

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Looking for a disappearing voice:
Place making, place-belongingness,
and
Naxi language vitality in Lijiang Ancient Town**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand

Songmei Zhao

2022

Abstract

This thesis aims to examine the vitality of Naxi language in Lijiang Ancient Town (LAT) after the town was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1997 and has since experienced rapid growth in tourism and significant social, cultural, and economic changes. To do this I explore the visibility of Naxi language in the Linguistic Landscape (LL) of LAT, the intersection between place-making efforts by government agencies and UNESCO and feelings of place-belongingness among the Naxi ethnic community, and perceptions of value towards the Naxi language among a range of stakeholders in the town.

The thesis is orientated by epistemological constructivism, and I utilise a case study approach with a mix of qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative and qualitative analyses were undertaken via the LL data to identify the public visibility of Naxi language within LAT. Thirty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted with a range of actors but predominately with Naxi people in order to explore their feelings, attitudes and relationship to LAT and the Naxi language. Through a series of field site visits, I also collected empirical data from observations within the town to supplement the LL analysis and interview data. Secondary textual analysis on laws and regulations was also employed to understand the place making initiatives and development trajectory of LAT through various governing bodies: China central and local government as well as UNESCO.

The findings highlight that there are a number of contradictions and tensions that exist between place-making efforts by government agencies and UNESCO, and feelings of place-belongingness among the Naxi ethnic community. These contradictions and tensions are evident in the dominant tourism economy in the town and the impacts of excessive commercialisation, environmental degradation, out-migration of the Naxi population, marginalisation of the Naxi culture, interrupted social ties and declining language use. The study also reveals how in line with regulatory requirements and the promotion of LAT as a traditional Naxi homeland, the Naxi language is displayed within the LL. However, this is largely a decorative role. While it provides a visual reminder of the Naxi history and culture in LAT, it is a weak demonstration of Naxi identity and unlikely to genuinely contribute to the vitality of Naxi language. Furthermore, the value of the Naxi language and its usage in commerce and daily lives of the Naxi community relies on people's subjective attitudes and feelings towards the language. These attitudes and feelings within the Naxi community have shifted in recent decades with the pervasion of Han culture and the predominance of Mandarin

Chinese. They undermine perceptions of the positive value of the Naxi language and lead to an apathetic attitude to language learning. Place-making efforts by governing bodies and the growth of mass tourism have led to the production of an 'inauthentic' representation of Naxi language and culture within LAT and have interrupted the intergenerational transmission of Naxi language contributing to its state of endangerment. Naxi is a Disappearing Voice.

Key words

Language vitality, place making, place-belongingness, Linguistic Landscape, Lijiang Ancient Town, World Heritage site, tourism

Acknowledgements

On the long journey of my PhD study at Massey University, I would like to express my gratitude from the bottom of my heart to all those supporting and caring me. I could never arrive where I am here today without your supports. All the following ones have a special place in my heart.

I first owe special thanks to my participants. They have provided so many of the resources that made my work possible. Their countless assistance and contributions are highly appreciated.

My thanks then go to my supervisors: Associate Professor Robin Peace, Dr Liangni Sally Liu and Dr Vicky Walters. I am so grateful to Robin for her inspiration deriving from her great social science experience that kept me on track in many ways. Her breadth and depth of knowledge in this area of study and professionalism in supervising a PhD student have paved the way for my future development in academia. Her editing efforts and extra support beyond research are invaluable. I particularly appreciate her invaluable assistance and contributions of time and efforts for my study after her retirement from Massey University. I thank Sally greatly for her insight and creativity in leading me throughout this long journey, and incisive advice on relevant cultural issues related to my research. I also offer my sincere thanks to Vicky for her constructive suggestions and critical comments on my thesis, and overwhelming assistance on a methodological basis. Their great intellectual support and generous encouragement shaped my study and accompanied me throughout these years in New Zealand.

I also want to give deepest gratitude to my family, who have provided me with a place where I could feel love, care and encouragement. My dearest husband is always behind me and inspires me, and my beloved daughter is my best friend and has provided me the opportunity to grow up with her together. My parents, at nearly 80, are supporting and encouraging me with unconditional love. I say thank you for being there with me.

This acknowledgement is not complete without thanking staff at Massey University and friends who have supported and accompanied me in this study. Their assistance and contributions are also so valuable.

Note on translations

All the translated texts from original Chinese version into English translation are used as evidence to support the arguments in my thesis. They include data quoted from interviews with participants, and textual data selected from laws and regulations publicly issued by Chinese governments and UNESCO. These translated texts are mainly located in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. I translated them in accordance with translation theory and conventions to closely demonstrate purpose, content and attitudes of participants and specific meanings in the context of laws and regulations. In the translation, the Chinese culture has also been considered in the perception of English culture, but fidelity to the Chinese version has been given priority.

Table of Contents

Abstract	I
Key words	II
Acknowledgements	III
Note on translations	IV
Table of Contents	V
List of Figures	IX
List of Tables	X
Chapter 1 Introduction—Disappearing voices	1
1.1 Minority language endangerment: Disappearing voices	4
1.1.1 General picture of endangered minority languages	5
1.1.2 Causes of language endangerment	8
1.1.3 Consequences of language endangerment and loss	14
1.2 Minority language endangerment in China	14
1.3 Research questions	18
1.4 Structure of the thesis	19
Chapter 2 Research context	22
2.1 Ethnic minorities and languages in China	22
2.2 Ethnic minorities and languages in Yunnan Province	26
2.3 The Naxi ethnic minority	28
2.3.1 The Naxi ethnic population in Lijiang Ancient Town	28
2.3.2 The Naxi culture and language	31
2.4 Policy on ethnic minorities and minority languages in China	36
2.4.1 Ethnic policies	37
2.4.2 Ethnic language policy and planning (LPP)	41
2.5 Tourism growth and changes in LAT with the UNESCO heritage status	49
2.5.1 Ethnic tourism issues globally and in China	50
2.5.2 UNESCO heritage status and changes brought by ethnic tourism in LAT	53
2.5.3 Tourism framework and policy relating to LAT	55
2.6 Summary	59
Chapter 3 Constructing the theoretical framework	60
3.1 Linguistic anthropology	60
3.1.1 Language vitality and language endangerment	61

3.1.2 Language visibility	71
3.2 Place making: An analytical lens for space, culture, and language	74
3.3 Place-belongingness: Connections between people, language, culture, and place	76
3.4 Summary	79
Chapter 4 Methodology	80
4.1 Research design: Social constructionism and a mixed methods case-study approach ..	80
4.2 Field site selection	83
4.2.1 Linguistic Landscape site selection	83
4.2.2 Observation site selection	85
4.2.3 Interview site selection	86
4.2.4 Access to official document data	87
4.3 Research methods: The data collection process	87
4.3.1 Preliminary quantitative data	88
4.3.2 Detailed data from nine signs	90
4.3.3 Unstructured nonparticipant observations	91
4.3.4 Interviews	92
4.3.5 Secondary textual data	96
4.3.6 Triangulation and data saturation	97
4.4 Data coding and analysis	98
4.4.1 Linguistic Landscape coding	98
4.4.2 Interview data	101
4.4.3 Textual analysis	103
4.5 Relevant ethical issues	105
4.6 Methodological limitations	108
4.7 Summary	110
Chapter 5 Naxi language in the Linguistic Landscape	111
5.1 Language choice in LLs	112
5.1.1 Low presence of Naxi language	112
5.1.2 Accurate connotation and appealing status of Han characters	114
5.1.3 Increasing application of English and related regulations	120
5.2 Language agency	122
5.2.1 The agency of top-down signs	123
5.2.2 The agency of bottom-up signs	132

5.3 Functions of the LL in LAT	138
5.3.1 Various functions of LLs	138
5.3.2 The functions of Dongba scripts in the LL	139
5.3.3 The functions of LLs without Dongba scripts	141
5.4 Characteristics of Naxi language and its context in the LL	144
5. 5 Summary	148
Chapter 6 Contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness	149
6.1 Place making	150
6.1.1 Images and forms of LAT	151
6.1.1.1 <i>Images and forms in LAT: Observations</i>	151
6.1.1.2 <i>Images and forms in LAT: Interviews</i>	153
6.1.2 Naxi activities in LAT	163
6.1.3 Naxi cultural products and practices	168
6.1.4 Naxi cultural perspectives	174
6.2 Place-belongingness	178
6.2.1 Personal life history and experiences	178
6.2.2 Relations with people in the Town	180
6.2.3 Relations via Naxi language	182
6.3 Summary	185
Chapter 7 Perceptions of the Naxi language value	187
7.1 Language ideology related to the Naxi language	188
7.2 Market value of the Naxi language	191
7.3 Value of the Naxi language in daily life	199
7.4 Summary	204
Chapter 8 Discussion	205
8.1 ‘Language vitality’ and the Naxi language in the LL	205
8.2 Relationship between the ‘place-belonging’ of Naxi and the ‘place making’ in LAT	208
8.3 People’s perception of value towards the Naxi language	211
8.4 Conceptual model for examining language vitality	212
Macro policies in the decline of Naxi language	214
Place making of LAT at the meso level in the decline of Naxi language	218
Examining the Naxi language vitality at the micro level	221
Chapter 9 Conclusion	230

9.1 An interdisciplinary study	230
9.2 Limitations	231
9.3 Recommendations for further research	232
9.4 Is the Naxi language a disappearing voice?	234
Abbreviations	235
References	237
Appendices	290
Appendix 1: Matrix of LLs	290
Appendix 2: Sample of LL analysis (language choice)	291
Appendix 3: Sample of interview schedule.....	300
Appendix 4: Participants' profiles.....	301
Appendix 5: Transcript sample of an interview	306

List of Figures

Figure 1 The disappearing languages in the world	7
Figure 2 Map of ethnic groups in China.....	23
Figure 3 Map of ethnic groups in China.....	23
Figure 4 Map of Yunnan Province.....	26
Figure 5 Statistics of ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province.....	27
Figure 6 Ethnic minorities in Yunnan	28
Figure 7 Location of LC in Yunnan Province.....	29
Figure 8 Location of Lijiang Ancient Town in Lijiang City.....	30
Figure 9 Naxi building 1	32
Figure 10 Naxi building 2	33
Figure 11 Chuangshiji Music Square	34
Figure 12 Naxi Ancient Music	34
Figure 13 Naxi clothes	35
Figure 14 Main streets of the Lijiang Ancient Town	84
Figure 15 Sign of McDonald’s in Naxi, Mandarin and English	100
Figure 16 No smoking sign in Simplified and complex Mandarin, English, and Korean	101
Figure 17 Shopfront sign of Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine	114
Figure 18 Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine	115
Figure 19 Detailed feature of Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine sign	119
Figure 20 Shopfront sign of Lijiang Souvenir	120
Figure 21 Top-down sign of Self-service of Luggage Locker	124
Figure 22 Photo of a self-service luggage locker	125
Figure 23 Logos and images on the top of a Self-service Luggage Locker	126
Figure 24 Dongda Street sign.....	128
Figure 25 Photo of the Big Waterwheels.....	129
Figure 26 Couplet signs of He Zhigang calligraphy studio	132
Figure 27 Signs of Naxi concert hall.....	136
Figure 28 Functions of LLS	139
Figure 29 Sign of the coming of horse teams	140
Figure 30 Sign of Kegong Memorial Gate	142
Figure 31 Sign of Kegong Memorial Gate on the grey-brick wall	143
Figure 32 Sign of Yigu Inn	145
Figure 33 Street landscape	152
Figure 34 Digital screen and its Naxi background.....	152
Figure 35 Outside and inside of traditional buildings in LAT	158
Figure 36 Naxi Datiao dance	164
Figure 37 Bells Café and Hongu	170
Figure 38 Xiaoqian’s Shop--An impression from Africa	170
Figure 39 Naxi Sanyan Wells.....	175
Figure 40 A souvenir displayed with Naxi language	196
Figure 41 Shop of Dongba Paper	197
Figure 42 Cover of Naxi Paper	198
Figure 43 Conceptual model for examining the Naxi language vitality	213
Figure 44 Structure of vitalisation of Naxi language.....	224

List of Tables

Table 1 Language use demographics.....	5
Table 2 Statistics given by CTDLC (2017)	54
Table 3 Degree of intergenerational language transmission.....	63
Table 4 Example of coding scheme for categorising LL data	99
Table 5 Coding scheme for interview data	102
Table 6 Language choices on LLs in LAT.....	113
Table 7 Regulations and planning made by LMG	156
Table 8 Loss rate of Naxi language at different ages	200

Chapter 1 Introduction—Disappearing voices

where nothing that is here is known
we have little to say to each other

we are wrong and dark
in the eyes of the new owners

the radio is incomprehensible
the day is glass

when there is a voice at the door it is foreign
everywhere instead of a name there is a lie

nobody has seen it happening
nobody remembers

this is what the words were made
to prophesy

here are the extinct feathers
here is the rain we saw¹

I have visited Lijiang Ancient Town (LAT), in the north of Yunnan, southwest of China several times to look for the Naxi ‘voice’. Naxi is an ethnic language with a unique pictographic writing system, which was created in the remote mountain area of the Yunnan Province more than 1000 years ago. When visiting LAT, I found the language in some of the thousands of amazing timber and brick houses with a history of about eight centuries. Most of these buildings are now commercialised as a result of the city’s status as a World Heritage site of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). As a World Heritage site, the use of Naxi language characters in shop signs is encouraged to provide a sense of authenticity in the ancient town. However, the evidence of the written language, though visible in shop and business signs, seemed to me, to be secondary to Mandarin and English texts. From my initial observations, only a few people in the Town, such as those who either work at a Naxi bookstore or teach Naxi language can still read and write the unique characters used in Naxi. The Naxi texts displayed in public signs looked like a token rather than an authentic expression of Naxi language and culture. In this thesis, I am concerned with the Naxi language as a ‘disappearing voice’. Specifically, I explore and examine contradictions and tensions between

¹ An excerpt from a poem --- *Losing a language*, written by W. S. Merwin in 1988, retrieved from <http://thepoemoftheweek.blogspot.com/2005/11/poem-of-week-11212005-losing-language.html>

the political and social contexts of the Naxi language, and the expectations, feelings, and activities of Naxi people in relation to their language after their original homeland was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site and became a major tourist destination. As a UNESCO World Heritage site, official regulations framed by the central and local governments ensure that the Naxi language is present and visible in the town through public signage.

My research addresses a gap in existing scholarship by approaching the question of language vitality of Naxi language through an interdisciplinary, mixed methods approach. Much has been studied on the vitality of Naxi language caused by fast-growing social changes, especially since 1990s. Recently studies have discussed the usage of Naxi language such as Wang and He (2008), Wu and Zeng (2019) and Hu (2020). Others have examined the attribution of Naxi language endangerment to migration patterns and interactions between the Naxi and other ethnic peoples (Chao, 1995; Chen, 2017; Zou, 2013). Generally, these studies have expressed the vitality of Naxi language from linguistic or sociological discourses respectively and research methods have tended to be uniform (language test or interview), or just simple literature reviews rather than any empirical research.

To date, with the exception of Luo (2014), who investigates the use, language shift and language attrition of Naxi language, little research has sought to explore the feelings and responses of Naxi people to the usage, or lack thereof, of their language in LAT. Luo's (2014) work reveals little about the attitudes and feelings of Naxi speakers to the vitality of their language in relation to place making of LAT. Using ideas of linguistic anthropology (Duranti, 1997), "place making" (Montgomery, 1998) and "place-belongingness" (Antonsich, 2010) as a framework, the thesis seeks to bring some of the broad contradictions and tensions associated with language endangerment and social changes into clearer view. In addition, the thesis seeks to examine how the Naxi language is used in public spaces, the ways in which it is valued or devalued by different people and groups and how this de/valuing may affect the vitality of the language.

Even strongly argued articles, such as those contributed by Su and Teo (2008), Su and Teo (2009) and Su et al. (2018), tend to highlight the impact of politics on heritage tourism in LAT rather than express apprehension of Naxi language endangerment. Overall, the existing literature provides little about the relationship between Naxi language vitality, its social and cultural context and Naxi people's feelings towards the changes in LAT. My broad theoretical framework connects linguistic anthropology (associated issues of language endangerment and

language visibility on the LL) with place making (changes made by policy and governances) and place belongingness (Naxi people's attitudes and feelings). My mixed methods approach to examining ethnic language vitality involves three key aspects: reviewing policy and regulation; observing the linguistic landscape (LL) in LAT through public activities and signage (place making and language visibility) and examining the feelings and expectations of Naxi people and others toward the Naxi language in the cultural context of the ancient town (place-belongingness). The multi-method approaches of semi-structured interview, observation and textual analysis makes it possible to sit different frameworks alongside each other and consider the findings from each in relation to each other to develop a uniquely comprehensive perspective on Naxi language vitality that points to multiple tensions and contradictions that make it hard for the language to survive.

Place-belongingness is an important part of the theoretical framework of the thesis inquiry. Prior studies have paid little attention to the survival of the Naxi language in relation to the Naxi people's sense of place-belongingness to LAT or examined the contradictions and tensions of 'place belonging' associated with Naxi language usage among Naxi people. Some Naxi reside in LAT while others have chosen to move out of the town into surrounding areas and rent out their original dwellings. Place-belongingness, as stated by Antonsich (2010, p. 646), is a "feeling of belonging to a place and processes of self-formation". Thus, I am interested if there is a sense of place-belongingness among Naxi people to LAT that motivates them to be concerned about the vitality and promotion of their language in light of social and economic changes in the town in recent decades: the town being listed as a heritage site, rapid tourism growth, and out-migration of Naxi and in-migration of Mandarin speakers who seek to benefit from the tourism economy.

My teaching experience on language and culture and my pre-PhD visits to LAT have motivated this study on the vitality of minority languages generally, and Naxi language specifically. Before starting the PhD journey, I taught language and culture in China for about 16 years. During that period, I read widely on, and joined academic conferences about language and culture, and was particularly attracted to and interested in discussions on language vitality and commercialisation of tourism in cultural heritage sites. Struggles for the survival of vulnerable languages is an important topic in the field of language endangerment and vitality (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2015), while the effect of and relationship between, heritage tourism and cultural survival is a central concern in tourism studies (du Cros, 2006). I have paid personal attention to these subjects for many years, and my travels to LAT and its surrounding places,

although as a repeat visitor, have stimulated me to explore the vitality of indigenous language and culture in the modern context and under the pressures of rapid tourism development. Lijiang Ancient Town, which is the focus of this study, is the origin of Naxi language and has experienced rapid tourism growth since becoming a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1997.

This first chapter discusses language endangerment and disappearance as it is understood by scholars working in the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics. It then focuses more closely on language endangerment in China and provides a brief introduction to the readings that were influential in developing my understanding of how endangered languages are understood in the context of China. I then set out the research questions and the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1 Minority language endangerment: Disappearing voices

The endangerment of minority languages is one of today's major linguistic challenges. Endangered or threatened languages are usually regarded as those with declining numbers of people who can speak the language and negative intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1991). Endangered or threatened languages are terms used to describe a language with declining numbers of native speakers and also to alert people to its fragile situation. Of the estimated 6,000 documented languages (excluding 'dialects'), it is thought that more than 50% will eventually become extinct and up to 90% will be endangered by the end of the 21st century (Bradley & Bradley, 2013; Crystal, 2000; Krauss, 1992; Li, 2008; Woodbury, 1998). Compared to the Middle Ages (from 5th to 15th century), the number of world languages has already reduced by approximately 90% (Brenzinger & de Graaf, 2009; Brenzinger et al., 2003). Evidently, the pace of language endangerment has accelerated, resulting in a loss of language diversity, however, it has not attracted as much attention as the loss of biodiversity.

The imbalance between dominant languages and minority languages, and the loss of language diversity, is apparent in global language statistics. Of the world population, 97% of people only speak about four percent of languages (Brenzinger & de Graaf, 2009; Shang, 2018). A similar situation was described by Crystal (2000) and Xu (2010) who noted that among the 6059 languages, the majority of the world's population speak only 8 languages, while the majority of languages (4945 languages) were spoken by only 2 million people (Table 1). A large number of languages are facing the fate of extinction and are predicted to disappear from history and culture.

Table 1 Language use demographics

Number of speakers	Number of languages	Rate in the total languages (%)
More than 100 million	8	0.13
10 million – 99.9 million	72	1.2
1 million – 9.9 million	239	3.9
100 thousand – 999 thousand	795	13.1
10 thousand – 99.9 thousand	1605	26.5
1000 – 9999	1782	29.4
100 – 999	1075	17.7
10 – 99	302	5.0
1 – 9	181	3.0

Source: (Crystal, 2000; Xu, 2010)

1.1.1 General picture of endangered minority languages

Language endangerment happens in almost every part of the world, with some countries and locations faring worse than others. For many people and their languages this has direct links to historical processes and effects of colonialism². For example, in Australia, there were once 250 minority languages of which 90% became moribund and nearly extinct in just over 100 years (Krauss, 1992, p. 5), with the arrival of European colonisation. A similar dramatic decline happened in Brazil in South America, where, during the last 600 years, the number of languages reduced from 1,175 to less than 200 (Crystal, 2000, p. 70), approximately an 83% reduction. Likewise, along the coastal area from the south of Alaska to the south of Oregon (USA), in the first one hundred year after European colonisation began in 1774, the number of native speakers declined over 80% (Tsunoda, 2006, p. 23). Russia has also suffered from language

² The term colonialism refers to “a scenario in which a state or group has power over another territory and its people. The practice of colonialism typically encompasses the development of political policies used to dominate or control a subjugated people and geographic area, the occupation of the territory with settlers, and the economic exploitation of the territory” (p.1). Mercadal, T. (2019). Colonialism. Salem Press Encyclopedia. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=87322696&site=eds-live>.

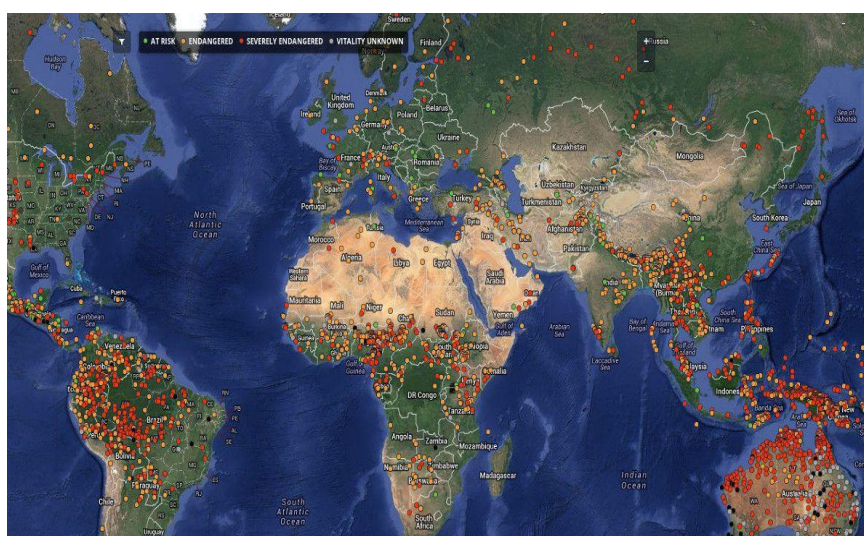
extinction with a 50% decline across its entire area in the past one hundred years (Krauss, 1992, p. 87). In the case of the small and culturally diverse Melanesian country of Papua New Guinea, Nettle and Romaine (2000) consider that language extinction was less severe than in Australia, in spite of also experiencing ill-effects of colonisation. However, half of the 850 languages in Papua New Guinea have less than 1000 speakers, with 16 languages now extinct and 77 classified as endangered (Wurm 2003, pp. 25, 27).

African countries have also been subjected to European colonisation (Brenzinger et al., 2003), although language endangerment on the African continent has not been as severe as the countries mentioned above. Among the 2000 languages in Africa, about 37 are on the verge of extinction (Mous, 2003, p. 157). On the contrary, many of the colonial European languages (French, German, Spanish, English etc.) have replaced indigenous local languages, which have attracted less concern and support for their vitality from political decision-makers (Salminen, 2007).

It is hard to predict the situation of language endangerment from the power a certain language has had, historically. Some powerful languages connected with colonisation and traditional literacy have become marginalised or extinct. Some traditional European languages such as Gaelic, Ancient Greek and Classical Latin have lost the ability of survival largely because of economic and political reasons and increasing use of English (Mufwene, 2003).

As this discussion has highlighted, language endangerment is a serious issue and occurring in almost every part of the world, from Australia to the Americas, and across European and Asian countries. Figure 1 shows endangered languages widespread across the globe, but concentrated in Central and South America, Central Africa and Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Australia.

Figure 1 The disappearing languages in the world



(Sources: <https://theculturetrip.com> › Europe › History)

Language endangerment in Asian countries is complex, in part because of the huge land area covered by the term 'Asia'. Typically, Asia includes regions such as Siberia, the Far East and the Caucasus, where, in the past twenty or thirty years, many indigenous language communities were migrating and there was a rapid shifting to the use of Russian (Kazakevich & Kibrik, 2007). Compared to these regions, the number of endangered languages in the Middle East, East and Southeast of Asia are relatively small (Owens, 2007). For the total 2,300 languages in Asia, there are about 145 endangered languages in East and Southeast Asia (Bradley, 2007). But language endangerment in these areas is quite complicated in terms of geography as the same language family³ can exist across country borders. For example, Manchu⁴ in China is generally regarded as a nearly extinct language (Janhunen, 1997; Li & Zhang, 2011; Sun & Fan, 2019), but Bradley (2007) argued that Manchu survived in Xinjiang, a place about 4000km away from its original speaking area, where the Xibo people⁵ who were regarded as the descendants of a Manchu army in Qing Dynasty⁶ continued to use the language.

³ Language family: Most languages belong to language families. A language family consists of group of related languages that share a common historic ancestor. (<https://www.mustgo.com/worldlanguages/language-families/>)

⁴ Manchu: Living in the cold northeast of China, the Manchu people got their name from their original place: Manchuria. They established the last imperial dynasty (Qing Dynasty) and ruled China from 1644 to 1911AD. Retrieved from <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/nationality/manchu.htm>

⁵ Xibo group: (also Sibe people) As an ancient ethnic group with a long history, the group originally lived in northeast China. During the period of Qing Dynasty, some Xibo expanded to Xinjiang area. Now most Xibo people live in Liaoning Province (70.2%) and Xinjiang. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E9%94%A1%E4%BC%AF%E6%97%8F/130120?fr=aladdin>

⁶ Qing Dynasty: The Qing Dynasty was the last imperial dynasty and the second dynasty ruled by ethnic minority (Manchu 满族人), lasting from 1644 to 1912AD. It was started with prosperity and ended with

1.1.2 Causes of language endangerment

Factors that threaten the survival of languages are complex and can depend on various circumstances and many intersecting influences such as colonisation, legal policy and planning, economic changes, social forces, education, ethnic discrimination, urbanisation, commercialisation, and population migration (Crawford, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Sallabank, 2010; Tsunoda, 2006; Wurm, 1991). Modern linguistics tend to analyse language extinction and endangerment in relation to population size and the geographical location of the speakers (Amano et al., 2014; Anderson, 2011). To help make some sense of this complexity, three analytical perspectives are useful: an historical perspective; sociolinguistic perspective, and an ideological perspective.

From a historical perspective, the language situations in North America, Australia and New Zealand can be traced to the influence and effect of European invasion (colonisation). The sharp decline of indigenous speakers in what became the United States of America, resulted from the historical arrival of Europeans, specifically the political colonisation and social insult to the vernacular languages (Salminen, 2007). The colonists killed many native (traditional, indigenous people), and disrupted their way of life (Tsunoda, 2006). The native speakers, including American Indians and Alaskan Natives were deprived of rights to save their language, culture, lands and lives (Reyhner, 1996). The slaughter, disease and deliberate deprivation gave rise to the sharp decline and death of native speakers. The language and culture of the colonial settlers became dominant, while indigenous peoples and their languages were forced to the margins. Similar experiences also occurred for indigenous language speakers in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the studies of Mous (2003) and Lüpke (2015), language endangerment on the African continent resulted from the spread of colonial English, Portuguese, Spanish, and French languages. A similar set of processes took place in South and Central America under colonisation by the Spanish and Portuguese. Thus, for many people the endangerment and extinction of their languages cannot be separated from historical processes of oppression and subjugation, and loss of life, culture, language, and land that took place under European colonial conditions that began in the 1500s. During this time, some areas of China were affected by European colonisation, but these did not compromise language communities.

disorder and invasion of foreign powers. Retrieved from <https://www.history.com/topics/china/qing-dynasty#:~:text=>

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the effect of changes in society influences the cultural and social settings of a language (Wurm, 1991). The influences often occur as a result of economic and political change, such as development of the economy and technology, pressure for economic growth, and policy interventions. For example, in a globalising economy the expansion of English language has been witnessed to meet the needs of global communication, commercialisation and technology (Dor, 2004). The needs of global communication have led to an increase in the application and use of English language, but this shift contributes to the decline potential of indigenous languages. Simpson (2019) puts forward another example regarding language endangerment at a personal level caused by economic change: when a minority individual relocates from his/her home country (or district) to a destination country (or district) to seek employment opportunities, and he/she ceases to use their mother language because it is different from the language used in the new location. Many Naxi have left LAT to seek employment in non-Naxi speaking cities and towns.

Policy interventions and political change also need to be considered. As is mentioned in Chapter two, the promotion of Standard Chinese⁷ has threatened and marginalised the use of minority languages in many ethnic communities in China. The central government emphasis on tourism as a path to regional and local development has also brought many non-Naxi speakers to LAT as business people and tourists. All these social and political changes, whether relating to the whole society or an individual, influence the cultural and social context of a language.

With these changes, new vocabulary emerges for new things, while older words and expressions fade away. As time goes on, some traditional language becomes unsuitable for a given group or community. This gradual process of change is described through the metaphor of the “ecology of language” in that it considers transitions and shifts of language in a similar way to biodiversity loss and how animals and plants lose their vitality to survive under particular conditions (Wurm, 1991). Linguistic loss derived from giving up traditional ways of labour and then loss of connected vocabulary, has been seen in examples of African regional languages. Some of the oldest languages, such as Aasax, a Cushitic language⁸ in Africa, lost

⁷ In this thesis, Standard Chinese, Mandarin Chinese and Han Chinese are employed interchangeably to refer to the dominant language used in China since the 1950s.

⁸ The Cushitic languages are a branch of the Afroasiatic language family. They are spoken primarily in the Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia), as well as the Nile Valley (Sudan and Egypt), and parts of the African Great Lakes region (Tanzania and Kenya). Speakers of Cushitic languages and the descendants of speakers of Cushitic languages are referred to as Cushitic peoples. Major Cushitic languages

words and expressions associated with hunting, because the people transitioned from hunting to cattle-raising (Mous, 2003, p. 160). In Mandarin Chinese, word loss has also occurred. Fang (2008) provides many examples of disappearing words and expressions including ‘Gongfen’ (工分) and ‘BP ji’ (BP 机). ‘Gongfen’ is a word that means the paying of farmers in mutual-aid groups in China’s countryside since the founding of PRC until 1978. However, when the system of mutual aiding among farmers was abolished ‘Gongfen’ disappeared from everyday usage. A similar case happened to ‘BP ji’, (a Beep Pager), whose technological function has been totally replaced by a cell phone. Gongfen and BP ji no longer perform any function for Chinese Mandarin speakers and their expression in everyday use has disappeared.

With regard to ethnic minority languages in China, the decline and extinction of vocabulary occurs widely due to the absorption and acceptance of the dominant Mandarin Chinese (Bradley, 2010; Ding, 2017). As Yang, H. (2012) suggests: “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” (p1).

Y. Zhang (2011) cited a wedding custom of Yi people in Guizhou Province, Southwest of China, in which the bride needs to cry and chant in Yi language for several days before her wedding ceremony, taught and accompanied by old Yi women. However, many young women cannot speak Yi language well and have to chant and cry blending Yi language with Mandarin, thus, many traditional expressions in the Yi wedding ceremony are ceasing to be used and are replaced by a composite Mandarin / Yi version. In addition to the language used in traditional customs, Shang (2018) noted that over 50 percent of the vocabulary of the Tu language spoken in Hunan Province in South China was replaced by Mandarin loan words and expressions. These words covered various subjects, ranging from food, clothing, building, religion to flora and fauna. With regard to the Naxi language, many scholars selected Naxi words and expressions to test if their participants could read them. Yu (2013), for example, used 1660 Naxi words and expressions to test his participants from all walks of life and found that the rate of word loss in Naxi old people (aged over 60) was 22 percent, while the rate in young people (aged less than 20) was 60.5 percent. Xing et al. (2012) also, found that only the older Naxi could tell their legends and stories in Naxi language. The rate of word loss in the younger

include Oromo, Somali, Beja, Agaw, Afar, Saho and Sidamo. Retrieved from <https://www.mustgo.com/worldlanguages/cushitic-branch/>

generation indicates the limited potential for Naxi language development or revival and points to language shift. In Southwest China, ethnic languages such as Yi, Tu, Bai, Tibetan and Naxi, are all deeply under the influence of increasing use of the dominant Mandarin Chinese.

The question of whether or not the loss of Naxi language use ‘matters’ depends on how the value of a minority language is perceived. On one level, as Yang, H, (2012) suggests:

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. ... 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. (p58)

For the Chinese government, the Naxi language is seen as important in tourist promotion but not so important as to be fully supported as a priority in education. Ideologically, the importance of language revitalisation and preservation relies more individual values and attitudes.

Ideological language perspectives study the internalised struggle of speakers and reflect the complicated attitudes, feelings and values of the speakers towards the language they are using (Anderson, 2011). As an example, in the 1860s in the United States of America, English was declared to substitute the Indian dialects—a move that was strongly opposed by American Indians in the beginning (Crawford, 2007). However, after a hundred years, when the government position changed, and it was decided to fund American Indiano speak their tribal tongue in their religious schools, indigenous communities faced many challenges using their native languages, in part because the pressure to speak the dominant language outweighed the capacity and resources of the tribes to support a language renaissance. The tribal languages carried no influence in the ‘white man’s world’, and were seen as a source of shame, rather than pride. Therefore the tribal languages lost their value, especially to young indigenous people and those who had to seek employment outside the reservations (Crawford, 2007). If we say colonial violence and ecological changes are the external causes to language endangerment, what people feel and value about their own language can be understood as internal to the individual and group. Ultimately, Crawford (2007) argues that it was internal

factors more than external that led to the situation of English-only speaking areas in most Native American regions (although this cannot be separated out from the colonial history and external factors). Until recently, most Native American parents prefer to speak English with their children, because of the sense of shame, encouraged by government and educational and employment contexts, that had become associated with speaking their traditional language. Tribal language fluency, rather than English fluency, was regarded as an educational barrier for indigenous youth (Crawford, 2007). Thus, it can be argued that language shifts in a colonial and post-colonial context start from external factors but are later determined by internal choices and especially those of pragmatism and materialism (Azurmendi et al., 2001; Crawford, 2007).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Sallabank (2010) agrees with Spolsky that the essential point on Māori⁹ language revitalisation was the support from government, but also argues that awareness-raising—an ideological factor—was an important precondition for revitalising and maintaining the Māori language. In the African context, it has been argued that language endangerment is largely caused by the language shift of native speakers, who chose to speak other languages that they thought were more widely spoken and useful (Brenzinger, 2008; Lüpke, 2015; Mous, 2003).

In relation to contemporary China, two discourses that exert a strong influence on language ideology are modernisation and internationalisation, both of which lead to the marginalisation of ethnic minority language in China. In order to realise modernisation, the use of Standard Chinese (Putonghua) as a *lingua franca* has been stipulated as a national strategy throughout China since the 1950s, while, inspired by internationalisation, English has been promoted as an international *lingua franca* all over China since the 1980s, which leaves only a narrow space for learning ethnic minority languages for the minority community (Chen et al., 2020; Grey, 2017, 2021; Wang & Lehtomäki, 2022). Modernisation and internationalisation improved the language status of Standard Chinese and English and drew learners to devote more interest and time on them, whereas it shifted the language ideology of ethnic minority people who came to feel that their indigenous language was no longer important. The changes in language ideology were evident through the national policy of trilingual education towards ethnic minorities, which oriented and determined the language endeavours at all levels of schooling (Feng & Adamson, 2018). The national language policy in China makes a pivotal impact on all levels

⁹ Māori language, also known as te reo, is spoken by the indigenous people (Māori) in New Zealand. It is an Eastern Polynesian language and an official language in New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-reo-maori-the-maori-language/print>

of schooling in ethnic areas, turning speaker's attention to the dominant language at the expense of their own minority language. This ethos informs the general body of values and beliefs towards ethnic minority languages and undermines their vitality. As Wang and Lehtomaki (2021, p 2258) suggest, "the relations between the national language of Mandarin and minority languages need further investigations and understandings ...[but] the relationship between unity and diversity was essential in Chinese language policy and planning".

Grey's (2017, 2019, 2021) detailed study of the Zhuang minority language provides an example of the complex interplay between policies and practice in relation to minority language. Grey (2019) summarised the potential impact of emerging policy shifts in China towards what is called "second generation" language policies and suggests:

Second-generation minzu policy hinges on removing the State's symbolic recognition of ethno-linguistic identity. New policies suggested by Angang Hu include strengthening Putonghua and bilingual education (Hu, 2012; Leibold, 2012), and fostering the decline of sub-national minzu identities (Leibold, 2012, p. 7). Likewise, Rong Ma advocates 'the scaling back of ethnic autonomy and preferential policies' because the 'systematic segregation of ethnic groups and institutions in China has rendered the Chinese nation (中华民族) an empty concept and the 'Hanification' (汉化) of the minority minzu is an 'inevitable process of modernisation' (quoted in Leibold, 2012). (p.492)

This idea relates to the ideology of language use, in which mainstream and dominant languages are considered more useful to individuals than their traditional language. It also points to the ways in which politics and language policies can have an impact on language endangerment. In relation to the 'political' nature of language, Dervin and Yuan (2022) raised the issue of the politics of intercultural education, which has relevance for Naxi (or other minority language speakers) learning Mandarin and vice versa. They suggested: "The way a language is taught to be used and what we might want to learn to do in that language is political even in its apparent a-politicality ... and the hidden curricula fed to us while learning a language also derives from politics" (p33). The position of Han researchers looking at ethnic minority language endangerment in China, is intercultural in Dervin and Yuan's sense and researchers, such as myself, will also be influenced by the tensions between what western and Chinese scholars say.

Throughout this thesis I seek to weave historical, sociolinguistic, and ideological perspectives to explore the endangerment and vitality of the Naxi language.

1.1.3 Consequences of language endangerment and loss

Endangerment and loss of a language is followed by the loss of associated identity, culture and community. Both Romaine (2015) and Smolicz (1992) recognised the significance of language and regard it as a benchmark and carrier of culture. Without a language, all the products, activities and perspectives of a culture and its associated community cannot be described, expressed, and performed: speakers who have lost their traditional language live within another linguistic culture. In such cases, this can lead to sorrow and pain for those people (Fishman, 1991). For example, when the Inuit¹⁰ were told to leave their homeland and move into modern cities, they were unable to continue with their traditional way of life and diet, and found it hard to live a healthy life, because they were no longer speaking their traditional language (Romaine, 2015). If a group is living within a different dominant language culture, the naturally linked and bonded relationship between people, their culture and their language has to be renegotiated, redefined and may lead to the demise of a linguistic community.

Maffi and Woodley (2010) defined bio-cultural diversity as comprising the “diversity of life in all of its manifestations”, including diversity of biology, human culture and language, as well as the interaction and links among these diversities (p.10). The loss of language reduces linguistic and cultural diversity and results in cultural environments and practices being lost. What is taken away are not just languages, but ways of life, historical secrets, knowledge or technologies that may have been in existence for hundreds or thousands of years (Wurm, 1991). The loss of languages can thus be understood as a loss of bio-cultural diversity. Once a language disappears, it cannot be recovered, which is also similar to biodiversity loss of animals and plants.

1.2 Minority language endangerment in China

Language endangerment is a significant linguistic challenge in China and the situation of minority languages is not optimistic. In the work of Zuo (2007, p. 84), he explains how endangered languages exist across all of China, particularly associated with the ‘53 ethnic groups’ (other than Han Chinese, Hui and Man which are generally regarded as Standard

¹⁰ Inuit are indigenous people living in the Arctic regions of Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Their language is named as Inuktitut. Retrieved from <https://www.facinghistory.org/stolen-lives-indigenous-peoples-canada-and-indian-residential-schools/historical-background/inuit>

Chinese) who comprise around six percent of the population and “speak over 80 languages (such as Naxi, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Korean, Zhuang, Yi, Miao, Buyi, Dong, Hani, Bai, Dai, Li and Yao)”.

There are various understandings of what constitutes Chinese people, Han people and Standard Chinese language. While I will return to this question in the section 2.1 in Chapter 2, a brief clarification here identifies my position. When I use the term ‘Chinese’ I refer to the majority population also called ‘Han’ who comprise 91.5 percent of China’s population, who have lived in the Yangzi Valley and Yellow Valley for at least 50,000 years, during which they admixed with other surrounding ethnic people and formed the Chinese nation (*Zhonghua minzu*) (He et al., 2020; Joniak-Luthi, 2015). Therefore, the two terms (i.e., Chinese people and Han people) in the thesis are used interchangeably.

As R. Ma (2017 n.p.) noted:

‘Nation,’ ‘nation-state’ and ‘nationalism’ are western concepts that emerged in Europe around the 16-17th centuries (Kedourie, 1960; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990) and were introduced into China in late nineteenth century after the Opium War. After the October Revolution, Stalin’s ‘nation/nationality’ theory and practice of the USSR¹¹ were also introduced into China and have strongly influenced the People’s Republic of China since 1949. In today’s China, the Chinese nation is called *Zhonghua minzu* (Chinese nation 中华民族), the 56 ethnic groups (Han, Tibetans, Mongols, Manchu, etc.) within China are called 56 *minzu* (民族) (the official English translation is 56 nationalities). Because the same Chinese term *minzu* (民族) is used at two different levels, this usage has caused much confusion among both Chinese people and foreigners.

Han people are described by different terms: for example, Han Chinese, Han majority, *Hanren* (汉人), *Hanzu* (汉族) and *Han Minzu* (汉民族). Elliott (2012) challenged the use of the name of Han as a product and source of political unity and suggested the use of Han Chinese, which gives room for the inclusion of other residents in China (other ethnic groups in particular) to be seen as part China and being also Chinese. This integrating term gives a strong sense to

¹¹ USSR is the abbreviation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the official name of the Soviet Union.

view the Han Chinese and other ethnic minority Chinese as one country: a nation in which Han constitutes a big component but cannot represent the whole nation.

The term *Minzu* is also complex in intercultural contexts: with western and Chinese understandings of the term being often quite different. As R. Ma (2017) suggested:

I feel that the term ‘ethnic group’ as used in the US is a better term to call Mongols, Tibetans, Manchu, and other minority groups in China. The English term ‘ethnic group’ was translated into the Chinese term *zuqun* (族群) by Taiwan/Hong Kong scholars in the 1960s. The comparison of these two terms in Chinese (*minzu* 民族 vs. *zuqun* 族群) indicates two models of interpretation of ethnic minorities in a multi-ethnic country. (n.p.)

In relation to language, Grey (2019, p446) explained:

The national [spoken] language of China is Putonghua, which is a standardised variety of Mandarin. ... (a common speech with pronunciation based on the Beijing dialect) and the ‘standardised Chinese characters’ [is] de facto and de jure, the dominant [written] language in China today, holding a central place in the curriculum of all schools and in government communications.

Minority languages are those spoken within China other than Putonghua and their speakers comprise only about 8. percent of the total population of China by 2013 (Y. Zhou, 2013, p. 4). Minority scripts, such as Dongba, also exist.

Although academics in China have used different evaluative standards for measuring endangered languages, the results seem to be similar. Shang (2018) citing Sun’s investigation of ethnic languages in 2005, notes that of the 129 languages in China, 80% of them are endangered and three have already died out. Based on documents about language vitality and endangerment from UNESCO (2003a), Sun (2006b) studied the vitality of ethnic languages in China and found that, in addition to the national languages of Mandarin (Putonghua¹²), only seven languages were quite safe and without any threat from other languages. These languages

¹² Putonghua is the official oral Chinese language in the mainland of China. It bases on the Mandarin spoken in Beijing started 1955 in China. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%99%AE%E9%80%9A%E8%AF%9D/161653?fr=aladdin>

are Uygur, Tibetan, Korean¹³, Mongolian, Kazak, Zhuang, and Yi. Xiao (2010) agrees that the first five of these languages are safe, but that, Zhuang and Yi are not. Citing data from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, L. Zhao (2016) claims there are six safe languages (not including Zhuang), and that another 12 languages such as Lisu, Dai, Miao, Li, and Hani were safe, yet lacked vitality. For example, there were radio broadcasts in these languages, but they were infrequent, and there were also publications in these local languages, but the numbers were limited (Sun, 2006b). For all the other minority languages, the prospects were not optimistic. They either exhibited some features of endangerment, (such as Qiang, De'ang, Daur, Naxi, Jiarong, Tajik and at least 14 other languages); were seen as already endangered, (such as Gelao, Bomi, Jino, Oreqen, Russian¹⁴ and up to 60 other languages); or their speakers were shifting to using the popular languages (about 20 languages) (Sun, 2006b). Overall, it seems that a lot of work is still needed around ensuring the preservation and use of Chinese ethnic minority languages. Naxi language is one of these languages.

Naxi language, which as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, originates in Yunnan Province, is representative of this precarious position of minority language endangerment in China. Located on the southwest boundary, with 25 ethnic minorities and 26 minority languages, Yunnan Province is famous for its ethnic diversity. Among the ethnic languages in the Yunnan Province, the Naxi language has attracted attention for its pictographic writing system, long history, and the complex and unique culture of the Naxi people. Disturbingly, it has been estimated that the Naxi language will disappear in 20 to 50 years (Zhang & Ma, 2012), however, there has been little explicit inquiry into the dynamics of this and few studies have contributed empirical work on the Naxi language and its endangerment and potential extinction and/or vitality.

Historically, the endangerment of Naxi language can be traced back to migration patterns and interactions between the Naxi and other ethnic peoples which started from the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 CE) (Chao, 1995; Chen, 2017; Zou, 2013). Zou (2019) studied the multi-ethnic cultural symbiosis of a village in Lijiang and pointed out that it was the prosperity and conquest by Naxi people that shaped the mixed living pattern of multi-ethnic groups in the Ming Dynasty

¹³ Korean: The Korean language is a language spoken by 72 million people in East Asia. It is official language and national language in both North Korea and South Korean. Its linguistic hometown is suggested in Manchuria. Retrieved from <https://asiasociety.org/education/korean-language>

¹⁴ Russian: The Russian language is a native language to Russian people in East of Europe. As a widely used language in Caucasus, Central Asia and part of Baltic states, it is an official language in Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Russian-language>

(1368-1644CE). When the Naxi occupied the surrounding area of LAT, the rulers sent their troops and subjects to control, administrate, and co-reside with the people living in the area (Zou, 2019). But the relationship between the Naxi and Chinese central state changed from a tributary in the Ming Dynasty to formal incorporation into the Chinese emperor in 1723 during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (White, 1998). From then on, the Naxi culture and language have been exposed to the influence of mainstream Chinese culture.

In addition, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, LAT, where the Naxi group were originally the main inhabitants, has been commercialized since it was listed as part of the “Cultural Heritage of the World” in 1997 (ICOMOS, 1997) and has become a major tourist destination (He, 2016a; W. Zhao, 2016b). To take advantage of the tourism boom in LAT, thousands of non-Naxi speakers have migrated to the town to do business. These migrants live in LAT and speak their own languages, while many Naxi people have rented their houses out and moved away into dispersed surrounding suburban areas. Without the concentration of Naxi in LAT, the threat to the survival of the Naxi language is more intense.

Socio-economic developments have often motivated ethnolinguistic minorities to move from their original places to seek improvements in their socio-economic opportunities. There has also been a shift in people using majority/mainstream/dominant languages rather than their traditional ones. In LAT, newcomers have arrived in large numbers both through general commercialisation and through specific development in tourism. Simultaneously, members of the Naxi community have been relocating out of LAT in order to profit from renting out their properties. Thus, there are now many speakers of non-Naxi language in LAT and the number of Naxi speakers has decreased. As I will argue throughout this thesis, this has resulted in the connection between the Naxi people and their language and its cultural base in the old town being broken. However, no specific studies have paid attention to the Naxi language endangerment, vitality, and survival in relation to the Naxi community’s sense of ‘place-belonging’ to their old town. Nor has there been an examination of the contradictions and tensions of ‘place-belonging’ associated with Naxi language usage for Naxi people—both living in and away from LAT—and the ‘place making’ that has sought to keep LAT looking and seeming to be ‘authentically’ Naxi.

1.3 Research questions

The overall focus of my thesis is the endangerment of Naxi language in Lijiang Ancient Town and the complexity and intersections between language endangerment, vitality and survival

with practices and experiences of place making and place-belongingness. The specific research questions are:

1. Does the representation of Naxi language in the Linguistic Landscape (LL) of LAT provide evidence of ‘language vitality’?
2. How do the Naxi people understand, experience, and feel about the ‘place making’ undertaken by Chinese central and local government in producing a tourist destination?
3. What is the relationship between the ‘place-belongingness’ of the Naxi people and LAT after it was listed as a UNESCO Heritage site?
4. How, and in what ways, do different people in LAT value, undervalue, and devalue the Naxi language and what is the relationship of this to language endangerment, vitality, and survival?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters. In the introductory chapter, I have presented a brief overview of my interest in the topic and its significance as a research topic, and an introduction to the research focus and context. It has explored the situation of language endangerment—globally and in China, and considered some of the causes (historical, sociolinguistic, and ideological) and consequences of endangered languages on cultures and people.

In Chapter 2, *Research context*, I engage with the contextual setting of the research. I provide an overview of Chinese ethnic minorities and cultures, the Naxi people, language and culture, and LAT (the original place of Naxi language and culture). I also consider China’s policy towards ethnic minorities and their languages, the UNESCO heritage status of LAT and the changes that have occurred in the town. This chapter helps to understand the Naxi people and their language in the Chinese context. The discussion lays a foundation for my investigation on the vitality of Naxi language in its cultural context, and in relation to place making and place-belongingness.

In Chapter 3, *Constructing the theoretical framework*, I present the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of the thesis, connecting linguistic anthropology in relation to language vitality, language visibility and language value with place making and place-belongingness. Three broad ideas underlie the theoretical framing of this thesis. The first, linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997), underpins my thinking about language visibility and language vitality. The second, place making (Montgomery, 1998) and the third, place-belongingness (Antonsich,

2010), provide a framework for my thinking about the connections between space, place, people, language, and culture.

Chapter 4, *Methodology*, explains and rationalises my case study approach and my use of mixed methods. Four main methods were employed. First, a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Linguistic Landscape (LL) in LAT. Second, semi-structured interviews with participants related to LAT. Third, a textual analysis of related official regulations from Chinese central and local governments and UNESCO about LAT and fourth, direct observation of the people and town of LAT. The combination of quantitative and visual observations derived from the LL, qualitative interviews with various groups of participants and textual analysis on policy/regulation constitutes triangulation of data collection methods and data sources and facilitates validation of data results. The methodological approach is a guideline for conducting my research and helps me keep a clear mind in the process of the whole research. Limitations in relation to my data collection methods and research constraints are also presented.

The research findings are presented in Chapter 5 through to Chapter 7. In Chapter 5, *Naxi language in the Linguistic Landscape*, I answer the first research question. This chapter focuses on identifying how the Naxi language has been used and its language visibility in the LL of LAT. Nine examples of the Naxi language in the LL are discussed to illustrate and analyse four key points of the LL “gestalt” (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Cain et al., 2011): language choice, language agency, LL functions, and the characteristics of Naxi language in the LL.

Chapter 6, *Contradictions, and tensions between place making, place-belongingness and Naxi people* is engaged to answer the second and third research questions. It discusses changes in the town since becoming an UNESCO World Heritage site, how Naxi people feel in relation to the changes in the town, and how these changes and responses may or may not influence the vitality of Naxi language. It demonstrates contradictions and tensions between making of the place undertaken by Chinese governments and understanding of the place by the Naxi community, as well as the relationships between the place-belongingness of the Naxi people and LAT.

Chapter 7, *Perceptions of value toward the Naxi language*, explores the question of the value of the Naxi language through three aspects: the ideological beliefs of the Naxi people to their language; the perception of the market value of the language in relation to people’s jobs or businesses, and the language value in their daily life. The chapter argues that language ideology

shapes the language use choices of Naxi people and the specific and different applications within their community.

In Chapter 8 *Discussion*, I bring together the insights from my findings and discuss them at different scales: macro, meso and micro. I focus on the three aspects deriving from my research questions: the low visibility of Naxi language in the LL and the indication of people's general attitudes towards them in LAT; the contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness in relation to Naxi language use and the change in the status and use of Naxi language underpinned by ideology and perceptions of language value. I present a conceptual framework to identify the complex influences interacting at the macro, meso, and micro levels that lead to the endangerment of Naxi language and make recommendations for tourism destination management at each level.

The final chapter, *Conclusion*, offers a critical conclusion to the whole study, reflects on the limitations to my interdisciplinary approach and makes recommendations for future studies.

Chapter 2 Research context

As one of fifty-five ethnic minorities in China, the Naxi group has unique characteristics. This chapter aims to understand the Naxi ethnic minority group in the Chinese context and in relation to its original place and language. First, I provide a broad overview of Chinese ethnic minorities and languages. Second, I focus in on ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province where the Naxi language and culture are located. Third, I present information about the original place of Naxi people, LAT, and the language and culture of the Naxi. Last, in order to better understand the status of Naxi language, people and culture, the chapter articulates Chinese ethnic policy and ethnic language policy as a broad backdrop for this doctoral research. The chapter concludes by summarising changes that have occurred within LAT after it became a UNESCO Heritage site in 1997.

2.1 Ethnic minorities and languages in China

China is officially considered as a multi-ethnic state with 55 ethnic minority groups identified by the China Central Government since the founding of People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 (Sofield & Li, 2007). The Chinese translation of the phrase ethnic minority is *shaoshu minzu* (少数民族), in which *shaoshu* means minority, while *minzu* means a group of people who share similar language, culture, history and community life and usually live within a comparatively concentrated territory either historically or at present. The phrase of *shaoshu minzu* literally means ethnic minorities. While many ethnic groups are substantial in terms of population and geographic concentration, compared with Han Chinese, the number of each minority population is very small, and to some degree, in the long history of China, their status was not as important as the Han majority (Maurer-Fazio & Hasmath, 2015). Most of China's imperial dynasties throughout history were established by Han Chinese, except the Yuan¹⁵ and Qing Dynasties which were ruled by two ethnic minority groups. In the 2010 national census, just 8.49% of the population were made up of minority groups (Population Census Office, 2011). Among the 55 minorities, Zhuang group¹⁶ is the largest in population, with about 16 million people; 18 groups have a population of more than one million people respectively,

¹⁵ Yuan Dynasty: The Yuan Dynasty was China's largest empire and the first dynasty ruled by ethnic minority (Mongolian 蒙古人), lasting from 1279 to 1368. Retrieved from <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/china-history/the-yuan-dynasty.htm#:~:text=>

¹⁶ Zhuang group is the largest minority with the population of 18 million in China. They mainly live in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in South of China, and also exist in other areas, such as Guangdong Province, Yunnan Province and Guizhou Province. Retrieved from http://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2015-07/23/content_2901594.htm

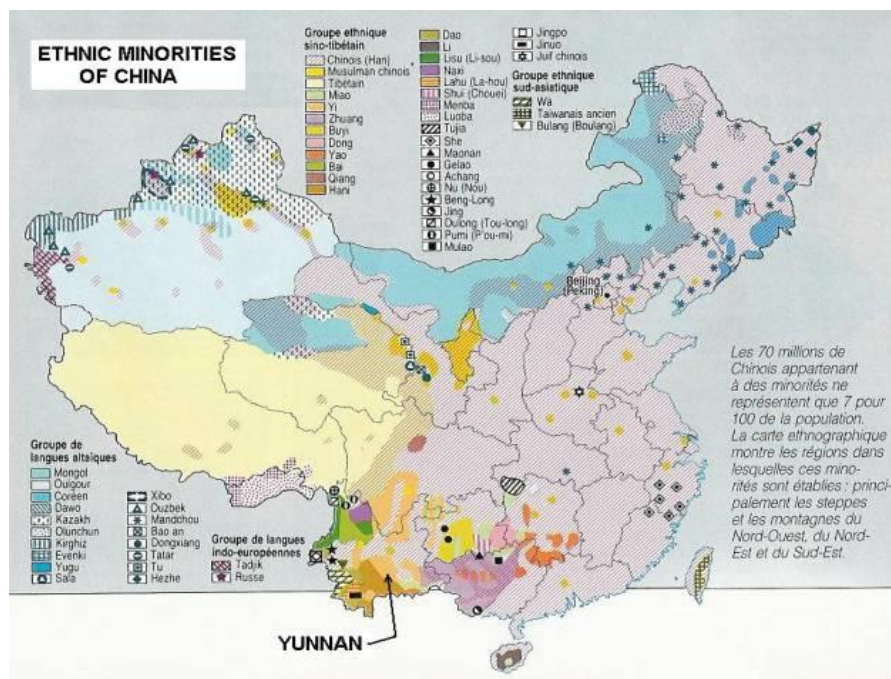
while the population of the smallest 7 minorities consists of less than 10,000 people per ethnic group (Gustafsson & Shi, 2003).

Figure 2 Map of ethnic groups in China



(Source: <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/1009/c90000-9277450.html>)

Figure 3 Map of ethnic groups in China



(Source: <http://viaterra.net/travelpages/china.htm>)

Although the ethnic minorities are not as significant as Han Chinese in terms of population or political and economic influence, they are vital in China's ethnic make-up and in the

maintenance of a peaceful and secure Chinese society (Figure 2). Geographically, they take up five-eighths of the whole territory of China and there are three distribution patterns: 1) minorities such as Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak/ Kazakh, Mongolian and Korean occupy the wide areas in the west, northwest, north and northeast of China; 2) minorities such as Miao, Tujia, Dai, Yi, Bai, Naxi, Dong are concentrated in relatively small areas in southwest of China and surrounded by Han communities and; 3) some minorities such as Hui¹⁷ and Manchu live within populations of other ethnic groups, especially the Han (Zhou, 2001, p. 148).

There are 13 minorities living in the areas bordering Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, North Korea, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam (Clothey, 2005; Mackerras, 2003) (Figure 2 & Figure 3). Given the fact that national borders are artificial, in the sense that they are set up through wars, treaties and political negotiations, many ethnic minority groups along the border share similar culture and religious traditions with ethnic groups beyond the Chinese territory and their ethnic languages are the same or similar to languages outside of China. For example, Korean is not only the language of North Korea and South Korea, but also the language used by the Korean ethnic minority in China. The sharing of language and culture across borders has caused several separatist movements, which, in turn, has challenged the national defence and led to strengthening military control in these areas. The secessionist activities have happened in areas heavily populated ethnic minorities, the autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang (Uyгур) (Clothey, 2005).

China is also complex in terms of language families and systems. The languages spoken by ethnic minorities belong to five language families: Sino-Tibetan, Altaic, Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian and Indo-European (Zhou, 2001). Due to different criteria, the classification of the language families seemed to be divergent. For instance, Li (1973) did not mention Austronesian when he studied the languages and dialects in China. However, based on the similarities on lexicology, morphology, syntax and phonetics (Huang 2018), most Chinese scholars agree to the classification of minority languages as including Chinese-Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic language families (Huang, 2018; Sun, 1998). Alternatively, Zhou (2000) categorised ethnic languages into three types, according to whether they had writing systems in history, and regular bilingual education now:

¹⁷ Hui group is one of the ethnic minorities having large population in China. They distributed throughout 31 provinces and mainly in Northwest of China. Their culture has developed from the practice of Islam. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%9B%9E%E6%97%8F/130303?fr=aladdin>

- 1) those that had functional writing systems broadly used before 1949 and have had regular bilingual education since 1949;
- 2) those that had functional writing systems narrowly used before 1949, but have had only occasional bilingual education since 1949, and;
- 3) those that had no fully functional writing systems before 1949, and have had limited or no bilingual education since then. (p.129)

According to these authors, the writing system determined if the language could be used in a bilingual education. The Miao¹⁸ writing system in the southwest of China, for example, was created by a British missionary (Pollard), an ethnic Miao (Yang Yage), and a Han (Li Sitifan) in 1905 (Huang, 1992). This writing system included an alphabet mixed with Latin and other letters. With a written script that was developed before 1949, it was possible for the Miao to have bilingual education with Han and Miao languages. However, before 1949, most of the ethnic minority communities were economically underdeveloped by Western or Han Chinese standards. Forty-two ethnic minorities with a total population of about 55 million did not have a regular writing system before 1949 (Zhou, 2000). Due to a lack of written language it was difficult to develop bilingual education in their communities, and Mandarin therefore became the dominant language used in schools.

In general, China, as a multi-ethnic state is dominated by the use of Mandarin Chinese as the official language, and other Han dialects such as Wu¹⁹, Cantonese²⁰ and Hakka²¹, as regional languages. The status of ethnic minority languages has rarely been articulated officially by Chinese authority, and as I will discuss later, ethnic minority languages is a highly charged political issue associated with national, cultural, and linguistic identity.

¹⁸ The Miao is one of the mountain-dwelling ethnic minorities with a long history in China. They mainly live in the mountains of southern China. Some of them migrated out of China into Southeast Asia. Tapp, N. (2007, December 3). Miao. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Miao>

¹⁹ Wu language is a Chinese dialect spoken in the southeast of China. It is mainly spoken in Shanghai, Jiangsu province and Zhejiang province. It is different from Mandarin Chinese with the “initial voiced tract”. Britannica (2017, April 19). Wu language. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Wu-language>

²⁰ Cantonese language, also named as Yueyu, is a Chinese dialect mainly spoken in the south of China - Guangdong province and Guangxi province, including some famous cities such as Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macau. It preserves many features of Ancient Chinese. Britannica (2013, August 26). *Cantonese language*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Cantonese-language>

²¹ Hakka language is a Chinese dialect mainly spoken in the eastern and northern Guangdong province and part of Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangxi, Hunan and Sichuan provinces. It borrowed a lot of words from the Cantonese language. Britannica (2006, August 31). *Hakka language*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hakka-language>

2.2 Ethnic minorities and languages in Yunnan Province

Yunnan Province is well known for its cultural diversity and variety of ethnic minorities. As a land-locked province, it is located in the southwest of China and shares its boundary with Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam (Figure 4). The terrain is high in the northwest and low in the southeast, descending step by step from the north to the south, with a difference of nearly 6,700 meters between the highest and lowest points, resulting in a very complex physical geography (Qian, 2019). About 94% of the area is occupied by high mountains and plateaus (Chow, 2005; Qian, 2019), which determines the isolated geography of this area and lays a foundation for people to develop distinctive practices in culture, language and living styles.

Figure 4 Map of Yunnan Province

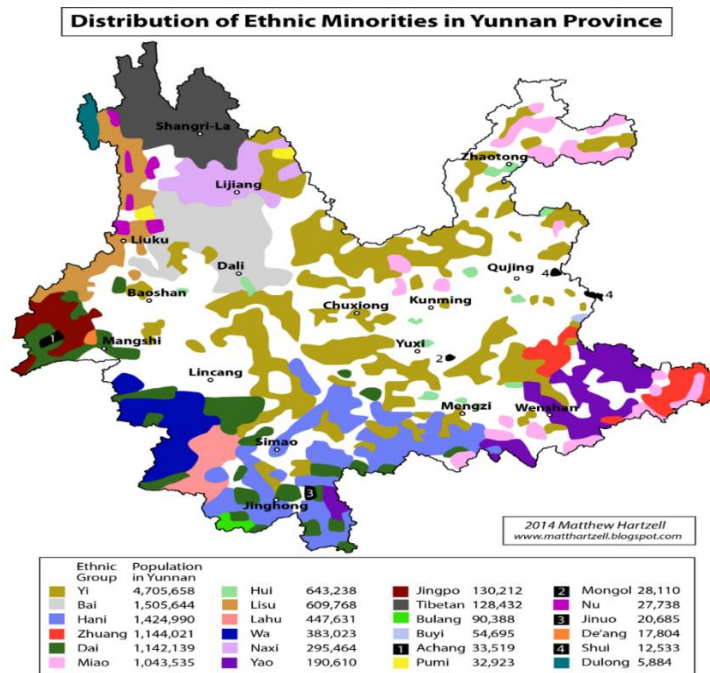


(Source: <https://www.chinahighlights.com/yunnan/map.htm>)

The proportion of minorities, about one third of the population in this province, is much higher than in other provinces in China (Gustafsson & Shi, 2003), and most of their living areas have other minorities in residence (Swain, 1989). According to the 2010 census, there are 25 ethnic minorities in this province, among which 15 groups are distinct and are not found in other provinces (Doorne et al., 2003; Li, 2018) (Figure 5). However, based on the 1953 census, Song and Cui (1993) provided quite different statistics stating that there were 136 ethnic groups in this province, with 77 of them having less than 100 people and 22 having only one person. The two sets of statistics reflect the sharp reduction in the number of ethnic minorities in this province. The latest statistics (Figure 5) show that the population of six ethnic groups surpasses

one million, including Yi, Bai, Hani, Zhuang, Dai, and Miao. The smallest group is Dulong²², with only about 5800 people. The population of other groups vary from more than 10 thousand to about 700 thousand. Naxi, with a population of 295,464, is the 11th largest group in number of members (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Statistics of ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province



(Source:

https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/4d8sss/distribution_of_ethnic_minorities_in_yunnan_china/)

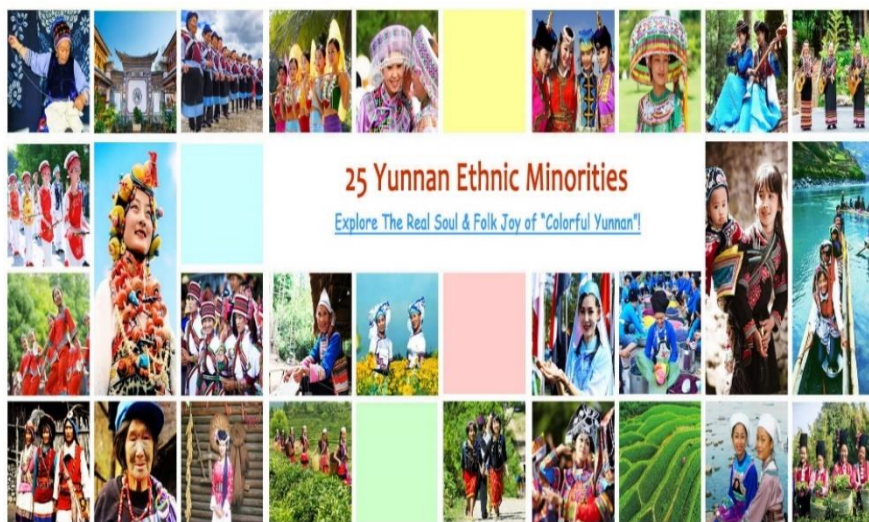
The diversity of languages, cultures and other characteristics is also noteworthy. In this province, the deep and isolated valleys enclosed by steep mountains, has meant that languages, cultures and living styles developed separately and varied from place to place, even village to village (Chow, 2005). Although some ethnic groups live quite close to each other geographically, their customs are very different and language differences mean they could not talk with each other. The Mosuo ethnic group²³, for example, is very famous for its matrilineal

²² Dulong people are an ethnic minority with a small population in China. They mainly live in the north of Yunnan Province. They speak Dulong, but have no written language. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E7%8B%AC%E9%BE%99%E6%97%8F>

²³ The Mosuo group is officially regarded a subgroup of Naxi group. They live in the northwest of Yunnan Province, and have their own oral language, but no written language. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%91%A9%E6%A2%AD%E4%BA%BA/4746847?fromtitle=%E6%91%A9%E6%A2%AD%E6%97%8F&fromid=2922419&fr=aladdin>

family system, within which they still keep a tradition of ‘Zouhun’ (visiting marriage), where men visit their lovers at night and return to their mother’s family in the morning (Yang, 2012). Mosuo has been regarded as a special subgroup of Naxi (Yang, 2012), but the other subgroups of Naxi are quite different from Mosuo in many aspects. Even the Mosuo in Ninglang, a county in Yunnan, did not identify themselves as Naxi, as they had different characteristics from other Naxi, including physical features such as the shape of their head, body, and colour of eyes (Hu, 2017). Besides language and customs, the traditional clothes and the traditional house styles are also various (Figure 6). In the context of language and culture diversity, Naxi and other ethnic groups in Yunnan have developed in their own ways, although historical impacts and local interdependence has led to challenges for language and culture maintenance.

Figure 6 Ethnic minorities in Yunnan



(Source: <https://www.chinadiscovery.com/ethnic-minority-culture-tour/yunnan-minorities.html>)

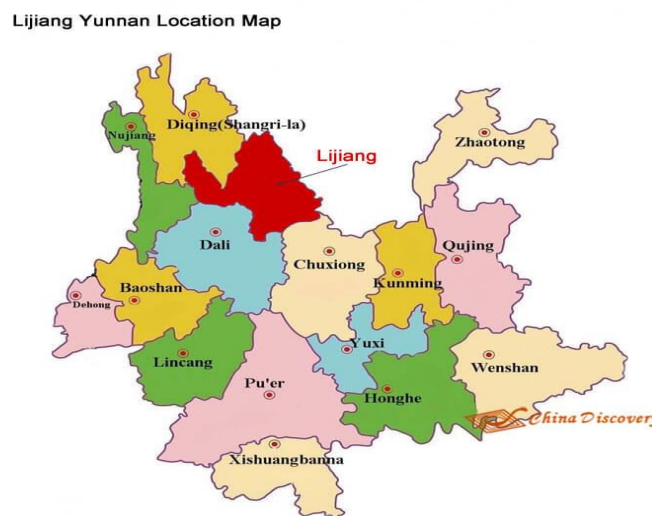
2.3 The Naxi ethnic minority

2.3.1 The Naxi ethnic population in Lijiang Ancient Town

LAT is located within a modernised Lijiang City of the Yunnan Province (Figure 7). It is a place that fascinates domestic and international tourists both for its scenic beauty and its exotic cultural legacy. Luo (2014) described that from 1961 to 2002, the Lijiang area was named as the Naxi Autonomous County, then, in 2002, it was changed into Lijiang City. There are two parts in the city including the District of LAT and the Yulong Naxi Autonomous County. With the total area of 3.8 square kilometres, LAT comprises the metropolitan and administrative part of the city (Bao & Su, 2004; Ning & He, 2007) (Figure 8). LAT is also referred to as the ‘Old

Town’ or the ‘Dayan Town’ as it was named during the Ming Dynasty²⁴ based on its territorial shape, which looks like a Yantai (砚台, ink stone used in ancient China) (Luo, 2014). LAT was largely built during the Song²⁵ and Yuan²⁶ Dynasties in the 13th Century (Ning & He, 2007). In 1997, LAT was listed as a World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO for its unique traditional culture and ancient street landscapes (He, 2016; W. Zhao, 2016). From then on it has become an important domestic tourist destination and increasingly is becoming popular with international tourists. Its popularity depends in part on the visible presence of a unique minority culture (Naxi) that is distinctive from the dominant Han Chinese culture.

Figure 7 Location of LC in Yunnan Province



(Source: <https://www.chinadiscovery.com/lijiang-tours/maps.html#lg=1&slide=1>)

²⁴ Ming Dynasty: China was under the rule of the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1644. It was famous for its culture and trade expansion to the outside world. (<https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-china/ming-dynasty#:~:text=>)

²⁵The Song Dynasty was split into periods—Northern Song and Southern Song—during its ruling of China from 960 to 1279. It was prosperous in the world but threatened by northern enemies. (https://www.ancient.eu/Song_Dynasty/; <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/songdynasty-module/index.html>)

²⁶The Yuan Dynasty was the first dynasty ruled by foreigners in ancient China. It was established by Kublai and controlled China from 1271 to 1368. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%85%83%E6%9C%9D/266205?fr=aladdin>

Figure 8 Location of Lijiang Ancient Town in Lijiang City



(Source: <https://www.pngfly.com/png-3q5ykm/>)

LAT lies between Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet (Zong, 2002), three important provinces in the southwest of China. Historically, this location made it a transportation centre as well as a place where diverse cultures mix (Xiaobo Su, 2010). It was a place where sales of goods and commodities to the northwest and southwest were transited, and where various ethnic minorities interacted with each other. LAT is famous for its natural environment. Since it is situated in a subtropical zone and in a valley, about 2,400 meters above sea level, and where the annual temperature is about 12.6 degrees, the climate is much more comfortable compared to many other places in China (Ning & He, 2007; Xiaobo Su, 2010). In addition, 15 kilometres to the north of LAT, there is a beautiful snow mountain, Yulong Mountain, and to the East of LAT is where the upper reach of Yangtze River—the longest river in China lies. The river flows between mountains and its branch across the LAT.

The last important factor that contributes to the current popularity of LAT is because of its residents—the Naxi people and their culture. The total population of Naxi ethnic minority is approximately 300,000, with 240,580 of Naxi people living in Lijiang City, and 86,000 Naxi people living in the old town (Population Census Office, 2011). Among the Naxi people in Lijiang City, about 100,000 are thought to be monolingual Naxi speakers, while the rest are bilingual or multilingual speakers of Naxi, Mandarin, Tibetan, Bai, and other local languages (Luo, 2014). There are many debates about the origin of Naxi people, but according to Fu et al. (2003), the ancestors of Naxi people were formed and named as Moshayi (a group of Qiang

people²⁷ from Northwest of China) during the Han²⁸ and Jin Dynasties²⁹ (202B.C. to 420A.D). It is believed they migrated from the northwest of Lijiang area during the Tang Dynasty³⁰ about 1,200 years ago and were officially incorporated into the Chinese central empire during the Qing Dynasty in the 18th century (White, 1998). From then on, the Naxi people began to be influenced by Confucian practices³¹, Buddhism and Taoism³². The Naxi comprise the main residents in the LAT, and have co-inhabited with other ethnic groups, such as Han, Bai, Yi, Lishu, Tibet, and Pumi, (Bai et al., 2017) for hundreds of years. They learned techniques and knowledge for building streets, bridges, water wheels and houses, and over time, formed a collection of architectural styles and craftsmanship (Ning & He, 2007). Moreover, the Naxi language, the Dongba script and cultural traditions make the Naxi a distinctive ethnic minority (Yang, 2012). According to Hu (2020), starting from the Ming Dynasty, about 600 years ago, the Mushi Family, the ruler of Naxi people, moved to the LAT and ruled the Lijiang area until the Qing Dynasty. And by the end of last century Naxi residents accounted for more than 60% of the town's population. Although the Naxi people have resided with other ethnic groups, they have constructed a unique culture and identity in the town.

2.3.2 The Naxi culture and language

The Naxi culture is influenced by various cultures and religions. The Naxi people mainly believe in Dongba religion, which formed from a combination of ideas from Lamaism³³, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (G. Yang, 2011). The word 'Dongba' connects with

²⁷ The ancient Qiang people were said to be the ancestors of both modern Qiang and Tibetan people in the west of Sichuan province. They originally referred to shepherds in the northwest of China. Retrieved from <https://factsanddetails.com/china/cat5/sub87/item404.html>

²⁸ Han Dynasty: As the second great imperial dynasty in the history of China, it was ruled by Liu Family from 202BC to 220AD. It was regarded as a golden era in forming Chinese civilisation and identity in the history of China. Retrieved from <https://www.timemaps.com/civilizations/the-han-dynasty-of-ancient-china/>

²⁹ Jin Dynasty: A dynasty dated from 265 to 420AD, is known for unifying the separated territories of previous period and fostering a brief stage of prosperity. Retrieved from <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/china-history/the-jin-dynasty.htm>

³⁰ Tang Dynasty: As a flourishing period of Chinese culture, this dynasty was in power from 618 to 906AD. It is well-known for its prosperity and spreading its culture across Asian countries. Retrieved from <https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-china/tang-dynasty>

³¹ Confucian practices centred by Confucianism, are a philosophy started by Confucius, a philosopher and teacher living from 551 to 479BC. He advocated ethics, good moral character and living a peaceful life. Retrieved from

<https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/confucianism/#:~:text=Confucianism%20is%20an%20ancient%20Chinese,Confucian%20philosopher%20after%20Confucius%20himself.>

³² Taoism, starting from 4th century BCE, emphasises living in harmony with the alternating cycles of nature. Retrieved from <https://www.worldhistory.org/Taoism/>

³³ Lamaism originated from Buddhism, which entered Tibet from India in the 7th century and developed in the 8th century. Different from Buddhism, it absorbed such local religious elements as having many gods and demons, and elaborate rituals. Retrieved from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/philosophy-and-religion/eastern-religions/buddhism/lamaism>

three items in Naxi culture: First, it refers to a Naxi priest and means “wise man or sage”, a person who holds very high status from ancient Naxi times, and has a firm belief of heaven and earth (Yang, 2003). Second, it connects with Dongba scripts, used by Dongba for “recording their ritual chants” on long, narrow, and handmade paper (McKhann, 2010, p. 185). Third, it is related to Dongba religion. There are no organised church or temples and Dongba traditionally conduct divinations and rituals in the home for families and individuals, or in public places for the whole village, such as weddings, funerals, house building and warding off diseases (McKhann, 2010). The scripts, religion and priests connected with Dongba are unique characteristics of Naxi culture.

In addition, Naxi residential buildings, music and clothes demonstrate other unique features of Naxi culture. The residential houses in LAT are normally made of wood, brick and clay, absorbing the advantages of Han, Bai, and Tibetan architecture (Sun, 2011). The main part of the house is designed in two models: ‘three square rooms and a screen wall’ (三坊一照壁) (Figure 9) and ‘four main suite and five courtyards’ (四合五天井) (Figure 10) (Yang & Zhang, 2017, p. 198). Such building styles were formed in response to the collective living model in ancient times, as big families lived and worked together. It was also convenient for all the family members to take care of each other, young and old. Water, stones, trees, and flowers were also well integrated into their way of life. Usually, these objects formed certain patterns for decorative purposes and were carved on windows, walls, and screen walls (Yang & Zhang, 2017). The decorative symbols reflected Naxi understanding and philosophy relating to nature and their living environments.

Figure 9 Naxi building 1



(Source: <https://www.douban.com/group/topic/110982367/?type=collect>)

Figure 10 Naxi building 2



(Source: <https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?ct=503316480&z=0&ipn=d&word>)

Music is also an important factor in the Naxi culture. Besides the integration of many elements from Han and Tibetan music, the key characteristic of the Naxi music is its popularisation. It is consumed and enjoyed by ordinary people on daily base. According to He (2016b), LAT/Lijiang was a cargo distribution centre for about half a century before the founding of PRC (1949), and many cart drivers coming to and from Tibet needed to find accommodation and entertainment. At night, they danced, played musical instruments, and sang folk songs. Later, a lot of Lijiang residents joined in such entertainment and developed the now popularised ‘Lijiang music’. In the present day Dongda Street in LAT, the two ‘shops’ that occupy the largest space are Chuangshiji Music Square (Figure 11), and Naxi Guyue (Naxi ancient music) (Figure 12).

Figure 11 Chuangshiji Music Square



(Author photograph taken in LAT: August 2018)

Figure 12 Naxi Ancient Music



(Author photograph taken in LAT: August 2018)

Naxi traditional clothes are named “Pi Xing Dai Yue” (披星戴月) in Mandarin Chinese, which translates into English as “Working very hard from morning till dusk” (Figure 13). This name is given because the Naxi women who wear such clothes are well-known for being hard-working. The typical traditional costume of Naxi women generally includes a blue, grey or black robe over a white shirt (Hou, 2017). The most distinctive part is a ‘cappa’ or cape made from a whole black goatskin, the middle of which is decorated horizontally with seven colourful round discs. The discs are made of silk tapestry, representing the eyes of a goat or

stars at night (S. Zhang, 2011). According to Hou (2017) and S. Zhang (2011), there are many explanations about why the clothes are designed in this way. The first is related to climate and stock farming. The climate in Lijiang is suitable for raising goat and yak, and a typical goat is called “Black goat”. A cappa, made of goat skin, is ideal for keeping warm when grazing animals. The second explanation connects with the need for Naxi women, who carry heavy weights during their work, to have some protection provided by the goat skin.

Figure 13 Naxi clothes



(Source:

<https://baike.baidu.com/pic/%E6%8A%AB%E6%98%9F%E6%88%B4%E6%9C%88>)

In addition, the Naxi language is very famous for its long history and unique writing system. It is commonly regarded as Tibetan-Burman language in the Sino-Tibetan language family, with a history of about 1000 years (Yang, 2012). The Dongba script is an ancient writing system, which has been mainly used for religious practice, while most ordinary people neither read nor write this script (Shang & Hailing, 2012; Yu, 2009). To increase the level of literacy among the Naxi people, the Latin alphabet was adopted by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) to use as a spelling plan for Naxi language in 1957 (Luo, 2014). However, this approach has not been popular and from my field observations in 2018 it appeared that few Naxi people choose to use the Latin spelling to write their language. During the 1960s, the period of the Cultural Revolution,³⁴ quite a lot of Naxi manuscripts were destroyed (Yu, 2009).

³⁴ The Cultural Revolution, also known as the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution", was a violent purge movement launched by Mao Zedong and used by the counterrevolutionary clique from 1966 to 1976. It brought serious

In 2003, the Dongba script was approved by UNESCO as a “Memory of the World Programme³⁵” for its demonstration of the early writing system and civilization several centuries ago in a remote mountainous region and for its special pictographic script which are still used now (Shang & Hailing, 2012; H. Yu, 2007). It was used to describe “a rich knowledge of religion, botany, medicine, ethnic relationships, literature, history, music, and painting of the Naxi” (Yu, 2009, p. 23). The Naxi language plays an important role in promoting the Naxi culture and LAT.

Apart from the importance of the language in Naxi culture, the complexity of the language also needs to be mentioned. Luo (2014) found that the Naxi language is categorised as having two main dialects: Naxi western and Naxi eastern, based on the differences of their pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. She noticed that the western dialect originated from LAT (Dayan Town) and with 4/5 of Naxi language speakers is accepted as the standard Naxi language. The eastern dialect speakers, living mainly in the north of Lijiang City, cannot totally understand the standard Naxi language as forty percent of their words are different from Naxi western. In this research, I focus on the standard Naxi language.

In the present day, LAT still hosts some Naxi people who live and work there. Naxi culture is also visible in LAT. This is manifested by house styles, music, religious practices and public displays of Naxi language. However, and despite this Naxi presence in LAT, throughout this thesis I argue that the Naxi language is ‘a disappearing voice’. To help understand this and also to relate language to the concept of place making, the following sub-sections will discuss ethnic minority and ethnic language policy in China—at both central and local government levels, and the UNESCO heritage status of LAT.

2.4 Policy on ethnic minorities and minority languages in China

Ethnic and ethnic language policies in China generally have the aim of promoting ethnic equality, stability and solidarity, and also economic development (Clothey, 2005). However, the challenge remains on how to maintain and retain ethnic minorities’ culture and language in an economy and society dominated by the Han majority. This situation has become a source

disasters and setbacks to Chinese people, economy and culture since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Retrieved from

<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%97%A0%E4%BA%A7%E9%98%B6%E7%BA%A7%E6%96%87%E5%8C%96%E5%A4%A7%E9%9D%A9%E5%91%BD/615661?fromtitle=%E6%96%87%E5%8C%96%E5%A4%A7%E9%9D%A9%E5%91%BD&fromid=117740&fr=aladdin>

³⁵ Memory of the World Programme was established by UNESCO in 1992 to preserve and access to various documentary heritages throughout the world. Retrieved from <https://en.unesco.org/programme/mow>

for “policy debate, academic research and global attention in the last three decades” (Wu, 2014, p. 88) A major concern is that China’s political reality might make the survival of ethnic minority languages and culture, including the Naxi uncertain.

To better understand the context that relates to the vitality of Naxi language, it is necessary to discuss China’s ethnic policy and ethnic minority language policy within the broader social and political reality. This section articulates issues and problems involved in ethnic policy and ethnic minority language policy and planning (LPP) as a backdrop for understanding the complex situation of Chinese ethnic minority, their language and culture.

2.4.1 Ethnic policies

Principally, China’s ethnic policies intend to address two major issues: One is attention to the ethnic issues that need to be addressed by China Central government. Equality, stability, solidarity and unity are claimed as significant principles of ethnic policy to balance and handle ethnic relations in China (Jintao, 2012; Law, 2017). The other is the stipulation that ethnic policy has lagged far behind the social-economic changes that have occurred in contemporary China. The social-economic changes after the 1980s make the ethnic policy reform an emerging consensus.

Ethnic issues to be addressed according to the policy principles

Equality is stated as a key principle for Chinese ethnic relations, but there are tensions between the claimed equality in policies and implementation of such policies.

The principle of equality cannot be effectively implemented in some ethnic areas due to remote geographic locations and limited intellectual resources. Rapid expansion of the economy and increased income in urban areas has resulted in the income disparity between ethnic minorities and Han-majority widening. In the study of poverty alleviation made by Huang (2017, p. 81), he recorded that of the officially 331 ‘poor’ counties in China in 1985, 141 were located in the minority areas, accounting for 42.6% of counties classified as poor. He also reported that the statistics arose to 43.4% in 1994, and 45% in 2012. In comparison with the population of ethnic minorities (8.49% of the total population in China) as depicted in Section 2.1, the poverty rate for ethnic regions is relatively high and is prone to rise. Due to the large territory that minority groups occupy, the poverty in these regions is an important concern for the central government. Since the opening-up of China’s economy in the 1980s, the Chinese central government has given priority to poverty alleviation in the west of China to improve the living conditions and well-being of ethnic minorities in these regions (Lu & Wu, 2019). However, in the updated

statistics reported by Lu and Wu (2019, p. 42), the State released a list of 592 poverty-stricken counties in 2017, including 341 in ethnic minority areas, accounting for 57.6% of the total. This suggests that the equality claimed in policies fails to achieve equality between the Han group and some ethnic groups. What is relevant to language policy is that income disparity and regional underdevelopment has led to further policies, such as tourism policy to boost development but this has come at the expense of languages, such as Naxi, being able to retain dominance in their local area.

Economic disparity between the majority and minorities restricts some ethnic minority community to have equal living conditions and well-being as Han majority. The Central government has made substantial numbers of special preferential policies or even privileges for minority groups, such as fiscal subsidies, tax reductions and exemptions, loose criteria on the one-child policy³⁶ (Feng & Cheung, 2008) and preferential policies in higher education admissions (Chu, 2016). These preferential policies speed up the development of minority groups and enhance the living standard in areas where they reside, however, some policies, such as the loose criteria on the one-child policy has increased the financial disparity between Han majority and ethnic minority groups. For example, as recorded by Sautman (1998), from the early 1980s, the Chinese government enforced the one-child policy strictly for the Han majority, but for the ethnic minorities and particularly in ethnic regions, couples were allowed to have two children in urban areas and three or four children in rural areas. Sautman (1998, p. 90) note that in the late 1980s, “Some 15.5 percent of Uygurs had three children, 12.5 per cent had four children and more than 30 per cent had five or more”. Thus, the family size of ethnic minority groups is generally larger than the Han majority, which means that ethnic minorities bear a great financial burden for raising and educating their children. Pan and Liu (2021, p. 5) pointed out that “While 59% of Han majority children attended high school, only 42% did so among ethnic minority children” in 2000. Moreover, in poorer areas, many ethnic minorities often struggle to pay their children’s tuition fees, particularly for higher education. This situation increases the literacy gap between the minorities and Han majority.

³⁶ China’s one-child policy was introduced 1979 as a control on skyrocketing population growth. It was officially scrapped in 2015 to allow all couples to have two children. The original policy was designed to ease challenges and imbalances on environmental and natural resources. Retrieved from <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/120114/understanding-chinas-one-child-policy.asp#:~:text=When%20introduced%2C%20China's%20one%2Dchild,parent%20were%20both%20only%20children.>

These economic and income disparities also contribute to imbalanced development in education, particularly different levels of education between the minorities and Han majority and unequal access to education resources for the minorities. Education in ethnic areas, especially in the remote rural ethnic areas, suffers from a number of disadvantages such as poor quality of schools and low education attainment (Gustafsson & Sai, 2014; Wang & Phillion, 2009b). The poor quality of schools is associated with poor quality buildings, limited fundings and a lack of high-quality teachers. Low levels of educational attainment are demonstrated in the higher drop-out rates in ethnic minority communities. Xue and Shi (2001) showed a higher illiteracy rate in minority women, which was four times the rate of Han men in 1990. The difference was found to be connected with many factors, such as parents' educational background and educational circumstances in which females are neglected (Gustafsson & Sai, 2014). The lower education level in most ethnic areas influences the conduct of bilingual education and the survival of ethnic minority languages.

Stability and solidarity are other important principles through which the China central government seeks to maintain harmonious relationships with ethnic minorities, but they are also strategies to suppress and prevent ethnic minorities from being a threat to China's sovereignty and integrity. The country's sovereignty, integrity, and unity are regarded as core interests for the Chinese central government. Although the government wants to create harmonious relationships with all ethnic minorities, potential threats to national unity and government authority are not tolerated. Conflicts and riots in Lhasa, Shaoguan, and Ürümqi during the period of 2008-2009 were one important push factor for the Chinese government to pursue a tightening ethnic policy that re-emphasises national unity. To prevent these conflicts, national security law has been enacted in relation to Xinjiang, Tibet, and other Autonomous Regions (Wong, 2015).

The challenge to national security adds another dimension to the complicated ethnic issues in China and has resulted in the tightening of ethnic policy to suppress ethnic minority development. The promulgation of National Security Law in 2015 and creation of National Security Commission in 2013 indicated a policy shift from preferential ethnic policies to a tightening-up of ethnic policy (Clift, 2020; Fu, 2020; Lampton, 2015). The underpinning of such a policy shift is the national security issue which pushes the government to engage with a policy tightening-up. As a consequence, supports for ethnic culture and language have been de-prioritised.

Ethnic policy reform in relation to social-economic changes

Ethnic policy has lagged far behind the demands of social-economic changes. The important ethnic policies being implemented, such as *Constitution of People's Republic of China* (1949, 1954, 1975, 1978, 1982 and 1999) and *Law of Regional Autonomy of Minorities* (1984), were mainly enacted between the 1950s to the 1980s (Yang 2009). These policies had a great impact on 'underdeveloped' ethnic communities and contributed remarkably to help these communities respond to social and economic challenges that existed before the founding of PRC (Yang & Wu, 2009). However, since the national opening and reforming policies of the 1980s, many new social-political challenges have emerged in ethnic areas. One is the rapid growth of ethnic economies promoted by regional policies, and the other is the population mobility between ethnic minorities and Han community areas (Fischer, 2008). However, the stipulation of laws has not caught up with these changes. In the quest for economic development in ethnic areas, economic policy was given preference over policies relating to culture and language (Wu, 2014). Furthermore, through the privatisation of China's market system, population migration between Han and ethnic community areas has increased and the interaction between Han people and ethnic minorities dilutes the ethnic identity, culture, and language maintenance (Mackerras, 2003). However, the issues of ethnic identity, culture and language have not been sufficiently represented and reflected in current laws. The outdated and backward ethnic policy is becoming a barrier for the evolution of ethnic culture and languages. According to Grey (2019), writing about schooling, for example:

The policy agenda is to use bilingual schooling to develop minority polity areas by promoting the use of Putonghua in minority-language dominant environments, rather than to use bilingual schooling to maintain Zhuang (or other languages) in an increasingly Putonghua-dominant environment. (p. 461)

In other words, the priority has shifted to increasing fluency and use of Chinese rather than emphasising competence in ethnic language. Compared to the Han majority, the Naxi community, along with many other ethnic minorities, has been influenced by economic disadvantage, and lower levels of education. However, in areas that are not seen as politically unstable such as Lijiang, Leibold and Yangbin (2014) note (citing Yu 2010) "Transmitting knowledge about cultural heritage is less sensitive in the case of the Naxi who share a Confucian heritage with the Han Chinese and have no separatist aspirations" (p. 30).

2.4.2 Ethnic language policy and planning (LPP)

Language policy is frequently linked with language planning for its being “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change”, both of which are strongly supported by governments (Kaplan, 2013, p. 2). The two terms emerge in tandem: One is the content of language change reflecting the ideas of governments; the other is action that the governments use to achieve their official ideas. The operation of language planning is directed by language policy and affects the following promulgation of language policy.

In terms of ethnic minority LPP in China, two problems have received increasing attention: one significant problem is the predominance of Standard Chinese (Putonghua) strongly advocated in ethnic minority communities (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2001; Zhang & Pérez-Milans, 2019). The other problem is the weakened representation of ethnic language in ethnic areas (Ma, 2006; Mackerras, 2016; Yang & Wu, 2009).

2.4.2.1 Predominant status of Standard Chinese throughout China

The dominant status of Standard Chinese has been established with the purpose of maintaining national unity. Kirkpatrick and Xu (2001, p. 14) noted that a national language has been presumed by China to help unify the whole country and is specified as a language that can “uphold the dignity of the nation and national unity of the state” (Article 5) in China’s first language law. National unity is not a new social concern for the Chinese central government. It can be traced back to the standardisation of the Chinese script during the Qin Dynasty (from 221 to 206 BC), when Emperor Qin took the most extreme policy to burn books written by other Chinese scripts and kill the scholars who were against the measures (Zhou & Ross, 2004). To unify all regions under one empire and consolidate the rule over them, Han Chinese was established as an identity marker and orthodox language representation before the Western invasion in the 1840s (Wan, 2014, p. 69). Language policy and planning has been employed as a tool to consolidate the country’s empire ruling and the status of minority languages is a secondary concern.

Unfortunately, stipulation of Standard Chinese (written) as the official language and promotion of Putonghua (oral) since the 1950s has deepened the imbalance between Han dominant language and ethnic minority languages. In addition, following the demand for communication in modern society, conflicts, and frictions between the two languages appeared. Zhou (2000) recorded that a single Standard Chinese was promoted as a language of instruction in most minority regions in 1958, when students were required to use Mandarin Chinese in all subject

classrooms. With this educational policy, minority children have to speak and use Mandarin Chinese in schools, which leads to the reduction of minority language practice. (The teaching of language and languages of instruction is a complex issue in China with multiple tiers of monolingual and bilingual schooling available. While the detail of this is beyond the scope of this thesis the edited volume of Leipold and Yangbin (2014) is a good starting point. See also Grey, 2019). The dominance of Mandarin Chinese, whether Putonghua in oral and Han characters in written, has permeated down to ethnic minority areas. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) marginalised most of ethnic minority languages further (Wang, 2011), which put the Chinese intellectual world on halt and consequently, the development and maintenance of ethnic minority language was impacted negatively. After the Cultural Revolution, although the problem was somehow corrected in 1984 when the minority autonomous governments were supported to ensure their people could use their ethnic languages, the negative impacts of the Cultural Revolution on minority languages persisted (Lin, 1997; Xiao, 1998). The dominant position of Mandarin Chinese was further strengthened when the Unified Examination for University Entrance³⁷ was regulated in the 1980s. Wang and Phillion (2009a) noticed that the exam which determines whether one has an opportunity to receive higher education is administered in Mandarin Chinese. In other words, if one would like to receive higher education in China or wants to be competitive in a future career, it is better to learn Mandarin Chinese from childhood. This kind of institutional decision, made by the government, has reinforced the dominant position of Mandarin Chinese as an official language in formal and public sectors, including the education realm, while minority languages have been marginalised in mainstream institutions. Thus, an ethnic minority individual who wants to climb the social and economic ladder, has to prioritise Mandarin Chinese as his/her main language for daily usage, which in turn weaken their linguistic ability of their ethnic minority language.

The dominant position of Standard Chinese was further legalised and consolidated when the first language law came into force. The enforcement of the *Law of the National Commonly Used Language and Written Script of the People's Republic of China* in 2000 has had a notable effect on “promoting economic and cultural exchange throughout China” (Kirkpatrick & Xu,

³⁷ The Unified Examination for University Entrance is a national unified examination set for full-time senior high school graduates and citizens of the PRC with equivalent academic qualifications. Its purpose is to select students for universities and colleges in China, which is implemented from June 7 to June 9 every year.

Retrieved from

<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%99%AE%E9%80%9A%E9%AB%98%E7%AD%89%E5%AD%A6%E6%A0%A1%E6%8B%9B%E7%94%9F%E5%85%A8%E5%9B%BD%E7%BB%9F%E4%B8%80%E8%80%83%E8%AF%95/2567351?fromtitle=%E9%AB%98%E8%80%83&fromid=219910&fr=aladdin>

2001, p. 14; Zhang & Pérez-Milans, 2019) via Standard Chinese than have any other languages. In the new language law, the use of Standard Chinese is explicitly articulated:

All offices of State must use Putonghua and standardised Chinese characters for official business. (Article 9)

Schools and other educational institutions must use Putonghua and standardised Chinese characters as the basic spoken and written language in education and teaching. (Article 10) (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2001, p. 14)

The use of Standard Chinese is mandatory, for the employment of the word ‘must’ instead of ‘have freedom and right’ in policy. And the scope where the language must be used covers significant public sectors, including official offices and schools. If a person wants to understand others and wants to be understood in public office, they must learn Standard Chinese. If they hope to work for these institutions, they must have a high level of competence in Putonghua and Han character. Chinese language learning and proficiency becomes a ‘need’ and ‘goal’ rather than a choice.

Compared to the predominant and stable status of Standard Chinese, the status of minority languages varies. Except for the interruption of language rights during the period of the Cultural Revolution, the language rights of ethnic minorities have been endowed and respected in China’s constitutions of 1949, 1954, 1975, 1978, 1982 and 1999 (Huang, 1992; Zhou, 2000). The right in practice is that an ethnic minority has freedom to choose an ethnic language. For example, in the 1982 Constitution of PRC, ethnic minorities have the freedom and right to speak and develop their own language (Zuo, 2007). It means whether or not an ethnic minority chooses to use their indigenous language it should be protected by the constitutions. Even in the *Law of the National Commonly Used Language and Written Script of the People’s Republic of China* (2000), ethnic language use and maintenance is still encouraged (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2001). However, there was a turning point in China’s LLP after 2016.

After 2016, the new language policy promoted the assimilation of ethnic minority languages, rather than encouraging their unique development. The *Thirteenth Five-Year Development Plan of National Language Works* promulgated by the Ministry of Education and National Language Commission (2016) gave a push against the commonly used languages in minority regions in an attempt to strengthen national unification. This new LPP was pursued by the new leadership role of the Communist Party of China (CPC) since 2013 as a response to the rising ethnic activism in China recently, as noted by Zhang and Pérez-Milans (2019):

The important and fundamental role played by the national commonly used language in safeguarding national unity and promoting ethnic solidarity and social development needs to be further strengthened. In accordance with national principles and strategies for taking targeted measures to help people lift themselves out of poverty, the popularisation of the national commonly used language and written script in minority regions needs to be accelerated, focusing on improving the language proficiency of teachers, local cadres, and young farmers and herdsmen. (p.43)

The guidance expanded the functions of Standard Chinese and Putonghua from serving national unity and ethnic solidarity to facilitating social development. It also claimed the economic significance of the national language proficiency for particular groups in minority communities. For example, people like ‘teachers, local cadres, and young farmers and herdsmen’ are required to improve their national language proficiency to alleviate poverty. The function of Standard Chinese and Putonghua is associated with economic development and specified as poverty alleviation for some ethnic minorities. However, these efforts overlook the social function of minority languages and accelerate the marginalisation of these vernacular languages (Roche et al., 2020).

With the social and political concerns of national unity and standardisation in public sectors, the central government promotes Standard Chinese and Putonghua to the ethnic minorities. Compared to the mandatory use of the standardised written and oral Chinese language, minority languages are generally in the position of seeking passive protections or even experiencing disruption.

2.4.2.2 Weakened representation of ethnic languages in ethnic areas

The use of ethnic languages has been weakened in ethnic areas under the precondition of national unity. Language policy and planning in the ethnic minority regions operated by minority autonomous governments is responsive to political autonomy under the principle of national unity. Different from the fully independent ‘regime of autonomy’ idea in Europe and Soviet after World War II (Wolff & Weller, 2005), the idea of political autonomy in China is “a limited degree of autonomy” (Wu, 2014, p. 64). As the basic framework for implementing minority rights and state policy in the minority-concentrated areas of China, it is conducted in name of national unity, economic development, and social stability. Chinese autonomous regions are not independent states as those in Europe and Soviet, but rather have an indispensable role in protecting and realising minority rights in ethnic regions in line with

national unity and representation of state power. The 1982 Constitution provided more detailed rights for minority autonomy, according to which the autonomous officials should use the written and spoken native language in line with the language in common use in their locality (Wu, 2014). The Constitution grants the minority rights of using their vernacular languages that are commonly used in their inhabited areas. To guarantee the use of ethnic minority language, the *Regional National Autonomy Law* (RNAL) adopted in 1984 and revised in 2001 states an institutional arrangement to protect the specific language rights, but it cannot provide procedural implementation of these rights and does not foresee how to give effect to these rights (Lundberg, 2009). Both the Constitution and RNAL claim the protection of lawful language rights and preservation of ethnic minority language in the autonomous areas. However, in view of the complicated structure of Chinese polity, adequate measures have not been taken to exhaust the obligations of implementation. If one level of minority government fails to exercise its obligation to use their native language, there is no clarified measure or regulation to ensure this happens.

The use of minority languages in education is another important field for LPP, but the language proficiency has not been achieved as designed. With the promotion of Putonghua in the late 1950s and legalisation of Standard Chinese in the Language Law, LPP for the protection of minority language rights was negotiated to develop multilingualism and bilingualism to foster harmonious relations between Han majority and ethnic minorities (Postiglione & Jiao, 2009; Wang & Phillion, 2009b). Multilingualism and bilingualism are employed in education to promote Putonghua and simultaneously maintain the use of minority language. The multilingual education in China typically refers to the development of three important languages in education, including Standard Chinese (Putonghua), an additional foreign language (mainly English) and an ethnic minority language (mother language for minorities) (G. Wang, 2015). This means a minority student has to learn one language more than a Han student in the context of multilingual education. Besides the challenges of English learning for all students, not all ethnic minorities have the same stance to conduct bilingualism (Putonghua and ethnic minority language) in their minority communities. Wang and Phillion (2009b) addressed some important factors hindering LPP in bilingual education in autonomous regions, such as the predominant impact of Standard Chinese, poverty of minority communities, lack of funds and bilingual teachers in the schools, and some misunderstanding of the state schools. Because of these factors, the balance between the majority language and minority language is hard to be kept when LPP is implemented in the minority community. The minority community

is more likely to face the challenge of favouring Standard Chinese in education practice. Taking Naxi language as an example, Wang, et al. (2012) have provided an account of how a Naxi girl in Shuhe town, seven kilometres north of LAT enrolled in a university in Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, but she struggled with the curriculum which was mainly designed for Han students. The researchers found that the girl felt stressed by the “medium of instruction, failure in the examination and identity conflicts” (p 260). Her struggles reflect the inequality in language usage between Mandarin Chinese and minority languages, which constitutes a big challenge for minority individuals. The practice of LPP for ethnic minorities could not support an individual to achieve the same educational success as a Han majority.

Although there are many *minzu* universities and institutions in China, they have not undertaken the responsibility as the main channel of promoting ethnic languages. Ethnic minority higher education institutions (HEIs) in China have been established since the 1950s and there were 17 national HEIs outside the ethnic minority areas and 192 HEIs within the five ethnic autonomous regions before 2016 (Xiong et al., 2016, p. 459). By 2020, there were 255 HEIs in China, covering polytechnic institutions and comprehensive universities (Xiong & Jacob, 2020). These higher education institutions aimed to cultivate both ethnic minority students and Han students who would work as civil servants in ethnic autonomous prefectures, but the system of curriculum and examination in these institutions highlight the proficiency in Mandarin Chinese and English (Xiong et al., 2016). In practice, these institutions have diverged from their initial motivation of cultivating cadres for ethnic areas but tend to be similar to other regular higher education institutions to provide popular and attractive courses. Besides the promotion of education policy and appealing to globalisation, the higher education institutions usually consider the job opportunities and economic benefits that a language can bring to a student, for which most ethnic minority languages play a very weak or declining role. Even when the ethnic minority language and culture has been established in ethnic universities, for example, a Naxi major was set up in Yunnan Minzu University in 2002, most graduates cannot find rewarding job opportunities (Yang, 2012). Such circumstances lead to a big issue of higher education for ethnic minorities, that is, it cannot help ethnic students “form a proper perception and pride in their native culture and languages” (Xiong et al., 2016, p. 466). The students cannot establish their dignity in the learning of their indigenous languages in such circumstances and then lose the motivation of learning the native languages.

In addition, the implementation of multilingualism and bilingualism in different minority communities is uneven. In other words, not all the minority communities have the same

opportunity to share the rights provided by LPP. In the regions, where ethnic minorities have their mature written scripts such as Mongolian, Korean, Tibetan, Uyghur and Kazak, the minority languages have been used as instruction languages for school subjects (Ha & Teng, 2001). To guarantee this special entry, the minority government of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, for example, has taken specific measures to develop Mongolian language, particularly since the 1980s, such as recognising Mongolian usage in the sectors of education, economy, administration, and media, and sponsoring some organisations to promote the use of Mongolian (Minglang Zhou, 2004). But in the fifty-five ethnic minorities, about twenty minorities had no written scripts before the founding of PRC and many of them live in either isolated areas or inside a large minority region. Even the Zhuang with the largest Zhuang language speakers in China, had no functional written scripts (Feng & Adamson, 2018; Zhou, 2000). These ethnic communities cannot implement their native language rights as depicted in the Constitutions and RNAL. The minority children who are brought up in the new schooling context will have difficulties in their studies, if they still stick to their vernacular language and do not turn to speak Standard Chinese.

Even for the ethnic minority languages with written scripts, some of them are not fully used in community and in education. For example, while Tibet is well-known for its unique culture and special nature of Tibetan language, belief systems and thinking, the language is only used in more remote Tibetan-concentrated and less urbanised communities despite the fact that over 90% of population in this autonomous region is Tibetan (Maocao Zhou, 2004). The Tibetan-concentrated communities, where there is a high percentage of Tibetans living alongside other ethnic groups, Tibetan is generally spoken by most of the people in that community. These communities are Tibetan-dominant, but they are less urbanised and usually not in the modernised cities. Although the autonomous governments have promulgated and enforced local laws and regulations to develop the Tibetan language, Maocao Zhou (2004) found that these cannot be fully implemented because standard Chinese-speaking teachers had more opportunities for employment than vernacular Tibetan speakers to teach in secondary schools and universities in Tibet. In these schools, the teachers employ Standard Chinese as the language of instruction, which leaves little space for the Tibetan language to be practised. For ethnic minority learners, the dilemma is whether they should adopt the curriculum set in Standard Chinese or preserve their vernacular mother language (G. Wang, 2015). In addition, as the main decision-maker, parents usually send their children to the schools where the standard Chinese is used as an instruction language, in response to its higher prestige in the

society (Zhang & Pérez-Milans, 2019) and their desire for the children to have a good grounding in the dominant language. The parents make the choice of language use aligned with their own experiences, in which Standard Chinese and Putonghua have been widely used. Thus, the use of standard Chinese in schools shapes the logic of language speaking in the young generation in Tibet.

As for Naxi language, it has its own writing scripts, and its language usage has been developed based on national policy and the consideration of tourism development in the area that Naxi people reside. Historically, Naxi society manifested many legends in its customs, language, religion, and people's openness to the other ethnics (Section 2.3). Since the founding of PRC, the Naxi has been renowned for appropriating "the politics of the socialist Chinese state in playing out power struggles within their own society" (White, 1998, p. 12). The Naxi strongly implemented the policy and plan made by the central government and even actively strengthened the state power via promoting the Ancient Town as a lucrative tourism destination and model of tourism development. Responses to the national ethnic language policy have been released mainly by two levels of local governments: Yunnan Provincial Government and Lijiang People's Government. The two levels of governments adopted legislative support for the Naxi language as one of the Naxi cultural resources to maintain the status of World Heritage site of LAT and to respond to the designation of the central government (Yang, 2012). However, the uptake of the policy by the local government goes in a different direction. The local government is only involved with Naxi language in the task of promoting tourism growth rather than aids use as a language for communication. Zhang and Ma (2012, p. 716) revealed that the Naxi language was used as a 'language show' to satisfy its commercial appropriation, which has sped up language loss rather than protection. Xiaobo Su (2010) also found that local government reiterated the significance of economic development and, in 2003, realised it through new plans to engage outsider's investments with little consultation from the town residents. When the town was propelled to a lucrative strategy for economic development, the cultural resource of the Naxi language as a *lingua franca* was disrupted. Thus, even though the Naxi has an ancient pictographic script deriving from its history, the scripts have not been well developed through time. This is inextricably linked to both the function of the language and outside impact, particularly local government responses to the state minority policies.

In sum, ethnic minorities in China face two important challenges regarding LPP. The predominance of Standard Chinese (Putonghua in oral) has been strongly supported by LPP and representation of ethnic language has been largely weakened or appropriated in ethnic areas.

In this way, ethnic minority languages remain marginal in the society dominated by Standard Chinese and Putonghua.

2.5 Tourism growth and changes in LAT with the UNESCO heritage status

Tourism has provided a complicated field and context for studies from its relationship with the discourses of political economy, social development, and sustainability (Bianchi, 2018; Liu, 2003; Streimikiene et al., 2021; Su et al., 2021; Xiao & Dai, 2020). In the discipline of economy, it has been acknowledged as one of the important driving factors and a vital impact on the global and local economic development. In 2016, global tourism imparted USD 7.6 trillion and generated 10.2% of the global GDP (Arshad et al., 2018). While in 2018, this industry accounted for 10.4% of the world's GDP, growing by 3.9% in the past eight consecutive years and 0.8% higher than that of the global economy (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2020) (Streimikiene et al., 2021). The tourism industry, up until the intervention of the global pandemic 2020, has operated at a higher rate than the world economy on average and has created considerable gains. It is also a multidimensional activity with influence on social development. Since the end of World War II, it has given rise to numerous benefits for governments, regions, community, and individuals via attracting investments, providing employment opportunities and currency flows (such as overseas revenue and income increase), social welfare improvement and infrastructural development (Su et al., 2021). Tourism has brought benefits to all levels of stakeholders, whether private or public sector. In addition to direct employment opportunities and income for private entrepreneurs and employees, local government also gains funds to improve social welfare and infrastructure in their respective destinations and surrounding sites. However, with the increased prosperity, both policymakers and researchers, even if seeking to foster sustainable tourism, have had to confront challenges, such as over dependence on tourism (as seen in some European countries (Smeral, 1998)), lack of persistent policy to support the tourism development (Arshad et al., 2018), high turnover of employees in this industry (Aynalem et al., 2016) and environmental problems resulted from tourism (Streimikiene et al., 2021). Sustainable development, as an objective of tourism, is engaged with to understand and sort out the negative effects of tourism. It takes the economic targets, political context, social needs, and environmental capability into consideration. Besides looking to the destination satisfaction of tourists, sustainable tourism highlights the conservation of resources and the support of their ecological systems (Liu, 2003). In modern tourism, protection of cultural resources and environmental vitality is a vital issue in the sustainable development of tourism.

The sustainable development of ethnic tourism comprises another important background for the investigation on LAT and Naxi language. The title of World Heritage site designated by UNESCO and the following changes led by the fast growth of ethnic tourism also contribute a significant role in the rapid alteration to the cultural context of Naxi language in recent decades.

2.5.1 Ethnic tourism issues globally and in China

The understanding of ethnic tourism has been enhanced through studies of the motivations of tourists and of the settings in which ethnic tourism occurs. The most popular motivation for ethnic tourists is the seeking of ‘exotic’ culture, which provides tourists with experiences and interactions with ethnic communities that are different from their own (Neilson, 2016; Wood, 1984; Yang, 2013). The unique culture and cultural assets of ethnic communities constitute the crucial attraction to ethnic tourists, and includes different styles of buildings, costumes, traditional rituals, performances, and the availability of ethnic products as well as the experience of people speaking another language.

In terms of the confusion between ethnic tourism and cultural tourism, Wood (1984) focuses ethnic tourism on a specific “living” out of “cultural identity”, in which a tourist expects to acquire a unique experience of an ethnic minority (p.361), while cultural tourism highlights more static cultural attractions. For example, the cultural tourism in Europe, was described by Richards (2001) as tourism attracted by monuments and museums, which comprises the largest section of cultural attraction in Europe in the late 1990s.

A distinct reference to ethnic tourism was suggested by King (1994) to link it with migrant’s travel experiences of ethnic reunion where they seek to trace their ancestry in the ‘Old World’. The motivation of this ethnic tourism is to search for family history and ancestors’ culture, but, as they are distinctive from their current culture the heritage culture can be classified as exotic.

It is not easy to define ethnic tourism given that it exists in many different settings. For example, for people living in urban areas the idea of ‘the rural’ can be exotic. Sasu and Epuran (2016) found there was no clear-cut definition but noted that rural areas shared common ground in their focus on rural life and culture of local people. Regarding the tourism in LAT, which was once a small town surrounded by typical rural life, the rural aspects have been largely erased and urban life is blended with modernity, however, Naxi traditional culture is used as a tourist drawcard that fits definitions of ethnic tourism.

Ethnic tourism has been explored from various aspects, including the contribution of ethnic tourism to poverty reduction/alleviation and economic development (Abd Halim, 2014; Bauer, 2017; Phommavong & Sörensson, 2014), note the relationship or interaction between indigenous people and powerful stakeholders in the modernity as discussed by (Su et al., 2016; L. Yang, 2011), and also note the discourse of authenticity and conservation of ethnic culture in the tourism discussed by (Boonzaaier & Wels, 2018; Weiler & Gutschow, 2016).

The linkage between ethnic tourism and poverty alleviation has been identified in many countries, such as Malaysia (Abd Halim, 2014), Pakistan (Arshad et al., 2018) and Rwanda (Zajadacz & Uwamahoro, 2022). Although ethnic tourism has been widely acknowledged as a vital element to drop the poverty rate, new challenges and limitations of ethnic tourism have emerged, particularly whose low skilled nature hinders the inclusive development of the destination. For example, in Rwanda, the government found it hard to create new job opportunities for the educated young people in tourism destinations (Zajadacz & Uwamahoro, 2022) and in Thailand, compared to females, males are more likely to gain lower income in household services compared with females (Ishii, 2012).

Poverty alleviation in China, however, was not directly linked with ethnic tourism when the concept emerged. It started with China's development goal of "common prosperity" and pointed to the income imbalance "between cities and the countryside, between regions, and between different social groups" (Yan, 2016, p. 39). Moreover, in the models and patterns used in poverty alleviation summarised by Yan (2016) and Montalvo and Ravallion (2010), the direct connection between poverty alleviation and ethnic tourism was not evident, such as poverty alleviation through financial aid, microfinance, industrial development, education, science and technology, migration and so on. Nevertheless, tourism, including ethnic tourism, has made a significant contribution to the development of the national economy and quality of people's life in China, particularly from the 1990s (Huang & Chen, 2020).

When ethnic tourism is put in the context of China's modernity, two higher learning subjects and lines of research inquiry emerge: power relations and the question of the authenticity of ethnic culture. Although exotic culture acts as the core motivation for ethnic tourists, ethnic communities, who create and develop the exotic culture, have not been accorded priority in studies of the power relations in ethnic tourism (Su et al., 2016). The culture in ethnic tourism is generally represented by the perspectives of powerful stakeholders, including governments and destination managers rather than destination employees (L. Yang, 2011). Although the

exotic culture originating from ethnic communities is a crucial factor that appeals to tourists, it is now planned and controlled by governments and destination managers or entrepreneurs. The designed culture usually displays or restores the 'past' and 'less developed' activities, images, or customs of native people in an attempt to attract tourists, but only those falls within what are acceptable perceptions of tourists (Petroman et al., 2011; L. Yang, 2011, p. 563). While they reflect the exotic 'past' history of indigenous people, they do not showcase their modern living situations. The restoration of exotic culture is like a performance, in which the government is a director, the destination manager is a supervisor, the employees (mainly from ethnic communities) are performers, and tourists are the audience. Although ethnic communities should have been given greater priority in the performance, they have little say in the designed performance. Their performance passively becomes a kind of product propelled by government and entrepreneurs for tourists to consume.

When an ethnic community is controlled and supervised, the culture presented in ethnic tourism is not likely to comprehensively reflect their authentic life, customs, and values. More likely it has been modified and packaged to cater to the taste of tourists. For example, although ethnic tourism is expected to play a role in conservation and revitalisation of ethnic languages, language commoditisation, as a consequence of ethnic tourism, has emerged. Yang (2012, p. 27) noted that an ethnic language became "a marketplace skill, a tourism resource and an irreplaceable resource" in ethnic tourism. When ethnic tourism is inscribed in an ethnic minority destination, the language commonly used in this area is heavily involved in the tasks relating to tourism skills and resources. The language is employed to promote tourism projects, performances, and commodities rather than the daily communication that happens within the community.

Despite the challenges that ethnic tourism has to confront and problems that occur in ethnic tourism, it has great power in the benefits it may bring to the community. Besides poverty alleviation, job opportunity and rewards from house rental that are similar to the advantages brought by general tourism, Geng et al. (2017) identified the positive impact of ethnic tourism on the conservation of Naxi religious and ritual culture, which encompassed a strategy for the Naxi to expand their religious influence and increase the cultural confidence of the younger generation. Many Naxi young people looked down on their Dongba culture as backward and feudal superstition, but the attraction of religious practices to tourists provides an important motivation to young people to become involved in their indigenous traditions and values.

Within these identified weaknesses and strengths, the ethnic tourism that happens in LAT and relates to Naxi language, also has its own specific characteristics and conditions, particularly including its world heritage status and its distinctively fast growth of ethnic tourism.

2.5.2 UNESCO heritage status and changes brought by ethnic tourism in LAT

The heritage status of LAT since 1997 has prompted fast development of tourism in and around the town. Regulations and articulation of LAT by UNESCO, and changes that have occurred in the town in recent decades, comprise another important background for investigations on the town and the Naxi language.

As mentioned earlier, LAT was inscribed as a World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO for its traditional culture and ancient street landscapes in 1997. The quality of LAT evaluated by UNESCO experts was that:

Lijiang is an historic town of considerable interest by virtue of its sitting in relationship to the natural features of the region and its blend of indigenous Naxi and external forms of architecture and design. (ICOMOS, 1997)

Academics and experts identified the town as a World Heritage site for two important points. First, Naxi traditional culture, and second, the streetscape and natural landscape of LAT. However, the title of World Heritage site inscribed by UNESCO, such as that given LAT not only means it is regarded as culturally valuable, but also warns it is vulnerable (Alberts & Hazen, 2010) and requires protecting. However, although the protection zone for LAT and nearby architectures, such as Yuquan architectural structures, were designated in 1997 as World Heritage sites (ICOMOS, 1997), the boundaries of these areas were not formally and completely described and were required to be further examined by UNESCO (ICOMOS, 2012). The clarification of boundaries in these areas reflects the awareness of threats to the values of this world heritage site. UNESCO hoped to help control these threats through specific delineation of the boundaries of this cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 2012).

Ethnic tourism growth in LAT, after being classified as a World Heritage site, has resulted in a number of changes in the town including the commercialisation of Naxi culture, environmental pressures, and migration (local people moving out and Han Chinese moving in). To highlight the growth of tourism in LAT, the example of traveller accommodation is useful. As a commercial and transportation centre on the border of three important provinces (Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet), LAT has a long history of running inns. Zong (2002) reported in her study

that, from the 1920s to 1940s, there were about 30 inns in different villages in and around LAT, offering accommodation mainly for cart drivers, who transported goods from one place to another with their own vehicles. In the 1950s, the 34 inns were incorporated into a state-owned one and by 1998, there appeared to be 11 inns, including 175 rooms and 421 beds (Zong, 2002, p. 63). However, from 2001 to 2003, the number of hotels increased from 66 to 135, offering nearly 10,000 beds (Zong, 2002, p. 64; 2005, p. 33). At the same time, the annual number of visitors rose sharply from 3.1 million in 2002 (Zong, 2005, p. 31) to 9.09 million in 2011, and to 35.20 million in 2016 (Lijiang, 2017; W. Zhao, 2016) (Table 2). Tourism facilitated the creation of jobs and increased income with visitors interested in the ‘exotic’ culture, including consumption of cultural products, cultural performances, and accommodation in traditional houses (Li et al., 2008). Statistics given by the Committee of Tourism Development of Lijiang City (CTDLC) show that the number of visitors in 2016 increased by 6.6 times and income increased by 10 times those of 2007 (Lijiang, 2017) (Table 2).

Table 2 Statistics given by CTDLC (2017)

	2007	2010	2012	2014	2016
Total visitors (million)	5.31	9.09	15.99	26.64	35.20
Domestic visitors (million)	4.91	8.49	15.14	25.56	34.04
International visitors (million)	0.40	0.61	0.85	1.08	1.16
Tourism income (billion)	5.82	11.25	21.12	37.88	60.88

(Source: <http://www.ljta.gov.cn/html/infor/tongjixinxi/14523.html>)

As a consequence of this increase in tourists, the functions and features of the town have changed. Most of the original residential houses have been turned into shops, bars, hotels, and restaurants. Souvenir shops, modern bars and restaurants have taken the place of original vegetable booths, small grocery shops and warehouse stores (W. Zhao, 2016). In past times, booths and grocery shops were used to provide services for residents, while the current modern

shops, bars and restaurants are focused on the demand from tourists. During my field visits, I observed that ancient gardens have been replaced by toilets and kitchens, and walls of traditional buildings have had modern devices installed, such as air-conditioners and security cameras.

Many of the indigenous Naxi people who lived in LAT have migrated out of the town. W. Zhao (2016, p. 111) recorded that, before 1996, there were over 30,000 original inhabitants in the town and one third of them were Naxi, but in 2009, the number had declined to less than 5000 and by 2013, only 2000 were left. Moreover, most of those remaining are elderly. The departure of the original people from the town means not only the loss of indigenous Naxi people and culture in the town, but also the ‘invasion’ of business people, tourists and ‘outside culture’, who have different requirements and expectations than the original inhabitants. The newcomers and tourists have changed the lifestyle in LAT. For example, the local residents used to sit around and chat quietly in their leisure time (Mueggler, 1991), but this has been changed by the crowds of visitors, walking and taking photos everywhere. There has also been building and rebuilding by business people to support tourism development.

2.5.3 Tourism framework and policy relating to LAT

The sudden rise in tourism and astonishing growth of LAT after being designated a world heritage site has aroused the curiosity of many scholars (Gui & Cun, 2016; Li & Zhang, 2010a; Xing et al., 2012; Zhang, 2007). The question of why LAT and its surrounding towns have developed so fast, and the consequences of such development have been debated in the tourism sector (Yamamura, 2005; X. Yang, 2018). Two factors are notable in this respect: one is the combination of factors that frame LAT tourism, including tangible heritage culture, intangible heritage culture, natural environment tourism, and leisure or romance tourism; The other is the policy framework that supports its development. The two factors couple with each other to create impetus for the fast growth of LAT tourism.

The rich Naxi heritage culture, particularly the physical appearance of LAT, constitutes the important tangible culture in the town and appeals to international and domestic tourists. The evaluation of LAT as a World Heritage site was first based on its tangible culture according to the criteria of heritage nomination by UNESCO. When it was included in the list in 1997, Lijiang was described as:

an old town in which the town plan, the pattern of domestic housing, the building materials, the artistic decoration, and the protection of the environment are well

preserved. The street pattern and water system remain unchanged. The stone pavements, bridges, and the Sifang market square are all preserved. Houses have been rehabilitated and rebuilt using traditional techniques and materials. (ICOMOS, 1996, p. 121)

The well-preserved appearance of LAT, including the Naxi vernacular streetscape, water system, bridges, residential buildings, decorations, and materials, as well as the careful reconstruction following the 1996 earthquake, has contributed to its prominence as a World Heritage site (Shao, 2017). However, with this designation, an influx of inbound and domestic tourists brought new imaginaries and expectations to the physical appearance of LAT and accelerated dramatic changes to the image of the town (Zhu, 2012b). As discussed in Section 2.5.2 and as also described by Zhu (2012b) and Shao (2017), the old town was transformed from a traditional trade centre into a modern, commercialised tourist destination, with ancient streets now being full of souvenirs shops, guesthouses, modern hotels, restaurants, and bars. Although the original residents cherished and valued their old townscape, they were usually excluded from the decision-making procedures of their heritage conservation, and, in the programming and execution of heritage management, their interests were not well consulted and reflected (Li et al., 2021). These management decisions, without the involvement of Naxi original residents, have not only tended to produce a less authentic cultural representation of Naxi, but have also underpinned the gradual exodus of Naxi from the town centre to the suburbs and the leasing out of premises to incomers.

The exodus of Naxi and the general exclusion from decision-making has also impacted the intangible heritage culture in LAT, which relates particularly to Dongba religion and Naxi traditions, such as religious rituals, arts, scripts, and Naxi food, dance, and songs. Yamamura (2005), for example, found that the conservation and succession of intangible heritage culture, such as, Dongba arts, were not able to be carried out effectively by Naxi residents in LAT, due to lack of accurate information being transferred into the arts and lack of sufficient capital to support the protection of language and cultural products. This has resulted in the retreat of indigenous Naxi from the business of Dongba arts, and their replacement by Han immigrant business people and their commercialisation of this heritage culture. In addition, there have been significant impacts on the intangible heritage of Dongba script (*Dongbawen* 东巴文). This script, which is widely used on public signs and private business signs throughout the town, is now only read or used by a very few people. Poupard (2019) has recently suggested the possibility of its real usage in modernity and made a case for its revitalisation. However, in

the empirical study on the Dongba scripts in the Linguistic Landscapes in LAT and its surrounding towns made by Xu and Ren (2015) and in my own research, it appears that the Dongba scripts have lost much of their original function, and are simply employed as commercialised symbols in the tourism industry. As my research also suggests there is a need for greater awareness of the potential extinction of these intangible heritage cultures.

A third tourism aspect in Lijiang is the natural environment, which is not only visually spectacular but enhances the mythic qualities of Naxi culture in this area. Situated in a subtropical zone and in a valley, LAT and its surrounding area is well-known for the natural environment, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and forest (Section 2.3.1) and “enormous diversity of plants and animals” due to “extreme altitudinal variation” (McKhann, 2017, p. 385). However, the surge of ethnic tourism in LAT has threatened the sustainable development of the natural environment both in the town and in the surrounding areas. As young people have moved from farming and more traditional ways of life, some have lost access to their traditional values of respect toward their nature (Voeller, 2011). Cui et al. (2011) also found that the urbanisation promoted by tourism development of the old town has had negative impacts on its natural environment, water resource development and the lives of Naxi. Before the fast growth of tourism, Dongba, the religious practitioners and specialists of Naxi culture, facilitated and mediated the “interpenetration/ inseparability of nature and culture” that meant “Naxi associate natural geographical features ...with a variety of supernatural forces” (McKhann, 2017, p. 383). Now, however, many Dongba have their responsibility expanded and stretched to act in roles that serve the interests of tourists. Few tourists really understand and believe in the connection between nature and culture as it is identified and understood by Naxi, and the invasion of modernity has weakened and destroyed the traditional relationships between Naxi, their Dongba and the Dongba’s role as mediator between nature and culture. Thus, Naxi, particularly young people, no longer respect Dongba and what they advocate, in relation to nature and supernatural forces, which are regarded as having a crucial role in protecting the ecological environment in LAT and its surrounding areas. While there was not space in my research to explore this aspect more fully, it remains an important question that deserves further interdisciplinary research.

Lijiang, centred by LAT, is famous for its heritage tourism and Naxi indigenous culture, but it also has the nickname of being ‘Capital of Yanyu’. Many of the travellers who visit LAT may have heard of the name from online advertisements or their friends, and some may have been

motivated to travel to Lijiang primarily for the experience of leisure and romance. Xu and Ye (2018, p. 132) provided an explanation for the Chinese word ‘Yanyu’:

Yanyu is an ambiguous word associated with sexual interactions and relationships, usually presenting negative meanings in China’s normal social context.

Yanyu is a generally negative or even taboo word in Chinese traditional culture, as it refers to an unexpected, unwanted, or sudden interaction between a man and a woman. Recent scholars have noticed the importance of this peripheral brand for Lijiang and interpreted this ambiguous term from various perspectives, such as its connection with musical culture, escape from hectic cities and desire for romantic nightlife (Xiaobo Su, 2010; Zhuang et al., 2020). The town offers travellers romantic experiences that are different from those they might experience in big cities. Xu and Ye (2018) attribute this branding to the collaboration of various stakeholders and agents, who have collectively created an ambiguous, romantic, and relaxing atmosphere built on the customs of ‘walking marriage’ and folktales of suicide for love in exotic settings. The exoticisation of Naxi customs and stories enhance the mythical atmosphere of the town. My research did not explore this tourism aspect; however, it may be a further avenue for studies that seek to understand the impacts of tourism on the present-day life of Naxi, their culture and language. Despite the different interpretations, they are similar in purpose, that is, to inspire travellers’ imagination of Lijiang and to attract more travellers.

The four aspects collaboratively structure LAT tourism: they promote the rapid growth and change both in the old town and in surrounding urban and rural areas, and they are basically initiated and dominated by a wide range of relevant policies.

Policy development has played a pivotal role in structuring LAT tourism. In addition to the documents relevant to LAT issued by UNESCO and policy promulgated by Chinese Central Government (above in Chapter 2), two further layers of associated laws and regulations are enacted: policies issued by Yunnan Provincial Government and Lijiang Municipal Government (Section 4.4.3 and Section 6.1.1). These laws and regulations underpin the planning of urban development and change, such as *General planning of Naxi Autonomous County of Lijiang* (1983), *Protection planning for Lijiang historic and cultural city* (1991), but also extend to administration and management regulations, for example, *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City* (2016), and regulations on protection, such as *Regulations on the Protection and Management of the Famous Historical and Cultural City of Lijiang, Yunnan Province* (1994), *Regulations on Protection of Naxi Dongba Scripts* (2005), *Regulations on the*

Protection of Naxi Dongba Culture in Yunnan Province (2005), and *Regulations on the Protection of the LAT in Yunnan Province* (2006).

However, with regard to these laws and regulations, two factors need to be considered: one is their impact and assessment; the other is the participation of Naxi original residents. Xing et al. (2012, p. 49) recommended a model of three components to evaluate the protection of cultural heritage tourism in LAT, including “support, and participation and balance”. Xing et al. (2012) argues that care is required to keep the balance between economic growth, environmental protection, and social development. It is more important to engage the genuine participation of Naxi original residents to collect public perspectives for heritage maintenance and conservation, and weaken the predominant power wielded by the local decision-makers in the execution of policy (Li et al., 2021).

In the process of heritage protection, the ideas and suggestions from the original residents are often neglected or misunderstood and the decision-making tends to be controlled by the local authorities and ‘think tanks’, who are the real planners, designers, and executors. To maintain the sustainable development of Naxi heritage in LAT, it is crucial to engage the genuine participation of Naxi residents and keep their say in policymaking.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, after an overview of Chinese ethnic minorities and languages, I focused on ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province, and provided a description of Naxi language and culture, and its relationship to the LAT. The place making of LAT, since becoming a UNESCO World Heritage site, constitutes the physical and social context where I investigate the vitality of the language. I also focused on relevant policies made by the Chinese government and local governments towards ethnic minorities and languages to help better understand the research context where place making of LAT takes place. Then, I discussed broad changes that have occurred in LAT since becoming a UNESCO World Heritage site. Finally, in this chapter I also provided a tourism structure that framing the LAT ethnic tourism and relevant tourism policy in LAT. This chapter offers a backdrop for investigating the vitality of the Naxi language. The next chapter will shift the focus to the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter 3 Constructing the theoretical framework

In this chapter, I present an interdisciplinary theoretical framework as a scaffolding for the later analysis. Three broad aspects are discussed: linguistic anthropology (a foundation for thinking about language vitality, endangerment, and visibility), place making, and place-belongingness. Linguistic anthropology (Duranti, 1997) underpins my thinking about language visibility, while language vitality and language endangerment provide a conceptual lens for me to consider the Naxi language within an ethnolinguistic context, and specific social, cultural, and place-based circumstances. Language visibility, the presence of Naxi language on public signage, supports identifying the presence of the Naxi language within LAT and in later chapters I use data from the linguistic landscape to question Naxi speakers' attitudes to their language, as well as to interpret the value of Naxi text on public signage. As an essential part of urban design, place making is employed to focus on the changes that have occurred to the activities, images, and forms (Montgomery, 1998) of LAT after it became a World Heritage site. Finally, place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010), provides a framework for thinking about the connections of people, language, culture, and place. The three aspects will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1 Linguistic anthropology

Linguistic anthropology lays a foundation for considering language vitality, endangerment and language visibility from a cultural perspective and language use. According to Duranti (1997), linguistic anthropology is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry, drawing from the disciplines of linguistics and anthropology. As a subfield of anthropology, it was defined by Hymes (1963) as the study of language and speech and was related, by Duranti (1997), to “a cultural resource” and “a cultural practice” (p.2). Both Hymes and Duranti guide and remind us to think about a language in its relationship to context and culture. This is a useful way to think about the vitality and visibility of Naxi language in its local context and in light of cultural and other changes as discussed in the previous chapter.

In terms of language use and as described by Duranti (1997):

Through language use we also enter an interactional space that has been partly already shaped for us, a world in which some distinctions seem to matter more than others and a world where every choice we make is partly contingent on what has happened before and contributes to the definition of what will happen next (p. 5).

The interactional space in this description is where different languages meet and affect each other under the influence of social change. In this space, the vitality of a language depends on “what happened before” and “what will happen next” (Duranti, 1997, p. 5). In the case of the Naxi language, it has existed in LAT for about 1000 years (as noted in Chapter 2). With a long history, the language has historically been used as the main communicative tool in this interactional area. However, in the past 20 years, Mandarin has become the dominant language in LAT. This has changed the dominant role of the Naxi language in LAT and is arguably playing a role in determining its current and future status. The presence of other languages and people of various cultures are interrupting the everyday usage of Naxi language and culture in LAT. During my first scoping visit to LAT, a local teacher of Naxi language explained that all conversations about “television” and “mobile phones” are communicated in the words and tone of Mandarin Chinese. Furthermore, related to Naxi cultural presence in LAT, it is easy to buy an African drum in the town but not so easy to purchase Naxi traditional clothes. While the buildings and streets are owned by Naxi people and local government, these spaces have been occupied and crowded with business people, tourists and commodities from other cultures. From my scoping trips, it was also evident that the Naxi language could not be understood by many people in this interactional space (as noted in Chapter 2) and it is not easy to sustain the language given that many Naxi people have dispersed to the newly-built districts and towns. What does this interactional space mean for the Naxi people, where their language has been spoken for about 1000 years, but its usage has declined after the commercial and social changes in the past decades? Through my research, I hope to explore the potential of language use by means of linguistic anthropology, and the connections and relationships between language use with speakers’ interactions, place and culture.

3.1.1 Language vitality and language endangerment

The topic of language vitality and language endangerment is complex and discussed in ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, and indigenous studies, as well as in other academic spaces such as cultural geography and anthropology. Starting with the concept of ethnolinguistic (language) vitality, this section explores factors influencing language vitality and endangerment, and studies on language preservation, maintenance, and revitalization. In China, most academics have shown interest in analysing the causes and effects of language endangerment, the achievements that the Chinese government has made in language preservation, and the gaps between minority policies and practices. I take language vitality and language endangerment

as part of linguistic anthropology to consider the survival of Naxi language after LAT became a world heritage town and has undergone significant social and economic changes.

When language vitality was conceptualised, it was named as ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) and defined as “a group [of language speakers] likely to behave as a distinctive, active and collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308). EV aims to present the power of an ethnolinguistic group in multilingual settings, in which one group’s economic and social power (and therefore influence over everyday life, education, and business) may be stronger than another (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984). It was proposed that the more powerful an ethnolinguistic group was, the more likely it would survive in such settings. The general trend in majority/minority contexts is that the minority language speakers are assimilated by the dominant language, and this causes language shifts, followed by the decline of ethnolinguistic minority groups. EV lays a basis for understanding an ethnic language in diverse communication settings and is closely related to language maintenance and revitalisation.

3.1.1.1 Evaluation of language vitality and endangerment

Many studies on language protection and maintenance begin with the evaluation of minority language vitality (Crawford, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1992; UNESCO, 2003b). To evaluate the vitality of a language requires knowing its situation in bilingual or multilingual settings and the ways it is promoted in language planning, language policy and the relative measures taken to protect it against endangerment. The evaluative factors include such things as the number of the minority language population at different ages, intergenerational transmission, and the number of language speakers relative to the whole population. As claimed by Krauss (1992), if a language is not used by children as their mother tongue in their life, it is endangered and likely to become extinct unless measures are taken to dramatically revitalise it. Therefore, statistics on children who are learning a minority language are usually regarded as an important factor in assessing language vitality. A more specific framework for evaluating language vitality was developed by UNESCO (2003b), in which six factors have been identified. They are:

- (i) the degree of language transmission across generations,
- (ii) the total number of speakers,
- (iii) the percentage of speakers relative to the whole population,
- (iv) the tendency of language development toward the current or dominant language domains,

- (v) the influence of new language domains such as new media platforms,
- (vi) the language being used for education.

Among these, the first factor is regarded as the most useful one (see Table 3), which indicates whether or not a language is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman, 1991). Although this framework is comprehensive, it is hard to arrive at an accurate statistical picture as many statistics do not exist or are difficult to find. Nevertheless, the first factor offers a good way for understanding the vitality of a minority language.

Table 3 Degree of intergenerational language transmission

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational language transmission
Safe	The language is spoken by all generations, without any sign of threat from other languages.
Stable yet threatened	The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations, but one or more dominant languages have taken over in certain contexts.
Unsafe	Most but not all children or families speak their language.
Definitively endangered	The language is not being learned and responded to by the children at home.
Severely endangered	The language is only spoken by the grandparent generation.
Critically endangered	The older people only remember part of the language, but do not use it.
Extinct	No one can speak or remember the language.

Source: (UNESCO, 2003b, p. 8)

For my study, defining the situation of Naxi Language in terms of intergenerational transmission seemed to be one way to understand the degree of endangerment and what has been happening to the language with so many changes in LAT. However, rather than taking a statistical approach, I instead draw on interviews with families across generations. As will be

shown in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, this qualitative approach provides a rich and experiential narrative on intergenerational language transmission.

Factors influencing language vitality determine what should best be done for language protection, maintenance, or revitalization (Barker et al., 2001; Hornberger, 1998; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Rahman, 2006; Wright, 2016). Among these factors, language planning and language policy, education and related curriculum, public attitudes and speakers' values and feelings in relation to a language are important. As discussed in Section 2.3 of this thesis, some government language policies and planning has promoted the status of a dominant language, excluding and assimilating minority languages and cultures (Rahman, 2006; Wright, 2016). In practice, minority languages are usually placed in a less important position by governments, although not always intentionally. A policy in one area might ignore another policy or might be contradictory. Education policy is one way for a government to influence language vitality and "serve as a vehicle" for promoting the vitality of indigenous languages (Hornberger, 1998, p. 439). According to Barker et al. (2001, p. 16), the general use of the dominant language through education "forms a dominant social and language network that leads to discrimination against vulnerable languages". Identity, self-esteem, and academic achievement within the dominant group and through the dominant language is seen as desirable by the general public. Within such contexts, a minority language is deemed as unimportant, tends to be looked down on, and loses its status.

Another important influencing factor is attitudes to language use, which is closely related to social identity and confidence within language groups (Barker et al., 2001). Clément et al. (1994, p. 417) have analysed the factors of "attitude, anxiety and motivation scales" in a relatively independent classroom and concluded that processes of second language learning are connected with achievement, self-confidence and anxiety, and showed no relationship to the physical classroom environment. Both Barker et al. (2001) and Clément et al. (1994) have confirmed the importance of attitudes to language learning. As attitudes are held by individuals and confirmed by shared values held by groups, it is possible for gradual shifts in attitudes and awareness to occur.

As a key to language vitality, language ideology is what shapes a speaker's language choice and specific application in their community. Cameron (2006) describes language ideology as "culturally produced and collective" (p.142) mental ideas, feelings, and beliefs. The ideas, feelings and beliefs shaped by ideology are expressed and understood in a public and social

scale, but also influence private life or specific individuals. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) suggests that language ideology can be simply explained as generally accepted “beliefs about language and language use” (p.2) in a community. Ideology determines collectively held beliefs on language choice, formation, and usage. According to Irvine (2018), Michael Silverstein first used the term ‘language ideology’ in 1979, at which time it was infused with political ideas, explaining how people express, use and understand “the forms, uses and social indexicalities of languages” (p.25). The related issues of a language in a community depend on language policy and language planning to unify the speakers’ use of the language, which are interwoven with political and rationalised ideas.

Friedrich (1989) made important links between political economy, ideology and language vitality and indicated that the influence worked in both directions. He suggested that “political economy may determine ideology” but also that ideology may “determine language”, although there was “much feedback and counter determinations” (p.297). This argument would suggest that the ideology of Naxi language to its speakers would depend as much on the political economy of the local region—who held power, and who made decisions about what the language could be used for and by whom.

Woolard (2005) further discusses the relationship between language ideology and the political economy by employing two opposite yet interdependent “ideological complexes”—“authenticity and anonymity” (p.303). He suggested that the idea of language ideology can be specifically realised as serving the political economy by examining the ideology of authenticity and the ideology of anonymity. When a certain language is deeply rooted in its social and geographical territory and is used to express the community authentically, he suggests the ideology of authenticity underpins the linguistic ideology of the community. In this case, the ideology of authenticity relates to the language value of a specific language community. It emphasises a conscious and planned action to mobilise the language authenticity in a specific territorial community. In contrast, the ideology of anonymity uses a general voice to achieve a view of being from “nowhere”. Woolard’s discussion highlights the unconscious and hidden forces that underpin the workings of language ideology. Based on the requirements of political economy in a community, if a language is planned, regulated, and then brought into use, then, after a period of time it is unconsciously admitted as the standard language of use. This is the influence of the ideology of anonymity. Thus, the ideology of anonymity was used by Woolard (2005) to refer to a dominant language in modern social circumstances. He suggested that an anonymous language could be a common, neutral, and objective public language rather than

attached to any specific social group. The language can be universally open and available to anyone and represent everyone's voice in the society. It is ideologically taken for granted as a standard language for all in the anonymous public, regardless of whether or it is an authentic language for some groups in that wider community.

In order to gain language value, the ideology of authenticity is directed to a group associated with a specific place. For example, almost all the 129 ethnic minority languages in China are identifiably grounded in a geographical territory (as noted in Chapter 1 and 2). Even if the ethnic minority has a large number of language speakers, such as Zhuang in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (GZAR), it is hard to hear the language being spoken outside of its original place (Grey, 2017). An indigenous language is usually grounded in a specific place, where it can express a meaningful life for a community. Without its original community, it is difficult for an ethnic language to play a role. Postiglione and Jiao (2009) describe this in relation to the Tibetan language as it exists in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). From the 1950s to the 1990s, to boost economic development in Tibet, 20% of Tibetan children were sent to the large cities in China to receive post-primary education in the dominant 'anonymous' language of Mandarin Chinese. When they graduated and returned to Tibet, they found their Tibetan language ability was pale compared to that of the young people who had graduated from the local schools. During their relocated schooling in the big cities, their daily practice and development of their own ethnic language had been discontinued. In these big cities, their aboriginal language lost its original value, because it was not embodied in the ideology of the other people who lived there. Their Tibetan language lacked authenticity out of Tibet in China, and their Chinese language lacked authenticity when they returned to Tibet. Their friends, colleagues and family expected them to speak fluent Tibetan—which they could not.

When a language loses its vitality, it becomes endangered. Language endangerment is used to describe the situation of a language that is under threat of extinction but also to alert people to the need to protect and maintain it. Causes of threatened languages are complex and can depend on historical changes, legal policy and planning, economic changes, social forces, education, ethnic discrimination, urbanisation, and commercialisation (Crawford, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Sallabank, 2010; Wurm, 1991). Generally, it is due to changes in a range of circumstances in a society (Fishman, 1991; Wurm, 1991). It is often hard to say which change is the key to a language shifting to becoming endangered or extinct. In order to gain insight into the causes, some academics have described them in terms of external and internal forces. Crawford (2007), for example, describes how the Taino and other languages disappeared in the Americas. For

the external causes, Crawford suggests colonial genocide and the vigorous repression of indigenous languages is a significant contributing factor. He suggests it could also have been a result of language policies on education, publication, mass media and other information in the public domain that mandated the use of English. The internal forces, however, are those that arise within the language community itself. As Crawford (2007) suggests:

Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don't. Elders choose to speak the language on certain important occasions or to insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don't. Tribal leaders choose to promote the tribal language and accommodate its speakers in government functions, social services, and community schools, or they don't. (p. 50)

The language choice of families, elders and leaders constitutes important internal elements of language use in a community. Only the cultural content of a language that has been chosen by group members is likely to be transmitted, but the choice depends on an individual's subjective desire and objective requirements (Schönpflug, 2001). For example, the early "English-only rules" for American Indians was strongly opposed by the indigenous community in the beginning (Crawford, 2007, p. 55). They refused to learn English even when they were required to speak this language. Later the government changed this policy and turned to fund American Indians to speak their tribal tongue in their religious schools, however, many younger people chose to learn English: devaluing their own language and shifting to the dominant language. Ultimately the internal factors led to the situation of English-only speaking areas in most American Indian regions (Crawford, 2007). Until now, most American Indian parents prefer to speak English with their children, because they feel shameful about their indigenous language and regard it as an educational barrier (Crawford, 2007). Thus, it seems that language shift starts from external factors and is determined by the internal choices, especially in relation to pragmatism and materialism (Azurmendi et al., 2001). Compared to the dominant language, a group's minority language may no longer be considered useful, as it is unlikely to support a person to become wealthy and successful.

A shared language is endowed with market value because it can enable market exchanges through language communication (Grin, 2006; Schroedler, 2018). It plays a vital role in the organizing, monitoring, and communicating, whether via face-to-face, through phone lines, or online information interchange. However, Schroedler (2018) suggests that the "value of language" can also be interpreted as language "treasures" or "linguistic wealth". Such wealth

could not be expressed as value directly in economic terms, but, when people going about the everyday lives consider something to be valuable, that value is reflected in their actions (p.11). Language itself is not a saleable good, but without it, the production, management, and exchange of goods, services, and activities cannot be performed. Language value is attached to all language-related work in the society: media, arts, policy, economic exchange, and social communication.

The assumption of linguistic wealth promotes people to strive to learn and use certain languages well, or to increase the numbers of languages they are able to speak. When, for example, language knowledge and competence is increased, this can influence a person's income and wealth. Language competency can determine if a person is a manager or a labourer. From this aspect, we can identify language as a product in work-related competition, position and status. The embodiment of language in a market grounds people's understanding of the value of a language. In this case, the language becomes not only a means of production but also a product. People who possess literacy in a rare language are considered to possess a special technical skill or a work-related competence (Heller, 2005) that not everyone has. The description of a commodity in one language rather than another can affect its sales and is usually rendered to connect with the dominant language value in a market (Grin, 2006). However, sometimes a commodity is advertised in a minority language to signify scarcity or rarity and to increase its value through being identified as unusual or uncommon (Campbell et al., 2009). The dual value of a language (as a means of production and product) in a modern economy makes it possible for its market value to lead the transformation of its linguistic ideology, that is, the language that is needed in the market will be deemed as the ideal language to be learned.

3.1.1.2 Language maintenance, protection, and revitalization

Alarmed by the speed and effects of language extinction on the diversity of world cultures, many linguistics scholars since 1960s have contributed some ideas to the field of language maintenance (Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Woodbury, 1998). Traditional approaches, such as documentation of grammar, vocabulary and expressions is regarded as one way to improve language maintenance (Krauss, 1992). But it is not as effective it might be, as most of the research documentation is only accessed by researchers rather than having any clear effect on policy (Chen et al., 2019, p. 38). Despite the documentation of world languages, the number of languages continue to decline. There are some examples of well-

documented languages that are regarded as “zombie voices” (Perley, 2012, p. 133), that is, even if recordings of the language are listened to, they cannot be understood by anyone. Despite its limitations, language documentation is useful for languages facing extinction as it preserves a historical record of the language.

Educational programs and curricula aimed to preserve vernacular languages have been designed for ethnic minority children at local bilingual or multilingual schools in the USA, and this is considered an effective, widely used approach to language protection and revitalization (Banks, 2006; Gay, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2009). However, migrants who move to big cities for better education or better opportunities do not have access to these well-designed programs. Different from the usual emphasis on using public educational institutes as a platform to preserve endangered languages, Fishman (1991, p. 1) created a home-family-neighbourhood-community model aiming to revitalise the minority language of immigrants in the USA and stressed the importance of home, family, neighbourhood, and community in “reversing language shift” (RSL). This model provides more flexible learning contexts than education programs. But Fishman (1991) also admits that it has not achieved the effect as expected.

Although many scholars have worked on language endangerment and vitality, the extinction of aboriginal languages continues to intensify. Later chapters in this thesis examine some aspects of linguistic vitality of the Naxi language, namely its usage, intergenerational transmission, language ideology and value, and how Naxi individuals feel about their language in their daily life. The latter, as a positive attitude to a person’s own minority language, is critical for language vitality.

3.1.1.3 Language vitality and endangerment in China and Naxi

Studies on ethnic minority languages in China have been conducted by different actors after the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), ranging from government agencies to research institutes and individual scholars. Since the founding of PRC, ethnic problems and conflicts have been a sensitive issue. There are many conflicts and tensions between Han majority and ethnic minorities in the long history of China, in which Han has suppressed most of the minorities, but has also been ruled by minorities for centuries, such as (1206-1368) and by the Manchus during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) (Han, 2013). Under this circumstances, some contestations, such as exclusion and inclusion on ethnics (Baranovitch, 2010) may hurt the minorities and also some complaints from the majority. Thus, the discourse of ethnic issues become a sensitive topic and many Chinese scholars choose to avoid this topic. Therefore,

many academics have preferred to focus on a safe domain in their studies of ethnic language issues, such as description of phonological, grammatical, and semantic structures of ethnic languages and their evolutions (Pu, 2006). However, from the 1990s, academics began to employ empirical research methods to explore the problems of ethnic minority languages and solutions to their language endangerment (Chen & Tan, 2011; Dai & Deng, 2001; Shang & Wang, 2012).

Language vitality is one of the important topics in ethnic language studies in China (Dai & Deng, 2001; Dai, 2014; Ding & Liu, 2007; Shang, 2018; Y. Wang, 2008; Wang & He, 2008). Ding and Liu (2007) investigated the vitality of the Daur language³⁸ in the northeast of China and found that, while it was used safely in the villages, the future situation of the language was less clear because of emigration of local speakers from the villages. Different from Ding and Liu's study on one language at the village level, Y. Wang (2008) focused on the Tu people,³⁹ a larger ethnic minority in northwest of China. He aimed to explore which language was vital in the lives of Tu people and found that most of them were bilingual or multilingual in several ethnic languages, in addition to Mandarin. Dai and Deng (2001, p. 123) were not optimistic about the vitality of ethnic languages and designed a standard to define endangered languages, which is now regarded as a comprehensive "parameters system" in China. Based on the Chinese context, they provided core parameters to define an endangered language. These include that 80% of the ethnic speakers can only listen to their minority language and have shifted to speak a dominant language, and that the average age of minority language speakers is over 40. The evaluative system introduced by Dai and Deng (2001) has been generally accepted by Chinese academics and has laid a foundation for protection of threatened ethnic languages in China. However, despite this, Sun (2005) has claimed that most of the 129 languages in China are endangered. Furthermore, while many endangered languages have been recorded and stored in various institutions and research centres, and can be accessed by linguists, they are not accessible to local and indigenous minority language speakers (Chen et al., 2019). Thus, these languages are now staying silently in the museums rather than living in real, everyday settings.

³⁸ The Daur language is spoken by the Daur people in the northeast of China. It belongs to Mongolic language family, with no written standard. Retrieved from <https://omniglot.com/writing/daur.htm>

³⁹ The Tu people is one of the ethnic minorities with small population. They live in the northwest of China and speak Monguor language, belonging to Mongolic language family. Retrieved from <https://www.chinatravel.com/facts/tu-ethnic-minority.htm>

External causes of language endangerment in China are generally regarded as the promotion of Mandarin throughout the country from the 1950s, the requirement for Mandarin to be used in the national education examination systems; the need for non-minority languages in most employment situations, the (under)development of ethnic regions, and migration to the cities (Gu, 2014; Sun, 2006a; Xiong, 2015). The internal causes are more likely to be personal motivations in schooling and choices in the language of everyday communication (Shang, 2018).

There has been increased attention to the Naxi language since 2003, when it was nominated to UNESCO as part of the “Memory of the World” project (Shang & Hailing, 2012; UNESCO, 2003a; H. Yu, 2007) and it has been studied for its linguistic changes and identity of its speakers (Shang & Hailing, 2012; H. Yu, 2007). However, despite these studies, there has been no academic study connecting the vitality of Naxi language with place-based changes that have occurred in LAT during the current period of rapid development in tourism and commercialisation. As described in the introductory chapter, this study is designed to explore the vitality and endangerment of the Naxi language through uncovering contradictions and tensions between official regulation and the feelings of Naxi people toward their place of cultural resource. It provides an analysis of the external forces and internal factors, covering place making through official policies and regulations, and the fast growth of tourism and changes that have occurred within LAT.

3.1.2 Language visibility

Language visibility is defined as linguistic communication in social contexts, which complements language presence and language vitality (Barni & Bagna, 2010). However, the presence of a language does not necessarily equate to its vitality and other social factors that may influence its vitality need to be considered. The visibility of one language over another indicates its power, shows the attitudes of speakers, and influences its future (Dalby, 2003; Olsen & Olsen, 2010; Shannon, 1995), although it cannot lead to its vitality directly (Barni & Bagna, 2010). Different languages in any given area and social context have unequal status with one more likely to be widely used, and desirable than others (Shannon, 1995). In this study, I use language visibility to help understand the presence and the usage of the Naxi language within LAT through the Linguistic Landscape (LL).

Many LL studies (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2010; Extra & Barni, 2008; Gorter, 2006, 2013) assume the understanding of LL as described by Landry and Bourhis (1997):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (p. 25).

In modern society, particularly in urban areas, signs are visible everywhere, sharing space with streets, buildings, and public images, demonstrating businesses, informing people and warning passers-by. They are part of the textual décor (Gorter, 2013), “decorum of public life” (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 10) and “a speech act which takes place where the sign takes place” (Kallen, 2008, p. 272). Although most signs are small in appearance, they perform certain roles in public spaces and the information connecting them with the social context may offer an overwhelming number of messages.

The LL analysis has been introduced by Gorter (2006) as a new approach studying minority languages in multilingual settings. Identifying language visibility through the framework of the LL is a more specific approach than looking at linguistic communication in social contexts. This is because it provides data, through photographic records, beyond simply ‘looking around’ to see the extent to which the non-dominant language is visible in public space (Gorter, 2018). In the case of LAT, it is useful to consider the LL as one kind of language visibility. When Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 34) explored the vitality of French in Canada, they reintroduced the LL as the “most visible marker of the linguistic vitality of the various ethnolinguistic groups living within a particular administrative or territorial enclave”. In a given place, the language on signs represents its associated language speakers, informing people and demonstrating their community.

Summarising Ben-Raphael et al.’s (2006) approach, Gorter (2006) suggests three elements of the LL that explains the power relations between different groups:

It is hypothesised that the linguistic landscape should be explainable in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. Further that identity markers of communities would imprint themselves strongly on the linguistic landscape and finally, that different languages vary in attractiveness to different audiences. It is in this perspective that they speak of linguistic landscape in terms of symbolic construction of the public space. (Gorter, 2006, p. 4)

The power relation between different groups, particularly dominant and subordinate groups, is presented in the LL through variation of language format and other characteristics. Words on

signs in public places have the power to formulate ideas (Lou, 2007), from which the dominant language and language speakers can be identified.

Linguistic Landscapes in urban areas are different from those in rural areas in that they have a high concentration of signs (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006) and space for the interaction of diverse cultures, languages, and identities (Barni & Bagna, 2010). In a survey of multilingual signs in Tokyo, Backhaus (2006) chose 28 train stations on the same line around the centre of Tokyo city because it could show the multi-layered character of business in the district. To examine the influence of different languages on the LL in urban areas, Barni and Bagna (2010) considered the immigrant communities in Rome, for its large population and linguistic diversity. Recognising that studies on LLs in rural areas had been neglected, Loth (2016) chose a rural area in South Africa to look at socio-political transformation. For me, to investigate the language visibility of Naxi language, I chose its original place, LAT, to identify the situation of the language.

The LL has changed in LAT after it was listed as a UNESCO heritage site and promoted by the Chinese government as a tourist destination. There has been an enormous increase in the number of shops, restaurants, and hotels, but a sharp decline in the number of native Naxi people in the town (Bao & Su, 2004; Ning & He, 2007). In the 3.8 km² area of LAT, the total number of shops increased from 366 to 1306 and the number of hotels rose from 6 to 136 from 2000 to 2006 (Ning & He, 2007). In 2009, the number of travellers was 7.58 million, whereas the local population reduced by 80%, compared to the population prior to LAT becoming a UNESCO Heritage site (Li & Zhang, 2010). With such changes, the sharing of culture, language and identities in this space have changed and all kinds of signs including billboards, shop signs, and traffic signs have appeared reflecting the demographic and economic changes in the town.

Determining the vitality of Naxi language from its visibility in the LL is not directly possible as the signs themselves cannot indicate whether the language is safe, stable yet threatened, unsafe, definitively endangered, severely endangered, or critically endangered (Table 3). However, it is a specific way for me to understand the situation of language endangerment in this area. In Lijiang City, from the 1980s, Mandarin Chinese started to be a widely used language. The generation of Naxi people who were born after 1980 tend to speak Mandarin or an inter-language of Mandarin and Naxi language, while only 7.5% of the people aged more than 65 are able to speak pure Naxi language in 2008 (Wang & He, 2008). The investigation

performed by Li (2016) on the vitality of Naxi language in four primary schools in Lijiang City further proved the decline in Naxi language usage: 50.4% of the participants spoke Naxi language when they talked to their grandparents, but they preferred to speak Mandarin Chinese in their schools and public places, even with their teachers of Naxi language. Hence, exploring the LL in LAT can help me examine the vitality of Naxi language and justify an argument about its endangered situation from the evidence of written language in the LL.

In this section, I have raised the issue of language visibility in LAT as part of the key theoretical ideas underpinning my thesis. In particular, I am concerned with what kinds of written linguistic communications are occurring in LAT to understand the power of Naxi language in this space. More detailed findings will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.2 Place making: An analytical lens for space, culture, and language

Place making is interpreted by many scholars as a process of using a place, and activities of producing a place, in which the users' vision and perception to the place are underlined (Franz et al., 2008; Habibah et al., 2013; Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003; Lew, 2017). The processes of using a place are supported by subjective ideas of the users of that place. A place is not restricted to a city or a town in a territorial sense. It has also been applied in architecture—the making of a building (Lew, 2017), and even in education. For example, Stahelin (2017, p. 261) employed the concept of “place-based education” to highlight the significance of the social environment in education. Creation and transformation in a place often lead to changes to the objects and environment of the place, and changes usually represent the users' vision and perceptions. In relation to a tourism destination, for example, policy makers issue a range of policies and regulations that support a positive user (the tourist) experience to the place. This policy making on place, is a form of the governing structures and processes of place-making.

Understanding place making also draws from the relationship between place and space. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003) do not think there is a distinction between the concepts, while Franz et al. (2008) explain space is physical and functional, but place is the socialised and localised space. The relationship between the two concepts allows me highlight not only the physical and functional aspect of ‘space’, but also the social and local aspect of ‘place’. From this point, the concept of ‘space’ is more specific and tangible than that of ‘place’. Besides using ‘space’ as a geographical concept, Massey (1993) further identifies it as the centre of social and political discussion. When space is considered in its social and political dimension, it is more likely to be described as centre-margin, open-closed, private-public, rather than just

a location or city (Keith & Pile, 1993). In order to track the function and influence of the Naxi language and its interaction with people in LAT, I take the physical space of LAT and consider how it is transformed into a social and local place through processes of place-making.

In addition, practices of place making often lead to challenges and conflicts between mainstream values and the requirements of other groups in a target space (Dupre, 2019). To promote the development of a place, mainstream values usually emphasise the intention of investors and authorities (Madureira, 2015) or place users as discussed above. Under this circumstance, traditional ideas and original attributes tend to become challenged and thus practices of place making can result in the marginalisation and displacement of certain people and groups.

Sustainability of a place in the context of fast growth is another important discussion on place making (Dorsey & Mulder, 2013; Madureira, 2015). Task-oriented planning usually promotes development of a place but may produce some conflicting outcomes. For example, Murphy et al. (2019) noted that, when five lake groups in Bangalore in India were rebuilt, it resulted in more pleasant recreational areas and access to nature for the local people but conflicted with aspirations for the lakes to be restored as wetlands and an original significant bird habitat and fishing area. In this case, the social function of the lakes was fostered but the ecological function was increasingly challenged. In LAT, increased numbers of travellers, encouraged by local policymakers and businesses, exceed the ecological capacity of the town and as I discuss in later chapters, the desires of local Naxi people.

In addressing the effect of place making in LAT since it became a UNESCO World Heritage site, I draw on ideas suggested by Montgomery (1998) and Aiello and Cacia (2014) to identify specific principles and elements in place making. Montgomery (1998) presented three important aspects of place making: activity, image, and form. According to Montgomery (1998, pp. 97-103), activity refers to the vitality and diversity of people's use of space in a city, mainly including residences, businesses, entertainment, street lives, customs, and traditions. Image is the combination of objective things with subjective feelings on what a place looks like, including not only visible buildings, streets, and landmarks, but also all forms of less visible networks, associations, and information about activities in which words on posters, signs and leaflets are all involved. When Montgomery (1998) suggested the idea of place making to frame a culturally active urban place, he connected the image of a place with what people perceived as streets, districts, and landmarks. Another criterion for place making is the form of

the city, for which Montgomery (1998) stressed that the city should allow people to pursue their quality life within the given buildings and spaces. His ideas point to the need to design a city in ways that promote activities and cultivate an image to lead to or enhance a sense of special place. He combined the three aspects to examine the physical attributes of an urban place from a psychological perspective to gauge the quality and sense of a good place.

Places are made by people integrating their culture in a given space (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997) and culture is an integral part of place making and a significant component of the contented state of a community (Aiello & Cacia, 2014). People express their culture in the community they are living in and construct the community in the way they feel as their own public and private space. Places are not simply made from just arts or a natural geographic territory, but from a space requiring people's cultural products, practices, and perspectives (American Council, 1999; Medina, 1998). Thus, place making includes physical attributes of streets, buildings, and infrastructure but also social practices and cultural aspects.

In this section, I have addressed the concept and key points of place making to help me understand the processes, activities, relationships, and challenges in relation to place making. With regards to LAT, I draw on three important ideas and an integrating aspect of place making: changes of image and form of the town, activities taking place in the town, and changes happening in relation to cultural products, practices, and perspectives.

3.3 Place-belongingness: Connections between people, language, culture, and place

Place-belongingness has been explained geographically and psychologically to depict interactions between people and place (Dunbar & Carter, 2021; Hammitt et al., 2006). As a geographical term, it encompasses visual, aural, and physical occupation of a space by people, and has been used to discuss conflicts, displacement and gentrification occurring in public spaces (White, 2015). When people occupy a place, they usually present themselves in a public space with their practice, culture, and interactions. The concept of place-belongingness has also been described as a psychological connection to a space, synonymously as rootedness (Morley, 2001), place attachment (Pollini, 2005), place bonding (Hammitt et al., 2006) and place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). It renders an emotional relationship between an individual and a place in which he/she is implicated. The psychological concept highlights personal understanding and sense of place and seeks to explain social perception towards a place and feelings fostered in the interaction with others in this space.

To measure place-belongingness and the attachment of rural landholders to their rural places, Raymond et al. (2010, p. 433) proposed a “five-dimensional model” to demonstrate different elements, including “place identity, dependence, nature bonding, family bonding, and friend bonding”. It was found to be a valid and reliable model to examine the attachment of rural landholders to their rural places. With regards to LAT, I draw on the important elements in this model to help me think of the relationship between Naxi people, LAT and Naxi language, even though LAT is a commercialised tourist destination, which is different from the rural area highlighted by Raymond et al. (2010).

The majority of my discussion on the factors of place belongingness, have, however, been contributed by Antonsich (2010): personal life history and experiences, relations to other people or society (social ties), a culture mainly centred by its language, economic conditions as a stable material support to a person, and legal permits for living in a certain place (p.646). All these factors he argues lead to a person’s meaningful life and sense of belonging in a certain place instead of a life of loneliness and isolation.

Personal life history and experiences are an autobiographical factor that attach a person to a particular place (Antonsich, 2010; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). What has happened in an individual’s life performs an important role in forming the person’s feeling of attachment to a place. According to Revill (1993), personal life history and experiences also construct a secure ontological world for a person that allows them to continue certain actions or living modes in an ordered way. It highlights the significance of the continuance and persistence of a person’s life in a particular place, which, in turn, determines the person’s meaningful life. Departure from the attached place means interruption for the person’s life history.

Relations to other people is a kind of social tie to a community or society. It focuses on the binding relationship between an individual and others in a society, and involves a complex system of kinship, friendship, and other social networks (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). In relation to the complex social relations, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) view that increases in population size and density do not make much difference in community participation and bonds, but assimilation of newcomers and out-migration of residents perform as a barrier to the extension of original friendship, kinship, and other social networks. The mobility of community residents has a strong effect on their relations. Cetina (1997) the idea of social ties to the engagement between social relationship and objects, such as wants and knowledge, in modern society, through which individuals interweave and connect with each other. However, spurred

by relations to objects, traditional social ties and communities can collapse as ‘other’ cultures and relations with new and different objects are propelled.

Language plays an irreplaceable role in linking culture, community, and a place. It is the core of its associated culture (Smolicz, 1992; Tannenbaum, 2009) and is the cornerstone of a language community (Reyhner, 1996). On the one hand, language defines, constructs, and interprets particular meanings and situations, which can be understood by the members in the same community (Therborn, 1991). It seems impossible that a language community could be eternal in the absence of its language. On the other hand, language promotes a sense of belongingness within a community to a given place (Antonsich, 2010). It is a crucial link between a community and a place. Through a language, members of a community generate a feeling of being at home.

According to Antonsich (2010), economic conditions and legal permits for living in a place also constitute important components of place-belongingness. Economic conditions of a person contribute to the material support for the person living in a particular place. The level of economic resources lays a foundation for a person’s successful experience in a place (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992). The importance of the place reflects its function in supporting the person to acquire economic resources to realise their specific goals and bonds the person to this particular place. Legal permits for living in a place highlights a ‘legal’ factor for a person’s belonging to a given place, particularly for an immigrant (Antonsich, 2010). It provides political security and protection in the environment that a person lives in. It is regarded as a formal belongingness by Fenster (2004). Without legal permits, a person cannot live and work safely, and have successful experiences in a given place, particularly if they are an immigrant.

Different from Antonsich’s study, I spell out that the Naxi, who are not immigrants to LAT but have been largely displaced from it. According to the system of Chinese household registration (Chapter 6), Naxi are the original residents in the town and need not claim any legal permits for living in LAT. In addition, as far as I can garner information from Tang and Wu (2014), most original Naxi have rented their houses in the town to generate income, but they still depend on the place as part of the support for their livelihoods. Therefore, when I follow Antonsich (2010) to sketch out place-belongingness for the Naxi, I advocate largely on personal life history and experiences, relations to other persons or society and language-centred culture, rather than economic conditions and legal permits for living in the Town.

Among the expressions for indicating the relationship between an individual and a place, place-belongingness is a feeling and connection to a place which provides emotional memories and relationships that support or comprise a meaningful life over time (Antonsich, 2010; Hammitt et al., 2004; Huot et al., 2014; Korpela, 1989) and creates a sense of being at ‘home’. Emotional memories and relationships with others are usually formed in relation to families, friends, houses, community, schools, institutions and landscapes. Feelings of being at home are constructed based on personal experiences, relationships and language that can be used to identify who belongs to a certain place. The concept of place-belongingness also points to a unifying process for an individual to locate a favourite place for themselves in relation to a particular physical environment (Korpela, 1989). A favourite place meets such expectations regarding positive personal experiences, friendly relationships and appropriate communicative language. If these expectations are not met, the individual may be deemed to be out of the place. The core of place-belongingness is whether it can support a meaningful life to meet an individual’s positive expectations.

3.4 Summary

This chapter outlines the key aspects of the theoretical framework for my thesis: linguistic anthropology in relation to language vitality, language endangerment and language visibility, place making and place-belongingness. Linguistic anthropology lays a foundation for considering language vitality and language visibility from a cultural context. Language vitality and language endangerment propose concepts for me to think of Naxi language from ethnolinguistic settings, social context, and cultural circumstances. Language visibility helps me identify the presence of the Naxi language within LAT and understand the speakers’ attitudes to their language. Connected with the language framework of linguistic anthropology, place making, and place-belongingness allow me to develop insights into Naxi language vitality from the perspectives of cultural geography and social psychology. Place making identifies changes to the design of this tourist destination, including images and forms designed for the town after it became a World Heritage site and activities that have happened in the town. Place-belongingness provides a framework for thinking about the connections of people, language, and culture with their original place from the perspective of personal life history, relations to other persons or society and language-centred culture. Using these three major theoretical concepts jointly, I have been able to address the vitality of Naxi language in relation to Naxi culture and highlight the contradictions and tensions between place making, place-belongingness and Naxi community in LAT.

Chapter 4 Methodology

In this chapter, I outline my methodological approach to answering my research questions. In the first section, I describe the rationale for my interdisciplinary approach and discuss my epistemological stance before moving on to delineate my case study approach and field site selection as well as document access. In the second section, I describe my field site selections. In the third section, I detail my four research methods: qualitative and quantitative analysis of the LL, observations of activities and characteristics of LAT, interviews with a range of people living, working, or travelling in the old town, and textual analysis of policy documents. In the fourth section, I focus on data analysis and, finally, I reflect on ethical issues in relation to my research design particularly with respect to mitigating potential harm to Naxi people and Naxi participants, and consider the limitations of the methods.

4.1 Research design: Social constructionism and a mixed methods case-study approach

Constructivism, often referred to as constructionism, claims that social phenomena are under the influence of social factors or humans, as compared with objectivism, which suggests that external interactions are beyond the reach of human influence (Bryman, 2012). Social constructionism provides a deep understanding of how social factors interact with each other to influence the Naxi language. Social factors are considered an important aspect influencing the vitality of ethnic languages, including such things as colonisation, globalisation, the status of a language in the society, and the institutional support that an ethnic group receives from authority institutions (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2020; Crystal, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Rahman, 2006; Wright, 2016). Regardless of how these social factors impact on the vitality of ethnic languages, these factors focus more on objective influences promoted by authorities, policies and outside power compared to those influences that arise from the ethnic communities. In terms of the vitality of the Naxi language, Naxi speakers have to adapt to social factors that are out of their control for survival. Similar to the Native American and European Americans who gave up their mother language and shifted to English, a range of pressures have led them to “adapt to and survive in the dominant socioeconomic world order” in the USA (Mufwene, 2017, p. 210). In this thesis, exploration of Naxi language vitality is based on the interpretation of social factors shaped by external forces.

Apart from understanding the external social factors that determine social outcomes, social constructionism also offers opportunities to collect, analyse and understand subjective thoughts,

feelings and reflections of social outcomes and phenomenon (Ellis, 1991). People, as one of the important actors that create culture, adapt themselves to new situations or solve problems through their understanding. (Bryman, 2008). Therefore, using a social constructionist approach can facilitate understanding of people's feelings, evaluation, reflection and understanding of, in this case, Naxi language and its interactions with other social elements that may support Naxi language vitality. To explore people's feelings and reflections on these changes, a constructivist stance enabled me to collect and analyse different understandings of the Naxi language. This required me to engage more contemplative ideas, thoughts and understandings derived from individual experiences and interactions, which forms a central approach in constructivism (Doolittle & Hicks, 2003).

In relation to Naxi language vitality, two broad considerations have influenced my epistemological stance: first, how could I find about Naxi language vitality and, second, how could I get to know what the people in LAT understand about it. These questions offered me an initial and generic position to set out my research. This is an epistemological position, which supports me to move from examining objective social factors to examining the subjective thinking, feelings, and reflections of Naxi and other groups toward the Naxi language. Crotty (1998) succinctly summarises that the knowledge and its characteristics attained through research is the epistemological stance of that research. An epistemological position specifically focuses on the questions of how to identify the interactions between social factors (Killam, 2013; Marsh & Furlong, 2002) and can be understood as "How and what can we know?" (Willig, 2013, p. 4). My focus on subjective perspectives on the vitality of Naxi language revolved around examining the feelings and reflections of Naxi people in the cultural context of LAT, as well as through what I observed in the town and my interpretations of the use and value of Dongba scripts in the LL.

There are many philosophical and epistemological approaches to how we can understand the world and in turn how we design and 'do' research. To adopt a social constructionist approach means that other research approaches were not considered for this PhD research project; for example, positivism and interpretivism—the two dominant and widely utilised research paradigms used in social science. These philosophical paradigms hold that understanding of the social world can be achieved through interpretation of the world (Schwandt, 1998).

Positivism is based on an ontological stance that contends that the objective world is not socially constructed, and for which positivists prefer to use quantitative analysis to obtain

general understanding of the causal relationship between social phenomena. (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). However, my research of the Nazi language vitality and its manifestation in LAT is beyond a causal relationship; instead, it is a multifaceted and multidimensional reality that links with multiple factors, such as policy, broader social, economic, and political environment, and the subjectivity of the researched subject. Therefore, such research requires an approach that can unpack and accommodate enquiry of a complicated social reality.

Interpretivism respects the fundamental differences between people and objective world, and requires researchers to grasp the subjective meaning-making of social action (Bryman, 2012). It emphasises the influence of personal thinking on the social world and supports researchers to gain a deep understanding of social context through seeking personal experiences and perspectives (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020; Potrac et al., 2014). I considered that interpretivism as a research paradigm was also not adequate to explain Nazi language vitality, which I saw as constructed by both external (i.e., objective) and internal (i.e., personal, and subjective) social factors. Although interpretivism and constructionism share the aim of understanding the complex social world through personal perspectives that are gained from individual experiences, for constructionists, both objective knowledge and the real world are understood as being created by human beings (Schwandt, 1998). In my research I seek to understand not only how social actors interpret the world but also how their actions and individual and collective behaviours and practices create the social world and what “can be known”. In this thesis I do this through an analysis of not only what people say (interviews) about the Nazi language but also how the vitality (or lack of vitality) of the Nazi language is constructed through the values that people themselves place on the language and its representation in the linguistic landscape.

To achieve a comprehensive understanding of the Nazi language vitality and its manifestation in LAT, I utilised a mixed methods approach within a single geographical case-study. Case studies are considered as an important methodological tool and strategy in social sciences, and provide an opportunity to investigate social phenomena through various forms of inquiry, such as observations and interviews, and qualitative data interpretation (Orum et al., 1991). Yin (1984) defines a case study method as an empirical research approach “to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (p. 23). The approach of treating the old town (LAT) as a case to study not only narrows down the research scope to a feasible scale, but also is like offering a window through which

the LL and Naxi language vitality can be seen and presented, as discussed in the following section.

In this case study, the data were collected through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Each different approach has strengths and weaknesses, but when combined, there is a greater possibility of neutralising the flaws of one method and strengthening the advantages of another to get better research results (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Quantitative methods are used to establish a numeric picture of the scale, proportion, or variance of an issue (Maxwell, 2010). They allow a researcher to interpret the variation and generalisation of an issue from the scale and proportion of the issue. Qualitative methods are used when a problem or a complex phenomenon needs to be understood comprehensively and investigated from various lenses but is hard to be measured quantitatively (Arendt et al., 2012; Baxter & Jack, 2008). Compared to the quantitative methods that seek generalisation, qualitative methods enable deep, rich and nuanced understandings of a social phenomenon.

Digital photographs of the LL provided the basis of my quantitative method which, as I describe later in the chapter, were used as an auxiliary or a preceding method to the main qualitative study (Hussein, 2009). While quantitative methods are not normally associated with a social constructionist epistemology, examining how the Naxi language was being socially constructed in and through the LL provided insight into the vitality and perceived value of the language within the LAT. The qualitative aspects of my study included 35 interviews and around 30 days of field observation in LAT. While my study included a small number of participants and could therefore be criticised for providing a limited basis for generalisation (Zainal, 2007), generalisation was not the purpose of my work. My case study approach aimed to present a picture of Naxi language visibility and vitality in a particular social and cultural context and place: LAT.

In the following section I explain my selection of specific sites related to my analysis of the LL, unstructured observations, and interviews.

4.2 Field site selection

4.2.1 Linguistic Landscape site selection

Choosing an appropriate and specific area or space to collect LL data is an important consideration in LL studies. For example, Backhaus (2006) followed a train line in Tokyo to provide a selection of LLs, whereas Loth (2016) chose nine towns in a southern province of South Africa. A more frequent solution to the LL selection is using shopping streets as a survey

area (Gorter, 2018; Lou, 2007). As a complex resource to study place making, Kasanga (2012, p. 557) delimited a “triangle” area in a city centre with two kilometres along two streets, for the consideration of observing a wide range of business activities which cannot be “highly visible elsewhere”. Troyer and Szabó (2017, p. 56) addressed the theoretical significance of “visual and spatial representation” in an LL study. They both highlighted ‘representation’ of LL data in the site selection. In terms of my study, I selected main shopping streets in LAT, which represented rich language activities and helped me capture a wide range of sign types from the LL in the town. As noted in Chapter 2, LAT originally was a residential town with some traditional trades. The residential buildings were constructed along the banks of watercourses since the Song Dynasty (960-1279AD (Ning & He, 2007). Alongside the watercourses, numerous streets and alleys were formed in the town. Understanding the function and layout of the main streets was critical to deciding on the site for collecting my LL data. By roaming around the area and studying maps and historical information about the town, I assembled enough information to make a selection. The total area of LAT is about 3.8 km² (Bao & Su, 2004; Ning & He, 2007) with Sifang Street as its centre, which is also named Square Market Street. Around this street, there are five main streets, and many small streets and alleys. The main streets include Qiyi Street, Wuyi Street, Xinhua Street and Dongda Street (Figure 14). In these streets, there are thousands of signs presenting the commercial names, logos, advertisements, and warnings, and even traffic signs and political posters.

Figure 14 Main streets of the Lijiang Ancient Town



- Walking street area
- Qiyi Street
- Wuyi Street
-

Xinhua Street

Dongda Street (East Street)



Sifang Street



Source: (<https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?>)

Through online research of tourist experiences in the town, I found that the streets have developed with different functions (Bao & Su, 2004). Snack shops and restaurants are mainly at the streets of Xinhua, Cuiwenduan and Xinyi, among which Xinyi Street is well-known as a ‘Snack Street’; bookstores and video stores are mainly at Dongda Street and Qiyi Street; other goods such as ethnic costume shops and souvenir shops are distributed more evenly in each street (Bao & Su, 2004). For my study, it was not possible to observe the whole LL of LAT, therefore, I chose the centre of the town and specifically two main streets: Sifang Street and half of Dongda Street. These two streets are the major business clusters in LAT and where various businesses concentrate; therefore, these two streets are highly representative of the LL of the LAT. One part of Dongda Street is very leafy, with many trees interrupting a view of the signs, so this part of the street was excluded. Sifang Street is the central and oldest street in the town, while Dongda Street is rich in various types of shops. Certain streets were not suitable and were excluded. For instance, on Xinhua Street many signs were covered by trees and could not be recorded fully by the camera. Businesses on other streets disperse along and not concentrated (such as Qiyi Street and Wuyi Street); thus, it is difficult to be measured. Some streets have a sole function (such as Xinyi Street as a ‘Snack Street’); therefore, it is not worth detailed research (Figure 13). Therefore, the selection of Sifang and Dongda Streets are representative in terms of finding out and understanding what is going on with the LL in LAT and allowed me to have a broader view of the LL displayed in the town than the other streets.

4.2.2 Observation site selection

Sifang Street and Dongda Street were also used as my observation sites for their location and position in LAT. Sifang Street has been the trade centre in the town and is well known in this area since the Ming Dynasty (He, 2016b). In my two visits to LAT in 2014 and 2018, I found that almost all of the residents, business people and travellers mentioned Sifang Street when I talked with them about the town. They thought of it as the ‘heart’ of the town. Dongda Street is much broader than the other streets in the town and offers more opportunities for social interactions among businesses, entrepreneurs, travellers and other people. Both Sifang and Dongda streets involve a greater variety of people and businesses and therefore observations in the two streets could be used as a supplement to my other research methods. They meet the

criteria for functioning as places for observation as “auxiliary or confirmatory research” (Jamshed, 2014, p. 88).

I also used other small spots relating to the Naxi as my observation sites. These sites, although they were not selected as my major research site, were connected with opportunities to witness interactions of diverse “cultures, languages and identities”, thus making them a good place for observation (Barni & Bagna, 2010, p. 24). For example, one of my informants lived away from LAT and I took a bus to visit him. We had some snacks in a small Naxi restaurant near his home, where I also talked with a Naxi chef and his wife (the assistant in the restaurant) and recorded some observations on their life.

4.2.3 Interview site selection

Interviewing also involved careful selection of research sites. It is easy for us to understand an interview site as a specific location where the researcher and participants can exchange ideas and information. However, social factors and power relationships between researchers and their participants, and participants’ identity and positions need to be considered (Elwood & Martin, 2000). For this reason, as well as practical issues, I chose three different places to conduct interviews for different groups of participants: business people in their shops along Sifang Street and Dongda Street; most of Naxi family and university students on WeChat; and travellers at corners of public places along the two chosen streets. The site of shop was an available place for me to get access to business people, where an interview was implemented when there was no or few visitors. Moreover, the shops were usually owned or managed by these business people, so the social setting was safe for them. Most of the shop owners were Han Chinese and were Mandarin speakers, so the language power dynamic between us was more equal.

Travellers were usually accessed at small restaurants, in the halls of hotels and corners along the two chosen streets. Such informal sites are places where travellers have accommodation or take breaks from their tourist activities, and provided an available place identified by both the researcher and participants as a comfortable, safe, and effective places to talk. There were few concerns about the issue of power relations in these tourist interviews and all were conducted in Mandarin as the tourists were other Han Chinese.

WeChat proved to be an available and comfortable ‘online site’ for my interviews with Naxi participants. Rather than to be interviewed in person, my Naxi participants preferred to be interviewed through WeChat. It was not easy for me to get access to Naxi participants because

I am not Naxi, and many Naxi have migrated out of LAT (Chapter 2). The opportunities were created via WeChat, with assistance from my interview informants—university students. The online sites seemed more available, comfortable, and effective spaces for us to talk than travelling distances out of town and were also possible when I was based in New Zealand. During my field work in January 2020, face-to-face interviews with Naxi business people and travellers were able to be done.

4.2.4 Access to official document data

The official texts relating to Chinese laws, regulations and documents issued by all levels of Chinese governments and UNESCO constitute an important a basis for place making in LAT. Although they were small in number, I had to get access to those data from different resources: some from the websites set up by Chinese governments and UNESCO, and some from the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI): an online library, from which databases of Chinese academic journals, dissertations, books and other academic resources can be accessed.

However, challenges to gaining access to official documents appear in three aspects. First, there is no shared and systematic website for me to search the laws and regulations in relation to LAT and the Naxi language. All the official documents were accessed from different online resources, including the websites of the Chinese Central Government, Yunnan Provincial Government, Lijiang Municipal Government and the Protection and Administration Bureau of Lijiang Ancient Town, as well as UNESCO. Second, the official documents are uploaded by these authorities based on the requirements of various stakeholders. Some formal documents have been found in academic literatures, forums and personal blogs, rather than official websites. Third, some data relating to the same issue overlapped. For example, in relation to the requirement for the measurement of a sign hanging on a shopfront, both *Regulations on the Approval and Administration of Signboards in Dayan Ancient Town of Lijiang* and *Interim Measures of Access and Exit Management of Market Operational Project in Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town* stipulate the required languages, material and measurement of the signs appearing in the town.

4.3 Research methods: The data collection process

In this section I describe the data collection methods for each of the four types of data collected and analysed in this study. My study employed a mixed methods approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative data and decisions had to be taken around the priority and sequencing of the data collection methods. According to Morgan (1998), this helps determine

the principal method of the whole study and the functions of the other methods (Morgan, 1998). When the qualitative data are given priority over quantitative data, the quantitative data can be collected and analysed before or after the qualitative data. The preliminary quantitative data are gathered and analysed before the qualitative material, so that the numerical data informs the qualitative work. Some preliminary studies have been used, such as O'Reilly et al. (1994), who conducted their mixed method approach in testing computer-assisted new technology in data collection to predict the results of studies on sensitive behaviours. My inquiry relies on a mixed method approach where I collected some preliminary quantitative data relating to the prevalence and types of signs in LAT and used the data to inform two further aspects of my study: the detailed analysis of nine signs in the LL as well as my interviews with people in the town about language visibility, place making, place-belongingness, and language value. My data collection from documents took place alongside these quantitative and qualitative methods whenever I needed background material or some explanation of policy.

4.3.1 Preliminary quantitative data

It was useful for me to collect some quantitative data about the number and kinds of signs in the LL visible in LAT. A preliminary survey count helped underpin my choice of specific signs for detailed interpretation and discussion. The counting of language usage in the LL provides a general backdrop for my understanding of the language use and signage in the town.

Counting the signs framed by a matrix (Appendix 1) provided a method to identify the language presence and use. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Backhaus (2007) counted the fixed signs in the cities of Donostia-San Sebastian and Tokyo, respectively. However, there is a challenge in counting signs in public places, which was noted by Gorter (2013) in terms of the arbitrariness of inclusion and exclusion of signs. There is no specific rule that says which signs should be included and which left out as not being important. Therefore, I first defined the front door of each shop as a line between inside and outside signs, so that I only focused on outside signs. Then I counted only the fixed and visible signs at the front and outside of shops to minimize arbitrariness. This approach was workable in Sifang Street and half of Dongda Street that I had chosen to sample. Almost all the shops adjoin with each other and the only access to the shop is the front door. Moreover, when I ventured into the shops along these streets, I found the Naxi language was rarely used inside of the shops. The absence of Naxi language inside of the shops helped confirm my sense that the choice of Naxi language on public signs was related more to government policy aimed at tourists than citizen choice of a language to be used every day.

If a language is not seen as important by the people, it will not be shown in public places. If it is less important than another language, it will be placed in less important position on a sign. Gorter (2006) further confirmed that language use is influenced by the LL. Therefore, to help understand the situation of Naxi language in LAT, its language presence in monolingual, bilingual and multilingual signs have been counted, expressed as a percentage, and compared with the presence of other languages. The presence, functions and characteristics of the languages displayed in the LL were then inputted into a matrix (Loth, 2016) (Appendix 1) in order to analyse the visibility of the Naxi language.

In the chosen Sifang Street and half of the Dongda Street, there are 92 shops and 2 offices, with 206 signs on their front facades in the public place, which are visible to from the street level. A digital camera was suggested for taking pictures of monolingual, bilingual and multilingual signs by Gorter (2006) for its large memory and cheap price. Overall, I took 731 digital photos of the signs in the two street sites in August 2018. To observe the same sign from different directions, I took two or three photos for each sign to show different perspectives of the same sign. Also, in case of a photo is damaged or cannot be observed clearly, the other photos can be used as backups. All these photos made the counting possible for a preliminary data analysis.

Compared to the other research methods in sociolinguistics, the study of LLs seems to need more exploration, for their descriptive and analytical potential. A descriptive analysis can usually diagnose if a particular area is monolingual or multilingual based on how many languages have been used (Blommaert, 2013). From the language display on the LL in a place, we can see not only the number of languages being used, but also the form, shape, and literacy content in this place, as well as their interaction in the public space. Most important is what the number, form, and interaction of languages tells us. The space of a place is constructed not just via objects, but also via interactions of these objects, which reflects the social, cultural, and political influences being embodied by the LL (Ben-Rafael et al., 2010; Blommaert, 2013). Thus, when I describe and analyse the LL, I employ this preliminary quantitative data to demonstrate not only the physical space, but also the move from physical space to social and political space, especially their underlying meanings. After my preliminary survey of the LL, I felt more confident to select nine signs for my more descriptive and interpretive qualitative analysis.

4.3.2 Detailed data from nine signs

Based on the preliminary quantitative data, a systematic analysis of detailed LL data was used to identify more insights of Naxi language visibility in LAT. Identifying appropriate variables to connect physical space with social and cultural places is a good way to demonstrate the different data of LLs. I followed the variables utilised (discussed shortly) by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Barni and Bagna (2010) and Loth (2016), but added two other variables based on my observations on the LLs: sign function and characteristics of the Naxi language. To reveal the symbolic structuring of Israel, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) developed the two distinguishing variables of top-down and bottom-up to refer to official signs and non-official signs, respectively. They focused on the category of *language agency*, who made the signs: official or non-official. Besides the language agency, Barni and Bagna (2010), reflecting on the language visibility and vitality on the LLs in the multilingual context in Italy, made use of the variable of *language choice*, which they explained as being the languages that have been selected by individuals or institutions to convey whatever is important on the sign. To explore the nature of the LL, Loth (2016) added another two variables in addition to language agency, including *locality* and the *functionality* of the signs in LL. These variables define where the signs are located, and what the signs are used for. In my study the locality of the signs is the same: each is found on either Sifang or Dongba Street in the public area outside the doorways into shops, so I do not explore the locality variable in any further detail or include it in my analytical matrix. For this study, I selected the variables of language choice, language agency, sign function and the characteristics of Naxi language: specifically, what can be deduced about *power relations* (between Naxi, Mandarin and English) and Naxi *identity*. In regard to language choice and agency, I included questions about language attitudes and ownership when I talked with shop keepers in relation to relevant regulations. My discussion of language function and characteristics depended on my own interpretation from what I could see in the town and had learned from wider reading and document study.

In order to discuss these ideas, I chose nine standalone signs as my LL data and, in Chapter 5, focused on particular variables in relation to each. With regards to *language choice*, the sign of Shaoshi Chinese Traditional Pharmacy (Figure 17) and the sign of Lijiang Souvenir (Figure 20) generally highlight the choice of Mandarin as a dominant language. Two top-down signs: the sign of Luggage Locker (Figure 21) and the sign of Dongda Street (Figure 24) and two bottom-up signs: the couplet signs of He Zhigang calligraphy studio (Figure 26) and the signs of Naxi concert hall (Figure 27) are selected in the section of *language agency* to look into

whether both official and non-official agencies, reinforce cultural authenticity of Naxi in their signs. In relation to the LL *functions*, the sign translated as “Coming of horse teams” (Figure 28) and the sign of Kegong Memorial Gate (Figure 29) are chosen. Finally, to discuss the *characteristics* of Naxi language, the sign of “Yigu Inn” (Figure 31) serves to help explain the ideas of power relations and identity issues. On the one hand, each variable informs a simple delineation of the LL data, but, on the other hand, taken together, they convey a systematic understanding of multiple social and political perspectives of the language relations in this space.

4.3.3 Unstructured nonparticipant observations

Observation is defined by Cowie (2009, p. 166) as “the conscious noticing and detailed examination of participants’ behaviour in a naturalistic setting”. The notion of observation highlights the natural environment in which the participants’ activities are viewed. The natural environment varies from classroom to restaurant, hotel, or any other natural living setting (Bryman, 2012). The early observations in ‘native’ cultural settings have been fundamental base for ethnographic researchers. Srinivas (1975) recorded how William H. Wisner and his wife, Charlotte, adopted this method when they spent years in an Indian village, observing and collecting data for their research. The superior research outcome, claimed by Srinivas (1975), resulted from the couple’s sensitive and honest observation formed in their research training.

Observation, as a research method, can be structured or unstructured, naturalistic, participant or nonparticipant or a mixture of these approaches (Baker, 2006; Mulhall, 2003). Structured participant observation as a research method often emphasises ‘immersive’ participation in physical native settings. It can often ignore the sensitive information of the observed and any bias that the observer may bring (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). During the process of structured observation, it is inevitable for the ‘member’ observer to disturb the natural social life of the observed. In order to gather accurate and objective data, the participant researcher in this observation also needs to alter himself/herself in order to commit to the community, such as through learning the language, changing dress styles and even adjusting their own value perspectives (Gold, 2017). Unstructured non-participant observation is adopted for the situation “where little is known about the phenomenon under investigation or when the existing knowledge is lacking” (Mcilfattrick, 2008, p. 312) and the researcher stands outside of the situation to view what has happened in the context (Slack & Rowley, 2001). Compared to a structured participant observation, the unstructured non-participant observation is more flexible for the researcher to determine what he/ she needs to focus on in a broad social context

and during the process of observation, the researcher need not disturb or interrupt the natural life of observed.

In relation to my study, I adopted unstructured and nonparticipant observations to supplement what I saw in the LL and interviewed with my participants. Without predetermined interpretation of the natural context of LAT, unstructured and nonparticipant observations allowed me to understand how the social settings of the town were constructed and to focus on the ideas and feelings of people. Thus, unstructured non-participant observation was a supportive method for me, a researcher from outsider of the Naxi. I made use of what I observed in LAT to support or clarify what I generally understand about Naxi language and culture from my reading and documentary study. It was not necessary for me to ‘immerse’ into Naxi daily life. While I took careful field notes I made no attempt to participate in Naxi life and was conscious of my bias as a Mandarin speaking Han Chinese ‘looking at’ Naxi life as an outsider.

I employed observations to verify and complement the inconsistencies and gaps between my preliminary quantitative research, detailed LL study and interviews of participants. My field notes include not just what I saw and heard in Sifang Street and Dongda Street but also as I wandered more widely in other streets in LAT. In this circumstance, my observations were unstructured and disjointed, involving such things as watching who went in and out of the shops, where local dancers performed and who watched them and who was passing-by. I kept notes of my conversations with taxi drivers when I took a taxi, and when I talked casually with a Naxi chef, and his wife as noted above (Section 4.2.3.2). A notable commodity I found in my observation is Bunong Bell (Chapter 7), a kind of hanging souvenir with bells. It can be sought in most of the souvenir shops in the LAT and I found out more about them by talking with the shop sellers. For all these interactions, I either made some simple and unstructured written notes or used my phone, with permission, to record voice information. I reviewed these data alongside my LL interpretive analysis and my interview data.

4.3.4 Interviews

Interviews are one of the most widely used methods to explore what participants think of the research object or subject (Bryman, 2012; Cain et al., 2011; Kvale, 1983). Although interviews have their own methodological limitations as a data collection method, they are considered an efficient and flexible way to obtain opinions from participants (Bryman, 2012). Interviews can allow the participants to share what they feel comfortable with and recall what has happened based on their own understanding and experiences.

I used semi-structured interviews to explore the feelings and expectations of the Naxi to their language in relation to LAT, as well as the ways different groups valued and/or devalued the language. I designed a general interview schedule to determine basic issues to be covered and main questions to be asked. This allowed for more flexibility and opportunities for interpretation and narratives (Bryman & Bell, 2001; Tracy, 2013). There were sixteen main interview questions (Appendix 2) covering five aspects: place making, culture, place-belongingness, value of the Naxi language in everyday use, and the Naxi language in the LL. The questions were designed to explore the influence of changes occurring to the Naxi language and the town, and expectations and values of Naxi people to their language and their original place. Business owners were asked three additional questions specifically in relation to their choice of language on their business signage.

4.3.4.1 Sampling

The first task before conducting interviews was to determine what categories of people should be included and how many people to be interviewed. The main consideration for selecting categories of participants was the coverage of different voices and diverse perspectives that were wide enough to capture different facets of a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012; Kuper et al., 2008), which for this research is the Naxi language and the influence of the town context on its vitality. Naxi people were the main voices that the research needed to capture, however, the people who were working or travelling in this context were also related to the research given their prominence in LAT. Therefore, I planned five groups of interviewees who had close but different relationships with Naxi language and LAT: 1) five Naxi families; 2) five Naxi business owners or shopkeepers; 3) five non-Naxi speaking business owners or keepers; 4) five Naxi university students; and 5) five tourists. In retrospect, and had time allowed, it could well have been useful to expand the interviews in each of the categories (see Section 4.6 Limitations). The ideal interviewees from the Naxi families were to include three generations: grandparents, parents, and children, one from each generation. The young generation are aged between sixteen to eighteen years old. They are students in secondary schools, and able to express their ideas and opinions. The five Naxi and five non-Naxi speaking business owners or shopkeepers were chosen when I conducted observation in LAT. During my observation in their shops, they expressed their interest to talk to me and to know about my research. I therefore chose them spontaneously as my interview participants. The five tourists were also chosen spontaneously in LAT since they were willing to speak to me when I approached them. The five Naxi university students were in universities outside of Lijiang and were provided

through a key informant contact at the university. They are part of the Naxi families and were chosen to provide a perspective on their language development when they are now living far from the city. In the process of interviews with the Naxi families, they actually helped a lot with the interviews with their families. Although the students were in the same university, they are from different Naxi families in relation to LAT.

4.3.4.2 Recruiting participants

I considered two important issues to figure out the challenges in my recruitment of participants. The first was how to get access to potential participants and the second was how to raise my response rate. As noted by Laurie and Jensen (2016), the response rate is a key metric in qualitative research. My strategy was to make initial contact with participants personally in my first fieldwork trip or online and then in the following year build rapport prior to the interviews.

My choice of accommodation during fieldwork was an important consideration in making contacts with potential participants. For example, in my 2018 fieldwork research, I deliberately booked two hotels online, because the owners of the hotels were Naxi descendants and the location of the two hotels was in or around LAT. When I arrived, I went around the central area of LAT and had some informal chats with the hotel owners, managers, and other business owners or shopkeepers. I introduced myself and my research to them. Later I made appointments with those who showed interest in my research and could become my potential interviewees. The process for recruiting tourists as my interviewees was very similar to the process of recruiting business owner/shopkeeper interviewees. Usually, I started an informal chat with them and used these informal conversations as means to build up a friendly relationship to gain their trust in me to engage in a formal interview. Snowballing technique was used to recruit more interviewees (Kuper et al., 2008; Singh et al., 2007). Using this technique, more interviewees who were suitable for my selection criterion were recruited; the sample size thus increased. For example, a friend who was teaching in Yunnan Minzu University⁴⁰ (YMU) helped me contact five university students, through whom I was able to contact and interview their parents and grandparents. All together I accessed a further ten participants via the five university students.

⁴⁰ Yunnan Minzu University, also known as Yunnan Nationalities University, is located in Kunming City, Yunnan Province, southwest of China. The University was established in 1951 to provide professional support and promote development for ethnic groups. Retrieved from <https://www.ynni.edu.cn/web/en/history>

I also used a Chinese social media—WeChat⁴¹ to keep contacts with the potential participants. WeChat is widely regarded as a convenient platform for communication in current China, with “78% of people in China aged 16-64” using it⁴². It was also the medium through which most of my Naxi participants preferred to talk with me. Once I set up contacts with potential interviewees on WeChat, I kept in touch with them either in the way of sending greetings to them from time to time or maintaining online interactions with them. Keeping in touch with the potential interviewees was very important for following-up on interviews. I sustained such relationships on WeChat for at least five months, and in some cases after the interviews had been conducted. All the interviews with Naxi families (including Naxi university students) on WeChat have been kept as texts and some audio materials were instantly transcribed into texts, as WeChat itself has the function of transcription, although some words need correcting.

Overall, I completed interviews with thirty-four participants with some minor changes to my original plan. The interviews included eleven Naxi family members, five Naxi university students, four Naxi business people, nine non-Naxi business people and five travellers (their profiles are provided in Appendix 4). The results also indicate that it was easier to find non-Naxi business people in the town, but harder for me to get access to the Naxi, most of whom have rented out their houses and left the town.

With regards to my field work, I used a voice recorder, Olympus WS-853, to record the interviews. As it has 8 GB of internal storage and 130 hours of recording time, I was not worried about its capacity during the whole process. The recorder was thin enough to fit into my pants pocket and so I carried it wherever I was in the LAT. All the interviews with these three groups of participants were transcribed when I came back to New Zealand. It was transcribed with the assistance of “迅捷 PDF 转换”, Xunjie PDF Transcriber. It is a free Han Chinese transcriber that supports transcription of MP3 material. It was a very time-consuming process, as almost all the sentences had to be corrected during the transcription. Although the participants spoke Mandarin Chinese, most of their pronunciation was blended with different Chinese dialects. A Bai businesswoman, for example, spoke Mandarin Chinese, but it was blended with Bai language. I had to listen to her voice recording many times to prepare a correct transcription.

⁴¹ WeChat is China’s most popular mobile app with multi-purpose of messaging, social media, video games and sharing of videos, photos and locations. It was created in 2011 by Tencent, a Chinese multinational technology company. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/04/what-is-wechat-china-biggest-messaging-app.html>

⁴² 99 Firms (2022 n.p.) <https://99firms.com/blog/wechat-statistics/#gref>

4.3.5 Secondary textual data

Textual analysis is widely used in social science research. Texts can be collected from various information sources such as books, newspapers, websites, films and television programs, official policy documents or protocol materials (Carley, 1993; Fairclough, 2003; McKee, 2003). Textual analysis aims to understand how people respond to and reflect on the world, and make sense of what texts tell us, and what is behind the texts (McKee, 2003). According to Carley (1994), the interaction between culture and human understandings can be examined through textual analysis and can be regarded as a traditional technique for examining culture. As my research needed to explore the interplay between Naxi language, making of the language contexts and Naxi people's understanding of these, I collected texts for analysis of two aspects in my research: 1) a concordance or record of regulations and laws related to the Naxi language; and 2) supplementary material describing the languages on the LLs (such as my notes and tourist information) on the LL.

For the regulations and laws related to Naxi language, I collected a corpus of key policy/regulation texts released by the central and local governments, as well as by UNESCO, on LAT to partly address my first (about place making) and third (about the LL) research questions. The first research question is on the relationship between place making of LAT and Naxi, and so I needed to look at factors involved in 'making' LAT as a heritage town. Policies and laws were one of those factors. The third question on whether the representation of Naxi language in the LL is supporting its language vitality relates to policies underpinning what should appear on public signs. All levels of the government and UNESCO have issued policies and regulations to manage the development and redevelopment of Lijiang (du Cros, 2006). Previous policy analyses were often conducted by teams of researchers, associated with institutions and agencies, to evaluate or diagnose the policies (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002). My focus was to analyse the contradictions and tensions between what the administrators defined and promised, what they actually did for the Naxi language and its context in LAT, and what Naxi and other people expected to happen. The contradictions and tensions between what the governments and institution define as Naxi language, their culture, the 'place making' of LAT and what Naxi people feel and expect toward them could be used to identify the policy weaknesses or loopholes.

4.3.6 Triangulation and data saturation

As can be seen from the last section, to enhance the reliability of my data, a triangulation strategy was used in which different data were drawn from different sources to ensure multiple perspectives were included. As Rothbauer (2008) suggested, triangulation is a process where:

investigators frequently combine methods such as interviewing, surveys, and observation across variable times and in different places in order to collect data about their research phenomena from multiple perspectives and in different contexts. (n.p.)

Thus, triangulation is generally connected with the use of more than one research method to collect data and is designed to investigate a question with several variations, such as multiple theories, data sources or investigators (Heale & Forbes, 2013; Rothbauer, 2008). Besides the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data, wherever possible I triangulated different research methods of data collection, including observations on LLs and street life of LAT, semi-structured interviews, and textual analysis of official documents. In this way, data from multiple sources was used to complement to each other; thus, enhancing data reliability.

In addition, triangulation may also involve talking to a range of different people to elicit different points of view on the same subject, as Newing (2011) suggested:

in the social sciences, triangulation involves ‘taking bearings’ on a certain item of information from different perspectives. (p.115)

The *between-subject triangulation* involves asking several different people about the same thing. This informed my approach to building up a sense of a wide range of views held in LAT about the vitality of Naxi language. Time constraints in relation to my visits to LAT and mixed multi-method approach meant that I specifically did not seek data *saturation* (Newing, 2011) in my fieldwork. Rather, in this preliminary exploration of language vitality, I was interested to collect a broad range of views and documentary evidence that identified important themes and could lay the groundwork for further study. Such further study in LAT could then begin from an understanding of the themes, range of perspectives and policy interventions that exist and saturation in relation to each could be more systematically addressed, if that were required.

The concept of *saturation* has been taken into consideration when I decided on the adequacy of my interview sampling in two aspects: first, the intention of my research in relation to data collection and, second, the level of saturation to meet the needs of my data analysis. With regard to the intention of data collection, according to Hancock et al. (2016), qualitative studies

highlight differing perspectives of participants, while quantitative research depends on numbers of participants. My interview data serves to demonstrate different and in-depth ideas and opinions of participants, that is, their feelings and reflections on what has occurred to the Naxi language. The number of participants is not the focus of my research, rather the range of ideas, or themes that are raised. Saunders et al. (2018) suggest that saturation may refer to themes that are “adequately represented in the data” (p.1898). Regarding my research, saturation is achieved via the adequacy of themes identified rather than through adequacy of numbers of participants. For the purpose of identifying a range of views, I have identified diverse themes in the code categories to achieve theme adequacy in the following section (see Section 4.4.2). The degree of saturation is also determined by needs of data analysis. Many scholars have argued about the smallest sample size in qualitative research and agreed five or six participants for phenomenological studies can meet the needs for in-depth inquiry (Ando et al., 2014; Guest et al., 2006; Sim et al., 2018). Extending Guest et al.’s study, Ando et al. (2014) suggested that six interviews could support theme analysis of a low-level qualitative study, while for high-level research, twelve should be a sufficient sample size to support qualitative analysis. My research priority was to determine a wide range of views in relation to Naxi language vitality; therefore, 35 participants was considered to be enough for this research. In addition, within the overall number, each subset of interviewees comprised five participants and these subgroups helped further identify where themes might differ across generations, or in relation to differing roles and responsibilities.

4.4 Data coding and analysis

4.4.1 Linguistic Landscape coding

Proper coding of a LL lays the foundation for exploration of the relationship between the words on the signs and public space. However, there is lack of agreed or clearly identified standard for coding signs in LLs (Huebner, 2008). Huebner (2008) attributes this to analysts ignoring of the sign size and not giving enough consideration for audiences’ intention. But in my research, several shop owners mentioned that the language on the sign and size of the sign had been regulated by the local government. There are four regulations relating to the signs: *Regulations on the Protection of the LAT in Yunnan Province* (2006); *Measures for the Urban Construction of Lijiang City* (2014); *Measures for the Administration of Lijiang Outdoor Advertisement* (2018); and *Interim Measures for Access and Exit Management of Market Operational Project in Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town* (2019). The four regulations stipulate a general specification for the signs that are allowed to be hung by the businesses, particularly outside of the business.

Measures for the Urban Construction of Lijiang City (2014), for example, regulated that “the style, shape, colour, quantity, volume, form, position, orientation, height and material of outdoor advertisement should be harmonious and beautiful with the attached building and adjacent signs” and approved by the related administrative department (Lijiang Municipal Government 丽江市人民政府, 2014, p. n.p.). And *Measures for the Administration of Lijiang Outdoor Advertisement* (2018) further clarified that the size of a sign should be appropriate in proportion to the size of the attached building, and coordinate with the height, form, shape, specification and colour of the adjacent signs (Lijiang Municipal Government 丽江市人民政府, 2018). Although the size of a sign is not so specific, its proportion to the attached building is fixed and the adjacent buildings are similar in height and width. Thus, viewed from the street, the shape and size of the signs were similar, but, as Huebner (2008) noted the audience’s perspectives on the signs still needed to be considered. I collated the language choices and characteristics on the signs in a matrix (Table 4). Other aspects, namely language agency and functions of signs in the LL were also considered. These signs represent official and non-official ways of making the LL space (Backhaus, 2006; Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and help identify different functions that the signs play in this space.

Table 4 Example of coding scheme for categorising LL data

LL ID	Language choice	Language agency	Functions						Characteristics of Naxi text			
		Top-down/ bottom-up	Advertising	Information	Guidance	Notice	Warning	Slogan	Visibility	Attractiveness	Size	placement
1	Naxi, Mandarin, English	bottom-up	food	food shop	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	visible	not attractive	smallest	first order
2	Simple Mandarin, English, Complex Mandarin, Korean	top-down	n/a	smoke free	n/a	no smoking	n/a	n/a	not visible	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: (Loth, 2016)

What is shown in the table above are two examples of how I coded the LL data. Barni and Bagna (2008) suggested that the combination of software (MapGeoLing 1.0.1) for “geo-referencing objects” and for data processing can collect and analyse the “broadest possible range” of LL data (p.130). Their data collection approach is novel and creative in this discipline

but is more suitable for a large quantitative sample. My study of the LL highlights a qualitative, interpretive approach and therefore did not require the use of a particular collation software. The combination of the matrix and photos allowed for both macro-level and micro-level of analyses on the texts displayed in the LL. I chose language choice as the first variable to analyse in the signs. With language choice, the languages chosen for use on the signs were noted and whether or not Naxi language was a chosen in all the sample signs.

The variable of language agency is used to observe the differences between official and non-official signs. Bottom-up signs refer to those that are issued by “individual social actors” (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), such as private business owners. The McDonald’s sign (Figure 15) was identified as ‘bottom-up’, because the language agency of the sign is non-official. Other bottom-up signs were erected by the business people in the town to offer services for and gain profits from travellers. But the sign of ‘no smoking’ (Figure 16) was coded as a ‘top-down’ sign to indicate that it was an official sign, which was issued by “national and public bureaucracies” (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). The language agency is selected as a code to gauge if the importance has been attached to Naxi language by the two distinct agencies.

Figure 15 Sign of McDonald’s in Naxi, Mandarin and English



(Author Photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

Figure 16 No smoking sign in Simplified and complex Mandarin, English, and Korean



(Author Photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

In addition, to present the further situations of Naxi language in the LL, ‘function’ and ‘characteristics’ are also coded in the scheme. The LL coding schemes are largely determined by the purpose of a study (Gorter, 2006; Loth, 2016). With regards to LL function, the McDonald’s sign (Figure 15) was advertising food, which was a simple advertisement and provided information for a food outlet. It has little or no connection with the other functions, such as guidance, notice, warning, and slogan. In the characteristics of Naxi language on the sign of McDonald’s, although the Naxi language is coded as visible on the sign and the sign is centrally positioned over the doorway, a potential consumer would need to look upwards to seek the Dongba script on the sign. Additionally, I have coded it as “unattractive” and ‘smallest’, because the Naxi language is almost covered by the eave of the building and the Dongba scripts are smallest in font, compared to the Han texts and English texts. The sign of ‘no smoking’ (Figure 16) functions to provide information and notice to its audience that smoking is not allowed in LAT, but it has no connection with advertisement, guidance, warning or slogan. The sign is coded as ‘invisible’, because there is no Naxi language displayed on the sign, but it is one of the signs that demonstrates the range of languages in the LAT, including simple Mandarin, English, complex Mandarin and Korean. Nevertheless, the Naxi language is missing in the coding of this top-down sign.

4.4.2 Interview data

Coding was also important for me to develop a framework for the analysis of my interview data. Although ‘code’ is a confusing term for interview data, it is widely used in categorising items and ‘the process of identifying words, phrases and passages’ and defining codes clearly to combine codes and data in a coherent and consistent way (Laurie & Jensen, 2016, p. 252).

It is also a way of noting down analytic thoughts throughout the process. Once coded, the words, phrases and passages are categorised and organised into ‘themes’ to be treated in the analysis (Pierre & Jackson, 2014). However, there is no singular or standard process of coding and no single recipe or prescription for other researchers to copy (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Foucault & Faubion, 2000). For this research, I established my own coding categories based on my research questions, theories, and concepts relevant to my research (Table 5):

Table 5 Coding scheme for interview data

Place making	Image and form of LAT	Naxi activities in LAT	Naxi cultural products and practices	Naxi cultural perspectives
Place belongingness	Personal life history and experiences	Relations with people in the Town	Relations via Naxi language	
Perceptions of Naxi language value	Language ideology related to Naxi language	Market value of Naxi language	Value of Naxi language in daily life	

Table 5 shows that three themes emerged from the interview data analysis. They are ‘Place making’, ‘Place belongingness’ and ‘Perceptions of Naxi language value’. Within each theme, interview data were further broken down to help identify the ideas, thoughts, and perceptions of participants (Table 5).

Place making

The theme of ‘place making’ was used to identify what the participants thought of changes that occurred in the town because of efforts made by the local government and stakeholders promoted by the law and regulations on tourism in LAT. Contents with this theme were sub-categorised to image and form in LAT, Naxi people’s activities in the town and Naxi cultural products, practices, and cultural perspectives that are under change in LAT. Within these sub-categories, some prominent phenomena were discovered, such as that most Naxi have migrated out of the town, the Naxi activities and cultural products were modified to meet the tastes of travellers and ‘inauthentic’ Naxi cultures expressions and activities can be found in the town.

Place-belongingness

Place-belongingness includes three aspects ranging from personal life history and experiences to relation with people in the Town and relations via Naxi language. From the data analysis, three sub-themes emerged: the interrupted personal life history and experiences, economic

relationship between the out-migrated Naxi and the people who do business in the town, and declining Naxi language use in LAT.

Perceptions of Naxi language value

The perception of Naxi language value was used as an overarching theme to explore the ways and reasons that Naxi language was valued, undervalued, and devalued by different people and groups and how this might affect the vitality of the language. Data in this coding theme were sub-coded into three sub-categories: language ideology related to Naxi language, market value of Naxi language and the everyday use of Naxi language in the situations such as chatting, dancing, and working. The market value of Naxi language also includes the feelings and responses of my participants toward how the Naxi language is displayed on the signs. It was coded to partly reflect on the relationship between the vitality and visibility of Naxi language on the signs in the town.

Although I had developed a coding scheme for my interview data, the process still involved many difficulties. I prepared semi-structured interviews based on my research questions, but I needed to understand what each participant told me, if his/her story could answer my research question and how each story positively or negatively contributed to reaching a conclusion. Thus, after collecting data according to the scheme, I inputted the interview data from the Naxi families into NVivo. When the transcripts were downloaded from WeChat as files, it was easy for them to be accepted by NVivo, while I developed the other interview data into a book similar to a traditional codebook. I printed the transcripts, bonded each participant's interview material, and used five different colour markers to mark and make notes. Both NVivo and the way of marking with colour markers helped me find the common themes with the full picture of all participants' responses.

All quotations provided in the finding chapters are translated into English and presented in both English and Chinese. The Chinese version is preserved to show that all my participants, including the Naxi participants have talked with me in Mandarin Chinese fluently and effectively.

4.4.3 Textual analysis

Textual data in my research focused on the policy, law and regulations relating to LAT, Naxi culture and language, and issued by all levels of Chinese governments and UNESCO. The sample of documents cover the regulations and laws issued from 1990 till now, and include three types:

1) UNESCO documents including one document of identification and inscription of LAT in World Heritage List (1997), one mission report of Reactive Monitoring on LAT (2008) and one Evaluation on LAT from the Advisory Bodies (2012), and six reports of the conservation of LAT made by Chinese governments from 2007 to 2013 and retrieved from UNESCO website.

2) Central Government documents on laws and regulations on ethnic languages and cultures issued including the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (1982), *Education Act* (1995), *Law of the National Commonly-used Language and Written Script of the People's Republic of China* (2000), and *Law of China's Regional Autonomy* (2001).

3) Yunnan Provincial Government (YPG) and Lijiang Municipal Government (LMG) regulations on Lijiang Ancient Town and the Dongba Scripts including *Regulations on the Protection and Management of the Famous Historical and Cultural City of Lijiang, Yunnan Province* (1994), *Regulations on Protection of Naxi Dongba Scripts* (2005), *Regulations on the Protection of Naxi Dongba Culture in Yunnan Province* (2005), *Regulations on the Protection of the LAT in Yunnan Province* (2006) and *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City* (2016).

Coding of these texts was based on my interview coding schemes, namely place-making, culture, value of Naxi language and Naxi language on LLs. For the textual analysis, I partly depended on traditional methods such as reading, understanding, thinking, and making notes on the laws and regulations that I have searched and printed. I also used NVivo to help me capture important points appearing in my textual data, as it can accommodate richer and larger amount of data (Dollah et al., 2017). With the assistance of NVivo, I could import all the laws and regulations into this software, and used 'Nodes' in organizing the documents, which are regarded as sets of codes (Laurie & Jensen, 2016). When I imported the four regulations made by the Yunnan local governments into NVivo, I got many theme nodes. The nodes enabled both data management and data analysis, and also helped illustrate the findings (Laurie & Jensen, 2016). Systematic use of the software allowed for the analysis of large numbers of texts, but there is a significant disadvantage of using software to do textual analysis—that is, after all texts are coded into different themes, they lose their context which could lead to inaccurate interpretation (Bauer, 2000). Therefore, I printed the relevant articles of these laws and regulations, repeatedly understood them in their contexts, and made notes on them.

In this section, taking into consideration my study on the LL, observations of activities and characteristics of LAT, interviews with a range of people living, working, or travelling in the old town, and textual analysis of policy documents, I have discussed the three important data sources for my study: LL data, interview data and textual data. Through the processes of data coding, themes of LL data, codes of interview data and nodes of textual data have been compiled and become key points, subheadings, and headings for my discussion. The overlapped and redundant codes have been reduced and key codes have been compared against or combined with each other. I was able to finally focus on three major themes that inform my findings: the contradiction between belonging to LAT and out-migration (Chapter 5), “low presence of Naxi language” (Chapter 6) and “critical intergenerational transmission of Naxi language because of language value” (Chapter 7).

4.5 Relevant ethical issues

My research was unlikely to constitute more risk to others, or to myself than was accorded in everyday life. I read and carefully considered the *Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Human Participants* (2017). I met with my supervisors and discussed in depth the potential ethical issues associated with this research. In particular, we considered issues such as the recruitment of participants, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, potential harm to participants and researchers. I also considered the risk assessment questions online set by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee to ascertain whether my work was of low risk which was confirmed. The risk was then judged and approved through peer review as being minor and in accordance with the low-risk guidelines. The important ethical issues that have been considered in detail include five aspects: 1) cultural sensitivity in interviews; 2) issue of LL digital photography in LAT; 3) risk of using WeChat; 4) publication of research results; and 5) representation of the voices of my participants relating to LAT.

The cultural sensitivity of the participants has been considered. Inter-ethnic relationship in China is a complicated topic, involving not only the collective historical consciousness fighting against Manchu (the minority ruler of China from the mid-17th century to the early 20th century) in China, but the dominance of Han Chinese and sinicisation of ethnic minorities since the founding of PRC (Crossley, 1990). Despite these issues, many ethnic minorities and Han Chinese have shared values in protecting Chinese national identity. Although there are some incidents of unrest that have happened in Xinjiang and Tibet areas and there are gaps and inconsistency between the promotion of Standard Chinese language and the implementation of

ethnic language policies, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the relationship between Han and most minorities basically remains harmonious. Nevertheless, there are cultural differences between Han and minorities and in the Han dominant society, ethnic minorities have not been fully represented in many public sectors (Chu, 2015). In this research, I am a Han majority in the context of Chinese society, but I am an ‘outsider’ in the context of the Naxi. This positioning of myself informed a potential power relation between being a majority Han researcher and my participants as minority Naxi people. As I was well aware of this power relation I adopted and carefully followed several practical skills and qualities as suggested by Liamputtong (2008, p. 6) and Smith (2000): Respect to the participants, such as listening, being humble, gentle, and cautious; and, or becoming involved in community activities to build a good rapport and working closely with local people. Respect without judgement toward the participants is particularly important in cross-cultural research.

In my field work, I recognised that some interview questions might cause discomfort, embarrassment or psychological or spiritual harm to the participants, especially to some seniors. During my interviews, I informed my participants that they could refuse to answer any question that might cause harm to them or retreat from the interviews at any time. As a Han Chinese person, I read many literatures and materials about Naxi people, their language, culture, and LAT, and talked with my supervisors and friends about relevant issues before the research. Potential harm to participants may be caused by cultural differences between Naxi and Han, and I noted some rules of etiquette and taboos in Naxi culture, such as avoiding sitting in the position where a Naxi senior would sit and, if invited to eat dinner with any participants to keep any chicken heads for seniors (Network, 2017). During the interviews, I always kept such cultural taboos in mind. As a Mandarin Chinese speaker, I talked with my participants in Mandarin Chinese. I found that all the participants in my fieldwork trips and WeChat interviews could understand and speak Mandarin Chinese. Not speaking Naxi language did not become a barrier for me talking with Naxi and non-Naxi participants.

The LL study did not require active participants, but someone usually ‘owns’ the signs in public places. However, LAT is a well-known tourist town and these owners always welcome travellers to take photographs in the town. In my fieldwork trips, I have not been stopped by any shop-owners for photographing his or her signs. Some young shopkeepers even arranged poses to support me and considered it as an advertisement for his/her shops.

With respect to my participants' willingness to participate, WeChat was employed for the interviews with most Naxi participants. Careful consideration was given to the use of WeChat in relation to ethical issues. Although WeChat has many benefits such as low cost, convenience and ease of handling, the platform may potentially be under official "monitoring and censorship" or connected with other data analysis in China (Lawrence, 2022, p. 158). I have been aware of potential risk and avoided sensitive words in my question design and interviews. When I designed the interview questions, I made efforts to mediate and avoid sensitive words and questions about political and ethnic concerns. Acknowledgement of these concerns in the introduction to interviewing was given to my Naxi participants, as well as assurance of the participant's being anonymous in my thesis. Thus, following Tan et al. (2020), I made it clear to my participants before each interview that any participation on WeChat was voluntary and they have rights to quit at any time.

While it is possible that any publication of research results may cause the risk of discomfort, embarrassment or psychological or spiritual harm to Naxi people, steps were taken to avoid this eventuality. First of all, before interviews, I requested their consent to be my participants. Secondly, I informed the participants that the findings would be used for my doctoral thesis and papers with anonymity of their private and confidential information. Finally, I made every effort to avoid sensitive words in the writing of the thesis and papers. Any identifying details were removed from the interview sheets and interviewees were referred to by a code name (or number) determined by and known only to me (as shown in Chapter 6, 7 and 8).

Representation of the voices of my participants in the paradigm of social constructionism also needed ethical consideration. Social constructionist positioning required me to incorporate the subjective reflection from my participants on the vitality of Naxi language. Cross-cultural practice is based on humans actively responding to what has been created and recreated in the society from their own different cultural backgrounds (Lee & Greene, 1999; Newton et al., 2011). Among my participants, there were Naxi, non-Naxi business people and travellers and there was myself as a Han Chinese researcher. I needed to be aware of and be able to present the perspectives of these different groups in relation to Naxi language and culture, particularly the ideas and feelings of the Naxi group. In addition, I am a Han rather a Naxi and a visitor rather than a person working or living in LAT. It is an ethical requirement for me to reliably demonstrate the voices of my participants from the chosen social context of LAT. Thus, three strategies have been used to encourage the ideas from my participants: Firstly, anonymity of private and confidential information of the participants was clearly informed to encourage them

to respond to the questions to reflect their real ideas. Secondly, triangulation of LL data, unstructured observation data and interview data is a significant solution to identify, supplement and ensure presentation and representation of the voices of Naxi and people relating to LAT in the study. After all, talking with a Han researcher to reflect their personal attitude to a Han is hard for a Naxi in reality. Thirdly, the selection of LAT is also a strategy to mitigate political, social, and economic harm to Naxi. LAT has been a tourism town for nearly 30 years. As one of earliest places to open to tourists in China, it has been converged on by different cultures and languages for a long time. Its social context allows people here to express themselves more openly.

4.6 Methodological limitations

At the time of doing this research, I was based at Massey University, in Wellington, New Zealand. When I needed to do fieldwork, there was long-distance travel from New Zealand to Lijiang. Time constraints and access to participants limited my study progress and early data collection. I visited LAT three times and stayed there for about 10 days for each visit. The two scoping visits included a detailed plan, including duties to complete, travel tickets and accommodations. Within the scheduled time, I encountered some problems with data collection.

First, I really struggled to find and gain access to appropriate participants. I did find WeChat, helpful as a complementary tool for conducting interviews. But it is still not easy to get access to unknown participants and I needed to be patient waiting for a response to my efforts to recruit more active and effective informants. During this period, I changed from one informant to another. It was another university teacher from Yunnan Minzu University, who introduced his Naxi students to me and helped me open up the process of frequent interviews on WeChat. And with the assistance from these Naxi students, I finished the interviews of their parents and grandparents.

Second, much understanding, thinking and reflections have been done during the process of collating interview data. On the one hand, the amount and kind of information that participants gave varied depending on the time they had to contribute and the knowledge and experience they had. For example, most of the business people only answered the questions that I asked, as they were usually very busy. The travellers, however, had more free time and experiences of travelling in other places and so gave much more information about what they had seen, and also made comparisons between LAT and other places, but their responses were not so helpful for my study of the Naxi, and I adopted little information from travellers for my data analysis. On the other hand, I could not always be confident of the reliability of my participant's

responses. For example, although two participants were of similar age, and therefore likely to have had similar upbringing and schooling experiences, they gave totally different answers to the question if they had learned Dongba scripts in their primary school or secondary school. One gave a definite yes answer, but the other gave a negative answer and there was no easy explanation of these differences.

Third, my photography of the LL has been done in the three visits in the LAT (in 2014, 2018 and 2020) and encountered some challenges. It was difficult to take relevant photos for the LL study in the early visit as I was still not quite sure of my research focus. When I took photos for the LL study in the chosen streets, I felt uncertain about which photos were most relevant and which perspective would be exactly used, so I firstly showed my supervisors the photos that I took in 2014, then talked with them the photos taken in 2018. Based on these photos and supervisions from them, I made a matrix (Appendix 1) to sort out these photos. In my last scoping work in LAT, I took another section of photos and a video of the signs in Dongda Street to complement my LL corpus. But I found the two streets (Sifang Street and Dongda Street) that I had chosen as main research sites were actually one street and a half. The Dongda Street is divided into two parts by a river, Yuhe River. The river runs along the street and breaks it into two halves. I decided to give up taking photos of the signs on other half of the street, not only because of the barrier of the river (taking photos along the river is dangerous for me), but also because the trees along the river covered my view of many signs.

Fourth, I had three main types of different data (LL data, interview data and textual data) and had to collect and analyse them with different methods and strategies. The collection of LL data depended on observation and taking photos, interview data were gathered via WeChat and face-to-face interviews, while the documents used as textual data were released by all levels of governments and UNESCO. All these are individually flawed, but they are mitigated through the combination of the three data (Turner et al., 2017). But the collection of these three kinds of data was challenging, particularly the textual data from laws and regulations.

Last, my study included many sections and points that needed translating from Chinese language. Besides many laws and regulations, my interviews are conducted in Han Chinese and most LL texts are also displayed in Chinese (including Naxi language). Although English texts have been demonstrated in the LL, most of them have not been translated appropriately. The whole process of understanding and analysis of interview data, LL data and textual data cannot be finished without proper translation and interpretation.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined my methodological approach to answering the research questions, including research design based on the theory of social constructionism and a mixed methods case-study approach, research methods and process of data collection, data coding and analysis, reflection on ethical issues in terms of my research and methodological limitations. The combination of preliminary quantitative data, LL data, interview data with various groups of participants and textual analysis on policy/regulation constitutes triangulation of data collection methods and data sources and facilitates validation of data results. The data from the textual analysis were also used as part of my data triangulation strategy where I used the information from these government and UNESCO texts alongside my observations and interviews to find out more about the contradictions and tensions between the governments' regulations on the one hand and the expectations of the Naxi people in relation to their language and the LAT on the other. The methodological approach is a guideline for conducting my research and helps me keep a clear mind in the process of whole research.

In the following chapter, I will turn to Linguistic Landscapes to explore and analyse the visibility and vitality of Naxi language in the public space of LAT. As one of the important elements of place making, relationships of Naxi language with the other languages in the LL can help to understand the relevant social, cultural, and economic relations.

Chapter 5 Naxi language in the Linguistic Landscape

This chapter examines the visibility and usage of Naxi in the LL. In the multicultural context of the old town, the LL is raised by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Cain et al. (2011) as a “gestalt”, that is not erected independently of its context and purpose. For me, the gestalt centres on the competition of languages on signage in public spaces and the relationship of Naxi language with the other languages—notably Mandarin and English—in the installed social, cultural, and economic systems of LAT.

The landscape of signs not only constitutes physical objects, but also is associated with colours, meanings, locations, and represents changes in economy, culture, and society. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997), the LL indicates the competition for territory and boundary in a given terrain. Backhaus (2007) suggests drawing attention to the relationship of coexistent signage built in different times. The LL is also analysed as “a confluence of systems” with independent elements (Kallen, 2010, p. 42), in which marketplace, portals, walls, detritus zone, community and school are categorised as the various systems.

My focus in this chapter is on ascertaining the intention and purpose of those who erected particular signage as well as understanding how elements of power, identity and audience help explain the position of Naxi language in the LL. I sampled a total of 206 signs from the facades of 92 shops and 2 offices in Sifang Street and half of Dongda Street, two selected streets of the old town. A quantitative analysis of what languages were used and what functions the LL may play was also the purpose of my study. Then I selected 9 signs to illustrate the key points and concentrated on framing my analysis of the gestalt through four aspects: language choice, language agency, LL functions and characteristics of Naxi language in the LL. Language choice is presented to examine the power and status of the Han characters, the English text and the Dongba script in relation to their communities in LAT; Language agency is analysed through categories of official (top-down) signs and nonofficial (bottom-up) signs to reveal symbolic construction and power relations in the public space of the town; From functions that the LL plays in LAT, the LL with and without Dongba scripts is sought to have different effects and the symbolic function of Dongba script is demonstrated; From characteristics of the LL and features of different languages on it, the construction of social context in LAT to attract audience is found.

5.1 Language choice in LLs

Language choice is regarded as a language practice, supported by social power and guided by language ideology. As Soukup (2016) suggests: “choosing between different languages or varieties draws the respective social meanings (ideologies, attitudes, stereotypes) into the interactional meaning-making process” (p.5). In the case of the old town signage, I was looking for evidence of choices between use of Mandarin (the language of power in China), English (the dominant language of international tourism); and Dongba, the “authentic” language of the regional culture that LAT is famous for. Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Shohamy (2006) both connected language choice with the status and power of a language in relation to communities in public spaces. Therefore, the social status of a community and the power of its language is transmitted into language practice; thus, becoming visible in the LL. I apply the notion of language choice to interpret the competition, power, and influence of Naxi language with the other languages in the LL. The distribution of Naxi language in the LL has been analysed through counting the collected data. Then, to observe the ideas of language choice, I have chosen two standalone signs: the sign of Shaoshi Chinese Traditional Pharmacy and the sign of Lijiang Souvenir, which generally highlight the choice of Mandarin as a dominant language.

5.1.1 Low presence of Naxi language

The analysis of language choice between the use of Mandarin characters, English texts and Dongba script helped me understand the situation of both power relations and identity markers of Naxi language in the LL. The regulation in *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City*, stipulated that the Dongba script should be displayed on the signs of tourism businesses in LAT (Lijiang Municipality Government, 2016). Mandarin and at least one foreign language should also be presented on public signs in Lijiang City (Xia & Li, 2016), with the important foreign language being specified as the English language in 2019 in the regulation of *Interim Measures of Access and Exit Management of Market Operational Project in Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town*. According to the regulations, at least three languages should be presented in public signs in LAT: Naxi language, Mandarin, and English. Out of 206 signs, I noticed the predominance of Mandarin in the street signs and a high proportion of trilingual signs with Mandarin, English and Naxi language. Mandarin, as the most dominant language, appeared on 99% of all the chosen signs, and as the only language on monolingual signs, appeared on 34.5% of the total signs (Table 6). The privilege of Mandarin gained its physical evidence through its general visibility on most of the signage. Trilingual signs, containing Naxi, Mandarin and English, constitute 48.5% of the sample of signs. The three languages were usually displayed

in the commercial business names of the establishments. As a second presence language in the LLs in the two streets, English was used in 64% of all signs, which exceeded the presence of Naxi language constituting 51.9% (Table 6). Apart from multilingual signs, Naxi language seldom appeared on bilingual signs. With the total 206 signs in the chosen streets, there were only 1.5% Naxi bilingual signs and no Naxi monolingual signs (Table 6). In most cases, Naxi language retained lower visibility than English, the foreign language.

Table 6 Language choices on LLs in LAT

Language choices	Number	Percentage
Naxi only	0	0
Mandarin only	71	34.5
English only	2	0.97
Naxi + Mandarin	3	1.5
Naxi + English	0	0
Mandarin + English	20	9.7
Mandarin + other	0	0
Naxi + Mandarin + English	100	48.5
Naxi + Mandarin + other	0	0
Mandarin + English + others	6	2.9
Naxi + Mandarin + English + others	4	1.9
Total	206	

The situation raises a question asked by Spolsky (2009), when he recalled his description of the languages in the Old City of Jerusalem, that “who were these English readers who would want names written in other languages?” In such a religious city of Hebrew and Arab, English is widespread, and some signs can only be read in English. In relation to the language choice on the LLs in LAT, similar question is raised as “who are the Mandarin and English readers who want the signs written in other languages?” Linked with the discussions in Chapter 2, out-migration of Naxi from the old town was replaced by the in-migration of business people from outside of the region and flows of travellers. This means that the people in the town are largely business people and travellers who are using Mandarin as their communicative language and/or who wish to use English to appeal to foreign travellers.

The presence of English in the LL of LAT implicates the impact of this global *lingua franca* in China and influences the vitality of ethnic minority language. Yang (2012) found that there was a prevalent belief that English, besides Mandarin Chinese, was linguistic capital, which was overgeneralised by national policy in ethnic areas, and made no allowance for peripheral

ethnic minority students in education. In the socio-economic environment in China since the 1980s, people generally believe that English, as a global *lingua franca*, can support an individual to succeed in academics and to acquire a good job opportunity. The belief is manipulated by the Central government and embedded in the education policy that English is taught as a mandatory course from Grade three in primary school to university since 2003 (Feng & Adamson, 2018). However, the policy overlooks the unfavourable conditions for students in ethnic areas, because under the same competition, they have to learn one more language besides Mandarin and English, that is their mother language. This has not left enough time for them to learn their mother tongue at school and results in negative effects to their mother language.

5.1.2 Accurate connotation and appealing status of Han characters

The accurate connotation and appealing status of Han characters (written Chinese Mandarin) in each multilingual sign determine the readers' choice in understanding the signs and helped me understand who was being attracted as an 'audience' for the sign. The English script, while seldom as dominant as the Mandarin, is still bold and clear. Sitting simultaneously with the Han characters and English texts, however, the Dongba script seems to be minimised and is less visible to the audience, Figure 17 illustrates this tendency.

Figure 17 Shopfront sign of Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

In the sign above, the literal translation of the commercial name into English is based in Chinese culture, with little connection with Naxi. I translate the Han characters of “邵氏中药堂” into Shaoshi Chinese Traditional Pharmacy, in which “Shaoshi 邵氏” refers to the owner of the pharmacy, whose family name is “Shao 邵”. The family name has been translated into

“Shaoshi” in a Chinese way and in the form of Pinyin⁴³ romanisation. Such a way of naming was popular in the mainland of China in the period of the Republic of China (RC) (1912-1949). As “Shao” is a Han Chinese family name, the sign shows that the owner of the pharmacy is a Han rather a Naxi. “中药堂” indicates that Chinese traditional medicine instead of western medicine is being sold in this pharmacy, which can also be judged from the piles and bags of traditional medicinal materials in Figure 18. Many Chinese travellers like to buy traditional medicine in this area, because the region of Lijiang is well-known for its growing and use of various medicinal plants to prevent and cure diseases and improve health, such as treating eye diseases, colds, stomach-aches, tonifying and moistening lungs and calming the nerves (Zhang et al., 2015). The literal translation does not, however, make the focal point of Naxi’s ethnobotanical knowledge of the food and herbal medical therapy stand out. Although Naxi and its surrounding communities are famous for collecting and using traditional medicines, this pharmacy seems to have no direct connection with the Naxi tradition, where all the medicines are described in Han characters. It can be seen from this example that the presence of the Naxi language in the commercial sign is only symbolic.


Figure 18 Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

⁴³ Pinyin is the Romanised pronunciation of the Chinese characters, which was started from Qin Dynasty and adopted by the Chinese government in 1958 to improve the literacy of people and standardise the pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%B1%89%E8%AF%AD%E6%8B%BC%E9%9F%B3/454?fromtitle=%E6%8B%BC%E9%9F%B3&fromid=16379041&fr=aladdin>

The English text and Dongba script depend on the Chinese characters to convey their information in this sign. The English word “medicine” corresponds to the Han character with “药”, which is usually understood as western medicine. The texts of “Chinese medicine (中药)” in some degree can help the audience understand the sign. It is also difficult to understand the English text of “hall (堂)” in this sign. In the Oxford English Dictionary, “hall” is explained as “a large space covered by a roof”, such as “a hall in a temple, palace, court or royal residence” (“Hall,” 2020, p. n.p.), which is similar to the explanation of “堂 (hall)” in the Han Chinese dictionary. But, when it is used in the context of traditional Chinese medicine, “堂” should be understood connecting with the verb “坐 (sit)”, and “坐堂” here describes the unique way that Chinese traditional practitioners examine and treat their patients (Zhang, 2012). On the sign in this particular shop, however, “药堂” is supposed to be translated as “pharmacy” instead of “medicine hall”, because it is only for selling medicine and there is no doctor examining and treating patients. Traditionally the Chinese medicine hall or pharmacy does have two separated areas within one house: one is the medicines usually positioned in the front hall and the other is at the back office where Chinese medical doctors are there for clinical appointments. If only for medicines, usually it would be called “药铺”, where that would not provide clinical treatments by Chinese medical doctors.

The Dongba script  displayed in the sign that could be translated as “pharmacy” has a different meaning to the same script used in other shop signs, where it generally refers to a “flower shop”. In 2012, an investigation was organised by the official departments in LAT to examine 700 signs with the displays of Dongba scripts and found that mistakes appeared in 648 signs, about 92.6% of all the surveyed signs (Wang, 2012). Moreover, Dongba scripts, are used as a memory-aid writing system in Dongba priests’ ritual activities, and not as a full written language based on a codified alphabet. The ‘pictograms’ comprising the scripts do not strictly correspond to direct physical objects, and different Dongba scripts use different individual handwritings (Poupard, 2020). The fluid and non-fixed nature of Dongba scripts has been a challenge for non-fluent speakers to understand, such as me and most of my participants. Also, the number of existing Dongba scripts are limited to only about 1400 words (Zhou, 2019). It is challenging to describe the range and diversity of contemporary items with the symbolically condensed pictograms.

The Han characters have been designed in popular and appealing handwriting in the sign above. The commercial name of Shaoshi Chinese Traditional Pharmacy (“邵氏中药堂”) was printed in the font of Running Handwriting in Chinese brush calligraphy (行书). This calligraphy, also named as a semi-cursive script, is regarded as the most popular script among the five brush calligraphy styles, including Regular scripts (楷书), Running scripts (行书), Clerical scripts (隶书), Seal scripts (篆书) and Cursive or Grass scripts (草书) (Yang et al., 2014, p. 1). Brush was the most common handwriting tool in ancient China and had been used for over two thousand years, since or even before the Warring States period⁴⁴(Zhangguo period) (475-221BC) (You, 2015). Different from pen handwriting, brush writing needs to control the basic types of skeletons, stroke edges and writing speed. Clerical scripts and Seal scripts are not the easily and widely used styles in modern China, for their skeleton and stroke edges are difficult to produce. Among the other three popular handwritings, Yang, et al. (2014) stated that the Running scripts, whose strokes flew energetically and writing speed was moderate, produced smoother characters than the Regular scripts, and was easier to be recognised than the Grass scripts. Carrying forward the advantages of Regular scripts and Cursive scripts, the Running Handwriting expresses aesthetic and practical virtues of Chinese traditional brush handwriting. The employment of the Running Handwriting increases the attraction of Han characters and leaves little attention to the Dongba scripts.

Another evident characteristic of the sign is the relatively large size of the Chinese characters, squeezing the Dongba scripts to be covered by the eave and leaving some space for English to the bottom. In a sign, there is usually a hierarchy of visibility, giving one language more space than the others (Backhaus, 2006). The hierarchy suggests that the language that takes up more space or is in more dominant font is given greater attention and is seen as the original or ‘real’ language version, while the other fonts are seen to be in subordinate positions and as translations (Backhaus, 2006). This example is just one of many commercial signs in LAT in which the Chinese characters occupy more space and are given more attention. In addition, as the example has shown, only the Chinese characters accurately reflect what kind of business activity is taking place. The Dongba scripts are symbolically condensed in the pictogram and open to multiple translations, while the English texts are not accurate translations. Moreover,

⁴⁴ The Warring States period was a period in China’s history ranging from 475BC to 221BC, ended by the Qin Dynasty, the first unified empire in China. It is characterised by warfare and social reforms. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%88%98%E5%9B%BD/4819?fromtitle=%E6%88%98%E5%9B%BD%E6%97%B6%E6%9C%9F&fromid=945182&fr=aladdin>

the use of capital letters in the English version are inconsistent: the initial letter of “medicine” should be consistent with the other words, which all use the upper case “M”. This mistreatment of English and Dongba translation and presentation in the commercial signs further suggests that the prominent status belongs to Chinese characters in the LL of LAT.

Other factors, including the colours and images on the sign, also need to be addressed. The texts of Han, Dongba and English appear in yellow, forming a contrast to the background of the dark board. The yellow colour scheme of the texts suggests vibrancy and excitement. The black background, however, reflects the traditional philosophies and the worship of black as one colour in the Five Elements⁴⁵(五行), as recognised in Taoism (道教) and some minority communities in southwest China (Dong, 2018). In the philosophy of Five Elements in the Chunqiu Period⁴⁶(770-476 BC), a formative period of Chinese intellectual and political tradition, black symbolised darkness, evening, and the pole of heaven; while yellow symbolised the earth and was defined as the imperial colour from the Sui Dynasty⁴⁷(581-619 AD) to the Song Dynasty(960-1279AD) (S. Yu, 2007). The worship of the colour black was at the core of Taoism, in which black symbolised mother, representing infinitely nobility and greatness; while in Yi and some ethnic minorities in southwest China, black symbolised honour and high-ranking (Cai, 2003). In these sections of Chinese culture, black is a noble and sacred colour, which, when used together with yellow, is not a random collocation. Both give expression to the value of greatness and sacredness.

Four images appear symmetrically on the four corners of the sign. To the untrained, monolingual English eye, these images may appear as meaningless embellishments or decoration designed to make the sign pretty or decorative. To a Chinese eye, however, the ‘decoration’ is composed of three elements, each of which symbolises auspiciousness in Chinese culture: antler, bat, and cloud (Figure 19).

⁴⁵ The Five Elements is a traditional philosophy, started from the Chunqiu period, used to explain the formation and interaction of all the things in the world started from Taoism in ancient China. They are proposed to describe the movement and transforming of being and the five basic elements are wood, fire, earth, metal and water. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%BA%94%E8%A1%8C/156697?fr=aladdin>

⁴⁶ The Chunqiu Period is a period lasting for 295 years, ranging from 770BC to 476BC. The name originated from a historical book in this period and recorded an era of independent vassal states and booms of ancient humanistic culture. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%98%A5%E7%A7%8B/982807?fromtitle=%E6%98%A5%E7%A7%8B%E6%97%B6%E6%9C%9F&fromid=511882&fr=aladdin>

⁴⁷ The Sui Dynasty is a short period of unifying the whole country after four centuries’ fragmentation in China, lasting from 581 to 618. It laid a foundation for the following prosperity and long duration of the Tang Dynasty. Retrieved from <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/china-history/the-sui-dynasty.htm>

Figure 19 Detailed feature of Shaoshi Pharmacy of Traditional Chinese medicine sign



Red: antler, Yellow: cloud, Whole image: bat

According to Hu (2019), the animal “deer” is pronounced as “lu (鹿)” in Mandarin Chinese, having the same pronunciation as “禄(lu)”, which means the emolument paid as a salary to officials by the government. The salary was and is regarded as an ideal payment for many Chinese. It usually refers to a stable and promising income for ordinary people. It is also called ‘iron bowls’ meaning the stability of working for the governments that people desire because this type of job implies a relatively high social status. In the sign, the antler of a deer is placed in the middle of the image, representing that the animal signifies the expectation of making a fortune. The bat, named in Mandarin Chinese as “bianfu (蝙蝠)”, which has the same pronunciation of “遍福 (bianfu)”, means happiness everywhere or all over happiness. The whole image looks like a bat, who is extending its wings. At the ends of two wings and below them are variants of two clouds, which are usually named as “祥云” in traditional Chinese culture and translated as “auspicious clouds”. The images express the wishes of common people for happiness and auspiciousness and reflect strong aesthetic values in Han Chinese culture.

The sign, from text, colour, font, and decoration, carries a rich and diversified connotation of Chinese mainstream culture, Han culture. In combination, the Han characters’ accurate connotation, appealing handwriting, colour, and large font size are perceived as the core for traveller’s guidance, which determines the reader’s understanding of the signs. Sitting alongside these Han characters, the Dongba scripts seem to be ambiguous in meaning, of small size and humble in position. Although the presence of Dongba does provides some “identity marker” of Naxi Culture, in terms of “power relations”, it is clear in this sign that Han Chinese signifies greater power. In terms of audience attractiveness, both Chinese and English speakers have access to what the sign says, and they appear to be the two main audiences.

5.1.3 Increasing application of English and related regulations

English, as well as Pinyin Romanized spelling of Chinese words, occupies a high presence in the LL of LAT, and reflects the function it plays in the town and the support it gains from related regulations and government policy. Many of the young Chinese people who are engaged in tourism in the LAT can speak English in response to the large number of English-speaking tourists in this area (H. Yang, 2015). They are able to use the English appearing in the LL as a support for them to introduce the town, by pointing out signs that English speakers can read for themselves. In addition to English speaking tourists, another reason leading to the high presence of English in the LAT is the status of English language in China's national education promoted by the opening-up policy and internationalisation from 1978 (Pan & Block, 2011). The generations born after the 1960s were required to learn English language as a school subject for the Unified Examination for University Entrance (UEUE) in China and from my conversations with some Naxi speakers and my personal experiences, this has produced an interest and engagement with English language. Luo (2014) recorded that the high presence of English in the town also related to the adoption of *The Naxi Language Programme* in 1957 by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC). In this programme, the Latin alphabet was adopted to use as a spelling plan for Naxi language to increase the literacy level of Naxi people (Luo, 2014). My conversations with Naxi speakers suggest that although this approach has not been popular and few Naxi people like to use the Latin spelling to write their language, similar Pinyin Romanised spelling is visible in the LL of LAT (Figure 20).

Figure 20 Shopfront sign of Lijiang Souvenir



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

The sign of Lijiang Souvenir as shown in Figure 19 was chosen as a representative of Pinyin Romanised spelling to demonstrate the importance of English language in the LL. “麗江優禮”, the original complex form of Chinese characters of “麗江优礼”, means “excellent souvenirs in Lijiang” and demonstrates the elegance and seriousness of Chinese characters. The sign has four parts: two red symbolic logos sit on either side of three lines on text, at the top is the Dongba scripts, in the middle is complex ‘old’ Chinese characters, and at the bottom is Romanised Pinyin scripts. To the left of the commercial name (the lines of text), the logo has been designed to indicate Lijiang (麗江) as a place. It appears as a very stylised form of the Chinese characters for Lijiang, so that it looks like a river running through mountains and carries the meaning that this is the upper part of Yangtze River (the longest river in China), which goes through this region and forms the famous and unique landscape that draws in tourists (Wu, 2011). After the commercial name, on the far right, there is another logo printed with three Chinese characters (意生活, in Cursive Handwriting), which means “satisfied lives” and here indicates a brand name or a chain store. There is a depiction of a cloud or pieces of clouds appearing above and below the logo text, forming the Han traditional image of “auspiciousness”. The two logos and cloud images exist to modify the commercial name, illustrating where the souvenirs come from and what function they perform. Modified by the logos and images, the traveller is guided to read the commercial name to suggest an idea of satisfied lives related to the proximity of great and powerful river. But it is hard for most contemporary Chinese to read the original complex font of Chinese characters, as the standard Chinese writing system has been changed to the simple one since 1956 (Wang, 2014). People who were born after this date generally read and write in the simplified Chinese characters. Thus, few people in mainland China are used to reading the complex Han texts. In this sign, the Pinyin Romanisation acts as a key role in understanding the commercial name.

The obvious contrast colours in the sign between its background and font, appeal to travellers coming from the north entrance of LAT. It is the first souvenir shop located near the crossing of Dongda Street and Yuhe Square, (where the north border between the old town and the new town of Lijiang City sits) and the north entrance to the LAT is nearby. The light cream background of the whole sign is a clear contrast to the font colour of texts (black) and images (red), as well as the dark brown of the shop front. In Han culture, black and red are generally accepted as popular formal colours, with black formally used in Chinese traditional writings and red on formal occasions or festivals to symbolise happiness (Kommonen, 2011; Lu, 2010).

Almost invisible in the photograph, is a small, inharmonious, and white tab appearing at the right bottom corner of the sign, which exists alone and jars with the other colours of the sign. Seven Chinese characters and two numbers are printed in this tiny tab: “古广准字 (18) 年第 1002 号”, which means the sign has been examined and given permission to be hung in 2018. It demonstrates that the sign is approved according to *Regulations on the Approval and Administration of Signboards in Dayan Ancient Town of Lijiang*. The regulation stipulates not only the required languages, the Han character, the Dongba script and the English text, but also the material and measurement of the signs. The regulation further stipulates that the signs need to be made of solid wood, with carved words and a measurement of 140cm in length and 40cm in width. The language requirement was confirmed by another regulation: *Interim Measures of Access and Exit Management of Market Operational Project in Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town* (2019), in which the language requirement is also restricted to the Han character, the Dongba script and the English text. However, the latter did not mention any requirement about the board material, word form and measurement.

The use of English has been required in the above two regulations and the increasing appearance of English texts reflects the function of guiding international tourists they perform in the town and the support they receive from the regulations made by the governments. In the case that sign makers use a unique way to design their signs and the Han characters are unreadable, the English texts enable the audience to understand the sign with the help of Pinyin Romanisation. The Dongba script is still acting as decorative text and providing an ‘identity marker’ of the Naxi culture. In terms of audience’s language choice, English texts are a more important language of communication than the Dongba scripts that remain largely symbolic.

5.2 Language agency

Not all the language signs in LAT displayed the Dongba scripts according to the regulations on language choice. Of the 206 signs in LAT, 77 signs (37.4%) were built officially, but only 9 signs (4.4%) contained Dongba scripts, including four toilet signs, two street signs, two building signs and one official office sign. The signs showing Dongba scripts are only 11.7% of all top-down signs. The lack of Dongba scripts in most of the official signs was a general feature of the LL in LAT.

As the actual or potential originators of language choice in the LL, language agency refers to those who select and determine what languages need to be demonstrated on LL signs (Loth, 2016). The person who can determine the language choice is influenced by many factors.

Malinowski (2008) employed authorship in his investigation of the contradiction that has emerged in debates about agency in the LL contexts and posited it as “mutually constituted by individual intention and social convention” (p.116). The individual intention usually contains the purpose, thoughts and ambitions of the LL owner and makers; the social convention is often embodied by rules and regulations with the influence of globalisation or multiculturalism (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Spolsky, 2009). In LAT, the related stipulations on choosing the Han character, the Dongba script and the English text have been made by the LMG (stated in Section 5.1), and conducted by the ABLAT, the institution being in charge of LAT. Accepting that the administrative restrictions and regulations are in place, I wanted to explore the individual intentions of the person who puts up the sign. Four specific signs are chosen to reveal individual intention and social convention involved in language agency of the LL in LAT, which can generally answer the actual and potential thinking behind the sign-making in this tourist destination. At the same time, the four signs are analysed in two distinguishing categories: one as official (top-down) signs and the other as non-official (bottom-up) signs. The categorisation has been developed by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) to reveal the “symbolic construction of public space” (p.7). The following two top-down signs were basically set up by ABLAT and the other two bottom-up signs were built by the business people.

5.2.1 The agency of top-down signs

The following “Self-service of Luggage Locker” is my first example of a top-down sign (Figure 21). It was chosen as a sample to see the language, content, and culture that the language agency (mainly ABLAT) intended to display. Language agency is tied closely to the concept of power relations as those who produce top-down signs are the people who have the power to do so— they are part of the machinery of government and city organisation (Dressler, 2015).

Figure 21 Top-down sign of Self-service of Luggage Locker



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

The above sign indicates the service (luggage locker) is provided by the official office in the town as a service for the travellers, when they travel in the town. The Han characters of “自助行李寄存” means “a luggage can be stored, locked and taken away by its owner”. Such services have been widely introduced into supermarkets in China for consumers’ convenience when they shop. In LAT, the service is offered to reduce the burden for travellers and create a hospitable environment, where travellers need not carry their heavy bags from one place to another or struggle on the cobbled streets. Supported by the white background, the Regular Handwriting (楷书) of Han characters in black indicates formal and serious writing. Different from the Running Handwriting (行书), the Regular scripts stands out with clear strokes and a straight skeleton, making the characters easy to recognise. The Regular script is regarded as a standard handwriting of Han characters and widely employed in the official documents in China (Yang et al., 2014). As stated in 5.1, black, as a colour in Chinese traditional culture, means greatness and seriousness (Lu, 2010), and has been chosen as an ordinary color for the top-down signs in LAT. Sitting in contrast to the black texts, the white background commends the content of the sign in modern society. Although such a white background is employed by the official agencies now and then to highlight some important information, they rarely appear in bottom-up signs. Signs made by individuals (bottom-up) tend to pay greater attention to the traditional taboo of white as a colour in Chinese culture, as it symbolises sadness, unluckiness, fear and death (Y. Yang, 2018). Those business people, who hope to make profits from their shops, are reluctant to use white colour as the background of their commercial name.

The Luggage Service selected English texts as the supporting version to the Han characters, but left no space for Dongba scripts. “SELF-SERVICE BAGGAGE ACCESS” was used as a translation to the Chinese version, which would be easily understood by native English speakers but not necessarily by those who spoke English as a second language (such as other Europeans or non-Chinese speakers from other parts of Asia). To me, the English seemed vague and I found it hard to imagine the form of ‘access’ to the travellers’ luggage. When I turned to look around the office, I found the luggage lockers on the other side of the office and understood what a traveller could do with it (Figure 22).

Figure 22 Photo of a self-service luggage locker



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

There are two banks of self-service luggage lockers, each constituting 14 containers, and these are similar in design and set up to those the supermarkets supply. They would be easily recognised by Chinese travellers arriving from big cities where supermarkets are common. Although the outside doors are made of thick, heavy wood and decorated with Naxi traditional hollowed-carving, the lockers displaying modern automated equipment, are light green in colour and inset with logging-in code panels. The style of the lockers is consistent with the modern style of the sign on the office’s shop front, but it is far removed from the Naxi culture.

Figure 23 Logos and images on the top of a Self-service Luggage Locker



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

The logos and images on the top of the sign of Self-service Luggage Locker has no literal connection with Naxi (Figure 23). The first is “丽江古城” (Lijiang Ancient Town), displayed in two fonts: “丽江” (Lijiang), Han characters printed in the Cursive Handwriting (草书); “古城”, Han characters in the Regular Handwriting (楷书) and “Old Town of Lijiang”, another translation of LAT, printed in English texts. Above the three Han characters of “江古城”, three images, refer to the three important titles that confirm the reputation of the town: “World Heritage (Patrimoine Mondial)”, “China’s 5A Tourism City” and “Lijiang Ancient Town of China”. The first image of World Heritage was awarded by UNESCO. To help handle the growing threats and conservation challenges to heritage sites with universal value in different countries, UNESCO issued the provision of *Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1972 (Meskell, 2013). LAT was inscribed as a World Heritage site by UNESCO accordingly in 1997 (ICOMOS, 1997). The title played a key role in attracting public and private investment and tourists, which became a driving force for the fast development of the local economy (Cui et al., 2011). Due to the legal support and substantial benefits it has brought to the town, the UNESCO logo is now represented in many official signs and documents. The second logo, China’s 5A Tourism City, was assessed and awarded by the General Administration of Quality Supervision (GAQS) and Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China (IQPRC), to demonstrate the highest quality of tourism in LAT, according to *The Grading and Evaluation on Scenic Spots Based on Tourism Quality* (National Tourism Administration, 2012). The grading and evaluation of tourism quality is mainly based on three aspects: one is the quality of services; another is the overall scenic quality of the area and the last is the feedbacks from travellers. The grading has been classified into five grades starting

with the highest: 5A, 4A, 3A, 2A and 1A. The higher the grade a tourism city has been given, the higher the quality it is proved to have provided. LAT has been granted a “5A Tourism City” and the image on the sign demonstrates the highest quality of services and environment that LAT offers and the response it gets from visitors. The last logo may have been designed by the ABLAT, but it is difficult to find out about its source, even on the official LAT website. In this round image, the Chinese characters, “中国丽江古城”, and its translation in English, “Old Town of Lijiang, China” surround an image of a mansion, which appears to represent the style of the old houses in the town. As it is not related to any official regulations or laws, but based on the content it expresses, my guess is that it is simply used to represent the town.

The second logo of “行李小二” is the combination of ancient culture and modern culture. It can be translated into English as “a lobby boy”, who is in charge of luggage. It is a way to call a lobby boy in ancient China. If we translate the Han characters literally, it can be expressed as “luggage minor two”. For a shop owner in the ancient times, multiple ways to address except for calling them ‘boss (老板)’, which is likely a borrowing word from the Western colonial period in China, or potentially a dialectal expression. A shop owner could be called ‘店家’ or ‘掌柜的’ while ‘younger brother or boy (小二)’ might also be called ‘bartender (店小二)’ or ‘伙计’. According to Si (2020), in ancient China, the person who was rich enough to run a business, such as inns, tea stores and restaurants, was often called “elder brother (老大)”, referring to “boss”. And the person who was employed as a waiter in the store was usually named as “younger brother or boy (小二)” to make the difference between him and his boss in terms of social status. The image of “行李小二, a lobby boy” is the face of a young cat, who wears a big smile and a bow. Such image implies that the lobby boy is from western culture rather than ancient Chinese culture. In ancient China, a lobby boy usually wore coarse clothes and wrapped his head with a cloth, instead of wearing a bow. The sign maker appears to have mixed these two different cultural references together but it is not clear what the intention was other than, perhaps to demonstrate an enthusiastic and responsible attitude to travellers. The travellers from outside of the Old Town become the intended audience for the language agency (ABLAT). The sign employs the culture that the visitors are familiar with to cater their interests. In the public space, consideration has been rationally focused on the audience’s interests and space has been logically kept for their culture (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006).

The language agency (ABLAT) in LAT intends to welcome travellers by providing modern services as well as, simultaneously demonstrating the achievements of LAT in their signs. The main content are expressed in Han characters and English texts, with logos and images that are chosen from official or legal provisions. Some of the signs contain mixed cultural references that reinforce the idea that these are modern and globalised signs. But it fails to display the Dongba script and Naxi culture. No content has been designed to be expressed through the Naxi language. As an important agent of the local government, ABLAT fails in its legal duty to support the Naxi language and strives to attract audience with the culture that they can easily understand. In the competition of power relations, the Naxi language and culture has been undermined.

Most of top-down signs are used to indicate important information, such as safety, warnings, guidance and notices, lacking any use of Naxi language (the Dongba script). This is clearly evident in this second example of a top-down, the “Dongda Street” sign (Figure 24).

Figure 24 Dongda Street sign



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

Erected in the middle of the street, the sign indicates the location and direction of this main street in LAT and distances to the other nearby tourist spots. As one of the few signs made of stone in LAT, it looks as if it has a long history compared to the signs made of wood. The Han characters of “东大街” are followed by its English version as “Dongda Street”. Engraved on the stone, the fonts in yellow are distinctive against the background. “Dong 东” literally refers to “the east” and “大街” is “a large or wide street” in the English version, and a reference to

this being a street on the east of Sifang Street (the heart of LAT) and to the east of Yu River.⁴⁸ Due to the enlarging of the town, however, the street's location has lost its original meaning, as it now lies in the northern part of the town. Walking along Dongda Street to Sifang Street now, travellers need not go around via other alleys, but before the 1980s Dongda Street was originally a field for growing vegetables, and Maiji Alley, lying between Sifang Street and Dongda street, came to a dead end (Wang, 2007). After the residents in Maiji Alley were persuaded to move out and the alley was uprooted, Dongda Street became a wide and direct passage from the north entrance to Sifang Street—the heart of LAT, (Wang, 2007). Reading the sign from top to bottom, beneath the Dongda Street name, there are six other places named: Big Waterwheels (大水车), Black Dragon Pond Park (黑龙潭公园), Selling Grass Place (卖草场), Xinhua Street (新华街), Sifang Street (四方街) and Mu Mansion (木府). All the places are noted with the distances and directions (as indicated by arrows) from Dongda Street (Figure 24).

The north entrance is an important access from Lijiang's new town to the old town, where there is a scenic spot—the Big Waterwheels (Figure 25), which are 260 metres away from the street, as described on the sign.

Figure 25 Photo of the Big Waterwheels



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

⁴⁸Yu River originates from Black Dragon Pond, which is an important water resource for the LAT. It is 2.4km long and flow through the whole LAT. Fan, T. (2007). Lijianggucheng jingguan shuihuanjing xianzhuang yu tiaokong yanjiu [Study on the present situation and regulation of water environment in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城景观水环境现状与调控研究]. *Yunnan shifan daxue xuebao [Journal of Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学学报]*, 2007(3), 58-64.

The Big Waterwheels (大水车) were built as a symbolic reminder of the importance of water and the use of the water wheel as a tool in the town. The water wheels ensured the development of agriculture and settlement, and improved the quality of living in this area in ancient times (Fang, 2010; Yannopoulos et al., 2015). Made of chestnut wood, they consist of two big wheels, with diameters of six and four metres respectively (Zhou, 2016, p. 104). Taking photos before wheels has become an indispensable way of recording travelling in LAT. As vital water tools in ancient Lijiang, they remind travellers of the significance of water to the town. Without water, it would not have been possible for a town to develop here. Three major rivers and nine minor streams converge in this valley and go through and around the town, bringing not only naturally beautiful scenes, but also sufficient water for the residents living in the town. The access to water underpinned the achievements of Naxi culture and encouraged the development of tourism. The biggest river is a natural branch of the upstream of YR (Jinsha Jiang), the longest river in China; the other two rivers are man-made diversions dating back to the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 AD) and the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912) (Zhou, 2016).

The Park of Black Dragon Pond (黑龙潭公园) is an important water source and beautiful scenic spot near LAT. As described on the sign of Dongda Street, the park is 1000 metres away to the north of the sign. It was built in 1737 in the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912), and drew on water from five springs to form another water resource for LAT (He & Fang, 2019). Originally, it was named as the Temple of King Dragon, who was regarded as being in charge of rainfall in ancient China. Traditionally such a temple was built for sacrifices to the King Dragon (H. Ma, 2014). Now the park has become a well-known spot for travellers to enjoy its beautiful water and the hills around.

The Selling Grass Place (卖草场), another spot shown in the sign, was notable for its connection with a renowned trade route in the southwest of ancient China. According to the description on the sign, it is 120 metres to the right of the sign. This place was used to provide accommodation to the cart drivers, who transported goods here. Their horses were able to be fed nearby. This spot was famous for selling grass for the cart drivers' horses, from which the place derived its name. It was related to a renowned ancient trade route—the Ancient Tea and Horse Road (茶马古道) in Southwest of China, from which “tea, salt, medicinal products and luxury goods” were carried to Tibet, Guangdong and other mainland markets (Sigley, 2013, p. 238). In relation to the road, the Selling Grass Place was regarded as a place for offering complementary services for this busy trade route in ancient times.

In addition, Mu's Mansion (Mufu, 木府), appearing at the bottom of sign, refers to the history and culture of the region's rulers in ancient times. As indicated by the bottom arrow in the sign, Mu's Mansion is about 700 metres north of the sign along Dongda Street. According to H. Ma (2014, p. 46) and M. Zhao (2015, p. 56), Mu (木) is the family name of Naxi chieftain of Lijiang given by Emperor of Zhu Yuanzhang in the Ming Dynasty (1382-1398 AD), whose family's ruling of the region lasted for nearly 500 years. Their mansion in LAT was built in the period of Ming, which followed many of the design features of the Forbidden City (紫禁城) in Beijing and added in unique characteristics of Naxi architecture. Mu Mansion is another important destination for travellers to delve into Naxi history, culture and architecture. In addition, two street names are marked in the sign, Xinhua Street and Sifang Street. As another two main streets in LAT, they are 60 metres away to the left and 220 metres to the north of Dongda Street respectively.

The design and decoration of the sign indicates a particular aesthetic which avoids the rigidity of the regular rectangle made of stone. The whole sign is roughly an irregular rectangle, with a image appearing on the top left and a cloud image as the edge of top right. The image on the left is the symbol of World Heritage, granted by UNESCO in 1997 (as noted in the above top-down sign "Self-service Luggage Locker" in this section). The cloud on the right implies the idea of a wonderful life. In ancient China, people believed that favourable weather could bring good harvest and that such weather could be predicted from clouds (Xie, 2016). The design of clouds reflects the people's wish for a good life.

The official agency excluded Dongba scripts in this top-down street sign. Two languages, Mandarin Chinese and English, are displayed in the sign. Similar to the previous top-down sign, Han characters play the key role in indicating the place names and the English translation needs to be understood with the help of Han texts, Chinese culture and Naxi history. But in this sign, the presence of English texts exceeds that of Han characters. Every directional arrow is followed by a number, displayed in English abbreviation (m) for the word "metre", rather than "米" in Han character. However, no Naxi language appears on this street sign, whatever, in either content, logos or the general aesthetic.

On behalf of the local government, the language agency (ABLAT) in the Old Town did not display any Naxi language on the top-down signs. The Han characters play a key role in understanding the information that a top-down sign intends to show. The English text has also been given much attention, despite the English translations from Mandarin Chinese being

sometimes ambiguous. The ‘identity markers’ are of imprinted Mandarin and English in the symbolic construction, but demonstrates the neglect of Naxi in the public space. The lack of Dongba scripts on these signs signifies the least power in term of ‘power relations’.

5.2.2 The agency of bottom-up signs

Local business people constitute the main agencies of bottom-up signs in the town. Among 130 bottom-up signs, most of them are displayed with three languages: Dongba scripts, Mandarin and English, which comply with the above stipulation made by the local government. 24 signs (11.7%) were not displayed with Dongba scripts, which includes seven couplets (see Figure 26) and two English and Mandarin (Han characters) monolingual signs (see Figure 27). In the next example, the “Calligraphy” sign is discussed.

Figure 26 Couplet signs of He Zhigang calligraphy studio



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The language agent of this sign calligraphy is He Zhigang, a well-known inspirational Naxi calligrapher in the Naxi group, whose work demonstrates no connection with Naxi language and culture. Although he is a famous Naxi calligrapher, he is not using the Naxi language in his calligraphy on his signs (Figure 26).

The commercial name of “和志剛书齋” (blue background) is intended to follow an elegant expression from Han ancient scholars. Literally, it can be translated as “He Zhigang’s Study”, but according to its apparent purpose and business scope, the commercial name should be translated as “He Zhigang’s calligraphy studio”, as its interior displays only the calligraphic works written by him. In ancient China, as a place for reading and storing books, a study was

a desirable place. As there was no higher education, reading books in a study was a noble academic activity; and as “the printing technology was backward” and all books were “dependent on copying by hand”, there were few books for people to read (Lin, 2005, p. 89). Besides being a desirable place, a study was deemed to be a place for “strengthening self-cultivation”, where a scholar could be away from the secular and concentrate on reading (Bao, 1992, p. 98). The function of “书斋” in ancient China seems different from that of a “study” in modern times, in which it acted as a venue for a person not only for seeking knowledge and doing academic studies, but also for refining and cultivating good qualities. The adoption of “study” to refer to his studio reflects He Zhigang’s perception of his ownership of this venue to be that of a scholar as in those in ancient times and, therefore, not identical to the other business people in the town. However, a study in ancient times was employed for reading, collecting, and storing books, by owners cherished the peacefulness of their study, while He Zhigang’s is used for selling artworks of calligraphy. A more correct translation in terms of the purpose of this place in the downtown, commercial area, might simply be ‘shop’ or, at least, ‘gallery’ or ‘studio’.

The signs on either side of the doorway strive to indicate a contribution to LAT with Chinese traditional “Duilian” (couplets, 对联). Zhigang has inscribed his commercial name on the horizontal scroll, described above, but also with a set of couplets on both sides of his shopfront. The top section is usually named as a horizontal inscription and two antithetical couplets named as the first line and second line, with the first line on the right and the second line on the left. The custom of Duilian, dated back to the Warring States Period in China (475-221BC), and derived from a Han Chinese folk story that “peach wood” pasted on both sides of gate could “charm against evils” in Chinese New Year (Lü, 2010, p. 41). Presented in special occasions such as Chinese New Year, wedding ceremonies and opening of a business, a set of Duilian constitutes two parallel and condensed sentences with “certain constraints on semantic, syntactic, and lexical relatedness” (Jiang & Zhou, 2008, p. 377). The adoption of couplets on both sides of a scholar’s study was very common in ancient Han culture. Many scholars hung up couplets on both sides of their study to show their interest, ambition or pursuit of life (Y. Zhao, 2015). Zhigang has imitated the approach of the ancient scholars, but for his commercial purpose.

Under his commercial sign, there are two sets of couplets, with one's bottom colour in blue and the other in red. Zhigang has used the form of Han traditional Duilian to express both his ambitions and wishes for his business.

The blue couplets, “志存翰墨观华夏，刚纳奇书扬神州”，on both sides of the shopfront, shows Zhigang's ambition to promote his calligraphy to the whole country. The couplets employed the verse form of acrostic, with the first word of each line to spell his name “志刚”. The Chinese poetry syntax also shows on “翰墨” and “奇书”，both referring to the “calligraphy”，as well, both “华夏 (Huaxia)” and “神州 (Shenzhou)” indexing China, another name of the country in ancient China. Zhigang expressed his hopes that his calligraphy could be seen and accepted in the whole country.

The length of the red couplets is longer than that of normal couplets, “会几个有见识高人论说古今，做数件可流传趣事消磨岁月”，with 12 words in each couplet. They express Zhigang's wishes “to look for several intelligent scholars to share opinions about what has happened in the past and at present” and “to do a few fun things to kill time”. Although the English translation version of the two sentences seems varied, the Han characters are made in two antithetical lines. “会 meet” and “做 do” are the same part of speech, and “几个 several” and “数件 a few” are similar in semantic meanings. The horizontal inscription expresses the message, “以文会友”，which means “to meet friends to talk about academic articles”. Different from the blue couplets, this set of couplets employs the traditional red colour.

The colour, decoration and seals on these signs are visually unique. The background colour on one set is blue, which sits in contrast to the yellow fonts. As the same colour as sky and ocean, blue is a symbol of eternity (Nong, 2009). The eye-catching visual effect is designed to appeal to visitors and invite them in. There are two sets of symmetrical, carved, cloud-like decorations on the top and bottom of each couplet respectively, which, as previously discussed, symbolise auspiciousness and satisfaction. The link between the topmost sign and the couplets is the background blue colour and the decorative line around the border of each sign. In addition, there are four private seals on the three signs, with two on the top sign and one on the couplets respectively, which are rare in the town. The seal, originating from the Warring States Period (475-221BC), was an “symbol of identity” on documents in ancient China, symbolising a person or an official agency (Yajie Zhang, 2020, p. 50). Even now, the seals are still used to represent an official identity in an institute, company and at all levels of governments. The

seals, indexing an individual identity in ancient China, tended to demonstrate the person's name or the name of his residence (Lou, 2008, p. 45). The seals on He Zhigang's signs are designed to project his identity by confirming that the signs are written by himself, and therefore demonstrate his craft and skill. The content of each seal is hard to read, however, as they are engraved in Seal Handwriting, a writing form of Han characters, which has a long history and is rarely used in modern society.

He Zhigang, as a language agent of a bottom-up sign, did not display Naxi language and culture in his shop front signs. To appeal to the tourists in the Old Town, he imitated the expressions and style used by Han scholars, involving Duilian, decorations and seals. Although Duilian has a close relation with Chinese traditional culture, in this context it is detached from the background function of LAT—to promote and identify Naxi culture. While the presence of couplets may have been designed to demonstrate the intelligence and power of Han culture, it has no relationship with Naxi culture. In addition, the calligraphy works in his studio are all written in Han characters. It seems that the audience to visit his studio is mainly from the Chinese culture who speak Mandarin Chinese. The permeation of Han characters and Han culture indicates the success in promoting the Standard Chinese by the national language policy but implies the fact that Naxi speakers have been transformed into Chinese speakers (Yang, 2012). In such circumstances, Zhigang may believe that the Naxi language and its associated culture cannot bring benefits to his business, and as a result, he excluded them from all his signs. What can be employed to attract the audience overrides his need to display his Naxi identity.

The final bottom-up sign is the "Naxi Concert Hall". This sign was posted by Xuan Ke, in English texts and Han characters rather than Dongba scripts, although he is a very famous musician of Naxi ancient music (Figure 27).

Figure 27 Signs of Naxi concert hall



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

Like He Zhigang, Xuan Ke, also adopted the form of Duilian (couplets) in his commercial signs and advertisement. Unlike He Zhigang’s sophisticated use of the couplet, Xuan Ke does not demonstrate such a high literacy attainment. His top sign, over the front door, expresses the commercial name directly as “大研纳西古乐会”, translated by himself, as “NAXI CONCERT HALL” in English. The two versions are not identical, however as the Han texts gives more information through, “Dayan 大研” and “ancient 古”. If we translate the Han version literally, the English version should read “Dayan Naxi ancient concert”. As noted in Chapter 2, Dayan is the name of the place that LAT lies in, and alternatively Dayan ancient town is another name of LAT. However, the English version covers a greater scope than is expressed in the Chinese version, as Naxi people also live in the other counties in Lijiang. Under the top sign, a set of couplets appears on both sides of door, and state “丽江中国大研纳西古乐会” and “宣科先生每晚八点在此主持”, which can be literally translated as “Lijiang China Dayan Naxi ancient concert” and “Mr. Xuan Ke hosts here at eight every evening”. From the content, we can see, although they are displayed in the form of Duilian (couplets), they are more like a plain narration than antithetical couplets. Moreover, the logical relationship among “Lijiang 丽江”, “China 中国” and “Dayan 大研” is confusing, as the country’s name was put between a city and a small town.

Besides the contradictions between the content and its form of Duilian, the decoration images on Xuan Ke’s signs are not so neat as those on Zhigang’s either. The images on the top sign

follow the traditional border patterns, distributing on its four corners, applying the transformation of lines, and imitating the shape of “bat” (as noted in 7.1). But the decorative image on the left couplet is quite different from those on the right one: the left one is decorated with clouds and straight line, while the right one is trimmed with transformed uniform lines.

From the content and form of Xuan Ke’s signs, we can see that he seems not to follow the traditional constraints. However, in Lijiang, Xuan Ke was regarded as a representative of Naxi culture and an elite in the protection of Naxi ancient music, who studied, promoted and developed the ancient music with his outstanding talent and capacity in music (L. Wang, 2008). His success in running his business of Naxi ancient music benefited from foreign publicity. Peter Goullart, a Russian who stayed in Lijiang for nine years in the 1940s, was the first foreigner to introduce the ancient music to Europe; the BBC (UK) and CNN (USA), two famous broadcasting companies, recommended Naxi music and LAT in the 1980s; and other media from Italy and UK promoted the music in the 1990s (Zong & Bao, 2005). Their publicity of Naxi ancient music attracted many international visitors to come to the Old Town to listen to the music and see the performances. This was one reason why the English text rather than the Dongba script was presented in Xuan Ke’s shopfront signs.

Xuan Ke excluded the Naxi language and culture out of his signs, although he was accepted as an elite in the protection of Naxi culture. He emphasised not only the Han character on his signs, but also the English text. In his view, they both could appeal to audiences to visit his concert and bring benefits to him, because of the power of the two languages in communications in the Town. Like Zhigang, the needs of audience override his wish to demonstrate his Naxi identity.

Not all language agents, including official agencies, business operators and entrepreneurs, followed the regulation on language choice in LAT, although the regulation of *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City* stipulated that the Dongba scripts should be displayed on businesses’ signage in the town (Lijiang Municipality Government, 2016). Although all the signs in LAT are supposed to create the sense of ‘authenticity’ of Naxi culture for travellers and consumers, most of the top-down signs built by official agencies and some of the bottom-up signs set up by business people did not conform to the regulation and display of Dongba scripts. However, as Zhu (2012) suggests, “The ‘authenticity’ is neither objective nor subjective, but rather performative” (Zhu, 2012a) (p.1496). As the major performers of Naxi culture in LAT, neither the official agency nor the cultural elites (He Zhigang or Xuan Ke) play

the vital role in reinforcing the cultural authenticity of Naxi, regardless of whether their starting points were objective or subjective. The performative results were the exclusion of Naxi language (Dongba scripts) and related culture in the LL of the ancient town.

5.3 Functions of the LL in LAT

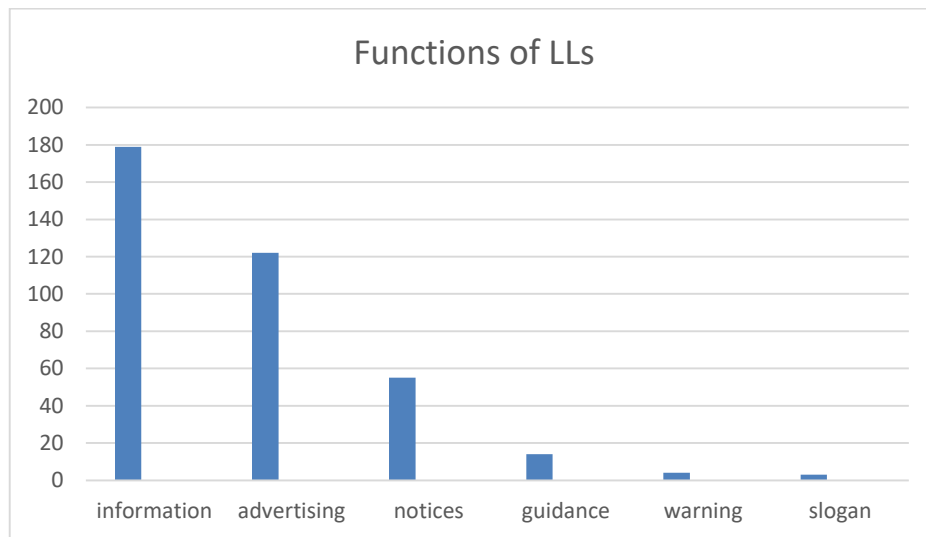
To understand the relationship between Naxi language and the other languages in the installed social, cultural and economic context, LL functions need to be probed. Rather than studying the functions of languages in the LL directly, I started to analyse the LL as a unit to understand its functions in the town. I expanded the functions identified by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who distinguished between informational and symbolic functions, and whose thinking underpinned the discourse for many scholars in this discipline (Barni & Bagna, 2010; Huebner, 2006; Shohamy, 2006). These scholars tend to only discuss the functions within studies on the scope of power and status within an ethnic community. However, as discussed in Section 5.1, the Dongba script has the least important status in the LAT landscape. Among the language choices required by local government, the predominance of the Han character and increasing usage of the English text squeeze out any functional value for the Dongba script. The symbolic functions that the Dongba script performs, however, is taken as a “priority” in the LL, and is designed to mark the “authenticity” of the Naxi culture to satisfy the desires of travellers for a “genuine and credible” cultural environment (Zhu, 2012a, p. 1496). Both the symbolic function and the informational function identified by Landry and Bourhis (1997) are proposed as “a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory” (p. 23). However, when I collected data in LAT, I found that, rather than demonstrating the “power and status of the linguistic communities”, the signs in this tourist town were mainly set up for providing travellers with all kinds of information. In this case, the informational function can be further subdivided into functions of advertising, specific messaging, guidance, notices, warnings, and slogans. After reviewing these functions, I selected two signs to ascertain the different function that the Dongba script may play: one sign has the Dongba script, and the other has not.

5.3.1 Various functions of LLs

The more useful function a sign performs, the more likely this kind of sign will be set up. Of all the 206 signs, the majority (179) were employed as message signs, with advertising signs following next (122). The remaining signs were notices (55), guidance (14), warnings (4), and slogans (3) (Figure 28). Many signs conduct more than one function. For example, the Yunnan

Mengzi Guoqiao Rice Noodle (云南蒙自过桥米线, a well-known rice noodle from a county of Yunnan), provided a message about the existence of a rice noodle restaurant and an advertisement for a kind of rice noodle. A top-down sign for “Toilet” can serve as both a message and a notice. The results in the table allow for the overlap in variables.

Figure 28 Functions of LLs



From figure 28, it can be seen that the signs showing messages and advertising surpass the other functions by far. There are few signs indicating warnings and slogans—only seven in all. The functions of messages and advertising in public signs are given priority over the other signs, as they offer services or sell commodities to travellers. However, advertisements and messages in the town are mainly related to commercial discourses and directed at economic benefits, while other kinds of signs may be within social or economic discourses, aiming to facilitate tourism in the town. For example, the social function of a “slogan”, is to gain support from the public for a particular cause or action (Waksman & Shohamy, 2016) and in LAT they appear mostly as promotions of particular tourist attractions. A slogan “The most beautiful river in the world (全世界最美的江)” has been reported in research by Wang et al. (2019) in Lijiang. They suggest that “a good tourism slogan plays a crucial role in developing a destination brand” (p.415) and so it is perhaps surprising there were so few slogans in LAT.

5.3.2 The functions of Dongba scripts in the LL

The Dongba scripts in the LL could perfectly interpret the Naxi culture and inspire readers’ imagination. As noted in the previous section, the majority of signs in the town are employed to display messages and advertising. From these signs, I selected a sign with Dongba scripts to

ascertain the function of this language in the interaction of the trilingual context (Figure 29). The selection of the sign with the Dongba script helps me further explore other roles the aboriginal language may play besides the symbolic function, showing the Naxi identity.

Figure 29 Sign of the coming of horse teams




(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

It is hard to understand the literal translation of “Horse Gang come” on the sign without addressing the story of “马帮 Caravan led by horses”. The term was well-known before the founding of the PRC, and can be rendered as “horse teams”, “horse drivers” or “cart drivers”. They acted as the vital transporters in “a broad, much-folded mountain belt”, integrating “the Southwest of China, northern Southeast of Asia and southern Tibet”, where from the ancient times until 1940s, all the transportation depended on the horse drivers, their horses (or mules) and carts (Ma & Ma, 2014, p. 24). They were named as “帮 gangs”, for they needed to support each other when they travelled through various political nations, cultural and religious groups, and struggled in “arduous natural conditions” (Ma & Ma, 2014, p. 24). As noted in Chapter 2, the Old Town was well-known as a trade centre of tea, tobacco, sugar and other commodities, and a good place for accommodation for these horsemen. The last word in the commercial name is “来”, which refers to “come” in English and implies the excitement brought to the people in the town, when they heard of the coming of these horsemen. The three Han characters of the commercial name also echo with the four Han characters on the left top of the sign, “山间铃响”, which can be translated as “the jingle of bells around horses’ necks sounded from the nearby mountains”. All the Han words can also be vividly interpreted via the image on the left of the sign, where three horses poke their heads out of a collar with rings, with another three words “马帮来” in Han complex fonts. It looks more interesting that the sign maker used different colours for the image and the texts: the image in white and black, seems to date back the glorious past of the horsemen; while the commercial name, in bright yellow, intends to

welcome the customers with enthusiasm. The English texts of “Horse Gang come” are placed at the bottom of the sign, which is difficult to understand without knowing the history and stories of the horsemen in this area. There are another two images on the top left and the bottom right respectively: one is an image of Lijiang, represented by a dancing Dongba, the performer of Dongba rituals (as noted in Chapter 2); the other is an image indicating that this is a chain store, which is a commercial strategy to show the scale of the shop and to attract more customers.

The exhibition of Dongba scripts support the Han characters in construction of the commercial name. Although the Dongba scripts are small, unclear, and pushed to the top, they look more

lovely and vivid with the pictographic scripts “”. Firstly, the three Dongba scripts are both pictures and words: clear and easy to see a horse and people. The people appear busy with struggling and carrying something. Then, derived from their exotic or unusual appearance, they seem to form a charming, elegant, and mysterious atmosphere—all of which may cause people’s interest. Lastly, they announce the identity of Naxi in this area, which creates a sense of place. The three roles that the Dongba script plays (description, atmosphere and identity marker) convey a message and advertisement for the traditional commodities that are being sold in the shop. It also reminds audience that these commodities are similar to those transported by the horsemen in the history.

In the case of the appearance of Dongba scripts on signs in the Old Town, besides demonstrating the Naxi identity, they help to tell the Naxi’s story, culture and traditions in their special lingo. All these constitute what the audience of tourists hope to experience and explore in this social and cultural environment.

5.3.3 The functions of LLs without Dongba scripts

The Dongba script is rarely demonstrated on the signs that perform the functions of guidance, notice, warnings and slogans. Among the 55 signs serving as notices, only 3 (5.5%) (the toilet signs) used Dongba scripts. All the signs providing warnings and slogans lacked Naxi language. For the guidance purpose, 10 (71.4%) of the 14 signs did not display the Dongba script, which was not even apparent in some historical signs (Figure 30). The lack of the Dongba script implies who is the audience of the sign and whose identity the sign hopes to engage. In Figure 30, the Han character dominates the sign on its own and the sign excludes all the other languages.

Figure 30 Sign of Kegong Memorial Gate



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The sign of Kegong Memorial Gate is a typical monolingual Han sign, without the Dongba script or other language texts. It looks like a newly erected sign from its appearance and date of making (December 1, 2011). Kegong (科贡), in the Xinhua Chinese Dictionary (widely considered as a leading authority on the Chinese language), is explained in two ways: one refers to the system of Imperial College Examination (科举考试), in which talents in different prefectures and counties are recommended for admission to the Examination; the other refers to the people who are recommended to the examination ("Kegong [科贡]," 2020, p. n.p.). The system was established for selecting officials through the public examinations of various subjects. According to Yu (2020), the examination system was started with the Sui Dynasty (581-619AD), developed systematically in the Song Dynasty (960-1279AD), and declined in the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912AD). It played a very important role in the selection of officials for more than 1000 years in the feudal society in China. Following "Kegong 科贡", "Fang (坊)" in the sign's name, could be defined as a "gate" in memory of the meritorious deeds of a well-known person in ancient China ("Fang [坊]," 2020). Kegong Memorial Gate was built to celebrate the achievements of a family (named "Yang"), which had so many successful candidates in the Examination in the Daoguang reign (1821-1850) of Qing Dynasty ("Kegong Memorial Gate," 2018). The family lived at the spot in the town where the Gate was built. The building of Kegong Memorial Gate is evidence that the Han culture has impacted on the Naxi for a long time. As mentioned in Section 5.2.1, the Mu family, ruling the Naxi people for over 400 years in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), set an example for the Naxi to learn from

the Han, while after that, Han culture was widely taught among the ordinary Naxi people and Confucian schools developed quickly in Lijiang the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) (Yu, 2010). On the top of the sign, its title is displayed as “丽江市古城区文物保护单位”, translated as “a cultural relic protected by the Ancient Town District of Lijiang City” (ATDLC). The title was issued on March 9, 2011, and the sign was built on December 1, 2011, both of which were recorded at the bottom of the sign. All the information is displayed in Han characters, clear and definite, but it reminds tourists of Han history and associated stories, rather than Naxi history. The newly built sign looks like a modern thing with no display of the Dongba script, so is far removed from Naxi culture or history.

The sign stands isolated from its background. The visual effect of this top-down sign is its modern use of wood as its colour and its simple style. The background colour is light yellowy-brown and sits in contrast to the font colour in black. Three lines of texts appear clear and clean, with the sign’s name predominant between the other two lines. The decorative elements of the sign are a straight line going around the edge, and four nails pinned at the four corners. Different from the other official signs, there is no image of Lijiang or other titles in this sign. This kind of clear and simple style appears more frequently in the official signs than the non-official signs and this sign is one of the simplest signs in LAT. The sign is bright and modern, but it indicates a historic and cultural relic. It is nailed to a thick and old wall built with grey bricks. A building with grey bricks is usually regarded an old building having a long history. But there is no Dongba script It emerges abruptly and inharmoniously with its background (Figure 31).

Figure 31 Sign of Kegong Memorial Gate on the grey-brick wall



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The sign is set apart from the old building (Kegong Memorial Gate) and its background. It stands lonely on the traditional wall, which is accompanied by a porch, eave and red lantern. Although it provides a notice of the historic relic, it is hard to feel it is related to anything old. Simultaneously, the lack of the Dongba script makes the sign completely break away from the Naxi.

In summary, the signs in the LL in the town perform various functions, including advertising, providing messages, offering guidance, notices, warnings and slogans. The functions of advertising and providing messages appear to play more significant roles than the other functions. Although people regard the Dongba script in the Old Town as merely decorative, because so few people can understand the written language, the two signs discussed above cause different effects on the tourist audience. The former, Figure 29, with the Dongba script, points the audience to understand the sign in the context of its story, the Naxi culture and the Naxi commodities it promotes. The latter, Figure 30, without the Dongba script, appears removed from any Naxi history, culture and related stories, even though it is posted on and indicates a historic building. Since language indexes the world and indexes who we are and what we are in the world (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), the world that the Naxi language can index and the identity that the Naxi language represents could not be replaced by other languages. A sign in LAT that lacks Dongba script looks inharmonious and isolated from its background, history, and culture.

5.4 Characteristics of Naxi language and its context in the LL


To enrich my understanding of the Naxi language, I took a closer look at its characteristics and its context in the signs. Looking at the signs with Naxi language, I found three general characteristics (Figure 32): The first was a three-language pattern, the Dongba script + the Han characters + the English text (D+H+E). As noted in Section 5.1 (language choice), the rate of the three-language pattern was relatively high, with 48.5% (100) of the total 206 signs and with 81.3% of the 123 bottom-up signs. The second was the general layout of the three languages. The Han characters were designed with the largest font, placed in the middle and notably visible. However, the other languages were presented in rather small font sizes and put to the top or bottom of the signs. The third was the antiquing of the signs: they were made with thick wooden board, written with Chinese brush calligraphy (the Han characters) and attached with Naxi cultural ornaments. In this next example (Figure 32), the sign of “Yigu Inn” is discussed around

the three characteristics of Naxi language and its context in the LL to understand the power relations and identity issue connected with them.

Figure 32 Sign of Yigu Inn



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The first characteristic of the three-language pattern reveals not only an impressive language diversity, but also a hierarchy of languages in the interpretation of the signs. The sign “依古客栈”, translated as “Yigu Inn”, is the name of an inn in Dongda Street. “依古” can be rendered as “imitating the style of ancient times” and “客栈” refers to “inn” in ancient China. The name indicates that the inn is built according to the style of the inns in ancient times. Against the background of the Old Town, it implies that the inn is imitating the accommodation of a Naxi inn in ancient times. The English commercial name “Yi Gu Inn” is Pinyin Romanised, which is not equivalent to the meaning of the Han characters as addressed above. The Dongba scripts describe the inn in its vivid way as “”, in which a guest is lying down and sleeping, and a house is kept for a guest. But it is hard to find any equivalent expression in the Dongba script for the inn’s name “依古 (Yi Gu)”, which is more like a slogan designed to attract an audience with modern advertising words, “imitating the style of ancient inns”. Although the languages are diverse, they play different roles in expressing the sign. The Han characters are given priority over the other languages to help the (mostly Chinese tourist) audience understand the sign’s intention accurately. The Pinyin Romanisation meets the requirement for regulating the language choice and form in the town, but it is not equivalent in

transferring the connotation of the commercial name. The Dongba script is very vivid in interpreting the sign and the best way of displaying the Naxi identity and culture, but not all the modern ideas and innovation can be expressed correctly via the aboriginal language. In this case, the Han character becomes the most reliable language in the hierarchy.

The second characteristic of the three languages' layout exhibits a non-reciprocal relationship between the languages. The Han characters are predominant, while the Dongba script and the English text are comparatively small. Besides, the placement of the Dongba script also needs to be noticed. The prominence of the Han characters is determined by being in the middle, and the least significant position is left to the Dongba scripts: on the top and in the first order. As observed by Xia and Li (2016), however, not all first order language is the most significant. In this sign, the Dongba scripts are covered by the eaves from the horizontal view of Dongda Street and so their position turns out to be the least important. Although the font size of the English texts is like that of the Dongba scripts, they maintain a lower position. As most of the signs are placed on the overhead lintel of the shopfronts, the placement of the English texts is nearer the eyesight level of the audience. Forced out by both the Han characters and the English text, the Dongba script is pushed under the eaves, into the least significant position. In terms of the layout relationships of the sign, compared to the Han characters and the English text, the Dongba script is the smallest in font size, least important in position and least visible for viewing.

The third characteristic of the antique design of the signs is that they aim to create a sense of the 'authenticity' of the Naxi culture. Suggested through its name, "imitating the style of ancient times", the sign strives to demonstrate an atmosphere of Naxi traditional commerce in the Old Town of ancient times. It is made of solid wood of high-quality and decorated with antiquing images at the four corners of the sign (discussed in Section 5.1). The Han characters are written in the Running Handwriting (行书), a popular handwriting font in China (noted in Section 5.1). The font of Running Handwriting, designed in gold with the solemn black background, appears imposing and magnificent. The texts, written in gold, symbolise a kind of eternal 'brand' in China's traditional commerce, implying that the owner wishes his/her business will last longer and promises he/she offers high-quality services (Wang et al., 2020). Hanging at the front of the inn's gate, the sign is designed to reflect aspects of the local culture. The gate opens to a gallery area displaying Naxi culture. The roof over the gate is covered with traditional grey tiles, designed to look like a bird spreading its wings or an official's hat in the

Ming Dynasty (Li, 2015). Such a roof cornice (wing corner) indicates the Chinese traditional philosophy that humans are an integral part of nature (天人合一) (Lai, 2018). Inside of the gate, two banks of red lanterns are hung above two screen walls. The screens are painted with Chinese traditional white-black pictures. Outside and inside of the gate flowerpots and flower baskets are placed. All these stamp evidence of the culture of Naxi and an implication of this being a Naxi place. The inn's owner wishes to appeal to its audience with a sense of the 'authenticity' of Naxi culture, and to impress on the audience that this is the Naxi inn where they should hope to get accommodation.

However, there are few Naxi running businesses in the town now. According to Zhang (2007), although LAT had been a commercial town since the Tang Dynasty (618-907), the proprietors in the past were usually Naxi, and the consumers were local people, people around Yunnan and foreign business people. Integrity in management and good relationships built with consumers gained Naxi business people a high reputation among consumers. But now, the business people in the town mainly comprise non-Naxi from outside of Lijiang (discussed in Chapter 2), who seldom have return customers or repeat business, and whose commodities are usually made from modern assembly lines, and some of them do not adhere to the idea of integrity management (Zhang, 2007). Although they strive to keep the ancient business style of Naxi, the quality of businesses in the town has been altered.

The characteristics of the LL in the Old Town imply the ethnic, economic and social interaction in this area. The in-migration of various ethnics has led to the use of standard language, Mandarin Chinese. Although the regulations in Lijiang do not stipulate the size, order and other features of the three languages (as discussed above, the Han character, the Dongba script and the English text) in the signs, the ideology of Han character dominance has influenced the perceptions of the sign makers' language usage and behaviour. The dominant language is placed in a favourable position and the minority language given an unfavourable status in "this non-reciprocal relationship" (Huebner, 2008, p. 82). Despite the Naxi language being the mother tongue in this Naxi' place, it is struggling to survive in the visible interactions represented in the LL. However, in the soft boundaries among the languages and language modes, the Dongba script is employed tactfully to act as a symbol to appeal to the tourist audience, and to convey the idea of the construction of an authentic social context of the Naxi group.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have analysed four facets of this LL gestalt: language choice, language agency, LL functions and characteristics of the Naxi language and its context (in the LL). I have considered how representations of power, identity and audience in the signage are critical to understand the current situation of the Naxi language (the Dongba script) in LAT. With respect to language choice, compared to Han characters and English text, the Dongba script appears with the lowest presence. Issues of Chinese cultural dominance and Chinese majority audience influences the strong presence of Chinese language in all the signage—both top-down and bottom-up. While used to a lesser extent, English represents the need to appeal to an audience of international tourists in an internationally high-status language. The Dongba script has a ‘curiosity’ value and is chosen to symbolically represent the Naxi culture in only some instances and always in less conspicuous font, less bold colour and a less dominant position. In terms of language agency, not all language agents complied with the regulations on language choice made by the local government, even if the official agent and the cultural elites in the town excluded the appearance of this language in the signs. All the signs in LAT are supposed to create an ‘authenticity’ of Naxi culture for the tourist audience. But the performative result is the negotiated situation of this language (the Dongba script) and associated culture in the LL. However, the LL functions, with and without the Dongba script, produce different effects on the audience. The world that the Naxi language can index and the people it represents cannot be replaced by the other languages in this community. Nevertheless, the Naxi language, with the characteristics of smallest size and least favourable position, is struggling to maintain visibility and value in the LL. Although it represents the Naxi identity, in the power relationship between this language and the dominant language, as well as the associated cultures, it has found to be largely a symbol, a décor, to construct the idea of the ‘authenticity’ of the Naxi culture in this ethnolinguistic community.

Chapter 6 Contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness

This chapter explores the contradictions and tensions between changes caused by place making tourism in LAT, and people's feelings of place-belongingness in the changing social and cultural context. After LAT was listed as a UNESCO Heritage site, the 'place making' undertaken by Chinese central and local government was designed to produce a tourist destination. What the Naxi people understand and experience about the changes that have occurred in the town and what they feel about their 'place-belongingness' to the town constitute a vital section for the exploration of Naxi language vitality. The data collected from interviews, legal documents and general observations on the town are used to explore the contradictions and tensions between what has been done to the town and what the people feel and reflect about these changes. The findings demonstrate how the people in the town see the changes that are happening and how they feel about it. For the Naxi, how change is affecting their sense of 'belonging' which, in turn, is affecting their ability to sustain their spoken and written language and culture is important.

The contradictions and tensions between place making, place-belongingness and the Naxi people arise out of the fact that there are both benefits, and problems associated with how heritage tourism 'makes places' be different from how they were before. Heritage tourism has been acknowledged by Ruhanen and Whitford (2019) as a vehicle, not only conveying optimistic benefits, but also destruction and loss of indigenous cultural assets. The benefits it can bring involve many aspects, such as attracting investments, creating job opportunities, and yielding profits to both governments and indigenous people (Che & Zhao, 2009). Heritage tourism is also addressed as an effective approach for economic growth in ethnic regions in China (Yang & Wall, 2008). Much debate has focused on the negative aspects, such as: the influence of officials, which becomes prominent in developing heritage tourism (Yan & Bramwell, 2008; G. Zhao, 2010); excessive commercialisation and degradation of environments (Agisilaos, 2012; Liu & Shu, 2020). Under such circumstances, Alberts and Hazen (2010) have suggested two basic conditions—'authenticity' and 'integrity'—to help indigenous people insist on the maintenance and protection of the original features of their culture. The extent of authenticity and integrity of indigenous culture becomes the ground to develop and preserve an indigenous culture and language. With regards to Lijiang, evidence appears in the contradictions between changes brought by the place making of tourism and the effects of commodification and influx of people, and what the local people feel and reflect on.

This chapter comprises two sections. In Section 6.1, data relating to place making are analysed in relation to activities, images and forms in LAT and cultural products, performance and perspectives relating to the Naxi in accordance with the theoretical frame based on Montgomery (1998), the conceptual idea of culture defined by American Council (1999) and Medina (1998) as outlined in Chapter 3. In Section 6.2, findings on place-belongingness including personal experience, relationships with other people and language-centred culture in LAT, as proposed by Antonsich (2010) (see Chapter 3) are analysed.

6.1 Place making

Two sets of ideas are considered under this ‘place making’ heading. Both look at the changes that occur in the built environment over time, particularly in the context of a ‘heritage site’ where particular efforts are made to maintain how the urban area develops. Both ideas help highlight that heritage sites are places of contradictions and tensions. First, I introduce the ideas of ‘integrity’ and ‘authenticity’, as proposed by Alberts and Hazen (2010) and second I consider Montgomery’s ideas of the activity, image and form (see Chapter 3).

To help state parties prevent heritage sites from disasters, pollution, urbanisation, commercialisation, and other threats, Alberts and Hazen (2010) suggested the two basic conditions of “integrity” and “authenticity”, to “safeguard significant attributes” of cultural heritage (p.56). Integrity emphasises key elements that express the value of a site, such as architecture, landscape, and culture. Authenticity aims to keep the place true to its traditional character, in which the intangible value of tradition, spirit and function are also important. These two basic conditions can help indigenous people insist on the maintenance and protection of the original features of their culture. However, due to modernisation and the desire from indigenous people to develop their own economy and society, indigenous culture does not remain static, and changes take place along with development. Kagumba (2013) viewed the changes in cultural products and cultural practices as progression in indigenous culture, which should not necessarily indicate cultural loss. But when indigenous tourism is conducted in an erosive way and deviates far from the key values of indigenous culture, Ruhanen and Whitford (2019) advocate that “we must question the extent to which indigenous tourism threatens indigenous identity and culture” (p.182). The extent of the ‘integrity’ and ‘authenticity’ of indigenous culture becomes the ground to develop and preserve an indigenous culture and language. But a paradox exists between the desire to develop the ethnic minority economy, and the erosion and conservation of that culture via tourism, for which the needs of tourists have to be met (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2019). The implications of maintaining integrity and authenticity

poses a challenge for the several contradictory requirements and expectations between indigenous people and tourists. With regards to the tourism in LAT, aspects of place making are putting pressure on the ‘integrity’ and ‘authenticity’ of the activities, images and forms of the old town, and cultural products and performances that relate to the Naxi. To identify the extent of integrity and authenticity in this cultural space, I conducted and analysed my general observations by walking around the town, examining how laws and regulations operated in the town and gathering information particularly from what people (my thirty-five participants) told me in the interviews in relation to the questions I asked (Appendix 3).

6.1.1 Images and forms of LAT

My understanding of images and forms in LAT was structured by Montgomery (1998) as outlined in Chapter 3: what the streets, infrastructure and buildings look like (Section 6.1.1.1) and how they allow people to pursue or develop their quality life in this space (Section 6.1.1.2).

6.1.1.1 Images and forms in LAT: Observations

From my first visit to LAT in 2014 and then again in 2018 and 2020, I was able to observe the streets, infrastructure, and buildings in the town. I noticed that the local government had made many efforts to maintain a sense of the authenticity and integrity of the outward facing appearance, through the rebuilding of streets and residential houses, and the maintenance of the infrastructure of the water features and other facilities. However, inside most of the buildings that have been turned into tourist accommodation or shops, the interiors are basically identical to other modern architecture. Generally, the rebuilt town has a pleasant, unique aesthetic appearance, which attracts many people doing business and tourists travelling from different parts of China and beyond. However, the negotiation between cultural traditions, as defined by UNESCO (Alberts & Hazen, 2010), and modern ways of life and practices promoted by tourism can be easily found in these clusters of shops in the town.

Figure 33 Street landscape



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

Figure 33 demonstrates a common view of a rebuilt residential house, which is now used as a fast-food outlet (KFC) located at the north entrance of LAT. The tiled roof, the divided upper windows, and the use of wood all suggest the integrity and authenticity of Naxi culture is maintained on the outside of the building. Inside the restaurant, the counter display, advertisements, and dining tables are all similar to KFC stores elsewhere, established according to the franchising rules of the KFC.

Figure 34 Digital screen and its Naxi background



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

Figure 34 displays another kind of popular mediated outcome of tourism practices and Naxi traditional elements in the LAT. A digital screen is installed in front of a rebuilt building beside a small alley, that presents a plan view of Sifang Street. The screen is designed to remind travellers and data statisticians of the number of visitors and their distribution in the streets of

the town. Via the number shown on the screen, travellers can avoid the most congested parts and data statisticians collect quantitative data about numbers and movements of travellers in the town. Similar digital screens can also be found on the front face of public toilets in the town, but only showing the numbers of people without other details.

The two figures illustrate some views that are becoming common in the town, in which the Naxi cultural buildings are imbued with contemporary, practical functions. When Harrison (2005) argued that socialisation was critically important in determining what was “natural” in a landscape, he also argued that conflict was inevitable when buildings, imbued with “special meaning and significance are competed over by different groups” (p.2). Harrison (2004) also presents the idea that socialisation allows ideas of ‘heritage’ to change. Citing 1989 research by Pi-Sunyer, he describes how early tourists in a seaside resort in Spain were considered “as interlopers, who interfered with the fishing industry. Later, when tourism became established, it was the fishermen who were considered the outsiders” (p.282). In the beginning, in Lijiang, perhaps the Han Chinese were usually regarded by Naxi people as interlopers, interfering with their original way of life, but later it is the Naxi who are considered as outsiders in the town. The question of whether changes brought by the “interlopers” have conflicted with the original Naxi culture, can be further argued with evidence from the interviews. But, as Harrison (2004) says:

Debates and conflicts over ‘heritage’ take place in an ever-shifting scenario, where the ‘achievements’ of one class, one ethnic group, one nation-state, one era, are always negotiated and reassessed by the next. (p.289)

6.1.1.2 Images and forms in LAT: Interviews

An individual’s subjective feelings in response to a place are usually bonded to images and forms of a place, such as buildings and landscapes (Montgomery, 1998). In Lijiang, as in any towns, the people who have lived, connected with, or continue to live there, have experienced changes in the town’s physical attributes, particularly in relation to images and forms. People’s subjective feelings in response to these changes are one of the keyways for me to understand the challenges they may face. What the people perceive as changes and how the changes allow them to pursue their quality life in this space were explored through the following interview questions:

- 1(a). What changes are taking place in terms of how the Town looks and feels for Naxi people who live here?

- 1(b). What happens in the Town in terms of events and public activities relating to Naxi people?
- 2(a). How have the cultural products been changed in the case of Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives?
- 2(b). What happens to the use of cultural products and the modes of behaviours in the Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives? (See Appendix 3)

The images and forms in LAT designed by the local government and supported by the Central government, have been praised by the International Council on Monuments and Sites⁴⁹ (ICOMOS) in UNESCO as making “every effort to protect the landscape and strictly controls all building” (ICOMOS, 1997, p. 121). From 2002 to 2014, the local government has invested CNY 3.6 billion (about USD 0.56 billion)⁵⁰ in the infrastructure construction, such as rebuilding of streets, houses, drainage, water supply, fire emergency, public toilets and so on (S. He, 2015). This reconstruction was confirmed by 10 participants, especially by Naxi, who were born in or near the town. They reflected on construction in the town from their experiences, as the following quotes demonstrate:

街道更干净了,房子更漂亮了。 (Naxi parent 1)

The streets are cleaner, and the houses are more beautiful. (Naxi parent 1)

好多房子重新翻修,重新盖瓦刷漆,增加了许多新的铺面。 (Naxi grandchild 2)

Many houses have been refurbished, shingled, and painted, and lots of new shops have been added. (Naxi grandchild 2)

丽江古城占地面积逐渐扩大,且基础设施日渐完善。 (Naxi grandchild 1)

The LAT area has gradually expanded, and the infrastructure and facilities have also been improving. (Naxi grandchild 1)

Their responses reflected the changes to infrastructure in the town. The streets, buildings and basic facilities have been rebuilt and improved. From their emotion and tone in the interview responses, I felt most Naxi participants were grateful for the rebuilding and improvement of

⁴⁹ International Council on Monuments and Sites is a non-government professional organisation set for the conservation of cultural heritages, and historic monuments and sites in the world. It was founded in Paris in 1965. Retrieved from <https://icomos.org.nz/>

⁵⁰ The exchange rate between US dollars (USD) and Chinese Yuan (CNY) was USD1= CNY 8.28 in 2002 and USD1= CNY 6.16 in 2014, based on the average closing price in a year. Retrieved from <https://www.macrotrends.net/2575/us-dollar-yuan-exchange-rate-historical-chart>

basic infrastructure and proud to be residents in the ‘improved’ LAT. The main changes affecting LAT began after a major earthquake in February 1996 (7.0 on the Richter Scale (Ebbe et al., 2011, p. 46)). In the earthquake, a large number of traditional buildings with wood and adobe structures were seriously damaged (Yang et al., 1996). To restore the traditional Naxi buildings, the Yunnan Provincial Government, and the World Bank (WB) funded reconstruction of the town. One year later, in 1997, the town was declared a World Heritage site (du Cros, 2006). My participants were impressed with the reconstruction supported by WB and implemented by the local government where:

In ancient Lijiang, the project made repairs to traditional streets, sidewalks, bridges, canal embankments, sanitation facilities, and the water supply and distribution system. The project supported a grant program for materials for housing repair, which emphasized earthquake-resistant construction and benefited approximately 15,300 families. (Ebbe et al., 2011 p.46)

With these funds and support, the current LAT has significantly improved its image. Because of the changes to the public image and the advertising associated with its World Heritage status, more and more tourists came to visit, increasing the residents’ income and improving their living conditions. Guo (2019) cited the statistics given by the Administrative Bureau of Lijiang Ancient Town, showing that in 1994 the total income of tourism in LAT was CNY 0.08 billion (USD 0.009 billion), it increased to CNY 1.87 billion (USD 0.22 billion) in 1999, and increased to CNY 59.6 billion (USD 8.4 billion)⁵¹ in 2017, while the total income of tourism in the larger Lijiang City in 2017 was CNY 82.2 billion (USD 12.2 billion). In 2017, the income of LAT accounted for 72.5% of tourism revenue of the whole city. All these increases in tourist numbers justified the efforts made by the Chinese government, UNESCO, and the World Bank for the development of LAT.

The local government rebuilt the old houses, streets, and infrastructure according to strict regulations and planning and the development benefited from these measures over a number of decades but most particularly since the early 1990s. Regulations and measures related to urban planning were introduced in 1958, 1983, 1991, 1998, 2005 and 2012 (Y. Wang, 2015). However, the urban planning regulations of 1958, as the first planning after the founding of

⁵¹ The exchange rate between US dollars (USD) and Chinese Yuan (CNY) was USD1= CNY 8.64 in 1994, USD1= CNY 8.28 and USD1= CNY 6.76 in 2017, based on the average closing price in a year. Retrieved from <https://www.macrotrends.net/2575/us-dollar-yuan-exchange-rate-historical-chart>

PRC, were not implemented as scheduled due to the Cultural Revolution that took place in the 1960s and early 1970s. Among all the planning projects, it is the planning regulation of 1991 that is regarded as key in determining the position of tourism in this town, whereas the 1998 regulations and measures were considered as a detailed project for the protection of LAT, playing an important role in its rebuilding after the earthquake in 1996 (Y. Wang, 2015). The following regulations made around the urban planning from 1983 are listed (Table 7).

Table 7 Regulations and planning made by LMG

Time	Name of regulation, law and planning
1983	<i>General planning of Naxi Autonomous County of Lijiang</i>
1988	<i>Protection plan for Lijiang historic and cultural city</i>
1988	<i>Interim measures for the administration and construction of Lijiang Ancient Town</i>
1991	<i>Protection planning for Lijiang historic and cultural city</i>
1994	<i>Regulations on the protection and management of the famous historic and cultural city of Lijiang, Yunnan Province</i>
1995	<i>Interim Measures of Naxi Autonomous County of Lijiang on the administration of fire safety in the Ancient Town</i>
1998	<i>Detailed planning for the protection of Dayan Ancient Town in Lijiang</i>
1999	<i>Measures for the protection and administration of Dongba culture in Lijiang County (for trial implementation)</i>
2001	<i>Guide manual for Lijiang residential restoration</i>
2003	<i>Manual for environmental protection and improvement of Lijiang Ancient Town</i>
2003	<i>Manual of environmental protection and renovation of Lijiang Ancient Town</i>
2003	<i>Protection plan of Lijiang Ancient Town—the World Cultural Heritage</i>
2005	<i>Revision of Lijiang urban master plan (2004-2020)</i>
2005	<i>Regulations on the protection of Naxi Dongba culture in Yunnan Province</i>
2006	<i>Regulations on the protection of Lijiang Ancient Town in Yunnan Province</i>
2010	<i>Business planning of the world cultural heritage of Lijiang Ancient Town</i>
2012	<i>Overall planning of Dayan tourism featured town in Lijiang City (2012-2030)</i>

Source: Y. Wang (2015, p. 199)

The regulation and planning documents indicate the contributions made by local government in developing LAT from a traditional and residential town to an international tourist city. For example, *Regulations on the Protection of the LAT in Yunnan Province* (Committee of Yunnan Provincial People's Congress, 2006) states:

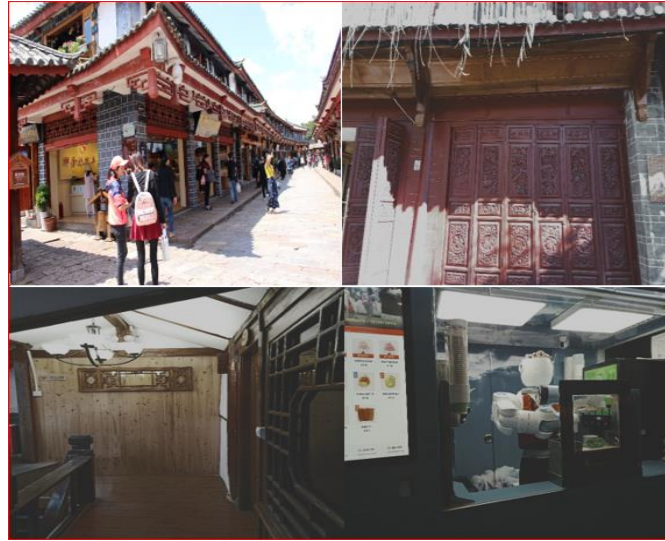
Article 10. The construction on LAT shall be carried out in accordance with the protection plan. The original overall layout, form, style and features shall be maintained. LAT is divided into conservation zones, buffer zones of construction control and environmental coordination zones. The specific scope of the three zones shall be determined and announced by Lijiang Municipal Government.

The demolition of historic buildings in the conservation zone shall be prohibited. When the houses and facilities are rebuilt, or their functions are renovated, the appearance of houses in this zone must be kept to their original appearance. In the buffer zone of construction control, no facilities whose features are not directly related to the function and nature of LAT shall be built. When old buildings are really needed to be rebuilt or new buildings needed to be built, their nature, volume, height, colour and form should be consistent with the style of their adjacent parts. In the environmental coordination area, the construction shall not be carried out, if it goes against the environmental protection of the town. (p.2)

The enforcement and implementation of these plans and regulations provide a strong legal guarantee for the protection and conservation of LAT. The division into three zones and detailed rules for different zones are designed to facilitate the scientific management and sustainable development of the town. Such division is in line with the approval report given by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 1997). In accordance with the regulations, the discordant buildings in the town have been demolished and restored to their original appearance (S. He, 2015), and through town management, the streets and other infrastructure are much better than in the past.

In keeping with the desire to make LAT visually authentic, the outside of Naxi houses have not changed much, however, many of these houses are used for tourist accommodation and the inside has been altered to adapt to the needs of travellers (Figure 35).

Figure 35 Outside and inside of traditional buildings in LAT



(Author photo taken in LAT: January 2020)

The above four photos display the integrity of the outside facade and changes on the inside of Naxi buildings in LAT. The upper two photos show the outside of the traditional buildings and how the unique artistic style and charming physical characteristics have been generally maintained. The lower two photos show the inside of a hotel and a drink shop where modern lights and cameras can be seen hanging from the ceilings. There is a robot in the last photo that is serving ice creams and drinks for the tourists. All the alternations were made to cater to the needs of travellers. When travellers visit the town, they have some basic requirements for their accommodation, as stated by the participants:

啊，外边是有要求……房间里面里面那些什么都不要求嘛。它主要就是外面，它主要大体的嘛……它要维护这个古城的那个文化……它不可以怎么拆迁，怎么建房子，里面都可以，但是外面的，原来外面是什么就还是什么。（Naxi businessman 1）

Ah, exterior design of the houses has requirements..., while what's interior look has no requirement. The main is the exterior and the entire look...to preserve the culture of the town...no permission for pulling houses down or rebuilding for one's will. Regardless of the interior design, the exterior has to keep its originality. (Naxi businessman 1)

外表是不变化的，但是里面变化了呀……就像以前，你住那些房子没有卫生间那些，现在你也不可能住，对不对……这个你也必须有卫生间，洗澡。就像你们来了，你没有洗澡间、卫生间，你也不会住。（Han businesswoman 3）

The exterior look hasn't been changed, but the interior has ... Just like in the past, you could live in a house without a bathroom. But now you couldn't live in such a room, could you? Well, you need have a bathroom to take a bath. Just like you, you won't book a room without a bathroom and a toilet. (Han businesswoman 3)

As these quotes suggest, the form of the town, particularly the internal aspects of traditional Naxi houses have been altered to meet the requirements of tourism. Business people are trying to supply travellers with what they need, and in doing so, the town has been changed from a residential town with some traditional trades into a town of over-commercialised tourism. The tourism represented by LAT is the pillar industry in Lijiang City. However, LAT is a very small area at just 3.8 square kilometres, and many people who participated in my study, including those who lived here in the past and those who were living there when I conducted field research, expressed doubts about the effect of tourism on the environmental sustainability and especially the quality of water, which is such an important aspect of the townscape:

游客越来越多,越来越热闹, 但环境也变差了许多。 (Naxi university student 2)

With more and more tourists, the town is getting more and more prosperous, but the environment is turning a lot worse. (Naxi university student 2)

旅游经济在发展,但同时给丽江古城带来了巨大的人口负担, 环境逐渐变差。 (Naxi university student 4)

Tourism is growing, but it brings a huge population burden to the town. And the environment is gradually becoming worse. (Naxi university student 4)

还有一个问题就是垃圾开始增多……给我们丽江黑龙潭带来干涸、丽江古城里出现遍地垃圾、玉龙雪山上飘着红色的塑料袋…… (Naxi grandchild 2)

Another problem is that rubbish is starting to increase. ...It has made the Black Dragon Pond⁵² become dry. Rubbish is found everywhere, and Yulong Snow Mountain is floating with red plastic bags (Naxi grandchild 2)

⁵² The Black Dragon Pond is located at the north of Lijiang Ancient Town. It draws on water from five springs to form an important water resource for the Town. He, J., & Fang, J. (2019). Lijiang helongtan quanshui dongtai bianhua yu jiangshui guanxi chutan [A Preliminary study on the Relationship between spring dynamics and precipitation in Black Dragon Pond of Lijiang 丽江黑龙潭泉水动态变化与降水关系初探]. *Zhongguo nongcun shuili shuidian [Water conservancy and hydropower in China's countryside 中国农村水利水电]*(8), 26-27+35.

自然水系方面，丽江古城的水质逐渐下降且水量减小，不是原来那样的清澈见底了，黑龙潭水源处甚至出现断流。（Naxi university student 5）

About the natural water system, the water quality in the town is becoming gradually bad, and the water quantity is decreasing. It is not as crystal clear as before, and the water source of Black Dragon Pond was even dried up. (Naxi university student 5)

以前啊，天很晴，那个鱼很多啊。现在是……那都死去，以前那个里面有鱼……以前鱼很多的……对，山很青，鱼很多。（Han businesswoman 1）

Long ago, it used to be sunny and there were a lot of fish. But now... the fish are dead. There were fish there There used to be a lot of fish Yes, the mountain was very green and there were lots of fish. (Han businesswoman 1)

The quotes show that the development of tourism is coming at the cost of the environment, particularly water resources and water quality. According to the investigation on water in LAT made by Ning and He (2007), the overflow of travellers has resulted in a sharp increase of water use and the fast-growing numbers of shops, restaurants and hotels has led to polluted water resources. The water problem has influenced the form of LAT, which has broken out the original living conditions of Naxi and caused a decline of their living quality. Although in *Regulations on the Protection of the LAT in Yunnan Province* (2006), article 17 and article 19 specified the rules of how to deal with rubbish and waste, and minimise destruction of the environment, many participants talked about the increase in rubbish, depletion of the water resources and the decline of fish. This sits in contrast to the form of LAT prior to tourism growth and it being a traditional trade centre and a beautiful residential place.

The changing form of the town constitutes one of the key reasons causing the large out-migration of the Naxi. The out-migration results in the absence of the indigenous people in this Naxi cultural heritage site and loss of the “essentially spiritual” component in the town (Andrews & Buggey, 2008, p. 63). Andrews and Buggey (2008) regard humans as the essential spirit of a land and its landscape, rather than its material, buildings, and plants. With regards to a cultural heritage site, indigenous people are perceived as an integral part of the place and represent the authenticity of their unique culture. The loss of Naxi from LAT was testified by my participants and most of the out-migrated Naxi mourned for their ‘lost hometown’.

纳西族居民渐渐搬离古城，古城里外地商人居多，古城里商业气息越来越浓重。(Naxi university student 2)

The Naxi residents are gradually moving out of the town. There are more business people from other places. The commercial atmosphere here is getting stronger and stronger. (Naxi university student 2)

以前都是穿纳西服装的人，现在感觉都是汉人……穿纳西服装的人越来越少了。(Naxi grandparent 3)

In the past, there used to live people all in Naxi costumes. But now I feel like there are all Han there ... The people in Naxi costumes are becoming less and less. (Naxi grandparent 3)

古城原来这个地方……没有成为店铺之前，应该是些什么样的人在这儿住着？

(Interviewer)

纳西族人嘛……全部是纳西族住的呀。(Han businesswomen 1)

现在这些人都搬到哪儿去了？大致？(Interviewer)

搬到城外面了嘛……新城,外面去住了。(Han businesswomen 1)

这个古城里边应该是说纳西人还有一部分吧？(Interviewer)

哎，很少很少。……一百家只有一家了，可能。……对，少的很。(Han businesswomen 1)

Interviewer: This place in the town ... Before the shops were built, what kind of people had lived here?

The Naxi people... There lived all Naxi. (Han businesswomen 1)

Interviewer: Now, where have these people moved to? Roughly?

They moved out of the old town.... to the new town, living outside. (Han businesswomen 1)

Interviewer: There must be some Naxi in this old town?

Gosh, very, very few ... There's only one family in a hundred, maybe. ... Yes, very few. (Han businesswomen 1)

随着旅游的发展，古城的原住居民在生活上感觉不太方便，而且出租古城的房屋价格又比较可观，所以现在几乎所有的纳西族居民都已搬离古城，偶尔去古城怀旧一下，已经不可能找到些许纳西的印记了，走遍整个古城也难得碰到一个纳西族原住居民了，完全没有了那种韵味。(Naxi parent 2)

With the development of tourism, the original residents feel it is not very convenient to live in the town. And the rental price is very high, so up to now almost all the Naxi residents [have

rent the house out and] moved away. Occasionally when I go back for a while for nostalgia, it is impossible to find any trace of the Naxi. Across the town, it is rare to meet a Naxi resident, and it doesn't have that kind of charm. (Naxi parent 2)

古城不再是只属于我们自己的古城,外来文化使它更顺应潮流,但也觉得我们不再是它的主人,我在古城仿佛置身异乡。(Naxi university student 1)

The town is no longer only belonging to us. External cultures make it adapt to the modern trends. But I feel that we are no longer its owner and as if I were in a foreign country. (Naxi university student 1)

My participants confirm that most of the Naxi have moved out of LAT and are replaced by immigrated outsiders (particularly Han Chinese). In this circumstance, a Naxi finds herself or himself as a stranger in their 'hometown' and find it hard to acquire any evidence that they had ever lived there. In addition to the sentiment of Naxi who have left, the loss of Naxi in LAT undermines the outstanding value of the town and compromises the authenticity and integrity of it as a cultural heritage site.

In this respect, Hinch (2004) shares his view that the continuous existence of indigenous people is a determinant in preserving the unique culture. It is they, who create, develop and transmit the culture. Without indigenous people, the cultural resources will not be continuously created, developed and transmitted.

Andrews and Buggey (2008) connect the significance of indigenous people with authenticity and integrity in their cultural landscape. They explain that "Aboriginal cultural landscapes are expressions of a worldview that see land in essentially spiritual rather than material terms and regards humans as an integral part of the land, inseparable from its animals, plants, and spirits" (p.63). They further confirm the function of indigenous people in the conservation of their cultural heritage, who play a more important role than other objects on the land and in cultural transmission.

With regards to LAT, maintaining the material terms of the built landscape is only part of the conservation of Naxi authenticity and integrity. Another important practice in conservation is to ensure the needs of indigenous people who live in the place, including the needs for cultural activities and the context for language speaking. As Shao (2017) notes: "The pattern of Lijiang Old Town does not follow that of cities in Central China. During its long history, the city pattern was formed through the local living habits and cultural customs, and fully combined

with topography” (p.56) and he concluded that the conservation of Naxi heritage site is an integrity work, which should focus on its special natural and cultural environment and rely on the Naxi indigenous people. How far does the general maintenance of the physical appearance of the town and loss of spiritual subjectivity, especially associated with cultural intangibles such as cultural activities and religious festivals effect language vitality? This question needs further evidence from the activities of people in LAT.

6.1.2 Naxi activities in LAT

The third important aspect for understanding the authenticity and integrity of LAT in place making and language survival is the activities happening in the town. According to Montgomery (1998), activities are essential for the vitality and diversity of people’s use of space in a city and include private residences, businesses, entertainments, street life, customs and traditions. From the explanation on place-related activities, whether businesses, entertainments or other activities, it is hard to see the direct relationship between place making and language. Lin and Chen (2010) also perceived language as the most unrecognisable element in impacting place making, but he found the connection between a place and a language via the speakers’ activities in their identity construction. They provided evidence to argue that the influx of outsider peoples and cultures resulted in more complex and unstable linguistic identity in a place, in which more ways of constructing and interpreting the place arose. Regarding LAT, how both the Naxi and other people living here construct identity through interpreting the activities in this space can help me further understand its cultural authenticity and integrity.

Laws and regulations stipulate general norms for activities performed in the town. However, compared to the regulations on images and forms designed to maintain the integrity of this world heritage site, activities were regulated less specifically. Regulations on the activities in the town could be traced back to *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (1982), in which the “local government of ethnic minorities shall arrange and administer local economic construction, education, science and culture under the guidance of state plans” (n.p.). The constitution gives a broad base for the support of ethnic issues, from which the YPG has developed the *Regulations on the Protection of Naxi Dongba Culture in Yunnan Province* in 2005. According to the regulations, the Naxi Dongba culture mainly refers to Dongba ancient books and documents written by the Naxi people (published before 1966), Naxi language, music, dance and pictures. For further actions, such as how to protect Naxi music, dance or picture, it is hard to find specific and effective regulations.

My interview question “What happens in the Town in terms of events and public activities relating to Naxi people?”, allowed me some scope to check the authenticity of activities happening in the town and how they may connect with language vitality. Among my 35 participants, 33 reported having seen or joined Naxi cultural activities taking place in the town. Two out of the five travellers had not engaged in, or seen any cultural activities in the town, one of whom had just arrived when I spoke to them, but the other having been to the town twice. The activities people have seen or joined in mainly refer to the Naxi dance, events on traditional holidays, bonfire nights and recitals of Naxi ancient music. One participant also mentioned a film shown in Sifang Street. However, no one talked about the other informal “activities”, for example, the Naxi old people used to congregate together on street corners, talking and smoking. As noted in Chapter 2, the local residents used to sit around and chat quietly in their leisure time (Mueggler, 1991), but I did not see this in the current LAT and my participants made no mention of it.

A common activity in the town mentioned by most participants was “Datiao” (打跳), a traditional Naxi group dance happening in Sifang Street (Figure 36). The number of dancers traditionally varies from dozens to hundreds, usually guided by a leading dancer in a circle or several circles (Kang et al., 2012). The Datiao dance group I saw in Sifang Street comprised 15 dancers, wearing Naxi costumes in the same colour and style. Tourists were welcomed by the dance group to join in and dance together.

Figure 36 Naxi Datiao dance



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The dances in LAT developed from Datiao were to create a cultural atmosphere to interest and attract tourists. Some participants saw Datiao performed in Yuhe Square (another observation

site) by Naxi people, but I also saw some Tibetan and other ethnics do different dances from Datiao there. Hence, the dancers in such activities were not always Naxi. Among the 35 participants, only three joined the Datiao performance and only one felt very happy with such an experience, a Bai peddler, in her 50s, who was selling mandarins when I interviewed her.

你也参加了打跳? (Interviewer)

有时候参加呀, 我们都是组织起来去打跳呀, 还有搞活动……他们说, 去这个把自己打扮得漂漂亮亮的, 服装都一样。一起去, 看起来真得很好看哎。(Bai businesswoman 1)

你当时也穿着纳西的衣服? (Interviewer)

穿, 那些老外跟我们一起照相了, 他们都乐, 都乐呵呵的。(Bai businesswoman 1)

Interviewer: Have you joined Datiao?

Sometimes. We are all organised to do Datiao, and other events ... They told us to dress up and have the same costumes. We go together and it looks so beautiful. (Bai businesswoman 1)

Interviewer: Did you wear the Naxi's costume then?

Yes, of course. The foreigners [who saw us] took photos with us. They smiled and were happy with that. (Bai businesswoman 1)

This participant was a Bai,⁵³ not a Naxi, but was very satisfied with her experience in performing Datiao. She was invited to join the Datiao performance and asked to dress up and wear Naxi costume. Thus, participants are not always consistent with their ethnic identities, however, from the view of travellers, they are Naxi. The purpose of such disguise is to attract visitors and make them feel a sense of connection with the Naxi culture, however, none of the tourists I interviewed had participated in this performance. Although the Naxi are supposed to be the active leading actor in this cultural activity, the authenticity of their culture has been compromised to meet the imagination of travellers and the cultural factors that have been designed to sell a tourism package (Su & Teo, 2008). The activities are actually recreated to propel tradition into modern entertainment for tourists in order to make money for the town. While tourism is used as a vehicle to make profits (some of which go the preservation of the built environment), consideration needs to be given to the threats to indigenous culture and their community (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2019). But, as Shao (2017) suggests “young people

⁵³ The Bai people, located in the southwest of China, mainly in Yunnan Province, has a long history of about 1000 years. Taking white colour as an honour, they get their name from this colour. They are also well known for their art achievements in China. Retrieved from <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E7%99%BD%E6%97%8F/131111?fr=aladdin>

now seem reluctant to learn knowledge and skills such as folk-art skills, singing and dancing, and Dongba texts, which bear strong local ethnic characters but take a lot of time and effort” (p58). In the recreated culture conveyed by tourism, the indigenous community are entitled to take up new tasks (such as dancing on demand for tourists) but it does not necessarily appeal.

Another participant, who was a Han businesswoman, the manager of the hotel in which I stayed also talked about the Datiao performance. She reported that:

他们纳西族经常一帮一帮子从这里过啊。(Han businesswoman 3)

他们从这儿过，是去干什么事？(Interviewer)

路过啊，打跳啊。每天早上九点、九点半，九点半四方街有一个，两点半四方街也有一个……参加打跳那些人，那些人了嘛，是发工资的。(Han businesswoman 3)

They Naxi people often pass this street in groups. (Han businesswoman 3)

Interviewer: Do they pass by? What are they going to do?

Passing or doing Datiao. There is Datiao in Sifang Street at 9.00 or 9.30 every morning and 2.30 every afternoon Those who joined the Datiao ... Those persons ... They are paid.

(Han business woman 3)

The hotel manager had seen those who wore Naxi costume and performed Datiao and she regarded them as Naxi people. They passed by the hotel to join Datiao in Sifang Street at fixed times. As this hotel manager explained, people are paid to perform by the local government, which may explain why the Bai woman was so happy to participate in the activity.

Quite different from the Bai dancer's experience, a Naxi girl, who was selling Naxi flower cake expressed that she was not interested in Datiao and seldom joined it. She thought of it as something you would do if you had a personal interest to perform such an activity. While another Naxi elderly man, who was nearly 80, said quietly that he had never participated in such activities, despite that he was born in LAT. He saw others do Datiao in Sifang Street, but he named the performance as “Alili (阿丽丽)”, which is the name of another Naxi dance. One of the significant distinctions is that in Datiao, there is an important performer who is playing the reed mouth organ, a Chinese traditional musical instrument, while Alili is a circle dance supported with songs (Ichihashi et al., 1989; Zhao, 2014). The dances taking place in Sifang street are done to the accompaniment of Naxi popular songs played on voice box, without performance from a reed mouth organ player. Another participant also expressed her doubt of the “Datiao” being performed as a traditional Naxi dance. She is a Han young woman

who has run a beauty and spa shop on the border of LAT for more than five years. She was born in Yongsheng, a county about 100 kilometres away from LAT, and had been to LAT many times when she was a teenager. When I interviewed her, she reflected on the Datiao performed in Sifang Street as:

就是跳那个舞嘛,跳那广场舞嘛, 就是纳西三部曲嘛。(Han businesswoman 1)

跳广场舞?(Interviewer)

纳西广场舞。(Han businesswoman 1)

太形象了。(Interviewer)

That is a dance—square dance. It is Naxi Trilogy. (Han businesswoman 1)

Interviewer: Square Dances?

[Yes,] Naxi Square Dances. (Han businesswoman 1)

Interviewer: So vivid.

The name given by her sounds very strange. But if you have lived in urban China or have seen Square Dances, you will agree with her. Square Dances (广场舞) refer to group dances in public places in urban China in recent years, in which mainly females aged from 30s to 60s, dance with the accompaniment of popular music or songs (Qian & Lu, 2019), especially in modern urban squares. The dance performed in Sifang Street is really like those in the Square Dances. Except for the Naxi costume, music, and some postures, the modern Datiao looks, from numbers of dancers and rough form, like a modern Square Dance.

One reason that can help explain this ambiguity and divergence from Naxi Datiao is the commercialisation of tourism promoted by the local government. In order to get benefits from tourists, an artificial cultural environment has been created to meet the tourists' expectations for entertainment and leisure in the heritage site. In this artificial cultural environment, modern services are combined with cultural products (X. Yang, 2018). Naxi Datiao in the commercialised LAT, as a cultural product, was modified with popular modern forms rather than traditional Naxi songs and was put in the centre of LAT, Sifang Street. The dancers in the Datiao are actresses and actors, some of whom are paid, organised to provide cultural performances according to a plan made by the local government. According to Su and Teo (2008), from the founding of PRC to the year of 2000, Sifang Street was largely a market square where local people sold commodities and produces, such as vegetables, fruits and meats. However, after receiving a grant for LAT being a World Heritage site, the local government

decided to restore the square to a prosperous commercial situation. The purpose of such “restoration” was to appeal to travellers, including introducing cultural performances. The local government organised two groups of residents from or near LAT to perform the dances: one was composed of retired residents, who were volunteers, the other was formed by paid dancers, although they were not highly paid (Su & Teo, 2008) and not necessarily Naxi. In sum, Naxi Datiao was adopted to cater the taste of travellers for their entertainment and leisure.

There are some contradictions and tensions in the authenticity and integrity of place making in LAT. While the local government has made efforts to preserve the traditional authenticity and integrity of the town in terms of building facades and streets, the inside facilities and decorations have been changed to meet the requirements of tourists. There has been no control on the movement out of the town of Naxi residents, who have chosen to leave in order to get away from the massive flows of travellers and the degraded environment, and simultaneously to improve their economic circumstances. The activities restored in the town are the result of compromises between Naxi identity and the demands of tourism. The activities recreated by actors and actresses, no matter whether they are Naxi or not, are a part of tourism packages to attract visitors to make profits. With these changes to the images, forms, and activities in the town, the Naxi cannot expect to have many opportunities to interpret this place and perform activities with their vernacular language.

In the next section, I consider two further aspects of Naxi cultural transmission (as discussed in Chapter 3). On the one hand, I consider what my data reveal about cultural products and cultural practices: one is the cultural transmission among the Naxi group, most of whom now live away from LAT; the second is the cultural products and practices maintained in the town. On the other hand, I discuss the cultural perspectives relating to LAT, where the continuity of Naxi culture determines the sustainability of LAT and is relevant to my argument about language survival because the cultural content needs to be interpreted by the indigenous language.

6.1.3 Naxi cultural products and practices

Transmission of Naxi cultural products and practice among people in LAT is not without its challenges. After the out-migration of most Naxi people, business people and travellers are the main permanent or temporary “residents” of LAT and among my participants, almost all non-Naxi business people and travellers knew nothing about the Naxi culture. The non-Naxi business people and travellers whom I interviewed had a common characteristic, that is, they

were on the move. Only one young woman had stayed in a Naxi guesthouse for more than three days when I interviewed her. But she told me what attracted her to the town was the online promotion about “slowing down of life and relaxation in the LAT” rather than the Naxi culture. When she arrived at the town, she found little about culture, for most commodities being sold in the shops had nothing to do with the Naxi, except for the Naxi food, such as Jidou Bean Jelly, Flower Cakes, and Naxi Baba (a Naxi traditional pan cake). Despite some Naxi traditional food being sold in the town, the flavour and quality are different from those the Naxi would experience at home. A Naxi hotel manager, whom I met in my first field work, told me that the flavour of Bean Jelly sold in the current town was different from those made in her hometown, a county 20 miles away from LAT. Her report was verified by Peters (2013), who suggested that when the major Naxi traditional wet market was removed out of the town, the typical Naxi snack food run by older Naxi women also disappeared. Peters (2013) attributes the disappearance of Naxi vernacular food to the requirement for constructing a modern tourism market in LAT from 2000. During my field research, I too was attracted by the picture of juicy meat in an advertisement photo for Naxi hot pot at a small restaurant at the corner of Sifang Street. I was disappointed to find the meat dry and small, without good flavour. It seemed to me, as a visitor to the town, that in spite of being named Naxi food, the quality and traditional flavours had been compromised. Another explanation for this is that due to the business competition in LAT, Naxi cultural products such as traditional foods have been changed to meet growing demand and produce more profit. According to the survey made by Su and Teo (2008), 81 % of their respondents agreed with the positive impact of tourism in LAT, but the respondents also stressed that the tourism added “many invented elements” to the tourism (p.159). Most of the Naxi cultural products have been added “invented elements” and altered their original characteristics, both Jidou Bean Jelly and Naxi hot pot.

Few Naxi cultural products and practices are being transmitted in the business context of LAT with most of the products and practices available having no connection with Naxi culture. The products and practices that had no connection with Naxi were occupying more space in LAT. This was exemplified by my observation in Sifang Street. When I did my field work in 2018 and 2020, there were thirty-four shops. Only four shops had some direct connection with Naxi culture: Jiahua Flower Cake, Yak Beef of Naxi Girl (two shops) and Dongba Paper (东巴纸坊). For most of the other shops, it was hard for them to be identified with aspects of Naxi culture. Bells Café (Figure 37) was a large upstairs café with bi-fold windows with Hongu, a women’s accessory and handbag shop in the downstairs space. Xiaoqian’s Shop—An

impression from Africa (Figure 38) predominantly sold African musical instruments, particularly drums.

Figure 37 Bells Café and Hongu



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

Figure 38 Xiaoqian's Shop--An impression from Africa



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

From my photos, it is easy to see that these three shops are not reflective of Naxi culture. Bells Café and African drums barely even relate to Chinese culture, while Hongu is a modern Chinese brand of handbags. Besides the examples illustrated and except for the four typical Naxi shops, the other shops in Sifang Street are either related to Yunnan culture, such as rice noodles and silver wares, or related to modern culture, for example, drinks, cards studio, a bank (China Agricultural Bank), pubs and bars. The space for commercial Naxi culture has been negotiated and compromised by the appearance of various other forms of commercialisation with different cultural origins and purposes.

My following interview questions (Appendix 3) provided a focus for my analysis cultural content:

2(a). How have the cultural products been changed in the case of Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives?

2(b). What happens to the use of cultural products and the modes of behaviours in the Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives?

2(c). How do the changes in Naxi people's cultural practices and products influence their traditional values, beliefs and ideas?

Most Naxi people I interviewed mentioned changes in the cultural products, for example:

穿纳西服装的人越来越少了。(Naxi grandparent 2)

Those who are wearing Naxi clothes are becoming fewer and fewer. (Naxi grandparent 2)

纳西传统服装也从老式的转成了新式的服装。家里的生活用具，老物件都被淘汰了，都是用现当代的家具用品了。(Naxi grandparent 3)

Naxi traditional clothing has also changed from the old pattern to the new fashion. For the household things, the old appliances have been eliminated and all replaced by modern appliances. (Naxi grandparent 3)

在纳西族的传统文化活动和日常生活中，文化产品,如传统服饰、家居用品、祭祀用品和乐器等使用频率越来越少，很多家庭都很少用这些生活用品。(Naxi parent 4)

In the Naxi traditional cultural activities and daily life, the frequency of using cultural products such as traditional clothing, household items, sacrificial items and musical instruments are becoming fewer and fewer, and now many families seldom use such daily necessities. (Naxi parent 4)

祭祀用品还是按照原来的程序进行，必要的祭祀用品一样都不能少。(Naxi university student 4)

The sacrificial offerings are still carried out according to the original procedure. The necessary sacrificial items must be prepared. (Naxi university student 4)

祭祀用品几乎是不变的,因为祭祀用品有时候有严格的规定。(Naxi university student 5)

The sacrificial items are almost constant because they are sometimes strictly regulated. (Naxi university student 5)

Different opinions on the transmission of Naxi culture were apparent between the old generation and the young generation, when they talked about cultural products, such as Naxi costumes, household items, music instruments and sacrificial supplies. The older generation felt these items had been eliminated and replaced by modern items; the parent generation considered the frequency of using such items was becoming less and less; while the young generation tended to enjoy the products that had been replaced and adopted the household items they were used to. They did not think there were too many changes, because when they were born, changes had taken place and they took for granted the altered Naxi cultural products.

Compared to the cultural products, the changes on cultural practices seemed more obvious:

以前的二月八日,三朵节,外出放羊牛,在野外烧饭,祭祀祖先;现在放羊牛这些活动是没了的,基本就是野餐方式。(Naxi grandparent 1)

In the past, on the eighth day of February, [to observe] Sanduo Festival, we went out to herd sheep and cattle, cooked food in the wild field and sacrificed to our ancestors. Now in these activities, there is basically a picnic, instead of herding sheep and cattle. (Naxi grandparent 1)

以前传统节日,就单煮一份肉,现在饭菜形式多了。以前只过传统节日,现在多了生日等各种节日。(Naxi grandparent 3)

For the traditional holidays, we used to cook only a dish of meat but now there are all kinds of dishes. We only used to celebrate the traditional festivals but now we have many additional different events, for example, birthday parties. (Naxi grandparent 3)

在纳西族的传统文化活动和日常生活中,文化产品的使用和行为方式(如节日、仪式或肢体语言等)都越来越汉化。(Naxi parent 1)

In the Naxi traditional cultural activities and daily life, the use and performance of cultural products (such as festivals, rituals, or body language) are becoming more and more like Han. (Naxi parent 1)

节日逐渐从传统古老祭祀转化为吸引游客的活动。（Naxi parent 5）

The festivals have been transformed from traditional sacrifices to a way of attracting tourists.

（Naxi parent 5）

传统民族乐器只有少部分老者还在传承演奏，青少年比较喜欢流行乐器。但是受外来文化的影响，节日的氛围没有过去那么浓，年轻一代则喜欢过一些外来文化的节日，如情人节、圣诞节等。（Naxi university student 1）

Only a few of the old people are still transforming and playing the traditional folk instruments, while young people prefer pop musical instruments. However, under the influence of other outside cultures, the festival atmosphere is not as strong as that in the past. The younger generation likes to celebrate some festivals of Western culture, such as Valentine's Day, Christmas and so on. (Naxi university student 1)

节日弄得越来越好，越来越新式化，让越来越多的游客感受到了节日的光彩和节日的热情。（Naxi grandchild 1）

The festivals are doing better and better, and more and more modern, so that more tourists feel the glory and enthusiasm of our culture. （Naxi grandchild 1）

As these quotes indicate, the older Naxi were diligent and considered feeding sheep and cattle as priority forms of work, while the youngest generation took delight in them almost as modern entertainment. In addition, the older generation regarded birthday parties as a new kind of holiday for them, which was a change from the traditional holidays, while the young people expressed their interest in popular musical instruments and western holidays such as Valentine's Day. It did not rule out that they were open to their traditional holidays and musical instruments, but few of them could play the traditional instruments and none of my young participants indicated that they devoted as much time and energy to these practices as those from previous generation. The change of social context has shifted the interest among Naxi youth regarding their traditional heritage. Chan and Ross (2015) came to a similar conclusion in their research with indigenous children, noting that cultural and musical heritage might be successfully transmitted in a naturally original cultural context. However, when the original cultural context is altered, children from minority groups do not feel at ease in performing their original cultural practices. The parent generation, as a linkage between the old generation and

the young generation, was clearly aware of the process of change, and attributed it to the development of tourism and thought that the selection of traditional Naxi culture in LAT was to attract and cater to tourists. When Chen (2016) examined the representative Chinese languages that were appropriated by China Daily to promote travels, she found that the “vision of Naxi language is highlighted”, but it was actually a “travelogue” and essentially a “living fossil” preserved in “Dongba Kingdom” (near LAT), as a “tourist attraction” (p. 528). The Dongba scripts in this “theme park” are demonstrated to attract travellers, rather than a means of daily communication. The language is used in tourism in this park, but the Naxi do not live in the park, and cultural intergenerational transmission cannot be completed in this artificial context.

Cross-generational transmission and intra-generational transmission are issues that I have not considered within the scope of this research. However, evidence is emerging that they are also important in relation to language vitality, particularly place attachment in the context of tourism (Chen et al., 2022) and will be important to consider in future research.

6.1.4 Naxi cultural perspectives

As part of cultural content, the authentic cultural transmission of Naxi perspectives is facing challenges in the younger generations rather than in the older generation. Most Naxi people, especially the older generation, do not think they have changed their traditional values, such as reverence for nature and kindness. In my interviews, the older generation attributed their cultural persistence to their rustic education. Yang (2008) in his study on Naxi’s eco-ethics, stated that the Naxi children in the past were always admonished repeatedly not to destroy nature, and taught by older generations that human beings and nature were regarded as “brothers”. They were born from the same resource as “eggs” produced by the same father; therefore, human beings should love nature as a brother. With such a story, the older generation imbued cultural transmission and knowledge into their education. A Naxi parent who was born and grew up in LAT recalled that they were forbidden to leave any waste in the water. The water system in the town was designed and utilised strictly, exemplified by Sanyan Wells (三眼井), which was designed with three divisions (Figure 39).

Figure 39 Naxi Sanyan Wells



(Source:

[https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?ct=503316480&z=0&ipn=d&word=%E4%B8%BD%E6%B1%](https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?ct=503316480&z=0&ipn=d&word=%E4%B8%BD%E6%B1%92)

9)

In Figure 39, the pool closest to the stone sign is the drinking water and people can be seen washing clothes in the furthest pool. My Naxi parent participant recalled the function of Sanyan Wells in their past daily life and education of how to use them:

……玉龙雪山的雪水从黑龙潭下游分成三条河流蜿蜒穿过古城……在我从小的记忆里，古城居民喝的用的都是三条河里的水，大家是如何做到保证古城河水的洁净的呢？完全靠的是自律。每天凌晨勤劳的纳西妇女起来第一件事就是挑水，古城河水经过一夜的流淌确保了河水的清澈，所以一般上午基本没有人在古城河流里洗涤东西的，每天做饭的时间每家每户则会在河流里清洗做饭所需的食材，而到了晚上才是洗衣等等的时间……并且古城里有许许多多的三眼井，也是第一眼用来饮用，第二眼用来洗食材，第三眼用来洗衣等进行了合理的分配。古城里的居民从记事起就会受到来自父母亲人的教育，不会有人往河道或是井里乱扔污物或者做不利于保持河道清洁的事，因为这样做是会受到老祖宗的惩罚的。现在古城开放发展的同时，也有一些外来的不太文明的行为带了进来，比如不太保护环境卫生，像河水或是井水被污染等，纳西居民是绝对不敢做的。(Naxi parent 2)

.... The snow water of Yulong Snow Mountain divides into three streams that wind their way through the old town In my childhood memories, all the residents in the old town used the water from the three streams. How did we keep the water clean? It completely depends on self-discipline. Early in the morning, the first thing for the hardworking Naxi women is to carry

water. The water becomes clear after the river flows overnight. The basic rule [of water use] is that in the morning no family do the laundry in the streams. Every day during the cooking time, ever family wash food material in the streams, and the night of a day is a time to wash clothes And there are lots of Sanyan Wells in the old town, and the first division is used for drinking, the second division used for washing food, the third used for washing clothes and so on. From their childhood, the residents of the town have been taught by their parents and relatives that no one is allowed to throw dirt into the river or the well or do anything harmful to the wells. We believe in that to do so we would be punished by our ancestors. However, when the old town is open for tourism, there comes some uncivilized behaviour, such as carelessness of environmental protection and polluted streams or wells, for which the Naxi residents would never dare to do. (Naxi parent 2)

The rule for water usage of the Sanyan Wells is very strict according to the description of my participant. It was observed by the Naxi based on customs rather than being enforced by laws or regulations. Protection of water sources represented by the use of Sanyan Wells embodies the rich “consciousness of ecological protection, contained in customs of the Naxi people” (Deng et al., 2021, p. 4). However, the ecological customs abided by the older generation has been destroyed by some in-comers—particularly by travellers. The older generation did not think they had changed their cultural perspectives, while the parent generation was aware of the changes brought in by the outsiders. Whether the change of this custom and other similar customs has an influence on their intergenerational transmission of cultural perspectives is determined by the young generations.

Amongst my younger participants, there exist some hybrids that are produced by the imbued Naxi original beliefs and outside cultural perspectives. Although the Naxi young people hope to insist on their traditional perspectives, they also suggest that it is good for them to do away with fetishes and superstitions in Naxi traditional beliefs.

纳西族文化习俗的变化直接影响了我们对纳西族传统文化的认识，外来的文化思想与传统思想混杂着……有时候本民族的人对饮食方面的禁忌没有重视到位；纳西族人民有多神的信仰，其中也不免会有一些迷信的现象，文化习俗的变化使纳西族人民更加崇尚科学。(Naxi university student 3)

The changes of Naxi cultural customs directly affect our understanding of Naxi traditional culture. Outside cultural thoughts mingled with traditional thoughts.... Sometimes people of our culture do not pay enough attention to dietary taboos in our culture; Naxi people have the

belief of multi-god, among which there are inevitably some superstitious phenomena. The change of cultural customs makes Naxi people more advocate science. (Naxi university student 3)

It sounds paradoxical. On the one hand, the young participant is aware of the challenge that the Naxi culture faces and worries about the loss of taboos. Their traditional perspectives are changed with the alterations that occur to their customs and when mingled with other outside cultural thoughts. On the other hand, as this participant exemplifies, they can be very open to the outside culture, particularly what is considered as “science”, and hopes to replace the fusty established ideas in their culture with “science”.

Some youth even paid much attention to the benefits brought by tourism. A story was retold by He (2004) in her study in Baisha Town (about 10 miles from LAT), wherein some old people were organised to do Datiao voluntarily to welcome tourists based on their traditional virtue, while some youth organised another group at the same square but asked the tourists to pay when they joined in or watched it. The old people thought it shameful for the youth to gain benefits from Datiao, which was against their traditional philosophy. Naxi was traditionally well-known for kindness and treated visitors with free accommodation. When the two generations quarrelled with each other and the old people refused to leave, the youth even asked the travellers to pay when they watched the old people dancing.

With generational changes and increased ethnic and cultural interactions, Naxi perspectives are being marginalised. Processes of ‘place making’ have intensified interactions between locals and incomers and various cultural products and practices have mixed. Changes in cultural perspectives are an interactive mix of continuity and alterations (Graetz & Smith, 2010). They do not change abruptly but are, usually a combination of partial alteration and partial continuity. The speed and scope of change can be increased by rapid tourism development supported by place making activities. Making LAT looks attractive, ancient, and authentically Naxi, brings more tourists, even if the changes are superficial.

Travellers and business people have stayed and lived simultaneously with Naxi and Naxi have had to negotiate, communicate, and interact with Han and international tourists in the public sphere for many decades. Orbe (1997) constructed a phenomenological framework of co-cultural communication, in which the dominant group make their culture more pervasive and visible than those of non-dominant cultures. The non-dominant cultures then become marginalized in this interactive and communicative process. This is what seems to have

happened for Naxi. In terms of LAT, the tourist and business persons' perspectives have become more dominant and pervasive in town as tourism has increased exponentially in recent times. But for tourism to persist and the UNESCO heritage status to be maintained, place making activities rely on the idea that Naxi culture underpins everything. Water systems are carefully maintained and are being used, but by and for the priority of tourists and business people and not according to traditional Naxi practices and beliefs. Dance activities are continuing but in an altered form, as in the account of He (2004). Younger Naxi are attuned to a modern commercial perspective and are more likely to see the monetary value of their traditional culture.

6.2 Place-belongingness

A key theme in discussion with participants was the connection between their feeling of belongingness and LAT. As discussed in Chapter 3, following Antonsich (2010), in the next section, I explore Naxi's sense of place-belongingness through three important factors: personal life history and experiences, relations to other persons or society, and language-centred culture.

6.2.1 Personal life history and experiences

Personal life history, such as memories of a place and identification of common features with others through lived experiences play an important role in whether a person has a sense of place-belongingness. Memories formed from one's personal experiences, especially the memories in one's childhood are believed to be key to attachment to a place (Antonsich, 2010; M. Yang, 2015). In my interviews with seventeen Naxi family participants (not including Naxi business people), eleven were born and grew up in LAT, received their education in LAT (basically from primary school to secondary school) and their families had lived there when they were children or young persons. When they described their personal experiences in the town, their answers were quite similar to each other, even though many had now moved away and only returned occasionally. For most participants, the sense of connection to LAT was full of emotions.

自己从小在古城长大，对古城的那一份深深的眷恋，或者说是偶尔一闪的对古城的某一个童年的美好回忆，都会使我在偶尔休息的一天像一个游客一样去古城发一天呆，或者追随童年放学的那条小路去伤感一番。(Naxi parent 2)

I grew up in the old town. I have a deep attachment to it. Occasionally a flash of good memory of my childhood made me return and stay in the town for a day like a tourist. Or I felt very sad when I went along the path to school again. It was the path to the school of my childhood. (Naxi parent 2)

The participant was born as a citizen of LAT and was still registered as a citizen of the town, but she had moved away. In China, whether a person belongs to a particular city or a town is determined by the system of household registration, named “Hukou”. Starting with the purpose of conscription and tax collection before 1949 (founding of PRC) and later developed into a requirement and strategy for the procurement and monopoly of economic and social resources, the Hukou system has been criticised for its negative functions, both in the history and now, in its restrictions on the basic freedom of mobility (Chan, 2009; Song, 2014). Within strict limits, a citizen is usually registered, and his/her rights are defined according to the place where he/she is born, and from which his/her welfare is provided (Huang et al., 2014). With regard to the Hukou of LAT citizens, their Hukou is registered and retained in the town, but they are not living there, which is examined by Zhu (2018) as a new practice of mobility caused by tourism. The growth of tourism has promoted new practices of Hukou, that is, although a person is registered in a place, he/she is not necessarily belonging to that place. The citizen of LAT is one of the cases of such a practice. As an example, my participant was registered as a citizen of the town, was born, grew up, received her education there and had some working experience in the town. She also had a property inherited from her parents, but now she rents it out. Despite these connections, she felt that her original home was no longer her ‘home’. The town was filled with memories and emotions of her childhood, but now she felt displaced. It was a kind of sentimental belongingness, a sense of sweet memories of a past ‘home’ mixed with current loss and alienation. As a resident with Hukou in the town, she became a visitor and felt lost in her ‘home’ that was now filled with strangers.

Besides sadness, some participants shared personal experiences that made them feel happy and proud of being a Naxi.

古城里烧着大盆火、围着跳舞的情景让我印象最为深刻，我家离古城不远,记得以前一到傍晚,我奶奶就会带上我，一起去古城围着火打跳，一直跳到火都熄灭了,都还有人意犹未尽。因为那种所有老人都穿着民族服饰，放着当地音乐《纳西三部曲》的气氛特别吸引人……(Naxi grandchild 2)

I was deeply impressed by the scene of burning a bonfire and dancing around in the old town. My home is not far from the town. I remember that in the evenings [during my childhood], my grandma took me to do Datiao. We were reluctant to leave until the bonfire was out. The atmosphere was particularly attractive, because all the old people wore traditional costumes and played the local music "Naxi Trilogy" (Naxi grandchild 2)

This Naxi grandchild, aged 17 years old, still felt attached to the town for what she used to do in her childhood. She was excited to recall how her grandma had taken her to do Naxi Datiao in the town. Because of the personal experiences in her childhood, she felt ‘belonging’ to the group that used to live in the town. Her happiness originated from her identity as a group member through her personal experiences and sense of belonging to a social group (M. Yang, 2015). Her cultural background created a unique sense of belonging through her childhood experiences.

However, most of my Naxi participants seldom went back ‘home’ to LAT. Living and working out of the town, the parent generation rarely came back, and the young generation went to schools out of the town. Although they are officially registered in the town and have a property there, they no longer regard it as a ‘home’, as they physically live away and are hardly back. Their ‘home’ in the town is the buried memories all connected with their childhood experiences.

6.2.2 Relations with people in the Town

Contradictions and tensions are embedded in place-belongingness in terms of relations between the past ‘owners’ and current ‘owners’ of LAT. Naxi, the past owners are the hosts of the town, but from a residence perspective, they no longer physically belong to it because of out-migration, even though they still ‘own’ the buildings and land relating to Hukou. All the Naxi I interviewed responded similarly: They did not think they had a connection with the current people in the town. Business people and travellers, as migrants or visitors to the town, had relationships with LAT that were based on economic and recreational connections, which are different from the social and emotional attachments as the local people (Gilmartin & Migge, 2016; Njwambe et al., 2019). The economic and recreational connections determine who they are interacting with in the town and are determined by the related benefits that they are seeking. When people in the current town were asked about their relations with the local Naxi people, their answers are almost the same as “no contact”.

您和古城别的人有联系吗？和当地的纳西人有联系吗？ (Interviewer)

很少。……我一般不出门。(Han businessman 2)

嗯，就是说交房租啊，或者是过年过节啊，有联系吗？(Interviewer)

没有，我们都没有。(Han businessman 2)

刚才说你这个房子已经被人转租过了，你是从那个二房东那里（租的），跟他有联系，他是纳西人吗？(Interviewer)

不，他不是纳西人。(Han businessman 2)

Interviewer Do you have any contact with other people in the old town? Do you have any contact with the local Naxi?

Very few. ... I seldom go out. (Han businessman 2)

Interviewer: Well, do you have any contact with them when you pay the rental, or celebrate Chinese New Year or other holidays?

No, we don't. (Han businessman 2)

Interviewer: Just now you said your house had already been sublet. You got it from the subtenant and are in contact with the subtenant. Is he a Naxi?

No, he isn't. (Han businessman 2)

One reason why the businessman had little contact with the Naxi was that he rented his shop from a non-Naxi subtenant. This was a very common tenancy relationship in LAT, which resulted from the intense competition among the tourism businesses for properties to do business (M. Zhao, 2015). Under the intense competition, if the first tenant could not or would not manage the shop that they were renting, they usually sub-rented it to others. Such a relationship made it hard for the current tenants to have any contact with the original Naxi landlords. However, one tenant, who rented properties directly from the Naxi, also highlighted his lack of communication with Naxi landlords:

和当地人的联系不太多……这关系不太好，那些纳西族的那些人……就说你和他沟通起来，还是有一点困难的，有一点困难。……它这个传统的东西，它这个纳西族虽然说就是，我说的他们已经被这个外界的文明已经有所变化，但是它都根深蒂固了，它的有一些东西的话，它还是还是不接受，它可是觉得自己小富即安。……你像这些店这些啊，都是纳西族的民房啊。你说要让他自己做生意，他都不愿意做。就我这个房子，比如说我把那几家人的房子租下来，租下来，把房子给他打通打完了，咱们重新建的啊。……然后就是做生意，他就是他自己，如果说他有那个经商的意思，他没有，他觉得你这个做生意干啥呀，都有能吃的就行了。（Han businessman 4）

Not much contact with the locals ... This relation is not very good. Those Naxi people ... [I] still have some difficulty in communicating with them. There is a little difficulty. ... A little difficulty ... It is a traditional thing. It is the Naxi, even though it is. I say although the Naxi group has been changed by this outside civilization, they still deeply root in their traditions. There is something they still can't accept. They like secure money. ... Just like these shops, [originally,] they were all Naxi's traditional residential houses. If you ask them to do business by themselves, they are not willing to do. For this house, I rented these houses from several families. I rented, rented, and combined them together. I rebuilt them, ah. ... Then I have been doing business here, and they Naxi themselves have been [living away] without any intention of doing business. He doubted why you did such business. He thinks he has enough money for living. (Han businessman 4)

The barrier between the Han businessman and his Naxi landlords can be related to values of different cultures in this intercultural setting. The Han businessman was doing business in LAT, but he adhered to his values of making more money as part of an "outside civilization". Although the Naxi landlords transferred their rights of property occupation to a Han businessman and received rental income, they appeared mentally stuck in their traditional ideas that the houses should have been used for living rather than doing businesses. They are in a contradictory position in relation to the challenges that they face: retaining their houses means loss of a considerable rental income; renting them out shows that they grant rights to Han business people to rebuild their residential houses. Reluctant to rent the houses out, most of them choose to avoid facing their houses being radically changed from what they think of a 'home' house.

The relationship between the Naxi and current owners is established in line with tenancy contracts. The Naxi cannot contact the business people who sub-let their houses, because they have no direct leasehold relation. There is a lack of communication between the Naxi and business people in the town who rent their houses directly on account of their different ideas on house usage: one wishes to retain their 'home' as much as possible; the other hopes to use it to produce as many profits as possible. The Naxi not only no longer 'belong' to the old town but their houses are no longer being used appropriately as homes.

6.2.3 Relations via Naxi language

Language serves as a particular and shared way of constructing and interpreting meaning and situations in an associated place and is a key factor influencing place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010). People who come from the same place and speak the same language usually understand

and express themselves in a shared way and with common knowledge. Language can also act as a boundary that excludes those who can communicate in it and identify people as insiders or outsiders by linguistic practices (Huot et al., 2014). During my interviews with Naxi, it was evident that the Naxi language was a bond through which people were attached to LAT, but the degree of attachment varied across in different generations.

纳西语是我们的母语，是纳西人的根。(Naxi grandparent 4)

The Naxi language is our mother tongue and the root of our Naxi people. (Naxi grandparent 4)

在家乡的朋友圈中不会说纳西语总感觉被无形地隔绝，谈话的内容也比较单一。

(Naxi university student 5)

In the circle of [my Naxi] friends from my hometown, when I can't speak Naxi, I feel invisibly isolated, and the content of the conversation is relatively simple. (Naxi university student 5)

纳西语意味着一种当地人和各家亲戚之间的联系，讲述纳西语是一种可以增进邻里关系的方法。(Naxi grandchild 2)

Naxi language means a connection between local people and their relatives, and speaking it is a way to strengthen the ties among neighbours. (Naxi grandchild 2)

It is apparent from these quotes that the Naxi language is still regarded as one of the important factors connecting Naxi people. It was described by the Naxi as their mother tongue, a root and symbol of LAT. As a traditional language, it is spoken in the Naxi community who keep social connections via language-based communication. Living in multicultural communities, the relationships based on their language and cultural grouping were still one of the important connections among the Naxi. However, the mother tongue played different roles in different generations. Firmly insisting on the Naxi language as his root, the grandparent has used and will use it through his whole life, although he was not living in LAT. The university student, however, used the language to identify whether a person was a Naxi even if they did not speak it.

The intergenerational transmission of Naxi language depends on its usage in communication. The grandparent uses it as a communicative tool in daily life, while the grandchild employs it

only as a symbol. Language acquisition and experience with the Naxi language differs across the generations and is somewhat disturbing.

纳西语就是我们纳西族日常交流的语言，但对于我们 50 岁以上的人来说，由于上学时老师教给我们的普通话不太标准，一度被游客调侃成纳普，所以有很长一段时间不重视对自己孩子的本民族语言的教育。（Naxi parent 3）

Naxi is the daily communication language of our Naxi people. However, for us in our 50s, due to the poor Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) taught by our teachers at school, we were once mocked as Naxi Mandarin by tourists. Therefore, for a long time we haven't paid attention to teach our children in our mother language. (Naxi parent 3)

语言是民族识别的重要标志之一，但受外来文化的影响和家庭教育的疏忽，民族语言使用情况不是很乐观，年轻一代习惯用汉语交流，有的甚至用英语。（Naxi university student 2）

Language is one of the important symbols of ethnic identity. However, influenced by outside cultures and neglected by family in language education, our mother language speaking is not very optimistic. The younger generation is used to communicating in Mandarin, and some even using English. (Naxi university student 2)

The Naxi parent and Naxi university student stressed the importance of Naxi language in their lives, but they did not deny their ignorance and education neglect of their mother tongue. The parent attributed it to her generation being mocked for their less-than-standard Mandarin Chinese. The young generation was used to speaking Mandarin Chinese and attributed her generation's poor Naxi language speaking to the influence of outside culture and the neglect of her mother language education in the family.

The relationship established via the Naxi language fluctuates between generations. Although all the Naxi claimed their mother tongue as the root of their life, the grandparent generation used it as a stable communicative tool across their whole life, the parent generation pay more attention to dominant language learning for fear of being mocked by outsiders, and the young generation are in the habit of speaking Mandarin and are not optimistic about their mother language speaking. The relationship between the young Naxi and their language is not as stable as that among the older generation.

6.3 Summary

With qualitative data collected from general observations and detailed interviews, two broad findings were revealed in this chapter: One is the contradictions and tensions between the Naxi people's understanding, experience and feeling toward place making undertaken by the Chinese central and local government in producing a tourist destination. The other is the contradictory relationships between the 'place-belongingness' of the Naxi people and LAT after it was listed as a UNESCO Heritage site.

The place making in LAT undertaken by the government is contradictory to the understanding of LAT as a residential place of the Naxi and has led to significant out-migration. My observation on the images and forms of LAT found that although the local government endeavoured to retain the authenticity and integrity of the Naxi culture in the town, it did not prevent the shifts in imbued practices promoted by tourism. Streets, infrastructure, and residential houses have all had their purposes and functions changed to greater or less extent. The rebuilding and improvement of the images of LAT were supported by relevant regulations and confirmed by my participants. The forms of the town, particularly the inside of residential buildings, have been radically altered to meet the requirements of tourism. However, the development of tourism comes at the cost of the environment, particularly water resources and water quality, and is damaging the town's fame as a beautiful residential place. These changes sit in contrast to the original understanding and feeling toward LAT being a unique Naxi residential place and have resulted in the out-migration of many Naxi. As the spiritual subject of indigenous LAT culture, the Naxi people are the key determinant in preserving, creating, developing, and transmitting their unique culture (Hinch, 2004), but it can only happen if they continue to live there. Their replacement by non-Naxi business people and travellers cuts off the further creation, development, and transmission of the Naxi culture in LAT. The activities in the town are now developed to create an appearance of an authentic Naxi cultural atmosphere but they are designed to interest and attract tourists, and make money for the town regardless or not of whether Naxi are involved. Non-Naxi can take the place of Naxi whenever needed, and traditional dances are adapted as a tourism package to meet the expectations of travellers for entertainment and leisure.

Compared to the older generation, the younger generation is facing challenges in the transmission of cultural content. Few Naxi cultural products and practices are being transmitted in the business context of LAT and any selective intergenerational transmission that occurs

over generations is limited. The commodities being sold in the town have little connection with the Naxi culture. While the older generation notes the apparent changes to cultural products and practices, the change to social context has shifted the understanding and interest among the Naxi youth regarding their traditional heritage. They identify the changed cultural content as their traditional heritage, are open and attuned to modern commercial perspectives, and hope to do away with those aspects of their culture that seem old fashioned or out of date.

With regards to place-belongingness, although most of my Naxi participants felt that the town was filled with memories and emotions from their childhood, their personal experiences in the town were interrupted because of their physical displacement. Their relationships with people in the town become based on economic and recreational connections, rather than the social and emotional attachments. As one of the key factors influencing place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010), language was regarded by my participants as a bond through which people were attached to LAT, but the degree of attachment was varied across different generations. Their personal experiences and lives in LAT have been interrupted, emotional networks weakened, and relationships via the Naxi language use is disturbed across different generations. All these, I suggest, have caused a decrease in the sense of place-belongingness.

In summary, this chapter demonstrates contradictions and tensions between the making of the place undertaken by government agencies and UNESCO, and the understanding of the place by the Naxi community, as well as their sense of belonging to it. The contradictions cause tensions that weaken relationships between the Naxi and LAT and undermine the cultural content and context of the Naxi language. These findings have deepened my understanding of the demonstration and functions of Naxi language in the LL and promotes further exploration on language vitality in relation to the speakers' language value.

In the following chapter, I cover my findings on the perceptions of value toward the Naxi language from the ideological beliefs of the Naxi people relating to their language, the market value of the language in relation to people's jobs or businesses, and language value in daily life.

Chapter 7 Perceptions of the Naxi language value

This chapter will explore the question of the *value* of the Naxi language as it was discussed through the interviews, which focused on three aspects: the ideological beliefs of the Naxi people in relation to their language, the perception of the market value of the language in relation to people's jobs or businesses, and the language value in daily life. I regard the perception of language value as an essential determinant for the Naxi in choosing an effective communicative language in their lives.

Value, as a broad and abstract term, spans across areas of psychology, history, politics and culture as well as the other spheres of social sciences, such as evaluation and political economy. It is typically defined as relating to ideas that a person believes to be important, reliable and desirable (Boyd et al., 2015; Chung et al., 2014; Schwartz, 1992). Ideas of value provide people with guidance in their decision-making and daily activities: people tend to do what is important to them and fits with their beliefs. When the idea of value relates to a language, the term is used to construct a conceptual framework for assessing how people view their language and what it means to them. After reviewing some of the struggles for Naxi language use in the LL, I cannot help worrying about the fate of Naxi language in the face of the fast development of tourism in LAT. When the locals choose their effective communicative language, how do they value their Naxi language and in what ways? Is Naxi the language that best serves the locals' needs in the town?

In my research, the value of Naxi language was explored via interviews with thirty-five participants (twelve Naxi family members, five Naxi university students, four Naxi business people, nine non-Naxi business people and five travellers) (see Appendix 4) undertaken during my two fieldwork periods in August 2018 and in January 2020. Neither the travellers nor the non-Naxi business people knew much about the Naxi language, or even avoided talking about the language, therefore, my analysis in this section mainly focuses on what was said in interview by the Naxi citizens (Naxi family members and Naxi university students) and the Naxi business people. The interview questions probed concerns for the survival of Naxi language, but also feelings about the use of the Naxi language in jobs or businesses, in the signage in LAT and in their daily lives as well (See Appendix 2 for interview questions). The participants' responses have been categorised into three sections: language ideology related to the Naxi language (Section 7.1), market value of Naxi language (Section 7.2) and value of Naxi language in daily life (Section 7.3).

In this final finding chapter, I return to the question of language value introduced in Chapter 3. First, in relation to the ideas of language authenticity and anonymity in the context of ideology as discussed by Woolard (2005) and others, I begin with findings that emerged through my document research with respect to government authority over language use and then examine what my participants said about how they value Naxi language. Second, for a discussion of the market value of Naxi language I relate my findings to the work Grin (2006) and Schroedler (2018) about how language can bring profits through language communication and transfer. Finally, I discuss my evidence in relation to the perceived value of the Naxi language in daily life.

7.1 Language ideology related to the Naxi language

There is evidence to suggest that, in China, the linguistic ideology of authenticity is confirmed and strengthened by legislation. To respect the rights of ethnic minorities, China's Constitutions of 1949, 1954, 1975, 1978, 1982 and 1999 guaranteed that minority peoples have the right to use and develop their mother languages and writing systems (Huang, 1992; Zhou, 2000). The 1982 Constitution of PRC stipulated that minority languages and cultures were valued and respected, and that all the ethnic groups in China had the freedom and right to speak and develop their own languages (Zuo, 2007). In accordance with the Constitutions, the China State Council (CSC) specifically regulated that local governments could decide which language should be used in the teaching in their local schools (国务院, 1999). The territorial characteristics of the ethnic languages in China was stipulated and confirmed in both China's Constitutions and local regulations.

Despite this support for minority languages, however, the ideology of anonymity was strongly supported, implemented, and consolidated by the promotion of standard Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua) nationwide. Since the founding of PRC (in 1949), Mandarin Chinese was constitutionally legitimised and particularly stipulated in education policies (H. Yang, 2011) (as discussed in Chapter 7). Compared to Mandarin Chinese, the Naxi language was only locally legitimised within the Lijiang region and the Dongba script was perceived to survive through the development of tourism (H. Yang, 2011).

With the fast growth of tourism in the Lijiang area, Mandarin Chinese was increasingly used as a communicative tool in LAT, and ideologically regarded as a popular and relevant language, thus anonymising public places that were once the places for the expression of Naxi language.

Although the Naxi language was deeply rooted in the Lijiang region and was used to express the community authentically, it was changing.

As noted in Chapter 2, 86,000 Naxi speakers lived in LAT, the territorial centre of the standard Naxi language (the West Dialect), which is more than one third of the whole Naxi group (240,580) in LC (Population Census Office, 2011). Before 2002, LAT was the administrative centre of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County (LNAC), but it is now designated as a district of LC. The name “autonomous county” signifies the place for the gathering of a certain ethnic minority in China. LAT was changed from being part of an “autonomous county” to being a “district”, part of a larger city, that is, a gathering place for modern citizens, not for a specific ethnic minority. This change signals a change in linguistic ideology: where once LAT was a place where Naxi language had authenticity, this is now in doubt. The political economy of LAT has changed under the authority of the dominant, anonymous language for the first time in Naxi history.

In the midst of these complicated ideological changes, people’s beliefs about the value of the Naxi language are still vital in determining its survival. Examining the people’s reflections on the language helps me further understand their specific ideological position in relation to the Naxi language. When participants were asked what concerns and feelings they had about their language, they responded:

纳西语可以说就是我的母语，我对它有着深厚的情感。（Naxi grandparent 3）

Naxi language can be said to be my mother tongue and I have a deep emotion on it. (Naxi grandparent 3)

纳西语是从小使用，情感深厚，东巴文没有贯彻到生活之中。（Naxi parent 4）

[I] speak Naxi language since my childhood with deep emotion, but the Dongba script has not been used in my life. (Naxi parent 4)

对于东巴文的熟悉不深，感觉说着纳西话就有一种归属感。（Naxi university student 2）



[I am] not familiar with the Dongba script. I feel that speaking Naxi language gives me a sense of belonging. (Naxi university student 2)

因为我从小的环境就让我充分学习到了纳西族和东巴文化，小学时的母语教育也教会了我很多本民族的文化，让我为其骄傲。东巴文博大精深，我的学习程度还比较浅。
(Naxi grandchild 2)

Because of my [Naxi] background, I have learned Naxi and Dongba culture since my childhood. The mother tongue education in my primary school taught me a lot about the culture of my own ethnicity, which made me proud. The Dongba script is so profound that my learning is relatively limited. (Naxi grandchild 2)

From the above responses, we can sense some positive feelings from Naxi people toward their mother tongue through their use of expressions such as: “deep emotion”, “being proud” and “a sense of belonging”. These expressions indicate a belief that the Naxi language has value to these participants. Such an ideology is constructed in the socio-cultural experiences of the speaker, starting with their childhood and primary schooling. The language formation and practices in these periods underpin the Naxi speakers’ consciousness, evaluation, and beliefs about their language, which becomes an irreplaceable connection within the community. Language, as the core of culture and identity, performs an important role in defining ethnic values and resources, and conveying precious and innermost connotations of the associated culture (Patrick, 1998). The traditional knowledge and accumulated wisdom and experience of the nature, landscape, history, culture, and values of Naxi depend on the Naxi language to convey and explain ideas about them. Expressing and explaining these in other languages will be pale and never strike a cultural chord. Without their distinctive language, the Naxi group will melt into the “cultural hegemony” of modern society (Yang, 2003, p. 480). So, the speaking of the vernacular language endows Naxi people with feelings of “being proud” and “a sense of belonging”. The authenticity of Naxi language in their community inspires loyalty from its people.

However, some of my participants were also aware of the innate limitation of the Naxi language, especially its written language—the Dongba script, which “has not been used” in the Naxi parent’s life and the Naxi university student is “not familiar with” it. The limitations of the Dongba script derive from several factors: First of all, the transmission of the Dongba script is passed down via apprenticeship. It depends on mentorship and training by the older Dongba priests, who read and chant the traditional beliefs to the junior priests to teach what they need to do in the ritual performances for important occasions, such as weddings, funerals, new-born babies and new houses (Yang, 2003). But now there are few old Dongba priests still alive and the Naxi people are not so active in joining in or relying on the rituals as they used to be. Second,

the script itself is complex. The same item can be described with different glyphs, depending on which priest writes. Different Dongba priests have different writing habits and different interpretations of the glyphs. According to Wu and Zeng (2019b), a unified writing criterion should be formed in the selection of words. If there is a general word in the Dongba script, other words should not be borrowed. For example, the word “body” is “” pronounced as “gu mu”, but some Dongba prefers to write it as “”, which usually refers to a “bear” and is pronounced as “gu”. The similar pronunciation leads to the word borrowing. The unsteadiness of the Dongba glyphs has led to significant challenges for language transmission, as there is no agreed meaning for individual glyphs. Lastly, for the language to remain relevant, the vocabulary needs to be enhanced but modern concepts cannot be easily represented in the Dongba scripts. Many words and expressions connected with something new have not been collected in this written language. In my fieldwork in 2018, my Naxi participants told me that the words like “computer”, “TV” and “car” were all borrowed from the Mandarin Chinese. There were no corresponding words or expressions used in the Dongba script.

The ideology related to the Naxi language is complicated, and is not only affected by the ideology of authenticity and the ideology of anonymity, but also influenced by individuals’ experiences and the language’s innate features. The ideology of authenticity and Naxi people’s language context in childhood made the Naxi language deeply rooted in its social and geographical territory, and it was used to express the community authentically, whereas the ideology of anonymity promoted the dominant national and standard language unconsciously in all aspects of everyday life, including schooling and business. In the struggles between the two ideologies, the Naxi people still feel attached to their language with pride, deep emotions, and a sense of belonging. At the same time, however, they are also aware of the challenges for their language transmission because of the Dongba script’s innate limitations. In all these struggles of ideologies, beliefs and feelings, the language choice of individuals tends to fall to subjective and objective needs.

7.2 Market value of the Naxi language

Research on the application of Naxi language by a range of scholars suggests that interest is in its use in daily life and education rather than in the business world. Vocabulary tests of Naxi participants have tended to focus on mainly noun words and expressions, such as parts of body, plants, animals, months of a year and natural phenomena (Luo, 2014; Yu, 2013; Q. Zhao, 2010).

The words and expressions related to commerce rarely emerged in these tests. To understand the market value of Naxi language in LAT, I asked my participants about their language usage in their businesses and jobs, as well as at home. Among the 23 Naxi participants, 18 (78.3.8%) were not or seldom using their mother tongue in their business, work or schooling, 2 older Naxi (8.7%) were always using their language and 2 Naxi university students (8.7%) were learning to use it. About their experiences of Naxi language speaking, they stated:

我在工作中用不到纳西语，只有在与家人交流中用到纳西语，使用率很低。(Naxi parent 1)

I do not use Naxi language at work. Only when talking with my family do I use the language. The rate is very low. (Naxi parent 1)

在生意中，因为考虑到外地的人口越来越多，所以大部分时间讲的是普通话或者是地方方言的汉语，应该说讲纳西语的机会较少，但是家庭生活中，还是经常在讲纳西话。(Naxi parent 2)

In most time of my business, because there are increasing people coming from outside [of Lijiang], I speak Mandarin Chinese or the local Chinese dialect. I have fewer opportunities to speak Naxi language, but at home, I often speak it with my families. (Naxi parent 2)

The Naxi oral language has a low frequency of usage in LAT. Almost all the participants did not speak their mother tongue in their business or jobs, but they were using it at home with their families. Simultaneously, they all confessed that the rate of mother language speaking was very low. The decreased usage of their vernacular language resulted from the increasing numbers of people coming from outside of Lijiang, whose own language was Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese), or Putonghua was the general language that could be understood. The responses of my participants were confirmed by Luo (2014), who narrated a story told by a Dama, a middle-aged Chinese woman, who sold vegetables in an open market near LAT. The Dama said that ten years before, she used the Naxi language to talk with people in the market, when the Han people also used the Naxi language to bargain with her. But now, she had to speak Mandarin Chinese to talk with her customers, or she could not be understood.

There are increasing numbers of travellers and customers who speak Mandarin Chinese rather than the Naxi language. The speakers, both buyers and sellers, are choosing the language that is now generally spoken and accepted. As noted in Chapter 6, Naxi welcome non-Naxi speakers

to start businesses or to be involved in tourism. The value of Putonghua was undergirded through its function as the language of the market in LAT and the Naxi language is being pushed further to lie only within the scope of families.

As a vital component of my research, I chose to examine the LL and to amplify my understanding of the material signs with information derived from my interviews. The interpretive work with the signs is indicative, but not conclusive evidence for my research. Unlike Landry and Bourhis (1997), Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), who restricted their observations and analysis to the written texts in their chosen LLs, I have added the readers' or audience's reflections to them to deepen my understanding and views. As noted in Chapter 5, the visibility of Naxi language in LL turned out to be little more than décor in LAT, where its linguistic pragmatics was far removed from the practical value of a current language.

I asked my Naxi participants what they felt about whether the Naxi language was displayed in street and shop signs. Nearly half of them (47.8%) claimed the Dongba script was not treated seriously by the Naxi people; 6 of them (26.1%) considered that the government had paid enough attention to its use; 6 (26.1%) noted that the language (the Dongba script) displayed on the signs was inaccurate; and 4 of them (17.4%) articulated that they were not concerned about the signs in the town. Two of my Naxi participants clearly expressed their opinions on the Dongba script in the LL:

我觉得纳西语标牌更像是一个艺术品，而没有更多的实用价值，外来游客看不懂，纳西族人不用看，所以我的理解是更像工艺品起了个点缀古城的作用。(Naxi parent 3)

I think the signs displayed with the Naxi language are more like works of art, without much practical value. Tourists from outside [of Lijiang] can't understand it, while Naxi people don't need to see it. So, my understanding is that it is more like a handicraft and plays a role in decorating the Old Town. (Naxi parent 3)

古城各种指示牌都会有纳西语（东巴文），其实是对东巴文字的一种尊重与传承，但是引起的关注度并不高，很少有人会去注意汉语下面的东巴文字。(Naxi university student 5)

All signs in the old town are displayed with the Naxi language (the Dongba script). It is a kind of respect and inheritance for the Dongba script. However, few people pay attention to it, for it is placed under the Chinese characters. (Naxi university student 5)

The Naxi participants explained their understanding of the pragmatics of the Naxi language in the LL, which was as a handicraft and ornament for the town rather than a practical language. After the Naxi migrated out of the town, the in-migrants, mainly the business people and travellers, knew little about the language, and never used it. The Dongba script in the signs was designed to mark the ethnolinguistic identity of the Naxi community as a selling point. In terms of language practices, Urciuoli (2016) found that minority languages “bounced back and forth between ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ as semiotic frames that account for value in contrasting ways” (p. 32). When the Dongba script is accepted as an ethnic heritage, it is construed as generating ‘pride’ for the Naxi, creating reputation for being the Naxi’s place; while, when it is utilized in business communication, it becomes a barrier for making ‘profit’, as few people in the town understand it. Although it can enhance business profits through decorating the town, it is not used in business communication directly. People working in the town stated:

哦，去博物馆看过。关注？关注是没有的。就是会听简单的嘛，像吃饭呢、同学啊。

(Han businesswoman 1)

Oh, I have seen [it] in a museum. Interest? I am not interested in it. But I can understand some simple words, such as eating and classmate. (Han businesswoman 1)

不了解，这个我们都认不出来。……对，只有像那老人才知道。……父亲那些都不知道，只有爷爷奶奶那些才知道。（Naxi businesswoman 1）

No, we don't know it.... Yes, only the old people know.... Neither does my father. Only my grandparents know it. (Naxi businesswoman 1)

The Han business woman ignored the appearance of the Dongba script in the signs, although she had worked in the town for more than five years. The script seemed strange and remote to her and could only be found in museums, except some simple expressions might be heard in her daily life. Similarly, the Naxi business woman, in her early 20s, knew nothing of the written form of her mother tongue and thought it was limited to her grandparent’s generation. Since most of the people here could not read the Dongba script, why has it been chosen and displayed on the signs in LAT? The participants who printed the Dongba script in their signs explained:

既然是在丽江了，你必须还是要把丽江的这个元素，这个文化的元素还是要弄起来啊。所以说你这个呢，必须对纳西民族还有一个尊重啊。（Han businessman 3）

Since it is in Lijiang, you must show the element of Lijiang. The cultural element still needs to be shown. So, you, uh, must show some respect to the Naxi people. (Han businessman 3)

因为规定的话，就是必须要有拼音，要有东巴文，还有那个汉字，必须要有有的。……这是古城里面规定的。(Han businesswoman 2)

Because of the rules, there must be the Pinyin, the Dongba script and the Chinese character. There must be That's the rule in the old town. (Han businesswoman 2)

有些会翻译。……有指定的翻译。……还有字典。(Naxi businessman 2)

Some can translate There are designated translators And [we also] have dictionaries. (Naxi businessman 2)

The participants gave three reasons to support the existence of the Dongba script in the town: One was to show respect to the Naxi culture and people; the second was the legal provision made by the local government; and the third was that the Dongba script could be translated with the help of dictionaries and by designated translators if needed. The Dongba script is rooted in the Naxi culture and has served as a vehicle for expressing the Naxi's feelings and reflecting the Naxi's lives. To respect the Naxi, the business people utilized the Naxi language as a symbol visible in the LL. In fact, they took advantage of the Naxi culture to “sell” what they were doing in their businesses. More significantly, there were legal provisions to regulate the languages in question, such as *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City*, which stipulates that the Dongba script should be displayed on the signs in LAT (Lijiang Municipality Government, 2016). The measure played an important role in regulating the appearance of the Dongba script on the signs in the whole town. All these, either individuals' subjective wishes or supports from government and translation, constitute the reasons for the existence of the Naxi language in the LL, even though the Dongba glyphs cannot be understood.

The market value of the Naxi language in LAT has little association with human competence in language use. Naxi is not a language actively used for communication by buyers or sellers, although its use in the LL signs suggests it has some symbolic value. However, besides the display of the Dongba script on the signs, another kind of evidence of value was found in the commodities being sold in the town. In my fieldwork, I sought out a commodity called Bunong Bell, a hanging souvenir with bells (noted in Chapter 4) (Figure 40).

Figure 40 A souvenir displayed with Naxi language



(Source: <https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?ct=503316480&z>)

The above figure shows the Bunong Bell connected with the Dongba script. It is usually made of a small piece of wood (like the size of a man's palm) and adorned with colourful lines, beads and bells. On the wood piece, the Dongba script is demonstrated and often followed by the Chinese character, or the Chinese blessing idiom is literally translated via the Dongba script. According to Li (2011), the souvenir is based around the concepts of modern lives, but displays the traditional beauty of the Dongba script, and strives to attract buyers with its unique visual images. In the work of Dai (2014), the Bunong Bell is described as having started with its inventor Bunong (布农) in 1995, when he travelled along the Ancient Tea and Horse Road (noted in Chapter 5) from Yunnan to Tibet. He created the bell to help him relieve the loneliness of riding on a horse for three months on his long journey. The bells sell very well in LAT but is a rare example of similar inventions that have been created to combine the application of the Naxi language with commodities being sold.

In addition, the only possible evidence connecting the Dongba script with commodities in LAT was found in Dongba Paper (东巴纸坊) (Figure 41), but as a kind of paper, it cannot support and maintain its traditional livelihood.

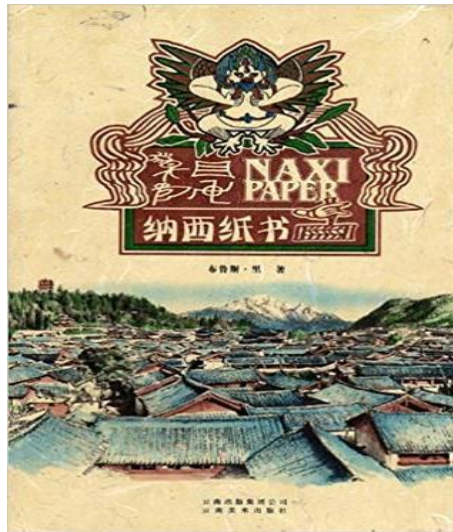
Figure 41 Shop of Dongba Paper



(Author photo taken in LAT: August 2018)

The shop of Dongba Paper which I visited lies in Sifang Street. The shop manager explained that there were only two chain stores in the town selling Dongba Paper, which were run with some support from the local government. According to a study done by Fan and Zhang (2009), the manufacturing craft of Dongba Paper preserved a unique and primitive way of paper-making, possibly introduced from the Central China in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Yang et al. (2011) inferred that Dongba Paper in Lijiang was originally made by Dongba priests and used for “religious purposes”, and later adopted by the Naxi community as a “commodity for exchange with grain, tea, salt, cigars, sugar, wine and other products” during the 1920s and 1930s (p.337). But now, the major reason for the survival of Dongba Paper is to promote tourism in Lijiang. In my fieldwork, I found that the paper was mainly used for making decorative lanterns, paper fans and greeting cards instead of traditional use for writing Dongba scriptures (see Figure 41). The Dongba Paper is not endowed with the function for writing Dongba scripts and the lack of Dongba sripts does not affect the market value of the paper. I bought a book made from Dongba Paper from the above shop, called “Naxi Paper”, written by Bruce Lee in English (Figure 42).

Figure 42 Cover of Naxi Paper



(Author photo—book of Dongba Paper: August 2018)

The book I bought in the shop is a version in both English and Han Chinese and few Dongba scripts appear in the book as citations from some Dongba scriptures. The paper in LAT is now mainly used for making souvenirs to introduce the Naxi culture and to create craft souvenirs. Although the paper is named in relation to the Dongba scripts, it has little connection with the language now. Much of the Dongba paper is now made commercially rather than by hand. When Rokpelnis et al. (2018) argued for the sustainability of hand made Dongba Paper, they noted that the hand made “selling point” of the paper supplied its traditional attributes with new opportunities, but “the production information is asymmetric, and consumers may be unable to detect the presence of certain properties unless they are informed so” (p.4). The traditional product has lost both its original function and the customs and practices associated with its traditional manufacture. The market value of this paper focuses on promoting souvenirs rather than writing of the Dongba script.

In summary, the Naxi language has little market value. The use of the language in the participants’ businesses and jobs is very low, although they still speak it with their families. The rapidly increasing use of Mandarin Chinese has changed the communicative tool in this Naxi ethnic community and forced the Naxi to use the dominant general language. It is taken for granted that the young Naxi do not understand the Dongba script in the LL, for in their eyes, only their grandparents understand it. Non-Naxi people feel no concern about it, for it is a language found only in the museum. A few applications of the language have been found in some souvenirs, but this has not been developed much, even though the scope of usage has

changed. The Dongba Paper is used as decoration rather than for writing of the Dongba script, which has no relationship with its traditional function. As a final point, speaking Naxi offers few benefits to people looking for jobs or wanting to establish a business. It may provide some opportunities for teachers or translators but, for the most part, Mandarin is the language of the market in China and ethnic minority languages have little scope for acquiring business advantage. Under these circumstances, the business world is not capable of supporting the vitality of Naxi language.

7.3 Value of the Naxi language in daily life

The usage of the Naxi language in its speakers' daily lives is an important indicator of its vitality. This has been discussed in Chapter 3. Whether a speaker uses his/her mother language in their daily life depends on its language value, that is the speaker's subjective attitudes and feelings toward their own language. The perceived value plays a key role in intergenerational transmission of the language. In relation to the Naxi language, Chinese scholars have shown greater interest in defining the objective results of daily language using ability rather than gathering stories of how or why it has value to its speakers. Many scholars have employed tests to check the language speaking ability of the Naxi in their daily lives (L. He, 2015; Yu, 2013; Q. Zhao, 2010). They select Naxi words and expressions to test if their participants can read them. Yu (2013) chose participants from students, farmers, artists, librarians, guards and accountants and employed 1660 Naxi words and expressions in his tests, including geography, occupation, clothing, animals, money, body parts, plants, food, diseases, utensils, architecture and transportation. His research exhibited a clear case of the Naxi language loss in its speakers in four age periods, ranging from under 20 to over 60 (Table 8).

Table 8 Loss rate of Naxi language at different ages

表一 不同年龄段纳西语流失率

报告人年龄段	报告人会读的词汇量	报告人不会读的词汇量	流失率
60岁以上	1294	366	0.22048
40到60岁	1162	498	0.30000
20到40岁	1136	524	0.31566
20岁以下	655	1005	0.60542

Loss rate of the Naxi language in different ages

Reported age group	Number of words that can be read	Number of words that cannot be read	Loss rate
Over 60	1294	366	0.22048
40 -- 60	1162	498	0.30000
20 -- 40	1136	524	0.31566
under 20	655	1005	0.60542

Source: (Yu, 2013, p. 36)

His findings revealed that the vocabulary that Naxi speakers used was directly proportional to their age. The younger a speaker, the less Naxi vocabulary he/she knew. From these studies, it is hard to discover the subjective factors related to language loss. In the work done by Luo and Wiseman (2000), language maintenance was “conceptualised in the behavioural and attitudinal dimensions”. The behavioural dimension was embodied in the “frequency” and “proficiency” of the language usage, while the attitudinal dimension was related to one’s attitude to the language (p.308). The Chinese scholars have paid attention to the dimension of behaviours, the frequency and proficiency of Naxi language use in daily life (L. He, 2015; Yu, 2013; Q. Zhao, 2010), but the attitudes towards the language use have not necessarily been explored.

The value of the Naxi language in speakers’ daily lives relies on their subjective attitudes and feelings toward the language: a positive orientation underpins more frequent and proficient language use. My interview inquiry in this section was in relation to the subjective factors, to explore the participants’ attitudes and feelings toward the Naxi language. I interviewed four groups of Naxi participants, including grandparents, parents, university students and grandchildren. The responses were varied:

政府提倡纳西人要说纳西话。但是现在的小孩子说纳西话的很少，有些家长不够重视。
(Naxi grandparent 1)

The government encouraged the Naxi to speak [our] mother tongue. But today's children rarely speak it, [for] their parents do not pay enough attention to it. (Naxi grandparent 1)

在工作或者生意中，因为考虑到外地的人口越来越多，所以大部分时间讲的是普通话或者是地方方言的汉话，所以应该说讲纳西语的机会较少，但是家庭生活中，还是经常在讲纳西话，我们纳西人有义务也有决心让纳西语好好地传承下去。(Naxi parent 5)

In our work or businesses, considering the migrant population is increasing, so most of the time I speak Mandarin Chinese or Han dialect. It should say I have few opportunities to speak Naxi language, but in my family, I often speak Naxi language. We Naxi have the obligation and have made decision to pass on the Naxi language [to the next generation]. (Naxi parent 5)

Both the grandparents and parents provided information on the Naxi language decline and the reasons for it. The parent generation attributed the lack of native language use in their businesses and jobs to the increasing numbers of migrants from outside of LAT. To cater to the outsiders' language convenience, the Naxi parent generation shifted from their first language to the second (Mandarin) language intentionally. Despite their claim that they had an obligation to transfer their language to the next generation, they had set an example for their children to speak their native language at home rather than at work or businesses. Moreover, the grandparent confirmed the result of the loss of intergenerational transmission: the current children rarely spoke their own native language. The grandparent attributed the language loss to the parents' lack of concern. In the study on mother language maintenance in Chinese immigrant children in USA, Luo and Wiseman (2000) found that parents' attitudes positively influenced their children's mother language preservation, as their attitudes were instilled into their children when they were young and continued to attach to them. Children tend to be closer to their parents than their grandparents and share more similarity with them. In this case, they are more likely to be influenced by their parents' attitudes towards their daily language use.

The shared similarities between parents and children in many families result in the mass indifference to mother language learning in many circumstances. Learning a language is closely connected to a learner's positive or negative attitudes towards the language he/she is learning (Karahana, 2007). If a learner shows negative attitudes to his/her language learning, he/she will reflect an impression of difficulty or frustration in the learning process. As a component of language learning motivation, attitudes combine with cognitive skills and self-evaluation behaviours (Wenden, 1991). The combination of cognition and self-evaluation in a

language context determines an individual's language choice and whether he/she is interested in learning the language, which further motivates the potential learner's actions in relation to learning the language or not. To the current generation of Naxi university students and grandchildren, what they have seen and felt is the general phenomenon of their ethnic language speaking, in which fewer and fewer people are speaking the language in every day use.

使用纳西语的人越来越少，逐渐取代的是汉语，有些甚至是英语；纳西语在日常生活使用的时候有众多的汉语借词，有些词汇很少用本民族语言来表达；学讲母语，传承民族文化的观念在群众中还十分淡泊。（Naxi university student 1）

Fewer and fewer people speak the Naxi language. It is being replaced by the Mandarin Chinese gradually, and in some cases even by English; When the Naxi language is used in daily life, there are many words borrowed from the Mandarin Chinese. Some words [in our daily lives] are seldom expressed in [our] mother language. The idea of learning the mother tongue and inheriting our native culture is still very indifferent in the people. (Naxi university student 1)

学校中的使用在慢慢淡化，更多的孩子选择普通话。（Naxi university student 3）

The use [of mother language] in [our] school is declining. More students choose to speak the Mandarin Chinese. (Naxi university student 3)

上了大学以后，身边很少有人讲纳西话了。（Naxi university student 5）

After I am in university, few people around [me] speak the Naxi language. (Naxi university student 5)

现在我们这一代的纳西人.....有一些已经不怎么重视纳西话了..... (Naxi grandchild 1)

Now the Naxi people of our generation... Some don't pay much attention to the Naxi language any more.... (Naxi grandchild 1)

Almost all the young people, both the university students and adolescents, noticed that fewer and fewer people around them spoke the Naxi language. Two of them confirmed that Mandarin Chinese was replacing their mother language.

The general indifference toward Naxi language influences the motivation toward mother language learning in the young generation and leads to the trends of language shift. Myers-Scotton (1992) stated that when people gave up their mother language and turned to another language, it was not easy to identify a case of language shift, but usually there were "heavy contacts" between the two languages (the mother language and the second language), "one

language takes on not only cultural lexical forms from the other language, but also core lexical forms (i.e. words for which the borrowing language already has its own equivalents) and even system morphemes (i.e. function words and inflections) and syntactic patterns” (p.31). The language shift is a process of language changes other than a sharp and sudden change. It usually starts with heavy connection between the mother language and the second language. A test on Naxi vocabulary, pronunciation and syntactic structure was done by Q. Zhao (2010) to understand the language contact between Mandarin Chinese and Naxi as spoken by young people. She found that young Naxi people (identified as the original Naxi from LAT) aged from 18 to 25 borrowed extensively from Mandarin Chinese when they spoke their mother language, from cultural lexical forms to core lexical forms and system morphemes, and even syntactic patterns. In the case of language shift, I could not conclude that the young generation had given up their mother language, but my interviews indicated that there was language switching and language borrowing when they spoke their own language. In addition, one of the Naxi grandchildren, aged at 16 to 18, reflected another situation in their daily language speaking, that some of them could not understand the Naxi language. The mother language has become a strange language for some of the Naxi adolescents from LAT.

The function of the young generation in language intergenerational transmission is central to acculturation studies (Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1992; UNESCO, 2003a). Such studies addressed the ideas that if a language was not spoken as a mother tongue by the young generation, it was more than endangered, unless it was dramatically revitalised (Chapter 3). From the above discussions, we can see that the intergenerational transmission of the Naxi language seems to be at a critical period, in which almost all the young people cannot understand the Dongba script and many of the young people have shifted to speak Mandarin Chinese.

The decline of Naxi language usage in the young speakers’ daily lives may be partly caused by their apparent indifference and lack of concern about their mother language learning. However, further research would be needed to determine the extent to which this is true or whether it is just much easier in daily life, for young people who know their future lies in being fluent speakers of Mandarin Chinese, to seem indifferent to Naxi language.

The parent generation’s sense of the language value also directly influences the young generation’s perception, evaluation, and behaviour toward the mother language learning. Affected by the attitudes of mass indifference, the young generation in schools basically give up their mother tongue and turn to speak the Mandarin Chinese. This language motivation in

the youth results in the change of language value toward the Naxi language—it is not useful in the speakers' businesses, jobs, and schools. Thus, the declining language value expressed by the young generation means the intergenerational transmission is now in a critical situation: with a generational shift to the use of Mandarin Chinese rather than the ethnic mother tongue.

7.4 Summary

This review, although somewhat limited in scope in terms of the numbers of participants interviewed, points to a possible conclusion that Naxi language, not only its written form but also its oral language, is failing to play an active role in either market or life values. Although the people strive to keep their identity in the town and language use continues within families, it may not be enough to keep the language alive. Language ideology shapes Naxi' language choice and its specific application in their community. The ideology of authenticity directs the Naxi language to a group associated with the specific place of Lijiang, centred in LAT, while the ideology of anonymity promotes, implements, and consolidates the standard Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua) nationwide. Compared to Mandarin Chinese, the Naxi language is only locally legitimised in the Lijiang region, regulated by the local government through an ideology of authenticity. It is, however, strongly affected by an ideology of anonymity, which dictates towards the policies and practices of the national language. In the marketplace of LAT's commercial centre, the Naxi language is no longer used widely and frequently. The use of the mother language in the Naxi participants' businesses and jobs is very low, although they still speak it within their families. The rapidly increasing numbers of Mandarin Chinese speakers in Lijiang has changed the communicative tool of the Naxi in their daily lives and forced them to use the general language in business and everyday activities in the public sphere. The decline of the Naxi language usage in the speakers' daily lives is partly caused by their attitudes towards their mother language but is underpinned by the ideology of anonymity that gives precedence to Mandarin Chinese. The language value accorded to Naxi by the young generation, under the influence of their parents, tends to break the intergenerational transmission of the Naxi language.

Chapter 8 Discussion

In this chapter, I bring together the insights from my findings and discuss them in relation to my research questions. My main findings suggest that: 1) The Naxi language has generally low visibility, and people's general attitudes towards the language indicate a waning power of the language in LAT; 2) Contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness of Naxi people have resulted in an out-migration of Naxi people from LAT, marginalisation of the Naxi culture, and decline of Naxi language use; and 3) The change in the status and usage of Naxi language is underpinned by ideology and perceptions towards the value of the Naxi language, which provides Naxi people with a basis for their language choice and form.

In the following sections I discuss the findings in relation to the four research questions presented in Chapter 1 and review these questions to assess the extent to which I have answered them through my findings and present a framework.

8.1 'Language vitality' and the Naxi language in the LL

In chapter 5 I addressed the first question as *Does the representation of Naxi language in the LL support its 'language vitality'?* Responses to this question reflect the relationship between vitality and visibility of the Naxi language in the LL. The question sought to draw attention to how the Naxi language (the Dongba script) is used in the public setting of the old town and what, if anything, this might mean for the survival of the Naxi language. Based on the concept of LL defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and the idea of "gestalt" raised by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Cain et al. (2011), the question was explored through four variables: language choice, language agency, LL functions and characteristics of the Naxi language. By examining each variable, I sought to answer the question in terms of "the power relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (Gorter, 2006, p. 4), the identity of language and groups displayed and the intention of language implied. Four specific findings have emerged:

First of all, compared to the privilege of the general visibility of Mandarin Chinese, the Naxi language has low presence on most of the signage in LAT. In addition, the signs' text, colour, font and decoration carry rich and diversified connotations of the Han culture, rather than the Naxi culture. The accurate connotation and appealing status of Han characters in the nine chosen signs I examined in detail determine the readers' choices in decoding the signs and suggests that the main 'audience' for the signs are Mandarin Chinese speakers. Moreover, out-

migration of Naxi people from the old town has been largely replaced by the in-migration of business people and flows of travellers from outside of the region, who are using Mandarin as their communicative language. The numbers of Naxi speakers in LAT have largely declined. The LAT community has been reshaped through communication and contact with current residents in the town, who are now predominantly Mandarin speaking Chinese. New forms of culture and language have been introduced and accepted to meet the requirements and demands of the incomers, both at the level of groups and individuals. On the other hand, the Naxi language in the town is also surviving in a flexible way that suits the needs of the current residents, as noted by Smolicz (1992): heritage traditions may continue but in a flexible and reshaped way. As evidenced in previous chapters, Mandarin Chinese is the dominant language in both top-down (official) and bottom-up (individual shop owners) signs in LAT and the Naxi language is marginalised.

Secondly, the appearance of English texts in street signs reflects the function they carry in the town of appealing to international tourist audiences. Support for the use of English language has been promoted from the regulations made by the local government of Lijiang. Sign makers use a unique way to design their signs in which complex Han characters are difficult to read, while the English texts (with the help of Pinyin Romanisation) act as an easy choice for audiences to read and understand. Yang (2012) has suggested that the use of English in Lijiang is embedded as an international element and provides an international linguistic capital for promoting the development of the society. Thus, English texts on the signs of LAT do not always act as a direct communicative tool. They are more likely to constitute an intention that satisfies the imagination of people, not only travellers but also business people and officials, in relation to the tourism landscape (Xiaobo Su, 2010). This kind of landscape provides “assets and bounds for tourism development” and also build a framework to use tourism “as a regional development tool” (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015, p. 544). In the tourism landscape, the creation and display of visual material on signs are oriented to tourist audiences. The Dongba script in LAT remains largely symbolic rather than a language of communication.

Thirdly, official agencies and representatives of Naxi culture creating top-down signs did not display the Dongba script. Official agencies usually select the English text as a supporting version for the Han characters, and leave no space for the Dongba script. They strive to provide audiences with the language that the audience can easily understand, but give up the promise of displaying the Dongba script, which the audience has no capacity to translate or use. With regard to bottom-up signs, although business people constitute the main agencies of those signs

in the town, my LL data indicated that not all of them felt that the Naxi language and its associated culture could bring benefits to their businesses. Moreover, most Naxi business owners mutually agreed that Mandarin Chinese was understood and accepted by all people, which overrides their wish to display their Naxi identity. Under this circumstance, they disregard the regulations on language choice set by the local government and exclude their native language on their signs. Thus, the lack of representation of the Naxi culture reinforce Mandarin and English rather than the Dongba script in most of the signs in LAT.

Finally, in the signs where the Dongba script is present, it remains largely a mysterious, decorative text that merely provides a token form of the Naxi culture. However, in the context of LAT, the functions of the LL help to explain the relationship between the Naxi language and other languages in the visible installations in the public space. Besides decorating the town and showing the Naxi identity, street signs displaying the Dongba script interpret the Naxi culture and potentially inspire readers' imagination. Although the function it plays is minor, exhibition of the Dongba script vividly supports Han characters to construct commercial names that give the appearance of Naxi tradition, culture, and history. In the research of Xu and Ren (2015a), they found that the Dongba script was used as decoration by business people regulated by governments to attract tourists and enhance exotic cultural atmosphere. The signs that lack the Dongba script appear culturally isolated, abrupt, and inharmonious in relation to the background of Naxi traditional buildings, and their related history and culture.

My research confirms that the Dongba script is used to decorate an 'authentic' cultural context to attract a tourist audience and is used to support commercial profits rather than to revitalise the language. As suggested by Shohamy (2006), the LL indexes the status and power of a language in relation to communities, as, via, the LL, the social status of a community and power of its language are transmitted into language practice. On the basis of my research, it is hard to say, conclusively, that the representation of the Naxi language in the LL supports its 'language vitality'. Moreover, how people used the Dongba script in the LL provides some evidence of Naxi people's attitudes towards their language. When Xu and Ren (2015) investigated the impacts of tourism on the Dongba script on the signs in Lijiang, they found that the script was only employed "for its symbolic function rather for communication and information" and no person that they interviewed understood, used or showed interested in the Dongba script (p.102). Their study on the LL in Lijiang identified attitudes that the people had towards the Dongba script in the context of tourism that were similar to the ones that emerged in my research. But their study did not take the Dongba script in the LL as an indicator against which

to consider Naxi language vitality, nor did they relate the scripts to their commercial and social status with regards to power relations. In these two respects, my research enhances our understanding of Naxi language vitality and a key conclusion that the lower visibility of Naxi language compared with the presence of Mandarin Chinese and people's general attitudes towards it more as a decorative language reinforces a fictitious cultural context and indicates the waning vitality of the language in the LAT.

8.2 Relationship between the 'place-belonging' of Naxi and the 'place making' in LAT

Chapter 6 sought to answer two main research questions: *How do the Naxi people understand, experience and feel about the 'place making' undertaken by Chinese central and local government in producing a tourist destination? And what is the relationship between the 'place-belongingness' of the Naxi people and the LAT after it was listed as a UNESCO Heritage site?* I examined contradictions and tensions between what the government (both central and local) and UNESCO had regulated and implemented in LAT in relation to place making, and the feelings and responses of people, especially the Naxi people in regard to what is happening to their place and language; namely, their place-belonging. To do this I undertook visual observations in the town and interviews with participants about their ideas on the images and forms of the town, activities in the town, the Naxi cultural products, practices and their perspectives, and feelings towards 'belonging' as Naxi people. I also reviewed the regulations and planning made for the town by central and local Chinese governments, as well as official documents released by UNESCO.

I found four significant contradictions and tensions resulting from what the government has decreed for the LAT and what the Naxi people feel towards the town after it was declared a UNESCO heritage site.

Firstly, the government policies had both positive and negative effects in LAT. All levels of the Chinese government support place making in the town as a tourism destination. The support for place making ensures the creation of a place that travellers gain pleasure from visiting, and entrepreneurs are able to invest successfully. However, legislation neglects to guarantee the social and cultural interests of the Naxi residents in the town. With suggestions from UNESCO, the government has made efforts to preserve the physical pattern of original streets and buildings to make the image of the town appear authentic to the Naxi culture. However, the forms of infrastructure and interior of residential houses have been altered to cater to the

interests and desires of travellers. To reinforce the idea that LAT is Naxi, the government has also stipulated, organised, or even paid for cultural activities performed in the town, such as Naxi Datiao and Naxi traditional holidays. Although some performers in these activities are volunteers, I found that it was not necessarily Naxi people who volunteered. The commercialised activities in this heritage site aimed to represent Naxi culture in a way that meets the tourists' expectations for entertainment and leisure. It sits inconsistently with the intention, style, and traditional forms of entertainment and holidays of the Naxi people. This may help explain why the Naxi people themselves show little interest in these commercialised 'entertainments', which they feel are irrelevant to their culture.

Secondly, feelings of belonging to LAT are undermined by Naxi people no longer living in LAT. Although the Naxi people still feel attached to LAT, their physical replacement in the town by outsiders has broken their ongoing connections with the town, and the social and cultural ties of the Naxi, that depend on being nearby each other in the old town. This residential dislocation undermines their sense of belongingness to the town. The inconvenience caused by changes to living conditions, the degradation of the water and other resources caused by tourism, and the opportunities to improve their financial circumstances through renting out buildings have all encouraged Naxi people to migrate out. While most of my Naxi participants were born, grew up and received primary education in LAT, their personal experiences of life in the town have been interrupted by the excessive commercialised tourism.

Thirdly, there are contradictions emerging in intergenerational perceptions of Naxi culture. Many traditional Naxi cultural practices are seen differently by different generations. Furthermore, few Naxi cultural products and practices are transmitted in the business context of LAT. More space in the town is occupied by products and practices that have no connection with the Naxi. The older generation is aware of changes that have happened to their costumes, household items, music instruments and sacrificial supplies, but the younger generations are quite used to the things around them, which are half modern and half Naxi. Simultaneously, non-Naxi business people and the travellers bring an influx of their own requirements, interests, and cultures, which results in challenges for the intergenerational transmission of Naxi language and culture. Almost all the young people, both the university students and adolescents, noticed that fewer and fewer people around them speak the Naxi language. Naxi perspectives are being marginalised, not only in LAT, but also outside of the town, where Naxi interact and mix with other cultures.

Fourthly, the tension between using Naxi language versus Putonghua (the standard spoken form of modern Chinese), is greater for the younger generation. The Naxi language is a bonding influence for Naxi people and increases their sense of place belonging and attachment to LAT, but the degree of attachment to the use of Naxi language which is a part of place-belongingness varies across different generations. While older generations are still using Naxi as their mother tongue in everyday life, mid and early aged adults pay more attention to learning Mandarin Chinese because it makes their lives easier in terms of their jobs and education. Although Naxi language is regarded as one of the important factors drawing the Naxi people together and helping define cultural identity, its position in relation to reinforcing place-belongingness to the LAT varies across different generations.

These findings are helpful for me in understanding that the endangerment of Naxi language has happened in response to the fast growth of tourism in the town. The place making in this town turned out to be underpinned by excessive commercialisation, over-loaded tourism, deteriorated environment, out-migration of the Naxi, interrupted social and cultural networks, marginalised Naxi culture and language, and has resulted in a reduction in the use of the Naxi language. Furthermore, the contradictions and tensions between the governments' regulations and Naxi people's feelings and responses towards the place, are complex and have changed over time. What is evident, though, is that place making of LAT as a tourism destination sits in contrast to the decreasing place-belongingness of the Naxi people.

My findings have allowed me to see contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness, although the principles of place making identified by Montgomery (1998) and the interpretation of place-belongingness stated by Antonsich (2010) still need to be further probed into. Oakes (2012, p. 14) stated about Lijiang "That cultural economy is one in which competition for tourism revenues, investment and other forms of mobile capital has compelled local governments to turn 'impressions' into fixed capital". He claimed the function of all kinds of capital in making the tourism brand of Lijiang, including the influence of media. In my research, although the place making aspect is analysed through the lens of regulations and planning, it is not exhaustive as I have not delved into the background of the governments' intention. There are limited resources on the laws and regulations that can be found online and from public documents, even when researched in Chinese. This opens up possibility for more systematic research into LAT using an interdisciplinary framework of ideas more fully. The impact of media on place making and language vitality is another area for further investigation. Simultaneously, the process of transforming the town into an international tourist destination

cannot be fully understood without consideration of the Naxi's "struggle against and compliance to ... cultural politics", as speculated by Su and Teo (2009, p. 3). In their analysis it was the relationship of "collusion, collaboration and contest" among all the stakeholders including the locals that prepared Lijiang for tourism.

In addition to unravelling some aspects of how place making is supported by different levels of government, my study emphasised Naxi people's feelings and responses towards the effects of tourism and place making in LAT, and considered the place-belongingness of the Naxi people to LAT. Both place making and place-belongingness were considered in relation to Naxi language vitality. Throughout the thesis, I have identified some of the ways Naxi people understand, experience, and feel about the place making of LAT as a tourist destination and a World Heritage site. However, further research could be done on certain aspects of place making. For instance, there has been little research on the implications of radically altering the interior of heritage buildings to suit modern tastes and what has been lost in terms of cultural heritage by gutting these old buildings. Further research on the implications of changing the town from a residential to a commercial area is also warranted.

8.3 People's perception of value towards the Naxi language

My last research question was: *How and why do different people value, undervalue, and devalue the Naxi language?* This research question was addressed in chapter 7. In this chapter I explored the value ascribed to the Naxi language by investigating the ideological beliefs of the people in relation to the language generally, the value of the language in the labour market and in businesses operations, and the value of the language in people's everyday lives. The contribution of Chapter 7 is significant as it interprets the Naxi language usage from people's beliefs towards the value of the language.

As an important factor in language value, language ideology was shown to be what shapes a Naxi speaker's language choice and specific application in their everyday lives. The ideology of authenticity directs the Naxi group to associate with the place of Lijiang. While the ideology of anonymity is strongly supported, implemented, and consolidated by the promotion of standard Mandarin Chinese nationwide. When changes occur to the Naxi's ideology of authenticity, they still show loyalty to their language and stick to the feelings of "being proud" and having "a sense of belonging". But they confess that they are aware of their language's innate limitations and the language choice of individuals tends to fall toward meeting their subjective and objective needs under the influence of an ideology of anonymity.

In the commercialised centre of LAT, the Naxi language is no longer used widely, frequently or practically. The low market value of Naxi oral language is mainly reflected in the speakers' businesses and jobs: almost none of my participants use their mother tongue in their work, even though they speak it at home with their families. In terms of the written language in the LL, the Naxi participants regard it as a handicraft and ornament to promote tourism in the town rather than a practical language to inform the readers. It may help draw a tourist's attention to a shop, but because few people know what the glyphs mean, the language is useless in encouraging people to buy particular things. In addition, while a few applications of the written language exist in souvenirs and cultural products, this generates small scale profit and does little to enhance the overall motivation to promote the language through commercialised products.

Overall, this research in line with other scholarship among different communities (Karahana, 2007; Luo & Wiseman, 2000), has shown that the value of the Naxi language in daily life relies, at least in part, on subjective attitudes and feelings towards the language as this underpins language application and use. The younger generation is less attached to the language than older generations and this sends a disturbing message about the survival of the Naxi language.

With all these perceptions, struggles, contestations, negotiations, and compromises, the Naxi indigenous language is losing its original linguistic function and disappearing in the social communication of this space.

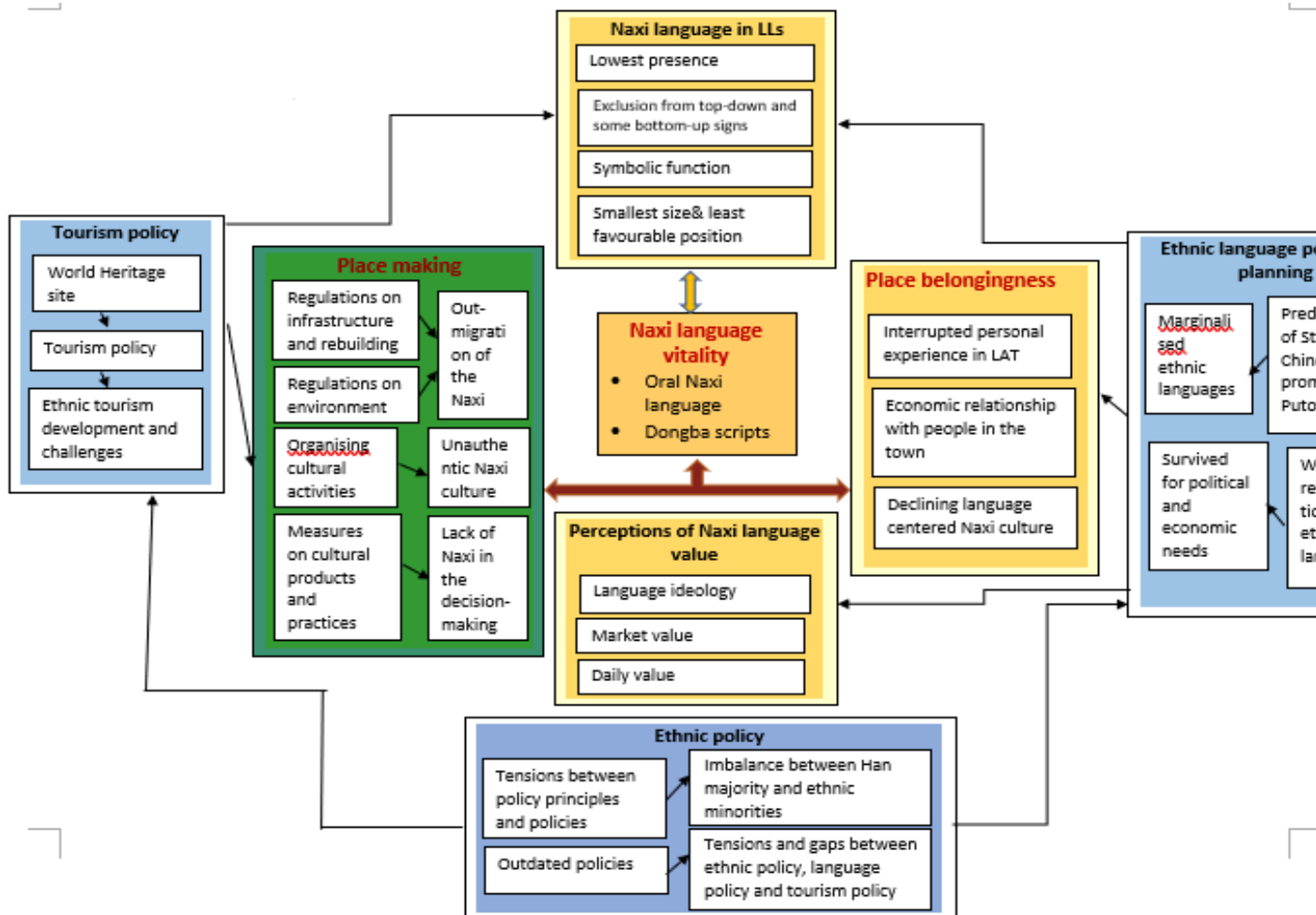
8.4 Conceptual model for examining language vitality

The findings of my research point to the challenges that the Naxi language is confronting that result from the complexity of interactions between language endangerment, vitality and survival with the practices and experiences of place making and place-belongingness (see Figure 43). The trigger for extensive and renewed interest in place making of LAT was its designation as a World Heritage site by UNESCO, which brought the town and its surroundings to national and international attention. The impetus for the continued tourism growth is the need for economic development in China's regions: a move strongly supported by the Central government and the aspirations of local government, and as well the desire for more personal economic gains preferred by individuals and entrepreneurs. All these aspects constitute a complicated process and set of practices in which various social factors have interacted at the macro, meso, and micro levels to result in the endangerment of Naxi language. In an effort to capture the main aspects of this complex interplay a conceptual model for examining the Naxi language vitality was developed (see Figure 43) and is discussed in this section.

The macro level—policies and perspectives relate to a ‘whole of China’ approach, influence ethnic minorities across the whole country, and establish the Central government approach to developing national solidarity. These are represented in blue in Figure 43 and relate to higher level policies and planning. At the meso level, relating to what is discussed as “place making” in this thesis, there are a range of more local policies and practices that affect language vitality—these are indicated in green in Figure 43. Finally, at the more micro, or individual level, there are factors that relate to what this thesis describes as “place belongingness”—the strategies and practices whereby individuals and local areas can maintain the possibility of language and culture. At this level there is evidence in the linguistic landscape of language use, perceptions of language use in daily life and factors that affect people’s sense of belonging, both to the old town and to language and cultural practices. These are indicated in orange in Figure 43.

By examining these influencing factors at different scales, it is possible to separate out some of the complexity that lies behind language vitality and make some suggestions or recommendations for change to support Naxi language vitality into the future.

Figure 43 Conceptual model for examining the Naxi language vitality



Macro policies in the decline of Naxi language

Influence of macro policies on ethnic languages

The decline of Naxi culture and language stem, in part, from the tensions and gaps that exist between ethnic policy, ethnic language policy, tourism policy and reality of ethnic minorities at the macro level in China.

First, the traditional ethnic policy principles in China cannot solve the challenges that the Naxi community are facing. One of the big challenges that the ethnic policy faces is the tension and scale of the imbalance between the Han majority and ethnic minorities (Leibold, 2013). The traditional central government principles, including national equality, stability, and solidarity, confront the challenges presented by ethnic minorities seeking recognition and greater autonomy. The traditional principles are actually strategies to maintain harmonious relationships between majority and ethnic minority communities rather than providing solution to the imbalance between Han majority and ethnic minorities (Yee, 2003). It is difficult to see options for increasing the vitality of Naxi language at this scale. To decrease the imbalance, preferential policies have been employed to accelerate the economic development in ethnic areas, but these preferential policies cannot solve ethnic problems comprehensively. And, indeed, economic development has been one of the strongest pressures against the preservation of Naxi language and culture.

Now most ethnic policy lags far behind the social changes of ethnic minorities, including the Naxi community. Ethnic culture and language have not been fully represented in contemporary China and economic development has always been given priority over the promotion of ethnic culture and language (Barabantseva, 2008). In addition, the identity, culture, and language of ethnic minorities have rarely been upheld during periods of great population mobility between majority people and minority people and the requirements of a market economy (Fischer, 2008; Mackerras, 2003).

Second, the promotion of Standard Chinese and Putonghua drove many ethnic languages to be marginalised or survive only for political or economic needs, which lays a basis for Naxi people to understand the value of Naxi language in their commercialised residential place and everyday use. Two conspicuous issues of LPP in China are the predominance of Standard Chinese and Putonghua promoted by legalisation and standardisation in China and weakened representation of ethnic languages in ethnic areas. It is a challenge to keep a balance in the language learning between Standard Chinese (Putonghua) and an ethnic language for an ethnic

individual in education practice. The Standard Chinese has been legalised as the written language and Putonghua has been widely employed as a general communication tool in schools (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2001). For an ethnic language that has no mature written scripts, such as Naxi, the written language is easily replaced by Standard Chinese in education, and this quickly weakens ethnic community's opportunities to implement their language rights. While ethnic language that has mature written scripts is usually offered by local schools as "an elective subject" as discovered by Shen et al. (2021, p. 440), the position of ethnic language in the education as 'elective' determines the learners' language use in their future lives. Although Naxi has written scripts, their use has been limited within religious contexts and has not been strengthened, as discussed in the findings. In the process of Standard Chinese promotion, Naxi language has been listed as an 'elective subject' and exists within certain scope. Leeman and Modan (2010) notice that ethnic languages survive to where its material function and creation meets political and economic needs. To facilitate the local tourism development and to cater to the perceptions of tourists, Naxi language has been appropriated as a tourism attraction or commodity. However, the dominance of Standard Chinese and Putonghua (macro level policy influence) undergirds the perception of language use in the Naxi social context (and has impact at meso and micro levels). The indigenous Naxi language has been enclosed within the private scope of the family or is regulated for public use in the designed tourism space.

Third, tourism development and relevant policy, as conceived at the national level, adds impetus to the development of the Naxi local economy and increasing income of local government and Naxi people, and becomes a further driving factor for marginalising Naxi language. Tourism has been one of the significant means to promote the West Development and ameliorate the economic imbalance between the East coastal region and the West inland region in China (Jackson, 2006), because of its vital impact on the global economic development and enormous benefits brought to all levels of stakeholders, including governments, community, entrepreneurs, and individuals (Arshad et al., 2018; Streimikiene et al., 2021; Su et al., 2021). Tourism, ethnic tourism, and heritage tourism in Lijiang was firstly defined, manipulated, regulated, and supported by the China Central government via tourism policies to take the lead in regional development. Most of my participants have experienced the function of policy made by the government, and confirmed the development of Lijiang and improvement of their living conditions. The participants in the research by Yang and Wall (2009) also generally attributed the successful development of tourism to the essential support

from government and that without governmental involvement and guidance, tourism development would “lack direction, coordination, and cohesion” (p. 564).

However, tensions and conflicts induced by national policies for ethnic tourism or heritage tourism have emerged: On the one hand, the macro planning made by Central government has not fully predicted how entrepreneurs and local authorities treat the ‘exploitable’ resources of ethnic culture and language to meet the demands of tourists (Yang & Wall, 2009). To gain profits, these resources are modified to satisfy the tastes of tourists, whose intention of tourism is to seek exotic culture that is different from their own (Neilson, 2016; Wood, 1984; Yang, 2013). The macro policy cannot intervene in the endless demands from tourists and thus, the national policy cannot effectively prevent the business activities and commodification of ethnic resources driven by profits. On the other hand, the national policy has not efficiently taken advantage of the contributions of indigenous people to prevent the destruction of ethnic culture and language. In the process of tourism, indigenous communities and individuals are only cheap labourers, who are directed and supervised by local authority and entrepreneurs (L. Yang, 2011). Macro-level tourism policies are implemented by the local authorities and entrepreneurs who control capital and decision-making, not the local people.

When an ethnic community is controlled and supervised, the culture presented in ethnic tourism is not likely to comprehensively reflect their authentic life, customs, and values. In such contexts, any local language commonly used is turned to tasks relating to tourism rather than daily communication.

Recommendation for the macro policy

After identifying major issues of the policies in relation to ethnic minority, ethnic language, and tourism at the macro level, several solutions are proposed for further policymaking:

First of all, reform of ethnic policy needs to be put on the agenda, which should address two situations. First it needs to address the incoherence between policy principles and policy effect; and, second, is address the demands produced by the rapid social-economic changes since the 1980s (the beginning of free market economy in China). In the former situation, the policy principles of equality, stability and solidarity are hard to achieve, because they represent the values and beliefs of Central government, and, to a certain extent, the Han majority, rather than “the interaction and collaboration among ethnic groups” based on political “equality and mutual understanding” (Chu, 2015, p. 484). The essential purpose of these principles is to socialise ethnic groups to conform to the values and beliefs of Han majority culture. Ethnic

people have not been treated equally in policymaking, their values and beliefs have not been understood and represented at the macro scale. Thus, genuine autonomy for ethnic communities is required, in which ethnic people can make their own decisions to fit their needs and futures. In the latter situation, the social-economic changes since the 1980s, when the planned economy gave way to the free market economy in China, have not been fully embedded in ethnic policies. In response to these changes, ethnic policies should be re-evaluated and adjusted to better protect the interests of ethnic communities (R. Ma, 2014). Outdated ethnic policy needs to be updated to address these changes. A salient question, for example, is how to incorporate “indigenous knowledge and livelihoods into conservation policy” with the modern values, beliefs and ways of resource management (Xu et al., 2005, p. 6). The traditional understandings and ways of life of ethnic minorities are often classified as backward and simple by modern standards, and tend to be destroyed by modern resource management approaches. Ethnic groups need to be supported by policies that more strongly protect their interests in economic modernity and social development.

Secondly, ethnic minority languages should be promoted and strengthened in ethnic areas through language policy and regulation that seek to make minority languages more valuable in major public sectors, particularly in education. Feng and Adamson (2018) suggest such a language policy should ensure and mandate that “minority groups have the freedom to use and develop their languages and cultures” in China’s constitutions (p.177). That is to say, the status of ethnic language and culture needs to be raised as high as the Standard Chinese language. The implementation of such policy should also be supported by bilingual education policy in practice. The hardware and software in most schools in ethnic areas needs to be improved to engage more ethnic students in digital learning in their own language. Jun (2006) describes the construction of a policy system aiming to reach a balance between the contribution of a teacher in an ethnic school in a poor area and a similar teacher in a school in a Han majority urban area, including teachers exchanging favourable wages and welfare, and training policy and funds as well. The curriculum in ethnic area schools also needs to be reformed to alleviate dependence on dominant language curricula with improvement in textbooks to reflect more knowledge and skills from the local ethnic communities (Chu, 2015). In doing so, the relevant policies in ethnic areas can be kept coherent between language policy and education policy to promote the development of ethnic languages.

Thirdly, there are so many loopholes that need to be filled regarding the policies of tourism, ethnic tourism and heritage tourism in ethnic areas. Two models can be selected as options at the macro level:

To evaluate the protection of cultural heritage tourism, a model of three components including support from government, participation from ethnic community and balance between the perspectives of various stakeholders was recommended by Xing et al. (2012). The contribution of this model is to engage the important stakeholders and keep a balance between them. The crux of this model is the genuine participation of indigenous people, through whom the perspectives of heritage maintenance and conservation can be collected, and the predominant power wielded by the local decision-makers in the promulgation and execution of policy can be weakened (Li et al., 2021). To mitigate negative impacts of tourism in ethnic areas and enhance scientific planning, Yang and Wall (2009) suggest a model of enhanced planning to involve greater stakeholder engagement, and greater emphasis on a balance between environment, socio-cultural and economic development. The two models help to understand the significance of keeping a balance between major stakeholders in policy-making and the influencing factors that should be considered in making tourism policy.

Place making of LAT at the meso level in the decline of Naxi language

Influence of place making at meso level on the decline of Naxi language

At the meso level, and relating back to discussion in Chapter 6, I find that the place making of LAT, facilitated by local regulations, and manipulated by local government and official agencies, has placed direct pressure on the vitality of Naxi indigenous culture and language. With UNESO heritage status, ethnic tourism promoted rapid changes in LAT and the functions and features of the town have been basically changed, in response to which indigenous Naxi people have migrated out of the town. To meet the imagination of tourists for exotic culture, the local authorities and entrepreneurs have designated the Naxi cultural activities, images, and forms in LAT that are most acceptable to tourists, and that camouflage the world Naxi people really in (L. Yang, 2011). Although there is tourism policy, the lack of Naxi original residents in the town has led to their absence or the lack of genuine participation in decision-making (Li et al., 2021). The absence of Naxi from the decision-making indicates they have not been really considered in the law-making and their culture and language have not been authentically represented in LAT.

To expound the influence brought by place making of LAT, I further raise three approaches suggested by Lew (2017, pp. 454-455): *Standard placemaking*, *Strategic placemaking*, and *Creative placemaking*.

According to Lew (2017), *Standard placemaking* is a regular improvement of a city from which old infrastructure is replaced, or updated incrementally, such as introducing new public facilities, widening sidewalks, and putting up new street signs. But in relation to LAT, the replacing, and updating happened rapidly, both in response to damage caused by the major (1996) earthquake and the subsequent refurbishment aimed at achieving heritage status for the town. And through the need to accommodate and cater to rapidly increasing tourist numbers. As discussed in Chapter 6 these changes have largely destroyed the Naxi cultural atmosphere and the residential environment of the old town. Its place making with the intention of attracting tourists has turned out to be unsuitable for residents' dwelling (Alvarez-Sousa, 2018; Ran, 2015). Problems of cultural resources, degradation of the natural environment and clashes between tourists and residents yielded many negative impacts on the tourist site. This has led to a significant out-migration of the Naxi original residents and lack of Naxi participants in many of the cultural activities and practices in LAT.

Strategic placemaking is intended to attract outside investments to make a tourist destination or to define a new centre, district, or a city. The heritage tourism destination of LAT, particularly the inscription of it as a World Heritage site, has been a catalyst to attract capital from outside of Lijiang. The purpose of outsider investment is to promote the economic growth of the town and lead the development of its surrounding areas. But it is very costly, in intangible ways, to exchange the heritage resources for financial funds and economic profits (Xiaobo Su, 2010), and in which the fate of Naxi culture has been controlled by the people who own the capital and who make the decisions. Ran (2015), in his research on sustainable development of tourism, has developed a model to predict the heritage tourism development of Lijiang and has found that there will be dramatic decline of Naxi culture, tourist population and economic profits in the future decades, particularly from 2050 to 2090. These declines point to the cost of outside investments, which, while they can promote and yield short-term profits, are a less desirable approach than sustainable tourism development.

Creative placemaking aims to introduce new things or artificial work to create an attractive place. The street activities, festival events, modern ornaments and even commodities being sold in souvenir shops in LAT can be perceived as creative placemaking. This kind of

placemaking ensures travellers gain pleasure from visiting the place, motivates commercialised tourism and results in influx of travellers. In LAT, more space and practices have been given to entrepreneurs and travellers to produce inauthentic Naxi culture (See Chapter 6), such as this modernised Dongba commodities and use of Sanyan Wells. Creative placemaking is designed to meet the tastes and entertainment desired by tourists seeking exotic culture, rather than the values and demands of the Naxi people. The appropriation of Naxi traditions and resources undermines and cuts off the creation, development, and intergenerational transmission of the Naxi culture (Voeller, 2011). The Naxi culture and language cannot be prompted and supported with sustainable development in this environment.

In such an atmosphere, place making, whether standard, strategic, or creative, has been designed to attract tourists and promote tourism development. The influx of tourists, the deteriorated environment, the out-migration of the Naxi, the excessive outside investment, the commercialised tourism, and the absence of Naxi original residents in decision-making, have cut off the transmission of Naxi culture and language in the context of LAT.

Recommendation for place making of LAT

To promote sustainable heritage tourism in LAT, three aspects are recommended in relation to place making: 1) Reduce Naxi activities, images, forms and products in the town that are not endorsed by Naxi as being authentic expressions of their culture, and increase Naxi cultural produces and practices that are endorsed; 2) Encourage the back-migration of Naxi original residents with funding to own and run their own tourism projects; 3) Encourage the Naxi community to play a leading role in the operation, management, evaluation and decision-making of the town. The three aspects are intrinsically connected with each other and the key point is the gradual moving back of Naxi to LAT and having a say in the place making.

Two strategies are suggested to attract the Naxi to migrate back to LAT: One is to improve the natural and cultural environment of the town to be suitable for living, limit excessive tourism, but maintain development that is sustainable. This approach is exemplified by water resource management. Many scholars have raised issues of water management in the case of Lijiang to stress the significance of institutionalised governance (Ning & He, 2007; Voeller, 2011; Yan Zhang, 2020). Voeller (2011), for example, gives a suggestion for local government to put pressure on the manner in which industry, business and people use the water source and that exacting water quality and quantity standards must be maintained through use of relevant scientific data. The other is to facilitate cooperation among Naxi community members through

the use of explicit contracts (Jackson, 2006). The cooperation can increase the competition of Naxi businesses to generate profits for the development of ethnic business and attract the back-migration of other Naxi people.

The role that Naxi can play in place making of LAT should be supported by science. Wang and Zan (2011) introduce a comprehensive strategy for the heritage site management in Europe, including “professional dimension, user orientation and resource orientation” (p.314). They point out that the heritage sites were run according to professional knowledge before the 1980s and later some new forces emerged to enhance competition, such as needs of clients and financial resources. Thus, before making tourism policy and planning, they recommend having a more systematic investigation of heritage site management to keep a balance between stakeholders and to tackle the relationships between professional discourse, increasing market orientation and client orientation, and profitability and sustainability as well. Their intention is to attract attention from local authorities to provide technical trainings conducted by professional experts to increase public awareness of the values of heritage sites, and to guide the participation of local residents.

Examining the Naxi language vitality at the micro level

Naxi language in LLs, place-belongingness, and perceptions of Naxi people to their language

At micro level, the findings from my research have contributed to an explanation to Naxi language endangerment and vitality. It has illuminated that there is lower status and use of the Naxi language in the LL (Chapter 5), that there are contradictions and tensions between the place of LAT and place-belongingness of the Naxi relating to LAT, which, in turn, challenges the vitality of the Naxi language (Chapter 6), and that there are diverse ways that Naxi language is valued by Naxi people and others but that generally it is not a highly valued language in terms of its practical and economic benefit (Chapter 7). The low visibility of the Naxi language in the LL provides concrete and physical evidence of the declining use of the language in LAT; the contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness witness the marginalisation of the Naxi culture and language in LAT; and the perception of values towards the Naxi language provides an insight into one aspect of language endangerment. From the findings, at least ten pairs of contradictions and tensions have merged at the micro level.

Contradictions and tensions in the LL

- The presence of Dongba scripts in the LL is intended to attract tourists, but the audience cannot understand the language, so the Naxi language becomes a token to show the identity of Naxi.
- The Dongba script is officially stipulated to be used in the LL, but it has rarely been accepted in the official signs, in which the Mandarin character and the English text have been widely adopted.
- Compared to the low presence of the Dongba script, Mandarin characters are privileged and have greater general visibility in the LL with English as the support language, despite the commodity value ascribed to Dongba script in tourist artefacts. In either case, they have little connection with the Naxi culture and undermine the Naxi cultural context in which Naxi language should be used.

The Dongba script is used to decorate an ‘authentic’ cultural context to attract tourist audience and is used to facilitate commercial profits rather than to revitalise the language. The informative role that a sign can play in a tourist destination has been dominantly undertaken by Standard Chinese and supplementarily supported by English (Lu et al., 2020). In this circumstance, the Dongba script is losing the communicative function that a language should play. It decorates the town and reinforces a fictitious cultural context, which indicates the waning vitality of the Naxi language in the LAT.

Contradictions and tensions between LAT and place-belongingness of the Naxi

- Most Naxi original residents felt that the town was filled with memories and emotions of their childhood, but their personal experiences in the town were interrupted because of their physical displacement.
- The relationships between the Naxi original residents and the people in the town are based on economic and recreational connections, rather than social and emotional attachments.
- The Naxi language was regarded by the Naxi as a bond through which people were attached to LAT, but the degree of attachment was varied across different generations.

The personal experiences and lives of most Naxi original residents in LAT have been interrupted, emotional networks weakened, and relationships via the Naxi language use is disturbed across different generations. All these have caused a decrease in the sense of place-belongingness. The changes of Naxi place-belongingness indicate the restructure of

“socialism with Chinese characteristics” and reflect the reshaping of lives of minority groups arranged by the new political economy since the 1980s when free-market economy was launched in China (White, 2010, p. 142). The social-political development has drawn and driven minority communities to find a proper position and status that suit for their survival. Under these circumstances, whether a language is selected depends on a personal choice but underpinned by the social-political requirements.

Contradictions and tensions on the Naxi language value

- Most Naxi people have positive feelings toward their mother tongue with pride, deep emotions, and a sense of belonging, for the language conveys their traditional knowledge, accumulated wisdom, ideas, and experiences. However, the people were also aware of the challenges for their language transmission because of the influence of Standard Chinese on their language philosophy and the Dongba script’s innate limitations.
- The market value of the Naxi language in LAT has little association with human competence in language use. Naxi is not a language actively used for communication by buyers or sellers, although they still speak it with their families.
- A few applications of the language have been found in some souvenirs, but this has not been developed much, even though the scope of usage has changed, which has no relationship with its traditional function.
- Almost all the young people cannot understand the Dongba script and many of the young people have shifted to speak Mandarin Chinese. The decline of Naxi language usage in the young speakers’ daily lives partly caused by their apparent indifference and lack of concern about their mother language learning. The parent generation’s sense of the language value also directly influences the young generation’s perception, evaluation, and behaviour toward the mother language learning.

The rapidly increasing use of Mandarin Chinese has changed the communicative tool in this Naxi ethnic community and forced the Naxi to use the dominant general language. The Naxi language has been tied to its symbolic value of Naxi heritage and identity instead of high socio-economic value and status (Yang, 2012). It cannot serve a role of linguistic capital in the new economy and speaking Naxi offers few benefits to people looking for jobs or wanting to establish a business. Under these circumstances, the business world is not capable of supporting the vitality of Naxi language. Naxi language, not only its written form but also its oral language,

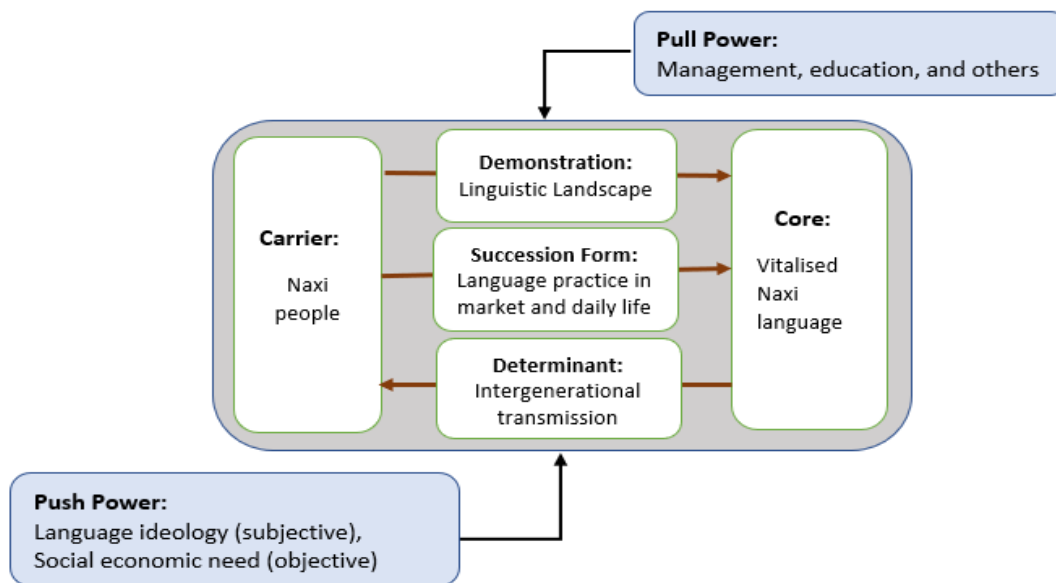
is failing to play an active role in either market or life values. Although the people strive to keep their identity in the town and language use continues within families, it may not be enough to keep the language alive.

In sum, the lower status and weak presence of Naxi language in the LL, interrupted connection between the original Naxi and LAT, limited socio-economic value, indifference to maintaining language use, and selective intergenerational transmission all weaken the vitality of Naxi language in different ways. Furthermore, while Naxi people hope to economically benefit from tourism through catering to the interests of non-Naxi travellers, they feel that almost all the connections with the old town are interrupted including the cultural, social, and linguistic ties.

Recommendations for the Naxi language vitalisation at the micro level

Endeavor of vitalising Naxi language and its written form of Dongba script at the micro level need a sound structure. I draw on the ideas of sustainable cultural heritage adapted from Xing et al. (2012) and frame my recommendation on Naxi language vitalisation in Figure 44.

Figure 44 Structure of vitalisation of Naxi language



Source: Adapted from Xing et al. (2012, p. 44)

In this figure, the vitalisation of Naxi language involves seven important factors: Pull power, push power, carrier, core, demonstration, succession form, and determinant.

Pull power refers to the extensive power of national policy at macro level and place making at the meso level to the programmes at micro level in relation to Naxi community management and schools. The pull power aims to promote the Naxi language from micro programmes and

projects in the Naxi community and schools. For example, incorporation of new technology into Naxi indigenous language learning, teaching, and practices in the daily life of Naxi community can enhance interests and achievements of language learning. Most people tend to learn something representing advancement and regard it as an achievement. Wang (2003, p. 47) suggests an “active conservation” to connect Dongba scripts with Dongba (the priests) and the Naxi culture to “continue a natural process of growth and change” via computer-mediated communication on the internet and other new media to create online communities, such as through WeChat and QQ. Making use of such visual and interactive space, Dongba can build routine communication through sharing Dongba activities, teaching Dongba scripts and interacting with learners. In addition, Naxi language teaching programmes at the micro level also need to be given more attention. Yu (2010) finds that although the Naxi language has been taught in some primary schools at low-level grades, it is confronting many challenges, such as lack of funding for the Naxi language teaching programmes, and the textbooks are translated from the national standard textbooks that based on the Han culture. Thus, he suggests that the school should “present cultural diversity as a source for building mutual knowledge among students” and act as an important channel for teaching Naxi culture in Naxi language (Yu, 2010, p. 44). Via the power of education, more attention should be given to the Naxi language teaching and its innate relationship with the Naxi culture, from which the Naxi identity, culture, and language can be respected and understood. To deal with the situation that ethnic minority language teaching has not been well-designed and developed in *minzu* universities and institutions (as discussed in Section 2.4), Xiong et al. (2016) emphasise the leading role that the governments should play in pulling the preservation of ethnic languages. They suggest bilingual programmes should be promoted, ethnic minority teachers should be trained, and specific curriculum should be designed and more importantly, relevant regulations and research should be made and done to implement, evaluate and guarantee the effective programmes. The programmes of management and schooling at the micro level constitutes the important pull power for the Naxi language vitality.

Push power takes into account the bottom-up reflection to the subjective language ideology and objective social economic needs an individual feel in a broad context, from which ecological conservation of Naxi cultural and linguistic resources are addressed. The belief that the Naxi language is not as useful as the dominant Han Chinese and English exerts a crucial influence on the Naxi people’s general language choice but is underpinned by and interacts with the objective needs of Naxi language in socio-economy. However, when researchers

proclaimed “the Naxi to be the originators of the concept of ecological balance and environmental conservation” based on their evidence (White, 1998, p. 20), we have to consider the real function that the Naxi language acts as in the socio-economy of the Naxi community. That is, only the Naxi that its identity, culture, and language is ecologically conserved can bring economic returns to the community. When the Naxi and their old town are similar to the Han and other ethnic minorities, they cannot attract tourists and entrepreneurs to support the socio-economic development in this region. Wu et al. (2020) examined the nexus between ecological conservation and economic development of another tourist destination in Lijiang and concluded that:

... although conservation actions have limited the utilization of resources, in general they have also provided a resource base for the development of alternative livelihoods, which generated income for the local communities, enabled them to share the benefits of ecological conservation, and motivated them to invest more in conservation. (p.16)

His conclusion indicates that restriction on the excessive consumption of cultural resources and environmental resources can drive dynamic evolution to gain benefits and promote virtuous economic development. The relationship between ecological conservation and economic development is reciprocal. To push the Naxi language valorised to bring economic returns to the Naxi community, it is necessary to conserve ecological evolution of the language, for which such ideology need to be shaped as push power.

Responding to how to revitalise the Naxi language in LAT, the objective push power is innately related to *the succession form*—Naxi language practice in the market of LAT and in the daily life of Naxi. By adopting the succession form of Naxi language in this over-commercialised context, we have to consider the crucial detriment to the declining usage of Naxi language in LAT. It derives from the consumption model designed for the town, which has demonstrated as a convergency of consumption—tourism consumption, culture consumption, heritage consumption and environment consumption (Su, 2012; Zong, 2005a). Su (2012) attributed the tourism consumption to the tourists’ imagination, while a range of literatures have offered arguments in support of the socio-political role that government plays in the forming of tourism consumption (Wang, 2002, 2004). Wang (2004, pp. 47-48) even named it as “tourism consumerism (consumer culture)” to address this novel and modern social phenomenon in China as a result of economic reform, but characterised by “a kind of spiritually pleasurable experience”. This new consumption has widely influenced the life and culture in the tourism destination, particularly which is supported by all levels of governments. In relation to LAT,

the numerous consumptions firstly resulted in the out-migration of Naxi culture *carriers* (Naxi people), replacing the initial status of Naxi language in market of LAT and exert a great influence on the Naxi's day-to-day life (discussed in Chapter 6). To resist this, Su (2012) suggests that the Naxi should mediate their experiences of displacement, nurture space with the practices of their everyday life, and defend against excessive consumption and commodification of their culture. To resume the function of the language in LAT, Zhu (2012a) addresses the performative authenticity of Naxi culture and language in the old town from the perspective of a Dongba, who perform Dongba ritual for Naxi marriage in the Naxi Wedding Yard. He broke the traditional discourse on a “dichotomy of objective-subjective orientation” on authenticity and emphasised the dynamic performance embodied in the Naxi cultural practices (Zhu, 2012a, p. 1498). The performative authenticity helps to enhance the opportunities of embodying Naxi culture and language in the current LAT, particularly which is conducted by Dongba, the real Naxi cultural representative. More similar embodied practices need to be excavated and revitalised in LAT and its sounding areas to become a routine of this market and day-to-day life.

The Linguistic Landscape is assigned a crucial task to demonstrate the Naxi language in LAT, but compared to Mandarin Chinese and English, I have not found that the Naxi language is saliently visible on these signs. Although the regulations such as *Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City* (2016) and *Interim Measures of Access and Exit Management of Market Operational Project in Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town* (2019) stipulated that the Dongba script should be displayed on the signs of tourism businesses in LAT, they did not specify the size, position, and status of Dongba script on these signs. In practice, they are designed smallest in size and placed in least important position, which results in their lowest status in the LL of LAT. Therefore, lack of specific norms to stipulate the demonstration of Dongba scripts and restrict other texts need to be raised to agenda. Simultaneously, Grey (2017) suggest the ethnic minority should claim their language rights in line with the ethnic policy and ethnic language policy in China. Whereas the town belongs to the Naxi, the Naxi people should display their language more saliently and more visibly than the other languages in the town to comply with ethnic autonomous laws and ethnic language laws.

Another problem is that many research achievements have not been absorbed and applied to revitalise the Naxi language (Dongba script) in the context of commercialised LAT. Although many scholars have studied the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality and the LL in the multilingual context, such as Landry and Bourhis (1997), Barni and Bagna (2010), Leeman

and Modan (2010), Banda and Jimaima (2015), and Ran (2015), the Dongba script displayed on the signage still acts as a token for this Naxi town rather than a leading role of revitalising this indigenous language. For example, Ran (2015) points out that the Dongba scripts on the LL in the town have been randomly tampered with, and their accuracy needs to be examined, or it will hinder the evolution and transmission of the language. Thus, studies on the Dongba scripts, their dictionaries and other research outcomes should be considered to revitalise the Naxi language in the town.

As the last factor and determinant to vitalise the Naxi language in LAT in Figure 44, *intergenerational transmission* needs to be addressed. Besides all kinds of models that can be used to guide the intergenerational transmissions of minority languages (Campbell et al., 2009; Fishman, 1996), I emphasise the function of subjective attitudes to the Naxi minority language in the intergenerational transmission. Fishman (1991) encourages the positive attitude of an ethnolinguistic community to valorise or revitalise ethnic languages, while Feng and Adamson (2018) highlight the function of minority families in the language intergenerational transmission. They state:

Children who grow up in these families would have a hugely different childhood in terms of their linguistic and social identity formation, compared with those who grow up speaking L2 only. (p.178)

The identity that children who are trained by their parents to speak their first language have differs from those who interact with their parents in a second language. The process of identity formation is embedded in their values, feelings and attachment to their indigenous language and community, which affects the children's language use over their whole life and influences the subjective attitudes of the community. The daily practice of a mother tongue supported by parents or grandparents in the family environment is crucial for language transmissions of an ethnolinguistic community. In the process of intergenerational transmission, as discussed in Chapter 7, the function of last generation, particularly the parents, contributes a significant role, whose attitudes exert a direct influence on the children's language choice. Thus, it is also necessary to raise awareness of language endangerment to the parents, who constitute a crucial element in the positive attitudes of an ethnolinguistic community. Regarding the Naxi, Duan (2022) suggests the government should give more bonus grades to the Naxi students for their entrance examination to higher education and enact regulations to enhance positive language propaganda. These can encourage the Naxi parents to talk with their children in their mother tongue.

In sum, the three levels of factors that influence the Naxi language vitality have been examined and discussed respectively at different scales: the macro level of policies and perspectives relating to the Central government in the whole country, the meso level of “place making” regarding to local policies and practices, and the micro level of strategies and practices that individuals and local community have perceived and performed to the Naxi language and culture. From these complex interactions, some key factors have been separated out and recommendations have been provided to revitalise the Naxi language. As a major tourism destination, LAT and the Naxi community have been a model for many Chinese ethnic communities to follow and imitate. But, in relation to the issues and problems the indigenous culture and language are confronting in the tourism and economic development, my conceptual model adds new insight into the complexity and interdisciplinarity of the vitality of ethnic minority language studies in which macro policies, meso-level tourism, and micro-level place-belongness of the ethnic place all play significant roles.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This final chapter reflects on the issue posed in my title: Is Naxi a disappearing voice? I begin by discussing the ways in which my interdisciplinary approach allowed me to approach this topic. I also outline the limitations to my study. I then identify areas for future research and finally offer my conclusion. Where appropriate, I also note the contributions that my thesis makes.

This study has pointed to the vitality of Naxi language being subjected to contradictions and tensions between the ‘place-belongingness’ of Naxi in LAT and the influence of place making in LAT after it was designated a UNESCO Heritage town and experienced many economic and social changes. This finding is derived from investigating the displaying of Naxi language in the LL, policies and tourism practices in the Naxi heritage site, the attitudes, feelings and values of Naxi people to their place, and value changes caused by the influence of the imported dominant language—Mandarin Chinese. My research also finds that Naxi language vitality was influenced by many things, including language visibility in the LL, contradictions and tensions between place making and place-belongingness caused by excessive mass tourism, commercialisation, deteriorated environment, out-migration of the Naxi people, interrupted social networks, marginalisation of the Naxi culture, indifferent perceptions of value toward the Naxi language and declining use of the Naxi language. Although the Naxi language plays some role as a decorative language in the LL and in souvenirs, it provides only a weak demonstration of Naxi identity. The low visibility of the Naxi language cannot support its vitality. The research provides evidence that this indigenous language is struggling to survive in the contemporary social context of LAT. The language value has been impacted by the pervasion of Han culture and predominance of Mandarin Chinese has altered the Naxi speakers’ perception towards to their everyday language and undermined the intergenerational transmission of this indigenous language.

9.1 An interdisciplinary study

The employment of different ideas (from linguistic anthropology and associated issues of language endangerment, vitality and value, human geography and sociology), underpinned the broad theoretical framework for the research and allowed me to research language vitality from broad cultural and social perspectives. The multi-method approach to data collection and analysis made it possible to generate rich insights to answer the research questions. A significant contribution to the scholarship of language vitality is made through this

experimentation with an interdisciplinary, mixed methods approach. Most of the existing literature on Naxi language in LAT draws on one particular disciplinary lens or another. For example, Zong (2005b), Ning and He (2007) and Su et al. (2018) have focused on the impacts of tourism on the town and the economy, while studies such as, Wu and Zeng (2019a) and Hu (2020) have focused on linguistic elements. My conclusions, however, are drawn from different disciplinary angles; thus, providing a robust empirical base to make meaningful arguments. My research opens a new direction for further interdisciplinary research in the research areas of minority language vitality.

The theoretical framework helps to understand the question of language vitality in broad cultural and social contexts. The findings make a unique contribution to thinking about the vitality of ethnic minority language in the context of place making, where it is necessary to understand the issues of mass tourism, environmental degradation, and the commercialisation of traditional culture in heritage sites. The research also addresses the importance of place-belongingness and how language gains vitality from people being attached to a place where their language has value.

9.2 Limitations

I have identified three major limitations in my study, the first of which relates to the interdisciplinary approach I chose to take. I drew ideas from multiple fields in order to examine relationships between ethnic minority language, language vitality, language endangerment, producing of a place (place making and tourism), cultural contexts, language visibility and people's feelings and attitudes towards their place, culture, and language (place-belongingness). As a result, my study is broad in scope rather than in-depth in any one specialist area. This is also its strength, as it demonstrates the interconnectedness between language and the contexts in which people use it.

Second, my LL study did not seek to extend knowledge in LL scholarship. The LL work plays a supporting role in my study. Translation of Naxi language in the LL was a particular challenge, not only for me (a non-Naxi speaker), but also for the Naxi speakers, who also depended on a dictionary to translate these scripts. However, the LL study made a significant contribution to my study and underpins the value of this approach in language vitality research.

Third, the practical limitation of the research relates to the access to the Chinese government's policy towards minority language. The Chinese policies, accounted for as the background

influencing the vitality of Naxi language, were mainly accessed online from the websites provided by all levels of Chinese governments and from literatures that related to policy. Moreover, policies can be only accessed partially by the public in China; therefore, access was a challenge as not all documents can be found online. This makes a full grasp of the interconnection and gap of those language policies in different governance levels is impossible. However, the documents I was able to access provided critical background to the study and allowed me to understand that place making is supported by planning and policy making and can be adjusted if current policies prove to be inappropriate.

9.3 Recommendations for further research

In response to the limitations of this research, recommendations for future research in this area are mainly presented from the aspects as follows.

More research could be made by Naxi scholars who speak the language and can get access to reliable translations of the Dongba script. As Porsanger (2004, p. 107), an indigenous scholar, suggests, indigenous scholars are experts in understanding “our” perspective, and knowledge, rather than being “foreign to indigenous ways of thinking”. Indigenous subjects are not seen as passive objects and sources as they often are in Western academic research. Indigenous scholars are different from Western academic scholars in carrying out indigenous research “in a more respectful, ethical, correct, sympathetic, useful and beneficial fashion, seen from the point of view of indigenous peoples” (Porsanger, 2004, p. 108). As positive researchers, indigenous scholars can have better control over research paradigms that meet the needs of their indigenous people. If Naxi scholars are able to contribute more to research about themselves and for themselves, they can articulate indigenous perspectives from their understanding and thinking. Particularly, some of them can understand and interpret the Naxi language from the point of view of ‘insiders’.

A full anthropological study to engage more issues and a wider group of Naxi participants in fieldwork to reflect the complicated situation of Naxi language would also be useful. The situation of Naxi language is much more complex than I have been able to cover in my research. In the work of Luo (2014), the Naxi oral language was categorised as Western Dialect and Eastern Dialect, based in the differences on pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. With about 4/5 of the total Naxi speakers, the Western Dialect, originating from LAT, was considered as the standard Naxi language. In terms of my investigation, I only focused on the Western Dialect, so interdisciplinary work also still needs to be done on the speakers of the

Eastern Dialect. In addition, besides the Dongba script, the Naxi language has another writing system—the Geba script. It is a syllabic script, used by some Dongba priests to write their scriptures to supplement the limitations of Dongba script, but it is not so widely used as the Dongba script (Yu, 2015). The Geba script was considered as ‘rarely used’ by the participants in my fieldwork. Therefore, my research did not involve the Eastern Dialect and the Geba script. Nevertheless, the complication of Naxi language results in a very complex situation for its vitality. Further study on the vitality of Naxi language involving the Eastern Dialect and the Geba script needs to be done from a full anthropological perspective.

A specialised LL study could also be carried out, closely related to language management and language policy, and involving more LL data in its social and cultural context. My LL study is constrained despite my in-depth description of a selection of signs in their cultural and historical context. It was supplemented with some interviews with participants to look at their feelings and responses to the use of their language in the LL. Such a combination is a new trial in this discipline and is an important contribution of my research. Recent scholars, such as Akindele (2011) and Grey (2017), have attempted to develop the LL study to relate to language policy and planning, and their discussion on the LL can be extended through new work.

Language endangerment can also be studied from the perspective of bio-cultural diversity loss. The loss of language takes away not just languages, but ways of life, historical secrets, knowledge, or technologies that may have been in existence for hundreds or thousands of years (Wurm, 1991), which is similar to biodiversity loss of animals and plants in nature (Section 1.1.3). It is a challenge not only for the Naxi language, but also for other endangered minority languages to preserve the distinctive elements of their bio-cultural system under the impact of rapid social changes. I have considered LAT as a place with its own ‘ecology’ to some extent in which the impacts of rapid changes on Naxi people and their language are complex and interrelated. This bio-cultural diversity perspective needs to be further explored to enrich the field of language endangerment.

In addition, more critical studies need to be done on heritage tourism, including the profits that tourism may bring and how these flow back or not into the local economy and to indigenous groups, and the challenges local people may face, such as environmental degradation as a result of large-scale tourism or even the influence of pandemics on heritage tourism.

9.4 Is the Naxi language a disappearing voice?

In this research, I have examined what the Naxi people have experienced, felt and reflected on in relation to their physical and cultural displacement from LAT. I have brought ideas of place making and place-belongingness together with language visibility and language endangerment, and tried to develop insights into what is happening to Naxi language and culture in LAT. Starting my research with an analytical lens of thinking of the old town as a unique ‘place’ in China—a case study of an ethnic minority space—I have considered the ideas of language visibility (in the LL), place making (practices and policy making) and place-belongingness (people’s feeling and responses to the place) to understand what has taken place in relation to the Naxi language. I chose the case study approach because LAT is one place where it is possible to consider the vitality of Naxi language. My research involved qualitative and quantitative analyses of data collected from fieldwork research through observations, interviews, and textual analyses. As my research developed, I considered the concept of language endangerment in the context of the Naxi group’s sense of place-belongingness to their old town given that LAT has been subjected to a kind of ‘place making’ since it has become a major commercialised tourist destination as a UNESCO Heritage site. I looked for contradictions and tensions in the idea of ‘place-belongingness’ for Naxi language users in, and from LAT after the ‘place makers’ have arrived, and their original dwellings have been ‘occupied’.

Everything I have heard, seen, read and written during the development of my thesis demonstrates what the Naxi language faces: The use of the oral language is declining amongst the Naxi youth, it is no longer used as the language of commerce or business to any great extent, and the written language, Dongba script is critically endangered: few persons today can read or understand the written language. Naxi is a Disappearing Voice.

Abbreviations

LAT: Lijiang Ancient Town

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

LL: Linguistic Landscapes

CASS: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

YR: Yangtze River

PRC: People's Republic of China

CTDLC: Committee of Tourism Development of Lijiang City

EV: ethnolinguistic vitality

RSL: reversing language shift

YPEMC: Yunnan Provincial Ethnic Minority Commission

CNKI: Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure

CTHL: China's Tencent Holdings Ltd

YMU: Yunnan Minzu University

YPG: Yunnan Provincial Government

LMG: Lijiang Municipal Government

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

ABLAT: Administrative Bureau of Lijiang Ancient Town

LC: Lijiang City

WB: World Bank

UEUE: Unified Examination for University Entrance

RC: Republic of China

SEAC: State Ethnic Affairs Commission

GAQS: General Administration of Quality Supervision

IQPRC: Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CNN: Cable News Network

ATDLC: Ancient Town District of Lijiang City

D+H+E: the Dongba script + the Han character + the English text

GZAR: Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region

TAR: Tibet Autonomous Region

CSC: China State Council

LNAC: Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County

References

- Abd Halim, N. (2014). *Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation using value chain analysis: A case study of Setiu Wetland, Terengganu*, Malaysia University of Tasmania.
- Agisilaos, E. (2012). Cultural heritage, tourism, and the environment. *Sustainable Development, Culture, Traditions, 1*, 70-78.
- Aiello, L., & Cacia, C. (2014). The cultural product: Integration and relational approach. In L. Aiello (Ed.), *Handbook of research on management of cultural products: E-relationship marketing and accessibility perspectives* (pp. 1-21). IGI Global.
- Akindele, D. O. (2011). Linguistic landscapes as public communication: A study of public signage in Gaborone Botswana. *International Journal of Linguistics, 3*(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v3i1.1157>
- Alberts, H. C., & Hazen, H. D. (2010). Maintaining authenticity and integrity at cultural world heritage sites. *Geographical Review, 100*(1), 56-73. www.jstor.org/stable/27809298
- Alharahsheh, H. H., & Pius, A. (2020). A review of key paradigms: Positivism VS interpretivism. *Global Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2*(3), 39-43. <https://doi.org/10.36348/gajhss.2020.v02i03.001>
- Alvarez-Sousa, A. (2018). The problems of tourist sustainability in cultural cities: Socio-political perceptions and interests management. *Sustainability, 10*(2), 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10020503>
- Amano, T., Sandel, B., Eager, H., Bulteau, E., Svenning, J.-C., Dalsgaard, B., Rahbek, C., Davies, R. G., & Sutherland, W. J. (2014). Global distribution and drivers of language extinction risk. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2014.1574>
- Anderson, G. (2011). Language Hotspots: What (applied) linguistics and education should do about language endangerment in the twenty-first century. *Language and Education, 25*(4), 273-289. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2011.577218>

- Ando, H., Cousins, R., & Young, C. (2014). Achieving saturation in thematic analysis: Development and refinement of a codebook. *Comprehensive Psychology*, 3, 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.2466/03.CP.3.4>
- Andrews, T. D., & Buggey, S. (2008). Authenticity in aboriginal cultural landscapes. *APT Bulletin*, 39(2/3), 63-71. <https://www.bcin.ca/bcin/detail.app?id=428213>
- Angrosino, M., & Rosenberg, J. (2011). Observations on observation. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 467-478). Sage.
- Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for belonging—An analytical framework. *Geography Compass*, 4(6), 644-659. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00317.x>
- Arendt, S. W., Roberts, K. R., Strohbehn, C., Ellis, J., Paez, P., & Meyer, J. (2012). Use of qualitative research in foodservice organizations: A review of challenges, strategies, and applications. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 24(6), 820-837. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09596111211247182>
- Arshad, M. I., Iqbal, M. A., & Shahbaz, M. (2018). Pakistan tourism industry and challenges: A review. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 121-132. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2017.1410192>
- Aynalem, S., Birhanu, K., & Tesefay, S. (2016). Employment opportunities and challenges in tourism and hospitality sectors. *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality*, 5(6), 1-5. <https://doi.org/10.4172/2167-0269.1000257>
- Azurmendi, M.-J., Bachoc, E., & Zabaleta, F. (2001). Reversing language shift: The case of Basque. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Can threatened languages be saved?: Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective* (pp. 234-259). Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A look into the Linguistic Landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 52-66.
- Backhaus, P. (2007). *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo* (Vol. 136). Multilingual matters.
- Bai, K., Hu, X., Lv, Y., & Du, T. (2017). Lijiang gucheng manhuo difangxing de chengxian yu xingcheng [Presentation and formation of slow life in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江]

- 古城慢活地方性的呈现与形成]. *Dili xuebao [Acta Geographica Sinica 地理学报]*, 72(6), 1104-1117.
- Baker, L. (2006). Observation: A complex research method. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 171-189. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2006.0045>
- Banda, F., & Jimaima, H. (2015). The semiotic ecology of Linguistic Landscapes in rural Zambia. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 19(5), 643-670.
- Banks, J. A. (2006). Democracy, diversity, and social justice: Educating citizens for the public interest in a global age. In G. Ladson-Billings & W. F. Tate (Eds.), *Education research in the public interest: Social justice, action, and policy* (pp. 141-157). Teachers College Press.
- Bao, H. (1992). Mingqing shidai shuzhai wenhua sanlun [Study culture in Ming and Qing Dynasties 明清时代书斋文化散论]. *Qilu Xuekan [Qilu Journal 齐鲁学刊]*(2), 100-104.
- Bao, J., & Su, X. (2004). Lishi guzhen lvyou shangyehua yanjiu [Studies on tourism commercialization in historic towns 历史古镇旅游商业化研究]. *Dili xuekan [Acta Geographica Sinica 地理学刊]*, 59(3), 428-436.
- Barabantseva, E. (2008). From the language of class to the rhetoric of development: Discourses of ‘nationality’ and ‘ethnicity’ in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17(56), 565-589. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670560802000332>
- Baranovitch, N. (2010). Others no more: The changing representation of non-Han peoples in Chinese history textbooks, 1951–2003. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 69(1), 85-122. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911809991598>
- Barker, V., Giles, H., Noels, K., Duck, J., Hecht, M., & Clément, R. (2001). The English-only movement: A communication analysis of changing perceptions of language vitality. *Journal of Communication*, 51(1), 3-37.
- Barni, M., & Bagna, C. (2008). A mapping technique and the linguistic landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 126-140). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960>

- Barni, M., & Bagna, C. (2010). Linguistic Landscape and language vitality. In E. G. Shohamy, E. Ben Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 3-18). Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Bauer, I. L. (2017). Improving global health—Is tourism's role in poverty elimination perpetuating poverty, powerlessness and ‘ill-being’? *Global public health, 12*(1), 45-64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2015.1094109>
- Bauer, M. W. (2000). Classical content analysis: A review. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image sound* (pp. 131-151). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(4), 544-559. <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/2>
- Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., & Barni, M. (2010). Introduction: An approach to an ‘ordered disorder’. In E. Ben-Rafael, E. Shohamy, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. xi-xxviii). Multilingual Matters
- Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., Hasan Amara, M., & Trumper-Hecht, N. (2006). Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 3*(1), 7-30.
- Bianchi, R. (2018). The political economy of tourism development: A critical review. *Annals of Tourism Research, 70*, 88-102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.08.005>
- Blommaert, J. (2013). *Ethnography, superdiversity, and Linguistic Landscapes: Chronicles of complexity* (Vol. 18). Multilingual Matters.
- Boonzaaier, C., & Wels, H. (2018). Authenticity lost? The significance of cultural villages in the conservation of heritage in South Africa. *Journal of Heritage Tourism, 13*(2), 181-193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1284851>
- Bourhis, R. Y., & Sachdev, I. (1984). Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: Some Canadian data. *Journal of Language Social Psychology, 3*(2), 97-126.
- Boyd, R. L., Wilson, S. R., Pennebaker, J. W., Kosinski, M., Stillwell, D. J., & Mihalcea, R. (2015). Values in words: Using language to evaluate and understand personal values. ICWSM.

- Bradley, D. (2007). Language endangerment in China and mainland Southeast Asia. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 278-302). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bradley, D. (2010). Language endangerment and resilience linguistics: Case studies of Gong and Lisu. *Anthropological linguistics*, 52(2), 123-140. <https://doi.org/10.1353/anl.2010.0008>
- Bradley, D., & Bradley, M. (2013). *Language endangerment and language maintenance: An active approach*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315028811>
- Brenzinger, M. (2008). *Language diversity endangered*. Walter de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197129>
- Brenzinger, M., & de Graaf, T. (2009). Documenting endangered languages and maintaining language diversity. In A. Sujoldzic (Ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 238-262). Eolss Publishers.
- Brenzinger, M., Dwyer, A. M., & de Graaf, T. (2003). *Language vitality and endangerment*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Language_vitality_and_endangerment_EN.pdf
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2001). The nature of qualitative research. In *Social research methods* (pp. 365-399).
- Cai, H. (2003). *Daojiao yu Yizu chuangtong wenhua yanjiu [Study on the traditional culture of Taoism and Yi Ethnic Minority 道教与彝族传统文化研究]* Sichuan daxue [Sichuan University 四川大学].
- Cain, T., Meares, C., Spoonley, P., & Peace, R. (2011). *Halfway house: The Dominion Road ethnic precinct*. http://integrationofimmigrants.massey.ac.nz/publications_pdfs
- Cameron, D. (2006). Ideology and language. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 141-152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310600687916>

- Campbell, K., Bennett, B., & Stephens, S. (2009). Utilising a minority language to develop brand identity: An evaluation of current practice using the Irish language. *Irish Marketing Review*.
- Carley, K. (1993). Coding choices for textual analysis: A comparison of content analysis and map analysis. *Sociological Methodology*, 23(1993), 75-126. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/271007>
- Carley, K. (1994). Extracting culture through textual analysis. *Poetics*, 22(4), 291-312.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic Landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 67-80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668386>
- Chan, C. S. C., & Ross, V. (2015). Preliminary exploration of a Semai musician's transmission of indigenous musical traditions in peninsular Malaysia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 23(3), 691-710. <http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/>
- Chan, K. W. (2009). The Chinese hukou system at 50. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 50(2), 197-221. <https://doi.org/10.2747/1539-7216.50.2.197>
- Chao, E. K. (1995). *Depictions of difference: History, gender, ritual and state discourse among the Naxi of Southwest China*. University of Michigan.
- Che, Z., & Zhao, S. (2009). Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourism Development to Traditional Village Scene: Taking the Area around Erhai Lake in Dali as the Example. *Huazhong Architecture*, 27(3), 229-233.
- Chen, H. (2017). *Lijiang Naxizu chuantong wenhua zhong de hexie sixiang yanjiu [Research on harmonious thoughts in Lijiang Naxi traditional culture 丽江纳西族传统文化中的和谐思想研究]*. Yunnan Normal University. Kunming.
- Chen, H., & Tan, L. (2011). Yunnan shaoshu minzu yuyan shiyong yanjiu de huigu yu zhanwang [Retrospect and prospect of research on Yunnan minority language use 云南少数民族语言使用研究的回顾与展望] *Xi'nan Shiyou Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Southwest Petroleum University 西南石油大学学报]*, 13(6), 89-93.

- Chen, M., Zhang, W., & Wei, M. (2004). He Zhigang: Wubi qingnian de koushu rensheng [He Zhigang: The life of writing with mouth of an armless youth 和志刚:无臂青年的口书人生]. *Zhiye Jishu [Vocational Technology 职业技术]*, 2004(12), 36-38.
- Chen, X. (2016). Linguascaping the other: Travelogues' representations of Chinese languages. *Multilingua*, 35(5), 513-534. <https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2014-1026>
- Chen, X., Dervin, F., Tao, J., & Zhao, K. (2020). Towards a multilayered and multidimensional analysis of multilingual education: Ideologies of multilingualism and language planning in Chinese higher education. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 21(3), 320-343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2019.1706336>
- Chen, Z., Ryan, C., & Zhang, Y. (2022). Cross-generational analysis of residential place attachment to a Chinese rural destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 30(4), 787-806. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2021.1890095>
- Chen, Z., Yang, X., & Huang, L. (2019). Shaoshu minzu binwei yudang ziyuan kaifa liyong de sikao [Thoughts on the exploitation and utilization of endangered language document resources of minority nationalities 少数民族濒危语档资源开发利用的思考]. *Dang'an Guanli [Archives Management 档案管理]*(6), 37-40.
- Chikaipa, V., & Gunde, A. M. (2020). The role of community radio in promotion of indigenous minority languages and cultures in Malawi. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 1-17.
- Chow, C.-S. (2005). Cultural diversity and tourism development in Yunnan Province, China. *Geography*, 294-303. <https://doi.org/stable/40574099>
- Chu, Y. (2015). The power of knowledge: A critical analysis of the depiction of ethnic minorities in China's elementary textbooks. *Race ethnicity and education*, 18(4), 469-487. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2015.1013460>
- Chu, Y. (2016). *Standardizing minzu: A content analysis of the depiction of shaoshu minzu in three Chinese elementary curriculum standards and textbooks*. University of Washington.
- Chung, C. K., Rentfrow, P. J., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2014). Finding values in words: Using natural language to detect regional variations in personal concerns. In P. J. Rentfrow (Ed.), *Geographical psychology: Exploring the interaction of environment and*

- behavior* (pp. 195–216). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14272-011>
- Clément, R., Dörnyei, Z., & Noels, K. A. (1994). Motivation, self - confidence, and group cohesion in the foreign language classroom. *Language Learning*, 44(3), 417-448.
- Clift, B. (2020). Hong Kong's made-in-China national security law: Upending the legal order for the sake of law and order. *Australian Journal of Asian Law*, 21(1), 1-23.
- Clothey, R. (2005). China's policies for minority nationalities in higher education: Negotiating national values and ethnic identities. *Comparative Education Review*, 49(3), 389-409.
- Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Constitution of the People's Republic of China, [中华人民共和国宪法], § Policy for Ethnic Minorities (1982). <http://www.baike.com/wiki/>
- Cowie, N. (2009). Observation. In J. Heigham & R. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative research in applied linguistics: A practical introduction* (pp. 165-181). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://www.booksfree.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/QUALITATIVE-RESEARCH-IN-APPLIED-LINGUISTICS-Juanita-Heigham.pdf#page=20>
- Crawford, J. (2007). Seven hypotheses on language loss causes and cures. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (2nd ed., pp. 45-60). Northern Arizona University.
- Crossley, P. K. (1990). Thinking about ethnicity in early modern China. *Late Imperial China*, 11(1), 1-35. <https://doi.org/10.1353/late.1990.0003>
- Crotty, M. (1998). *Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and perspective in the research process (1st ed.)*. Routledge.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language Death*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cui, S., Yang, X., Guo, X., Lin, T., Zhao, Q., & Feng, L. (2011). Increased challenges for world heritage protection as a result of urbanisation in Lijiang City. *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, 18(6), 480-485. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504509.2011.603758>

- Dai, Q., & Deng, Y. (2001). Binwei yuyan yanjiu zhong dingxing dingwei wenti de chubu sikao [A preliminary consideration on the qualitative localization in the study of endangered languages 濒危语言研究中定性定位问题的初步思考]. *Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Xuebao*[*Journal of Central University for Nationalities 中央民族大学学报*], 28(2), 120-125.
- Dai, Y. (2014). *Dongbawen sheji yingyong yanjiu--Yi Lijiang lvyou jinianpin baozhuang tuxing sheji weili* [Research on the application of Dongba script design--Taking the graphic design of Lijiang tourist souvenir package as an example 东巴文设计应用研究 —以丽江旅游纪念品包装图形设计为例] Yunnan Yishu Xueyuan [Yunnan Art College 云南艺术学院].
- Dalby, A. (2003). *Language in danger: The loss of linguistic diversity and the threat to our future*. Columbia University Press.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1992). School matters in the Mexican-American home: Socializing children to education. *American Educational Research Journal*, 29(3), 495-513. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312029003495>
- Deng, C., Xue, X., & Gao, Z. (2021). Study on the customs and ecological protection consciousness of Naxi nationality in Lijiang. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science,
- Ding, P. S. (2017). Language endangerment and loss of traditional knowledge: The case of Prinmi. In P. S. Ding & J. Pelkey (Eds.), *Socio-historical linguistics in Southeast Asia* (pp. 53-73). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004350519_005
- Ding, S., & Liu, H. (2007). Moqi Dawo'erzu juju cunluo yuyan xianzhuang yanjiu--Halicun yuyan diaocha shilu [Study on the language status of the villages inhabited by the Daurians in Moqi--A survey on the language of Harli Village 莫旗达斡尔族聚居村落语言现状研究—哈力村语言调查实录]. *Zhongyang minzu daxue xuebao* [*Journal of the Central University for Nationalities 中央民族大学学报*], 34(4), 98-107. <https://doi.org/10.15970/j.cnki.1005-8575.2007.04.017>
- Dixon, J., & Durrheim, K. (2000). Displacing place - identity: A discursive approach to locating self and other. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(1), 27-44.

- Dollah, S., Abduh, A., & Rosmaladewi, M. (2017). Benefits and drawbacks of NVivo QSR application. 2nd International Conference on Education, Science, and Technology (ICEST 2017),
- Dong, J. (2018). *Zhongguo chuantong wenhua zhong de heise secaiguan zai nvxiazhuang sheji zhong de yingyong [The view on the application of black color in traditional Chinese culture in the design of female summer dresses 中国传统文化中的黑色色彩观在女夏装设计中的应用]* Xi'an Gongcheng Daxue [Xi'an Polytechnic University 西安工程大学].
- Doolittle, P. E., & Hicks, D. (2003). Constructivism as a theoretical foundation for the use of technology in social studies. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 31*(1), 72-104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2003.10473216>
- Doorne, S., Ateljevic, I., & Bai, Z. (2003). Representing identities through tourism: Encounters of ethnic minorities in Dali, Yunnan Province, People's Republic of China. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 5*(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.404>
- Dor, D. (2004). From Englishization to imposed multilingualism: Globalization, the Internet, and the political economy of the linguistic code. *Public Culture, 16*(1), 97-118.
- Dorsey, B., & Mulder, A. (2013). Planning, place-making and building consensus for transit-oriented development: Ogden, Utah case study. *Journal of Transport Geography, 32*, 65-76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2013.08.010>
- Dressler, R. (2015). Signgeist: Promoting bilingualism through the linguistic landscape of school signage. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 12*(1), 128-145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2014.912282>
- du Cros, H. (2006). Managing visitor impacts at Lijiang, China. In A. Leask & A. Fyall (Eds.), *Managing world heritage sites* (pp. 205-214). Routledge.
- Duan, F. (2022). The ethnolinguistic vitality of Naxi language in Jinshan Bai minority township of Lijiang City. 4th International Seminar on Education Research and Social Science (ISERSS 2021),

- Dunbar, H., & Carter, B. (2021). Experiencing place identity and place belongingness at a children's hospice: Parents' perspectives. *Journal of Child Health Care*, 25(1), 161-171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367493520915134>
- Dupre, K. (2019). Trends and gaps in place-making in the context of urban development and tourism: 25 years of literature review. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 12(1), 102-120. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMD-07-2017-0072>
- Duranti, A. (1997). Indexical speech across Samoan communities. *American Anthropologist*, 99(2), 342-354.
- Ellis, C. (1991). Sociological introspection and emotional experience. *Symbolic interaction*, 14(1), 23-50. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/si.1991.14.1.23>
- Elwood, S. A., & Martin, D. G. (2000). "Placing" interviews: location and scales of power in qualitative research. *The Professional Geographer*, 52(4), 649-657.
- Extra, G., & Barni, M. (2008). Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts: Cross-national and cross-linguistic perspective. In M. Barni & G. Extra (Eds.), *Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts* (pp. 3-42). Walter de Gruyter.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.
- Fan, J., & Zhang, C. (2009). Cong Naxizu Dongbazhi kan chuantongzhi gongyi de yanjin [Review of the evolution of traditional paper-making craft from Naxi Dongba Paper 从纳西族东巴纸看传统造纸工艺的演进]. *Zhi he zaozhi [Paper and Paper Making 纸和造纸]*(3), 61-64.
- Fan, T. (2007). Lijianggucheng jingguan shuihuanjing xianzhuang yu tiaokong yanjiu [Study on the present situation and regulation of water environment in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城景观水环境现状与调控研究]. *Yunnan Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学学报]*, 2007(3), 58-64.
- Fang [坊]. In. (2020). *xh.5156edu.com 在线汉语字典*. <http://xh.5156edu.com/html3/9450.html>

- Fang, L. (2010). *Zhongguo chuantong shuiche yanjiu [Study on China's traditional waterwheels 中国传统水车研究]* Nanjing Nongye Daxue [Nanjing Agricultural University 南京农业大学].
- Fang, Z. (2008). Sanshi nianjian xiaoshi de shiwu, Feichu de cihui [三十年间消失的事物--废除的词汇 Things that have disappeared in thirty years--Abrogated vocabulary]. *Zhigong falv tiandi [Law World of Workers 职工法律天地]*(4), 18-20.
- Feng, A., & Adamson, B. (2018). Language policies and sociolinguistic domains in the context of minority groups in China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural development*, 39(2), 169-180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2017.1340478>
- Feng, Y., & Cheung, M. (2008). Public policies affecting ethnic minorities in China. *China Journal of Social Work*, 1(3), 248-265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17525090802404815>
- Fenster, T. (2004). Belonging, memory and the politics of planning in Israel. *Social Cultural Geography*, 5(3), 403-417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1464936042000252796>
- Fischer, A. M. (2008). "Population invasion" versus urban exclusion in the Tibetan areas of Western China. *Population and Development Review*, 34(4), 631-662. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2008.00244.x>
- Fishman, J. (1996). Maintaining languages: What works? What doesn't? In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 165-175). Northern Arizona University.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Multilingual matters.
- Foucault, M., & Faubion, J. D. (2000). *Power: The essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984* (Vol. 3). The New Press.
- Franz, M., Güles, O., & Prey, G. (2008). Place - making and 'green' reuses of brownfields in the Ruhr. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 99(3), 316-328.
- Fu, H. (2020). China's imperatives for national security legislation. *China's national security: Endangering Hong Kong's rule of law*, 41-60. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781509928187.ch-003>

- Fu, Y., Liu, Z., Lin, J., Jia, Z., Chen, W., Pan, D., Liu, Y., Zhu, Y., Chen, R., & Xu, A. (2003). HLA - DRB1, DQB1 and DPB1 polymorphism in the Naxi ethnic group of South - western China. *Tissue Antigens*, *61*(2), 179-183.
- Gay, G. (2018). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (3rd ed.). Teachers College Press.
- Geng, Y., Hu, G., Ranjitkar, S., Shi, Y., Zhang, Y., & Wang, Y. (2017). The implications of ritual practices and ritual plant uses on nature conservation: A case study among the Naxi in Yunnan Province, Southwest China. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, *13*(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-017-0186-3>
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp. 307-348). Academic Press.
- Gilmartin, M., & Migge, B. (2016). Migrant mothers and the geographies of belonging. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *23*(2), 147-161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.991700>
- Gold, R. L. (2017). Roles in sociological field observations. In *Sociological Methods* (pp. 363-380). Routledge.
- Gorter, D. (2006). Introduction: The study of the Linguistic Landscape as a new approach to multilingualism. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *3*(1), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668382>
- Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic Landscapes in a multilingual world. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *33*, 190-212. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190513000020>
- Gorter, D. (2018). Methods and techniques for Linguistic Landscape research: About definitions, core issues and technological innovations. In M. Putz & N. Mundt (Eds.), *Expanding the linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, language policy and the use of space as a semiotic resource* (pp. 38-57). Multilingual Matters.
- Graetz, F., & Smith, A. C. (2010). Managing organisational change: A philosophies of change approach. *Journal of Change Management*, *10*(2), 135-154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14697011003795602>

- Grey, A. (2017). *How do language rights affect minority languages in China?: An ethnographic investigation of the Zhuang minority language under conditions of rapid social change* [Doctoral, Macquarie University].
- Grey, A. (2021). *Language rights in a changing China: A national overview and Zhuang case study* (Vol. 113). De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501512551>
- Grin, F. (2006). Economic considerations in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 77-94). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Gu, Y. (2014, 31/10). Qianxi woguo shaoshu minzu binwei yuyan jiqi baohu cuoshi [A brief analysis of endangered ethnic minority languages in China and their protection measures 浅析我国少数民族濒危语言及其保护措施]. *Zhongguo Minzu Bao*[China Nationalities News 中国民族报], 1-2.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough?: An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903>
- Gui, R., & Cun, X. (2016). Lvyou yimin shequ wenhua jianshe yu chengshixing shijie wenhua yichan baohu--Lijiang Dayangucheng diaocha fansi [Cultural construction of tourist immigrant community and protection of urban world cultural heritage--Investigation and reflection of Lijiang Dayan Ancient Town 旅游移民社区文化建设与城市型世界文化遗产保护—丽江大研古城调查反思]. *Xinan Bianjiang Minzu Yanjiu* [Studies on Nationalities in Southwest Frontier Areas 西南边疆民族研究](1), 56-63. <https://doi.org/10.13835/b.eayn.19.07>
- Guo, Y. (2019). *Lvyou dui shijie wenhua yichandi shequ jumin yingxiang de bijiao yanjiu* [A comparative study on the impact of tourism on community residents of world cultural heritage sites 旅游对世界文化遗产地社区居民影响的比较研究]. Yunnan Caijing Daxue [Yunnan University of Finance and Economics 云南财经大学].
- Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1997). Culture, power, place: Ethnography at the end of an era. In A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (Eds.), *Culture, power, place: Explorations in critical anthropology* (pp. 1-32). Duke University Press.

- Gustafsson, B., & Sai, D. (2014). Why is there no income gap between the Hui Muslim minority and the Han majority in rural Ningxia, China? *The China Quarterly*, 220, 968-987. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24742157>
- Gustafsson, B., & Shi, L. (2003). The ethnic minority-majority income gap in rural China during transition. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 51(4), 805-822. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/377191>
- Ha, J., & Teng, X. (2001). *Minzu jiaoyu xue tonglun [A general survey of ethnic minority education 民族教育学通论]*. Jiaoyu Kexue Chubanshe [Education Science Press 教育科学出版社].
- Habibah, A., Mushrifah, I., Hamzah, J., Er, A., Buang, A., Toriman, M., Selvadurai, S., & Zaimah, R. (2013). Place-making of ecotourism in Tasik Chini: From exploratory to the contemporary biosphere reserve. *Asian Social Science*, 9(6), 84-95. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v9n6p84>
- Hall. In. (2020). *Oxford English Dictionary*. https://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=hall&_searchBtn=Search
- Hammit, W. E., Backlund, E. A., & Bixler, R. D. (2004). Experience use history, place bonding and resource substitution of trout anglers during recreation engagements. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(3), 356-378. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.2004.11950028>
- Hammit, W. E., Backlund, E. A., & Bixler, R. D. (2006). Place bonding for recreation places: Conceptual and empirical development. *Leisure Studies*, 25(1), 17-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360500098100>
- Han, E. (2013). *Contestation and adaptation: The politics of national identity in China*. Oxford University Press.
- Hancock, M. E., Amankwaa, L., Revell, M. A., & Mueller, D. (2016). Focus group data saturation: A new approach to data analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 21(11), 2124-2130.
- Hao, Y. (2000). Tibetan population in China: Myths and facts re-examined. *Asian Ethnicity*, 1(1), 11-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/146313600115054>

- Harrison, D. (2004). Introduction: Contested narratives in the domain of World Heritage. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(4-5), 281-290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500408667985>
- Harrison, D. (2005). Introduction: Contested narratives in the domain of world heritage In D. Harrison & M. Hitchcock (Eds.), *The politics of world heritage: Negotiating tourism and conservation*. Channel View Publications.
- He, G. (2016). Shijie wenhua yichan jiaodu de Lijianggucheng yinyue wenhua [The music culture of Lijiang Ancient Town from the perspective of world cultural heritage 世界文化遗产角度的丽江古城音乐文化]. *Dazhong Wenyi [Popular literature 大众文艺]*, 2016(10), 270.
- He, J., & Fang, J. (2019). Lijiang helongtan quanshui dongtai bianhua yu jiangshui guanxi chutan [A Preliminary study on the Relationship between spring dynamics and precipitation in Black Dragon Pond of Lijiang 丽江黑龙潭泉水动态变化与降水关系初探]. *Zhongguo Nongcun Shuili Shuidian [Water Conservancy and Hydropower in China's Countryside 中国农村水利水电]*(8), 26-27+35.
- He, L. (2015). *Lijiang Fengke Naxizu de yuyan shiyong he yuyan bianqian [Language use and language shifts of Naxi ethnic group in Fengke of Lijiang 丽江奉科纳西族的语言使用和语言变迁]*. Yunnan Shifan Daxue [Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学].
- He, S. (2015). Lijianggucheng kexue baohu guanli de shijian [Practice on scientific protection and management in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城科学保护管理的实践]. *Chuangzao Luntan [Creation Forum 创造论坛]*, 251(7), 43-45.
- He, Z. (2004). Lvyouye dui Naxizu chuanguangnian ji shenghuo fangshi de yingxiang fenxi [A study on the impact of tourism on the traditional ideas and the way of living of Naxi nationality 旅游业对纳西族传统观念及生活方式的影响分析]. *Kunming Ligong Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Kunming University of Science and Technology (Social Science Edition) 昆明理工大学学报 (社会科学版)]*, 4(3), 52-56. <https://doi.org/10.16112/j.cnki.53-1160/c.2004.03.014>
- Heale, R., & Forbes, D. (2013). Understanding triangulation in research. *Evidence-based nursing*, 16(4), 98-98. <https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2013-101494>

- Hinch, D. T. (2004). Indigenous people and tourism. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall, & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A companion to tourism* (Vol. 24661, pp. 246-258). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1998). Language policy, language education, language rights: Indigenous, immigrant, and international perspectives. *Language in Society*, 27(4), 439-458. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500020182>
- Hou, X. (2017). Yunnan minzu fushi ji wenyang yanjiu—Yi Naxizu and Daizu weili [A study on the ethnic costumes and patterns in Yunnan—A case study of Naxi and Dai 云南民族服饰及纹样研究—以纳西族、傣族为例]. *Dazhong Wenyi [Popular Literature 大众文艺]*, 2017(16), 63.
- Hu, H. (2017). *Yunnan Mosuoren de renlei shengwuxue yanjiu [Human biology of Mosuo people in Yunnan 云南摩梭人的人类生物学研究]* Neimenggu Daxue [Inner Mongolia Normal University 内蒙古大学].
- Hu, T. (2020). Lijianggucheng Naxiyu he Hanyu yuyan jiaorong xianxiang ji yingxiang yinsu fenxi [Analysis on the phenomenon and influencing factors of Naxi language and Han Chinese language blending in Lijiang Ancient City 丽江古城纳西语和汉语语言交融现象及影响因素分析]. *Hubei Kaifang Zhiye Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of HUBEI Open Vocational College 湖北开放职业学院学报]*, 33(13). <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.2096-711X.2020.13.062>
- Hu, Y. (2019). Jixiang zhuangshi wenyang zai Zhongguo chuantong jianzhu zhong de yingyong [The application of auspicious decorative patterns in Chinese traditional architecture 吉祥装饰纹样在中国传统建筑中的应用]. *Chengshi Jianzhu [Urban Architecture 城市建筑]*, 16(329), 156-157.
- Huang, S. S., & Chen, G. (2020). Introduction to the handbook on tourism and China. In *Handbook on tourism and China*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Huang, X. (1992). On writing systems for China's minorities created by foreign missionaries. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 97(1), 75-86.

- Huang, X. (2018). Zhongguo minzu yuyan shibie: Fenqi ji chengyin [Chinese national language recognition: Divergence and its causes 中国民族语言识别：分歧及成因]. *Language strategy research*, 3(2), 27-37. <https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20180203>
- Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J., & Zou, N. (2014). Residential mobility in China: home ownership among rural–urban migrants after reform of the hukou registration system. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 29(4), 615-636. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-013-9370-5>
- Huang, Y. (2017). *Shaoshu minzu diqu lvyou fupin yanjiu [Research on tourism poverty allowance in ethnic minority areas 少数民族地区旅游扶贫研究]* Hunan Nongye Daxue [Hunan Agricultural University 湖南农业大学].
- Huebner, T. (2006). Bangkok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental print, codemixing and language change. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 31-51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668384>
- Huebner, T. (2008). A framework for the linguistic analysis of Linguistic Landscapes. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 78-95). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960>
- Huot, S., Dodson, B., & Rudman, D. L. (2014). Negotiating belonging following migration: Exploring the relationship between place and identity in Francophone minority communities. *The Canadian Geographer/ Le Géographe canadien*, 58(3), 329-340. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12067>
- Hussein, A. (2009). The use of triangulation in social sciences research: Can qualitative and quantitative methods be combined? *Journal of Comparative Social Work*, 1(8), 1-12.
- Hymes, D. H. (1963). Notes toward a history of Linguistic Anthropology. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 59-103. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30022398>
- Ichihashi, Y., Nakagawa, K., & Ichikawa, K. (1989). Episode China 2). *The JVC video anthology of world music and dance*. Multicultural Media.
- ICOMOS. (1996). *World heritage list--Lijiang (China)*.

- ICOMOS. (1997). *World heritage list --- Lijiang (China)*.
- ICOMOS. (2012). *Advisory body evaluation*. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/811/documents/>
- Irvine, J. T. (2018). Divided values, shadow languages: Positioning and perspective in linguistic ideologies. *Signs and Society*, 6(1), 25-44. <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/loi/sas>
- Ishii, K. (2012). The impact of ethnic tourism on hill tribes in Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 290-310. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.05.004>
- Jackson, J. (2006). Developing regional tourism in China: The potential for activating business clusters in a socialist market economy. *Tourism Management*, 27(4), 695-706. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.02.007>
- Jamshed, S. (2014). Qualitative research method-interviewing and observation. *Journal of Basic and Clinical Pharmacy*, 5(4), 87-88. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0976-0105.141942>
- Janhunen, J. (1997). The languages of Manchuria in today's China. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 123-146.
- Jiang, L., & Zhou, M. (2008). Generating Chinese couplets using a statistical MT approach. Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference on Computational Linguistics Manchester, UK.
- Jintao, H. (2012). Full text of Hu Jintao's report at 17th Party Congress. *Qiush Journal*, 20, 2007-2010. http://english.qstheory.cn/resources/party_congress/201109/t20110930_114421.htm
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.
- Jun, Y. (2006). Reflection on balanced allocation of fundamental education teachers in poverty-stricken areas of ethnic minorities: Example of a survey in the Tibetan Autonomous County of Tianzhu in Gansu Province. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 1(1), 140-152. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-005-0009-5>
- Kagumba, A. K. (2013). *Indigenous Cultural Tourism and the Discourse of Development among the Batwa of Mgahinga, South-Western Uganda* University of Tromsø].

<https://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/12917/thesis.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>

- Kallen, J. (2008). Tourism and representation in the Irish Linguistic Landscape. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 270-283). Routledge.
- Kallen, J. L. (2010). Changing landscapes: Language, space and policy in the Dublin Linguistic Landscape. In A. Jaworski & C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space* (pp. 41-58). Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Kang, H., Zeng, W., & He, X. (2012). Dui Yunnan Lijiang Naxizu Datiao de shizheng diaocha yanjiu [Empirical Investigation on the Naxi Datiao in Lijiang, Yunnan Province 对云南丽江纳西族打跳的实证调查研究]. *Hubei guangbo dianshi daxue xuebao [Journal of Hubei Radio and TV University 湖北广播电视大学学报]*, 32(10), 150-151.
- Kaplan, R. B. (2013). Language planning. *Applied Research on English Language*, 2(1), 1-12.
- Karahan, F. (2007). Language attitudes of Turkish students towards the English language and its use in Turkish context. *Cankaya University Journal of Arts and Sciences*(1).
- Kasanga, L. A. (2012). Mapping the linguistic landscape of a commercial neighbourhood in Central Phnom Penh. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural development*, 33(6), 553-567. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.683529>
- Kasarda, J. D., & Janowitz, M. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. *American Sociological Review*, 39(3), 328-339.
- Kazakevich, O., & Kibrik, A. (2007). Language endangerment in the CIS. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 233-262). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kegong [科贡]. In. (2020). *xh.5156edu.com 在线汉语字典*. <http://xh.5156edu.com/html5/294773.html>
- Keith, M., & Pile, S. (1993). The politics of place. In M. Keith & S. Pile (Eds.), *Place and the politics of identity* (pp. 1-21). Routledge.
- Killam, L. (2013). *Research terminology simplified: Paradigms, axiology, ontology, epistemology and methodology*. Sudbury.

- King, B. (1994). What is ethnic tourism? An Australian perspective. *Tourism Management*, 15(3), 173-176. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(94\)90101-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(94)90101-5)
- Kirkpatrick, A., & Xu, Z. (2001). The new language law of the People's Republic of China. *Australian Language Matters*, 9(2), 14-15. <https://doi.org/abs/10.3316/aeipt.111580>
- Kommonen, K. (2011). Narratives on Chinese colour culture in business contexts: The yinyang wuxing of Chinese values. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 366-383. <https://doi.org/DOI 10.1108/13527601111152879>
- Korpela, K. M. (1989). Place-identity as a product of environmental self-regulation. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 9(3), 241-256.
- Krauss, M. (1992). The world's languages in crisis. *Language*, 68(1), 4-10.
- Kuper, A., Lingard, L., & Levinson, W. (2008). Critically appraising qualitative research. *Bmj*, 337(a1035), 687-692. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.a1035>
- Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14(2), 171-196.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children* (2nd ed.). John Wiley & Sons.
- Lai, Z. (2018). *Zhongguo chuantong jianzhu feiyang yishu yanjiu [Research on the art of Chinese traditional building cornice 中国传统建筑飞檐艺术研究]*. Hunan Daxue [Hunan University 湖南大学]
- Lampton, D. M. (2015). Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: Policy coordination and political power. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(95), 759-777. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2015.1013366>
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(1), 23-49.
- Laurie, C., & Jensen, E. A. (2016). *Doing real research: A practical guide to social research*. Sage.

- Law, W.-A. (2017). Education and citizenship education of ethnic minority groups in China: Struggles between ethnic diversity, national unity and national security. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Citizenship education and global migration: Implications for theory, research, and teaching* (pp. 211-236). American Educational Research Association.
- Lawrence, L. (2022). Conducting cross-cultural qualitative interviews with mainland Chinese participants during COVID: Lessons from the field. *Qualitative Research*, 22(1), 154-165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794120974157>
- Lee, M.-Y., & Greene, G. J. (1999). A social constructivist framework for integrating cross-cultural issues in teaching clinical social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 35(1), 21-37.
- Leeman, J., & Modan, G. (2010). Selling the city: Language, ethnicity and commodified space. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 182-198). Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847692993>
- Leibold, J. (2013). *Ethnic policy in China: Is reform inevitable?* East-West Center.
- Lepofsky, J., & Fraser, J. C. (2003). Building community citizens: Claiming the right to place-making in the city. *Urban studies*, 40(1), 127-142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000035563>
- Lew, A. A. (2017). Tourism planning and place making: Place-making or placemaking? *Tourism Geographies*, 19(3), 448-466. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1282007>
- Li, C., & Zhang, B. (2010). "Lijiang moshi" quexian de tantao [Discussion on the defects of Lijiang Model "丽江模式" 缺陷的探讨]. *Kunming Ligong Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Kunming University of Science and Technology 昆明理工大学学报]*, 10(5), 71-75.
- Li, F. (1973). Languages and dialects of China. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 1-13.
- Li, H. (2016). *Yuyan huoli fuxing: Yunnan Lijiang sisuo xiaoxue Naxiyu jiaoyu xianzhuang diaocha yanjiu [Revitalization of language vitality: A study on the status quo of Naxi education in four primary schools in Lijiang, Yunnan 语言活力复兴：云南丽江四所小学纳西语教育现状调查研究]* Yunnan Shifan Daxue [Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学].

- Li, J., Krishnamurthy, S., Roders, A. P., & van Wesemael, P. (2021). Imagine the Old Town of Lijiang: Contextualising community participation for urban heritage management in China. *Habitat International*, 108, 1-11.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2021.102321>
- Li, N. (2015). An interpretation of the Chinese architectural design elements in Qing dynasty's costumes. 1st International Conference on Arts, Design and Contemporary Education (ICADCE 2015),
- Li, X. (2018). Yunnan teyou shaoshu minzu chuantong nongju yanjiu [Research on traditional farming tools of Yunnan minorities 云南特有少数民族传统农具研究]. *Xueshu yanjiu [Academic Research 学术研究]*, 136(7), 62-67.
- Li, X., & Zhang, J. (2011). Binwei yuyan xianzhuang fenxi — Jiantan Manyu de binwei [Analysis of endangered languages: And the endangered Manchu language 濒危语言现状分析—兼谈满语的濒危]. *Xibei Minzu Daxue Xuebao [Northwest University for Nationalities 西北民族大学学报]*(6), 51-55.
- Li, Y. (2008). Dangjin renlei sanda yuyan huati [Three language topics of human being today 当今人类三大语言话题]. *Yunnan Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学学报]*, 40(4), 21-26.
- Li, Y. (2011). Naxizu Dongbawen zai xiandai minzu chanpin sheji zhong de yingyong tansuo [An analysis on the application of Dongbao scripts of Naxi Nationality in modern national product design 纳西族东巴文在现代民族产品设计中的应用探析]. *Baozhuang gongcheng [Packaging Engineering 包装工程]*, 32(11), 106-109.
- Li, Y., Wall, G., & Smith, S. L. (2008). Ethnic tourism development: Chinese Government perspectives. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(3), 751-771. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2008.06.005>
- Liamputtong, P. (2008). Doing research in a cross-cultural context: Methodological and ethical challenges. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Doing cross-cultural research* (pp. 3-20). Springer.

- Lijiangshi huwai guanggao guanli banfa [Measures for the Administration of Lijiang Outdoor Advertisement 丽江市户外广告管理办法], (2018). <https://wenku.baidu.com/view/72e93b970640be1e650e52ea551810a6f424c82c.html>
- Lijiang chengshi jianshe guanli banfa [Measures for the Urban Construction of Lijiang City 丽江市城市建设管理办法], (2014). [https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B8%BD%](https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B8%BD%20%E6%8E%9C%E5%85%B6%E5%85%B6%E5%85%B6)
- Measures for the Administration of Tourism in Lijiang City 丽江市旅游管理办法, (2016). <https://wenku.baidu.com/view/514bbd77534de518964bcf84b9d528ea80c72f76.html>
- Lin, J. (1997). Policies and practices of bilingual education for the minorities in China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18(3), 193-205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434639708666314>
- Lin, M. S.-h., & Chen, Y.-f. (2010). Language, place and identity: the politics of place and language in the formation of indigenous identity in Hualien, Taiwan. *Dialectologia: Revista Electrònica*, 4(2010), 67-81.
- Lin, Y. (2005). Zhongguo gudai shuzhai cangshu lai yuan kao [Study on the source of collection in ancient Chinese studies 中国古代书斋藏书来源考]. *Ha'erbin Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Harbin Institute 哈尔滨学院学报]*(4), 89-92.
- Liu, S., & Shu, H. (2020). *Sustainable cultural tourism and heritage conservation in China: Case studies of the ancient waterfront towns in the south of the Yangtze River* WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment, Wessex Institute, UK.
- Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable tourism development: A critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(6), 459-475. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580308667216>
- Loth, C.-R. (2016). *The linguistic landscape as construct of the public space: A case study of post-apartheid rural South Africa* University of the Free State]. <http://hdl.handle.net/11660/4775>
- Lou, H. (2008). *Zhongguo shuhua yinzhang tuxiang de tiqu yu shibie [Extraction and recognition of seal images of Chinese calligraphy and painting 中国书画印章图像的提取与识别]* [Master, Beijing Youdian Daxue [Beijing University of Posts and Telecommunications 北京邮电大学].

- Lou, J. (2007). Revitalizing Chinatown into a heterotopia: A geosemiotic analysis of shop signs in Washington, DC's Chinatown. *Space Culture*, 10(2), 170-194. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331206298547>
- Lü, J.-x. (2010). The study of Chinese Nian customs: Spring Festival couplets. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 6(2), 40-47.
- Lu, N. (2010). *Zhongguo chuantongwenhua zhong de "shanghei" qingjie jiqi qinggan tezheng zai xiandai sheji zhong de yingyong [The "still black" complex in Chinese traditional culture and its application in modern design 中国传统文化中的“尚黑”情结及其情感特征在现代设计中的应用]* Xibei Shifan Daxue [Northwest Normal University 西北师范大学].
- Lu, S., Li, G., & Xu, M. (2020). The linguistic landscape in rural destinations: A case study of Hongcun Village in China. *Tourism Management*, 77, 104005. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2019.104005>
- Lu, Z., & Wu, Q. (2019). Guonei shaoshu minzu pinkun yanjiu de wenxian jiliang he zhishi tupu fenxi [Bibliometrics and knowledge graph analysis of domestic research on ethnic minority poverty 国内少数民族贫困研究的文献计量和知识图谱分析]. *Sheke Zongheng [Social Science Review 社科纵横]*, 34(7), 42-48. <https://doi.org/10.16745/j.cnki.cn62-1110/c.2019.07.010>
- Lundberg, M. (2009). Regional national autonomy and minority language rights in the PRC. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 16(3), 399-422. <https://doi.org/10.1163/138819009X12474964197674>
- Luo, S.-H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24(3), 307-324.
- Luo, W. (2014). *Lijiang Dayanzhen Naxizu Na-Han shuangyu xianxiang yanjiu [Study on bilingual phenomenon of Na-Han of Naxi nationality in Dayan Town of Lijiang 丽江大研镇纳西族纳汉双语现象研究]* Yunnan Shifan Daxue [Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学].

- Lüpke, F. (2015). Ideologies and typologies of language endangerment in Africa. In J. Essegbey, B. Henderson, & F. Mc Laughlin (Eds.), *Language documentation endangerment in Africa* (pp. 59-105). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ma, H. (2014). *Lijianggucheng chuantong lishi fengjing yingzao jingyan yanjiu [Study on the experience of traditional historical landscape construction in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城传统历史风景营造经验研究]* Xi'an Jianzhu Keji Daxue [Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology 西安建筑科技大学].
- Ma, J., & Ma, C. (2014). The mule caravans of western Yunnan: An oral history of the muleteers of Zhaozhou. *Transfers*, 4(3), 24-42. <https://doi.org/10.3167/TRANS.2014.040303>
- Ma, R. (2006, April 14-15, 2006). Education of ethnic minorities in contemporary China. International Symposium on China's Positive Policies in Minority Education: Plural Perspectives, Dickinson College, USA,
- Ma, R. (2014). Reflections on the debate on China's ethnic policy: My reform proposals and their critics. *Asian Ethnicity*, 15(2), 237-246. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2013.868205>
- Mackerras, C. (2003). Ethnic minorities in China. In C. Mackerras (Ed.), *Ethnicity in Asia* (pp. 39-71). Routledge.
- Mackerras, C. (2016). Ethnic minorities. In C. Tubilewicz (Ed.), *Critical issues in contemporary China* (pp. 249-267). Routledge.
- Madureira, A. M. (2015). Physical planning in place-making through design and image building. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 30(1), 157-172. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-013-9381-2>
- Maffi, L., & Woodley, E. (2010). *Biocultural diversity conservation : A global sourcebook*. Earthscan.
<http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781849774697>

- Malinowski, D. (2008). Authorship in the linguistic landscape: A multimodal-performative view. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 147-165). Routledge.
- Marsh, D., & Furlong, P. (2002). A skin, not a sweater: Ontology and epistemology in political science. In V. Lowndes, D. Marsh, & G. Stoker (Eds.), *Theory and methods in political science* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 17-41). Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- Massey, D. (1993). Politics and space / time. In M. Keith & S. Pile (Eds.), *Place and the politics of identity* (pp. 141-161). Routledge.
- Maurer-Fazio, M., & Hasmath, R. (2015). The contemporary ethnic minority in China: An introduction. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 56(1), 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2015.1059290>
- Maxwell, J. A. (2010). Using numbers in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(6), 475-482.
- McIlfatrick, S. (2008). Observation. In R. Watson, H. McKenna, S. Cowman, & J. Keady (Eds.), *Nursing research: Designs and methods*. London: Churchill (pp. 309-319). Churchill Livingstone Elsevier.
- McKee, A. (2003). *Textual analysis: A beginner's guide*. Sage.
- McKhann, C. (2010). Nazi religion in the age of tourism. In T. Oakes & D. S. Sutton (Eds.), *Faiths on display: Religion, tourism, and the Chinese State* (pp. 183-210). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- McKhann, C. F. (2017). Crimes against nature: Kincest, cosmology, and conservation in Southwest China. *Anthropological Forum*, 27(4), 382-401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2017.1284043>
- Medina, L. K. (1998). History, culture, and place-making: 'Native' status and Maya identity in Belize. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 4(1), 134-165.
- Meskill, L. (2013). *UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40: Challenging the economic and political order of international heritage conservation*. Current anthropology,

- Montalvo, J. G., & Ravallion, M. (2010). The pattern of growth and poverty reduction in China. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 38(1), 2-16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2009.10.005>
- Montgomery, J. (1998). Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), 93-116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809808724418>
- Morgan, D. L. (1998). Practical strategies for combining qualitative and quantitative methods: Applications to health research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 8(3), 362-376.
- Morley, D. (2001). Belongings: Place, space and identity in a mediated world. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 4(4), 425-448.
- Mous, M. (2003). Loss of linguistic diversity in Africa. In M. Janse & S. Tol (Eds.), *Language death and language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches* (pp. 157-171). John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Mueggler, E. (1991). Money, the mountain, and state power in a Naxi village. *Modern China*, 17(2), 188-226.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2003). Language endangerment: What have pride and prestige got to do with it. In B. D. Joseph, J. DeStefano, N. G. Jacobs, & I. Lehiste (Eds.), *When languages collide: Perspectives on language conflict, language competition, and language coexistence* (pp. 324-346). The Ohio State University Press.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2017). Language vitality: The weak theoretical underpinnings of what can be an exciting research area. *Language*, 93(4), e202-e223. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2017.0065>
- Mulhall, A. (2003). In the field: Notes on observation in qualitative research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 41(3), 306-313. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.2003.02514.x>
- Murphy, A., Enqvist, J. P., & Tengö, M. (2019). Place-making to transform urban social-ecological systems: Insights from the stewardship of urban lakes in Bangalore, India. *Sustainability Science*, 14(3), 607-623. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-019-00664-1>
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Codeswitching as a mechanism of deep borrowing, language shift, and language death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical*

- explorations with special reference to East Africa* (Vol. 64, pp. 31-31). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Neilson, J. (2016). Urban ethnic tourism: An overview of current research and framework for application. *E.polis*
- Nettle, D., & Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford University Press.
- Network, H. C. (2017, June 12, 2017). *Naxizu shenghuo zhong de liyi ji jinji [Etiquette and taboos in Naxi life 纳西族生活中的礼仪及禁忌]*. http://hnhy.wenming.cn/wmly/mzly/201706/t20170612_4510360.html
- Newing, H. (2011). *Conducting research in conservation: A social science perspective*. Routledge.
- Newton, T., Deetz, S., & Reed, M. (2011). Responses to social constructionism and critical realism in organization studies. *Organization Studies*, 32(1), 7-26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840610394289>
- Ning, B., & He, Y. (2007). Tourism development and water pollution: Case study in Lijiang Ancient Town. *China's population, Resources and Environment*, 17(5), 123-127. <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-2104.2007.05.024>
- Njwambe, A., Cocks, M., & Vetter, S. (2019). Ekhayeni: Rural–urban migration, belonging and landscapes of home in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45(2), 413-431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2019.1631007>
- Nong, H. (2009). Lanse de xiangzheng--Guangxi shuili dianye jituan qidong VI shijue shibie xitong jianshe jishi [The symbol of blue--Guangxi Water Conservancy and Electric Industry Group started the construction of VI visual identification system 广西水利电业集团启动 VI 视觉识别系统建设纪实]. *Guangxi Dianye [Guangxi Electric Industry 广西电业]*.
- O'Reilly, J. M., Hubbard, M. L., Lessler, J. T., Biemer, P. P., & Turner, C. F. (1994). Audio and video computer-assisted self interviewing: preliminary tests of new technologies for data collection. *Journal of Official Statistics*, 10(2), 197.

- Oakes, T. (2012). Making an empty show of strength: Media and the politics of discernment in provincial place branding projects. In W. Sun & J. Chio (Eds.), *Mapping Media in China* (pp. 179-193). Routledge. [https://doi.org/ 10.4324/9780203117552](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203117552)
- Olsen, K., & Olsen, H. (2010). Language use, attitude, and linguistic identity among Palestinian students in East Jerusalem. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 4(1), 31-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19313150903501018>
- Orbe, M. P. (1997). *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication*. Sage Publications.
- Orum, A. M., Feagin, J. R., & Sjoberg, G. (1991). Introduction: The nature of the case study. In J. R. Feagin, A. M. Orum, & G. Sjoberg (Eds.), *A case for the case study*. The University of North Carolina Press
- Owens, J. (2007). Endangered languages of the Middle East. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 263-277). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a “global language” in China: An investigation into learners’ and teachers’ language beliefs. *System*, 39(3), 391-402. [https://doi.org /10.1016/j.system.2011.07.011](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2011.07.011)
- Pan, Y., & Liu, Y. (2021). Birth control, family size and educational stratification: Evidence from the Han and ethnic minorities in China. *Economics of Education Review*, 81, 102078. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2021.102078>
- Patrick, D. R. (1998). *Language, power, and ethnicity in an Arctic Québec community* [University of Toronto]. Toronto.
- Perley, B. C. (2012). Zombie linguistics: Experts, endangered languages and the curse of undead voices. *Anthropological Forum*, 22(2), 133-149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.694170>
- Peters, H. A. (2013). Dancing in the market: reconfiguring commerce and heritage in Lijiang. In T. Blumenfield & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Cultural heritage politics in China* (pp. 115-140). Springer.

- Petroman, I., Cornelia, P., Buzatu, C., Diana, M., Dumitrescu, A., Statie, C., & Rus, I. (2011). A religious and ethnic tourism profile of Europe. *Scientific Papers Animal Science and Biotechnologies*, 44(2), 490-493.
- Phommavong, S., & Sörensson, E. (2014). Ethnic tourism in Lao PDR: Gendered divisions of labour in community-based tourism for poverty reduction. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17(4), 350-362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2012.721758>
- Pierre, E. A. S., & Jackson, A. Y. (2014). Qualitative data analysis after coding. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20(6), 715-719. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414532435>
- Pollini, G. (2005). Elements of a theory of place attachment and socio-territorial belonging. *International Review of Sociology—Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 15(3), 497-515. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03906700500272483>
- Population Census Office. (2011). *2010 population census*.
- Porsanger, J. (2004). An essay about indigenous methodology. *Nordlit*(15), 105-120. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.519.2948&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Postiglione, G. A., & Jiao, B. (2009). Tibet's relocated schooling: Popularization reconsidered. *Asian Survey*, 49(5), 895-914. <https://doi.org/AS.2009.49.5.895>
- Potrac, P., Jones, R., & Nelson, L. (2014). Interpretivism. In L. Nelson, R. Groom, & P. Potrac (Eds.), *Research methods in sports coaching* (pp. 31-41). Routledge.
- Poupard, D. (2019). Revitalising Naxi Dongba as a 'pictographic' vernacular script. *Journal of Chinese Writing Systems*, 3(1), 53-67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2513850218814405>
- Poupard, D. (2020). Translation as logocentric imperialism: Tackling the Naxi texts of southwest China. *Translation Studies*, 13(1), 22-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2019.1604257>
- Pu, Z. (2006). Zhongguo shaoshu minzu yuyan jiegou ji leixing yanjiu guoji xueshu yantaohui zongshu [Summary of the International Symposium on the Study of Language Structure and Types of Chinese Minorities 中国少数民族语言结构及类型研究国际学术研讨会综述]. *Minzu Yuwen [Ethnic Languages 民族语文]*(6), 47-50.

- Qian, J., & Lu, Y. (2019). On the trail of comparative urbanism: Square dance and public space in China. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 44(4), 692-706. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12321>
- Qian, X. (2019). Xiangcun zhenxing zhanlue xia Yunnan shaoshu minzu cunzhai jianshe fazhan lujing tanjiu [Exploration on the construction and development path of ethnic minority villages in Yunnan under the rural revitalization strategy 乡村振兴战略下云南少数民族村寨建设发展路径探究]. *Zhongguo minzu bolan [China National Expo 中国民族博览]*, 2019(9), 55-58.
- Rahman, T. (2006). Language policy, multilingualism and language vitality in Pakistan. In A. Saxena & L. Borin (Eds.), *Lesser-Known Languages of South Asia* (Vol. 175, pp. 73). De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197785.1.73>
- Ran, W. (2015). A system dynamics approach to exploring sustainable tourism development. Proceedings of the 30th International Conference of the System Dynamics Society,
- Raymond, C. M., Brown, G., & Weber, D. (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(4), 422-434. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.08.002>
- Revill, G. (1993). Community, identity and inner-city Derby. In M. Keith & S. Pile (Eds.), *Place and the politics of identity* (pp. 115-140). Routledge.
- Reyhner, J. (1996). Rationale and needs for stabilizing indigenous languages. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 3-14). Northern Arizona University.
- Richards, G. (2001). The development of cultural tourism in Europe. In G. Richards (Ed.), *Cultural attractions and European tourism* (Vol. 11, pp. 353-374). CABI Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1079/9780851994406.0000>
- Ritchie, J., & Spencer, L. (2002). Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Analyzing qualitative data* (pp. 173-194). Routledge.
- Roche, G., Leibold, J., & Hillman, B. (2020). Urbanising Tibet: Aspirations, illusions, and nightmares. In J. Golley, L. Jaivin, B. Hillman, & S. Strange (Eds.), *China dreams*. <https://doi.org/10.22459/CSY.2020>

- Rokpelnis, K., Ho, P., Cheng, G., & Zhao, H. (2018). Consumer perceptions of the commodification and related conservation of traditional indigenous Naxi forest products as credence goods (China). *Sustainability*, *10*(10), 18. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10103801>
- Romaine, S. (2015). The global extinction of languages and its consequences for cultural diversity. In H. F. Marten, J. Saarikivi, M. Rießler, & R. Toivanen (Eds.), *Cultural and linguistic minorities in the Russian federation and the European union* (pp. 31-46). Springer.
- Ruhanen, L., & Whitford, M. (2019). Cultural heritage and Indigenous tourism. *Journal of Heritage Tourism : Special Issue on Indigenous Heritage*, *14*(3).
- Sallabank, J. (2010). Language endangerment: Problems and solutions. *eSharp, Special Issue: Communicating Change: Representing Self Community in a Technological World*, 50-87.
- Salminen, T. (2007). Endangered languages in Europe. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 205-232). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sasu, K. A., & Epuran, G. (2016). An overview of the new trends in rural tourism. *Economic Sciences*, *9*(58), 119-126.
- Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., Burroughs, H., & Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: Exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & Quantity*, *52*(4), 1893-1907. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8>
- Sautman, B. (1998). Preferential policies for ethnic minorities in China: The case of Xinjiang. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *4*(1-2), 86-118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537119808428530>
- Schönplflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, *32*(2), 174-185.
- Schroedler, T. (2018). *The value of foreign language learning : A study on linguistic capital and the economic value of language skills*. Springer VS. <https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-658-19736-0>

- Schwandt, T. A. (1998). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (pp. 118-137). Sage Publications.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25(1), 1-65.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2003). *Discourses in place: Language in the material world*. Routledge.
- Shang, J. (2018). *Xiangxi diqu tujiayu binwei de shengtai yuyanxue yanjiu [A study on the endangered ecological linguistics of Tujia language in western Hunan 湘西地区土家语濒危的生态语言学研究]* Shanghai Waiguoyu Daxue [Shanghai University 上海外国语大学].
- Shang, Y., & Hailing, W. (2012). Shaoshu minzu daxuesheng yuyan wenhua chuancheng de shizheng yanjiu [An empirical study on the language and culture inheritance of minority college students 少数民族大学生语言文化传承的实证研究]. *Qingnian Tansuo [Youth Studies 青年探索]*, 173(3), 59-62. <https://doi.org/10.13583/j.cnki.issn1004-3780.2012.03.002>
- Shang, Y., & Wang, H. (2012). Shaoshu minzu daxuesheng yuyan wenhua chuancheng de shizheng yanjiu [An empirical study on the language and culture inheritance of minority college students 少数民族大学生语言文化传承的实证研究]. *Qingnian Tansuo [Youth Studies 青年探索]*, 173(3), 59-62. <https://doi.org/10.13583/j.cnki.issn1004-3780.2012.03.002>
- Shannon, S. M. (1995). The hegemony of English: A case study of one bilingual classroom as a site of resistance. *Linguistics and Education*, 7(3), 175-200.
- Shao, Y. (2017). Conservation and Sustainable Development of Human-inhabited World Heritage Site: Case of World Heritage Lijiang Old Town. *Built Heritage*, 1(2), 51-63.
- Shen, Q., Wang, L., & Gao, X. (2021). An ecological approach to family language policy research: The case of Miao families in China. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 22(4), 427-445. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2020.1764730>

- Shohamy, E. G. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. Psychology Press.
- Si, Y. (2020). "Dianxiaoer jingshen" yingyi tanxi [An Analysis on the English Translation of bartender's spirit “店小二精神” 英译探析]. *Yingyu Guangchang [English Square 英语广场]*, 15, 25-27. <https://doi.org/10.16723/j.cnki.yygc.2020.15.006>
- Sigley, G. (2013). The Ancient Tea Horse Road and the politics of cultural heritage in Southwest China: Regional identity in the context of a rising China. In T. Blumanfield & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Cultural heritage politics in China* (pp. 235-246). Springer.
- Sim, J., Saunders, B., Waterfield, J., & Kingstone, T. (2018). Can sample size in qualitative research be determined a priori? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 21(5), 619-634. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2018.1454643>
- Simpson, A. (2019). *Language and society: An introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Singh, P., Pandey, A., & Aggarwal, A. (2007). House-to-house survey vs. snowball technique for capturing maternal deaths in India: A search for a cost-effective method. *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 125(4), 550-556.
- Slack, F., & Rowley, J. (2001). Observation: perspectives on research methodologies for leisure managers. *Management Research News*, 24(1), 35-42.
- Smeral, E. (1998). The impact of globalization on small and medium enterprises: New challenges for tourism policies in European countries. *Tourism Management*, 19(4), 371-380. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00036-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00036-3)
- Smith, L. T. (2000). Creating anthologies and other dangerous practices. *Educational Theory*, 50(4), 521.
- Smolicz, J. (1992). Minority languages as core values of ethnic cultures--A study of maintenance and erosion of Polish, Welsh, and Chinese languages in Australia. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, & S. Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 277-305). John Benjamins.

- Sofield, T., & Li, F. S. (2007). Indigenous minorities of China and effects of tourism. In J. Higham (Ed.), *Tourism and indigenous peoples: Issues and implications* (pp. 265-280). Elsevier Ltd.
- Song, B., & Cui, L. (1993). Yunnan teyou shaoshu minzu renkou xianzhuang ji dui shengchanli tiaoyue fazhan de yingxiang [The present situation of minority population in Yunnan and its influence on the leap development of productivity 云南特有少数民族人口现状及对生产力跳跃发展的影响]. *Renkou yu Jingji [Population and Economics 人口与经济]*, 81(6), 27-35.
- Song, Y. (2014). What should economists know about the current Chinese hukou system? *China Economic Review*, 29, 200-212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2014.04.012>
- Soukup, B. (2016). English in the linguistic landscape of Vienna, Austria (ELLViA): Outline, rationale, and methodology of a large-scale empirical project on language choice on public signs from the perspective of sign-readers. *Views*, 25, 1-24.
- Spolsky, B. (2009). Prolegomena to a sociolinguistic theory of public signage. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 25-39). Routledge.
- Spolsky, B., & Shohamy, E. (2000). Language practice, language ideology, and language policy. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in honour of A. Ronald Walton* (pp. 1-41). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Srinivas, M. N. (1975). Village studies, participant observation and social science research in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 10(33/35), 1387-1394.
- Stahelin, N. (2017). Spatializing environmental education: Critical territorial consciousness and radical place-making in public schooling. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 48(4), 260-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00958964.2017.1336974>
- Stoffelen, A., & Vanneste, D. (2015). An integrative geotourism approach: Bridging conflicts in tourism landscape research. *Tourism Geographies*, 17(4), 544-560. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2015.1053973>

- Streimikiene, D., Svagzdiene, B., Jasinskas, E., & Simanavicius, A. (2021). Sustainable tourism development and competitiveness: The systematic literature review. *Sustainable Development*, 29(1), 259-271. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.2133>
- Su, M. M., Long, Y., Wall, G., & Jin, M. (2016). Tourist–community interactions in ethnic tourism: Tuva villages, Kanas Scenic Area, China. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 14(1), 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2014.976228>
- Su, R., Bramwell, B., & Whalley, P. A. (2018). Cultural political economy and urban heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 68, 30-40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.11.004>
- Su, X. (2010). The imagination of place and tourism consumption: A case study of Lijiang Ancient Town, China. *Tourism Geographies*, 12(3), 412-434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2010.494688>
- Su, X. (2010). Urban conservation in Lijiang, China: Power structure and funding systems. *Cities*, 27(3), 164-171. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2009.12.004>
- Su, X. (2012). ‘It is my home. I will die here’: Tourism development and the politics of place in Lijiang, China. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 94(1), 31-45.
- Su, X., & Teo, P. (2008, 2008/04/28). Tourism politics in Lijiang, China: An analysis of state and local interactions in tourism development. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(2), 150-168. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680801999992>
- Su, X., & Teo, P. (2009). *The politics of heritage tourism in China: A view from Lijiang*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203873687>
- Su, Y., Cherian, J., Sial, M. S., Badulescu, A., Thu, P. A., Badulescu, D., & Samad, S. (2021). Does tourism affect economic growth of China? A panel granger causality approach. *Sustainability*, 13(3), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13031349>
- Sun, H. (1998). 20shiji Zhongguo minzu yuyanxue de huigu yu zhanwang [Review and prospect of Chinese national linguistics in the 20th century 20世纪中国民族语言学的回顾与展望]. *Yuyan yu Fanyi* [Language and translation 语言与翻译], 1998(4), 13-21.

- Sun, H. (2005). Shaoshu minzu yuyan guihua de xinqingkuang he xinwenti [New situation and new problem of minority language planning 少数民族语言规划的新情况和新问题]. *Yuyan Wenzhi Yingyong [Language Application 语言文字应用]*, 2005(1), 13-17. <https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2005.01.002>
- Sun, H. (2006a). Zhongguo binwei shaoshu minzu yuyan de qiangjiu yu baohu [Rescue and protection of endangered minority languages in China 中国濒危少数民族语言的抢救与保护]. *Jinan Xuebao [Journal of Jinan University 暨南学报]*, 124(5), 126-129.
- Sun, H. (2006b). Zhongguo shaoshu minzu yuyan huoli paixu yanjiu [A study on the vitality ranking of Chinese minority language 中国少数民族语言活力排序研究]. *Guangxi Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities 广西民族学院学报]*, 28(5), 6-10.
- Sun, N. (2011). Baizu minju yu Naxizu minju jianzu zhuangshi duibi jixi [Contrasting and analysing residential architecture of Bai and Naxi people 白族民居与纳西族民居建筑装饰对比解析]. *Yishu yu Sheji [Art and Design 艺术与设计]*, 83(9), 100-102.
- Sun, Y., & Fan, L. (2019). Manyu zai jindai de xingshuai tanlue [The rise and fall of Manchu language in modern times 满语在近代的兴衰探略]. *Tonghua Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Tonghua Normal University 通化师范大学学报]*, 40(3), 119-125. <https://doi.org/10.13877/j.cnki.cn22-1284.2019.03.020>
- Swain, M. B. (1989). Developing ethnic tourism in Yunnan, China: Shilin Sani. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 14(1), 33-39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.1989.11014541>
- Tan, R., Yu, T., Luo, K., Teng, F., Liu, Y., Luo, J., & Hu, D. (2020). Experiences of clinical first - line nurses treating patients with COVID - 19: A qualitative study. *Journal of Nursing Management*, 28(6), 1381-1390. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jonm.13095>
- Tang, J. (2011). Woguo jieju minzu wenti de zhengzhi zhidu tanxi [An analysis of the political system of solving ethnic problems in China 我国解决民族问题的政治制度探析]. *Xueshu Jie [Academic Community 学术界]*, 159(8), 82-88.
- Tang, T., & Wu, X. (2014). Wenhua yichan baohu zhong de zhuti zhihuan yanjiu---Jiyu Yunnan Lijiang de diaocha yu fenxi [A study on the main body replacement in the

- protection of cultural heritage: Based on the investigation and analysis of Lijiang 文化遗产保护中的主体置换研究—基于云南丽江的调查与分析]. *Guangxi Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Guangxi Normal University 广西师范大学学报]*, 50(6), 109-113. <https://doi.org/0.16088/j.issn.1001-6597.2014.06.018>
- Tannenbaum, M. (2009, 2009/07/01). What's in a language? Language as a core value of minorities in Israel. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(6), 977-995. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830902957742>
- The Grading and Evaluation on Scenic Spots Based on Tourism Quality [旅游景区质量等级的划分与评定], (2012). http://www.xifeng.gov.cn/zxfw/bmlqfw/xxly/lyzc/201812/t20181204_1955039.html
- Therborn, G. (1991). Cultural belonging, structural location and human action: Explanation in sociology and in social science. *Acta Sociologica*, 34(3), 177-191.
- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis communication impact*. Wiley Blackwell Publishers.
- Troyer, R. A., & Szabó, T. P. (2017). Representation and videography in linguistic landscape studies. *Linguistic Landscape*, 3(1), 56-77. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ll.3.1.03tro>
- Tsunoda, T. (2006). *Language endangerment and language revitalization: An introduction* (Vol. 148). Walter de Gruyter.
- Turner, S. F., Cardinal, L. B., & Burton, R. M. (2017). Research design for mixed methods: A triangulation-based framework and roadmap. *Organizational Research Methods*, 20(2), 243-267.
- UNESCO. (2003a). *Ancient Naxi Dongba literature manuscripts*
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-1/ancient-naxi-dongba-literature-manuscripts/>
- UNESCO. (2003b). *Language vitality and endangerment*. (Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Issue. https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_1468187/component/file_1468185/content

- Urciuoli, B. (2016). The compromised pragmatics of diversity. *Language & Communication*, 51, 30-39. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2016.07.005>
- Voeller, E. (2011). Renewing a Naxi environmental ethic in Lijiang, China: An approach for water management. *Lakes & reservoirs: Research and management*, 16(3), 223-229. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-1770.2011.00477.x>
- Waksman, S., & Shohamy, E. (2016). Linguistic landscape of social protests: Moving from 'open' to 'institutional' spaces. In R. Blackwood, E. Lanza, & H. Woldemariam (Eds.), *Negotiating and contesting identities in linguistic landscapes* (pp. 85-98). Bloomsbury.
- Wan, D. (2014). The history of language planning and reform in China: A critical perspective. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)*, 29(2), 65-79. <https://repository.upenn.edu/wpel/vol29/iss2/5>
- Wang, A. (2014). *Dangdai Zhongguo wenzi gaige yanjiu [Research on the Reform of Contemporary Chinese Characters 当代中国文字改革研究]* Wuhan Daxue [Wuhan University 武汉大学].
- Wang, B. (2007). *Lijianggucheng shangye kongjian yu lvyou reyu yanjiu [Research on commercial space and tourism heat of Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城商业空间与旅游热度研究]* Kunming Ligong Daxue [Kunming University of Science and Technology 昆明理工大学].
- Wang, D., Huang, G., & Hu, B. (2020). Rang "jinzi zhaopai" shanshan faguang--Guojiadianwang Henan dianli Jiao Yulu Gongchandangyuan fuwudui jianshe jishi [Let "jinzi signboard" sparkling--Construction documentary of Jiaoyulu Communist Party member service team of Henan Electric Power Section of state grid 让“金字招牌”闪闪发光—国家电网河南电力焦裕禄共产党员服务队建设纪实]. *Henan Dianli [Henan Electric Power 河南电力]* (7), 20-21. <https://doi.org/10.19755/j.cnki.hnep.2020.07.006>
- Wang, F. (2012, 2012-9-13). 700kuai "Dongba" guanggaopai 648kuai youcuo Lijiang yao guifanhua Dongbawenzi yingyong [Of 700 "Dongba" billboards, 648 have mistakes --Standardize the use of Dongba characters in Lijiang 700 块"东巴"广告牌 648 块有

- 错 丽江要规范化东巴文字应用]. <http://news.eastday.com/society/2012-09-13/33737.html>
- Wang, G. (2011). Bilingual education in southwest China: A Yingjiang case. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14(5), 571-587. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2011.554971>
- Wang, G. (2015). Ethnic multilingual education in China: A critical observation. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)*, 30(2), 35-47. <https://repository.upenn.edu/wpel/vol30/iss2/3>
- Wang, L. (2008). Lvyou shequ de feitezhi jingying yu wenhua yichan baohu--yi Xuanke yu Lijiangyuyue weili [Non-institutional elites and protection on cultural heritage in tourism communities -- A case study of Xuanke and Lijiang Ancient Music 旅游社区的非体制精英与文化遗产保护 —以宣科与丽江古乐为例]. *Shehui Kexuejia [Social Scientist 社会科学家]*, 133(5), 87-90.
- Wang, L., & Lehtomäki, E. (2022). Bilingual education and beyond: How school settings shape the Chinese Yi minority's socio-cultural attachments. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 25(6), 2256-2268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2021.1905602>
- Wang, N. (2002). The tourist as peak 14 consumer. In M. S. G. Dann (Ed.), *The tourist as a metaphor of the social world* (pp. 281-296). CAPI Publication.
- Wang, N. (2004). The rise of touristic consumerism in urban China. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 29(2), 47-58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2004.11081443>
- Wang, T., & Zan, L. (2011). Management and presentation of Chinese sites for UNESCO World Heritage List (UWHL). *Facilities*, 29(7/8), 313-325. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02632771111130924>
- Wang, X. (2003). *Computer-mediated-communication (CMC): A solution to protect indigenous cultures*. Carleton University.
- Wang, Y. (2008). Wutunren de yuyan shiyong he yuyan taidu diaocha [A study on language use and attitude of Wutuen people 吾屯人的语言使用和语言态度调查]. *Xinjiang*

- Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Xinjiang Normal University 新疆师范大学学报]*, 29(4), 79-85. <https://doi.org/10.14100/j.cnki.65-1039/g4.2008.04.016>
- Wang, Y. (2015). *Lishi jiequ baohu gengxin shishi zhuangkuang de yanjiu yu pingjia [Research and evaluation on the status of historic district protection and renewal 历史街区保护更新实施状况的研究与评价]* Dongnan Daxue [Southeast University 东南大学].
- Wang, Y., & He, Y. (2008). Naxiyu shiyong xianzhuang jiqi weihu [Current situation and maintenance of Naxi language 纳西语使用现状及其维护]. *Keji Chuangxin Daobao [Science and Technology Innovation Herald 科技创新导报]*, 20, 165-166. <https://doi.org/10.16660/j.cnki.1674-098x.2008.20.107>
- Wang, Y., Huang, L., Li, J., & Yang, Y. (2019). The mechanism of tourism slogans on travel intention based on Unique Selling Proposition (USP) theory. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 36(4), 415-427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2019.1568950>
- Wang, Y., & Phillion, J. (2009b). Minority language policy and practice in China: The need for multicultural education. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 11(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v11i1.138>
- Weiler, K., & Gutschow, N. (2016). *Authenticity in architectural heritage conservation: Discourses, opinions, experiences in Europe, South and East Asia*. Springer.
- Wenden, A. L. (1991). *Learner strategies for learner autonomy : Planning and implementing learner training for language learners*. Prentice Hall.
- White, K. (2015). Belongingness and the Harlem drummers. *Urban Geography*, 36(3), 340-358. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2014.988059>
- White, S. D. (1998). State discourses, minority policies, and the politics of identity in the Lijiang Naxi people's autonomous county. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 4(1-2), 9-27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537119808428526>
- White, S. D. (2010). The political economy of ethnicity in Yunnan's Lijiang basin. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 11(2), 142-158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442211003727989>

- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Open University Press.
- Wolff, S., & Weller, M. (2005). Self-determination and autonomy. In M. Weller & S. Wolff (Eds.), *Autonomy, self-governance and conflict resolution: Innovative approaches to institutional design in divided societies* (Vol. 1). Routledge.
- Wong, E. (2015). Security law suggests a broadening of China's 'core interests'. *New York Times*.
- Wood, R. E. (1984). Ethnic tourism, the state, and cultural change in Southeast Asia. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(3), 353-374. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(84\)90027-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(84)90027-6)
- Woodbury, A. (1998). Documenting rhetorical, aesthetic, and expressive loss in language shift. In L. A. Grenoble & L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Language loss and community response* (pp. 234-). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1017/CBO9781139166959.011>
- Woolard, K. A. (2005). *Language and identity choice in Catalonia: The interplay of contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority* Workshop on Language Ideology and Change in Multilingual Communities, UC San Diego. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/47n938cp>
- Wright, S. (2016). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.
- Wu, G. (2011, May 27th, 2011). Lijiang deming kao: "Jinsheng Lishui" yuanliu [Lijiang is named after the origin of "Jinsheng Lishui" 丽江得名考: “金生丽水”源流]. *Yunnan Ribao [Yunnan Daily 云南日报]*, 3.
- Wu, J., Guo, Y., & Zhou, J. (2020). Nexus between ecological conservation and socio-economic development and its dynamics: Insights from a case in China. *Water*, 12(3), 663. <https://doi.org/10.3390/w12030663>
- Wu, X. (2014). From assimilation to autonomy: Realizing ethnic minority rights in China's national autonomous regions. *Chinese Journal of International Law*, 13(1), 55-90. <https://doi.org/10.1093/chinesejil/jmu006>

- Wu, X., & Zeng, X. (2019). Dongbawen jilu Naxiyu nengli de diaocha yu fenxi [The investigation and analysis of the Naxi language ability recorded by Dongba scripts 东巴文记录纳西语能力的调查与分析]. *Xi'nan Keji Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Southwest University of Science and Technology 西南科技大学学报]*, 36(4), 38-47.
- Wurm, S. A. (1991). Language death and disappearance: Causes and circumstances. *Diogenes*, 39(153), 1-18.
- Wurm, S. A. (2003). The language situation and language endangerment in the greater Pacific area. In M. Janse & S. Tol (Eds.), *Language death language maintenance: Theoretical, practical descriptive approaches* (pp. 15-48). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Xia, N., & Li, L. (2016). Studying languages in the linguistic landscape of Lijiang Old Town. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 6(2), 105-117. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v6n2p105>
- Xiao, H. (1998). Minority languages in Dehong, China: Policy and reality. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(3), 221-235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434639808666354>
- Xiao, H., & Dai, B. (2020). When truth is power: Institutional ethnography of a think tank. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 22(4), 438-450. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2347>
- Xiao, J. (2010). *Yuyan quanli yanjiu [Research on language rights 语言权利研究]* Jilin Daxue [Jilin University 吉林大学].
- Xie, Z. (2016). Xiangyun wenyang de chuantong yiyun jiqi zai xiandai pingmian sheji zhong de yingyong [The traditional meaning of xiangyun pattern and its application in modern graphic design 祥云纹样的传统意蕴及其在现代平面设计中的应用]. *Changchun Shifan Daxue Xuebao [Journal of Changchun Normal University 长春师范大学学报]*, 35(2), 175-177.
- Xing, H., Marzuki, A., & Razak, A. A. (2012). Protective development of cultural heritage tourism: The case of Lijiang, China. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 7(1), 39-54. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24873309>

- Xiong, W., & Jacob, W. J. (2020). Ethnic minority-serving higher education institutions in the United States and China: A comparative case study of two institutions. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 21(2), 295-309. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-020-09625-1>
- Xiong, W., Jacob, W. J., & Ye, H. (2016). Minority language issues in Chinese higher education: Policy reforms and practice among the Korean and Mongol ethnic groups. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 11(4), 455-482. <https://doi.org/10.3868/s110-005-016-0037-0>
- Xiong, X. (2015). *Shengtai yuyanxue shijiaoxia de shaoshu minzu diqu shuangyu hexie yanjiu [Study on bilingual harmony in ethnic minority areas from the perspective of ecological linguistics 生态语言学视角下的少数民族地区双语和谐研究]* Yunnan Shifan Daxue [Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学].
- Xu, H., & Ren, Y. (2015b). Lvyou dui Naxi Dongbawen yuyan jingguan de yingxiang [The influence of tourism on linguistic landscapes of Naxi Dongba scripts 旅游对纳西东巴文语言景观的影响]. *Lvyou Xuekan [Tourism Tribune 旅游学刊]*, 30(1), 102-111. <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-5006.2015.01.011>
- Xu, H., & Ye, T. (2018). Dynamic destination image formation and change under the effect of various agents: The case of Lijiang, 'The Capital of Yanyu'. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 7, 131-139. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.06.009>
- Xu, J. (2010). *Shengtai yuyanxue shiyexia de zhongguo binwei yuyan yanjiu [The study of endangered languages in China from the perspective of ecological linguistics 生态语言学视域下的中国濒危语言研究]* Shanghai Waiguoyu Daxue [Shanghai International Studies University 上海外国语大学].
- Xu, J., Ma, E. T., Tashi, D., Fu, Y., Lu, Z., & Melick, D. (2005). Integrating sacred knowledge for conservation: Cultures and landscapes in southwest China. *Ecology and Society*, 10(2), 1-26. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26267737>
- Xue, L., & Shi, T. (2001). Inequality in Chinese education. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 10(26), 107-124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670560124330>

- Yamamura, T. (2005). Dongba art in Lijiang, China: Indigenous culture, local community and tourism. In C. Ryan & M. Aicken (Eds.), *Indigenous tourism: The commodification and management of culture* (pp. 181-199). Elsevier.
- Yan, H., & Bramwell, B. (2008). Cultural tourism, ceremony and the state in China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(4), 969-989.
- Yan, K. (2016). *Poverty alleviation in China: A theoretical and empirical study*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-47392-4>
- Yang, F. (2003). Mentorship of indigenous cultural specialists: A case study of training of Dongba, Naxi priests. In J. Xu & S. Mikesell (Eds.), *Landscapes of Diversity: Indigenous knowledge sustainable livelihoods and resource governance in montane Southeast Asia* (pp. 479-485). Yunnan Science and Technology Press.
- Yang, F. (2008). Luelun Naxizu de shengtai lunliguan [A Preliminary Study of the Eco-ethics of the Naxi Nationality 略论纳西族的生态伦理观]. *Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao [Journal of Yunnan Nationalities University 云南民族大学学报]*, 1, 38-42.
- Yang, G. (2011). Lijiang Naxizu chuantong de hehewenhua [Traditional Harmonious Culture of Naxi People 丽江纳西族传统的和合文化]. *Sanxia Luntan [Three Gorges Tribune 三峡论坛]*, 244(6), 30-43.
- Yang, H. (2011). *Naxi, Chinese, English or Asean languages: A study of language policies of Naxi community in Lijiang, China* The Impact of Applied Linguistics: Proceedings of the 44th Annual Meeting of BAAL, University of the West of England.
- Yang, H. (2012). *Naxi, Chinese and English: Multilingualism in Lijiang*. Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
- Yang, H. (2015). *Lijiang diqu Hanyu guoji tuiguang xianzhuang diaocha [Survey on international promotion of Mandarin in Lijiang 丽江地区汉语国际推广现状调查]* Yunnan Shifan Daxue [Yunnan Normal University 云南师范大学].
- Yang, L. (2011). Ethnic tourism and cultural representation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2), 561-585. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.10.009>

- Yang, L. (2013). Ethnic tourism and minority identity: Lugu Lake, Yunnan, China. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 18(7), 712-730. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2012.695289>
- Yang, L., Stepp, J. R., Ahmed, S., Pei, S., & Xue, D. (2011). The role of montane forests for indigenous Dongba papermaking in the Naxi highlands of northwest Yunnan, China. *Mountain Research and Development*, 31(4), 334-342. <https://doi.org/10.1659/MRD-JOURNAL-D-11-00035.1>
- Yang, L., & Wall, G. (2008). Ethnic tourism and entrepreneurship: Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(4), 522-544.
- Yang, L., & Wall, G. (2009). Ethnic tourism: A framework and an application. *Tourism Management*, 30(4), 559-570. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.09.008>
- Yang, L., Xu, T.-C., Li, X.-S., & Wu, E.-H. (2014). *Feature-oriented writing process reproduction of Chinese calligraphic artwork* SIGGRAPH Asia 2014 Technical Briefs,
- Yang, M. (2015). *From landlessness to rootlessness: Exploring the experience of belongingness through land expropriation*. Utrecht University.
- Yang, Q., & Zhang, K. (2017). Wenhua shijiaoxia Yunnan Naxizu minju tezheng jiexi [An analysis on the features of Naxi people's dwelling in Yunnan Province from the cultural perspectives 文化视角下云南纳西族民居特征解析]. *Jianzhu yu Wenhua [Architecture & Culture 建筑与文化]*, 154(1), 198-199.
- Yang, R., & Wu, M. (2009). Education for ethnic minorities in China: A policy critique. *SA-eDUC JOURNAL*, 6(2), 117-131.
- Yang, X. (2018). *The effect of culture tourism development on ethnic minorities and its influence on the visitor experience: Case study Lijiang, China*. Auckland University of Technology.
- Yang, Y. (2018). A study on color words between Chinese and English from the perspective of cross culture. *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, 6(1), 29-34.
- Yang, Y., Yuan, Y., Guo, E., Liu, C., & Yang, Y. (1996). 1996nian 2yue 3ri Yunnan Lijiang 7.0ji dizhen Lijiang xiancheng zhenhai tongji he sunshi pinggu [Evaluation of damage

- to and losses of Lijiang County Town during the Lijiang earthquake of February 3, 1996 1996年2月3日云南丽江7.0级地震丽江县城震害统计和损失评估]. *Dizhen Gongcheng yu Gongcheng Zhendong [Earthquake Engineering and Engineering Vibration 地震工程与工程振动]*, 16(1), 19-29.
- Yannopoulos, S. I., Lyberatos, G., Theodossiou, N., Li, W., Valipour, M., Tamburrino, A., & Angelakis, A. N. (2015). Evolution of water lifting devices (pumps) over the centuries worldwide. *Water*, 7(9), 5031-5060. <https://doi.org/10.3390/w7095031>
- Yee, H. S. (2003). Ethnic relations in Xinjiang: A survey of Uygur-Han relations in Urumqi. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 12(36), 431-452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670560305475>
- Yin, R. K. (1984). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage.
- You, L. (2015). *Zhongguo shuhua zhibi yanjiu [A study on Chinese painting and calligraphy 中国书画之笔研究]*. Nanjing Shifan Daxue [Nanjing Normal University 南京师范大学].
- Yu, H. (2007). Identity and schooling among the Naxi. *Asian Ethnicity*, 8(3), 235-244. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631360701594984>
- Yu, H. (2009). Naxi intellectuals and ethnic identity. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 3(1), 21-31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15595690802584109>
- Yu, H. (2010). Cultural integration and education of the Naxi. *Chinese Education & Society*, 43(1), 36-45. <https://doi.org/10.2753/CED1061-1932430103>
- Yu, M. (2020). Zhongguo gudai xielv qutan zhiyi--Zhongguo gudai keju kaoshi zhong de "jiadaixie" [An anecdote of ancient Chinese shoes -- "Shoes with Entrainment" in ancient Chinese Imperial Examinations 中国古代鞋履趣谈之一中国古代科举考试中的“夹带鞋”]. *Xibu Pige [The Western Leather 西部皮革]*, 42(13), 135-136.
- Yu, P. (2015). *Gebajing yongzi yanjiu [A study on the diction of Geba scriptures 哥巴经用字研究]*. Xi'nan Daxue [Xi'nan University 西南大学].

- Yu, S. (2007). Zhongguo secaiguan lunxi [An analysis of Chinese colour theory 中国色彩观论析]. *Yishu jiaoyu [Art Education 艺术教育]*(9), 135.
- Yu, Y. (2013). Renlei shiyexia de Lijiang Dayanzhen Naxiyu liushi xianzhuang yanjiu [Study on the loss of Naxi language in Dayan Town of Lijiang from the perspective of anthropology 人类学视野下的丽江大研镇纳西语流失现状研究]. *Puer Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Pu'er University 普洱学院学报]*, 29(4).
- Zainal, Z. (2007). Case study as a research method. *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 5(1), 1-6.
- Zajadacz, A., & Uwamahoro, J. (2022). 14 voices of young people in Rwanda regarding the development of nature-based tourism. In J. K. Gona & L. Atieno (Eds.), *Sustainable Tourism Dialogues in Africa* (Vol. 7, pp. 247).
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110702491-014>
- Zhang, C., & Ma, Q. (2012). The protection of endangered languages in mainland China. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, 2(4). <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.2.4.713-718>
- Zhang, J., & Pérez-Milans, M. (2019). Structures of feeling in language policy: The case of Tibetan in China. *Language Policy*, 18(1), 39-64. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9469-3>
- Zhang, L., Zhang, Y., Pei, S., Geng, Y., Wang, C., & Yuhua, W. (2015). Ethnobotanical survey of medicinal dietary plants used by the Naxi People in Lijiang Area, Northwest Yunnan, China. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, 11(1), 40.
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-015-0030-6>
- Zhang, S. (2011). Naxizu fushi de tedian douyou sha [What are the characteristics of Naxi costumes? 纳西族服饰的特点都有啥?]. *Yishu quanjing [Art Panorama 艺术全景]*, 2011(9), 57.
- Zhang, W. (2007). *Yi lvyou kaifa wei zhudao de Lijianggucheng yichan baohu anli yanjiu [A case study on the protection of Lijiang Old Town heritage led by tourism development 以旅游开发为主导的丽江古城遗产保护案例研究]* Chongqing Daxue [Chongqing University 重庆大学].

- Zhang, Y. (2011). *Qianxibei minzu zajuqu yuyan shengtai yu yuyan baohu yanjiu [Study on language ecology and language conservation in ethnic mixed areas of Northwest 黔西北民族杂居区语言生态与语言保护研究]* [Doctoral Zhongyang Minzu Daxue [Minzu University of China 中央民族大学].
- Zhang, Y. (2012, March 30, 2012). Fazhan zhongyi tese mo kuada "Zuotang" zuoyong [Do not exaggerate the role of "sitting hall" in developing the characteristics of TCM 发展中医特色莫夸大“坐堂”作用]. *Zhongguo Zhongyiyao Bao [China Journal of Traditional Chinese Medicine 中国中医药报]*.
- Zhang, Y. (2020). How did the Lost Shangri-La get lost? The tragedy of the groundwater commons in Lijiang, China. *Water*, 12(11), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.3390/w12113131>
- Zhang, Y. (2020). Woguo gudai yinzhang jiqi shehui gongyong jianshu [A brief description of Chinese ancient seals and their social functions 我国古代印章及其社会功用简述]. *Wenhua Chanye [Cultural Industries 文化产业]*(6), 49-50.
- Zhao, G. (2010). *Towards sustainable tourism: A case study of Lijiang, China*. Master, Kansas State University. <http://hdl.handle.net/2097/6700>
- Zhao, L. (2016). Shaoshu minzu yuyan meiti de fazhan yu huoli [The development and vitality of minority language media: From the perspective of law and policy 少数民族语言媒体的发展与活力：法律与政策的视角]. *Zhongguo Guangbodianshi Xuekan [China Radio and Television Journal 中国广播电视学刊]*, 10(2016), 66-68.
- Zhao, M. (2015). *Lvyou jichu xiaoying xia de Lijianggucheng wenhua jingguan shengchan yanjiu [Study on cultural landscape production of Lijiang Ancient Town under the crowding out effect of tourism 旅游挤出效应下的丽江古城文化景观生产研究]*. Yunnan Daxue [Yunnan University 云南大学].
- Zhao, Q. (2010). Lijianggucheng Naxizu shuangyu zhuangkuang yanjiu [Study on bilingual status of Naxi Nationality in Lijiang Ancient Town 丽江古城纳西族双语状况研究]. *Chinese Language and Characters 中国语言文字* The Third International Symposium on Endangered Language Heritage Protection in Yunnan, China [第三届

中国云南濒危语言遗产保护国际学术研讨会], Yuxi, Yunnan, China [中国云南玉溪].

- Zhao, W. (2016). Yichandi lvyou shangyehua bijiao yanjiu—Yi Zhongguo Lijiangcheng he Faguo Liyanglaocheng weili [Comparative study on tourism commercialization of heritage sites—Taking the ancient town of Lijiang in China and the old town of Lyon in France as examples 遗产地旅游商业化比较研究—以中国丽江古城和法国里昂老城为例]. *Zhongnan Minzu Daxue Xuebao [Journal of South-Central University for Nationalities 中南民族大学学报]*, 36(6), 110-114.
- Zhao, Y. (2014). *Qicai Yunnan: Dianyun wenhua tese yu xingtai [Colorful Yunnan: characteristics and forms of Yunnan culture 七彩云南: 滇云文化特色与形态]*. Xiandai Chubanshe [Modern Press 现代出版社].
- Zhao, Y. (2015). Mingren de shuzhai lian [Couplets on famous persons' studies 名人的书斋联]. *Siwei yu Zhihui [Thought and Wisdom 思维与智慧]*(15), 59.
- Zhou, M. (2000). Language policy and illiteracy in ethnic minority communities in China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21(2), 129-148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630008666398>
- Zhou, M. (2001). The politics of bilingual education in the People's Republic of China since 1949. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(1-2), 147-171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2001.10162788>
- Zhou, M. (2004). Minority language policy in China. In M. Zhou & H. Sun (Eds.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China* (pp. 71-95). Springer.
- Zhou, M. (2004). The use and development of Tibetan in China. In Z. Minglang & S. Hongkai (Eds.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China* (pp. 221-237). Springer.
- Zhou, M., & Ross, H. A. (2004). Introduction: The context of the theory and practice of China's language policy. In M. Zhou (Ed.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China* (pp. 1-18). Springer.
- Zhou, W. (2016). Lun lvyou wenhua shiye xia de Lijiangcheng shuiche [On the waterwheels of Lijiang Ancient Town from the perspective of tourism culture 论旅游文化视野下

- 的丽江古城水车]. *Zhaotong Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Zhaotong University 昭通学院学报]*, 38(102-105).
- Zhou, Y. (2019). Study on the associative character of Dongba script in Lijiang area. *Open Access Library Journal*, 6(2), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1105255>
- Zhu, Y. (2012a). Performing heritage: Rethinking authenticity in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), 1495-1513. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.04.003>
- Zhu, Y. (2012b). Shifting tourism images: The world heritage site Lijiang, China. *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, 67, 58-68.
- Zhu, Y. (2018). Lifestyle mobility: Shifting conception of home in modern China. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 6(4), 357-374. <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTA.2018.096399>
- Zhuang, M., Zhang, J., Xiao, X., Qiu, M., Lu, Y., Zhang, H., Tseng, T.-H., Zuo, L., & Hu, M. (2020). How destination music affects tourists' behaviors: Travel with music in Lijiang, China. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 25(2), 131-144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2019.1683046>
- Zong, X. (2002). Lijianggucheng minju kezhan ye de renleixue kaocha [A study of the residents' lodges in Lijiang Ancient Town from an anthropological perspective 丽江古城民居客栈业的人类学考察]. *Yunnan Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Yunnan Institute of the Nationalities 云南民族学院学报]*, 19(4), 63-66.
- Zong, X. (2005). Lvyoudi kongjian shangpinhua de xingshi yu yingxiang yanjiu--Yi Yunnansheng Lijianggucheng weili [A study on the form and impact of the destination's spatial commoditization—A case study on Lijiang Ancient Town 旅游地空间商品化的形式与影响研究—以云南省丽江古城为例]. *Lvyou Xuekan [Tourism Tribune 旅游学刊]*, 20(4), 30-36.
- Zong, X., & Bao, J. (2005). Jiegou Naxi guyue shenhua--Dui yixiang minzu wenhua ziyuan zhuanhua wei wenhua shangpin de renleixue fenxi [Deconstruction of Naxi ancient music myth—Anthropological analysis of a national cultural resource converted into cultural commodity 解构纳西古乐神话--对一项民族文化资源转化为文化商品的

- 人类学分析]. *Guangxi Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao [Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities 广西民族学院学报]*, 27(4), 28-34.
- Zou, W. (2019). *Meijiehua yujing zhong de duominzu wenhua gongsheng [Multi-ethnic cultural symbiosis in the media context 媒介化语境中的多民族文化共生]*. Yunnan Normal University].
- Zou, Y. (2013). *Yunnan Lijiang Naxizu wenhua bianqian de sikao [Reflections on Naxi cultural changes in Lijiang 云南丽江纳西族文化变迁的思考]*. Kunming Ligong Daxue [Kunming University of Science and Technology 昆明理工大学].
- Zuo, X. (2007). China's policy towards minority languages in a globalising age. *TCI (Transnational Curriculum Inquiry)*, 4(1), 80-91.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Matrix of LLs

Item	Language choice	Language agency	Functions							Characteristics of text					
		top-down/ bottom-up	identification	advertising	information	guidance	notice	warning	slogan	visibility	attractiveness	placement	permanent/ temporary	size	colour
1															
2															
3															
4															
5															
6															

Appendix 2: Sample of LL analysis (language choice)

N: Naxi only

M: Mandarin only

E: English only

N+M: Naxi+Mandarin

N+E: Naxi+English

M+E: Mandarin+English

M+O: Mandarin+other

N+M+E: Naxi+Mandarin+English

N+M+O: Naxi+Mandarin+other

M+E+O: Mandarin+English+others

N+M+E+O: Naxi+Mandarin+English+others

Name of sign	N	M	E	N+M	N+E	M+E	M+O	N+M+E	N+M+O	M+E+O	N+M+E+O
四方街								N+M+E			
四方宝藏								N+M+E			
云南蒙自过桥米线								N+M+E			
对联		M									
嘉华鲜花饼								N+M+E			
瓊珑商行								N+M+E			
云南特色饮品								N+M+E			
四方果脯								N+M+E			
对联		M									
胖金妹牦牛店								N+M+E			
天然琥珀蜜蜡								N+M+E			
三生有信								N+M+E			
手工酸牛奶								N+M+E			
消防安全规定						M+E					
贝尔斯咖啡馆								N+M+E			
红谷								N+M+E			
请勿吸烟										M+E+Korean+complex M	
投诉扫一扫		M									
实时人数流		M									
中国农业银行						M+E					
温馨提示						M+E					
玉玲珑								N+M+E			

雅而惠饰品									N+M+E			
啸哥唐卡馆									N+M+E			
东巴纸坊				N+M								
绸遇									N+M+E			
云瑶茶厂直营店									N+M+E			
四方客栈									N+M+E			
正宗蒙自过桥米线									N+M+E			
马帮来									N+M+E			
对联		M										
no sign												
老银匠									N+M+E			
对联		M										
小倩的店--之非洲印象				N+M								
酒吧									N+M+E			
一米阳光									N+M+E			
酒吧									N+M+E			
一米阳光									N+M+E			
“街长制”公示牌		M										
“河长制”公示牌		M										
净空保护警告		M										
万古楼									N+M+E			
公安联系信息		M										
温馨提示		M										
卫生间												N+M+E+Japanese+Korean
天地院									N+M+E			
科贡坊		M										
88 酒吧									N+M+E			
88 酒吧									N+M+E			

重庆面馆								N+M+E			
应急避难所										M+E+Korean+Complex M	
古城云勇文化经纪有限责任公司		M									
樱花屋金								N+M+E			
樱花屋金							M+E				
樱花屋金							M+E				
樱花屋金							M+E				
樱花屋金							M+E				
云南蒙自过桥米线				N+M							
携程旅游								N+M+E			
说走就走								N+M+E			
阿Q饮品店								N+M+E			
从你全世界路过								N+M+E			
丽江古城旅游综合服务厅							M+E				
丽江古城景区投诉受理点		M									
路标		M									
大水车/古城出口							M+E				
中国丽江志愿者服务点							M+E				
党员志愿者服务点		M									
丽江古城学雷锋志愿者服务点		M									
禁止骑行		M									
中国公民出国旅游文明行为指南		M									
中国公民国内旅游文明行为公约		M									

云南省旅游市场秩序整治投诉举报点		M									
卫生间											N+M+E+Japanese+Korean
丽江古城旅游综合服务厅						M+E					
服务内容						M+E					
丽江古城旅游综合服务厅						M+E					
公安联系信息		M									
旅游信息 1						M+E					
信息服务		M									
旅游信息 2		M									
温馨提示		M									
信息服务 1		M									
信息服务 2		M									
信息服务 3		M									
百岁坊银器								N+M+E			
旅游先锋联盟示范门店								N+M+E			
那一年我们在丽江								N+M+E			
丽江古城共产党员诚信经营示范户		M									
马帮酱菜								N+M+E			
茶园集市								N+M+E			
钰品堂								N+M+E			
禾禾手工鞋坊								N+M+E			
无牌											
蜜蜜芬芳馆								N+M+E			
花食家鲜花饼								N+M+E			
无牌											

无牌												
海拔雪牛								N+M+E				
古城柳下走								N+M+E				
鲜花酒		M										
小豬撈肉								N+M+E				
无牌												
无牌												
无牌												
焕然银器店								N+M+E				
酥肉		M										
手工洋芋丸子		M										
滋若滋蜜								N+M+E				
采蘑菇								N+M+E				
降龙爪爪								N+M+E				
勾魂								N+M+E				
烤榴莲肉								N+M+E				
椰一族								N+M+E				
蜜语芝间·岩烤乳酪								N+M+E				
悦恋								N+M+E				
现榨果汁								N+M+E				
生活从“鲜”开始								N+M+E				
现榨椰子汁								N+M+E				
一部手机游云南		M										
丽江古城介绍							M+E					
蜀大侠								N+M+E				
丽江中青国际旅行社								N+M+E				
香格里拉、玉龙雪山		M										
木一								N+M+E				
依古客栈								N+M+E				

三分地								N+M+E				
予美成衣订制								N+M+E				
无牌												
香遇丽江		M										
韵帛								N+M+E				
黄氏面馆								N+M+E				
书吟别院								N+M+E				
傣乡园糕点店								N+M+E				
大水车土特产								N+M+E				
大研纳西古乐会		M										
Naxi Concert Hall			E									
Naxi Music			E									
对联		M										
红色文化讲坛		M										
无牌												
海拔雪牛								N+M+E				
纳尚								N+M+E				
无牌												
碳烤榴莲		M										
丽江途牛旅行社								N+M+E				
纳西古乐		M										
大研花巷								N+M+E				
东大街							M+E					
春风十里，不如遇见你		M										
遇爱								N+M+E				
丽江特产先锋超市								N+M+E				
遗失								N+M+E				
卫生间												N+M+E+Japanese+Korean

扫我遇见最美云南		M									
应急避难场所										M+E+Korean+complex M	
请勿吸烟										M+E+Korean+complex M	
民主		M									
无牌											
邵氏中药堂								N+M+E			
纳西百年鲜花饼								N+M+E			
留恋								N+M+E			
景素								N+M+E			
红谷								N+M+E			
和志刚书画		M									
对联		M									
对联		M									
消防栓-002										M+E+Japanese+Korean	
扫我涨知识		M									
党员示范门店		M									
丽江青少年教育基地		M									
中国十大杰出青年		M									
保护门店		M									
纳西魂		M									
党员公示栏		M									
丽江古城特色文化产品经营门店								N+M+E			
益德成鼻烟								N+M+E			
文明经营单位		M									

支持社区工作先进经营户		M									
厕所											N+M+E+Japanese+Korean
钰缘宝								N+M+E			
对联		M									
瑞吉鑫土特产店								N+M+E			
潘祥记鲜花饼								N+M+E			
宝缘庄								N+M+E			
对联		M									
古城区丫咪乐糕点店								N+M+E			
丽江古城 5G 智慧商店								N+M+E			
丽江萌娃文创店								N+M+E			
海拔雪牛								N+M+E			
凯诚土特产店								N+M+E			
叁杆								N+M+E			
丽江饮品店		M									
鹤艺银坊								N+M+E			
云魁米线								N+M+E			
花 miao 鲜花饼								N+M+E			
无牌											
无牌											
千珍汇土特产								N+M+E			
无牌											
丽江优礼								N+M+E			
古城景区旅游价格投诉服务中心		M									
中国志愿者服务点		M									

丽江古城景区投诉受理点		M									
支部公示		M									
民族团结		M									
学雷锋志愿服务点		M									
古城景区旅游商品质量投诉服务中心		M									
丽江市质量技术监督综合检测中心古城服务点		M									
丽江古城党员志愿服务活动现场基地		M									
丽江古城景区旅游志愿服务示范基地		M									
丽江古城维护费缴纳点		M									
丽江古城景区游客退货中心						M+E					
古城景区旅游商品质量投诉服务中心		M									
丽江古城景区讲解服务收费标准						M+E					
丽江古城智能急救站						M+E					
消防栓-001										M+E+Japanese+Korean	
自助行李寄存						M+E					
提供免费一小时寄存行李		M									
Total	0	71	2	3	0	20		100	0	6	4
Percent	0	34.5%				9.7%		48.5%		2.9%	1.9%

Appendix 3: Sample of interview schedule

1a What changes are taking place in terms of how the Town looks and feels for Naxi people who live here?

1b What happens in the Town in terms of events and public activities relating to Naxi people?

1c How has being a UNESCO heritage town affected the life of Naxi people in the old town?

2a How have the cultural products been changed in the case of Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives?

2b What happens to the use of cultural products and the modes of behaviours in the Naxi cultural occasions and daily lives?

2c How do the changes in Naxi people's cultural practices and products influence your traditional values, beliefs, and ideas?

3a What contribute to your personal memories of attaching you to the Town?

3b What relations with people in the Town do you still have and feel connected with the Town?

3c What does the Naxi language mean to you and the people connected with you in the Town?

4a How do you concern and feel about the Naxi oral language and Dongba Scripts?

4b How is the Naxi language changing when it is used in daily life in informal groups?

4c What do you think the use of Naxi language in the Naxi traditional dance (打跳)?

4d What is taking place to the use of Naxi language in your businesses / work?

(Choose questions according to what languages being displayed)

5a What do you feel whether there is the Naxi language displayed or whether it is concerned on the signs in the Old Town?

Or for business owners/ keepers:

5a (Naxi+Mandarin+English) What motivates you to choose three languages and makes Mandarin the largest in size?

5b (Mandarin-only) What do you think your use of only Mandarin on your sign in this Naxi cultural surroundings?

5c (Others, no Naxi text) Why do you choose the languages rather than the Naxi language and Mandarin?

Appendix 4: Participants' profiles

No.	Ethnicity (Minzu)	Profession /Role	Age	Home place	Time in LAT	Ways of interview	Oral language	Dongba scripts
1	Naxi	grandparent	79	LAT	born here but moved out	WeChat	Naxi	No
2	Naxi	grandparent	79	Lijiang	born here but moved out	WeChat	Naxi	No
3	Naxi	grandparent	76	Lijiang	born here but moved out	WeChat	Naxi	No
4	Naxi	grandparent	74	Lijiang	born here but moved out	WeChat	Naxi	No
5	Naxi	parent	49	LAT	born here but moved out	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at workplace	No
6	Naxi	parent	47	LAT	born here but moved out	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at workplace	Learned some words
7	Naxi	parent	40	LAT	born here but moved out	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at workplace	Learned some words
8	Naxi	parent	40	LAT	born here but moved out	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at workplace	No

9	Naxi	parent	28	LAT	born and working here	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at workplace	No
10	Naxi	grandchild	17	LAT	born here but moved out	face-to face	Speaking Naxi within family, not at school	No
11	Naxi	grandchild	17	LAT	born here but moved out	face-to face	Speaking Naxi within family, not at school	No
12	Naxi	university student	22	LAT	born here and studying in YMU	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at university	No
13	Naxi	university student	21	LAT	born here and studying in YMU	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at university	Learned some words
14	Naxi	university student	20	LAT	born here and studying in YMU	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at university	Learned some words
15	Naxi	university student	20	LAT	born here and studying in YMU	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at university	No
16	Naxi	university student	19	LAT	born here and studying in YMU	WeChat	Speaking Naxi within family, not at university	No

17	Naxi (female)	eatery assistant	about 45	Lijiang (out of LAT)	6 years	face-to face	Speaking Mandarin within family and with customers	No
18	Naxi (male)	snack shop owner	about 50	on the north of LAT	born and doing business here	face-to face	Speaking Naxi within family and Mandarin with customers	know some texts, help with dictionar ies
19	Naxi (female)	fashion assistant	about 25	around LAT	born and working here	face-to face	Speaking Naxi within family and Mandarin with friends and customers	Learned some words, but almost forgot them
20	Naxi (male)	restauran t assistant	about 20	around LAT	born and working here	face-to face	Speaking Naxi within family and Mandarin with friends and customers	No
21	Non- Naxi (Han male)	eatery owner	about 35	Heilongjia ng (4500 km away from Lijiang)	2 years	face-to face	Mandarin	No
22	Non- Naxi (Han male)	eatery owner	about 50	a county in Sichuan Province	5 years	face-to face	Mandarin	No

23	Non-Naxi (Han female)	beauty and spa owner	about 30	Yongsheng (county about 100 km away from Lijiang)	more than 10 years	face-to face	Mandarin	No
24	Non-Naxi (Han female)	inn owner	about 45	a county in Sichuan Province	more than 2 years	face-to face	Mandarin	No
25	Non-Naxi (Han female)	fashion assistant	about 25	Chongqing (city in Sichuan Province)	more than 1 year	face-to face	Mandarin	No
26	Non-Naxi (Han male)	hotel owner	about 65	from Sichuan Province	more than 10 years	face-to face	Mandarin	No
27	Non-Naxi (Bai female)	shoe shop owner	about 27	Dali (200 km away from Lijiang)	2 years	face-to face	Bai language	No
28	Non-Naxi (Bai female)	fruit peddler	about 55	on the south of LAT	born and doing some handy work	face-to face	Speaking little Naxi with Naxi friends, Bai with family and Mandarin with customers	No
29	Non-Naxi (Han male)	taxi driver	about 40	a county in Lijiang (out of LAT)	born and being a taxi driver	face-to face	Mandarin	No

30	Naxi	traveller	55	Chengdu (capital of Sichuan Province, neighbour province)	born and working in a neighbour province	face-to face	Mandarin	No
31	Non-Naxi (Han male)	traveller	about 25	Kunming (capital of Yunnan Province)	2 days (the first time)	face-to face	Mandarin	No
32	Non-Naxi (Han male)	traveller	more than 30	Changsha (capital of Hunan Province, a province about 1300km away from Yunnan)	1 day (the second time)	face-to face	Mandarin	No
33	Non-Naxi (Han male)	traveller	more than 50	Xinjiang (a province more than 3000km away from Lijiang)	1 day (the first time)	face-to face	Mandarin	No
34	Non-Naxi (Han female)	traveller	about 25	Beijing (capital of China, about 2600km away from Lijiang)	5 days (the first time)	face-to face	Mandarin	No

Appendix 5: Transcript sample of an interview

0050 (饭店老板, 50 多岁, 来自四川, 来古城 5 年)

我的博士项目是研究纳西语和纳西文化的。

刚才您说您是四川汉族, 是吧?

嗯。

说您来古城五年了。您来的这五年, 发现古城里有什么和纳西族相关的一些活动? 公共活动啊? 庆祝活动啊?

就是他们这些是过节啊, 四方街啊, 就是开始搞嘛, 跳舞啊。
奥, 跳舞。

还有就是农村以前的, 那些那些这上面, 上面现在一直在搞嘛。还有四方街, 天天每天中午两点啊, 晚上十点。

啊, 一天两次?

也有时候是三次啊。

除了这个, 别的, 还有吗?

附近, 附近, 没.....没怎么去看, 就是主要是四方街。我经常在这边街上。

您这没时间去那个?

呃。

有时间参加吗? 比如说过节啊什么的, 有一些重大活动, 您也去看看?

我特地看一下, 没有, 没有参加, 没有时间。

看一下。

干着这些, 没有时间。

那您来的这五年, 您觉得古城的面貌发生过变化吗?

没有。

没有什么变化, 所以就是就是翻修的, 对, 要打造以前古城的时候那种。都是这个样子。

嗯, 这个古城是叫文化遗产啊, 是吧? 文化遗产城市、城镇, 这个名儿, 对您在这生活有什么影响吗?

不受影响。

纳西族用的这些东西, 比如说呢, 穿的衣服呀, 家居用品呀, 或者是什么祭祀用品啊? 对您现在做生意有影响吗?

呃, 那个我们没有跟他们记住, 没有, 没有, 对我们没有多大影响。他们吃的、他们的服装那些, 我们也可以说, 像我们还不定下来。可以说, 这条街, 他们马上要打造成那个网红街。

网红街?

就是说, 你将来做饭什么的, 都可以在网上展示。对, 它一直是为这些所有的游客啊, 就写了这些, 都介绍了, 上面几乎就些活动什么的。奥, 接风楼。

啊, 这就是说, 这个应该说, 纳西文化对您现在做生意也是有很大的影响的?

没有, 没有影响。你到丽江玩就是本着, 就是当地纳西族的吗? 你就冲着这些语言、这些服装啊, 这些表演啊, 是吧?

呃, 对对。您对纳西的那个传统文化了解吗?

不了解。

啊，不了解。

那个我学不来。

啊，学不来。

他们马上是过了，过了春节嘛，马上是这个和老师，他要，要教一些。

上面有个和老师？

那位置。（手指街上方）

您说接风楼？

是，有的。

您说接风楼和老师，和文光？啊，他会教一些啊。

他会教。

他是什么？就是被丽江指派的，让他来教？

他，他是，已经说是，他家是搞音乐的吧，一家子的都是，然后他女儿啊，儿子啊，他也是，他一家是，他老婆是，他孙女，现在一起个，跳舞啊，唱歌啊。

啊，这样啊。您感觉到，这个纳西的这些东西从您来这住的这个五年变化大吗？就是他们的产品啊，或者他们的一些，就是祭祀的东西，或者传统的一些服饰啊，乐器啊，这些有变化吗？

没有，还一样，古老的来做的。

是啊，是啊。

我刚开始来的时候，我看是十年前，我来过几天啊，四方街有个东巴、东巴纸坊啊，那里。

啊，现在啊，那里没，没干啊那些。

都没有了？

有，但是它没在那个位置，攒个地方啊。

那您现在看的，比如说东方东巴纸啊，什么和现在看到的一样吗？

一样的。

啊，您了解这个纳西的一些传统的观念吗？比如说，他们喜欢什么，不喜欢什么呀？这样些东西？

这个我不了解。

不了解。您来这儿的五年，您觉得古城就像您的家一样吗？有，有这种紧密的联系吗？

因为咱怎么说啊，那个都是后面这边玩，来打工嘛，就是今天我们家又没有多，挣一点，能挣一点就是一点儿。说一天其实是干活。

是，是。

您出来就是说，和过来吃饭的人有联系以外，和古城别的人有联系吗？当地的纳西族族有联系吗？

很少。

很少。

我一般不出门。

嗯，就是说交房租啊，或者是过年过节啊，这种有联系吗？

没有，我们都没有。

没有联系。

只跟老板有联系。（老板是从纳西人租房子并改造房子的外地人）

跟当地的那个就是原来这个这个房屋的归属的那个人，没有什么联系？

有，很少。那很少啊，我们都是从别的老板手里，现在隔壁这个，一个老板啊，一个，她给你说的的是一个。这边的还熟悉，有的时候要忙活的啊。她说的也是跟我们说的差不多。

就说您这个房子已经就是被人转租过了，您是从那个二房东那里租的，跟他有联系。他是纳西人吗？

不是。

他不是纳西人。您觉得这个纳西语，对这些纳西人来说，他是一种身份的象征，还是财富的象征，或者是一种什么样的象征？

这个我说不好。

这说不好啊，好的。这现在就是说您来的这五年，家里的人基本上也都来的比较多，说主要家庭成员，比如说妻子啊，什么嗯，孩子都住在这儿了？

没来。

没来？你雇的人在这给你干活？

刚才出的，是我弟媳妇啊。我家里面是三个小孩，大的那个有点，一点就是吃那个奶粉，以后会有一点那种，那还不精的，就我家老婆子在老家照顾他啊。就我一个人出来了。

啊，那个别的孩子，比如说上学什么的，嗯，他在这个古城里边上或古城附近上学吗？有吗？

有。

他和您现在在这，这个您现在这应该没有户籍的，是吧？在这里上学和户籍有关系吗？

这个，不是。这个不清楚。只是在这里。

孩子上学在这里掏高价吗？

应该高不了，不怎么不会高了。比方说，你在这里打工，有个店是这样的，它就是基本上是长久。

就可以申请上学，这个政策多长时间了？

好几年，十多年。

十多年了，哎，这还不错啊。

我妹家的一直这样，现在他不读了。读到四年，现在十二岁，在这里出生的嘛。

奥。

十二岁了，现在他不读书了？

呃，送到河南去了。

啊。这样。您对这个，嗯，纳西语或者他们写的这个东巴文，您看一下以后有一种什么感觉？

看不懂，哎。

看不懂。没有那个什么，亲切的，或者挺喜欢的那种感觉，有吗？

有，看到它写的就是说，是看不懂。

看不懂，它这个创作啊，不一样的。

呃，您在日常生活当中接触过那西语吗？有人说纳西话吗？

有。

有，一般的是什么人？

就是他们当地人。

当地人，啊。

纳西人。

当地人住在这儿吗？周围这儿有住的？

少，到现在少了。以前不这样，搬到新城了。

啊，那他们过来，就人来人往，说纳西语的人大部分是过来干啥的？

过来玩啊，有的进古城来，看一下、跳跳舞啊，是吧。

嗯。

一些年轻人的，还是有。

年轻的多吗？

年轻的？现在的年轻人嘛，你说进来玩的肯定少了，他坐在那儿一天坐的打麻将了。就是老的，年纪大一点，四五十岁的那些，进来逛一下。

啊，四五十岁的进来逛一下？

尽是五十岁以上的。

您有的时候，比如说传统节日什么的，有机会去参加，有一些家庭纳西族的家庭聚会，他们有能跳舞啊什么的，有参加过吗？

没有去过。

没参加过？

没时间。

四十八号的啊，您这个叫四十八号纳西阁餐厅，是吧？

它以前，是房东家自己开的。

哇，这上面是，呃，纳西语，中间是汉字，下面是英语。

哎。

您能看懂您上面这个纳西语吗？

纳西语嘛，只是自拍画图上去，跟它就像对面那个，呃，43号那个，就是啊，还是画得图像的嘛。

画的图像，自己看不懂上面这个写的是什么？他写错了，您知道吗？

不知道。

哈，不知道，这个就是说，是以前那个房东留下的这个牌子，是吧？不是您选的？

不是。

他以前就是他自己，自己房子啊，他自己开了，开了嘛一直到现在，现在我们换，是相当难。

换这个牌子非常难？啊。你现在就是只能是沿用他这个牌子。好呀，谢谢谢谢。