The Colonial Transformation of Music and Multilingualism in Tibet

Gerald Roche (Senior Research Fellow, La Trobe University)[1]

Introduction

Despite the mid-twentieth century decolonization process, and despite several decades of academic attention to the 'post-colonial' condition, colonialism is alive and well in the 21st century. It exists not as an 'after-life,' 'legacy,' or 'memory,' but as an ongoing technology of domination and exploitation. It exists in places as diverse as Australia, Ethiopia, the USA, Taiwan, Sweden, and Russia. And it exists in the rule of the People's Republic of China (PRC) over Tibet.

Like colonialism itself, the project of understanding colonialism—its diversity, its violence, its harms, its cunning—is ongoing. In this chapter I aim to contribute to the project of understanding colonialism in Tibet: what it is, how it operates, the harm it does, and how it might be resisted. I aim to make both an empirical and a methodological contribution to this project of understanding colonialism in Tibet. Empirically, I examine the relationship between colonialism and language oppression, which Alice Taff and her colleagues define as the, "'enforcement of language loss by physical, mental, social, and spiritual coercion,"[2] by asking *how* colonialism in Tibet enforces language loss. And methodologically, I explore how investigating music can help us answer this question.

At first glance, a reasonable entry point into an examination of colonialism, music, and language oppression might seem to be the overt expressions of hatred, prejudice, and the will to dominate and destroy that are found in hate music or the music of genocide.[3] However, in this chapter I will argue that in order to connect colonialism, language oppression, and music in Tibet, we need to look beyond explicit statements of prejudice, hatred, or eliminatory intent, and beyond the treatment of music as merely a venue for text. Instead, I argue that we need to look at music as a social practice, and a medium through which ideas are both expressed and enacted. Specifically, we need to look at music in relation to language ideologies, which are concepts that not only relate to the "nature, structure, and use" of language, but are also a means to "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology."[4]

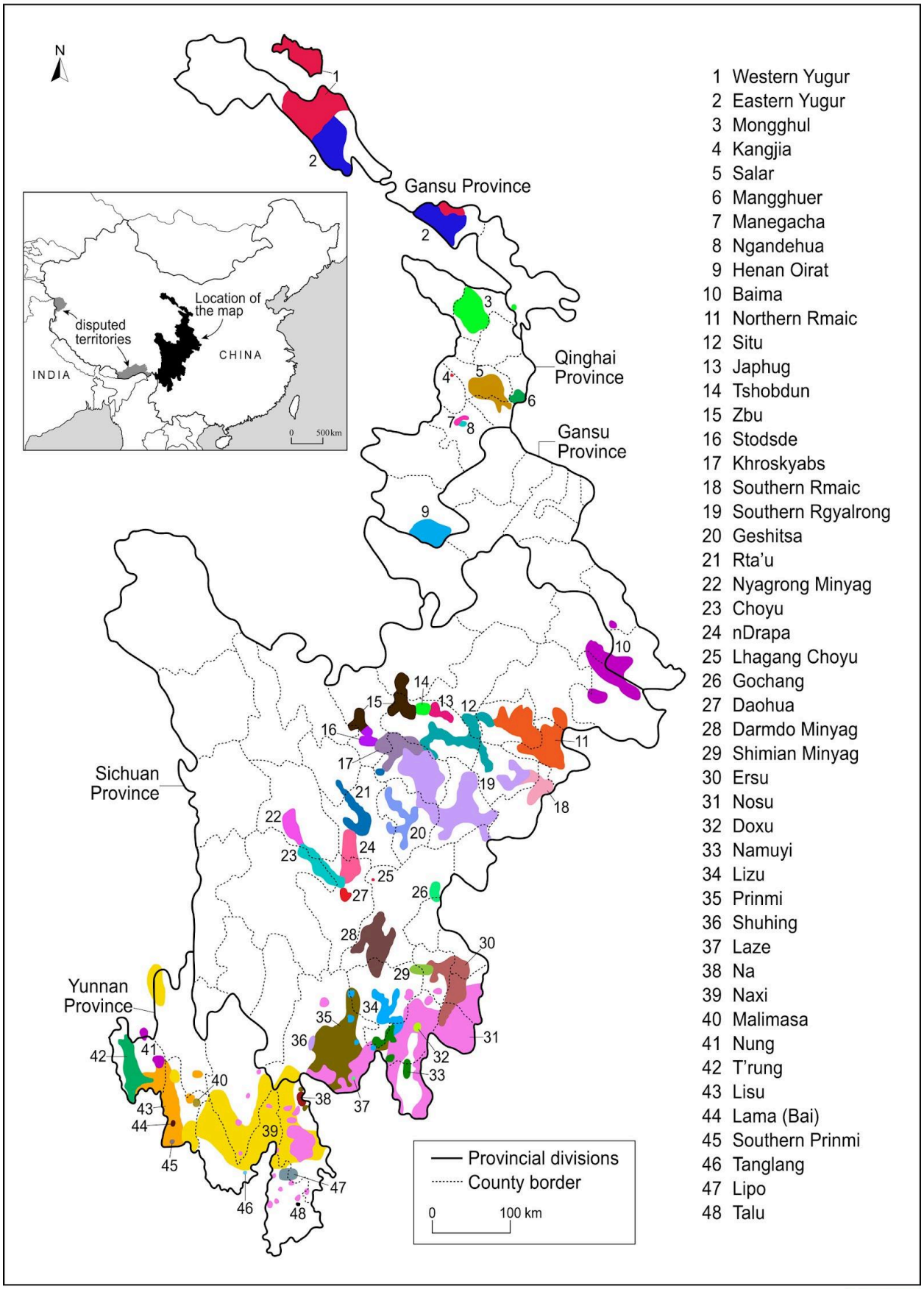
In this chapter, I discuss music as both an *expression* and *instantiation* of language ideologies. In looking at music as an *expression* of language ideologies, I am examining the ways in which music, particularly lyrics, explicitly reflects on language issues: praising, demeaning, naming and describing languages and their use in relatively transparent terms. Secondly, in looking at music as an *instantiation* of language ideologies, I look at how music enables us to deduce implicit language ideologies. Here, it is not so much *what* is said, but *how* it is said. Examining patterns of language use in song—what forms of speech are used, by whom, in what context, and in what ways—enables us to explore language ideologies regarding the perceived value and appropriateness attached to different forms of language. My aim here is to explore how colonialism has transformed language ideologies in ways that contribute to language oppression.

My examination of language ideologies, and their transformation under colonialism, focuses on a group of languages that I refer to as the unrecognized or minoritized languages of Tibet.[5] These languages are spoken by people formally designated by the PRC as Tibetans (most of them accept this classification, but some do not). Each of these languages are each spoken by relatively few people (in the thousands) and are typically spoken within comparatively small areas (see Figure 1). They are almost always considered to be non-standard, non-prestigious speech forms by Tibetans who do not speak those languages. These unrecognized languages are found throughout Tibet, in each of the main ethno-linguistics regions of Amdo, Kham, and U-Tsang, but are concentrated in eastern Tibet (see Figure 1). Some of the specific languages we will meet in this chapter include Manegacha, Henan Oirat, rTa'u, Khroksyabs, and Tosu. But they are also often known to Tibetans beyond the speaker community by broader hyponyms that refer to language groups rather than specific languages: Rgyal rong skad and Mi nyag skad are two examples.

This chapter focuses on these languages because they reveal a central but frequently overlooked aspect of language oppression in Tibet. Namely, I am referring to the assimilation of languages *within* the so-called *minzu* ('nationalities'), as opposed to the far more frequently discussed issue of hierarchical relations between *minzu*, i.e., the subordination of all minorities within a Han supremacist framework that sees the national language, Putonghua, promoted at the expense of all other languages in the country.

In order to explore these issues, I start below with an examination of the pre-colonial situation. I look at a range of language ideologies that circulated amongst Tibetans prior to the establishment of the PRC's colonial rule in Tibet, and then examine the musical practices in several different communities where minoritized languages were spoken, to see what sort of language ideologies were instantiated in these practices. The next section of the chapter looks at the transformation of these practices and ideologies under colonialism. In particular, I focus on the emergence of overt expressions of language ideologies in Tibetan popular music since 2008, and situate this development within colonial language oppression and resistance to it. In the conclusion, I look at recent developments in Tibetan pop music—the emergence of music in minoritized languages—and explore what this novel practice might tell us about the constantly shifting nature of oppression and resistance under the PRC's colonial rule.

Minority Languages of the Eastern Tibetosphere



1 Western Yugur
2 Eastern Yugur
3 Mongghul
4 Kangjia
5 Salar
6 Mangghuer
7 Manegacha
8 Ngandehua
9 Henan Oirat
10 Baima
11 Northern Rmaic
12 Situ
13 Japhug
14 Tshobdun
15 Zbu
16 Stodsde
17 Khroskyabs
18 Southern Rmaic
19 Southern Rgyalrong
20 Geshitsa
21 Rta'u
22 Nyagrong Minyag
23 Choyu
24 nDrapa
25 Lhagang Choyu
26 Gochang
27 Daohua
28 Darmdo Minyag
29 Shimian Minyag
30 Ersu
31 Nosu
32 Doxu
33 Namuyi
34 Lizu
35 Prinmi
36 Shuhing
37 Laze
38 Na
39 Naxi
40 Malimasa
41 Nung
42 T'rung
43 Lisu
44 Lama (Bai)
45 Southern Prinmi
46 Tanglang
47 Lipo
48 Talu

Cartography: Chandra Jayasuriya. Language data: Gerald Roche and Hiroyuki Suzuki.

Language Ideologies in Pre-Colonial Tibet

A variety of language ideologies existed in pre-colonial Tibet, and these are found expressed in a range of formats and media. Instead of attempting to reduce these down to a two-dimensional, generically Tibetan view of language, it is important to consider these ideologies in their diversity and, often, contradictoriness. As we will come to see later, the transformation of language ideologies under colonialism has involved the state intervening in this rich ideological field, not in order to replace 'Tibetan' language ideologies with 'Chinese' ones, but rather to selectively highlight, manipulate, recontextualize and redeploy pre-existing ideologies to new and harmful ends. A complete survey of all language ideologies circulating in Tibet is beyond the scope of this chapter—for example, we know precious little about the language ideologies expressed in minoritized languages. However, in this section I aim to introduce some of the more prominent ideologies in order to contextualize the transformations that have taken place in Tibet since the mid twentieth century.[6]

The proverb *lung pa re la skad lugs re/ bla ma re la chos lugs re/*—every valley has its own way of speaking, and each lama has their own dharma—captures an important aspect of pre-colonial language ideologies in Tibet.[7] Linguistic diversity was recognized, and was expected and accepted as a matter-of-fact part of life. Nicolas Tourandre and Françoise Robin also present a number of similar proverbs that demonstrate the taken-for-granted nature of linguistic diversity in pre-colonial Tibet:[8]

ཕོ་ཡ་རབས་མ་རབས་སྤྱོད་པས་ཤེས
ཡུལ་ས་ཕྱོགས་གང་ཡིན་སྐད་ཀྱེས་ཤེས
pho ya rabs ma rabs spyod pas shes
yul sa phyogs gang yin skad kyes shes
[A person's quality can be known by their behavior
A person's origins can be known by their speech]

སྐྱིད་སྡུག་གང་ཡིན་གཞས་ཀྱིས་ཤེས
ལུང་པ་གང་ཡིན་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ཤེས
skyid sdug gang yin gzhas kyis shes
lung pa gang yin skad kyis shis
[You can tell how someone feels when they sing
You can tell where someone is from when they speak]
(160)

གལ་ཏེ་ཆུ་གཅིག་ཐུང་ན་སྐད་གཅིག་ཡོང་ངའོ
ཆུ་སོ་སོ་ཐུང་ན་སྐད་སོ་སོ་ཡོང་ངའོ
gal te chu cig cig 'thung na skad cig cig yong nga nog
chu so so 'thung na skad so so yong nga nog
[Those who drink from the same river speak the same
Those who drink from different rivers speak differently]
(159)

Beyond this, we find numerous reasons to believe that linguistic diversity was not only recognized, but valued, in pre-colonial Tibet—at least at some times and by some people. To take a few examples that demonstrate this, at the level of practice, the everyday use of Sanskrit in household ritual demonstrated an

openness to the presence of other languages in speech. In terms of role and status, we find the translator (*lo tsa ba*) and the task of translation set aside as distinct and esteemed.[9] And we also see efforts to make the Dharma available to people in the languages they understand best, such as in the vernacularization of the Dharma into Amdo Tibetan by Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me.[10] Taken together with the widespread recognition of diversity found in proverbial wisdom, these suggest that pre-colonial Tibet was characterized by a certain extent of pluralism, in the sense of ideologies and practices that "make it possible for diverse language groups to live together."[11]

However, such pluralism was only part of a much more complex story. Whilst capacity to use and move between different speech forms was in some ways valued, this does not mean that all speech forms were always valued equally. Rather, clear hierarchies of value were often brought into play, and this was often seen in naming practices used for languages. Whilst the names of Tibetan varieties are typically tied to place—Khams skad, Lha sa skad, A mdo skad, The bo skad, and so on—minoritized languages were often referred to by Tibetan speakers in terms that referenced their subordinate status and deviation from perceived norms. One term used for these languages is *logs skad*, a term which implies 'inverse' or 'backwards' talk.[12] Another term is *'dre skad*, which can be translated as 'demonic' or 'ghost' talk, though an alternative interpretation is that the term is actually *'dras skad*, 'mixed talk.'[13] Both terms—*logs skad* and *'dre skad*—are pejorative, and assign these speech forms to a subordinate status in a language hierarchy, which sees Tibetan varieties as normal or standard, and minoritized languages as deviant.

Broadly, we can see this subordination of minoritized languages as coherent with a wider Tibetan civilizing project that divided various peoples into categories of civilized and uncivilized,[14] primarily, but not exclusively, in relation to their perceived religious affiliation. The appellation 'barbarian' (*kla klo*) could be applied to any number of people and peoples, depending on who was using it. For example, from the perspective of Lhasa, Mgo log pastoralists could be seen as barbarians, and their speech likewise subordinated and stigmatized.[15] Other barbarians could include a variety of people who, viewed from Lhasa or other Tibetan centers, were deemed peripheral and subordinate. Some examples include the so-called 'Monpa' people, who Francoise Pommaret describes as being subject to a "certain condescending and despising attitude," even "a 'colonialist' attitude" by Tibetans.[16] Toni Huber, meanwhile, in his exploration of Tibetan "adventurism, exploitation, and expansion,"[17] in the eastern Himalaya, refers to "indigenous Tibetan cultural schemes of ethnic superiority"[18] that depicted the "non-Buddhist, pre-literate highland communities of the far eastern Himalaya" in "highly pejorative terms."[19] Taken together, these ways of marking people as subordinate serve to simultaneously recognize and subordinate diversity, fixing certain populations, and their ways of speaking, as permanently inferior.

Another important bundle of language ideologies that circulated in pre-colonial Tibet went further than the subordination of certain languages, and worked against the recognition of linguistic diversity, and instead of a program of subordination, advanced one of assimilation. This position saw varieties of Tibetan, as well as (in certain cases) minoritized languages, as being derived from the written language.

Instead of diversity, this view saw deviation and decay from an ideal unitary state. In this view, diversity is the result of a process of drift (away from a standard form) and dissolution (of unity and wholeness).[20] Coherent with broader narratives that see both Tibet and Buddhism as 'in decline,'[21] this view sees the diversity of languages in Tibet as a symptom of a negative trajectory that should be resisted, if not rectified. We see such ideologies, for example, when Tsepon Shakabpa describes the speech of "Lhodruk, Sikkim, Ladakh, Mönpa, Sherpa, Tamang, and so forth" as "corruptions" of "original Tibetan."[22] They are also present in the writing of Dge 'dun chos phel, when he advocates "strict adherence" to the written form in order to preserve the unity of "diverse dialects" and counter the "dangerous trend" of vernacularization, which he equates with political, ideological, and linguistic fragmentation.[23] We can refer to these ideologies as what Rosina Lippi-Green calls 'standard language ideologies.'[24]

Beyond these ideologies of pluralism, subordination, and standardization, we must also note the ways in which Tibetan, as script and enunciated text, was considered sacred and treated as such. We see this in the way that texts were treated with reverence: placed and held aloft to avoid 'pollution,' paraded around fields to protect crops, and housed in shrines and monasteries. But not only texts, in the sense of books, but text itself: chiseled on rocks, scraped onto hillsides,[25] burnt rather than discarded, and so on.[26] This extended to practices associated with reading, which, in the pre-colonial period, focused primarily on the recitation of texts, rather than silent reading, learnt through a painstaking process of repetition.[27] Recitation was the production of a venerated text-object in sound, an act of fidelity and devotion. Beyond its role as a physical and sound object, Tibetan was also a repository of wisdom. The linguist Sonam Lhundrop describes Tibetan as " the source of inspirations in life," which provides a means to contemplate and understand fundamental mysteries such as "the purpose of life and sources of happiness."[28] The study of the Tibetan language was a religious enterprise: grammar texts were 'sacred grammars.'[29] Given these multiple intersections of sacredness, power, and insight associated with the written language, we can follow Joshua Fishman in thinking about Tibetan as both a 'beloved' and a 'holy' language.[30]

Finally, we also need to consider language ideologies that related to minoritized languages and circulated within those communities. These are much harder to access, compared to understandings of and attitudes towards Tibetan, which have not only been recorded in text but also much more extensively studied. Practices related to the names of languages give us some insight into language ideologies within these communities. For example, in Rebgong, in Amdo, two minoritized languages are referred to as Manegacha and Ngandehua by their speakers: both terms mean, in their respective languages, 'our language.' Other language naming practices tie language to place, for example, many of the Rgyalrong-speaking communities refer to their languages as *rongske*, the speech of the (agricultural) valleys. Another practice that tied language to place and community was the widespread practices of patrilocal language oppression, according to which in-married wives were expected to adopt the dominant language of their husband's household.[31] Running through all of these practices is what Kathryn Woolard refers to as ideologies of authenticity: the idea that specific speech varieties were tied to a particular "social and geographic territory."[32]

This extremely brief overview, then, provides a sketch of the language ideologies in circulation in pre-colonial Tibet: ideologies of pluralism, subordination, standardization, reverence, and authenticity. In the next section, I examine what we can learn about how these ideologies were enacted in communities where minoritized languages were spoken, as seen through music.

Music and Language in Pre-Colonial Tibet

In looking at pre-colonial multilingualism and music in Tibet, we primarily need to deduce language ideologies from their instantiation, rather than explicit statements. We can do this by turning to ethnographic studies that lay out broad patterns of cultural life in specific communities. In looking at the ethnographic literature, we see three broad patterns relating to the use of language in song among communities where minoritized languages are spoken. The first is that the spoken and sung languages of the community are totally different, with the sung language being based on literary Tibetan, and the spoken language a minoritized language. A second pattern is that whilst Tibetan dominates in oral tradition, the local, minoritized language was used in some limited instances. And finally, we also see several cases where musical traditions were dominated by local languages, but other practices tied the community to a broader Tibetan world. Each of these cases is examined separately below, with examples.

The situation of speaking one language and singing in Tibetan was widespread among speakers of minoritized languages of Tibet. We can exemplify this by examining the situation of Manegacha, which is today spoken by about 8,000 Tibetans in Rebgong, in Amdo.[33] This community is confined to four large villages stretching along the valley of the Dgu River.[34] In the pre-colonial context, bilingualism, in Tibetan and Manegacha, was common but not universal, and was heavily gendered, with men being far more likely to know and use Tibetan than women, due to their roles as monks, and their engagement in long-distance trade with Tibetan pastoral communities. Communal rituals in the Manegacha-speaking villages were almost entirely in Tibetan[35] and so were folk songs. In interviews conducted in 2016 and 2017 in these communities, respondents typically replied with incredulity to questions about singing in Manegacha: the idea was both hilarious and incomprehensible. Singing exclusively in Tibetan was seen as appropriate, while, on the other hand, singing in Manegacha was often described as impossible; this may be because singing required the construction of lyrics in written Tibetan, whereas lyrics could not be composed in Manegacha, as it is currently an unwritten language.

This situation—speaking in the local language and singing in Tibetan—seems to have pertained in communities across Tibet, particularly in the highly multilingual eastern region. In the same valley where Manegacha is spoken, the Ngandehua-speaking Tibetan community followed the same practice.[36] In the Gyalrong region, song traditions appear to have been in Tibetan, whereas a number of different languages were spoken.[37] In nearby areas of Kham, most linguistically distinct communities seemed to have followed similar practices. Data collected in a survey about Tibet's minority languages[38] indicates that this was the situation for speakers of Choyu (map #24), nDrapa (map #24), Darmdo Minyag (map #28), and rTa'u (map #21), for example. Meanwhile, a detailed ethnographic study of oral traditions in the

Minyag-speaking communities of Nyag rong[39] demonstrates that their rich song tradition was entirely in Tibetan.[40]

In other communities where minoritized languages were spoken, the majority of the local song repertoire was in Tibetan, but a few items or genres were in the local language. Examples of this include communities where Khroskyabs (map #17), Gochang (map #16), and Henan Oirat (map #9) are spoken. In the Khroskyabs-speaking community, most songs were in Tibetan, but an important exception to this were the working songs that previously accompanied agricultural labor—breaking clods and ploughing. Although the lyrics to these songs were primarily vocables, linguist and Khroskyabs speaker, G.yu lha, identifies the songs as being in Khroskyabs.[41] In the Gochang-speaking communities to the east of Dar rtse mdo, multilingualism was present in song repertoire in a different manner. Although most songs were sung in Tibetan, the local retelling of the Gesar epic used both Gochang and Tibetan: the narrative itself was told in Gochang, but when characters broke into song, Tibetan was used.[42] Finally, in the Oirat-speaking communities in Henan, in Amdo, the use of the local language was restricted to a single occasion and place: the new year celebrations of the Henan 'prince.' On this occasion, several short dialogues in Oirat were employed, and a number of songs in the language were also sung;[43] otherwise, the song traditions of the community were the same as nearby Amdo Tibetan speakers.

But we also see examples of communities which had a rich musical tradition in their own languages, whilst also maintaining some connection to the broader Tibetan community, whether through historical narratives, shared oral traditions, or other means. A well-documented example is the musical repertoire of the Namuyi-speaking community (map #33). The song repertoire is entirely in Namuyi, and includes a variety of genres not found elsewhere in the broader canon of Tibetan folk music.[44] Nonetheless, the Namuyi community had ties to Tibet through historical narratives, which placed their origin in Tibet, and also through the use of Tibetan scriptures in certain religious practices.[45] Nearby the Namuyi communities, speakers of Lizu (map #34), Tosu (Duoxu, map #32), and Ersu (map #30)[46] all had a similar musical tradition, consisting entirely of songs in the local language, but with (sometimes contested) ties to Tibet, primarily through the use of Tibetan scriptures in religious practices.[47]

Finally, it is also worth noting that whilst there were some Tibetan communities that did not sing in Tibetan, there were communities that sang in Tibetan, at least in part, but did not identify as Tibetan. For one example, we can look to the Mongghul-speaking communities of northern Amdo. Living primarily in the valleys and mountains to the north of Zi ling (Xining), these communities practiced a diverse song repertoire that included songs in Mongghul, Chinese, and Tibetan, including songs that contained more than one language.[48]

What does this brief overview of songs and language in precolonial Tibet tell us about language ideologies and linguistic practices? What it seems to suggest is that pre-colonial language ideologies associated language with context. Much like the pre-colonial multilingualism described by Lisa Mitchell in southern India,[49] languages were used for specific purposes, and there was no necessary expectation that 'people X' should use 'language X' in every given situation. This form of multilingualism did not

link language use to communicative needs, so that, for example, it was appropriate for Minyag speakers around Dar rtse mdo to sing in Tibetan even if few people present understood the lyrics. Therefore, the choice of language in song was not necessarily tied to either intelligibility or identity in any straightforward way; people were not necessarily singing to communicate semantically, nor were they singing in ways that suggested things like, *this language is me*, or *this language is us*. In linking these practices back to the language ideologies introduction above, these are most concordant with ideologies of pluralism, though the use of Tibetan in songs by speakers of minoritized languages also had clear connections with ideologies that framed Tibetan as a holy and beloved language. What is markedly absent from all of these practices are ideologies of subordination and standardization.

Colonialism and Language Ideologies in Contemporary Tibet

Although policies and practices of the PRC party-state towards languages have shifted since the country's founding in 1949—for example, passing through an aggressively assimilationist phase during the Cultural Revolution—the basic structural arrangements underlying these have not. The PRC's treatment of colonized populations is mediated by a static, implicit logic[50] rather than dynamic, explicit policy.[51] So in this section, although I will provide an overview of how policy has changed over time, and hence how Tibetan responses to those policies have changed, it is important to begin with an examination of the underlying structural logic that has remained consistent since 1949. This logic sets up a division between three categories of languages: the national language, Putonghua, so-called 'minority' languages (which are subordinated to the national language), and the are unrecognized languages (which are erased from public discourse and excluded from public life).[52] The PRC is thus best characterized not as a 'Manichean' colonial state based solely on a binary division between colonizer and colonized,[53] but instead as an 'empire of nations'[54] organized around a distinction between surplus peoples and languages slated for elimination, national minorities slated for subordination and exploitation, and a single Han majority and national language designated as the ideal norm and apex of socialist evolution.[55]

In applying this typology to the Tibetan case, the subordinated but recognized 'minority' language is 'Tibetan.' This typically means the written language, which is used in publishing, formal schooling, and a range of other state-supported activities and contexts,[56] and is assumed to relate unproblematically to a single spoken language. One context where some diversity is recognized is in broadcast media, where the 'dialects' are also promoted as means of communication: we therefore see broadcasting services available for Amdo, Kham, and U-Tsang Tibetan.[57] This contrasts starkly with the situation faced by minoritized languages, which are completely erased from policy discourses and excluded from public life and institutions. These languages are not taught in schools, used in broadcast media, cannot be used to access any public services such as healthcare or legal protection, and so on—all because the state refuses to acknowledge their existence. These languages are, essentially, invisible to the state.[58]

It is important to understand that this distinction, between recognized but subordinate languages, and erased and excluded languages, does not imply that Tibetan is not being marginalized and suppressed. Nor does it imply that Tibetan grievances in relation to their holy and beloved language are unfounded. What it means is that these two categories of language are subjected to very different treatments by the state's

colonial logic. Acknowledging this not only helps us understand why these languages face very different predicaments today, but also why the modes of resistance required to ensure a future for these languages must be completely different. So, while all languages in the PRC are equally subordinated to Putonghua, and all are subjected to colonial violence, the intensity and nature of that violence differs in important ways for subordinated and erased languages.

Changes in language policy since 1949 have reflected the differing status of these categories of languages. The treatment of unrecognized languages has remained static: the state's refusal to recognize them has not changed. However, the subordination of Tibetan has oscillated in intensity over time.[59] During the 1950s there was a relatively liberal period where Tibetan was promoted by the state, primarily as a means of ideological indoctrination. Massive translation and corpus development initiatives were undertaken, creating and promulgating a new lexicon to discuss Marxism in Tibetan. Following the events of 1958 and the turn to a much more repressive and assimilatory regime, these developments of the language continued, including, for example, the publication of Mao's 'little red book' in Tibetan during the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, however, opportunities to use and learn Tibetan were severely curtailed: in many places the language was banned.

After the end of the Cultural Revolution, this extremely repressive approach to Tibetan language was rolled back—but the refusal to acknowledge the existence of unrecognized languages remained the same, meaning that speakers of these language today continue, effectively, to live through something like the Cultural Revolution in terms of how the state relates to their language. For Tibetan, the post-Mao era has been one of oscillating support. A Tibetan-medium education system has been established and in some places universalized, and then, wherever it exists, eroded and undermined.[60] Tibetan writing and publishing have flourished and, as explored in the next section, a vibrant (but not profitable) Tibetan music industry has appeared. The state has also continued to maintain and develop a variety of institutions that develop the Tibetan language, including the 'The National Tibetan Language Terminology Standardization Working Committee.'[61]

At the same time as providing this limited support to Tibetan, the state has also undermined it through a number of measures. Most importantly has been the enshrining of Putonghua, the national language, as a compulsory language for all citizens of the PRC, and its aggressive promotion through a range of mediums, including education and media, and the use of Putonghua proficiency measures in employment.[62] At the same time, the country's aggressive developmentalist agenda, specifically implemented in Tibet through the 'Great Western Development' program, has seen communities' subsistence bases eroded, coerced participation in wage labor, increasing urbanization (often through forced resettlement), the general erosion of rural communities, and a massive increase in economic inequalities between Tibetans.[63] In this context of state-sponsored economic dismantling of communities and state-mandated promotion of Putonghua, the meagre measures provided by the state to support Tibetan have failed miserably, producing heightened linguistic anxieties[64] and deep fears of the language's impending elimination.

Tibetans have reacted to this situation with a variety of forms of political resistance. The protests that swept across Tibet in 2008 form a crucial watershed in the shifting terrain of Tibetan identity and its relation to language, leading to the emergence of what the commentator Zhogs dung has called "a new

awareness of nationality, culture and territory."[65] Following these protests, we saw the emergence of a specifically language-focused protest movement, particularly in Amdo, with street demonstrations taking place between 2010 and 2012.[66] Across the same period, self-immolation protests began, with Tibetans setting their bodies ablaze and choosing to die in terrible agony to protest PRC rule, including language oppression. Meanwhile, a grass-roots language movement took shape—the 'pure father-tongue' (*pha skad gtsang ma*) movement—which aimed to resist the influx of Chinese loanwords into Tibetan, and to promote the use of Tibetan neologisms in their place.[67] In recent years, this intensifying focus on language has also seen the emergence of a nascent language rights discourse in Tibet,[68] building on the increasing visibility of human rights discourses in Tibet more generally after 2008.[69] Developments since 2008, then, have seen intensifying focus among Tibetans in the PRC on language as a political issue. However, this focus has remained on a single Tibetan language; as yet no movement has emerged to protect and assert rights for any of the unrecognized languages of Tibet.

If we return now to the pre-colonial language ideologies discussed above—ideologies of pluralism, subordination, standardization, reverence, and authenticity—we can summarize developments within the colonial eras as follows. First, the state has carried out a sustained attack on ideologies of pluralism, promoting instead ideologies that collapse identity and language into an isomorphic relationship of one people, one language. This same maneuver has also confronted and challenged ideologies of authenticity that relate minoritized languages to place and community, replacing local and other identities with 'nationality' (*minzu*) identity and alienating this identity from all languages other than Tibetan. At the same time, the state has also carried out sustained attacks on ideologies of reverence by subordinating Tibetan to Putonghua and written Chinese, rendering the beloved and holy language 'backward' and 'parochial,' and a source of stigma and suffering rather than prestige and power. Despite this subordination of Tibetan to Putonghua, the state's erasure of minoritized languages has also leant legitimacy to standardizing ideologies: the languages the state seeks to eliminate as surplus are the same as those which are seen as threats to the unity and integrity of Tibetan. In a similar manner, the state's concerted erasure of minoritized languages also legitimizes ideologies of subordination, providing powerful authorization to attitudes that see these languages as lesser than 'standard' Tibetan. It is within this field of radically altered language ideologies that we must consider the issue of language in contemporary Tibetan pop music.

Tibetan Pop Music and Language Ideologies in the Colonial Present

Tibetan pop music, in the last ten years, has frequently and explicitly reproduced concerns over Tibetan language that were popularized following the 2008 protests.[70] This focus on language in Tibetan pop music built on developments starting in the 1980s, when the post-Mao relaxation of aggressive assimilatory policies enable crypto-nationalist Tibetan pop to emerge.[71] Although following pro-independence protests in 1989, some Tibetan songs with nationalist themes were banned, more such songs continued to be produced, and became increasingly explicit in their assertions of Tibetan identity across the 1990s and into the twenty-first century.[72] Cameron Warner argues that in the years leading up to widespread protests across Tibet in 2008, pop music formed an integral part of a Tibetan protest

language, as an "uncivil religion …which emphasizes Tibetan cultural, linguistic, and religious autonomy within China."[73]

Following the 2008 protests, one of the most immediately observable impacts on Tibetan pop music was a widespread shift from the use of Chinese language in songs, to the use of Tibetan, accompanied by a popular movement to censure singers that used Chinese. One example of this can be seen in a promotional outreach activity for the film *Tharlo*, when it was released in cinemas in 2016. A number of short videos were circulated online, showing several Tibetan singers encouraging viewers to go and see the movie. Some spoke in Tibetan, some spoke in Chinese. Social media soon bristled with denunciations of the Chinese-speaking Tibetan singers. They were referred to as Chinese dogs (*rgya khyi*), Chinese kids (*rgya phrug*), and China-lovers (*rgya dga'*). An online poll that appeared soon after found that 79 per cent of 4,346 respondents disagreed with the singers 'abandoning their own language.' At this time, Tibetan pop songs therefore became a carefully scrutinized instantiation of language ideologies, where ideas about context, appropriateness, and identity became highly charged.

But beyond this, Tibetan pop songs have also become a venue for explicit expressions of language ideologies: statements about language, its use, its nature, predicament, and fate. Pop music became an important venue for spreading ideas of the *pha skad gtsang ma* (pure father tongue) movement—almost certainly more accessible and influential than the writing of poets, scholars, academics, and other Tibetan public intellectuals.[74] Here, I will review several key features of the language ideology discourses that are found in post-2008 lyrics, namely: the singularity of the Tibetan language; the 'essential' relationship of this language to Tibetan identity; exhortations to speak 'pure Tibetan'; and, more generally, the didactic nature of these songs, and their explicit aim of managing linguistic behavior through moral and emotional sanctions.[75]

To begin with, Tibetan language pop songs about the Tibetan language suggest that Tibetans have a single language. This is sometimes stated overtly, such as in the description that Tibetans have 'one spoken and written language' (*skad dang yi ge cgig red*), but more often the singularity of the language is implied. So we see, for example, the common use of the terms '*rang skad*' (one's own language) versus '*gzhan skad*' (others' language) to refer to the distinction between Tibetan and Chinese. And rather than referring to that language overtly as Tibetan (*bod skad*), these songs usually refer to the language as 'the father-tongue' (*pha skad*). This term not only ties language to notions of descent, but also to broader conceptualizations of belonging and patrimony, as seen in terms such as *pha yul* 'fatherland,' *pha gzhis*, 'paternal estate,' and *pha nor* 'patrimony.' The implicit singularity of the language is also connected to discourses of unity, as both a pre-existing condition, and a goal to strive for. The idea of unity as merely descriptive is seen in the frequent appeal to the idea that Tibetans are all 'one family' (*khyim tshang gcig gi yin*), whereas the idea that unity is something that needs to worked towards is most clearly seen in the well-known song The Sound of Unity (*mthun sgril gyi rang sgra*) by Sher bstan,[76] which exhorts 'all Tibetans' (*bod pa tsho*) to unite for the sake of the nation. Collective unity and linguistic singularity coalesce to form a powerful standardist language ideology that collapses Tibetan identity onto linguistic homogeneity.

At the same time that the singularity of the Tibetan language is being asserted in these songs, a special relationship to Tibetan identity is also asserted. The Tibetan language is referred to as the soul, or essence of the Tibetan people, typically using the terms *bla*, *bla srog*, or *tshe srog*. For example, Rin chen rdo rje

describes the languages as ‘the essence of the nation’ (*mi rigs kyi bla srog*),[77] and Chos ’phel, calls it his ‘soul’s heart’ (*nga’i tshe srog gi nying po*).[78] Beyond these pop songs, this idea of the Tibetan language as the soul of the nation is often circulated in memes, which not only assert this essentialist relationship, but also often contrast this with ‘others’ languages’ as ‘adornments’ rather than vital essence.

In referring to the language as the soul of the nation, these discourses seem to be drawing on Romantic notions of vitality and distinction encapsulated in the notion of *geist* (or spirit),[79] rather than Tibetan notions of the soul. Such Romantic linguistic ideologies are seen in nationalist claims all around the world that the language is the soul of the nation: in his study of ‘positive ethnolinguistic consciousness,’ Joshua Fishman describes such assertions as one of the most common themes found in discourses about language.[80]

Contemporary Tibetan pop songs that contain explicit statements of language ideologies also frequently make reference to ‘pure father-tongue’ (*pha skad gtsang ma*) or ‘pure Tibetan’ (*bod skad gtsang ma*) as an ideal form of the language. As mentioned above, this focus on ‘pure’ language is part of a broader grassroots campaign to promote Tibetan speech forms without Chinese loanwords as the ideal form of Tibetan.[81] These songs do not simply mention or describe ‘pure’ language, but also exhort listeners to speak pure Tibetan: the refrain ‘*pha skad gtsang ma shod*’ is frequently heard. Pure Tibetan is also contrasted with ‘mixed language’—*sbrags skad*, *sres skad*, *ra ma lug*—as a de-valued form of speech.

These exhortations to speak pure Tibetan are typical of the generally moralistic, didactic, and exhortative nature of Tibetan pop songs about language. These directives deploy emotional and moral sanctions to attempt to regulate listeners’ linguistic behavior: to encourage them to speak in certain ways, and to feel certain things about different speech forms. In particular, shame is frequently mobilized: one should feel ashamed to speak ‘mixed’ language, one should feel ashamed to speak the language of others. This appeal to shame often references a quote attributed to the 10th Panchen Lama, as seen in the chorus of the song Ga kha gsum bcu, by Skal bzang bstan ‘dzin:[82]

བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་གཙོ་གནས་ཚོགས་རྣམས། Dear children of the Snowlands,
བོད་རང་ལ་ཁ་དཔེ་ཞིག་ཡོད་དེ་ཨེ། Tibetans have our own proverb
སྐད་རིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤེས་ཀྱང་ཡག་ཀྱང་། It’s good to know all sorts of languages, but
རང་གི་ཕ་སྐད་བཟང་དེ་ཉམས་ཆག་ཡིན། It’s shameful to forget your own father tongue.

These themes of singularity, essentialism, purity, and exhortation are brought together in the recent song ‘Bod skad’ by Pemsi and Tenzin Sungyi.[83] Although the song is from the exile community, rather than Tibetans in the PRC, is it worth quoting in this context due to the way it not only combines these themes but also expresses them with a clarity not possible in the PRC, where censorship by a punitive state prevents such strong expressions of political views about language.

ཁ་བའི་ཡུལ་དམར་གྱི་ཆོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད། This language of the land of snow[84]
མི་རིགས་གྱི་བླ་སྲོག་ཡིན། Is a soul of the Tibetan people
བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོང་མས་བོད་སྐད་གཙང་མ་ཞོད་རིགས། Please, Tibetans of all ages, speak undiluted Tibetan

ཁ་ཡན་ཆད་ལབ་ཀ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན། This is not empty talk
ད་ནི་དང་མ་ལ་ཡ་དུ་པ་འདི་ར་མར་བཤད། What is being expressed here is the truth
ད་དུང་ལམ་བསམ་བློ་རྩེ་ཡང་མ་འཁོར་ན། If still that doesn't make you realize
ང་རང་ཚོ་འི་མི་རིགས་འདི་གཅལ་ཏེ་བར་ཐུག་པ། Soon, our race may extinct
ང་བོ་དུ་རིགས་མི་འི་ར་ཁྱུད་འཛིན་ཡི་ན། I am the inheritor of the Tibetan race
བོད་སྐད་ངར་འི་སྙི་གདང་ཆ་ཡི་ན། Tibetan language is like my soul
མཐར་ཐུག་འཆི་སྙི་གལ་ཐུག་ནའི་ལས། Even at the risk of my life
བོད་སྐད་ངས་མ་བར་ཤ་དཔར་གཙང་མར་ཅི་གཤེགས་བཞིན། I will speak undiluted Tibetan without fail
སྐད་གཏུ་རབ་ཤེ་གཏུ་ཙམ་མཐན་རར་མ་ལུ་གུ Those who speak hodgepodge language, are the destroyer of our language
སྐད་བར་ཁྱབ་ར་ཁྱེ་གཙང་མ་ཡ་མ་ཟུག Whatever is spoken, makes me sick
ཁྱེ་གིས་བཞི་མཚམས་བར་ཁྱབ་ནས་སྐད་གཏུག་པའི་ཚེ་ངས་ངེ་ཙ་ཚ་ཡ་འདུག I feel ashamed when I hear people speak words picked from everywhere
ལུ་ད་མ་དཔའ་སྐད་ཆ་ཤ་ཧི་གིས་མ་དེ། I don't hide my sincere expression
ཚ་འདི་ར་བོད་པའ་མི་འི་ས་ཁྱེ་ཏ་ལ་ན། Born as a Tibetan in this life
བོད་སྐད་ལ་མཐོང་མ་བྱ་དགའ་བཤད་ལ་ངོ་ཚ་ན། If you don't respect and even feel ashamed to speak Tibetan
བོད་པ་ཡི་ན་ལབ་པ་ལས་དུག་བཏུང་བ་ཤི་བས་དན་དགའ། It is better to poison yourself rather than saying I am Tibetan

The language ideologies expressed here are in many ways direct responses to the increasingly oppressive nature of the PRC's colonial rule in Tibet. We can easily read, for example, the efforts to promote linguistic purism as being a direct response to the state's failure to support corpus planning measure for Tibetan, or to provide a meaningful educational system that actually supports the acquisition and use of Tibetan, to say nothing of the growing inequalities between Tibetan and Putonghua. The exhortations for individual involvement in the maintenance of language are, to a significant extent, a response to a context where not only is institutional support for the language insufficient, but mass mobilization and the organization of a counter-public sphere are suppressed: responsibilization is a response to the suppression of collective organization.

But beyond simply being a series of strategic counter-maneuvers to the existing plight of the Tibetan language, these discourses are also cobbled together from previously-existing and currently-available discursive resources. The idea that the Tibetan language is the soul of the nation is clearly imported: a Romantic nationalist formulation so widespread and so readily available that it would be impossible to trace how it appeared in the Tibetan context. The idea of the Tibetan language as a singularity, oscillating between the descriptive and prescriptive, combines this Romantic nationalist ideology with pre-colonial standardist ideologies. But the important thing to note is that there is nothing necessary, pre-determined, or deeply 'Tibetan' about the discursive formation around language seen in these lyrics: it is an ad hoc, improvised bricolage that has emerged in response to an increasingly hostile colonial state.

This improvised, ad hoc status is important to keep in mind when we consider that for the quarter of a million Tibetans in the PRC who speak minoritized languages, these discourses of singularity, essentialism, purism, and moral sanction add to their burden of erasure by the state. The idea that Tibetans have a single 'father-tongue,' linked to a shared territory and identity, mirrors the erasure of minoritized languages by the state, and legitimizes and empowers assimilatory standardist ideologies. The idea that the single Tibetan language is essential to Tibetan collective identity abandons other languages to the subordinate status of surplus, rendering them disposable in the struggle to maintain Tibetan identity. The focus on purity further marginalizes these languages, many of which are considered to be

'mixed'—indeed specifically tainted by contact with Chinese.[85] Finally, the moralizing, didactic discourses of these songs forces a double bind on speakers of Tibet's minoritized languages: either speak pure Tibetan, protect the nation, and claim your place within it, or abandon your claim to Tibetanness and open yourself to moral sanction. This is a direct assault on pluralistic ideologies and the practices associated with them (including music) that, in the pre-colonial era, played a vital role in maintaining multilingualism in Tibet.

What we see here is the tragedy and cunning of the PRC's colonial transformation of language ideologies in Tibet: that it is able to not only sustain its logic when confronted by resistance, but is furthermore able to mobilize that resistance to its own ends. Resistance to the state's subordination of Tibetan weaponizes ideologies of reverence against minoritized languages, adding yet another assimilatory pressure to these profoundly marginalized communities. The tragedy for speakers of minoritized languages, particularly those that accept their state-mandated identity as Tibetan, is that they are abandoned by both the state and the Tibetan community. We can understand the stifling ideological environment this creates for speakers of Tibet's minoritized languages through a re-reading of Lama Jabb's concept of the 'inescapable nation.'[86] Whilst Lama Jabb intends this phrase to capture the durability and resilience of Tibetan identity, the phrase also evokes another sense of inescapability—that of confinement, carceration, internment. Whilst Lama Jabb sees Tibetan nationalism as an 'inescapable' challenge to Han supremacy, from the standpoint of Tibetans that speak minoritized languages, this inescapability refers to their ongoing and seemingly inevitable erasure.

Conclusion: The Beginning of the End of Erasure?

But nothing is inevitable.

If the enduring predicament of Tibet's minoritized languages in the colonial era has been one of erasure—by both the colonial state and the Tibetan movement to resist it—then recent developments in pop music may indicate that this situation is changing. These changes may indicate a resurgence of language ideologies of pluralism and authenticity, but expressed in ways radically different from the precolonial era. If this assumption is correct, then they also present a novel and important form of resistance to the state's program of erasure against Tibet's minoritized languages.

What I am referring to is the emergence of pop songs in minoritized languages. At present there are only a handful of such songs, all from Gyalrong, and all by musicians based in Chengdu. The earliest example I have been able to find appeared some time in 2018.

These songs are not protest songs in the same way as post-2008 Tibetan pop songs about language. They do not take language as a primary theme; they are not explicit expressions of language ideologies. However, these songs definitely *are* instantiations of language ideologies. The use of these languages in public is important. It makes a claim about appropriateness and value, as well as identity and belonging. It enacts resistance to not only the state's program of erasure, but also to ideologies of subordination and standardization. Therefore, while these songs are ostensibly apolitical in their content, they are also, in the words of Jenny Davis 'decolonial acts' of "resistance, resilience, and survivance."[87]

In the spirit of recognizing the courage of the singers of this new brand of Tibetan pop music, I will leave the final words of this chapter to the singer Gesang Gyatso.[88]

ཏ་མ་ཁ་ཀ་ཁ་བཤ་རན་རས་ཀ།
ས་མས་ཅན་ཀ་བཟང་ལྟ་མ་ཀ་བས་ཀ་བཤ་ཀ་ངས།
ན་རུ་ཀ་ཁ་བཤ་རཀ་ཡས་ཀ་བས་ཀ་ངས།
ཀས་གར་མ་གཅོ་ན་གཡ་ཐས་ཅད་ན་པར་མ།

ང་བད་ང་ཕ་ལ་ལ།
ང་ཕ་ལ་ལ། (repeat)

ཏ་མ་ཁ་ཀ་རྒང་ན་རས་ཀ།
གས་རཅན་ས་ན་ཏ་གཡ་ཀ་བས་ཀ་ངས།
ས་ཀཡ་ར་ས་ཏ་ར་གཀ་ས་ཀཡ་དཤ་ས་ཅ་ད།
ང་ས་མས་ཀ་ས་རུ་གཅ་ལ་ཏ་ན་ཏ་ས་ཆ་ན།

ང་བད་ང་ཕ་ལ་ལ།
ང་ཕ་ལ་ལ། (repeat)

ཏ་མ་ཁ་ཀ་ཁ་བཤ་རན་རས་ཀ།

Bibliography

Balogh, Mátyás. "Henan Oirat: A Shrinking Pool of Unique Linguistic Features," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 37-62.

Battye, Hugh. “Beyond Majority-Minority Relations in the Ethnic Dynamics of the Amdo Region: The ‘Huificiation’ and ‘Tibetanization’ of the Bonan Speakers of Gansu and Qinghai,” in *Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Power,* ed. Ute Wallenböck, Bianca Horlemann, and Jamila Ptáčková. (Prague: Oriental Institute, 2019), 159-186.

Bauman, Richard and Charles L. Briggs. “Language philosophy as language ideology: John Locke and Johann Gottfried Herder,” in *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities*, ed. Paul Kroskrity (Santa Fe: School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, 2000), 139-204.

Benesch, Susan. "Song as a Crime against Humanity: The First International Prosecution of a Pop Star," in *Trials and Tribulations of International Prosecution*, ed. Henry F Carey and Stacey M Mitchell (New York: Lexington Books, 2013), 63-74.

Bkra shis bzang po. “May all good things gather here: life, religion, and marriage in a Minyag Tibetan village.” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 14 (2012): 1-369, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/241080

Bulag, Uradyn E. “Mongolian Ethnicity and Linguistic Anxiety in China.” *American Anthropologist* 105 no.4 (2003): 753-763

Chastagner, Claude. “Hate Music,” *Transatlantica. Revue d’études américaines/ American Studies Journal* 2 (2012): 1–17, http://transatlantica.revues.org/6075.

Chirkova, Katia. "The Duoxu Language and the Ersu-Lizu-Duoxu Relationship," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37 no.1 (2014): 104-146.

Cüppers, Christoph and Per K. Sørensen, eds. *Collection of Tibetan proverbs and sayings: gems of Tibetan wisdom and wit*. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998).
Davis, Jenny L. "Resisting Rhetorics of Language Endangerment: Reclamation through Indigenous Language Survivance," *Language Documentation and Description* 14 (2017): 37-58.
Dge ‘dun chos phel (translated by Samten Norboo). *The White Annals (Deb-ther -dkar-po)*. (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978).
Dreyfus, Georges. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
Ekvall. Robert. *Religious Observances in Tibet: Pattern and Function* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
Fischer, Andrew. *The Disempowered Development of Tibet in China* (NY: Lexington, 2013).
Fishman, Joshua. *In Praise of the Beloved Language: A Comparative View of Positive Ethnolinguistic Consciousness* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996).
Fishman, Joshua. “‘Holy Languages’ in the Context of Societal Bilingualism,” in *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism* ed. Li Wei, Jean-Marc Dewaele, and Alex Housen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002) 16-24.
Fried, Robert Wayne. *A Grammar of Bao’an Tu, a Mongolic Language of Northwest China*, PhD thesis, University of Buffalo, State University of New York (2010).
G.yu lha. “Warming Your Hands with Moonlight: Lavrung Tibetan Oral Traditions and Culture” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 13 (2012): 1–284, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/241079
Gates, Jesse. *Situ in Situ: Towards a Dialectology of Jiāróng (rGyalrong)* (Munich: Lincom Europa, 2014).
Graf, Alexander. *Tibetan Grammar: Si tu Paṇchen and the Tibetan Adoption of Linguistic Knowledge from India*. PhD Dissertation, Heidelberg University (2019), https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/26668/1/Graf_Tibetan%20Grammar_PhD.pdf
Green, Jeffrey. “Amdo Tibetan media intelligibility,” *SIL electronic survey reports* (2012), http://www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/48318
Haugen, Einar. “The Language of Imperialism: Unity or Pluralism?” in *Languages of Inequality* ed. Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes (Berlin: Mouton, 1985), 3-20.
Henry, Clémence. “The Chinese Education System as a Source of Conflict in Tibetan Areas,” in *Ethnic Conflict and Protest in Tibet and Xinjiang: Unrest in China's West* ed. Ben Hillman and Grey Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 97-121.
Hirsch, Francine. “Toward an Empire of Nations: Border‑making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities,” *The Russian Review* 59 no.2 (2000): 201–226.
Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).
Hofer, Theresia. “Is Lhasa Tibetan Sign Language emerging, endangered, or both?” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 113-145.
Huber, Toni. “Pushing South: Tibetan Economic and Political Activities in the Far Eastern Himalayas, ca. 1900-1950,” in *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture* ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balicki-Denjongpa (Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 259-76.
Jacoby, Sarah. *Love and Liberation: Autobiographical Writings of the Tibetan Buddhist Visionary Sera Khandro* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).
Kellner, Birgit. “Vernacular Literacy in Tibet: Present Debates and Historical Beginnings,” in *Anfangsgeschichten/Origin Stories,* ed. Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller und Pavlína Rychterová (Leiden: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2018) 381-402.

Klimczyk, Wojciech and Agata Świerzowska, eds. *Music and Genocide* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2015).
Lama Jabb. “Singing the nation: modern Tibetan music and national identity,” Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines 21 (2011): 1–29;
Lama Jabb. *Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation* (New York: Lexington Books, 2015).
Lempert, Michael. *Discipline and Debate: The Language of Violence in a Tibetan Buddhist Monastery* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2012).
Lha mo sgrol ma and Gerald Roche. “Yurts in Be si chung, a Pastoral Community in A mdo: Form, Construction, Types, and Rituals,” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 35 (2014): 1-48.
Libu Lakhi, Brook Hefright, and Kevin Stuart. “The Namuyi: Linguistic and Cultural features,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1/2 (2007): 233-253.
Libu Lakhi, Qi Huimin, Charles Stuart, and Gerald Roche. “Namuyi Tibetan Songs, Engagement Chants, and Flute Music,” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 4 (2009): 1-139.
Limusishiden. “The Last Outstanding Mongghul Folksong Singer,” in *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 37 (2015):79–98.
Lippi-Green, Rosina. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* (London: Routledge, 1997).
Makley, Charlene. *The Battle for Fortune: State-led Development, Personhood, and Power among Tibetans in China* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2018).
McConnell. Fiona. “Reconfiguring diaspora identities and homeland connections: the Tibetan ‘Lhakar’movement,” in *Dismantling Diasporas: Rethinking the geographies of diasporic identity, connection and development*, ed. Anastasia Christou and Elizabeth Mavroudi (London: Routledge, 2015), 99-111.
Meriam, Beth. *China's 'Tibetan' Frontiers: Sharing the Contested Ground* (Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 2012).
Mitchell, Lisa. *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother tongue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
Morcom, Anna. “History, traditions, identities and nationalism: drawing and redrawing the musical cultural map of Tibet,” in Tibetan Studies: An Anthology, ed. Saadet Arslan and Peter Schweiger (Sankt Augustin: International Institution for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2011), 385–417.
Morcom, Anna. “Getting Heard in Tibet: Music, Media and Markets,’ *Consumption, Markets and Culture* 11 no.4 (2008): 259–85.
Morcom, Anna. “Modernity, Power and the Reconstruction of Dance in post 1950s Tibet,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 1-32.
Morcom, Anna. “Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the ‘Great Transformation’ of Tibet through its Songs,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 47 (2015): 161–89.
Mullaney, Thomas. *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010).
Pommaret, Françoise. “The Monpa Revisited: In Search of Mon,” in *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture*, ed. Toni Huber. (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1999), 53-73.
Powell, Eve Troutt. *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).
Robin, Françoise. “Streets, Slogans and Screens: New Paradigms for the Defense of the Tibetan Language,” in, *On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society: Tibetans and Uyghurs in Socialist China*, ed. Trine Brox and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2014), 209–34.

Robin, Françoise. “Discussing Rights and Human Rights in Tibet,” in, Ethnic conflict and protest in Tibet and Xinjiang: Unrest in China’s West, ed. Ben Hillman and Gray Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 60–96.
Roche, Gerald and Lcag mo tshe ring. “Notes on the Maintenance of Diversity in Amdo: Language use in Gnyan thog Village Annual Rituals,” *Studia Orientalia* 113 (2013): 165-179.
Roche, Gerald and Hiroyuki Suzuki. Tibet’s Minority Languages: Diversity and Endangerment. *Modern Asian Studies* 52 no. 4(2018): 1227-1278.
Roche, Gerald and Yudru Tsomu. “Tibet’s Invisible Languages and China’s Language Endangerment Crisis: Lessons from the Gochang Language of Western Sichuan. *China Quarterly* 233 (2018): 186-210.
Roche, Gerald. “Introduction: The Transformation of Tibet’s Language Ecology in the Twenty-first Century,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 1-35.
Roche, Gerald. “Translanguaging in Song: Orature and Plurilingualism in Northeast Tibet,” in *Long Narrative Songs from the Mongghul of Northeast Tibet: Texts in Mongghul, Chinese, and English*, ed. Gerald Roche and Limusishiden (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2017), 1-26.
Roche, Gerald. “Articulating Language Oppression: Colonialism, Coloniality and the Erasure of Tibet’s Minority Languages,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 53 no.5 (2019): 487-514.
Roche, Gerald. “Does Ideological Clarification Help Language Maintenance? Exploring the Revitalization Paradox through the Case of Manegacha, a Tibetan Minority Language.” *Anthropological Linguistics* 61 no.1 (2019): 114-134.
Roche, Gerald. “Tibetan Language Rights and Civil Society in the People’s Republic of China: Challenges of and for Rights.” *Asian Studies Review* (2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1758033
Roche, Gerald. “The Alphabetical Order of Things: The Language of Place and the Place of Language in Tibetan Song,” in Presence Through Sound: Place and Contemporary Music in and from East Asia, ed. Keith Howard and Catherine Ingram (London: Routledge, 2020).
Róna-Tas, András. “Linguistic Notes on an Amdowa Text” In András Róna-Tas (ed) *Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited*. Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 375-412.
Schaeffer, Kurtis R. 2009. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
Shneiderman, Sara. “Barbarians at the Border and Civilising Projects: Analysing Ethnic and National Identities in the Tibetan Context,” in *Tibetan Borderlands*, ed. Christiaan Klieger (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9-34.
Shohamy, Elana. *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2006).
Sonam Lhundrop. “Language Vitality and Glottonyms in the Ethnic Corridor: The rTa’u Language,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 147-168.
Sonam Lhundrop. Hiroyuki Suzuki and Gerald Roche, “Language contact and the politics of recognition amongst Tibetans in China: The rTa’u-speaking ‘Horpa’ of Khams,” in *The Politics of Language Contact in the Himalaya*, ed. Selma K. Sonntag and Mark Turin (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2019) 11-36.
Stirr, Anna. “Blue Lake: Tibetan Popular Music, Place and Fantasies of the Nation,” in Tibetan Modernities: Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change, ed. Robert Barnett and Robert Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 305–32.
Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. “Lhagang Choyu: A First Look at its Sociolinguistic Status,” *Studies in Asian Geolinguistics II— Rice* (2016), 60-69, https://publication.aa-ken.jp/sag2_rice_2016.pdf

Taff, Alice, Melvatha Chee, Jaeci Hall, Millie Yéi Dulitseen Hall, Kawenniyóhstha Nicole Martin, and Annie Johnston, “Indigenous Language Use Impacts Wellness, in The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages,” ed. Kenneth Rehg and Lyle Campbell. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 862-883.
Thurston, Timothy. “The Purist Campaign as Metadiscursive Regime in China’s Tibet,” *Inner Asia* 20 no.2 (2018): 199-218.
Thurston, Timothy. “On Artistic and Cultural Generations in Northeastern Tibet,” *Asian Ethnicity* 19 no. 2 (2018): 143-162.
Tournadre, Nicolas and Françoise Robin. *Le grand livre des proverbes Tibétains* (Montréal: Presses du Châtelet, 2006).
Tournadre, Nicolas. “The Classical Tibetan Cases and Their Transcategoriality: From Sacred Grammar to Modern Linguistics,” *Himalayan Linguistics* 9 no.2 (2010): 87-125.
Tsering Drolma and Arthur Wilson. “Tibetan Contemporary Songs and Music Video: Focus and Direction, 2000–2009,” *Tibet Journal*, 34 no. 1 (2009): 149–175.
Tsering Shakya. “Politicisation and the Tibetan Language,” in *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, ed. Robert Barnett and Shirin Akiner (London: Hurst and Company, 1994) 157-165.
Tsepon Wangchuck Deden Shakabpa. *One Hundred Thousand Moons (2 vols): An Advanced Political History of Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
Tshe ring skyid. “An Introduction to Rgya tshang ma, a Monguor (Tu) Village in Reb gong (Tongren)” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 36 (2015), 276–300.
Warner, Cameron David. “Hope and Sorrow: Uncivil Religion, Tibetan Music Videos, and YouTube,” *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 78 no.4 (2013): 543–68.
Wolfe, Patrick. “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 no. 4 (2006): 387-409.
Wolfe, Patrick. *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).
Woolard, Kathryn A. and Bambi B. Schieffelin. "Language Ideology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 no.1 (1994): 55-82.
Woolard, Kathryn. *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
Wu Da. “Three Tongues and Two Identities: A Case Study of Ersu Ethnic Identities in Sichuan, China” *Cultural Diversity in China* 1 (2015): 44-67.
Yang Miaoyan. “Discourses on ‘Authenticity’: Language Ideology, Ethnic Boundaries and Tibetan Identity on a Multi-ethnic Campus,” Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 39 no.10 (2018): 925–940.
Yangdon Dhondup. “Dancing to the beat of modernity: the rise and development of Tibetan pop music,” in Tibetan Modernities: Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change, ed. Robert Barnett and Robert Schwartz, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 285–304.
Zeisler, Bettina. “Why Ladakhi Must not be Written: Being Part of the Great Tradition, As Another Kind of Global Thinking," in *Lesser-known Languages of South Asia: Status and Policies, Case Studies and Applications of Information Technology*, ed. Anju Saxena and Lars Borin (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2008), 175-194.
Zhogs dung [translated by Matthew Akester]. *The Division of Heaven and Earth: On Tibet’s Peaceful Revolution* (London: Hurst and Company, 2016).

[1] Thanks to Shannon Ward and Natasha Mikles for commenting on a draft of this chapter, and also to the TIPA 60th anniversary conference participants who commented on these materials when they were originally presented in Dharamsala.

[2] Alice Taff, Melvatha Chee, Jaeci Hall, Millie Yéi Dulitseen Hall, Kawenniyóhstha Nicole Martin, and Annie Johnston, “Indigenous Language Use Impacts Wellness,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages*, ed. Kenneth Rehg and Lyle Campbell. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 862-883, 863.

[3] Claude Chastagner, “Hate Music,” Transatlantica. Revue d’études américaines/ American Studies Journal 2 (2012): 1–17, http://transatlantica.revues.org/6075; Susan Benesch, "Song as a Crime against Humanity: The First International Prosecution of a Pop Star," in Trials and Tribulations of International Prosecution, ed. Henry F Carey and Stacey M Mitchell (New York: Lexington Books, 2013), 63-74; Wojciech Klimczyk and Agata Świerzowska, eds, *Music and Genocide* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2015).

[4] Kathryn A. Woolard and Bambi B. Schieffelin. "Language Ideology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 no.1 (1994): 55-82, 55-56.

[5] For background see Gerald Roche and Hiroyuki Suzuki, “Tibet’s Minority Languages: Diversity and Endangerment,” *Modern Asian Studies* 52 no. 4 (2018): 1227-1278. My discussion in this chapter does not include Tibetan Sign Language, see Theresia Hofer, “Is Lhasa Tibetan Sign Language emerging, endangered, or both?” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 113-145.

[6] This reconstruction of pre-colonial languages ideologies is based on a variety of sources, including oral traditions (often recorded in the colonial period), Tibetan texts, and ethnographic studies conducted in both the pre-colonial and colonial period. In the absence of explicit records of language ideologies from the period, this reconstruction should be treated as a tentative outline.

[7] This version of the proverb is listed in Christoph Cüppers and Per K. Sørensen, eds, Collection of Tibetan proverbs and sayings: gems of Tibetan wisdom and wit. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998). They also list the following two proverbs on the same theme: “bla ma re la phyag len re/ lung ba re la skad lugs re” (172) and “g.yag gcig la mgo re yod / lung pa gcig la skad lugs yod” (233).

[8] Nicolas Tournadre and Françoise Robin, *Le grand livre des proverbes Tibétains* (Montréal: Presses du Châtelet, 2006).

[9] Kurtis Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

[10] This text is discussed in Róna-Tas, András, “Linguistic Notes on an Amdowa Text” in *Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited*, ed. András Róna-Tas (Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 2014), 375-412 and Bettina Zeisler, “Why Ladakhi Must not be Written: Being Part of the Great Tradition, As Another Kind of Global Thinking," in *Lesser-known Languages of South Asia: Status and Policies, Case Studies and Applications of Information Technology*, ed. Anju Saxena and Lars Borin (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2008), 175-194..

[11] Einar Haugen, “The Language of Imperialism: Unity or Pluralism?” in *Languages of Inequality* ed. Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes (Berlin: Mouton, 1985), 3-20, 4.

[12] Hiroyuki Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo, “Lhagang Choyu: A First Look at its Sociolinguistic Status,” *Studies in Asian Geolinguistics II— Rice* (2016), 60-69, https://publication.aa-ken.jp/sag2_rice_2016.pdf

[13] Timothy Thurston, “The Purist Campaign as Metadiscursive Regime in China’s Tibet,” *Inner Asia* 20 no.2 (2018): 199-218.

[14] Françoise Pommaret, “The Monpa Revisited: In Search of Mon,” in *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture*, ed. Toni Huber. (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1999), 53-73.; Sara Shneiderman, "Barbarians at the Border and Civilising Projects: Analysing Ethnic and National Identities in the Tibetan Context,” in *Tibetan Borderlands*, ed. Christiaan Klieger (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9-34; Toni Huber, “Pushing South: Tibetan Economic and Political Activities in the Far Eastern Himalayas, ca. 1900-1950,” in *Buddhist*

Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture, ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balicki-Denjongpa (Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 259-76.

[15] Sarah Jacoby, *Love and Liberation: Autobiographical Writings of the Tibetan Buddhist Visionary Sera Khandro* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

[16] Pommaret, "The Monpa Revisited," 53.

[17] Huber, "Pushing South," 262

[18] Ibid., 259.

[19] Ibid., 260.

[20] Birgit Kellner, "Vernacular Literacy in Tibet: Present Debates and Historical Beginnings," in *Anfangsgeschichten/Origin Stories*, ed. Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller und Pavlína Rychterová (Leiden: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2018) 381-402.

[21] Beth Meriam, *China's 'Tibetan' Frontiers: Sharing the Contested Ground* (Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 2012).

[22] Tsepon Wangchuck Deden Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons (2 vols): An Advanced Political History of Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[23] Dge 'dun chos phel (translated by Samten Norboo), The White Annals (Deb-ther -dkar-po). (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978).

[24] Rosina Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[25] This is done by spreading salt over the hillside, and then letting yaks lick and eat the grass and soil, leaving a text scraped into the hillside.

[26] Robert Ekvall, *Religious Observances in Tibet: Pattern and Function* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[27] Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Michael Lempert, *Discipline and Debate: The Language of Violence in a Tibetan Buddhist Monastery* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2012).

[28] Sonam Lhundrop, "Language Vitality and Glottonyms in the Ethnic Corridor: The rTa'u Language," International Journal of the Sociology of Language 245 (2017): 147-168, 157.

[29] Nicolas Tournadre, "The Classical Tibetan Cases and Their Transcategoriality: From Sacred Grammar to Modern Linguistics," *Himalayan Linguistics* 9 no.2 (2010): 87-125; Alexander Graf, *Tibetan Grammar: Si tu Paṇchen and the Tibetan Adoption of Linguistic Knowledge from India,* PhD Dissertation, Heidelberg University (2019), https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/26668/1/Graf_Tibetan%20Grammar_PhD.pdf.

[30] Fishman, *In Praise of the Beloved Language*; Joshua Fishman, "'Holy Languages' in the Context of Societal Bilingualism," in *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism* ed. Li Wei, Jean-Marc Dewaele, and Alex Housen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002) 16-24.

[31] This is referred to as 'life-cycle bilingualism'. See Gerald Roche, "Translanguaging in Song: Orature and Plurilingualism in Northeast Tibet," in *Long Narrative Songs from the Mongghul of Northeast Tibet: Texts in Mongghul, Chinese, and English*, ed. Gerald Roche and Limusishiden (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2017), 1-26. Important exceptions to this pattern existed in communities that were matrifocal and did not practice patrilocal marriage, such as amongst the nDrapa- and Khroskyabs-speaking communities.

[32] Kathryn Woolard, *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22.

[33] Robert Wayne Fried, *A Grammar of Bao'an Tu, a Mongolic Language of Northwest China*, PhD thesis, University of Buffalo, State University of New York (2010); Gerald Roche, "Does Ideological Clarification Help Language Maintenance? Exploring the Revitalization Paradox through the Case of Manegacha, a Tibetan Minority Language." *Anthropological Linguistics* 61 no.1 (2019): 114-134.

[34] The language is also spoken elsewhere, but not by Tibetans. In Gansu province, approximately 23,000 people currently identified as belonging to the Bao'an *minzu* also speak Manegacha. However, there is currently no or very little contact between Manegacha-speakers in Qinghai and Gansu, and each considers themselves a distinct group from the other. A major cleavage between the two populations is that the Gansu population of Manegacha-speakers practice Islam. For a comparative discussion of the two populations, see Hugh Battye, "Beyond Majority-Minority Relations in the Ethnic Dynamics of the Amdo Region: The 'Huificiation' and 'Tibetanization' of the Bonan Speakers of Gansu and Qinghai," in Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Power, ed. Ute Wallenböck, Bianca Horlemann, and Jamila Ptáčková. (Prague: Oriental Institute, 2019), 159-186.

[35] Excluding some very limited use of Manegacha in one ritual, see Gerald Roche and Lcag mo tshe ring, "Notes on the Maintenance of Diversity in Amdo: Language use in Gnyan thog Village Annual Rituals," Studia Orientalia 113 (2013): 165-179.

[36] Tshe ring skyid, "An Introduction to Rgya tshang ma, a Monguor (Tu) Village in Reb gong (Tongren)" *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 36 (2015), 276–300.

[37] Jesse Gates, *Situ in Situ: Towards a Dialectology of Jiāróng (rGyalrong)* (Munich: Lincom Europa, 2014).

[38] For details of this survey, see the draft report, available at https://zenodo.figshare.com/articles/Draft_Report_on_Tibet_s_Linguistic_Minorities/5992582/1.

[39] Although the minoritized languages spoken by Tibetans in Nyrong and Darmdo are both locally referred to as Minyag, they are distinct languages. Speakers cannot understand each other.

[40] Bkra shis bzang po, "May all good things gather here: life, religion, and marriage in a Minyag Tibetan village." Asian Highlands Perspectives 14 (2012): 1-369, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/241080.

[41] G.yu lha, "Warming Your Hands with Moonlight: Lavrung Tibetan Oral Traditions and Culture" *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 13 (2012): 1–284, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/241079.

[42] Gerald Roche and Yudru Tsomu, "Tibet's Invisible Languages and China's Language Endangerment Crisis: Lessons from the Gochang Language of Western Sichuan," *China Quarterly* 233 (2018): 186-210.

[43] Mátyás Balogh, "Henan Oirat: A Shrinking Pool of Unique Linguistic Features," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 37-62; Lha mo sgrol ma and Gerald Roche, "Yurts in Be si chung, a Pastoral Community in A mdo: Form, Construction, Types, and Rituals," *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 35 (2014): 1-48.

[44] Libu Lakhi, Qi Huimin, Charles Stuart, and Gerald Roche, "Namuyi Tibetan Songs, Engagement Chants, and Flute Music," Asian Highlands Perspectives 4 (2009): 1-139.

[45] Libu Lakhi, Brook Hefright, and Kevin Stuart, "The Namuyi: Linguistic and Cultural features," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1/2 (2007): 233-253.

[46] Katia Chirkova, "The Duoxu Language and the Ersu-Lizu-Duoxu Relationship," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37 no.1 (2014): 104-146.

[47] Katia Chirkova, who has conducted extensive research with the Lizu-, Ersu-, and Tosu-speaking communities, has archived several Lizu songs on her website: http://www.katia-chirkova.info/sounds/lizu-songs/. See also Wu Da, "Three Tongues and Two Identities: A Case Study of Ersu Ethnic Identities in Sichuan, China" *Cultural Diversity in China* 1 (2015): 44-67.

[48] Limusishiden, “The Last Outstanding Mongghul Folksong Singer,” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 37 (2015): 79–98.

[49] Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

[50] Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 no. 4 (2006): 387-409; Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).

[51] Elana Shohamy, *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[52] Gerald Roche, “Articulating Language Oppression: Colonialism, Coloniality and the Erasure of Tibet’s Minority Languages,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 53 no.5 (2019): 487-514.

[53] Eve Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[54] Francine Hirsch, “Toward an Empire of Nations: Border‑making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities,” *The Russian Review* 59 no.2 (2000): 201–226; Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[55] Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010).

[56] Gerald Roche, “Introduction: The Transformation of Tibet’s Language Ecology in the Twenty-first Century,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 245 (2017): 1-35.

[57] Jeffrey Green, “Amdo Tibetan media intelligibility,” *SIL electronic survey reports* (2012), http://www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/48318.

[58] Roche and Yudru Tsomu, “Tibet’s Invisible Languages.”

[59] The following description is based on Tsering Shakya, “Politicisation and the Tibetan Language,” in *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, ed. Robert Barnett and Shirin Akiner (London: Hurst and Company, 1994) 157-165.

[60] The literature on Tibetan education has so far focused exclusively on a single Tibetan language, and has not addressed the predicament of Tibet’s minoritized languages.

[61] Thurston, “The Purist Campaign.”

[62] Gerald Roche, “Tibetan Language Rights and Civil Society in the People’s Republic of China: Challenges of and for Rights.” Asian Studies Review (2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1758033.

[63] Andrew Fischer, *The Disempowered Development of Tibet in China* (NY: Lexington, 2013); Charlene Makley, *The Battle for Fortune: State-led Development, Personhood, and Power among Tibetans in China* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2018).

[64] Uradyn E. Bulag. “Mongolian Ethnicity and Linguistic Anxiety in China.” American Anthropologist 105 no.4 (2003): 753-763.

[65] Zhogs dung [translated by Matthew Akester], *The Division of Heaven and Earth: On Tibet’s Peaceful Revolution* (London: Hurst and Company, 2016), 5.

[66] Clémence Henry, “The Chinese Education System as a Source of Conflict in Tibetan Areas,” in *Ethnic Conflict and Protest in Tibet and Xinjiang: Unrest in China's West* ed. Ben Hillman and Grey Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 97-121.

[67] Françoise Robin, “Streets, Slogans and Screens: New Paradigms for the Defense of the Tibetan Language,” in, *On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society: Tibetans and Uyghurs in Socialist China*, ed. Trine Brox and Ildikó

Bellér-Hann (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2014), 209–34; Fiona McConnell, "Reconfiguring Diaspora Identities and Homeland Connections: The Tibetan 'Lhakar' movement," in *Dismantling Diasporas: Rethinking the Geographies of Diasporic Identity, Connection and Developmen*t, ed. Anastasia Christou and Elizabeth Mavroudi (London: Routledge, 2015), 99-111; Thurston, "The Purist Campaign."

[68] Roche, "Tibetan Language Rights."

[69] Françoise Robin, "Discussing Rights and Human Rights in Tibet," in, *Ethnic conflict and protest in Tibet and Xinjiang: Unrest in China's West*, ed. Ben Hillman and Gray Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 60–96.

[70] Gerald Roche, "The Alphabetical Order of Things: The Language of Place and the Place of Language in Tibetan Song," in *Presence Through Sound: Place and Contemporary Music in and from East Asia*, ed. Keith Howard and Catherine Ingram (London: Routledge, 2020).

[71] Anna Stirr, "Blue Lake: Tibetan Popular Music, Place and Fantasies of the Nation," in *Tibetan Modernities: Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change*, ed. Robert Barnett and Robert Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 305–32.

[72] Yangdon Dhondup, "Dancing to the Beat of Modernity: The Rise and Development of Tibetan Pop Music," in *Tibetan Modernities: Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change*, ed. Robert Barnett and Robert Schwartz, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 285–304; Tsering Drolma and Arthur Wilson, "Tibetan Contemporary Songs and Music Video: Focus and Direction, 2000–2009," *Tibet Journal*, 34 no. 1 (2009): 149–175; Lama Jabb, "Singing the Nation: Modern Tibetan Music and National Identity," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 21 (2011): 1–29; Anna Morcom, "History, traditions, identities and nationalism: drawing and redrawing the musical cultural map of Tibet," in Tibetan Studies: An Anthology, ed. Saadet Arslan and Peter Schweiger (Sankt Augustin: International Institution for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2011), 385–417; Anna Morcom, "Getting Heard in Tibet: Music, Media and Markets,' Consumption, Markets and Culture 11 no.4 (2008): 259–85; Anna Morcom, "Modernity, Power and the Reconstruction of Dance in post 1950s Tibet," Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies 3 (2007): 1-32.
Anna Morcom, "Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the 'Great Transformation' of Tibet through its Songs," Yearbook for Traditional Music 47 (2015): 161–89.

[73] Cameron David Warner, "Hope and Sorrow: Uncivil Religion, Tibetan Music Videos, and YouTube," Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology 78 no.4 (2013): 543–68, 543.

[74] Timothy Thurston, "On Artistic and Cultural Generations in Northeastern Tibet," *Asian Ethnicity* 19 no. 2 (2018): 143-162.

[75] Roche, "The Alphabetical Order of Things."

[76] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Fc_hKYGJbg; and English translation of the lyrics, and discussion of song, is available at
https://highpeakspureearth.com/2010/two-songs-about-tibetan-unity-mentally-return-and-the-sound-of-unity/

[77] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3S8HS971W2o

[78] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDqBXnUaMVY

[79] Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Language philosophy as language ideology: John Locke and Johann Gottfried Herder," in Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities, ed. Paul Kroskrity (Santa Fe: School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, 2000), 139-204.

[80] Joshua Fishman, *In Praise of the Beloved Language: A Comparative View of Positive Ethnolinguistic Consciousness* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996).

[81] Thurston, “The Purist Campaign”; Miaoyan Yang, “Discourses on ‘Authenticity’: Language Ideology, Ethnic Boundaries and Tibetan Identity on a Multi-ethnic Campus,” J*ournal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 39 no.10 (2018): 925–940.

[82] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJaILctNsZQ

[83] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nya0fIjWIKw

[84] Translations are from the film clip on Youtube.

[85] Sonam Lhundrop, Hiroyuki Suzuki and Gerald Roche, “Language contact and the politics of recognition amongst Tibetans in China: The rTa’u-speaking ‘Horpa’ of Khams,” in *The Politics of Language Contact in the Himalaya*, ed. Selma K. Sonntag and Mark Turin (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2019) 11-36.

[86] Lama Jabb, *Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation* (New York: Lexington Books, 2015).

[87] Jenny L. Davis, "Resisting Rhetorics of Language Endangerment: Reclamation through Indigenous Language Survivance," *Language Documentation and Description* 14 (2017): 37-58, 54.

[88] http://m.25xz.com/play/28184.shtml