

Werk

Titel: An attempt to change the official script of Mongolia

Autor: Grivelet , Stéphane

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 1998

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0002 | LOG_0029

Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

An attempt to change the official script of Mongolia

Stéphane Grivelet

Grivelet, Stéphane 1998. An attempt to change the official script of Mongolia. *Turkic Languages* 2, 233-246.

Since democratization in 1990, Mongolia has experienced an attempt to change the official script from the Cyrillic script, adopted in the 1940s, to the traditional Mongolian script, which had previously been in use. However, after four years of reform, the Cyrillic script was confirmed as Mongolia's official script. Currently, both scripts are used, resulting in concurrent digraphia. The study of the Mongolian attempt of script change and of the public debate surrounding this proposed reform could shed some light on similar processes, notably in former Soviet republics.

Stéphane Grivelet, 33 rue Beausoleil, F-66000 Perpignan, France.

In recent years, a number of attempts and projects aimed at script reform and script change have appeared in countries which were formerly part of the USSR, notably in the Turkic-speaking republics (Comrie 1996: 783-784). Most of these events took place after the collapse of the USSR, although some occurred a few years before, such as the reintroduction of the Latin script in Moldavia (Rogers 1990). Outside the USSR, a similar phenomenon could be observed in a former satellite country, Mongolia. Being, since 1924 a socialist country, Mongolia was closely linked to and strongly influenced by the USSR for nearly seven decades.

This influence was also reflected by Mongolian language policies, especially in the 1930-1950 period, when Latinization and Cyrillicization attempts were conducted which almost ended centuries of use of the traditional Mongolian script.

The attempt to change the official script in Mongolia from the Cyrillic to the formerly banned Mongolian script during the years immediately following the peaceful democratization of the country in 1990 is an in-

interesting example of new-found linguistic independence. Although this script reform was overturned in 1994, with Cyrillic keeping its role as the official Mongolian script, during the first years of the reform the coexistence of the Cyrillic and Mongolian scripts created a situation of concurrent digraphia (Grivelet 1994, 1995).

The study of this ongoing situation could shed some light on similar processes in former Soviet republics which are also trying to achieve script change. In this context, it seems important to examine the reform itself, in terms of legislation and implementation, and also to consider the main groups and the arguments which shaped the debate concerning the place and status of the different scripts in Mongolia.

Historical background

Mongolia has known a rather chaotic history of script, during which the classical Mongolian script (also called Uighur script or Uighur-Mongolian script) has been the only one in continuous use since its introduction in the 13th century, when the Mongolian Empire was created (Pelliot 1925: 288-289). A close relationship exists between the political situation in Mongolia and the development and disappearance of writing systems. The creation of a new regime could lead to the implementation of a new form of script. For example, the 'Phags-pa script (or square script) was introduced in 1269, during the reign of the emperor Qubilai, as the writing system for the new Yuan dynasty, but it did not survive the fall of this dynasty in the second half of the 14th century.

In the 20th century, the time of Mongolian autonomy and, later, independence, the script situation was also somewhat complex. Even if the statistics presented by the socialist regime probably did underestimate the literacy level in order to make the achievements of its alphabetization policy appear greater, it should be assumed that literacy in the Mongolian script was quite low in the first decades of the 20th century.

Another script, the Tibetan one, which was taught in the numerous Mongolian Buddhist monasteries, was also used by monks individually for writing Mongolian (Grønbech 1953, Bawden 1960).

In the 1930s, in a move similar to the linguistic policies enforced in the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic began a Latinization campaign which lasted for a few years (particularly 1930-1932) but achieved little result. However some sections of newspapers were published in Latin script, and this script appeared on stamps, book covers, etc. This script reform attempt was ended by the "New Turn Policy", which op-

posed the previous initiatives as being a leftist deviation (Bawden 1989²: 344). A second Latinization attempt, in 1940-1941, was also short-lived.

Furthermore, at that time in the USSR, the policy of Cyrillicization of minority languages was already in full swing. In 1941, the decision to change from the Mongolian to the Cyrillic script was made in Mongolia, though it was implemented with some delay. The earlier stage of this reform witnessed some confusion brought on by proposals of different versions of the new orthography (Damdinsüren 1942, 1946). From 1946 onwards, the Cyrillic script became the official script in Mongolia. At the same time, the relationship with the USSR was fostered. The new script itself was often called "Russified script" (*orosjin bičig*), and it tried to stay close to the form of Cyrillic script used for Russian. The new Mongolian alphabet, for example, used all the signs found in Russian Cyrillic, even if that resulted in inconsistencies for Mongolian orthography.

After this script change, general literacy in the Cyrillic script was achieved in Mongolia within a relatively short time span. The Mongolian script itself did not totally disappear, but its presence in Mongolia was extremely limited: It was not taught in schools but was retained in the philological department of the university. A few other uses remained: Older people still used this script, one reason being that it is faster to write than Cyrillic and is thus particularly useful for personal notes. The Mongolian script was also used for decorative purposes, e.g. on book covers. One could find self-teaching manuals on the script in Mongolia, published in Ulaanbaatar in rather large numbers by Mongolian standards. The Mongolian script was also kept in use among the Mongols living in Inner Mongolia, an autonomous region in China.

In the 1980s, during the last years of the socialist regime and at a time of political changes very similar to those taking place in the USSR, the Mongolian script underwent a sort of revival. It was reintroduced, from 1986 onwards, in secondary schools as a compulsory course in the 7th and 8th grades. Teaching materials for pupils and teachers were published in 1986 and 1987. In the academic year 1989-1990 an experiment was also conducted in one school in Ulaanbaatar with a first-grade class which was taught exclusively in the Mongolian script.

Democratization, and the choice of the Mongolian script as the future official script

During 1989-1990 winter, peaceful demonstrations in Ulaanbaatar created a change toward a more democratic regime in Mongolia. A return to traditional Mongolian values was one of the demonstrators' demands, and the Mongolian script was stressed as a symbol of Mongolian identity.

In 1990, after the demonstrations and with beginning democratization, demands for a comprehensive reintroduction of the Mongolian script, and for a change of official script were cemented by legislative efforts.

Although various decrees supported official script change and were intended to prepare the country for it, the Mongolian script was never granted the status of official script. Foreign analyses have often missed this point. For example, observers such as Kin Bing Wu state that "the classical Mongolian script has been reintroduced as the national script to replace the Cyrillic script adopted from Russian" (Kin Bing Wu 1994: 3).

During the months after the demonstrations, the first step of the reform was largely to promote a reintroduction of the Mongolian script, thus paving the way for script change, as apparent in decree no. 285, passed on 1 June 1990.

This decision concerning the general teaching of the Mongolian script, gave some guidelines for the 1990-1995 period. It was aimed at three main areas: The school system, adult education, and the creation of modern resources for the printing of materials in the classical script. These steps were intended to prepare for script change in official documents and, according to the text of the decision, to "restore the national cultural heritage". Thus a renewal of the teaching of Mongolian script was targeted at all school levels for the 1990-1995 period. The decree called for the training of school teachers in the Mongolian script, and for the production of textbooks and dictionaries.

At the level of adult education, courses were to be set up by the ministries, state organizations, municipalities and firms for employees at their workplaces. Also, basic and higher educational institutions were authorized to conduct courses at the request of organizations and individuals.

Finally, the creation in 1991-1992 of a foundation for the acquisition of computers and printing materials was intended to introduce new technologies for publishing in the Mongolian script.

On 30 May 1991, one year after decree no. 285, the upper house of parliament, the *Baga Xural* (which disappeared after the new constitution of 1992), passed decree no. 36 aimed at preparing to change official documents from the Cyrillic to the Mongolian script. In a very short text (one sentence, with a one-sentence preamble) the *Baga Xural* asked the government to provide for adequate preparation to facilitate this change, which was to take place throughout Mongolia in 1994. The preface of this decree states that the Mongolian script expresses the cultural and moral traditions of the Mongols and that it is a precious Mongolian contribution to human heritage.

This decision (the only one taken by the parliament until decree no. 66 of 8 July 1994) was completed by governmental decree no. 186 of 21 June 1991, which presented the concrete steps for the implementation of decree no. 36. It reinforced the aim to achieve full Mongolian script literacy among the Mongolian population during the 1991-1993 period. It placed responsibility for this campaign mainly with the Ministry of Education, which was to reintroduce the script in schools and create the appropriate manuals. Local institutions such as municipalities and *aimag* 'regions' were asked to take measures to involve the general public in the alphabetization process. The press also were to support the reform by publishing information about it and by using the Mongolian script itself in certain newspaper sections.

The main goals of decrees no. 285 and 36 were the extension of instruction and the preparation for use as official script. However it is interesting to note that from an individual point of view double proficiency, i.e. literacy in both scripts was sought (*xos bičigten*).

Mongolian script was first reintroduced in the educational system. During the 1990-1991 academic year, 300 schools introduced the classical script in the first grade. In 1991-1992, the Mongolian alphabet was used as the teaching script for all first graders. Courses in the script were also started for older pupils.

Evening classes for adults were created as well, but do not seem to have had much success. Although participation in these classes was substantial, the participants often did not achieve a good command of the Mongolian script. A Ministry of Education official reported that 50% to 60% of 16-49 year-olds were involved in the study of the Mongolian

script, “yet the quality leaves much to be desired. According to the rough data, 22% of the adult population have basic elementary reading skills, and 30% quite moderate reading skills” (Batmagnai 1993: 25).

In 1994, the year the official script of Mongolia was scheduled to change, preparations did not seem to have been successful. The Mongolian script had been reintroduced into the school system and was being studied in the primary grades, but heavy criticism was voiced regarding the pupils’ lack of proficiency. Among adults, full literacy in the Mongolian script—the goal of legislative acts taken since 1990—had obviously not been attained. In an opinion poll conducted in May 1994, 6.5% surveyed said that they could read and write the Mongolian script fluently and 16.57% that they could read it fluently and write it fairly well. 30.57% could not write it but were able to read it a little, 21.37% could only sound it out with difficulty, and 23.93% could neither read nor write the Mongolian script (*Ardyn erx* “People’s Right”, 13 May 1994).

The main failure of the reform was probably the absence of the Mongolian script in everyday life, even after the efforts of those few years. The script was still confined to symbolic and ornamental uses. It could be found on door plates, one side of banknotes and on stamps. It did appear in the streets in a more spontaneous manner—however only in the graffiti made by school children.

All major newspapers were still published in the Cyrillic script. They did not heed government decree no. 286 of 1991 calling for the use of the Mongolian script in a section of every newspaper: None of them had begun to employ the Mongolian script, except once again for ornamental purposes such as the newspaper’s title, which might be written in both scripts; or company names in advertisements. The only publications in Mongolian script were either magazines devoted to the promotion of the script, mainly informing on the state of the reform, and even these were sometimes published in both scripts, e.g. *Mongol bičig soyol* “Mongolian script and culture”; or magazines for children (e.g. *Dino*, *Unaga* ‘colt’). In bookstores, teaching materials were nearly the only books in Mongolian script to be found.

The general mood toward the reform also seemed to have changed between 1990 and 1994. After years of economic hardship, the prospective efforts and costs associated with a change of writing system had diminished the reform’s appeal. Thus the process seemed stalled the very year when the official script change was to be implemented.

Notwithstanding the mixed results of the first years of the script reform, the government passed a new decree (no. 64, 16 March 1994), which sought to intensify the preparatory work necessary for the transition to the Mongolian alphabet as the script of official affairs. In one of this decree's seven points, the various ministries and state organizations were asked to take appropriate steps to ensure that employees at every level were trained in the Mongolian script before the end of 1994, in such a way that they would be able to conduct official business in that script by 1995. The decree also required all Mongols between 16 and 49 years old to be taught to read and write in the script by 1995-1996 at the latest.

The Ministry of Justice was in charge of drafting and publishing standard forms and documents in the Mongolian script by the end of 1994. In the school system, this script would have to be used as the teaching medium from first to fourth grade, and afterwards for the humanities, while the Cyrillic script was to be used in science classes from grade five through ten.

This decision stoked the debate around script change, which was very intense and emotional and raged on until the main legislative debate and decision in the Mongolian parliament, scheduled for the summer of 1994. The parliamentary debate was heated as well. The absence of satisfactory results from the preparatory stage was put forward, and the government proposed to postpone the reform until 2001. The parliamentary commission in charge of education, science and culture, on the other hand, supported a decree project aimed at resuming teaching in the Cyrillic script and confirming it as the official script of Mongolia. The decree project was adopted by the parliament on 8 July 1996.

It was thus decided by parliament, in decree no. 66, that official affairs should still be conducted in the Cyrillic script (called the Cyrillic-Mongolian script in the decree) and that this script was to be taught in schools from 1994-1995 onward. On the other hand, the government remained in charge of developing a national program to promote basic instruction and use of the Uighur-Mongolian script by continuing the work of the previous three years. Furthermore Mongolian script was to be one of the principal subjects taught in school. This decision constituted a complete change of direction in Mongolian language policy since the Mongolian script now came to be considered a secondary script.

Still, efforts to reintroduce the classical script were not abandoned. A new policy was cemented in 1995 with the vote in parliament for a na-

tional program for the Mongolian script (decree no. 43) and a governmental decree (no. 223 of December 1995) which laid out the corresponding guidelines. This decree did not aim to change the official script, but rather to promote the use of the Mongolian script in newspapers and other publications. It also called for teaching it in schools, however as a separate subject and not as the main script of instruction. Moreover, in the last article of the decree, the government clearly specified that this new decree superseded the decrees made in the 1990-1994 period, thus confirming the abandonment of the project to change the official script.

The election in June 1996 of a new majority in the Mongolian parliament and the creation of a new Mongolian government made up of the Social Democratic and National Democratic parties will only reinforce this tendency, as both coalition partners are largely opposed to a script change.

The debate over official script change

The reintroduction of the Mongolian script and the drive to have it recognized as the official state script aroused different opinions and created a heated debate in Mongolia which, in 1997, is far from being concluded.

It was quite usual for foreign analysts to place supporters and opponents of the reform along broader political lines, with the democrats allegedly more inclined towards the change, and the former socialists, with more conservative views, favoring the Cyrillic script. This sketchy view does not do justice to Mongolian reality, where we may observe that the government in place until 1996—still headed then by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which won the first free elections—actually promoted the Mongolian script through official decrees, whilst the opposition parties, such as the Social Democrats or the National Democrats, showed much less enthusiasm for this reform.

Within the script reform debate itself, we can distinguish between the general opinions of the Mongolian population, which can be discerned through various opinion polls, and specific currents of opinion, represented by organized groups and associations lobbying for one type of script.

Some opinion polls addressed the issue of official script. One of these studies, presented in May 1994 by the studies center of the Mongolian parliament, showed that 11.25% of the sample supported the

Mongolian script as state script, while 87.32% were in favor of the Cyrillic script (*Ardyn erx*, 13 May 1994). On a much smaller scale, our own inquiry in 1994 based on a sample of one hundred students at the Mongolian State University showed that 67% of the students supported the use of Cyrillic as the official script, 23% were in favor of the Mongolian script, and 10% had other opinions (either the use of both scripts or changing to the Latin alphabet). Another sociological study, carried out in June 1994 by the Mongolian Academy of Science with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, recorded divergent opinions with 6.1% favoring a change the Mongolian script, 19.6% opposing such a change, and 71.7% supporting the use of both writing systems as official scripts.

A large part of the script debate was conducted by a few individuals and associations supporting a specific script and expressed mainly in newspaper articles. These groups may be divided into four main movements: The promoters of the Latin script, the Cyrillic script, the Mongolian script, and of two scripts.

The smallest group by far favored a change from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet. Created in February 1993, the Latin Alphabet Society had gained a membership of around thirty by 1994. This association succeeded in publishing a few pages of Mongolian written in Latin script in the newspaper *Ulaanbaatar*, through the help of one of its members, a journalist working for that newspaper (*Ulaanbaatar*, 12 March 1994). The orthography of these pages was inspired by Cyrillic orthography and was quite different from the Latin type used in the 1930s. The supporters of the Latin script rejected the choice of Mongolian script as being a return to the past. The Cyrillic script was also criticized, not only for its orthographic shortcomings, but also for its connection with the socialist era. As one of the association's leading members, Mönxbayar, has stressed: "... no one can deny that Cyrillic is an alphabet which was introduced in Mongolia in haste under the pressure of Stalin's supporters" (*Mongol Messenger*, 18 January 1994: 3). Nevertheless, as a transition to Latin script appears impossible, its advocates provisionally lend their support mainly to the Cyrillic alphabet, which is seen to be more modern than the Mongolian script.

The supporters of the Cyrillic script, numerous in Mongolian society, were not particularly organized, so that much opposition to the script reform was made on an individual basis. An association named *Šine bičig* "New Script" was created on 25 March 1994, the anniversary of

the adoption of the Cyrillic script in 1941. Its inception followed the new governmental decree at the beginning of March 1994, which tried to give fresh impetus to the script reform. Between March and July 1994, the supporters of the Cyrillic script published numerous articles against the reform, especially in the leading Mongolian newspaper, *Ardyn erx*. Their position was based on the following points: The main argument against the Mongolian script was related to its introduction as the teaching medium in schools. The promoters of the Cyrillic script contended that the proficiency of first grade students in reading and writing was much lower after the introduction of the Mongolian script than it had been when Cyrillic was the script of instruction. Also it was said that these school children were cut off from the rest of society, where the Cyrillic script was still in use. Furthermore they had limited access to books, magazines, etc.

In addition to the above, a historical argument was put forward, emphasizing the great progress made in raising the general level of literacy in Mongolia after the introduction of the Cyrillic script. The importance of the Cyrillic script in contemporary history and culture was also stressed, as this script had been in use for nearly half a century and the efforts to transcribe the material written since 1950 would be enormous. The script reform was further criticized for lack of feasibility. The situation of post-socialist Mongolia, especially the economic situation, was not considered robust enough for such an important change. It was also argued that a change from the Cyrillic to the Mongolian script would transform a fully literate population into a largely illiterate one.

Finally, the Mongolian script was opposed for reasons of modernity. Its orthography was said to represent a former state of Mongolian, different from the contemporary language, and thus not suited to everyday demands of a modern country. It was also stressed that international contact, especially with Western countries and with Japan, could be impaired by the use of the Mongolian script instead of the more internationally known Cyrillic.

The proponents of the Mongolian script were the most active and well organized. A few associations existed, some connected to private institutions of higher education devoted mainly to the teaching of the script. They played an active part in lobbying for the Mongolian script as the official script, and for the diffusion of the script, occasionally publishing magazines and manuals on this subject.

The Mongolian Script Association (*mongol bičig xoršoolol*) was created in 1989, before democratization. Its first members were mostly older people with a good knowledge of Mongolian script. The main aim of this association was to extend the teaching of the script, especially by organizing classes for adults. The association subsequently grew, with the creation of an institute of higher education and an adult school mainly geared towards secretaries. The institute offered a curriculum including foreign language courses and classes on the Mongolian script. After intensive preparation, students were supposed to use the script, and have lessons about its orthography, history, etc.

The Association for the Mongolian Script (*mongol bičig tölöö*), founded in January 1994, was a more recent creation, and its aims were more political. Its creation provided the opportunity for organizing a large meeting at the government palace in Ulaanbaatar with hundreds of participants, including the prime minister, several members of government and various political leaders, among them the last head of state of the socialist era, Mr. Batmönx.

The Academy of the Language and Civilization of the Mongolian Nationality, created in 1993 by the Mongolian linguist Luwsanjaw, does not really qualify as an association for promoting the Mongolian script, but still has some features in common with those mentioned above. The academy offered a mixed curriculum with foreign language classes and courses on the Mongolian script and traditional Mongolian culture. Here, too, after a semester of intensive Mongolian script instruction, the students were supposed to be able to use the classical script. The academy also participated in the publishing of a magazine called *Mongol bičig soyol* ("Mongolian Script and Culture"), which was devoted to the Mongolian script. On a more general level, the academy lobbied members of parliament through activities such as presenting modern teaching methods and printing materials related to the classical script.

The supporters of the Mongolian script shared a number of arguments, the main one being cultural and historical. The Mongolian script was considered an essential legacy of the Mongolian past, being at once a symbol of traditional Mongolian culture and a means of access to it (through the texts written in the classical script). The script was seen as one of the main features of traditional Mongolian society. Another aspect of this argument was the criticism of the Cyrillic script, which was seen as a foreign import and a symbol of Mongolia's socialist past.

A conceivable pan-Mongolist argument was surprisingly rare in Mongolia. Only a few people underlined that one of the greatest advantages of the script was that it would enable communication between all groups of Mongolian-speaking people, even if the spoken dialects differed somewhat. The possible expansion of relations with the Chinese region of Inner Mongolia, where the Mongolian script is still in use, was hardly emphasized.

Also rarely voiced, the argument of usability was mainly based on the fact that the Mongolian script is faster to write than its Cyrillic counterpart. According to some of its supporters, its orthography is also more adapted to writing Mongolian.

Supporters of the Mongolian script also developed what could be called a legal argument. Considering the different decrees related to the reintroduction of the Mongolian script, they asked the government to take measures for the application of these decrees, trying to place the debate not so much at the level of choice but rather around the question of when this change should occur.

A fourth tendency favored the option of simultaneously having the Mongolian and the Cyrillic script. This proposal was not supported by any organized group, but by individual proponents, especially politicians. The former candidate of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Mr. Tüdev, was an advocate of this idea, saying that it would be good for the Mongols to have "two horses" (*Ardyn erx*, 7 June 1994). The Mongolian President, Mr. Očirbat, also declared that he supported the idea of utilizing the two scripts concurrently. There were no specific arguments reserved to this position, but more a combination of many different arguments linked to other groups. For example, the Mongolian president, in a letter to parliament before the July 1994 script debate, stated that there was no doubt that the Mongolian people should learn and use the Mongolian script, since it was the cultural legacy of the Mongols. However, he also contended that the Cyrillic script should not be discarded, because it too formed a part of Mongolian culture and, furthermore, represented the script of a generation (*Ardyn erx*, 29 June 1994). This position mostly tended to maintain the established use of scripts in Mongolia.

Conclusions

In the Mongolian case, it is possible to observe some of the difficulties and contradictions that can appear in the attempts to reverse the script

reforms made from the 1920s to the 1940s. The move to reinstate the Mongolian script as the official script of Mongolia may have garnered some support during the immediate aftermath of the democratization process, but soon faced opposition. The main shortcomings of the reform were related to its problematic diffusion among an adult population already fully literate in the Cyrillic script.

At the time of the scheduled official script change, a contradiction existed between the desire to revive the Mongolian script and the wish expressed by most Mongols to retain the Cyrillic script as the official script. Although the reintroduction of the Mongolian script and its instruction in schools were desired by most Mongols, who acknowledged its cultural importance, the central question regarding the status of each script remained an unresolved issue. The new policy elaborated in 1994 endorsed the rare situation of concurrent digraphia created by the first years of the reform; the Cyrillic script continued to be used extensively, and the Mongolian script was reintroduced without managing to penetrate everyday life, being used essentially for symbolic purposes.

The future of this concurrent digraphia is unclear. One might wonder whether the current situation is just a stage of a long-term script reform in Mongolia—which may eventually see the disappearance of one of the scripts—or whether the two scripts currently in use will continue to co-exist, each having its own functional areas.

References

- Batmagnai, S. 1993. Present state of teaching Mongol script and future directions for developing teaching materials and reference books. In: Dorj, P. & Ganbaatar, D. & Uranchimeg, S. (eds.) *National workshop on the preparation of the literacy follow-up materials in Mongolia*. Tokyo: Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO. 24-27.
- Bawden, Charles 1960. Mongolian in Tibetan script. *Studia Orientalia* 25: 3.
- Bawden, Charles. 1989² [1968]. *The modern history of Mongolia*. London: Keagan Paul International.
- Comrie, Bernard 1996. Script reform in and after the Soviet Union. In: Daniels, Peter T. & Bright, William (eds.) *The world's writing systems*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 781-784.
- Damdinsüren, C. 1942. *Mongol šine üsgüig dürem*. Ulaanbaatar.
- Damdinsüren, C. 1946. *Mongol šine üsgüig towğ dürem*. Ulaanbaatar.

- Grivelet, Stéphane 1994. L'émergence d'une digraphie concurrente en Mongolie. *LINX* 31, 111-121.
- Grivelet, Stéphane 1995. Reintroducing the Uighur-Mongolian script in Mongolia today. *Mongolian studies* 18, 49-60.
- Grønbech, Kaare 1953. Mongolian in Tibetan script. *Studia Orientalia* 19: 6.
- Kin Bing Wu. 1994. *Mongolia: Financing education during economic transition*. (East Asia & Pacific region series, World Bank discussion papers 226.) Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Pelliot, Paul. 1925. Les systèmes d'écritures en usage chez les anciens mongols. *Asia Major* 2, 284-289.
- Rogers, Kenneth H. 1990. The relatinization of Moldavian: Linguistic nationalism in the Moldavian SSR. *Geolinguistics* 16, 57-65.

Newspaper articles

- Ardyn erx* ["People's Right"], 13 May 1994 [93 (792)]: 87, 32 xuw'n šine üsgiiг demjjee.
- Ardyn erx* ["People's Right"], 7 June 1994 [110 (809)]: Tengeriin dor törj, gajrin dor šingedeg. [By L. Tüdew.]
- Ardyn erx* ["People's Right"], 29 June 1994 [126 (825)]: Mongol ulsin ix xurald.
- Mongol Messenger*, 18 January 1994 [3 (133)]: Classical Mongolian Language—Pros and Cons.
- Ulaanbaatar*, 12 March 1994 [47 (506)]: Mongolemьs elegans. [Supplement in Latin script.]