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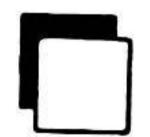
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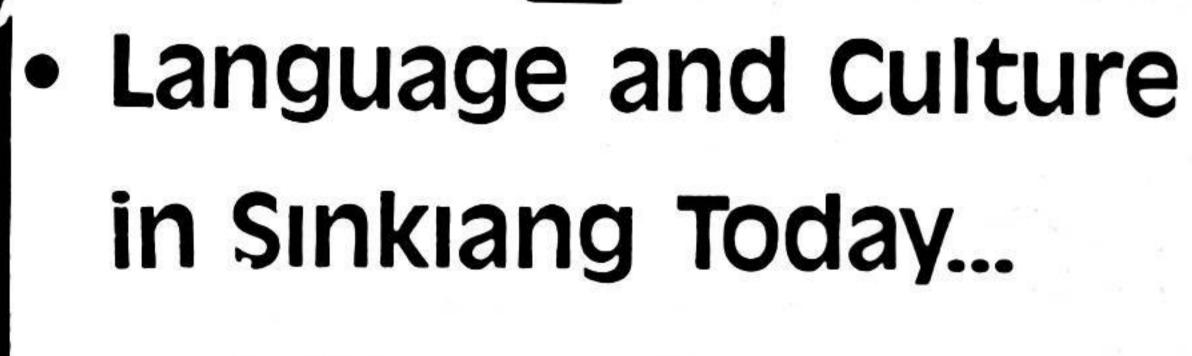
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News and articles in this Review may bu quoted in full or in part, by mentioning the Review.

The Cosmopolitan Nation

Prepared by: İbrahim ALA'REES
Translated by: Mehmet ALLAHVERDİ

Renai Khawam-a porter, actor and cultured man of Aleppo says: "One thousand ninghts and night" is a Turkistani work of arts, and its author was Husain Alkashgari!

Almost every month an Arabic- or Islamic book, published in Paris as well as in places other than Paris, which raises a clamour came form a new tarnslation in French of "One Thousand Nights and night" prepared by a cultured man, originally from Aleppo, who is named RENAI KHWAM. The translation included several surprises, themost important surprise was not in the translation itself but in what its translator's statement, who said to the French journalists that the real author of "The Nights", was Husain Alkashgari".

Naturally it is not a new thing that some makes a new translation of the "One Tthoeusand Nights and Night" to a Europen or a non-Europen reader, because the book is in so much demand and reputation in various parts of the world, that makes the demand for it by the readers continuous. The book has so many copies and editions in its original Arabic language firm as well as its branchneighbouring languages, which make any new translation books like a new edition.

After apoligizing from the Italian "Omberto Eco" -the "One Thousand Nights" is one of the class of "open work", i.e. the work which is written each time anew. The simple reason for this is that originally it was not written for the first time and was not born once. It has been known customarily that its writing should not be attributed to any single person, but also nor to any single nation, even thugh it has always been known that it is affiliated with the city of Baghdad.

We said at the beginning that the

translation of "one thousand Night" to readers of an European or any other language is not a new matter. We have to be contended with quoting what the leate great writer of Argentine "George Louis Borkhes" said that, "One Thousand Nights and Night, did not stop living even for a single day". The everlasting epoch continues its way permanently. The book was translated into European languages in the early perieod of the eighteenth century.

And in the beginning of the nineteenth century or the end of the eighteenth "Thomas De Quisti" remarked it in a different way.

Thus we can sqeak about several books under the same title "One Thousand Nights and Nights". Two in French one of them written by "Galan" and the other one by "Mardoras. Three in English by Borton, Leen and Bazin. Three in German written by Hening, Zitman and Fazil. One at least in Spanish by Casino Asin. All these were amongst many other translations and each time each one of them is written anew. We make all this introduction here because the Arabic book was born in French for the third time a few weeks ago. But this time in a very different way... by a translator who was not contended with translating it from one language to another, but he worked on it from several directions -so it came as the critics saw it- a new addition, not simply another translation. He started to make the people and world busy and occupied wiht it and repeats "one thousand ninghts and night" and often in a negative from as we will see.

FINAL TRANSLATION

But was "One Thousand Night and Night" in need of this occasion to come back to the front of events? The fact is that the recent years had witnessed a big interest in "One thousand night and night" by some leading

universal writers, or was it in need of talking about them in a lecture by Borkhas about "The Nights" and its effect on the Universal literature, or in need of a talk in which "Galriyal Garsia Markez" say, "Were it not for the "Nights" he would not have become a writer.

Renai Khwam was born in the year 1917 in Aleppo in Syria. He is concerned with Arab-Islamic heritage since many years. He had previously traanslaed several Arabic legacy books to French, among which was the book "Al-Sindbad Trips", published two years ago with great success and praise. His fluent knowledge of Arabic and French and his comprehensive acquaintance with Arabic heritage literature enable him to collect what seemed to him to be the best editions of the Arabic "Nights" and translated them literally in French, which he says took him a period of forty years.. i.e. since he was still a student of the late French Orienttalist "Loy Masinor". The dilligent and tiresome work by "Renai Khwam" resulted in printing by the French "Oibos" Priting Press, the first two chapters, both of which consisted about 900 pages, to be followed later in next March by two another chapters. Thus several interested people came to know newspapers that France has at last become in possession of a complete translation of "The One Thousand Night and Night". So will it be a final translation?! or is it really complete? not at all surely!

The simple reason for this is: that despite "Renai Khwam's" literal translation, he provided a personal work, that is to say that his selections of the stories were based on his private study of the "Nights" manuscript. This for example made him exclude famous stories such as "Al-Sindbad" and "Ala-uddin", as according to his opinion they are not the logical context of the work, but even this context cannot include more than four hundred nights

"'Khwam" says this, but he does not clarify it.

But this emphasis, which he made to the press was not the most dangerous one, and which some of them (press) were aprehensive that some one might come out to accuse "Khwam" that he wants to destroy a legend. But here he is not destroying a single legend, but more. If for others, "Nights" are one thousands..., he considers them as we said already not more than four hundred.

And if the "Nights" are of Abbasiya-Batgdadi origin they are according to him of "othoman" essence. If the Nights include the stories of arts which came after and before them (one Thousand Night), they are according to him no more than a work of logical and unified features.

THE AUTHOR OF THE NIGHTS

Why? Because Renai Khawam believes that he discovered a most serious mystery connected with the "one Thousand Nights and Night". The name of its author, another? But the people, histoerians and all emphasize that the "Nights" could not have one author only.. The era has composed it.

No!! says Khwam to the press, never, then he smiles, saying he has a very serious opinion about this matter, which he refused until now to disclose. But upon insistence of journalists, "Renai Khawam" the retired Arab professor and trnanlator, the man who does not stop expressing his ardent love for "One Thousand Night and Nights," says:

"The author of this book is surely a man of literature from the city of Kas-hgar. He is Husain Alkashgari, and perhaps his son Abdul Shafi Alkashgari cooperated with him. Probably a complete school was established about both of them to follow up their work, which was developing and growing in pace with the growth of the Islamic States.

Whilst he says this and shortens the "Nights", do'nt you think he is talking about another book, which is a new "One Thousand Night and Night"? or is he jokingly bringing here some opinions which he knows that they will shake the sure facts in order to ensure some success for his "Nights"?

The timeis still bigger to allow us to give a satisfactory answer to this guestion. Even when we contacted "Renai Khwam", he said that he does not have anything to add now, and that he may write about this subject in detail, but after the completion of the publica-

tion of his new chapters of the "Nights". Let us wait.

Whilst waitting, we do not mind to point out once again to the great welcome accorded by the Fench Press to the new translation. as "Ameen Ma'loof has written in "Gox Press" saying. "The first virtue of Renai Khwam is that he treated the book as it is, approaching as much as possible to the original text of "The stories which he selected and emphasized the truth of its belonging to the original work. And in the form which was written during the thirteenth century.

And Jan Lui Ezim, wrote in "Novel Observator": "Renai Khwam is exploring here, classifying, writing history, comparing, observing and often omits and he is dizy by the sources, which he found"..." Thus

"Shahrazad" aecording to him has only very few secrets. In a way that we can be surprised if it can still entertain Shahryar!!

Alan Garik wrote in "Almajala Aladabiah" saying: "What made Renai Khwam running? It is the spirit amusement and love of sabotage"..." He is a man who is content with a few flowers around him in order to destroy himself.

It seems that whilst "Khwam" is presenting France a best translation of "Four Hundred Nights and Night", he should have named his book so- He prepared to destory "One Thousand Nights" before destrying himself!! So did he?

(Okaz, No. 7517 - Monday, 26 Jamad Al-Oola, 1407 Hijria - Jan 26, 1987.).

Almost 800 People Dred Because of an Unidentified Disease in Eastern Turkestan

The Turkish newspaper Tercuman in its April 1, 1987 issue writes that some Turkistani residents of Turkey have reported after visites to relatives in Eastern Turkestan, renamed Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, that between February and March, 1987, almost 800 have died in the city of Hoten, Ilchi and Lop counties because of an unidentified disease.

According to Tercuman, the authorities first suspected infectious jaundice and treated the disaase accordingly. This treatment was unsuccessful, and until now the doctors have been unable to diagnose the disease. But the Uygurs in Eastern Turkestan suspect that the doctors know the real cause ut are reluctant to admit that it is radioactive fallout from the nuclear testing site at

Lop Nor. Since 1964, atleast 30 tests have been detected in Taklamakan, 22 above ground, and 8 below. Western press have also reported that the radioactive fallout at Lop Nor is causing an increase in the number of brith defeckts, in human cancer, and malformation of fruits and vegetables. Some of the cancer victims have been taken to Peking hospitals for specialised care.

The atomic testing program in Eastern Turkestan was one of the reasons that thousands of Uygur students staged demonstrations in the cities of Urumchi, Peking and Shanghai in December 1985.

According to the visitors to Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese have prohibited travel to Hoten at the moment.

Language and Culture in Sinkiang Today

Ildik'o Bell'er-Hann

In this paper, which deals with the linguistic and cultural situation in contemporary Sinkiang, I will focus on the regional capital, Urumchi, for two reasons. Firstly, this is where my own observations were carried out, secondly, this is where linguistic and cultural policies are most clearly manifesred.

To a foreigner the most obvious signs of regional bilingualism are bilingual inscriptions on government offices, public buildings, shops etc. Chinese characters are followed by an Uighur translation rendered in the Arabic script. Of course, the juxtaposition of these scripts is not so strange if we remember that Uighurs, like the other Turkic speaking minorities of Sinkiang (Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar etc.) have been Muslims for several hundred years and like other converts to Islam they adopted the Arabic script.

However this seemingly straightforward historical explation or the official use of the Arabic script among the Uighurs the Kazakh and the Kirghiz is misleading: it is in fact a recent phenomenon dating from 1982.

The presence of Turkic speaking peoples, including the old Uighurs, in the vast area which is known as sinking today can be dated from the tenth to twelveth centuries. As one author puts it "by the end of the eleventh century at the latest, the Turkic language had by and large spread through the entire Tarim Basin as a lingua franca." (Geng Shimin 1984. p.10.) The national as well as linguistic unification of the area, in other words, the amergence of the modern Uighur nationality took place around the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (Geng Shimin 1984. p.13.) Linguistic unification

Paper presented at the Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies, convened in the University of London (SOAS) by the SOAS Centre for Near and Middle Eastern, Studies and the SOAS Deportment of Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East, 7-10 April, 1987 also involved the general acceptance of the Arabic script which followed their conversion to Islam. Before this general con-

version the presumed pattern was that non-Muslims still utilised the traditional "Uighur" script, while those in the region who had already converted to Islam used the Arabic alphabet.

Linguistic unification also resulted in the emergence of the Chagatay literary language, which strongly influenced the development of other Turkic literary languages for centuries onwards.

It is not my aim to discuss here how Chagatay influenced the emergence of modern Central Asian Turkic languages, and whether the identification of "old Uzbek" with Chagatay is acceptable or not. The fact is that Uzbek is the nearest of all modern Turkic languages to modern Uighur. It is of even more importance to us here that Uighur intellectuals today regard the outstanding literary achievements of the Middle-Turkic period as their own cultural heritage which can justifyably be considered a common cultural tradition of all the Turkic speaking peoples of Central Asia. Consequently, modern Uighurs (who acquired this name again only after a group of Uighur migrants to the USSR officially adopted it in 1921, see Silde-Karklins 1975. p.343.) also regard the Arabic script as a significant part of their cultural traditions'.

This strong identification of modern Uighurs with Islamic and Turkic cultural heritage is reflected in their attitudes towards the several script changes which took place in Sinkiang in recent times. In fact, one cannot help thinking that these recent changes were inevitable, given the Uighurs' strong sense of their Muslim and Turkic traditions in an increasingly non-Muslim and Turkic environment, either Russian or Chinese. At issue here is the important role played by script changes in a people's history. It may appear of minor importance at first sight. However, a change in the means of written communication has a strong significance for both the individual in his everyday life and for the political nation. Before elaborating these aspects-let us review the history of actual and attempted script changes among the most numerous Turkic speaking minorities of Sinkiang.

THE HISTORY OF SCRIPT CHANGES

Let us start with an old platitude which doubtless formed an important part of the main official explanation for script changes among all Turkic speaking peoples: the Arabic alphabet is not suitable for Turkic languages. The well-known fact, that the rich vowel system of Turkic languages cannot be fully rendered by the Arabic script became the main slogan of reformers in Turkey and in Soviet Central Asia². Although this is an undeniable fact, in the case of the Uighurs, in my opinion, this populer argument has been refuted, as I shall show later. To the best of my knowledge, the need to reform their script was overtly expressed by Uighur intellectuals in the 1920s. (Emiloğlu 1973. p.128.) These attempts roughly coincided with the actual implementation of script changes in Turkey and the Soviet Union. That minority intellectuals were aware of the cultural changes which were taking place amongst related peoples is indicated by the fact that both the main fractions of the Uighur intelligentsia tried to follow the example of reform movements abroad³. However, these efforts did not result in any tangible changes. Officially, the Uighurs kept on using the Arabic script up until the 1950s. The scarce material available on the subject indicates that even before 1956 the example of Turkic speaking peoples living in the Soviet Union was having certain practical, though sporadic effects in Sinkiang in spite of the overall failure of the reform movement. Apparently, when the Soviet Uighurs, who had used the Arabic script until 1930 hanged to the Latin alphabet (in use 1930-1946), the same script was introduced in some places in Sinkiang. The same thing happened to the modified Cyrillic script which the Soviet Uighurs finally adopted in 1946. (Silde-Karklins 1975. p. 355.) The so-called "Orta Imla" used by some in Sinkiang as a result of Soviet influence, is not exactly clear to me; regardless of whether this was a modified Latin or Cyrillic alphabet, its use was certainly not widespread or officially recognized. (Emiloğlu 1973. p.129.)

The history of official script changes among the Turkic minorities of Sinkiang begins in the 1950s. In response to the Uighurs' own wish to reform and also to Soviet encouragement in 1956 a dicision to change to the modified Cyrillic script was taken (Jarring 1981. p. 230). From personal interviews I have learnt that in certain schools the teaching of the Cyrillic script began Virtually at once, on an experimental basis⁴. However, this decision was soon changed. In 1958 the introduction of a modified Latin script based on the Chinese pin-yin transliteration system was decided (Jarring 1981. po. 230-231). Apparently, the

very idea of changing the Arabic alphabet (whether to Cyrillic or Latin script) provoked violent reactions on several occasions (Alptekin 1978, p.161). If this source can be taken seriously at all, it would seem that those opposing the script changes were conservatives who would not constitute more than a fraction of the Uighur intelligentsia. Alternatively, if the suggested changes were opposed by the entire nationalist intelligentsia, it would seem that, while a reform movement carried through by the Uighurs themselves might in principle stand a good chance of success, changes initiated from outside, i.e. on the initiative of the Chinese authorities were unacceptable. The policies pursued in Sinkiang in the 1950s formed part of a large-scale cultural programme concerning all the minority peoples of China. In the mid-fifties Chinese linguists from Beijing were sent to minority areas including Sinkiang, to study minority languages and to help minorities carry out the changes deemed necessary by these experts. As part of the programme, several minorities without any writing system were given a Chinese based script, while others with a long history of literacy were advised to carry out changes (Til wa Tardzima 1986. 1. pp. 2-3). The two above-mentioned decisions concerning script changes in Sinkiang in the 1950s were obviously motivated by political factors. The suggested adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet was influenced by flourishing cultural contacts with the USSR. The Soviets tried to encourage the official adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet by the Turkic speaking groups of Sinkiang by practical means such as producing Uighur language books and dictionaries printed in both Arabic and Cyrillic scripts although the former was no longer in official use in the USSR. (Silde-Karklins 1975. pp. 356-357). The 1958 decision to introduce a Latin script based on the pin-yin sistem reflected the worsening state of Sino-Soviet relations, and also a recognition of the threat posed by allowing the same script to be used by Turkic peoples on the two sides of this border.

In spite of the obviously political nature of these changes, one must not forget that after 1949 the PRC's minority policy can hardly be deemed crudely oppressive. After 1949 the use of minority languages was positively encouraged and the linguistic changes taking place in the 1950s aimed to expand literacy rates amongst minorities. Also, we must remember, that the original impulse to reform the Arabic script came from Uighur intellectuals themselves, which made it possible for the Chinese to pose as the benign realizers of indigenous dreams.

The decision to change to the Latin script was followed by an experimental period between 1960-1964, Later, owing to the Cultural Revolution, its

use spread slowly although the official introduction of the new script took place in 1965. Its widespread use began only in 1974 (Jarring 1981, p.232). Although the acceptance of a new alphabet is necessarily a long and gradual process, a generation of young Uighur intellectuals has actually been brought up with one script only, i.e. the modified Latin alphabet. No wonder, that after such a development it was concluded in 1981 that "It has to be anticipated that the introduction of the new Romanized script for the Uighurs of Sinkiang will have the same long-term effects as the change to the Latin alphabet had in Turkey" (Jarring, p.234). This prediction, however, did not come true. In 1982 another script reform covering the Uighur, Kazakh and Kirghiz peoples of Sinkiang was introduced (Uygur yezirinin 1983. pp. 1-2). This reform reintroduced the Arabic script as it had been amended in the 1950s, with a few additional modifications⁵. The fact that very little is publicly known about how this latest script reform took place suggests that it was deliberately played down by the officials. The change is widely regarded as a victory by Uighur intellectuals. These people claim, that this latest change was the common will of the Uighur people, and that it was somehow initiated by the Uighurs themselves, while the previous changes had come "from above", i.e. from the authorities. Undoubtedly, many people feel that this latest change reflects a positive development in their national position. However, the change was not welcomed by all Uighur intellectuals. The generation referred to above, which was brought up with the modified Latin script, is in its late twenties and early thirties^b. When the latest script reform was introduced, short courses were organised at universities and workplaces to teach this genaration the Arabic script. School children are able to cope with the situation well enough. Young adults, however, seem to be reluctant to give up the Latin script which they had been brought up with and even those who successfully finished the Arabic course still try to avoid using this script. They argue, that priority should be given to the Latin alphabet, because this is the main script needed when learning foreign languages. Some young Uighurs go so far as to invoke the official argument of the late fifties in favour of keeping the pin-yin based Latin script, namely, that it would then provide a common script all over China which both the Chinese and other minorities could use'. (This argument was more convincing in the USSR, where the Cyrillic script in its various modified forms has indeed become the most widely used system all over the country.) This problem at the moment presents itself as a genaration gap with such awkward manifestations, as for examle a young Jighur person brought up with the Latin script writes letters to her parents in Chinese, since written Chinese

is the only mutually and easily understood script. (cvf. Scharliff 1984. p.8) This, however, may easily go further than a temporary generation gap. Although Middle-aged and older people, happy with their recently regained old script, cannot see any grounds for yet another change, some young people are convinced that in the long run the Latin script should be reintroduced.

COMPARISON

The script reforms in Sinkiang invite comparison with similar reforms among Turkic peoples. The obvious paralels are in modern Turkey on the one hand and in Soviet Central Asia on the other. In many ways the latter comparison makes more sense because of geographical contiguity and the common historical and cultural background. However, the comparison with modern Turkey can be even more revealing precisely because of the relative absence of direct communication between two cultures which nevertheless had similar linguistic and religious characteristics. Thus, linguistically one has in both cases a Turkic language (Ottoman and Uighur) for which the Arabic script had been in use for centuries. In both cases the language is of "mixed" character: a basic Turkic structure heavily laoded with foreign elements, primarily Persian and Arabic. Both cultures had a script which linguists agree was unsuitable for Turkic languages.

The script reform of modern Turkey, dating from 1928, which abolished the Arabic script and replaced it with a modified Latin alphabet was only a prelude to the large scale language reform which was itself only a part of Atatürk's overall programme to modarnize, secularize and democratize the new state. Discussion of such changes had a long history, going back to the Türk-i Basit movement (Köprülü 1966. pp. 272-282.) and acquiring a more definite shape during the reform movements of the nineteenth century (Levend 1949). One sees in this history the extent to which reforms of the Turkish script and language were bound up with a conscious search for national identity. The use of elegant Presian by the educated upper classes and Arabic by the cuonservative-religious elements was unacceptable to young nationalists who sought to emulate European patterns. The Arabic script came to be regarded as a serious impediment to mass education. The introduction of the Latin script was considered the only way to achieve higher literacy (Hütteman 1978, p.63). At the same time the unlimited use of Arabic and Persian words hindered the development of a unified national language. In other words, by purifying the language of large numbers of foreign elements, the reformers wanted to decrease the gap between the language of the highly educated

elite and that of the common people8.

As far as I am aware there is no similar history of planned cultural reform in Sinkiang. The traditional Arabic script was here too seen as an impediment to raising literacy rates⁹ and the Sinkiang reform movement was also naturally motivated by nationalist sintiments. However, in contrast to Ottoman Turkish, which, at the time of the script reform showed significant differences between the literary language and the vernacular, no such gap could be traced in the Uighur language at the time of script changes here. Religion also played different roles in Turkey and Sinkiang. In Turkey the script reform was part of a larger programme of secularization, thus it was supported by progressive nationalists. In Sinkiang, in the context of a large non-Muslim population, to defend the old Arabic script against the new Latin alphabet could seem an inportant task to all nationalist sympathizers. The script reform in Turkey ushered in a large scale language reform, which, on a reduced level, continues today.

While in Sinkiang, I tried to look for signs of similar developments among the Uighurs. The first reaction to such an inquiry was usually one of mild surprise. The Uighurs I interviewed said that the Arabic and Persian loanwords in question had become an integral part of their language. It is true that Uighur has preserved more archaisms than any of its Western Turkic counterparts and its vocabulary did not deviate from the oruginal Turkic structure to the same extent as Ottoman Turkish. But the number of Persian and Arabic loanwords in Uighur is still significant (Nadzhip 1971. pp. 30-36). Thus the explanation for the lack of enthusiasm for a drastic purification of their language on the part of the Uighur intellectuals must be sought elsewhere. The real reason might be the more direct threat represented by other languages with completely different structures from those of Turkic languages, namely Chinese and Russian. We know that Arabic and Persian were just as alien to the Turkic structure as Chinese and Russian. However, in the course of time Arabic and Persian loanwords have become integrated into spoken Uighur. (This process was facilitated by the common religion these cultures shared.) Many such words have been used in Turkic grammatical structures for centuries. Many Arabic and Persian loanwords had been integrated into Ottoman Turkish in exactly the same way, and these were accepted and preserved by the more moderate elements of the Turkish language reform.

Chinese loanwords began to penetrate the old Uighur language a long time ago but these borrowings had become completely assimilated into Uignur and were sporadic (Nadzhip 1971, p.37).

However, the present day situation in sinking is one in which, although the use of minority languages is officially encouraged, the importance of Chinese in everyday life, especially for urban populations, gives increasing opportunity for the adoption of Chinese terms. This is particularly true for new scientific and technical concepts. For the Uighur intelligentsia, with its strong sense of national identity, this creates more of a threat than the existence of well-integrated Arabic and Persian elements in their language. Since most minority students studying for a higher degree in Sinkiang must use Chinese textbooks, the penetration of increasing numbers of Chinese words into Uighur is even more easily understood.

It would be wrong to assume that no efforts are being made to purify Uighur of some of its Arabic and Persian loanwords as well as to save it from new borrowings. The means by which this trend gains ground are more subtle than the drastic measures taken by Atakürk's reformers. Thus in modern Turkey the Turkish Linguistic Society was appointed to carry out the difficult task of reform (Heyd 1954, pp. 25-26). The work of the Society was strictly controlled by the state. At the same time the public was involved directly in its work, egin providing the Society with suggestions for new words (Heyd 1954, p.29). There is no sign of such populist initiatives from the language Committe that was established in the early 1950s in Sinkiang (Yang Bingyi 1985. p.5,7). As far as the forming of new Uighur words is concerned this Committee in Sinkiang seems to have been barely able to carry out such a task (Abidt 1985. p.16). The appointment of another committee with this specific task, with reference to all the minority languages spoken in sinkiang has recently been suggested (Abit 1985. p.17). So far for the most part new Uighur words (such as sinalgu for television, unalgu for tape-recorder, etc.) have been created and disseminated by the media only. A dirinite programme has recently been published about modernizing Uighur and other minority languages in the region, and the main principles expressed here have a lot in common with the lanhuage reformers in Turkey. These include a. windening the meaning of existing words, b. reviving wordsof the old language, c. collecting words from the vernacular and dialects, d. adopting words from related (i.e. other Turkic) languages (cf. Heyd 1954. pp. 88-91, Abit 1985. pp.14-16). These ideas form the common core of both language reform programmes.

Following the example of the Turkish reform, the Uighurs are also prepared to tolerate loan-words from non-related languages, although they, too, warn against accepting such borrowings in large numbers ¹⁰.

The line of this new proposal concerning language reform in Sinkiang is a middle-of-the-road attitude. This was the eventual path followed in Turkey also, and had it not been thus, the Turkish language reform would not have done as well as it has. Such moderate, pragmatic policies accept into the Uighur language those Chinese words which have been fully integrated (Abit 1985, p.15). New technical terms, however, should be based on Uighur words as much as possible 11. This limited acceptance of foreign words as made it necessary to create a standardized orthography both in Turkey and in Sinkiang In fact, it would appear that the latest script change in Sinkiang has been treated as merely the revision of orthography (it is true that a few new letters were added to the old Arabic script: q - ö, - ü) rather than an important cultural event. This is perhaps because a change of orthography is in less obvious need of ideological explanation.

Despite the prevailing moderate line there are some linguists who would like to see a more drastic purification of the Lighur language from its Persian and Arabic elements 12

Of course, similar events took place among the Turkic speaking peoples of Soviet-Central Asia as well, where some nationalists were opposed to both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets and pressed for preserving the old Arabic script, and later a modified version of the same. There were also attempts to alter the languages themselves along the lines of the Turkish reforms (The Turkic Peoples of the USSR 1953. pp. 2-4)¹³

CONCLUDING REMMARKS

Though a full comparison of conscious alterations to languages and scripts in Turkey, the Soviet Union and Sinkiang is beyond the scope of the present paper, it is possible to suggest the lines along which such a comparison would have to proceed.

The most important difference between Turkey and Sinkiang is that modern Turkey has developed as an independent national state, with Turkish as its official national language. In the absence of any direct threat to the dominant language, Turkey was able to follow without interference a path of modernization which involved a radical break with decisive symbols of the past, including religion, a script which was strongly linked to that religion and foreign borrowings in the language which had wideued the gap between the ruling elite and the common people. In Sinkiang Uighur national aspirations could develop only within the constraints of powerful alien (Russian and Chinese) cultures. The only way national identity could be asserted and maintained was through preservation

of all that could be in any way associated with a "national heritage": religion, Arabic script, and, to some extent, those elements of the national language which were a legacy of the Islamic past.

The Turkic peoples of the USSR might, on the whole be thought to occupy an intermediate position between these extremes. They may enjoy more autonomy than the minorities of Sinkiang, if only by virtue of their numerical concentration in Central Asia, but they are not as independent as the Turks of modern Turkey. This position is reflected in the linguistic changes which have taken place there.

Atter short experiments with modified Latin scripts and, in some places, modified Arabic scripts, the Turks of the USSR have apparently been reconciled to use of the Cyrillic that is standard throughout most off the USSR. They did not choose this themselves, it was not *their* script: but it brought certain advantages, and it did not threaten their basic identity as the imposition of the pin-yin based Latin was seen to threaten the smaller and more exposed Uighur nation in China.

Let us return to the problem of evaluating the latest script change in Sinkiang. The question is whether, and from what perspective, returning to the old Arabic script (with some modification) in the 1980s was a step forward or backward. Those opposing the pin-yin based Latin script sometimes argue that this system is linguistically inadequate for the Uighur language. Its major drawback is that 1. the sound value of many letters is different from that of the some letters in Western languages which creates more confusion for Uighurs learning Western languages. Also, the velar i sound is not represented in the Latin alphabet. However, the same holds true for the modified Arabic alphabet currently in use in Sinkiang. This problem excepted, the minor modifications introduced in the 1950s and 1980s have created an Arabic script which is at least as well suited to rendering Uighur as the modified Cyrillic scripts are suited to rendering the Turkic languages of the Soviet Union, or the modified Latin alphabet to modern Anatolian Turkish 14. To say wich of the three existing systems is most saticfactory would be at best a value judgement. The important point is that the recently restored modified Arabic script seems just as technically adequate for Uighur as other systems are for other Turkic languages. Its reintroduction in Sinkiang combined with the possibilities for Uighurs themselves to superpvise changes in their language reflect the improving political atmosphere for ethnic minorities in the region. Since the Uighurs and other groups involved in the latest script change consider it important in maintaining their national identity, this

script reform is a positive change in their eyes. But we must remember that it also adds to the cultural separation of the Turkic speaking peoples which now have three main scripts. Furthermore the frequent script changes in the region in the last thirty years have created confusion (Til wa tardzima 1986. 1. p.8) and a cultural gap between generations brought up with different scripts.

Script changes in Sinkiang reflect changes in cultural policy towards ethnic minorities in China 15. In the mid 1950s Chinese linguists were sent to the region to study minority languages (Yarg Bingyi 1985. p.8). In fact, their work was to prepare the ground for the first script reform. While plans to adopt a modified Cyrillic alphabet showed a strong Soviet political and cultural influence, the decision to introduce the pinyin based Latin script reflected both the worsening of relations with the Soviet Union and a conscious attempt to bring Uighur closer to Chinese. In spite of the arguments mentioned above and used to support this reform in the late fifties, recent Uighur language publications have been revealing the true political nature of cultural events in Sinkiang from the 1950s onwards. Although most authors avoid tackling the question of the actual alphabet reforms, all seem to admit readily that mistakes were made during the Cultural Revolution (Azizi 1986, p.3, Amat 1982 p.1, Yang Bingyi 1985 p.14.) Occasionally we also find explicit criticisms of the alphabet reform of the late 1950s. In a recent article the author argues that the obligatory introduction of the pin-yin based Latin script "made it more difficult for the minority peoples to learn how to read and write, caused more confusion in their developing their language (Til wa Tardzima 1986. 1. p.8). This statement is scarcely consistent with the assumption that one of the basic aims of this reform was to decrease illiteracy among the minorities.

Lexical changes including the obligatory replacement of some Uighur political terms by Chinese ones also took place at the time.

The recent reinstatement of the Arabic script is definitely regarded by many Uighurs as the manifestation of a more democratic era which started in 1979. This trend is also reflected in the recent development of Turkish Studies in China. One of the important events has been the launching of a journal called Language and Translation (Til wa Tardzima): If was first published in 1982 and appears monthly in

four languages (Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Significant literary journals are "Tarim", "Bulaq" (which publishes classical Turkic literary pieces) and the recently launched "Dünya Edebiyatı" which gives Uighur translations of foreign literature.

In recent years many classical Turkic works have been published in modern Uighur¹⁶. The number of publications concerning modern Uighur grammar has also increased 17. In linguistics, the latest Dictionary of Uighur Orthography is worth mentioning; it was badly needed following the 1982 reform. (Osmanow-Sabit etc. 1985.) Local historians are preparing a comprehensive volume of regional history. Local researchers are also working on the history of Islam in Sinkiang. An Encyclopaedia of Sinkiang is also being prepared locally. The publication of an Uighur monolingual dictionary is expected in the near future. Finally, one must note the ambitious combin enterprise of local and Beijing linguists in compiling a large monography of the history of both the old and the modern Uighur languages.

It can be appreciated that Turkic Studies in Sinkiang have been developing fast since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Uighur and other minority languages are used freely. Minority children can go to special minority primary and middle schools, but in Urumchi Uighur intellectuals often prefer to send their children to Chinese schools. because this may facilitate their later careers (Batirgan 1985. p. 6.). The use of minority languages is positively encouraged. However, Mao's policy, still part of the present day cultural ideology in minority areas, that Chinese cadres working in ethnic regions should learn the local language(s) while local cadres should know Chinese well has been realized only partially (Til wa Tardzima 1986. 1. p.9) In the regional capital Chinese cadres hardly ever bother to learn Uighur. The few exceptions enjoy great respect and popularity among their Uighur colleagues. In smaller places, where minorities form the majority, Chinese cadres more readily learn the local language.

It was the unanimous opinion of all those we met in Sinkiang, Turkic, Han and others, that trends in cultural policy in the 1980s have been unambiguously positive. They believe that the recently enacted Law of Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities will guarantee the continuation of these trends in future (Azizi 1986. pp. 1-6.).

NOTES

1. This is ironic. Although the old Uighur script was widely used all over Central Asia and even became the official script of the Golden Horde, Today's Uighurs rarely express claim on this tradition. The ob-

vious explanation for this must be the unifying impact of Islam.

2. Although it is true that the Arabic alphabet obscured dialectal differences in Turkic languages, this

can certainly not-regarded a positive feature as some authors claim (Henze 1956, p.30).

- 3. While the Ili intellectuals supported the Turkish and Central Asian models (Latin script), the so-called Tarbagatai group advocated the example set by the Turkic speaking peoples of the Volga-Ural region (modified Arabic). (Emiloğlu 1973. p.128).
- 4. This also suggest that there must have been some precedents for teaching such a script in Sinkiang.
- 5. In the fifties this included the acceptance of such Persian letters as the abolishing of some Arabic characters deemed unnecessary for Uighur and the introduction of six letters to denote eight vowels (Sabit, A. 1986. p.2. p.6. and Yang Bingyi 1985. 8-9). In 1982 the most important change was the addition of two letters to render the vowels \ddot{o} and \ddot{u} .
- 6. According to one source, however, half of the total Uighur adult population had to learn this alphabet (Bilger 1986. p. 32.).
- 7. It is interesting that Western observers alleged that the pin-yin based Latin script is clearer and easier to learn than the Arabic script (Dilger 1976. p. 32.). Articles published in the Uighur Arabic script after 1982 allage the contrary (Til wa Tardzima 1986. 1. p.8).
- 8. On the Turkish alphabet and language reform see Heyd 1954, Levend 1949, Korkmaz Z. Türk dilinin tarihi akisi içinde Atatürk ve dil devrimi, Ankara 1963, Steuerwald, K. Untersuchungen zur türkischen Sprache der Gegenwart, 3 vol. Berlin 1963-1966, etc.
- 9. This idea can be illustrated by the fact that in January 1965, on the verge of the official introduction of the Latin script, a new campaign was launched simultaneously to increase literacy among the minorities of Sinkiang (Dilger 1976. p. 29).
- 10. It is interesting to see how an Uighur author may cite the example of modern Chinese, which often makes use of Classical Chinese words to avoid foreign borrowings, to support an argument in favour of reviving old Uighur words rather than replacing them with Chinese or Russian ones (opuri 1985. p.13).
- 11. This principle is, of course frequently contradicted in practice, e.g. Uighur doctors practising Western medicine-tend to use large numbers of estern words which are unintelligible to their patients with whom they have to use ordinary Uighur expressions.
- 12. For a minor attack on modern poets who use such loanwords when Uighur equivalents are available see Tursun, D. 1985.
- 13. For script and language reforms among the Turkic peopls of the USSR see Bacon 9966, esp.

- Chapter VII, pp. 189-201, wurm, Stefan: The Turkic Peoples of the USSR (Central Asian Research Centre, Oxford 1954, and Baskakov, N.A. The Turkic Languages of Central Asia, transl. by Wurm, S. London 1960).
- 14. There was another example in history when a Turkic speaking people adopted and successfully used a modified Arabic script. The Volga Tatars started to use such an alphabet in the early 1920s. Because it became very popular it was particularly difficult to make them adopt the Latin script in 1929 (lenze 1956. p. 49).
- 15. For an overall picture of minority policies in China see Dreyer 1976. pp. 261-276.
- 16. e.g. Jüsüp Xas Hadzip: Qutadgu bilik, Beijing 1984., Tömür. X.-Ajup, T.: Atabatulhaqajiq by Adip Axmat binni Mahmut Jükneki, beijing 1980., Geng-Shimin-jup T.: Qadimki ujgurlarning tarixi dastani Oguznama, Beijing 1980.
- 17. For a general bibliography of publications concerning Turkic Studies in China see Ujğur tili haq-qidiqi asarlar bibliografijisi 1949-1985 by Raxman Xanbaba in *Til wa Tardzima* 1986. 3. pp. 44-78 and 4. pp. 35-69.

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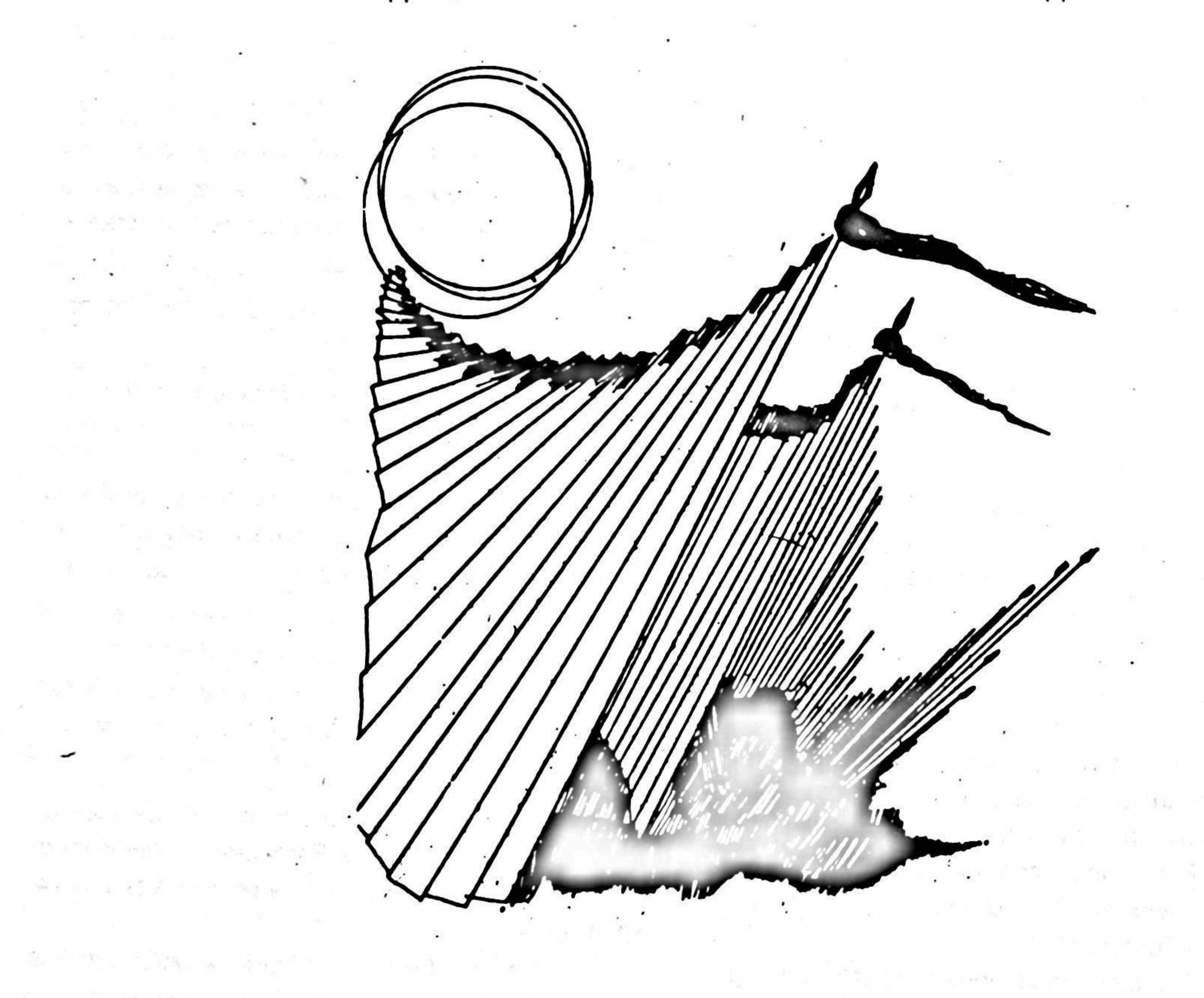
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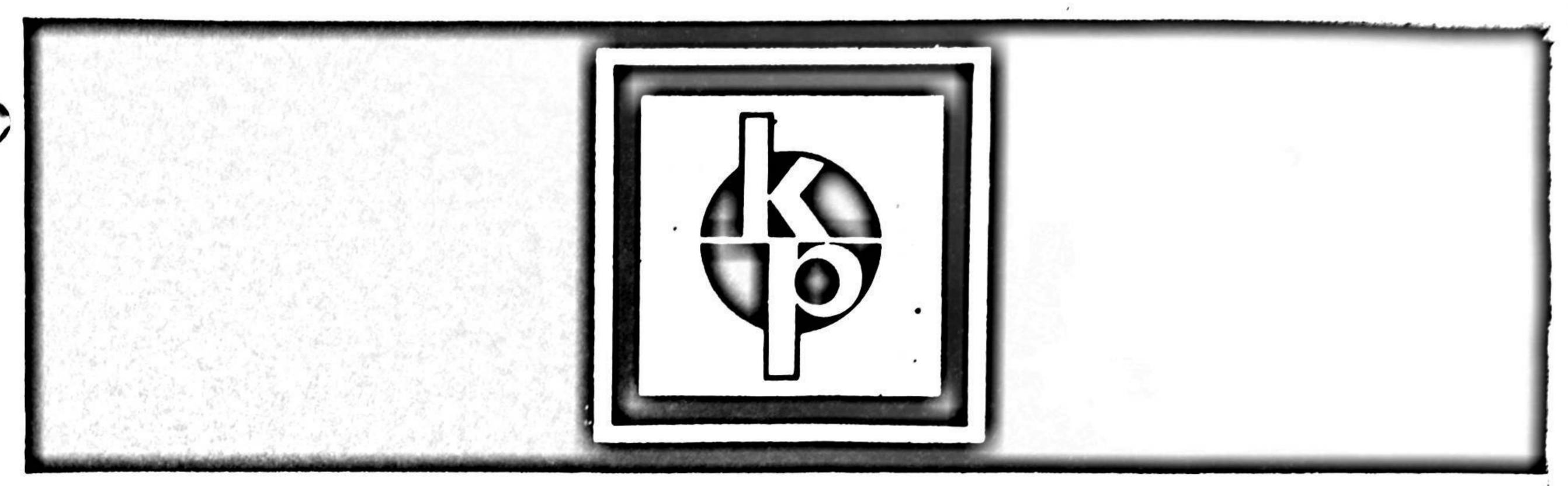
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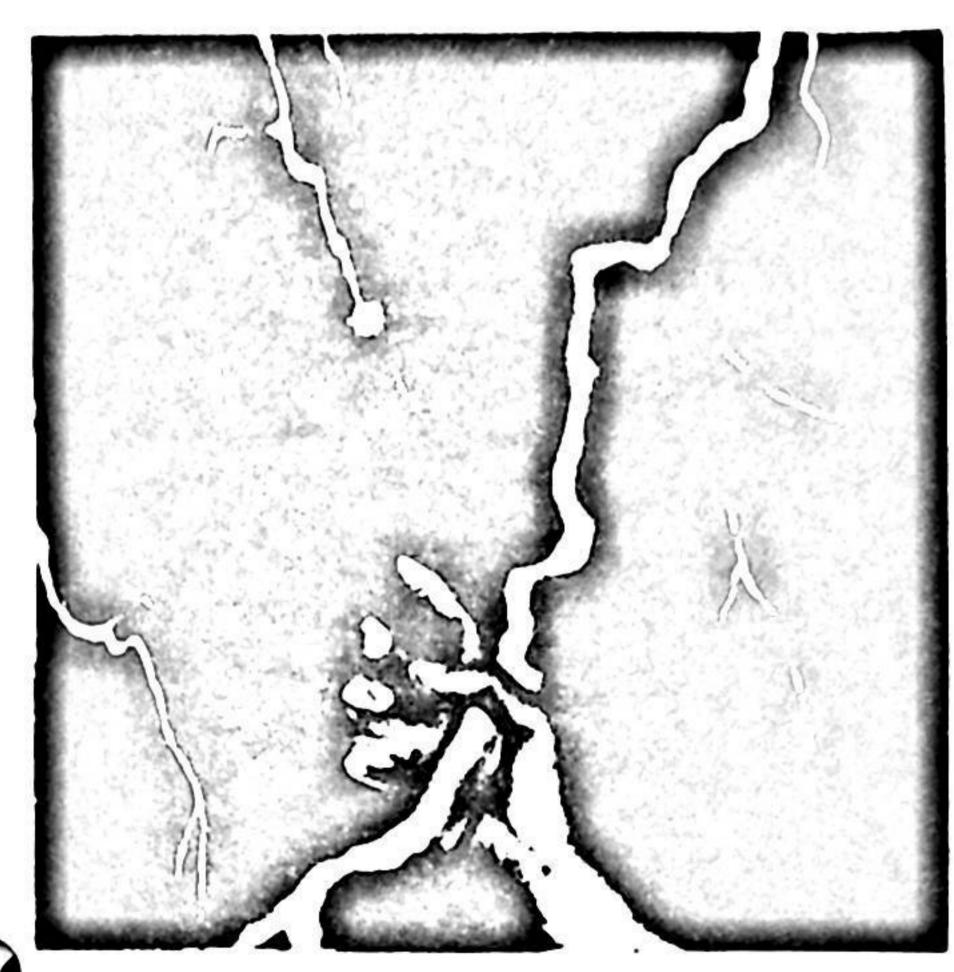
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