Linguistic Landscape and Social Equality in an Ethnic Tourism Village in Guizhou, China

Feifei Shan, Bob Adamson, and Chengyu Liu

Abstract This chapter investigates the linguistic landscape in a typical ethnic tourism village in Guizhou Province, China, by focusing on the language choice and arrangement of the linguistic landscape and the attitudes of different groups toward the languages involved. The results are interpreted using the notion of cultural capital to show the relationship among various languages and their social status. The linguistic landscape provides a window for examining the social status and power relations among languages in this multilingual society. The study shows that the power and social status of these languages are different, which indicates that the cultural capital of these language communities is distributed unevenly. The ecology of languages in this multilingual society is also unbalanced. Most notably, the living space of the vernacular Miao ethnic language is squeezed, which considerably hinders not only its maintenance but also the sustainable development of the ethic tourism village. The research demonstrates that the relationship among linguistic landscape, cultural capital, and ecology of languages is multidirectional. It concludes that, by promoting multilingual education, the cultural capital of the ethnic language can be enhanced and the ecological balance of languages can be redressed, thus improving the social status and vitality of the ethnic language.

F. Shan (✉)
Institute of Foreign Languages, Kaili University, Kaili, Guizhou, China
e-mail: shanfeifei@email.swu.edu.cn

B. Adamson
Department of International Education and Lifelong Learning, The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, China
e-mail: badamson@eduhk.hk

C. Liu
College of International Studies, Southwest University, Chongqing, China
e-mail: liucy@swu.edu.cn

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1 Introduction

Xijiang Thousand Households Miao Village is a typical ethnic tourism village in Guizhou Province in China. It is located in Leishan County in the Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Ethnic Minority Autonomous Prefecture. Before Xijiang became a popular tourist destination, the Miao language was the predominant channel for communication. The expansion of the tourist industry radically altered the language context, with the vernacular Miao, the majority (national) language, Chinese, and—to a lesser extent—English and other international languages forming a complex ecology of languages. In this respect, the village represents an interesting site for investigating the linguistic dimensions of economic development and cultural globalization, which has brought about increased interactions between minority and majority groups within China and among local, national, and international languages. Given the issues of identity and power that are connected with official and community language use (Tollefson and Tsui 2003), the new circumstances in the village create potential tensions, as well as opportunities for establishing harmonious multilingualism.

In China, minority languages (some of which only have a spoken form and no written script) serve mainly for intra-ethnic communication. The rights of ethnic minority groups to use and protect their own languages are guaranteed by laws and legislature, such as the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982), the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy (1984), and the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (2000). A number of supportive measures have been put in place since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Bilingual or trilingual education have been advocated at different times, although through diverse rather than unified policy streams (Adamson and Feng 2009, 2014). Written scripts were developed for a number of ethnic languages: in the case of Miao, for instance, the national government authorized the creation of a Romanized written form in the 1950s. However, minority languages and vernaculars often struggle for survival in the face of powerful national and international languages. Mandarin Chinese, in the standardized form known as Putonghua, is the most important language in China, being used for administration, broadcasting, and education and as a lingua franca for people from different language communities. English, as an international language, plays an increasingly significant role in Chinese society. Feng and Adamson (2015, p. 6) note that "Increasing tourism in many minority regions, joint ventures, international economic activities, have all helped fuel enthusiasm for gaining English language competence not only in metropolitan areas, but also in remote minority communities."

Nowadays, trilingual or multilingual education in China, involving ethnic minority languages (L1), Chinese (L2), and English (L3), is increasingly emphasized in the minority areas to promote social equality and development, as well as national unity. For minority students, the three languages are equally important tools of communication and carriers of culture, while their educational functions are different as

they have their respective roles in the social and economic development of the country. Briefly, the crucial role of L1 is to maintain and transmit minority students' linguistic and cultural heritage, and thereby their identity, and to facilitate children's cognitive development (Baker 2011); L2 plays an important role in their social mobility and economic development; and L3 is also helpful for engaging in international affairs. Attention is thus paid to all three languages, but the status and roles of these languages in education have subtle differences. Chinese, as the language of national unity and linguistic capital, possesses the highest status and a strong sense of cultural identity. English occupies an increasingly important position in minority education owing to increasing global interaction in minority areas. Minority languages, for lack of associated economic and political capital, tend to be paid comparatively less attention or, in some cases, overlooked. Thus, the respective roles of three languages in schools are controversial issues, being connected with questions of identity, social equity, and economic and social power in multilingual contexts (Johnson et al. 2016).

The study of a linguistic landscape (LL) is a relatively new approach to multilingualism (Gorter 2006). Landry and Bourhis (1997) defined the notion of LL as "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs" (p. 23), including road signs, names of places, sites and institutions, advertising billboards, and signs on shops and government buildings in a given territory, and argued that the LL serves as both an informational marker of the geographical territory and a symbolic reflection of the power and social identity of linguistic communities. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) suggest that there is a bidirectional relationship between LL and the sociolinguistic context as LL can also influence language use and people's perception of the status of the different languages. The distinction between official and private signs is also an interesting characteristic of the LL, with the former including signs used by public authorities (e.g., road signs, place names, and signs on government buildings) and the latter referring to signs installed by individuals, business institutions, and associations (e.g., commercial signs, advertising billboards, and signs on vehicles). Official signs mainly reflect government language policy, while private signs present actual linguistic practices and people's preferences in language use. Official and private signs thus make different contributions to the LL of a given territory and interact in the social context to form a distinctive linguistic ecology.

While there is a consistent agreement that LL can reflect social realities and ecologies of language, there is little research into the social factors that mold LL. This chapter focuses on the language choices and arrangements of the LL and the attitudes of different groups toward the languages involved and analyzes the underlying social forces and drivers. It then considers the implications of these choices for the minority language and how multilingual education and other strategies might strengthen its status and presence. The analysis is based on the cultural capital theory of social action. Bourdieu (1983, 1991, 1993) argues that social reality is composed of a series of interconnected fields of social facts structured by unequal power relations among various participants. All social practices of participants in the field or among fields are involved in the exchange of capital to maximize

Table 1 Three forms of cultural capital

Form of cultural capital	Definition	Representatives
Embodied capital	Internalized language, ability, behavior, and knowledge system	Manifested by human beings, e.g., Miao people represents capital of Miao ethnic culture
Objectified capital	Transmissible, the form of material objects	Book, other mediums, e.g., Miao artworks
Institutional capital	The academic certification or reward	Certificates affirmed by authority or institutions

access to power and resources. The "nonmaterial" form of the exchange is related to cultural capital, which is the resource of social power and control. Cultural capital is the sum of cultural resources, including cultural ability, cultural habitus, cultural products, cultural institutions, and so on. Bourdieu further divides cultural capital into three forms (Table 1): embodied capital, objectified capital, and institutional capital (Carrington and Luke 1997).

Cultural capital is developed by habitus, nurtured gradually by consistent involvement in social life and activities. The distributions of cultural capital are uneven owing to the presence of different strata and milieus in a society, resulting in the distinctions of high or low, more or less, and dominant or marginal cultural capital between different communities. However, as a semiautonomous and structured social space, each field with its own power dynamics can both affect and be affected by the other fields, which on the one hand makes the cultural capital in a group relatively stable and on the other hand provides an opportunity for a group to change the cultural capital and, by extension, the power relations. When cultural capital becomes symbolic capital (i.e., legitimate) that is seen as accumulated prestige or honor, cultural capital and other forms of capital (i.e., economic capital and social capital) can transform into each other. As the core of culture, language does not merely function as a means of communication: more importantly, it becomes a medium of power (Phillipson 1992).

Bourdieu's cultural capital theory provides a useful analytical tool for understanding the language use and practices within LL and the power relations of various sociolinguistic domains. In this study, the relationship among LL, ecology of languages, and cultural capital is viewed as multidirectional. Firstly, LL can both reflect and construct the ecology of languages and cultural capital. Secondly, cultural capital determines LL and the power relations of various sociolinguistic domains and therefore can promote the value and status of the linguistic communities and alter the ecology of languages. Hence, on the one hand, LL is affected by the cultural capital of different sociolinguistic domains; on the other hand, it embodies and has impacts on cultural capital and the ecology of languages. Once the cultural capital of a minority language is promoted and the ecology of languages correspondingly changed, the social value and status of the minority language will be improved, and the language and culture will be developed (see Fig. 1).

The first step in our analysis of the LL is to investigate the language choices and arrangements among the minority language (Miao), majority language (Chinese),

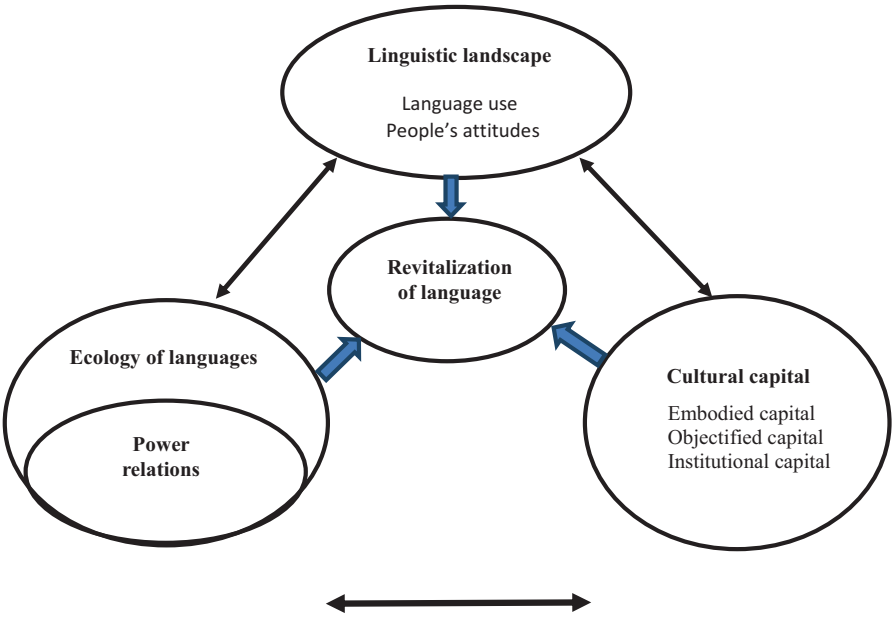

Fig. 1 The interrelationship of linguistic landscape, ecology of languages, and cultural capital

and international languages (predominantly but not exclusively English) and the attitudes toward the LL of people from various social domains, including government officials, shopkeepers, tourists, and inhabitants. Data in the form of photo records, interviews, and observations were collected during field visits in 2015. The distribution of languages used on signs was quantified, while other qualitative data were coded according to themes. The power relations of different sociolinguistic communities revealed by the data were analyzed in order to discern the underlying social factors shaping the LL according to the framework shown in Fig. 1. In the concluding section of this chapter, effective approaches are proposed to utilize and promote ethnic cultural capital aimed to ultimately improving the status and value of ethnic language and culture. By resetting the positions of various categories of participants in a field to reconstruct social reality, a better ecological balance of languages may be achieved and issues of social equality could be addressed.

2 The Ecology of Languages in Xijiang

Xijiang is the largest village inhabited by Miao ethnic minority people in the world. Comprising four smaller villages (Pingzhai, Dongyin, Yangpai, and Nangui), Xijiang has a total population of about 9000, of which some 99.5% are Miao, giving rise to the informal name, "Thousand Households Miao Village." Migrant

permanent residents number around 600. There are 523 households running individual business, and 280 commercial networks, 70% of which are from outside Xijiang, within an administrative area of 38.59 square kilometers. Miao folk customs in farming methods, festivals, silver jewelry, clothes, food, song, and dance have been passed on from generation to generation. Xijiang represents the long history and development of Chinese-Miao and is seen by Chinese and foreign folklorists and scholars as a place where the "original ecological" culture of the Miao is preserved relatively intact and has earned the village the reputation of being "China's Miao capital."

The village is located in a mountainous region and a small river transverses it; special outseam wooden buildings (*diaojiaolou* in Chinese) have been constructed in picturesque disorder near the mountains and by the river, forming an idyllic scene. Cultural attractions for tourists include song and dance performances, the Xijiang Miao minority museum, "wine before opening the door" (*lanmenjiu*, a ceremony to welcome guests), wax printing houses, distilleries, a repository (*guzangtang*) where holy articles are stored, silver production houses, and an ethnic painting and arts exhibition. The total number of tourists visiting Xijiang has grown rapidly in recent years. The volume was 3.6755 million in 2012, of which foreign visitors, mainly from the USA, England, France, Japan, and Korea, accounted for 0.4%.

The formal language of administration, commerce, and communication among the various groups in the village is Chinese. The language for family communication of local residents is Miao. However, with the continuous and growing presence of tourists, the villagers tend to speak Mandarin Chinese most of the time, and children in the village reportedly show less interest in their ethnic language. The formal language in school, including the medium of instruction, is Chinese. English is a core subject usually taught from grade 3 in primary school. The Miao language is also taught in schools, which are classed as offering a bilingual (Chinese and Miao) education. Xijiang Primary School (which includes a Kindergarten section) was officially recognized as a "Provincial Pre-school Bilingual Education Experimental School" in 2011 and "Provincial Exemplary Base for Fostering a Harmonious Bilingual Environment" in 2012.

2.1 Code Choice on Signs

The samples of signs for this study were selected from places according to their representativeness of commercial, residential, and scenic spots. Official signs were coded according to whether they belonged to a local state or travel office. Private signs were coded according to the nature of the business (e.g., food, clothing, and cultural products). With the criterion of one sign per site as a unit of analysis, altogether 267 units of analysis were collected, comprising 92 official signs—notices at scenic spots, street names, maps, public notifications, warning signs, and signs on public sites—and 175 private signs produced by individual, associative, or corporative agents, including 85 shop signs relating to ethno-cultural products (such as wax

printing, embroidery, tricot, silver, ethnic costumes, ethnic musical instruments, and other local specialties), 43 food shops, 30 hotels, and 17 other businesses (banks, delivery companies, and so on).

Xijiang Miao village is a multilingual setting as evidenced by monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual displays on the signs. Table 2 offers an overall comparison of the number of languages in Xijiang Miao village. As can be seen, monolingualism prevails within the multilingual setting, with Chinese-only signs dominant. In terms of the code choice, some differences are found between official signs and private signs. Monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs are equal in number for official signs, and on multilingual signs, the use of Chinese, English, Japanese, and Korean is the preferred combination. Monolingual Chinese predominates on private signs (85.1%); otherwise, the pairing of Chinese and English is the preferred combination. Miao is rarely present—just one Chinese-Miao bilingual private sign (see Fig. 2) was detected, and this sign has the Chinese information literally and (according to a Miao language expert) poorly translated into Miao. A few official signs (typically the names of places or bridges—see Fig. 3) are monolingual with Miao transcribed into Chinese characters so domestic tourists could access the Miao name.

Language choices are also presented in Table 3. As can be seen, five languages are present on the signs, Chinese, English, Japanese, Korean, and Miao (including Miao Romanized script and phonetic transcriptions into Chinese characters), while the usage of these languages on signs varies. Chinese has the strongest presence, appearing on almost all signs (98.5%). English has a stronger distribution (25.1%) than Japanese and Korean, which have the same presence (13.1%). Miao only appears on its own in 1.9% of all the cases. This phenomenon illustrates that, although multilingualism does exist in Xijiang, the overwhelmingly dominant language is Chinese, while the Miao language occupies the lowest place of the written languages. (The use of foreign languages is likely to reflect the most common languages of overseas tourists.)

In our analysis, we assume that the names written in larger fonts are the primary names for the shops. On bilingual and multilingual signs, a notable tendency is for Chinese to be presented as the primary shop name. This usage probably reflects the fact that it is the predominant language of the majority of tourists visiting the village (see Fig. 4). English is rarely found on the shop signs, which might reflect the reality that foreign tourists are less numerous and creating English signs is a linguistic challenge for many shop owners.

Table 2 Number of languages on the sign (percentages)

Number and languages		Official signs	Private signs
1	Chinese	50	85.1
	Miao	4.3	0
2	Chinese-English	5.4	13.7
	Chinese-Miao	0	0.6
4	Chinese-English-Japanese-Korean	40.3	0.6

Fig. 2 Sign of cultural products shop (private sign)

Fig. 3 Bridge name (official sign)

Table 3 Presence of languages in the LL

Languages	Number	Percentage (%)
Chinese	263	98.5
English	67	25.1
Japanese	35	13.1
Korean	35	13.1
Miao	5	1.9

Fig. 4 Ethnic hairdressing (private sign)

We also assume that the preferred language is usually placed above the secondary or peripheral language when they are vertically aligned and to the left when they are horizontally aligned (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In Xijiang, an upper-lower alignment of two or more languages is preferred, with Chinese placed in the top position (see Fig. 5). No left-right alignment was found on the bilingual and multilingual signs.

The visibility of languages in the LL was recorded according to the nature of the business or location of signs. As the language choice and the placement of official signs issued by the local government follow standard regulations, signs on government buildings and residential areas are usually monolingual (in Chinese). Chinese-English bilingual and Chinese-English-Japanese-Korean multilingual signs are often found at scenic spots and business centers to serve international visitors. Monolingual Chinese names are more common for shop signs, especially food and beverage stores, while other major types of shops (such as bars or shops selling cultural products) tend to have bilingual signs, mainly Chinese-English (see Table 4):

Fig. 5 Guideboard (official sign with Chinese, English, Japanese, and Korean)

Table 4 Presence and position of languages in signage according to type of carries

Business	Chinese	Chinese-English	Chinese-Miao	Chinese-English-Japanese-Korean	Total
Ethnic cultural products	74	10	1	0	85
Food and beverages	40				40
Bars		3			3
Hotels	22	7		1	30
Groceries	6	1			7
Banks		2			2
Others	8				8
Total	150	24		1	175

3 Attitudes Toward the Linguistic Landscape

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data on various groups' attitudes. Thirty participants were selected, including Xijiang government officials, shop owners or their employees in commercial areas and the farmyard guesthouse area, tourists from home and abroad, and local residents. The participants were randomly selected, except for the government officials, who were chosen on the basis of their work being related to signage and management of scenic spots. (Official signage in Xijiang is under the control of local language planning bodies,

while private signs are not usually under government supervision). All interviews were conducted by the first author (Shan) in July, 2015, with each lasting 5–10 minutes. The interviews with officials were carried out in government offices, and the other interviews were conducted in streets and shops. Four sets of interview questions were designed for the different groups of respondents. One questionnaire in English was designed for foreign tourists, and the rest were in Chinese. All the sets of questions were divided into two parts: the first part collected information about the respondents, and the other part comprised three to seven open questions about their attitudes toward language use in the LL. Most of the interviews were recorded by note-taking, and Chinese extracts in this chapter were translated into English by Shan.

3.1 Government Officials

Government officials showed the most positive attitude toward the use of Chinese on signs, an attitude that aligned with the regulations promoting the national language as the standard medium of public communication. The officials also approved the use of English and other foreign languages in meeting the needs of international visitors. However, they were less inclined to use Miao on the signs, on the grounds that few people were competent in the language. As one official commented:

> It goes without saying that Chinese should be put in the first place, as it is the official language and all people can understand it. Foreign languages help foreign tourists. The unique ethnic customs and culture here attract more and more tourists, especially those from abroad. If you want to make an international tourist attraction, foreign languages on the signs are essential. We conducted a survey and found that Japanese and Korean account for the largest proportion of foreign tourists, so we made the unified Chinese–English–Japanese– Korean multilingual signs. (Official 1: our translation)

> It's not necessary to use the Miao language on signs—even the majority of Miao people don't know the Miao script. I belong to the Miao minority but I don't know the Miao script. We just speak Miao but don't write it in most cases. Of course, other people don't know the Miao language, so it is pointless to put it on signs. (Official 2: our translation)

From the above we can observe that the number and countries of origin of foreign visitors are increasing, adding to the complexity of the ecology of languages in Xijiang.

3.2 Shopkeepers

Shopkeepers were also positive about the use of Chinese; they believed that Chinese can inform the majority of tourists about the nature of the business. Their impression toward English was ambivalent. Some shopkeepers said that English can convey information for foreign tourists and attract them to the shop. There was also a view that Chinese-English bilingual signs look more attractive.

> Foreign tourists are also interested in Miao products like silver, clothes and hairstyles, so I chose to use English, as it can attract more foreign customers. But I don't know English, so the English on the sign was translated by others. And bilingual signs are beautiful; other shopkeepers said my sign was beautiful and they used the same style. (Shopkeeper 1: our translation)

For some shopkeepers, using English was too much of a challenge:

> I just know Chinese, I don't know English. It is inconvenient to ask other people to translate Chinese into English as I don't know people who speak English, so I just put Chinese on my sign. (Shopkeeper 2: our translation)

However, most shopkeepers rejected the idea of using Miao on their signs, on the assumption that their target customers would not understand the language. Even in the only shop that had a sign in Miao, the shopkeeper displayed puzzlement at the choice of language:

> I don't know the language on the sign or why they put it there. It was designed by the company. (Shopkeeper 3: our translation)

On the other hand, a few reasoned that the Miao language may add an air of authenticity to the cultural products on display:

> I never thought of putting Miao language on my sign, I just reckon nobody would be able to understand it. Maybe it's a good idea, to make my cultural products look more authentic. (Shopkeeper 4: our translation)

3.3 Tourists

Tourists were the only group that overwhelmingly expressed positive opinions toward the use of multilingual signs. In particular, they supported the combined use of Chinese, English, and Miao. They had been attracted to the primitive Miao ethnic village, and the purpose of their visit was to explore the folklore and customs within a natural cultural environment. They recognized the pragmatic value of Chinese and English (or other foreign languages) in helping visitors, but they wanted to see and hear the Miao language in order to feel closer to the ethnic flavor of the village and thus have a richer cultural experience.

> We can get information in Chinese and English; using Miao on signs is just a symbol. Even if we don't know Miao, we can appreciate it. And I guess learning some Miao words would be interesting. (Tourist 1: our translation)

> The point of travelling to a Miao ethnic village is to experience real Miao culture. I want everything to be real here—not artificial culture. The Miao language is real. (Tourist 2: our translation)

> The use of Miao language on the sign shows the unique cultural features and can preserve the ethnic culture. (Tourist 3: our translation)

> I think the Miao language is interesting. It's better to put it on signs. It makes me feel that the Miao village is unique and real. I find the Miao written script is beautiful, like a work of art. (Tourist 4: our translation)

> I can sense the holistic cultural atmosphere of the Miao minority in the village, but I find many artificial things—cultural products are half-real and half-fake. They're all too commercialized. Maybe the Miao language can make a difference. (Tourist 5: our translation)

3.4 Local Residents

Local residents tended to be positively disposed toward the use of Chinese and foreign languages, but they were negative about the use of Miao language on signs even though they identified strongly with the language. They said that they would only use spoken Miao with local Miao people and mainly use Chinese for oral and written communication with others. They noted that the younger generation was also keen to learn foreign languages.

> We originally didn't have a Miao script, so few residents know it. We don't use the Miao script in daily life. I learned a little Miao script in primary school but now I've forgotten it—it is too difficult. Chinese is a very important subject at school; we use Chinese to write, study and take exams. (Local resident 1: our translation)

> We speak Miao at home and with villagers, but we speak Mandarin or Chinese dialects with non-locals and tourists. Children like to learn the languages of the foreign tourists. It seems very interesting to them to say 'Hello' to foreigners and speak English. (Local resident 2: our translation)

The failure of the written versions of Miao to gain popular traction was cited as another reason why the use of the language on signs was redundant:

> It is too complicated because there are new and old Miao written scripts, and the newly created Romanized version. I don't completely accept the written form of Miao as my own language. What's more, we don't need a Miao script to read and write in our daily life. (Local resident 3: our translation)

Many residents admitted that they were illiterate in Miao and did not see the value of having signs in the language as tourists and locals alike would not be able to understand them.

> Most local Miao people cannot even read or write Miao written scripts, not to mention the other people, so there is no point in putting it on signs. (Local resident 4: our translation)

However, some residents valued cultural transmission as an important means of preserving their ethnic identity:

> The Miao language is our own ethnic language. We must speak it and teach our children to speak it. (Local resident 5: our translation)

4 Redressing the Linguistic Balance

The data suggest that, while monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs coexist in Xijiang, the predominant signs are monolingual Chinese. Chinese-English-Japanese-Korean multilingual signs (mainly official signs) take second place owing to the tourist management policies of the local government. Bilingual signs on which the languages are mainly Chinese and English account for only a small part of the LL. This state of affairs reflects and contributes to official views of the various languages.

Chinese is the most prevalent and salient language of the LL, which reflects the fact that it is the lingua franca for communication among the different language communities in Xijiang and its prominence also demonstrates its power as the common national language of China. Out of the foreign languages displayed on the signage, English has the largest presence, which accords with its status as an international language in general and of tourism in particular. The use of English symbolizes the impact of globalization on the village. Through its powerful status, it is associated with notions of modernity, prestige, and attractiveness, as is indicated by the desire of some village children to learn English. All the groups interviewed for this study display positive attitudes toward Chinese and English but, with the exception of tourists, negative attitudes toward the Miao language. The low status of the Miao language indicates that locals lack identification with it, especially the written forms—none of which seems to be strongly embraced by the Miao people. For them, their language is only for internal communication, and there is little value in a formalized written script. Another reason is that it appears that the local government attaches less importance to the Miao language and concentrates on the promotion of Chinese. Only tourists support the use of Miao in the LL, as it represents to them a sense of accessing the ethnic culture that is the focus of their visit. The public's attitudes are, to a large extent, aligned with the visibility and prominence of the languages in the LL. The dominance of Chinese and English on signs in Xijiang exemplify how the language choices in the LL are affected by the social status and economic benefits that they are perceived to bring and reveal the uneven distribution and different values of cultural capital among the language communities.

The local Miao language embodies considerable invisible cultural value as demonstrated by the popularity of the village for ethnic tourism. However, although it is the first language and main carrier of cultural heritage that forms the basis for the current economic prosperity of the village, Miao actually has low social status, and its associated linguistic and cultural capital are not developed. Ironically, it is the same opportunity for economic prosperity through tourism that induces the local residents to cater to the language needs of other groups, thereby failing to take advantage of their ethnic linguistic capital. As a result, only part of the cultural capital is developed, and the symbolic value of ethnic language and culture is rarely exploited, and hence ethnic objectified capital is not achieved completely. The unbalanced ecosystem of languages hinders the sustainable and harmonious development of the Xijiang Miao village. Without the institutional capital that the Miao language might accrue from official recognition and use in public arenas (traffic

signs, mass media, courts, and so on), the foundations for the sustainability and growth of the language and culture are weak.

What steps could be taken to strengthen the visibility and status of the Miao language? The first area for development could be to build on its value as an important cultural resource that can be utilized for the purposes of tourism, which would bring both cultural and economic capital. The emphasis on Chinese and foreign languages is detrimental in this regard, affecting—at least in the eyes of visitors—the authenticity of the village as an embodiment of ethnic minority culture, and so the production of signs written in the Miao script is essential to facilitate the realization and transformation of cultural capital and to create a more "genuine" ethnic cultural environment. Of the choices of script available, the older version that is admired as artwork by visitors would seem the most appropriate to achieve this purpose. The greater prominence afforded to the Miao language by such a policy could give rise to the development of other cultural initiatives, such as the manufacture of handicrafts and silver carvings in the same script, recordings of ethnic songs and dances with multilingual captions, and designating sites for tourists to study the minority language, folklore, arts, and crafts, all of which would contribute to the distinctive features and authenticity of the village. In this way, through the process of occupying the objects of cultural capital, customers come to accept, whether actively or passively, the symbolic meaning of cultural capital. Hence, the material and nonmaterial resources can be transformed into cultural capital.

Members of minority communities, as the carriers of ethnic culture, are also themselves significant ethnic cultural capital. However, they acquire lower or less dominant cultural capital due to the relatively backward provision of education and closed social environment, which hinder their ability to know and leverage the value of their ethnic language and culture. Additional educational investment could help ethnic members to acquire mainstream cultural capital. Specifically, the acquisition of new knowledge and skills or qualifications would facilitate the generation of institutional cultural capital. One benefit of this cultural capital would be to contribute to ethnic members' cognition and ability to better use their ethnic language and culture for the sustainability of the village. A specific form of education intervention would be the development of a strong multilingual model in schools.

The promotion of multilingual education can be an important step to gain the institutional capital and other cultural capital for Miao language. Recent research (e.g., Feng and Adamson 2015) into multilingual education in ethnic minority regions of China has identified four distinct models. Two of them (the accretive and the balanced) promote additive multilingualism, while the other two (the transitional and depreciative) are deleterious to the minority language (Adamson and Feng 2015). The accretive model appears to be appropriate for the context of Xijiang. This model is based on the students learning through the minority language (Miao in this case) initially, and using their linguistic knowledge to learn Chinese, before they draw on both the minority language and Chinese to learn a foreign language (usually English) (see Zhang et al. 2015). If this model were implemented, we would suggest that written Miao could be learned initially through the Romanized script, as this would facilitate the students' development of multilingualism by

providing them with a basis for also accessing the *pinyin* form of Chinese as well as the English alphabetic system. The more traditional script that tourists appreciate could be learned at a later stage, along with other aspects of Miao cultural heritage, such as music, arts, and handicrafts. This model of multilingualism has the potential to equip the students with the linguistic capital to reinforce the cultural capital of their village (and thereby enhance the economic capital), as well as to benefit from life chances afforded by competence in Chinese and a foreign language. In addition, the development of an accretive model of multilingualism represents institutionalization of support for the Miao language, a process of strengthening symbolic capital that has the benefit of raising public and private consciousness of the value of protecting the local language and culture. In short, a strong model of multilingual education can provide the means by which the rich ethnic cultural resources of the village can be transformed into cultural capital, bringing social and economic rewards. Hence, the social value and status of the Miao language can be improved, the social structure in the field would be reconstructed, and the ecosystem of languages can be adjusted to achieve a more balanced state.

This research points to the possibilities of treating the LL as a means of investigating the cultural capital and ecology of languages from a Bourdieusian perspective. We have focused on the use of the principal languages, the minority language (Miao), the majority language (Chinese), and international languages (mainly English), in the multilingual context of Xijiang village and on the attitudes of different groups—government officials, shopkeepers, tourists, and local inhabitants. Our findings demonstrate that the Miao-Chinese-English power relations in Xijiang can be defined as "asymmetric," with the living space of Miao language threatened by the dominance of Chinese in particular. We have suggested that foregrounding the minority language as the foundation of the ecology of languages in Xijiang and instituting a multilingual model of education offer potential gains in the coherent development of all the relevant languages. We argue that the study of the LL may effectively bring to light aspects of the dynamics of these relationships. In addition, the notion of cultural capital provides the basis for an effective education strategy to utilize and develop the value of the ethnic culture and to raise the social status of the minority language in order to rebalance the ecosystem of languages and address issues of social equality.

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