller 教授联合指导。

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如您愿意参与此项研究，我将访问如下主要话题：

- 您学习英语的动机和学习经历；
- 您在生活及工作中应用英语语言的实际情况；
- 您对英语学习和少数民族身份构建的看法；
- 您认为旅游业对纳西族学习者的英语学习和少数民族语言保护以及民族身份构建的影响。

访谈将在您认为最方便的时间和地点进行。如果在家里接受访谈，您可邀请他人陪同(例如：朋友、家人)。根据具体情况，每次访谈时间长可能为十分钟到一个小时。

此外，我也希望实地参与您的英语实践活动。参与的目的在于了解您如何在英语实践中构建少数民族身份。该调查不是评价您的英语水平，而是探究英语学习和民族身份之间的相互关系。根据具体情况，调查活动总持续时间可能为十分钟到几个小时。即使您同意接受访谈，您也可拒绝我参与您的英语实践活动。

如您同意，访谈将被录音以便妥善保存。访谈过程收集的所有信息及个人资料将严格保密并不向任何个人或机构泄露。只有研究者本人及其导师能使用资料。所有资料将安全保存于研究者在澳大利亚悉尼麦考利大学的办公室内。录音资料将在论文结

题研究者取得博士学位五年后销毁。研究者在发表科研成果时将使用假名代替您的真名，并且采用其他相关措施以确保您的真实身份不被暴露。

您可以在论文结题后通过信函和电邮的方式向研究人员申请获得一份研究报告。欢迎您对资料的阐述提出宝贵意见和建议。

请注意：您可完全自愿选择是否参与本研究的调查活动，并且您有权不提出任何理由而随时退出本研究。如您决定参与，请在此表上签名并保存一份署名原件。感谢您参与本项研究调查，期待分享您的见解与宝贵经历。

请您在相应参与的科研调查活动后打勾：

个人访谈() 采访地点 () 日期 () 和时间 ()
小组采访() 采访地点 () 日期 () 和时间 ()
现场观察() 观察地点 () 日期 () 和时间 ()

我， _____ 已浏览并了解以上信息。我的所有疑问已得到满意答复。我同意参与此研究的调查活动，并获知我可随时退出该研究的调查活动而不承担任何责任。我已保存了一份该表格。

参与者姓名： _____
(字迹清晰)

参与者签名： _____ 日期： _____

调查者姓名： _____
(字迹清晰)

调查者签名： _____ 日期： _____

该项目已获麦考利大学科研道德审核委员会（人文类研究）的审批。如您对参与此研究的调查活动有任何科研道德方面的不满或保留意见，可通过道德审核委员会秘书反映（电话 61 2 9850 7854；电邮 ethics@mq.edu.au）。如您需确认研究者的身份或了解有关情况，可与云南民族大学外语学院院长李世强教授联系（电话 86 872 5134855；电邮 lsq1107@126.com）。您的意见将予以保密并调查，调查结果会向您告知。

Appendix 7. Personal Information of the Individual Participants

Code Names	Gender /Age	Ethnicity	Language learning order*	Profession
LJ-P1	F/35	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	EFL university teacher
LJ-P2	F/28	Bai (speak Naxi)	B-N-HH-C-E-G	EFL university teacher
LJ-P3	M/24	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	EFL university teacher
LJ-P4	F/31	Naxi	M-HH-C-E-J (understand Naxi)	EFL university teacher/vice dean
LJ-P5	F/37	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	Lijiang Dongba Museum staff
LJ-P6	F/40	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Researcher of Scientific Research Section of Lijiang Education Bureau
LJ-P7	M/45	Naxi	N-HH-C	Head of Scientific Research Section of Lijiang Education Bureau
LJ-P8	F/36	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Head of Comprehensive Office in Tourism Bureau of Gucheng District
LJ-P9	M/35	French	Not available	Tourist
LJ-P10	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P11	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P12	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P13	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P14	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P15	F/16	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P16	F/17	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Middle school student (Year 11)
LJ-P17	F/33	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Primary school teacher of English and Naxi Heritage Class
LJ-P18	F/46	Naxi	N-HH-C	a staff member in the Language and Scripts Office of the Educational Bureau of the Gucheng District Government of Lijiang
LJ-P19	M/86	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-F	Doctor of Chinese herbal medicine

LJ-P20	M/27	Singapore	Not available	Foreign teacher in a local university
LJ-P21	F/21	Naxi	HH-N-C-E	Undergraduate (senior)
LJ-P22	F/43	Naxi	N-HH-C	Vice head of Lijiang Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs
LJ-P23	F/82	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Musician
LJ-P24	F/33	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-G	Tour guide of a local international tour agency
LJ-P25	F/30	Han (understands Naxi)	HH-C-E	Tour guide of a local international tour agency
KM-P1	F/22	Naxi	N-B-HH-C-E-J-T	Postgraduate (1 st Year)
KM-P2	F/22	Bai (speak Naxi)	N-B-HH-C-E-T	Undergraduate (3 rd Year)
KM-P3	F/22	Naxi	N-B-HH-C-E	Postgraduate (1 st Year)
KM-P4	F/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-F	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P5	F/23	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P6	F/23	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-F	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P7	M/23	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P8	F/21	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P9	F/27	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Postgraduate (3 rd Year)
KM-P10	F/40	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	Naxi-Han translator and editor of Language Committee of Yunnan Ethnic Affairs' Commission
KM-P11	F/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	Postgraduate (1 st Year)
KM-P12	F/21	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Postgraduate (1 st Year)
KM-P13	F/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-T	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P14	M/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (3 rd Year)
KM-P15	F/23	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
KM-P16	M/23	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
QJ-P1	M/18	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (1 st Year)
QJ-P2	M/21	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year) Freelance tour guide
QJ-P3	F/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
QJ-P4	F/21	Naxi	N-HH-C-E-J	Undergraduate (4 th Year)
QJ-P5	F/22	Naxi	N-HH-C-E	Undergraduate (4 th Year)

*Language learning order is listed in the order from L1, L2, L3 to the language learnt last. Letters are short for the corresponding languages as follows:

B-Bai ethnic minority language;

C-Chinese;

E-English

F-French;

G-German;

HH-Han Hua;

J-Japanese;

N-Naxi;

T-Thai language;

M-Mosuo language (Mosuo is a branch of Naxi)

Appendix 8. Individual Interview Timetables and Venues

Participants	Interview date & time	Interview language	Interview Venues
LJ-P1-I1	2009-11-13 9:47	Han Hua	Office of Department of Foreign Languages of a local university
LJ-P1-I2	2010-1-10 14:00	Han Hua	Sports court of a local university
LJ-P2	2009-11-15 11:11	Han Hua	Office of Department of Foreign Languages of a local university
LJ-P3	2009-11-15 13:38	Putonghua	Office of Department of Foreign Languages of a local university
LJ-P4-I1	2009-11-15 16:13	Han Hua	Office of Department of Foreign Languages of a local university
LJ-P4-I2	2010-1-15 16:30	Han Hua	Office of Department of Foreign Languages of a local university
LJ-P5-I1	2009-11-18 15:30	Han Hua	Office in Lijiang Dongba Museum
LJ-P5-I2	2009-12-17 14:00	Han Hua	A local Naxi restaurant
LJ-P6	2009-11-20 10:40	Han Hua	Office in Lijiang Education Bureau
LJ-P7	2009-11-20 10:40	Han Hua	Office in Lijiang Education Bureau
LJ-P8	2009-11-23 11:00	Han Hua	Office in the People's Government of Gucheng District
LJ-P9	2009-11-23 14:40	English	A restaurant in Zhongyi Street in Dayan Town
LJ-P10	2009-11-24 18:00	Putonghua	A middle school
LJ-P11	2009-11-24 18:30	Han Hua	A middle school
LJ-P12	2009-11-24 19:00	Han Hua	A middle school
LJ-P13	2009-11-24 19:40	Putonghua	A middle school
LJ-P14	2009-11-24 20:20	Han Hua	A middle school
LJ-P15	2009-11-24 21:00	Han Hua	A middle school
LJ-P16	2009-11-24 21:40	Putonghua	A middle school
LJ-P17-I1	2009-11-25 10:40	Han Hua	Office for teachers of English in a primary school
LJ-P17-I2	2009-12-16 12:30	Han Hua English	A small restaurant close to a primary school (with Canadian EFL teacher)
LJ-P18	2009-11-25 10:00	Han Hua	Office in the People's Government of Gucheng District of Lijiang
LJ-P19	2009-11-25 16:00	Han Hua English	The interviewee's home in a village in Lijiang
LJ-P20	2009-11-26 9:00	English Putonghua	A cafe on university campus

LJ-P21	2009-12-14 15:30	Han Hua	Walnut Cake Shop in Dayan Town
LJ-P22	2010-1-7 11:00	Han Hua	Office in the People's Government of Yulong County
LJ-P23	2010-1-11 10:00-10:30 15:00-16:00	Han Hua English	The interviewee's home in a village in Lijiang
LJ-P24	2010-1-14	English	A bar in Dayan Town
LJ-P25	18:00-20:00	Han Hua	
KM-P1	2009-11-28 19:00	Putonghua	Fenbu Campus of Yunnan University of Nationalities (YUN)
KM-P2	2009-11-28 20:00	Putonghua	Fenbu Campus of YUN
KM-P3	2009-11-28 21:00	Putonghua	Fenbu Campus of YUN
KM-P4	2009-11-29 14:00	Putonghua	Lianhua Campus of YUN
KM-P5	2009-11-29 15:20-16:10	Putonghua	Lianhua Campus of YUN
KM-P6	2009-11-29 16:20-17:20	Putonghua	Lianhua Campus of YUN
KM-P7	2009-11-30 9:00	Han Hua	In front of the student's apartment, Lianhua Campus, YUN
KM-P8	2009-11-30 10:20	Putonghua	In front of the student's apartment, Lianhua Campus, YUN
KM-P9	2009-11-30 18:00	Han Hua	Lianhua Campus of YUN
KM-P10	2009-12-2 9:30	Han Hua	Office in Yunnan Ethnic Affairs' Commission
KM-P11-I1	2009-12-2 12:40	Putonghua	Donglu Campus, Yunnan University
KM-P11-I2	2010-2-3 11:00	Putonghua	A private English school in Kunming
KM-P12	2009-12-3 14:00	Putonghua	Campus of Yunnan Normal University
KM-P13	2009-12-3 15:00	Putonghua	Campus of Yunnan Normal University
KM-P14	2009-12-4 15:00	Putonghua	Campus of Yunnan Normal University
KM-P15	2009-12-4 16:30	Han Hua	Lianhua Campus, YUN
KM-P16	2009-12-5 18:00	Han Hua	Lianhua Campus, YUN
QJ-P1	2009-12-9 16:30	Putonghua	Campus of Qujing Normal University
QJ-P2	2009-12-9 17:10	Putonghua	Campus of Qujing Normal University
QJ-P3	2009-12-10 8:00	Putonghua	Lakeside of Qujing Normal University
QJ-P4	2009-12-10 9:00	Putonghua	Lakeside of Qujing Normal University
QJ-P5	2009-12-10 10:00	Han Hua	Lakeside of Qujing Normal University

Appendix 9. Individual Interview Protocol

Part 1

1. Can you tell me how many languages you speak? What was the order of your language learning?
2. When did you learn the languages?
3. How did you learn the languages?
4. When and where do you use the languages?
5. If you are Naxi, what's your feeling of being a Naxi?
6. What do you think of the preservation and inheritance of Naxi?

Part 2

1. Could you speak standard Chinese when you began your schooling?
2. What language did your primary school teacher use in your first year at school?
3. At what grade did your Chinese teacher begin to use standard Chinese as the instructional language in teaching?
4. Did your ethnic minority languages help you to learn Chinese? Tell me details about it.
5. What are the difficulties you have had in learning Chinese? What special challenges have you experienced?
6. What do you feel about being Naxi Chinese?

Part 3

1. Do you like English? Why do you like it? If not, why don't you like it? Tell me about it. Can you tell me some experiences related to your EFL learning?
2. In your opinion, what are the factors that either constrain or contribute to the Naxi English learners in the classroom setting? Tell me details about it. What are the difficulties you have experienced in EFL learning?

3. What role do your teachers play in your studying of English at school or university? Provide me with as much detail as you can.
4. Many people living in ethnic minority areas think English is not useful. As an ethnic minority learner, what is your opinion of learning English? Do you think learning English will influence your life? Tell me about it.
5. Do you speak English very often with your friends, classmates or teachers? Why or why not? Have you ever talked with people from English-speaking countries in English? Tell me your experience.

Part 4

1. Do you think Lijiang has changed as a tourist city? Please tell me about it. Do you see any relation between local tourism and language learning? What?
2. Have you ever spoken to tourists from Western countries? Tell me about your experience.
3. Please describe yourself as a multilingual learner. Tell me about your experiences of learning Naxi, Chinese and English.
4. How are your parents getting involved in your education and language learning? What are your parents' opinions of your studying English?
5. What are your opinions on language learning by the younger generation?

Appendix 10. Focus Group Interview Timetable

Focus groups	Age range	Participants	Gender	Venue	Date & Time	Topic
LJ-FG1	60-86	Senior lady dancers	13 F	Square Street in Dayan Town	2009-11-23 12:40-14:10	Language learning and tourism
LJ-FG2	16-17	Middle school students	7 F	The middle school	2009-11-24 16:30-18:00	ELT in senior secondary school
KM-FG3	22	University undergraduate and postgraduates	3 F	Campus of Yunnan University of Nationalities	2009-11-30 19:00-21:00	Language learning and employment
QJ-FG4	18-22	University undergraduates	3 F 2 M	Campus of Qujing Normal University	2009-12-8 16:30-18:00	Language learning and individuals' futures
LJ-FG5	28-33	College teachers of English	2 F 1 M	A Restaurant in Lijiang	2010-1-15 19:00-21:00	ELL and ELT

Appendix 11. Onsite Observation Timetables

Participant	Observation Date & time	Observation venue	The participant's main activity
LJ-P1-OBFN1	2009-11-26 12:45-13:45	Sports Court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students at noon on Happy English Day
LJ-P1-OBFN2	2009-12-21 8:00-9:30	A classroom (R501) at a college in Lijiang	Teaching Intensive English for 3-year university program
LJ-P1-OBFN3	2009-12-23 9:30-11:00	Office of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her university colleagues in Naxi and Han Hua
LJ-P1-OBFN4	2010-1-10 18:00-20:00	A restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her friends
LJ-P3-OBFN	2009-11-19 12:45-13:45	Sports Court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with his students at noon on Happy English Day
LJ-P4-OBFN1	2009-11-19 19:00-20:30	A classroom (R202) at a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students on English Evening
LJ-P4-OBFN2	2009-12-24 13:00–14:00	Sports court of a college in Lijiang	Interaction with her students on Happy English Day
LJ-P4-OBFN3	2009-12-25 19:00-21:00	A local restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her colleagues and friends
LJ-P5-OBFN	2009-12-17 11:00-13:40	A local Naxi Restaurant in Lijiang	Interaction with her colleagues and recounting her overseas experience
LJ-P17-OBFN1	2009-12-14 10:20-11:20	Classroom for Year 1 of a primary school in Lijiang	Teaching Naxi Heritage Class
LJ-P17-OBFN2	2009-12-16 10:20-11:20	Multimedia classroom of a local primary school in Lijiang	Giving a demonstration class to teachers of English
LJ-P17-OBFN3	2009-12-19 18:30-20:00	The participant's home in Lijiang City	Interaction at home with her Naxi parents, her son and her Han husband
KM-P11-OBFN	2010-2-1 9:30-10:30	A private English school in Kunming	Teaching English in a private cram school

Appendix 12. Confidential Consent Form for Audio-data Transcribers

Title of Project: Identities, EFL & Tourism: Naxi Ethnic Minority Learners in Southwest China

Thank you for your interest in the audio data transcription work in a study which is being conducted by Ms. Hongyan Yang in fulfilment of a PhD in applied linguistics at Macquarie University. Contact details for further information are as follows:

Hongyan Yang (main researcher)

Ph +61 (2) 9850 7957 0423528082

Email hongyan.yang@students.mq.edu.au or yhyxhw@hotmail.com

As the research findings will contribute to the completion of a PhD thesis, any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain CONFIDENTIAL. Digital audio recorded data will be downloaded as electronic files and stored on a password protected computer by the transcribers. When the transcription work is completed, all of the transcribers should send the files to the research and then delete the confidential data forever. Transcribers are not allowed to let anyone else access the data. It is ILLEGAL to do so.

If you decide to participate in this paid transcription work, please sign your name in this confidential consent form.

I _____(Both in Chinese Pinyin and Chinese characters of your name) have read this confidential form. I agree to participate in transcribing the research data of this study, knowing that the data of this study is extremely confidential. I am aware that it is illegal to let other people get access to the data by any means. I will be responsible for any consequences if I break this confidential form that I am signing.

I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Transcriber's Signature: _____ Date:

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date:

Appendix 13. Key to Transcription Conventions

<,>	short pause (equivalent to a tap)
<,,>	long pause(equivalent to two taps or longer)
.	sentence final falling intonation
!	sentence final high-fall
?	sentence final rising intonation
<i>Italics</i>	original emphatic stress
<@>	laughter (one @ per syllable, i.e. @@@ = hahaha)
En	agreement marker
Uhm	Transliterations of verbal marker
Ahm	Transliterations of verbal marker

Appendix 14. A Summary of Actions Taken to Preserve the Naxi and Dongba cultures (1978-2009)

- 1978-1998 Gathering and sorting the translations and annotations of the whole collection of the Ancient Naxi Dongba Literature Manuscripts (100 volumes), which were listed in the Memory of World in 2003. This was convened by He Wanbao, Vice Commissioner of Lijiang Prefecture.
- 1980 Calling for the preservation of Lijiang ancient town by He Zhiqiang, Governor of Yunnan Province.
- 1981 Lijiang Dongba Research Institution established.
- 1982 Lijiang Dongba Museum established.
- 1995 Dongba Culture Schools set up in Lijiang Dongba Museum and in Tacheng Town, Lijiang.
- 1997 The World Cultural Heritage Site approved by UNESCO.
- 1998 Dongba cultural inheritance sites established in five villages of the towns of Tacheng, Ludian, Tai'an, Baoshan, Jinshan; Xingren Primary School in Gucheng District also set up a Naxi Heritage Class to teach Naxi and Naxi rituals using Naxi Pinyin and international phonetic symbols.
- 1999 (1) The famous Naxi scholar Guo Dalie and his wife Huang Lina established Naxi Dongba Inheritance School and set up an inheritance class in Huangshan Primary School which fostered 205 Naxi learners during the decade 1999-2009.
- (2) An inheritance class was also set up in Lijiang Dongba Cultural Research Institute in the same year.
- (3) Dongba inheritor study class set up in Lijiang Dongba Cultural Research Institute.
- (4) Lijiang Yushuizhai Tourism Company established Dongba Culture Inheritance Base and Lijiang Naxi Dongba Culture Inheritance Association in 2003.

- 2001 On October 8, UNESCO conference/workshop on local effort and preservation in Asia and the Pacific — Culture Heritage management and tourism: Models for cooperation among stakeholders were held in Lijiang and “Lijiang Model” was highly recommended.
- Lijiang County People’s Congress approved *Regulations on Dongba Culture Conservation of Lijiang Naxi Ethnic Minority Autonomous County of Yunnan*.
- 2002 Lijiang County and Yunnan University of Nationalities cooperated to set up a Bachelor’s degree course in Naxi and Dongba Culture, which offered courses such as Naxi, Introduction to Naxi literature, History of Naxi culture, Introduction to Dongba culture. This major has attracted more than 60 undergraduates, 45 of whom have graduated from university.
- 2003 (1) On January 29, the Standing Committees of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County approved Resolutions on Setting up the Naxi Language Inheritance and Popularization in Elementary Education in the Whole County.
- (2) Naxi Heritage Classes were set up from Grade 1 to Grade 4 in all primary schools in Lijiang County and also in Fuhui Middle School, Gucheng District No. 1 Middle School, and No. 1 Middle School of Yulong County and No. 1 Middle School of Lijiang City.
- (3) Lijiang Dongba Culture Research Institute and Southwest Normal University (now Southwest China University) cooperated to set up a Master’s degree in the field of Dongba Pictograph Research
- (4) Lijiang government set the Naxi Heritage Class teacher training classes during summer holidays respectively in 2003, 2004 and 2007. Approximately 200 teachers were trained to teach Naxi Heritage Class in different primary schools in Lijiang County.
- 2004 Lijiang Teachers’ College set up courses on Lijiang history and tourism, Naxi ethnic minority, Introduction to Dongba culture, and Lijiang tourism for its three-year program university students.
- 2005 Yunnan Province People’s Congress approved *Regulations on Dongba Culture Conservation of Naxi Ethnic Minority of Yunnan*, which provided a legal guarantee for the preservation of Dongba Culture.

- 2006 School of Tourism of Yunnan University commenced offering courses on Lijiang tourism, the Naxi language and Dongba culture to its undergraduates.
- 2008 (1) Southwest China University started enrolling doctoral degree students in the field of Dongba pictograph research.
- (2) Lijiang Dongba Culture Preservation and Inheritance Intensive Training Class provided a three-month intensive training to 80 trainees from Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces.