

Chinese Perspectives on the Dungan People and Language

**A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Ambiguousness of the Chinese
Ethnicity**



Kari Fougner

Master's thesis in EAL 4090- East Asian linguistics

Asian and African Studies: East Asian Linguistics

60 ECTS credits

Spring 2012

Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

Summary

This thesis treats a broad selection of Chinese academic articles, all of which concern different aspects of Dungan culture and language. The articles are, without exception published in Chinese academic journals after the year 2000. The notion of “Chineseness” as a quality of the Chinese ethnicity, the *Zhonghua minzu* can be said to be the superior theme of the thesis. However, the research question of the thesis is divided into two. Through my research, the ultimate goal has been to attempt to understand the actual definition of the term *Zhonghua minzu* and what it signifies to be a part of the ethnicity. Subsequently, the Dungan people have been used as a specific example, as affiliated with China, to better understand how ethnic groups are connected to the *Zhonghua minzu*. The Dungans, an ethnic group mainly situated in the Central Asian countries of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, are examined in this thesis within the scope of Chinese academia’s point of view on the notion of “Chineseness”. I have studied how different attitudes regarding ethnicities, especially ethnic minorities, appear within the topical medium, how they shape and are shaped by the social discourse.

In my research, one of the main findings in regard to the *Zhonghua minzu*- the Chinese ethnicity was that the ethnicity in itself did not match the Stalin based criteria traditionally used to define ethnicity within China. Whilst these criteria are based on common psychological makeup, territory, religion, economy and language, the *Zhonghua minzu* is solely based on a broad and general explanation of what it means to be Chinese: *The people of the republic of China and overseas Chinese*. This can be interpreted as to be focused on an ancestral bond. Nevertheless, the analysis shows language as integral, if not the most important factor, in terms of determining affiliation with the Chinese ethnicity. Furthermore, the analysis displays how Chinese academia, through different voices and perspectives, imparts both China and various ethnicities a myriad of roles and traits. This will show, both in theory and praxis, how it mirrors the official and unofficial Chinese language politics.

Preface

Due to my language background being Chinese and Farsi, I wished to write a master thesis in which I could combine these two languages. My original intention was to write a thesis aimed at socio- linguistics of the Sarikoli people, a Persian speaking ethnic minority situated in northwestern China, and the relation between their mother tongue and Chinese. As with many master students, the topic of the thesis was modified and changed several times. Due to an increase in the tension between ethnic minorities in northwestern China and the Chinese government over the last few years it became clear that finding objective information and conducting research on the subject would be difficult at best. As I still wanted to write an assignment where the languages Chinese and Farsi could be combined with language and its function in society, I decided on a topic which merged language, identity and nationalism. The Dungan people, a Muslim ethnic minority of Hui Chinese origin situated in Central Asia whose mother tongue is a dialect based on northwestern Chinese dialects which contain many Persian loanwords became the starting point for my research.

I would like to express my gratitude to my two advisors Kjell Lars Berge and Ivo Spira. During the course of the writing process they have provided me with inspiring supervision and suggestions. I would also like to thank both family, good friends and Brad for moral support and encouragement in times when the climb uphill has been especially steep.

Index

1. Introduction	4
1. 1. Background and research question	4
1. 2. Choice of text	5
1. 3. Limiting the text.....	6
1. 4. Disposition	6
PART A: Discourse analysis: Theory and Methodology	8
2. Theoretical starting point.....	8
2. 1. Research context	8
2. 2. Discourse analysis	9
2. 2. 1. Critical Discourse Analysis	10
2. 2. 2. Reflections around own role in discourse analysis.....	10
2. 3. Methodology- Abduction as method.....	11
2. 4. Power within text	12
2. 5. The metafunction of language in text.....	14
2. 5. 1. Textual structure.....	14
2. 5. 2. Ideational structure	15
2. 5. 3. Interpersonal structure	15
2. 6. Summary.....	16
PART B: the sociocultural context of the Dungans and the Chineseness in which they are seen in light of.	17
3. Introduction	17
3. 1. The History of the Dungan people.....	18
3. 1. 1. Early Dungan history- from migration to settlement	18
3. 1. 2. The beginning of the Dungan migration- The First wave.....	19
3. 1. 3. The second wave	20
3. 2. Research material from the early days	21
3. 3. The development of the Dungan writing system.....	22
3. 4. The Origin of the name Dungan.....	23
3. 4. 1. The Russian Theory	23
3. 4. 2. The Theory of Turkic origin.....	24
3. 4. 3. The Chinese Theory	24
3. 5. Dungan language as instrumental self- assertion:.....	27
3. 5. 1. Uniting an ethnicity.....	27

3. 5. 2. Endogamy as a mean of preservation of Dungan culture.....	28
3. 5. 3. Geography and Nationality as language and identity barriers.....	29
3. 6. The present situation of Dungan language.....	30
3. 7. Why has there been such a decline in the use of Dungan as mother tongue?.....	31
3. 8. Dungan Patriotism.....	33
3. 9. Chineseness and Nationality from a Chinese perspective.....	36
3. 10. The Beginning of the <i>Zhonghua minzu</i>	37
3. 11. The usage of the term <i>Zhonghua minzu</i> in present day China.....	38
3. 12. Conclusion.....	40
Part C: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Academic Articles on the Dungan Language.....	42
4. The articles analyzed.....	42
4. 1. Dungan Language in Central Asia-- An Outside Variant of Chinese Northwest Dialect.....	42
4. 2. Hidden power, Publishing and politics.....	43
4. 3. Abstract of Dungan Language in Central Asia--.....	45
4. 4. Speech act and social strategies, keywords.....	45
4. 4. 1. Text example 1.....	46
4. 4. 2. Text example 2.....	48
4. 4. 3 Text example 3.....	50
4. 5. Interpersonal structure and the usage of 1. and 3. personal plural pronoun.....	51
4. 5. 1. Text example 1.....	52
4. 5. 2. Text example 2.....	54
4. 5. 3 Text example 3.....	56
4. 5. 4. Text example 4.....	58
4. 5. 5. Text example 5.....	59
4. 6. Reflections and interpretation, how are Dungans perceived in the text?.....	61
4. 6. 1. Textual interpretation.....	62
4. 6. 2. Ideational interpretation.....	63
4. 6. 3. Interpersonal interpretation.....	64
4. 7. Social Discourse, from text to context- the voicing of Chinese opinions in the text.....	67
4.8. On the Development of Donggan Language.....	68
4. 8. 1. Social conditions of production and interpretation.....	68
4. 9. Abstract:.....	69
4. 10. Speech acts and social strategies.....	69
4. 10. 1. Text example 1.....	70
4. 10. 2. Text example 2.....	72

4. 10. 3. Text example 3.....	74
4. 11. Interpersonal structure- The usage of 1. and 3. person plural.....	75
4. 11. 1. Text example 1.....	75
4. 11. 2. Text example 2.....	78
4. 11. 3. Text example 3.....	80
4. 12. Interpreting the text: views and attitudes	83
4. 12. 1. Textual analysis.....	83
4. 12. 2. Ideational interpretation.....	85
4. 12. 3. Interpersonal interpretation.....	86
4. 13. Social Discourse, the surroundings of the text	88
4. 14. On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language	92
Dongganyu de Zouxiang	92
4. 14. 1. Discourse Practice and social context.....	92
4. 15. Abstract of On the Development Trend of Dungan.....	94
4. 16. Speech act and Social Strategies- Keywords	95
4. 16. 1. Text example 1.....	95
4. 16. 2. Text example 2.....	98
4. 16. 3. Text example 3.....	100
4. 17. The Interpersonal aspect- voices in the text.....	101
4.17. 1. Text example 1.....	103
4.17. 2. Text example 2.....	105
4. 17. 3. Text example 3.....	107
4. 18. Interpreting the China and Dungans seen in light of our text description.....	109
4. 18. 1. Textual interpretation	109
4. 18. 2. Ideational interpretation.....	110
4. 18. 3. Interpersonal interpretation.....	111
4. 19. Social Discourse, the future of Dungan language in text and context	112
PART D: CONCLUSION.....	115
5. The Chineseness of the texts- what does it impart?	115
5. 1. Voices in the text.....	116
5. 2. What is “Chineseness” and who does it apply to?.....	117
5. 3. Text in Context	119
5. 4. Concluding remarks	122

Bibliography

Attached articles

1. Introduction

1. 1. Background and research question

In this thesis I have studied three academic articles on the Dungan language. My approach has been based on Critical Discourse Analysis. (CDA)

The choice of topic was not made fortuitously. With an academic background in Mandarin Chinese and Persian it felt natural to investigate a topic where I could combine my knowledge of these two languages and their history. Despite the fact that the two languages belong to different language families, Chinese belonging to the Sino- Tibetan language family and Persian to the Indo- European, there is a significant percentage of Persian loan words found in the vocabulary of Chinese Muslims, many of them descendants of Persian traders travelling the Silk Road who settled in China and married Chinese women.

Combining this subject with CDA was not a coincidence. During the master study of East Asian Linguistics much time was spent on the problematic definition of “The Chinese Language” and the expression “Chinese” in a linguistic sense as a designation of Mandarin. The American Sinologist Victor Mair explains Chinese as a vernacular language. He justifies this claim as Chinese is a heterogeneous group with a large variety. Despite the vast number of dialects, both intelligible and unintelligible, they all belong to the Chinese language. Hence, the Chinese language is unifying language.

As I was reading up on the subject of the Dungan ethnicity, their history and language I discovered that many of the articles written by Chinese researchers seemed to focus on the differences between Dungan and Chinese when they were in fact treating their similarities and vice versa. At the same time the terms *Huaxia*- China/ Chinese civilization and *Zhonghua minzu*, Chinese ethnicity were often used as assets which were described as certain traits in the Dungan ethnicity and language. As a result I became curious about the degree of truth in these claims and who it was exactly that posed them. This rather unison language discourse seemed to express a number of views posed by a dominant bloc. This made it clear that I was to take a starting point in textual analysis, more specifically a CDA. Since Norman Fairclough treats the subject of power in “cross cultural” discourse it became natural to take his book *Language and Power* as a starting point for the analysis. Although taking Fairclough’s thoughts on CDA as a theoretical basis for my analysis, it was clear that there was a need for something more concrete in terms of carrying out the analysis. Therefore the theory of my analysis was based on Fairclough’s *Language and Power*, the praxis of my analysis was based on Hellspong and Ledin’s *Vägar genom texten* from 1997.

The main goal became to investigate how the Chinese academia views the Dungans, and how one part of society use text to assign certain qualities to another. Fairclough explains this relationship between language and society as language being a part of society. There is no external relationship between language and society, it is instead an internal and dialectical relationship. Linguistics are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are linguistic phenomena.

Through the text both the sender and the receiver of it chooses that which we consider the critical aspect of what we wish to represent. This critical aspect is then represented with the modality, created by social context, which we as readers regard as the most appropriate one. One of the goals of this thesis is to display the relationship between language and society and how current and also unofficial and political incorrect attitudes in society are given vent through the language in the text.

A study of hidden power of the language used in academic articles demands not only that the researcher have focused on systemic functional linguistics, but also the social context in which the text is produced and works in. In order to gain knowledge on the text's production and social context I have dealt with the history of the notion *minzu* and *Zhonghua minzu* in China. This has provided me with the information needed to gain a thorough understanding around the problems surrounding these notions.

My research question for this thesis can be divided into two:

Seen from a textual analysis- what does it mean to be a part of the Chinese ethnicity- *Zhonghua minzu*?

How are the Dungan people viewed in light of “Chineseness” from the point of view of Chinese academia?

1. 2. Choice of text

One of the reasons for choosing articles written after the year 2000 is due to the previous Sino-Soviet relations which were relatively strained up until the year of 1989. Due to the situation which was less than smooth, little research on the field of Dungan was done by Chinese researchers. I felt that it was necessary to focus on relatively fresh information. China has recently become more involved in cooperation with the Central Asian countries, both in regard to economics, politics and culture, making it even easier to obtain knowledge on the field. Newer research has more background information in hand when produced; this provides the author with more resources in the writing process. Another reason for choosing these particular articles

is the authors. Hai Feng is one of the most well known researchers on Dungan studies, specializing in the Dungan language. Likewise, Ding Hong is also a leading researcher on the field, but where Hai Feng has focused on Dungan language, Ding Hong has specialized in sociology and Dungan studies. Although a sociologist, the article of Ding Hong which is chosen in my analysis treats the future of Dungan language. Hence, we see the Dungan language from both a linguist and a sociologist perspective.

A language is often defined tongue in cheek as “a dialect with an army”, although used jokingly; the expression has some truth in it. As my thesis treats the notion of the traits of a certain ethnicity; choosing articles which theme is the Dungan language in relation to ethnicity becomes especially interesting.

1. 3. Limiting the text

In order to carry out a textual analysis which underpins what I wish to impart, it has been crucial to limit the thesis. Since the texts which are chosen are independent articles written by different authors and published in journals without a strong connection to each other, (different from e.g. those found in textbooks which follow a regular template) it has been necessary to decide on specific criteria in terms of the selection of text examples. As my research questions deals with how Chinese academia i.e. the sender of the texts view the object- the Dungans seen in light of “Chineseness it seemed natural to focus on the interpersonal structure of the articles. I have carried this out by looking into text examples where there is a direct reference to sender and receiver of the text together, or sender and other parts of the Chinese community together. In most of the text examples chosen, the author has made use of the personal pronoun 我们 *women*- we to indicate a community which can be used either to include or exclude. Text examples containing the pronoun *women* can be seen all trough the analysis. As for the thematic structures, the criteria for words used to select text examples have varied. Since the research questions are concerned with the attitudes towards the membership of the Chinese ethnicity and the Dungan people I have often used the key words the author herself has chosen in her abstract which she has viewed as essential in the description of her article. Text examples which are included in the analysis material are attached.

1. 4. Disposition

The master thesis is separated into four main chapters which all contain sub-chapters. In Part A I first place the thesis in a research context. From this context I place and explain the theoretical framework which my analysis is evolved from. The socio- cultural praxis has been explained and discussed in Part B. In this part I have used both Chinese and Western sources so as to create a

general image of Dungan history from their arrival in Central Asia and up until today. From this I move over to the notion of *Zhonghua minzu*, its history and role in modern China. In Part C we find the actual text analysis. Here I shed light on the Chinese academia's view on Dungan culture and language and how the usage of “us” and “them” is used to indicate community. In addition to this I also map out who is it that is given voice to in the texts and how these voices are presented. In Part D I summarize my findings from the text analysis. These findings are subsequently discussed in light of the situation context. Finally I comment on a few points regarding the making of this thesis.

PART A: Discourse analysis: Theory and Methodology

2. Theoretical starting point

In part A I will place my thesis in a research context, from there I will further account for the theoretical framework from which my analysis is developed in.

2. 1. Research context

This thesis is placed within the field of East Asian linguistics, more specifically Chinese linguistics. I look at this from a socio-linguistic perspective, Chinese linguistics in relation to identity and language, linked to the two terms nationality and ethnicity.

In relation to this topic I would like to mention some of the books that have helped me to achieve an understanding of the main theme which will be treated in the thesis: *Dislocating China-Muslims, Minorities and Other Subaltern Subjects and Muslim Chinese* (2004) and *Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (1996), both written by American professor of Asian studies, Dru C. Gladney. Although the works written by Gladney mainly treat the subject of minorities (with special focus on the Chinese Hui minority, the ancestors of the Dungan people living in Central Asia) his books give a good introduction to the identity discourse of different Chinese minorities. His main goal however, seems to be on how the minorities define themselves within the Chinese state. The goal of this thesis was to clarify and understand the different views on the connection between the Dungan people and language and the state of China and the Chinese language which was presented through academic articles on the subject of Dungan language, written by Chinese scholars viewing it as a nationality/ ethnicity discourse with language as a marker of identity seen from the majority's angle. After the founding of the PRC in 1949 the new government initiated the huge task of identifying and recognizing the different groups of people within China which applied for their own national minority status.

In his book from 2004; *A Nation-state by Construction*, Zhao gives a thorough description of the first census of the newly found republic which was carried out in 1953- 54. (This task was and still is executed by the State Commission for Nationality Affairs. The classification found today is more or less based on the same ideas as when this classification was initiated in the early 1950`s. It relies on Stalin's four criteria for defining nationalities: "a common language, a common territory, a common economic life and a common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national culture. (Gladney, 1991, p. 66) Even though the Hui people do not meet all of these criteria, they are still recognized as their own nationality. Despite using several loan words and expressions from Arabic, Persian and Turkic languages, unknown to the Han

nationality, the Hui's mother tongue is still Chinese. In addition to not having "their own language", the Hui people do not have a common territory, they live all over China (largest percentage of total population found in Ningxia, Qinghai and Gansu province).

As I began reading up on the field of Dungan history and language I became aware of how the Dungans were described in a rather similar way as how their ancestors, the Hui ethnicity in China is perceived in the modern Chinese national state. The American scholar Jonathan N. Lipman used the phrase *familiar strangers* to describe how the Huis traditionally have been viewed in Chinese society. My initial theory and expectations before starting the analysis was that like the Hui ethnicity in China, the Dungans are perceived much the same way by Chinese scholars: as Chinese, but not quite.

In order to understand why and how the articles impart what they impart, it is necessary to understand how the texts function in their surroundings, the social practice. Hence, if we are to understand how language works in society and how society appears in language, to see and grasp the discourse of the different articles chosen, we need to make use of a critical discourse analysis. Most works on sociolinguistic, and discourse on identity and minority problematize and treat the topic of how minorities define themselves in terms of own culture and language. However, in my analysis I analyze how one majority defines a minority.

2. 2. Discourse analysis

The term *discourse* has been used for a long time and it is a concept which has had several different meanings. Traditionally *discourse* has simply meant written or spoken communication or debate. (Oxforddictionaries.com/definition/discourse?=discourse, last consulted 16.01.2012) In Fairclough's book from 1992 *Discourse and Social Change* the term *discourse* is used in three different ways. In the first definition of the term *discourse* is described as the usage of language as social practice, meaning that the usage of language not only mirrors other practices, but also how itself participates in the construction of every social practice (In the second edition of his book *Language and Power*, 2001 Fairclough calls this the *process of production*). *Discourse* is also defined as *language used within a specific social field of domain*. Fairclough also defines *discourse* in a third way, as a distinct way of speaking, creating meaning to something from a specific perspective. In *Language and Power*, 2001 Fairclough more specifically refers to the definition of the word discourse as:

The whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. This process includes in addition to the text the process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which the text is a resource. (Fairclough, 2001, p.21)

2. 2. 1. Critical Discourse Analysis

What does critical discourse analysis mean? Let`s take the different words which make up CDA as our starting point.

The word critical used in CDA is explained by Norman Fairclough in his introduction to his book *Critical Discourse Analysis, The Critical Study of Language* from 2010 where he states that critique is that which brings a normative element into the analysis. This is done as it focuses on the wrong in society, and how this can be “fixed” and become good. (The problem with this view is that people will have different opinions regarding what is good and what is wrong in society). Further, critique can be either negative or positive. If it is focused on a negative form of critique it will emphasize on the wrongs in society, how it is produced and kept alive, and a positive critique will on the other hand be an analysis where the focus is on that which people do in order to treat the wrongs in society.

CDA is closely related to Systemic Functional Grammar (SFL), a theory of grammar developed by the British linguistic Michael Halliday, but while SFL took a broader view on ideology as permeating linguistic and other semiotic systems, CDA focused on semiosis in the service of power, and even to define its concern with language and ideology in such terms. Martin, 2007, p.314) Where as Halliday views language as social processes, creating meaning in relation to the surrounding world and other people, Fairclough emphasizes the integration of perspective of social science in the linguistic analysis. Fairclough further elaborates on the concept of power within the relation between language to and social context; language becomes a part of social struggle.

2. 2. 2. Reflections around own role in discourse analysis.

Treating the factual prose from a perspective of CDA can function as a frame for my thesis. It is also an analysis of Chinese research on Dungan studies in the original language. This can open for an awareness in those mechanisms which form the text in a certain way.

One weakness of the discourse is how I am a part of one context which the text works and interacts in. This fact can make it difficult to really grasp that which the discourse is characterized by. As my role is as a student of Chinese language for six years who lived and studied for 1, 5 years in Beijing, China. My perception of China is largely shaped by my stay in Beijing, as well as the discourse of Chinese language and society, mainly from a Western point of view ever since my stay in Asia. The main challenge of the analysis is what is called the *observer`s paradox*: to look at the text from a distance at the same time as I am in the midst of it. Earlier in the analysis I mentioned how negative and positive discourse analysis differ from each other, how the negative

analysis is focused on that which is wrong in a society, while positive discourse analysis is focused on how to treat the wrong in society. However, the aim of this assignment is not to point at whether or not Chinese researchers are making mistakes when addressing the topic of Dungan language and Chineseness. Neither is it to look at the good things of what Chinese researchers do in regard to Dungan people. My aim is to be as objective as possible in the analysis and not to judge what is good and what is bad in measures taken in the texts that are chosen. It is instead to reflect on how and why the topic and problems in the different articles are presented the way they are. Still, it is impossible to be completely impartial and not forming own opinion whether agreeing or disagreeing with the views presented in the different articles. My nationality, age, and life, my views are all factors which are likely to distance myself some way or another from the views presented. For instance, one of the articles suggests that linguists should actively go in and make sure that Dungans are taught the Modern Standard Chinese in school. This is justified through the convenience this will be in terms of communication between the Dungans and the Chinese people. From my point of view as a linguist, it feels both risky and disrespectful to go in and influence deliberately another language in that manner, but a linguist of another nationality with another education will perhaps find this unproblematic. The Western and particular Norwegian discourse in terms of how China is presented is also one factor for how I chose to interpret the different textual measures taken in the different articles, and also which I find interestingly enough to highlight. Nevertheless, one cannot guarantee that how I interpret the text is “too political” when seen from another context.

2. 3. Methodology- Abduction as method

The noun inference is in the Oxford English Dictionary defined as:

a conclusion reached on the basis of evidence and reasoning.(<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/inference>)

Within the field of inference one has traditionally divided it into two different modes: induction and deduction. To these two different modes the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839- 1914) also added a third mode: abduction. I will not spend much time elaborating on the differences between these three modes. Instead I summarize quickly how the Norwegian professor in Nordic language and literature, Jan Svennevig defines these different modes. In his article *Abduction as a Methodological Approach to the Study of Spoken Interaction* Svennevig explains deduction to the act of inferring as a result, given a general rule, and as a given case. Further, he points out that induction consists in the inference of a rule, given a specific case (a precondition) and a result (an observation). This inference draws in generalization, that is, reasoning from particular instances of general law, rule or pattern. In deduction the conclusion follows from the

premises with necessity, whereas in induction it does not. Abduction is thus inferring a case from a rule and a result; it is a process in which one gains new knowledge, rather than proving a hypothesis. (Svennevig, 1997, p. 1-2)

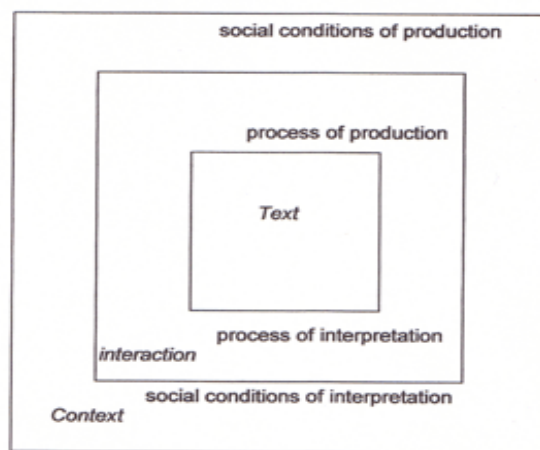
The purpose of using abduction as my method is due to the fact I have failed to find a successful hypothesis in regard to how Chinese academia and state view the Dungan people. I could accept the Chinese government's official definition of *Zhonghua minzu* 'The Chinese ethnicity', but I have discarded this definition of the *Zhonghua minzu* as I find it too general to point out any specific traits that qualify to belong to the ethnicity. One could argue that the Stalinist terms used by the Chinese state to classify different ethnicities within China could be seen as a rule that should also apply to how they view the Dungan people of Central Asia. Nonetheless, I perceive the appliance of this rule to the Dungans as problematic. This is due to the notion of geography, as the Dungans live outside of China, and also because I neither have found any official documents or statements by the Chinese state on how to classify people of Chinese decent outside of China proper. If the Dungans had been an own characteristic subgroup of the Hui ethnicity living within the PRC, the rule of the Stalin's five criteria for classifying ethnicity could apply, but this is not the case. Then again, the aim of this thesis is not necessarily to clarify the official view of how Chinese academia and state view the Dungans, but the unofficial view. My conclusion will be made based on an explorative method taking a rule and a result as a starting point, so as to identify and formulate new coherence. In order to understand how the China truly perceive the Dungans and what it means to be Chinese I have had to approach the Dungans and the Chinese from a Chinese point of view. Doing this seems as quite a contradiction as the goal of the thesis is to find out what being Chinese means. Therefore I have been forced to, if not base my hypothesis on the official Chinese definition of *Zhonghua minzu*, then at least considering and comparing it with the actual results i.e. my observations from the articles analyzed. My findings have been based on the different articles chosen. By comparing them to each other I hope to find any possible resemblance and differences.

2. 4. Power within text

The concept of power, both within discourse and behind discourse can roughly be divided into two opposites: those with power, and those without. These roles are not static and permanent. Those in power must constantly reassess their power through the discourse. Those without power have in the same way a constant possibility to claim power. Seeing how the different Chinese researchers' presents their own view in terms of the status of Dungan language, the theory of concept of power is applicable for the analysis of the articles and the themes which they are concerned with. The authors of the different articles; Chinese scholars who are educated

in China present views on the Dungan language and its status which should be or already is in force i.e. their own views. Power in discourse has to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non- powerful participants. Fairclough elaborates on three types of constraints: contents, on what is said and done; relations, the social relations people enter into discourse; subjects, or the “social positions” people can occupy. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 38-39) CDA is an analysis not of discourse in itself, but an analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the “internal relations” of discourse. Since I have chosen to have a critical approach to discourse analysis I have made use of Fairclough`s model for discourse as text, interaction and context so as to access the text and its context as systematic as possible in order to form my own analysis:

1



From this model we see that text in itself is not enough to create an insight into the connection between the text and the social processes and the structure of power. It is necessary to have an analytical frame in order to fully comprehend the relation between text and society. Both a text analysis and an analysis of society must be viewed in an interdisciplinary perspective so as to perform a satisfactory critical discourse analysis.

My analysis begins with an explanation of the text analyzed, in what kind of environment it is produced and functions in. With this as a starting point I move closer into the text through a textual analysis, where the three different aspects: textual structure, ideational structure and interpersonal structure are highlighted. Based on the description of these different structures I interpret the text and its context related to and presented in the text analyzed. In my analysis of the definition of Dungan language as an identity marker of a possible Chineseness I treat three

1 Model A. Fairclough, N. Language and Power, p. 21

different articles written after the year 2000. These articles are all written by leading Chinese scholars on the field of Dungan studies. The articles are all discourses of language, treating different aspects of the Dungan language. The analysis is an analysis of the discourse practice, the presentation and description by Dungan language, as well as the Dungsans own role regarding their language. The descriptive text analysis has a focus on the specific textual details of the text, how certain details are used to describe Dungan language in relation and are then compared to the Chinese language which the articles are written in.

2. 5. The metafunction of language in text

Halliday argues that language is immanently functional. By this he means that the *functional components* of language are *general uses of language, which, since they seem to determine the nature of the language system, require to be incorporated in to our account of that system.* (Halliday, 1970, p. 167) He further separated the metafunction of language into three different subgroups: textual, ideational and interpersonal structure. Taking Fairclough's thoughts on Discourse Analysis and Halliday's thoughts on language consisting of functional components I will proceed with an operationalization of their theories using Hellspång and Ledin's work on methods of text analysis from their book *Vägar genom texten* from 1997.

The three different "Halliday subgroups" mentioned above are according to Hellspång and Ledin a text's main characteristics. In my analysis which is based on the theory of CDA I will mainly focus on textual features in relation to these groups. In order to systematically analyze a text it is necessary to have a text model. Texts are complex and multifaceted structures. They can be seen as isolated parts, but also as coherent units, therefore, the analysis is analyzed in a model based on the three structures of textual, ideational and interpersonal structure.

2. 5. 1. Textual structure

Halliday defines textual structure as the messages combined to form periodic movements of information (Halliday, 2004, p. 588). It is the relation between the text's ideational and interpersonal element, ensuring coherence in the text, preventing it from being a collection of individual claims. Hellspång and Ledin explains how the textual structure can be divided into the *lexico grammatical dimensions* of the text, the words, how they form new meanings, *cohesion*, how meanings are connected and *composition*, text as a whole. The main focus of my analysis on textual structure is on the lexico grammatical dimensions of the texts. This includes part of speech, derivation and technical terms. By examining the use of these terms I have been able to see what kind of style the sender of the article wishes communicate, whether or not the information in the text is presented as general or specific, and whether or not the information presented is abstract

or concrete. The reason for this choice is due to the fact that I have picked out and highlighted certain sentences in each article analyzed which seem to uncover main features and meanings expressed in the article.

2. 5. 2. Ideational structure

A text's ideational structure is figures combined to form sequences, and these in turn may combine to form episodic patterns, as in narratives and other chronologically organized texts or chronological passages within other kinds of texts (Halliday, 2004, p. 590). That is, the ideational structure has to do with the representation of knowledge of the world and how we as readers organize this knowledge into patterns we consider logical. A text treats different topics (its Themes), and comments them (its propositions). The third element of ideational structure is the text's *perspective* which shows how the text perceives its world. Hellspong and Ledin mention several different aspects of a text's pattern of content which are useful when doing a CDA. Following their guidelines, I have looked into what they call macro- and micro themes of texts which are expressed through nominal phrases and how the placement of these themes represent what the sender of the text considers important for the overall message. As for the comments of the text, its propositions, Hellspong and Ledin list aspects such as inference, presupposition, inference and modality. As one of the main goals of my research has been to understand to which extent the Dungs are perceived as Chinese I have paid special attention to the occurrence of modality in the text in my analysis.

2. 5. 3. Interpersonal structure

Interpersonal structure is mainly concerned with propositions/ proposals combined to form patterns of exchange involving two or more interact. (Halliday, 2004, p. 588) It is the relational function of the text, expressing the contact between the sender and receiver of the text. Hellspong and Ledin focuses on the three different aspects of speech act, attitudes and framing. Within these three categories there are different sub categories. In regard to speech acts I have looked in to social strategies, as for attitudes I have focused power relations and safe guarding, as for framing I have focused on the relation between sender and receiver of the text and the usage of quotes. In the case of the texts analyzed in this thesis the form of address, especially in regard to the use of pronouns, who is included/ excluded in these pronouns and also how the senders attitudes are projected is especially emphasized. This is done both in regard to how the text mirrors and creates different social bonds and the different methods of excising resistance and power over the topic treated and the reader of the text.

2. 6. Summary

In this part of the thesis I have explained the theoretical background for my analysis. From this I move over to the outer part of Fairclough`s model for CDA, the social conditions of interpretation, addressing both different aspects of early and modern Dungan history, as well as giving an account for the notion of “Chineseness”.

PART B: the sociocultural context of the Dungans and the Chineseness in which they are seen in light of.

3. Introduction

Looking back at Norman Fairclough's model of discourse as text, interaction and context we see that there is a need to describe the social conditions of the topic treated in the analysis. As for context, it is generally known that this applies to the social condition of production of the text analysed. However, as the topic treated in the analysis is little known to Western linguists I have chosen to elaborate on the history of the Dungan people, both early and present day, in regard of their culture, language, self-assurance and identity. In addition to this I will also comment on the notion of Chinese nationalism seen in light of Chineseness. The different phases of Dungan history, the people's situation and position in today's changing societies in Central Asia all contribute to the formation of a better overview and understanding of the Dungan background, and to some extent: their future. I will also elaborate on the notion of *Zhonghua minzu* Chinese ethnicity. I look into the origin of the term and how the understanding of the term has evolved through history up until today. The goal of the assignment was to methodically approach the Dungan people and the notion of Chineseness from a Chinese point of view. Combining a summary of the Dungan history and different aspects of the culture with the notion of *Zhonghua minzu* and the quality of "Chineseness" seems natural as I wish to provide thorough background knowledge for the analysis. Part B of the thesis does not only function as background information, but is also an important tool in terms of understanding the socio-cultural context in which the texts analyzed have been created. Fairclough calls this Members' Resources'. He explains this as: people's knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs and assumptions. All these are cognitive as they exist in people's heads, but they are also social, i.e. they have a social origin. They are socially generated and transmitted and distributed unequal in society. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 24) Since the subject I am investigating in my thesis can be considered to be rather marginal I feel that an introduction into the subject of the analysis is much needed.

These different aspects treated in Part B all contribute to assessing an image and context of the Dungan culture, partly from how they themselves view their identity and culture, and partly from how an "other" views them. This "other" changes (in the words of Edward Saïd) from being an Occident "other", to an Oriental "other" depending on whether we use Western, Chinese or different Central Asian sources. Even if some of these texts give an account for how the Dungans themselves view their own identity, we cannot take this for granted as long as the information which is

presented is chosen by an “other” who may or may not be biased when it comes to the selection of information which is to be imparted to the reader of the text.

3. 1. The History of the Dungan people

3. 1. 1. Early Dungan history- from migration to settlement

The Dungans are a Muslim ethnic minority in Central Asia originating from Chinese Muslims. Their mother tongue is based on the Shaanxi and Gansu dialects found in north-western China, but has been influenced by Turkic, Persian, Arab and Russian over the last 200 years. The two dialects vary slightly from each other, mostly in pronunciation and intonation.² They are a relatively small ethnic minority living in three of the post- Soviet states in Central Asia: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan³.

Since their arrival in Central Asia they have today reached a population of nearly 100, 000 people. (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 2009.)⁴ In order to understand who the Dungans are today, we must start by understanding who they once were. For information on early Dungan history I base myself on the articles and books provided by the Australian sinologist Svetlana Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer (*Isir Shivaza- the Life and Works of a Soviet Dungan Poet* 1991, *Karakunuz, an early settlement of the Chinese Muslims in Russia*, 1992), and the two Chinese sinologists Lin Tao 林涛 (*中亚东干研究- Zhongya Donggan yanjiu- “A research on Dungan language”,* 2003) and Hai Feng 海峰 (*东干来自屯垦- Donggan lai zi Tunken- “Dungan derives from Tunken”,* 2005) .

The Dungans have been living in Central Asia for around 150 years now. It does seem to be disagreements between the different sinologists on when the migration from China actually started. The disagreement over time span is marginal and I will only comment briefly on it. The Chinese professor Lin Tao claims that the migration started already in the year of 1862 when the Muslims in Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia province revolted against the Qing Empire. Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer claims that the Dungans arrived in Tsar Russia in two big migration waves

²Gansu Dungan has three tones, while Shaanxi Dungan has four.

³Some sources claim that Dungans are found in Tajikistan, Russia and Turkmenistan. Numbers of Dungan population in Turkmenistan and Tajikistan has been impossible to find. As for Dungans living in Russia the population has not reached 1000 and is not mentioned as a country were Dungans reside except in one article.

⁴As the present number of Dungan population in Central Asia is varying from article to article I have come to the conclusion that the numbers presented by Ethnologue, 2009 are the most reliable ones.

between 1864 and 1887. Despite different opinions about reasons for migrating into Czar Russia and disagreements on the actual time of the migration, both Lin Tao and Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer agrees that the main factor for both the two movements of emigration was the Muslim revolt in north-western Qing China.⁵

3. 1. 2. The beginning of the Dungan migration- The First wave

The first wave of migration consisted of three different groups. These three groups had all been supporters of the autonomous state of Kashgaria⁶ and were now forced to flee from the Qing government. The groups came from different parts of Ningxia, Shaanxi and Gansu, with some smaller groups from the province of Qinghai province in north western China.⁷ During the winter of 1877 they crossed Tian Shan Mountains and arrived in Russia in the spring of 1878.

The first group of migrants consisted of Hui rebels from Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai province.

They were led by a man referred to as *Mada Ren* 马大人, also known as *Mada Laoye* 马大老爷.

This group of immigrants travelled south west from Aksu and Kashgar, Xinjiang. In February 1878 they ended up in the city of Osh which is now a part of Kyrgyzstan. At the time of arrival in Osh they were around 1700 people. A short time after they had arrived in Osh, the Muslims from Qinghai again travelled North West and settled permanently in Zhalkpak Tobe, Kazakhstan. (Lin Tao, 2003:8) The second group of migrants who came the winter of 1877 was led by the

mullah *A Ye Laoren* 啊爷老人, also known as *Dashifu* 大师傅, whose birth name was Yusuf

Heselite. These immigrants were originally rebels from Didaozhou, in Gansu province. They left

⁵The revolt which led to Dungan settlement in Central Asia “The Dungan Revolt” is also referred to as the “Hui minorities War”, “Taiping rebellion”, in certain works “The Phantay rebellion” is also lumped together with “The Dungan revolt. The Dungan revolt was sparked by increased tension between Han, Mongol and Manchu government and Hui people in Gansu and Shaanxi province in 1862.

⁶Kashgaria was founded by the Uzbek military official Ya`qub Beg. He and his army drove the Kyrgyz away from Kashgar (after pillaging the city together with the Kyrgyz) in 1865 and conquered the city. During the following years more cities south east of Kashgar were conquered and contributed to the making of the republic of Kasgharia were Ya`qub Beg ruled as Ataliq ghazi- fatherly holy warrior. Kashgaria was ruled by strict Sharia law and supported by the British Empire which encouraged a buffer state between Russia and China. The state was reconquered by the Qing dynasty after the death of Ya`qub Beg in spring of 1877. (Milliward, Eurasian crossroad, 2007. p. 118)

⁷At the time of the rebellion the provinces mentioned were still viewed as one big province- the Gansu province.

the city of Aksu in Xinjiang province in the beginning of November 1877. Approximately 1100 of them arrived in the small village of Yrdyk just outside of Karakol in the spring of 1878. The third and last group made up of rebels from Shaanxi province were led by one of the main leaders of the Muslim rebellion against the Qing dynasty: Bai Yanhu 白彦虎. This group which was the largest of the three groups from the first movement of immigration, contained over 3000 people who settled outside of Tokmak in a small village called Karakunuz. (Lin Tao, 2003: 8) According to Lin, it was Bai Yanhu who was in charge of the migration of all the three groups into Russia.

3. 1. 3. The second wave

The second group of immigrants consisted of Chinese Muslims whom had resided in the Ili valley before and after it came under Russian control from 1871. The Russians originally intended to stay in the Ili valley for a long time; they strengthened the area's infrastructure through the building of better irrigation systems, schools, hospitals and churches. However, the Ili valley was given back to the Qing Empire at the signing of the Treaty of St. Petersburg 12. 02- 1881. The Qing government agreed to pay 9 million roubles for the Ili valley; this would only include the eastern part, near the Khorgos River. The Russians would keep the western part. The Russians claim to the western part of the valley was justified through the resettlement of 50.000 Taranchi Uighurs and Hui Chinese⁸. These people had been a part of the Muslim resistance against the Qing government. As the Qing Empire was to take over they had appealed to the Russian Tsar asking for protection from possible Qing reprisals. The Tsars acceptance of their pleading led to the fifth article provision in the Treaty of St. Petersburg:

伊犁闹剧愿意迁徙俄国，加入俄国国籍者，均听其便。

Yili minju yuanyi qianxi Eguo, jiaru Eguo guojizhe, jun ting qi bian

Ili residents are willing to migrate to Russia and join with the Russian nationals, uniformly paying heed to their convenience. (as quoted in Lin Tao, 2003: 8)

⁸It is remarkable that the Dungans of the Ili valley did not assimilate with the other Uighur immigrants. The two groups had lived in the same area in China. Many of them had shared the same political ideas as they had fought against the same enemy- the Qing army. One reason for the Dungans not assimilating with the Uighurs could be the fact that there already was an established Dungan community in the area that they travelled to. Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer remarked both in Karakunuz and Yasir Shivaza that many Dungans, in addition to speaking Dungan, Russian and Kirgiz/ Kazak/ Uzbek also speak and/or understands Uighur.

Most of the Muslim inhabitants of the Ili valley migrated over to the Russian side of the Ili valley. Opposed to the first movement of migration where many had lost their lives to hunger, cold weather and fatigue, the second movement was considerably less stressful. According to Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer the second movement took place under “most pleasant circumstances”. The migrants from the second movement came over a longer and more peaceful period of time. They did not have to flee; it was they themselves who had decided to move. The very first who moved from the Ili valley started moving in August 1881. Most of these migrants originated from Muslims of the Gansu province. They formed several small settlements along the Russian-Chinese border. Unfortunately no written records of any of the movements from the time of migration exist, as the vast majority of the Chinese Muslims who settled in Russia were illiterate.⁹

3. 2. Research material from the early days

Some of the earliest written records found on Dungans and their travels from China into Tsar Russia are produced by two Russian explorers/ journalists named Tsibuzgin and Shmakov. These two had gathered information on Dungan everyday life in the early 20th century. Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer quotes from their book *A Note on the Life of the Dungans in the Village of Karakunuz in Pispek District, Semirech'e Province* (1909) how they in several Dungan villages met with older Dungans who had frostbitten feet dating back to nearly twenty years ago, when during a bitter winter, while fighting off the Chinese, they crossed into Russia. In addition to documenting the hardships endured under the migration into Russia, the book by Tsibuzgin and Shmakov provide valuable information on life in the early Dungan settlements regarding tradition as well as different fractions in the Dungan settlement. In their work Tsibuzgin and Shmakov focused mainly on the Dungan group situated in the small city of Karakunuz near Bishkek. The Dungans themselves called it Yingpan, claiming that it was the hero Bo Yan Hu, who after leading them into safety in a new and strange country, almost single handed created a new Dungan village in their new homeland: the Yingpan meaning temporary camp or an encampment. The Yingpan is one of the earliest Dungan settlements. It became a village when the migrants started to cultivate land in the area. It was in this area that the biggest of the three waves of migration arrived when

⁹The illiteracy of the Dungans can be yet another factor contributing to their lack of bond with the greater Chinese community within China. The Chinese characters has for a long time been an important part of a Chinese identity. These characters history dates back as early as to the Shang dynasty (1200- 1050 B.C.) and were for a long time an indication of belonging to the *Hanxia*, presenting a lack of knowledge of the characters were an indication of belonging to those not belonging to the Hanxia, but instead be a part of the vast group of *Yi*-barbarians.

they first entered Russia.¹⁰ The Yingpan in a national romantic sense gives Dungans the association of home, freedom and hardship of former days and is often referred to within Dungan literature when treating the subject of their ancestors and their suffering.

3. 3. The development of the Dungan writing system

There have been several attempts to create a Dungan alphabet, the first had been based on the Arabic alphabet, much like the *Xiao`erjing*¹¹. The first modern Dungan alphabet was based on the Latin alphabet, known as the New Turkic Alphabet or New Alphabet. The teaching of the new alphabet was initiated in 1934 and was in use for around 20 years. In 1952 a new alphabet was again created, this time based on the Cyrillic alphabet, this alphabet, as well as the different rules for orthography was modified over a serial of years in the 1950`s. Rimsky – Korsakoff Dyer gives the following four reasons for changing the Dungan alphabet from a Latin based to a Cyrillic based:

1. There was a reaction against the violence done to the phonetic systems by the Pan- Soviet Central Committee on the New Alphabet in making them conform to that alphabet.
2. Cyrillic, with its 33 letters, is richer than, and better suited to, the languages of the area than are the 24 or 26 letters of the Latin alphabet.
3. The Cyrillic alphabet had been successfully employed in 1844 for Ossetic, and in the years following 1861 it became the basis of Caucasian alphabet such as Abkhaz, Chechen, Lakh and Kabardian. These alphabets could be shown to be superior to the Latin alphabets.
4. Most important, however, was the desire of the Soviet government to make Russian the unifying language of the U.S.S.R., and to teach it as first or second language in all schools, a desire reciprocated by the minority people as they became aware of the importance of Russian to them.

¹⁰The Yingpan has been given much attention, not only through the oral storytelling, but also in written form. The Dungan national poet Yasir Shiwaza 十娃子 (1906-1988) wrote a poem "In our Yingpan". The Dungan national poet was a huge enthusiast of the Dungan culture. He was not only a poet, but was also a scholar working constantly to make Dungan literature known to both Dungans and other people both in and outside the Soviet Union. He wrote several textbooks and spelling books on the Dungan language, at least three of them which became published and used in Kyrgyzstan and was also one of the creator of the modern Dungan alphabet.

¹¹Xiao`er jing is a system developed by Hui Chinese during the Tang dynasty. It is an Arabic script used to write Chinese.

It was thus desirable that a single alphabet be taught in elementary schools for Russian and native languages. (Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer, 1991, p. 242-243)

3. 4. The Origin of the name Dungan.

Why treating the topic of the naming of the Dungan people in this thesis? As this thesis is largely concerned with identity the naming of the people seems rather important for the investigation of the overall topic. By looking into this I hope to show different aspects of how different parties view the Dungans. There are many different theories of where and which language the name Dungan originates from. The three major theories on which language it descends from are: Russian, Chinese or a Turkic language. It comes as no surprise that researchers with a connection with Russia often claim that the word Dungan derives from Russian, while Chinese researchers have a tendency to argue that Dungan derives from Chinese. As for researchers arguing that Dungan derives from Turkic, there seems to be a split regarding their ethnicity as opposed to their support for Turkic descendants.

3. 4. 1. The Russian Theory

The Australian researcher Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer displays two different views on where the term Dungan derives from. In her book *Iasyr Shimaqza- the Life and Works of a Soviet Dungan Poet*, published in 1991 she states that:

The term Dungan, a Russian term used by the Russians and by Dungans when they speak Russian, is not used in Dungan speech.
(Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer, 1991: 13)

In the article *Karakunuz: An Early Settlement of Chinese Muslims in Russia* which was published the next year the author herself does not mention the origin of the term Dungan, she does however refer to the two Russian researchers Tsibuzgin and Shmakov whom in their description of the Dungan people and culture wrote that:

The Etymological meaning of the word dungane is not known, some scholars believe that the Dungans originated from Iurus (southwest in the Xinjiang province), but so far this opinion has not been proven. As for the Dungans, they refer to themselves as tun- ga- ni.(Dyer, 1992, p.7) 12

12It seems odd that there is such a large leap between the views presented in the books and articles by Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer. The two views differ in that Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer says that the Dungans do not call themselves Dungan, while Shmakov and Tsibuzgin say that they call themselves tun- ga- ni. It is not clear whether the two Russians used interpreters when interacting with the Dungans, or if they spoke Russian or Dungan. One plausible explanation for the two saying that the Dungans called themselves tun- ga- ni is that when asked in Russian what they were called they simply replied the Russian in Russian using the Russian name for themselves.

However, it is important to remember that the common view held amongst scholars who have specialized in Dungan studies is that the Dungans do not call themselves Dungan, this is the name given to them by the outsiders. When speaking their mother tongue they call themselves Huizu- 回族 instead of Dungan, though they use the name Huizu when referring to Muslims in general, not just themselves. The term used is not absolute, in her article on Dungan nationalism Rimsky Korsakoff Dyer met with some Dungans who used the term “Dungan” when referring not only to themselves, but also to Muslims in China and Muslims elsewhere in the world. Previously the Dungans of Central Asia had their own name for themselves, excluding them from both Chinese Muslims and Muslims in general. This name: 中原人- *Zhongyuanren* meaning people of the Central Plains is no longer used as it has been replaced by the term Huizu.

3. 4. 2. The Theory of Turkic origin

Of the researchers whom claim that Dungan derives from a Turkic language are Joseph Fletcher and Jonathan Nieman Lipman. Joseph Fletcher cites various Turkic and Persian manuscripts which mention a Sufi master from Kashgar who during the Ming dynasty converted ‘*ulamā-yi Tunganiyyān*’ into Sufism. Lipman quotes Fletcher’s “Naqshbaniyya” (p. 10-13) in his book *Familiar strangers A History of Muslims in Northwest China*:

In several footnotes Fletcher presents evidence for Turkish and Persian manuscripts sources on Mubammad Yūsuf’s preaching inside the Ming frontier, including his conversion of the Salars and the ‘ulamā-yi Tunganiyyān (Chinese speaking Muslim scholars) to Sufism).

Other theories regarding the Turkic source of the word Dungan has also been launched. It has been argued that the word Tungan could derive from the Turkic Chagatai word *dōñān* which means “to return”. This could again be a Turkic translation of the term Hui 回, which in Chinese means to “return/ go back/ come back.” The term Hui was first used in Chinese referring to its Muslim minority during the Ming dynasty. The Chinese website China.org explains the name Dungan as deriving from the Turkic language Uighur, spoken by the Uighur people living in the Chinese Xinjiang province. The word *Turup Qalghan*- “people who have settled down” were used when referring to the Huis who had settled down in the area. According to the website, the Huis when migrating to Central Asia adopted the term and used it amongst themselves. The theories have still not been confirmed.

3. 4. 3. The Chinese Theory

As for the “Chinese” theory there are actually several different theories. I mentioned above how China.org explained Dungan as deriving from Uyghur. Nevertheless, the website also presented four other different theories regarding the origin of the word Dungan in their article on Dungan

history from August 2003: 1. As deriving from *dong-an* (east bank), since the Muslims originally came from the east bank of the Yellow River. 2. Deriving from *donggan* (eastern Gansu), since some of the Muslims originally came from eastern Gansu. 3. Deriving from Tongguan, since some of the Muslims originally came from Tongguan and the nearby area in today's Shaanxi Province. 4. Deriving from Dunhuang, since Dunhuang is situated on the Muslims' migration route into Czar Russia. Unfortunately, no references for the different theories were presented in the article. (<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2003/Aug/72893.htm>, last consulted 15.12.2011)

The Chinese researcher Du Baocheng wrote in his article *Ye Shuo "Donggan" de Hanyi- 也说“东干”*

的含义 from 2011 that the word Dungan does not derive from the word *Donggan* meaning eastern Gansu. Instead he argues, referring to the two Chinese scholars Lin Tao and Wang Guowei, that Dungan originally took the meaning of *Dong an- 东岸* the east bank or east side.

He further claims that the term *Donggan ren-* “Dungan people” was used as early as in the 1760`s by Uighurs, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs living in the Xinjiang region when speaking of the Hui ethnicity living in the area at that time. Although this term apparently was used by speakers whose mother tongue was Turkic languages, the article communicates that this was a Chinese term used by the Turkic speaking people in the Xinjiang area.

The Chinese researcher Hai Feng has written an article supporting the idea that the word Dungan derives from Chinese “*Donggan" laizi Tunken-* “Dungan derives from Tunken”, but she does not agree with the fact the characters *东干* is a misspelling of *东甘*. Instead Hai Feng argues that

Dungan *东干* originates from the word *tunken 屯垦* which is a verb used in military context meaning “to station troops to open up wasteland”. She further claims that the expression became used during emperor Qianlong`s reign in the Qing dynasty when the policy of village cultivation to strengthen border areas was initiated. Hai give three explanations which can be used for arguing that the word Dungan descending from tunken. 1. Politic history, 2. Historical data- the time when the word Dungan started to be used, 3. The pronunciation of the term Dungan and its denomination.

In 1771 the Qing government forced parts of the Shaanxi and Gansu population to migrate into Xinjiang so as to control and manifest themselves in the borderland between China and Russia. As Shaanxi and Gansu are areas with a large Muslim population, many of those who settled in the Urumuchi and Ili area were Huis. According to Hai Feng these people were the first to be

associated with the term Dungan. The word Dungan/ Tunken appeared for the first time within historical material during the Qing dynasty, but it was not until after the reign of Emperor Qianlong in 1771 that it made its key appearance, as it was first then that the majority of the Huis arrived at the *tunken* in Xinjiang. Hai Feng further states that before this, this word was not seen in any historical records. She supports her arguments by stating that the expression 东干 in it selves should have appeared between the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in the Xinjiang province. So far the Dungans in Central Asia still call themselves 回族 *Huizu*, 老回族 *Lao Huibui* and 中原人- *Zhongyuanren*. Similar to the view of Chinese scholar Du Baocheng, Hai Feng explains the name Dungan as something that the locals (Turkic people) called this Muslim group. Instead of explaining Dungan as meaning east bank or east side she asserts that it was originally the locals aiming at these people who came from the tunken border and used that specifically geographical area to name the newcomers. Later on when the north western Huis revolted, the expression Dungan became used in a broader sense, as the Shaanxi, Gansu and Tunken Hui had a blood connection. As for the etymology of the word *Donggan* Hai Feng explains that it comes from Chinese, but it has been processed into a Uighur (Turkic) variation developing from *tunken* to *Donggan*. The Chinese term *tunken* became adapted and adopted by other ethnicities, including the Russians.¹³

Despite the variation in views on where the expression Dungan originates from, no one has managed to prove the exact origin. Still, there is a clear tendency towards the authors favouring their own language when arguing on the origin of the name Dungan. By presenting different views on the origin of the word Dungan I hope to give an impression of how the word Dungan is used to create or strengthen a connection to another people, be it a connection to the Chinese language or a Turkic language. It is interesting to point out that few of the Chinese scholars which I have presented solely state that Dungan is a word deriving from Chinese, despite a difference in the opinion of the etymology of the word. As it is dangerous to make an assumption based on only one word it is still worth noticing the absence of any other view presented by scholars of Chinese origin. As long as the different researcher can liberate

¹³This could explain the claim made by Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer that Dungan is a Russian term. The word has probably been adopted into Russian from the Turkic languages.

themselves from the slightly nationalistic support of the words descendant it is hard to come to an agreement on the matter.

3. 5. Dungan language as instrumental self- assertion:

3. 5. 1. Uniting an ethnicity

The Dungans of Central Asia have reconstructed their identity through interrelations with local populations and the Soviet categorization of nationality. After 1991 when the Soviet Union desecrated, the Dungan`s status destabilized due to economic, social and political changes in the area. When the Dungans first fled from Qing China and entered Tsar Russia they constructed a unity of the group around a categorization which came from the outside. After the October Revolution the Dungans were given “nationality” status by the Soviet empire, this status they have maintained until today. As the Soviet Union grew stronger the research on its union`s different ethnicities became intensified. The Soviet research on Dungans was extensive, but rather uniform as it was largely seen from a political perspective. This applied both for Russian Soviet researchers, as well as Dungan Soviet researchers (among them the Dungan researcher Sushanlo- director of Dungan Studies Section of the Academy of Sciences in Frunze). The Dungans were described as a fixed and relatively closed community with little influence from the outside. Any possible changes were ascribed to Soviet (Russian) influence; interaction with other local people was not given much attention. While the Soviet researchers focused on the fixedness of the Dungans, other (Western) researchers such as Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer focused on something completely different, namely the Dungan- Chinese connection and the Chinese heritage and culture within Dungan society. Chinese scholars, especially Hui scholars tended to, like Soviet scholars, look at the Dungans from a political angle focusing on the notion of nationality- *minzu*. The similarity between Soviet and Chinese researchers could be a result of the Chinese sociologists and social anthropologists were largely taught in the Stalinist school when it came to defining nationalities and ethnicities.

Neither Soviet nor Chinese researchers focused much on the Dungan`s religious belief, but instead chose to classify the Dungans based on their “natural” ethnic group. However, the Dungans at the time of arrival in Tsar Russia were not a united ethnicity. Of the Chinese Muslims who crossed the border between China and the Russian Empire not all of them were Hui Chinese. It is not entirely clear which of China`s Muslims groups including the Huis whom fled into Tsar Russia, but it is likely that the group consisted of Uighurs as well as Hui Chinese. Some of these Uighur`s assimilated with the Hui`s, but most of them established own groups and settlements. A modern Dungan identity is largely created from a shared Chinese- Islamic cultural

heritage. According to the French researcher Elisabeth Alles in her article *the Chinese-speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A Case of Multiple Identities in a Changing Context* (2005) the new identity as a group can be seen as a back-up for lacking their own territory and being in exile. The lack of territory had caused the Dungans to stay in a subordinate position. The new identity became a mix of what they knew: the Hui Chinese culture, and the new: the Turkic and Russian culture.

3. 5. 2. Endogamy as a mean of preservation of Dungan culture

Another aspect which is important to keep in mind when trying to understand Dungan culture of today is the intermarriage of the past. The Dungans originally practised strict endogamy, especially amongst the Shaanxi Dungans whom are known to be more conservative than the Gansu Dungans. As the Shaanxi Dungans practised an even stricter form for endogamy than Gansu Dungans, there was also a larger pressure on Dungan women to marry within their own community than what it was on Dungan men. The practice of endogamy was of course ignored at times. The Uzbek Dungans of today are mostly descendants of Dungan men and Uzbek woman. A result of this extensive intermarriage can be seen today as the Uzbek Dungans no longer speak Dungan, except using a few key terms such as ex: *kuaiqi*- chopsticks, *laqi*- chilli, and the wearing of Dungan styled clothes. Opposed to the situation among Dungans in Uzbekistan who lost both the language and parts of Dungan culture through intermarriage, the Dungans in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan did not lose their language and culture when marrying someone of another nationality. When Kazakh and Kyrgyz Dungans married someone of another nationality (usually a Dungan man marrying a Kyrgyz or Kazakh woman) the new spouse would often change their nationality into Dungan, learn the language and quickly become absorbed within the Dungan society. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union the results of marrying outside their own nationality have taken a different direction from previously. As time change Dungan society and culture has become less conservative. It has become easier to marry non- Dungans. As for those who decides to marry non- Dungans more and more becomes absorbed within their new spouse's culture instead of vice versa. Despite Soviet researchers' failure to focus on the Dungans from their own perspective, the Dungans society flourished during the Soviet era. When the different Central Asian countries achieved independence in 1991 the Dungans faced new challenges. As it became increasingly different to travel back and forth across the borders between the new countries the interaction between Dungans in the different geographical areas in Central Asia became hampered. This resulted for instance in that Dungans were given less choices when it came to finding a partner. Along with this development and society becoming more liberal it became easier for Dungans to marry outside their own ethnicity.

3. 5. 3. Geography and Nationality as language and identity barriers

As Soviet disintegrated, new republics were founded. Along with the making of new nations, new problems arose in the three states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. With the making of national borders it became increasingly difficult for Dungans to visit friends and relatives living on the other side of the border. This was especially a problem along the Uzbek- Kazakh border near Tashkent where there is a large Dungan population. Very quickly all Uzbek Dungans needed visa or some other kind of authorisation in order to visit Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. We can only imagine a situation worsened since the Kyrgyz people revolted against Kurman Bakyiev, Kyrgyz president at that time and his government earlier in the year of 2011.

Uzbekistan

In Uzbekistan there are two different Dungan groups, both with different problems. One group lives scattered around in the Fergana valley. These people, having intermarried local Uzbeks and Tatars no longer do not speak Dungan, nor do they follow Dungan customs. The other group is the group which lives near Tashkent. They live in a unison group, still speaking Dungan and practising Dungan customs. This includes the organization and celebration of Dungan (Chinese) festivals. It is not clear which festivals are celebrated. In Kyrgyzstan there is again a completely different situation. Most Dungans of Central Asia resides here in the poorest of the three states (GDP). During the Soviet era Dungans, like other ethnic minorities in the era enjoyed political influence and real recognition from the people as well as the government.

Kyrgyzstan

After the independence from the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan experienced a rising nationalism. Political positions were given primarily to the Kyrgyz and minorities were given Kyrgyz citizenship, but not nationality. Despite equality on paper, Dungans were continuously discriminated. It became harder to practise and keep up a Dungan culture. Publications and events arranged to promote the culture and language of the different ethnic minorities which previously had been sponsored by the Soviet Union were left to support themselves. This made it more difficult to publish Dungan journals and for scholars to give lectures in their mother tongue in school. As their culture is weakened they seek to other minorities in Kyrgyzstan.

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is the richest of the three countries. The Dungans living there have quite different living conditions than the ones living in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Despite Dungans in Central Asia being a relatively prosperous group compared to many of the other ethnicities living in the

area, the global economic situation in Kazakhstan has proved a great help to the Kazakh Dungans. In addition to a stronger economy, the Dungans have their own political representation within Kazakh politics (despite Kazakhstan being nr. 127 out of 167 on the *Democracy Index* made by The Economist Intelligent Unit's Index of Democracy 2008), they have their own Dungan association, founded in 1994. Despite these advantages, the Dungans of Kazakhstan are facing problems. These problems are however not related to boarder issues, but language. Most of the Dungans who settled in Kazakhstan were originally from the Chinese province of Shaanxi; hence they now speak the Shaanxi Dungan dialect. The Shaanxi dialect is spoken at home, but the official Dungan dialect is based on the Gansu dialect. The Gansu dialect is taught in school, while the Shaanxi dialect is spoken at home. In addition to the Gansu based dialect, Dungans are also taught Kazakh and Russian. In order to both make it simpler learn Dungan, as well as preserving their own Dialect, Kazakh Dungans have proposed to end the use of Gansu based Dungan for Shaanxi based Dungan. This proposal has however not been initiated yet. (Ding Hong, 2007, p. 44)

The Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev is said to have become increasingly suspicious to China and the relation between Dungans and Chinese. This has to some extent resulted in Dungans "suppressing" their Chinese cultural traits and links to China in order to prove loyal to the new Kazakh state. Allès comments on the situation by stating that "collective strategies and reinforcement of their specific identity can help them." (Allès, 2005, p. 134) The problem with this statement is that a part of the Dungans specific identity is their Chinese traits. The reinforcement could be seen as an illustration of their "otherness".

3. 6. The present situation of Dungan language

Dungan is an "inside language". It is only spoken within own ethnic community. When Dungans are communicating with someone of an ethnicity other than own: Russian, Kyrgyz, Kazak, Uzbek, Russian usually function as a lingua franca. If one is to interact with other people outside one's own ethnic community one has to speak Russian. Most Dungans, when arriving in the Russian empire for the first time, settled in close-knit groups which contributed to the preserving of their language and culture. During the Soviet period most Dungans still kept together in *kolkhozes* (collective farms) and *sovkhozes* (state farms) which helped "protecting" the language.¹⁴

¹⁴ Part 3.6- 3.7 is an adaption of page 7- 9 in own semester paper in EAL 4020, spring 2010

Since the Dungans of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan only make up a very small percentage of the total population of the two countries knowing one or more of the official languages (Russian and Kyrgyz/ Kazakh) is a necessity. Russian is generally considered the inter language in the entire Central Asia. As mentioned earlier in the text, the article from 1992, *Karakunuz, An Early Settlement of the Chinese Muslims in Russia* professor Svetlana Rimsky Korsakoff claims that the both the Dungan language and culture is well preserved and flourishing. It seems however that since the fall of the USSR and the formation of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan as independent countries there has been a rapid declination in the use of Dungan language amongst themselves. In 1989, there were 94. 8% of the entire Dungan population in the USSR had Dungan as their L1. In the year 2001 only 41, 4% of the Dungan population in Central Asia had Dungan as their first language. According to the web page www.ethnologue.com (last consulted 16. 03. 2010) most Dungans today under the age of 50- 55 had Russian as their L1.

Despite a decline in the usage of Dungan language, both inside and outside the home, it is clear that the language still has a symbolic value to the people. This is largely due to the identification of themselves, as it is a way of drawing a line between themselves and the “Others”, the Turkic speaking fellow citizens, who share the same religion. This can be seen as a parallel to how their Chinese Hui “relatives” separate themselves from the Han majority. While the Dungans use their language as a self- assertion, the Chinese Hui ethnicity uses their religion to express their identity as they have the same mother tongue as the Han majority.

3. 7. Why has there been such a decline in the use of Dungan as mother tongue?

There is seldom *one* reason for a shift of language, as we see from the Dungan language situation in the countries presented. According to some linguists there are a few specific factors that seem to have a greater impact on a language shift than others; these factors are economic changes, status, demography and institutional support.

As Soviet disintegrated the new separate republics faced a problem which previously had been unfamiliar to them: uncontrolled rural- urban migration, this was particularly a problem in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan and became a huge problem in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, as the city was unable to resist mass immigration. This mass immigration had several causes. 1. Population explosion. 2. Market reforms. 3. The liquidation of kolkhozes and sovkhoezes which resulted in the freeing of thousands of people geographically). 4. Rise of unemployment (which effected young people to a larger extent than adults which caused them to move into the bigger cities in search for a better life). (Kostyokova, 1994: 425) Despite the fact that most Dungans today still live in the countryside, many are now moving in to urban areas. The economic change

which was a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union lead to modernization, industrialization and urbanization which again led to bilingualism in a vernacular language and a more widespread regional language associated with the economy. (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert, Leap, 2000: 255).

We see that due to the political situation Russian was chosen in favour over Dungan. As more Dungans have migrated to larger cities they have been exposed to an environment more fragmented in terms of culture and language than the Dungan community in the countryside. In order to get by in the big cities they are forced to use Russian as the general mean for communication with the people in their surroundings. A majority of subjects in school are taught in Russian, both elementary and middle school. Governmental documents are written in Russian as it is the common used language. Without any knowledge of the Russian language it is practically impossible to get by in everyday life. Other factors such as the demographic and status factor seem not to have less impact on the language shift in the Dungan society than the economic and the institutional support. Even though the Dungan population has increased dramatically since their arrival in Central Asia the language has not been strengthened, but it does not appear that speaking and being Dungan is stigmatized deliberately. Since the majority of Dungans still live in the countryside it is naturally there that it is there we find the general use of their language. According to Chinese researcher Lin Tao the language is spoken most actively by elders and between husband and wife. As for children and young people the majority no longer have Dungan as their first language. Nevertheless, there a certain negative attitude can be traced towards those who no longer speak Dungan. Lin Tao quotes a Dungan saying to illustrate the general attitude in regard of loss of mother tongue:

一进门就讲东干语

yi jin men jiu jiang Donggan hua

Once you enter your home you speak Dungan

Since the independence of the Central Asian states there seem to have been institutional support from the respective governments, both through the promotion of Dungan language in school, radio, television and newspapers. Dungan language is taught as a minority language in elementary and high school (much the same way Sami is taught in school here in Norway), but all other classes are taught in Russian. This can be one of the reasons that so few Dungan children and teenagers have Dungan as their first language. The Dungans have had their own newspaper 回民

报 *Hui Minbao* for several years. Another reason why so many young people today has given up Dungan as their L1 is that when men in Dungan villages marry women outside their ethnicity, their wives learn Dungan, making that the language of communication. The Dungan skills of these women are often relative poor; this again is reflected in their children's Dungan level. As for Dungan men living in urban areas finding wives of other ethnicities, they count on Russian when talking to their wives, causing their children to learn little or no Dungan. There is a saying amongst the Dungans of Kyrgyzstan:

一个人精通几门语言可敬的，一个人丢倒了母语是可怜

Yi ge ren jing tong ji men yuyan shi ke jing de, yi ge ren diudiao le muyu shi kelian de. “

This roughly translates to “Someone who know several languages is worthy of respect, someone who has lost their mother tongue is pitiful”. In 1990 in the Soviet Union, many of the Dungans of the city of Osh and its outskirts could no longer speak Dungan which was of great sorrow, even though they could no longer speak their mother tongue, they still considered themselves as Dungans.

3. 8. Dungan Patriotism

The Dungans are known to be very nationalistic. According to Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer they call themselves Dungans or Hui, not Chinese. They claim that their language is Dungan, not Chinese. They hold on to this claim even though the majority of both Western and Chinese researchers' state that it is a Chinese dialect based on Shaanxi and Gansu Mandarin. Despite a common religion and an increased number of Dungans having Russian or a Turkic (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek) language as their mother tongue, they are still considered a nationality separated and different from the other nationalities situated in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

From the outside it may seem as if that which separates them from the other nationalities living in the same area as them is their Chinese traits, however, most Dungans would disagree with this claim. That which separates them from the others are not *Chinese* traits, but *Dungan* traits. These traits includes such things as the use of chopsticks (neither Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Uzbek's or other nationalities in the area uses these eating utensils), the serving of Chinese dishes, both everyday dishes such as *momo*- 馍馍- dumplings and traditional dishes such as the *changshoumian* -长

寿面 longevity noodles, festivities and other rituals - weddings, childbirth, funerals. Their legends, songs and architecture are also pure Dungan. The traditional Dungan houses, made with paper windows and Chinese styled roofs seems to have gone out of style, but according to Chinese researcher Ding Hong the Dungans still decorates their mosques with dragons- symbol usually

associated with Chinese culture . However, all these things originate from China as it was brought over to Kyrgyz-, Kazakh-, and Uzbekistan from the Qing Empire.

The nationalistic traits are especially strong when it comes to their language. Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer in her article - *Soviet Dungan: The Chinese Language of Central Asia. Alphabet, Phonology, Morphology.* (Monumenta Serica 26,1967 pp. 353- 355) describe how she repeatedly managed to insult Dungans when asking them whether or not they thought Dungan was a Chinese dialect or an independent language. Not one of her interviewee thought that Dungan was a Chinese dialect. They all agreed that Dungan was its own language separated in two Dungan dialects, the Gansu and the Shaanxi Dungan dialect. Few workers had ever considered the question; they all assumed that Dungan was its own language. Academics seemed to have a more complex view on the matter. Sushanlo who was the head of head of Dungan section at the Department of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Kirghiz S.S.R. in Frunze (Bishkek) agreed that Dungan stems from Chinese, but opposed that Dungan still was a Chinese dialect. Kh. Imazov- phonetician and senior scientific worker of the Dungan section at the Department of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Kirghiz S.S.R. in Frunze told Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer that the Gansu and Shaanxi dialects which were spoken by Dungans were not Chinese dialects, but two Dungan dialects. According to him Dungans spoke *Huizu yuyan*-**回族语言** which in Dungan (Chinese) means Hui language or language of the Hui`s. Imazov further claimed:

A language is shaped by certain features- racial, economic, territorial and psychological- Dungan is not a Chinese language; since the Dungans have lived in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan for the last 100 years and because languages change and develop, the Dungan language is an independent language. (Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer, 1967, p. 353).

In spoken Dungan most of its speakers are split on naming of their own language. Some prefer to call it **中原语言** *Zhongyuan yuyan*, others want to call it **回族语言**- *Huizu yuyan*. **回族语言** *Huizu yuyan* is used in China when referring to the Chinese spoken on the Great Plains, meaning the Northwester dialects in China. Despite the expression being fairly outdated some people continue to calling the language *Zhongyuan yu*. It has not been used in textbooks since the period from 1930- 1960. Newer books all use *Huizu yuyan* for Dungan language. Another researcher, I.I. Iusupov, shares the view of Imazov on Dungan not being a Chinese language. However, he differs from Imazov by further separating not only between Dungan as being Hui language and Chinese language, but also between Dungan language spoken by the Dungan (Huis) in Central Asia and the Chinese dialect spoken by Huis within China proper. In his book *Kolkeboznoe selo Masanchin* (Frunze 1967) he says that the Dungans of the Soviet Union through living in

completely new political, economical and cultural conditions, they have formed into a *narodost* (people) which is significantly different both in material and spiritual cultural (dwellings, clothing, food, language, literature etc.) and in psychological features from the *Dungans* who live in the Chinese People`s Republic.

While Imazov seems to draw a line between (Chinese) Muslim language and Chinese language, Iusupov goes further in the separation between the Dungan (Chinese Muslim) language in Central Asia and the language spoken amongst the Chinese Muslims in Northwester China. From this sentence we see that despite separating between the language and culture of the two groups, he does not separate the terms used to refer to the two groups of people. Instead, he refers to them both as Dungans. This could indicate a common view of the close relation between the two groups, despite both cultural and linguistic difference. According to Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer the Dungan language of Central Asia and the Chinese dialect spoken by Chinese Muslims in Northwester China is so different that Chinese Muslims understand Dungans, but Dungans cannot understand the Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai dialect of their Chinese "cousins". Unfortunately I have found no statements which like Iusupov`s separates that clearly between Dungans and Chinese Huis.

What I have found are similarities in method of removing themselves from Mandarin Chinese by emphasizing their connection to other language and ethnicities. This is seen especially in their extensive use of loanwords compared to Mandarin spoken by Han Chinese. This way of estranging themselves from the majority by speaking in "codes" (using words of Turkic languages, Arabic and Persian descendants), incomprehensible to Han Chinese, contributes to their otherness as it at the same time creates a feeling of mistrust and scepticism from the Han Chinese side. From academic sources it seems as if the average Dungan opposed to Dungan academics solely separates between Chinese and Dungan based on the different origin of the two people: Han Chinese and Dungans no matter if this person is/ was speaking the same *Zhongyuan* version of Mandarin. As the most obvious difference between Han Chinese and the Hui Chinese/ Dungans is religion, one could imagine that a Han Chinese Muslim converting to Islam would have an easier time being accepted within the Dungan/Hui community, this is however not the case. Han Chinese who convert into Muslims are not automatically adopted into the Hui community/ Dungan community. This view is similar to the one held by the Chinese state today. Dru Gladney describes this phenomenon in his book *Muslim Chinese- Ethnic Nationalism in the Peoples Republic*:

I knew of two cases in Changying and Najiabu where former Han villagers were now known as Hui. However, though this was true in the past, recent Han converts to Islam in China, as I was told by Yang Yongchang of the China Islamic Association, could no longer be considered Hui. They should properly be referred to as “Han Muslims”. I was also frequently told by Hui informants that, though a Han could conceivably convert to Islam and become a Hui, as had happened in the past, a Hui could never become a Han, no matter what he or she did. (Gladney, 1996, p. 323- 24)

Other Chinese scholars seem to be of another opinion. The Hui Chinese scholar Ding Hong states the following in her essay *A Comparative Study of the Cultures of the Dungan and the Hui Peoples from 2005*:

The Dungan people do not confine their sense of identity just to the Hui people but also have a sense of consciousness of belonging to the «Chinese people» more generally. This transcendence of the ethnic identity also exists among other groups of Chinese immigrants in foreign countries”. (Ding Hong, 2005)

From these different statements it seems to be a wide diversity in how the Dungans are viewed, both inside the Dungan community, as well as from the outside. Despite the fact that some of the scholars mentioned in this section seem to share similar views on the belonging of the group, the claimed belonging seem to vary greatly: from a Western scholar such as Rimsky- Korsakoff Dyer who presents a view of Dungan as being anti- Chinese, to the Chinese scholar Ding Hong who claims that they themselves feel a kind of natural belonging to the Chinese people¹⁵. These contradictory claims add to the uncertainty of how to determine the Dungan people`s belonging. ¹⁶

3. 9. Chineseness and Nationality from a Chinese perspective

The terms *Huaxia* and *Zhonghua* are both terms which often occur within discourse related to ethnicity, nationality and community in China. It is often translated into the word Chineseness in English. Nevertheless, *Huaxia* and *Zhonghua*, when taken out of context are usually translated into “China”, “Chinese civilization”, within text the two terms are often used together with the term *minzu*- “ethnicity” when referring to certain traits symbolizing a belonging to the Chinese nation and community.

¹⁵Although I have not been able to localize Ding Hong`s article written in the original language Chinese, it is likely that “Chinese people” here mean *Zhonghua minzu*.

¹⁶As for the scholars presented and their difference in view of whether or not the Dungan people have a sense of belonging to the Chinese people it is important to remember that many of the articles written on the subject is produced and published in countries where it is necessary to avoid a deviation from the state`s official view of something. Hence, there is little room to express one`s own opinion if it does not match the state`s view. (See chapter 2, p. reflections around own role within CDA)

3. 10. The Beginning of the *Zhonghua minzu*

The Chinese philologist Zhang Taiyang (1868- 1936) argued in his article “The Explanation of the Republic of China” (*Zhonghua minguo*) that the ancestors of what we today call *Zhongguoren*- Chinese people have originally been centred (*zhong*) in the northern parts of China. Zhang fails to mention the specific geographical references for what exactly makes up this area. According to Zhang this people originally called themselves *Xia*. This can be seen as a connection to the pre-historic dynasty Xia, dating back to 1600 B.C., which was based in present day western part of Henan and northern part of the Shaanxi provinces. The article concludes that the terms *Hua*, *Xia* and *Han* could be seen as an interchangeable unit referring to both China as a state, the Chinese as a people and China’s geographical position. This view was, and still is supported by many Chinese scholars. The Xia/Hua/ Han defined themselves through what they were not: The Rong and the Yi, barbarian tribes living outside and in the outskirt of the *Huaxia* civilization; nomads or semi- nomads who ate their food raw. Despite that the Yi and Rong were viewed as barbarians, the Xia/ Hua/ Han who strongly believed in the superiority of their own culture and that the barbarians could change their ways to “the Chinese way” (*yongxiabianyi*).¹⁷ From this we see that the notion of *Huaxia* was not a fixed term.

It was first during the Republic era that the term *Zhonghua minzu* “Chinese ethnicity/ nationality¹⁸” was seen in relation to the term *Zhongguoren*- Chinese people. The term was found in use in Chinese revolutionary publications already in 1895. In the early 1900s it was increasingly used amongst Chinese intellectuals. At that point it was mostly used in relation to warn against Western influence in China. The first attempt to actively and massively use the term *Zhonghua minzu* was organized by the leader of the Chinese republic; Sun Yat Sen who strengthened and used it actively in an already established intellectual discourse to unite China and to create solidarity between the different ethnic groups within the country. The term included the five different groups: Han, Man (Manchus), Hui (all Muslim groups within China), Zang (Tibetans) and Meng (Mongolian). By including not only the Han people, but also the different Muslim groups of China, the Tibetans and the Mongolians, Sun Yat Sen’s declaration on the new found group of the *Zhonghua minzu* in his “Three Principles of the People stated that:

¹⁷ For more information on this subject, see Dikötter (1992) and (1997).

¹⁸The word ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between persons who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom are aware and with whom they enter into relationships. It can also be defined as a social identity (based on a contrast vis- à- vis others) characterized by metaphoric or fictive kinship (Yelvington, 1991, p. 168)

The greatest force is common blood. The Chinese belong to the yellow race because they come from the blood stock of the yellow race. The blood of ancestors is transmitted by heredity down the race, making blood kinship a powerful force. (Dikotter, p. 406, Racial Identities in China: Context and meaning.)

This statement proved a complete turn from how Han Chinese previously had viewed those different from their own group, where all non- Hans had been seen as barbarians. In present day China the *Zhonghua minzu* is defined as:

中华人民共和国民族及海外华人通称

Zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu ji haiwai huaren tongcheng

The people of the republic of China and overseas Chinese.

3. 11. The usage of the term *Zhonghua minzu* in present day China

Much like the term *Zhonghua minzu* was used by Sun Yatsen in the era around the formation of the republic of China to unify the people, the present Chinese government make actively use of the term. By creating a unity between the different ethnicities within that which previously had been the Qing Empire Sun Yatsen prevented the country from dissolving into numerous of nation states. Within modern China the term is used to strengthen its citizens bond to the Chinese state.¹⁹ At present there are tension between several ethnic minorities with a strong separatist movement and the Chinese government. This is especially viewed as a problem in the two autonomous provinces of Tibet and Xinjiang. Through the continuation of the use of the term *Zhonghua minzu* now covering all the 56 recognized ethnic groups within the country, including all overseas Chinese, all the ethnicities are tied together through the belonging to the “supraminzu” *Zhonghua* (which is not listed in the official list of Chinese ethnicities, see <http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>, last consulted 06.12.2011)

The definition of how the Chinese government defines the *Zhonghua minzu* is quite general, in most cases one could say that the term is used when talking about someone who in some way belong to the “Chinese community”. What is interesting about this is that within China, most research conducted on the different minorities belonging to the *Zhonghua minzu* is mostly on ethnic minorities living inside of China proper, as for those belonging to the Chinese community living outside of China; most research is conducted on them in relation to how they themselves

¹⁹ The Chinese sociologist Fei Xiao Tong argued in his book *Zhonghua Minzu de Duo yan yiti Geju* from 1989 that all Chinese, regardless their ethnicity were related by blood.

negotiate their Chinese identity.²⁰ In very few cases are there studies performed by scholars living inside of China doing research on those belonging to the Chinese community living outside of China proper. Still, in the articles I have found on the Dungan people living in Central Asia, there is still a large focus on the notion of the Dungan people being a part of the Chinese community, despite the people's traditional own objection to identify with the Chinese nation. (See, Rimsky Korsakoff Dyer.)

From a “Chinese” view on what being Chinese consists on we see that it has changed from a rather excluding view where those who are Chinese are the Hans, those who are subjects of the dynasty, to the five members of the *Zhonghua* people, initiated by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. After the formation of the People’s Republic of China more and more ethnic minorities were recognized as an own ethnicity. These different official ethnicities, are today counting 56 (with several groups still waiting for recognition by the PRC government) groups, where the Han group make up about 91 % of the Chinese total population. These groups are culturally diverse, varying from Chinese Koreans living in the North-eastern part of the country to the Lolo people, the seventh largest of the minority groups of China, living in the mountainous areas of southern inland China. Despite this great variety of peoples, discourse on Chinese nationalism has often had an inclination to treated it as monolithic, it not ignoring, and then emphasizing the different aspects of the Han majority. Alex Chung explains the Chinese cultural discourse viewed with Chinese eyes with Michel Foucault’s term “space of Dispersion”, so as to understand how ethnicity as nationality is constructed:

Cultural discourse in this regard includes not only symbols of national identity, items of patriotic fervour and other things; more importantly, it involves the authority of statements about shared values embodied in language, ethnicity and culture, as well as shared myths encoded as genres of knowledge, such as history, ideology and beliefs. In the context of the state, such discourses rarely emanates directly from the people themselves but are articulated by the state, intellectuals, and other vested interests, all of whom claim naturally to speak on the behalf of “society as a whole.” (Allen Chung, 1996, p. 115)

Even though this statement is aimed at a discourse within China, we could also see it as applying to other groups of people with a connection to China, be it Dungans, Malays of Hakka descent, or Americans of Hmong descent. When linking Chung’s statement to how the Chinese term *Zhonghua minzu* is defined we see that theoretically, Dungans are today likely to be viewed somewhat similar to other overseas Chinese, despite originating from an ethnic minority which

²⁰ The expression “Chinese identity” *Zhonghua texing*/ *Zhonghua shenfen* are rarely used within the Chinese discourse on identity and nationality, when googled the expression *Zhonghua texing* have 876 hits, while *Zhonghua shenfen* come up with 5760 results.

traditionally only has been partially integrated in the Chinese community. Regardless of racial mixture and/ or religion, a kind of ancestral bond through a Chinese (preferably male) ancestor and following of Chinese cultural tradition qualifies to a membership in the Chinese community, regardless of the groups willingness or unwillingness to be a part of this community.

3. 12. Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked closer into different aspects of the Dungan socio cultural context. This included the early history of the Dungan people which has had a major influence on the Dungan sentiments towards later Dungan identity and relation to China proper.

Their exile and somewhat hostile sentiments towards their ancestors' oppressors in Qing China has contributed to the construction of a new identity first and foremost as Dungans, different from their Turkic Muslim neighbours, and different from the Chinese. Their identity has been protected and preserved through their closed communities, where they have settled together, without much intermingling with other ethnicities. Another contributing factor to the preservation of their culture and language has been the tradition of strict endogamy which has prevented the group from inference from other ethnicities language and cultural traits. As times change, the preservation of the Dungan culture has become harder to carry out. The closed communities have dissolved as the *kholkhozes* and *solkhozes* established during the Soviet Union dissolved. As young people moved from their home town, now able to settle in urban areas (where knowledge of Russian, the *lingua franca* is required) the pressure to keep up tradition is no longer as strong as when residing in a close knit Dungan community. An effect of this can be seen in the multi ethnic environment which they now take part in, receiving education in Russian, obtaining jobs which demand a proficiency in one of the country's official language, finding a spouse of another ethnicity etc. are all factors which speed up the decline of own tradition. This is especially evident in terms of the decline of Dungan as their mother tongue. Nevertheless, the decline of Dungan as mother tongue does not seem to change the general opinion that Dungan language is an important factor when it comes to determine a belonging to the Dungan ethnicity.

We have now been presented with how the Dungan see themselves, when turning and seeing how the Chinese view the notion of ethnicity and belonging to a nation we see that they have a somewhat different image of the Dungans than what they themselves have. The view of how to qualify to be a part of the Chinese community seems to have been a development characterized by politics. The definition of being Chinese went from being a civilized *Huaxia* with a Confucian based cultural tradition in the old Empires to under the formation of the Republic of China to include the five people Han, Man, Meng, Zhang and Hui. This was done so as to create a bond to

the new founded Chinese state, as well as unify the different people living in the geographical area which today is known as the Peoples Republic of China. Today, the notion of *Huaxia* and *Zhonghua* takes on an even broader definition, including all the 56 recognized ethnicities living within China proper, as well as all people of Chinese descendants living outside of China. As for the Huis, the ancestors of today's Dungans, they were never treated as barbarians by the old China in the same way as other ethnicities living on the borderland and outside of China. They were people living inside the Chinese community, engaging with (Han) Chinese, yet they were not fully integrated in the Chinese community, they were as Lipman called them familiar strangers. Today, the Dungans, originating from the Huis are brought back into the Chinese *dahai*- Sea despite their own opinion of themselves as non- Chinese.

With this in mind we move over to the analysis of Chinese articles of the Dungan people and language.

Part C: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Academic Articles on the Dungan Language

4. The articles analyzed

The critical discourse analysis is made up by three articles, all written by Chinese scholars after the year 2000. Two of the articles are written by linguist Hai Feng, while one is written by the sociologist Ding Hong.²¹ All the articles are published in journals with a connection to areas where there is a large population of Hui Chinese. The analysis is largely based on Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power*, M. A. K. Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Hellspong and Ledin's *Vägar genom texten* and Martin and Rose's *Working with Discourse- Meaning Beyond the Clause*.

4. 1. Dungan Language in Central Asia-- An Outside Variant of Chinese Northwest Dialect

中亚东干语是汉语西北方言的域外变体

Zhongya Dongganyu shi Hanyu xibei fangyan de yuwai bianti

Social conditions of production and interpretation

The main goal of this thesis is to find out how Dungans are perceived in China society. Do China consider the Dungans as Chinese or not? If they do, what is it that makes them Chinese?

However, as the discourse practice of writing and interpreting a text is an instance of social practice, the texts that analyzed must be put in a social context. What linguistic and social environment did the text "*Dungan Language in Central Asia- The Oversea Variation of Chinese Northwest Dialect*" rise from and act in?

"*Dungan Language in Central Asia- The Oversea Variation of Chinese Northwest Dialect*" was published in 2007 in a Xinjiang based journal for linguistics and translation- 语言与翻译- *Yuyan yu fanyi*.

The article focuses on the connection between Dungan language and the northwester Mandarin dialect from both an ethnological and linguistic perspective. The journal was first published in 1985 and is run by the Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region committee for the Xinxiang's different official languages. As it is an academic article, we can assume that the article caters scholars interested in the field of translation and language. While all the articles are concerned

²¹ All translations of Chinese text excerpt are my own.

with Dungan language and culture, “*Dungan language in Central Asia- The Oversea Variation of Chinese Northwest Dialect*” is the only article, which is published in a journal purely concerned with linguistics. Seeing that the article is found in the journal *Yuyan yu fanyi*, it could seem to imply a stronger focus on language “for the sake of language”, and not language as a tool or an argument for *something* else in the analyzed article.

4. 2. Hidden power, Publishing and politics

When analyzing, it is important to keep in mind that the article is published in the journal *Yuyan yu Fanyin (Han Wen) Language and Translation*, which is published by Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region committee for Xinjiang’s different official languages 新疆民族语言文字工作委员会-*Xinjiang minzu yuyan wenzhi gongzuo weiyuanhui*, a committee which is subject to the PRC government. The committee is responsible for the regions different languages. The committee is to observe and preserve the languages in use, Han, Uighur, Kazak, Mongol, Kyrgyz, Xibe etc. and therefore follows the politic line of the region.

(<http://www.xinjiang.gov.cn/10013/10031/10005/2010/62581.htm>)

It is likely that the article is somewhat coloured by the fact that it is published by a journal which ultimately is based within the PRC government. Therefore, we cannot rule out the fact that the author presents certain views in regard to the Dungan language and its independence which are perhaps more politically correct than other articles published in journals which are not that closely connected to the government. This also gives rise to other questions: whether or not the author is the one who actually exercises power over the reader. If it the editor of the journal who limits and exercise control over the meanings uttered in the article. Alternatively, if the Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region committee for Xinjiang’s different official languages is in charge of the representation given of the Dungan language.

The main research question and topic for this assignment is the question of Chineseness and how the Chinese academia view the Dungan people of Central Asia. Hence, the analysis takes its starting point in the usage of the words *fangyan*- dialect and *bianti*- variant (both words are found in the article’s title which is a statement saying that Dungan is a variant of Northwestern Chinese) and the personal pronoun *women*- we, in Hai Feng’s article. The reason for choosing these words as a starting point instead of others is mainly due to the fact that the article is a long series of arguments meant to support the author’s claim that Dungan is a variant- *bianti* of a Chinese dialect- *fangyan*. As for the selection of the personal pronoun *women*- “we”, the reason for choosing this word is because it signalizes that what comes after it in the text example is a view that asserts that not only the author, but also the reader is meant to recognize and approve of.

Still, selecting these words is problematic. The text that analyzed is originally written in Chinese, but the analysis is written in English and all the text examples are translated into English. These words are used slightly different in Chinese from what they are in English, and this should be taken account for. The Chinese definition of “dialect” is in some way a bit looser/ wider than what English or a Norwegian definition of the same word is. The Hanyu Da Cidian explains *fangyan* as following:

方言: 语言的地方变体。一种语言种跟标准有区别的, 只同性与一个地区的语。

Fangyan: yuyan de difang bianti. Yi zhong yuyan zhong gen biaoqun you qubie de, zhi tongxing yu yi ge diqu de yu.

Fangyan: a geographical variety of a language. A type of language which is different from the standard, only in general use in one area.
(Hanyu Da Cidian pp. 1763) (My translation)

Despite this explanation, there are several scholars, both Western and Chinese, who disagree with this definition. In his article *What is a Chinese “Dialect/Topolect”? Reflections on Some Key Sino- English Linguistic Terms*, Victor H. Mair says that several Western and Chinese scholars from a purely linguistic angle would define Chinese as a group of languages instead of one language, but due to factors such as tradition, politics and nationalism, this cannot be declared publicly. (Mair, 1991: 12) When considering this difference in view of what a dialect and what a language is depending on political factors it is interesting to note how the word *fangyan* is used in the Chinese article *Zhongya Dongganyu shi Hanyu Xibei Fangyan de Yunwai Bianti*. This is mainly due to the theme of the article is Dungan which has been said to be both an independent language as well as a Chinese dialect. Concerning the usage of the pronoun *women* it is also used differently from how pronouns function in the English language. C.-T. James Huang explains the difference in his article *On the Distribution and reference of Empty Pronouns*

English may be said to be a “hot” language because pronouns cannot in general be omitted from grammatical sentences, and the information required to understand each sentence is largely obtainable from what is overtly seen and heard in it. On the other hand, Chinese may be said to be a very “cool” language in that such pronouns are usually omissible (and are often more naturally omitted) from grammatical sentences, and understanding a sentence requires some work on the reader's or the hearer's part, which may involve inference, context, and knowledge of the world, among other things. (Huang, 1984, p. 531)

These different aspects of Chinese culture and politics; where the article is published and by whom, in which journal, how the notion of dialects is perceived in the Chinese society, how pronouns are context based to a much larger extent than English (along with many others) are all social conditions which together shape the text product, as well as the understanding and interpretation of the text by the reader. Considering these factors when analyzing text examples

containing the words *fangyan*, *bianti* and *women*, I wish to see how the text presents its content in a social situation and how it creates a relation to its readers by including him or her through using the pronoun *women*. Since the author's mother tongue presumably is Mandarin and the article is written in standard Mandarin, I would also like to examine how the author positions herself and the reader in the text, especially in relation to Dungan language and Dungan speakers.

As the main goal of my thesis is to investigate how Dungans are perceived in terms of Chineseness from the view of Chinese researchers, the focus in this and the following analysis will be on interpersonal structure and how it is expressed through the text. From attitudes presented in the text, I look into the use of foregrounding of resources for drawing contrast and signaling core meaning, the usage of grading and modality and co- articulation. Despite an overall focus on the interpersonal structure of the text I will also look into both the textual, (how the text is constructed) and ideational (what the text is about) structure of the article, as these categories all are relevant dimensions in the text, closely knit to each other. As the interpersonal structure of a text is concerned with the social aspect of a text, how it interacts with both the ideal and the actual reader, how it positions itself to its surroundings and which attitudes it expresses and which identities appear in the text, it seems more relevant to focus on this part of a text analysis than to focus on the textual and ideational structure.

4. 3. Abstract of Dungan Language in Central Asia--

The article opens with a presentation of the different views on Dungan, with regard to its status as an independent language or a dialect of Chinese. The first part points out the different Soviet and present day Central Asian scholars view on Dungan language. The second paragraph is made up by different facts or arguments, which have been used both for and against the view of Dungan as an independent language. The author focuses on Dungan history, the difference between the criteria for the language's independence from an ethnological and linguistic perspective, the connection between the spoken language and its written form, its character, grammar, vocabulary, and its special traits, which it has developed since parting with China. The last paragraph is concerned with the future of Dungan Studies focusing on the cooperation between Chinese, Central Asian and Russian scholars.

4 . 4. Speech act and social strategies, keywords

Despite an overall focus on the interpersonal structure, this analysis will also have elements of means of ideational and textual structure²². Ideational structure is overall concerned with the

²²See Hellspong and Ledin, *Vägar genom texten*, 1997 for explanation of their theory on ideational structure

text's content pattern, what the text is about and how the sender of the text treats the theme being presented, while textual structure describes the text's formal structure. Although the main research question of the analysis of Hai Feng's article is concerned with those given voice to and their thoughts and reflections on Dungan and Chineseness, it is obvious that there is a need to focus on the ideational structure of the article as well, so as to find answers in regard to my research question. In order to grasp the ideational structure, what the article is about, I have chosen to focus on the keywords of the article which are listed in the article's abstract. The reason for choosing sentences containing words that are listed as keywords in the article is that keywords are words that statistically occur more frequently in a text than other words, and therefore more likely to signalize and tell us as readers what the main topic of the article is.

The macro theme of the article is "Dungan language", but the keywords, which are listed in the abstract are: *Zhongya Dongganyu* "Central Asian Dungan language, *xibei fangyan* "Northwestern dialect" and *bianti* "variant". These keywords function as micro themes which confine the macro theme- Dungan to Dungan in relation to Chinese. Therefore, the text following text examples all contain these words, or refer to these terms. Hai Feng argues that Dungan is a variety of the Chinese found in northwestern China. She does not present her own views on the position of Dungan language as a variant of northwestern Mandarin until paragraph two in the article, but her views are reflected in the text using "overwording". Norman Fairclough explains this term in his book *Language and Power*:

-- an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words which are near synonyms. Overwording shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality-- which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle."(Fairclough, 2001, p. 96)

As it is difficult to find cases of absolute synonyms, the examples which have been chosen from Hai Feng's article can be treated as near synonyms of each other. The text examples that have been chosen all contain a wording, or reference to Dungan being similar or the same as Chinese language.

4. 4. 1. Text example 1.

中国学者多数认为东干语言就是汉语西北方言，有时为了研究和交流方便，也使用东干语这一名称，但对其语言的独立性并不认可。

Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu renwei Donggan yuyan jiu shi hanyu xibei fangyan, youshi weile yanjiu he jiaoliu de fangbian, ye shiyong "Dongganyu" zhe yi mingcheng, dan dui qi yuyan de dulixing bing bu renke.

The majority of Chinese academics believe that the Dungan language is a northwestern topolect of Chinese. Sometimes, for the convenience of research and communication, one also uses the designation "Dungan language", but this term does not necessarily acknowledge the language's independence.(p.38)

When looking at the three text examples, the first thing which we can assert is that the basic speech role²³ of all the three examples is *statement*, established through the communication exchange from the addresser to the addressee; giving information about the theme. The speech role of *statement* is further established as the examples all are declarative clauses with a total absence of modality.

Textual structure

The text example can be divided into three independent clauses: 1. *Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu renwei Duganyu jiu shi Hanyu xibei fangyan*- “The majority of Chinese academics believe that Dungan language is a northwestern topolect of Chinese”, 2. *Youshi weile yanjiu he jiaoliu de fangbian, ye shiyong “Dongganyu” zhe yi mingcheng*- “sometimes, for the convenience of research and communication, one also uses the designation “Dungan language” and 3. *dan dui qi yuyan de dulixing bing bu renke*- “but the term does not necessarily acknowledge the language’s independence”. There is a predominance of nouns over verbs in the text example, most of which are compound nouns, made up by several nouns or adjectives and nouns.

- *Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu*
- *Duganyu*
- *Hanyu xibei fangyan*
- *yanjiu he jiaoliu de fangbian*
- *mingcheng*
- *yuyan de dulixing*

As for the usage of verbs in the text example, there are no dynamic verbs, showing a change of condition, only static. The only occurrence of adjectives are found within the compound noun *Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu*, where *Zhongguo*- “Chinese” modify the head noun *xuezhe*- “academics”.

From these instances of the different textual features, which occur in the text example we see that the lexicogrammatical dimensions of the text are aimed at information density, the text is declares something, rather than discussing and reasoning.

²³The basic speech roles can be divided into four different ones: offer, statement, command and question. See Geoff Thompson, *Introducing Functional Grammar*, 1996, p. 47 for a more thorough description of the different speech roles.

Ideational structure

The sentence starts with the Noun phrase *Zongguo xuezhe duoshu*- “The majority of Chinese scholars”, which is followed by the verb *renwei*- believe and the “core message “of the sentence: *Dongganyu jiushi hanyu xibei fangyan*- Dungan is a northwestern topolect of Chinese. Here we see an example of foregrounding, a textual mean which is used to mark contrast. (See Martin and Rose, 2007). The first sentence is a general assertion, which functions as a background for the core message²⁴, namely that most Chinese scholars use the term “Dungan language” due to convenience. The core message being that the term “Dungan language” does not have an influence on its status as an independent language is contrasted to the previous statement through the use of the explicit contrastive *dan*- but . The core meaning does in fact underline the general assertion: that Dungan is a northwestern Chinese dialect.

Interpersonal structure

The author does not give direct voice to another participant in the text; instead, she attributes a meaning to another participant, namely: *Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu*. We see that the claim is characterized by a degree of safeguarding. By using the noun *duoshu*, meaning “majority” or “most” to modify the head noun *Zhongguo xuezhe*- Chinese scholars and the verb *renwei*- believe, the originator of the text manages to soften the statement. This safeguarding does not however seem to make the originator seem more careful in her claim; it merely makes the claim less bombastic. Even if the claim were to be perceived as cautious, a new statement affirming the connection between Chinese and Dungan follows it up.

4. 4. 2. Text example 2

从语言结构本身看，虽然中亚东干语脱离汉语大环境在境外已经发展了一百余年，但是并没有真正改变其语言本身的特点。

Cong yuyan jigou benshen kan, suiran Zhongya Dongganyu tuoli hanyu da huanjing zai jingwai yijing fazhan le yi bai yu nian, danshi bing mei you zhenzheng gaibian qi yuyan benshen de tedian.

Seen from the structure of the language itself, even though the Central Asian Dungan language has developed separately from the Chinese environment for more than one hundred years, the characteristics of the language itself have not really changed. (p.39)

²⁴A core message is the summarized key meaning of a well formed text. Hellspong, Ledin, 1997, p. 125

Textual structure

The second example is also divided into two statements. One is regarding the amount of time Dungan has been separated from the Chinese environment- *Cong yuyan jigou benshen kan, suiran Zhongya Dongganyu tuoli Hanyu da huanjing zai jingwai yijing fazhan le yi bai yu nian* and one on the changes in Dungan language- *danshi bing mei you zhenzheng gaibian qi yuyan benshen de tedian*. Opposed to the first text example where we found a majority of (compound) noun concerning the word classes is the independent clauses, which made up the sentence, the occurrence of nouns compared to verb seems to be more balanced in text example 1.2. Concerning nouns found in the example, most of them are compound nouns.

- *Zhongya Donggan yu*
- *Hanyu da huanjing*
- *jingwai*
- *yuyan benshen de tedian*

All verbs, except modal auxiliary verbs are dynamic:

- *fazhan*
- *gaibian*
- *tuoli*

There are no occurrences of either adjectives or personal pronouns in the text example.

The textual features of the sentence, such as the long compound nouns presents the reader with much information on the Dungan language, ascertaining that Dungan is a variant of Chinese, rather than reasoning that it is a variant of Chinese.

Ideational Structure

The text example is presented as an event that something has happened, namely that Dungan has been removed from its origin, the large Chinese-speaking habitat/ environment. From this statement, it is natural to infer that over hundred years of separation will inevitably lead to changes in the language. However, like the previous text example the author uses foregrounding (Martin and Rose, 2007) in her article to create a clear line of separation between that which is presumed, and that which is the fact. Through the usage of an adversative conjunction: the *suiran... danshi* construction which functions as an explicit contrastive (Martin and Rose, 2007) the

same way the conjunction *dan-* but did in text example 4.4.1., the author goes against the presumption that Dungan language has changed and instead informs the reader that a change is not necessarily the case. The core message, that Dungan is still a Chinese dialect, is signaled through the usage of the adversative conjunction “*dansbi-* but”. Even if the claim does not specifically mention Dungan as a Chinese dialect, it is still hard to perceive the claim as something else. The use of the adverb *bing-* “at all” modifying the negator *bu-* not and the adverb *zhenzhen* modifying the verb *gaibian-* “change” strengthens the claim that despite hundred years of development Dungan is still much the same, it has kept its own true character.

Interpersonal structure

There is no direct sender of this part of the text, i.e. no one is given voice to in the text, instead the author asks us to look at the situation seen from the language’s own structure. There is also no use of value words (translated from Ledin & Hellspong- värdeord) or safeguarding. Nevertheless, we see that the author has taken use of emphasizing by using the adverb *bing-* “really” to modify the negator *bu-* “not” in the end of the statement which concludes with that Dungan really has not changed.

4 .4. 3 Text example 3

它和中国西北方言仍然保持着几高的一致性

Ta he Zhongguo xibei fangyan rengan baochi zhe jigao de yizhixing.

It (Dungan) and China's northwestern dialect still maintain an extremely high degree of consistency. (p. 39)

Textual structure

The second example immediately follows the claim: *ta he Zhongguo xibei fangyan rengan baochi zhe jigao de yizhixing*. Opposed to the two previous examples example number three is only made up by one clause.

In this sentence, there are three examples of nouns:

- *Ta*
- *Zhongguo xibei fangyan*
- *jigao de yizhixing*

The text example contains only one verb: the dynamic verb *baochi*. Of the nouns found in the sentence, one of them is a pronoun, the third person singular *ta-* “it”. The sentence also contains

one adjective: *jigao*, which modifies the noun *yizhixing*. As with the two previous text examples, this also asserts a “fact”.

Ideational structure

The sentence largely repeats the message found in the previous example, but opposed to example number two, it is here a stronger focus on the present time perspective of the state of the Dungan language, which is displayed using temporal adverb. The usage of the adverb *rengran* “still” which modifies the verb *baochi* “keep”, which again is modified by the durative aspect marker *zhe*, indicates that the connection and similarity is an ongoing state. The noun *yizhixing*, which can be translated to meaning “as one” or “being one” states that the two languages are really the same, variants of each other.

Interpersonal structure

There are two participants present in the text example *ta*- referring to Dungan language and *Zhongguo xibei fangyan*- “northwestern Chinese dialect”. No direct sender is making the claim that Dungan and northwestern Chinese dialect are still much the same dialect, but we can assume that the sender is either Hai Feng, the author of the article or *Zhongguo xuezhe*- “Chinese academics” who are the sender of the statement. The sender of the text makes use of safeguarding in the statement. Here, the adverb *ji* and adjective *gao*, which together mean “extremely high” function as a strategy, making the senders own statement more strong. The statement rules out other views on the matter, causing the claim to be in accordance with the main message of the text: that Dungan is a variant of northwestern Chinese dialect, not that it is the northwestern Chinese dialect.

4. 5. Interpersonal structure and the usage of 1. and 3. personal plural pronoun

A way to better understand the text's interpersonal structure is to look at the choice and usage of the pronouns which occur in the text so as to see how and when the author concludes different actors in the text, both reader and other voices.

In order to understand how the sender of the text approaches the reader in the article I have chosen to look into sentences in the text, which contains 1. and 3. personal pronoun plural. It is interesting to note how the author makes use of the pronoun *women*- “we” and *tamen*- “they”. By looking at the usage of these pronouns, we can investigate the meaning behind the actual words. Who are *we* and *they* in the text and what attitudes do these identities (we and they) present? In the text examples which contain the pronouns we and they, I look more closely into usage of textual means such as foregrounding, co-articulation, usage of adverbs and adjectives in grading

as well as negation of attitudes. By looking into these textual effects, I hope to understand how and by whom Dungan (language) is perceived.

The usage of *women-* we is especially prominent in end of the first paragraph and throughout the second. The first paragraph does not specifically make a they- we distinction until the very last part of it.

4. 5. 1. Text example 1

但同时由于受到印欧语系的斯拉夫语族的俄语和属于阿尔泰语系突厥的吉尔吉斯语，哈萨克语，乌丝别克语等影响，中亚东干于和今天的汉语普通话或西北回民汉语方言相比，都发生了比较命相的变化，因此我们将它称之为汉语方言的境外遍体。

Dan tongsbi youyu shoudao shuyu Yin`Ou yuxi Silafu yuzu de E`yu he shuyu A`ertai yuxi Tujue yuzu de Jierjisiyu, Hasakeyu, Wusebiekeyu deng yingxiang, Zhongya Dongganyu he jintian de Hanyu Putongyu huo Zibei Huimin Hanyu fangyan xiangbi, dou fashengle bijiao mingxian de bianhua, yinci women jiang ta cheng zhi wei Hanyu fangyan de jingwai bianti.

But at the same time, due to influence of languages such as Russian of the Indo- European language family and Slavic branch, and Kyrgyz, Kazak and Uzbek language which belong to the Turkic branch of the Altaic language family, when comparing Central Asian Dungan (language) and putonghua or Northwester Hui Mandarin, we can see that both have undergone relatively obvious changes, and therefore we call it an extraterritorial variety of Chinese. (p.39)

Textual structure

When comparing the frequency of nouns and verbs in the text example we see that there is a majority of nouns compared to verbs. Most of these nouns are mentioned in relation to the different languages, which Dungan are related to, one way or another.

- *Yinon yuxi*
- *Silafu yuzu*
- *A`ertai yuxi*
- *Tuji yuzu*
- *Jierjisiyu*
- *Hasekeyu*
- *Wusebiekeyu*
- *yingxiang*
- *jingwai bianti*

- *Zhongya Dongganyu*
- *jintian de Hanyu Putongyu*
- *bianhua*
- *women*

All verbs, which occur in the text example, are dynamic:

- *shoudao*
- *xiangbi*
- *fasheng*
- *cheng zhi wei*

The third person plural pronoun *women* is found once, in the very last of the text which sums up the text example's message. Like the pronoun *women* there is also only one instance of an adjective, the adjective *mingxian* that modifies the noun *bianhua*.

Ideational structure

Our text example is found right after a claim on the Dungan language and the Northwestern Chinese dialects as being identical. The example starts with a conjunction *dan-* but and the adverb *tongshi-* at the same time, these two components signalizes an unexpected turn from the previous claim: that Dungan language and the Northwestern Chinese dialect are the same. Different languages such as the Indo- European language Russian as well as the Altaic languages Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Uzbek has influenced Dungan to such an extent that when comparing Dungan and the Standard Chinese or the northwestern Chinese dialect it is clear that the language has experienced *bijiao mingxian de bianhua-* “relatively obvious changes”. The core meaning of the utterance, the conclusion of the utterance: *women jiang ta zhe wei hanyu fangyan de jingwai bianti-* “we call it an overseas variant of Chinese” is signaled by the adverb *yinci-* “therefore”.

Interpersonal structure

The first occurrence of the use of the plural personal pronoun *women-* we in the text are found on page 39 of the article in the conclusion of the article's introduction. Here it is found within a statement, the most common type of speech role (Thompson, 2004). As mentioned earlier in the analysis the main focus of the article`s introduction is on giving voice to the different opinions on the Dungan language be it an independent language or a Chinese dialect. Both Soviet, present

day Russian and Central Asian (Kyrgyz and Kazakh) scholars are mentioned and their views presented. No scholars of Chinese nationality are mentioned by name. The textual “we” of the statement makes use of the adverb *bijiao*- “relatively” as a safeguarding to soften the statement on the changes of Dungan language. The adverb contributes to weaken the adjective *mingxian*- “obvious”.

4. 5. 2. Text example 2

基于这样一种认识，我们可以从中亚东干语中找出无数个语言事实来证明它和汉语的一直性 但是却很难找出足够的实施来证明它是不同于汉语的语言， 尽管它 和汉语普通话有那样的差别。

Ji yu zhe yang yi zhong renshi, women keyi cong Zhongya Dongganyu zhong zhaochu wushu ge yuyan shishi lai zhengming ta he Hanyu de yizhixing, danshi que hen nan zhaochu yugou de shishi lai zhengming ta shi bu tong yu Hanyu de duli de yuyan, jinguan ta he Hanyu Putonghua you zhe zheyang de chabie.

On the basis of this knowledge, we can from Central Asian Dungan language find countless of facts which prove that Dungan and Mandarin are identical, but it is very difficult to find enough facts to prove that Dungan is an independent language different from Chinese, even though there is this kind of difference between Dungan and Chinese putonghua. (p.39)

Textual structure

In the text example, we find 12 instances of nouns, both singular and compound:

- *renshi*
- *women*
- *Zhongya Dongganyu*
- *yuyan shishi*
- *ta*
- *Hanyu*
- *yizhixing*
- *shishi*
- *ta*
- *Hanyu*
- *yuyan*
- *ta*

- *Hanyu Putonghua*
- *chabie*

and 6 instances of verbs (this includes the modal auxiliary *keyi*- “can”)

- *keyi*
- *zhaochu*
- *lai*
- *zhengming*
- *zhaochu*
- *shi*
- *you*

Of the verbs other than the modal auxiliary *keyi*, three are dynamic: *zhaochu*, *lai* and *zhengming*, *shi* and *you* are both static. Of personal pronouns, we find both the singular *ta* and plural form *women* of the third person personal pronoun. Four different adjectives are found in the example: *wushu*, *nan* (modified by the adverb *ben*), *zugou* and *duli*.

Ideational structure

Example nr. 5 is found in the second section of the main part which has its focus on the different ethnological and linguistic standards of defining the independence of a language. The core meaning of the sentence is the statement: *women keyi cong Zhongya Dongganyu zhong zhaochu wushu ge yuyan shishi lai zhengming ta he Hanyu de yizhixing*- “we can from Central Asian Dungan language find countless of facts which prove that Dungan and Mandarin are identical”. That which is presented after this is an addition of information to the macro position of the whole text example. Within the example, we see that the content of the core message and the additional information is contrasted up against each other’s. The evidence for that Dungan is the same as northwestern Chinese is presented as *wushu*- “countless”, later in the text the evidence for proving that Dungan is an independent language is described as *que ben nan*- “very difficult”

Interpersonal structure

The sender takes a linguistic approach in regard to determine whether Dungan is an independent language. In the text, the sender makes it clear that Dungan and Chinese language is *yizhixing*- identical, a term that has been repeated several times earlier in the text. To amplify this claim the

sender makes use of the adjective *wushu*- “countless” and the noun phrase *yuyan shishi*- “facts” (none of which are presented). The author makes use of grading when expressing her attitude using the adjective *wushu*. The adjective expresses a positive feeling, giving an impression of an abundance of proof for the linguistic facts. In contrast to the positive adjective *wushu*- “countless”, a negative feeling is expressed using the adverb *hen*- very, which modifies the adjective *nan*- “hard/ difficult” and the adjective *zuyou*- “enough”. The personal pronoun *women* does only occur in the first claim: that Dungan and Chinese are the same, the second claim lacks a personal pronoun, making the claim more impersonal. However, we could interpret the lack of personal pronoun otherwise when considering that pronouns work differently in Chinese than how they do in Indo- European languages such as English. In Chinese, it is not uncommon to drop the Subject of a clause if it has been mentioned previously in the text and it is clear from the context of the text that the Subject has not changed. Therefore, it is also possible that the absence of pronoun is due to convenience and not to make the claim more impersonal.

4. 5. 3 Text example 3

首先，我们承认，文字对确定语言的独立性有重要的参考价值，但它不是决定语言的唯一标准。

Shouxian, women chengren, wenzhi dui queding yuyan de dulixing you zhongyao de cankao jiazhi, dan ta bu shi jue ding yuyan shuxing de weiyi biao zhun.

Firstly, we acknowledge that the writing system has an important referential value when it comes to determining the independence of a language, but it is not the sole standard when deciding the categorization of the language .(p. 39)

Textual structure

There are 5 instances of nouns in this example and 4 of verbs. Of the nouns, there are both compounds and simple nouns.

- *wenzhi*
- *yuyan dulixing*
- *jiazhi*
- *yuyan shuxing*
- *biaozhun*

Of the verbs in text example, three are dynamic.

- *chengren*

- *cankao*
- *jueding*

The only verb that is static is *shi*. The pronoun *women* is found once in the example. Adjectives occur 4 times within the example, *wushu* is used to modify the compound noun *yuyan shishi*, (*ben nan* modifies the verb *zhaochu*, and *duli* modifies the noun *yuyan*.

Ideational structure

This text example is found in the paragraph that presents the different reasons for why Dungan language is a Chinese dialect under the heading: *wenzì he yuyan de guanxi*- “the relation between script and language”. The example refers to previous given information that *you xuezhe renwei wenzì ye shì yì ge quèlì yuyan shì fǒu shì duli yuyan de zhongyào biao zhun*- “some academics think that script also is an important standard for establishing whether or not a language is independent or not”. The author makes use of foregrounding in the sentence. First an opinion where *women* acknowledges of importance of script when determining whether a language is independent or not, the second opinion, the core message of the sentence is signaled by the conjunction *dan*- “but” which introduces a change. The core message gives the first opinion in the sentence partly right, but it makes it clear that it is not the sole factor when it comes to determine a language’s independence or not.

Interpersonal structure

The personal pronoun *women*- we takes here the role of agent, it does something. In this case *women* gives the previously mentioned scholars partly right in the claim that script is an important factor when it comes to determine the independence of a language, the usage of the conjunction *dan*- “but” introduces *women*- “we”’s own meaning: that writing alone does not determine a language’s independence. Again, we see that the sender of the article makes use of foregrounding. First *women* presents the view of some scholars, then through using an explicit contrastive, the conjunction *dan*- “but” *women*’s own meaning is presented. Although *women*- “we” agrees with *you xuezhe*- “some scholars” in the text example, it does not phrase the opinion in the same way.

Instead of repeating the academics on script as being an important standard, *women* instead say that *wenzì*- “script” has *zhuyào de cankao jiazhi*- “important referential value when it comes to determining the independence”. *Women*- we devalues the importance of script, it demonstrates a critique and implies that the Dungsans use of Cyrillic script is not a proof of the independence of

their language. Since the article is written by only one author, and no secondary author is mentioned, it can be concluded that the *women*- we most likely does not refer to “we, the authors”, but rather “we, the author and the reader”. However, seeing how *women* in the text refers back to the opinion of *you xuezhe*- “some academics”, followed by a presentation of own opinion, it is possible to interpret the personal pronoun *women* to here meaning “we as academics”. Whether or not “we as academics” are Chinese academics opposed to Western (Dungan and Russian/ Soviet academics) or linguists opposed to ethnologists is not clear.

4. 5. 4. Text example 4

这也是我们从语言本体的角度着眼，将中亚东干语语 看作汉语西北方言的重要依据。

Zhe ye shi women cong yuyan benti jiaodu zhuoyan, jiang Zhongya Dongganyu kanzuo Hanyu xibei fangyan de zhongyao yiju.

This is also something that we perceive from the angle of the language itself; to see the Central Asian Dungan language as an important basis of the north western Chinese dialects. (p. 40)

Textual structure

The seventh text example is found in the fourth paragraph in the article`s main part under the headline: *yuyan benshen de tedian*- “the language's own characteristics”. The paragraph is separated into three different parts, the similarity between the pronunciation of Dungan and northwestern Chinese words, the Dungan and northwestern Chinese grammar and the similarity between Dungan and northwestern Chinese vocabulary. There is a majority of nouns compared to verbs. We find both compound and single nouns.

- *yuyan*
- *ti*
- *jiaodu*
- *Zhongya Dongganyu*
- *Hanyu xibei fangyan*
- *yiju*

The text contains one static verb: *shi* and one dynamic verb: *kanzuo*. The only adjective which is found is *zhongyao* which modifies the noun *yiju*.

Ideational structure

The example appears to be a conclusion where previous claims found in the text regarding the status of Dungan (language) account for the statement that Dungan can be treated as an important basis of northwestern Chinese dialect. The core of the Dungan language is its vocabulary which is so similar, if not the same as the Northwestern Chinese. According to the text, this similarity causes the Dungan people to strongly identify with the Northwestern Chinese dialect.

Interpersonal structure

The usage of *women*- we here is used quite similar to how it is used in the previous text examples. As with many of the other text examples, it is found in the conclusion of a longer section where it summarizes the senders view to the different facts or views which have been presented in regard to different aspects of the Dungan language. As no other scholars are given voice to in this paragraph, it is difficult to set *women* in contrast to anyone else but the sender of the text.

4. 5. 5. Text example 5

当然，在看到一直性的同时还要看到，中亚东干脱离汉语大环境已有一百多年，境外独立发展了那么长时间它所出现也是不容易视的，因此我们将其成为汉语方言的境外遍体。

Dangran, zai kandao yizhixing de tongshi, bai yao kandao, Zhongya Donggan tuoli Hanyu da huanjing yi you yi bai duo nian, zai jingwai duli fazhan le name chang shijian, ta suo chuxian de bianhua ye shi bu rongyi shi de, yinci women jiang qi chengwei Hanyu fangyan de jingwai bianti.

Of course, when looking at the “sameness” one also has to consider that Central Asian Dungan language separated from the main Chinese speaking community over hundred years ago, developing independently outside of China for such a long time, its changes are not so easy to see, therefore we are not allowed to ignore the changes it shows. (p. 40)

Textual structure

The sentence starts with an adverb: *dangran*, which ties the sentence to earlier text, referring back to the sameness that is seen between Dungan and northwestern Chinese. From this “intro”, the sentence is made up by several clauses, both dependent and independent clauses regarding various aspects of changes in Dungan language. The occurrence of nouns and verbs are fairly even, with 11 nouns and 9 verb.

The nouns are both compound and single nouns, of these nouns two keywords (*Zhongya Dongganyu* and *bianti*) which are listed in the article`s abstract are found.

- *yizhixing*
- *tongshi*
- *Zhongya Donggan yu*
- *Hanyu da de huanjing*
- *nian*
- *jingwai*
- *shijian*
- *bianhua*
- *Hanyu fangyan*
- *jingwai*
- *bianti*

Of the verbs found, 3 are static:

- *yao*
- *you*
- *shi*

6 are dynamic:

- *kandao*
- *tuoli*
- *fazhan*
- *chuxian*
- *shi*
- *chengwei*

As for adjectives, we find 4 in the text example; *da* modifies the noun *huanjing*, describing the Chinese speaking environment as large. The adjective *duo* modifies *nian*, further limiting the time aspect of how long it has been since Dungan language left the large Chinese (language) environment. The adjective *duli* modifies the verb *fazhan*, describing in what way the Dungan

language has developed. *Chang* modifies the noun *shijian*, describing how long time the Dungan has developed by itself. Two pronouns are found in the text example, *ta* which refers to the Dungan language and *women*, meaning we, which is used in the last clause to show who regards Dungan language as a variant of Chinese.

Ideational structure

The last text example of the analysis is also found in the third part of the fourth paragraph on the language's own characteristics. One would think that an emphasis on the long time period which the Dungan and Chinese language have been separated would impede a notion of Dungan as being similar to Chinese. This view is contrasted to the core message of the claim, which is introduced by the conjunction *yinci*- “therefore”: that the changes of Dungan language are presented as hard to discover, meaning that Dungan is still very much like the Northwestern Chinese view on own dialect.

Interpersonal structure

The usage of *women*- we is again found in the section's conclusion. It functions as an agent which makes a statement based on earlier assertions presented as neutral facts, not the sender's own views. That which *women*- we states is that Dungan (represented in the text by the determiner *qi*- its) is called an abroad variant of a Chinese dialect. In this text, there is a focus on the time perspective of the statement. Here, the sender of the article emphasizes the long time Dungan has been separated from the Chinese speaking community. This claim, as well as the Dungan people's own view on their language which is presented earlier in the paragraph is that which makes the *women*- we treat Dungan language as a variant of Chinese.

4. 6. Reflections and interpretation, how are Dungans perceived in the text?

The main goal of the analysis of the article *Dungan Language in Central Asia-- The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect* was to understand if and to what extent the Dungan people and culture is perceived as a part of a larger Chinese community seen from a Chinese, academic point of view. This was to be carried out through an analysis that was centered on examples from the text, containing certain words. In the part of the analysis that made point of the ideational structure of the article, the sentences chosen all contained the words *bianti* and *fangyan*, or references to one of the two terms. In the second part of the analysis, there was a stronger focus on the interpersonal structure in the article. Hence, the text examples that were chosen as representatives from the text all contained the pronoun *women*- “we” or *tamen*- “they” or a reference to one of the two.

4. 6. 1. Textual interpretation

From looking at the text, and how it behaves, we see that several words are repeated in it. This is seen clearly in the repetition of the words such as: *Zhongya Donggan yu*- “Central Asian Dungan language, *Hanyu xibei fangyan*- “northwestern Chinese dialect” and *bianti*- “variant”. These words are often seen as both paired and as opposites of each other’s. Another thing that is interesting to notice is how textual features are presented as assertions of an utterance, rather than an argumentation or reasoning for Dungan as a Chinese dialect.

Word choices and their meaning in text

The choice of words confirms that not only the author of the article, but also that the Chinese (linguists) should mean that Dungan language is a Chinese dialect. Dungan language can be seen as an independent language both from an ethnological and linguistic perspective. However, seen from a linguist perspective one only has to consider the language’s own terms, one does not have to take the ethnicity’s economy, psychological make- up and interaction with other ethnicities into consideration, making it easier to reason that Dungan is a variant of Chinese. By looking at Hai Feng’s article on Dungan language as a variation of Northwestern Chinese we see that the link between China and the Dungan people is being kept vivid through the languages connection which is stated several times within the article:

中亚东干语 是汉语西北方言的域外遍体 *Zhongya Dongganyu shi Hanyu Xibei fangyan de ywai bianti*- Dungan Language in Central Asia is an oversea variation of Chinese Northwestern Dialect

中国学者多数认为东刚语是汉语西北方言- *Zhongguo xuezhe duoshu renwei Dongganyu shi Hanyu xibei fangyan*- Most Chinese researchers believe that Dungan is a northwestern Chinese dialect

和西北地区汉族所使用的繁衍基本一致- *He xibei diqu Hanzu suo shiyong de fangyan jiben yizhi*- (Dungan) and the Han people in northwestern area use the same language

大多数东干人都认为他们的语言和汉语西北方言是一致的- *Daduoshu Dongganren dou renwei tamen de yuyan he Hanyu xibei fangyan shi yizhi de*- Most Dungan people think that their language and the Northwestern Chinese dialect is identical.

The constant repetition of various expressions which are referring to Dungan as a variant of northwestern Mandarin help maintaining the already established discourse within Chinese academia and politics. At the same time as the author argues that Dungan is a variant of Mandarin we see that she positions herself and the reader, *women* -we as different from the Hui Chinese of China in terms of history and origin by consequently referring to the Hui people as *tamen*- “they”. Still, both the author and the reader identifies with the other nationality through

language. Dungan speak the same language as the Hui Chinese in northwestern China, the Huis of northwestern China speak the same language as the Han Chinese ethnic majority in northwestern China, and ergo they all speak the same language: northwestern Mandarin. The text implies that the common language binds them together, making them all a part of the Chinese nationality. In this article the sender`s view of the Dungan language mirrors the PRC`s view and relation with the different Chinese dialects and ethnicities, a view that is shared by most Han Chinese and opposes by many of non- Han origin.

4. 6. 2. Ideational interpretation

The macro theme of the article is that Dungan is a variant of the northwestern Chinese dialect. Taking that as a starting point for how the different parts of the text works when it comes to amplify the main statement on Dungan as a Chinese dialect. This is explained in the part on Dungan history, the link between language and writing system, the language in itself and the changes within the Dungan language. Another thing which is worth noticing is how the sender of the text avoids discussing the notion of dialects and the difference in meaning depending on whether seen from a “Western” or Chinese perspective. Why is this so? Is this done deliberately, or not? Could it be that this subject is relatively touchy within Chinese linguistic discourse and that the author has ignored this factor, especially seen in light of where the article is published? (The Xinjiang region is a region which for the last years has experienced increased political tension due to the relation between the Han (government) and especially Uighur ethnicity.)The omission of discussing the problem of the difference in meaning of the word dialect could also be interpreted as meaning that this article is meant for a Chinese reader.

That which is repeated in the text is how the view of others is being presented. The author makes sure to present and give voice to several different participants view on the status of Dungan language and its possible independence. Nevertheless, the view of others is seldom accepted as the truth. Within the text, two opponents are presented: one that consists mainly of Western scholars, supporting the claim that Dungan is an independent language, and one consisting of mainly Chinese researchers, the author included who think that Dungan is a Chinese dialect.

Overwording and general assertions

The first paragraph of the article analyzed is a neutral and informative one, concerned with presenting different views on the independence of Dungan, from both the perspective of Russian, different Central Asian and Chinese scholars. However, the reader has already been

introduced to the fact that Dungan is not an independent language through the article's heading- *Dungan Language in Central Asia-- The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect*.

We see that none of the first three examples in the analysis, which main focus was on the ideational structure of the article give a direct voice to the sender and the author's perspective, neither do we find a clear reader's perspective. Nowhere does the text directly approach the reader; neither are there any occurrences of the second person singular or plural pronoun. The first example gives voice to “most Chinese researchers”. The following two examples do not give voice directly to any participants; however, they could be interpreted as the presentation of the views of Chinese scholars. The examples listed above all share more or less the same meaning- that Dungan is a Chinese (Mandarin) dialect. The over-lexicalization can be interpreted as an attempt to create a reality where the argumentation for Dungan as a variant of northwestern Mandarin functions more as a confirmation, backing up the already established reality within Chinese academy and politics. Still, we cannot rule out the possibility that the textual means i.e. the use of near synonyms does not necessarily function as overwording, but that it instead is something the author uses to avoid repeating herself and to create a textual flow.

Despite avoiding stating that Dungan is a variant of northwestern Mandarin before she starts her argumentation, Hai Feng clearly manages to communicate that in reality Dungan and northwestern Mandarin are closely related, if not identical. This is done by giving voice to a group of people commonly associated with authority (the scholars) and by using different phrases to describe Dungan language:

qi yuyan benshen de tedian- “the language’s own characteristic”

yizhixing- sameness

Hanyu xibei fangyan- northwestern Chinese dialect

4. 6. 3. Interpersonal interpretation

From reading the text, we get a perception of the reader of the text. As the article is written in Chinese, we can assume that the ideal reader of this article is a Chinese or a Chinese-speaking person. Looking at what type of journal the article is published in, the technical terms that is used without or with minimal attempts on explaining them or problematizing them, and how the text interacts in a linguistic and abstract world we can assume that it is meant for scholars and others interested in the field of linguistics. The sender of the text is characterized by openness, presenting the different opinions regarding the independence of Dungan. Ultimately, the sender shows authority when it comes to present her/ his own opinion on the subject treated. This is

seen through the author's use of safeguarding which is often found in the core message of the different parts of the text examples analyzed.

The relationship “we” and “they”

When looking at how and when the author uses the pronoun *women* in the text examples chosen we see there is little use of it in the beginning of the article. Here there is given more room to the voice of researchers who are seen as someone other to the sender. The usage of the pronouns *women* and *tamen* is found more frequent in the second part of the article, which is focused on the different reasons for why Dungan can be seen as a variant of the Northwestern Chinese dialect when the author ends an argumentation and is reaching a conclusion. Does the author of the article refer to *women* as us Chinese researchers or you and me- author and reader?

In some instances it is not clear what the sender has intended *women* to refer to in the text, but one should keep in mind that since the article is published in a University journal, and not in an encyclopedia or on the Internet, it is likely that *women* here refers to “us as Chinese researchers”. As for giving voice to other than *women*- we in the text it is interesting to notice that the ones who are given the least space to express their thoughts on their language are the Dungans themselves. Whereas a whole page is spent on presenting the thoughts of Soviet, Russian and Central Asian scholars, the Dungan people`s thoughts and feelings regarding the connection between their language and the northwestern Chinese dialect are only mentioned once:

大多数东干人都认为他们的语言和汉语西北方言是一致的。

Daduosbu Dongganren dou renwei tamen de yuyan he Hanyu xibei fangyan shi yizhi de

Most Dungan people think that their language and the northwestern Chinese dialect are identical

As mentioned previously in the analysis the use of *women*- we occurs in the very first part of the introduction of the article to state a hegemonic view of Dungan language. The author states that the majority of Chinese scholars think that Dungan is a northwestern Mandarin dialect, instead of an independent language. The use of a we- them logic is a tool illustrating not only the ethnic difference between Dungans and Chinese, but also between (Chinese) Muslims and Han Chinese. The personal pronoun *women*- we can be interpreted to include both we as sender and receiver of the text, or as a meta textual speech act where we can be interpreted to include both we as Chinese scholars (including the sender) and we Chinese scholars, the imagined sender and reader. While the use of *women* occurs mostly when the author states a point in her argumentation concerning the similarity/ identity between Dungan and northwestern Mandarin the pronoun

tamen- they/ them is largely used when referring to the Chinese Hui nationality within China, not referring to the Dungan people. This usage displays the difference between the Hui Chinese and the Han Chinese nationality. The difference that there is a focus on are the origin of the Hui people, their religion and their ancestors mother tongue. The author distances herself and the reader from the Hui Chinese mentioned in the article by highlighting their distinct features. Despite the fact that modern Hui people have Han Chinese as their mother tongue; their ancestors were Persians and Arabs who did not speak Chinese.

Even though the sender creates a distinction between herself and the Huis she manages to (re)create a bond between the two groups in the last part of the paragraph on Dungan history. This is done by referring to Dungan language as a language spoken by several million people in China, both Han and Hui Chinese. Another point worth noticing is how the Dungan language is presented and promoted by the author of the article. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, there has been a sharp decline of the use of Dungan language. This however, is not mentioned in the article. It is not clearly presented which languages and to what extent Dungan is competing against (Russian, Kazak and Kyrgyz). By avoiding mentioning the decline of Dungan as mother tongue, the linkage between Dungan and Chinese culture and language is if not strengthened, then at least kept. Still, it is dangerous to conclude that the author deliberately has kept from mentioning the decline of Dungan as a mother tongue among the Dungan people in Central Asia. The reason for not mentioning the decline could also be that the main goal of the article is simply to clarify the differences, and similarities between the two languages/ dialects. We cannot be certain that the author has had ulterior motives when it comes to taking up the decline of spoken Dungan.

Nowhere in the text does the author mention specifically mention that the Dungans are a part of the Chinese *minzu*- “ethnicity/ nationality”. However, she states clearly and several times that Dungan is variety of a Chinese Mandarin language or dialect, the same Chinese language/ dialect spoken by the ethnic majority in China. Even if the us- them separation is found between the different ethnicities in the text, it is not existent on a superior level. The article implies that the two nationalities are today connected and equal through the same language, they are a “we, whose mother tongue is Hanyu” The language functions as a common multiple. We can see a close similarity between Hai Feng’s view on the Chinese language as the glue which binds the different nationalities together and the view of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region ethnic language committee’s (PRC) view- where the Chinese language functions as a girder for the *Zhonghuaminzu*, the Chinese nationality/ ethnicity.

The Dungan language becomes the Dungan people's foremost evidence for a mutual Chineseness with the subjects of the Peoples Republic of China. Hai Feng's definition of the status of Dungan language is evidently in harmony with that of the Chinese government and how it views the different dialects and/ or languages within China proper.

4. 7. Social Discourse, from text to context- the voicing of Chinese opinions in the text

The main message of the article discussed in this analysis is stated in the article's headline: that *Dungan language in Central Asia (is) The Oversea Variation of Chinese Northwestern Dialect*. This claim functions as a strong linkage between the Dungans of Central Asia and the Chinese state and people. As described earlier in the text, the article is presented to the reader in an article based in a Xinjiang, linguistic journal, controlled by the XUAR (Xinjiang autonomous region) committee for Xinjiang's different official languages. The Xinjiang region has traditionally been known for its multilingualism and cultural pluralism. Over the years this situation has changed and its (covert) language policy has become increasingly reactive, and tied to geopolitical considerations. (Dwyer, 2005, p. 1). The multilingualism and cultural pluralism has changed in favour of a monolingual and mono-cultural model. It is dangerous to draw a direct line between the views presented in Hai Feng's article and the language policy practiced in the Xinjiang autonomous region, but it is clear the Chinese language (including Dungan) is seen as a unifying factor for people of Chinese origin. Paradoxically, the fact that the Chinese language functions as a unifying factor for people of Chinese origin is also used as an argument in "Dungan Language in Central- Asia-- The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect" for why Soviet, Russian and Central Asian scholars tend to agree that Dungan is an independent language. (Hai Feng, p.39) However, the author of the article seems to disagree with the Soviet, Russian and Central Asian view. She argues that the Chinese, whose mother tongue is Chinese, are familiar with the fact that Chinese consists of various dialects. Soviet and Russian scholars, as well as scholars of different Central Asian nationalities who have not been familiar with other Chinese speakers than Dungan people have wrongly been given the impression that only Dungans speak this language when there are actually several million people who speak it, both Han Chinese and Hui Chinese. (Hai Feng p.39)

The difference in the definition of what a dialect is, depending on seen from a Western or Chinese point of view could be one of the reasons for why the different linguists presented in the article seem to disagree on the matter of Dungan independence. That China traditionally is more flexible when it comes to deciding what a dialect is, is clearly seen in the discourse of the article. How Dungan is define as a Chinese dialect reaffirms the already established/ acknowledged reality and social discourse within Chinese academia and politic.

4.8. On the Development of Donggan Language

论东干语的发展

Lun Dongganyu de Fazhan

4.8.1. Social conditions of production and interpretation

On the Development of Donggan language is written by Hai Feng and is as the title implies concerned with the development of Dungan language, discussing the historical differences between Dungan and Chinese, the present state of Dungan language and its further development. The two page article was published in 2005, Vol. 33, No. 3 in the Journal of Xinjiang University, a journal dedicated to strengthening academic research and innovation in China, especially stressing that which is based in Xinjiang province. As the journal has a broader perspective than the journal in which the previous analysis was published (*Yuyan yu Fanyi (Hanwen)*- “Language and Translation (Chinese)”) we could expect that this analysis has its focus on how Dungan has and is changing, rather than what has changed and its effect on Dungan language. (Both the present and earlier state and development of the Dungan language has been treated earlier in the thesis. At present, the number of Dungan speakers is decreasing and there are few signs that this development will turn in the nearest future.) Through the analysis, I will attempt to link the known development of Dungan language up to how Dungans and Chinese are presented in the article and reflect on how and why the two are presented as they are.

We find that the article has a focus on the differences between the two languages Dungan and Chinese. This is seen clearly in the introduction to the article, which to a large extent is spent on explaining the “kinship” between the two languages: Dungan being a special variant of Chinese. The influence of Russian and Turkic languages on the Shaanxi and Gansu dialects has resulted in the definite difference seen today. As the analysis takes its basis in the differences between the two language variants Dungan and Chinese, it is important to look into how the differences between the two is presented, whether or not these differences are presented as advantageous or as setbacks. The author argues that the differences between the two variants are results of development in the language. Hence, the sentences that I will look into will to a large degree contain references to change and development. Another subject which also will be dealt with and discussed in the analysis is how the sender refers to the Dungans, if and in that case, how the Dungans are seen as a part of the Chinese community. As the article is published in a journal that has a geopolitical focus on the Xinjiang province of China, I should reflect on that the sender in all likely hood projects a focus on northwestern China.

4. 9. Abstract:

The article can be divided into two main parts: the difference between Dungan language and modern standard Chinese and the measures that should be taken so that Dungan should be preserved and develop further. The title of the first paragraph is called *Dongganyu he xiandai Hanyu de chabie*- “The difference between Dungan language and Modern Chinese”. The paragraph gives the reader an introduction of the change in Dungan and Modern Chinese vocabulary and sentence syntax over a certain time period (mid 19th century- 2000). The second paragraph's title is *Dongganyu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojian xia baocun he fazhan*- “How Dungan language should be preserved and developed under new circumstances”. The third and last part of the article is simply called *Jieyu*- “Conclusion”. It offers a summary of that which has been discussed in the article, together with an appeal to the reader concerning the future of Dungan language.

4. 10. Speech acts and social strategies

Keywords:

As described in the resume the first part of the argumentation is concerned with the actual differences between the two languages/ variants of the same language. These differences is said to be a result of the development under different circumstances and are the main arguments for why Dungan can be seen as a variant of Chinese and not an independent language. Parts of this problem are discussed in the article written by Hai Feng: Dungan Language in Central Asia- The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect which was published two years after this article was published.

Since development and change are the key words of the article my main focus in this part of the analysis will be on how the sender presents the different changes and developments of the two language variants rather than who sender is and who (s)he is aiming it at. Examples from the text that will be included in the textual analysis all contain or are concerned with the notion of change and development in some way. As mentioned previously, the first theme treated in the article is the differences between Dungan and modern standard Chinese. This theme is separated into two other themes, one on the vocabulary differences between the two and one on the sentence structure. I have deliberately chosen to focus on text examples from the first part of the paragraph. This is due to the variation in length in the two subjects treated. (For a comparison in length and thoroughness between the two, see p. 139 of the article.)

4. 10. 1. Text example 1

在东干语离开汉语这一大的语言环境后，东干语走上了自己的道路，汉语同样在后岁月中发生了巨大的变化。

Zai Dongganyu likai Hanyu zhe yi da de yuyan huanjing hou, Dongganyu zou shang le ziji de fazhan daolu, Hanyu tongyang zai hou sui yue zhong fasheng le juda de bianhua.

After Dungan language left behind the great linguistic environment of Chinese Dungan language stepped upon its own developmental road, and Chinese similarly underwent enormous changes in the years after. (p.139)

Textual structure

The first example of Hai Feng's article is found in the very first paragraph: *Dunganyu he xiandai Hanyu de chabie*- "Differences between Dungan language and modern standard Chinese" under the first entry which is called *cibui fangmian de bufen chayi*- "vocabulary differences". Even though the two clauses follow a relative similar syntactical structure, they differ in how the two languages are described to the reader of the text.

In this text example we find 11 nouns (4 proper nouns and 7 common nouns)

- *Dongganyu*
- *Hanyu*
- *yuyan*
- *huanjing*
- *Dongganyu*
- *fazhan*
- *daolu*
- *Hanyu*
- *suiyue*
- *bianhua*

and only 3 verb (of which all are dynamic).

- *Likai*
- *zoushang*

The usage of perfective aspect marker - le that is used in both clauses after the verbs which is used to describe the two languages, *fasheng le juda de bianhua*- “underwent enormous changes” and *zoushang le ziji de fazhan daolu*- “stepped upon its own developmental road” marks the completed action of the experienced change.

The adverbs that are found in the text are mostly adverbs that functions as a time reference to the development of the Dungan and Chinese language, while the adjectives that are found in the sentence are also used to describe the languages development rather than the language in itself. The usage of adjectives modifying the two topics (Dungan and Chinese language) differs significantly. Whereas Chinese is described both as *Hanyu zhe yi da huanjing*- “Chinese, this great linguistic environment” and its changes and development as *juda*- “enormous”, Dungan`s development is described as going its own way, *ziji de daolu*. The example is used to assert something about the Dungan and Chinese language, the subject is concrete, but that the topic is described in a non- specific way. Therefore, we can say that it belongs to a nominal, concrete, non- specific lexico grammatical dimension.

Ideational structure

The example describes why it is so that Dungan and Chinese are variants of each other, not the exact same. The statement can be seen as a comparison between the Dungan and the Chinese language. Both sentences refer to changes as something that has already happened. While Dungan development is only mentioned indirectly in the article, by saying that it has gone its own way, the Chinese development is promoted more direct through the noun phrase *juda de bianhua*- “enormous changes”. Here the adjective *tongyang*, meaning “same” is used to foreground the contrast between the two languages. This is not the only place where Chinese language is put in contrast with Dungan. Earlier in the paragraph, the sentence, which our text example precedes, contains the noun phrase *juda de bianhua*- “enormous changes”, this is the exact same wording that is found in the description of Chinese in text example number 1. There, the phrase is also used to describe elements of Chinese language.

Interpersonal structure

Nowhere in the article's paragraph on the differences between Dungan and Chinese language is the reader approached directly by including him/ her in attitudes presented in the text. Does neither the sender of the text make her / him known to the reader, or present any of the statements as his / her own opinion instead of facts. Regardless of the direct absence of the

sender of the text, there are still elements of the sender of the text's attitude that can be seen in the paragraph. Earlier in the analysis, under the part concerned with the ideational analysis of the article I looked at how Dungan and Chinese were contrasted using the noun phrases *ziji de fazhan daolu* and *juda de bianhua*.

When looking at these two noun phrases, how they function in the paragraph from an interpersonal view we see that the two can also be used to mark how the sender expresses her/his attitude towards this contrast. Instead of arguing that the sender of the text makes use of value words when presenting her statement, we can say that she uses a hyperbole when she describes the development of Chinese vocabulary as *juda*- “enormous, immense”. This does not mean that the claim is a false one; Chinese has without a doubt changed and developed over the years. However, the usage of the adjective *juda* attest that the sender has made an effort in finding a truly strong expression to really show how the development has taken place. The hyperbole’s most important social function is to mark the “textual I” and its strong certainty that he/ she is right, – a commitment which is to be approved by the reader. (Hellspong & Ledin, 1997, s. 184)

14. 10. 2. Text example 2

仅19世纪到20世纪中期，汉语中产生新词5000个。

Jin 19 shiji chu dao 20 shiji zhong qi, Hanyu zhong chansheng xin ci 5000 ge.

From the beginning of the 19th century up until the mid 20th century 5000 new words has appeared in Chinese. (p.139)

Textual structure

Jin 19 shiji qun dao 20 shiji zhong qi Hanyu zhong chansheng xin ci 5000 ge has been chosen as the second text example. The reason for this choice is that is describing Chinese in a way that is not found as for Dungan language in the same text. The statement is a further elaboration on the development of Dungan and Chinese language which follows directly a statement which gives us the specific time reference of the changes in Dungan language (*100 duo nian yilai, Hanyu cibui you le ben da de bianhua*- “Over the last hundred years Chinese vocabulary has changed greatly”). . The statements are connected with the first text example of the analysis through the sentence *Jin yi cibui wei lie*- “Simply using vocabulary as an example”.

Within the text example we find 5 nouns, whereas 1 is a proper noun (*Hanyu*- Chinese) and the rest are common nouns.

- *shiji*
- *shiji*
- *qi*
- *Hanyu*
- *ci*

The usage of the proper noun *Hanyu* indicates that the topic that is treated is not just language in general, but Chinese specifically. The only verb found in the sentence is the dynamic *chansheng*- ‘produce’. The adjectives *chu*- ‘early’, *zhong*- ‘middle’ and *xin*- ‘new’ are used to describe the time of the change and the words that emerged. The description of the change is further elaborated on by the use of numerals.

Ideational structure

By leaving out information or being vague on the situation of the Dungan language, the reader can easier form an impression of the changes in the Chinese language, rather than the Dungan. Both the specific time reference *jin 19 shiji qun dao 20 shiji zhong*- ‘from the beginning of the 19th century to the mid 20th century’ and the accurateness of the number of new words created (5000) is very different from the time reference linked to Dungan language. As for possible new, created words in the Dungan vocabulary, this is not mentioned. The focus of the text has become more and more specific the further the reader gets into the text. From a relatively general heading on the differences between Dungan and modern standard Chinese, to a more specific heading on the differences between Dungan and modern standard Chinese vocabulary to exactly when, what kind and how many differences have occurred, with an emphasis on the Chinese part.

Interpersonal structure

The sender of the text does not refer directly to the reader of the text, nor does (s)he present the statement presented as her/ his own. Looking at the text we see that the example contains a reference to another publication (using a footnote), *jin xiandai Hanyu xinci ciyuan cidian*, a Chinese dictionary containing new words in Modern Chinese, published in 2001 by the publishing house of *Hanyu da cidian chubanshe*. This reference creates a new voice in the text, no researchers or linguists are named in the claim, making it more abstract. The reference makes the claim seem

trustworthy. The goal of the statement seems to be pedagogical, the reader is meant to learn something new about Chinese language.

4. 10. 3. Text example 3

不能否认，正式这些词语使东干语 带有了鲜明的汉语方言特色，并有一些古香古色的特色。

Bu neng founen, zhengshi zhe xie ciyu shi Dongganyu dai you le xianming de Hanyu fangyan tese, bing you yi xie gu xiang guse de tedian.”

It cannot be denied that it is precisely these words that have caused Dungan language to have an obvious Chinese dialect characteristic, and at the same time also have some “old-fashioned” features. (p.139)

Textual structure

The third and last example when it comes to the part of the analysis which is mainly concerned with the keywords of the article is found in the in the end of part one of paragraph one on the differences between Dungan and modern standard Chinese. Here the two proper nouns *Dongganyu* and *Hanyu* are connected two each other through the static verb *daiyou*- “to contain” which here is translated into to have. Further, the adjective *xianming*- “clear, bright” is used to modify the noun phrase *Hanyu fangyan tese*- “Chinese dialect characteristics”. The clause *bing you yi xie guxiang guse de tedian*- points back to the Dungan language.

Ideational structure

It can be understood as a conclusion to that which is special about Dungan language. It does like the earlier part of the paragraph treat the vocabulary, but when comparing the description of Dungan with the description of the Chinese vocabulary, we see that quite different aspects of the two are treated. The phrase which introduces the core meaning of the clause; *bu neng founen* can be translated either as it cannot be denied or as we cannot deny, depending on how the reader chooses to read the sentence. This is because it is perfectly possible to leave out a pronoun or a noun within Chinese grammar if the word has been mentioned previously in the text and that the reader will understand from the context that which has been left out of the text. Therefore, if one is to read the phrase *bu neng founen* as We cannot deny followed by the actual claim, one could interpret the statement as to not being a simple fact, but as something that someone (we) feel about the subject of Dungan language which is that Dungan is something very different from modern standard Chinese.

Interpersonal structure

The speech act of the text example is statement; the sender of the text does not specifically approach the reader saying that this is his or her view. The reader must decide if it is the sender of the text that presents his or her own view or not. The claim constructs a picture of Dungan at present as something exotic compared to modern standard Chinese and at the same time as something genuinely authentic Chinese. This is done by including attributives such as *xianming de Hanyu fangyan tese*- distinct Chinese dialect characteristics and *yi xie guxiang guse de tedian*- some antique characteristics. These two expressions are not explained as having a negative or a positive connotation.

4. 11. Interpersonal structure- The usage of 1. and 3. person plural

The article *Lun Donggan yu de Fazhan* is separated into two distinct parts, the first one which explains the current differences between Dungan and Chinese, and the second one part, which explains how Dungan language should be preserved and developed under new circumstances.

When comparing the two different parts of the article up against each other it is clear to see that there is a much stronger focus on a subject perspective, in the part on preservation and development than in the part on differences between the two languages. In the second part of the article, which focuses on the preservation and development we see that the sender of the text actively and directly approach the reader of the text, presenting his/ her attitudes openly. What could be the reason for this change in terms of the sender's presence in the text? Could the reason for a distance in terms of senders' voice in the first part of the article be due to topics treated in the text? Opposed to an explanation on the differences between two language variants the act of *baocun*- "to preserve" and *fazhan*- "to develop" demands an agent. In previous analysis, which have treated the same topic being treated now, namely interpersonal structure I have chosen to look into the usage of the personal pronoun plural we. This will also be done in this article, but instead on focusing on who "we" applies to, I will now look into how "we" is presented and how "we" presents the topic treated.

4. 11. 1. Text example 1

谈到东干语的发展，我们必须意识到，对于作为像故道一样的东干语，它的保存和发展必然会受到强势语言的影响和抑制。

Tandao Dongganyu de fazhan, women bixu yao yishi dao, duiyu zuowei xiang gudao yiyang cunzai de Dongganyu, ta de baocun he fazhan biran hui shoudao qiangshi yuyan de yingxiang he yizhi.

When speaking of the development of Dungan, we must be aware that as for Dungan having an existence of an isolated island, its preservation and development will inevitably be subject to the forceful linguistic influence and restraints of the dominant language. (p.139)

Textual structure

The text example is found in the very beginning of the paragraph and can be seen as an introduction to the theme treated. It immediately follows the headline *Er, Dongganyu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojian xia baocun he fazhan*- “Two, How Dungan language should be preserved and developed under new circumstances”. The text example is made up by several clauses, both dependent, and independent clauses. The noun *Dongganyu*- “Dungan language” is found twice in the text, emphasizing and reminding us of the topic treated. It is also the only proper noun that is found in the text example. Of nouns, there are ten all together in the sentence.

- *Dongganyu*
- *fazhan*
- *gudao*
- *qiangshi*
- *baocun*
- *Dongganyu*
- *fazhan*
- *yuyan*
- *yingxiang*
- *yizhi*

Of pronouns, both singular and plural forms of third person personal pronoun are found in the text. The word *ta*- “it” refers to Dungan language. The pronoun *women*- “we” is found in the beginning of the sentence. Of verbs, we find both modal auxiliaries, static and passive ones. The dynamic verbs include *tan*- “talk, discuss”, *yishi*- “to realize/ to be aware”, *zuowei*- “to regard... as/ having an existence” and *shoudao*, meaning to accept, to receive or to suffer from. The two verbs *yao* and *hui* function here as modal auxiliaries. The verb *dao* occur several times in the sentence, both after the verb *tan* and *yishi*. In these two instances, *dao* functions as a *buyu*, a compliment indicating that a goal or result has been achieved.

Ideational structure

The sentence is started off with the phrase *Tandao Dongganyu de fazhan* which by itself can be translated into “Speaking of the development of Dungan language”. Here the sender of the text clearly signalizes what is the main topic of the sentence: the development of the Dungan language. Even though this is the main topic for the paragraph, the core message of the sentence is the preservation and development of the Dungan language and how a dominant language surely influences it.

The overall theme of the paragraph is Dungan language and the measures that should be taken to ensure a future for the language. This specific example does not have its focus on the measures, which should be taken, but does instead, explain and remind the reader of the situation of the present state of Dungan language. Although Dungan is compared to an isolated island, its situation or state is not directly mirrored up against something else, instead we observe that the “isolated island” is seen in connection with that which the sender of the text calls *qiangshi yuyan de jingxiang he yizhi*; meaning the influence and restraints of the dominant language. In this example there is no acting part, instead something is happening to the Dungan language. It is a passive experiencer. Its development and preservation is completely out of its own control. The adjective *biran* meaning inevitably contributes to this impression. The Dungan language appear as an experiencer of a development of change, not an agent that makes something happen.

Interpersonal structure

As for type of speech act, the text example is not presented directly as scientific facts; instead, it can be seen as a statement that expresses the view of the sender. The personal pronoun *women* signalizes the sentence to be treated as a view expressed by a subject perspective, an author's voice, rather than a (common known?) fact. The *women* in this text example can be seen more as the urger for protection of the language, concerned with its future, rather than a voice of scholars and experts speaking on the behalf of the Dungan language. When describing the Dungan language and its present state, the sender compares Dungan to an isolated island-- *xiang guda*. The voice that utters this claim does not explain further what is meant precisely by it. It is not mentioned clearly what specific language the sender is referring to, nevertheless it is highly likely that the dominant language is Russian and Turkic languages.

14. 11. 2. Text example 2

作为语言工作者，我们也有责任向广大的东干群众提供正理解释这类词汇加强，他们对这写词语的了解了和掌握从而使东干语的词汇更加丰富。

Zuowei yuyan gongzuozhe, women ye you zeren guangda de Donggan qunzhong tígong zhèng lǐjiě shì zhè lèi cíhuì jiāqiáng, tāmen duì zhè xiě cíyǔ de liǎojiě hé zhǎngwǒ cōng`er shì Donggānyǔ de cíhuì gèngjiā fēngfù.

Being someone who works with language, we also have the responsibility to provide the general Dungan public with organized explanations of this type of vocabulary, and to strengthen their mastery and understanding and mastery of these words, and thereby allow the Dungan vocabulary to become even richer. (p.140)

Textual structure

Example nr. 2 is found in conclusion of the second part of paragraph on development and preservation under the heading *xishou Hanyu putonghua de xinci xinyu*—“absorbing new expressions from modern standard Chinese”. The sentence is made up by several clauses, dependent, and independent. The sentence is concrete and clear on what is going on and who is doing it. This is due to the specific nouns and that which is used to modify these. For instance, the verb phrase *zuowei yuyan gongzuozhe*—“being someone who works with language” is used to refer to the pronoun *women* so as to clarify who *women* is. In addition to this, the proper nouns such as *Donggan* and *Dongganyu* further specify what is being the sentence`s target. Following nouns are found in the text example:

- *yuyan gongzuozhe*
- *zeren*
- *Donggan*
- *cihui*
- *ciyu*
- *Dongganyu*
- *lei*
- *cihui*

The majority of the verbs that occur in the text example are dynamic, indicating an action, a change, rather than a state.

- *zuowei*

- *you*
- *tigong*
- *lijie*
- *zheng*
- *shi* (explain)
- *jiachang*
- *liaojie*
- *zhangwu*
- *shi* (cause)

Of adjectives and adverb, the adjective *guangda*- “general” is used to modify the noun phrase *Donggan qunzhong*- “Dungan masses”, the adverb *gengjia*, meaning even more/ still more is used to modify the adjective *fengfu*- “richer”. Of pronouns, we find both first and third person plural personal pronoun: *women* and *tamen*. The determiner *zhe*- “this” is found twice in the sentence, referring to “a type of vocabulary”- *zhe lei huici* and “these words”- *zhe xie ciyu*.

Ideational structure

While the first part of the paragraph was concerned with the different reasons for why Dungan now is in need to be preserved and developed, the second part is concerned with the different measures which could be and are being taken so as to enrich and develop Dungan. These measures are roughly divided into two bulks, one on the different new words and expressions from Central Asian, which are absorbed into Dungan and one on new words, and expressions absorbed from modern standard Chinese into Dungan. The first part (on Central Asian influence) consists of one sentence, which takes up 6 lines. On the other hand, the part on Chinese influence consists of 5 sentences, stretching over 16 lines. In addition to the length of the two parts, they differ in the fact that the part one has a total absence of modality, where as in the second part different modal verbs occur several times, listed in chronological order: *yingdang*— should, *xiang*-- want, *yinggai*-- should/ ought to and *keyi*-- can.

The two different parts header follows the exact same syntactical pattern, this can give the reader the impression that the two text parts “behave” in the same way, that Dungan as it has absorbed both words and expressions from Central Asian languages such as Russian, Kyrgyz and Kazak as well as Chinese. The heading *xishou putonghua de xin yu xin ci*-- absorbing new words and

expressions from modern standard Chinese indicates that the following statements regarding the topic which is to be discussed could make the reader assume that this applies to both Russian, Turkic and Chinese. When looking at the actual content of the text found under the heading we find that this is not the case. The different modal verbs found in the text functions as a safeguarding from the sender's perspective. The repetitive use of modal verbs with a connotation of need expresses case circumstances, which should be done, due to the demands of usefulness. This creates a very different meaning.

Interpersonal structure

As for the usage of *women*-- we it is clear that it here shows the subject perspective of Chinese linguists, both sender and reader. In the part of the text where our text example is found previous sentences are treated as facts or as advices. The usage of *women* as well as the direct reference to Chinese researchers indicates that the following claim can be seen as the senders own view on the Chinese linguists' role and responsibility in regards to Dungan language. Opposed to the majority of the other sentences in the part on modern standard Chinese influence which contain modal auxiliary verb, our text example has none. Instead of saying that Chinese scholars should take responsibility towards the Dungan people and their language, the sender asserts us as scholars that we have a responsibility. We- the scholars are presented as someone vigorous.

While *women* takes on the role as Agent, the Dungan people and Dungan language is reduced to taking the role as the Experiencer throughout the text. While Chinese scholars are given a voice, the Dungans are not, despite being mentioned several times in the text. This could give the impression of the Chinese scholars as the overall active part, while Dungan language is being seen as something stagnant without the help from Chinese scholars.

4. 11. 3. Text example 3

目前的东干语言整除在发展的惯技时期，社会发生了巨大的变革，原来的语言环境和政治环境都发生了巨大的变化。东干语的教学和传授都面临着严峻的考验。在这样一个历史关头，我们有必要对东干语未来的前景做一番和探讨。

Muqian de Donggan yuyan zhengchu zai fazhan de guanjian shiqi, shehui fasheng le juda de biange, yuanlai de yuyan huanjing he zhengzhi huanjing dou fashengle juda de bianhua, Dongganyu de jiaoxue he chuanshou dou mianlinzhe yanjun de kaoyan. Zai zhe yang yi ge lishi guantou, women you biyao dui Dongganyu weilai de qianjing zuo yifan yanjiu he tantao.

The current Dungan language finds itself in a pivotal period of its development, enormous reformations have taken place in society and the original linguistic and political circumstances have also undergone great changes, the teaching and transmittal of Dungan language is

both faced with severe ordeals and at such a historical juncture we must carry out research and enquirers in to the prospects of the Dungan language. (p. 140)

Textual structure

The sentences that have been chosen for this analysis are found in the conclusion of the very article under the headline *jiēyu-* conclusion. Opposed to the majorities of the previous text examples this consists of two sentences analyzed together, instead of one. This is because the two sentences are in direct relation to each other, as the last sentence is a if not direct consequence of the previous one, than at least an invitation to do something about the situation which was described in the previous sentence. The sentences contain both proper and common nouns. The proper noun *Dongganyu-* “Dungan language” is found twice, once in the first sentence, and once in the second. The text example contains 15 nouns all together.

- *Dongganyu*
- *fazhan*
- *guanjian*
- *shiqi*
- *shehui*
- *biange*
- *yuyan*
- *huanjing*
- *zhengzhi*
- *huanjing*
- *bianhua*
- *Dongganyu*
- *jiaoxue*
- *chuanshou*
- *kaoyou*

The numbers of verbs that occur in the text example are far fewer. The first we encounter is the static verb *chu-* “to be in”. This is the only verb in the text example that is static, the other three:

fasheng- “to happen/ occur” which occurs twice and *mianlin*- “to face” are all dynamic. Further, the durative aspect marker *zhe* is used to modify the verb *mianlin*, so as to indicate that this is a continuing action. While there are few verbs in the sentences, which make up the example, the usage of adverbs and adjectives is more frequent. The adjective *juda*- “enormous” is used to modify the two nouns *biange* and *bianhua*, meaning transformation and change respectively. The adjective “rigorous”- *yanjun* modifies the noun *kaoyou*- “test”. All the adverbs found in the text are time adverb.

Ideational structure

As mentioned earlier, the text example is found in the last part of the article’s conclusion. The main theme of the paragraph that the example belongs to is the development of the Dungan language, however, the main emphasis in the sentences looked into seems to be on the time perspective of the development and that, which is causing a “threat” to the Dungan language, namely the changes in different aspects of society. The textual means found in the sentences, such as the noun phrases *juda de biange* and *juda de bianhua* are very similar to how the Chinese vocabulary was described in the article’s introduction where the phrases *juda de bianhua* and *ben da de gaibian* were used. The text example functions as a comment, an introduction to the conclusion’s core message: *Women you biyao dui Dongganyu weilai de qianjing zuo yi fan yuanjin he tantao*- “We must carry out research and enquirers in to the prospects of the Dungan language”. The core message is signaled through the phrase: *zai zhe yang yi ge lishi guanton*- “at such a historical juncture like this”.

Interpersonal structure

The two sentences which make up the text example are put together to illustrate the background for which the sender expresses him/ herself concerning Dungan language. Our starting point for the analysis of the text example is the use of the pronoun *women*, which occurs, in the last sentence of the entire article. When looking at the context for how *women* is used we cannot say for sure who it includes. However, it is most likely that it is used with the purpose of referring to the sender and the reader, than it referring to us, Chinese researchers, us, researchers, or us as Chinese to create goodwill towards the next that is being expressed. As the speech act is a statement, an invitation to help strengthening Dungan language the usage of *women* creates a community, which the reader can choose to feel included in or not. If the reader chooses to be a part of the women in the text, it could make it easier to feel as if the strengthening of Dungan language is something, which concerns them. When comparing the usage of *women* in this text

example in relation to how it is used earlier in the same paragraph, the same pronoun is used in the very first sentence of the conclusion. The two occurrences of the word function almost as a kind of frame for the views that are presented.

4. 12. Interpreting the text: views and attitudes

The main goal of the analysis of the article was to investigate what kinds of attitudes on the Dungan language and people was presented in the article and how they were presented. This was to be further narrowed down by looking into how different aspects of Dungan and Chinese were contrasted up against each other and how/ if the two parties were compared to each other through the use of the personal pronouns *women* and *tamen*- we and they.

The article *Lun Dongganyu de fazhan* by Hai Feng is mainly concerned with various aspects of the development of Dungan language, however, the focus on change in the Chinese language seems to be of equally size. This theme run as a thread throughout the whole article and colours the various aspects that are looked into in the analysis.

4. 12. 1. Textual analysis

We should start by looking more closely at the meaning of the word *fazhan*. The definition of the Chinese word in the *Han yu Da Cidian*- Stor Kinesisk Norsk Ordbok is: utvikle (develop), utvide (expand), styrke (strengthen) (p.255)

However, what is meant by *fazhan*- “development”? In the article *Anthropology and development: the uneasy relationship* by D. Lewis, 2005, the following is written about the definition of “development”:

While dictionary definitions focus on the idea of “a stage of growth or advancement”, development remains a complex and ambiguous term which carries with more layers of meaning than simply this definition. As a verb “development” refers to activities required to bring about change or progress, and is often linked strongly to economic growth. As an adjective “development” implies a standard against which different rates of progress maybe compared, and if therefore takes on a subjective, judgmental element in which societies or communities are sometimes compared and positioned at different “stages” of an evolutionary development schema.(Lewis, 2005, p. 4)

Although this quote treats and problematizes the term development seen in light of anthropology, it is also possible to apply this view of the adjective “development” in terms of linguistics.

Instead of presenting and contrasting societies or communities, the topic treated here is linguistics and how languages develop as society develops. The author does not provide us with a definition of the term, but she does explain the differences, which have occurred through time, which has separated Dungan and Chinese language. By looking at how Dungan and China are presented we can see how the change and development in the two are presented. Is the

development portrayed as something positive or as something negative? After all, it is the development of the two variants which is the reason for why the speakers of the two language variants have such difficulties when it comes to communicate with each other.

The main topic of the article is the development of Dungan language; this is further narrowed down in the headings of the different paragraphs. Already in the article's rather short introduction, which is made up by only seven lines the word *qubie*- “distinction”, is used to describe the relation between Dungan and Chinese. The first paragraph heading in the article is concerned with one aspect of development, which has led to differences between Dungan and Chinese. This heading has potential for the reader to expect the following paragraph to compare the two languages, discussing the two variant`s differences and similarities. However, when reading the paragraph we see that there is a clear focus on the changes in the Chinese language.

In the article`s introduction the word *qubie*- “distinction” was used to describe Dungan and Chinese, in the first paragraph header the word *chabie*- “difference” was used. Over the next lines Dungan and Chinese are compared to each other in terms of difference. First, Chinese is described with the noun phrase *juda de bianhua*- “enormous changes”. The next sentence follows up by using the noun phrase *ziji de fazhan daolu*- “its own path of development” to describe the situation of the Dungan language. The word *tongyang* which occurs in the next sentence again usually takes the meaning of an adjective meaning the same or similar. Here it functions as a conjunction meaning likewise. It is used to start of a new sentence and can be seen as a kind of passage from the paragraphs preliminary to its main part: the changes in Chinese and Dungan. When looking at the two language variants from a quantitative perspective we can for instance see the difference in how the two are portrayed as eight sentences are used on explaining how Chinese has developed and only four on Dungan language. Several numerals are used to refer to the changes in Chinese, in terms of both time perspective and the “amount of change”.

The word *bianhua*, which is found not only in the first part of the paragraph, is an important theme throughout the article. It seems to be portrayed as something positive. Nevertheless, this is my understanding of how *bianhua* is presented, it is not certain that other readers of the text understand the phenomenon in the same way. The notion of *bianhua*, change is linked to the Chinese vocabulary and how it has grown enormously over a specific time. The vocabulary changes are according to the article largely concerned with terms used in politic and on the Internet. This gives the impression that the Chinese language is something that moves with the times, being up to date and dynamic.

The conjunction *tongyang*- “likewise” is again used later on in the paragraph to shift focus onto Dungan language. One would expect the part on Dungan language to be about vocabulary changes as well, but it does not turn out that way. The word *bianhua* is not used to describe the changes in Dungan vocabulary. Neither is there any specific time reference to the Dungan language. Instead the textual structure (in regard of choice of words, expressions etc.) of this particular part of the paragraph seems to be more focus on present Dungan language and how it hasn't changed. Expressions such as *guoqu de yuci*- “antique words” which are used to describe Dungan words, and *yijing shiqu le*- “already lost” which is used to describe how these words are linked to modern Chinese also help create an image of Dungan as something static opposed to Chinese language.

The different words meaning change such as *bianhua* and *biange*, and *fazhan*- “development” are again found in the second part of the article under the header *Er, Donggan yu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojian baogun he fazhan*. Based on how the term *fazhan* is used in the second part of the article it seems as if the meaning of the word switches between having the meaning of develop and development and to strengthen. The development and preservation of Dungan language- *ta de baocun he fazhan* can be connected to the phrase *kunnan* and *kunhuo*, meaning respectively difficulties and confusion. From this part of the article, the word *fazhan* is seen in relation to how Dungan can be revived and kept spoken. Depending on whether or not change is seen as something positive or negative, the meaning of *Donggan fazhan* seem to change. If change is associated with something positive, the word *fazhan* seems to have the connotation of development. However, if the change threatens the Dungan language, the word *fazhan* could be interpreted as to take the meaning of to strengthen.

4. 12. 2. Ideational interpretation

The two first text examples given earlier in the analysis function as an introduction to the following explanation/ argumentation on how and why the two language variants Dungan and Chinese has changed. The following examples explain in what way the languages have changed. The examples appear as clear facts; they are all declarative sentences, none that contain words expressing modality. This makes the statements seem even more fixed. When comparing how the two languages are treated we see that Chinese, opposed to Dungan is given a voice through the numbers on new words in the Chinese vocabulary presented by the statistics of the experts- *zhuanjia tongji*. While the Dungan development is described as taking its own path through the phrase: *Dongganyu zou shang le ziji de daolu*, Chinese on the other hand is repeatedly described as having experienced: *juda de bianhua* – “enormous changes” (three times within the paragraph) and *ben da bianhua*- “very big changes”. The focus in the Chinese development and change is on the

concrete emergence of new words after the creation of the P.R.C, both for the time period and the amount of words created. The fast Chinese development is listed as one of the main reasons why Dungan and Chinese people today experiences difficulties when communicating with each other.

While the focus on Chinese language development lies in the creation of new words and the speed of which they emerges, the focus of Dungan development lies elsewhere. That which separates Dungan from Chinese is the words, which they have kept in their vocabulary. These words have already fallen out of the Chinese vocabulary, but are described by the author as words giving the Dungan language a touch of “*xianming de hanyu fangyan tese*” and “*gu xiang gu se de tedian*”- characteristics and an antique feeling. It is evident that Chinese is perceived as a progressive language, evolving and developing itself in time with society and the world to a much stronger degree than Dungan language. It is worth reflecting on why there is not given room for an account on the development of new words in the Dungan vocabulary. Why is that? From other sources it is proved that Dungan just like Chinese has experienced changes, but most of the new words which has become a part of Dungan vocabulary has been borrowed from Russian and different Turkic languages. One could interpret the comparison to mean that the Dungan language or the speakers of Dungan language make up an isolated community amongst a majority of Russian and Turkic speakers, completely cut off from the greater Chinese language environment.

4. 12. 3. Interpersonal interpretation

It is easy to form the impression that the sender of the article aims the article at someone who is familiar with the Dungan people, their language and also the earlier research conducted on the this field by the author. There are some clues in the article, which helps in forming this image. Firstly, the article is found in the *Xinjiang Daxue Xuebao (Zhengxue Renwen Shehui Kexue ban)*- “Journal of Xinjiang University (Philosophy Social Science). Since this journal is aimed specifically at research conducted in or about the Xinjiang area concerned with topics related Philosophy and Social Science it is very likely that the imagined reader is someone interested, with knowledge of these two topics. Secondly, the article is written in Chinese, therefore we know that it is aimed at a Chinese/ Chinese speaking audience. Thirdly, the sender of the text points out earlier research on the Dungan language conducted by herself without special references to what specific research that has been done. This is seen early in the introduction of the article where Hai Feng says:

Cong women de diaocha he jin yi bu de yanjiu lai, Dongganyu shi Hanyu fangyan jingwai de tewai bianti.

Seen from our investigation and continuing research, we see that Dungan language is an extraterritorial variety of a Chinese dialect. (Hai, 2005, p. 139)

From these different aspects, we can assume that the author of the article expects the reader to understand, that which is discussed in the article with no further introduction. Later on in the text, it is even clearer whom the sender of the article aims it at. When describing the interpersonal structure of the article earlier in the analysis, the sentence

Zuowei yuyan gongzuozhe, women ye you zeren xiang guangda de Donggan qunzhong tigong zheng lijie shi zhe lei cibui, jiaqiang tamen dui zhe xie ciyu de liaojie he zhangwo, conger shi Dongganyu de cibui gengjia fengfu.

As linguists, we also have a responsibility for providing strengthening, sorting out and explaining the vocabulary for the Dungan masses, their understanding of these terms causes the Dungan vocabulary to become even richer. (Hai, 2005, p. 140)

This quote tells us that the author expects the reader, as linguists like herself to take on the responsibility of enriching and strengthening the Dungan vocabulary. Therefore we can say that the ideal reader of the text is either Chinese, or someone who has high enough proficiency in the language to read an academic journal, interested in topics related to humanist studies. In the process of finding out that the ideal reader of the article is, we also form a picture of who the sender of the article is, and what she expects from the reader. In the second part of the analysis, which looks into the interpersonal structure in the article I have again looked into how the personal pronoun *women-* we is used, much the same way which was done in the previous analysis on Hai Feng's article *Zhongya Donggan Yu shi Hanyu Xibei Fangyan de Yüwai Bianti- Dungan Language in Central – Asia – The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect*. As the second article i.e. *On the Development of Dungan Language* is a two page article the text examples are fewer (three) than in the article on *Zhongya Donggan Yu shi Hanyu Xibei Fangyan de Yüwai Bianti- Dungan Language in Central – Asia – The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect*. Further, I have in this analysis looked into how “we” are presented opposed to the previous analysis where I looked into who “we” included.

The sender of the text approaches the reader several times within the article, but it is always through an including *women-* “we”, never using the second person singular or plural *ni-* you (sing.) or *nimen-* you (pl.). What could be the reason for this consequent usage of the pronoun *women*? As an academic text, its aim is to appear objective and impersonal when presenting both facts and arguments. Nevertheless, at the same time as appearing objective and impersonal to give an impression of professionalism there is also a question/ problem of seeming too impersonal. The sender of the text risks not engaging the reader who will distance him/ herself from the text. From looking at text example four, five and six in *Lun Donggan yu de Fazhan* we see that the three

sentences which have been the starting point for the interpersonal analysis makes the role of *women- we* seem very active in the text. As for the power relation in the text, we can separate the different actors into active and passive roles. The actors in the text are roughly separated into us and them- Chinese/ Standard Mandarin Chinese speaker and Dungsans/ Dungan speakers. There is little difference in the frequency of how often the two different parties are referred to in the text (*Zhongguoren, Putonghua de Zhongguoren, women, Dongganren, Dongganzu, Donggan qunzhong, tamen*). However, it seems as if the *woman* in the article often takes the role of agent in the text. In all the text examples chosen, which deal with interpersonal structure it is the *women- we* who experience or do something. *Women- we* (as linguists) must realize something, take/ have responsibility, are obliged to carry out something. The Dungan peoples own will and own accomplished measures to do something to protect and develop their own language is hardly mentioned.

The main stress of the paragraph *Donggan yu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojian xia baocun he fazhan* is put on possible suggestions from the view of (Chinese) linguists on preservation and development of Dungan language making the Dungan people and language be portrayed as something passive, that which something is done to.

4. 13. Social Discourse, the surroundings of the text

In order to frame the discourse that is studied in this article we should try to keep in mind where the text analyzed is found. As mentioned previously the article was first published in a university journal *Xinjiang daxue xuebao (zhengxue renwen kexueban)- Journal of Xinjiang University (Philosophy Social Science)*. As the article is written in simplified Chinese, we can assume that the expected reader is a Chinese speaker with an interest in topics relevant to the Xinjiang province of China, this as the journal has a profile aiming at topics concerning politics and other aspects of humanistic research based mainly in the Xinjiang province. The original intentions of analyzing this article was partly to look into how different aspects of it was linked to the theme which are of interest for the journal it was published in, namely research with a focus on and connected to the Xinjiang province. There are however, few direct references and descriptions a connection between Xinjiang based culture, language, research and politics and Dungan culture, language, research and politics apart from the Shaanxi and Gansu Chinese languages which Dungan language derives from, but the Dungan language derives from north western Chinese dialect, not from Xinjiang, but from the Gansu and Shaanxi province. Despite the lack of a direct reference between the language politics in Xinjiang and the development of Dungan language, there is a clear similarity in how Dungan language is described in the article and the general attitude found in Xinjiang politics concerning the relation between the official languages Mandarin and Uighur. As Dwyer in her study of Xinjiang language discourse points out: although both Mandarin and

Uighur are official languages in the region, there seems to be a clear favour towards the use of Mandarin in all public areas, as it is presented as language which offers more possibilities both work- and education- wise.

The sender of the article states early in the article that Dungan is a Chinese language. Here Dungan is described as a special variant of Chinese, as a: *Hanyu zai jingwai de tesbu bianti- a special variant of Chinese outside the borders of China*. Further, the specialness of Dungan according to the author is explained as the traits which it has absorbed from Russian and different Turkic languages. In the article, little emphasis is put on this fact. The Turkic and Russian influence is described with one sentence, under the section header *Xishou Zhongya minzu yuyan de xin ci xin yu- absorbing new words and expressions from Central Asian languages* (p.140). Another feature of the Dungan language is presented early in the article, namely that which separates it from Chinese. Before elaborating on the differences between Chinese and Dungan the author avoids labeling the differences as something characteristic for the Dungan language. This is first done in the conclusion of the first paragraph of the article where the author uses the expressions *xianming de Hanyu tese* and *guxiang guse de tedian* to describe Dungan language. This emphasis on Dungan as something special is found throughout the article. Regarding the “characteristic” Dungan language, I cannot help to think about that which Dru C. Gladney calls the folklorization of the ethnic minorities in China. In his book, *Dislocating China, Muslims, Minorities and Other Subaltern Subjects* he explains that the Chinese minorities are often described in the public media as more colourful and cultural than the Han people (Gladney, 2004, p. 64). The characteristics of Standard Mandarin Chinese on the other hand are seen in relation to politics and technology, the speed and number of which the new words have emerged into Chinese language (and society).

From the article we see that its main focus is on language, therefore one could argue that the article is solely concerned with describing linguistics, not the differences between Dungan and Chinese culture and society. Still, we can through reading the text deduct to some extent how the Dungan society is portrayed in the article. Firstly, it is put in stark contrast through the descriptions of the differences between Dungan and language. The new words which are explained in the text are to a large extent associated with internet and politics. The “old-fashionedness” of Dungan language which is implied through its description can be transferred to its society and culture as well. Secondly, we do find an indirect description of Dungan society in the article. In the second part of the article, under the heading *Donggan yu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojian baocun he fazhan* we are given an explanation for why Dungan at present isn't taught and studied like it used to. This is due the countries (no country is specifically mentioned, but it is

likely that Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan are the countries referred to) weak economy, which leads to a lack of funding to Dungan teachers, teaching material, classes etc. In contrast to the region's economical and political instability China has over the years had an overall stable government as well as experienced an economic boom few other countries in the world can match (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/usa/business/2011-12/08/content_14232445.htm, last consulted 8.12.2011). All these things which are presented in the text contribute to a notion that Dungan is something backwards and different compared to Chinese language and society. This statement is of course something that never would be directly published in a well-known journal.

When looking into the article and comparing the different text examples with each other we see that text example nr. 1 focuses on the differences between Dungan and Modern Standard Chinese vocabulary, however it is clear that there is a heavier focus on the development of Chinese and its vocabulary, than on the development of Dungan vocabulary. Text example nr. 2 is a thorough description both amount and occurrence in time of new Chinese words, no reference to Dungan language is found here. The third text example regards Dungan language and its special traits. Here Dungan is presented as something exotic and almost old fashioned. These three examples are all found within the first paragraph of the article. Even though all the examples taken from the paragraph which main theme is the differences in Dungan and Standard Mandarin Chinese there is a clear difference in how Dungan and Chinese is portrayed and presented. Dungan is seen as something almost exotic when compared to Standard Mandarin Chinese, at the same time the sender of the text presents the "old style" Chinese found in Dungan language as the core or the stem of it, making it both genuine and exotic. This view is also found in other parts of the article. Although the second part of the analysis is concerned with how the sender in the article presents Dungan language and who the sender in the article is and that all the text examples concerning this topic is found in a part of the article which is about that which should be done as to protect and preserve Dungan language.

Text example nr. 4 also contain a description of Dungan language. Here Dungan is compared to an isolated island, something special and different from its surroundings. This isolated island of authentic Chinese could give the reader of the text the impression that Dungan is a "pure" Chinese dialect. While focusing on its characteristics such as words found in their vocabulary, which has long since been discarded from Chinese, there is absolutely no focus on the actual changes in Dungan vocabulary. This is treated to a certain extent in the second part of the article, *Donggan yu yingdang ruhe zai xin de tiaojia xia baocun he fazhan, xishou zhongya minzu yuyan de xin ci xin yu-* preserving and developing, absorbing new words and expressions (p. 140), where we find a

short paragraph dedicated to words and expressions, which has been absorbed into Dungan from Russian and different Turkic languages found in the area. One could question why the author of the article has chosen not to mention that 15% of the Dungan vocabulary in fact is made up by loanwords from Russian, Turkic, Arab and Persian languages. While studying the article I, as a reader, miss a reflection from the author in regard to the author`s (as a linguist) own suggestion to actively influence Dungan language to absorb words from Chinese so that it will become easier for Dungans and Chinese people to communicate. However, this view can be seen in light of where the article has been published, *Xinjiang daxue xuebao*- Xinjiang University Journal. As the previous article of Hai Feng, which was also published in a journal, based in the Xinjiang province, *Lun Donggan yu de fazhan- On the Development of Dungan Language* can be seen to advocate a language policy similar the Chinese governments (covert) language policy. Arienne M. Dwyer explains this in her article *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse* as the Chinese covert language policy would become even more *monist* (Dwyer`s own italics), i.e. causing a reduction in the linguistic diversity to one colonialist rule of statehood.

Hai Feng`s argumentation for absorption of Chinese loanwords into the Dungan language may be a continuation of the Chinese language policy led in the Xinjiang province, making Dungan more similar to Standard Mandarin Chinese. This suggestion for transforming Dungan language so as to decrease any difficulties in communication between Dungans and Chinese seem to involve “old fashion” Dungan words, words that: *yijing gen bu shang shidai fazhan de xuyao*- already cannot keep up with the needs of development. These words, which seem to be outdated when compared to Modern Mandarin Chinese, are the same words, which form the “genuine Chinese”, the core of the language, that which makes it exotic and homely at the same time. Even though the article continuously claims that Dungan and Chinese are variants of the same language, the textual means and choice of words in the article tells us otherwise. The differences in vocabulary, modernity and capability and will to do something (if not revive, then to preserve the language) are expressed through the usage of modality. Adjectives and roles of Agent and Patient shows that Dungan can be interpreted to be presented and viewed as something “same same, but different”, included, but on a Chinese premise.

4. 14. On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language

东干语的走向

Dongganyu de Zouxiang

4. 14. 1. Discourse Practice and social context

The article "On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language" was published in 2007 in *Huizu Yanjiu*, Journal of Hui Muslim Minority Studies by PhD. Ding Hong, and professor at the Central University for Minority Nationalities. The journal, published by a publishing house in the Hui autonomous region Ningxia is presented as following:

本刊是广大回族和一切关心回族问题的研究者交流思想与成果的园地，是回族人民学习和了解本民族历史、掌握当前本民族社会经济文化动态的便捷渠道，是党政部门、各界人士及其他各民族群众获得有关回族方面知识和信息的重要窗口。

Ben kan shi guangda huizu be yi que guanxin huizu wenti de yanjiu you jiaolin sixiang yu chengguo de yuandi, shi huizu renmin xuexi he liaojie ben minzu lishi wenhua, zhangwo dangqian ben minzu zhitu hui jingji wenhua yuntai de shijie qudao, shi dangzheng bumen, gejie renshi ji qitage minzu qunzhong you de youguan huizu fangmian zhishe be xinjian de zhongyao chuankou.

This publication is a field for the exchange of thought and achievements for the whole Hui nation as well as researchers concerned with Hui issues, it is a convenient channel through which the people of the Hui nation can study and understand the history and culture of their own people, and to take control of the current social and economic and cultural trends facing their nation.

(<http://www.yslzc.com/ayzl/z8/200908/31149.html> last consulted 8.12.2011)

As the article is published in a journal that is concerned with the Hui Muslim Minority it is likely that the article is meant for Muslims, Muslim scholars and other interested in the field of the Hui ethnicity, as well as other minorities, especially Muslim ones in China. It is both easy and dangerous to compare the articles of Hai Feng to the article by Ding Hong, which is analyzed here. Both Hai Feng and Ding Hong belong to the Hui ethnic minority of China; they are both situated in the northwestern part of the republic, in regions that are autonomous and characterized by a large Muslim population. The two scholars are both professors who have specialized in the field of Dungan studies. Nevertheless, there are differences between the two which has to be taken into account, and which can appear in the articles when analyzed. One could imagine that the geographic position of where the two scholars conduct their research and

where the journals that the articles are published in could contribute to a similarity in style as well as attitudes presented in the articles of current interest. Even if the articles by Hai Feng and Ding Hong are published in journals based in northwestern Chinese areas, traditionally dominated by the different Muslim ethnicities, there is a significant difference between the politics conducted and carried out in the Xinjiang (Uighur) autonomous region and Ningxia (Hui) autonomous region.²⁵

The American Congressional- Executive Commission on China presented in 2004 a transcript of a discussion on the practicing of Islam in today's China and the different realities for the Uyghur's and the Hui. The participants were: Jonathan Lipman, professor of History, Mount Holyoke College, Gardner Bovington, Assistant Professor of Central Asian Studies, Indiana University at Bloomington and Kahar Barat, Lecturer in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University. Even if none of the articles analyzed specifically are concerned with religion or the Uighur ethnicity of the Xinjiang province, the fact that there is a strained political atmosphere there they could seem restrictive to research treating fields related to ethnic minorities (especially one which is a result of an unsuccessful rebellion against Chinese (Qing) authorities published in the region. As Ding Hong's article is published in a journal which is published in the Ningxia region it could advocate attitudes less restricted than those expressed in the articles by Hai Feng which are published in journals situated in the Xinjiang region. This however, is an assumption and cannot be taken as an absolute truth. Further, we have to be aware of the fact that being related to the Huis in China, the connection between the Dungan people and China can be seen as a rather complex one, the Huis have traditionally been seen as what Sinologist Jonathan N. Lipman called Familiar Strangers. In his book: *Familiar Strangers, A History of Muslims in Northwest China* he quotes Lin and He's *Huibui lishi*:

(The Huibui minzu) is not one of those native peoples that has always lived on the ancient soil of China (like the Han, Miao, or Qiang), nor one of those purely immigrant groups that came to China from abroad (like the Koreans or Russians), nor one of the peoples of a border region who have long lived in contact (like the Kazaks or the Dai). Rather, it relied upon the tremendous unifying power of Islamic culture, which concentrated Muslims of different countries and different languages into a single entity, causing a minzu to form from a blend of foreign elements and partially domestic inhabitants, creating a new species. On the vast, broad land of China it planted

25 The Uyghur's and the Hui, China's dominant Muslim groups, have distinct ethnic, cultural and historical backgrounds, and Chinese authorities treat the two groups differently. The Uyghur's, who are of Turkish descent, face harsh religious restrictions and repression, since Chinese authorities associate the group with separatism and with terrorism in western China. The Hui, who are related ethnically to the Han Chinese majority, enjoy greater freedom to practice Islam than Uighur Muslims. (p.1)

roots, sprouted, bloomed, and produced fruit, becoming an important component of the indivisible, great minzu family of China.
(Lipman, 1997: 212)

Considering these factors, we can start looking into the questions that will be posed in this analysis. As the main goal for my research is to understand how the Chinese academia and government understand the relationship between the Dungan nationality and the Chinese nationality in terms of “Chineseness”, whom this applies to and what the criteria are for being regarded as a part of this nationality. I also wish to analyze how China is being referred to in the text. Seeing that this research question has to do with how one party, namely the Chinese treats another-- the Dungan, I will keep on analyzing this article seen in light of its interpersonal structure. I will also look at aspects from the text, which can be analyzed from both a textual and an ideational angle, as these three different aspects are gliding and often intervene with each other. This will be done much the same way as the previous articles by Hai Feng (*Dungan Language in Central Asia-- The oversea Variation of Chinese Northwest Dialect* and *On the Development of Dungan Language*).

The author herself belongs to the Hui nationality. We know this since the author's personal background is printed along with the article. At the bottom of the first page of the article there is a small column dedicated to the author's sex, age, religion and profession. Seen in light of the author's nationality, how does she present herself in the text, how does she relate and interact with a potential reader and what and how is she presenting in her article? In order to examine these topics I shall look into that which Martin and Rose calls appraisal in their book *Working with Discourse, Meaning Beyond the Clause*.

APPRAISAL is a system of interpersonal meanings. We used the resources of APPRAISAL for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are). (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 26)

In addition to a focus on appraisal in the attitudes presented by the sender of the text, signaled through the usage of voicing, especially from when the 3 person plural pronoun *women-* “we” is used, the analysis will also contain elements of foregrounding, contrasting and the usage of value words, such as plus and minus words. (See Hellspång and Ledin, 1997).

4. 15. Abstract of On the Development Trend of Dungan

Ding Hong's articles starts off by informing us that the world wide interest for the Chinese language has led to the an increased interaction between Central Asian and Chinese scholars. This has not seemed to benefit the Dungan community much since Dungans today understand very little Mandarin. Ding Hong explains that due to this situation, and the troubles Dungans experience when communicating with Chinese people different measures have been taken.

Further in the text the author account for what several Dungan scholars and intellectuals suggest should be done in order to revive the Dungan language: self-tuition, study trips to China (Shaanxi and Gansu province mainly), altering their writing system to one based on the Latin alphabet instead of the Cyrillic. The author herself also expresses different views on what should be done. The article concludes that the funds Dungan people received by the USSR government were crucial to the development of the language. Today, the developing trend of the Dungan language- an important symbol of Dungan culture, has naturally become a focal point people pay close attention to.

4. 16. Speech act and Social Strategies- Keywords

From the abstract of the article, we see that key words are: *Dongganzu*, *Dongganyu*, *Huizu* and *Hanyu*. The key words that are listed in the abstract can be seen as opposite pairs, where *Dongganzu* and *Dongganyu* can be seen as either a parallel or an opposite of the pair *Huizu* and *Hanyu*. Instead of taking the keywords listed in the abstract as my starting point and following them imitatively, I will instead focus on how the author presents China concerning the connection between the Dungans and China. As the Muslims of China generally have been treated as something different from the Han Chinese, it is interesting to note which role the author of the article ascribes China to the Dungan people and culture seeing that she herself is a Hui Chinese. The role that China ascribes to the Dungan people and culture should be seen in light of both in terms of the specific position the Huis have in China and how the Dungans presented in terms of their relation to the Huis. Therefore, the clauses that have been selected in the text analysis all contain either the word *Zhongguo*, or a reference to the country *Zhongguo*, or it refers to the country in some way or another, so as to see how the Dungan people and language are connected to *Zhongguo*. That which will be looked into is how *Zhongguo* is being described through the use of *värdeord* (Hellspong & Ledin) and grading of such.

4. 16. 1. Text example 1

目前，许多东干人在于历史故国- 中国交往过程中逐渐意识到语言的障碍，并着手找寻家决的办法。

Muqian, xuduo Dongganren zai yu lishi guguo- Zhongguo jiaowang guocheng zhong zhujian yishi dao yuyan de zhangai, bing zhuoshou zhaoxun jiajue de banfa.

Currently quite a few Dungan people in the process of dealing with their historical homeland, China, are gradually becoming aware of the barriers of language and they are set about to find a solution. (p. 43)

Textual structure

The example is found in the article's introduction which main purpose is to introduce the state of the relation between Chinese and Dungan language. The sentence functions as a conclusion to the introductions on the struggling of Dungan people and communication with Chinese, as well as an introduction to a new part of the article, on the measures taken so as to prevent further development of a more extensive communication problem between Dungans and Chinese. The example is made up by two clauses: *Muqian, xuduo Dongganren zai yu lishi guguo- Zhongguo jiaowang guocheng zhong zhujian yishi dao yuyan de zhangai-* “Currently quite a few Dungan people in the process of dealing with their historical homeland, China, are gradually becoming aware of the barriers of language” and *bing zhuoshou zhaoxun jiejie de banfa-* “and (they) are set about to find a solution”. We see that within the two clauses there is a more frequent occurrence of nouns than verbs, with 8 nouns:

- *Dongganren*
- *lishi*
- *guguo*
- *Zhongguo*
- *jiaowang*
- *guocheng*
- *zhangai*
- *banfa*

and 5 verb, whereas 4 of those are found in the last clause. Of the verbs, only one is static: *zai yu-* “is, exist” which is found in the first clause, while the rest, found in the second clause are all dynamic:

- *zaiyu*
- *yishi*
- *zhaoshou*
- *zhaoxu*
- *jiejue*

No pronouns are found in the sentence. There are few adverbs and adjectives in the sentence looked into. Those found are the adverb *muqian*- “currently”, the adjectives *xuduo*- “many” which modifies the noun *Dongganren*, and *zhong*- “centered” which modifies the noun *guocheng*.

This sentence with its many nouns and noun phrases seems assuring and dense on information. Despite a difference in how the nouns, noun phrases ad verb are “portioned out” in the sentence, it all together seems like a very concrete statement.

Ideational structure

The sentence starts with a time adverb—*muqian*, which can be translated as “currently”, this adverb creates a time reference for the statement on the communication problem, which were presented earlier in the paragraph that is being further elaborated in our text example. The example introduces us to the fact that not only Central Asians in general, but also many Dungans are in contact with China, and that they because of this contact have become aware of a communication problem which is described as a *yuyan de zhangai*- “barriers of language”. (Interestingly enough, the word *zhangai*, in addition to have the meaning of obstacle or barrier, also have the connotation of embarrassment and handicap). The noun phrase *yuyan de zhangai* marks the end of the first clause of the sentence. The second clause is initiated by the adverb *bing*- “really”, an implicit marker for the foregrounding of the core meaning of the sentence: that measures should taken to solve this problem. The two clauses which make up the text example are further contrasted through the two noun phrases: *yuyan de zhangai* “language barrier” and *jiujue de banfa* “solution” which function as opposite pairs of each other

Interpersonal structure

The sentence does not give us a specific sender of the statement that we are analyzing, but in the example, two participants are presented: *xuduo Dongganren* “many Dungans” and *lishi guguo-- Zhongguo* “historical homeland”, the two are connected through the conjunction *yu*- “with”. Even though these two participants are treated as equal, only one of them is personified as a group of people, while the other is not. It is instead represented as a country, with no reference to its inhabitants. Only *Dongganren* are presented as an agent, performing and experiencing something. Another thing that is different in the presentation of the two participants is how the two are presented and described. *Dongganren* is modified by the adjective *xuduo*. China-- *Zhongguo* is referred twice to in the example, both through the proper noun *Zhongguo* and through the noun phrase *lishi guguo* “ancestral country”. Here, the two expressions are presented as synonyms of each other.

4. 16. 2. Text example 2

只有学习普通话，东干人才能和自己的历史故国- 中国进行自由交流。

Zhiyou xuexi Putonghua, Dongganren cai neng be ziji de lishi guguo- Zhongguo jinxing ziyou jiaoliu.

Only those Dungan people who study Putonghua are able to freely carry out communication with their own historical homeland, China.”
(p.44)

Textual structure

Like previous examples from the text, this example also contains a majority of nouns (6):

- *Putonghua*
- *Dongganren*
- *lishi*
- *guguo*
- *Zhongguo*
- *jiaoliu*

compared to verbs (3):

- *xuexi*
- *neng*
- *jinxing*

Amongst the nouns we find two proper nouns: *Putonghua* and *Zhongguo*. Of the verbs, one is static: *neng*, whilst the two other are dynamic. The pronoun *ziji*- “one self” is found in the text example, as a part of the noun phrase *ziji de lishi guguo-- Zhongguo*- “their own ancestral country-- China”. The adverb *cai*, meaning not until is found, modifying the verb *neng*- “can, being capable of”. The adjective *ziyou*, meaning freely is used to modify the noun *jiaoliu*- “exchange”.

The statement appears informing and ascertaining through its grammatical features as it presents the learning of Putonghua as a condition for well functioning communication.

Ideational structure

Text sentence analyzed is found in the midst of the article under a section that explains what should be done to protect and preserve Dungan language. The sentence follows up three problems, which are seen as reasons for why Dungan is spoken by fewer and fewer. Like text example nr. 1 and 2 this one also contain two participants: *Donggan ren* “Dungan people” and the noun phrase: *lishi guguo-- Zhongguo* meaning “historical homeland- China”. In contrast to the first text example in the article, which contain a direct time reference- *muqian* “currently”, text example t2 does not. While text example nr. 1. is presented as something going on at present, example 2. presents a possible action, which only can happen on a certain condition. This condition is signalized through the usage of the adverbs *zhiyou* “only” and *cai-* “not.. until”, as well as the verb *neng* “can”.

That which seems to be the main theme of the sentence is the verb phrase *zhiyou xuexi Putonghua-* “only by studying standard Chinese”. In addition to functioning as the main theme of the sentence, the verb phrase acts as the object of the sentence. Here, the object is topicalized and put in the beginning of the sentence, so as to emphasize its importance, being that which has to be practiced by the agent, the Dungan people. In this sentence, the noun *Putonghua* “Standard Chinese” is presented as the only communication tool that can help the Dungan people in communicating with China. The adverb *zhiyou* “freely” also signalizes to the reader that there is an existing problem about the present communication between the two parts.

Interpersonal structure

The text example, which is presented as an opinion expressed by someone, is seen as a solution to fix these problems. However, from looking at where the text example occurs in the text it is not clear who the sender of this opinion is. Earlier in the same paragraph the opinion of the leader of the Kazakh Dungans X. Dawuluofu (Chinese pinyin transcription based on the Chinese character transcription of his/ her name found in the article analyzed), regarding the Dungan writing system is quoted, both in direct quotation marks; “*Donggan zimu yiding yao zouxiang ladinghua*”- “Dungan letters must move towards Latinization”. His/ Her opinion on the subject is elaborated, though not in quotation marks further down in the paragraph. When reading the text it is not clear whether or not our text example is an integrated part of the elaboration of X. Dawuluofu`s view on the Dungan writing system, or the author of the article, the sender of the text's comments on this view. Due to this uncertainty, the sender of the statement shall not be discussed any further.

4. 16. 3. Text example 3

东干族保持得很多传统今天的中国已经小时了，为此东干族文化受到许多中国学者，艺术工作者及游客的光方的兴趣。

Dongganzu baochi de ben duo chuantong jintian de Zhongguo yijing xiaoshi le, wei ci Dongganzu wenhua shoudao xuduo Zhongguo xuezhe, yishu gongzuozhe ji youke de guangfan de xingqu.

Many of the traditions that the Dungan people carry on have already disappeared from the China of today, because of this the culture of the Dungan nation has received wide interest from several Chinese scholars, artists and tourists. (p.44)

Textual structure

The textual structure of the text example is characterized by the many (10) nouns and noun phrases which are found within the sentence, of the nouns found there are both proper nouns and common nouns, compound and single nouns, outnumbering the verbs which occur in the text.

- *Dongganzu (occurs twice)*
- *chuantong*
- *jintian*
- *Zhongguo (occurs twice)*
- *wenhua*
- *xuezhe*
- *yishu gongzuozhe*
- *youke*

There are three different adjectives used in the sentence. The adverb and adjective *ben duo*- “very much” is used in the noun phrase *ben duo de chuantong*- “much tradition”, the adjective *xuduo*- “many” and *guangfan*- “broad” are both a part of the noun phrase *xuduo Zhongguo xuezhe, yishu gongzuozhe ji youke de guangfan xingqu*- “wide interest from Chinese researchers, artists and tourists.”

The lexical grammatical dimension of the text can be said to be nominal, the many nouns which are at expense of verbs and pronouns, the long noun phrases signalizes that the text is assuring and dense on information. The textual features such as the concrete nouns, ex. *Dunganzu*,

Zhongguo xuezh, the absence of passive verb indicates that that which is treated in the sentence is something that exists, something concrete.

Ideational structure

The text example is found in a part of the article that focuses on the present situation of Dungan language; this reflects the theme from earlier in the text, which is concerned with the Dungan language in the past. In the first part of the text example, the only role that is present is the Dungan nationality- *Dongganzu*. In the second part of the sentence, there is a shift of focus, where it instead is an emphasis on different Chinese groups of people: researchers, artists and tourists. This contrast in terms of roles in the text is foregrounded through the word *wei* which in this sentence functions as a conjunction. We cannot be very certain which part of the sentence is the core message of the statement made, the fact that Dungan people have kept certain traits in the culture, which the Chinese have abandoned, or discarded, or the fact that China is now taking a keen interest in the Dungan people because of this. However, it is plausible to assume that that which is the core meaning of the statement is the traits described in Dungan culture. The reason for making this assumption is that the paragraph treats the differences between the Chinese and the Dungans.

Interpersonal structure

In text example 3. the sender of the text gives voice to the chairman of the Kazakh Dungans: X. Dawuluofu. This is signaled through the phrase that introduces our example: *cong qi ta fangmian* “from his perspective”. The view of the Dungan chairperson derives from his/ her article: *Donggan zimu yiding yao zou xiang ladinghua* “Dungan writing system must turn to latinization”. In first part of the text example the only role which is presented is the *Dunganzu*, in second part of sentence there is a shift of focus. Here, those who are emphasized are different groups of Chinese people. The different participants found within the text example are not the only things that are contrasted against each other. The distance between the two different parties; *Dunganzu* and *Zhongguo* are also signaled through the usage of verbs that are used to present how parts of Dungan/ Chinese culture is treated within the two societies. Looking at the text example we see that the two cultures are contrasted, the *Dunganzu* has *baote*- “preserved”, while this culture has *xiaoshi* “vanished” from *jintian de Zhongguo* “today’s China”.

4. 17. The Interpersonal aspect- voices in the text

Like the earlier analysis, this article will also focus on the interpersonal structure and how different voices are presented in the text. Despite that the main topic of the analysis is the same

as the previous analysis; the article which is being analyzed here differs from those written by Hai Feng. Opposed to the two previous analyses, which discussed different aspects of Dungan and Chinese language, this article, is a conclusion of academic research done in recent years. Previously, that which has been looked into in the analysis has been the usage of personal pronouns in the articles, how the different participants are presented and how the sender approaches the reader. As this article offers a resume or a collection of different views and opinions on Dungan language at present, and its future situation there are fewer occurrences of the authors' voice, and more of other researchers. An increased use of *women* is not found until the last part of the article where the author sums up her own opinion on the future of Dungan language. The usage of the 1. person plural pronoun *women* occurs different places in the article, referring to participants found in the text, both including, and excluding the author. The frequency of the usage of the pronoun varies and there is a sharp increase of the usage of the particular word in different parts of the article. The first time we find an increased use of the word is in the midst of the article. The Dungan scholar: A. Matianyoyefu (pinyin transcription of the Chinese characters used in the article) is given voice to express his thought and concern on the future of The Dungan people, their language and the possible shift to a Latin based writing system.

X. 达吾落夫提出要将东干文为改对拉丁母子。这当然不是可以但这要于同样石油能够基利尔字母的我们的老大哥—吉尔吉撒族于哈萨克族的步调相一致/ 否则谁为我们创设专门的拉丁文印刷厂? 谁会分出国家资产为我们出版东干文教科书及参考文献? 谁为我们的诗人和作家出版作品? 在这样的情况下, 我们只能做事我们宝贵精神财富的遗失!

X. *Dawoluofu tichu yao jiang Dongganwen gai wei lading muzi. Zhe dangran bu shi keyi, dan zhe yao yu tongyang shiyong jili'er zimu de women de laodage- jierjisizu yu hasekezu de budiao xian yizhi. Fouze shei wei women chuanshe zhuangmen de ladingwen yinshuchang? Shei hui fenbu guojia zichan wei women chuanzao lading wenzhi? Shei wei women chuban Dongganwen jiaokeshu ji cankao wenxian? Shei wei women de shiren he zuojia chuban zuopin? Zai zheyang de qingkuang xia, women zhineng zuoshi women baogui jingshen caifu de yishi!*

X. *Dawoluofu proposed to change the written Dungan language into the Latin alphabet. This of course is not impossible, but this step must be taken together with our big brothers the Kyrgyz and the Kazak who also uses the Cyrillic alphabet. If not, who will establish a Latin alphabet printing house for us? Who will share state assets with us to create the Latin writing? Who will publish Dungan language textbooks and reference works for us? Who will publish works for our poets and writers? In a situation like this, we can only sit and watch our valuable, spiritual wealth disappear. (p. 45)*

X. Dawoluofu is one of the last Dungan scholars who are given a voice to in Ding Hong's article. Here Dawoluofu expresses a concern for the future of Dungan language, by repeatedly asking

the reader different questions which follow the same pattern: *Shei* followed by an action, followed by the pronoun *women*. In this extract of the text, *women* is used to denote “us, Dungan people”, but nowhere in the extract does *women*- “us/ we” function as the agent, the one who is performing something. This creates an impression that *women* takes on a passive role in the text. A frequent use of the word *women* can be found later in the text where the author Ding Hong gives her own opinion on the situation of the Dungan language and measures that should be taken. This is completely turned later on in the paragraph, where the sender of the text actively uses the pronoun *women* to include herself. In Hong’s own usage of *women* it is clear that it always taken the role of an agent.

4.17. 1. Text example 1

作为学者，我们不仅要称呼，更重要的事担负其责任，可以开办东干语老师提高办，并找资金出版东干文教科书，免费学校里发放。

Zuowei xuezhe, women bujin yao chenghu, geng zhongyao de shi danfu qi zeren, keyi kaiban Dongganyn laoshi tigao ban, bing zhao zijin chuban Dongganwen jiaokeshu, mianfei zai xuexiao li fafang.

As scholars, we must not only address this, but more importantly we must take on the responsibility to establish improvement classes for Dungan teachers and find financial resources to publish Dungan text books and to distribute them within schools. (p. 45)

Textual structure

The sentence starts with the verb phrase *zuowei xuezhe*- “As scholars”, which is followed by the pronoun *women*- “we” which takes the meaning “we as scholars”. From this point in the sentence it is explained what “we” should do.

The sentence contains a relatively equal amount of nouns (9)

- *xuezhe*
- *zeren*
- *Dongganyn*
- *laoshi*
- *ban*
- *zjin*
- *Dongganwen*
- *jiaokeshu*

– *xuexiao*

and verbs (11, including the modal auxiliaries *yao* and *keyi*).

– *zuowei*

– *yao*

– *chengbu*

– *qi*

– *danfu*

– *keyi*

– *kaiban*

– *zhao*

– *chuban*

– *fafang*

Of these, only *zuowei*, *yao* and *keyi* are static, the rest of the verbs are dynamic. The only pronoun that is found in the sentence is the personal pronoun *women*, which points back to *xuezhe*-“scholars”. As for adjectives, there is only one which occurs in this sentence: *zhongyao*-“important” which is used to describe the responsibility which the scholars have. The textual features of the text example make the statement appear very concrete.

Ideational structure

Text example 4 picks up where the voice of X. Dawoluofu left. Whereas Dawoluofu asked the reader who should take on the task of helping the Dungan language live on, Hong carries on saying that it is “we, as scholars” who should take on this responsibility. This can be said to be the core message of the sentence, the second clause of the sentence that centers about the different measures that the scholars should initiate can be seen as a comment and elaboration of the core message. The second clause lists possible measures opens up with the modal auxiliary *keyi*-“can/may”. This indicates that the proposition is presented as likely, it is not a fact. The sentence functions as a request to a collective person perspective that includes the sender of the text. Within the request, two different actions are contrasted against each other; one of them is presented as more important than the other. Both addressing the Dungan language problem, and

doing something about it is considered important, but actually, doing something about it is as Hong states: *geng zhongyao*- “more important”.

Interpersonal structure

X. Dawuluofu could see the statement on the different actions that should be taken to protect the Dungan language as a form of answer to the questions which were posed earlier in the paragraph. Within the answer in text example 4. we see that the sender of the text makes use of both safeguarding as well as emphasis to present her attitude to the reader. In the first part of the sentence, the sender makes use of the adverb *bujin*- “not just, not only” and the adjectives *geng*- “even more” and *zhongyao*- “important”. This choice of words were treated under the part of the analysis focused on the ideational structure, but here the focus was the two actions: *chengbu* and *danfu* and how they were contrasted against each other. Seen from an interpersonal perspective the choice and use of these adverb and adjectives projects the sender’s attitude, saying that as scholars, the most important thing to do is to act, not to discuss.

The firmness of the statement makes the sender of the message appear as active and assuring. In addition to this, the *women* of the statement is identified as scholars, giving the expression a further appearance of authority. The statement can be seen as a contrast to earlier statement by Dawuluofu and the “people”. The real sender is the author and the journal, but the articles sender, voice is “we, as scholars”.

4.17. 2. Text example 2

我们目前最需要的问题就是如何在东干族中保持住东干语言文学课，并努力解决学生的教科书问题。

Women muqian zui xuyao jiejie de wenti jiu shi ruhe zai Dongganzu xuexiao zhong baochi zhu Donggan yuyan wenxueke, bing nuli jiejie xuesheng de jiaokeshu wenti.

At present the problem which we need to solve the most is how to maintain Dungan language classes in schools and to try hard to solve the text book problems of students. (p.45)

Textual structure

The text example is made up by two clauses, whereas the last one functions as a comment to the first one. Only the first clause contains a Subject, the pronoun *women*- “we”. There are 8 nouns found in the text example, opposed to 5 verbs, where of three are dynamic (*jiejie*- “to solve” which occurs twice in the sentence and *baochi*- “to protect”) and two static (*shi*- “to be, exist” and *xuyao*- “need”)

The nouns are:

- *wenti* (occurs twice in the sentence)
- *Dongganzu*
- *xuexiao*
- *Donggan yuyan*
- *wenxueke*
- *xuesheng*
- *jiaokeshu*

The sentence contains two adverbs, *muqian*, which can be translated into meaning “currently” and *zui*- “most” which modifies the auxiliary verb *xuyao*. As for adjectives, there is one found in the second clause, *noli*- “diligent” which modifies the verb *jiejue*. As mentioned earlier, the personal pronoun *women* occurs once in the sentence, there is also one other pronoun found in the sentence, the interrogative pronoun *rube*- “how, what, whereby”.

The many (compound) nouns, , opposed to verbs and pronouns, the long noun phrases such as *Donggan yuyan wenxue* and *xuesheng de jiaokeshu wenti*, the usage of proper nouns, adverbs and few static verbs indicates that the sentence is rich on specific and concrete information.

Ideational structure

The excerpt is found in a part of the article where the personal pronoun occurs several times. Here the sender of the text presents a view on the different means that could be taken so as to protect the Dungan language. Earlier, the sender has expressed a need for scholars not only to address the problem of Dungan language being weakened on the account of Russian and other Turkic languages such as Kyrgyz and Kazakh, but also to actively go about and solve them. In text example 3.5. the sender further elaborates on the measures which could be taken, presenting those means which seem most crucial to the maintenance of Dungan language. The main theme of the text unit where the sender of the text expresses own thought on the situation of Dungan is the maintenance of the language. In text example 5. the main focus is the means which are most important for the maintenance of Dungan. There are two means which are presented, they are connected by the conjunction *bing*- “and”. None of them seems more important than others. The two measures are seen in light of a specific time reference, at present. Earlier, the article has functioned as a resume of earlier research and statements made on Dungan, but as the text

changes and the attitude of the sender of the text emerges, the time perspective changes to onto a contemporary perspective.

Interpersonal structure:

The text example is a statement claiming something about the state of the Dungan language. Still it can be seen as an indirect answer by the sender of the text, replying the question posed earlier in the text by the chairman of the Kazakh Dungan people: X. Dawuluofo. The sender of the text does not directly say that *women*- “we” should go about and solve the different problems regarding Dungan language, , but the content of the senders statements regarding Dungan language is equal to an answer to X. Dawulufuo`s questions. In regard to the sender`s attitude, we see that there are no traces of grading, making the statement seem softer and more approachable to the reader. Instead of grading, the sender of the text makes use of a complete opposite textual mean to express her attitude towards the topic treated as she makes use of emphasis. By using the adverb *zui*- “most” to modify the auxiliary verb *xuyao*- “need” the sender stresses the need to action, giving her authority on the subject treated.

4. 17. 3. Text example 3

从以上的方面观点中，我们可以了解东干语目前处于一中局部围歼的困境中。

Cong yishang ge fangmian guandian zhong, women keyi liaojie Dongganyu muqian chuyu yi zhong jubu weijian de kunjing zhong.

From each of the view points of the above mentioned aspects, we are able to see that the Dungan language is currently in a gradually more difficult predicament. (p. 46)

Textual structure

The text example is separated into two clauses; the first one ties the second clause together with the previous topics, which have been addressed earlier in the text. All together, the two clauses contain 7 nouns:

- *yishang*
- *fangmian*
- *guandian*
- *Dongganyu*
- *kunjing*
- *zhong* (occurs twice in the example)

This outnumbers the three verbs found in the example: *keyi* (modal auxiliary), *liaojie* (dynamic) and *chuyu* (static). There is one pronoun found in the example, *women*. This is the first occurrence of that specific pronoun since it was used in the bottom of the first column at page 45. The time adverb *muqian* is used to modify the verb *chuyu*. In addition to this, we also find a use of the expression *jubu weijian*, a classical Chinese mode expression that can translate into something like: One achieves things with great difficulty in every move.

The different lexical grammatical dimensions of the text can be said to be nominal, rather than verbal, this due to the majority of nouns opposed to verbs, and the long noun phrases. The sentence expresses a statement of a fact on the situation of the Dungan language. The sentence takes use of the proper noun *Donggan yu* to specify the topic, which the sentence is concerned with, it also, makes specific use of an adverb to mark the time perspective of the verb, marking an event. This further specifies the text, therefore we can say that it belongs within the concrete lexico grammatical text dimension, rather than an abstract lexico grammatical text dimension.

Ideational structure

The text example is found in the very end of the article, used as an introduction to the article's conclusion. The first clause of the sentence: *cong yishang ge fangmian guandian zhong*- "From each of the view points of the above mentioned aspects" signalizes that only those point of view that have been presented earlier are used to form *women*- "our" opinion on Dungan language and its current situation. One could say that this statement functions as the core message of the entire article. However, that is not to say that this is the same as the theme of Ding Hong's article. As with the earlier text examples, this also contains a reference to the reader, this is done by the personal pronoun plural *women*- "we". Nevertheless, opposed to earlier usage of the pronoun it now addresses the reader as well as the sender of the text. The pronoun used in this example does not specify that it is *women*- "we" who are to carry out an event. The focus now is solely on the Dungan language. As for the actual message of the text example, the sender of the text makes use of inference. The reader must find out and remember what the earlier themes treated by different voices found in the text. In addition to this we see that the core message of the sentence that Dungan language at present is in a difficult position implies that Dungan language could die out.

Interpersonal structure

Earlier in the text we have seen that the personal pronoun *women* has come with a reference to who it is that *women* include, this is not done in text example 3.6. The Agent of the sentence,

women delivers a claim on Dungan language. The two subsequent questions can be seen as rhetorical and posed towards the reader as a textual mean; the questions are not answered in the conclusion. In the statement on Dungan language the modal auxiliary *keyi*- “can” is used to modify the dynamic verb *liaojie*- “understand, comprehend”. This could indicate that the modality is used so as to indicate that that which is presented isn't a sure fact, but when looking closer into the structure of the sentence we see that that which the modal auxiliary *keyi* modifies is not the position of the Dungan language and its situation, but our understanding. Here the modal auxiliary is used to soften the sender's message. As it is not only the sender of the text, but also the reader of the text who is to understand something from the different point of views from earlier in the article it is clear that the *keyi* is used here rather as a softener, than to indicate a non factual proposition.

4. 18. Interpreting the China and Dungans seen in light of our text description

4. 18. 1. Textual interpretation

In the analysis of Ding Hong's article, the three first text examples are concerned with how China- *Zhongguo* is presented in the article. The first text example, which occurs early in the article, presents and sets a period for the situation of Dungan language. Here a problem, the difficulties experienced in communicating between Dungan and Chinese, is being presented. The second text example follows up with a conditional clause, which offers a possible solution for the problem presented in the first example. The third example where the two participants: the Dungan nationality- *Dongganzu* and *Zhongguo xuezhe, yishu gongzuozhe ji youke* “Chinese scholars, artists and tourists” are linked through “Chinese” culture, is not directly tied to the two previous examples as its main concern is to explain how the Dungans are different from the present China. It is interesting to notice how China in the first two examples is referred to in the same way, two different nouns used to describe the same thing. The first noun used is the common name *guguo*, this is followed by the proper noun *Zhongguo*- China. The word *guguo* has according to the Da Hanzi Cidian five different meanings;

1. *lishi youjin de guojia*, historicaly, old country
2. *yishiwang de qiandai wangchao*
3. *benguo, zuguo* one's one country, motherland
4. *guxiang birth place*, hometown, homeland, native land
5. *jiudu*, ancient capital, former capital, old capital

In this case we see that it is most likely that the *guguo*, referring to China in this analysis, will be interpreted as either *zūguo*- ancestral home or *bēngguo*- one's own country. As the Dungans originally fled from China to Central Asia I will argue that it here is to mean ancestral home. The sentence would still make sense if the meaning of *guguo* were *bēngguo*- one's own country. Instead of just saying China when referring to the country, the author strengthens the tie between the Dungans and China by using the term *guguo* as well as *Zhongguo*. The third example regarding use of keywords in this analysis does not contain the word *guguo*, on the other hand *Zhongguo* is here the head of the noun phrase *jintian de Zhongguo*- “today's China”. How should the use of the noun *jintian*- “today” be interpreted? It is plausible that the noun here simply takes the meaning of now, or present. At the same time it could be used to mean present with the connotation of being modern, something of now, similar to how China and Chinese society was presented in Hai Feng's article *Lun Donggan yu de fazhan* which like Ding Hong's article is concerned with how Dungan is developing and its future. Even though the majority of the text examples seem as to belong to the a dense on information lexico grammatical dimension concerned with specific and concrete matters), we see that the plans for someone to do something about Dungan is described in a very concrete matter, while the actual development and future of the language is described rather vaguely.

Secondly, how can we interpret the phrase *zuowei xuezhe*- as scholars, which are used to point at the personal pronoun *women*- we? What kind of scholar does the word refer to? Linguists, philologists, all scholars concerned with the Dungan question, or could it be specified to mean *Chinese* scholars/ linguists?

4. 18. 2. Ideational interpretation

When looking at how China is described in the article, which words that are used to modify the proper noun *Zhongguo*, as well as looking at why China and the Chinese language is treated and linked to Dungan language in Ding Hong's article, China is described as something progressive and modern. The very introduction of the article starts by not presenting the Dungan language, but by explaining that Chinese has become a *xuduo gaoxiao de remen zhuanye*- “a popular major in many institutions of higher education” in Central Asian countries. This notion of Chinese being something popular and useful at current is maintained throughout the different nouns and adjectives used to describe China and the Chinese languages. It does however seem like a paradox how communicating with China is presented as some sort of goal for the Dungan population, Chinese is a mean to reach that goal, while China at the same time is the origin of the Dungan people. The picture of Chinese being a device to overcome a communication problem between the different Dungan groupings, as well as between the Dungan people and China could be seen

as a form of reversed mirror, since Chinese is seen as the solution, we could interpret Dungan language to be the opposite of Chinese, namely, the problem, that which hinders communication.

The article seems to give Dungan nationality an appearance of being more conservative and rustic, preserving these old customs and traditions. Here Dungan is presented as something exotic and different from the Chinese who visit for different reasons: research, artistic inspiration, tourism and adventure. It is a paradox how Dungan is presented as something exotic and different from China at the same time its special trait is that which is original and authentic Chinese. Overall, we see that China is portrayed as something progressive, someone or something providing solutions to problems, as an older brother who should be respected, taking responsibility.

4. 18. 3. Interpersonal interpretation

Through the usage of the pronoun *women* we see that it is used much in the same way throughout the examples being analyzed. In all cases, it functions both as the Subject and as Agent. Being someone who takes actions, the author (and the reader) is portrayed as someone who is energetic and concerned on behalf of the present and future Dungan people. Looking at the text and the attitudes presented we can deduct that the sender is someone interested in Dungan culture, with a wish to promote the Dungan culture and language. The actual sender of the text is the professor Ding Hong, but it is not given that she is the same as the text's "I". There is a clear line between the author and the reader and the Dungan people, even though several Dungan scholars are quoted and given voice to in the text. The main concern for the *women* in the text is possible extinction of the Dungan language. Like other Chinese scholars, Ding Hong gives the impression that the Dungan language is a vital, if not the most important linkage or distinction of a connection with China. As Ding Hong presents a Dungan saying in her article:

不知道自己的亲念语言的人他不是老回回，他是每民族的人。

Bu zhidao ziji de qinnian yuyan de ren, ta bu shi lao huibui, ta shi mei minzu de ren.

Someone who do not know their grandmother's language, is not a "lao huibui", he is someone without a nationality. (45)

From this quote, it is clear that Ding Hong regards Dungans (partly) as a part of the Chinese Huizu. As for the usage of *women*, it is exclusively used when referring to the author herself and other (mainly Chinese) scholars and/ or when Dungan scholars are given voice to express their views on the future of their language and the measures, which should be taken. These different attitudes regarding how the sender of the text views the relation between China- Dungan was channeled through different subjects who were given voice to in the text. This seems to apply not

only to the main sender of the text, but also to other voices, which are present in the text. These voices are all given a geographical reference, belonging to the Kazakh or Kyrgyz Dungans, Germans scholars based in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan and Chinese researchers belonging to different universities (Beijing and Lanzhou). Interestingly enough there is no references to the author's own background (Ding Hong is like Hu Zhen Hua based at the *Beijing Zhongyang Minzu Daxue*- "Minzu University of China) or a reference to the journal which the article is published in.

Despite no direct or indirect reference to the journal, which the article is published in or any connection with the Ningxia autonomous region we see that there are several references to China and different groupings of Chinese within the article. The sender of the article displays China as something modern, progressive, something that others should aim for. The sender states that Chinese is a popular major in Central Asian countries, that young Central Asian scholars who study in China make good use of their experience when they return to their home country. China and the Chinese are overall described as something positive. The importance of Chinese language is projected in the article through taking other countries and peoples willingness to learn Chinese.

4. 19. Social Discourse, the future of Dungan language in text and context

The purpose of analyzing Ding Hong's article *Dongganyu de zouxiang*- "On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language" was to understand how China was made to look in the article and to expose the different attitudes the text's different subject and voices express on different aspects concerning Dungan language and culture. These questions were to be answered through a critical discourse analysis, which drew from textual, ideational as well as interpersonal analysis. The article has been analyzed and interpreted based on the properties of the text and the MR- "member's resources", my knowledge of Chinese language, society, my values and beliefs, etc. This previous knowledge interacts with the reality presented in the text and forms a basis for the interpretation. As mentioned previously in the text, the article is produced by a professor (belonging to the Hui minority) in ethnology and sociology at the Minzu University in Beijing. The article is channeled to the public through the Ningxia Hui autonomous region based *Journal of Hui Muslim Minority Studies*, a journal, which is aimed at governmental employees and others interested in research topics related to the Hui ethnic Minority. Hence, that which is published in this particular journal is of interest for the government of PRC.

When reading the article we find no direct or indirect references or linkage between the topic treated and the Ningxia region or the Chinese capital, Beijing, but China as a country, as well as the Chinese language (Standard Chinese). China, Chinese and the Chinese participants are all

presented in the text. In the interpretation of the article we saw that China and Chinese language in Ding Hong's article could be perceived as something positive, "up and coming" and important both for Dungan and Central Asian development.

Knowledge of Chinese were described as an asset in step with how Central Asian and Chinese relations have become stronger since the 1980's and Chinese scholars were described as having a responsibility for providing and carrying out adequate language tutoring for Dungan youth.

Through these means, we could interpret the message of the text to be concerned with how (Chinese) scholars should be responsible for the future of Dungan language. Dungan language had distanced itself so much from Chinese that it had become a problem. The (Chinese) scholars should further make sure that they should actively try to make Dungan approach Chinese again. What can this tell us? The sender of the article presents the reader with a description of a situation, a social context that the reader can choose to accept or not. The journal, which the article is found in is aimed at a governmental audience- in general, that which is published here is of interest to the PRC government. The fact that the Journal of Hui Muslim Minority Studies is aimed at those working within the PRC government indicates that the journal has a politicized profile. However, this is not synonymous with the article discussed having an underlying political theme. There are no direct voice given to e.g. the Chinese government, or other official organs working with the question of Chinese language, like The China National Language And Character Working Committee- 国家语言文字工作委员会. Instead, we find an expression of "academic concern" in regard of the situation of the Dungan language. Still, as a reader, knowing that the journal is aimed (partly) at an audience with relations to the PRC government; it is easy to assume that the article should be concerned with language politic, which again could affect my interpretation as a reader of the article. Despite the journal's possible politicized profile, the article analyzed does not in itself seem to be linked to politic or Chinese society, instead it describes the environment which the Dungan language band people exist and interact in: the various Central Asian countries: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

The sender of the text presents us as readers with an impression of how the situation of the Dungan language and culture has changed and become increasingly difficult over the years, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union. Here, we can see an indirect contrast to how China was viewed earlier in the article where Chinese language was described as something popular, something one would take experience from staying in China when returning to one's home country. Further it was told how Dungans came to China to study Chinese. Through these different examples, the author communicated that China is a country of resources, concerning

both economic and education. As for how the different Central Asian countries are presented, both today and previously under Soviet rule it is not the author herself who presents these views, but different Dungan politicians and intellectual leaders. It is still the author who has chosen who it is who are given voice to in her article. Overall, the Dungans seems to be presented as someone who needs help by Chinese to revive their language.

We know that the Dungan language at present is spoken by fewer and fewer, but is learning Chinese in Dungan schools the way to go? The author justifies this suggestion by saying that the difference between Chinese and Dungan is not that big; besides, Chinese is a widely used language. It is of course true that Chinese is a widely used language, 70 % of all Chinese language users have a Mandarin dialect as their mother tongue. In addition, Modern Standard Chinese, also known as Mandarin or Putonghua functions as a Lingua Franca all over China and is also spoken in countries such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Russia and U.S.A. The sender of the article contributes to this notion by emphasizing the importance, if not need to study Chinese. Although the Chinese government does not have an official view in regard of the Dungan language, the author gives an impression of defending a view of Dungan as a Chinese language. Dungan should maintain their Chinese dialect and even approach the modern Chinese spoken in the country China which is the dominate language, concerning aspects of society which include both media and trade. The preference of influencing Dungan language to make it more similar to Chinese, instead of strengthening the usage of the language in its present form is not in accordance with the Chinese official language policy: how it applies to the different minority languages and the regional varieties of Chinese. On the other hand it seems as if the author maintain an attitude where Mandarin (*Putonghua*) is seen as a *high prestige variety* of a Chinese language, opposed to other varieties, which in this case is Dungan. (See. Dwyer, 2005)

The authors reasoning for Dungans to learn Chinese in addition to how Chinese language is portrayed in the article contributes to the already known notion of Chinese being an increasingly important language. The author here promotes her own language, Mandarin. Dominant groups have traditionally endorsed their own language when encountering other groups of people, creating a form of unity with those who are fellow speakers or able to communicate in the same language. This view seems to be found in the article, yet this text is found in a journal which core audience are those in power, it is not aimed at a Dungan audience, and does not directly try to convince the Dungan people of learning Mandarin. Therefore, we can say that the article functions as a form of self- assurance supporting an already familiar and accepted view within Chinese society.

PART D: CONCLUSION

In this part of the thesis, I would like to summarize my finding analyzed in chapter 4. This is to be done in relation to the Dungan people as a part of the Chinese community, the “Chineseness” they share with the *Zhonghua minzu*, and also in relation to those participants in the text, both the direct and the indirect participants who presents these different claims in regard to the Dungan people and their language. After summarizing the findings, I discuss them in light of the text in its context. Finally, I will comment on some of the challenges I have come across in the process of the production of the thesis.

5. The Chineseness of the texts- what does it impart?

We have now seen that the articles “Dungan language in Central Asia- An Outside variant of Chinese Northwest Dialect- *Zhongya Dongganyu shi Hanyu xibei fangyan de jwai bianti*, “On the Development of the Dungan Language- *Lun Dongganyu de Fazhan* by Hai Feng and “On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language- *Dongganyu de Zouxiang* by Ding Hong that they all treat the same macro theme- Dungans. Within this theme, we also find similarities in the micro themes the Dungan language and the languages development. This together makes up a totality, and a separate part of the Chinese language discourse. Within each of the texts analyzed, we find text parts that function as closed units of information, which all can be tied to the macro theme. The Chinese academic articles do not distinct themselves significantly from western articles on the same subject. They offer the reader largely the same, but compared to western articles references and bibliography is almost non- existent. This may result in precociousness on the readers’ behalf in terms of reliability and information.

In order to approach the text I have taken Norman Fairclough’s Language and Power as a theoretical starting point and the analysis model inspired by Hellspong and Ledin (1997) as a practical starting point. In their book *Vägar genom texten- Handbok i brukstextanalys* Hellspong and Ledin specifies that following their model is not a necessity when it comes to carrying out an analysis, instead it can be used as a guideline. Therefore, I have chosen not to follow their model imitatively, and have as a substitute immersed me in the textual means based on the findings in each text analyzed. Concerning methodology, I chose to focus on abduction, a process in which one gains new knowledge, rather than proving a hypothesis. Through this “path”, I analyzed the texts and observed how they were treated (produced within the sphere of Chinese academia) and the theme (Dungans and Dungan language) from a Chinese point of view. I chose short excerpts from the texts as the basis for the analysis and investigated how they were

presented to the receiver of the texts and how the senders of the texts related themselves to both participants in the text, as well as the receivers of the texts.

The analysis has mainly focused on the texts textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, mainly focusing on the ideational and interpersonal structures, to see what exactly is transmitted in the ideational structure, while the analysis of the interpersonal structure is used to see who represents the claims made and how they relate themselves to the text. A comparison of the texts shows that they share a similar view on Dungan language and the Chinese language. The texts seldom offers actual claims of Dungans being Chinese, instead there is made use of textual means such as modality, grading and generalization when the experts/ the sender of the texts proposes claims on the near relation between the Dungans and the Chinese community. Despite the main goal of the texts being accounting for Dungan language, its development and future the texts also offer information on how the senders perceive China and the Chinese language, and we find comparisons between not only Dungan and Chinese, but also Central Asia and China. Through the analysis an interpretation of the text combined with the account of the history of the Dungan people and language and the notion of *Zhonghua minzu*: I have learned that the official definition of Chinese ethnicity *Zhonghua minzu* is not coherent with the official criteria used to determine ethnicity status used by the Chinese government. Likewise, if we are to classify the Dungan people by the Chinese (based on the Stalinist criteria) criteria we see that they do not qualify to be a part of the Chinese ethnicity.

Within the analysis, we find several words repeated throughout the texts. Despite different ways of phrasing, these expressions all give a connotation of Dungan being a part of the Chinese language. This promotes an already existing attitude within Chinese language discourse, that Dungan as with several other dialects/ topolects within China proper, although mutually unintelligible with Chinese Putonghua (Standard Mandarin) are a part of the Chinese language. Likewise, the usage of safeguarding and modality functions as textual means both contribute to an impression of Dungan as a Chinese dialect. Seen from an interpersonal perspective these means contribute to a sense of belonging with the reader, as well as softening the claim.

5. 1. Voices in the text

I mentioned above the interpersonal perspective, and how the senders of the texts make use safeguarding and modality to approach the receivers, but the senders also makes use of other textual means voicing both own and others opinions. These voices are mainly foreign academics of Russian, Dungan or other Central Asian origin. By giving voice to others, the sender's voice becomes less insistent. Even if the perspective changes from the sender to others, these voices

are often presented in the beginning of an argumentation, while the sender's view (the Chinese view) often occur at the end of an argumentation, offering a conclusion to the matter discussed. One thing that is especially striking is the difference between how the utterances of the Chinese and the Dungan voices in the text is made to look. While the voices of Dungan academics often point out problems in relation to the revival and strengthening the language, the sender of the text often ends the discussion answering the Dungan voices by offering a solution to the matter at hand. Here the Chinese side expresses themselves with vigour, focusing on the solution, while the Dungan voices focus on the problem. This contributes to strengthening an image of Chinese as something sustainable and unifying.

In the analysis of the articles interpersonal structure we see how the pronoun *women*- “we” is used by the authors not only to insinuate belonging with the reader, but also to insinuate belonging with a occupational group such as linguistics and other academics in general, and ethnicity. Nevertheless, there is no reference to “us as the *Zhonghua minzu*- Chinese ethnicity. The superior unity that is defined as the *Zhonghua minzu* by the Chinese government is not used by the authors to identify the reader, author and the Dungans as a group. On the average, the texts seem to imply that there is a difference between *women* meaning we in the texts and those who are all a part of our culture and society. Things brings us over to the notion of “Chineseness”

5. 2. What is “Chineseness” and who does it apply to?

The official definition of the *Zhonghua minzu* is:

中华人民共和国民族及海外华人统称

Zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu ji haiwai huaren tongcheng

The people of the republic of China and overseas Chinese

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, I did not have a clear hypothesis for that which should be an expected result of the analysis. Hence, I made use of abduction concerning the methodology where one infers a case from a rule and result to gain new knowledge instead of proving a hypothesis. By taking the official definition of *Zhonghua minzu* as if not the rule, but a starting point and comparing the text analysis with each other, I will try to answer the research questions that were posed in the introduction of the thesis.

Bearing this in mind we see through the texts analyzed that it is established that the Dungans are a part of the Chinese community. This is seen trough statements on the origin of the Dungans, clearly stating that they are descendants of the Chinese Hui ethnicity, as well as their mother

tongue being a variant of a northwestern Chinese dialect. This contributes to the impression of them being a part of the *Zhonghua minzu*. Looking at the official definition of what it takes to be a part of the Chinese ethnicity it is clear that the Dungans fit in. Even though this is confirmed in the text, it is clear that if we are to base this assumption on the Stalinist criteria that Chinese sociologist and government have used to determine ethnicity; common language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup, the Dungans share few of these things with the Chinese ethnicity. From investigating attitudes found in the texts it seems as if the criteria normally used to define ethnicity does not apply to the Chinese ethnicity. When comparing the Dungan groups living in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan their connection to what qualifies to be a part of a mutual ethnicity does not apply. In the part on the thesis treating the socio cultural context, we saw that these criteria are problematic. Using the articles analyzed as a starting point we see that most of the articles mention the criteria established by Stalin, but none of the authors discusses the problem of them.

It is not difficult to see the Dungans as a group, but at the same time there are differences within it. For starters, there are a great difference between the Dungans living in Uzbekistan who seem to have lost their language completely and those living in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In addition to this, there is also a big divide between Dungans in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan living in smaller close-knit villages consisting mostly of Dungans and those living in urban areas. Villagers are often more conservative, sticking to traditional Dungan customs, where as those living in urban areas live lives without a strong attachment to Dungan language and life style. If they together are to be viewed as one group belonging to the Chinese ethnicity seen in light of the Stalin criteria they “disqualify”. As for their history, the Dungans have largely been cut off from the Chinese since they left the Shaanxi and Gansu provinces for almost 200 years ago. In terms of language, less than half of all Dungan under the age of 55 have Dungan as their mother tongue. The analysis demonstrated the general attitude that Dungans without their original mother tongue no longer had connections to their origin. The analysis further mirrored the view of both Dungans and Chinese in that the language is a major, if not the greatest marker of identity. Another point, which indicates this view, is how the text covers the Dungans of Uzbekistan. The authors of the texts focus on those few Chinese traits left amongst them: words such as *momo*, *lazi* and *kuaiji*. The languages (dialects depending on own opinion) are clearly used to indicate a belonging or a *stronger* belonging to the *Zhonghua minzu*. If the Dungan language becomes extinct there is yet another of the ethnicity criteria will not apply any longer. This could mean that Chinese research on the Dungan people will decrease, as the connection will weaken as it has done on the Uzbek Dungans. From this knowledge, we can assume that one of the reasons why

Chinese researchers wish to either strengthen and/ or “Sinofy” the Dungan language is to strengthen a bond with China and the Chinese ethnicity, not unlike the Hui ethnicity within China. Still, according to the definition of the *Zhonghua minzu* they apply to it.

The term *Zhonghua minzu* is clearly a political construction, especially when viewed in light of modern history. The meaning of *Zhonghua (minzu)* has changed through time. Before the turn of the 20th century and the introduction of the word *minzu* (deriving from the Japanese *minzoku*) the word *Zhonghua* by itself took the meaning of “Chineseness”. This was a quality or a cultural norm, which were defined and usually described to the people who now known as the Han Chinese. Those who failed to possess this quality/ following the norm were seen as barbarians. At first sight the present meaning of *Zhonghua (minzu)* (*The people of the republic of China and overseas Chinese*) based on Sun Yatsen’s usage of the Word, based on a solidarity between the different people living in China, seems more including than what it did pre- Sun Yatsen. Nevertheless, by combining the two words *Zhonghua* and *minzu* one loses the meaning of *Zhonghua* as a quality whereas one could choose to have “Chineseness” if following the norm. Instead, *minzu* transforms “Chineseness” into a tie of kinship, thereby creating a different way of excluding / including people from the group, based on kinship it becomes considerably difficult to either choose admittance into the group, and vice versa.

The analysis shows that *Zhonghua minzu*, being Chinese, or having certain “Chineseness” is dominated by two principles. Firstly, the attitudes that come forward in the articles suggest that the Dungans strongest identity marker in terms of Chineseness and being a part of the Chinese ethnicity- *Zhonghua minzu* is their language. Secondly, despite not qualifying to a membership in the *Zhonghua minzu* based on the official Stalinist criteria the Dungans are still regarded as a member, therefore language can be seen as a more important sign of Chineseness than the other criteria used by the Chinese government to determine ethnicity.

5. 3. Text in Context

We shall now study the texts in light of the greater social context that they are a part of. From this I hope to explain why the texts appear the way they do, and also explain how the text shapes and maintain the general attitudes around the notion of *Zhonghua minzu* and Chinese language discourse in general. A language discourse is a part of a general attitude to the language in its whole. We humans create and maintain attitudes and comprehension of society through different instances and institutions existing in own society. This can inter alia be done through teaching aid. In This case the examples come from different academic articles, from the situation in context and the actual reality we see the texts from two perspectives- the pedagogical and the one that

creates a stance. This makes the texts into an apparatus of sanction that consists of norms, praxis and possible actions.

The education of a society assures that the people can acquire the specific knowledge that society defines as important, and to a certain degree correct. The role of the academic articles is to pass on a cultivated knowledge, to be a tool for education and enlightenment.

Through the analysis, we have seen that the articles in several ways consolidate their position of knowledge and indirectly certain attitudes. Attitudes that should be projected are decided within the institutional framework. In our case, this is largely done by Chinese language politics. As someone who imparts knowledge and attitudes arranged and produced by society and the legal authority academia must through their learning aid, articles etc. respond to society and the state's guidelines. As seen earlier in the text Chinese language politics is characterized by another approach to language and dialect than what Western linguists traditionally have had. Where the Chinese understanding of a language is wider than the Western, this is seen through the word *Hanyu*- Chinese that includes all Sinitic Chinese dialects, more or less mutual incomprehensible.

With its use of overwording of expressions, the texts insinuate that Dungan is a Chinese dialect. The presentation of other voices in the text and how they were portrayed showed how attitudes were presented in the articles, but as this textual means not only contribute to the presentation of certain views they can also be seen as examples of what Norman Fairclough called hidden power. Through the presentation of attitudes, power is exercised in terms of what is decided to be presented to the receiver. It is not certain that the voices in the articles used as sources represent all opinions within the discourse equally. Unequal influence of academic groupings is relatively clear in terms of who is given voice to; nevertheless, it is less clear in terms of whose perspective it is that is being adopted. From my analysis the perspective seems to be rather similar with the perspective of the Chinese government has towards Chinese language politics. In addition, it is not given that the authors of the articles are completely free to write exactly what they would like to write. (All the journals are ultimately state run and controlled.)

Looking at the social context of the analysis, we see that the articles published in journals based on region that are autonomous seem to mirror the language politic of the region. The Chinese Mandarin language unifies the Han ethnicity, but also unifies the ethnicities whose mother tongue is not Chinese Mandarin. While Mandarin and the main minority language of autonomous regions are officially equated, Chinese is still seen as the preferable language. From this, we can draw parallels to how Chinese researchers seem to treat Dungan language. Although acknowledging the existence and importance of the Dungan dialect the researchers in the articles

analyzed seemed to promote a purification of the Dungan language, making it more Chinese. Whilst the articles introduces the Dungan language as a variant of a northwestern Chinese dialect, the textual means used and analyzed shows a rather ambivalent attitude to the language and its “Chineseness” which can only be described as “same same, but different”. The language is being made into something exotic and different, a curiosity. This exoticness is the original Chinese language they use, using words and expressions that have been lost in modern Chinese, but at the same time, the original Chinese is described as outdated, separating the Dungans from the Chinese.

The three academic articles analyzed seem to mirror the general attitudes found in Chinese language discourse where the majority Han ethnicity exoticizes ethnic minorities at the same time as the minorities are (deliberately?) influenced by the mainstream Han culture and language. Some critics would argue this claim by a Sinofication of ethnic minorities is normal and inevitable as the Han Chinese make up 96 % of the Chinese population. Despite the fact that the *Zhonghua minzu* is to function as a supraminzu covering all Chinese ethnicities equally, it is clear that there is a dominant block within the supraminzu: the Han ethnicity. Although the articles aim at treating linguistic themes, we see that the language discourse is just as much a socio linguistic discourse. My intentions when I started to work on this thesis was never to point out flaws concerning the definition of the *Zhonghua minzu* and the notion of “Chineseness” seen in light of Central Asian Dungans, but simply to analyze the attitudes related to the notion *Zhonghua minzu*, but to analyze attitudes related to the notion of *Zhonghua minzu*.

5. 4. Concluding remarks

In this master thesis, I have investigated a selection of Chinese research articles the Dungan language written after the year 2000. I have done this to find out if and in that case, how Dungans and their language are viewed by Chinese academics in terms of “Chineseness” and being a part of the *Zhonghua minzu*. The analysis is mainly based on Norman Fairclough's thoughts on Critical Discourse Analysis and Hellspång and Ledin's model for text analysis.

Since we know that the Chinese official definition of the *Zhonghua minzu* seem to include the Dungan people there is a risk of *petitio principii* – that I simply assume that the Dungans for a fact are members of the Chinese ethnicity, sharing a “Chineseness” with the Chinese citizens. In order to avoid making this mistake I have chosen to analyze the texts and their themes in relation to the constituent lairs which surround them. The aim of an academic article is to have a clear intention, treating its subject neutrally and objectively, this causes disputed subjects such as “Chineseness” and *Zhonghua minzu* especially interesting. Despite using the Chinese government's official definition of the Chinese ethnicity and the criteria for determining ethnicity I have also gathered background material from Chinese and other foreign research. Concerning the selection of how I chose to analyze the articles, I could have decided on other criteria. There is today a large selection of Chinese articles discussing the subject of the Dungans, both from a linguistic as well as a sociological perspective. My approach has been to give a thorough analysis of the resources within a limited area. This selection resulted in the dismissal of 7 out of 10 articles, which were to be analyzed originally. ²⁶Treating all of these articles would not be possible within the scope of this thesis. The analysis has especially been focused on the ideational and interpersonal structures of the articles. As my thesis is mainly based on how text and attitudes hidden in text is presented to the reader I felt that these two structures were of great importance to my research questions.

My analysis has evolved around how Chinese academia view the ethnic minority in light of the Chinese ethnicity, an analysis of Dungan academic own attitudes towards being a part of the Chinese ethnicity is a challenge I pass on to someone else. Taking into account that meaning in

²⁶ These articles included Bao Cheng's *Ye Shuo Donggan de Hanyi* (2011), Ding Hong's *Donggan Xue yu Donggan Yanjiu* (2008), Hai Feng's *Zhongya Donggan Minzu de Shuangyu Hua Jincheng ji qi Minzu Yuyan Guan de Xingcheng* (2004) and *Dongganyu de Yuyan Xue Jiazhi* (2006), Lin Tao's *Donggan zai Duo Minzu Yuyan Jiechong zhong de Bianyu Xianxiang* (2003), Li Zhen Feng and Li Chian Ling's *Shehui Huanjing dui Minzu Tezheng de Yingxiang* (2006) and Meng Chang Yong's *Zhongya Dongganzu Wenhua Chuantong ji Jinnian Zhongya Diqu Hanyu Jiaoxue de Fazhan* (2009). Although none of the articles have been used directly in the analysis they have provided me with good background information on the subject, as well as an increased understanding of the general attitudes towards Dungans found in Chinese academia.

text is not a static and fixed phenomenon my analysis of these articles does not necessarily offer the only conclusion. Through my analysis, I have pointed out the ambiguousness of the term *Zhonghua minzu* seen in light of an ethnicity- the Dungans of Central Asia within the social context that the text is meant for. I hope that my thesis can shed light to the mechanisms, interaction and any possible confrontation between Chinese authorities and ethnic grouping in and outside China.

Bibliography

- Alle, E. 2005, *The Chinese-speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A Case of Multiple Identities in a Changing Context*, Asian Ethnicity Volume 6, Issue 2, Routledge
- Bovingdon, G. 2002, *The Not-So-Silent Majority: Uyghur Resistance to Han Rule in Xinjiang*, Modern China, Vol. 28, No. 1, Sage Publications, Inc.
- Chung, A. 1996, *Fuck Chineseness: On the Ambiguity of Ethnicity as Culture as Identity*, Boundary 2, Vol. 23, No. 2, Summer, 1996, Duke University Press
- Dikötter, F. 1992, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, London, Hurst & Company
- Dikötter, F. 1994, *Racial Identities in China: Context and meaning*, The China Quarterly, No. 138, Jun., 1994, Cambridge University Press,
- Dikötter, F. (Ed.), 1997, *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan*, London, Hurst & Company
- Ding H. 2005, *A Comparative Study of the Cultures of the Dungan and the Hui Peoples from 2005*, Asian Ethnicity, Vol. 6. Issue 2, Routledge
- 丁红. 1998, *东干学与东干学研究, 回族研究*, 1998, Vol. 30, Issue 2, 宁夏回族自治区银川市, 宁夏社会科学院 (Ding Hong, 1998, *Donggan Xue yu Donggan Yanjiu*, Huizu yanjiu, 1998, Vol. 30, Issue, 2, Ningxia Huizu zizhequ yinzhou shi, Ningxia Shehuike xueyuan)
- 丁红, 2007, *东干语的走向, 回族研究*, Vol. 69, Issue 4, 宁夏回族自治区银川市, 宁夏社会科学院 (Ding Hong, 2007, *Dongganyu de Zouxiang*, Huizu yanjiu, Vol. 69, Issue 4, Ningxia Huizu yinzhou shi, Ningxia Shehuike xueyuan)
- 杜宝成, 2011, *也说“东干”的含义*, 现代语文(理论研究版) 2011年第04期, 山东省, 曲阜师范大学 (Du Bao Cheng, 2011, *Ye shuo "Donggan" de Hanyi*, Xiandai Yuwen (Lilun Yanjiu Ban, 2011, 04, Shandong Sheng, Qudao Shifan Daxue)
- Dyer, S.R.K. 1967, *Soviet Dungan: The Chinese Language of Central Asia. Alphabet, Phonology, Morphology*, Monumenta Serica Vol. 26, 1967, Monumenta Serica Institute
- Dyer, S.R.K. 1978, *Soviet Dungan Nationalism, A Few Comments on their Origin and Language*, Monumenta Serica, Vol. 33. 1977-1978, Monumenta Serica Institute
- Dyer, S.R.K. 1991, *Iasyr Shivaza, The Life and Works of a Soviet Dungan Poet*, Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Peter Lang

Dyer, S.R.K. 1992, *Karakumuz: An Early Settlement of the Chinese Muslims in Russia*, Asian Ethnology (Formerly Asian Folklore Studies), Vol. 51, 1992. 243- 279, Japan, Nanzhan University

Dwyer, A.M., 2005, *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy and Political Discourse*, Washington, www.eastwestcenterwashington.org/publications

Fairclough, N. 1992, *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge, Polity Press

Fairclough, N. 2001, (1989), *Language and Power*, Second Edition, London, Longman.

Fairclough, N. 2010 (1995), *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Second Edition, Boston, Addison Wesley.

费孝通, 1989, *中华民族的多元一体格局*, 北京, 中国民族学出版社 (Fei Xiao Tong, 1989, *Zhonghua Minzu de Duoyuan Yiti Geju*, Beijing, Zhongguo Minzu Xueyan Chubanshe)

Fouger, K. 2010, *Dungan in Kyrgyzstan, How has Dungan language developed since the arrival in Central Asia?*, (EAL 4020, semester paper) Oslo, UiO,

Gladney, D. 1996 (1991), *Muslim Chinese Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*, Second Edition, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Distributed by Harvard University Press

Gladney, D. 2004, *Dislocating China Muslims, Minorities and Other Subaltern Subjects*, London, C. Hurst & Co

海峰, 2004, *中亚东干族的双语化进程及其民族语言观的形成*, 新疆大学学报 Vol. 32, Issue 1, 新疆省 (Hai Feng, 2004, *Zhongya Donggan Minzu de Shuangyu Hua Jincheng ji qi Minzu Yuyan Guan de Xingcheng*, *Xinjiang Daxue Xuebao Vol. 32, Issue 1, Xinjiang Sheng*)

海峰, 2005, *东干"来自"屯垦*, 2005年第1期, 甘肃省, 西北民族大学 (Hai Feng, 2005, *Donggan "Lai zi" Tunken*, 2005, 1, Gansu Sheng, Xibei Minzu Daxue)

海峰, 2005, *论东干语的发展*, 新疆省, 新疆大学学报, Vol. 33, Issue 3, (Hai Feng, 2005, *Lun Dongganyu de Fazhan*, Vol. 33, Issue 3, Xinjiang Sheng, Xinjiang Daxue Xuebao)

海峰, 2006, *东干语的语言学价值* Vol. 34, Issue 3, 新疆省, 新疆大学预科部 (Hai Feng, 2006, *Dongganyu de Yuyan Xue Jiazhi*, Vol. 34, Issue 3, Xinjiang Sheng, Xinjiang Daxue Yukebu)

海峰. 2007, *中亚东干语是汉语西北方言的域外变体*, 2007, Vol. 2, 新疆维吾尔自治区乌鲁木齐, 新疆民族语言文字工作委员会;新疆翻译协会 (Hai Feng, 2007, *Zhongya Dongganyu Shi Hanyu Xibei Fangyan de Yuwai Bianti*, 2007, Vol. 2, Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhi Wulumuqi, Xinjiang Minzu yuyan Wenzhi Gongzuo weiyuan, Xinjiang Fanyin Xiehui)

Halliday, M. A. K. 1970, *Functional Diversity in Language as Seen from a Consideration of Modality and Mood in English*, *Foundations of Language: International Journal of Language and Philosophy*, Vol. 6, Issue 3, 1970, Springer

Halliday, M. A. K., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., 2004 (1985), *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Third Ed.), London, Hodder Education

Hellspong, L, Ledin, P. 1997, *Vägar genom texten. Handbok i bruxtektanalys*, Lund, Studentlitteratur

Huang, C.-T, J. 1984, *On the Distribution and Reference of Empty Pronouns*, *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 15, Nr. 4, Massachusetts, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Kostyukova, I. 1994, *The towns of Kyrgyzstan change their faces: rural- urban migrants in Bishkek*, *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 13. Issue 3., p. 425- 434, Routledge

Lewis, D. 2005, *Anthropology and development: the uneasy relationship*, *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, pp472-488, edited by J. G. Carrier. London, Edward Arnold

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex., SIL

International, Online webpage: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=dng

李桢峰, 李全玲, 2006, *社会环境对民族特征的影响*, 新疆省, 新疆大学学报, Vol. 34, Issue 1, 哲学人文社会可书版 (Li Zhen Feng, Li Chuan Ling, *Shehui Huanjing dui Minzu Tezheng de Yingxiang*, Xinjiang Sheng, Xinjiang Daxue Xuebao, Vol. 34, Issue 1, Zhexue Renwen Shehui Keshuban)

林涛. 2003, *中亚东干语研究*, 香港, 香港教育出版社 (Lin Tao, 2003, *Zhongya Dongganyu Yanjiu*, Xianggang, Xianggang Jiaoyu Chubanshe)

林涛. 2003, *东干在多民族语言接触中的变异现象*, 西北第二民远学报, Vol.4, 宁夏省, 社会哲学版 (Lin Tao, 2003, *Donggan zai Duo Minzu Yuyan Jiechong Zhong de Bianyi Xianxiang*, Xibei Di Er Minyuan Xuebao, Vol. 4, Ningxia Sheng, Shehui Zhexue Ban)

Lipman, J. 1997, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press

亢世勇, 刘海润. 2003, *新词语大词典*, 上海, 上海辞书出版社 (Kang Shi Yong, Liu Hai Run, 2003, *Xinciyu Da Cidian*, Shanghai, Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe)

Mackerras, C. 2005, *Some Issues of Ethnic and Religious Identity among China's Islamic Peoples*, Asian Ethnicity, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 3-8, Routledge

Mair, V. H. 1991, "What is a Chinese "Dialect/Topolect"? Reflections on Some Key Sino- English Linguistic Terms", Vol 29, Sept. 1991, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania

Martin, J.R., Rose, D. 2007 (2003), *Working with Discourse- Meaning Beyond the Clause* Second Edition, London, Continuum

孟长勇, 2009, *中亚东干族文化传统及今年中亚地区汉语教学的发展*, 学术深系, Vol. 6, 2009,

西安，西安外国语大学 (Meng Chang Yong, 2009, *Zhongya Dongganzyu Wenhua Chuantong ji Jinnian Zhongya Diqu Hanyu Jiaoxue de Fazhan*, Xuequan Shenxi, Vol. 6, 2009, Xian, Xian Waiguoyu Daxue)

Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A., Leap, W. L., 2000, *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company

Millward, J.A. 2007, *Eurasian Crossroads, A History of Xinjiang*, New York, Columbia University Press

Mullaney, T. S. 2011, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

PRACTICING ISLAM IN TODAY'S CHINA: DIFFERING REALITIES FOR THE UIGHURS AND THE HUI, ROUNDTABLE BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION, MAY 17, 2004, Available via the World Wide Web: <http://www.cecc.gov>, U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, 2004

Ramsey, S. R. 1987, *The Languages of China*, Princeton, Princeton University Press

Rekkdal, H., Bendixen, B., Svarverud, R. 2005, *Stor Kinesisk-Norsk Ordbok*, Oslo, Kunnskapsforlaget

Säid, E. 2003 (1978) *Orientalism* (Fifth Edition), Penguin Group, London

Thompson, G. 2004 (1996), *Introducing Functional Grammar* (Second Edition), London, Hodder Education
The Economist Intelligent Unit's Index of Democracy 2008, Available at graphics.eiu.com/PDF/Democracy%20Index%202008.pdf

Wu, D., Y. 1991, *The Construction of Chinese and Non-Chinese Identities*, Daedalus, Vol. 120, No. 2, 1991, Cambridge, MIT Press

Zhao, S. 2004, *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese nationalism*, Stanford, Stanford University Press

Other References:

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/usa/business/2011-12/08/content_14232445.htm

<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/discourse?=&discourse>

<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/inference>

<http://www.yzlz.com/ayzl/z8/200908/31149.html>

<http://www.xinjiang.gov.cn/10013/10031/10005/2010/62581.htm>

中亚东干语是汉语西北方言的域外变体[※]

海峰

(新疆大学 语言学院, 新疆 乌鲁木齐 830008)

摘要: 本文从语言学、民族学等角度论述了中亚东干语和中国西北方言的一致关系, 同时分析了这一语言现象中的一些特殊之处, 得出了中亚东干语是汉语西北方言的域外变体这一结论。

关键词: 中亚东干语; 西北方言; 变体

中图分类号: H179 文献标识码: A 文章编号: 1001-0823(2007)02-0038-04

中亚东干语是独立的语言, 还是汉语方言变体, 学术界对此看法是各不相同的。目前研究中亚东干语的文章, 也分为两类。中国学者多数认为东干语言就是汉语西北方言, 有时为了研究和交流的方便, 也使用“东干语”这一名称, 但对其语言的独立性并不认可。绝大多数前苏联学者和今天的俄罗斯、吉尔吉斯斯坦、哈萨克斯坦等国的学者, 认为中亚东干语是独立的语言。比如原吉尔吉斯斯坦的东干学者 Ю Цунвазо 曾经介绍过俄罗斯学者 А А Драгунов 先生的这样一个观点, 他在文章中说到: “第一批研究东干语的学者中就有著名学者 А А Драгунов 他发表了一系列研究东干语语法的论文。在他和 Е А Драгунова 合著的《东干语》这篇文章中, 他列举了很多东干语的语音、词法现象。在大量的语言事实的基础上, А А Драгунов 得出了一个重要的学术观点, 即东干语有别于汉语, 这两种语言的差异远不止仅仅局限于词汇领域, 它几乎触及语音、语法等各个系统, 因此完全有理由将东干语看作是一个独立的语言, 而不仅仅是汉语方言的一个变体。”^①

这一理论是在 20 世纪 40 年代提出的, 虽然过去了较长时间, 但这一观点对东干学的研究影响是非常大的, 这一观点作为一种权威的观点被许

多东干研究者所接受, 也常常被后来的东干学者引用, 如现在研究中亚东干语成就较多的吉尔吉斯斯坦科学院通讯院士 М Имазов 等人就赞同这一观点。^② 现在一些俄罗斯学者对此也有相同的看法, 如 А Муссин 在他的文章中写道: “汉语的各个方言并不是都能获得独立语言的地位, 虽然他们有些互相之间都难以听懂, ……但这里还有一个有趣的例子, 这就是东干语, 他原本属于汉语北方方言, 后来形成了自己的一些独有的特点, 并且拥有了有别于汉语普通话的书面语言, 因而发展成了独立的语言。东干人还有区别于一般中国人的地方, 他们都是穆斯林, 在相当长的一段历史时期并不使用汉文, 而是使用阿拉伯文字。”^③

当然也有俄罗斯学者对此有不同的看法, 如 С Е Я хантов 先生主编的语言学大辞典中, 在汉藏语系 (КИТАЙСКО ТИБЕТСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ) 的词条中对中亚东干语是这样定义的: “东干语属于汉语, 是东干人的口语, 属于汉语西部方言。”^④ 也就是说, 他们认为中亚东干语是汉语方言, 但主要强调的是口语。俄罗斯科学院远东研究所的扎维雅洛娃教授 (О И Завьялова) 也持这一观点, 她还将中亚东干语作为汉语甘肃方言的一个分支进行了分析。^⑤

※ 本文在撰写过程中得到了俄罗斯国立人文大学东方学院副博士 О Мазо 女士的热情帮助, 在此表示衷心的感谢。

[作者简介] 海峰 (1964-), 女, 回族, 新疆大学语言学院教授, 博士, 硕士生导师, 研究方向: 中亚东干族语言文化、双语现象、双语教学。

中国学者对中亚东干语是否是独立的语言,也有着自已的看法。从语言结构本身看,虽然中亚东干语脱离汉语大环境在境外已经发展了一百余年,但是并没有真正改变其语言本身的特点。它和中国西北方言仍然保持着极高的一致性。但同时由于受到属于印欧语系斯拉夫语族的俄语和属于阿尔泰语系突厥语族的吉尔吉斯语、哈萨克语、乌兹别克语等影响,中亚东干语和今天的汉语普通话或西北回民汉语方言相比,都发生了比较明显的变化,因此我们将它称之为汉语方言的境外变体。

我们之所以认为中亚东干语是汉语方言,而不是一个独立的语言,主要是出于以下几个因素考虑的:

1. 历史原因

中亚东干族是回族群体。回族在中国是一个较为特殊的民族,因为这个民族是以汉语为母语的,虽然在历史上他们的祖先使用过阿拉伯语或波斯语,但回族作为一个现代民族形成的时候,他们共同的民族语言就是汉语。当然一些阿拉伯语、波斯语借词作为语言底层也一直存在于他们的语言中。但这些词汇完全没有达到使回族所使用的语言不再是汉语,而是另一种语言的程度。在中国,回族生活在什么地区,就使用该地区的方言,这是公认的语言事实。回族在中国使用的并不是另外一种语言。至于他们所使有的阿拉伯文,仅仅限于宗教教育中,多在一些宗教人士中使用,没有作为正式的文字在国家的公众教育中传授。因此只是帮助人们理解宗教教义的一种辅助文字系统,更不是回族的文字。

中亚东干族作为从中国西北迁来的回族后裔,他们的语言起初完全与西北回民一致,也和西北地区汉族所使用的方言基本一致。由于这支群体迁来中亚时,没有汉族随同一起迁来,所以给当地其他民族可能会造成这样一种印象,就是:东干族是说这种语言的,说这种语言的只有东干族,因而将这一语言 and 这个民族完全等同起来了。实际上并不完全是这样,因为他们使用的语言在中国至今还有几百万人在口语中使用,包括汉族和回族。

2 从民族学上的认识和语言学的标准上看独立语言的标准应该从民族学和语言学两个

方面区分,从民族学角度考虑一个语言的独立性时,可能更多地关注和它有关的社会因素,如政治环境、民族的自我意识、其他民族的判断以及一些历史因素等等。但从语言学角度来确认一个语言是否是独立的语言,就应该也只能从语言结构本身的特点来考虑,也就是说必须有足够的语言事实来证明,这个语言是不同于其他任何语言的一种独立的语言,这时,就需要从语言的词汇、语法、语音等各个方面去挖掘语言特点,当然也要考虑到一些社会因素,如历史传承关系(这往往是非常重要的)等。基于这样一种认识,我们可以从中亚东干语中找出无数个语言事实来证明它和汉语的一致性,但是却很难找出足够的事实来证明它是不同于汉语的独立的语言,尽管它和汉语普通话有着这样那样的差别。也就是说,它们之间的不一致性相对于一致性来说,是很少的,这些特点不能够使中亚东干语成为另一种语言,只能确认它是汉语方言在域外的一个特殊变体。说它是变体,主要是承认它确实在历史发展过程中出现了一些特殊的变化,但这些特殊之处是极为有限的。当然,从民族学角度来讲,东干族作为原苏联的一个少数民族,其语言获得一个正式的名称也是完全可以理解的,从民族学的概念上讲也应当这样命名,但是这种名称并不能改变它的语言本身的性质。

3. 文字和语言的关系

如上所说,有学者认为文字也是一个确立语言是否是独立语言的重要标准。首先,我们承认,文字对确定语言的独立性有重要的参考价值,但它不是决定语言属性的唯一标准。因为一种语言可能使用不同的文字,如中亚东干语在历史上曾用拉丁文字,后来使用俄文字母,那么它也完全可以用汉字。有许多语言历史上也都使用过不同的文字,但语言并没有变成另外一个语言。又如,现在哈萨克、柯尔克孜、维吾尔等民族在中国和在和中亚地区各自使用不同的文字,在中国用的是阿拉伯文字母,在中亚用的是俄文字母,但并没有人说他们分别是不同的语言。

4. 语言本身的特点

中亚东干语和现存的汉语西北方言保持着很多的一致性,主要表现在以下几个方面:

4.1 中亚东干语的语音系统仍保留着陕甘方言的基本特点,其内部声、韵、调的搭配规律,音

变规律,以及和汉语普通话的语音对应关系等都是基本和汉语西北方言一致的。具体来说,声调和甘肃兰州话的声调类型是一样的,声母韵母的数量也基本相近。^⑥

4.2 中亚东干语的语法结构基本与西北方言如兰州话一致,其多数句式和一些特殊的表达都在中国西北方言中可以找到,如常见的“把字句”、一些特殊的辅助动词等。

4.3 中亚东干语词汇的最大特点就是存在着大量与汉语西北方言相同或相似的词语,这些词语是中亚东干语词语的最核心部分,决定着中亚东干语的整体面貌,反映了中亚东干语和汉语西北方言的千丝万缕的亲缘关系。也正是由于这些词语的相同和相似,使得今天的东干族对中国西北方言有着强烈的认同感。^⑦这也是我们从语言本体角度着眼,将中亚东干语看作汉语西北方言的重要依据。另外,在中亚东干语中有一些突厥语言的词汇,实际上在中国西部与维吾尔、哈萨克族接触较多的回族中间甚至汉族中间也可以见到,比如皮牙子、馕等词汇。另外,中亚东干语中还存在着一些波斯语、阿拉伯语借词。实际上这类词汇不仅仅是东干人,在中国,西北的回族,甚至其他地区的回族人使用的汉语中都存在这样一批特殊的词汇。

所以说,直到今天,中亚东干语和汉语西北方言仍然保持着很多的一致性,普通居民在口语上可以互相交流,操用汉语普通话的人也可以听懂东干人的话。最重要的是,大多数东干人都认为他们的语言和汉语西北方言是一致的。在今天世界文化交流更加频繁的时候,这种认可的程度和互相理解的程度更有所提高。

当然,在看到一致性的同时,还要看到,中亚东干语脱离汉语大的环境已有一百多年,在境外独立发展了这么长的时间,它所出现的变化也是不容忽视的,因此我们将其称为汉语方言的境外变体。

5 中亚东干语中一些特殊的变化

5.1 中亚东干语较为特殊的语音现象就是增加了一个颤音[r],由于大量借词的进入,[r]已经成为中亚东干语中固定的音位,但它只出现在借词中。如 метро(地铁)、ветеран(老战士)等。

5.2 在中亚东干语中出现了相当多的俄语

借词,如 анализ(分析)、архив(档案)、проект(方案)、клуб(俱乐部)、юбилей(纪念日)、канал(隧道)、лифт(电梯)、орден(奖章)、аэропорт(机场)、паспорт(护照)、посольство(大使馆)、доктор(博士)、кандидат(副博士)、президент(总统)等等,涉及各个领域。

中亚东干语中还有一部分中亚突厥语言的借词,主要是吉尔吉斯语和哈萨克语的借词,如 щирдахы(花毡子)、kom uz(乐器,考木孜琴)、бака(连襟)等。

5.3 中亚东干语中有一些特殊的表达方式,是受俄语影响产生的。主要出现在中亚东干语的书面语言中,大多是一些仿照俄语的语法结构用中亚东干语词汇来表达的句式,例如:

东干文: Сычины Данепр хэяншон йухади^⑧

汉文: 事情是 达涅普尔 海沿上 遇下的

汉译: 事情发生在达涅普尔海边上。

这里的“……遇下的”就是按照俄语的句式来表达的,因为汉语应当说成“发生在……”

东干文:

Вэ гита долигэщэ ба хуажонги Манэли^⑨

我给他 道了个谢, 把话 让给 马乃了

汉译: 我向他道了谢,就让马乃说了。

这里的“把话让给谁”也是仿照俄语正式场合的一种表达,汉语应当表达为“让谁讲话”。

这一现象前苏联学者也观察到了不少,如原苏联科学院东方学研究所研究员 А Калимов先生就引用了这样一个例子:^⑩

东干文:

Да июль 1943 нян во доли город Черниговли

打伊尤勒 1943 年 我到哩 果拉德 车尔尼果夫哩

汉译: 从一九四三年七月我就到了车尔尼果夫市了。

这个句子中对年代表示,采用了月份在前,年份在后的形式,城市名称也采用了通称在前,专名在后的形式,这都和现代汉语的表示方法相反,而和俄语的表示法完全一致,这句话俄文应当为: В июле 1943 года я прибыл в город Чернигов 东干文的词序和它正是一样的。

应当看到,中亚东干语目前正处在发展变化的过程中,尤其是近五十年来,由于书面语的渐渐确立,中亚东干语确实有了不少新的不同于中

国西北方言的特殊变化。最终这一语言究竟会出现怎样的变化,还需要一定的时间来观察和研究。

目前在中亚东干语研究领域,绝大多数研究成果都来自前苏联的学者。由于历史的原因,曾经有很长一段时间中国在这一研究领域没有太多的成果。近年来随着中国学者对中亚东干这一群体越来越了解,对其语言也开始进行了各个方面的研究,并有许多有影响的文章问世。当然中国学者对中亚东干语言的研究都是采用对汉语方言的研究手段进行的。如中央民族大学的胡振华教授有多篇文章介绍中亚东干语的特点,丁宏博士的《东干文化研究》(北京,1999)也专门介绍了东干语的特点,兰州大学的王森教授有几篇研究中亚东干语语法的文章。近两年还有两部关于中亚东干语言的专著出版,一部是新疆大学教授海峰的《中亚东干语言研究》(乌鲁木齐,2003),还有一部是西北第二民族学院的林涛教授主编的《中亚东干语研究》(香港,2003)。目前在中国,在语言学界,对中亚东干语言感兴趣的人越来越多。我们相信,随着越来越多研究成果的问世,在这一领域,中国学者和俄罗斯同行学者的交流也将越来越广泛,对这一语言现象的认识也将会越来越深入。

注释:

① Ю Цунваз «Заметки о Некоторых Модификаторах в Дунганском языке», Академия наук киргизстан ССР, «Материалы по общей тюркологии и дунгановедению» Фрунзе 1964 стр 63 См Зап Ин-та востоковедения АН СССР, т IV. М. Л, 1937, стр 117- 131.

② 本文作者曾多次与伊玛佐夫先生交流过这个问题,他本人是持这种观点的,他的文章中也引用过上述德拉古诺夫的观点。

③ А МУСОРИН «ЧТО ТАКОЕ ОТДЕЛЬНЫЙ ЯЗЫК?» (Сибирский лингвистический семинар — Новосибирск, 2001, №1. - С 12- 16).

④ С Е Я хантов «Лингвистический энциклопедический словарь» - М 1990. - С 226- 227.

⑤ О И Завьялова «Гансуский Дialect», Москва 1979.

⑥ 海峰《中亚东干语言研究》,新疆大学出版社,2003年10月。第31- 76页。

⑦ 同上,第115- 148页。

⑧⑨《中亚回族诗歌小说选译》,М Х 依马佐夫著,林涛译,香港教育出版社,2004年5月,第160页。

⑩ А Калимов «об особенностях некоторых существительных в дунганском языке», Труды Института языка и литературы АН Киргизской ССР Выпск IV, 1957, Ст 165.

Dungan Language in Central-Asia —— The Oversea Variation of Chinese North West Dialect

HA I Feng

(Linguistic College of Xinjiang University, Urumqi 830008, China)

Abstract: The paper discusses the coherence between Dungan Language in Central-Asia and North West dialect in China from the aspect of linguistics and ethnology, and analyses some specialties in the language to draw a conclusion that the DunGan language is the oversea variation of Chinese north-west dialect.

Key words: Dungan language in Central-Asia; North West dialect; variation

论东干语的发展*

海 峰

(新疆大学 预科部, 新疆 乌鲁木齐 830008)

摘 要: 本文主要论述了在历史发展过程中东干语和汉语的区别, 并讨论了新形势下东干语的存在状态和发展前景。

关键词: 东干语; 汉语; 发展

中图分类号: H17 文献标识码: A 文章编号: 1000-2820(2005)03-0139-02

从我们的调查和进一步的研究来看, 东干语是汉语方言在境外的特殊变体。这一变体的产生从我们的调查和进一步的研究来看, 可以说东干语就是汉语方言在境外的特殊变体。这一变体的产生主要是这一带有陕甘方言特点的语言受到俄语和突厥民族语言影响的结果。这一特点也就注定东干语言和汉语已经有了一定的区别。

一、东干语和现代汉语的差别

和东干语言相比现代汉语的不同点主要表现在以下几个方面:

(一) 词汇方面的部分差异

由于使用人口众多, 使用功能强大, 现代汉语在近一百年内词汇发生了巨大的变化。在东干语离开汉语这一大的语言环境后, 东干语走上了自己的发展道路, 汉语同样在后来的岁月中发生了巨大的变化。仅以词汇为例, 100多年以来, 汉语词汇有了很大的改变。仅19世纪初到20世纪中期, 汉语中就产生新词5000余个。^{[1](pp. 2~3)}应当说, 这些词语的绝大部分也是东干语最初的使用者所没有接触到的。据专家统计, 仅新中国成立以来, 现代汉语中就产生了10000多个新词, 平均每年产生200多个。^{[2](p. 20)}以1997年到2000年间为例, 3年多的时间里汉语中就产生了700多个新词术语, 多为现代生活政治词汇及网络用语。^{[3](p. 4)}这些词汇更是今天的东干语言所接触甚少的。因此, 作为曾经是一体的汉语和东干语, 由于处在不同的社会环境之中, 已经有了不同的发展内容。也正是由于有了这些新的词汇, 使得今天的东干族在和操普通话的中国人进行对话时出现很多不理解或无法沟通的问题。

同样, 东干语作为汉语的陕甘方言在语音和一些词汇上与现代汉语相比也存在着差别, 尤其是目前在东干语中使用的一些过去的词语, 在现代汉语

中已经失去了它的使用功能或其使用功能极其有限, 许多词汇已经跟不上时代发展的需要, 许多词语在现代汉语中或者不再使用或者仅存于方言之中, 使用功能和适用范围都受到了很大的限制。如“拓书”、“大人”、“盘缠”、“位份”, 以及有强烈方言色彩的词语“哈巴”、“一满”、“一搭里”、“零干”等。不能否认, 正是这些词语使东干语带有了鲜明的汉语方言特色, 并有一些古香古色的特点。而现代汉语已经发展到了一个新的阶段, 要想使操用东干语言的人和操用汉语普通话的人直接对话还是有一定难度的, 这是东干语的鲜明特色, 同时也是它和汉语普通话的区别之一。

(二) 句法形式的部分差异

20世纪上半叶, 尤其是五四运动以后, 汉语的句法结构发生了巨大的变化, 汉语句子结构趋于严密, 一方面逻辑性很强, 另一方面句子的主谓分明, 句子的每一个成分都经得起分析, 这些特点的产生主要是受西方语言特点影响的结果。^{[4](p. 482)}如被字句的出现, 各种关系的复句的出现等。这些结构和语言现象同样也是今天的东干人非常陌生的。这些也构成了两者之间的另一方面的差异。

二、东干语应当如何在新的条件下保存和发展

谈到东干语的发展, 我们必须意识到, 对于作为像孤岛一样存在的东干语, 它的保存和发展必然会受到强势语言的影响和抑制。因此应当对它的发展持格外的关注态度。目前, 东干语的发展是靠东干族聚居区进行母语的教授和学习这种方式来进行母语保存的人工干涉的。但是, 从目前的情况来看, 这种方式的力量远没有达到预期的效果。首先由于各种原因, 东干语课程的开设正遭遇着种种困难和困惑。一方面, 由于国家财力的不足, 使东干语课程

* 收稿日期: 2004-12-13

作者简介: 海峰(1964-), 女, 回族, 新疆乌鲁木齐市人, 博士, 新疆大学预科部副教授, 从事中亚东干语言和双语现象研究。

教学的师资、课时、教材等诸项与教学密切相关的因素不能得到保障,因而影响到了东干语的教学效果;另一方面,由于学生本身对学习过程重视不够,学习时缺乏足够的兴趣和动力,因而学习效果也不十分明显。很多学生觉得自己能说几句话就可以了,而对书面表达缺乏兴趣,认为学无所用。所以目前在东干族聚居区,东干语的教学处在低潮。从“十月革命”胜利后到苏联解体前夕,东干语教学一直处于高速发展的阶段,并且成就了一批作家、诗人,并使东干语书面文学得到了长足的发展。但看到今天的这种状况,我们也应该对东干语未来的前景产生一定的担心和忧虑。故我们丰富和发展东干语可以从以下几个方面着眼:

(一)吸收中亚各民族语言的新词新语

东干语言在近百年的发展过程中,之所以能够顽强地生存下来,一个主要原因就是它在不断地从其他语言中汲取养分,现在的东干语中有不少从突厥民族语言和俄语中借来的词汇,今后东干语在新的社会条件下,仍然将从这些语言中获得新的信息和词汇,进一步丰富自己的语言表达。

(二)吸收汉语普通话的新词新语

现代汉语普通话的新词新语应当是东干语吸收新词新语的重要取向。目前使用东干语的群众和操用普通话的中国人对话,最大的障碍就是新词新语的互相不理解,要想尽快地达到互相沟通的目的,那么尽快吸收这些新词术语应该是较为便捷的选择。这些新词新语相当一部分对东干人来说是有了一定的理解基础的,它们词根易懂,语音几乎不需要太大的改造,如“电梯”、“电影”、“合唱”、“地图”、“篮球”、“排球”等词汇,只要用东干人熟悉的词根来加以说明,应当很快会被理解和记忆。可以说,绝大多数近百年产生的、常用的新词新语都可以很容易被东干人接受和理解。相当多的词语在语音进行少许的变化后就可以进入东干人的语言交际中。作为语言工作者,我们也有责任向广大的东干群众提供整理解释这类词汇,加强他们对这些词语的了解和掌握,从而使东干语的词汇更加丰富。

(三)在青少年中提倡学习汉语

孩子有学习语言的先天优越条件。在他们最有

学习语言兴趣的时候就应当提倡他们首先学会和自己母语极其近似的汉语。当然首先应当考虑在学好俄语和本国少数民族语言的前提下。东干族儿童学习汉语应当有天然的优势,他们的母语有着与汉语极为一致的发音习惯和语法形式,因此入门是不难的。当然,要快速掌握汉语,在相同的学习条件下,取决于这些儿童的母语水平。母语水平越高,学习汉语的过程就应当越快。若是一个熟练掌握东干语口语和书面语言的人,他学习汉语的过程就可能大大缩短。反过来,如果一个东干族学生较好地掌握了汉语,那么他对自己的民族语言应当变得更加熟悉,也更能深刻地了解自己语言的一些更深层的内容和意义。

三、结 语

我们应该看到,今天仅仅只使用东干语言有时候的确很难确切地表达出一些较为复杂和抽象的内容。首先话题上就要受到很大的限制,再者,许多新事物新概念的表达明显有力不从心的地方。因此,学习汉语也许是东干族群众掌握自己民族语言和外国语言的一种两者兼得的好办法。因为,这两者有着根深蒂固、千丝万缕的联系。在今天,这种联系已变得更加密切起来。

目前的东干语言正处在发展的关键时期,社会发生了巨大的变革,原来的语言环境和政治环境都发生了巨大的变化,东干语的教学和传授都面临着严峻的考验。在这样一个历史关头,我们有必要对东干语未来的前景作一番研究和探讨。

[参 考 文 献]

- [1] 香港中国语文协会. 近现代汉语新词词源词典[Z]. 汉语大词典出版社, 2001.
- [2] 郭伏良. 新中国成立以来汉语词汇发展变化研究[M]. 石家庄: 河北大学出版社, 2001.
- [3] 宋子然. 汉语新词新语年编(1997- 2000)[Z]. 成都: 四川人民出版社, 2002.
- [4] 王力. 汉语史稿[M]. 北京: 中华书局, 1996.

[责任编辑: 王正良]

On the Development of Donggan Language

HA I Feng

(College of Preparatory Studies, Xinjiang University, Urumqi Xinjiang 830046)

Abstract: This paper mainly discusses the historical differences between the Donggan language and Chinese Putonghua and the existing state and development of the Donggan language in new situations

Key Words: Donggan language; Chinese Putonghua; development

[回族文化]

东干语的走向

丁 宏

(中央民族大学 民族学与社会学学院,北京 100081)

摘 要:苏联时期为数仅数万人且分散居住在吉尔吉斯、哈萨克、乌兹别克几个加盟共和国的东干族创制了以基利尔字母(古斯拉夫字母之一,系俄文字母的基础)为基础的东干文,开始了以拼音文字拼写汉语的成功范例。苏联解体后,以往对少数民族语言的保护政策失效,东干语言文字的发展受到影响。东干语言文字如何继续发展?是仍然保留原有风貌还是学习汉语普通话?抑或是改用拉丁字母?学者们对此展开了讨论,本文即是对各种观点的一个总结。

关键词:东干族;东干语;回族;汉语

中图分类号:H179 文献标志码: 文章编号:1002-0586(2007)04-0043-04

自20世纪80年代末起,随着中亚地区与中国联系的逐年增强,学习汉语成为当地许多高校的热门专业。加之中国与中亚各国之间互换奖学金项目的执行,一批批中亚各民族青年学者、学生赴中国留学,他们学成回国后,在与中国文化交流方面发挥了重要的桥梁作用。在这种形势下,东干族在中亚地区与中国关系中所特有的语言、文化优势受到挑战。事实上,由于东干语的局限性,东干人在与中国交往过程中经常是力不从心——他们不懂汉文,只能充当简单的语言翻译,而且这种翻译多限于日常生活,缺少技术、科技、学术含量,带有专业性的问题,仍然需要寻找专业人员帮助,更不能与中国学者进行学术交流。目前,许多东干人在与历史故国——中国交往过程中逐渐意识到语言的障碍,并着手找寻解

决的办法。有条件的开始把子女送到中国的学校来学习汉语。如在陕西有关部门和哈萨克斯坦东干族协会共同努力下,陕西方面为来中国求学的东干族子弟提供优越条件学习汉语,每年均有定额东干族学生赴陕留学;在吉尔吉斯斯坦和哈萨克斯坦在读的东干族大学生中,选择汉语言文学专业的人数也在逐年增加。

为了解决东干语发展过程中存在的问题,同时也是从与中国交流的现实需要出发,东干族知识分子围绕东干语发展前景的有关讨论也越来越多。2004年,在中亚地区召开了两次东干学国际学术会议。其中为纪念吉尔吉斯斯坦科学院东干语研究所成立50周年所召开的研讨会,以“中亚东干族历史、文化与经验”为主题;另一次大会由哈萨克斯坦民族

收稿日期:2007-01-12

作者简介:丁宏(1963—),女(回族),中央民族大学民族学与社会学学院教授,博士。

委员会和哈萨克斯坦东干族协会在阿拉木图联合举办,其主题就是讨论东干族语言问题。事实上比什凯克会议也与阿拉木图会议一样,重点讨论了东干语言与文学的产生与发展、东干族学校民族语言教学问题等等。学者们发表了各自的观点。这些观点多被吉尔吉斯东干族学术期刊《回族》所转载。以两次会议为契机,《回族》第3期、第4期开设“语言讨论”专题,东干族知识分子及国外东干学研究者围绕东干族语言的发展方向问题展开了热烈讨论。本文即以此讨论为蓝本撰写而成。

《回族》杂志主编拉希德·尤苏波夫在《东干人需要民族语言吗》一文中写道:提出这样的问题并不是空穴来风。因为他在担任《回民报》主编过程中,许多人之所以拒绝订阅,除经济方面的原因之外,主要是他们根本看不懂东干文。拉希德在分析这种情况的原因时指出:虽然在苏联时期就创制了东干文字,而且学习东干文对于东干人而言并不比学俄文、英文难,但是许多东干人甚至一生中竟舍不得拿出很短的时间用于学习本民族文字。而学习东干文事实上并不是很难。他举了这样一个例子:有一位从新疆艺术学院来考察的赵先生,他不会一句俄语,但只用了4天时间就能够大致读懂东干文。受此启发,拉希德认为,只要每个东干人每天晚上拿出一个小时,那么一个星期的时间就能够阅读东干文资料。所以拉希德建议东干人民要努力学习东干文,并将其与民族的发展和存亡联系起来。拉希德讲,所以办东干文的报纸和刊物,就是要为东干族学习东干文搭建平台。因为对于东干人而言,东干语言文字不仅要保留,而且要使其丰富和发展。

哈萨克斯坦东干族协会主席 X·达吾洛夫写的文章题为《东干字母一定要走向拉丁化》。他指出:东干族目前面临的最重要问题就是语言问题。从其他方面看,东干族保持的很多传统在今天的中国已经消失了,为此东干族文化受到许多中国学者、艺术工作者及游客的广泛兴趣。但东干族的语言不仅深受俄语、突厥语及其他各种语言的影响,更重要的是在正式场合东干族只能使用俄语,在城市中的年轻一代更是根本就忘记了母语。1957年,东干族学者在俄罗斯学者的帮助下创制了东干族文字,在苏联时期,东干族文字在东干族社会与文化生活中发挥了积极作用,特别是在文学方面,出版了大量的文学作品,并涌现出一大批优秀的东干族诗人、作家。但是今天东干族文字出现了许多问题。最大的问题是大多数东干族人在中学时按照教学大纲学习了东干

文,但现在已经不会读、不会写。对于这种状况,不能简单地抱怨说是东干族没有足够重视本民族语言,也不要指责学生不愿意学习,更不要说是教师水平不够。其中有更深层次的原因:第一,东干语有自己的特点,但东干文是在基利尔字母基础上创制的,有些东干话拼不出来,读书时只能根据前后意思猜测;第二,东干语以甘肃方言为基础,而哈萨克斯坦的大部分东干人使用的是陕西方言,对于他们而言学习标准东干语有难度;第三,在学校花费时间和精力,按教学计划学习东干语,但在现实中几乎没有运用的机会。要解决这个问题,要先从标准语着手,即东干语的“标准语”既不该是甘肃方言,也不该是陕西方言,而应该是汉语普通话。只有学习普通话,东干人才能和自己的历史故国——中国进行自由交流。如今,世界上学习汉语的人越来越多,而东干族许多年轻人特别是商人和中国之间有来往,所以学习汉语普通话是非常必要的。当然学习汉语普通话并不是说就要学习汉字,在东干族现有条件下,要学习国语(指本国主体民族语言)、俄语及外语,再学习汉字几乎是不可能的。汉字数量多,学起来很难。但东干族创设了自己的文字,应该继续保持,只是有必要用拉丁字母替换现在使用的基利尔字母。因为拉丁字母更适用。汉语的拼音就是运用拉丁字母创制的,中国人除会写汉字外,也会拼音。这里说东干文字的拉丁化不可能一蹴而就,但东干文字改革应该朝着这个方向走。一些反对者从政治角度看待这个问题。事实上是要改变以往使用的基利尔字母,并不是排斥俄语。东干人非常珍视俄语,掌握俄语比掌握任何一种语言都重要,甚至超过母语。在这个问题上应该从现实需要出发,从民族发展需要出发,从孩子的未来需要出发。目前在东干人中,使用俄语的人远远超出使用母语者,而且这种趋势一年比一年明显。这种状况令人担忧,所以东干语言的改革势在必行。

X·达吾洛夫的观点遭到一些学者的激烈反对。吉尔吉斯斯坦东干学部历史学副博士贾米俩·马仲、语言学副博士冬腊儿·哈哈子在其共同撰写的《不可藐视我们的语言》一文中写道:东干文字的创制凝聚着人类的智慧,我们希望它能够发挥其影响,因为文字还在,民族尚存。但目前东干人中出现了忽视东干语的现象,认为学习东干语没有必要,一些东干族学校甚至用所谓的“重要课”取代东干族课。东干族中某些人士也对东干语言问题说东道西。如 X·达吾洛夫所讲的使用基利尔字母难以适应东干语

的问题。事实上东干文在 100 多年间,经过东干族学者及东方学、语言学者的努力,曾经历过阿拉伯文、拉丁文及基利尔字母,逐渐成熟,甚至一些外国人在很短的时间就学会读写东干文。A. 马天佑耶夫在比什凯克创办的业余学校就是针对那些不是生活在东干族聚居区、对东干语几乎一无所知的城市东干族子弟开设的。他们通常经过两个月的学习就能具备东干语的读写能力^①。X. 达吾洛夫提出要将东干文改为拉丁字母。这当然不是不可以,但这要与同样使用基利尔字母的我们的老大哥——吉尔吉斯族与哈萨克族的步调相一致。否则谁为我们创设专门的拉丁文印刷厂?谁会分出国家资产为我们创制拉丁文字?谁为我们出版东干文教科书及参考文献?谁为我们的诗人和作家出版作品?在这样的情况下,我们只能坐视我们宝贵精神财富的遗失! X. 达吾洛夫认为哈萨克斯坦的陕西籍东干人很难掌握以甘肃方言为基础的东干文,事实上无论是甘肃方言,还是陕西方言,两者之间差距不大。甘肃籍的东干人能够读懂尔撒·达吾洛夫的散文和黑牙·蓝阿訇诺夫的诗(二者均陕西籍东干人);陕西籍东干人也能够明白亚瑟儿·十娃子的诗及尔利·阿布都的散文(二者均为甘肃籍东干人)。从事陕西籍东干语调查研究的学者包括波雅尔科夫、施马科夫、钦布津、波利瓦诺夫等东方学家,也有村娃子、杨善新等甘肃籍东干人。我们承认,至今为止,许多参与东干文研究的语言学家中尚没有陕西籍东干人。这是个比较尖锐的问题,吉尔吉斯斯坦科学院东干学部应该准备培养这方面的人才。我们这里对 X. 达吾洛夫提出的在阿拉木图召开东干语言问题国际研讨会及成立国际研究中心的倡议提出质疑。在吉尔吉斯斯坦,早在 20 世纪 30 年代就成立了东干研究机构。到 1954 年,在吉尔吉斯科学院成立了东干学部。如今东干学部仍然很有学术潜力。它拥有 1 位博士和 5 位副博士,有由一代代中外东干学者搜集的大量资料,许多国家的学者到这里来从事调查与研究。而在哈萨克斯坦则不具备这样的条件。事实上东干人在语言文字方面遇到的问题中亚其他少数民族也存在,这些民族的语言正在逐渐被族际交际语——俄语所取代。作为学者,我们不仅要呼吁,更重要的是担负起责任,可以开办东干语老师提高班,并找资金出版东干文教科书,免费在学校里发放。我们永远不能在吉尔吉斯斯坦和哈萨克斯坦的东干人之间制造人为的分歧,而是应该互通有无。我们目前最需要解决的问题就是如何在东干族学校中保持住东

干语言文学课,并努力解决学生的教科书问题。

东干族著名作家尔撒·白掌柜的用东干文撰写了《把自己语言不能忘》一文。文中,他用一首诗表达了自己对于东干语的热爱之情:“父母语言——亲娘言,一切回族贪心念。没有语言没民族,文化、规程带乡序(即文化、传统规范及习俗)。”他接着写道:在奥什,东干族已经忘记了自己的语言;塔什干等地,东干语也在消失。他说他有一次去塔什干,那里东干人的语言受到乌兹别克语的强烈影响。在科奇科尔卡、纳伦等地东干人彼此交往用的是吉尔吉斯语。当然,东干族分布在吉尔吉斯斯坦、哈萨克斯坦及乌兹别克斯坦,应该学习当地民族的语言,但同时也要学习本民族的语言,因为“不知道自己的亲娘语言的人,他不是老回回,他是没民族的人”。

在《回族》所展开的专题讨论中,也发表了国外专家的观点。中央民族大学胡振华教授在《东干族学校的汉语教学问题》一文中指出:许多东干族属于双语人才。他们不仅掌握俄语和东干语,有些人还通晓吉尔吉斯语、哈萨克语及维吾尔语,掌握英语、德语的也大有人在,东干人所取得的成就与其丰富的语言知识是分不开的。东干语是汉语的陕甘方言在境外发展的结果,与汉语普通话有区别,但差别不是很大。汉语普通话的使用范围要大得多,在中亚许多高校都开设了汉语课程,所以在东干族学校的教学计划中应该逐渐加进汉文的授课内容。他建议东干语教学应逐渐向汉语象形文字转化。兰州大学常文昌教授曾长期在哈萨克斯坦和吉尔吉斯斯坦任教,对东干语有一定研究。他在《东干语与汉语的异同》中指出:当上个世纪 20 至 30 年代,中国人还在讨论汉字是否要拉丁化的时候,苏联东干族已经开始使用拼音文字。东干语虽源于汉语,但已形成自己的特点,而且东干人还创造了自己的文字,并进而促进了东干文学与文化的进一步发展;德国留学生艾尔克在吉尔吉斯斯坦科学院东干学部师从伊玛佐夫等学者学习东干文多年。她用东干文发表了《回族文化的问题》。她认为人们所以重视俄文超过重视东干文,因为许多词,如交易所、竞赛、改革等词东干话中不存在,国家的重要文件、资料都是用俄语发表的。东干文也有许多问题,如不标音调、一个音有不同的写法等。在教学中也存在由于教师工资太低而造成的人才流失及教科书陈旧、东干语课时太少等问题。艾尔克指出:应该利用东干语电视、电台、报纸等广泛宣传、教授东干语,并且要把新的学习方法运用到东干语教学中。

从以上各方面观点中,我们可以了解东干语目前处于一种举步维艰的困境中。其发展前景如何?应该如何发展?在这些问题上尚不能达成共识。虽然从统计数字看,目前在中亚东干族聚居区,尚有 23 所学校(哈萨克斯坦 12 所、吉尔吉斯斯坦 11 所)开设东干语课程,事实上其中一些学校由于师资、教材等方面的原因该课程已经名存实亡。上面提及 2000 年 10 月在比什凯克成立了“东干儿童文化教育中心”,事实上在此之前的一个月,在哈萨克斯坦东干族聚居区——绍尔秋别乡成立了以马尔·喜玛洛维奇·呼罗夫为主任的东干语言文学教学法中心。该中心以培养东干语教师、加深东干语言研究、举行学术讨论会及示范课等为主要内容。以上两个“中心”在东干人中产生一定积极影响,但对于在东干人中

普及东干族语言文化知识仍是杯水车薪。也就是说,尽管东干族知识分子为发展本民族语言文化付出了多方面努力,但东干族居民的东干语言知识及东干语的使用情况每况愈下。这种情况的出现与多元文化社会中东干族向外交流与发展的有关,同时也与政治环境的变化密切相关。苏联时期东干族语言文化的发展与政府提供的资金支持及政策的强力保障有密切关系,但苏联解体后,以往的“优惠”、“扶助”都成为历史的记忆,而中亚地区所面临的经济、政治方面的问题同样影响着东干族文化的发展。在这样的背景下,作为东干民族文化重要标志的东干语言文字究竟走向何方,自然就成为人们关注的一个焦点。

注释:

①即东干儿童文化教育中心。该中心成立于 2000 年 10 月,除教授东干语外,还教授英语、计算机,此外还有

东干族舞蹈、音乐、刺绣等课程。

On the Development Trend of the Dungan Language

D N G Hong

(Central University for Minority Nationalities, School of Ethnology and Sociology Beijing, 100081)

Abstract: The only tens of thousands of the Dungan people (immigrants coming from China) living in Kyrgyz, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, etc., of the former Soviet Union once created the Dungan characters by using the Jilièr alphabets (among one type of the ancient Slavic alphabets and now is treated as the base of the Russian alphabets). This is a successful example of using alphabets in wiring sentences spoken in the Chinese language. After the disruption of the Soviet Union in late 1990s', its policy of protecting ethnic minorities' language as well as characters lost its effect, and as a consequence, the further development of the Dungan language including its characters received a heavy blow. So, how to develop the Dungan language in the future, i.e., should the people there maintain their old language style, or should they learn the putonghua in stead; or should they use the Latin alphabets, that is the issue still under a heat discussion among academic circle. The paper, hence, intends to offer a conclusion of the academic research work done by scholars in recent years

Key Words: The Dungan people; The Dungan language; The Hui Ethnic Minority, Chinese.

责任编辑:马晓琴