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ABSTRACT

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN INDEPENDENT TURKIC STATES

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INTRODUCTION

The Topicality and Degree of Scientific Development of the Theme. Being comparatively new notions in sociolinguistics, the terms “language policy” and “language planning” encompass the policy pursued by the state focusing on the status, usage, development, functionalization of a language (languages) and the solution of the problems in the related issues.

Language policy is understood as a guarantee of the national unity, the intervention in the forms and functions of language in the framework of political authorities due to economic conditions and some other reasons. We can formulate this notion also as a set of laws and decisions on the status of languages spoken in a society, their usage domains and regions as well as the rights of the individuals using those languages.

Language policy has emerged as a result of the usage of the identity and communication functions of language by the states to form a language and national identity, as well as their language planning activities. Being a policy of statehood, language policy should be viewed as an effective means protecting the interaction among peoples. We think that the considerable vitalization of moral values and the consistent development of society lately substantiate the appraisal of the state language as the main component of language policy in the country.

The most characteristic feature of language policy is its conscious and planned realization. States are aimed to form and develop their national unity and identity owing to language policy. The correctly pursued language policy and language planning serve the national well-being of each country.

In Turks, who enjoy at least a 1300-year-old rich language history, language policy has been pursued differently in accordance with each language. Considering the language process observed from the language of the Orkhon-Yenisey monuments, which are one of the first inscriptions, up to present, we see the rich experience of Turkic states in language policy.

We can state that the knowledge associated with the language policy in Turks started with the work “Divanu Lughatit-Turk” written by Mahmud Kashghari in the 11th century. The language policy pursued by Turks have been influenced by the alphabits adopted by them as well. The 11th-17th centuries constitute a mixed period of language policy in Turkic states and societies, yet were of great importance for the subsequent stages. The study issues of the language policy initiated by Mahmud Kashghari entered a new stage when Garamanoghlu Mehmet bey, one of the most outstanding personalities of the Anatolian Turkic history, issued his first order in Turkish in 1277. The prestige of the Turkish language increased in poetry through the late 14th and early 15th century outstanding Azerbaijani poet Imaddadin Nasimi’s “Divan” in Turkish, the establishment of the Chaghatay Turkish as a literary language in Middle Asia owing to the great Uzbek poet Alishir Navai’s merits in the 15th century are the bright examples of the development level of the medieval regional Turkic languages. The acquisition of a wide functionality through the political image of various Turkic states both in Middle Asia, as well as in Anatolia and the Middle East turned Turkish into a leading language versus Arabic and Persian both in literature and official circles. For a long time, through their official language status, Ottoman Turkish in Anatolia and Chaghatay in Middle Asia had been part of a policy pursued by the states they belonged to. Although in other regions of Euro-asia the official language policy was not pursued consistently, the maintenance and usage of languages by the nations who were the native speakers, have resulted in the survival of those languages up to present this way or another.

Discussions on languages and alphabets gained momentum in Turkic republics (Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan in Middle Asia) which had gained independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The issue of adopting a new script came to the forefront as a priority provision of the language policy in the Turkic republics, which had long used the Cyrillic script. The heated discussions around this issue partially yielded their results, two independent Turkic republics

(Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan) adopted the Latin script. Yet, in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan the discussions related to the transition to the Latin script failed to yield any results due to the impact of numerous political and ethnic factors. Today those Turkic republics, which are still using the Cyrillic script, are working on transition to the Latin script and taking some serious actions in this connection. Especially, in recent years at the level of the heads of states, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have made decisions aimed at the adoption of the Latin script, and instructions have been given to accomplish the work in a short period of time and make concrete legal and practical steps. Today a high-level language policy is pursued in line with the development strategy of languages in independent Turkic republics. To strengthen the state language and consolidate its status, instructions have been given and state programs are being implemented.

From this point of view, the present study presents the language policy in modern Turkic languages also as a policy pursued in relation to the Turkic peoples not only in the republics that gained their independence, but also in the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the republics of Moldova, Georgia and Bulgaria and other countries where Turks have communities. In the post-1990 history of Turkic peoples, a language policy acquired a new essence, the fact that Turkish has turned into an official language in independent states has necessitated new tasks to be implemented in language planning in these countries. Since 1990 attention has increased also towards the endangered Turkic languages and systematic studies have been conducted. A diversified approach to language policy, new problems and their solutions guided these states in many cases to take a common action. The mutual political advancement has manifested itself in language planning as well.

Identification of the confrontation of the Turks living in Turkic communities and their languages with the danger of disappearance, the study of the impact of the language laws and principles adopted in the societies, where the Turkic peoples are in minority, on their identity and languages, the prognostication of the

developments are among the main issues faced by Modern Turkological Linguistics.

The Study Object and the Subject Matter of the Research.

The study object is the language policy pursued in independent Turkic states, communities (societies) and other republics in association with Turkic languages. The independent Turkic languages and the languages of the other peoples living in Turkic communities constitute the subject matter of the research.

The Research Goal and Objectives. The main goal of the work is to study language policy and language planning as an important phenomenon, to investigate the language policy pursued in independent Turkic states and the problems faced in regard to the language policy pursued in the countries where the Turkic minorities live and to indicate their solutions. From this very point of view, the fulfillment of the following objectives has been considered appropriate:

- To define the content and essence of language policy and language planning, their implementation forms in world practice;
- To follow the process of language policy pursued historically in Turkic states and peoples;
- To study and investigate the language reform and language policy carried out in the period of the Ottoman Empire;
- To define the general guidelines of the language policy pursued in association with the Turkic peoples in the period of Tsarist Russia;
- To define the basic guidelines implemented in association with the Turkic peoples in the period of the USSR;
- To follow the basic guidelines, principles, course and perspectives of the language policy and language planning pursued in the period following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and in the contemporary period;
- To define the main features of the consolidation process of the political force of the Turkic languages following the collapse of the USSR;

- To define the similarities and distinctive features of the policy pursued by each country in connection with official Turkic languages;
- To analyse the current state of the language situation in independent Turkic states;
- To analyse the prospects and future basic strategies of the language policy pursued in connection with Turkic languages in the contemporary period;
- To study the language policy pursued in the communities of Turkic minorities and their impact on the development of Turkic languages;
- To investigate the state of the Turkic languages in Turkic communities and the language policy pursued in connection with them, to offer proposals and solutions in this regard.

The Research Methods. Theoretical, descriptive, statistic and comparative methods were used while writing the dissertation, taking into account the latest achievements of language policy, sociolinguistics and the science of Turkology.

The Main Provisions Presented to Defence. The following provisions in the research are presented for defence:

1. The issues of language policy and language planning, which are among the important notions and a research domain in sociolinguistics, as well as their main components have not been the subject of a systematic study from the Turkological perspective so far. Therefore, the study of language policy, which manifests itself as a very complex process in independent Turkic republics, as well as in the Russian Federation, Iran and China, where Turks are densely populated, is of social and linguistic importance.

1.1. Defining the interrelations between the urgent language policy and the language situation in the countries mentioned.

1.2. The application of the mono-componential, duo-componential and compact-componential types of language policy.

2. The problem of language and alphabet, which covers a period when mixed and controvertial issues were discussed beginning from the language of the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions till the first half of

the 19th century in the Turkic world, has had an impact more or less also on the language policy pursued by Turks in the later periods.

The language reforms carried out in Turkey during the Ottoman Empire were not that much effective in purifying the Ottoman Turkish language which used to borrow extremely much from Arabic and Persian. The targeted struggles to simplify Ottoman Turkish lasted long.

2. The main goal of the policy of nationalization - Russification pursued in the period of Tsarist Russia was to alienate the Turkic peoples from their customs and traditions, roots and languages. The language policy whose foundations were laid in that very period caused serious obstacles later for Turkic peoples, struck a blow at the maintenance and continuation of the language and national identity. Although the All-Russian Turkic-Muslim communities waged a long struggle to solve these problems, yet failed to solve the issues at a desired level.

3. Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, serious work was carried out in language reforms and policy, like in all other fields. The change of the alphabet and the establishment of the Turkic Language Institution had a serious impact on the actions taken in the sphere of language policy. Today the state of Turkey is taking significant steps so that Turkish becomes the world language; the language institutions built in various geographies of the world carry out the language policy of the state in this respect.

4. The dynamics of the language situation of the states which are the subject matter of the study characterizes the linguistic life of the multi-national country. The linguistic life is a quite complex and multiaspect phenomenon in the areas resided by Turkic peoples. Language policy is pursued in the context of language processes of those countries.

5. The language policy of the Soviet period was the continuation of the policy of language and national identity carried out by Tsarist Russia in connection with Turkic peoples. The policy which was completely changed from previously defined policy of "reconstruction" into a policy pursued against Turkic peoples in the 1930s-1940s was a bright example of repression and influenced also

the development of the functional potentials of Turkic languages. The language policy of that period and its consequences maintained their impact and urgency after the Turkic Republics gained their independence as well.

6. The Turkic republics (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan) gained independence following the collapse of the USSR and pursued a policy associated with language which is one of the main attributes in the formation and development of national identity. In some republics (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan) the actions associated with language policy were implemented within a short period of time, whereas in other countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) there were delays yet due to some objective and subjective reasons, there are still mixed and controversial issues.

7. Today in such countries as Russia, China, Iran, Moldova, Georgia and Bulgaria there are communities of Turkic peoples. The language policy pursued in these countries and the laws adopted in regard to language leave the languages of the Turkic minorities under risk. The continuous decrease in the number of the speakers of the languages which are under risk in various regions in the world can result in the disappearance of those languages in near future.

The Scientific Novelty of the Research. For the first time in Azerbaijani Linguistics, language policy and language planning, which constitute a new area of study of sociolinguistics, have been investigated systematically and comparatively through the examples for each related country. Besides, the language policy lasting from the period of Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions up to the present time in the Turkic world has been studied as a complex both from the historical and modern aspects, diachronically and synchronically, had a comparative analysis, the existing problems have been revealed and the solutions to these problems have been stated. Distinct aspects of the language policy in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, China as well as in the Russian Empire until the early 20th century and the language policy pursued in modern Turkic republics have been studied chronologically.

Especially, this research was the first to present a systematic study of the language policy concerning Turkic peoples in the period of the USSR. In the process the language policy pursued by the central government of the USSR in regard to Turkic peoples, as well as the language policy applied throughout the Union and in each republic were the focus of attention, the issues of language planning in different countries are analysed for the first time comparatively through a socio-linguistic approach.

The dissertation is the first to study the language policy pursued in the countries which gained independence following the collapse of the USSR, the language policy pursued in each country for the last 30 years has been the subject of a comprehensive analysis, the current language situation, the existing problems have been analyzed, solutions and prospects have been stated. Also, the future visions of the activities of the institutions carrying out presently the language policy and language planning in each independent Turkic republic in the development of mutual relations have been the subject of analysis.

Also, the language policy pursued against the Turks where they are minorities has been investigated and their rights defined in the legislation of their resident countries have been stated. Especially, the current state of the languages of Turkic nations residing in the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the republics of Moldova, Bulgaria, Georgia and their maintenance issues have been reviewed.

The Theoretical and Practical Importance of the Research.

As the theme has been addressed for the first time so extensively, the scientific findings of the study can be used in the future scientific surveys to be conducted in this line. The study of the language policy pursued against the Turks in independent Turkic republics and Turkic communities, the definition of the main characteristic features of this policy, the achievement of a certain result can also make contributions to the scientific collaboration to be established and to the activities of language planning to be carried out in the Turkic world in future. Besides, the close watch of the general language policy pursued in independent Turkic states is important also in

terms of reanimation of a common language and common scientific-cultural values in future among the Turkic peoples.

Approbation and Application. In this line the applicant published 55 articles, 33 out of which were released abroad; three monographic works were written, and scientific presentations were made in conferences and seminars.

The Name of the Institution Where the Dissertation was Written. The dissertation was written in the Department of Turkic Languages of the Institute of Linguistics named after Nasimi, the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.

The General Volume of the Dissertation in Characters by Indicating also the Volume of Each Structural Section Individually. The dissertation consists of Introduction, four chapters, Conclusion, the Suggested Literature and Appendices. The Introductory part of the dissertation constitutes 9 pages, correspondingly Chapter 1 is 36 pages, Chapter 2 is 43 pages, Chapter 3 is 56 pages, Chapter 4 is 64 pages, the Conclusion is 7 pages, the Suggested Literature is 23 pages, and the appendices are 21 pages. The dissertation consists of, in general, 261 pages, and 410.932 characters.

THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE STUDY

The Introduction of the dissertation substantiates the topicality of the theme and its degree of development, defines the subject matter and the study object of the dissertation, its goal and objectives, research methods, the provisions to be presented at the defence, provides information on the scientific novelty, theoretical and practical importance of the study, the name of the institution where the dissertation was written, the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation taken individually and its general volume in characters.

The first chapter of the dissertation, which is titled “**Language Policy and the Ways of Its Formation**”, consists of 6 subchapters.

In the first half-chapter entitled “**Language policy and its scientific-theoretical aspects**”, the scientific-theoretical aspects of

language policy and language planning, the main directions of research in these areas were brought to attention, the relationship of language policy with other areas was touched upon.

Some researchers point out that the first research in the field of language policy and language construction appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, and has come a long way, from describing models of language planning and language policy to global issues such as language protection and language rights. Unlike other fields of research in sociolinguistics, there are a number of difficulties in determining the general theoretical basis for research on language policy. From this point of view, linguistic planning, language policy and language building are the most intersecting topics with other areas of social linguistics, and therefore it is impossible to look at the points of reference of the issues that are the object of language policy within the general system. Confirming this, T. Ricento writes: “... *There is no generalized theory in the field of language policy and language construction. This is mainly due to the variety of language-related problems in society*”¹.

Pointing out language policy actually as a field of social linguistics, J.Garibova writes, “*Today the scope of researches and the fact that the problems touched upon exceed the boundaries of linguistic field allow to consider the problems of language policy also as a domain object of politics (the issue of state language, language policy and security problems and so on), sociology (bilingualism, the language of national minorities, an attitude towards the language, language behaviour, etc.), legal sciences (the language right of citizens), economics (language policy and economic efficiency)*”².

Pointing out the existence of specific language policy and language situation of every system and state, J.Kazimov writes, “*The specific vision of every historical period and stage elucidates that*

¹ Ricento, T. Language Policy: Theory and Practice / Ricento, T. – New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, –2006. – p.10.

² Qəribova, J. Dil siyasəti ilə bağlı tədqiqatlarda prioritet meyillər // TDD/JofEL, – 2013. – s. 3.

policy and situation. For example, the language policy of the Soviet period acquired a distinct shape from the current language policy due to the reason that then the language policy in that system managed to influence the language life, language environment and situation of society (the Azerbaijani society, in particular) by different ways and means, serving the socio-economic progress, scientific-cultural development, the peoples' friendship and cooperation”³.

Language is part of state policy and the language formation is among the priority issues as an important issue of a state building. In this sense, we can say that language is one of the important factors in the political situation of society. Language policy and language planning in any society can be considered successful if it covers all members of society, and the use of the national language covers all areas of life.

The subchapter of Chapter 1, which is called **“Language Policy and Concepts of Language Planning”** discusses the concepts of “language policy” and “language planning”. Researchers in the field of language policy and language planning have not been able to agree on a single term to express this concept. The terms “language policy” and “language planning” are sometimes used interchangeably.

In addition, the concept of language method has emerged in sociolinguistics, with B. Jernud noting that this concept is *“used in the field of linguistics to distinguish between macroplanning and microplanning”*⁴. R.Kaplan and R.Baldauf express what happened in all stages and directions with the term “general planning”⁵. B. Spolsky considers language planning not a continuation of language policy, but a part of internal regularity.

³ Kazımov, C.İ. Dil situasiyası sosiolinqvistik konsept kimi – funksional üslubların inkişaf səviyyəsi / C.Kazımov. – Bakı: Müəllim, – 2016. – s. 48.

⁴ Jernudd, B. Language Plannig from a Management Perspective: An Interpretation of Findings, Language Conflict and Language Planning / Jernudd, B. – Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, – 1993. – p. 133.

⁵ Baldauf, R. Language Planning from Practice to Theory / Kaplan R. – Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, – 1997. – p. 205.

It is important to note a few points about language policy and language planning: Language policy can be seen as an effective tool for maintaining international understanding, as well as for state policy. The sustainable development of society provides a basis for assessing the state language as a key component of language policy in the country.

Language policy is a policy aimed at language problems in societies, problems in language situations. Language problems appear in different forms or manifest in different forms in different societies.

In chapter 1, the subchapter titled **“The Main Factors Shaping Language Policy and Language-Identity Issues”** shows that language policy is formed at the crossroads of different areas and under the influence of many factors. The state of languages in the country, the structure of political power and official ideologies play an important role in defining this policy. J.Eastman emphasizes the importance of language relations in language policy: *“When formulating language policy, taking into account the views of language group members on their group and other groups, as well as their attitudes towards language will affect the success of language policy”*⁶. According to J.Pula, the main factors shaping language policy are: *“the language situation, the political system and official ideology”*⁷.

Emphasis on factors that are beneficial to the cultural, social and economic development of a society during language planning results in the language policy pursued serving the well-being of the country.

The first chapter, **“Language Planning: Goals, Stages and Directions”** discusses the goals, stages, and directions of language planning. Among the goals of language policy in language policy is its purification, revival, correction, standardization and modernization. According to H.Haarmann: *“In practice, it is difficult*

⁶ Eastman, C. Language Planning / Eastman, C. – London: Montclair State University Press, –1983. – p.166.

⁷ Pool, J. The Official Language Problem // – Washington: American Political Science Review, – 1991. №85. – p. 496.

to find a balance in all relations. Most inconsistencies in practical language planning are the result of conflicts of interest. It seems that the process of language planning does not comply with the provisions of the plan and program"⁸. A number of researchers (E. Annamalai, J. Rubin, A. Bentahila, E. Davis, J. Estman, E. Jahr, R. Kaplan, F. Karam, M. Nahir, J. Paulston, etc.) on the purposes of language planning thought. Language planning processes can be characterized by four stages in the E. Haugen model (ie selection, coding, implementation, development) and within this framework, how language planning can be carried out can be determined. H. Harman adds the typology of language planning to the dimension of prestige planning, but this still does not answer the question "for what purpose". Finally, J. Edwards answers questions about goals as follows: "*Language planning is done to respond to language behaviors (regardless of purpose, society, and circumstances)*"⁹. According to E. Jahra, the general goal of language planning is to propose to reduce language conflict. However, "*language planning activities can ultimately lead to both big and serious problems*"¹⁰.

The fifth subchapter of the first chapter, entitled "**Types of language policy**", discusses the types of language policy. Countries have different language policies. Because many factors, such as the total number of ethnic minorities in each country, demographic characteristics, the degree of ethnic tension, the presence or absence of ethnic disputes, the ethnic consciousness and organization of minorities, determine the framework or type of language policy.

Sociolinguist T. Riento divides the language policy of states into three types: "*Homogeneous category, dual category and mosaic category. In the homogeneous category, the majority in a region or country can speak only one language, while national minorities can use one or more languages. Examples are some Western European*

⁸ Haarmann, H. Language planning in the light of a general theory of language: a methodological framework // – London: International Journal of the Sociology, – 1990. №86. – p. 123.

⁹ Edwards, J. Multilingualism/Edwards, J. – London: Routledge, –1994. – 14 p.

¹⁰ Nahir, M. Language planning goals: a classification // Amsterdam: Language Problems & Language Planning, – 1984. – №8. – p.15.

*countries, the United States, Russia and Japan. In the dual category, the country is divided into two or three language regions or groups: such as Canada, Belgium, Iraq and Singapore. Mosaic countries are a category of five or more language groups. Nigeria, Ethiopia, Papua New Guinea and India fall into this category*¹¹.

Thus, in most countries, the type and direction of language policy is largely determined by the ethnic situation in that country. It is obvious that many countries formulate language policy taking into account the languages spoken in the country and the peoples living there. Those countries achieve good results in language policy, which takes into account all factors and ethnic realities, and avoids reactionary and violent language policy.

The last half of the first chapter, entitled “**Language Policy and Language Behavior, Language Rights**” examines two topics: language behavior and language rights. Although language-society relations are interrelated, two factors with different functions come to the fore: language behavior and language policy. In the study of language problems, the question of which of these two concepts, which are separate research topics in sociolinguistics, should be referred to is important.

Approaches that language behavior emerged as a result of the rational choice of individuals and that language policy was one of the many factors influencing this choice were dominant in research in the 1970s. The historical approach, which states that it is the state policy that influences and determines the choice and connects it with the legal political system, is still relevant, although it was voiced in those years. Currently, based on research on the topic on the international platform, we can say that this second approach is more acceptable than the first approach, which is based on the rational choice of individuals. However, the first approach is extremely important in identifying language problems.

The term “language rights” is used by some researchers to mean human rights for language, or the language rights of minorities. On

¹¹ Ricento, T. *Language Policy: Theory and Practice* / Ricento, T. – New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, –2006. – p. 139.

the other hand, the term language rights is rarely found in the texts of international law. The discussion of unresolved issues of language policy and rights is reflected in the careful selection of terms. Language rights were first included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 as international human rights. Some distinguish between language rights and human rights.

Most international documents and statutes on language rights distinguish between the personal use of one language by an individual and the use of one language by public authorities. The current international human rights mandate recognizes the right of all people to freedom of expression or the right of members of a minority to use their own language in communication with other members of their groups. *“Linguistic rights are generally translated from country to country in different ways and applied to laws, as there is no accepted standard legal definition”*¹².

In addition to the above, there are countries and regions in the world today that have disputes over language rights. Examples of these countries are Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, Moldova and Spain.

The second chapter of the dissertation is called **“The Language Policy in Turkic States and Communities (Historical Aspect)”**. This chapter consists of seven subchapters.

The roots of the communication history of the Turkic language which enjoys at least 1300-year old written past as a language of writing, are, naturally, more ancient. Given the features of the words in the language of the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions, which are among the first written sources, and the verbal similarities existing also in other languages, we can see that the Turkic language enjoys the four or five century-long history as a language of interaction. The Turkic language, whose roots go back to the depth of centuries, has had an impact on many languages as a result of the cultural, social and political relations of the Turks with other nations, as well as has been exposed to the impact of various languages.

¹² Paulston, C. Language Policies and Language Rights // – Palo Alto: Annual Review Anthropology, – 1997. №26, – p. 73.

The subchapter called **“From the History of Language Policy in Turkic States and Communities”** of Chapter 2 emphasizes that although a state language has long existed as a socio-linguistic phenomenon, it is new as a socio-linguistic notion and associated mostly with the last two centuries. In Academician Aghamusa Akhundov’s words, *“While the age of our literary language which is the manifestor of our people’s moral world is over 1000 years taking into account the epics of “The Book of Dede Korkut”, a wonderful example of the oral literary language, the real activity of our state language does not reach even 100”*¹³.

In this regard, F.Jalilov writes, *“In the period following the Proto-Turkic stage, the Turkic ethnicities were divided into two main branches, one of them was scattered to different areas of Front Asia, whereas, another (eastern) branch withdrew to the East and had a long contact with the remnants (pro-Mongolian, pro-Tungus-Manjur, pro-Korean and others) there, and the Altaic language theory presented the parallels originating from that contact as kinship”*¹⁴.

The investigations conducted in regard to Turkic languages, especially Ahmad Jafaroghlu’s studies reconfirm that *“The history of the Turkic literary languages appearing in various Turkic ethnic-cultural regions does not exclude the notion of the history of the Common Turkic language, on the contrary, accomplishes it and consolidates such a conclusion that being an output of a common Turkic literary language scene, independent Turkic literary languages are formed in the geographic area where that very scene was reflected, meets an ethnic-cultural need, and further dies away or is exposed to modification and replaced by a new literary form”*¹⁵.

In his researches on the history of our literary language A.Damirchizadeh characterizes that period as follows, *“It is known that never before has the Azerbaijani language enjoyed the right of*

¹³ Axundov, A.A. Seçilmiş əsərləri: [2 cilddə] / – Bakı: Elm və təhsil, – c. 1. – 2012. – s. 3.

¹⁴ Cəlilov, F.A. Azərbaycan dilinin morfonologiyası / F.Cəlilov. – Bakı: Maarif, – 1988, – s.132.

¹⁵ Caferoğlu, A. Türk Dili Tarihi [2 cilddə] / Caferoğlu, A. – İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, – c. 1. – 1964. – s. 63.

an official state language to the present extent. It is true that in the 15th-16th centuries, especially in the early days of the Safavid period the Azerbaijani language was used as an official state language. However, in that period, i.e. in the 15th-16th centuries the use of Azerbaijani as a state language was very temporary and was used as a third language along with the Arabic and Persian languages which enjoyed more right"¹⁶.

We can also state that in Turkic states and societies the 11th-17th centuries constitute a very mixed period in terms of a language policy, yet that period was of great importance for the subsequent stages.

The subchapter titled **“The Language Policy in the Ottoman Empire”** deals with the language policy pursued in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman state accepted Turkish as a state language. However, that language did not remain to be a pure Turkish and turned into an amalgam of three languages by time. The language “enriched” with complicated *izafet constructions* and foreign elements was already alien to people too, lost its function of national character, was used almost only in documentation, madras textbooks, the literature with Aruz meter and among the high strata. However, this language abyss led to misunderstanding between people and state. *“As the communication between people and state was realized through the offices at site, there was no need to issue the court decisions and orders in a language which the people could understand”*¹⁷.

In the first years of the establishment of the Ottoman State along with the Arabic language used as a language of science and education, Turkish was addressed in fiction and folklore. Especially, bright examples of the literature of oral folklore in pure Turkish appeared among the people. Some other ethnic groups living in the Empire also borrowed a lot from Turkish.

¹⁶ Dəmirçizadə Ə.M. Azərbaycan ədəbi dilinin tarixi / Dəmirçizadə Ə.M. – Bakı: Maarif, – 1979. – s. 18-19.

¹⁷ Levend, A.S. Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri / Levend, A.S. – Ankara: Türk Dil Derneği, – 2010, – s. 11.

The outstanding Turkish linguist M.Ergin speaks “*of three stages of the Ottoman Turkish in terms of borrowing loan words in Turkish*”¹⁸.

The first period of Ottoman Turkish covering the 15th-16th centuries is the period of invasion of the written language representing Old Anatolian Turkish by the Arabic and Persian languages. The second period of Ottoman Turkish begins from the end of the 16th century and continues till the mid 19th century. In that period the mixed language reached its last boundaries, the Arabic and Persian elements prevailed in the written language reflecting Turkish in terms of structure. The third period of Ottoman Turkish begins in the mid 19th century, i.e. from *Tanzimat* and lasts till the early 20th century, to be more precise, till the 1908 Revolution of “Young Turks”. In regard to these stages, we can conclude, “*The written language of Ottoman Turkish was cleansed from the useless foreign words and constructions in the final stage, in the early 20th century the confusion was eliminated and replaced by Turkish of Turkey*”¹⁹.

H.Sh.Akalin points out two manifestations of this impact, “*The first is turning towards the national language and the second is communicating in a language understandable by people. Thus, especially newspapers are the first reasons for changes in language. Being simplified, purified from borrowed words, acquiring an understandable shape, Turkish turned into a language used anew by intellectuals and writers, artists to interact with people*”²⁰.

The subchapter of the dissertation titled “**The Language Policy Associated with the Turkic Peoples in Tsarist Russia**” points out that the beginning of the Russian invasion of the Turkic lands started

¹⁸ Ergin, M. Türkçenin Tarihi Gelişimi: [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://www.bilgicik.com/yazi/turkcenin-tarihi-gelisimi-muharrem-ergin/>

¹⁹ İbrahimov, E.Ə. Tarixən türk dövlət və cəmiyyətlərində dil siyasəti: Osmanlı İmperiyasında dil islahatları // Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Naxçıvan Bölməsinin Elmi əsərləri, – 2002. №3, – s. 139 .

²⁰ Akalin, Ş.H. Atatürk Döneminde Türkçe ve Türk Dil Kurumu // Çukurova Üniversitesi Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, – 2002. Sayı 64, – s. 2.

with the dissociation of the Moscow principedom from the rule of the Golden Horde in the late 15th century. Since that date the Russian state established under the leadership of the Moscow principedom blew its first great strike at the Turkic world by the principle of an heir of the Golden Horde in the mid 16th century. It occupied the Kazan Khanate in 1552 and the Astar Khan Khanate in 1556. The developments were of great importance in the establishment of the Russia's centuries-long power in Central Asia. The occupation of the Volga valley by Russians led to the enormous severance of the relationship between the Central Asian Turks and the Ottoman Turks.

One of the significant events of that period is the formation of new-type "usuli-jadid" schools in the process of which the movement of Jadidism played a key part. The movement of Jadidism, which started by the end of the period of tsarism and whose intellectual priority belonged more to the Crimean and Volga Tatars, represented the most significant local national movement till the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution. *"Pan-Turkism, which is explained as the mindset of strengthening the ethnic unity and equality of the Turkic nations to maintain and animate their heritage in the face of the fast development of European culture and its force of colonialism"*²¹ found a favourable basis for itself in this movement. Being bound to their Moslem roots (values) in general, the Jadidists sometimes tried to associate the backwardness of people with religion. *"In disputes over Turkism and religious identities, the Jadidists brought forth the Turkism"*²².

The subchapter of Chapter 2, which is called **"The People's Republic of Azerbaijan and Language Policy"** deals with the language policy pursued in the period of the Republic. The declaration of Turkish as the official state language by the People's Republic of Azerbaijan on 27 June 1918, just a month after its

²¹ Haghayegi, M. *Islam and Politics in Central Asia* / Haghayegi, M. – London: Macmillan, – 1997. – p. 180.

²² Fierman, W. *Language Planning and National Development: The Uzbek Experience* / Fierman, W. – Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, – 1991. – p. 41.

establishment, was the direct result of the influence of the national ideology formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The actions carried out and the decisions made by the People's Republic of Azerbaijan within the 23-month period of its power in connection with the Azerbaijani (Turkish) language were most important for both the period of Republic and the subsequent period. The Republic made concrete steps in the field of language having generalized the movement launched in regard to the alphabet and language since the late 19th century and all the processes. Certainly, we can see some shortcomings in these decisions made and their execution which was quite natural, since there were such serious issues in front of the newly-established Republic that in the mentioned period the subsequent decisions to be made were also left in the mid. Despite all that we have pointed out, we can say with certainty that within its 23-month existence the actions taken by the Republic in the field of language opened a path for the actions to be carried out concerning language not only in Azerbaijan but in the entire Turkic world, not in that period alone, but in future as well and had a positive impact on the forthcoming processes.

The fourth subchapter titled **“The Language Policy Associated with the Turkic Peoples in Iran”** deals with the national relations and the status of the languages of the minorities in Iran beginning from the early 19th century. In Iran the Arabic language was most often used in religious fields and higher education, whereas the Persian language was used in documentation, correspondence and education system. Azerbaijani was more often used in everyday life, court and army in an oral form. Unfortunately, the mentioned situation lasted till the early 20th century with some minor exceptions. Y.Hajiyeva writes in this connection, *“The only exception was the establishment of a new-type primary school in Azerbaijani in Tabriz in 1888 or the introduction of Azerbaijani into the education system. In the years of the Constitution (Mashruta) Revolution (1905-1911) in the early 20th century Azerbaijani was introduced into press as well. Beginning from the 1930s the issue of*

“a single Iran”, “a single nation” and “a single language”, in other words, “pan-Iranism” turned into an official state policy”²³.

South Azerbaijani Turkish is considered to have lost some of its rights in the 20th century in the issue of language status. The Turkish language, which used to be prestigious, dominating language and had been used in court until the Pahlavi power, surrendered these positions to Persian in the Pahlavi period. At present, along with being an oral language, Turkish is also a written language to a certain extent. It is used in the local mass media, local newspapers and magazines. However, being far beyond the literary Azerbaijani Turkish language, the Turkish used at present makes an impression of a language artificially modified under the serious impact of Persian. The Turkish language used in many magazines like the magazine “Varlig” and in a number of books with literary and cultural essence is considered to be Literary Turkish.

Those who shared the name “Turkish”, the name of the same nation, until the first quarter of the 20th century *“became Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tatar, Bashgird and others in the USSR, and Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz and so on in China. Yet, in the state of Iran they were not mentioned at all”²⁴.*

The South Azerbaijani Turks usually call themselves “Turks”. While making an extensive use of the word “Turki” to call their mother tongue, they also use the terms such as “Azerbaijani, Azeri, the Azerbaijani language”, though not very often.

The fifth subchapter called **“The Language Policy Associated with the Turkic Peoples in China”** deals with the real state of the current language scene of the Turkic minorities residing under the Chinese power as well as the policy pursued by the Chinese government against them.

²³ Hacıyeva, Y.Ə. İran İslam inqilabından sonra cənubi azərbaycanlıların ana dili uğrunda mübarizəsi (1979-2005-ci illər) / Y.Ə.Hacıyeva. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2017, – s. 23-24.

²⁴ Barutcu, S.Ö. Genel Türklük Alanı Çerçevesinde Türk Dilinin Durumu // – Ankara: İleriye Dönük Bakış ve Yaklaşımlar, Kök Araştırmaları, S. 1. –1999. Sayı 1. – s. 33.

The language policy pursued in China has accelerated the division, separation among the Turks of Eastern Turkistan, enabled the comprehensive realization of cultural differentiation. The consideration and study of these problems in terms of linguistics, socio-linguistics, cultural studies, anthropology and language psychology are also of special importance. The increase of attention in different aspects towards the region of Eastern Turkistan, which is considered the most important region of Turkic culture, even the cradle of Turkic culture, as well as towards the Uyghur Turks, who are considered to be the main population of this region, is of great importance in terms of the protection of Turkic-Islamic culture.

China's cultural, linguistic and socio-economic policies against ethnic peoples go back to ancient times, before our era. At that time, for various reasons and under the influence of the ruling dynasty, the policy pursued had certain goals.

The seventh subchapter of Chapter 2 is called **“The Language Policy in the Turkic Republics (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan) in the Soviet Period”**. The language policy in the period of Tsarist Russia was not based on the principle of language equality, the languages of other peoples were ignored. Pursuing the policy of a single state language, the Russian empire exerted pressure on the entire population of the Empire so that they learned Russian which was continued in the Soviet period as well. Although all the Soviet abstracts, the contacts and interaction among the Republics, correspondences, party documents dealt with the equality and independence of the USSR peoples and their languages, actually all actions were taken by the rules of centralism, towards the hegemony of one nation and its language. Nations and national language issue occupied a significant place in the ideology and activities of the Communist Party which was the ruling and only party of the Soviet Union. According to the Communist Party, the language of every nation was an important means providing the unification of this nation around the working class. Also, language was considered a mechanism providing the rise of the demands of the proletariat, its economic state and cultural level. Thus, to build the Russian hegemony under the disguise of “the

mechanism of rising the cultural level”, the continuation and development of the languages of different peoples, who formed the Union, were partially facilitated, especially in the initial periods, yet by and by the policy of Russification was pursued with the targeted dissemination and advocacy of Russian in the background.

The interrelation among more than hundred peoples and ethnicities within the Soviet Union had been one of the most essential themes on the political agenda since the establishment of the Union. Hence, both the language policy, as well as national policy of the USSR had a specificity. Some researchers point out language policy as Moscow’s most successful policy. One of the profound researchers of the USSR language policy, American professor J.Ornstein writes, *“There are also researchers who point out it as the most confusing and extensive language policy, the most considerable example of the state’s intervention into language”*²⁵.

The language policy of the USSR has been studied by many researchers, however, for a long time the targets of this policy, the realization and outcomes of these targets have caused disputes which have been continuing even today.

The third chapter of the dissertation is called **“The Language Policy in Independent Turkic Republics (the contemporary period)”**. The chapter consists of six subchapters. This chapter deals with the language policy pursued in the Turkic republics following the collapse of the USSR. One of the common features in the independent Turkic Republics was the fact that the Russian culture and communist philosophy, which lasted almost 70 years, were acquired not completely. Since, Russian culture treated the national-cultural values of these peoples disdainfully, and the Communist economic model kept them poor. Hence, as soon as they gained independence, they switched to market economy and started rebuilding their national states in the framework of their cultural values.

²⁵ Ornstein, J. Soviet Language Policy: Continuity and Changes, Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union / Ornstein, J. New York: Praeger, – 1968. – p. 121.

The language policy in some of the newly-independent republics was based on the conception of nationalism (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan). The main reason for that was the fact that the local languages (mother tongues) stood in the focus of the policy of nations pursued in the periods of both tsarism and the USSR. The issue of national languages, to be more frankly, the national language policy was “the key tool” of the Soviet language policy. That is why, *“In 1989-1990 each republic adopted laws encompassing the themes associated with language status and usage, each republic openly expressed the rise of the status of a national language in its laws”*²⁶.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the language policy of independent countries was targeted at eradicating the negative consequences of the Soviet language policy. One of the effective ways of re-animating the national identities exposed to the serious impact of the Russian language and policy in the Soviet period was granting the national identities the values they deserved. One of the key goals of the language policy after gaining independence was an immediate intervention in the process when bilingualism was removing national languages and turning into monolingualism. In 1989-1990 all the Union republics made decisions which brought the national languages to the forefront, targeted at increasing the functionality of these languages and directly or indirectly restricting the sociological function of the Russian language (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). Regrettably, although this restriction has been continuing in some Turkic republics even today, yet we can also point out the cases of positive outcomes (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan).

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is called **“The Language Policy in the Republic of Turkey”** presents the targets of the state, which, with the declaration of the Republic (Cumhuriyyat), aimed at raising the Republic of Turkey to the level of the current

²⁶ Garibova, J. Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türk Dilli Halklar - Dil Sorunu ve Yeniden Biçimlenen Kimlikler, Türk Dilli Halklar – Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Garibova, J. – Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, – 2012. – s. 44.

civilizations, as well as turning the Turkish language into a language of culture meeting all cultural needs. This goal necessitated the implementation of the planned language policy as well. Thus, in Turkey the language revolution appeared as a consequence of the national language policy. By decision of the Cabinet of Ministers on 23 May 1928, an order was issued to establish Language Committee within the Ministry of Education (Maarrif Vakaleti). Although official institutions confirmed the alphabet decision of the Language Committee, it remained just as a proposal. However, there was a need to issue an official order to change the alphabet. The speech delivered by M.Kamal in Sarayburnu Park on 9 August 1928 suggested that the new alphabet would be adopted in the forthcoming days.

Mustafa Kamal's opening speech at the Grand National Assembly (Böyük Millət Məclisi) of Turkey dated 1 November 1928 eradicated the doubts of those who had hesitations in the issue of mobilization for alphabet. The new alphabet was also extremely corresponding to the Turkish language. *“Following M.K.Ataturk's speech, a proposal for “The Law on Adoption and Application of Turkish Letters” was submitted to the Chair of the Parliament at the first session of the second meeting of the Majlis and on that day, i.e. 3 November 1928 was admitted by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey”*²⁷.

M.K.Ataturk's aim in the alphabet revolution was to eradicate the mistakes of the past and thus support cultural reforms. Unfortunately, there were protesters against it. One of the reasons for criticizing the language revolution and attacking New Turkish was the recognition of Ottoman Turkish as a mixed language and a language of religion. *“As Ottoman Turkish reflected the Ottoman world outlook very well, it was also difficult to remove this worldoutlook without rejecting this language completely”*²⁸.

²⁷ Ertem, R. Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi / Ertem, R. – İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, – 1999. – s. 283.

²⁸ Köksal, A. Dil İle Ekin / Köksal, A. – İstanbul: Toroslu, – 2003. – s.104.

It is the outcome of the targeted language policy pursued in Turkey that today Turkish is one of the languages being spoken in a wide geography and serving the interaction of millions of people in the world. The adoption of some decisions related to language in the historical process and the created works have had a positive role in the development of Turkish.

Especially, we can point out the activities of the Turkish Language Agency (TLA) carrying out serious actions, projects in the sphere of language. Today TLA, TÜBİTAK, Yunus Emre Institutes, Universities are developing advocacy programs to use and develop the Turkish of Turkey and terminology commissions function in these institutions under the state control, translation bureaus have been opened and classic works of linguistics (mostly by Russian, German, Hungarian scholars) have been translated into Turkish in a short period of time and these activities are continuing today as well.

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is called **“The Language Policy in the Republic of Azerbaijan”** presents the language policy pursued in Azerbaijan in the period of independence. Like in all spheres in 1980-1990, serious and heated discussions were held in Azerbaijan concerning language policy too. At the beginning these discussions were manifested themselves in transition to the Latin script. Many intellects, including the outstanding Azerbaijani historian Academician Z.Bunyadov expressed *“the need for writing in Azerbaijani through the Latin script”*²⁹ in 1989. A movement related to the changes connected with the alphabet issue also gained a wide spectrum. Distinct approaches to the issue divided the Azerbaijani intelligentsia into two parts: those who were protecting the Cyrillic script and those willing to switch to the Latin script.

While the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan was being prepared in 1995, Article 23 of the draft stated Azerbaijani as the state language.

Article 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan adopted in the referendum held on 12 November 1995 pointed out in

²⁹ Alstadt, L.A. *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity Under the Russian Rule* / Alstadt, L.A. – California: Stanford University Press, – 1992. – p. 209.

connection with the state language, “I. The state language of the Republic of Azerbaijan is Azerbaijani. The Republic of Azerbaijan ensures the development of the Azerbaijani language. II. The Republic of Azerbaijan ensures the free usage and development of other languages spoken by the population”³⁰.

Alongside with reflecting the reality, the fact that Azerbaijani has acquired the status of the official language of an independent state in the first Constitution of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, was of great legal significance. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev’s Decree “On Improving the Implementation of the State Language” dated 18 June 2001 ensured that Azerbaijani completely established itself as a state language, by eliminating the shortcomings in this sphere. Thus, the confusion experienced after the adoption of the Latin script was ended.

Alongside being a perfect state document, the President’s Decree had a nature of a scientific source appraising the historical path of the Azerbaijani language and its current state. The Decree envisaged the establishment of the State Language Commission by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan due to the need for the realization of the coordination and regulation of the implementation issues of the state language and the supervision of the process of their solution by a single centralized institution. That commission was established by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated 4 July 2001. The fact that the President himself was at the head of the Commission was a clear indicator of the great importance attached to the implementation of the state language in Azerbaijan.

On 18 June 2001 the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan made a decision in connection with the improvement of the implementation of the state language in order to eliminate the shortcomings in the implementation of Azerbaijani as a state language. On 30 September 2002 the Milli Majlis of the Republic of

³⁰ Azərbaycan Respublikasının Konstitusiyası və hüququn əsasları // 12 noyabr 1995-ci ildə qəbul edilmişdir (24 avqust 2002-ci il tarixdə olan dəyişiklik və əlavələr). – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 2010. – s. 17.

Azerbaijan adopted the law of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the State Language in the Republic of Azerbaijan”.

As a follow-up of the actions taken in connection with language policy, “The Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Realization of Mass Publications in Azerbaijani with the Latin Script” dated 12 January 2004, “The Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Confirmation of the Rules of Orthography of the Azerbaijani Language” dated 5 August 2004, “The Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Approval of the List of the Works to be Published in Azerbaijani with the Latin Script in 2005-2006” dated 27 December 2004, “The Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Publication of the Works of the Outstanding Representatives of World Literature in Azerbaijani” dated 24 August 2007, the Instructions of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the State Program on the Usage of the Azerbaijani Language to Meet the Requests of Time in Globalization Context and the Development of Linguistics in the Country” dated 23 May 2012, “On Strengthening the Logistics of the Institute of Linguistics named after Nasimi of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan” dated 29 May 2012, “On the Approval of the State Program on the Usage of the Azerbaijani Language to Meet the Demands of Time in the Globalization Context and the Development of Linguistics in the Country” dated 9 April 2013, “On Some Actions to Ensure More Extensive Usage of the Azerbaijani Language in Electronic Space” dated 17 July 2018, as well as the Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the Approval of the Statutes of the Terminology Commission by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan” dated 26 November 2012, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the Actions Related to the Protection of the Purity of the Azerbaijani Language and Further Improvement of the Usage of the State Language” dated 1 November 2018 are bright indicators of the state care for the mother tongue and have created favourable conditions for further improvement of the usage of the state language, the

refinement of the quality of researches, the enforcement and development of the state language in all spheres.

All the above-mentioned instructions associated with the Azerbaijani language, all the related decisions are part of the consistent and targeted policy pursued by the state of Azerbaijan in the field of language policy.

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is called “**The Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan**” presents the language policy pursued in the Republic of Kazakhstan in the contemporary period.

Beginning from the late 1980s a new policy has been pursued in Kazakhstan to raise the status of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan. Under the leadership of Nursultan Nazarbayev, foundations were laid for the policy pursued to expand the circle of the usage of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan, laws related to language have been adopted systematically since 1980s owing to his assiduous efforts.

In 1989 “*Law on Languages in the Kazakhstan SSR*” was adopted and according to this law, for the first time the Kazakh language was granted the status of a state language³¹. The same law granted the Russian language with the status of a language of communication among the peoples. The language policy pursued in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the USSR encompasses the elimination of the problems related to the status of the Kazakh language. No doubt, the language identity constitutes the national identity. Kazakhstan differs from the other Central Asian states in terms of the ethnic diversity and the fact that the main ethnic group comprises 68 percent of the population. Under the impact of these features as well, Kazakhstan pursues a more reserved and targeted ethnic policy if compared with the other Central Asian countries.

In 1990 the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakhstan SSR adopted the State Program related to “The Development of the Kazakh and Other Languages in Kazakhstan till the Year of 2000”, and in 1992

³¹ Garibova, J. *Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türk Dilli Halklar - Dil Sorunu ve Yeniden Biçimlenen Kimlikler, Türk Dilli Halklar – Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Garibova, J. – Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, – 2012. – s. 45.*

another law to ensure the realization of this program. In 1993 the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan signed a decree to establish a language institution in Kazakhstan. In the Constitution adopted in 1995 the Kazakh language was manifested once more as a state language. Although Russian was defined as a language of communication among the peoples by the Constituion of 1993, no status was granted to Russian in the Constitution in 1995, however, an article was included into the Basic Law in connection with the use of Russian together with the Kazakh language in official circles. The use of the Kazakh language was re-expressed in “The Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan” adopted in 1997.

Three orders were issued on the use of language in Kazakhstan in 1995. *“The first order (20 December 1995, #2694) points out both the Kazakh and Russian languages as an official language in court trials. The second order (#2368) points out the use of the Kazakh and Russian languages at customs and frontline offices, the third directive (#2737) presented a draft law developed on whether Kazakh or Russian should be used in documents related to the Constitution, obliged the Kazakhs in some posts to learn the Kazakh language as a state language till 2001 and non-Kazakhs till 2006”*³².

The policy in this respect is being successfully pursued in Kazakhstan today as well. The new President of Kazakhstan (2019) Gasim Jomert Tokayev gave relevant instructions to eliminate in a short period of time the shortcomings in the Latin script adopted in 2017. Although the language policy pursued in Kazakhstan is highly appraised, we, regrettably, cannot state that the Kazakh language is the language prioritized by the state and society. Russian is more often used in the preparation of official documents in state institutions.

We are convinced in the use of the Kazakh language as a single predominant language in the state institutions and by all the individuals of society in Kazakhstan in near future. The plan about

³² Smith, G. Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities / Smith, G. – New York: Cambridge University Press, – 1998. – p. 151.

the use of the Kazakh language not just by Kazakhs, but 95 percent of the Kazakhstan citizens in 2025 testifies to it.

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is titled “**The Language Policy in the Republic of Uzbekistan**” presents the language policy pursued in Uzbekistan. By the language law adopted in Uzbekistan in 1989, Uzbek was considered the state language, whereas Russian a language of international interaction. Another article allowed the use of Russian in some correspondence, negotiations and legal acts in case it is requested by citizens.

The law “On the State Language” adopted on 21 October 1989 defined the Uzbek language as the state language of Uzbekistan and recommended that the entire community learn the state language at high level”³³.

Among the Soviet countries of the Central Asia only in Uzbekistan, neither in the Constitution adopted in 1992, nor in laws adopted on language, Russian is granted a status of an official language or a language of interaction among ethnic groups.

Consequently, on 2 September 1993 by the Uzbekistani President I. Karimov’s two-article Decree “*The Uzbek Alphabet Based on the Latin Script*”³⁴, the country officially switched to an alphabet based on the Latin script.

In regard to the alphabet adopted in 1993, T. Kojaoghlu points out, “*The 1995 change made on the Uzbek-Latin alphabet adopted in 1993 has both alienated this alphabet from the common Turkic-Latin alphabet, as well as brought the alphabet to a state of confusion and unworthy for use*”³⁵.

In 1996 the Cabinet of Ministers of Uzbekistan adopted “The State Program on the State Language of the Republic of Uzbekistan”.

³³ Eltazarov, J. O‘zbekistanda 20-asrda amalga oshirilgan yozuv va imlo islohotlari tarixidan (sotsionlingvistik tahlil) / Eltazarov, J. – Samarqand: Samdu nashri, – 2017. – s. 94.

³⁴ Каримов, И.А. Узбекистан на пороге достижения независимости / Каримов, И.А. – Ташкент, – 2011. – с. 48.

³⁵ Kocaoglu, T. Türk Ülkelerinde Latin Alfabesine Geçme Sürecindeki Başlıca Meseleler // “3.Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı”, – Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, – 1999. – s. 677.

This programme encompassed both the language corpus as well as the material source and basic problems. *“The Program entailed such issues as allocation of state resources to teach the Uzbek language, strengthening material and technical logistics, installation of the automatic systems to transfer the scientific essays in foreign languages into the Uzbek language automatically, increasing the instructional hours allocated to the Uzbek language at schools”*³⁶.

Since 2005 Uzbekistan has extensively provided Russian classes at schools as a result of Uzbekistan’s alienation from the West and getting closer to Russia. Thus, Russian has started regaining prestige among the Uzbek population anew. The country has increased interest in English, French and Turkish, along with Russian. Although the activities of cultural centres of various countries in Uzbekistan are an indicator of a liberal attitude to foreign culture in Uzbekistan, problems sometimes appear between these centres and the related institutions in Uzbekistan. Certainly, the activities of the government in connection with the status of the Uzbek language are said to be successful. Although the implementation of the Latin script in education is slow, this alphabet is more often used in social life and cities. At present the Uzbek language carries out the function of a language of interaction among the ethnic groups in parallel with the Russian language.

The Uzbekistani President Shovkat Mirziyoyev’s 21 October 2019 Decree on the Plan of Actions **“To Strengthen the Image and Position of the Uzbek language as a State Language”** is an indicator of the state appraisal of the Uzbek language. The Decree points out the state control over the protection, development of the state language and the realization of the activities coming forth from this plan of actions.

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is titled **“The Language Policy in the Republic of Turkmenistan”** presents the language policy pursued in the Republic of Turkmenistan. While analyzing the

³⁶ Garibova, J. Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türk Dilli Halklar - Dil Sorunu ve Yeniden Biçimlenen Kimlikler, Türk Dilli Halklar – Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Garibova, J. – Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, – 2012. – s. 83.

language policy of the Turkic republics in the period of independence, two features attract the attention in association with Turkmenistan. First, most often the prevailing number of the Turkmens in the country and the high level of the knowledge of the national language in general population indicators. *“The indicator showing the Turkmen language knowledge of the Turkmen population was 72% in 1989, 77% in 1995 and 85,5% in 2003”*³⁷.

V.Kliment, who has special studies in this field, writes, *“In 1970-1989 the level of people’s knowledge of Turkmen was 98,7%”*³⁸. Unlike the other Central Asian Republics, in Turkmenistan there is no need to adopt extensive political programs in connection with language. In this regard, the line followed in other Republics in language policy is not observed in Turkmenistan. The second feature we have mentioned above is *“the scarcity of researches and journalists studying the country and the lack of sufficient and reliable statistic data, as Turkmenistan is a more closed country”*³⁹.

After gaining independence, the state of Turkmenistan has tried to solve its policy of forming a national identity at the legislative level. The main goal in this policy was establishing the national unity, getting adjusted to the international system, eliminating the prestige of Russian culture stage by stage and strengthening the newly-established state. *Turkmenbashi and his team attached great importance to the development of language, the advocacy of media and writing the history textbooks and maintenance of education under control in the policy of nationalization and tried to build a national identity*⁴⁰.

³⁷ Barbara, K.H. Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia, National and Ethnic Identity and the Soviet Legacy / Landau, J. – London: –2012. – p.155.

³⁸ Clement, V. Rewriting The Nation Turkmen Literacy, Language and Power / Clement, V. – Columbus: Ohio State University Press, – 2005. – 139 p.

³⁹ Barbara, K.H. Politics of Language in the Ex Soviet Muslim States / Landau, J. London: Hurst and Company, – 2001. – p. 151.

⁴⁰ Kuru, A.T. Devlet Politikaları ve Kültürler Arası Rekabet Işığında Orta Asya’da Milletleşme Sürecine Bir Örnek: Türkmenistan, Orta Asya’nın Sosyo-Kültürel Sorunları, Kimlik, İslâm, Milliyet ve Etnisite / Kuru, A.T. – İstanbul: Gündoğan Yayınları, – 2003. – s. 169.

Article 16 of the Constitution on “The Basics of Turkmenistan’s Independence and State Building” adopted at the Turkmenistan’s Supreme Council on 27 October 1991 pointed out in connection with the language issue that “*The state language of Turkmenistan is the Turkmen language*”⁴¹.

According to Article 13 of the 1993 Constitution, the Turkmen language is the state language of Turkmenistan and every Turkmen citizen enjoys the right to use his/her mother tongue.

In this connection, Professor Bilgahan Atsiz Gokdagh, who has studied comprehensively the language policy in Turkmenistan, points out, “*The head of the state Saparmurad Niyazov – Turkmenbashi was the only authorized individual in building the national identity in Turkmenistan. The book “Ruhnameh” written by Turkmenbashi is the second holy book of the Turkmens after “The Holy Kur’an*”⁴².

The interrelation between language and the Turkman identity is pointed out on different pages of the work. Turkmenbashi expressed the hardships the Turkmens and the Turkmen language were exposed to in the Soviet period as follows, “*About three million Turkmen citizens, who remained in their country, began to forget their language, religion, nation, national mindset having failed to remember their roots and saying “We are Soviet people.” My wish from Great Allah is to return the Turkmens to their roots*”⁴³.

Today the Turkmen language is the language spoken by all in the country. As a result of the long-term and targeted policy pursued by the state in regard to language after the independence, stability and development manifest themselves in this aspect in Turkmenistan, if compared with the other Asian countries. The Turkmen language, especially, as a written language, is being disseminated throughout the country and playing a great part in ensuring the national unity.

⁴¹ Конституционный закон Туркменистана о независимости и основах государственного устройства Туркменистана: [Электронный ресурс] // URL: [Конституционный закон Туркменистана о независимости](#)

⁴² Gökdağ, B.A. Türklerin Dünyası (dil-kimlik-siyaset) / Gökdağ, B.A. – İstanbul: Kültür Bilimleri Akademisi, – 2015. – s. 301.

⁴³ Türkmenbaşy, S. Ruhnama / Türkmenbaşy, S. – Aşgabat: İkinji – 2001. – s. 46.

The subchapter of Chapter 3, which is called “**The Language Policy in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan**” presents the language policy pursued in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Like in other Soviet Republics, in Kyrgyzstan “the language reform” also began in late 1980s and resulted in the adoption of the language law in 1989. However, since that time up to present disputable points often manifested themselves in the language policy pursued in Kyrgyzstan. *“The Kyrgyz language was announced a state language in accordance with the language law adopted in 1989, whereas Russian was granted the status of a language of communication among peoples. In the Constitution adopted in 1993 the Kyrgyz language was marked again as a state language and Russian as a language of communication among nations”*⁴⁴.

During the years of Soviet power the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan had a status of two languages. In the country Kyrgyz Turkish is a state language (Mamleketтик til) and Russian is an official language (Rasmiy til). In the provinces of Batken, Jalalabad and Osh in South Kyrgyzstan, Uzbek is also being used as a language of instruction along with the Kyrgyz language.

In regard to languages and language policy, Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, which was adopted through the referendum held on 5 May 1993, points out:

1. The state language of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is the Kyrgyz language.
2. Russian is used as an official language in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan.
3. The Republic of Kyrgyzstan shall be committed to protect, develop and investigate the mother tongues of all the nations constituting the Kyrgyz people.⁴⁵

The mentioned items do not imply that new processes, problems

⁴⁴ Garibova, J. Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türk Dilli Halklar - Dil Sorunu ve Yeniden Biçimlenen Kimlikler, Türk Dilli Halklar – Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Garibova, J. – Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, – 2012. – s. 69.

⁴⁵ Конституция Кыргызской Республики, (принята на двенадцатой сессии Жогорку Кенеша КР двенадцатого созыва 5 мая 1993 года): [Электронный ресурс]: // URL: https://online.zakon.kz/document/doc_49

and activities did not appear after Kyrgyzstan gained its independence, after the Soviet Union as a whole. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Kyrgyz Turkish language has expanded its circle of usage and got enforced versus Russian. Despite all this, there is a need to take numerous measures to develop the Kyrgyz Turkish language and turn it into a language of science.

*“Since 1993 the migration actions mentioned above have urged the A.Akayev government to approach Russia. In 1994 a special order was issued on Russian as an official language in Kyrgyzstan”*⁴⁶.

The fact that language policy was one of the reasons for the mass migration of Russians from the country compelled the government to take urgent measures in this regard. By decision #12 of the Cabinet of Ministers dated 14 June 1994, Russian was granted an official status especially in health care, technical and education spheres in the regions densely populated by Russians. However, the presence of only one state language in the Constitution put the status the Russian language gained through this law under suspicion. As the status of language and the issues related to an official language in Kyrgyzstan were being seriously discussed, the head of the state *“Asgar Akayev postponed the date of accomplishment of the transition to the Kyrgyz language as an official language on 10 October 1994 till 2005”*⁴⁷.

In 1995 the support of Russian at University level was pointed out, the same year an agreement was reached with the Russian Federation on immigration issues. Today there are two official institutions pursuing language policy in Kyrgyzstan: one of them is the Institute of Language and Literature named after Chingiz Aitmatov at the National Academy of Kyrgyzstan established in the Soviet period. The second institution regulating the language policy is the State Language National Commission by the President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. This commission was established in 1998

⁴⁶ Smith, G. Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities / Smith, G. – New York: Cambridge University Press, – 1998. – p. 201.

⁴⁷ Gurr, T. R. Russians in Kyrgyzstan, Minorities at Risk Project: [Electronic resource] // URL: www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/uzbruss.htm, – 11 April, – 2020. – p. 3.

and is aimed at developing the language policy in Kyrgyzstan.

Lately, more resolute decisions have been made to raise the social status and function of the Kyrgyz language. “The Law of Citizenship” adopted in 2007 accepts the Kyrgyz language as a prerequisite for citizenship, in accordance with the change made in the law on language in 2009, the use of Kyrgyz was demanded in communication among peoples and in diplomatic services (as an obligation).

“The Program on Developing the State Language in 2014-2020” was adopted to develop the Kyrgyz language in Kyrgyzstan. This can also be considered a program of language planning originating from the language policy in Kyrgyzstan. In this framework the impact of the Kyrgyz language on all spheres of society is increasing day by day.

Chapter 4 of the dissertation is called “**The Language Policy in Modern Turkic Communities**”. This chapter presents the language policy pursued against the Turkic peoples residing in different Turkic communities.

The international scientific literature includes also the Turkic languages among the “critical languages” the number of whose speakers is decreasing by and by. S.Akar notes in this respect, *“Although today the Tartar, Bashgird, Uyghur Turkish and other Turkic languages are not in danger for their demographic advantages in Turkic republics which have independent states, especially apart from the Russian Federation, Iran, China, the less spoken Turkic languages like the Tuva, Altai, Yakut, the Siberian languages, etc. with the Karaim language at their head are face to face with the threat of disappearance at the stage of danger”*⁴⁸.

Along with the studies providing the registration of the Turkic languages in various geographies and communities, there is a need to study the linguistic and socio-linguistic aspects of these languages, as well as to realize the language planning for the maintenance and animation of these languages.

At present, the Turkic peoples, especially those residing in the

⁴⁸ Eker, S. Çağdaş Türk Dili / Eker, S. – Ankara: Grafiker, – 2016. – s. 50.

Russian Federation, China, Iran, Moldova, Bulgaria, Georgia and others (the countries where more Turkic peoples live today) are exposed to assimilation under the impact of the dominating language and culture of those countries, encounter the threat of losing their own culture, language and ethnic identities.

The subchapter titled **“The Language Policy of the Russian Federation in Relation to Turkic Peoples”** presents the language policy pursued by the Russian Federation in relation to the Turkic minorities.

In the Soviet period the indigenous peoples residing in the regions of the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia, Altai and Ural encountered continuous and targeted pressures, assimilation activities in the issues of mother tongue, national identity and national culture. The Bolshevik regime, which was concerned over the use of the Arabic script by the Caucasian and Central Asian peoples, estranged them from their common alphabet by forcing them to accept first the Latin and further the Cyrillic scripts in 1920-1930.

“The laws of the Russian Federation deal with two types of minorities: “national minorities” and “indigenous minorities”. Despite its frequent usage in legal documents, the notion “national minorities” has not been specifically explained as a term in the law”⁴⁹.

As a result of the reform which was carried out in Russia in 1991-2000 and handed in the important authorities from the central government to local power, they started to use local languages, along with Russian, more extensively in education and mass media. However, the policy pursued by the new government which came to power in 2000 ousted completely the usage of local languages in state affairs. We can point out with regret that the law prohibiting the peoples in minority from getting their education in mother tongue (the elimination of the status of a mother tongue as an obligatory

⁴⁹ Проект федерального закона № 369190-3, Об основах государственной национальной политики Российской Федерации, [Электронный ресурс] // . URL: <http://base.garant.ru/3954922/>

subject) implies the disappearance of the languages of the minorities in danger today.

We think that although the negative impact of the language law adopted in Russia on the indigeneous languages is not entirely felt presently, in the forthcoming decades it will result in the elimination of numerous local languages. Since, the main requisite for any language to stay alive is its maintenance of the functions of an education and communication language.

The subchapter of Chapter 4, which is called **“The Language Policy of the Chinese People’s Republic in Relation to the Turkic Peoples”**, speaks of the current state of the language panorama of Turkic minorities and the language policy pursued by the government of China against them.

The roots of the cultural, language and socio-economic policy pursued by China versus ethnoses go back to Antiquity, the period Before Christ. Even in those periods, the policy pursued for different reasons and under the impact of the ruling dynasty had some goals.

We can state that the language and cultural policy pursued by China from the most ancient times up to now has been targeted at the assimilation of ethnic elements rather than at the maintenance of languages and identities. Since the ancient times of history up today language has been an effective tool in the policy pursued by the Chinese with *khans* versus the peoples who had no *khans*. Although the Chinese with their khans, who initially disseminated the discipline of Confucianism in their language, say that they are protecting the minorities in recent centuries, the policy pursued shows quite reverse.

The Uyghur Turks, who reside in the autonomous region of the Chinese People’s Republic, are trying to protect their language and culture versus the language and identity policy of China, continue their national and religious traditions within their families to maintain their cultural values. The growth of the Uyghur youth as sensitive individuals towards their cultural values and language and the increase of the popularity of the language among the youth should be supported by the higher strata of society.

Another ban imposed on the Uyghurs by the People’s Republic of

China is the impossibility of Uyghur teachers and students to speak to each other in their mother tongue. By banning all the books and newspapers in Xinjiang, they are trying to urge the Uyghurs to forget their national language, consequently their identity. In 2019 twenty eight teachers working at a primary school in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang, were removed from their jobs for writing in their mother tongue.

The subchapter of Chapter 4, which is called **“The Language Policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran in Relation to the Turkish Language”** interprets the policy pursued by Iran versus the Turkic peoples.

We can divide Iran’s language policy into two periods: 1. The period when the Pahlavis ruled (1925-1979); 2. The period of the Islamic Republic of Iran (from 1979 up to present).

The political state of the Iranian Turks, who maintained the Iranian power in their hands for about thousand years, ruled it and constitutes almost half of the population of the country, evokes interest. Mahammad Amin Rasulzadeh, who spoke of the position of the Turks in Iran in the period of the Gajars, points out that the Iranian Turks are neither the oppressed like in Russia, nor rulers like in Turkey and that they are enjoying equal rights and previliges like Persians.

According M.A.Rasulzadeh, *“The fact that the Iranian rulers were Turks did not provide them with a special privilege. Likewise, it did not cause a pressure on the Persian people either”*⁵⁰.

However, with the end of the Gajars’ ruling and the Pahlavis’ coming to power, the Iranian Turks descended to the level of secondary citizens and experienced the disrespectful attitude towards themselves.

“In 1945-1946 the Azerbaijani National Government headed by S.J.Pishavari carried out serious reforms, especially in culture and education. Within this short period of time, education was carried out in Azerbaijani Turkish. Newspapers, journals and books were

⁵⁰ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. –Bakı: Təknur, – 2013. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. – s. 19.

published in Turkish”⁵¹.

After the Pishavari revolution was relentlessly subsided in 1946, “*all the books published in Turkish were collected and destroyed and Turkish was banned again*”⁵² by the Decree of the Tehran Government.

Hamid Nutqi was one of the best observers and witnesses of those problems. H.Nutqi explained the state of Turkish under the Pahlavis as follows, “*Fake histories and tales were served to us drop by drop like an absolute truth. They estranged us from ourselves and even made us hostile to ourselves. They wanted to sever everything that was dear to us. They did not leave out of sight even the slightest element reminding us of our identity from our children’s names to mythology*”⁵³.

In this respect, B.Bekbabayi points out, “*Despite President S.A.Khamneyi and Prime Minister M.H.Musavi’s appraisal of Dr.Javad Heyat’s book “The History of the Turkish Language and Its Dialects” published in 1985-1986 through official letters of gratitude as a great merit to the Turkish language and culture, the pan-Persians assessed it as a dangerous step made to split Iran*”⁵⁴.

Although Persian is an official language in Iran, Turkish is spoken in all the official institutions of the Turkish regions, but all the correspondences are conducted in Persian. For example, the accused Turkish are tried in Turkish, communication in offices is conducted in Turkish, even most of the time Turkish is spoken in classes, etc. In other regions also, when the Turks get together, they usually prefer speaking Turkish, and the situation does not change even if they have the speakers of other languages in their presence and the Turks go on speaking Turkish.

The subchapter of Chapter 4, which is called “**The Language Policy in the Republic of Moldova in Relation to the Turkic**

⁵¹ Gökdağ, B.A. Türklerin Dünyası (dil-kimlik-siyaset) / Gökdağ, B.A. – İstanbul: Kültür Bilimleri Akademisi, – 2015. – s. 378.

⁵² Gökdağ, A.B. İran Türklerinde Kimlik Meselesi // Mehmet R.H. – Ankara: Bilig, Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi, – 2004. Sayı 30, – s. 50.

⁵³ Nutki, H. Ağaran Fecri Selamlarken // – Tahran: Varlık, – 1979. Sayı 1, – s. 17.

⁵⁴ Bekbabaci, B. Malekan (Melek Kendi) İli Ağzı / – Ankara, 2012. – s. 89.

Peoples”, presents the policy pursued by the Republic of Moldova in connection with Turks – Gagauz. The Gagauz Autonomous Republic was officially recognized in 1994, a special law was developed “On the Special Status of the Gagauz Yeri (Area)” and ratified in the Parliament of Moldova. This law granted the Gagauz with the right to determine their own rights. Article 3 of this law points out, “*The official languages of the Gagauz Yeri are the Gagauz language, Russian and Moldovian. Along with these official languages, the usage of other languages existing in the Gagauz Yeri is also ensured. The Gagauz conduct their correspondence with the official institutions in the Republic of Moldova and regions outside the Gagauz Yeri in the Moldovian or Russian languages*”⁵⁵.

Although the law points out the presence of three official languages in the autonomous region, today the official language of the Gagauz Yeri is actually Russian. Since, Russian is used as the language of correspondence in all the agencies, with the state offices and the People’s Majlis at their head. The presence of Russian as the first official language within an independent country, Moldova, in the Autonomous Gagauz Yeri, like it used to be in the Soviet period, is a case evoking pity. The government of Moldova is concerned over this state as well. Undoubtedly, among the Gagauz intelligentsia there are concerns over the dominating status of Russian. These intellects are being condemned by the supporters of Russian for being the supporters of Moldova.

The subchapter called “**The Language Policy in Bulgaria in Relation to the Turkic Peoples**” presents the policy pursued in relation to the Turkic languages in Bulgaria which is a country most densely populated by Turks on the Balkans. Although according to the 2019 statistics, the number of the Turks residing in Bulgaria is 700,000, it is about one million according to unofficial data. The Turkic community in Bulgaria has been waging a struggle for survival for long years. Especially, the totalitarian regime of 1944-1989 inflicted a great damage on the Turks’ culture. In that period

⁵⁵ Молдавско-гагаузский диалог: бесконечная имитация: [Электронный ресурс] // URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2018760.html>

people were banned to use their language, perform their religious obligations and experience their customs and traditions. Within that 45-year period the Turks lost many of their rights, but did not give up their struggle.

In July 1991 Bulgaria adopted its new Constitution. The Constitution of 1991 does not use the expressions “national” or “ethnic minority”. Yet, it ensures the main rights of the individuals belonging to ethnic, language and religious groups. The Constitution declares the Bulgarian language as an official language of the country (Article 3), also ensures the right of the citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian to learn and use their own mother tongue. Article 36 of the Constitution states, “*The citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian, has the right to learn and use their mother tongue, along with the compulsory learning of the Bulgarian language*”⁵⁶.

The Turkish children in Bulgaria are bilingual. The fact that the language of instruction in Bulgaria is completely in Bulgarian results in the Turkish children’s lagging behind the children whose mother tongue is Bulgarian. The bilingual Turkish children’s classes in both Turkish and Bulgarian are conducted not by teachers perfectly trained in the field. This situation results in many problems for school children in learning both languages. For the bilingual children to learn Bulgarian well, their teachers should be well aware of the phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical features of Turkish. Besides, their Turkish language teacher should also know Turkish perfectly well. As the government of Bulgaria lacks programs on the Turkish children’s educational and instructional issues in bilingual environment, there is a need to train Turkish teachers from among the Bulgarian Turks.

The subchapter of chapter 4, which is called “**The Language Policy in Georgia in Relation to the Turkic Peoples**”, presents the policy pursued by the government of Georgia in relation to the

⁵⁶ Bekir, H. 2015, Bulgaristan’da Dil Planlaması Çerçevesinde Anadil Olarak Türkçeye Yönelik Dil Politikaları // – İzmir: Ege ve Balkan Araştırmaları Dergisi, – 2015. Sayı 2. – s. 64.

Turkic languages. The language policy pursued versus the minorities in Georgia is also of a special nature. As a state, Georgia has taken very serious measures so that the representatives of the minorities learn the Georgian language and the same policy is still being continued today. The language policy pursued by Georgia against the languages of the minorities is milder if compared with the other countries (Russia, China, Iran). As an example, we can refer to the organization of free, one-year Georgian courses for the representatives of minorities at Universities. The main goal of the state here is to unite all the minorities in Georgia around one single language – Georgian. We can admit that these measures taken to make the Georgian a state language have yielded a positive outcome. H.Chimke expresses the Georgians’ sensitivity to protect their language and their maintenance of it in different times and under various conditions as follows, *“When there was an intention to make changes in regard to Georgian as a state language in the USSR Constitution on 14 April 1978, all the old and young Georgians, went out onto the streets to express their protest, and this language struggle against the USSR resulted in bloody clashes”*⁵⁷. The date of 14 April, when this struggle was waged then, is marked today as *“The Day of Mother Tongue”*⁵⁸ in all the state circles, especially education institutions too.

Today the language policy pursued in Georgia in regard to Turkic peoples is mainly targeted at Azerbaijani Turks (the Garapapag, Borchali Turks). Since, before Georgia became independent, these minorities used to know their own national languages and Russian and these two languages were enough for them. However, after Georgia gained independence, the state of the Georgian language as an official language and the refusal to admit those who did not know Georgian to the state offices entailed a number of other problems. However, the state has taken a number of measures not only for

⁵⁷ Harun, Ç. Gürcü dili çalışmaları ve Gürcüstanda dil politikası // – Trabzon: Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi, – 2015. sayı 47, – s.108.

⁵⁸ Arabuli, A. Gürcü dili (tarihi və bu günü) / Arabuli, A. – Tiflis: GİEV Yayınları, – 2006. – s. 275.

Azerbaijanis, but for all the minorities residing in Georgia to learn Georgian and these actions are being taken today as well. At present, in Georgia the main problem related to the languages of minorities is most probably the status of these languages. The Georgian government treats the languages of the ethnic minorities not as a state language, but the language of minorities.

The findings of the research can be generalized as follows:

1. Language policy and language planning are an activity carried out targetfully to influence the languages or language diversity and the function of the languages in society. Language policy is pursued differently and by different institutions in each country. Each state and society have their own language policy. The specific language landscape of each historical period and stage clarifies that policy and situation. In contemporary period the language policy of the state appears as a priority issue of its existence and development, as well as its future, and constitutes a branch of the struggle for independence. Language policy is a whole of decisions and activities focused on the languages spoken within a political unit, its areas, development and usage.

2. The known written history of the language policy of the Turks starts with the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions. The fact that the individuals represented in the government system in the 11th-12th centuries (M.Kashghari, Y.Kh.Hajib) wrote their works in Turkish is actually the manifestation of the attitude of the central power towards language, whereas the order of Karamanoghlu Mehmet bey in 1277 is the first political appraisal in Turkish. Although the 11th-17th centuries constituted a complicated period for language policy, this period caused the appearance of numerous guiding and important issues.

3. The political power of the Ottoman Empire enabled Turkish to become both a dominating as well as receptive language in the processes of interlingual interactions alongside with expanding the boundaries of its functionality. A newly-oriented language policy which started since the 19th century served to protect Ottoman Turkish from alien influences by carrying out a mechanism of control over the process. This period is considered a starting stage in

orientation of Turkish culture towards the line of Europeanization. Unfortunately, the efforts supported by many poets and intellectuals to reform, purify the language and to form a Turkish language cleared from Arabic and Persian yielded no results until the first quarter of the 20th century.

4. The increase of the influence of Tsarist Russia in the regions resided by the Turkic peoples started the policy of assimilation of national languages in late 18th and the early 19th centuries. The local and national languages were pressured at the expense of the expansion of the circle of the usage of the official language, at least no conditions were provided for their development. Although the movement of Jadidism in national language and education issues, which was started by the intelligentsia in the Moslem-Turkic territories ruled by Tsarist Russia approximately a half century after the invasion, did not yield the desired result, it laid foundations for the future progressive actions and events. In general, till the collapse of Tsarism the Turkish intelligentsia's movements concerning the language and education issues gained momentum. In the gatherings held by the All-Russian Moslem-Turkish intelligentsia in 1905-1907 the language issues were seriously discussed and decisions were made in regard to these issues. The efforts and struggles yielded no concrete results.

5. In the 23-month period of the rule of the People's Republic of Azerbaijan the actions taken and the decisions made in regard to the Azerbaijani (Turkish) language remained to be significant decisions for both the period of the Republic and the subsequent period in history. In the period of the Republic all the processes concerning the alphabet and language movement, which started in the late 19th century and got expanded in the early 20th century, were generalized and concrete measures were taken in the sphere of language. We can state convincingly that the actions in the sphere of language taken by the Republic during the 23 months of its existence opened a new path associated with language not only for that period and not only in Azerbaijan, but even in the entire Turkic world, and had its positive impact on the subsequent events.

6. Following the language reform in Turkey, the borrowings

began to be replaced by pure Turkish words in the national word stock. The national word-building potentials of the language were restored and animated, the word formation through national lexical suffixes instead of Arabic and Persian borrowings was prioritized. The Turkish of Turkey was both nationalized and enriched at the expense of new words. The Turkish Language Institution established after the language revolution played an exceptional part in defining the language policy and implementing successful projects in linguistics both in those years and in the subsequent periods. Today serious work is carried out, projects and programs are developed and successfully implemented by the Turkish Language Institution, TUBITAK, Yunus Emre Institutes, Universities and related institutions to use and develop Turkish in the Republic of Turkey and in the world. The Republic of Turkey has adopted “The State Program on the Usage and Development of Turkish in the Context of Globalization According to the Demands of the Time” which covers the years between 2020 and 2023.

7. The language policy of the only party in the Soviet period was focused on the dissemination of Russian, the language of communication among peoples, the presence of the dominating Russian language in the forefront (here the development and mutual enrichment of the national languages remained in the background), in parallel, the expansion and consolidation of bilingualism. The principle of the equality of nations and languages also manifested itself. Although all the time the equality and independence of the USSR peoples and their languages were much spoken about, actually in actions the rules of centralism moved towards the hegemony of one nation and its language. Russian was the common language for interaction in the Union, all the correspondence, documentation were conducted in Russian which prevented the actual development of Turkic languages in the countries within the Union, the languages began to gradually lose their functionality in some areas. At some points, this resulted in the exposure of the languages to the impact of another language at lexical, grammatical levels.

8. A new period started in the Turkic world and in the life of Turkic peoples with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the discussions

of the alphabet, which was initiated at the time when independence was gained, are still continuing in some independent Turkic republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan) today as well. Since 1991 many republics created their national alphabets on the basis of the Latin script (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan). Measures are being taken today to switch to the Latin script in the Turkic republics which maintained the Cyrillic alphabet yet. Especially, in recent years decisions have been made to switch to the Latin script at the level of the state leaders in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan; instructions have been given to accomplish the work within a short period of time. A high-level language policy is being pursued in the Turkic republics which have gained their independence in terms of the development strategy of languages. Instructions are being given in regard to languages, and state programs are being implemented.

9. On 18 October 1991 the Republic of Azerbaijan declared its state independence, and favourable conditions were actually created to use Azerbaijani as a state language. The decrees and instructions given since 1992, the adopted laws on language have consolidated the status of Azerbaijani as an official language. The resolute policy pursued in the issue of an alphabet has been targeted at the development of functionality of language since 2000. Thus, the issue of transition to the Latin script in Azerbaijan found its solution once and for all. As a follow-up of the actions taken in connection with language policy, “The Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Realization of Mass Publications in Azerbaijani through the Latin Script” dated 12 January 2004, “The Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Confirmation of the Rules of Orthography of the Azerbaijani Language” dated 5 August 2004, “The Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Approval of the List of the Works to be Published in Azerbaijani through Latin Script in 2005-2006” dated 27 December 2004, the Instruction of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the State Program on the Usage of the Azerbaijani Language according to the Demands of Time in Globalization Context and the Development of Linguistics in the Country” dated 29 May 2012, “On Some Actions to Ensure More

Extensive Implementation of the Azerbaijani Language in Electronic Space” dated 9 April 2013, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the Actions Related to the Protection of the Purity of the Azerbaijani Language and Further Improvement of the Usage of the State Language” dated 1 November 2018 are bright indicators of the state care for the mother tongue and have created favourable conditions for further improvement of the usage of the state language, the improvement of the quality of researches, the enforcement and development of the state language in all spheres.

10. The language policy has gone through a long and challenging process in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted Kazakh as an official language. As a multinational state Kazakhstan has chosen a single state language. In parallel, no ban was imposed on the peoples’ languages either. Any ethnic group has a right to protect and advocate its language, its cultural values. Today the Kazakh language is used as the only dominating language in state institutions and all public spheres in Kazakhstan. The fact that the actions targeted at the transition to the Latin script will be accomplished by 2025 and that not only the Kazakhs but 95% of the Kazakh citizens are planned to speak the Kazakh language in 2025 is the bright example of the state activities in this line and its efficiency. At present Kazakhstan is the only country in Middle Asia which takes real steps to increase the political force of the state language.

11. If compared with the other Central Asian countries, we can state that in Uzbekistan the language policy is developing more enthusiastically. The Decree of the President of Uzbekistan Shovkat Mirziyoyev “On the Plan of Actions to be Taken to Strengthen the Influence and Position of the Uzbek Language as a State Language” is an indicator of the state appraisal of the Uzbek language. The Decree points out the state control over the maintenance of the state language, its development and the implementation of the activities originating from this plan of actions. Today Uzbekistan is using a mixed alphabet. The alphabet changes of 1993, 1995 and 2001 are unsuccessful efforts in terms of affinity to other Turkic languages. However, the Plan of Actions adopted by the state in 2019 underlines

additional actions to be taken not to repeat the mistakes made in the transition to the Latin script in the past. The election of Uzbekistan on 14 September 2019 a full member to the Turkic Council ((Türk Keneşi), the Union of the Turkic Speaking Countries is of great importance in terms of its involvement in common Turkic projects.

12. Firm decisions were made by the state in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan to raise the status of the Kyrgyz language. “The Law of Citizenship” adopted in 2007 considered the knowledge of the Kyrgyz language as a prerequisite for citizenship, and the amendment made in the law on language in 2009 introduced the demand to use the Kyrgyz language in communication among peoples and in diplomatic services. To develop the Kyrgyz language, Kyrgyzstan adopted “The Program to Develop the State Language in 2014-2020” which can also be considered a program of language planning coming forth from the language policy in Kyrgyzstan. In this framework the influence of the Kyrgyz language in society is increasing day by day.

13. Stability and development manifest themselves in Turkmenistan if compared with the other Central Asian countries, as a result of the long-term and targeted policy pursued by the state in connection with language following the independence. Today the Turkmen language is the language spoken by everybody in the country. The Turkmen language, especially as a written language, is being used throughout the country and is playing a great part in ensuring the national unity.

14. Today some actions are taken to maintain the languages and national identities of the Turkic peoples living in different communities. The absence of guarantee for the protection of the languages of the Turkic minorities by the state in the supreme legislations of the Russian Federation, the People’s Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Iran, i.e. in their Constitutions complicates the continuation of the existence of the languages and cultures of the Turkic peoples residing in these countries. However, we can consider satisfactory the language policy in the Republic of Moldova, Bulgaria and Georgia in connection with the language and national identity issues of the Turkic peoples residing in these countries. Today a policy of isolation is pursued against the Turkic

communities for some political reasons in the countries where the Turkic peoples mainly reside as minorities. The countries like China, Iran, Russia keep the Turkic languages under pressure through the acute policy pursued against the Turkic peoples, hinder their normal development, let alone the absence of guarantee for the maintenance of these languages. The language policy and the laws adopted in connection with languages in all three countries have left the languages of the Turkic minorities residing there under the threat and danger. At present, the languages of Turkic minorities in other countries of the world (mainly, Moldova, Bulgaria, Georgia, Latvia, Hungary, Mongolia and so on) are already face to face with the danger of disappearance as a language.

15. Language policy and language planning are basically a multidimensional policy focused on the language situation and language problems manifesting themselves differently in society. The multiaspect nature of the process is also associated with the intervention skill of the native speakers of the language and the mechanism of control over the situation under the conditions of monolingualism, multilingualism, multinationalism in society. Today the language policy pursued in independent Turkic republics and in Turkic communities within other states should be based on the maintenance and development of the language and its integration with other Turkic languages into a uniform environment. However, in various political and social contexts this integration process does not exceed beyond the framework of a single alphabet unity. The problems such as the ensurance of education of the Turkic peoples, who are not independent yet, in their mother tongue, the status of the Turkic languages as an autonomous language in these societies, the termination of the process of inculcating in the Turkic peoples the dominant language in bilingual contexts through political force also leave the future of the idea of a single alphabet unity under threat. From this point of view, along with taking actions to consolidate the status of their language within the country, the independent Turkic states should act jointly to protect the basic freedoms and rights of other Turkic peoples to use their mother tongue as well.

The content of the dissertation is covered in the following monographic works, abstracts and articles:

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