THE POSITION OF TIBETAN LINGUISTIC RIGHTS IN CHINA

LHASA AND LANZHOU RESEARCH

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DEDICATION

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Finally to all the staff at the Centre for Peace Studies, thank you all. You have been amazing!

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TERMINOLOGY

1. *Tibet Autonomous Region*: Tibet, the second largest provincial level division of China, also the second largest ethnic autonomous region of China.

2. *Gansu Province*: Neighbouring province of Tibetan Autonomous Region, there are more than thirty different ethnicities living in this province, one of the poorest in China. Location of one of the centres for Tibetan higher education and research, the Northwest University for Nationalities.
ABSTRACT

Language, as a very important medium in social activities, is always being paying a great attention by human beings. While “language is for most ethnic groups one of the most important cultural core values.” “Lack of linguistic rights often prevents a group from achieving educational, economic and political equality with other groups” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:7) Linguistic right has been widely considered as one of the most significant human rights for human society. As a basic human right, it is also considered as the one of the most important identities for every ethnicity, nation and person in human society.

As a major ethnicity in China, Tibetan and its culture have been regarded as one of the most prosperous civilisations through the whole Asian historical time. Its traditional culture and linguistic system closely related with the Tibetan society and the neighbouring ethnicities in China as well. Moreover, Tibetan language has also been the foundation of Tibetan religion, politics and economic development nowadays. It is worthwhile taking efforts to research and study.

The fieldwork has processed in both Lhasa city in Tibet Autonomous Region and Lanzhou city in Gansu Province.

In particular, the thesis discusses the current situation of linguistic rights in different social domains in different cities with different characteristics in multi-ethnic regions in western China.

The conclusion demonstrates the respect for the linguistic rights of Tibetan people is the basic method of protecting Tibetan language and culture; it is also the foundation for respecting linguistic human rights. The violation of linguistic rights of Tibetan people still exists

The analysis suggests paying more attention and giving a higher level of priority could be the most efficient ways of developing Tibetan culture and also the key methods for the protection of Tibetan linguistic human rights.
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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND INTRODUCTION

1.1. General introduction of lingual status of the nationalities of China

China has been a multi-national country since ancient times. It is a nation formed from fifty-six ethnic groups. After the founding of People’s Republic of China in 1949, “there are presently fifty-six recognised nationalities in China, of which the Han Chinese are numerically the largest with 937 million (1982). The fifty-five national minorities, which according to the population census of 1982 totaled 67 million persons (6.7 percent of the total population), constituted a groups of a considerable size.” (Heberer 1989:13)

There are more than eighty different languages for minority nationalities in the country. The majority of ethnic groups in China have their own spoken language, but only some of the ethnic groups have both spoken and written languages. There are “only two groups, the Huí and Shē, use the Han Chinese language and form of writing.” (Heberer 1989:16) There are only a small percentage of minority ethnic groups who have written languages. Tibetan is one of the largest ethnic groups among them, according to national languages research status shown by China (1987). Before the People’s Republic was founded in 1949, eleven written languages of ethnic minorities were in regular use, and seven others were used sporadically. There are also twenty-five (since 1949) written languages for ethnic minorities that have been codified through the creation of new forms of scripts, some of them based on the alphabet after the founding of People’s Republic of China.

The linguistic research for minorities’ languages was officially organised by the Chinese government after the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1952. “According to official statistics, during the period 1949-63, a total of 150 million copies of books in 19 minority languages were published.” (Ma Yin et al 1985) The Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou city is the first higher research and educational institute of ethnic minorities’ languages in China. Major academic research of Tibetan, Uyghur, Mongolian and other minorities’ languages in western China are processed and led by this university.
According to the population census since 1982, 45.86% of inhabitants in the Tibetan Autonomous Region are Tibetan, 23.96% are Tibetan in Sichuan Province, 19.59% in Qinghai Province, 7.87% in Gansu Province and 2.48% in Yunnan Province. Tibetan Autonomous Region and Gansu Province were chosen for research and study in this thesis.

1.2. General introduction of Tibetan-speaking Area and Tibetan language.

The majority of Tibetan people inhabit the highest plateau in the world, the Tibetan Plateau, including four provincial administrative regions, Sichuan Province, Gansu Province, Tibetan Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province. It is bordered and traversed by the world’s highest mountain ranges, the Himalayas.

“From west to east it stretches from eastern Afghanistan to the Chinese provinces of Sichuan and Gansu. Except for its western extremity (the Pamir and Hindu Kush) and parts of its northern edge (the Kunlun mountains), it is the land of Tibetan speaking
people”. (Denwood 1999:1) The majority of the minority nationalities who lives in the area belong to the Tibetan ethnic group.

1.2.1. Who speaks Tibetan?

People normally regard western China, which mainly refers to the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province and part of Gansu Province, as the major areas of Tibetan speaking people. “According to the Language Atlas of China, the language boundary runs roughly along the 34th parallel from the border with Kashmir across the Tibetan Autonomous Region and then turns northeastern wards across the Qinghai Province of western China, staying south of the Tsaidam salt desert as far as and to the north of the Kokonor Lake.” (Denwood 1999:2)

These areas are also the homelands of Tibetans and other ethnic groups who inhabited or immigrated to Tibetan Regions.

Significantly, different from the languages of other small ethnic groups in China, the Tibetan language was already well developed during its historical movements. Tibetans’ typical religious culture and the special geographical of Tibetan position (located in the cross region between East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia) underlies the importance of the Tibetan language for Tibetans in China and other neighbouring nationalities who believe in Tibetan Buddhism.

Tibetan language is also the official language of Tibetan Buddhism scriptures. But it is not true that all Tibetan inhabitants in Tibetan speaking regions speak Tibetan; these ethnic groups might believe in Tibetan Buddhism, and even their outlooks are similar to Tibetan people. “Thus for example the 100,000 speakers of the Gyarong language along with 40,000 of the 140,000 speaker of Qiang… (Qiang is one of the five majority ethnicities in China for thousands of years, their outlook and customs are similar to Tibetan people ) both in western China are officially classified as ‘Tibetan’ in nationality despite the fact that many of them do not speak Tibetan”. (Denwood 1999: 2)
As one of the biggest ethnic groups in China, Tibetans live all over China, but majority of them are located in an area geographically similar to the range of Tibetan speaking areas, which are located in western China, including the entire part of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, the majority of Qinghai Province, the south part of Gansu province, northwestern part of Sichuan province and northwestern parts of Yunnan province.

Generally speaking, the Tibetan language is only spoken by Tibetan nationals. It is the first language of the Tibetan people who lives in Tibetan Regions in east and south Asia. But still, some of the Tibetan populations who live in Han Chinese inhibited areas do not regard Tibetan language as first language in daily life. Simultaneously, “the political ebb and flow of the subsequent centuries has left various parts of the Tibetan speaking area under the rule of six different nation states at the time of writing: China, Burma, India, Bhutan, Nepal and Pakistan.” (Denwood 1999:1)

China’s Tibetan regions cover large areas in western provinces. There are three main dialects in the Tibetan lingual system. They are the Ü-Tsang dialect (Lhasa dialect), which is the main dialect in Tibetan Autonomous Region nowadays, and the Amdo dialect and Kham dialect, the two main dialects spoken by Tibetans who live outside the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The Amdo dialect is spoken mostly by Tibetans who live in Gansu Province, which is one of the major provinces surveyed, neighbouring Tibetan Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province. Kham Dialect is spoken the least, by Tibetans who live in Yunnan and Sichuan Province.

1.2.2. Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Language

There are three kernels for Tibetan Buddhism in western China, which are also the centres of origin for the three Tibetan dialects.

First and foremost, is the centre of Tibet, its capital Lhasa city in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The Putala palace, which was the palace for Dalai Lamas, is regarded as the centre and symbol of Lhasa city; it was the centre for the administration of Tibet and has one of the biggest national libraries of Tibetan lingual education. Lhasa became the capital of Tibet and
was regarded as the centre for Tibetan Buddhism of the world in ancient times. It is also the origin of the Tibetan Ü-Tsang dialect (Lhasa dialect). Nowadays, the higher educational institution of the Autonomous Region, the University of Tibet, uses the Lhasa Dialect as their academic language.

Second, is Qinghai Province which is the home province of 10th Panchan Lama and other former Panchan Lamas. The majority of Tibetans in Qinghai province speak Amdo dialect.

Thirdly, the Labuleng Monastery in neighbouring Gansu province is regarded as the third largest centre for Tibetan Buddhism. The majority of the Tibetans in Gansu Province were migrants from neighbouring Qinghai Province in ancient time. Because of this, the major Tibetan population in Gansu Province speaks Tibetan Amdo dialect.

The research institute of Tibetan culture and language in western China, The Northwest University for Nationalities, is located in the capital of Gansu Province, Lanzhou city. Although the university is the one of the key universities of Tibetan studies nationally, the educational language in this university only uses the Tibetan Amdo dialect.

Kham dialect is spoken by some Tibetans who live in the Khams region in Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, Yunnan Province and Sichuan Province. Compared with the other two major dialects, it has the smallest spoken population and this dialect is seldom spoken by the Tibetans in both Lhasa city and Lanzhou city.

1.3. Brief introduction of autonomy of ethnic minorities in China after 1949

Edwards (1985:6) define ethnicity as: “A sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race and religion.”

“Historically seen, China could be said to have been a multinational state for thousands of years, but it has by no means always constituted a unified state structure.”( Herberer 1989:19) After the long term historical development of communication and migration among ethnic nationalities, the majority regions in Chinese provinces have already formed an ETHNIC NATIONAL COMPACT COMMUNITY. “There are quite enough examples of
peaceful coexistence, cultural enrichment, and even common struggles engaged in jointly by Han and non-Han.” (Herberer 1989:19)

Ethnic groups in China were redefined into five big ethnic groups, which were Han, Manchurian, Mongolian, Muslims and Tibetan, by the government of Republic of China (the former Chinese government before 1949) after 1911. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, 55 ethnic groups were defined as ethnic minorities including the indigenous native inhabitants in Taiwan Island. In the provinces inhabited by minority ethnicities, the minorities “… have enjoyed an autonomy defined by territory and nationality since the fifties.” (Herberer 1989:40) “At that time, regions inhabited by one or several minorities were united into a single administrative unit. (be it autonomous region, autonomous prefecture, autonomous county or autonomous township) and the bodies of self-administration were established.” (Herberer 1989:40)

In 1954, the principles of ethnic autonomy were written into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In 1984, the National Autonomy law of The People’s Republic of China was established. The general definition of the autonomy of minorities can be seen in the front page of the National Autonomy law of The People’s Republic of China: “The People's Republic of China is a multi-ethnic nation created by all people from all nationalities in China. National regional autonomy under the unified leadership in the country, the areas inhabited by minorities exercising regional autonomy, the establishment of self-government bodies, the exercise of autonomy. The implementations of ethnic regional autonomy, reflecting the state to respect and protect the minority the right in order to manage the internal affairs of the national spirit, reflecting the state adhere to the implementation of equality, unity and common prosperity principles.” (The People's Republic of China Regional National Autonomy Law) “According to this law, the administrative head of an autonomous unit shall be a citizen of the ethnic group/s that exercises autonomy in the area. The organs of self-government have the power to ‘administer their local finances’ and , ‘under the guidance of the state plans,….independently administer projects for local economic construction, education, science, culture, health and sports.” (Ma Yin et al., 1985)
“In 1989, there existed 141 areas with regional national autonomy (five autonomous regions at the provincial level: Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang of the Uygur, Guangxi of the Zhuang, Tibet, and Ningxia of the Hui; 31 autonomous prefectures and 105 autonomous counties or banners, as they are called in Inner Mongolia)” (Herberer 1989:40) As well as the Tibet Autonomous Region, which is the only provincial level autonomous region among the five Tibetan inhabited provinces in western China, there are all together ten Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures in western China.

(Information quoted from website of the central people’s government of The People’s Republic of China. URL: http://www.gov.cn/test/2005-06/15/content_18253.htm)

“Autonomy does not mean that these regions have the right to secede from the sovereign territory of the People’s Republic of China,” (Herberer 1989:40) but it does mean that, under the support from the central government, they enjoy certain special rights over other administrative units including all the regions of the majority of the nation, which refers to the Han Chinese provinces in China.

“In these regions, the language(s) and writing(s) of the region’s autonomous nationality (or nationalities) should be used; administration must (or should) be on the hands of functionaries from the minority population; the regions can promulgate their own law and regulations, draw up their own production plans (within the bounds of the central state plan) and choose their own path of economic and cultural development (within the lines of constitution). The autonomous regions can administer local finances themselves (within the framework of financial planning for the state as a whole), and can have their own local security forces.” (Herberer 1989:41)

According to the law of ethnic autonomy, the lingual and cultural freedoms of ethnic minorities have been of concern since the founding of the People’s Republic of China. As Article ten of the Law of ethnic autonomy of People’s Republic of China explains: “The freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written language for the local ethnic groups in Autonomous Region and Organs should be protected. The local ethnic groups have the freedom to preserve their own customs and to use and reform their language and culture.”
“Most of the more than 90 million minorities in China inhabit less developed remote border areas and are often found in multi-cultural communities. These parts often display the typical characteristics of the periphery syndrome: remoteness, low population density, poverty, and multi-ethnicity.”(Lofstedt 1990:3)

1.4. General background of Tibetan Autonomous Region

The Tibetan Autonomous Region is geographically located in the major area of administrative region of former Tibetan local government before 1950s. There has always been a hot discussion of the historical position of Tibet since the founding of People’s Republic of China.

The Tibetan Autonomous Region, the largest and most centralized inhabitance area of the Tibetan population, was founded in 1959. Tibet was “reorganised into 72 rural counties, 7 special administrative districts, and one municipality (Lhasa) in order to dissolve the feudal governing structure”. (Grunfeld 1987:161) According to the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China as well as the Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy of the People’s Republic of China, the Tibetan Autonomous Region is a provincial level autonomous region located in the Tibetan plateau in western China. There are more than thirty-three different ethnicities in the region. According to the Population censuses of People’s Republic of China in 2000, 92.8% inhabitants in the Region are Tibetans, followed by 6.1% Han Chinese, 0.3% Hui Chinese Muslims, 0.3% Monpa and 0.2% other minority ethnicities. (Population censuses of the People’s Republic of China, 2002)

Lhasa, the capital of the Tibetan Empire during ancient time, is the capital of Tibetan Autonomous Region nowadays. As the biggest city in Tibet Autonomous Region, Lhasa is also a township level prefecture, consisting of 7 small counties: Lhünzhub County, Damxung County, Nyêmo County, Qüxü County, Doilungdêqên County, Dagzê County and Maizhokunggar County.

The city of Lhasa located in the southeast part of Tibet Autonomous Region. It is the spiritual centre of Tibetan people and Tibetan Buddhism.
1.5. Chinese concepts to historical Tibet and Tibetan Autonomous Region

The Chinese territory has existed since ancient times. “The territory of today’s China has been Chinese territory for many centuries.” (Heberer 1989:121) Tibet or today’s Tibetan Autonomous Region has been included as part of Chinese territory since China’s Yuan Dynasty. “The Yuan emperors were recognised by both parties as the overlords of Tibet, but the Lamas governed Tibet’s internal affairs.” (Heberer 1989: 118)

Ancient history shows that Tibet was conquered by the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) and became part of China under the rule of the Mongolian empire of the Yuan Dynasty. Here, I should add one further explanation of this ancient Chinese dynasty “Yuan”.

Europeans will easily regard Yuan dynasty as a dynasty founded by Mongols but not a Chinese Dynasty. But “unlike in Europe, where today’s nation-states were formed only in the last two centuries, the Chinese empire has existed for over 2,000 years.” The European concept of nation and state cannot translate straightforwardly to Chinese circumstances.

From ancient times the Mongolians have been one of China’s nationalities. “To the Chinese, all peoples who live in the territory of today’s China are considered part of Chinese people.” (Heberer 1989:121) Tibetans, Mongolians and other ethnic minorities in China have belonged to the Chinese Nation for centuries; they are certainly Chinese.

It is a mistake to believe that China means Han Nationality, or that the Han Nationality means China. To do so is to be led into the mistaken belief that the regimes established by China’s ethnic minorities’ are ‘foreign countries’. Therefore, the Yuan Dynasty, although it was founded by Mongols, should be regarded as an ancient Chinese Dynasty. Consequently, it is wrong to argue that the Imposition of the Mongol rule and the foundation of the Yuan dynasty were due to a foreign power.

“In 1911 and 1949 Tibet attempted to make itself independent from China. The status of Tibet within the community of nations was therefore a controversial question for a time in international law, even though not one country ever recognised Tibet as an independent state,
and today Tibet is regarded in international law as a part of the People’s Republic of China.” (Heberer 1989: 121).

1.6. **Standpoint of exile Tibetans**

“Invaded by China in 1949, the independent country of Tibet was forced to face the direct loss of life that comes from military invasion and, soon after, the loss of universal freedoms that stemmed from Communist ideology and its programmes such as the Cultural Revolution (1966-76).” (Official website of central Tibetan administration. URL: http://www.tibet.net/en/index.php?id=7&rmenuid=8#) Before the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Dalai Lama and his follower exiled to India and founded the exile government of Tibet. The exile government claimed that the whole Tibetan Region which includes the entire part of Tibet Autonomous Region, the southern part of Gansu Province, the entire part of Qinghai Province, the western part of Sichuan Province and the northwest part of Qinghai province, is the independent territory of Tibet. “With a written history of more than 2000 years, Tibet existed as an independent sovereign state prior to Chinese rule.” (The official central Tibetan administration)

1.7. **Gansu Province**

“The Gansu province, which is squeezed between Qinghai and Inner Mongolia, stretches from Sichuan in the south 1,600 km to Xinjiang and the Mongolian Republic in the north. It covers an area of more than 390,000 sq.km. (according to some sources 451,000) of Qinghai-Tibetan Highland, the Yellow River, the flat Loess Plateau, Gobi desert, mountainous areas and wide grassland….three fourths of the province is desert and gobi desert. Total population is around 23 million, out of which nearly 1.9 million (or 8.3 percent) are ethnic minorities.”(Lofstedt 1994:32)
Gansu is the fourth largest Tibetan populated province in China. (Population censuses of People’s Republic of China, 2000) Although the population of Han constitutes 91% of the whole of the provincial population, Gansu Province is still a typical ethnic minorities’ inhabited province in western China. There are three major minority ethnicities living in the province. They are Hui Chinese Muslims which make up 5% of its population; Dongxiang Chinese Muslims make up 2% and Tibetans, which make up 2% percent of its population.

Gansu province is one of the most important Tibetan research centres in western China. The first University for Minorities’ Nationalities of People Republic of China, the Northwest University for Nationalities, was founded in its capital Lanzhou city. It is the higher education centre for Tibetan lingual and cultural studies in the region and western China. Its computing centre invented the first software for the computerisation of the Tibetan language.

The population structure can be seen in Table One:

Table One: The ten largest minority groups in Gansu Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>1094,354</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>366,718</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongxiang</td>
<td>311,457</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>21,239</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchu</td>
<td>16,723</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugar</td>
<td>11,809</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baoan</td>
<td>11,069</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongol</td>
<td>8,354</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salar</td>
<td>6,739</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>3,148</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Population Census 1990

“The total number of the ethnic minorities is above 40 if even small numbers of individual are included. There are ten groups with more than a few thousand people ranging from the Hui with a little over a million to the Kazaks with around 3,000. The ten largest minority groups in Gansu are given above.”(Lofstedt 1994:32)

The main Tibetan inhabited region in the province is called Gannan Southern Gansu Tibetan Nationality Autonomous Prefecture. It is another “high-altitude area in Gansu with mountain peaks ranging between 2,500 and 4,500 meters above sea level.” (Lofstedt 1994:32)

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Concept of linguistic rights

Linguistic rights are rights which are highly recognised as universal basic human rights. It is one of the basic human rights as described by the United Nations Chapter:

“The purposes of the United Nation are …..To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and
in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” (Article One, United Nations Chapter I. Purposes and Principles)

“The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of…

b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” (Article 13, United Nations Chapter IV. The General Assembly)

Linguistic rights are fundamental human rights. The rights highly are recognised as universal basic human rights and decisive rights related to other cultural and educational human rights.

“Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” (Article 2, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all the nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.” (Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

“Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.” (Article 27, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

Generally speaking, based on the individual level, “…it is the right to learn the mother tongue, including at least basic education through the medium of the mother tongue, and the right to use it…” (Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:2), the rights imply that everyone can learn their own mother tongue, and can be identified positively by their mother tongue, their own cultural customs and “… have that identification respected by others,
irrespective of whether their mother tongue is a minority language or a majority language.”( Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:2)

Based at a collective level, linguistic rights refer to the rights of minority groups to exist. “It implies the right to enjoy and develop their language and the right for minorities to establish and maintain schools and other training and educational institutions, with control of curricula and teaching in their own languages. It also involves guarantees of representation in the political affairs of the state, and the granting of autonomy to administer matters internal to the groups, at least in the fields of culture, education, religion, information, and social affairs….” ( Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:2)

According to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas’ (1995) theory of linguistic human rights, the linguistic rights at an individual level can be concluded into above single rights:

1) Everyone has “the right to learn the mother tongue, including at least basic education through the medium of the mother tongue, and the right to use it in many of the (official) context exemplified.”( Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:2)

2) The right to learn and to be educated by at least one national official language.

3) Everyone has the lingual right to receive help and assistant from others in case of disability.

4) Everyone has freedom of speech in any languages.

5) All people have the right to learn or to be educated in at least the foreign languages.

6) The right of using, speaking, listening, writing, learning and teaching of any languages should not be suppressed and prohibited.

2.2. Multilingualism

Briefly, multilingualism refers to the usage of two or more languages, for individual speakers and collective groups. Multilingualism represents the co-existence of language groups including an autochthonous majority language, a minority language spoken by immigrants and minority ethnicities and their minority language “…whose geographical spread has been declining for several decades” ( Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:41)
majority of the world’s population lives in a bilingual or multilingual society. Multilingualism is becoming a universal phenomenon since modern transportation was invented. Generally speaking, every social change will cause the development of multilingualism: from a political aspect any kind of annexation, re-inhabitancy and all means of political and martial action will influence language. If people migrate to a foreign land under the identity of refugee under the circumstances of war or disaster, people will, generally speaking, learn the language of their new inhabited region, and at the same time, they will keep and use their own language. And if a native land were occupied by a foreign force or outsider, the native inhabited people would learn and use the language of the invaders as well.

From a religious and cultural aspect, people travel or migrate to certain preferred cultural identified places, in order to achieve the same cultural or religious identification. They will learn and use a certain language to help themselves fit into the local cultural identification. Under this circumstance, ethnic and cultural identification plays an important role in the development of multilingualism.

Education also plays a significant role in achieving multilingualism. In order to acquire more knowledge, and especially to improve communication skills, people are willing to learn majority languages, for example, the learning of English.

Moreover, concerning one of the major causes of multilingualism, migrants are mainly the result of economic causes. As people migrate from underdeveloped regions to economically developed regions, the language environment of the developed region itself will become more and more multilingual. For example, multilingualism appears in the United States. The migration caused by natural disaster will also produce multilingualism in the newly immigrated land.

2.3. Linguistic human rights in China

2.3.1. Han Yu, the language for Han ethnicity in China

As is known to all, language is the most important tool for communication for human beings. It is the carrier of culture, and contains and presents the most important phenomena of
civilisation since poems, stories and other literary works are all expressed by languages. It is the most important cultural core value for any ethnic group. Speaking and reading in certain languages is the most common and important way to show ethnic identity. China is a typical multilingual nation: it has fifty-six ethnic groups, and each group has their own language or dialect. Han is the biggest ethnicity in China, so the language spoken by the Han ethnicity is the national language, which is called Han Yu, known as the common language of the Chinese nation. As the national language, it has developed for thousands of years, and has a variety of accents and dialects. Different province and different cities and regions have their own pronunciation of the Chinese language.

There are a huge number of Chinese dialects that have a different way of speaking from the writing system. Learning the written form of Chinese has become the privilege of the upper class in society. Consequently, with the aim of enhancing the national education level, the movement of unifying the Chinese language began at the beginning of the 20th century. Mandarin Chinese, which is based on the pronunciation of Beijing dialect, is regarded as the standard national pronunciation of Chinese language. The popularization of Mandarin Chinese was formalised in the Constitution of People’s Republic of China in 1982. “Mandarin Chinese, the standard pronunciation of Chinese national language, should be popularized.”( Article 19, Constitution of People’s Republic of China, 1999 version.) (Article 3, Law of the Peoples Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, 2001 version)

Mandarin Chinese has already become the common speech of Chinese national language nowadays. It is also one of the official languages of public administration, media and education in China.

At the same time, all dialects of Chinese and other languages of ethnic minorities can also be used in every social domain in the certain local areas where the dialects are from.
2.3.2. Linguistic rights for ethnic minorities in China

“Linguistic majorities, speakers of a dominant language, usually enjoy all those linguistic human rights which can be seen as fundamental, regardless of how they are defined. Most linguistic minorities in the world do not enjoy these rights.” (Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:2)

Generally speaking, the linguistic human rights of small and weak ethnic groups will be definitely influenced and even violated by interference from neighbouring and dominant powers and big ethnic groups, especially in both economical and cultural aspects during the communication and social changes. Regardless of war, natural disasters or economical changes, human rights violations exist in human society. Linguistic rights always become the first human rights to be easily ignored by people and society during social transformation and change.

As we all know, basic communication in human society is based on lingual skills such as speaking, writing and singing. Simultaneously, culture, which normally refers to the majority of social phenomena, expresses the core value of every ethnic nationality, and is demonstrated by language. At the same time, “Language is for most ethnic groups one of the most important cultural core values.” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:7)

“Linguistic rights should be considered as basic human rights.” (Phillipson Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:1) because language is widely recognised by people as the most significant resource and wealth of human beings. It is the symbol of recognition of ethnicities and also an important cognitive element of cultural identification for every ethnic group. “People who are deprived of linguistic human rights may thereby be prevented from enjoying other human rights, including fair political presentation, a fair trial, access to education, access to information and freedom of speech, and maintenance of their culture heritage” (Phillipson 1995:2) From a social cognitive scope of understanding, linguistic rights should be considered as one of the most important measurements of social equality in modern society. To some extent, we can learn that “Lacking of linguistic rights often prevents a group from
achieving educational, economic and political equality with other groups.” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:7).

It is obvious that those majority ethnic groups, who are enjoying linguistic human rights, are holding the predominant positions in their societies or organizations. “Most linguistic majorities seem reluctant to grant “their” minorities’ rights, especially linguistic and cultural rights, because they would rather see their minorities assimilated.” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:3).

Furthermore, linguistic rights would normally be influenced or even violated by social changes, such as war, natural disaster and economical change. Generally speaking, language will automatically disappear and become extinct if it loses its communicative function or no longer spoken by people. One of the Chinese ethnic languages, Manchurian, the language used to be spoken by the Chinese royal family, which has already disappeared and is in danger of extinction, would be a typical example. The most important reason for its extinction would be the immense social changes in Chinese history, the revolution and the founding of Republic of China in early 1910s.

“The language is in fact Manchu, and the majority of those gathered on this balmy Saturday afternoon are of Manchu ethnicity. They are the descendants of the semi-nomadic tribesmen who ruled over the Chinese empire for two and a half centuries, but who are today on the brink of losing their language and, with it, their unique identity… If Manchu does disappear, it will only be one among a mass extinction that some experts forecast will lead to the loss of half of the world's 6,800 languages by the end of this century”

(URL: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/ID26Ad01.html)

“Since the groups who do not enjoy fully linguistic human rights today-regardless of how these are defined – are mostly minorities, minority rights overlap substantially with linguistic rights.” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:3).
Thus, the development of both individuals and collective groups of minorities will be restricted by human rights violation; their linguistic rights could be easily ignored by the dominant groups. Furthermore, “People who are deprived of linguistic human rights may thereby be prevented from enjoying other human rights…. ” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995:3). Linguistic rights are one of the basic human rights in society. It will relate to every aspect of universal human rights.

From a historical view, Chinese history is normally regarded as a procedure of culture exchange and communication among different nationalities and different ethnicities. The language and culture of ethnic minorities have already been considered as part simply of the culture of the Chinese nation. Han ethnicity is the biggest ethnic group in China; because of the dominance of Han ethnicity in Chinese population, the language of Han ethnicity has also become the dominant language in China.

In ancient times, ethnic minorities were regarded as “Barbarians”. First, the name of the nation “China” is called “Zhong Guo” in Chinese, which means “the nation of the centre of the world”. According to Chinese culture and history, China has been regarded as the centre of the world since the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) was founded. The ethnic minorities were sorts into “Five groups of Barbarians”( Xiong Nu, Xianbei, Jie,Di,Qiang ) which were the ancient Turkic, Mongolian, Iranian and the ethnic groups of south China and east China. The communication and trade popularised the language of Han Dynasty (one of the ancient Chinese languages), at the same time, the languages of ethnic minorities were also taught by the government of Han Dynasty. After the founding of Tang Dynasty, which was approximately 1000 years later, China became the most globalised nation in the world. The capital of Tang Dynasty, Chang An ( current Xi’an City ), was a city full of foreigners and foreign languages. There were huge numbers of foreign students who went to China to learn Chinese language, culture and ancient laws and regulations. Chinese became the most dominant language in Asia at that time. The ethnic Han people were also regarded as the most civilized group in China, and at the same period, the communication and friendship between Tang and Tûbô (ancient Tibet) reached its height.
The Yuan Dynasty and the last Dynasty of China, Qing, were the only two dynasties founded by ethnic minorities in Chinese History.

The Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) was founded by the Mongolian ethnic group. According to Chinese history, Tibet became a part of China in the Yuan Dynasty period. During the Yuan Dynasty, the language of the ruling ethnic group, Mongolian, become the priority language of the nation. Simultaneously, Chinese become the language used by the lowest social class. Because of Buddhism, Tibetan was also an important language during the ruling time of the Yuan Dynasty. Different from the Yuan Dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, which was the dynasty founded by Manchurian, regarded the Chinese language as one of the official languages of the nation and encouraged the royal family to learn the language and culture of the ethnic Han.

Using the ideology of nationalism from the Han ethnicity, the government of the Republic of China replaced the Qing Dynasty. Ethnic minorities were regarded as barbarian again. However, the languages of some major ethnic minorities were taught by local governments and were developed in the research of history and the studying of religion.

In the modern period, the respect of linguistic rights for ethnic minorities has become one of the most significant concerns of the United Nations. Consequently, the Chinese government regarded the protection of the cultural and lingual heritage of ethnic minorities and respect for the linguistic rights for ethnic minorities as the basic principles for the founding the government of the People’s Republic of China. The protection and respect of linguistic rights for all the ethnicities and nationalities in China were written in law and in social regulations:

“All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality are prohibited; any acts that undermine the unity of the nationalities or instigate their secession are prohibited. The state
helps the areas inhabited by minority nationalities speed up their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities. Regional autonomy practiced in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities; in these areas organs of self-government are established for the exercise of the right of autonomy…The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs.” (Article 4, Constitution of People’s Republic of China, 1999 version)

“Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use the spoken and written languages of their own nationalities in court proceedings…” (Article 134, Constitution of People’s Republic of China, 1999 version)

“The Chinese language, both oral and written, shall be the basic oral and written language for education in schools and other educational institutions. Schools or other educational institutions which mainly consist of students from minority nationalities may use in education the language of the respective nationality or the native language commonly adopted in that region.” (Education law of The People’s Republic of China Adopted at the third session of the eighth National People's Congress on 18th March, 1995, promulgated by Order No. 45 of the President of the People's Republic of China on 18th March, 1995 and effective as of 1st September, 1995).

Generally speaking, there are five major spoken languages for ethnic minorities used in Chinese parliament. They are Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazak and Yi. There are seven written languages used in the parliament: Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazak, Korean, Zhuang language (the language used by the major ethnic group in Guangxi Province, southwest China), and Standard Yi Language (the language used by Yi ethnic Group in Sichuan province in central-western China). Besides Chinese Mandarin, the central people’s broadcasting station also broadcasts in five other ethnic minority languages: Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur and Kazak and Korean. Both TV and radio programs in the region of
inner-Mongolia, Tibet (Tibet Autonomous Region), Qinghai (Qinghai province), Xingjiang (Xingjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region) and Yanbian (Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture) are multilingual.

There were only a few ethnic minorities in China that had their own written language before the founding of the People’s Republic of China. After 1949, the central government helped the ethnicities who didn’t have their own written languages to create their own written language. The education of 16 new created languages for 12 ethnic groups is supported by the government.

China has published huge amounts of publications in the languages of ethnic minorities, including books, magazines and newspapers. There are daily newspapers published in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazak, Korean and Yi; and there are also weekly newspapers in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazak, Korean, Dai (the language for Dai ethnicity in southwest provinces), Kyrgyzstani, Yubo, Zhuang, Jingpo, Zaiwa and Miao. The languages of Mongolian, Tibetan and Uyghur and other 11 ethnic minorities’ have already been computerised.

In general, the majority of the areas inhabited by ethnic minorities are bilingual or multilingual. Ethnic minorities simultaneously have the right to learn the national common speech, Mandarin Chinese, they also have the rights to learn and use their own ethnic languages. Since the Culture Revolution, the Chinese government has realised the importance of protecting the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities, but there are still huge disadvantages in all aspects of social domains, especially in education and legislation. There are still large amount of ethnic minorities who live in poor and underdeveloped areas; the rights to learn and use their own ethnic languages are still being violated.

2.3.3. Linguistic human rights for Tibetans in general.
Like the neighbouring Han Chinese, Tibetan culture and language have developed for thousands of years. Tibetan ethnicity exists in the majority of Chinese western provinces. Their language and culture formulated the foundation of Tibetan Buddhism. As in other parts of China however, Tibetan culture was almost destroyed during the Culture Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. Thousands of temples and monasteries were burnt and destroyed during the Revolution. Tibetan Buddhism, language and cultural heritage were largely damaged in the ten years of madness and political movements.

China is a country with a variety of cultures and languages. Tibetan, as one of the biggest ethnic groups in China, plays a significant role in maintaining the cultural and lingual diversity of the nation. Respect for Tibetan linguistic rights has already formed an important part of the protection of the national cultural and lingual heritage of China. After the Cultural Revolution, the central government and the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region accorded great importance to the respect of Tibetan linguistic rights.

Tibet was a semi-religious and semi-slavery society. The former government of Tibet in Qing Dynasty “expresses its religious ideology with the term chosinyitrel, which translates as ‘religion and political affairs joined together.’” (Goldstein 1989:2) Under the circumstances of religion and administration combined in governing, Tibetan monks and officials have priority in all aspects of religious and political activities in Tibetan society. Learning Tibetan language became an important privilege for the upper class in old Tibetan society. Tibetan monks still have first class priority in learning classical Tibetan language nowadays.

After the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region of People’s Republic of China, the Tibetan language became one of the key languages of Chinese language education until the Cultural Revolution started. Tibetan linguistic rights were severely damaged during the ten years of Cultural Revolution until the year of 1979, the year of Chinese reform and opening.

According to the Chinese Constitution and the Law of Ethnic Autonomy of People’s Republic of China, the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region started the legitimate procedure of the protection and respect of Tibetan linguistic rights in the year 1987.
According to data recorded by Tibet University; with the aim of improving education, translation and interpretation of Tibetan language, the Tibetan language conduction committee was founded in 1988. Tibet University started a training course for Tibetan language teachers for junior high school in 1989. The university has already completed the training for 1,438 students in the year of 2000. The governments have already realised the importance of developing Tibetan language and culture, because the development and the education of Tibetan does not only concern the respect of linguistic rights for Tibetan people, but it is also related to the protection of Tibetan cultural heritage and the future development of Tibetan society and Tibetan Buddhism.

CHAPTER THREE

FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY

My survey was planned to starts in May 2008, two months after the Tibetan riots in March and the while the city of Lhasa was preparing for the Olympic Torch Relay. Unfortunately, the atmosphere in Lhasa was uncertain and it was heavy-guarded by security. My first fieldwork research in Lhasa city was a failure because of these heavy security concerns. Due to the special circumstances of the Sichuan earthquake and the arrival of the Olympic Torch Relay in Lhasa city, detailed information and data could not be collected during the fieldwork research procedures in Lhasa city. All data presented for Lhasa city are based on data collection in Tibet University and observation, interview and note-making in Lhasa city.

The fieldwork was conducted in the two months of May and June, 2008 in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region and Januray, 2009 in Lanzhou city Gansu Province.

3.1. Fieldwork
The aim of both the fieldwork and thesis is to discuss the importance of the linguistic rights of the Tibetan language; the analysis depends on the comparison and description of lingual statuses in different social domains between in two different Tibetan inhabitant cities, Lhasa and Lanzhou in western China.

According to my original plan, Lhasa was meant to be the only survey area in field work research. Unfortunately, the Tibetan riots happened on 14th March in Lhasa, the capital of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Immediately, the city became full of violence; entering the city was dangerous and research interviews became difficult and risky. Two months later, China’s Wenchuan earthquake occurred in neighbouring Sichuan Province in 12th May. It was three days before my departure to do fieldwork.

Luckily, I successfully entered the Tibetan capital. However, it was extremely difficult to carry out my original interview plan. First, the city was preparing for the 2008 Olympic Torch Relay police and armed police guarded all roads, although there was no obvious violence during my stay for fieldwork. Secondly, I was an outsider from an outer province, and so my outlook was very different. In the city of Lhasa, except the few outsiders, the majority of people in Lhasa city are Tibetans. I could easily be defined as different by my outlook and the language I spoke. Because of the sensitivity of my topic, local citizens, even some of my interviewees, were taking precautions against me. The arranged interviewee families and some of the other arranged interviewees refused to answer my questionnaire during the oral interview. I cancelled some of the interview appointments because I was concerning the security issue, I could feel the potential risk and danger.

All these uncertainties made my first fieldwork research in Lhasa difficult and risky. The original designed fieldwork research plan became useless. My planned formal interview transformed into some simple random question asking and answering. All of the interviews were conducted face to face and privately. Data were collected by note-making and audio recording.
Surprisingly, one senior ranked monk in a Tibetan monastery was interviewed. I entered the living area in the monastery accidently because I was lost inside of the monastery. I met a Tibetan monk who unhappily tried to expel me out. I was taken by him to his master. Unexpectedly, the master accepted my interview request.

The Olympic Torch Relay arrived in the city of Lhasa in the middle of June, 2008. I decided to finish and depart from my fieldwork research in Lhasa before the Torch’s arrival. The information that I got from mass media especially from the internet told me that security risks would increase during the Torch Relay period. I left the city one day before the torch arrived.

According to the procedure of data collection, my first fieldwork in the Tibetan capital Lhasa was a failure. I did not successfully finish my research plan because of security worries.

I decided to do my second fieldwork research in neighbouring Gansu Province. Its capital Lanzhou city was chosen as my second survey area.

Different from Lhasa, Tibetan population in Lanzhou city makes up a much smaller percentage than in the Lhasa. The majority of the Tibetan inhabitancy in the city are professors and students in the Northwest University for Nationalities. Taking this into consideration, I chose The Northwest University for Nationalities as my major research survey location in Lanzhou.

The Northwest University for Nationalities is one of the top universities for Tibetan studies in China. There are large number of Tibetan professors and students working and studying at the university. Compared with the Tibetans in capital Lhasa, Tibetans in Lanzhou city have a very good Chinese Mandarin capacity. The interviews were successfully processed since better communication was possible. Senior ranked Tibetan religious leaders who were working as professors in the Tibetan study centre of the university and two Tibetan families were successfully interviewed. There were Tibetan families living in Lanzhou who
accepted my interview requests. The pre-designed questionnaire was used in the interviews with families, school pupils and teachers.

The data collection in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries was successful as well, although these monasteries in Lanzhou city are smaller. Interviews with Tibetan Buddhists were successfully conducted since there were no security risks in Lanzhou city.

The data was collected in three stages: pre-field phase, during field-work and post-field phase. The majority of background investigation was done in the pre-field phase. As the most important method for data collection, questionnaire design was paramount for pre-field preparation. Academic research in library was the second method used in pre-field stage. Cultural-historical background knowledge was also at the core. The literature search and research preparation also started in the pre-fieldwork stage. Various kinds of background information and academic articles were searched throughout this period. The four main data resources were: 1) pre-designed questionnaire oral interviews with local Tibetan citizens in Lhasa city, the discussions with Tibetan professors and students in Tibet University in Lhasa City and The Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou city. 2) Firsthand accounts, documents in libraries in Tibetan inhabited cities. 3) The historical records in museums and public administrations. 4) Local TV media, newspapers, books, and articles, some of which include primary historical materials, especially the documents related to Tibetan language computerisation.

There were two pre-designed survey areas for my first fieldwork. A`Ba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province was chosen as my first survey area before the submission of my final proposal. It is a typical region in China full of Tibetan culture and rich in multilingualism. My first proposal was processed at the beginning of 2008, surprisingly, the Sichuan Earthquake happened on 12th May, 2008. A`Ba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture was the epicentre. I had to change my survey area into a safer region, under these circumstances, Lhasa; the capital of Tibet Autonomous Region became my next survey area.
3.1.1 Pre-designed questionnaire interview

Questionnaires for interview and guidance were constructed before my departure for Tibet. These were designed to research: a) the use of Tibetan language in family, especially the education of Tibetan language in both cities, b) the Tibetan lingual status in different social domains, especially in the domains of administration, education, religion and mass media. c) The status of lingual variety and lingual differences between the cities of Lhasa and Lanzhou.

Questionnaires were designed for three separate groups of people: a) interviewees above sixteen, b) interviewees below sixteen, including primary pupils, c) primary school teachers. The questionnaire covered interviewees’ personal background, educational background, and lingual background, especially their lingual capacity.

Major interview of fieldwork in both cities will depend on questionnaires. They were one of the key methods used in data collection. The first questionnaire was designed for adults, (people who are older than sixteen.) Interviewees’ lingual status, especially Tibetan capacity and lingual habits were the key elements of the first questionnaire. The second questionnaire was designed for children and primary school pupil. Interviewees’ educational background, language capacity and family lingual education were the focus of the questionnaire. The questionnaire for primary school teachers was separately designed. The use of language in educational communication and teaching method was the core of this questionnaire.

These three questionnaires helped collect the data related to lingual and social status. This was the foundation of research on linguistic rights in both cities.

Although it was difficult to use my original plan in the Tibetan capital Lhasa, all three questionnaires were answered interviewees, although only three questionnaires were fully completed.

Generally speaking, interviews are affected by the people, (interviewers, interviewees and other related parties), who participate, in addition to the place and time in which it is
conducted. The questionnaire oral interview only elicited half of the data that I needed. It was really “… difficult to conduct the interview in private…” (Miller & Brewer 2003:169) in both cities. Anything related to Tibet and Tibetans was very sensitive in the period of 2008. My interviews were conducting slowly, because “[a]ll conversations are ultimately interactions set on a social stage, where we act according to circumstances or participants. The setting is the stage, and what performance we put on is to a certain degree dependent on the audience.” (Bjertnæs 2007:26)

3.1.2. Firsthand accounts in Tibetan inhabited cities.

The method of oral interviewing was not reliable. First of all, there were many interruptions during the interview procedure, especially in Lhasa. My pre-designed questionnaires did not exactly fit the real circumstances of my interviewees, especially due to the security situation after the Tibetan riots. Secondly, the answers that were given by the interviewees in Lhasa could not be fully trustworthy. All the interruptions “may affect the reliability (‘reproducibility’) of the data produced.” (Miller & Brewer 2003:169)

Taking the disadvantage of oral interviewing into consideration, alongside the pre-designed questionnaire interview I used, another method in my fieldwork research: firsthand accounts, which refers to my own eye witness experiences and hearsay.

Firsthand accounts focused on the multilingualism of the cities of Lhasa and Lanzhou. The majority of the populations in the Tibetan capital Lhasa are migrants from neighbouring Sichuan Province who account for 60% of the local population. They include Han people, Tibetans, Mongolian and Chinese Muslims. The majority of them speak Chinese Mandarin in Sichuan dialects, while some of them speak Tibetan dialects; it was quite easy for me to observe the popularity of the Tibetan language by reading commercial logos and hearing oral business advertisements.
3.2. Methodology in field

Methodology “refers to the choices we make about cases to study, methods of data gathering, forms of data analysis etc., in planning and executing a research study” (Silverman 2005:99) Taking the complicated circumstance in Tibetan regions into consideration, I chose both qualitative and quantitative approach during my fieldwork. But I did focus on the qualitative method. Because it is a method of interpretation, which can be described as “a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within the social words” (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:3).

Tibetan research was special and difficult because of those uncertainties and changes during the fieldwork procedure. Generally speaking, the qualitative method was chosen as the major method for data collecting and interviews, especially in the city of Lhasa. As we all know that reliability and validity are the two most important concepts for qualitative research method. They can help the determining of “the quality or sustainability of qualitative evidence” (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:270) I paid fully attention on the reliability aspect during the fieldwork in Lhasa, but unfortunately, the qualitative method cannot process smoothly because of the influences from the Tibetan riots, earthquake and Olympic Torch Relay. I had to choose quantitative method for substitution sometime.

The concept of “reliability” refers to sustainable, replicability, it concerns the ability to generalise beyond the research sample and object (Ibid: 270, 272). Simultaneously, I regarded validity as the core value of my data collection in both Lhasa and Lanzhou. Anyhow, issues related with Tibet and Tibetan was extremely “hot” during the period of fieldwork research. There were not many people willing to talk and discuss this topic. In this case, the validity of collected data has become the important matter that I have to pay enough attention. Validity refers to “correctness” or “precision” (Ibid: 273). Validity therefore also related with the correct words, and that the correct research channel is chosen so that one is measuring the intended (Ibid: 273).
Taken the consideration of reliability and validity, the research approach has been chosen the design questionnaire interview with selected informants (and random informants in Lanzhou city). The other methods of observation and hearing are also widely used in qualitative research procedure.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Lhasa

4.1.1. Multilingualism in Lhasa city

Lhasa is one of the most famous places of interest for tourism in southwestern China. Thousands of outsiders come to Lhasa to open businesses, conduct religious activities and study the Tibetan language and culture. As the capital of Tibetan Autonomous Region, Lhasa is a typical city full of different cultures. During my fieldwork in Lhasa, my Tibetan interviewees told me that the Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Amdo Dialect are the major dialect in the city. (Lhasa Dialect is the local dialect of the city. Amdo Dialect is the dialect spoken by neighbouring Qinghai and Gansu province.) Besides the Tibetan language, different dialect of Chinese and different foreign languages can also be heard in the city. Most of the Tibetan residences in the city can speak Tibetan, at least one dialect and Chinese Mandarin.

The major groups of migrants in Lhasa city are the immigrants from neighbouring provinces, including Han Chinese, Tibetans, Mongolians and Chinese Muslims. You can hear Chinese Sichuan Dialects, Mongolian and Tibetan Amdo Dialects in Lhasa city. There are only two forms of written languages in Lhasa city, Tibetan and Chinese. At the same time, English and Japanese can also be heard in the city.

Different from other cities in the autonomous region, Lhasa, as the capital and a famous tourist city, is multilingual. Tibetan and Chinese Mandarin are two major languages in the city.
The majority of the Tibetan residence in the city can speak at least two languages, Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Chinese Mandarin.

Lhasa is the centre of Tibetan Buddhism. The majority of monks in monasteries have received language education in Chinese Mandarin and English since starting of their Tibetan Buddhism education in the monastery. The majority of senior ranked monks are bilingual: they can speak both Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Mandarin Chinese, and some of them can also speak simple English or other foreign languages such as German or Japanese for tourist guiding or business usage. Furthermore, apart from the Tibetan Buddhists’ bibles, the majority exhibitions and documents in the museums of Lhasa city are bilingual. Some ancient documents are written in both Tibetan and Chinese because of the communication and cultural exchanges between Tibetan and Han ethnic groups. Some documents are classified as “restricted circulation” and are generally available for the upper level cadres. It was hard for me to get detailed information during my fieldwork, but I could easily identify the languages used for writing in those documents because of the differences in calligraphy.

Compared with the city of Lanzhou, the media and TV in Lhasa city are bilingual. Tibetan programmes play an important role in public media. It is very easy to identify the Tibetan language in media because of the differences of pronunciation from TV from Chinese.

Concerning publications and newspapers, Tibetan writing is seldom seen in the city of Lanzhou. More than 50% of the publications in Lhasa city are written in Tibetan. This gave me a multi-dimensional view and understanding of the information collected during fieldwork.

Generally speaking, most Tibetans who inhabit the city of Lhasa are bilingual; they normally speak Tibetan Lhasa dialect in daily but speak Mandarin Chinese or foreign languages to communicate with other ethnic nationalities of China and foreign tourists or visitors. To summarise simply, Tibetans living in Lhasa city speak Tibetan to Tibetan people, and speak Mandarin Chinese to people who are not Tibetan.
There is also an exception. Because there are three major dialects in Tibetan spoken language, Tibetan people have to speak Chinese Mandarin at times to mutually-communicate if they speak different dialects. Obvious examples can be found in Lhasa, especially in the domains of daily business and working communication. A typical example was given by one of the Tibetan interviewees who was a security personnel working in a Tibetan Buddhism monastery in Lhasa. The interviewee himself spoke Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Chinese Mandarin. Although he spoke Tibetan Lhasa Dialect in the majority of his working time, he also had to speak Mandarin Chinese or English to people from provinces outside of Tibetan Autonomous Region, who could not understand Tibetan Lhasa Dialect some of these people themselves were Tibetans who could speak the Tibetan language but not the local Lhasa Dialect.

There are also some smaller ethnicities living in the city, they speak Tibetan Lhasa Dialect, and most of them do not speak Chinese or other languages except the ones who have received education in Chinese inhabited regions.

(Lhasa Railway Station, Photo: Shen Zhang)
(A Stele in a Buddhist monastery written in Tibetan, Photo: Shen Zhang)
### BRIEF STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN TIBETAN CAPITAL LHASA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
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<th>ORIGIN/ PLACE</th>
<th>NATIVE LANGUAGE</th>
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<td>MR. QINGGUCOU (NEPHEW OF MR. QANGCUO)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>QINHAI PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, CHINESE QINHAI DIALECT, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>CLEANER IN HOTEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MR. A QANGCUO (BROTHER OF MR. B QANGCUO)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>QINHAI PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, CHINESE QINHAI DIALECT, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>PROF OF TIBETAN UNIVERSITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MR. B QANGCUO (BROTHER OF MR. A QANGCUO)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>QINHAI PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, CHINESE QINHAI DIALECT, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>TEACHER OF PRIMARY SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>MR. ZHAO (STUDENT OF MR. B QANGCUO)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>SICHUAN PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>PUPIL IN PRIMARY SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MONK IN MOSTARIETY OF LHASA</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>SENIOR RANKED MONK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MONK IN POTALA PALACE (PALACE FOR DALAI LAMA)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, ENGLISH, CANTONESE, ENGLISH, JAPANESE</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>TOURIST GUIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>OFFICER IN POTALA PALACE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>POLICE OFFICER</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>HEBEI PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>POLICE OFFICER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SURVEY AREA: LHASA CITY**  **TIME OF FIELDWORK: JUNE 2008**

**Interviewee Group One**

Relationship: Relatives, teacher and student
Language for communication between interviewees:

**Tibetan Lhasa Dialect, Tibetan Amdo Dialect, Chinese Mandarin**

The Qiangcuos’ family was one of the major interviewee groups in the city of Lhasa. Three members were interviewed in the family. Mr. A Qingcuo, a computing professor in a Tibetan University, who was the elder brother of Mr. B. Qiangcuo. The language they use was Amdo dialect, but both of them can speak Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Mandarin Chinese.

Mr. B Qingcuo, a teacher of English in a local primary school, is the teacher of Mr. Zhao. The languages they used are Chinese Mandarin and Tibetan Lhasa Dialect. He used Chinese Mandarin for teaching in class and used Tibetan Lhasa Dialect for daily communication with his students.

Ms. Qingbaocuo is the nephew of Mr. A. Qingcuo and Mr. B Qingcuo. She can speak Tibetan Lhasa Dialect, Tibetan Amdo Dialect and Mandarin Chinese. Mandarin Chinese and Tibetan Lhasa Dialect are the two major languages used while working at the hotel. She only used Tibetan Amdo Dialect for private communication with relatives.

Mr. Zhao was a student of Mr. B Qiangcuo. His native language was Tibetan Lhasa Dialect; he used both Mandarin Chinese and Tibetan Lhasa Dialect for daily studying and communication. He preferred Chinese Mandarin as his main communicative language over the Tibetan Lhasa Dialect.

**Interviewee Group two**

Relationship: Buddhist in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries, colleagues at work.

Language for communication between interviewees:

**Tibetan Lhasa Dialect, Chinese Mandarin**

Tibetan Lhasa Dialect is the first language for mutual communication between Tibetans, including Tibetan employees and Tibetan Buddhists. Chinese Mandarin is the second
language for daily communication with other ethnicities and foreigners. As a holy religious language for Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan Lhasa dialect is the only legitimized language in all religious activities in Lhasa.

4.1.2. Lingual status in higher educational domain of Lhasa city

The majority of the institutions for higher education in Lhasa city were operated by Tibetan Buddhism Monasteries before the first university in Lhasa, Tibet University was founded in 1951. Therefore, most of the lingual education in the city of Lhasa was religious based and taught by Tibetan Buddhists or Tibetan monks in monasteries. Higher education in Lhasa was monolingual and focused on the studies of Tibetan Buddhism in that period of history.

Tibet University is not only the first national level higher educational institution in the city but also the only university in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. According to the official figures given by the university’s website, there are 327 professors who are Tibetan speakers working in the university, 62.5% of the total number of professors. There are 11 faculties in the university using both Tibetan and Chinese as the educational languages. The majority of the lectures in the natural sciences and social sciences operated by the university are bilingually taught. Along with The Northwest University for Nationalities, Tibet University is another centre for Tibetan studies. Its Tibetan studies centre is highly reputed in the field of Tibetan history research and Tibetan language education. Both teaching and research in the Tibetan studies centre are in Tibetan, but Chinese is also used for external communication and other academic activities. There are eight major academic faculties in Tibet University. All of the academic activities of the faculties are bilingual or multilingual expect the Faculty of Fine Arts. The majority of the academic research in Tibet University is bilingual because of the demanding of extra Chinese based academic information. However, it is easy to observe that communications inside the campus is generally Tibetan based because of the large existence of Tibetan students and professors.
## LINGUAL STATUS IN THE TIBET UNIVERSITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF FACULTIES</th>
<th>ETHNICITIES OF STUDENTS</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR LECTURE AND EXAM</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR MASS MEDIA IN CAMPUS</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR DAILY COMMUNICATION IN CAMPUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF LITERATURE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT &amp; LHASA DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF TECHNOLOGY</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; ENGLISH</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT &amp; LHASA DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF NATURE SCIENCE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE ENGLISH &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT &amp; LHASA DIALECT</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF MEDICINE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE ENGLISH &amp; TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT &amp; LHASA DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF FINE ARTS</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT &amp; LHASA DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Tourism and Foreign Languages</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc</td>
<td>English, Japanese etc</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Tibetan Amdo Dialect &amp; Lhasa Dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Botanical Science</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Tibetan Amdo Dialect &amp; Lhasa Dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Biology</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc, all together 11 different ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Tibetan Amdo Dialect &amp; Lhasa Dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Resources and Environment</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc, all together 8 different ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Tibetan Amdo Dialect &amp; Lhasa Dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Architecture</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc, all together 7 different ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Tibetan Amdo Dialect &amp; Lhasa Dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Public Education</td>
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<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Tibetan</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; Tibetan Lhasa Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian, Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The information collected during fieldwork in Lhasa city show that the majority of academic books used for teaching or research purposes are translated from the original Chinese or English version. Academic research, especially in the fields of social science and foreign language studies are totally bilingual and multilingual. According to the university’s official figures 2008 spring semester, Tibetan students make up more than 80% of the total number of newly enrolled students. The majority of them speak Tibetan inside and outside campus in both daily communication and academic activities.

As an important department of the university’s social science faculty, the Tibetan language education department has successfully enrolled Han Chinese students and students from other ethnic groups for four years since 2002. Simultaneously, Tibet University has internationally communicated with other universities in other parts of the world, such as Norway. Therefore, communications on campus are not only Tibetan language based but also multilingual with the existence of Chinese Mandarin and other internationalised languages such as English and Japanese.

Radio Broadcast is the only campus media of the university. It is a bilingual media in both Tibetan Lhasa Dialect and Chinese Mandarin; however Tibetan Lhasa Dialect dominates the majority of its programme.
There are more than 20,000 books in Tibetan, 3800 ancient wood-carving documents in Tibetan and 16,000 ancient documents in Chinese stores in the library of Tibet University.

4.1.3. Lingual status in administrative domain in Lhasa city

Due to the fact that Tibetan ethnicity accounts for more than 80% of the city’s population, Tibetan as the major language can be heard in every aspect of its administration and media.

In brief, the city of Lhasa is administrated by local Tibetans. The administration of Lhasa majorly serves local Tibetans. Tibetan language is widely used by the administrative public service to communicate with the local residence in Lhasa. The governmental publications and documents are bilingual but the Tibetan language is given priority. As one of the most famous tourism cities in China, Lhasa is a city of multilingual communication but is bilingual in administration.

Firstly, Tibetan has the priority as the dominant language in the administrative domain because of the large number of Tibetans in the city. Secondly, the Han Chinese and other ethnicities in the city make the city’s administration bilingual. Therefore, the Chinese
language has also become another administrative language in the city. It is quite easy to find official documents with both introductions in Tibetan and Chinese characters in Lhasa city.

On the other hand, the lingual status in the administrative domain of the city can also be detected in the management of the tourism industry since Lhasa is one of the most popular tourism points in the world. Taking Lhasa’s tourism industry into consideration, it is an internationalised city with thousands of foreign visitors every year. The administration related to tourism of the city is bilingual and multilingual with introduction in Tibetan, Chinese, English and small percentage in Japanese.

4.1.4. Lingual status in public media in Lhasa city

It is not difficult to find the dominance of Tibetan in the city; Tibetan characters can be seen in every corner of the city. But the city’s media is not monolingual. The two biggest ethnic groups in the city of Lhasa, Tibetan and Han Chinese have their own language based media, but both Tibetan based media and Chinese based media have developed their own translation method and system for mutual communication bilingually. For example, the TV programmes broadcast in the city all have Tibetan or Chinese subtitles, while some of the Chinese version programmes dub the language into Tibetan Lhasa Dialect.

Lhasa city Television is the biggest TV broadcasting company in the city. There are six different TV channels produced by Lhasa city Television. One Chinese based News channel, one Tibetan based News Channel, two Tibetan based entertainment channels, one Chinese sports channel but with Tibetan subtitles and one Chinese based entertainment channel. There are also publications and prints in Chinese version in the city because the majority of these kinds of newspapers and magazines are published in the provinces outside of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. There are two major newspapers in the city; the Lhasa Daily and Lhasa Evening News, both of them are in Chinese. Beside these two newspapers, there are some other newspapers published by local governments and agencies, and the majority of them are bilingual, with both Tibetan and Chinese introductions.
Tibetan is the majority language in the city of Lhasa. It has the right of priority in every working area in the city. But Chinese is also widely used in different working areas especially in the services industry. In that case, majority interactive communications in the city are bilingualised but Tibetan has the priority. Both Tibetan and Chinese are used for interaction in the less specialized working areas.

4.1.5. Compulsory education in Lhasa city

Like Lanzhou city, compulsory education in Lhasa is nine years long with six years primary education and three years junior high school education.

There are two different kinds of compulsory educational institutions in the Tibetan Region of China. One is Chinese language based, the other is Tibetan language based. The majority of primary schools in Lhasa city are Tibetan based but every pupils starts to learn Chinese language since starting senior grade study at the age of 11 or 12. The information given by interviewees showed that the majority of primary education in Lhasa is monolingual, and that Tibetan is the only language for educational introductory before pupils reach the age of 11. The majority of Tibetan pupils and students can speak both Tibetan and Chinese after entrance into university because of the special lingual education system in the Tibetan Autonomous Region during their compulsory schooling.

In summary, the Tibetan based compulsory education in Lhasa is closely related to the neighbouring provinces in Han ethnic area in China. Some of the Tibetan version textbooks are translated from their original Chinese version.

4.1.6. Languages in religion in Lhasa city

Tibetan is a highly religious ethnic group. Tibetan Buddhism has already been an important part of their education for a long period of history. They start their first language education by
studying the Tibetan literature of Tibetan Buddhism since their childhood. For the residents of a Tibetan city, Tibetan language, as their mother tongue, is not only their basic communicative tool, but also their holy language for religious activities in daily life.

Unlike the city of Lanzhou, Tibetan ethnicity is a majority in Lhasa city. Every Tibetans in the city can speak Tibetan and most of them can write in Tibetan. According to the information given by the Tibet University, there have been already four years worth of graduate students who have finished their study of Tibetan in the university and all of them are Han Chinese. More and more Han Chinese and other ethnicities who inhabit the city can speak Tibetan because the number of Tibetan language students is increasing due to the popularity of Tibetan culture and the rapid development of the economy in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

At the same time, unlike the religious status in the city of Lanzhou, Tibetan Buddhism has been dominant for thousands of years in the city of Lhasa. It is the capital of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, but most importantly, it is the centre of Tibetan Buddhism. Both Tibetan religious leaders, Dalai Lama and Panchan Lama, have been living in the city for hundreds of years.

Tibetan culture is closely linked to Tibetan Buddhism since it is the most significant part of Tibetans’ daily life. Tibetans start their education by the learning Tibetan Buddhist theories. There are also the beginnings of their language education. The majority of monasteries have their own schools or education sections. Those schools and educational departments or sections are normally administrated by senior monks in the monastery. Young monks begin their first educational procedure since their entrance of the monasteries. Tibetan is the only language used for prayer in these schools. Although Tibetan Lhasa dialect is the key language for Tibetan Buddhists in Lhasa, other Tibetan dialects, especially Amdo dialect are also taught in the monasteries.

Tibetan is the legal and most accepted language for Tibetan Buddhism theories. This is also the reason why Tibetan calligraphy is widely used in written forms of the Tibetan bibles.
Although Chinese Mandarin is only used for tourism in the monasteries in Lhasa at present, it can also be seen in Tibetan Buddhist historical relics and ancient documents inside the Tibetan monasteries in the city. The reasons are that first of all, both Tibetan Buddhism and Han Chinese Buddhism belong to Mahayana Buddhism. They share the same fundamental religious theories. The communication between the two Buddhism streams started thousands year age. Secondly, Tibet has been a part of China since the year of 1264; the city of Lhasa was administrated by both the central government of China and the religious leaders in the monasteries. The religious and cultural communication between two the ethnicities of Tibetan and Han Chinese became the key to the development of Buddhism in the city. The Chinese characters written hundreds years ago which can be seen in the Putala Palace (the palace of Dalai Lamas) would be a good example. Although there are differences of in the Buddhism of Tibetan and Han Chinese, there are still thousands of Han Chinese Buddhists who come to Lhasa for prayer and study. This phenomenon discovered during fieldwork shows that the majority of the Chinese Tibetan Buddhists can speak Tibetan or they are trying to learn Tibetan Buddhism in the Tibetan language.

Beside Buddhists, a small percentage of Islam and Christianity believers also inhabit the city. Most of them are immigrants from neighbouring provinces. Chinese Mandarin and other Chinese dialects are the languages they use for their religious activities.

Therefore, almost every one of the younger generation in Lhasa is bilingual. They can speak and write in both Tibetan and Chinese. But they regard Tibetan language as their mother tongue and Tibetan language always take priority during communication.

Tibetan culture is religious based and is becoming one of the most popular cultures in China because of its fine arts and calligraphy. Tibetan as the language tool is being taught and learnt by other ethnicities both in China and abroad.

4.2. Lanzhou

4.2.1. Multilingualism in Lanzhou city
Lanzhou city, the capital of Gansu Province, is located in the geographical centre of China, and is one of the most important transportation centers for the People’s Republic of China. It is a typical immigrant’s city in western China. Thousands of scientists and skilled workers from eastern provinces were sent there by the centre government in late 1950s. The local citizens only make up 40% of its total population.

Lanzhou city has its own local Chinese dialect, but you can also hear different dialect from different provinces of north China. You can certainly hear Tibetan and Uyghur as well because the province neighbours with Tibet Autonomous Region and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The majority of local citizen use Chinese Mandarin as their daily communicative language.

### BRIEF STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN CAPITAL OF GANSU PROVINCE, LANZHOU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>ORIGINAL BIRTH PLACE</th>
<th>NATIVE LANGUAGE</th>
<th>ETHNICITY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE COMPETENCE</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>SOCIAL STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Prof. Hongqiu (Mother of Mr. Hongqiu)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>PROFESSOR OF THE NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY FOR NATIONALITIES</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ms. Gongsui (Daughter of Prof. Hongqiu)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ms. Zhou (Younger Sister of Mr. Zhou)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Mandarin Chinese</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>PUBLIC SERVICE</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ms. Zhou (Elder Brother of Mr. Zhou)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Mandarin Chinese</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>MASTER STUDENT IN UNIVERSITY</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Zhou (Father of Mr. &amp; Ms. Zhou)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Mandarin Gansu Dialect</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT, CHINESE GANZAN DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>SENIOR POLICE OFFICER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mrs. Zhou (Wife of Mr. Zhou)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Gansu Province</td>
<td>Chinese Gansu Dialect</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT, CHINESE GANZAN DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDDHISM</td>
<td>RETIRED SURGEON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SURVEY AREA: Lanzhou City
TIME OF FIELDWORK: DECEMBER 2008, JANUARY 2009

**Interviewee Group One**

Relationship 1: Mother and daughter

Relationship 2: Professor and students, Professor and colleagues

Relationship 3: Classmates

The communication between Professor Jiancuo and her was monolingual the majority of the time. Tibetan Amdo Dialect was the only choice for communication between family members. As a professor in a university with the professors and students from different ethnicities, Mandarin Chinese was the best choice for Professor Jiancuo. But the communication between her and her Tibetan fellow citizens, her students and colleagues, was monolingual. Tibetan Amdo Dialect was the only language for their daily communication not only inside of the university but also in their daily communication outside of campus.

Ms. Gongbucuo is a ten years old pupil. Chinese Mandarin was her first language for communication at school. She only used Chinese to communicate with her Chinese speaking classmates. Tibetan Amdo Dialect is also the first language used to communicate with her Tibetan classmates.

**Interviewee Group two**

Relationship 1: Parents and children

Relationship 2: Elder Brother and younger sister

Relationship 3: Husband and wife

Mr. Zhou’s family was originally from the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Region in Gansu Province. The Tibetan language they speak was Tibetan Amdo Dialect. But the whole family has been influenced by Chinese Mandarin. The daily communication inside of the family was monolingual the majority of the time. They preferred to communicate in Chinese
Gannan Dialect. Tibetan Amdo Dialect was only used in communication between Mr. Zhou and Mrs. Yi. As a public work and master’s student, the language used by Ms. Zhou and her brother Mr. Zhou, was Mandarin Chinese the majority of the time. They also used English for communication, especially under the circumstances of business and educational activities. Both the sister and brother could not speak Tibetan. They used Chinese Gannan Dialect when they communicated with each other.

### BRIEF STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN TIBETAN REGION IN GANSU (NEIGHBOURING WITH LANZHOU CITY)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>ORIGINAL BIRTH PLACE</th>
<th>NATIVE LANGUAGE</th>
<th>ETHNICITY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE COMPETENCE</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>SOCIAL STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MONE IN LABULENG PALACE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>QINGHAI PROVINCE</td>
<td>TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>TIBETAN LHASA DIALECT, TIBETAN ANDO DIALECT, CHINESE MANDARIN, CHINESE QINGHAI DIALECT, ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDHISM</td>
<td>STUDENT OF TIBETAN BUDHISM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MS. CAO (YOUNGER SISTER OF MR. CAO)</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>GANSU PROVINCE</td>
<td>MANDARIN CHINESE &amp; CHINESE LOCAL DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>MANDARIN CHINESE &amp; CHINESE LOCAL DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDHISM</td>
<td>PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MR. CAO (ELDER BROTHER OF MR. CAO)</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>GANSU PROVINCE</td>
<td>MANDARIN CHINESE &amp; CHINESE LOCAL DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN</td>
<td>MANDARIN CHINESE &amp; CHINESE LOCAL DIALECT &amp; ENGLISH</td>
<td>TIBETAN BUDHISM</td>
<td>COMPUTING DESIGNER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SURVEY AREA:** NEIGHBOURING WITH Lanzhou City  
**TIME OF FIELDWORK:** DECEMBER 2008, JANUARY 2009

**Interviewee Group One**

Relationship: brother and sister live in Tibetan inhibited region in Gansu Province.
Ms. Cao and Mr. Cao have been living in the Tibetan area of Gansu Province since their birth. The education at the in local and regional level is in Tibetan Amdo Dialect. The brother and sister normally spoke Tibetan Amdo Dialect.

The Tibetan Buddhism student studies inside of a Tibetan Buddhism monastery only. Tibetan Language is the major language used for both education and daily life. At the same time, they spoke Chinese and English but only for tourism business.

4.2.2. Lingual status in Northwest University for Nationalities

As the capital of Gansu Province, Lanzhou is the centre of higher education of the province. There are 13 universities and colleges in Lanzhou city in 2004.

The five biggest universities were interviewed during the field work research. They were The Northwest University for Nationalities, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou University of Technology, Gansu college of Chinese Traditional Chinese Medicine and Northwest Normal University. Apart from the Northwest University for Nationalities, the other four universities were monolingual. Chinese Mandarin was the only language being used in both educational and daily communicative activities on campuses.

The Northwest University for Nationalities was the key university for the fieldwork research of higher educational domains in Lanzhou. It is the first higher educational institution for ethnic minorities after the founding of the People’s Republic of China. There are 56 different ethnic students from all over China studying at the university. “There are 54 undergraduate programmes, 31 master programmes and 1 doctoral programme in the university” (official website of the Northwest University for Nationalities. URL: http://www.xbmu.edu.cn/page.asp?FHdid=1&FHxid=155 ) Tibetan, Mongolian, Uyghur and Hui Chinese (Chinese Muslims) are the four biggest ethnic groups on campus.

The languages used for educational purposes and communicative activities inside the university are multi-lingual. Mandarin Chinese holds dominance on campus. Tibetan,
Mongolian and Uyghur are biggest languages on campus besides Chinese Mandarin. The majority of communication between students is in Mandarin Chinese. But Tibetan, Mongolian and Uyghur and other minority languages can also be heard on campus. There are five languages being used on university press and other academic media in campus. They are Mandarin Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uyghur and English.

The table below demonstrates the lingual status of the Northwest University for Nationalities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF FACULTIES</th>
<th>ETHNICITIES OF STUDENTS</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR LECTURE AND EXAM</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR MASS MEDIA IN CAMPUS</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) FOR DAILY COMMUNICATION IN CAMPUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF MUSIC</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC ALL TOGETHER 11 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF CHINESE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, HUI (CHINESE MUSLIM) ETC. ALL TOGETHER 11 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF COMPUTING SCIENCE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, HUI, UYGHUR, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 10 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; ENGLISH</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; ENGLISH</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF HISTORY</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 13 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; ANCIENT TIBETAN</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF MONGOLIAN CULTURE AND LANGUAGE</td>
<td>MONGOLIAN HAN CHINESE, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 5 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>MONGOLIAN</td>
<td>CHINESE &amp; MONGOLIAN</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF TIBETAN CULTURE AND LANGUAGE</td>
<td>TIBETAN, GERMAN, KOREAN, ALL TOGETHER 3 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>TIBETAN &amp; CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 13 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF CHEMISTRY</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 23 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF SPORTS SCIENCE</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 12 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF FINE ARTS</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 20 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACULTY OF ENGINEERING</td>
<td>HAN CHINESE, MONGOLIAN, TIBETAN, ETC. ALL TOGETHER 13 DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN &amp; ENGLISH</td>
<td>CHINESE</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
<td>CHINESE MANDARIN, UYGHUR, MONGOLIAN &amp; TIBETAN AMDO DIALECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc. All Together 23 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faculty of Biology</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc. All Together 24 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin &amp; English</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc. All Together 14 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>English, French, Japanese, Russian, Arabic, Chinese Mandarin</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc. All Together 9 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Medicine</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur etc. All Together 15 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Han Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan etc. All Together 13 Different Ethnicities</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyghur Culture and Language</td>
<td>Uyghur</td>
<td>Uyghur &amp; Chinese</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td>Chinese Mandarin, Uyghur, Mongolian &amp; Tibetan Amdo Dialect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Faculty of Tibetan culture and language is one of the key academic research institutions at the university. According to official figures given by the university, there are more than 800 Tibetan students studying at the University, and the majority of them are studying in the Faculty of Tibetan culture and language. Three master programmes and one doctoral programme are offered by the faculty.

90% of the students who are studying in the faculty of Tibetan culture and language are Tibetan. The majority of them come from the Tibetan Autonomous Region, the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province and Qinghai Province. All of them speak Tibetan Amdo Dialect and Chinese Mandarin. The Faculty of Tibetan culture and language is the only faculty in the university that has authorised doctoral programme. The programme focuses on Tibetan literature.

Unlike other students, the students at the faculty of Tibetan culture and language only communicate in the Tibetan Amdo Dialect with each other. They seldom speak and write in Chinese. However, they normally use Chinese Mandarin in their communication with students of other ethnicities. Tibetan Amdo Dialect is the only language used in the educational activities in the Faculty. Both lectures and exams are spoken and written in Tibetan. However, Chinese is also used in academic research.

The library of The Northwest University for Nationalities is a provincial research centre for indigenous studies, Muslim and Tibetan Buddhism religion, literature for ethnic minorities and history. It has more than 4,000 ancient Tibetan books and documents. The famous hand-written Tibetan Buddhist canon exhibited in the library was written in gold powders, and it took 200 years to finish the whole written document.

4.2.2.1. King Gesar Research Institute

The King Gesar Research institute is a special academic research centre for one of the most famous Tibetan pieces of literature, the epic King Gesar. It has one Master’s programme
and one doctoral programme in Tibetan literature. It is also a key academic institution for the research of Tibetan-Chinese and Tibetan-English translation.

Professor Wang Weilan, who is one of the leading scholars at the institution, and her academic group invented the first Tibetan input computerised system.

4.2.3. Lingual status in administrative and public media domain in Lanzhou city

Although Gansu Province is a province with more than 30 different ethnicities, the administrative language in the city of Lanzhou is unitary because of much immigration from all over China.

Like other capital cities in China, Mandarin Chinese is the only language used for administration in the city. The languages of ethnic minorities such as Tibetan and Mongolian are also used in some special circumstances like religious and cultural events in the city.

The city of Lanzhou is located in a minority ethnicity concentrated province, although there are huge numbers of Han Chinese and other Chinese speaking minority ethnicities who have migrated from other provinces of China. It is a typical multi-cultural city. The media in the city is multi-lingual but Chinese Mandarin is the most dominated language in mass media. Tibetan, Mongolian and Uyghur publishers were also seen during the fieldwork research. There are no local Tibetan television channels in the city but the signal of Tibetan programmes from the television of the Tibetan Autonomous Region can be received.

The mass media for Tibetan people in the city is bilingual, and the majority of them are translated and interpreted into Chinese or based on Chinese language with Tibetan explanation and translation.

4.2.4. The lingual status in other social domains in Lanzhou city
We may see Chinese is the only language that being used as the working language in less specialized working areas in the city of Lanzhou. Tibetan and other minorities’ language can seldom be heard in work areas in the city, except in the campus of the Northwest University for Nationalities. Chinese Mandarin is also the only language that used for communication between different ethnicities. It is being spoken by 90% of the city’s population and become the only language that used for public communication both in work areas and daily communication. Some of the minority ethnic population in the city can only speak Chinese including Tibetan people. Same as other cities in China, compulsory education in Lanzhou city is 9 years length, including 6 years primary education and 3 years secondary education. Chinese language is the only language for compulsory education in the city of Lanzhou, except in the special schools for minority ethnic students.

There is one primary school for minority ethnicities and one high school for minority ethnicities in the city. The major language of instruction in both schools is Chinese Mandarin. But there are special language classes for the minority students to learn Tibetan, Mongolian and Arabic for religious usage. Both students and teachers speak Chinese Mandarin in daily communication. Like the rest of high school students, the students in minority ethnic high school also have to participant the national exams for university entrance if they want to receive further higher education. They have the choice of choosing their ethnic languages as their exam language, but majority of the students in the high school have chosen Chinese as their exam language because they are educated in Chinese in majority of time in their schooling.

Beside the Chinese version, the text books of minorities’ ethnic language versions for compulsory education also have been published. But according to the interview notes given by local teachers and educators in the school, the translation is not as good as the books in Chinese version, especially in the social science subjects. The schools are generally supported by both local government and minority community. Simultaneously, Lanzhou city is one of the biggest Tibetan higher educational centers in China because the Northwest University for Nationalities is located in the city. According to the interview of the Tibetan research centre
in the University, there are small percentages of the Tibetan population in Lanzhou city cannot speak or write in Tibetan language even some of them are the students in the Northwest University for Nationalities.

The information given by the interviewees who are major in Tibetan studies shows some of the Tibetan population in Lanzhou city have already been Hanised (Han Chinese assimilation). They were born in Tibetan family and believe in Tibetan Buddhism, but they were educated in Chinese schools. Chinese Mandarin or other Chinese dialects become their mother language since their childhood.

According to the interview status, majority Tibetan population in Lanzhou can speak and write in Tibetan language. But nearly 90% of them are studying or working in the Northwest University for Nationalities or other Tibetan specialized research institutes in the city.

If we see the previous research data of family interview, we can find that there are two families which were interviewed during the fieldwork research in Lanzhou city. One of them is the family of a professor in Faculty of Tibetan culture and language in the Northwest University. Another interviewed family is a family of a government officer in financial Bureau of Gansu province. All the family members in both families are Tibetan. Obverse, the attitudes towards the inheritance of Tibetan language between two families are different.

As a professor in Tibetan studies research institute, the family members only speak Tibetan in their family communication. Both of the parents are highly educated and leading a positive altitude of the future development of Tibetan language. Every family member can speak and write in Tibetan language. The younger generation in family had mastered the language skills of Tibetan when she was young. Comparing with the professor’s family, the second interviewed family are hold a negative altitude of the inheritance of Tibetan language. All the members in family are Tibetan, but only father can speak Tibetan language. The communication in family is in Chinese Mandarin. The children in family were educated in
Chinese based schools when they were young. Parents consider Chinese is more important than Tibetan for the younger generations’ future employment.

According to the status given by the Tibetan Research Institute in the Northwest University for Nationalities, the situation of the two families shown above is typical. Each of them takes approximately 50% in the city’s Tibetan population.

On one hand, Tibetan inheritance is regarded as an important issue in majority highly educated Tibetan families. At the same time, some of the Tibetan families are ignoring the education of the Tibetan language for their children because of the worries of future employment. They would normally regard Tibetan language as the language only for Tibetan Buddhism but not for daily communication and working language, even in their Tibetan community. On the other hand, more and younger generation in other ethnicities become the fans of Tibetan language because of the popularity of Tibetan culture, Tibetan Buddhism, especially Tibetan fine arts and Tibetan music. There are an increasingly number of students in other ethnicities become the fanaticism of Tibetan calligraphy and poem. Typical example is the fast development of the research of epic of King Gesar. It is the central epic poem of Tibet and can only be inherited from generation to generation orally. There are young people from different ethnicities working and studying in the institute of King Gesar in the Northwest University for Nationalities.

4.2.5. Brief lingual status of public cultural facilities and public services in Lanzhou

To the cultural institutes and facilities are multi-cultural. They are based on Chinese, but also have the major ethnic languages and English translation. There are 3 multi-media presses in Lanzhou city. All of them have Tibetan version product which including musical, information technological and electronic domains. Similar to the administrative domain, the public service in Lanzhou city is dominated by Chinese language. There are only small percentages of Tibetan, Mongolian services in the city. But the programme which is broadcast in Tibetan language from the Tibet Autonomous Region can be received in Lanzhou city.
4.3. The current circumstances of Tibetan language development

First of all, the majority of basic educational institutions and schools are in poor and under the abominable conditions in Tibetan rural area.

The construction and development of educational infrastructures in the Tibetan areas are backward. Some Tibetan schools have only one Tibetan-speaking teacher. The unbalanced development between basic education and higher university education leads to the lack of Tibetan speaking teacher. Take a primary school from the Tibetan area in Gansu Province for example, where every teacher has to work 13 hours per day, only because of the shortage of teachers.

Young Tibetans prefer to choose Chinese introduced school with the aim of better future employment. Due to this, Tibetan speaking schools are ignored by the Tibetan young people themselves. It is extremely true that all the best secondary institutes and universities in China are monolingual, and that the Chinese language is dominating the educational resources, (sometimes they are bilingual, Chinese and English are the two major languages of educational activities.) The oblivion of Tibetan historical tradition and culture were easily observed during the fieldwork research in both Lanzhou city and Lhasa, the capital of Tibet.

The result of lacking use of Tibetan language and commutative activities even education for younger generations made the knowledge of Tibetan history and culture become less interest. The majority of Tibetan young people in Gansu Province (Lanzhou city) did not know their ancestors. The majority Tibetan professors are worried about Tibetan education for the next generation.

The protection of Tibetan lingual customs and respect of linguistic human rights in the Tibetan region should become the key to retaining Tibetan identity and also the key to the future development of Tibetan Nationality. However, it is unavoidable that the language of Tibet is already being influenced by neighbouring ethnicities in China.

Like other minority ethnic groups, Tibetan society has also processed huge social transformation and changes which were caused by the economical development of China, typically after its reform and opening. There are increasingly numbers of Tibetan young
people who immigrate to the inner China regions, for work and educational purposes. More and more Tibetans start to learn and speak Mandarin Chinese, the highly regarded “job language”, during their schooling.

Nowadays, the rapid development of the Chinese economy has deeply influenced the region of Tibet. Simultaneously, the Chinese language has already become the most important and dominant language in the daily lives of Tibetan regions, especially in commercial and business domains. The rapid economical development has made a huge, even radical influence on the whole of Chinese society, including those ethnic minority regions, especially inside of mountainous Tibet. Like the rest of minority languages in China, the development of Tibetan is being challenged by China’s economical development. Tibetan families are neglecting the education of Tibetan because of the pressure of future development especially employment. It is also easy to realise that with the rapid development of information technology, the extensively used major languages, such as English and Mandarin Chinese, have been becoming even more dominant in global communication, and the global cultural and lingual diverseness are being challenged by social economical progress.

There is one phenomenon that we should pay full attention to some of the young Tibetans who live in China have already Hanised (Han assimilation). They cannot speak and write in Tibetan.

4.4. Why riots happened in Lhasa in 14th March, 2008?

My first fieldwork was conducted two and half months after the riots in Lhasa in the Tibet Autonomous Region. This unexpected riot influenced Chinese society and there is still concern over issue nowadays. The riot has the external contributing factor, such as exile Tibetans’ indictment for religious and political rights. But such huge social contradiction can not only be caused by the external reasons.
After the Chinese reform and the distribution of social rights, social wealth changed enormously. All ethnicities in China were facing new challenges of rapid development and a variety of difficulties caused by social change. Due to this, the estrangement between different ethnic groups becomes more complicated.

Tibetan society has transferred from a traditional society to a modern society within decades. The rapid development of Tibetan society is led by the huge progress of Chinese society’s modernization. This is a transformation from a certain close and traditional religious society into an open and modernised commercialised society. The Tibetans are facing the problems caused by the disorder of national identity, ethnic identity and religious identity. Historical estrangements and social economic difficulties related together and made Tibetan people feel puzzled, especial for the younger generation.

Tibet is traditionally an agricultural society; with the rapid development of industrialization and modernization, the weakness of the Tibetan agricultural centralized economy is becoming worse. Although the government gives huge priorities to Tibetan people, one thing cannot be denied, more and more Tibetan people, especially the younger generations have already been marginalised during the rapid development of Chinese society.

During fieldwork procedure, I realised that common Tibetan citizens in the Autonomous Region, especially the older generation who had experienced the early years of 1960s, highly agree with the ideology of former leader Mao Zedong. Many old Tibetans told me that period of Mao Zedong was highly equal, with everybody able to get their benefits. But after the reform, during the mass industrialization, traditional ideology and living customs of Tibetans were destroyed; All Tibetans became poorer people, all benefits were snatched by outsiders. The financial revenue and expenditure of the local government in Tibetan Regions depend on the support given by the central government. Tibetans cannot become the key players of Chinese modernization.

In the capital Lhasa, there is rapid development and construction of the city’s infrastructure, and the city’s tourism and service industry. More and more Han people and
Hui Chinese Muslims are encouraged to open the business in Tibetan cities, especially in the places of interest for tourism. The outsider is becoming the first group for getting rich: simultaneously, more and more Tibetans are marginalised because they lack of financial support and vocational skills. You can see the Sichuan Restaurants opening all over the city of Lhasa, but only few Tibetan restaurants.

It was easy for me to discover the unbalanced development in education between Tibetan region and neighbouring Han ethnicity region. The majority of Tibetan young people (the youth born after the 1980s) only received basic education at primary school. The education level is far behind the Han Chinese region.

Alongside the Tibetan students of the Northwest University for Nationalities, I also interviewed some Tibetans who were thirty years old. They were from the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. They told me it was extremely difficult for them to find a job. The major obstruct was language; because they lack of former education, they cannot communicate in Chinese Mandarin fluently. In Lhasa city, even if they can speak a very good Chinese Mandarin, it is still difficult for a Tibetan to find a job. A lot of people do not like Tibetans, because they consider Tibetans as “lazy people”.

Furthermore, according to Tibetan tradition, Tibetan monks are considered as the most educated and most influential class of Tibetan society. They are respected by all Tibetan people. Tibetan Buddhism has been the most important element of Tibetans’ daily life for thousands of years. But it is undeniable that the earthen influences the traditional value of Tibetan society during the procedure of modernisation. More and more young monks prefer to learn English than traditional Tibetan Buddhism classics. During my fieldwork in Lhasa city, one Tibetan young monk told me that it was really difficult for him to stop using a computer, but he also told me that he understood the importance of learning of the Tibetan Buddhism scripture. This is a contradiction for all Tibetan Buddhists; there is not an equaliser between the traditional culture and the influences caused by modernisation.
4.5. Tibetan linguistic rights in inner land China, Lanzhou city

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Mandarin Chinese have become the legitimized common language of the nation. Some of the ethnic groups take Mandarin Chinese as their mother language; other bigger ethnic groups such as Tibetan are also influenced by the demands of economic development and commercialization of the nation. The rapid development of the Chinese market economy is leading Tibetans to be transformed from traditional to modern. Tibetans are facing the challenges caused by the transformation, from simple farming economy to a multi-dimensional market commercialized economy. The modern standard and value is replacing their own traditional religious values and beliefs. The dissemination of Tibetan traditional Buddhism religious and Tibetan is also being challenged by other dominant languages such as Chinese and English in the Tibetan regions in the inner China area like Lanzhou city.

The major languages in Lanzhou city is Chinese Mandarin and Chinese Lanzhou Dialect. Tibetan is only used by a small percentage of Tibetans who live in Lanzhou. The Northwest University for Nationalities became the top institute of Tibetan language and culture research. Beside its use academically, Tibetan language and culture is, considered as a popular language to learn in Lanzhou city. Tibetan calligraphy, as a popular fashion culture is encouraged by local citizens in Lanzhou.

The situation of the linguistic rights for Tibetan in Lanzhou City represents the common situation of the linguistic rights for Tibetan language in other inner Chinese cities: Tibetan language is used by small percentage of people, it is the language for academic research; it is the language for fashion cultures and art design, and it is a sign of Tibetan Buddhism as well.

4.6. Tibetan cultural heritage and “cultural genocide” (Dalai Lama)

It is quite difficult for Tibetan young people to deny the influence of outside culture and modernisation. Young Tibetans, more or less, shows the losses and forgetfulness of Tibetan traditional culture.
First of all, the difficulties of teaching Tibetan language, which is the most important media for the preservation for Tibetan traditional culture, has already become the biggest “bottleneck” in the development of Tibetan language and culture. A huge number of Tibetan young people do not want to learn Tibetan, because it is hard to learn. They consider Chinese as the most useful language for them. It is true that majority of Tibetans in Tibetan regions can speak Tibetan language, but there are far from enough qualified teachers in the region.

Secondly, the cognitive understanding of Tibetan history is ignored by the young people of Tibet. Some primary schools in Gansu province do not even have a single copy of a Tibetan historical text book. Some pupils can draw figure of a Tibetan hero vividly, but if you ask them who the hero is, the majority of pupils would give you the wrong answer. Some of the pupils even replied “I don't know or I don't care.” We all know that language is the most important cultural and identical element for a nation and an ethnicity. History is written by language. It is the basic and most important condition of one nationality’s culture and tradition.

Until today, Tibetan students have been using translated text books from inner China regions. There are no specialized courses for Tibetan history and Tibetan culture in primary schools in the Tibet region. There are no single classes organized especially for Tibetan history and culture in the basic education period. If we pay more attention to the lingual habit of Tibetan Children, we can easily find they are combining both Chinese language and Tibetan language at same time. A lot of Tibetan vocabularies are lost because of misspelling and the use of Hanised language (Han, the language of Han ethnicity, is the common name for modern Chinese). These under developed educational system is still exists in vast areas of Tibet. As a member of the Chinese nation, Tibet itself is facing problems of national citizen identity, ethnicity and religious identity during the huge social changes in modern Chinese society. Unfortunately, these identities themselves are changing rapidly nowadays.

On one hand, there will be no single nationality or ethnic group who can deal with such extraordinary social transformation and variation, because the majority of time, these changes and variations themselves are contradictory. Objectively speaking, the rapid modernisation of
Tibetan society is not chosen by the Tibetans initiative; there are so many outer influences. These changes ignore the willingness of Tibetan themselves and might violate their linguistic human rights. To some extent, the good life for a Tibetan means the freedom of religious belief, the mutual respect of human beings, the mutual respect of lives, and the feeling of happiness from helping and benefaction.

Concerning the development of Tibetan language and Tibetan cultural and lingual right, Dalai Lama’s opinion of cultural genocide must be fully observed. Simple examples can be found in recent history: vast amount of Tibetan heritage was damaged in the Cultural Revolution in 1960s and 1970s. Tibetan culture was almost fully destroyed during the ten-year revolutionary movements, thousands antiques were destroyed. Tibetan cultural and religious rights were severely violated. People are trying to regain the destroyed heritage and the lost cultural tradition after the Cultural Revolution in Tibet, but the procedure is really difficult. The cultural disaster caused by years madness of the Cultural Revolution not only happened in Tibet but rest of mainland China, also largely damaged the cultural tradition and violated the basic human right in mainland China.

4.7. Analysis summary

Different geographical position decides the differences between Lhasa city and Lanzhou city. In general, the linguistic rights in both cities have different circumstances. First, Lhasa is the capital of one of the biggest Autonomous Regions; the Tibetan population makes up the major part of the city, the majority inhabitants can speak Tibetan, and Tibetan Buddhism is the major religion in the city. Because the economic development is not as good as in Lanzhou city, plus its special geographical position and high altitude, the higher education of Tibetan culture and language is not as developed as Lanzhou city. Secondly, the city of Lanzhou is a typical migrant region in western China, it is also an important transportation centre in central-western China. Due to this Chinese Mandarin and Chinese northern dialect have become the main language used in the city. Furthermore, Lanzhou is a multi-ethnic city.
There are different people from different ethnicities living in Lanzhou; compared with Lhasa city, Lanzhou has more ethnic cultural and lingual elements. Nevertheless, it is a Tibetan inhabited city, and there is, more or less, Tibetan speaking population in the city, Therefore, the culture and language has become a popular cultural phenomenon in Lanzhou.

If we exam the interview records in three different survey areas: all the eight interviewees in Lhasa can speak Tibetan, seven of them are Tibetans, and the other one comes from non-Tibetan ethnicity. Four interviewees can speak Tibetan in Lanzhou city, the rest two cannot speak. There was only one interviewee can speak Tibetan in Tibetan region neighbouring with Lanzhou.

If we calculate the data, as the capital of Tibet Autonomous Region, Lhasa has the highest number of Tibetan spoken population, majority of the population in Lhasa can speak Tibetan. Lanzhou, as a multi-ethnic city, it has lower percentage of Tibetan spoken population than Lhasa, because of The Northwest University for Nationalities located in the city, its Tibetan spoken population is higher than Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province. Compare with two capital cities of Lhasa and Lanzhou, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has the lowest percentage of Tibetan spoken population. The reason might be multiple, but economical under development should be one the most important reasons.
CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSION

After practical fieldwork research in Tibetan cities in western China and data analysis, we can draw the following conclusion:

First of all, linguistic rights in China are being respected in some social domains, especially in higher education and public media, simultaneously; linguistic violation also exists. Regardless of whether these linguistic violations were caused by Cultural Revolution or economic development, as basic human rights, linguistic rights should be respected. Tibet, the region which makes up nearly one sixth of the whole Chinese territory, has more than two million people living in it. The linguistic human rights of Tibetan ethnic nationalities are important to not only the benefit of its people but also the future development of the region, even the whole nation of China. The challenges to the development for Tibetan linguistic rights are huge. This is an emergency that we have to deal with immediately.

Secondly, with the rapid development of globalisation, cultural assimilation has become common phenomenon, Tibetan culture and language is being unavoidably influenced by the communicative requirement of the economic development of China, although this is located in the inner land area.

Thirdly, there is not an issue of so called “cultural genocide” in Tibetan inhabited regions: respect for the linguistic rights of the Tibetan ethnic group is improving, and Tibetan cultural and religious heritage is being protected after the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, there are huge contradictions between Tibetan people and Han people.

I believe respect for the linguistic rights of Tibetans should involve these principles:

1) Listen to Tibetans, and give respect and protection to all the rights that Tibetans deserve to posses.
2) Protect the local industry of Tibetan people; balance the development of traditional agriculture and industrialization.

3) Enhance the democratic structure of the Tibetan region, and give priority to Tibetans who cannot speak Chinese Mandarin. Use Tibetan officials to administrate the Tibetan region.

4) Improve the educational infrastructure of the Tibetan region, and encourage young people from inner-China to learn and teach the Tibetan language. Encourage Tibetan people who have received higher education to return to their homeland and serve the development of the Tibetan region, especially for the compulsory education of Tibetan children.

5) Fully respect the religious freedom of Tibetan people. Support the development of Tibetan Buddhism and religious culture.

6) Enhance the economic development of the Tibetan region in western China; give more work opportunities to Tibetan young people.

7) Enhance the education of Tibetan history and consciousness of citizenship for Tibetan young people.

8) Strengthen the legal system of the Tibetan Autonomous Areas in China; give decisive priorities to local Tibetans.

9) Enhance and develop the unity between different ethnicities in China, and develop the procedure of achieving positive peace between fifty-six ethnicities in China.

Simultaneously, we also have to continue on those achievements which have already been achieved, such as the development of Tibetan medicine and Tibetan fine arts and calligraphy. We need to encourage cooperation between Tibetans and other ethnicities in China to cooperate and protect the linguistic rights of all people in China. This is the basic
method of protecting Tibetan language and culture; it is also the foundation of respect for linguistic human rights of the Tibetan people.
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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE 1 FOR ADULTS (AGE ABOVE SIXTEEN)

1. Where were you living before the age of sixteen or whole life?

2. Do you have religion? Which religions are you believe in?

3. What are you doing now, studying or working?

4. What are you studying (what is your major) if you are studying?

5. What is your profession if you are working?

6. Which is your first learn language in your childhood?

7. How many languages can you speak? In which order you learn those languages, can you rank those language in the order of learning age and can you rank those languages in the order how good competence you have in them?

8. Which language do you always speak in family? (With spouse? With children? With father or mother?)

9. Do you have sisters or brothers? How many?

10. Which language do you speak to your relative in same generation (sister and brother?)

11. Are you familiar with Tibetan written language? How do you think you written skills in Tibetan language? (fair, good or excellent)

12. Did you learn Tibetan language? Why do you learn Tibetan language?

13. How do you learn Tibetan language?

14. Which language do you prefer as the first language in school, would you like to give me a ranking of your preferred language?
15. Which language do you use in your job or study? Which language is used the most in local business and communication? Can you rank the frequency of usage of all the languages?

16. What programmes do you watch in TV or listen in radio? Which language(s) are those programmes broadcast in?

What language do you have in local media?

How many languages can you understand in the media?

17. Do you listen music? Do you compose music? What kind of music do you like?

Which language do you listen to or compose in the music?

18. Which language do you speak for shopping?

19. Which language do you speak for restaurant? (With your friends and with the person working in the restaurant?)

20. Do you like reading? Do you understand the Tibetan language from the class in school? In what language do you read paper? (Or read books?)

21. What kind of job do you wish to have in the future?

22. What language(s) do you think is the most important for you to gain the job in the future?

23. How many and which languages do you like your children to learn in school and in the future?
QUESTIONNAIRE 2 FOR INTERVIEWEE UNDER 16 INCLUDING PUPIL IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

GENDER:

AGE:

GRADE

Where do you come from?

1. Do you like music? What kind of music do you like? In which languages do you sing? Do you watch TV or listen to the radio? Which languages do you watch or listen in?

2. How many languages do you speak? How good competence do you have in them?

3. Which language do you always speak to father and mother?

4. Do you have brother(s) or sister(s)? Which language do you speak to them?

5. Can you speak Tibetan?

6. Do you have English name? Do you have Tibetan name? Do you have Chinese name?

7. Which language do you speak with friends?

8. Do you have friends from other ethnic groups? What languages do you speak with them?

9. What is your favourite subject?

10. Do you like English? What kind of language do you speak to your teacher?

11. What language do you speak in school?  

   - in classroom?

   - outside the classroom?
12. Are there conflicts in your class?

13. What is your ideal job?

14. Which kind of language do you wish to speak if you are the student leader of the class?

QUESTIONNAIRE 3 FOR TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

1. How long have you been teaching for this school?

2. What is your education background?

3. Where do you come from?

4. What is your nationality?

5. Do you communicate with your students after class?

6. Which language do you use for communicate to your family?

7. Which language do you use for communicate to your colleague?

8. Which language do you use for conference or seminar?

9. Do you speak other languages beside English in class? (for English teacher)

10. Which language will you use for correcting exam papers and homework?

11. Will you speak English or other languages to your students after class (for English teacher)?

12. What is your education background?

13. Which language did you speak when you were students?

14. How can you learn English (or other languages) when you were a student?

15. Can you understand Tibetan written language? (for Tibetan teacher)

16. Do you know how to type Tibetan language (Tibetan characters) into computer?

17. How many languages can you speak beside Chinese and English (for English teacher)

18. What kind(s) of language will your students speak to you in class?
19. Which language will your students speak to you after class?