# On the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet

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## Abstract

"On the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet"

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The dissolution of the Soviet Union meant a relaxation of control mechanisms over Turkic peoples of Eurasia, and five Turkic nations emerged as sovereign independent nation-states namely Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The post-Soviet era also meant a freer environment for Turkic peoples under new sovereignties, such as the Gagauz people in Moldova and Crimean Tatars in Ukraine. A degree of liberalization took place in Russia, too, as in the case of Tatarstan.

At this new conjuncture in the period from 1991-3, a series of conventions convened to form a common Turkic alphabet among Turkic languages in order to establish closer bonds, and enable mutual literacy among these languages. Not only did academics and linguists attend, but some officials from the newly independent republics participated, as well. As a result, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was formed from which every Turkic nation was to use the same letters to represent the same phonemes. However, some nations adopted alphabets that violated the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

My study shows that there was a strong willingness on the Turkish side to compromise with Turkic counterparts in the conventions. As a result, I propose to look at socioeconomic factors and nation-building processes in the region to explain the reasons why the project did not succeed as hoped.

97,500 words

# Özet

"34-harfli Ortak Türk Çerçeve Alfabesi Üzerine"

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Profesör Aydın Babuna, Tez Danışmanı

Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması Avrasya'daki Türk halkları üzerinde göreli bir rahatlamaya neden olmuştur çünkü beş Türkî ulus –Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan ve Türkmenistan- bağımsızlığını ilan etmiştir. Sovyet sonrası dönem ayrıca bazı Türk halkları için de yeni devletlerin egemenliği altında belirli seviyede bir özgürlük sağlamıştır, Moldova idaresi altındaki Gagavuzlar ve Ukrayna idaresi altındaki Kırım Tatarları gibi. Rusya'da da Tataristan örneğinde görüldüğü üzere belirli bir düzey liberalleşme gerçekleşmiştir.

Bu yeni şartlar altında bu diller arasında karşılıklı okuryazarlık kurmak yoluyla Türk halkları arasında daha yakın bir bağ kurmak için bir ortak çerçeve alfabesi yaratmak üzere 1991-1993 döneminde bir toplantılar süreci başlatıldı. Bu toplantılara sadece akademisyenler ve dilbilimciler değil bağımsızlığını yeni kazanmış cumhuriyetlerden de yetkililer katıldı. Sonuç olarak 34 harfli Ortak Türk Çerçeve Alfabesi yaratıldı. Uluslar bu çerçeve alfabeden aynı fonemler için aynı harfleri seçerek kendi alfabelerini yaratacaklardı. Lakin bazı Türkî uluslar, bu çerçeveyi bozan alfabeler kabul etti.

Benim çalışmam, bu toplantılar sürecinde Türkiye tarafında diğer Türkî ulusların fikirleriyle uzlaşmaya yönelik güçlü bir temayül olduğunu da gösteriyor. Sonuç olarak, bu projenin kısmî başarısızlığını anlamak için bölgedeki sosyoekonomik etmenlere ve ulus inşası sürecine bakılması gerektiği kanısındayım.

97.500 kelime

*To Fırat Yılmaz Çakıroğlu'*

# Table of Contents

Glossary of Non-English Terms *xiv*
Note on Transliteration *xiv*
Abbreviations and Acronyms *xv*
Acknowledgements *xvii*

1 INTRODUCTION 1

2 HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND 13

2.1 Brief History of Turkic Languages and Scripts 16
2.2 Early Modernization Era (The Nineteenth Century-1917) 21
2.3 An Evaluation of the Early Modernization Era 67
2.4 Period of Radical Revolutions: 1917-1940 72
2.5 Evaluation 87

3 THE ALPHABETICAL CONVENTIONS (1991-1993) 91

3.1 The 1991 Symposium 104
3.2 1st Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress 131
3.3 Official Conventions 153
3.4 1st TÜDEV Congress as a Semi-Official Convention 162
3.5 2nd Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress 173
3.6 Evaluation 192

4 ALPHABET TRANSITION PROCESSES IN TURKIC REPUBLICS AND COMMUNITIES 195

4.1 Countries and Communities in the Frame Alphabet 199
4.2 Countries and Communities Differed from the Frame Alphabet 234
4.3 History of a Recent Transition: Kazakhstan 284
4.4 Other Related Developments 305
4.5 Evaluation 320

5 CONCLUSION 323

APPENDICES

A Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's First Reform Proposal for the Arabic Script 345
B Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's Second Reform Proposal for the Arabic Script 346
C Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's Alphabet Model Based on Latin and Cyrillic Scripts 347
D The New Azerbaijani Alphabet in 1922 348
E The Uniform Turkic Alphabet Adopted in 1927 (Yañalif) 349
F the Turkish Alphabet Adopted in 1928 350
G The First Common Turkic Frame Alphabet adopted at the 1991 Symposium and the symposium's Final Declaration 351
H Ahmet Temir's Project Presented to the 1991 Symposium on which the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was based. 352
I Decisions in The Final Declaration Of The First Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress (1. STDKr) in 1992 353
J The First Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet Following The Independence From the Soviet Union In Which The Letter Ä/ä Was Accepted 354
K The Second Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet Following The Independence From The Soviet Union In Which The Letter Ə/ə Was Accepted 355
L The Crimean Tatar Latin Alphabet 356
M The Gagauz Latin Alphabet 357
N The First Latin Alphabet Project Published by the Turkmen Government 358
O The First Version of the Turkmen Alphabet 359
P Şimşir's Impressions 360
Q The Revised Version of the Turkmen Latin Alphabet Currently in Use 361
R The First Version of the Uzbek Alphabet 362
S The Second Uzbek Alphabet Currently in Use 363
T The First Qaraqalpaq Latin Alphabet 364
U The Second Qaraqalpaq Alphabet Currently in Use 365

V The Tatar Alphabet Ratified but not Applied 366
W Tatar Inalif Alphabets along with Proposed Tatar Latin and Current Cyrillic Alphabets 367
X Latin Alphabet Project of the Institute of Lingusitics of Kazakhstan 368
Y The First Kazakh Latin Alphabet 369
Z The Second and the Current Kazakh Latin Alphabet that will be Put Into Force in 2025 370

BIBLIOGRAPHY 371

## Glossary of Non-English Terms

| | |
|---|---|
| Berpa | Literally meaning "revival," this word is used especially by Azerbaijanis for reviving the tradition of using Latin alphabet for Turkic languages and Azerbaijani language, which was the case in the 1930s. |
| Yañalif | Literally meaning "New Alphabet," this word is used for the "Uniform Turkic Alphabet," which was Latin alphabet adopted for Turkic nations of the Soviet Union in 1927 and used until the late 1930s and early 1940s. Generally used by Tatars to denote the Uniform Turkic Alphabet and their national alphabet in the 1930s that was prepared according to the Uniform Turkic Alphabet |
| İnalif | Tatar Latin alphabet used for the internet. |

## A Note on Transliteration

In many linguistic works, phonemes are represented by either using the Turkish alphabet with a few additional letters or other transcription alphabets that use letters with diacritics. In the case the reader does not know the vocal equivalents of these letters, they are introduced via English words which indicate the pronunciation. This is the case in many social science works that deal with cultural and linguistic issues. However, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which is dedicated for this job and is applied to a vast number of languages.

Another issue is the names of Turkic personages whose names are written using different alphabets and orthographies in their national language. Since my sources are largely in Turkish, I generally stick to the Turkish alphabet and Turkish orthography when writing their names. On the other hand, the Turkish sources did not write person names correctly in the proceedings. Therefore, I denote the names of especially government officials in their language, too. However, I do not change the names when such confusions do not arise.

## Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| TWG | Türkistan Wilayatining Gazeti |
| DWG | Dala Wilayatining Gazeti |
| TDK | Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Association) |
| TTK | Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Association) |
| AKDTYK | T.C. Başbakanlık Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (Republic of Turkey Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language, and History) |
| TÜDEV | Türk Devlet ve Toplulukları Dostluk, Kardeşlik ve İşbirliği Kurultayı (Congress of Turkic States and Communities for Friendship, Fraternity, and Cooperation) |
| TİKA | Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) |
| TÜRKSOY | Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetimi (Common Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts) |
| YTB | Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (Presidency for Turks Abroad) |
| TÖMER | Türkçe Öğretim Merkezi (Turkish Teaching Center) |
| MHP | Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party) |
| 1. STDKr | (Birinci) Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı ([First] Permanent Turk[ic] Language Congress) |
| 2. STDKr | İkinci Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı (Second Permanent Turk[ic] Language Congress) |
| RSFSR | Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic |

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# 1

## Introduction

The dissolution process of the Soviet Union was as complex as the historical background of the dissolution itself. Mass demonstrations and challenging demands to the core values of the socialism and the Soviet Union started to take place in the late 1980s after the Gorbachev's initiative for glasnost, perestroika, and *demokratizatsiya* (democratization). This was the first phase of the dissolution; however, it was only the beginning. The process was furthered by the declarations of sovereignty by the republics that comprized Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in late 1989 and 1990. This enabled these republics to carry out domestic policies without consulting Moscow, although nothing changed on the issue of foreign policy-making. However, this was a strong signal of what would happen in the future. Upcoming attempts to protect the Union were not successful and following an unsuccessful coup d'état by hardline communists in August 1991, the Soviet republics started to declare their independence from the Soviet Union. Some states were not in a rush to declare their independence, and none that declared independence was recognized for a while; nevertheless, this situation did not last long. On 8 December 1991, the Minsk Declaration signed by Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus established the Commonwealth of Independent States, which was the de facto dis-

solution of the Soviet Union. Its dissolution became de jure in Alma-Ata (Almaty) on 21 December 1991 when eleven former Soviet republics declared independence.[1]

Turkey was the first country to recognize Turkic states along with other former Soviet republics. Contact among Turkey and Turkic republics had already begun by 1990. Various treaties were signed between Turkey and some Turkic states about cultural, educational, and technical cooperation and assistance. In March 1991, when Turkish President Turgut Özal visited the Soviet Union, he went mainly to Turkic states.[2] Brethren separated by contesting Soviet and Turkish modernities were reunited after almost seventy years. This family reunion, although welcomed by most segments of Turkic peoples, raised different expectations among various groups. Ongoing developments in the issue of language among Turkic people of the Soviet Union were followed in Turkey with curiosity and enthusiasm.

One of the first actions of former Soviet Turkic republics in the glasnost era was to reevaluate and strengthen their national culture to be independent from Bolshevism as well as to increase their autonomy from Moscow. With the exception of Azerbaijan, which had made its titular nation's language official a decade earlier, Turkic republics started to enact "language laws." These laws suggest that the language of the titular ethnicity would become official language along with Russian.[3] Also, in some republics an issue emerged in the press concerning whether to change the alphabet or at least to reform it to represent the language better. In public discussions in Azerbaijan, Latin script[4]

1 Mustafa Aydın "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler," in *Türk Dış Politikası,* ed. Baskın Oran, *vol.2* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 366-399. Used for diplomatic chronology.

2 Ibid., p. 373 and p. 379.

3 Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (London: Hurst and Company, 2001), p. 111.

4 A script can be considered as a pool of signs among which "alphabets" choose particular ones and enable systematic utilization of these signs to transmit knowledge through what we call writing. These terms were used in that manner in Altuğ's thesis, which is the first to analyze the 1991 Symposium, and I utilize in that manner, as well. Bedii Duru Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium and its Contribution to Turkic Alphabet Reform" (MA thesis, University of Washington, 2014), p. 3.

prevailed for the new alphabet, while for the Uzbeks, Arabic script was a strong option. Meanwhile, Turkmens generally discussed modifying the existing Cyrillic alphabet by abandoning letters peculiar to Russian.

Linguists and intellectuals from both Turkey and Soviet Turkic republics know that Turkic languages are in the same language family. This means that another Turkic language would be the easiest language for a native Turkic language speaker to acquire. Furthermore, many linguists and intellectuals think that these languages shared a common orthography under two former Turkic literary languages – Ottoman language in the West and Chaghatai in the East – until the twentieth century when local-national dialects emerged as distinct literary languages.[5] Many Turkologists argue that the reason for this was the imperialist efforts (starting with those of Russian) to divide Turkic peoples into political subgroups to prevent future resistance.[6] Others underscored the fact that the introduction of modern sociopolitical ideas also raised the political consciousness and desire for distinctiveness of the local population.[7] This process was supplemented further by the publication sector that enabled the dissemination of these ideas as well as authentic linguistic and cultural productions that would become the cornerstones of the new nations.[8] Using local vernaculars also made it easier for common Turkic people to understand the newly emerging press.

Ismail Gaspıralı's efforts to unify these Turkic groups with a common Turkic language in his newspaper *Tercüman* (*переводчик*, Interpreter), had been

5 For example, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Türk Dünyası ve Türk Dili: Geçmiş ve Hedefler," in *Makaleler Dil- Destan- Tarih- Edebiyat,* ed. Ekrem Arıkoğlu (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınevi, 2007), p. 393.

6 Ibid., pp. 394-5.

7 Talat Tekin, "'Türk Diyalektleri' değil 'Türk Dilleri'," in *Türkoloji Eleştirileri* ed. Mehmet Ölmez, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Simurg, 1997), p. 276.

8 The concept of "print-capitalism" and its effects on nation-building processes are described in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso Books, 2006), pp. 44-5.

started to be recalled.[9] Another recollection was the "Uniform Turkic Alphabet" (Yañalif, New Alphabet) that was applied by the Soviet government in the late 1920s. That alphabet enabled all Turkic languages in the Soviet Union to be united under a frame alphabet[10] derived mainly from Latin script. In parallel with Yañalif, Turkey also transformed its alphabet from Arabic to Latin script. Yañalif and the Turkish alphabets differed; however, it was possible for readers to be literate in the other.[11] During the 1940s, Moscow drew the Iron Curtain between the Turks of Turkey and the Soviet Turkic peoples by imposing Cyrillic script on Soviet Turkic peoples. These national Cyrillic alphabets for each Turkic people were prepared with distinctions in order to isolate these nations from each other.

No matter how Turkish and the Soviet Turkic peoples were separated by different modernities as symbolized by Latin and Cyrillic scripts, many Turkish and Turkic linguists did not consider this gap to be irreversible. These perceptions triggered a series of conventions to influence ongoing linguistic discussions in those countries in a manner that would enable the unification of Turks and Turkic peoples around the world under the same frame alphabet, which would enable *mutual literacy*[12] among these societies.

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9 Yılmaz Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy In Light Of the Actors' Norms and Identity Model" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002), pp. 150-2.

10 The term frame alphabet, as used in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project, is a subset of a script that collects all letters of a group of national alphabets. It can be considered as a superset of these national alphabets, as well.

11 One of the important moment for that recollection was delivered during 1991 Symposium, especially discussed by the Turkic participants. This will be evaluated in the Chapter 3 of this thesis.

12 *"Mutual-literacy"* is a major concept throughout this thesis. By this concept, I am describing a situation in which a Turkic individual would become literate not only in one but many, if not all, Turkic languages simply by knowing the alphabet. Turkic individuals would at least be able to read in all of Turkic languages without any further effort than learning to read their own national language. This would be achieved in the case of all Turkic languages being collected within a frame alphabet using a Latin script. That situation is called as *"mutual-literacy."* It can be considered a derivative of the concept of *"mutual intelligibility"* peculiar to reading. For the concept of "mutual intelligibility," see Talat Tekin, ""Türk Dili Tarihi ve 'Üniversite Grameri"," in *Türkoloji Eleştirileri,* ed. Mehmet Ölmez, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Simurg, 1997), p. 42.

These conventions convened between late 1991 and 1993, generally in Turkey. However, there were other attempts to accomplish this task in other places. As a matter of fact, there were decisions made in conferences outside of Turkey of which Turkish academics were not aware. These decisions were introduced in this series of conventions. Turkish academics were invited to future conferences in the region by their fellow Turkic colleagues, as well. In these conventions, the 34-letter Turkic Common Frame Alphabet was adopted in 1991 as a frame script for all Turkic peoples. It was slightly changed in 1992 according to the demands of Azerbaijani participants who reflected the demands of their society.

However, the Common Alphabet Project had a limited success, contrary to expectations. This did not differ much from the general cooperation process among Turkic republics during the 1990s. The general cooperation process also suggested denser relations among Turkic republics, but attained m-uch limited goals. The academic literature on post-Cold War relations among Turkic republics generally concludes that Turkey was the main responsible party for the disappointing cooperation process. The reasons were the ambition of Turkey's projects compared with its actual resources and the fact that Turkey did not have adequate knowledge of the region.[13] Some critics go further and conclude that Turkey, by producing an alphabet based on the Turkish one and imposing it on other Turkic nations, was trying to form a zone of influence in Central Asia and Transcaucasia – or in an even larger region – by becoming the "big brother" of its Turkic brethren. However, Turkic republics refused this alphabet, and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project was abandoned.[14]

Turkey did consider itself a big brother for a period, which led to the negative perception of Turkish policies towards the region by Turkic republics; however, this narrative does not reflect the whole picture of the issue of com-

13 Mustafa Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler" in *Türk Dış Politikası*, ed. Baskın Oran, vol. 3 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), p. 468.

14 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008), p. 177, doi:10.1515/IJSL.2008.042

mon alphabet. Other factors demonstrate us that Turkey and Turkish academics were not the sole initiators of this process. Moreover, they did not approach the issue in a domineering manner. Many academics came from other Turkic republics to participate in the conventions. Those who received a certain level of support from the leaders and publics of these republics contributed to the project and linked it to the Yañalif tradition. During the 1930s, Turkic nations in the Soviet Union were united under a common Latin alphabet named "Uniform Turkic Alphabet," also called as Yañalif. These academics at the conventions referred to the alphabetical transitions of the post-Cold War era and the creation of a common alphabet as *berpa etmek* (reviving) rather than as new project produced and imposed by Turkey. For them, it was not simply a matter of accepting the Turkish alphabet with small modifications but of renewing the Yañalif along with the successful Western Latin and Turkish traditions in order to arrive at an improved alphabet compatible with both Western tradition and global computer technology. The discourse of *berpa* (revival) was used in official documents and in public debates during that period. The meaning of *berpa* was nevertheless elastic, since it could imply a transition to a common alphabet, as conference participants argued, or it could imply a mere transition to a national Latin alphabet rather than a common alphabet for Turkic World. Different social groups, intellectuals, and governments adopted different perceptions of *berpa*.

There existed, nevertheless, another evaluation of history in Turkey that can easily be attached to the previous *berpa* tradition; however, it negatively affected the process. Some academics understated the natural emergence of Turkic nations in the early modern era and concluded that modern day Turkic nations emerged with their distinct languages as a result of imperialistic divide and conquer policies. Indeed, much of the distance among Turkic nations was a result of isolated nation-building policies in the Soviet era. Furthermore, there was a "transimperial" inter-Turkic "public space" among the intelligentsia existed in Turkic world since the nineteenth century, as Adeeb Khalid discusses.[15] On the other hand, these nations were certainly emerging and Ismail

15 Adeeb Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12, no. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 451-476.

Gaspıralı's project of a common Turkic literary language failed in that period. Most of the the Turkish participants in the conventions that gathered in the 1991-93 period, however, adopted Gaspıralı's project and fuse it with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet project. This vision was also accompanied by certain outdated, isolated academic readings in Turkish academics that overemphasized similarities and underestimated differences among Turkic languages and peoples.[16] That vision was also supported by some the Turkic participants in these conventions. Furthermore, this vision would take the Turkish language -which was considered the most evolved even in the time of Gaspıralı's project- as the basis for a new common Turkic literary language.

Hence, a Turkish-oriented approach emerged that would hurt the national feelings of other Turkic peoples. It also fused with Turkey's "big brotherhood" approach that was in the minds of Turkish public and some Turkish politicians. This situation stemmed from outdated academic paradigms and an insufficient level of knowledge of the region. Turkey eventually abandoned its Turkish-oriented evaluation of the newly independent Turkic nations and started to reshape its policy, as early as 1993, which was apparent during the Second Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress. Also, from the initaiton process, there was always an open-mindedness and willingness to evaluate and accept technical propositions from the Turkic participants. While Turkish-orientedness definitely deteriorated the attitude of Turkic republics, Turkey cannot be held responsible for the ending of the process. There were other important factors related to Turkic republics and peoples, as well.

As a matter of fact, an important reason for the failure of the Frame Alphabet was the lack of a political will for the establishment of the alphabet. The series of conventions during which an alphabet was established, lacked a central organ to record the decisions and organize further conventions with the officials and intellectuals of the respective countries in order to regulate the alphabet transition process. Instead, the conventions both in Turkey and in Turkic republics and communities were attended by volunteer academics and officials trying to establish a frame alphabet. Among these conventions,

16 For a criticism of that perspective by a Turkish Turcolog, see Talat Tekin, "'Türk Dili Tarihi ve 'Üniversite Grameri'," in *Türkoloji Eleştirileri* ed., Mehmet Ölmez, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Simurg, 1997), pp. 40-9.

those taking place in Turkey eventually produced an alphabet. These conventions managed to gain the sympathy and support of the Turkish government for a common frame alphabet model. However, this process lacked an institutionalization let alone the authorization to shape the linguistic decisions of Turkic republics and communities according to the decisions. Hence, these alphabet conventions were unable to apply their decisions due to a lack of institutionalization and cooperation.

Given that the process had no central organ to provide an institutional framework, these conventions produced a pattern of common decisions via the efforts of the regular participants rather than adopting contradictory decisions. These regular participants participated in most of the previous conventions, knew the decisions made in those conventions and defended them in subsequent conventions. Thus, a continuity was sustained between previous and upcoming conventions. This was especially the case for Turkish academics, some of whom held positions in the TDK (Türk Dil Kurumu – Turkish Language Association), who both initiated and sustained that continuity. They were in the role of organizer and host during the 1991 Symposium. Later the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and TİKA (then Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı – Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) supported on the organizational issues at a certain level, too. The linguistic point of view of this group was dominated by the Turkish-oriented agenda that described and criticized above. On the other hand, the group was cooperative and respectful of the views of the Turkic participants. They tried to solve the problems underscored by their colleagues from Turkic republics. Also, the Turkic participants managed to make changes to the first frame alphabet with the support of Turkish colleagues. Thus, to assume that a Turks dominated the series of conventions is false.

In conclusion, the Turkish factor, although it existed, was not as important in the failure of the Frame Alphabet Project as the academic literature on the post-Cold War relations of Turkic republics suggests. Other structural factors stemming from the sociopolitical and economic conjunctures and the process of nation-building in Turkic republics made fulfilment of the project almost impossible. To understand these factors along with the general mindset of the Turkish participants during the conventions, the next chapter is dedicated to

a historical background. In that chapter, I discuss the historical relationship among Turkic languages and how this was shaped in the modern era. Thus, the backgrounds and emergence of both national languages and the idea of a common Turkic language are described. Here, I will use Benedict Anderson's concepts of "print capitalism," "philological revolution," and "the piracy of the nation" as a "duplicable model." While doing that, I also evaluate the Adeeb Khalid's criticism on the application of the concept of "print capitalism" in explaining the developments in the nineteenth century Central Asia. I also explain the backgrounds of the alphabet transitions and the *berpa* process of Latin alphabet during the 1990s.

In the third chapter, I evaluate post-Cold War developments with a special emphasis on conventions for the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet that took place during the early 1990s. Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, an active participant in the process, wrote chronological descriptions and evaluations of these conventions. Especially the one published in 1995 in a TDK periodical depicts the framework of the conventions. That essay also includes the final declarations of these conventions that I use throughout my thesis.[17] I also use the memoir of Mehmet Saray, an advisor to Turkish presidents of the time, Turgut Özal and Süleyman Demirel and an official of TİKA, to illuminate the TİKA Conference in 1993 and some academic projects executed by TİKA and some Turkish academic organs such as the TDK.[18] Besides the general framework that Ercilasun had drawn, I have also tried to detect and evaluate few other conventions mentioned in Jacob Landau's book, *Pan-Turkism*.[19] Lastly, I have to mention Bedii Duru Altuğ's MA thesis on the 1991 Symposium as a pioneer work in academics that studies with these conventions.[20]

17 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, no: 523 (July 1995), pp. 738-779.

18 Mehmet Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 2014).

19 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: C. Hurst and Co., 1995).

20 Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium and its Contribution to Turkic Alphabet Reform."

In the third chapter, I analyze the conventions in terms of their structure, the discourses of the participants, their decisions, and the effects. Also, I analyze whether Turkey adopted the manner of big brother in the process of devizing a common alphabet by looking at how the conferences were conducted from the published minutes. The manner of big brother, in this context, means that Turkey created an alphabet that could not be accepted by other Turkic republics and tried unsuccessfully to impose it. Although many Turkish academics either planned or perceived the project as Turkish-oriented or had their own idées fixes, the tradition of *berpa* shows the process did not evolve strictly in that direction. Indeed, the tradition of *berpa* changed the course from the very beginning from a Turkish-oriented approach, if it was intended, to a Turkic-oriented approach in such a way including Turkey as a fellow and equal Turkic republic. The pattern of slowing the project down or diverting it according to their wishes was the style adopted by some Turkic republics in reaction to Turkish big brotherhood. Because they did not completely cut their relations to project, the cooperation process among Turkic republics continued. I evaluate the creation of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet and discussions about it to determine whether this project was imposed by Turkey or there was a desire for it in Turkic republics. The structure of these conventions is another focus of analysis.

In the fourth chapter, I evaluate the alphabetical transitions, developments, and discussions that were going on among these countries to determine how regional factors affected the process. Landau and Kellner-Heinkele's two books, published in 2001[21] and 2012,[22] are the cornerstones of studies explaining the linguistic transformation in post-Soviet Muslim republics. In addition Ziyafet Eyvazova's doctoral thesis analyzing the alphabet transition in Azerbaijani media is an important, valuable work.[23] It is necessary to con-

21 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States (2001).*

22 Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

23 Ziyafet Eyvazova, "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008).

duct similar research for other Turkic republics in order to understand discussions about the alphabet transition as well as its effects. Victoria Clement's work on Turkmenstan satisfies that need to an extent; however, its focus is more general. It focuses on twentieth century developments in language rather than focusing on media in particular.[24]

After my analysis, I conclude that material and pedagogical costs are the first factors constraining the acceptance of a transition from Cyrillic to Latin alphabet. While these nations refused the project prepared in Turkey, they did not make independent attempts to create a common Turkic Latin alphabet, either. Along with the cost, the sociopolitical situation, geostrategic necessities, and nation-building processes in the post-Cold War era defined the general structures that prevented the emergence of such a project. In the last chapter, I summarize my study of the adventure of Turkic peoples from the 1990s onwards with respect to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

Throughout my thesis, I will be dealing with phonetic characteristics and alphabets of Turkic languages. In order to understand the characteristics of Turkic languages as well as to compare them with each other and to reach a conclusion, I have used some linguistic resources. First, I used the alphabet charts prepared by Indiana University Bloomington Center for Languages of the Central Asian Region for Turkic languages.[25] Their charts, which were based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), helped me a lot since I used IPA throughout my thesis, as well. Hatice Şirin User's *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri* was one of the most detailed sources in Turkish on the alphabets of Turkic languages.[26] It provides historical and chronological knowledge and alphabet charts at the same time as well as it is a recent study. Another important resource was *Turkic languages* edited by Lars Johanson and Eva Csato as a part of *Routledge language family Descriptions.*[27] This

24 Victoria Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2005).

25 http://iub.edu/~celcar/language_informational_materials.php

26 Hatice Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015)

27 Lars Johanson and Eva A. Csato (eds.): *Turkic languages* (London: Routledge, 1998)

book helped me both in discussing the history of Turkic languages and in understanding the phonetical characteristics of them. A similar source in Turkish was *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-* of Talat Tekin and Mehmet Ölmez, which combines historical, grammatical, and alphabetical information in a parsimonious way.[28] I also consulted *Wikipedia* in some of the linguistic issues, especially in terms of definition, but also in phonetics, too. It helped me also in terms of acquiring some information about the post Cold War period and enabled me to observe utilization of various alphabets in Turkic languaes in its articles. Finally yet importantly, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun's article named *Lâtin Alfabesi Konusundaki Gelişmeler* helped me especially in acquiring the official documents of the conventions in 1991-4 period since he was an important participant in this process.[29] That article also provided various primary sources regarding the alphabet transition of Turkic peoples, as well.

28 Talat Tekin and Mehmet Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-* (Ankara: BilgeSu Yayıncılık, 2015)

29 Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler."

# 2

## Historical and Theoretical Background

Historical background is of special importance for my thesis. It is necessary not only to give historical depth to the narrative but also for two reasons. The first is that participants' perceptions about the history of Turkic languages and peoples played an important role during the process of the alphabet conventions of the 1990s, which is the main topic of the sis. These perceptions both the attempt at linguistic cooperation and shaped the framework. Almost all the projects, such as the idea of forming a common Turkic alphabet" and a common Turkic literary language, were rooted in linguistic developments of the nineteenth century as well as the twentieth century. Therefore, the history of Turkic languages and the discussions of the nineteenth and twentieth century explain milestone points in history that were used as important reference points and sources during contemporary alphabet-making processes.[1] The second reason is that linguistic trends of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries directly affected nation-building processes in modern day Turkic nations and shaped current political and cultural structures in the region.

This chapter consists of several sections that describe the historical background of Turkic languages and the scripts used until the dissolution of the

1 I was told that during the preparation of the latest communication alphabet used in Turkic Council (Türk Keneşi), they had also checked out this alphabet.

Soviet Union. The first section describes the historical relationships among Turkic languages and vernaculars throughout Eurasia, especially their historical union under an archaic Turkic (literary) language that dissolved in the medieval era and led to modern day Turkic languages in the course of history. The various scripts used by Turkic peoples will also be described.

The next section evaluates the conditions of Turkic peoples' encounter with modernity in the nineteenth century. In that period, most of Turkic peoples had used an alphabet based on the Arabic-Persian script which eventually started to be evaluated as insufficiently representative and technically problematic for Turkic languages. As a result, many people suggested either the reformation of the existing alphabet based on the same script or the creation of a new alphabet based on Latin script or Cyrillic Script. Another phenomenon in the nineteenth century was emerging Pan-Turkism that endorsed the unification of all Turkic peoples in various spheres. In the cultural sphere, this was represented by the project of establishing a "Common Literary Turkic Language." İsmail Gaspıralı, an important man of letters and publicist, became an important proponent of that and other modernization projects for Turkic peoples and Muslims. His ideas on Turkic languages became such a reference point that are still widely endorsed.[2] Nevertheless, his opinion regarding an all-Turkic union not only faced political obstacles, especially from the Russian Empire, but also from the emerging trend of nation-building process in different Turkic peoples. Such obstacles were further accompanied by the introduction of modernity to the region as well as by Russo-Soviet political ambitions.

These three phenomena during the nineteenth century – the demand for alphabet reform, for a pan-Turkic language, and for the nationalization of the language – affect Latinization process of Turkic languages during the 1920-40 period. This process started with the Bolshevik revolution and lasted until the end of the 1930s when Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union changed to Cyrillic script.

2 Yılmaz Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy In Light Of the Actors' Norms and Identity Model" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002), pp. 150-2.

The fourth section of this chapter describes two different alphabet transitions that can be considered as aspects of strictly different paths to modernity followed by Turkic peoples starting in the 1920s. Both Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* and Carter Vaughn Findley in *The Turks in World History* underscored that Soviet Turkic peoples and the Turkish people followed different modernizations that created lasting differences in their respective societies.[3] Anderson even evaluated Turkic peoples to have been a community with the potential to unite under one nation but which were forcefully separated by existing states.[4] The two distinct alphabet models of Soviet Turkic peoples – while centralized throughout the Soviet Union – and of Turkish people demonstrated an aspect of that separation, although both models were based on Latin script.

The separation among Turkic peoples was widened by the Soviet Union via Cyrillization during the 1940s, in which every Turkic nation was assigned differing alphabet models that even had different letters for the same phonemes.[5] Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union, although they had much in common culturally, thus underwent distinct modern nation-building processes isolated from each other. The differing alphabets applied to Soviet Turkic nations were a tool and an aspect of this process of separation, although these nations were united under Yañalif alphabet model until the end of the 1930s. During that process, their bond was not Turkic identity but an identity assigned by Moscow: *Homo Sovieticus*.[6]

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3 Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History (*New York: Oxford University Press, 2005): Chapters 4 and 5.

4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso Books, 2006), p. 61.

5 "A phoneme is a perceived unit of language that signals a difference in meaning when contrasted to another phoneme. … [It] is a mental construct that tells a listener that two or more sounds function as the same sound or different sounds, regardless of the acoustic properties of the sound. " in Bruce M. Rowe and Diane P. Levine. *A concise introduction to linguistics*. 4th edition (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 62.

6 Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (London: Hurst and Company, 2001), p. 51.

## § 2.1 Brief History of Turkic Languages and Scripts

Turkic peoples and Turkic culture first emerged in the regions of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia.[7] In the course of history, languages originating there spread to Mongolia, the Tarim Basin, Central Asia, the Pontic-Caspian steppe, the Ural Mountains, Iran, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Balkans and constituted the linguistic family called Turkic languages. Unlike the Indo-European language family, the Turkic language family is comprised of such languages that share many apparent similarities and ties to each other that are detectable at first sight.[8] In that sense, Turkic languages, as a linguistic group, can be thought of as similar to Slavic languages, Germanic languages and other sub-families of Indo-European language family.

the Turkic language family is also called the Turkic-Oghuric or Turkic-Bulgharic language family because it includes the modern-day Chuvash language and its ancestors: Danubian and Volga Bulghar languages.[9] It is important to note that the Oghurs or Bulghars were a distant branch of Turkic people whose language started to emerge as distinct from other Turkic languages around the first years of the first millennium. These Bulghars, other than contributing to the ethnogenesis of modern-day Bulgaria and to the name of the nation, were not really related to modern-day Bulgarians who are Slavic and speak a Slavic language. According to Talat Tekin and Mehmet Ölmez, let alone the early division of Turkic languages into Main Turkic and Bulgaric languages, the other Turkic languages remained more or less intact during what they called "Main Turkic Era" that lasted until the sixth century.[10]

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7 Findley, *The Turks in World History,* p. 21. Peter B. Golden, "Turkic Peoples: A Historical Sketch," in eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, *Turkic languages (*London: Routledge, 1998), p. 16.

8 Findley, *The Turks in World History,* p. 17.

9 Lars Johanson, "The History of Turkic," in, *Turkic languages,* eds. Johanson and Csató, p. 81. Talat Tekin and Mehmet Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş- (*Ankara: BilgeSu Yayıncılık, 2015), pp. 9-11.

10 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-*, pp. 15-6.

During the mid-sixth century, the (Gök) Türk Kaghanate emerged and would eventually produce the first written texts of Turkic languages – a milestone for all Turkic languages spoken today. This development also symbolized that the start of the "Old Turkic" period in the linguistic history of Turkic peoples.[11] Meanwhile, the "Old Oghuric/Bulgharic" period started in the eighth century and lasted until the early years of the tenth century. The first verifiable linguistic materials of Turkic and Oghur/Bulgharic languages were produced in that era, although the latter was much more limited than the former.[12]

The first inscriptions in Turkic were written between 675-725 during the second (Kök) Türk Kaghanate in Mongolia.[13] On the other hand, the most standardized, classical inscriptions were the Orkhon Inscriptions found in Mongolia. Among them, inscriptions of Tonyukuk[14] were written much earlier – during the first quarter of the eighth century – and were separate than the other two others – inscriptions of Kül Tegin and Bilge Kaghan – written in 732 and 735, respectively.[15] The first alphabet of Turkic languages was used in these inscriptions. It was the (East) Turkic runiform script,[16] and the standard version used for the Orkhon Inscriptions included thirty-eight letters.[17] The legacy of Turkic Runiform and the Orkhon Inscriptions would be reflected in later linguistic productions. The main political rival and successor of the (Kök) Türks in the region, the Uyghurs, continued to use Turkic runiform with a

11 Ibid., p. 17-9. Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 85.

12 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-*, p. 30.

13 İgor Kormuşin, "Yenisey Yazıtları," in İgor Kormuşin et al. *Yenisey- Altay-Kırgızistan Yazıtları ve Kâğıda Yazılı Runik Belgeler,* ed. Mehmet Ölmez (Ankara: BilgeSu Yayıncılık, 2016), p. 28. Hatice Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri (*Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015), pp. 26-7. Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 19.

14 Tonyukuk was an important statesman and councillor in the second Kök Türk Kaghanate.

15 Mehmet Ölmez, *Orhon-Uygur Hanlığı Dönemi Moğolistan'daki Eski Türk Yazıtları Metin-Çeviri-Sözlük (*Ankara: BilgeSu Yayıncılık, 2015), pp. 28-9.

16 András Róna-Tas, "Turkic Writing Systems," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 127.

17 Kormuşin, "Yenisey Yazıtları," Kormuşin et al. *Yenisey- Altay-Kırgızistan Yazıtları ve Kâğıda Yazılı Runik Belgeler,* ed. Mehmet Ölmez, p. 37.

similar orthography during the first years of their reign.[18] Tekin and Ölmez evaluates the Uyghur language as a dialect of the Old Turkic language, along with the "Orkhon Turkic," and stated that "the Old Turkic was not a uniform" language.[19] Later inscriptions found in Yenisei, Altai, and Kyrgyzstan as well as runiform documents written on paper by the Uyghurs support that claim. Igor Kormushin stated that while "the classical Orkhon alphabet has 38 letters. That number rises to 50 when we consider regional and chronological variants."[20] Written texts changed over time and across different Turkic peoples speaking different dialects; however, Kormushin also states that "representatives of different types of dialects wrote their own texts in the (Turkic) literary language" that belonged to a very specific type of dialect.[21] Despite the existence of linguistic differences, Turkic peoples were using a common Turkic literary language during the Old Turkic era.[22] Nevertheless, in the course of time, Uyghurs had started to apply different scripts such as Sogdian, Uyghur developed from Sogdian, Manichean, Brahmi, Tibet, Assyrian-Estrangelo scripts.[23]

There is also discussion about the era to which the Karakhanid language, which was written in Arabic script, belonged. Some linguists consider it to be the last language of the Old Turkic period due to its inheritance from the Uyghur language;[24] others consider it to be the first language of the Middle Turkic period.[25] The Karakhanid language was the last common literary language

18 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 19. Ölmez, *Moğolistan'daki Eski Türk Yazıtları,* p. 48. Fikret Yıldırım, "Kâğıda Yazılı Runik Harfli Eski Türkçe Metinler," in Kormuşin et al. *Yenisey-Altay-Kırgızistan Yazıtları ve Kâğıda Yazılı Runik Belgeler,* ed. Ölmez, p. 393.

19 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 17.

20 İgor Kormuşin, "Yenisey Yazıtları," Kormuşin et al. *Yenisey- Altay-Kırgızistan Yazıtları ve Kâğıda Yazılı Runik Belgeler,* ed. Ölmez, p. 37.

21 Ibid., p. 31.

22 Ibid. Also see Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 85.

23 Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri,* pp. 25-77. Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 25.

24 Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 85.

25 Ibid. Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 33.

among especially Muslim Turkic people during its heyday. Indeed, the "middle Turkic language was much less uniform than the Old Turkic" and more than one "literary language or dialect" used by different Turkic communities living in different regions.[26]

The Middle Turkic period lasted until the sixteenth or seventeenth century and included many literary languages, some of which persisted to the modern era.[27] In the east, an evolutionary line emerged from the Karakhanid language to Khorezmian language that survived until the fourteenth century. Then, Khorezmian would be replaced by the Chaghatai language.[28] Meanwhile, the Kipchak and Oghuz languages emerged as a literary language in the west. Kipchak was used as a literary language with several dialects in the region that included Western Central Asia and the Pontic-Caspian steppes. It was also used by Memluks in Egypt.[29] Meanwhile, the Oghuz language became a literary language in Anatolia where the Ottomans would eventually emerge. By the fifteenth century, Ottoman and Azerbaijani Turkic languages started to succeed the Oghuz, early-Anatolian Turkic. In the same period, Chaghatai became the literary language in Central Asia and the Volga region. Kipchak, as a literary language, was no longer a lingua franca over a large region but its use continued in small communities.

Thus, on the eve of modernity, three Turkic literary languages – Ottoman, Azerbaijani, and Chaghatai, were lingua franca used in large regions populated by various Turkic communities speaking different dialects. Since the beginning of the second millennium, all three of these literary languages, as well as their ancestors have been written in Arabic-Persian scripts, though with different orthographic rules. Vocal and other differences stemming from geographical distance produced different orthographic forms even for words sharing same root and meaning.

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26 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 33.

27 Ibid. Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* pp. 85-6.

28 Ibid., pp. 33-41. Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 86.

29 Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 86.

Ottoman and Azerbaijani emerged from the Oghuz language, the speakers of which settled to the west of Caspian Sea – eventually in the Caucasus, Middle East, Anatolia, and the Balkans – in the late eleventh century. Starting in the fifteenth century, the literary language of that region bifurcated into these two languages.[30] Some linguists prefer to evaluate these two literary languages as separate from the very beginning – that is, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[31] Meanwhile, Chaghatai, which emerged as the heir to the Kharezm language in the fifteenth century, was used as the literacy language by all Central Asian and Kipchak Turks and united the peoples speaking Oghuz, Karluk, and Kipchak Turkic language subgroups. However, the linguistic unity created by Chaghatai started to dissolve in the seventeenth and eighteenth century when "more local varieties referred to as 'Turki' [emerged] in Eastern Turkestan, the Volga region and the Crimea."[32] Also, some people started to create works in local dialects rather than in literary languages such as Mahdumkulu in the Turkmen language in the eighteenth century.[33]

While Muslim Turks used Arabic-Persian script; non-Muslim Turks and non-Muslim peoples using Turkic languages preferred other alphabets, usually based on their religious beliefs. For instance, heirs to the previous Kipchak literary languages, "Karaim and Armeno-Kipchak developed their written forms"[34] using the Hebrew (Later Cyrillic and Latin scripts) and Armenian scripts.[35] Orthodox Karamanid Turks[36] and Ottoman Armenians[37] also wrote the Turkish language using Greek and Armenian scripts. A more important example is the Chuvash people, the language of whose is the sole living heir of the Oghur-Bulghar languages in modern times, to whom Cyrillic script was assigned by the Russians during the process of Orthodox Christianization in the 1730s. While slight reforms were made to their alphabets, the Chuvash

30 Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 86.

31 E.g. Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 170.

32 Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 86.

33 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 41 and p. 166.

34 Johanson, "History of Turkic," in eds. Johanson and Csató, *Turkic languages,* p. 86.

35 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 49 and p. 142.

36 Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri,* pp. 81-8.

37 Kevork Pamukciyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Metinler (*Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2002).

people still use Cyrillic script.[38] Meanwhile, most Turkic peoples living in Siberia who were isolated from the others had neither a literary language nor an alphabet until the Soviet Era.[39]

Starting in the nineteenth century, changes in social life brought up the issue of alphabet reform to increase the literacy for masses, a project for which the classical Arabic-Persian script created difficulties. Meanwhile, the intensification of political pressure and threats to Turkic and Muslim peoples, especially following the successful Russian offensives into Turkic-Islamic lands and centers starting in the sixteenth century and towards the Ottoman Empire starting in the eighteenth century, brought Turkic peoples closer together. These would lead to more intense interaction and correspondence among Turkic peoples. Eventually, a perception of Turkicness would strengthen and lead to a demand for easier communication among these communities via the creation of a common Turkic literary language. The most obvious ideological stance behind this was Pan-Turkism; however, Pan-Islamist sentiments and even just Islamic solidarity supported the phenomenon of increased interaction and communication.

## § 2.2 The Early Modernization Era (The Nineteenth Century-1917)

Modernity shaped languages. In the nineteenth century, Turkic peoples met modernity and its effects on their languages. During this period, there were two important dimensions to language discussions that eventually evolved in a peculiar trend that would shape Turkic languages. The ideas proposed at the time still influence current viewpoints and discussions on Turkic languages. However, the evolutionary course of Turkic languages during the rise of modernism was not unopposed. On the contrary, many intellectuals opposed it or rather endorsed alternative measures.

These two dimensions concerning the alphabet and the literary language can be linked to a more general discussion of "print capitalism," as Benedict

38 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 67.

39 Ibid., p. 76, p. 81, p. 83, p. 98.

Anderson puts it. Starting with the introduction of publication to Turkic languages enables to discuss the impacts of the publication on the modern languages, on Turkic languages in this case, and adopt a critical stance towards Anderson's discussions, if necessary. According to Anderson, publication as an "earlier form of enterprise" was already subjected to "all the capitalism's restless search for markets."[40] After consuming most of the opportunities to publish in Latin, book-publishers in Europe started to search new markets and found new opportunities in vernaculars, that is to say, in the spoken languages. According to Anderson, "then and now the bulk of mankind is monoglot,"[41] that is, can speak only one language, and "human linguistic diversity (is) fatal."[42] As a result, print capitalism created closed and bounded local markets around a few vernaculars which arose among their relatives. Out of these markets, new reader communities connected via their print vernaculars would emerge. Along with other factors that helped to widen the market of the vernacular press –especially the fact that some local vernaculars were assigned as "administrative" languages- the introduction of print shaped modern languages and gave them their current form as well as the organization of the modern political communities.[43]

Anderson describes several effects of print capitalism on language. The first related to the topic is the constitution of "unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars."[44] This community of "fellow readers" would constitute "embryo" of future nations.[45] Another important effect is that changes occured in the status of existing vernaculars. The new "languages-of-power" were established on varied but related vernaculars. "Certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language and dominated their final forms" such as Istanbul vernacular for Turkish.

40 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso Books, 2006), pp. 37-8.

41 Ibid., p. 38.

42 Ibid., p. 43.

43 Ibid., pp. 38-43.

44 Ibid., p. 44.

45 Ibid.

"Their disadvantaged cousins," on the other hand, had more limited effects on print-language, lost their status, and were eventually assimilated - as were vernaculars spoken in Izmir, Niğde, and Trabzon.[46] Thus, while some vernaculars had the chance to shine once-in-lifetime and rose from nowhere to the top of society; the rest became second-class vernaculars, losing their position to the print language even in their motherland. Thus, print languages reigned over a bunch of vernaculars, established a border, and excluded other people.

To sum up, some avant-garde vernaculars, supported by publishers as well as by state administrations, became superior to locally-spoken relatives. They managed to unite people who had been speaking similar vernaculars under a print language. This was sometimes also the case for peoples whose dialects were not mutually intelligible "in conversation" but were collectible under a literary language.[47] Furthermore, many modern states eventually adopted these languages as "administrative vernaculars" which enabled them to become entrenched via public education and other political-administrative measures. This process gave way to the establishment of contemporary modern nations; though this was not the sole process that created the contemporary nation-state system.

This process can be observed more or less in the case of debates among Turkic peoples on how their new literary and print language should be. Although the introduction of publication and print capitalism was rather late and not smooth, publication contributed to the emergence of modern Turkic languages as they currently exist. The tacit support of the Russian Empire and the active support of the Soviet Union administration helped once non-literary Turkic vernaculars of the premodern era to become Turkic languages of the modern era. This historical process evolved in contrast to efforts to create a common Turkic literary language. In the next section, I am going to describe and analyze this historical process, that is to say, introduction of publishing to Turkic people and the emergence of modern-day Turkic languages as a result of publishing and other social and political factors.

46 Ibid., p. 45.

47 Ibid., p. 44.

### 2.2.1 *Turkic Peoples' Introduction to Publishing and the Press*

Turkish-language print was introduced to the Ottoman Empire by İbrahim Müteferrika and his partner Said Efendi in 1727, and first books emerged in 1729;[48] on the other hand, publishing did not become popular until the mid-nineteenth century. The eighteenth century was a stagnant period in terms of publishing. Most of the time, the only printing house inherited from Müteferrika remained idle. Kabacalı states that during its 66-year existence in the eighteenth century, Müteferrika's printing house was active for only eighteen years.[49] Another important factor was the prohibition on publishing books on religion, which was given as a guarantee to the scribes (*hattat*) who were afraid of a major loss in their markets.[50] However, this prohibition meant for publishing sector to be deprived of such a theme that had the potential to produce best-sellers and appeal to a popular base.[51]

Although contested in later works, the general opinion in Turkish academics was that publishing in Turkish language was established as a monopoly, which was granted by the state to individuals or was organized in the Gedik Method (*Gedik Usülü*) under which all actors in a market control and regulate the future entrants.[52] Lack of competition in a capitalist framework further prevented the blossoming of publication and books in Ottoman social life. Also, book prices, which were supervised by the Ottoman administration, remained high given purchasing power.[53] Following Müteferrika's death in the mid-1740s, the publishing house introduced no new books, only the second edition of an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, until the 1780s when the Ottoman

48 Franz Babinger, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat," Translated and Prepared by Necdet Kuran-Burçoğlu, in *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası,* eds. Necdet Kuran-Burçoğlu and Machiel Kiel (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2004 [1919]), pp. 13-8.

49 Alpay Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi,* Cilt 1 (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1989), p. 62.

50 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma,* 20. Baskı (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014 [1973]), pp. 57-8.

51 Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme,* 4. Baskı (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2016):p. 338-9.

52 Ibid. Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi,* p. 43. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746), p*p. 182-9.

53 Kabacalı, *Türk Kitap Tarihi,* pp. 112-6.

administration ordered new tactical and technical books on military issues be published following defeat by the Russians.[54]

Print was not introduced much earlier among the rest of Turkic peoples but quickly caught up to the Ottomans. Print was introduced in Tatarstan in 1800 via the printing house of the Kazan Gymnasium. It aimed to meet the demand of upper class Tatars for publications, although under the condition that it would publish only religious texts, which was the opposite of the Ottoman case. Russians used the print house also for their orientalist studies, especially for studies about the Tatar language. On the other hand, Tatars desired to publish non-religious texts, too. Some such actions were punished, though Devlet suggests that government control was not extremely harsh, and some secular works were published in the printing house.[55] The introduction of private printing houses was in the 1840s among both Ottomans[56] and Tatars,[57] which can be evaluated as a sign that the publishing sector was becoming freer and expanding. It was actually the moment that Tatar publishing expanded from its own society to a much wider area – towards Siberia, the Kazakh steppes, and Central Asia – via religious publications.[58] The relaxation of limitations and increasing competition triggered the growth of printing among both the Tatars and Ottomans.

For other Turkic peoples, the establishment of printing industry in their countries would wait until the 1870s. While the date given for the inception of

54 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746), p*p. 331-6.

55 Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Kültürün Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966), pp. 103-4. Tamurbek Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* tr. Mehmet Emircan (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981), pp. 36-7. Nadir Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917):* 3. Baskı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), pp. 22-3.

56 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746), p*p. 345-6. Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın (*Istanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 200), p. 71.

57 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, pp. 103-4; Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı*, pp. 36-7; Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917), p*p. 22-3.

58 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, pp. 104-6. Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı*, p. 37.

publishing in Azerbaijani lands was 1830 in Shusha, "its activity was limited."[59] On the other hand, the Arzanov Brothers' publishing house established in the 1840s in Tbilisi was publishing texts in the Azerbaijani language.[60] Hasan Zerdabi's enterprise to publish the private newspaper *Ekinci* in the 1870s was a milestone in the history of printing houses in Azerbaijan lands.[61] This was more or less the case for Central Asia as well, which had no printing houses until the Russian colonization started in the 1860s and ended in 1880s.[62] On the other hand, this did not mean that they did not enjoy the benefits of the publishing before then. Many Azeri writers and poets had their works published in printing houses in Tabriz and Tbilisi.[63] Meanwhile, reflecting a general trend in Tatar trade life, printing houses in Kazan exported literary works to Central Asia.[64]

In terms of press in Turkic peoples, Ottomans were again pioneers, but Turkic peoples' experiences went more or less hand in hand. The first completely Turkish newspaper was published in 1831 under the name *Takvim-i Vekayi* and was a government gazette of the Ottoman Empire.[65] The aim, here,

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59 Abuzər Xələfov, *Azərbaycanda kitabxana işinin tarixi: Dərslik.* 2 hissədə. 1 hissə *(*Baku: Bakı Universiteti Nəşriyyatı, 2004), p. 259.

60 Ibid.

61 Mübariz Süleymanlı, *Azərbaycan Kulturoloji Fikir Tarixindən (XX əsrin əvvəlləri) (*Baku: Nafta Press, 2011), p. 27.

62 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia (*California: University of California Press, 1998), p. 117.

63 Yavuz Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları (*Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1994), pp. 32-58.

64 Tamurbek Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* tr. Mehmet Emircan (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981), pp. 36-7.

65 Actually, for a few years, a bilingual government gazette named *Vaka-yı Mısriyye* was already being published in Arabic and Turkish in Egypt under the governance of Muhammad Ali. However, Egypt was peripheral for the Turkish people and *Vaka-yı Mısriyye* was actually bilingual and addressed to Egytians. Thus, I accept *Takvim-i Vekayi* as a milestone for the Turkish press as the Turkish academics does. On the other hand, another bilingual government newspaper named *Vaka-yı Giritiyye,* published in Turkish and Greek, emerged in Crete under Muhammad Ali's governance the same year as *Takvim-i Vekayi*. Koloğlu states that bilingualism in the press was a distinct policy of Muhammad Ali, although the focus was on the Turkish language. Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız (*Istanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2015), pp. 99-103.

was not establishing a public space in the Turkish language through creating a pluralist media where intellectuals and people discuss sociopolitical issues; however, it introduced Turkish-language media to the Ottoman Empire. It was neither an opinion newspaper[66] nor full of boring official declarations but rather published news throughout the Empire and the world.[67] In 1839, the government printing house, then called Takvimhane-i Amire, eventually opened its doors to the publishing books by others rather than being tied to a publishing program shaped by the government, as was the case in the eighteenth century.[68]

Nine years after *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the second newspaper in the Turkish language was introduced in 1840, called *Ceride-i Havadis* – which came along with a new, distinct publishing house.[69] Dependent on government subsidies, this newspaper also functioned as a government gazette though it brought some novelties to the Ottoman press including publishing "reader letters" and "biographical and encyclopedic information" as well as "sending war reporters" to the Crimean War for the first time.[70] Increasing interest in the press arose during the Crimean War (1853-1856), in which the Ottoman Empire was also involved. During that time, circulation of *Ceride-i Havadis* increased significantly for a brief period.[71] At the beginning of the next decade, the first private newspaper emerged, which was not financially dependent and therefore not politically dependent on the Ottoman government. Its name was *Tercüman-ı Ahval,* and it started to be published in 1860. This was a milestone

66 For the term opinion (news)paper, Server İskit, "The History of the Turkish Press 1831-1931," International Communication Gazette, Vol 10, Issue 1, 1964.

67 M. Kazım Benek, "Osmanlı'da Basının Doğuşu ve II. Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Gelişimi," *Siirt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Cilt 4, Sayı 6-7, Ocak 2016, pp. 30-1. Kenan Demir, "Osmanlı'da Basının Doğuşu ve Gazeteler," *Iğdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,* Sayı 5, Nisan 2014, p. 62.

68 Ali Birinci, "Osmanlı Devletinde Matbuat ve Neşriyat Yasakları Tarihine Medhal," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Cilt 4, Sayı 7, 2006, p. 295.

69 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın,* p. 71.

70 Ziyad Ebüzziya, "Ceride-i Havadis," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi.* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ceride-i-havadis.

71 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın,* pp. 61-2.

in the history of the Turkish press since it initiated a pluralist media and opinionism in the Ottoman Empire. New private newspapers started to emerge which took *Tercüman-ı Ahval* as a model. Authorities would shut down many due to increasingly strong opposition in newspapers to the government; nevertheless, a public space based on pluralism in the Ottoman media emerged and persisted even given strict government regulation in ensuing years.[72]

Emergence of the media among Russian Turkic peoples carries many similarities with the Ottoman case, although there was a lag in their evolution. Iy was because that Russian Turkic peoples were under Russian sovereignty while the Turkish people were independent. Various attempts of Tatars to publish a newspaper started in 1808, though they were consistently refused by Russians.[73] Sources suggest that the existing government gazette of the Russians in Caucasus, *Тифлисскія Вѣдомости* (*Tiflisskie Vedomosti* or the Tbilisi Bulletin), started to publish at least supplements in the Azerbaijani in 1832, though its copies could not be found. The earliest newspaper with obtained copies was the Azerbaijani version of *Закавказскій Вѣстникъ (Zakavkazskii Vestnik* or the Transcaucasian Herald) published in 1845.[74] These were the first newspapers published in a Turkic language in the Russian Empire.

When it had started to be published in 1870, *Каспій (Kaspii* or The Caspian) was the first private newspaper owned by an individual among Russian Turkic peoples, an Azerbaijani; however, it was in Russian.[75] The newspaper *Turkistan Wilayatining Gazeti (TWG)* also started to be published in 1870. *TWG* was actually a government gazette of the Russian Empire in Central Asia following Russian military operations. It was first published as a supplement of a weekly Russian government gazette in the region, *Туркестанскія Вѣдомости (Turkestanskie Vedomosti* or the Turkistan Bulletin), published

72 Server İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları (*Başvekâlet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), pp. 11-4. Idem, "The History of the Turkish Press 1831-1931," International Communication Gazette, Vol 10, Issue 1, 1964, pp. 17-9.

73 Nadir Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917):* 3. Baskı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), p. 54.

74 Yavuz Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları (*Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1994), p. 89.

75 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917), p*. 54.

alternately in the Uzbek (then called as the Sart language) and Kazakh languages. Initially employing a Tatar editor, Şahimerdan İbrahimov, it eventually became a source of information not only about legal acquis but also about modern life and the world. In 1883, its Kazakh branch was shut down and the Uzbek branch transformed into an independent weekly newspaper. Its editorship also changed hands and was given to Nikolai Ostroumov, a student of the eminent Russian missionary Nikolai Ilminski.[76]

The publication language of *TWG* was Uzbek, though at the time Russians called this language Sart. Turkish academics evalute the language used in *TWG* as corrupt – aiming to distract inhabitants from a potential common Turkic literary language via construction of an artificial language.[77] It was already a government gazette that reflected the interests of the Russian government. Furthermore, Nikolai Ostroumov, an eminent Russian missionary, sat in the newspaper editor's chair since 1883, thirteen years after its foundation,. These three properties of the newspaper – that it was a government gazette of the Russian Empire in the region, its linguistic preferences, and its administration by Ostroumov – makes Turkish academics rather suspicious about it. They considered neither *TWG*[78] nor other government gazettes published by the Russian government in Turkic languages to be authentic Turkic newspapers but rather to be tools.[79]

Adeeb Khalid, on the other hand, has different ideas about the newspaper from a standpoint that has recently emerged in Uzbek academics.[80] Although *TWG* was established as a government gazette to announce legal and administrative issues, the topics that *TWG* covered eventually started to vary and

76 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia (*California: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 86-7.

77 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917), p*p. 202-3.

78 Nadir Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı) (*Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), p. 20.

79 For the Azerbaijani case, see Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 89; for the Kazakh case, see Emin Özdemir, "Rusya'nın Kazakistan'da Uyguladığı Kültür Siyasetine Örnek Olarak "Dala Vilayeti Gazetesi," *Turkish Studies: International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic,* Volume 4/3, Spring 2009, p. 1699.

80 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, pp. 85-6, footnote 21.

become more interesting for the readers. Later, Ostroumov's *TWG evolved* into a forum where inhabitants started to share their opinions; thus, it played an avant-garde role in the region.[81] *TWG* contributed to the emergence of public opinion in the region as well as the emergence of Uzbek as a new literary language. In addition, it was the longest-lived newspaper in a Turkic language in the Russian Empire – almost 50 years between 1870 and 1917.[82] Hence, while having started as a government gazette that reflected the Russian position, *TWG* was something new for the Central Asian population who had never encountered newspaper and had the chance to share and discuss their views in such a "unique forum."[83]

*TWG* was also published in Kazakh between 1870 and 1882, which makes it the first newspaper among Kazakhs, as well.[84] The second newspaper of the Kazakhs was another government gazette, called *Dala Wilayatining Gazeti (DWG),*[85] *which was* published half in Kazakh and half in Russian. It started to be published in 1882, and continued until 1902 as a supplement of the Russian newspaper in the region, *Акмолинскія Областныя Вѣдомости (Aktolinskie Oblastnye Vedomosti* or the Akmola Region's Bulletin). As a government gazette, *DWG* was assigned to inform the locals about administrative decisions, legal acquis, economic life, and other such information useful for everyday life.[86] As stated above, Turkish academics approach *DWG* as a tool of Russians to strengthen their administration and divide and rule the Russian Turkic peoples.[87]

On the other hand, more positive views on the newspaper exist in recent contributions to Turkish academics. An important contribution of *DWG* to

81 Ibid., p. 88.

82 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917), p*. 55.

83 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 88.

84 Sofiia Sorokina, "Tarihî Kazakçanın Latin Alfabesiyle Yazıldığı Dönem (1929-1940) (Giriş-Ses Bilgisi-Metinler)" (MA thesis, Fatih University, 2014), p. 6.

85 Ibid.

86 Rıdvan Chitilov, "'Dala Vilayetinin Gazeti' Üzerine Bir Araştırma," (MA thesis, Ege University, 2008), p. VIII.

87 Özdemir, "Rusya'nın Kazakistan'da Uyguladığı Kültür Siyasetine Örnek Olarak "Dala Vilayeti Gazetesi"," pp. 1698-1700.

Kazakh life was that a specific section of the newspaper was dedicated to Kazakh intellectuals writing on culture, society, and other issues. Many Kazakh intellectuals contributed to the newspaper, and some previously unknown ones even became famous via their articles in *DWG*.[88] Chitilov evaluates the texts in *DWG* as "the first texts of the Kazakh literature" thus concludes *DWG* as an important contributor to the emergence of Kazakh as a literary and print language. Although the language used in *DWG* was at first under the effects of Chagatai and Kipchak, it nevertheless would be purified. Thus, *DWG* contributed to the emergence of Kazakh as a new literary language.[89]

The first private newspaper in a Turkic language owned by a Russian Turkic intellectual was *Ekinçi*. It was published between 1875 and 1877 and was owned by an Azerbaijani intellectual, Hasan Melikov Zerdabi. His newspaper is a milestone in the sense that it was the first independent newspaper among both Azerbaijanis and Russian Turkic peoples more broadly.[90] According to Zerdabi, there was no proper publishing using the Arabic alphabet going on in the Caucasus when he decided to publish his newspaper. He went to Istanbul to buy new letters for the printing machinery and then started to publish his newspaper.[91] The literature suggests that the language used in *Ekinçi* was based on a local Azerbaijani vernacular so that the public could understand what had been written.[92] Later, further supplemented by the publication of reader letters, the newspaper contributed to the blossoming of the Azerbaijani language as a print-language based on local vernaculars.[93]

In another account, the Turkish and Azerbaijani academic literatures also suggest that *Ekinçi* contributed to the idea of a common Turkic language, though not overtly. Xudiyev states that *Ekinçi* "sometimes used words and grammatical instruments from the languages of Turkic peoples in Central

88 Chitilov, "'Dala Vilayetinin Gazeti' Üzerine Bir Araştırma," pp. IX-X.

89 Ibid., p. XI.

90 Mübariz Süleymanlı, *Azərbaycan Kulturoloji Fikir Tarixindən (XX əsrin əvvəlləri) (*Baku: Nafta Press, 2011), p. 26. Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 89.

91 Akif Aşırlı, *Azərbaycan Mətbuatı Tarixi (1875-1920) (*Baku: Elm və Təhsil, 2009), p. 16.

92 Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 89.

93 Nizami Xudiyev, *Azərbaycan Ədəbi Dili Tarixi. Ali məktəblər üçün dərslik. (*Baku: Elm və Təhsil, 2012), p. 533.

Asia and the Volga region; hence, it evokes that it was an all-Turkic newspaper."[94] Actually, *Ekinçi* managed to attract readers from different regions including "Dagestan, the Volga region, Central Asia, and Siberia" and became "the newspaper of all Russian Muslims, though published in Baku."[95] On the other hand, Yusuf Akçura states that Zerdabi complained about the low circulation of his newspaper which was initially around 600 readers and ended up at 200 during the last days of the newspaper.[96] Along with the tense environment rizing from the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-8 and a change in the administration of Baku – the former governor was rather supportive of Zerdabi but his successor was not – *Ekinçi* was closed down in 1877.[97]

Despite its short lifespan, *Ekinçi* was sensational as it was the first private newspaper among Russian Turkic peoples as well as among Azerbaijanis. The Azerbaijani press continued in the next decade, too. The Ünsizade brothers would start to publish *Ziya* in Tbilisi in 1879-1880, and then *Ziya-yı Kafkasiyye* in 1880-4, again in Tbilisi. Following that, they published *Keşkül* first as a journal in 1883 and retained it as a newspaper until 1891.[98] After a twelve-year interruption, these publications would be followed by Şahtatlı's *Şark-ı Rus* in 1903.[99]

Although the first private newspaper of the Russian Turkic peoples emerged in Azerbaijan, the most enduring one, called *Tercüman,* would emerge in Crimea in 1883. Its owner was the eminent activist, reformist, and publisher, İsmail Gaspıralı, whose fame is most indebted to his newspaper. After living abroad, in Paris and Istanbul for a time, he returned home and analyzed his society. Gaspıralı decided to establish a newspaper to disseminate his

94 Ibid., pp. 532-3.

95 Aşırlı, *Azərbaycan Mətbuatı Tarixi*, p. 17.

96 Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi,* 2nd ed., ed. Erol Kılınç (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016 [1928]), pp. 89-90.

97 Hasan Zerdabi, "Rusiyada Əvvəlinci Türk Qəzeti," *Həyat,* № 129, Dec. 28, 1905 (*Həyat*, № 2, Jan. 3, 1906) in, *Azərbaycan Publisistikası Antologiyası,* ed. Cəlal Bəydilli (Məmmədov) (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007), pp. 15-9.

98 Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* pp. 90-1.

99 Ibid., p. 91.

ideas and transform society. His stubborn demand that the Russian administration allow him to open a newspaper finally paid off, and he opened *Tercüman*.[100] Unlike previous Turkic newspapers, whether private or state-owned, Gaspıralı chose to approach the social problems and reform attempts from an all-Turkic point of view rather than focusing on any specific Turkic society, in his case the Crimean Tatars.

This was also reflected in *Tercüman*'s language, which was claimed by Gaspıralı to be the Common Turkic Literary Language. This was the first modern attempt to establish a press based on this language. His moderate publication policy, which advised loyalty to Mother Russia and cooperation with officials, resulted in *Tercüman* having the longest life-span among privately-owned Turkic-language newspapers.[101] Started in 1883, it lasted until 1917-8. Actually, the only newspaper that outlived *Tercüman* was *TWG,* which was an officially-supported newspaper in Central Asia, established in 1870 and closed down in 1917. *Tercüman* was accompanied by other private Turkic newspapers during its first years; then it continued for almost a decade as the sole private Turkic newspaper of the 1890s up until a few years before the 1905 Revolution in Russia.[102]

Furthermore, despite initial financial difficulties, the newspaper was widely circulated. An important factor for *Tercüman's success* was that the Russian government shut down all other competitors due to their publication policies and did not allow any potential competitor to emerge for almost ten years. Another crucial factor was Gaspıralı's relentless efforts to propagate his reformist ideas. He pursued every opportunity to distribute his newspaper further.[103] As a result, *Tercüman* passed 5000 subscriber threshold, which was the circulation in the Ottoman Empire alone.[104] This was, however, not the case in general. For instance, the average circulation of *Tercüman* in Central

100 Mehmet Saray, *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey'den Atatürk'e Türk Dünyasında Dil ve Kültür Birliği (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), p. 29.

101 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* pp. 22-3 and p. 33.

102 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905-1917), p*. 55.

103 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Dil ve Kültür Birliği,* pp. 29-30.

104 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* pp. 46-7.

Asia was around 200, which was indeed a low number.[105] On the other hand, the literacy rate in Central Asia was also extremely low.[106]

*Tercüman's reformist agenda* was influential for the intellectuals of the region.[107] *Tercüman*'s language was based on simple Ottoman Turkish which enabled other Turkic intellectuals to follow it; nevertheless, its language was different from the ordinary language used in the region. Hence, the Turkic intelligentsia needed time to become acquainted with *Tercüman*'s language.[108] Although limited, this was the mode of influencing society during the nineteenth century. Adeeb Khalid considers Tercüman to be "a major milestone" in the constitution of the "transimperial Turcophone public space that (would) exist for a few decades around the turn of the 20th century."[109] Through this public space, many different ideas on reform flowed fluidly and a resemblance between the modernization movements in the Ottoman Empire and among the Russian Turkic peoples emerged.[110]

The 1905 Revolution and the introduction of a constitutional monarchy in Russia positively affected the press in Turkic languages. Although the tsar and his government eventually managed to regain control, Russian Turkic peoples still developed a multi-vocal press. Actually, a few years before the revolution, the Azerbaijani newspaper *Şark-ı Rus* in 1903 and the first Tatar periodicals and newspapers, namely the journal *Mir'at* in 1902 and newspaper *Nur* in 1904

105 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 90.

106 Adeeb Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 12*, no. 2 (Spring 2011), p. 463. Khalid cites an official document of the Bukharan government – not of Russian but of Bukharan officials who managed to establish a semi-independent republic delivered during Bolshevik revolution - that suggests that the literacy rate was around 2 percent in Bukhara.

107 Ibid., p. 454, footnote 7. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 80.

108 Nazkhanym Panayeva, "Tercüman gazetesinde Kazak kültürel hayatı ile ilgili yazılar üzerine bir inceleme," (MA Thesis, Ege University, 2006), preface.

109 Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," p. 453.

110 Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds" discusses this thesis throughout the article.

were established in St. Petersburg.[111] Many other newspapers emerged following the revolution, which introduced a great range of ideas and debates to the press and thus to the social life. The circulation level of *Tercüman* fell to the more modest level of 1500 by 1910.[112] Considering linguistic debates, the idea of Common Turkic Language eroded. There were two reasons. First, the share of *Tercüman* in Turkic-language media dropped significantly following the emergence of new newspapers. Secondly, intellectuals of the subsequent generation defended nationalisms based on local vernaculars as print languages rather than a common Turkic literary and print language.[113]

This was a brief description of how Turkic peoples were introduced to publishing and press. There was a great level of entrepreneurship in both economic and intellectual terms accompanied by state control to a certain extent. In the Ottoman case, the state became the greatest entrepreneur in publication in the Turkish language, by which it supported reforms. The case of Russian Turkic peoples was opposite since the Russian Empire was interested in incorporating Turkic population into the Russian political community rather than in reforming them. Thus, Russians would eventually give certain rights to intellectually-developing Tatars and other Russian Turkic peoples in terms of social life – including publishing and press. Increasing levels of reform and education increased public interest and involvement in publishing and press in Ottoman Empire, too. Both empires allowed publishing and press in Turkic languages to develop; on the other hand, they controlled and forbade them when their interests were trespassed upon.

### 2.2.2 *Emerging Debates*

The introduction of publishing and press also led to the emergence of two important debates among Turkic peoples. The first was on the alphabet that Turkic languages had been using – whether to reform or change it. The boom in reading materials and the desire for such a boom revealed two challenging

111 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 55.

112 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* pp. 52-3.

113 Edward James Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," (PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 1973), pp. 226-9.

properties of the existing Arabic-Persian script. Technically speaking, Arabic letters were harder to typeset than Latin letters. It was dilatory though time was important in publication because of the emergence of the periodic press. Pedagogically speaking, Arabic orthography was considered difficult, which resulted in a low literacy rate. This curtailed the efficiency of publication and its products and was a problem that had to be solved.

The second debate was on the characteristic of the literary language, which would be transformed first into a print and then into an administrative language. At the dawn of modernity, Ottoman, Azerbaijani, and Chagatai were three, living Turkic literary languages. Classic Ottoman and Azerbaijani and their alphabet were pedagogically hard to learn for native speakers to learn because their vocabulary was farther from the vernacular due to excessive Arabic and Persian components. Chagatai, unlike the others, was used not only by specific Turkic societies talking specific languages, but also by many different societies belonging to different linguistic subgroups of Turkic languages. Although Chagatai users eventually started to mix it with local vernaculars in their literary languages, Chagatai remained the norm. Thus, most Russian Turkic peoples were using a Turkic literary language, although relatively distant from their vernacular.

As a result, a debate on closing the gap between literary language and vernacular emerged in the forms of purging Arabic-Persian (Turkish and Chagatai, as well, in case of Tatars) components, on one hand, and of raising the vernacular to the level of a literary and print language, on the other. However, the geopolitical and social situation of Russian Turkic peoples also brought the issue of political and cultural rapprochement and cooperation onto the agenda. In linguistic terms, two conflicting parties emerged. The main aim of the first was to communicate with the public; thus, they demanded a purified, local literary language. The main aim of the other was to construct a geopolitical, cultural entity in order to survive; thus, they demanded a common Turkic literary language that eventually neglects local languages. In the next section, I will introduce both these debates on the alphabet and literary language and detect the ideas and trends that remain influential even today.

#### 2.2.2.1 The Debate on Alphabet Reform

Some premodern authors evaluated the Turkish orthography that employed Arabic-Persian script in a critical or satirical manner.[114] Nevertheless, this was more an assessment of the interesting situation of the orthography, or its deficiencies, than a call for reform. During the Tanzimat period, pedagogical difficulties were raised in Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's work on Turkish grammar.[115] Meanwhile, in Bilal Şimşir's account, a second factor that initiated this debate was the intensification of relations between the Ottomans and the West.[116] Introduction of the new technological devices coming from the West consists a crucial part of this factor because combination of Arabic-Persian script with these devices created some technical problems. Here, Şimşir presents two cases. The first was the introduction of the telegraph and the second was the intensification of publication and the press, which constitutes the core of my discussion.

The telegraph, as a device that caused a communications revolution and contributed to globalization, was introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the 1850s. There was, however, a problem. When telegraph was introduced, it was claimed that the telegraph could not contain Arabic script but only Latin. Since Turks were writing in Arabic script, then, they could not use it unless they did so in French rather than Turkish. Ottomans, not desiring to be deprived of such an important development, were forced to use French in telegrams, although reluctantly. Mustafa Efendi stood up against this situation. If Turks could figure a way to write their language using Latin letters, then they would be able to use Turkish in telegrams.[117] He, thus, developed "the first Turkish Morse code alphabet on the basis of the Latin alphabet,"[118] and texts

114 Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi (*Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), p. 18; Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu, "1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayı Üzerine," in *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayı (Tutanaklar) 26 Şubat-6 Mart 1926,* Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu and Mustafa Öner (tr.) (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), p. 15.

115 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi*, p. 20.

116 Ibid.,

117 Ibid., p. 34.

118 Ibid.

were written in Turkish but using French orthography.[119] The year was 1855. "Especially in international telegram correspondence, Turkish (was) written with Latin letters. This application lasted for 73 years, from 1855 until the Turkish script revolution in 1928."[120] German orthography was used in some cases, too.[121] While this event implies an introduction to Latin script, it was a stopgap innovation that did not necessarily imply a reform.

As summarized, print was introduced to Turkic peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the mid-nineteenth century, most of Turkic peoples encountered the first products of print. This brought about two different issues with respect to the Arabic alphabet being used. The first was the technical problem of typesetting which involved the nature of Arabic letters that are written by joining one letter to the next. Putting the cursive aside, Latin is written with block letters – that is to say, separated from each other –, and they were published that way from the beginning. Thus, it became necessary to mold new pieces that join two letters together. This created two problems.

The first technical problem was the number of pieces used in typesetting which became high for Arabic letters in comparison to Latin. Apart from punctuation marks, Latin script has only upper and lower case letters, which meant 50-60 pieces. Regarding the number of pieces to produce Arabic script, there are different accounts. In Turkey, generally around 400 pieces were in printing. The eminent Ottoman journalist and intellectual İbrahim Şinasi managed to lower that number to 112 in the publication of some of his books.[122] Another eminent publisher and intellectual Ebuzziya Tevfik stated his distaste for the aesthetics of Şinasi's letters. He also stated that he used around 500 pieces and that it did not create any difficulties.[123] However, many academic works evaluate the existence of too many pieces as a problem for typesetters,

119 Ibid., p. 35. Şimşir also presents some telegrams from that era, too.

120 Ibid., p. 34.

121 Ibid., p. 37.

122 Ibid., p. 23.

123 Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız (*Istanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2015), pp. 166-7.

especially when time for typesetting was limited, such as in the publication of daily newspapers and other periodicals.[124]

The second technical problem in terms of publishing was the aesthetics of published texts and Arabic letters. A less important aspect of the aesthetics stemmed from the plain and monotonous fonts of the print. Handwritten texts were written with calligraphic letters, adorned with different colors, pictures, and patterns. Thus, those accustomed to that elegance did not enjoy printed books. According to Babinger, the plainness of published books was a factor that delayed the introduction and dissemination of the press in the Ottoman Empire.[125] He also mentioned that the distaste of Ottomans for the typefaces of the books published in Europe and imported into the Empire was another reason.[126] Şinasi's letters, although they required fewer pieces and thus were easier to use, were sacrificed, as well, since they did not appeal to the eyes.

Babinger did not elaborate the problem of typefaces in his work, but Orlin Sabev's (Orhan Salih) recent study on Müteferrika evaluates that issue from a technical point of view that explains all aspects of the issue. The fact that letters are joined to each other in Arabic orthography paved the way to a specific technical problem for aesthetics. The pressure applied by the machinery to the paper sometimes led letters to shift from their original positions and the joined letters to be disconnected.[127] Joined letters and their differing forms at the beginning, middle, and end of words further increased the number of pieces required when publishing in Arabic letters.[128] This caused loss of time and distasteful texts. Thus, the aesthetic character of Arabic script sometimes created also technical problems.

While technical problems were an important issue with regards to print, the second was pedagogical problems that accompanied Arabic script. The representation of vowels in Arabic script was insufficient for Turkic languages

124 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 23; Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme,* 4. Baskı (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2016), pp. 359-360.

125 Babinger, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat," p. 9 and p. 30.

126 Ibid., p. 9.

127 Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746), p*p. 358-9.

128 Ibid., pp. 359-360.

in which vowels play an important role. Arabic and Persian words protected their original orthography in their own languages rather having all vowels represented. Meanwhile, vowels of the Turkic words were represented, though having their exceptions in many cases. This created another pedagogical complexity. Furthermore, Arabic script lacked the distinction between capital and small letters which would help the ordinary, uneducated people to understand whether a word refers to a personage, a place, or just a common object.[129] On the other hand, all modernity projects among Turkic peoples, like the Tanzimat and Jadidism, required literate masses[130] who could study and work to rescue their people from their inferior position vis-à-vis rivals and live in prosperity. These technical and pedagogical concerns that frustrated modernization efforts brought Arabic script on trial.

The first an alphabet change project in Turkic world came from an Azerbaijani intellectual, Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade. Ahundzade initially planned to reform the existing Arabic script rather than transition to a completely new script. He published a tract in Persian about his propositions in 1857.[131] In 1862, "Münif Paşa, chief interpreter at the Bab-ı Ali [Sublime Porte] [put forward] the deficiencies of the Arabic alphabet, primarily in relation to the needs of the Turkish language … in a speech delivered to the Ottoman Scientific Society [Cemiyet-i Ilmiye-i Osmaniye]."[132] A year later, in 1863, Ahundzade came to Istanbul and presented his project to the Ottoman Scientific Society.[133] It is interesting to note that Ahundzade's project was not only designed for the Turkish language but as an Islamic alphabet that could appeal to all three of the major languages of Islam, namely Arabic, Persian, and of course, Turkish.[134] The main concern of his and Malkum Khan's was "the westernization and reform of the people of Islam," which they perceived as "a geopolitical

129 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 5-20.

130 Ibid., pp. 18-9.

131 Betül Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi (*Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 2004), p. 13.

132 Hamid Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 5, no. 2 (May, 1969), p. 116.

133 Ibid., pp. 116-7.

134 Ibid., p. 117.

entity, defined by cultural tradition and able to be regarded as a unity even without specifically religious bonds."[135] From Algar's perspective, Ahundzade and Malkum did not aim to reject the Islamic Eastern Civilization and to replace it with the Western Civilization. Ahundzade and Malkum used Islam to define the political community. Algar also compared them with Jamal ad-Din Afghani, an Islamist reformer.[136] From that point, Ahundzade and Malkum's efforts for an alphabet reform should not be evaluated as an aspect of rejection of the Islamic civilization, at least in its early days.

In his project, Ahundzade made several improvements to Arabic script. First, he reduced differing forms of various letters to one each. In the Arabic alphabet, the letters have different shapes with respect to their position within a word. Secondly, he modified the letters in such a way that every letter could join any another. He also removed all the dots above and below the letters, which improved the pace of writing. Lastly, he introduced new letters to represent short vowels that were not written in the Arabic and Persian words.[137] As a result of these modifications, he aimed to improve the alphabet in three respects (see appendices A & B).

The first respect was "the acquisition of literacy," that is, pedagogical improvement – since the rules were simpler in terms of vowels and joined letters. This prevented mispronunciation of words, which had significantly reduced the literacy rate.[138] The second respect was to "render possible the accurate transcription of foreign names," to which writing vowels would significantly contribute.[139] And the last respect was to "make for greater speed in handwriting, the pen not being lifted from the paper until the completion of each word" because this model removed dots and joined all letters to one another .[140] This last aspect would eventually become so popular among the Russian Turkic peoples that both the future Latin and Cyrillic letters of Turkic peoples in the

135 Ibid., p. 121.

136 Ibid., pp. 121-2.

137 Ibid., p. 117.

138 Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız,* pp. 127-8, citing the report written by the Ottoman Scientific Society on Ahundzade's proposal.

139 Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 117.

140 Ibid.

Soviet Union excluded letters with dots on principle. As occur in the next chapters, especially Azerbaijani academics emphasized that principle during the post-Cold-War-era conventions on a common Turkic alphabet, as when they selected the letter Ə/ə over Ä/ä for the phoneme /æ/.

Later, the project was evaluated by the Ottoman Scientific Society (Cemiyet-i Ilmiye-i Osmaniye), without the presence of Ahundzade. As told by Münif Paşa to Ahundzade, the society acknowledged the defects of the Arabic alphabet in Turkish orthography and that Ahundzade's project "had certain merits."[141] Its pedagogical benefits were tacitly accepted in the report of the society on Ahundzade's proposal. However, his project did not solve the technical problem of joining letters in print.[142] As described above, letters joining each other resulted in technical and aesthetic problems in print. "Moreover, its adoption would ultimately render necessary either the reprinting of all existing literature or its abandonment."[143] Ahundzade actually proposed his alphabet be used as another calligraphic style rather than as a new, distinct alphabet.[144] His project, however, would not be applied in the end, though Ahundzade himself was decorated with a Mecidiye Order.[145] He returned home with a broken heart.[146]

Ahundzade did not give up. He established a friendship with Malkum Khan who had also been working on alphabet reform since at least 1868. Their projects differed to a great extent. Indeed, the only similarity was that both

141 Ibid., p. 118.

142 Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız,* p. 128, citing the report written by the Ottoman Scientific Society on Ahundzade's proposal: "Yazı şekli konusunda Ahundzade'nin değişiklik önerisi uygun görülmüş ise de basma fennine uygunluğuna dikkat edilmemiş olması sebebiyle aciz oyumuza göre onaylanmamalıdır;" Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 118.

143 Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 118.

144 Ibid. Also, see Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız,* pp. 126-8, citing the report written by the Ottoman Scientific Society on Ahundzade's proposal.

145 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 22; Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 52.

146 Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 118; Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 14.

reduced the many different forms of the letters into a single form for each letter. Malkum Khan's project preserved the dots on the letters and did not represent all the necessary vowels. Letters in Malkum Khan's project were written separately rather than joined to each other. Ahundzade harshly criticized these properties of Malkum Khan's project.[147] On the other hand, "recalling perhaps criticism of his own script by the Ottoman Scientific Society, (Ahundzade) also conceded that Malkum's invention might be useful for purposes of printing."[148] Nevertheless, the duo worked in tandem. While Ahundzade used all means to propagate Malkum's project in Iran, Malkum propagated Ahundzade's project in Istanbul. As Ahundzade had done before, they demanded from the Ottoman government that their alphabet become one of the alphabets in which Turkish texts could be published, just like "in the Armenian, Greek and Roman scripts."[149] However, Malkum Khan informed Ahundzade in 1871 that "the Ottoman ministers had finally rejected any alphabet reform."[150]

Malkum Khan's greatest contribution to the alphabet debate was in 1869 when he sent a letter about alphabet reform to the newspaper of the Young Turks, *Hürriyet* (Liberty). In this letter, Malkum criticized Arabic script as it prevented literacy and higher levels of education. He evaluated this condition as the main reason for most social, political, and economic problems in the Muslim world, and he asked their opinion about it. Namık Kemal replied stating that the main reason for the low level of education among Muslims was not Arabic script but the incorrect pedagogical methodology. Pedagogical adjustments and a few modifications, in his opinion, would fix the problems regarding the alphabet and literacy. Later, a tide of new debates emerged among different newspapers, though Malkum did not become involved.[151] There were already a few supporters of alphabet change in the Ottoman Empire – Binbaşı

147 Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 119.

148 Ibid., p. 120.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid.

151 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 24-6; Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," pp. 120-3.

(Major) Ömer Bey and Menemenlizade Tahir Bey – who were probably influenced by Ahundzade's efforts.[152] As a result, the alphabet debate reached the Ottoman public and emerged on future occasions, too.[153]

In 1873, Akhundzade sent a letter to Ottoman newspaper *Hakaik* (Truths) saying that he was considering a new reform project or to develop a new alphabet based on Latin and Cyrillic scripts.[154] In the years before he died in 1878, he decided to abandon his former idea completely and created a new model based on Latin and Cyrillic scripts, instead. According to Betül Aslan, he sent this new model to Âli Paşa, as well, though he did not respond.[155] On the other hand, this proposal would become the cornerstone of the most significant linguistic reform that Turkic peoples would undertake: alphabet change (see appendix C).[156]

The persistent attempts of Albanians to change their alphabet shaped the Ottoman agenda on the issue of the alphabet. Their first alphabet project was prepared by the Albanian Scientific Society in 1879 which led to discussions. An environment that was more open to the discussions emerged in the early twentieth century for both Russian Turkic peoples and Ottoman Turks. The period of the second constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire (II. Meşrutiyet) revived the issue of the alphabet once more among both Albanians and Ottoman Turks; however, the Sheikh el-Islam and the Ottoman government under the influence of the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress) refused such demands. In this period, Albanians would resolve their alphabet problem in an alphabet congress convened in Manastir in 1908 by adopting two alphabets, the first based completely on Latin and the other a mixture of Latin and Greek scripts. The former would eventually be

152 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 22.

153 Ibid., pp. 27-30.

154 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 12; Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 52.

155 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 14.

156 Algar, "Malkum Khān, Ākhūndzāda and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet," p. 128.

the victorius one Although Ottoman officials resisted, Albanians got opportunity to transition their alphabets following their independence from the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Balkan Wars.[157]

As stated, the constitutional monarchy, which brought about a considerably more liberal environment during its heyday, enabled the defenders of Latin script to reformulate their theses. Meanwhile, the Azerbaijani journalist Şahtahtınski demanded orthographic reform for Russian Turkic peoples in the early 1900s in order to represent vowels and words more clearly.[158] Sagit Ramiyev became the first defender of Latin script among the Tatars starting in his writings on the subject in 1911.[159] A significant attempt for alphabet reform among the Ottoman Turks – to use Arabic script with an orthography in which the letters would be written separately rather than jointed, in contrast to the classical orthography – was proposed by Enver Paşa. However, implementation was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War.[160] A similar orthographic reform based on disjoined letters and expanded representation of vowels was implemented among the Tatars and Central Asian Turkic peoples starting in the 1910s.[161]

#### 2.2.2.2 The Debate on Literary Language

The literature, in general, implies that the various aspects of modernism were introduced to societies in the Turkic world by the emerging intelligentsia of

157 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 38-43. Stavro Skendi, "The History of Albanian Alphabet: A Case of Complex Cultural and Political Development," *Südost Forschungen,* 19 (1960), pp. 275-284.

158 Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," pp. 218-222. Lazzerini states that Gaspıralı would also refuse such alphabet transition and reformation projects.

159 Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* p. 501.

160 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 53-4.

161 For the case among Turkmens, see Victoria Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2005), pp. 23-4; for the Uzbeks, see Mehmet Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 20, no. 1 (Jan., 2010), p. 50; for the Tatars, Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* p. 503.

these Turkic societies. These groups were in communication with the West – and the Turkic intelligentsia in Russia was especially in communicaiton with Russians – either directly via learning their languages and going to their schools or indirectly via being open to new ideas.[162] These intellectuals naturalized many aspects of the new social lifestyle and desired it for their people, as well. The geopolitical superiority of the Russians and Western powers and the geopolitical inferiority of the Russian Turkic peoples and Ottoman Turks defined the general setting. Hence, the enlightenment of the society and therefore communication became matters of survival for these cultures and societies. The introduction of the press would eventually become the chief contributor to the intellectual cause and enable the dissemination of their ideas among other intellectuals and the masses.

Language became an important tool for self-identification among the Russian Turkic peoples, which defined who they had been and who they were going to become. Language had two aspects that affected the construction of the nation as a sociopolitical community. Its inclusive aspect was about the nation's construction process. Language comprised the essential folkloric elements that could bond different groups of people into a nation. Anderson claims that from Seton-Watson's point of view the nineteenth century European nations were established by "vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs."[163] This phenomenon can also be observed among Turkic peoples. He defines that process as "the philological revolution."[164] The exclusive aspect was that language was a main tool which worked as a barrier in terms of intelligibility and delineated the borders of the nation. In this process, some vernaculars were gathered together around a print language, as Anderson pointed out. Thus, language acted as a tool to include certain individuals within national borders. Communication, which was

162 Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Kültürün Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966). Tamurbek Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* tr. Mehmet Emircan (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981).

163 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p. 71.

164 Ibid., p. 77.

bounded by language, was key. Anderson puts it as follows: "One can sleep with anyone, but one can only read some people's words."[165]

In the very same manner, the masses could sleep with the intellectuals, but intellectuals had to write in the spoken vernacular in order to be understood by the public. Therefore, the first concern that shaped the new literary and print language was intelligibility by ordinary people. All these works of popular enlightenment and the "philological revolution" had to be understood by ordinary people. The issue of alphabet reform was a result of this concern, as well. Ensuring literacy became a two-sided process whereby the masses were educated and publishing was done in a language closer to their vernacular. Thus, a group of intellectuals started to use the local vernacular as the basis for the language in which they wrote and published their works.

As described, Turkic peoples entered the modern era with three literary languages, namely Ottoman, Azerbaijani, and Chagatai. In the case of the Ottoman and Azerbaijani languages, the discussion was simpler since these languages were used only by a single Turkic nation – the Turkish and Azerbaijani people – as their native literary language. Thus, the purification of the Ottoman and Azerbaijani vocabularies from complex Arabic and Persian words and grammatical structures made these literary languages closer to local vernaculars. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa had been propounding similar views as a member of the Ottoman intelligentsia as well as the Ottoman bureaucracy since the 1850s.[166] The issue was transformed into a public debate following the emergence of a pluralist media in the Ottoman Empire.[167] Zerdabi's newspaper *Ekinçi* contributed significantly to this task in Azerbaijan. His efforts were examples for future newspapers and periodicals in his country.

In the case of the Chagatai language, however, there was a significant difference since many different Turkic peoples speaking different vernaculars from the different branches of Turkic languages used Chagatai as literary language. Tatars, Kazakhs, and Bashkirs belonged to the Kipchak branch, while

165 Ibid.

166 Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız,* p. 133; Nevzat Özkan, "Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Türk Dili Hakkındaki Görüşleri Ve Eserleri," *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi Sayı: 20, Yıl: 2006/1*, pp. 221-2.

167 Koloğlu, *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız,* pp. 140-8.

Uzbeks and Uyghurs belonged to the Karluk branch (which can be considered as the heir of Chagatai), and Turkmens belonged to the Oghuz branch. Hence, the main issue was to establish the local vernacular by standardizing its grammar and developing its vocabulary as a new literary publishing language with which to communicate with ordinary people. This would eventually be accompanied by the establishment of nations with their folklores, histories, languages, and most importantly with their own identities. Tatars were a striking example of this phenomenon – even a pioneer among the Russian Turkic peoples – because they underwent the establishment of print, development of trade, intellectual life, and literacy since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century,.[168]

The first studies made by Turks on Turkic languages emerged in the Kazan Gymnasium and in the Kazan University, which were established by the Russians to study Turkic peoples. The works in Turcology of the Halfin family – an important Tatar family that worked as translators and then as scholars – are among the first modern studies written by (Russian) Turkic peoples. Sagit Halfin produced a Russian-Tatar dictionary in the second half of the eighteenth century, and his grandson Ibrahim produced a grammar of the Tatar language in 1809.[169] Mirza Kazem-Bek, an Azerbaijan lecturer who converted to Orthodox Christianity, "defended a single Turkic language cleared from all its dialects in 1834."[170] Conversely, his grammar *Общая Грамматика Турецко-Татарскогo Языка* (*Obshchaia Grammatika Turecko-Tatarskogo Yazika* or General grammar of the Turco-Tatar language) was published five years later in 1839, and compared three differing dialects of that Turkic language, namely Turkish, Azerbaijani and Tatar, emphasizing their differences, as well.[171] Nevertheless, even the name of his book implied the existence of a single Turco-Tatar language; thus, he is considered one of the first defenders

168 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* pp. 7-23.

169 Tamurbek Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* tr. Mehmet Emircan (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981), pp. 34-5; Fanuza Shakyrovna Nurieva, "The First Tatar Professor Ibrahim Khalfin," *Tatarica,* № 2, p. 224, http://kpfu.ru/portal/docs/F1853661955/14.pdf

170 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 27; Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* p. 56.

171 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 27.

of the idea of a common Turkic literary language. His opinion on the unity of these languages seems to reflect the general view in Turcology studies of the period.[172]

In this phase, a philological revolution was not a movement among Turkic peoples; however, its core started to emerge. Actually, philology, which is based on the vernacular of ordinary people and their folklore contributed to the nation building process, which is the most prevalent type of social organization that modernity brought about. Russia with its core institutions of the modern science was inspirational and influential on the philologists of the Russian Turkic peoples. Russian involvement in philology was intended to facilitate communication with neighboring and surrounding Turkic peoples as well as to acquire information about them via academic studies.

While imperialist, expansionist agenda of Russia towards the East led to these studies, it is hard to say that Russia had necessarily a prejudiced, predetermined agenda to divide and rule Turkic peoples in the first half of the nineteenth century. The case of the studies of the two philologists mentioned exemplify this point. Halfin in his study focused on Tatarhood and Kazem-Bek on the general Turkichood. Their studies are important milestones, if not the first, of two opposing trend: creating authentic literary languages for the rizing modern Turkic nations and creating a common Turkic language. Both these studies emerged in the Russian institutions and milieu rather than being mere product of the inspiration and entrepreneurship of their authors.

Following this early phase, Russian Turkic peoples started to apply their knowledge more in a sociopolitical manner rather than conducting purely scientific studies. At this moment, philological studies with intentions to bring about social change can be thought in Anderson's framework of "philological revolution." There were two pioneers of this philological revolution among the Tatars in the nineteenth century. Kayyum Nasıri generally dealt with the linguistic aspect of that revolution – that is to say the emergence of the Tatar language as a literary language. Şehabettin Mercani, meanwhile, studied Tatar history and elaborated on the evaluation that the Tatars were a distinct Turkic

172 For instance, "Alexander Kasimovich Kazembek," *Wikipedia,* last modified Apr. 11, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Kasimovich_Kazembek; Also Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* p. 56.

nation. Between them, the former scholar is more important to explain trends in linguistic realm.

Nasıri, although educated in a traditional madrasa, he learned Russian, which "would contribute to his works."[173] After graduating from a madrasa in 1855, he taught the Tatar language in a Russian Seminary for fifteen years. Starting in the 1860s, he "attended lectures at the University of Kazan as a 'free' Tatar student."[174] As Battal-Taymas puts it, he learned new perspectives and methods in this period.[175] Meanwhile, he became a nationalist, probably as a result of his contact with Russian missionaries.[176] In this case, Nasıri's contact with Russians – that is, with the Russian and modern mode of life and knowledge - set the course of his life as both an enlightener of his society and a pioneering Tatar nationalist. He contributed to the Tatars in the roles of "author" and "researcher."[177]

Nasıri worked to establish a Tatar literary language. He thought that the Tatars had already formed a distinct nation with its own folklore and language. What the Tatars needed was to become enlightened about modern times, "modern ideas," and contemporary events as well as about the Russian Empire and Russians. Fulfillment of these tasks required "reading in their own national language."[178] Therefore, he put Tatar forward as a distinct language with an authentic grammar and suggested focusing on local Tatar vernaculars to expand lexicon in accordance with the requirements of modernity. Nasıri did

173 Saadet Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi,* Cilt: X, Sayı: 3-4 (Eylül-Aralık 1952), p. 147.

174 Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri: A Tatar reformer of the nineteenth century," *Central Asian Survey*, 1:4 (1983), p. 113. DOI: 10.1080/02634938308400412; Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Kültürün Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966), p. 121.

175 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 121-2.

176 Ibid., pp. 122-3.

177 Ibid., p. 121.

178 Ibid., pp. 122-3.

not confine himself to point out this idea and propogate it, but contributed to this cause in practical sense.[179]

In order to both strengthen the new Tatar literary language and enlighten the people, he was involved in writing in various themes. He had been writing since 1859 and started publishing his works in 1860. In order to inspire a reading habit among his fellow Tatars, he translated various simple pieces from Eastern literature.[180] He published various scientific works that were helpful in everyday life in a much closer language to the local vernacular – that is, Tatar language – he aimed to increase the level of public knowledge about contemporary developments and European ideas. He wrote on issues such as agriculture, geography, mathematics, and health to enlighten the people.[181]

As a pedagogue, he was especially interested in the education of children, which led him to write schoolbooks and other books with secular themes – which was not common at the time- in the contemporary Tatar language in order to reach a larger audience.[182] As a philologist, he collected various folkloric and linguistic products such as riddles, songs, and poems.[183] As a man of letters, he advised abandoning Arabic, Persian, Chagatai, and Ottoman Tur elements of the language for Tatar counterparts. Contemporary Tatar pronunciation should be the basis of the orthography of the new language rather than the rules of Chagatai and Ottoman Turkish, which made it harder for ordinary people to become literate. He tried to write his works accordingly, though he often failed to obey this principle,[184] as did his contemporaries, the Young

179 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1902-1917), p*p. 21-2. Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 153. Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 122-3. Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* pp. 54-5.

180 Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 149.

181 Ibid., p. 149.

182 Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri," p. 114.

183 Ibid., pp. 118-9. Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* p. 127. Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," pp. 154-8.

184 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* p. 126. Battal-Taymas notes that Saadet Çağatay did not consider Nasıri to be an opponent of the idea of a common Turkic language due to Nasıri's failure to write in pure Tatar. Çağatay actually notes Nasıri's statements about the purification of the

Turks, who had a similar linguistic agenda in the Ottoman Empire. One significant work by which he appealed to the Tatar public was the Kazan Kalenderi (Kazan calendar) that wrote and published from 1871 to 1897.[185] In these calendars, he shared not only general information about the year's events but also "encyclopaedic information" to enlighten his compatriots.[186]

This summary of his life's work and his studies leads to the conclusion that he tried to bring about a "Nationalist Enlightenment" to help the Tatars to adapt to modernity. A new literary language based on the Tatar vernacular was essential to communicate with his compatriots. On the other hand, Nasıri's compatriots did not appreciate him during the years he was active. He managed to make a living but no more, and he lived a modest life. His attempts to introduce modern facts and knowledge as well as to establish a new literary language based on the contemporary vernacular was perceived negatively by contemporaries. His cordial relations with the Russians and Russian culture – who were the infidel dominators rather than a source of modern knowledge in the eyes of Tatars – led to his further condemnation.[187]

Only during his last years, was he appreciated by emerging young intellectuals who considered him to be a model and a doyen and followed in his path.[188] His efforts to raise consciousness of modern life and Tatar nationhood was interpreted by the younger generation in a particular way. They created a Tatar literary language on the basis of Nasıri's ideas and work starting in the 1880s. This standpoint flourished day by day and the new language ended up becoming a print language with the enlargement of the media – especially those in Turkic languages - following the 1905 revolution in Russia. While doing so, Tatar authors used Kayyum's works and principles as a starting point.[189]

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new Tatar language in her article; nevertheless, she concludes that he was opoosed to a common Turkic language. Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 153.

185 Ibid., p. 127.

186 Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* p. 55. Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 127-8. Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 159. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri," p. 116.

187 Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 159. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri," p. 115.

188 Ibid., pp. 122-3. Çağatay, "Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasırî," p. 160.

189 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 132-159.

Nasıri would be further exalted by Soviet academics to oppose potential pan-Turkist sentiments.[190]

Especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian involvement in the linguistic life of Turkic people changed from a neutral position to an active one in the attempt of shaping the region. Russian actions further supported the emergence of new national literary and print languages from local vernaculars – sometimes intentionally and sometimes not. This phenomenon had various causes. The relative liberalization with respect to the ecclesiastic issues during the reign of Catherine II had already led to a reconsideration of their beliefs among some Kryashens, that is, Tatars who had been converted to Christianity. These developments were not unnoticed by Russians who reacted to reconversions to Islam. The rise of the Tatar language as a print language in the second half of the nineteenth century among the local non-Muslim population and the Kazakhs led to further reactions from the Russians. A trend emerged to convert back to Islam among the Kryashens – in whom the Russians had invested great efforts for the previous three centuries – once they started reading Islamic texts published in their own language.[191]

Also, printed texts in the Tatar language circulated among small non-Muslim and non-Turkic communities, too, and Russians became concerned about the eventual Islamization and Tatarization of the region. Lastly, the Tatar language prevailed among the Kazakhs, whose language belonged to the same branch of Turkic languages, that is to say, Kipchak. This influence was supplemented by Tatars in Kazakh lands who were sent and supported by the Russian government to act as proxies to enhance the humanitarian and economic ties between the Russian Empire and the Kazakhs. As a matter of fact, the Russian administration also used the Tatar language as an official language in the region.[192] If they did not intervene, the Russians thought that the Kazakhs would

190 Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri: A Tatar reformer of the nineteenth century," pp. 119-120. Lemercier-Quelquejay also notes that Soviet academics would omit and censor Nasıri's religiosity while exalting him.

191 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 106-9. Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* pp. 36-42.

192 Isabelle Kreindler, "Ibrahim Altynsarin, Nikolai Il'minskii and the Kazakh national awakening," *Central Asian Survey*, 2:3, p. 99.

end up being Tatarized and Islamicized. While the Kazakhs were devout followers of Islam, they believed in it and were thus sympathetic towards it.[193]

Not wanting to let these three groups slip from their hands to Tatars, Russians took some official and non-official measures. The inspection of Kryashens and other baptized groups was strengthened, and they were threatened by these special inspectors should they try to convert to Islam.[194] On the other hand, the case of Kazakhs necessitated alternative measures since they were already Muslims and they were a Turkic group related to Tatars, who might unite under the Tatar literary language just as what Chagatai had done previously. An important person providing these measures was a Russian clergyman, Nikolai Ilminski, who had been influenced by his colleague Vasili Grigorev during their days in Orenburg. Both men were aware of the threat of potential Tatarization over broad area. And they considered the Kazakhs, among whom Orthodox Islam was not, yet, cemented as salvageable. They could be persuaded away from Islam towards Orthodox Christianity, which would strengthen the Russian presence in Central Asia.[195]

Grigorev eventually returned to St. Petersburg for further academic study and left the area; however, his apprentice Ilminski settled in Kazan and held a chair at the city's eminent university.[196] Kazan would become his base of operations. Ilminski decided to open schools for non-Russian Christians that initially provided education in their own language written in Cyrillic. In this way, the target audience would come to understand the divine message in their native language, which would make it more clear and thus effective. Later, the hours of lessons provided in the national language decreased while those in

193 Ibid., p. 104. Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 202. Wayne Dowler, "The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire, 1865-1914," *The Russian Review*, Vol. 54, no. 4 (October 1995), p. 517.

194 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 106-7. Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* pp. 37-40.

195 Ekrem Ayan, "Ibıray Altınsarin Ve Nikolay İvanoviç İlminski'nin Kazak Eğitim Sistemine Etkileri," *Turkish Studies International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Volume 3/7 Fall 2008, p. 127. Kreindler, "Ibrahim Altynsarin, Nikolai Il'minskii and the Kazakh national awakening," p. 104.

196 Ibid.

Russian increased. Thus, the hearts of the locals would first be one for Orthodox Christianity and then for Russia.[197] He put his agenda into practice in the mid-1860s.[198] An educational agenda based on local vernaculars, influenced but not an exact copy of Ilminski's agenda, would eventually be adopted by the Russian government starting in 1870.[199] This was not, however, applied uniformly. Other methods continued to be applied in different parts of the Russian Empire.[200]

Another thing that Grigorev encouraged Ilminski to do was to study the Kazakh language and folklore independent of other supra identities, such as Turkic or Tatar. He published several works in the early 1860s and worked on the task of official documents to be translated into a Tatar-free Kazakh language. These studies by Ilminski were among the first steps towards a pure Kazakh literary language distinct from Tatar and other Turkic languages.[201] However, one of the most important successes of Grigorev and Ilminski in their Orenburg days was mentoring İbray (İbrahim) Altınsarin, who was the first Kazakh pedagogue and the man of letters to affect the ordinary people as well as the intelligentsia.

Together with them, Altınsarin improved his knowledge of the Russian language and observed the pair's contribution to the Kazakh language. Thus, a bond formed, especially between Altınsarin and Ilminski.[202] In 1879, Ilminski helped Altınsarin to be appointed as the "Inspector of Kazakh Schools for the Turgai region," which is the area around Orenburg. His task was to coordinate the application of Ilminski's educational model based on Kazakh as the local vernacular in this territory. He maintained this position until his death in 1889.[203] Altınsarin was also the first Kazakh author to have a book published

197 Dowler, "The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire," pp. 518-520.

198 Ibid., p. 519.

199 Ibid., p. 521.

200 Ibid., p. 524.

201 Kreindler, "Ibrahim Altynsarin, Nikolai Il'minskii and the Kazakh national awakening," pp. 104-5.

202 Ibid., p. 103.

203 Ibid., p. 107.

in the Kazakh literary language. He had a textbook for children called *Kirgiz Hrestomaty* as well as a book discussing religion from a reformist point of view called *Şeraitü'l-Islam*.[204] The first edition of his textbook was published using the Cyrillic alphabet; however, Altınsarin, as an enlightener who desired "to reach a broad audience," was not pleased by this.[205] Newer editions were "re-transcribed into the Arabic alphabet" and published under the name *Mektubat*.[206]

Unlike Ilminski, his attitude towards Islam was not negative since Altınsarin considered it the religion of his nation. He rather sought to rescue the Kazakhs from reactionary ideas that would prevent enlightenment of the Kazakh nation and its adaption to modern times. This attitude would eventually create a tense relationship between him and Ilminski; nevertheless, their cooperation continued.[207] Due to his work to improve the education and the Kazakh literary language, Altınsarin was generally well received by his contemporaries and remembered by future generations.[208] As Kreindler states, his legacy and cooperation with Ilminski created the necessary tools "to lead the Kazakhs through the terrible calamities that were to challenge their national survival" following the First World War.[209] Thus, it is appropriate to consider the cases of Altınsarin and Nasıri similarly, as intellectuals desiring to modernise their nations while being open to Russian influence as a source of modernity. However, Altınsarin, as an inspector, was an official of the Russian Empire unlike Nasıri.

A rather distinct action by the Russians that changed the linguistic situation was the establishment of local government newspapers in the region published in the vernacular language. As discussed, *TWG began to be* published in 1870 and constituted a milestone for the emergence of the Uzbek literary language. This was also the case for *DWG,* which led to further dissemination and popularization of the new Kazakh literary language. A divide and rule

204 Ibid., pp. 108-9.

205 Ibid., p. 108.

206 Ibid., p. 109.

207 Ibid., p. 109 and p. 112.

208 Ibid., pp. 110-1.

209 Ibid., p. 113.

paradigm of colonial administration was not the only factor that led to such developments. Another was the necessity for existing administrations to communicate with locals. Ordinary people only knew their vernacular, though some knew Arabic and Persian, too. Russian, the language of infidel occupiers, was not arousing sympathy in the region. Furthermore, there was not yet compulsory education in the region. Given the circumstances, communication needed to be carried out via newspapers in the local vernaculars. These conditions strengthen the cause of creating national literary and print languages from the vernaculars.

Ostroumov, a Russian missionary and a student of Ilminski, started editing *TWG* in the 1880s. As Khalid states, Ostroumov eventually bridged the locals and the Russian administration, which eased the lives of local men of letters when dealing with bureaucracy. His newspaper also contributed to a local public space in the Uzbek language in which the intellectually capable individuals discussed about the social life.[210] Even Gaspıralı, a cultural pan-Turkist trying to create an inter-Turkic environment, demanded his help for the establishment of Jadid schools in the region.[211] They maintained a civilized correspondence, as well.[212] On the other hand, Ostroumov reported on Gaspıralı to Ilminski stating that he may be dangerous to Russia. This fact was revealed when some of Ilminski's correspondence was published. Following this incident, relations of Gsapıralı and Ostroumov tensed.[213] Hence, it is possible to evaluate such local governmental newspapers published in local vernaculars in an Ilminskian framework, as well.

The countermovement against the emergence of new national literary and print languages from the local vernaculars was characterized by the attempt to create a common Turkic literary language that would collect all Turkic peoples with their vernaculars and dialects under a literary language. The most

210 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* pp. 87-8.

211 Zaynabidin Abdiraşidov, "İsmail Gaspıralı ve Nikolay Ostroumov: Fikirler Mücadelesi," *İYEB Uluslararası İslamla Yenilenme ve Birlik –I- İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Kongresi "Dilde birlik, fikirde birlik, işte birlik" 2012* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013), p. 68.

212 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* p. 89.

213 Abdiraşidov, "İsmail Gaspıralı ve Nikolay Ostroumov: Fikirler Mücadelesi," p. 68.

staunch and eminent defender of that standpoint was İsmail Gaspıralı whose ideas would influence conventions for a Common Turkic Alphabet in both the 1920s and the 1990s. Like Nasıri, Gaspıralı was again concerned with the enlightenment of his compatriots via the introduction of modern knowledge.[214] Again, he also perceived that a literary language that was intelligible by ordinary people was necessary for the success of public enlightenment. However, he was also concerned with bringing about unity and cooperation among Turkic peoples through a common Turkic literary language. [215] Why was this the case? The answer lies in young Gaspıralı's experiences while studying as a cadet in Moscow. He experienced an important wave of Pan-Slavism and Russian nationalism that was a rival to the whole of the Turks, in general, and to the Ottomans, in particular.[216] According to Landau, this negative standpoint of the Russians led Russian Turkic peoples to evaluate the situation not simply as a matter of enlightenment but of cultural and geopolitical survival. Resistance to the Russians and Slavs – two constituted a massive community – necessitated the revival or construction of another massive community, that is, pan-Turkism.[217]

This kind of pan-Turkism, however, was a response and a reflection of the contemporaneous pan-Slavism, from which pan-Turkism borrowed. Landau sites Gaspıralı as a generic example of such a reaction.[218] Although Gaspıralı devoutly desired the unification and coordination of all Turkic peoples in the world, his Pan-Turkism was not aggressive and xenophobic. To protect his newspaper, *Tercüman*, his publication policy generally complied with Russian official policies. His criticism of Russian policies was tacit when it existed.[219] On the other hand, he strongly defended cooperation rather than conflict be-

214 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* "Foreword," p. V.

215 Ibid., p. 68.

216 Ibid., p. 16.

217 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: C. Hurst and Co., 1995), pp. 8-9.

218 Ibid.

219 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* p. 24.

tween the Turks, including the Ottomans, and the Russians for the sake of regional prosperity.[220] The moderate publication policy in *Tercüman* was criticized by the conservatives and later by the emerging political movement of the youth.[221] He simultaneously defended pan-Islamic cooperation along with pan-Turkic cooperation.[222] Hence, the fact that Gaspıralı was a multi-faceted intellectual explains his actions.

Gaspıralı's desire for enlightenment was demonstrated in his project of establishing "Usul-i Cedid" (the New Method) schools, and his desire for Turkic unity was demonstrated in his newspaper, *Tercüman*, which he started publishing in 1883. Like other intellectuals, such as Nasıri and Mercani, he evaluated the education given to Tatars and the other Russian Turkic peoples as not enough. Madrasas lacked the ability to provide proper education in the positive sciences, geography, knowledge of the national language, and other modern-day information. Furthermore, the classical pedagogical method for teaching literacy to children – the memorization of religious and literary tracts – not only did not increase the low literacy rate but was a reason for it. This problem was ubiquitous throughout the Turkic world. Mercani, with his assistant Hüseyin Feyzhanov, prepared a project to transform traditional madrasas.[223] Nasıri, after acquiring the permission of the eminent Turcologist Radloff who was a schooling inspector at the time, opened a school to teach young Tatars using a contemporary method. He did not manage to attract enough attention to his schools, however, and the attitude of his compatriots towards him and these undertakings was negative.[224] Gaspıralı broke this vicious circle and became one of the most significant pedagogues and reformists of his era. His schools were called Jadid Okulları (New Schools), after which the reformists among the Russian Turkic peoples, the Jadidists, were named.[225]

220 Ibid., pp. 31-2.

221 Ibid., pp. 49-50.

222 Ibid., p. 2 and pp. 110-121.

223 Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'I*, pp. 48-52.

224 Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum al-Nasyri: A Tatar reformer of the nineteenth century," pp. 113-4.

225 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, pp. 89-90. Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, p. 160.

One reason for his success was the use of phonetics rather than memorization as the basic method to teach how to read and write. This method was called the "Usul-i Cedid" (the New Method). However, another reason for his success was his successful propaganda, in which *Tercüman* played an important role. The circulation of his newspaper was also positively affected by the fame coming from Jadidism, and it was read throughout the Turkic world, mostly by Turkic reformists, that is to say, the Jadidists.[226]

After explaining the reasons for the fame of İsmail Gaspıralı and *Tercüman*, it is time to focus on the contribution he made to the literary language debate via *Tercüman.* As stated, Gaspıralı was interested in all of Turkic peoples rather than only in his compatriots, the Crimean Tatars. To appeal to this broader audience, he published *Tercüman* in a language he called the Common Turkic Literary Language. It was a mixture of Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish purified of superflous Arabic and Persian words, thus combining the Oghuz and Kipchak branches of Turkic languages.[227] He desired for *Tercüman* to connect all Turks despite geographical distance andcoonect – all social classes, not only intellectuals but ordinary people, as well – to each other.[228]

Gaspıralı partially achieved his goal. *Tercüman* temporarily reached higher levels of circulation. Many of its readers were intellectuals, who also had reformist agendas for their respective nations. Also, the literacy rate in the region was very low, which made newspaper readers intellectually capable people who were distinguished by their abilty to read and write. Hence, it can be concluded that *Tercüman* was never a newspaper that the ordinary people could easily understand as Gaspıralı initially hoped. On the other hand,

226 Consider the case of Behbudi, the eminent Uzbek Jadidist, in Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 80.

227 "İsmail Bey Gaspıralı 2," YouTube video, 27:01, from a documentary series televized by TRT2 on Apr. 14, 2004, posted by "TRT Diyanet," Mar. 15, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D10-84h79f4. For more information, see Website for Emel Vakfı, "İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Belgeseli - 2. Bölüm," http://www.emelvakfi.org/ismailgaspirali/belgesel-2.htm. Also, see Zelfira Şükürciyeva, "İsmail Gaspıralı'nın kaleminden 'Ortak Edebi Türk Dili'," (report, Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler Kurultayı 13-16 Kasım 2017, 13 November 2017): http://konferans.yeniturkiye.com/bildiriler/?abstractId=308.

228 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* p. 57.

*Tercüman* was understood by a range of people from various distant places, but this was not necessarily the result of the simplicity and commonness of the language used. Instead, it was the intellectual level of the readers that enabled them to understand the language. The combination of Gaspıralı's propaganda and the fact that *Tercüman* was read over a wide area enabled the development of Jadidist education system. His reformist position also triggered the circulation of *Tercüman.* A significant number of Central Asian as well as Russian Turkic people reformers had read *Tercüman*, whether they supported or opposed its core ideas, during some phase of their lives.

There were two sources of opposition to Gaspıralı's standpoint. The first came from the Russians who sought to prevent pan-Turkism as well as the sphere of influence of Tatars within Russia. An important case was the dispute between Gaspıralı and Ostroumov as the editor of *TWG.* They had a neutral, even positive relationship that soured, however, when Gaspıralı found out that Ostroumov was reporting on him to Ilminski. Ostroumov was a former student of Ilminski and sought to strengthen the local vernacular, Uzbek, as a distinct literary language. On the other hand, the Russians could not completely block Gaspıralı. Indeed, both the Jadid schools and the newspaper *Tercüman* attained a level of success among Russian Turkic peoples.

The second source of opposition, on the other hand, led to Gaspıralı's failure to spread the common literary Turkic language. Nasıri was neither famous nor respected among his Tatar compatriots until the last years of his life at the close of the nineteenth century. However, he became an exemplar for young, emerging Tatar men of letters who would write the first novels, stories, and other works of prose in the Tatar language. They used not only the linguistic material coming from Nasıri's folkloric studies but his linguistic and political ideology, as well. These men of letters used their works to criticise and advise their compatriots as well as to communicate with them. To do so, they had to write in a language that paralleled the local vernacular. In other words, they had to support emergent national literary languages rather than the project of

establishing a common Turkic literary language.[229] The tradition provided by İbray Altınsarin and the local government gazette *DWG* brought about similar results among Kazakhs, too.[230] Interestingly, while the Tatar language lost its important spheres of influence, the ideological and practical model developed among Tatars would emerge among many other Turkic peoples, too.

As Anderson's thesis of the "piracy" of nations suggests, "nations" turned into duplicable models once they emerge as political communities.[231] In the case of Turkic peoples, the basic components of this duplicable model were the emergence of media and other publications in local vernaculars, and evolution of these vernaculars to literary and print languages. Another important factor for Russian Turkic peoples was the Russian efforts for the emergence of the local vernaculars as new literary languages. Some of these efforts were intended such as Ilminski's efforts, and while others sought practical benefits for local Russian administrations, as exemplified by local government gazettes *TWG* and *DWG*. There were combinations of these two, as well, such as *TWG* under the editorship of Ostroumov, a Russian missionary and a student of Ilminski.[232]

The 1905 Revolution in Russia provided the optimum environment for such standpoints to be realised in a more liberal media. Furthermore, the revolution resulted in emergent groups among Turkic peoples with different political agendas who would use local vernaculars to communicate with and indoctrinate ordinary people. In this environment, Gaspıralı published the eminent motto of *Tercüman* for the first time: "Dilde, fikirde, işte birlik" (Unity in language, in ideas, and in deeds). According to Lazzerini, his propaganda for the extensive use of the Common Turkic Literary Language in the emerging post-1905 Turkic media initially worked; however, it was eventually

229 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* pp. 158-9; Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* pp. 201-8; Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," pp. 224-8.

230 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 203.

231 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p. 67 and pp. 81-2.

232 Also see Nadir Devlet's commentary on Ostroumov and *TWG* in Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 203.

doomed to fail against the defenders of national languages.[233] With respect to the trend of vernacularizing the literary languages, Nadir Devlet underscores the Tatarists who defended using the Tatar language as their literary and printing language and prioritised the distinct Tatar nation above all other identities, including that of being Turkic, even though that was an accepted part of the Tatar identity.[234] Thus, new literary languages emerged hand in hand with new nationalisms. This trend was evident in Central Asia, too.[235]

There was also a third position between the defenders of a common Turkic language and those of national languages. The case of Hasan Zerdabi, the hero of the Azerbaijani press who published the first private newspaper among Azerbaijanis and Russian Turkic peoples, is an example. He endorsed the unity of Turkic dialects and vernaculars under one Turkic language in his article published in 1906. However, in the very same article, he also accepted that Turkic dialects and vernaculars got extremely different due to the geographical distance.[236] What should be done, in his words, was to "partially rearrange" the texts in terms of grammar, which was "cited from the dialects of other Muslim[237] groups in accordingly with [the local] dialect to be understood."[238] In other words, he suggested adapting texts from other Turkic languages to fit in the target Turkic language. This process resembles translation if it is not translation itself. He defended that idea as early as 1876 in an article in *Ekinçi*.[239]

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233 Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," pp. 225-6.

234 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* pp. 201-8.

235 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 21-8.

236 Hasan Zerdabi, "İttihad-ı Lisan," *Həyat,* № 9, Jan. 11, 1906, in *Azərbaycan Publisistikası Antologiyası,* ed. Cəlal Bəydilli (Məmmədov) (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007), pp. 13-5.

237 Russian Turkic peoples usually used the word "(Russian) Muslim" interchangeably with the word "(Russian) Turk."

238 Hasan Zerdabi, "İttihad-ı Lisan," *Həyat,* № 9, Jan. 11, 1906, in ed. Cəlal Bəydilli (Məmmədov): *Azərbaycan Publisistikası Antologiyası (*Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007), pp. 13-5. He says "our dialect" in his article meaning Azerbaijani that is local vernacular of his country.

239 *Əkinçi,* № 14 on July 25, 1876 [Aug. 6, 1876], in Turan Həsənzadə (translit.): *Əkinçi 1875-1877. (Tam mətni):* ed. Əziz Mirəhmədov (Baku: Avrasiya Press, 2005 [1979]), p. 186. Actually it

Meanwhile, after congratulating him for the establishment of *Tercüman,* Zerdabi advised Gaspıralı in the 1880s in a personal correspondence to focus on the Crimean Tatar language in his newspaper instead of on the Ottoman language.[240] In this framework, Zerdabi's 1906 article compared Gaspıralı's idea of publishing strictly in the common Turkic language with the idea of one of his colleagues who defended publishing in the national language. He proposed rearranging the texts in other Turkic dialects or languages according to the rules of the target Turkic language as a solution. Zerdabi, an intellectual who desired for his society to be enlightened,[241] concluded that a "newspaper is for the community," not vice versa.[242] Thus, even the third position essentially defended publishing in national languages –though Zerdabi called them dialects – rather than in a common Turkic literary language.

Following the expansion of the Turkic-language press, Gaspıralı's *Tercüman* retreated to a more modest role in Turkic-language public space. Gaspıralı, however, was not one to give something up very quickly. He, along with the other defenders of the idea, attempted one last measure. This time, they focused on the educational realm rather than on publishing. The Common Turkic Literary Language began to be defended in a formal, organizational environment rather than merely in the newspapers in public space. The 1905 Revolution in Russia brought about a constitutional democracy and a parliament, the Duma, in which Russian Turkic peoples could participate as a political party or as a parliamentary group. To establish such a political group and its agenda, a series of conventions held upon the initiative of Russian Turkic intellectuals.[243] During the third Congress of the All-Russian Muslims[244] in

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seems to be a reader letter, at first; however, it was understood that the author was Zerdabi when the code placed as the signature in the letter had been solved.

240 G. Guseinov, *Iz istorii obshchestvennoi i filosofskoi mysli v Azerbaidzhane XIX veka* (2nd ed. Baku, 1958), p. 324, cited in Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," pp. 214-5.

241 Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* pp. 89-90.

242 Zerdabi, "İttihad-ı Lisan," in *Azərbaycan Publisistikası Antologiyası,* ,ed. Bəydilli (Məmmədov), p. 15.

243 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* pp. 77-110.

244 I use Adeeb Khalid's translation in Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* p. 231.

August 1906, it was accepted that primary education should be in the native language (that is, in local Turkic vernaculars that would soon become national languages), while the Common Turkic Literary Language was accepted for higher education.[245]

Following that, Russian Turkic peoples established a group in the Duma to pursue their interests, including interests in the cultural and educational realms. However, the excessive demands of the Duma – which was composed of Russian Turkic peoples and leftist-liberal Russian parties that counterbalanced the royalists and Russian nationalists – led repeatedly to its dissolution by tsar and to new elections. In each election, the presence of Russian Turkic peoples in the Duma was further curtailed. The environment did not allow them to be active.[246] Meanwhile, Russian nationalists tried to reshape educational policies for Russian Turkic peoples and other minorities on the model of Ilminski. They adopted a resolution to severely limit education in native languages and proposed that all minority languages be writen in Cyrillic rather than the traditional script, which was Arabic-Persian in the case of Russian Turkic peoples. However, no ultimate consensus and application emerged while Turkic public and members of parliaments also resisted against such proposals.[247]

The First World War interrupted discussions of the educational system for Russian Turkic peoples[248] as well as interrupted the transimperial Turkic public space.[249] These discussions only resumed in the months following of the February Revolution in the Russian Empire in 1917. Russian Turkic members of the Duma contributed to a last congress of the Russian Turkic peoples, in which participants from the Volga Basin, Crimea, Caucasus, and Central Asia took part. During the congress of All-Russian Muslims that convened in May

245 Ibid., pp. 89-92.

246 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* pp. 146-155.

247 Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı),* pp. 92-6. Dowler, "The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire," pp. 533-7.

248 Dowler, "The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire," pp. 537-8.

249 Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," p. 455.

1917, methods to ensure the cultural and political rights of Russian Turkic peoples and Muslims were agreed on. Discussions of the possibility of a future Russian political regime occupied an important place on the agenda.[250] The congress would again accept that primary education should be in the native language while the Common Turkic Literary Language should be used at the higher levels.[251]

These congresses were important; however, they were not effective in practical terms. On one hand, they were imperfect gatherings of Russian Turkic peoples. They were generally overwhelmed by Tatars, followed by Azerbaijanis and contributers from Transcaucasia region. There were Kazakh and other Central Asian participants; however, they were outnumbered as well as overwhelmed in both the congresses that followed the 1905 Revolution[252] as well as the congress that followed the February Revolution in 1917.[253] Even in the Duma, the participation of Central Asians and other Turkic groups was limited. According to Devlet, "participation rights of Turks living in Poland and in European Russia were restricted, [and] the indigenous people of Turkestan and the steppe region[254] were completely deprived of the right to vote" with the elections for the third Duma in 1907.[255]

Russian Turkic nations were represented in a biased manner in these conventions. Some political factions argued that these congresses essentially represented the interests of the bourgeoisie rather than of the people in the region. Thus, some Russian Turkic members of Duma preferred to join in other Russian political parties that were pursuing a class-based agenda or to establish their own factions.[256] These conventions functioned as a podium for Jadidists, who did not comprise the major group in these societies.[257] It was a difficult task to gather and coordinate all the ideas in these societies – as well as those

250 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 311-333.

251 Ibid., p. 319; Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* p. 112.

252 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* pp. 231-3.

253 Ibid., pp. 265-6.

254 I used Adeeb Khalid's expression in Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, Map 2.

255 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 151.

256 Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, pp. 178-9.

257 The conflict between ulama and jadidists following the February Revolution is a perfect case from which it can be understood. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* pp. 252-269.

of each social class – under a common framework. Thus, one cannot presume that Turkic peoples unanimously gave full consent to and support for such coordination attempts among Russian Turkic peoples.

Establishing an all-Turkic structure came harder due to the political environment, as well. When the All-Russian Muslim Congress of 1917 decided to reconvene later, the national organizations of Russian Turkic peoples opted to cope with the political struggle that emerged after the revolution independently from each other. No participants from Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, or indeed anywhere except Tatarstan attended the following congress.[258] Nadir Devlet concludes that this was a result of that there had not been all-Turkic consciousness had emerged.[259] However, this can also be considered as a result of the emergence of the national consciousness based on ethno-linguistic criteria among Turkic peoples. Tatars and Kazakhshad already developed such consciousness very strongly. [260] This was even the case, for example, with Turkmens who experienced modernism and Jadidism much later than many other Russian Turkic nations.[261]

## § 2.3 An Evaluation of the Early Modernization Era

Turks, in general, encountered with modernity at the turn of the nineteenth century. This process intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century, when a boom in the printing sector emerged among both Ottomans and Tatars. Especially in the 1860s, an intellectual revival in linguistic and political terms emerged within these societies. Transcaucasia was part of this trend, as well. Central Asian Turks who were introduced to modernity following Russian military operations that started in the 1860s, were latecomers to this process but quicky caught up.

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258 Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi,* p. 333.

259 Ibid., pp. 335-342.

260 Olivier Roy, *The new Central Asia: The Creation of Nations (*New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 3.

261 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 21-8.

There were several impacts of both the technological novelties – print, telegraph, and the developments in the postal and transportation services – and the ideological novelties – enlightenment to raise the general awareness in society and the nation as a novel form of sociopolitical organization. Of course, these two novelties introduced by modernity were entangled with each other. While modernity and nation-building process were rooted in the nineteenth century, they blossomed in public life during the first decades of the twentieth century when Russia, Ottoman Empire, and Iran confronted constitutional revolutions almost simultaneously.

With respect to the impact of modernity on linguistic developments in the region, there were two demands. The first was to align literary and print languages with local vernaculars. This led to the emergence of contemporary Turkic literary and print languages upon which modern Turkic nations were established. The second demand was orthographic reform, or alphabet changes to increase the low literacy rates. These demands prevailed in future linguistic discussions; however, they were opposed by the intertemporal and interspatial concerns of other groups.

Imperialist expansion into the Turkic World along with the (re)discovery of ethnic kinships facilitated by modern knowledge of linguistic families and other ethnohistorical studies triggered the project to form a common Turkic literary language for a rapprochement of Turkic peoples. The boldness of this project, however, accompanied by a lack of necessary political and economic support led to its failure. Nonetheless, as a modern linguistic project, its legacy is considerable since it was based on a modern agenda as well as modern means – such as newspapers. Meanwhile, concerns about preserving the cultural connection between generations from simplification and purification efforts in the literary language would create a conservative group in alphabet and orthographic discussions. This group, unlike the former one, initially had the upper hand over rivals who defended alphabet change or serious orthographic reforms; however, they would lose their advantage during the period of radical Bolshevik and Kemalist revolutions in the 1920s.[262]

262 Since both Bolshevism and Kemalism would bring radical changes in their countries, I use the term "period of radical revolutions" throughout my thesis.

There are two perspectives to evaluate the environment in which the modern day Turkic literary languages started to emerge. Benedict Anderson's theoretical frameworks suggests that the market forces in the publishing sector imposed the criteria of being based on local vernaculars upon the new print languages. The market demand is a real force that shaped books and other publications in the West since the early Modern era, and the print language was not an exception.[263] Adeeb Khalid, however, puts forward that a strong, assertive market mechanism never emerged in Central Asia during the Jadidist period. Instead, other institutions – "philanthropy, patronage, and charity" – played an important role in intellectual life and projects, especially financially.[264] Hence, there are two opposing ideas about the structure in which the philological revolution among Turkic peoples emerged, whether under print capitalism and a capitalist print market or not.

A combination of these two approaches best explains literary life in the Turkic world. Actually, Khalid puts forward a historical fact rather than a social science theory as Anderson does, hence the lack of print capitalism and markets in Central Asia must be accepted as a starting point. On the other hand, the Tatars and Ottomans had a significantly developed publishing sector, especially compared with their regions, which even exported their products.[265] At least in the Ottoman and Tatar cases, the publishing sector evolved into an industry with a market; thus, it was organized as print capitalism. Even

263 For a cult description of that phenomenon, which was also used by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities,* see Lucien Febvre and Henri Jean-Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800,* tr. David Gerard, eds. Geoffrey Novell-Smith and David Wootton (London: NLB, 1976 [1958]): Chapter 8.4. Printing and Language, pp. 319-332.

264 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* p. 119.

265 Battal-Taymas citing Foiget states that the religious literature published in Kazan had "reached to the cities of Turkistan." In Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* p. 105, footnote 246. This was also the case for the Ottomans. For instance, Hasan Zerdabi, delivered during 1870s, demanded from Muslim pilgrims passing through Istanbul and from other travelers more Ottoman books on the modern life for local Azerbaijani libraries to increase the intellectual level of the Azerbaijani society. *Əkinçi,* no. 14 on July 25, 1876 [Aug. 6, 1876]. From Turan Həsənzadə (translit.): *Əkinçi 1875-1877. (Tam mətni):* ed. Əziz Mirəhmədov (Baku: Avrasiya Press, 2005 [1979]), p. 186.

the Tatars' reluctance to change their alphabet during the period of radical Bolshevik and Kemalist revolutions in the 1920s was interpreted as a result of their established publishing industry using Arabic script.[266]

In these cases, market demand may be a factor for the new print languages to align with the Ottomans and Tatar vernaculars, though not a decisive one. The real boom emerged in public space in the 1900s when a wave of the liberalization of published materials followed revolutions calling for constitutional monarchy in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Iran. There was only one decade of relative liberalism in which print capitalism flourished before the great turmoil of the First World War. Thus, the classical demand structure of markets were not the ultimate factor behind the linguistic changes. As Khalid puts, "it was only after the [1917] revolution when the market was abolished, that print produced the kind of change that Anderson ascribes to 'print capitalism' in early times."[267] In the Central Asian context, considering the effects of the mechanisms of the capitalist economy, this was the case. However, putting Anderson's assumption about market forces aside, print strongly pushed the language towards the vernacularization of new literary-print languages.

Efforts to construct new literary-print languages based on vernaculars did not generally stem from the concern of making a profit embedded in market mechanism as capitalistic instincts. Instead, the desire stemmed from ideas shaping the mindset of the intelligentsia and their desire to disseminate those ideas to the public. The Young Turks and Jadidists, in general, believed in the modern ideas and used the print media as a tool to disseminate their ideas to the public. However, the first step was to write texts that would be understandable to the public in order that they be read. This was how they evaluated the experience of modernization and nation-building processes in the West, as well. Recall Anderson's thesis on the piracy of nations in which the idea of nation is a duplicable model. Since the era of Mahmud II in the 1830s, the Ottoman press had tried to use a language closer to the vernacular in order to be understood by the public, though success to create such a language was

266 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 127.

267 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* p. 119.

limited.[268] This was also the desire of avant-garde figures in the philological revolution of Turkic nations such as Nasıri, Altınsarin, and Zerdabi. They pursued a plainer language that was closer to the vernacular in order that their works be sold, and hence that they could communicate with the public. Their economic concerns with respect to publication were related more so to their own subsistence, and that of their media enterprises. In addition, especially Jadidist movement brought constant abnegation to its defenders rather than immediate economic gains.

Hence, Anderson's framework is useful to explain the changes in the linguistic life of Turkic peoples during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries even though a developed print capitalism did not exist everywhere, as Khalid points out. Anderson argues that the profit maximization and capitalism are the imperatives that regulate the print language and push it toward the vernacular since such works will be in higher demand. However, in my opinion, print capitalism is not essential to explain the desire of the intelligentsia to increase circulation of their work via writing in a language closer to the vernacular. Instead, ideological and cognitive motivations can lead intellectuals to do what Anderson describes, thus the lack of print capitalism does not negate Anderson's general framework in the case of the linguistic transformation among Turkic peoples.

Industrialization and the market in the Central Asian print sector during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, as two bases of modern capitalism, existed but were not developed. The market remained small. Thus the idea and image of a print market affected intellectuals, enabling the vernacularization of the print language, rather than actual market forces. These intellectuals acted as if there was a developed, fully-functional print market, and they wrote in the emerging national literary languages to create demand for their works. On the other hand, Khalid rightly argues that the mass effects of print would emerge following the revolution when the Soviet Union would provide patronage for printed works in line with the interests of Bolshevism.

268 Ahmet Oğuz, "Ceride-i Havadis Gazetesinde Çıkan Haber-Yazılar ve Değerlendirilmesi (1840-1844)" (MA Thesis, Gazi University, 1994), p. 20.

Also, the growth of literate masses as a result of the agendas of these revolutions was another factor in print attaining real power and influence.

## § 2.4 The Period of Radical Revolutions: 1917-1940

Following the Russian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, some nations brought the issue of the alphabet to a new phase. The Yakuts would adopt a Latin alphabet in 1917-8; however, as a small Turkic nation in Siberia, they were at the periphery of the discussion.[269] The issue would heat with the adoption of Latin alphabet in Azerbaijan in 1922,[270] the transition to alphabet in 1923, and the application of it in the education system in 1925.[271] The Bolshevik cadres in Azerbaijan, who were also holding official posts, were supportive of such a transition, as were the youth.[272]

The issue was the pedagogics of Arabic script. As discussed, the orthography[273] of Turkic languages in Arabic script was problematic with respect to representing the phonetic variety of Turkic vowels. Meanwhile, the original orthography of most of the Arabic and Persian words were protected in the Turkic languages. This caused representing phonemes that does not actually exist in Turkic languages. This made literacy difficult for Azerbaijanis. However, this was a barrier to Bolshevism, in general, which needs the public to be acquainted with the ideology in order that it spread.[274] Memduh Şevket (Esendal), a Turkish diplomat in Azerbaijan, determined that the low level of literacy among the Azerbaijani people prevented them from holding posts in

269 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 97-8.

270 Ibid., pp. 98-100.

271 Cemil Həsənli, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultaya Qısa Tarixi Baxış," in the TDK, *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kongresinin 70. Yıl Dönümü Toplantısı (29-30 Kasım 1996) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), p. 8.

272 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi*, p. 107.

273 "Orthography refers to spelling and to the writing system of a language." Rowe and Levine, *A concise introduction to linguistics*, p. 32.

274 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 71-5.

their own Soviet Socialist Republic, leaving them to Russians and Armenians.[275]

Considering these factors, a new Latin alphabet for the Azerbaijani language was prepared and adopted. The orthographic principles of the new alphabet strikingly resemble the Turkish Latin alphabet and other future Latin alphabets that would be adopted in ensuing years. The new alphabet assigned a letter for each phoneme and there were no digraphs[276] or diphthongs.[277] The letter-phoneme correspondence of common phonemes existed in most Western languages were preserved in the Azerbaijani model. On the other hand, new letters were invented by adding diacritics[278] and others were adopted from other alphabets – such as Danish, German, Armenian – for phonemes that were specific to Azerbaijani.[279]

The first difference between the first Azerbaijani Latin alphabet with the modern day one that has thirty-two letters, the first alphabet includes only one additional phoneme: the phoneme /ŋ/ represented by the letter Ŋ/ŋ, that is, the letter N/n with a small hook similar to comma. This letter would be adopted by the Uniform Turkic alphabet, as well. Another letter used in later alphabets as well as in the current Azerbaijani alphabet is Ə/ə representing the phoneme /æ/. C/c represented the phoneme /ʤ/ and Ç/ç represented the pho-

275 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 107.

276 "A digraph or digram (from the Greek: δίς dís, "double" and γράφω gráphō, "to write") is a pair of characters used in the orthography of a language to write either a single phoneme (distinct sound): or a sequence of phonemes that does not correspond to the normal values of the two characters combined." "Digraph (orthography):" *Wikipedia,* last modified Oct. 5, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Digraph_(orthography)

277 "A diphthong is a double vowel sound that begins with one vowel sound and gradually moves into another vowel sound or glide." Rowe and Levine, *A Concise Introduction to Linguistics*, p. 46.

278 "Diacritic marks are symbols added to conventional graphic signs, and supply additional information." Rowe and Levine, *A Concise Introduction to Linguistics,* p. 49, box 2.1. In everyday life, such signs are used in national alphabets to represent particular phonemes not represented by the original Latin. E.g. Ö,İ,Ğ,Ñ,Č,Ş,Ł

279 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 99-100.

neme /ʧ/. This is same as the current Turkish and Azerbaijani alphabets; however, this phoneme matching was transposed in the Uniform Turkic alphabet. While Ç/ç is originally a French letter, it represents a different phoneme.

Azerbaijani, like many Turkic languages but unlike Turkish, maintains a difference between the phoneme /k/ in Turkic words when used with front and back vowels. This is an archaic legacy of the Old Turkic language. This is the case in the Arabic script and language, too, where the letter ك for /k/ with front vowels and the letter ق for /k/ with back vowels is used. In the first Azerbaijani Latin alphabet, this distinction was made by assigning Q/q to front vowels and K/k for back vowels. A similar but more obvious distinction is the phonemes /g/ and /ɣ/, which are generally matched with front and back vowels, respectively. In Arabic script, they correspond to the letters گ and غ. These phonemes were represented by Ꝿ/ꝿ and G/g. These two sets were also transposed in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet even while keeping the same smybols. In the modern Azerbaijani alphabet, Ꝿ/ꝿ was abandoned for the Turkish Ğ/ğ. A similar transition took place between the letters U/u representing the phoneme /y/ and Y/y representing /u/ in the 1922 Azerbaijani Latin alphabet but the opposite in the Uniform Latin Alphabet.

Şimşir states that the phoneme /j/ was represented in the first Azerbaijani Latin alphabet in 1922 by the letters J/j as in the German alphabet. For the phoneme /ʃ/, the letter З/з, originally used for the phoneme /z/ in Russian, was adopted. On the other hand, Ə/ə is not originally from Cyrillic scriptunlike Şimşir supposes.[280] A similar case is the phoneme /ø/ represented by Ɵ/ɵ, which Şimşir says came from the Danish alphabet; however, the Danish letters are Ø/ø.[281] For the phoneme /ɨ/, the Armenian letters L/ʟ, which are the capital letter liwn and small letter yiwn in the Armenian alphabet, were used. The phoneme /ʒ/, meanwhile, was represented by the letter Ƶ/ƶ (see appendix D).[282]

Following that, Azerbaijanis started to promote alphabet transition from Arabic to Latin as well as their new model among other Turkic peoples via the

280 "Schwa," *Wikipedia,* last modified July 10, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schwa.

281 "Ɵ," *Wikipedia,* last modified June 11, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ɵ; "Ø," *Wikipedia,* last modified July 2, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ø.

282 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 99-100.

press. The newly established Işık Yol and Yeni Yol newspapers both aimed to spread the new alphabet and to endorse the alphabet cause. Many supportive articles were published in support of the Latin alphabet both in Azerbaijan and in Turkey. Meanwhile, these newspapers criticized defenders of the Arabic alphabet in the region.[283]

The central Soviet government did not involve itself in this debate at first. Then they realized how an alphabet transition could shape the region in ways from which Moscow would benefit.[284] First, such a transition could significantly increase the literacy rate, which was essential for reaching the masses to spread the communist ideology. Secondly, it would enable the Soviets to censor previously written non-communist literature by not transliterating them into the new alphabet. In addition, they would be isolated from other Turkic peoples, such as the Turkish people and others as well as from their national past.[285] Thirdly, Moscow could use the Latin alphabet as a step towards a transition to Cyrillic and future Russification policies. Indeed, even the Russians admitted that it was impossible to go and impose Cyrillic script into a region full of anti-Russian feeling due to previous Russification policies.[286] Some intellectuals of the time guessed that there would be transition to Cyrillic script in the future.[287] This is also the unanimous verdict of the current academic literature, though this interpretation can be evaluated as anachronistic since its argumentation is based on Stalin's future Cyrillization project

283 Ibid., pp. 98-114; Thomas G. Winner, "Problems of Alphabetic Reform among Turkic Peoples of Soviet Central Asia, 1920-41," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 31, no. 76 (Dec., 1952), p. 138.

284 For Memduh Şevket Esendal's evaluation, see Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 107-8.

285 Ibid.; Nəsib Nəsibzəde, "Sovet Siyasətində Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayının Yeri," in the TDK, *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kongresinin 70. Yıl Dönümü Toplantısı (29-30 Kasım 1996) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), pp. 98-9.

286 See Polivanov's evaluations in Winner, "Problems of Alphabetic Reform among Turkic Peoples of Soviet Central Asia, 1920-41," p. 137.

287 Nəsibzəde, "Sovet Siyasətində Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayının Yeri," pp. 98-9.

rather than being documented by archival documents of the 1920s and the 1930s[288]

To disseminate the alphabet transition to the remaining Soviet Turkic peoples and to strengthen the alphabet transition in Azerbaijan, Moscow started to give support both material and organizational support.[289] In September and October 1924, an orthography committee consisting mainly of Azerbaijani participants but also the eminent Crimean linguist Bekir Sıtkı Çobanzade propagated the transition among Turkic peoples and studied public opinion in the region about the alphabet transition.[290] In order to settle the issue of alphabet transition decisively, a Turcology congress was convened in Baku. Until then, other Soviet Turkic republics had been investigating the reform of the Arabic alphabet to reflect the phonetics of their languages.

There was an application of reformed Arabic alphabet based on phonetic representation in the Turkmen language even before the Bolshevik Revolution.[291] The Tatars and Uzbeks adopted reformed Arabic alphabets in the 1920s following the Bolshevik revolution.[292] In Turkey, debates on alphabet transition resumed, though there were not yet any specific developments regarding a transition. Mustafa Kemal did not declare his position until 1928;[293] however, he had made up his mind in favor of alphabet change even before the Second Constitutional Period.[294] Şimşir states that Mustafa Kemal would wait until 1928 to push for the alphabet transition for a few reasons. First, he wrestled

288 Betül Aslan, "Sovyet Rusya Hakimiyetinde Yaşayan Türklerin Ortak 'Birleştirilmiş Türk Alfabesi'nden 'Rus Kiril' Alfabesine Geçirilmesi," *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi,* Sayı 40, Erzurum 2009. This article both summarizes and exemplifies that view.

289 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 107-119.

290 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* pp. 36-8.

291 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 23-4.

292 Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," p. 50. Devletşin, *Sovyet Tataristan'ı,* p. 503.

293 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 157-8.

294 For Atatürk's discussion about the issue of alphabet with Bulgarian Turcologist Manalov, see Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 56.

with internal opposition on both the alphabet transition and other sociopolitical reforms. Secondly, Mustafa Kemal desired to first publish his magnum opus, Nutuk (the Speech), in the Arabic alphabet so those of his generation could read the work without pedagogical obstacles.[295]

The first and the only Baku Turcology Congress, which would be a milestone in the alphabet transition in the Soviet Union, convened from 26 February-6 March 1926. It was a congress wih broad participation, and many men of letters and Turcologists from almost all Turkic communities attended, including Mehmet Fuat (Köprülü) of Turkey. Many Turcologists from Russia and Western countries attended there, as well. While various academic topics were on the agenda of the congress, the focus was the issue of alphabet transition.[296] The Soviet government, on the other hand, had been careful to orchestrate the outcome of the congress and had therefore arranged the participants to ensure that the Latin alphabet would be adopted.[297] After deliberative discussions, the congress recommended in the final declaration of the congress that Latin alphabet should be adopted by Turkic peoples.[298]

A related issue put forward by participants like Samoilovich was that the new Latin alphabets of Soviet Turkic peoples not differ from each other, but should have a common base.[299] The issue of a Common Turkic Alphabet thus emerged in this transition process. Further debates on a common terminology, a common orthography and a common literary language for Turkic peoples also emerged during this congress.[300]

This meant a new phase for Soviet Turkic peoples changing their alphabets to Latin. As soon as the Baku Turcology congress was closed, representatives of Soviet Turkic peoples convened separately to establish a committee to handle the alphabet transition in a centralized manner: the All-Union Central

295 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 82-3.

296 Ibid., pp. 117-120.

297 Həsənli, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultaya Qısa Tarixi Baxış," pp. 9-11.

298 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 128 and p. 347.

299 Ibid., pp. 129-130.

300 Ibid., pp. 121-2; Tevfik İsmailoğlu, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultayda Ədəbi Dil Məsələsi," in the TDK, *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kongresinin 70. Yıl Dönümü Toplantısı (29-30 Kasım 1996) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), pp. 101-110.

Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet (abbreviated as VTsKNTA in Russian).[301] Samet Ağamalioğlu, who had been the head of the Committee in the Baku Turcology Congress, was elected president. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet officially recognised the committee and its charter on 11 May 1927 and delegated a budget for the committee to take the necessary measures for the alphabet transition.[302]

The first VTsKNTA congress was convened a month later, on 3-7 June 1927, in Baku.[303] Meanwhile, at the Central Asian Congress on 28 May 1927, Kazakhs, Kirgizs, and Uzbeks had been compromised for a new Latin alphabet consisting of twenty-eight letters without any capital letters for common use in.[304] On the other hand, VTsKNTA would arrange everything from the starting point. The first VTsKNTA congress adopted the "Uniform Turkic Alphabet" (Yañalif) for common use in all Soviet Turkic nations in June 1927. This alphabet was constituted of individual alphabet projects prepared in Soviet Turkic republics and consisted of thirty-three letters with capital letters, as well. The following year, the Turkish government started preparing a new Latin alphabet, which would be completed in summer 1928[305] and officially adopted in November 1928.[306]

In orthographic terms, both the Uniform Turkic alphabet and the Turkish alphabet adopted the same principle as the 1922 Azerbaijani Latin alphabet, which was to represent every phoneme with a single letter. In order to represent specific phonemes of Turkic languages, both alphabets would included additions to the basic Latin alphabet rather than using multigraphs. However, these letters differed to a considerable extent. Furthermore, some basic letters of Latin script were used differently. With respect to the Turkish and the Uniform Turkic alphabets, there were ten divergent letters. The Turkish alphabet had twenty-nine letters while the Uniform Turkic alphabet had thirty-three;

301 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 87.

302 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 131.

303 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 55.

304 Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," p. 52.

305 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 157-208.

306 Ibid., pp. 213-5.

therefore, the latter represented four additional phonemes. Namely, the phoneme /æ/ represented by the letter Ə/ə, the phoneme /x/ represented by X/x, the phoneme /ɣ/ generally used with back vowels represented by the letter Q/q, and the phoneme /ŋ/ represented by the letter Ŋ/ŋ.[307] Among them, Ə/ə, X/x, and Q/q have been included in the modern Azerbaijani alphabet, as well, which accounts for the differences between the Turkish and Azerbaijani alphabets. These were also included in the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet that would be accepted in the 1991-2 period. The proposal to use Ŋ/ŋ in the modern Turkmen alphabet was rejected. Note that two of these letters –X/x and Q/q –exist in basic Latin script, but do not necessarily represent the same phonemes.

While the other phonemes are more or less common to Turkish and Turkic languages, they were represented by different letters. Four of them were completely different from each other. The phoneme /ɣ/ was represented by the letter Ꝋ/ꝋ in the Uniform Turkic alphabet but by the letter "Ğ/ğ"[308] in the Turkish alphabet. The phoneme /ø/ was represented by the letter Ɵ/ɵ in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet –as it was in the 1922 Azerbaijani Latin alphabet –[309] but by the letter Ö/ö in Turkish – as it was in the German alphabet. The phoneme /ɨ/ was represented by the letter Ь/ь in the Uniform Turkic alphabet – borrowed from the Russian alphabet – but by the letter I/ı in Turkish. The phoneme /ʒ/ was represented by the letter Ƶ/ƶ in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet but by the letter J/j in Turkish.

Meanwhile, two letters were used in the Uniform Turkic and the Turkish alphabets to represent different phonemes. J/j, which represents the phoneme /ʒ/ in Turkish – as in the French alphabet – but represents the phoneme /j/ in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet – as in the German alphabet. The second, Y/y, represents the phoneme /j/ in Turkish but the phoneme /y/ in the Uniform

307 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 140-1.

308 This letter is actually not pronounced in formal Turkish. In some cases, it represents completely different phonemes such as /j/ in "Ciğer." On the other hand, Ğ/ğ has nevertheless be kept since the word formation (in the morphological sense) indicates the phoneme /ɣ/. Also, it is pronounced /ɣ/ in some Turkish dialects.

309 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 140-1.

Turkic Alphabet. Ü/ü from the German alphabet was used for the phoneme /y/ in Turkish. A few years later, the letters C/c and Ç/ç, which as in the Turkish alphabet represented the phonemes /ʤ/ and /ʧ/, respectively, were transposed in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet. C/c started to represent the phoneme /ʧ/ and Ç/ç to represent /ʤ/.[310] Thus, the gap between the Turkish and Uniform Turkic alphabets widened. Last, a minor difference between the two alphabets was the use of I/i in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet and İ/i in the Turkish alphabet to represent the phoneme /i/ (see appendix E).[311]

It is important to note that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet was among the alphabets, along with other Latin-script based alphabets studied during the construction of the Turkish alphabet.[312] The letters C/c and Ç/ç to represent the phonemes /ʤ/ and /ʧ/ and Ş/ş to represent /ʃ/ were used in both the Uniform Turkic and the Turkish alphabets. Thus, the Uniform Turkic Alphabet influenced the Turkish alphabet, albeit not ultimately. Later, as stated, the phonemes of the letters C/c and Ç/ç would be transposed in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet.

The Turkish government expected to complete the transition process by the end of 1928, and was generally successful. New schoolbooks were published although not enough to distribute everywhere in the country. On the other hand, after learning it themselves, teachers managed to teach the new alphabet to their students. The school year 1928-1929 was conducted using the new alphabet. Meanwhile, most bureaucratic and government correspondence, street signs, and the press changed to Latin by New Year's Eve. New typewriting machinery was acquired and started to be used in December 1928 (see appendix F).[313]

In the Soviet Union, the pace of the transition varied according to different Soviet republics; nevertheless, a more gradual transition process was adopted overall. Nonetheless, every republic completed the transition process by

310 Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri,* pp. 373-4.

311 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 423. Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* pp. 59-60.

312 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 89 and p. 93.

313 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 216-245.

1932.[314] The 1920s and the 1930s also witnessed the alphabet transition among Turkish communities in Cyprus, the Balkans, and the Levant. They preferred the Turkish alphabet and orthography.[315] Meanwhile, Gagauzs also produced their first texts published using Latin script and applied Romanian orthography, which differs from both the Turkish and Soviet models.[316]

Another important event during the alphabet transition among Soviet Turkic peoples was the reemergence of the issue of a common Turkic literary language, inherited from Gaspıralı. According to Çobanzade, an eminent linguist and Gaspıralı's compatriot, the Uniform Turkic Alphabet needed to be supplemented by a common terminology, which was interpreted by his opponents as an implicit step towards towards a common Turkic literary language.[317] He defended the ideas of common terminology and common literary language during the Baku Turcology Congress and thereafter.[318] On the other hand, the fact that a common Turkic literary language had not been yet established stood was a barrier to these complementary projects.

During the Baku Turcology Congress, other orthographic principles were suggested in order to conceal phonetic differences among Turkic languages. included writing words that shared same root but had different pronunciations in different Turkic languages using the same orthographic form. The main goal was to increase the level of resemblance and to ensure linguistic unity in written or published texts among Turkic langauges. With respect to the reformation of the Arabic alphabet and the transition to a Latin one, however, the phonetic principle became the ultimate criterion for Turkic republics.

Most defenders of alphabet reformation and transition sought to make the literacy more widespread by reflecting all the sounds in a word, that is, by applying the phonetic principle.[319] This would make it easier for illiterate people

314 Ibid., pp. 154-5.

315 Ibid., p. 332.

316 Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri,* pp. 201-211.

317 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 121; İsmailoğlu, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultayda Ədəbi Dil Məsələsi," p. 109.

318 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 139-140.

319 Ibid., pp. 121-2.

to decipher written texts as they would not need to memorize the orthography of each word. Various Russian and the Turkic participants rejected any orthographic method or principle other than the phonetic principle. They also rejected such a common orthography project for additional two reasons. First, they desired to represent the phonetic characteristics of their national languages, and second, they were not interested in pan-Turkism.[320] Participants desired to exalt their national languages to the level of a literary language rather than be subject to a Common Literary Language.

A further complication that arose was the question of how such a common Turkic literary language would be formed and on which Turkic language(s) it would be based. All the Turkic participants considered their own language to be the one that reflect pure character of Turkichood and refused to degrade their languages with a common literary language not based on their language. This was also the case for the demands of a common orthography. Every Turkic nation saught to represent the phonetic characteristics of their national vernacular.[321]

As a result, while the Soviet Turkic peoples adopted the same set of the letters, that is, the Uniform Turkic Alphabet, they did not come to an agreement on a common orthography and a common terminology. There are recent studies that interprets his situation as a failure –a relative failure, at least- of the Uniform Turkic Alphabet project.[322] In terms of orthographic rules, this is true. Turkic nations preferred to apply phonetic orthographies that resulted in the emergence of many different orthographic versions of the same words. Also, the phonetic peculiarities of Turkic languages constituted another important issue. For instance, Turkmens emphasized that they also had long vowels as phonemes; thus, having sixteen vowel phonemes rather than eight

320 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 84-5.

321 Ibid., pp. 93-4.

322 Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," p. 56. Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 67 and pp. 97-8.

or nine like the many other Turkic languages.[323] Another case was the change in the number of vowels in the Uzbek language when different dialects adopted as the basis of the Uzbek literary language. Rural dialects, which had nine vowels, were initially considered as the basis because it was thought that their Turkic quality were preserved much better. However, the urban dialect of Tashkent eventually prevailed over rural dialects in official circles because urban was the home of the proletariat and considered to be the source of progress. On the other hand, Tashkent dialect was influenced by Persian and had only six vowels breaking the general vowel harmony among Turkic languages.[324]

Final decisions about orthographic and other linguistic problems were decided at national level, though ultimately regulated by Moscow. Nine letters were used for the vowels of the Turkmen language, and the long vowels – which had been considered as the part of Turkmen national identity – were not taken into account.[325] The Uzbek language, meanwhile, came to be based on the six-vowel Tashkent dialect, which in the eyes of Moscow represented the urban proletariat over rural feudalism.[326] Hence, desires and demands from the local level and the will of Moscow both affected the building of national languages. Also, other letters with diacritics emerged, for instance, in the Bashkir language – to represent particular phonemes.[327] For this reason, some researchers question the "uniform" character of the Uniform Turkic Latin Alphabet project as discussed above. Looking at these developments, these researchers concluded that the Uniform Turkic Latin Alphabet Project

323 A Turkmen linguist, Geldiew, argues that Turkmen has 16 vowels in contrast with Çobanzade, whom Geldiew says he blurred the phonetic properties of Turkmen for sake of commonality. Meanwhile, another member tries to reconcile the parties with 9 general vowels plus 5 Turkmen vowels. Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 93-4. Also while noting some other phonemes; Schönig lists sixteen vowels in the Turkmen language. Claus Schönig, "Turkmen," in eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, *Turkic languages (*London: Routledge, 1998), p. 261.

324 Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," pp. 54-6.

325 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 104.

326 Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," pp. 54-6.

327 Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri,* pp. 315-327.

failed, and that national alphabets were not uniform due to their orthographic differences.

That does not, however, have to be implying that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet as a failure. Instead, the Uniform Turkic Alphabet had the properties of a frame alphabet, which constituted the basis of the alphabets of Soviet Turkic nations. While there were differences, it was possible for a Soviet Turkic people to decipher the texts written in other Turkic languages without any further studies. Readers could understand the texts at a certain level; however, they needed to study the grammar and vocabulary to understand the text perfectly. This idea constituted the basis of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project during the post-Cold War era, which is the subject of this thesis. The efforts to create a common Turkic literary language and a common Turkic orthography, which ended unsuccessfully in the 1930s, would be the other goals of the many Turkish and Turkic academics in the post-Cold War era.

As stated, the transition process in the Soviet Union was completed by 1932. Although there were differences between the Turkish alphabet and the Uniform Turkic Alphabet; a connection also existed between the speakers of Turkish and other Turkic languages. Most letters in their alphabets were the same, creating only a minor barrier to mutual literacy beyond differences in grammar and the vocabulary. The linguistic bridge among Turkic peoples, as put forward in the 1991 Symposium, was more or less protected until the late 1930s.

Also, Turkish communities in the former Ottoman states would crusade for an alphabet transition from Arabic script to the Turkish Latin alphabet in the 1920s and the 1930s. In some of these countries, groups opposing Kemalism actively tried to prevent such a transition. Some cooperated with the governments of these states and managed to create a strong opposition to alphabet transition, as was the case in Bulgaria. However, the Bulgarian government eventually allowed these Turkish communities to use Latin alphabet. Turkey sent supporting materials to these communities such as alphabet primers, but it was the volunteer work of teachers and intellectual groups in these communities that ensured the successful transition to the new alphabet, following

Turkey's lead.[328] Meanwhile, the Gagauz people, back then in Romania published some literary works using the Latin alphabet but applied neither the Uniform Turkic Alphabet nor the Turkish one. Instead, they applied Romanian orthography to their language.

The general picture in the first years of the 1930s was a trend for the dissemination of Latin script throughout Turkic world. This, nonetheless, did not last long. Within a few years, the first propaganda for a transition to Cyrillic script for Soviet Turkic peoples emerged in the Soviet Union. All the nations in the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), whose alphabets had been changed to Latin script a few years ago, started a transition from Latin script to Cyrillic. This process started in 1937 and completed by 1939.[329] Kirgiz SSR also changed its national alphabet to Cyrillic in 1938.[330] Other Soviet Turkic republics followed. The Azerbaijanis started official studies on 20 January 1939[331] and shaped their new alphabets by November 1939.[332] Official documents foresaw the completion of the transition in 1940, when the official institutions would start using the new Cyrillic alphabet in January 1940 and schools in September.[333] Unlike the transition to Latin script, Cyrillic alphabets of the Soviet Turkic peoples were not centrally administrated. Instead, every Soviet Turkic nation was assigned an alphabet that differed from those of other Turkic nations. The same phonemes were, sometimes, represented by

328 Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* pp. 301-324. Cengiz Hakov, "Bulgaristan Türk Okullarında Yeni Türk Alfabesinin (Lâtin Alfabesi) Uygulanması," *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, Güz-1998, S: 6, pp. 733-738

329 Winner, "Problems of Alphabetic Reform among Turkic Peoples of Soviet Central Asia, 1920-41," pp. 145-7.

330 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 77.

331 Ziyafet Eyvazova "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008), p. 70.

332 Ibid., pp. 88-9.

333 Ibid., pp. 80-1.

different letters in different Turkic Cyrillic alphabets.[334] The transition in Central Asian Soviet Republics was completed "by 1940,"[335] and only some minor nations remained to make the transition in the future. However, there were lags in some national transition processes due to the Second World War and these would be completed in the ensuing years of the 1940s.

An interesting anomaly in this general picture of the 1930s was that while the relationship between Turkey and the Soviet Union had lost its initial momentum and the tide was soon about to turn against altogether, there was a rapprochement among the alphabets of the Soviet Turkic peoples and that of the Turkish people. Adeeb Khalid states that the Turcophone public space that was reestablished following the First World War would close again in the mid-1920s.[336] As early as in 1927, Stalin denounced the Kemalist revolution as a bourgeois revolution from which no progress would emerge even though the previous position of the Soviet Union towards Kemalism was that it was an anti-imperialist revolution.[337] The conjuncture changed such that two competing modernisms – the Soviet and the Turkish ones – emerged as alternatives to each other. Both sides refrained from each other's modernity as an alternative and a threat to their regime.[338] However, Soviet Turkic peoples and the Turkish people changed from Arabic script to their national Latin alphabets, almost simultaneously, the former in 1927 and the latter in 1928. In the 1930s, the alphabets used in these countries differed from each other, but not so as much as to function as a barrier. Thus, Cyrillicization was a tool to distinguish separate and distinct the modernization processes of the Soviet Turkic peoples from that of the Turkish people.

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334 Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi,* p. 77. Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi,* p. 351. İsmailoğlu, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultayda Ədəbi Dil Məsələsi," pp. 106-7.

335 Winner, "Problems of Alphabetic Reform among Turkic Peoples of Soviet Central Asia, 1920-41," p. 147.

336 Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," pp. 455-6.

337 Ibid., p. 473.

338 Khalid discusses this phenomenon for Central Asian Turks in the Soviet Union in ibid., pp. 469-470.

An internal factor that led to such Cyrillization was a change in the nationality policies of the Soviet Union. After a period of 15-20 years, the time for standardization came for the Soviet nationalities throughout the Soviet Union. New Stalinist policies aimed for the centralization of political and cultural life in Moscow.[339] Eyvazova observes in the Azerbaijani case that the press continuously repeated the necessity of a single, united alphabet throughout the Soviet Union, which would be the Russian alphabet. There were two basic reasons according to the media. First, the Russians already had a high culture that answered to the necessities of modern life. Secondly, the Russian culture became even higher due to the October Revolution, which brought humankind more progress than ever observed before.[340]

During this period, according to Clement, the meaning of "international" changed from "global or wide reaching in character" to "Russian."[341] In this case, Latin script previously accepted as "the international script" in order to "engender cohesion among the Soviet peoples"[342] was abandoned in favor of Cyrillic script, which was the script of the new "international," that is, Russians. This was the result of the restructured allegiances of the people to create the Homo Sovieticus, which was based on Russianhood. The differences among Cyrillic alphabets of Turkic nations can be evaluated in this framework. The new alphabets were derivations of the Russian alphabet; however, they differed from each other. Hence, new Turkic nationalities were isolated from each other and tied directly to Moscow. If Turkic peoples from different nationalities were going to interact, this should be via their shared homo sovieticus identity based on Russian values instead of their Turkic identity.

## § 2.5 Evaluation

Turkic peoples underwent a process of (re)constitution according to modernity during the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. In this

339 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 52-3.

340 Eyvazova provides examples of that thesis in ibid., pp. 58-71.

341 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 118.

342 Ibid., p. 61.

framework, the idea of "nationhood" that accompanied the philological revolution, in the words of Benedict Anderson, and the introduction of print and the press as new technological tools shaped linguistic and political perceptions in the region. There was one group whose members desired to reach the public through new technological tools to prepare society for the modern era. They would transform local vernaculars into new literary and print languages to fulfill that task, fusing them with the idea of nationhood that they desired as thae new form of organization for society. Also, given the low literacy rates and the technical problems of printing due to the characteristics of the Arabo-Persian script, there were discussions of alphabet reform and even change. On the other side were the defenders of a common Turkic literary language whose model was more difficult for society in terms of pedagogy. They did not desire the deceleration of public education but hoped to extend the limits of the new society to include all ethnocultural brethren, broadening the front of their geopolitical struggle to live and prosper. Also, one group rejected major alphabet reform or changes in order to protect intertemporal ties that they considered the guardians of national culture.

In terms of language, defenders of national languages prevailed. Print and the press established an ideological basis for modernism and nationalism, at least in the minds of the local intelligentsia who would lead society in that direction. Following the Bolshevik Revolution, enhanced and thoroughly defined organizational structures were built upon this legacy, which can be described by the Stalinist maxim: "National in form, socialist in content."[343] Moscow even cooperated with some local intellectuals who agreed to work within the socialist framework to legitimize and strengthen such structures until the Great Purge of the late 1930s. Before that, a Jadidist agenda continued to influence intellectual life to a certain degree alongside the Bolshevik ideas.[344] Nevertheless, this went hand in hand with criticism and rejection of the past,[345] as seen in the alphabet transition process whereby Turkic peoples abandoned the Arabo-Persian script for the Latin script. Interestingly, there

343 Findley, *The Turks in World History,* p. 182.

344 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," pp. 27-8.

345 Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları,* p. 75.

were two contradictory developments in the Soviet Union. On one hand, Moscow was trying to strengthen distinct national identities among Soviet Turkic peoples; on the other hand, Moscow assigned these republics a uniform alphabet that emphasized a common Turkic identity and heritage rather than distinct national identities. In addition, the new Turkish alphabet adopted during the same period was distinct but similar to those of the Soviet Turkic peoples.

During the 1930s, however, *Korenizatsia* (Localization) and *Natsionalizatsia* (Nationalization) policies of the 1920s were abandoned for a process of centralization in the 1930s.[346] Its first manifestation was the rearrangement of national orthographies seemingly by national organs but actually under the supervision and governance of the Russians.[347] Nevertheless, this does not suggest that the process of nationalization process was abandoned. Instead, it was redefined during the 1930s when the new Soviet nations subject to a new Soviet internationalism – based on what is Russian as was accompanied with the local elements. Any inter-Turkic and pan-Turkic elements that arose prior to Soviet allegiance were abandoned and forgotten, unlike in the 1920s when some such elements still had remained. These new nations, many of the modern canonical works of which dated to the nineteenth century, had their historical and linguistic characteristics reshaped by Moscow following the removal of Jadidism. The Soviet publication policies in national languages fortified that remolding of these nations and worked perfectly as the "print capitalism" of Anderson.[348]

On this issue, Anderson comments as such:

> The fate of the Turkic-speaking peoples in the zones incorporated into today's Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and the Soviet Union is especially exemplary. A family of spoken languages, once everywhere assemblable, thus comprehensible, within an Arabic orthography, has lost that unity as a result of conscious manipulations.[349]

346 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 105.

347 Ibid., p. 118.

348 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform,* p. 119.

349 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p. 61.

In this section, I approached this comment critically since there was a tendency for many Turkic nations to emerge during the nineteenth century. A strong, unifying educational system and print capitalism throughout Turkic peoples might have created such unity; however, even that would not be unopposed. Modern nations emerged in Turkic World as the cases of Kayyum Nasıri and Ibray Altınsarin illustrate. On the other hand, there was a connection among the intelligentsia of Turkic World via the public space of Turkic languages established by the imperfect but successful efforts of intellectual media men. Nationalist movements prevailed even as the inter-Turkic efforts continued up until the Bolshevik and Kemalist revolutions. Moscow supported the idea of nations though it shaped them according to Bolshevik principles, which became based on the Russian cultural elements in the 1930s. Given these legacies, Soviet Turkic nations would become independent following the Cold War. All of these experiences – alphabet discussions and transitions, Jadidist nation-building during the tsarist era, and Bolshevik nation-building based on Bolshevik internationalism during the Soviet era – would affect linguistic discussions and decisions of the post-Cold War era.

# 3

## The Alphabetical Conventions (1991-1993)

During the Glasnost and Perestroika, one issue was the statuses of languages in these republics. The former Soviet Union had fifteen different republics in every one of which, there was a "titular nation"[1] after that the state was named because that nation was the majority of the population in these republics historically and usually up-to-date. However, the languages of titular ethnies, while taught in schools preferentially, was not accepted as the official language even in these republics; thus, had not enjoyed an official status. Children usually had learnt and spoken Russian because it was the official language and this situation enabled a few advantages for the Russophones. A person who had ambitions in life had to learn Russian because it was demanded implicitly or explicitly as a prerequisite. Furthermore, sufficient knowledge was necessary to deal with both the local bureaucracy, as well as the Moscow, and to benefit from the services provided by the government that consisted the most vital aspect of one's everyday life. Last but not least, many of these republics included minorities, either historical ones or newer ones emerged after the migrations to these republics, who would use the Russian language, as a lingua franca, to communicate with the others. Thus, the Russian language

1 Jacob Landau and Kellner-Heinkele prefer the term "titular ethnie" indicating that there was an ethnic group after which the nation and republic was named. Nevertheless, the concept "titular nation" is more widely used in the literature.

also had emerged as an "interethnic communicative language." Soviet language policies had positive sides such as disseminating literacy among the Soviet peoples via alphabet transitions, mass education, and raising some vernaculars to the level of literary languages with an alphabet and literature. Some interpreted creating literary languages from vernaculars as rescuing many of them from assimilation and disappearance. On the other hand, due to the Soviet policies, many other languages eventually deteriorated since these languages became filled with Russian acronyms and their speakers abandoned their languages for Russian. This situation was about to change, however, during the last years of the Soviet Union.[2]

The reformation process of Gorbachev that remarked the last years of the Soviet Union triggered a process for Turkic republics to expand their organizational capacity and put their national characteristics on the ground, as much under the framework of Glasnost and Perestroika as possible. "Almost everywhere, the first concrete signs of the self-assertiveness were language laws, passed between July 1989 and May 1990, followed by declarations of sovereignty and subsequently of independence."[3] The exception was Azerbaijan, which had managed to officialise its titular language much before, in the 1978 Constitution of the AzSSR. Although the process for Turkic nations of realizing their cultural and political demands was not a smooth one, they managed to conclude their efforts by enacting language laws during 1989 that expanded the utilization of these nationalities' languages and made them state language[4] and declaring their sovereignty during 1990.[5]

Furthermore, in some republics, a hot issue emerged on the agenda of the press whether to change the alphabet or at least to make a reform to represent the languages much better. In the public discussions of Azerbaijan, Latin script

2 Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (London: Hurst and Company, 2001) Chap. 2 "Language Politics: Soviet Era," pp. 51-62.

3 Ibid., p. 66.

4 Ibid., pp. 109- 111. Note that Azerbaijan had already accepted the titular language as a state language; nevertheless, a decree on language was published in August 1989.

5 Mustafa Aydın "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler," in *Türk Dış Politikası,* ed. Baskın Oran, *vol.2* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 372 and pp. 377-8. Note that Azerbaijan declared its sovereignty in 1989.

was the prevailing one for the new alphabet, while for Uzbeks, Arabic script seemed like a very strong option. Meanwhile, Turkmens generally discussed the modification of the existing Cyrillic alphabet by abandoning the letters peculiar to Russian.

The discussions for changing alphabet had emerged in the context of Perestroika and Democratization and got stronger by these developments. The press and the media were important channels for discussions about a new alphabet through which many intellectuals – linguists, teachers etc. – as well as the ordinary people could express their views on the questions of whether a new alphabet was necessary or not, and if necessary which script should be used – Arabic, Latin, a reformed version of existing Cyrillic, or even Turkic Runes – and which orthographic model for these scripts should be applied.[6]

Meanwhile, there was a predisposition emerging in Turkey towards the developments in Turkic Republics and towards Turkic languages. There were two possible factors to look at when evaluating this phenomenon. First, there was a change in linguistic policies after the 1980 coup d'état. Bingöl suggests that the Turkish linguists can be distinguished into two main categories since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, namely modernists and traditionalists. Modernists were defending a "Kemalist modernist language policy" for which "secularization and nationalization (were) important norms." They "favored the creation of a Western-type nation-state based on the Turkish elements of Anatolia within the national borders of Turkey" and defended Latin alphabet and formation of new words to replace the Arabic and Persian words in Turkish.[7] Traditionalists, on the other hand, that consisted of two groups, namely, Islamists and Turkists opposed that kind of political and linguistic conception. While both of the traditionalist groups were not in favor of abandoning Arabic and Persian words for recently formed modern Turkish counterparts; Turkists, unlike the modernists who limited themselves with national

6 Ziyafet Eyvazova "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008). Her thesis analyzes this phenomenon in Azerbaijan.

7 Yılmaz Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy In Lıght Of the Actors' Norms and Identity Model" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002), p. 12.

borders, considered also other Turkic languages as a source to adopt or form new words.[8]

The modernist group had been in control of the TDK (Turkish Language Association), which was the main official organization to regulate Turkish language with a considerable amount of independence from government, up until 1980s while these two groups were competing with each other for a while in order to have the last word in linguistic issues and policies.[9] The 1980 coup d'etat and the hegemony of conservatism in Turkish politics reflected itself by the restructuring of the TDK as an "academy of science" and the traditionalists' acquisition of power in new the TDK in 1983. Thus, Turkish linguistics and the policies made became much inclined to the other Turkic languages and peoples.[10]

The second and the more catalysing factor was the process going towards the dissolution of the Soviet Union initiated by Glasnost and Perestroika, which popularized the issue of Turkic brethren in both Turkish foreign and linguistic policy. Actually, Turkey had always been careful about the Turco-Soviet relationships and that prudence had lasted until the very last moments of the union;[11] nonetheless, especially after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a "euphoria period" in the Turkish politics during which, almost everyone in Turkey raised some hopes about Turkic republics, irrespective of being leftist or rightist.[12] In this context, especially, "the nationalists enjoyed (the sense of) historical righteousness and the superiority of their ideology" against their rivals.[13]

In the context of linguistic politics, the euphoria among the Turkists – who defended to establish a connection with other Turkic languages, and competed with and got the posts from modernists who defended an Anatolian-based

8 Ibid., pp. 13-19.

9 Ibid., pp. 125-131.

10 Ibid., pp. 134-137.

11 Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler" in *Türk Dış Politikası vol.2* (2001), pp. 374-5.

12 Hüseyin Sert, "The Idea of a Turkish World from the Adriatıc to the Wall of China: Relations between Turkey and Turkic Republics delivered during 1990s" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), p. 83.

13 Ibid., p. 84.

national language – was also visible since the biggest external obstacle in front of them, the Soviet Union, simply vanished.[14] This led them to prepare a set of projects that would be put into practice almost without any opposition because of two reasons. First, the perception of "their historical righteousness" brought them kind of a justification. Secondly, they were holding the key positions in the TDK,[15] which had become an official governmental organ that would determine the main lines of linguistic policies since the 1980s.

As a matter of fact, the existence of such a cadre holding the key positions in the TDK and of then-minister of Culture, Namık Kemal Zeybek, who was close to them, enabled the initiation of linguistic policies towards Turkic peoples, even before the collapse of the Soviet Union, by late 1990. The ministry of Culture convened the 1st Turkish/Turkic Language Congress on 25-28 September 1990,[16] which was called as "first" due to the fact that the ministry had initiated such a series of conventions for the first time, just a few weeks before its counterparts in the Soviet Union. Even if "the members invited from the Soviet Union could not come"[17] and attend the congress and the linguistic problems in Turkey consisted much of the agenda;[18] this convention was still important and can be considered as a milestone in this process for two reasons.

The first reason is that a general agenda that would be followed by Turkey during the rest of the process was either drawn or declared by an official congress. In the part of the final declaration that was dedicated to the commission of the "Alphabet, Orthography and Literary Language in Turkic World," it was stated that:

14 Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy," pp. 149-150.

15 Ibid., p. 150.

16 Hamza Zülfikar, "Haberler: Kültür Bakanlığınca Yapılan I. Türk Dili Kurultayı," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, No: 466 (October 1990), p. 232.

17 Ibid., p. 233.

18 Ibid., pp. 234-5. Only one of five commissions in the congress was completely about Turkic peoples while the others were Turkey-oriented.

> In this commission, it was emphasized that it is needed to put much more effort in order to improve the relations between our state [Turkey] and first and foremost other Turkic republics within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics along with any other states in which Turk(ic) language have been spoken, it was decided that it is necessary to establish a common alphabet within Turkic World; such opinion was adopted that it will be appropriate within the whole Turkic world to use Latin script in order to compensate for the contemporary needs of science, technology and culture.[19]

Furthermore, it was stated in the commission on "Issue of Terminology" that "it would be appropriate to utilise terminological dictionaries of the contemporary Turkic dialects [or languages] that were turned into distinct literary languages and to evaluate the peoples' dialects [in Turkish language]" when forming new terms in Turkish language.[20] Here, making a common Turkic alphabet based on Latin script and enabling the word exchange to form new terms and colloquial words were two crucial elements of the future agenda.

The adoption of new word roots and formations to form new words and terms was one issue on the agenda, and it seems as an issue of domestic policy. Renaming the places that had Russian names either via finding its historical name or via inventing a new one was an important linguistic issue in Central Asia. Another one was finding synonyms for many Russian words used in these languages.[21] In this framework, adoption of some words and terms had eventually started during the general process of rapprochement between Turkish and the other Turkic languages.[22] Meanwhile, the issue of the alphabet, which had started to emerge concretely by this congress for Turkey, would have eventually become a dimension of the Turkish foreign policy towards

19 Ibid., p. 235. The final declaration of that congress is given by Hamza Zülfikar on pages 233-5.

20 Ibid., p. 235.

21 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), pp. 149-150.

22 Turkey initiated a project called "Finding Equivalents to Foreign-Origin Words" (Yabancı Kelimelere Karşılık Bulma) in which Turkic languages were considered a resource for new words to replace foreign ones. Also, Turkic languages adopted words like *uçak* (airplane) from Turkish. See Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy," pp. 155-6.

Turkic republics. This led to future conventions made in Turkey, which would turn into a series of conventions and become a process. Many scientists and officials from Turkic republics would participate in this series of conventions and exchange ideas with their Turkish counterparts. In this process, both Turkish and Turkic sides would be influenced by each other's ideas. Especially the Turkic participants would eventually return to their own countries and try to influence the public opinions and the national decisions about the alphabet transitions. These conventions, meanwhile, would try to make its decisions official and try to create an official institutional framework authorized by the governments of Turkic republics in order to direct the ongoing alphabet transitions in these republics. Although delegations from Turkic republics attended an official meeting held by Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and TİKA in March 1993, which decided to establish such institutional framework;[23] such an institution would not emerge in the aftermath. On the other hand, the decisions came out of the conventions in 1991-3 would have its reflections in the public opinion via the Turkic participants defending these decisions in their own countries.

The second reason that makes the 1990 Congress important was its participants; even though there had not been any participants who came from Turkic republics and peoples. As it will become clear on the coming pages of this thesis that the process to construct a common alphabet for Turkic peoples actually lacked an institutional framework. Although many different conventions were made, there were no central committees or similar organs unlike the alphabet transitions of Soviet Turkic peoples during the 1920-40 period that codified the collection of decisions made in the various conventions and that oversaw the application. In such a process where a central committee or a similar organ was demanded but could not be established for various reasons, the only tool to enable continuity and application of the decisions taken was the participants' themselves and their efforts. This would become the main pattern in this process. It was even accepted during the 1991 Symposium

23 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, no: 523 (July 1995), p. 741. For the original document see pages 757-9.

as a method to fulfil the symposium's decisions. Especially the Turkic participants, who already had or would eventually acquire important positions in their countries, were a key part in this process. It is because that when they returned to their countries, their propositions and presentations, in their national alphabet committees, in their national parliaments, and to presidents and the public opinion, would disseminate the decisions of these common alphabet conventions.

Although nobody among the Soviet Turkic peoples had made it to the 1990 congress and therefore it cannot be said that the congress and its decisions would be represented in other Turkic republics, participants to the 1990 congress were actually the ones that would either organize or participate in future congresses in Turkey. Among the signees,[24] İnci Enginün was the dean of the Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies, which would organize the 1991 Symposium where the Common Turkic Latin Alphabet was constituted by the common decisions of Turkish and the Turkic participants. In addition to that, Emine Gürsoy was another participant from Marmara University attended the 1st Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress. Zeynep Korkmaz and Hamza Zülfikar were two eminent linguists who held important positions in the TDK. Korkmaz would attend the 1991 Symposium and 1. STDKr,[25] while Zülfikar to 1. STDKr, only. Tuncer Gülensoy was another significant academic who attended the TİKA conference and both of the Permanent Congresses and presented a paper in the 2. STDKr[26] about the negative aspects of the current Cyrillic alphabets of Turkic peoples. Especially, this congress might be among the motivating factors for Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies to organize the 1991 Symposium. Thus, a direct link that starts in the 1990 Congress to 1993 2nd Permanent Turkic Language Congress can be followed via the participants. Meanwhile, many other academics would also involve in the further stages of the process and strengthen the link of this series by attending the future conventions and defending the decisions of the previous ones in there.

Producing a common Turkic alphabet and forming new terms from the roots in the other Turkic languages were the two dimensions of the views of

24 For the list, see Zülfikar, "Haberler," p. 236.

25 See section 3.2., 1st Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress

26 See section 3.5., 2nd Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress

the Turkist-traditionalist group that affected the linguistic policy of Turkey. First policy aimed to establish *mutual-literacy* among Turkic peoples through which a solid tie for communication would emerge and strengthen the cultural ties among the brethren as believed that existed before. Meanwhile, a second policy aimed, eventually, to establish a vocabulary for the Turkish language that consisted of words commonly used among Turkic peoples. This was a desire kept for other Turkic languages, as well; nevertheless, it had a special place for the Turkish language in the third and last dimension of their views. The last dimension of the traditionalists' ideas was to develop a common literary language among Turkic peoples that existed a long time ago and enabled a common ground for communication, as they perceived. It is strictly tied to the level of familiarity they perceived among the literary and spoken languages of Turkic republics also for modern times.

It is general knowledge that all of the Turkic languages have actually stemmed from one archaic Turkic language. This is the general standpoint of Turcologists in the world.[27] However, the existing level of understanding among the speakers of these languages has been such a disputable issue, which have been existing for a long time, especially in Turkey. This created the "Dil-Lehçe Tartışması (Language-Dialect Discussion)"[28] and two parties that defend opposite views as to Turkic vernaculars are different dialects or languages. Defenders of "dialects" have been proposing that Turkic vernaculars are actually dialects of a great language, which is Turkic language. To make it concrete, there are not any Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Turkish etc. languages; but they are actually the Azerbaijani dialect, Turkmen dialect and (Anatolian) Turkish dialect of Turkic language. Differentiation of Turkic dialects into

27 Hendrik Boeschoten, "The Speakers of Turkic Languages" in *Turkic languages,* eds. Lars Johanson and Eva A. Csato (Routledge Language Families, 1998), p. 1. Also see Lars Johanson, "The History of Turkic," in *Turkic languages*, eds. Johanson and Csato, p. 81.

28 The differences were not considered enough to use the term "language." Many in Turkey prefer to consider them as dialects and call them "Turkic dialects." This is such a popular discussion that there is a subsection on it in Wikipedia as "Dil-Lehçe Tartışması" in "Türk Dilleri," *Wikipedia,* last modified May 26, 2018, https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Türk_dilleri

modern day Turkic languages, according to this group, stemmed from the colonial policies that aimed to apply divide and rule policy to Turkic peoples.[29] On the other hand, defenders of "languages," the opposing side, while not refusing the common root and their relatedness, have been proposing that many modern literary and spoken Turkic languages eventually emerged from a common root of an Archaic Turkic language. In their opinion, dissemination of Turkic people throughout Eurasia had already initiated the differentiation among Turkic peoples linguistically. To this process, modernity contributed especially with its literary tools, newspapers, novels etc. Through fortification of authentic cultures peculiar to smaller Turkic groups, which would eventually evolve into nations.[30] While the latter view gained international acceptance, the former view is exclusively defended by Turkish Turcologists many of whom generally belonged to the Turkist-traditionalist group.

The "dialect" dimension of the Turkist-traditionalists could even be visible during that congress and the others following it, especially when saying "Turkic dialects" (Türk Lehçeleri) just like above. One of the conclusions derived from the dialect approach was to create a literary Turkic language as a communicative channel through which all Turkic peoples could understand each other; thus, a kind of Turkic Esperanto in correspondence and literature. Meanwhile, some of the traditionalists defended that policies resembling Esperanto would be only artificial projects; thus, a natural rapprochement in languages (dialects) should be expected during the political and cultural rapprochement. During that process, a Turkic language – generally Turkish put as the wealthiest and the most widespread one – might enlarge to such a level, at which it can incorporate vocabulary of the other Turkic languages and become much more familiar for whole of the Turkic world; thus, become "the common property of all Turkic peoples."[31] In this context, alphabet and word

29 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Türk Dünyası ve Türk Dili: Geçmiş ve Hedefler," in Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, *Makaleler*, ed. Ekrem Arıkoğlu, pp. 393-5.

30 Talat Tekin, "'Türk Dilleri mi Türk Şiveleri mi'," in Talat Tekin, *Türkoloji Eleştirileri,* ed. Mehmet Ölmez, pp. 268-9.

31 Zeynep Korkmaz, "Türk Dünyası ve Ortak Yazı Dili Konusu," in *Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi 1992* (Ankara: the TDK, 1996), pp. 192-3. For a description of this phenomenon in the literature, see Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy," pp. 149-153.

adoption gained a significant meaning as steps and tools to end up in this ultimate goal of creating a common Turkic literary language.

As opposed to Turkist-traditionalists, most of the modernist linguists and some of the academics were not interested in such a goal since it was perceived as either not rational or as such a goal that could be achieved in distant future. On the other hand, the Common Turkic Alphabet Project remained important for them since they evaluated Common Turkic Alphabet Project as feasible and with a potential to become an important asset for the cooperation process among Turkic peoples.[32] The demands for a common Turkic literary language would have been put concretely since the 1st Permanent Turkic Congress in September 1992 by some of the both Turkish as well as other the Turkic participants. Eventually, the project of common language faded away, which was especially visible at the last convention of this process, in 2. STDKr in September 1993. The impracticability of a common Turkic literary language in the near future was put concretely as the reason; nonetheless, one could also consider the regional attitudes for linguistic issues as another possible factor. The perspective of evaluating Turkic languages as a dialect of one common language was perceived negatively in the region and insulting the national pride. Also, Turkic republics were about to realize a new political agenda on the national language, including the alphabet issue in some nations, as a part of the post-Soviet nation-building process. Thus, the linguistic area was closed to inter-Turkic cooperation and kept as a matter of national policy-making.

In parallel with the discussions in Turkey, the Common Turkic Alphabet project became a hot issue in the academic and scientific circles in Turkic republics in the Soviet Union. It was among the topics discussed in the new series of conventions as a result of the political developments in the Soviet Un-

32 Talat Tekin, "Türk Diyalektleri" Değil "Türk Dilleri" in Talat Tekin, *Türkoloji Eleştirileri,* ed. Mehmet Ölmez, p. 273. Also see Talat Tekin's speech during 1. Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı, Kültür Bakanlığı (transcr.), *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı (1992), p*. 39.

ion. Participants stated that During the Soviet Turcologists' Conference, convened in Nalchik in October 1990,[33] and first Assembly of Turkic People in the Soviet Union, convened in Tatarstan in April 1991,[34] it was decided for Turkic peoples to adopt a common Latin alphabet in the future. That series of conferences which were convened outside of Turkey would continue with the 1992 International Turcology Conference in Kazan, Tatarstan in June 1992.[35] Meanwhile, the alphabet issue was also evaluated in some of these republics, irrespectively. For instance, a commission had already been working on the new national alphabet in Azerbaijan since March 1990[36] within the Institute of Manuscripts of Azerbaijan.[37] These efforts would be officialized via the establishment of a new alphabet commission within the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani SSR in September 1990.[38]

There were lots of discussions, deliberations, and developments going on among Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union about the alphabet change. Also, many Turkish academics and intellectuals started to be interested in those developments, too. However, the discussions and developments in the region were at the national level rather than at inter-Turkic level. Each nation had tried to deal with the issue independently from each other, in an isolated manner. There existed a lack of coordination among Turkic peoples on the issue of alphabet transition. This situation urged some Turkish academics and linguists to convene in order to establish and apply a common Turkic alphabet based on Latin script. It was also supported by some fellow Turkic colleagues,

33 Speech of Mirfatih Zekiev during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in Nadir Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, no. 509, 1992), p. 28.

34 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 23. Muhammetdinov was also the president of the Assembly of Turkic People in the Soviet Union,

35 Opening speech of Nadir Devlet, on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 17. He stated that it would be in July; however, my research suggests that it took place on 9-13 June 1992.

36 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 178.

37 Speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 39,

38 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 183.

as well. Later, some future conventions took place to keep the information inflow and institutionalization of the existing series of conventions and its decisions.

The first convention was the 1991 Symposium organized by Marmara University. Two of them were organized by Turkish Ministry of Culture. Another one by TİKA, which was then under the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs coordinating the cooperation process of Turkey with Turkic republics. Cooperation on the alphabet transition and other linguistic issues were also on the agenda of other governmental or semi-governmental meetings, too. They are also included in this chapter. What I intend to evaluate in this chapter is, first of all, how the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was formed, and what kind of political and linguistic views existed on and around the alphabet. Another important point to evaluate is the decision-making style in the series of conventions. Although it was desired to establish an official institution recognized by all of Turkic republics, the result was exactly the opposite. Voluntary actions of the participants enabled the latter conventions to make consistent decisions with the previous ones. Also, voluntarism of the Turkic participants enabled the creation of such alphabet proposals based on the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project in Turkic Republics. On the other hand, there was a general disinterest in the region and such voluntarisms could not be influential in these republics. This could be one of the reasons why some Turkic republics adopted such alphabets violating the 34-letter Frame Alphabet.

Another reason for that could be that the over-enthusiastic and extremely idealistic presumptions of many Turkish academics and politicians as well as the approach, which created suspicion and uneasiness among the Turkic policymakers and academics. This was accompanied by a disinterest about the issue among the politicians as well as the peoples of these republics. These were some of the important factors that stopped the process. Nevertheless, my analysis on the series of conventions shows that Turkic academics and politicians were capable to change the attitude of their Turkish counterparts and affect the final resolutions. Also, the Turkish side actually demonstrated enough flexibility to meet the demands of their fellow Turkic colleagues, as well. Therefore, in my opinion, the main reason for this process to stop can be

discovered by further analyzes that evaluate the nation and alphabet building processes of Turkic nations.

## § 3.1 The 1991 Symposium

The very first gathering convened in Turkey to constitute a common alphabet for Turkic states was the "International Symposium on the Modern Turkic alphabets" (Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu) gathered by Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies on 18-20 November 1991.[39] The symposium was before the official dissolution of the Soviet Union while some of the states had already declared their independence; however, no recognition came about their independence until December. While the symposium was organized by a public institution (by an institute of a public university), it was also followed by Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and gathered many academics from soon-to-be independent Turkic republics, and from various Turkic peoples and groups in Russia. Despite the fact that neither the host institution nor the participants were authorized to take decisions on behalf of their governments, this convention was important for three aspects. First, Turkey along with almost all of Turkic peoples was represented in a scientific convention on Turkic culture and civilization since the 1926 Baku Turkic Studies Congress. Secondly, this convention had the highest rate of representation of the various Turkic people, along with TÜDEV[40]. Lastly, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet that would be the landmark of this process was created in this convention.

### 3.1.1 *The Structure of the symposium*

The institution that organized this symposium, Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies, was a public institution established in the mid-1980s by the

39 Nadir Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu (*Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, no. 509, 1992).

40 See section 3.4. 1st TÜDEV Congress as a Semi-Official Convention.

former members of Istanbul University Institute Turkic Studies. It was established as a unit in Marmara University at first, then became a research center, and recently became an institute.[41] Furthermore, there were Tek-Esin Foundation, which was established in 1988 for the pursuit of studies in pre-Islamic Turkic Arts,[42] and the Promotion Fund of Prime Ministry as the other contributors, while Tek-Esin Foundation was called the co-organizer.[43] So, it was not exactly an official convention authorized for official decision-making, and it was a product of a partnership with an NGO; nonetheless, there was also support of the Turkish government at a certain level.

The symposium convened at a critical time. It was the very last phase of the dissolution days of the Soviet Union. Among the five Soviet Turkic republics, three of them had already declared their independence, though there was no official recognition until 16 December 1991, a month later than the symposium.[44] By the help of the reformation process initiated by Gorbachev, many topics that could not have been discussed in the Soviet Union before due to the former political atmosphere became open for discussion and criticism. The issues of the state language and of the national alphabet was among them. Intellectuals and the people were eager to talk about it; especially in Turkic republics where the people became subject to many alphabet reforms with which linguists were not satisfied. The last few years of the Soviet Union was an era of uncertainty for these Turkic republics, which attempted to a reformation process on cultural issues. Some Turkic republics of the Soviet Union declared –or were about to declare national independence. On the other hand, they were not sure about the future until the very last days.[45]

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41 Opening speech of İnci Enginün on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 10-1.

42 The website for Tek-Esin, "Hakkımızda," accessed on Apr. 17, 2017, http://tekesin.org.tr/hakkimizda.

43 Opening speech of İnci Enginün on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 13.

44 Mustafa Aydın "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler," in *Türk Dış Politikası, vol. 2* (2001), pp. 377-8.

45 Ibid., p. 383.

This situation of uncertainty about the future was perceived as both risky and open to new opportunities by many actors. Two actors had risen in this period to pursue cultural interests, namely Turkey and Iran, both of whom had cultural ties with these people. In this competition, Turkey represented the Western modernization; while Iran represented Islamic inclinations based on its Islamic revolution and desire to export it.[46] Hence, the symposium convened in a vital time span in the framework of the uncertainty of the Soviet Union's future and of the Iranian attempts to establish a zone of influence in the region by using its strong civilizational background that had already influenced Turkic peoples throughout many centuries as well as using the Islamic solidarity.

By convening this symposium, the host academics from Turkey as well as their institutions expected to fulfil a few aims. First, they aimed to reach solid information from Turkic countries and peoples themselves especially about the alphabet issue.[47] Another aim, stated by Nadir Devlet during the opening session, was to "procure Turkic World an alphabetical union based on Latin" in order to enable "revitalization of (our) cultural ties, and increment of (our) cooperation" through "understanding, corresponding, and establishing a dialog with each other again."[48] Actually, some Turkic participants considered the formation of a common alphabet as the ultimate goal of the whole process. Rather than determining the linguistic issues such as "how many letters (the Common) Alphabet must have or which voices (or phonemes) must be appropriated," this symposium was supposed to "search the ways to transition to Turkic alphabet" according to these participants.[49] However, the discussions

46 Ibid., p. 421.

47 Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 21-2.

48 "Şayet Türk Dünyasında Latin esasına dayanan bir alfabe işbirliği sağlanırsa, bu kültürel bağlarımızın yeniden canlanmasına işbirliğimizin artmasına yol açacaktır." Opening speech of Nadir Devlet on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 17,

49 "(B)iz bu sempozyumdan yararlanarak, Türkî alfabesine geçmenin yollarını aramamız gerekmektedir. … Biz bu alfabenin kaç harften müteşekkil olması gerektiğini veya hangi seslerin alınması gibi hususların çözümünü dilbilimcilere bırakalım." Speech of Holcigit Sanagulov in discussion section in ibid., p. 31.

made the symposium adopt the 34-letter Common Latin Alphabet rather than adopting basic linguistic principles or recommendations.

The Turkish government also desired Turkic republics to adopt Latin-based alphabets. This can be understood from a telegram sent by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the symposium as a response to the invitation. In this telegram, then Director-General for Cultural Affairs of MFA, Ismet Birsel, stated that "It is no doubt that [this] symposium is going to … enlighten the attempts of the societies in the (Soviet) Republics that are under the effort for restructuring to adopt the Latin alphabet in the framework of searching new alphabets."[50] So, although this was not a direct policy-making by Turkish MFA, utilization of Latin alphabet rather than Cyrillic or Arabic was preferable for the Turkish government, and the government might, at least, support some efforts for this cause such as this convention. This desire of Turkish MFA for Latin alphabet might stem from the desire of "strengthening the existing historical and cultural ties" as stated in the telegram[51] or if evaluated in the general course of Turkish foreign policy towards Turkic states, it will be seen that Turkey was competing with Iran to become a role model for these states that were passing through a transitional process and the issue of alphabet became the crucial component of that competition's cultural aspect.[52] The promotion of the Arabic alphabet in these republics, which was linked especially with Iran and the Arab World,[53] would become an important discussion topic in the symposium that will be described, Later. This symposium also seems to be in parallel with the 1990 Congress of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. İnci Enginün, as the dean of the Institute organizing this symposium, was among the participants to the 1990 Congress. Furthermore, many important linguists

50 "Sempozyumun yeniden yapılanma çabası içinde olan Sovyet … Cumhuriyetler(in)de yaşayan toplumların yeni alfabe arayışları çerçevesinde Latin alfabesini benimseme girişimlerine de ışık tutacağı şüphesizdir." Telegram sent to the symposium by Ambassador Ismet Birsel, Director General for Cultural Affairs of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in ibid., p. 6.

51 "… mevcut tarihî ve kültürel bağların güçlenmesine …"Telegram by Ismet Birsel in ibid., p. 6.

52 Mustafa Aydın "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler," in *Türk Dış Politikası*, *vol. 2* (2001), p. 421.

53 Ibid., p. 421.

from the Turkish Language Association (TDK-Türk Dil Kurumu) were participating in the 1991 Symposium, as described in detail within the next paragraph.

During the sessions of the symposium, there were six vocal participants[54] from Turkey,[55] while there were twenty-seven from Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union,[56] which makes the symposium one in which Turkic peoples had the highest rate of representation compared with the other two congresses convened by the Ministry of Culture. Among the participants, some had official titles[57] such as two members of parliament came from their countries, namely, Razil Veliev from Tatarstan, and Feridun Celilov from Azerbaijan; and Rafael Muhammetdinov who was the leader of the Assembly of Turkic Peoples in the Soviet Union convened earlier in 1992,[58] and Hasan Eren as the chairman of the Turkish Language Association (TDK-Türk Dil Kurumu). There were also eminent academics, such as Ahmet Temir, while some holding official positions, also in the TDK, such as Ahmet Bican Ercilasun and Zeynep Korkmaz, both of whom would also attend the following conventions. Nevertheless, nobody was officially authorized by their countries for any binding task, which they stated many times during the sessions.[59] This was the case

54 Since I am using published proceedings of the conventions, I can only determine participants who spoke at these conventions, and I call them as vocal participants. There may have been some other participants who did not deliver a speech and are thus not included in the publications that I am using.

55 Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 4-5. Five of them were listed in the participants section; the sixth, Zeynep Korkmaz, was in the discussion session transcribed on p. 32.

56 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

57 Ibid., p. 4.

58 As he noted under his signature on the final declaration of the symposium, ibid., p. 68.

59 See for example Sapar Kürenov's speech: "Ancak bu sempozyum ortak bir karar kabul edemez. Böyle bir kararı her Türkî halk … kendi parlamentosunda alabilir. Biz ancak tavsiyede bulunabilriz." Speech of Sapar Kürenov in discussion session in ibid., p. 33.

even for the Turkic participants who were holding official titles in their countries.[60]

A further issue about the participation was that the symposium was a small-scale organization, so many important linguists did or could not attend the symposium.[61] In addition to that, some Turkic peoples had not been represented in the symposium; especially, the Uyghurs in China and Turkic peoples in Altais were mentioned.[62] Nonetheless, there were "27 participants [and] 13 different Turkic languages were represented during the symposium."[63] Both of these factors were stated in this symposium by the participants who were critical to the issue of participation. Nevertheless, its importance was accepted by some, and it was even stated that "this symposium will be as important as the 1926 Baku Turcology Congress."[64] In this context, this symposium was simply a scientific convention that did not have any political authority and task for official application at the political level as stated also by the Turkish participants and hosts.[65] On the other hand, the symposium was important because it was a successful forum in which many Turkic peoples were represented by academics and intellectuals more than 60 years later, and the decisions made here were a milestone.

There were four sessions in the symposium; the first one was for Turkic peoples living in today's Russian Federation (then RSFSR), the second one was for Oghuz Turkic peoples, the third one was for Karluk Turkic Peoples, and

60 "(B)izim hükümetimiz, yüksek Sovyetimiz, millî meclisimiz var. Onlar bizim fikrimizi kabul ederler mi…?"Speech of Razil Veliev (MP in Tatarstan) during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 29.

61 Speech of Vagif Aslanov in ibid., p. 38 and speech of Berdiyar Yusupov in p. 47.

62 Speech of Velinur Mahpırov in ibid., p. 32 and speech of Köbey Husainov in p. 53 mentioned these Turkic peoples. Also see Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets," p. 15 for the other Turkic peoples that were not mentioned.

63 Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium," p. 5.

64 "1926 Kurultayı ne kadar önemli ise, bu Sempozyumun da o kadar önem taşıyacağına inanıyorum." Speech of Cebbar Göklenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 44,

65 Speech of Osman Fikri Sertkaya delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 32 and speech of Hasan Eren delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 39.

the fourth one was for Southern Kipchak Turkic peoples. Each session was administrated by a Turkish moderator in the given row.[66] There were an opening session and the first session on the first day, the second and the third sessions on the second day, and the fourth session was followed by a decision-making session and closing speeches on the last day. During these sessions, each participant was encouraged to speak his/her native Turkic language.[67] From this point, I will evaluate the discussions went on during these sessions. I will especially look at two aspects. The first one is the social, political and historical mindset of the participants that affected the constitution process of the alphabet; and then I will look for how the alphabet was constructed by detecting the dominant ideas in the construction process to decide its position on the political realm.

### 3.1.2 *Participants' Analyses on the Region*

#### 3.1.2.1 Social analysis

Turkish academics had the impression that Latin alphabet was the main tendency in the region, while some preferred the Uniform Turkic Latin Alphabet of the 1927-40 period that was used widely among Turkic people; while some wanted to adopt a Latin alphabet with some modifications compared with the Turkish alphabet, and some desired to utilise Turkish Latin alphabet with some additional letters.[68] In addition, it seemed for Turkish academics that there was not any cooperation among the actors whose effort was for the Latin alphabet; and there was some hesitation and the issue was not at the governmental level.[69] Meanwhile, academics came from Turkic countries had some different impressions, as well. Their general analysis can be summarized as there were three alternatives to alphabets desired by different social groups.[70]

66 Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium," pp. 6-7.

67 Opening speech of Nadir Devlet on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 18.

68 Opening speech of Nadir Devlet on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 16,

69 Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 21.

70 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 23. Speech of Köbey Husainov delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 34. Speech of

The first one was the existing alphabet of that society, that is, their national Cyrillic alphabet. According to the academics, that group consisted of generally middle-aged people and bureaucrats desiring to continue with the existing Cyrillic alphabet in which most of the intellectual production had been made; thus, some minor reforms would be enough if a change were necessary. The older generation usually supported either the former Latin alphabet used in the 1930s or the previous Arabic alphabet in order to access the intellectual production of that era and not to destroy the cultural and intellectual connection between generations. Meanwhile, the younger population and many intellectuals who were politically active supported a new and reformed Latin alphabet. Also, there were some linguists who supported the Orkhon alphabet[71] to use; nonetheless, this project was not popular.

There were also alternative standpoints in these societies for the Latin alphabet, which diverted from Turkey and its alphabet. In Tatarstan, for example, the technocratic group desired a phonetic alphabet based on the English alphabet to have universal characters rather than particularistic.[72] In addition, some bureaucratic administrative group in Uzbekistan wanted to have an alphabet mixture of Latin and Cyrillic.[73] However, there were even more deep-rooted diversions from Turkey, too. In Turkmenistan, for example, the society's preference was towards Cyrillic alphabet and there had not been any official work made for the adoption of the Latin alphabet by the government, yet.[74] In addition to that, there were significant groups in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan that wanted to adopt Arabic alphabet rather than Latin one, and in

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Alaeddin Aliev delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 37-8. And speech of Holcigid Sanagulov delivered during 3rd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 46-7.

71 Another name for Turkic Runiform script.

72 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 23.

73 Speech of Holcigid Sanagulov delivered during 3rd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 47.

74 Speech of Besim Çariyarov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 43 and speech of Cebbar Göklenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 44.

Kazakhstan where even the propaganda for Arabic alphabet was much stronger than for Latin.[75] Nonetheless, supporters of the Latin alphabet was the dominant group in Azerbaijan, according to an Azerbaijani participant, by being more than 90% of the population.[76] Also, Turkmenistan actually lacked supporters of the Arabic script.[77] Meanwhile, President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan put that there would not exist any other possibility than Latin script if there were an alphabet change going to happen.[78]

#### 3.1.2.2 Political analysis

In many of Turkic republics, there was a common reason for strong support for Arabic script in these countries, the Iranian Factor. Azerbaijan has been a neighbor of Iran that shared not only the same religion but also predominantly[79] the same sect, that is, Shi'ite, in addition to the significant civilizational cultural ties. Furthermore, there has been a considerable amount of Azerbaijani minority in Iran, which is considered as a potential risk by Iranian policymakers. Hence, the alphabet union with the Iranian Azerbaijanis was standing as a factor to be considered in the process of alphabet change. Actually, such moves for this cause came from also Iranian Azerbaijanis.

Azerbaijani academics stated that Cevat Heyet, who was an eminent Turcologist of the Iranian Azerbaijani community, insisted for the Arabic script and produced a project of a phonetic alphabet based on the Arabic script. This kind of Arabic alphabet was, however, not only the traditional one used by Azerbaijanis in history; but also not related to Iranian alphabet and any other Islamic country. According to Vagif Aslanov, Cevat Heyet also accepted this fact.[80] So, it can be said that it was not purposeful, except that the Arabic al-

75 Speech of Amantay Torgaev delivered during 4th session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 53.

76 Speech of Alovset Abdullaev delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 35.

77 Speech of Besim Çariyarov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 43.

78 Speech of Erden Kacibekov delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 49.

79 "Azerbaijan," *The World Factbook,* accessed on July 26, 2018, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/aj.html.

80 Speech of Vagif Aslanov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 38.

phabet became easier, in the sense that it would not serve to the common alphabet, neither among Turkic people nor Islamic countries including Iran, but to the isolation and particularization of Azerbaijan.[81] Another attempt came was the distribution of a book written by Feryad Musevi, an Iranian Azerbaijan, in Tabriz, Iran that defended the Arabic script.[82] That book was also criticized in the symposium since it tries to establish similarities between Stalin, who was considered as a brutal socialist despot not respecting any religion, and Atatürk, who was evaluated in a parallel manner due to the fact that he abolished the Islamic Arabic script in Turkey in 1928.[83]

In Uzbekistan, while not sharing the same sect with Iran, Islam played a huge role among the supporters of the Arabic script. Uzbekistan was a country with a huge amount of rural population that was under the influence of Islamic scholars and imams. Hence, Arabic script, as well as an Islamic party, were influential in rural areas. Furthermore, to the south of Uzbekistan, there was a significant amount of Tajik population that, as a nation, is ethnoculturally related to Iran. Due to these internal and external factors, it can be said that there was a significant background for the demands of the Arabic script.[84]

Another important political factor in the minds of participants was how Russia would respond. Although, there was a strong desire for Latin alphabet among Turkic people enough to constitute a public opinion; and relative freedom that reigned in the Soviet Union after Gorbachev initiated the set of policies of transparency, restructuring, and democratization, nothing about the future was certain. When the calendars started to show November 1991, despite the fact that many republics had declared their sovereignty in internal affairs and started to change some aspects of their cultural and domestic policies successfully, and even some declared their independence; nobody knew how Moscow would react to these developments. At the time, many thought

81 While the Arabic script would have been used, the alphabetical system of this model would have differed from that of classical Arabic-Persian. Hence, Azerbaijan would have been isolated by this new model rather than been incorporated in the Muslim world.

82 Speech of Alovset Abdullaev delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 35-6.

83 Speech of Yavuz Akpınar delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 43.

84 Speech of Berdiyar Yusupov delivered during 3rd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 48.

that it was possible for Moscow to make an attempt to regain control in these countries, just like in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the 1950s and 60s. That possibility made intellectuals, academics, the governing cadres and the people nervous. The question was as to whether these republics could protect the rights gained from Moscow, at least. Under this unbearable lightness of Moscowic uncertainty, one way to respond for Turkic republics was to push this transition process to its limits to maximize the profit, at least, in order to sit at the bargaining table with Moscow with the strongest hand possible. This tendency can be detected among some of the academics participated in the symposium from Turkic countries – such as Azerbaijanis – who desired from the symposium to take concrete decisions.[85]

Ahmet Temir described the impression in Turkey about the issue of the alphabet in Turkic republics. It seemed as if there were many developments coming from below; however, not from the top. Turkish public opinion could not observe much official attempt concerning the alphabet transition in these republics nor an effort for cooperation among Turkic republics.[86] This picture might be acceptable with some modifications came from other participants. First, Azerbaijan was at the very last phase of adopting the Latin alphabet just waiting for the conclusion of this symposium to ensure that their alphabets would be compatible with others' alphabets.[87] There were some projects discussed in the Kyrgyzstan Soviet Republic,[88] the Karachai-Balkar people,[89] and

85 See the discussion session in ibid., pp. 30-4. This was the main topic of the discussion session, and two groups emerged that defended more active or passive methods. See also speech of Vagif Aslanov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 38.

86 "(B)ir Latinleşme hareketi var, kuvvetli bir Latin yazısına dönme hareketi var fakat bu, cumhuriyetlerde devletçe ele alınmamış gibi görünüyor. Türlü türlü projelerle karşılaşıyoruz … Yani çalışmalar arasında birlik olmadığı gözüküyor." Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 22.

87 Speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 34 and speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 39. Ahmet Temir might also be aware of this.

88 Speech of Taşbolat Sadıkov delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 33.

89 Speech of Ali Çeçenov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 27.

Tatarstan.[90] Turkmenistan was just about to start evaluating the Latin alphabet option.[91]

Another important political consideration is pan-Turkism. Some academics demonstrated their concerns for pan-Turkism, in the sense that, any rapprochement among Turkic people would be evaluated as such and perceived in a negative manner; thus, they should be careful.[92] Furthermore, in some societies, the issue of constituting a common Turkic alphabet was considered as a pan-Turkism, which was considered as nothing but an assimilation and a domination attempt made by Turkey.[93] However, many academics in this symposium, as well as proponents of a common alphabet, evaluated this attempt in the opposite manner. They considered a common Turkic alphabet as a tool for neither domination nor assimilation under the Turkish language and culture, but as a tool to initiate and enhance the cooperation among Turkic people, which have ethnic, cultural and historical ties that connect them to each other. Actually, the common alphabet was considered as a crucial tool for this cooperation because it would enable the ties existing among Turkic people that was lost in the first half of the twentieth century; especially due to the alphabet change made by Stalin from Latin to Cyrillic starting by the late 1930s, which would be followed by the Iron Curtain that signified the cut of all links. Although Turkey was considered as a model for alphabet by many, it was firmly stated by many academics that the particularities of the languages must be protected and shown in the respective alphabets of the peoples.[94] Plus,

90 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 23.

91 Speech of Besim Çariyarov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid. p. 43 and speech of Cebbar Göklenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 44-5.

92 Speech of Vagif Aslanov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 38.

93 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 24.

94 Speech of Talmas Garipov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 25. Speech of Almas Şayhulov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 29. Speeches of Sapar Kurenov during discussion session and the 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 33 and ibid., p. 43. Speech of Alovset Abdullaev delivered during 2nd session

Turkish academics emphasized as organizers that this symposium aimed at doing scientific work rather than having a geopolitical agenda based on pan-Turkist aims. The aim of the symposium was to constitute and improve the cooperation and establish firm cultural and social ties among Turkic peoples.[95]

#### 3.1.2.3 Historical Analysis

Historical perception of the participants actually affected the constitutive process of the common alphabet; thus, it is important to discuss it. Although Turkish and the Turkic participants shared some common ideas; they had also some different ideas and perceptions on the alphabet transitions emerged during the first half of the twentieth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, there were lots of discussions on the issue of the alphabet, based on whether the Arabic script was efficient for Turkic language or not. Nevertheless, Turkic peoples started to change their alphabet during the early 1920s as Azerbaijan was the first country to do that change. Later, following the 1926 Baku Congress, Azerbaijan passed through a second transitional period to a different Latin alphabet, while a process to convert all of the Soviet Turkic peoples from the Arabic script to Latin started. Turkey, meanwhile, also decided to change her script from Arabic to Latin in late 1928. Both of these transitions were completed by the 1930s. However, during the last years of that decade, Turkic peoples were started to convert from Latin to Cyrillic script according to the decision made by Moscow.

According to the Turkish side, the separation process was started even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the help of the Jadidism. During that reformation process, many Jadidist intellectual defended to change the old writing system, which shared many common properties with of Ottomans that might enable the *mutual-literacy* for a new writing system that utilized also Arabic script but a phonetic system rather than the classical Turkic one. The most important aspect of the old writing system for bilateral

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on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 36. Speech of Cebbar Göklenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 44.

95 Speech of Hasan Eren delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 39 and speech of Osman Fikri Sertkaya delivered during 3rd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 47.

understanding was to hide the many vocals during writing; hence, hiding the differences in pronunciation among Turkic languages or dialects. However, this gap between writing languages between Turkey and Turkic peoples of Russia had enlarged during the alphabet transitions. While it became already impossible to hide the vocal differences among the languages due to the phonetic characteristic of Latin alphabet, there were different letters used for the same phoneme in respective alphabets utilized in the Soviet Union and Turkey. Seven phonemes were represented by different signs; thus, the gap became devastating. After this transitional period, the Moscow government applied its real plan on Turkic peoples. Their alphabets were changed from Latin to Cyrillic.[96] Hence, from the Turkish perspective, the 1928-40 Uniform Turkic Alphabet was actually another part of the separation process of Turkic peoples from Turkey.

The Turkic participants, however, evaluated this historical phenomenon in a more positive manner. In their opinion, 1928-40 Latin alphabet applied among the Soviet Turkic peoples was a continuation of the tradition of the alphabetical unity as the former Arabic alphabet. It was delicately prepared under a central committee that dealt with the task of Latinization of Turkic languages in the Soviet Union. Every need of languages was considered, and under an alphabetical frame that consists of thirty-nine letters, twenty-six of them were common in Latin while thirteen represented the particular phonemes of Turkic languages,[97] all Turkic peoples were united under their national Latin alphabet in which the common phonemes were represented by a

96 Opening speech of Nadir Devlet delivered on 18 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 14-5.

97 Most sources including the alphabet table given in the appendix C state that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet has thirty-three letters. Although the alphabets of Turkic republics were based on the Uniform Turkic Alphabet, some of them used additional but similar letters to represent the phonemes particular to their language. Including all of them might increase the total number of letters used by Turkic republics in 1928-40 period up to thirty-nine. On the other hand, this latter number was given in the proceedings of the symposium. Various numbers were given for the Cyrillic alphabets of Turkic peoples, as well. I cited the participants' words and comments on this issue without any correction throughout the sis.

common letter.[98] In addition, Turkey utilized her own Latin alphabet during this period; thus, it can be concluded that almost whole of the Turkic world was somehow united under Latin scripts.[99] However, this similarity was destroyed when Moscow decided to change the alphabets of Turkic peoples to the Cyrillic.

In both of the historical evaluations, it can be concluded that the utilization of Cyrillic script in Turkic languages was a mistake that must be corrected through utilizing Latin alphabet for every Turkic language. This would also enable Turkic languages to free itself from their wrongly prepared alphabets. Nevertheless, they differed on the issue of how to look at the 1928-40 Latin alphabet experience of the Soviet Turkic peoples. While the Turkish side evaluated this experience as a part of separation policy of Moscow from Turkish people, Turkic academics generally tended to evaluate positively by looking at linguistic aspects, and a uniting one in the context of Soviet Union. This led to the emergence of a 1928-40 Latin alphabet tradition for Turkic people in the Soviet Union, which reflected itself during the constitution process of the common alphabet and during the adoption of new alphabets by republics.

98 "Bütün Türkî diller için hazırlanan ortak Latin alfabesinde 39 harf mevcuttu (26 Latin harfi ile 13 ekli harf). Bu alfabe Türkî halkların ihtiyacını tam karşılamaktaydı." Speech of Kenesbay Musaev delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 50.

99 "Zamanla Balkanlardan Altaylara, İstanbul'dan Kaçkar'a kadar birbirleriyle sık ilişkiler kuran Türk halkları genel Türk medeniyetinin gelişmesinde birlikte hareket ettiler. Türk halklarının medenî, iktisadî, ilmî ilgileri yazı birliği alakası ile mümkün oluyordu. Arap alfabesi bu halklar arasında medeniyet köprüsü idi. 1928 yılından sonra bütün Türk halkları dillerindeki danışık sesleri tam aksettiren Latin alfabesine geçtiler. Bu yeni alfabe önceki köprünün devamı idi." Speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 39. Also, Talmas M. Garipov in ibid., p. 25 and Kenesbay Musayev in ibid., p. 52 made similar declarations. While it is certain that 1928-40 alphabet united almost all Turkic peoples of the Soviet Union, it is difficult to determine from these speeches whether Turkey was included in that union. The most explicit expression was given in Celilov's speech. He first described a union that also included Turkey when Turkic peoples had been using Arabic script. Then he stated that the 1928-40 alphabet continued that union.

### 3.1.3 *Linguistic Discussions on the Common Alphabet*

The general view of the symposium on the alphabet issue was in favor of Latin alphabet. The participants had already viewed Arabic scripts as stayed in the past, while many of them thought that the adoption of Cyrillic was made against the unity of Turkic people under the very same alphabet. Writing with Cyrillic scripts created some writing and reading problems for many words. In Musayev's account, there were thirteen new letters invented in order to represent the particular phonemes of Turkic languages along with twenty-six letters of the original Latin script in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet of the 1928-40 period. This satisfied the needs of Turkic languages in a simple and inter-Turkic manner. However, this would be broken after the alphabet transition from Latin script to Cyrillic script starting from the late 1930s. In all of these Cyrillic alphabets, there were thirty-three original Russian Cyrillic letters some of which represented phonemes that were not relevant with Turkic languages but peculiar to Russian. Also, phonemes specific to Turkic languages were represented by 40 modified letters in different national alphabets. As a result, some of the very same phonemes were represented differently in each Turkic nation's alphabet. Furthermore, there were many unnecessary phonemes represented that were not related to Turkic languages since they existed in the Russian Cyrillic.[100] Although these unnatural differences could be fixed through a reformation process, Cyrillic script had created "problems in handwriting" for Turkic languages. The example given for these words during the symposium was "ѿѿѿѿѿѿѿѿ" (şişmiş-shishmish-swollen).[101]

Hence, according to some participants, Cyrillic was a hard, harmful script for Turkic languages, and it was time for Turkic languages to be liberated from that captivity.[102] In the meantime, some others claimed that neither Cyrillic

100 Speech of Kenesbay Musayev delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 49-51.

101 Speech of Kenesbay Musayev delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 52.

102 Speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 42.

nor Latin had superiority against each other in a linguistic cost & benefit comparison.[103] Nevertheless, including that party, the symposium preferred Latin script in the sense that it was the most widespread script throughout the world, according to Garipov used by more than one-third of the world. In addition to this, Turkey, as the largest Turkic language speaking country almost consisted half of the Turkic world, had been utilizing it successfully for more than 60 years.[104] Henceforth, Latin script, as previously used among Turkic peoples, as the most preferred alphabet, and as a tool that might enable the commercial and economic ties, and cultural rapprochement in Turkic world, was the choice of the symposium.

Although the choice for Latin script was solid, the constitution of the Common Turkic Alphabet was a more complex issue due to the fact that different signs and methods to represent the very same phoneme are always possible during constituting an alphabet. For instance, different signs were proposed for the representation of the phoneme /æ/ – called open e (*açık e).* The letters Ä/ä and Ə/ə were the first ones. As an example for different methods, the phoneme /ŋ/ – called nasal n (*nazal n*) – represented either with a monograph such as Ñ/ ñ or with digraphs such as Ng/ng.[105] However, the significant distinction emerged when two different traditions of Turkish Latin and 1928-40 Soviet Turkic Latin became the issue.

As stated, the historical reading of Soviet Turkic peoples for the 1928-40 Uniform Turkic Alphabet was positive, especially compared with Turkish academics. If this is considered, then it will become easier to understand why Turkic peoples evaluated that application as a tradition that should be kept in mind while constituting a new common Turkic Latin alphabet. This tradition

103 Speech of Talmas M. Garipov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 25.

104 "Latin harfleri insaniyetin üçte birinden fazlası tarafından kullanılan en yaygın alfabedir. Türk halklarının en kütlevisi olan Türkiye Türkçesinin yazısı bunun üzerine kurulmuş ve yüzyılımızın altmış dört sene içinde muvaffakiyetle vazifesini görmektedir." Speech of Talmas M. Garipov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., pp. 24-5.

105 Consider the example of *Teñri/Tengri* (Turkic word that means "God"). For the models presented to the symposium, ibid., pp. 55-61.

had technical-linguistic and political aspects. First, it drew a path for the alphabet formation process to follow. It has a certain amount of letters to represent a certain amount of phonemes in all of the Turkic languages.[106] These letters have also their own peculiar shapes, which sometimes differ from the Turkish alphabet. On the other hand, defenders of this tradition in the symposium also stated that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet of the 1930s could not be applied as it is, and that tradition needed some modifications.[107]

One reason to modify the former Latin alphabet was that some letters of that alphabet were not originated from Latin, but either came from Cyrillic or invented in the Soviet Union.[108] This might be considered partially as an aesthetical matter,[109] but also implies a desire to be on the common grounds with the modern printing machines and emerging internet and coding technology.[110] Turkish Latin alphabet, which was successfully used almost by half of the Turkic world more than a half century, could be a model for the new Latin alphabet. This was the desire of the Turkish academics shared by some Turkic academics, too. Turkish Latin alphabet has been a perennial one, then used for more than six decades with a long tradition accompanied with minimal errors. Another reason for that could be the desire to get technical and material aids especially from Turkey, due to the fact that new books and printing machines would be needed during the transition process, otherwise, it might

106 There were 33 letters in the Uniform Turkic Alphabet according to the alphabet table cited in many works and included in the appendix C. However, some Turkic nations in the Soviet Union used additional letters for their particular phonemes, which resulted in different accounts. As we stated above, the participant Kenesbay Musayev said that there were 39 letters.

107 "(B)u eski Latine geri dönmek doğru olmazdı … Fakat yine de tradisyonu akılda tutmamazlık edemeyiz." Speech of Mirfatih Zekiev delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in ibid., p. 28.

108 Speech of Kenesbay Musayev delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 51.

109 Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium," p. 13.

110 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov the 1st session on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 23. He mentioned the desire of computer scientists for a new Tatar Latin alphabet derived from universal letters of Latin script.

be costly as calculated by many.[111] Furthermore, the new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet, which was based on the Turkish alphabet with some additional letters, was almost prepared and waiting for the ratification. Therefore, it would be good if this pattern was followed by every other Turkic nation, too.[112]

One issue that arose from here was the issue of particularity. For many the Turkic participants, the 29-letter Turkish Latin alphabet was not enough to represent whole of Turkic languages in the sense that there were different phonemes, that is, voices that create differences in the meaning, that need to be represented.[113] Nonetheless, the Turkish side had already been aware of this fact, and their propositions were to solve this issue by adding letters to represent the phonemes of all writing languages. The phonemes discussed were long vowels in the Turkmen language, which create meaning differences, and was not represented by Cyrillic alphabet. This was a long-term affair of the Turkmen orthography as discussed in chapter 2. Both Turkish and Turkmen participants accepted that this was an important issue.[114] Ahmet Temir's solution for this was to represent these phonemes with two letters, rather than one,[115] and that solution would become the preferred one in the context of this series of conventions. Also, there are the voices /ɵ/ and /ð/, called dental s and z (peltek s-z) in the Turkmen language; however, they were not differentiated from others because there were no other s-z phonemes in the Turkmen language;[116] and this was accepted by Turkmen party in the symposium and applied in Turkmen Latin alphabet that would be constituted within two years. Another phoneme discussed was the "round a" (the phoneme /ɑ/)[117] in the

111 Speech of Taşbolat Sadıkov delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 53.

112 Speeches of Alovset Abdullaev and Alaeddin Aliev delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 31.

113 Speeches of Sapar Kürenov and Cebbar Göklenov delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 33.

114 Speech of Hasan Eren delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 42 and speech of Sapar Kurenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 43.

115 Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 44.

116 Speech of Ahmet Bican Ercilasun delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 31 and speech of Sapar Kurenov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 44.

117 Nigora Azimova, *Uzbek: An Elementary Textbook* (Georgetown University Press, 2010), p. 2.

Uzbek Language, which was a phoneme between o and a, under the effect of the Persian language.[118] There was not any created sign or letter for this phoneme, in neither Latin nor Cyrillic. The general aspect for the symposium was to leave very specific phonemes to that republic and people's preferences;[119] therefore, there were not any discussions in the reports.

Although it seemed as these two parties, one of which defended the 1928-40 Latin alphabet while the other defended to invent a new Latin alphabet, were proposing two conflicting variations, actually, they were not. The former party defending 1928-40 alphabet as the basis of the Common Alphabet generally accepted the necessity to reform it and make it closer to the Turkish alphabet. In the meantime, the latter party defending a model based on the Turkish Latin alphabet accepted that the additional letters must be created and included to Turkish alphabet in order to attain a common Turkic alphabet that could satisfy other Turkic peoples. At the end of the symposium, Turkish variants were accepted for common Turkic-specific phonemes, such as Ɵ/ɵ in 1928-40 alphabet was abandoned for Ö/ö; while five additional letters were included to Turkish Latin in order to have the Common Alphabet. These letters were Ä, X, Ñ, Q, and W.

It can be concluded that 1928-40 Latin as a tradition did not differ from Turkish Latin one, at least as radical as to make the constitution of Common Alphabet impossible or much harder, in linguistic terms; however, it had a symbolic, political meaning. Turkish academics, at least some of them, tended to evaluate the 1928-40 Latin tradition neither a positive step to this goal of Common Alphabet nor important in this course; while, other Turkic academics had the opposite view that they have been representing it since the very beginning of the symposium. Especially in Azerbaijani case, but also for others, the transition to Latin script was not just an alphabet change; however, it

118 Speech of Berdiyar Yusupov, delivered during 3rd session on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 48.

119 Speech of Zeynep Korkmaz delivered during discussion session in ibid., p. 32.

was a process of revival.[120] This process was called "coming back to Latin Alphabet" (in Azerbaijani language "berpa etmek"). Hence, while a Turkish academic stated that "*berpa* was used rather than alphabet change since the proponents of Latin were accused of being Turkish spy," he was answered by his Azerbaijani colleague as "Azerbaijan had transformed to Latin actually even before than Turkey without any compulsion; thus, we are going back (*berpa*) to Latin alphabet."[121] Also many others, in future conventions, defined this process as going back to Latin alphabet (*berpa*), or to the 1928-40 alphabet, rather than a new common Turkic alphabet based on Turkish model. Most of the alphabet transition processes took place in Turkic republics also mentioned about the previous Latin alphabets implying that Cyrillic rather than Latin script should be extraordinary. Although a reformed version of the Uniform Turkic alphabet and an augmented Turkish Latin alphabet could be same in practice, they had underscored different symbolical meanings in the political realm. The second alphabet model implies that the alphabet transition processes in Turkic republics were shaped and directed by Turkey. However, the first alphabet model implies that these processes were a result of historical legacy and sociopolitical demands of Turkic nations. Hence, the first alphabet model was emphasized via the discourse of *berpa* (revival) in other discussions, decisions, and national policies by all of the Turkic actors to define the national transition processes.

### 3.1.4 *The Decision-Making Process and the 34-Letter Turkic Frame Alphabet Model*

During the decision-making, the symposium evaluated different alphabet projects proposed by academics and intellectuals from Turkic World. Although it was admitted that there might be models existing beside these, what

120 Speech of Alovset Abdullaev delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 36 and speech of Kenesbay Musaev delivered during 4th session on 20 November 1991 in ibid., p. 52.

121 Speeches of Yavuz Akpınar and Alovset Abdullaev delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in ibid., p. 43.

could be done was to constitute a model from what the symposium had received. Thus, there were seven models existing, among which two was proposed by Turkish academics, two by Tatar academics, one by a Kazakh academic, and two by Azerbaijani academics. One of the models from Azerbaijan was the official model of the national alphabet commission, which would be approved within a month in Azerbaijan, named after Gurbanov.[122] Gurbanov's model did not differ from Temir's model except that it was a national alphabet and therefore excluding some phonemes that do not exist in the Azerbaijani language. Out of the seven models proposed to the symposium, Ahmet Temir's model from Turkey was chosen with a small modification,[123] and in that way, the 34-letter Frame Alphabet for Turkic peoples was constituted for common utilization (see appendix G).

Temir's work presented to the symposium compared Turkish alphabet with the previous Tatar Latin alphabet (Yañalif), which was the application of the Uniform Turkic Alphabet to the Tatar language. Then, Temir proposed three different projects in his work for the new Tatar Latin alphabet to be accepted in the future. His work was essentially based on the Turkish alphabet. The common feature among his projects was to use the letters with diacritics existed in Turkish alphabet for Turkic-specific phonemes. For the phonemes that were not in Turkish but in other Turkic languages, the letters in the basic Latin alphabet that were abandoned in the Turkish alphabet were used. His first project was based on the previous Tatar Latin Alphabet (Yañalif) but with changed letters. There were fewer letters in his other two projects. The only different aspect of his other two projects from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet was to include "ng" digraph for the phoneme /ŋ/ rather than the letters "Ñ/ñ." Temir's first project consisted of thirty-three letters and his other two projects had thirty-two and twenty-nine letters for the Tatar language. However, his

122 Ibid., pp. 54-61. Gurbanov was actually the chair of the commission that prepared the Azerbaijani Latin alphabet. The Azerbaijani alphabet transition process is described in section 4.1.1.

123 Speech of Alaeddin Aliev delivered during decision-making session in ibid., p. 63. Aliev stated that the model was the proposal of Ahmet Temir and Ahmet Bican Ercilasun's; however, the model in the appendix of the symposium's publication belonged only to Temir. Ercilasun's proposal was vocal in his speech on p. 63, where he proposed to accept Temir's model.

proposal consisted of thirty-four slots to represent different phonemes. The 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model was established upon Temir's first project (see appendix H).

It is possible to deduce some principles from the final declaration and discussions during the symposium. These principles, which must be followed, make the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet a model rather than just a collection of letters. The first principle was to use the thirty-four letters of the Frame Alphabet when creating the national alphabets.[124] The 34-letter Turkic Frame Alphabet was constituted by adding five different letters to the Turkish alphabet that are Ä/ä, ñ, Q/q, W/w, and X/x. Different from the classical Latin script, it included the Turkish letters with diacritics Ç/ç, Ğ/ğ, I/ı, İ/i, Ö/ö, Ş/ş, and Ü/ü; as well as Ä/ä, and ñ. Although it was theoretically possible to choose some other letters than these, which were presented in some other projects to the symposium; it would not have any other meaning than aesthetical preference as Altuğ stated.[125]

The second principle of the Frame Alphabet Model was, as stated in the final declaration, that "the same letters in Latin script (should) represent the same voices (phonemes)."[126] This principle was essential to any possible framing alphabet since its aim is to collect all of the letters used in national alphabets. Thus, the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model has not imposed which letters are going to be used, but also how these letters must be used. For instance, the current situation in which Turkey and Azerbaijan use the letter Y/y for the phoneme /j/ while Turkmenistan uses the same letter for the phoneme /ɨ/ violates this principle. Instead, the letter I/ı should be used in Turkmenistan for that phoneme. On the other side, Turkmenistan uses the letter Ý/ý for the phoneme /j/, which violates the first principle.

The third principle was "using the same letter for the similar voices" in different Turkic languages as Ahmet Temir stated during the decision-making session. According to him, this principle would help to be "economical with

124 Ibid., p. 67. Article 5 in the Final Declaration. (see appendix G)

125 Altuğ, "The 1991 International Contemporary Turkic Alphabets Symposium," p. 13.

126 Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 67. Article 3 in the Final Declaration.

the letters" used while preserving the "nuances of pronunciation" in different Turkic languages. As a result, "the alphabet union" would be realized.[127] Nevertheless, this principle was rather a complicated one for a particular reason. Determining whether a voice is a national phoneme or not is a hard and subjective task. It was rather a blurred one since Turkish and Turkic academics and participants might have different opinions on it. As stated, many participants to the 1991 Symposium underscored the necessity of representing national voices. This discussion would continue in future conventions, too. On the other hand, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet consisted of thirty-four letters unlike Turkish alphabet with twenty-nine letters; therefore, assimilation and cultural domination seem to be out of the question. The content of this principle would be made a bit clearer during the 1. STDKr, which convened a few months later. Whether the voice creates a phonemic difference or not was accepted as a criterion to apply this principle.[128] As an example, it was discussed during the 1991 Symposium at Marmara University that the voices /ɵ/ and /ð/ (dental s and z) could be represented by the letters S/s and Z/z – originally used for the phonemes /s/ and /z/ – in Turkmen language. This was accepted both by the Turkmen participants in the symposium and Later in the new Turkmen alphabet that has been currently used.[129]

127 "Birbirine yakın iki ses için tek bir harf kullanılırsa, ilgili şivedekiler onu kendine göre okurlar ve bu suretle harf tasarrufu da yapılmış olunur. Birçok söyleniş incelikleri de her şivenin kendi içinde kapalı kalır. Bu da alfabelerde birliği sağlar." Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during decision-making session in ibid., pp. 61-2.

128 Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), pp. 75-6. Report of the Alphabet Commission.

129 Debate among Sapar Kürenov, Vagif Aslanov, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, Ahmet Temir, and Zeynep Korkmaz during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 43-4.

The last principle was rather an implicit one though it could be easily deduced. It is expected that all national alphabets should employ "ideal[130] phonemic orthography,"[131] that is, all of these letters, individually, should correspond to a particular phoneme rather than applying multigraphs[132] to represent such phonemes. Since the 34-letter Turkic Frame alphabet was based on the Turkish alphabet, using digraphs and diphthongs were discouraged when representing Turkic-specific phonemes. The Frame Alphabet was designed to represent almost all of the phonemes in Turkic languages by different letters. These letters included the letters came from Turkish alphabet and some other letters of the basic Latin alphabet unused in Turkish. However, some particular phonemes of some Turkic languages should be decided by the speakers of those Turkic languages. Deciding about them in the symposium would exceed its power since the symposium had not been authorized and lacked many important linguists and officials of Turkic peoples. Nevertheless, it was expected that these particular phonemes would not be represented by digraphs but probably by adding diacritics to these thirty-four letters.[133]

In summary, we can consider the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model as a set of thirty-four Latin letters, representing specific phonemes common to Turkic

130 "In an ideal phonemic orthography, there would be a complete one-to-one correspondence (bijection) between the graphemes (letters) and the phonemes of the language, and each phoneme would invariably be represented by its corresponding grapheme." Cited from "Phonemic Orthography," *Wikipedia,* last modified Mar. 31, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phonemic_orthography.

131 "In linguistics, a phonemic orthography is an orthography (system for writing a language) in which the graphemes (written symbols) correspond to the phonemes (significant spoken sounds) of the language." Ibid.

132 "A multigraph is a sequence of letters that behaves as a unit and is not the sum of its parts" cited from "Mulitgraph (Orthography)," *Wikipedia,* last modified Dec. 20, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multigraph_(orthography). For instance, the phoneme /ʃ/ is represented by multigraphs, like "sh" in English (which is a digraph, that is, consists of two letters) and "sch" in German (which is a trigraph, that is, consists of three letters). On the other hand, it is represented by "Ş/ş" in Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Turkmen and with "Š/š" in Czech and many other Slavic languages.

133 As an example of this thesis, see speech of Vagif Aslanov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 43.

languages that are written in phonemic orthography. As a model, the Frame Alphabet tries to bind all of the new Latin alphabets of Turkic languages within its frame. This model was also consistent with the alphabet proposal prepared by the Azerbaijani officials for the alphabet transition in the country. This official Azerbaijani model was presented to the symposium as Afat Gurbanov's model.[134] The 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Latin Alphabet was also consistent with the Turkish alphabet. Therefore, we can say that the framework model satisfied the Turkish alphabet since the Turkish alphabet was a basis for the Frame Alphabet. Furthermore, the 1928-40 model was also satisfied where Turkic language's alphabets would add up to a certain frame script. While some of the letters in the Frame Alphabet differed from the 1928-40 model; actually, it was a widely held idea to change some of the 1928-40 Alphabet's letters, which came from Cyrillic script, with Latin ones in order to make the new alphabet compatible with the current printing machinery and the computer technology of the global Western world. Its basis on letters of Turkish alphabet, along with the five new letters chosen compatible with the international Latin script, seemed as a way to fulfil that. In addition to that, Turkey would be bandwagoned to the 1928-40 tradition this time, which made the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet a more comprehensive model, on paper. Probably due to the fact that the time was limited, and there were unrepresented Turkic nations and lack of some important linguists and of official authority; the symposium had not discussed the specific phonemes that were needed in specific Turkic languages and the decision was left to these countries.

### 3.1.5 *The Issue of Application*

During the symposium, it was also discussed whether the symposium was authorized to take binding decisions or not in the issue of the republics' alphabet transformations. While some put that it was enough to put the issue of the common alphabet as a necessity; on the other hand, some others proposed to establish commissions on behalf of each republic and regather with the prepositions of alphabets. Some participants put forward the fact that they had not

134 He was the chair of the commission on the alphabet in Azerbaijan.

attained in this symposium by any election or appointment and thus they claimed that this symposium was not a decision-making organ on behalf of the republics. So, if a decision must have taken, then it would have been a suggestive one that would not bind any Turkic republic at an official political level.

Turkish side, as hosts, underscored that the symposium was a scientific one rather than political, and any political decisions that might disturb either Moscow or the region could not be taken. However, political uncertainty and the aim to create an upper hand in the alphabet transition process of Turkic nations were the factors that encouraged the symposium to take some decisions. For instance, there were ongoing discussions on the alphabet transition in the Azerbaijani public opinion for a few years. As a result, the Azerbaijani government assigned alphabet commissions to prepare a new Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet. During the symposium's convention, the alphabet model was pending for the official approval. Under these conditions, taking a supportive decision seemed as an action that the symposium should take.[135] Nevertheless, these decisions should not be binding, but rather in a recommendatory form.[136]

In this context, the prescription to put the decision into practice was seen in the participants who were expected to inform the authorities in their countries about the Frame Turkic alphabet and expected to convince them to adopt a national alphabet within that 34-letter framework. So, the only mechanism to fulfil the decisions taken by the symposium and to detect its application was the individual efforts, which functioned as an ad hoc mechanism throughout this process rather than a political and an institutional one. This aspect of the process can be considered as the real reason for not having a common Turkic alphabet used, today. However, it also needs a further elaboration about why there had not been any centralized and official mechanism among the Turkish and Turkic republics for the issue of the alphabet.

135 Debate among Mustafa Arifov, Vagif Aslanov, Osman Sertkaya, Alovset Abdullaev, Alaeddin Aliev, Holcigit Sanakulov, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, Erden Hacıbekov during discussion session in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, pp. 30-2.

136 Speeches of Alovset Abdullaev and Ahmet Bican Ercilasun delivered during decision-making session in ibid., p. 63.

## § 3.2 1st Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress (1. STDKr)

The second convention gathered in Turkey was the "Permanent Turkic Language Congress"[137] on 4-8 May 1992, shortly after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and approval of the law for script change from Cyrillic to Latin in Azerbaijan. It was convened by Turkish Ministry of Culture along with the contributions of other governmental institutions such as the Ministry of National Education[138] and could be evaluated as a continuation of the First Turkic Language Congress of the Ministry of Culture in 1990.[139] According to the publication of the Congress made by Ministry of Culture, there were around 400 invitees among which thirty of them were from independent Turkic Republics, that is, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Northern Cyprus; and from Bashkortostan as a federal republic in Russia, the diaspora members of Iraqi Turkmens and Tatarstan in Turkey.[140] On the other hand, a month after the congress, the journal *Milli Kültür* (National Culture) owned by the Ministry of Culture had declared on its June 1992 volume that the number of participants around 200 people among which twenty-five of them were from the other Turkic nations and peoples.[141] Among these participants coming from Turkic republics, two of them were holding positions in the state administration mechanism of their countries, namely, Feridun Celilov and Tölögön Kasımbekov. Celilov was a member of Azerbaijani parliament who had also participated in the 1991 Symposium. He was going to serve as the Minister of Education in his country in the following days. Kasımbekov was one of the advisors to the President of Kyrgyzstan and the

137 It is "Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı" in Turkish and there were two of them. From hereon, the first congress will be abbreviated "1. STDKr" and the second "2. STDKr"

138 Opening speech of Fikri Sağlar, the Turkish Minister of Culture, in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 7.

139 Speech of an Azerbaijani participant whose name was not given in the proceedings in ibid., p. 167.

140 Ibid., pp. 196-213. Full list of participants.

141 *Milli Kültür*, no. 93 (June 1992), p. 9.

chairperson of the Commission of Culture in the Kyrgyz parliament.[142] Furthermore, many eminent academics from Turkey participated in the 1. STDKr. Some of these academics had participated in the 1990 Congress of the Ministry of Culture, such as Hamza Zülfikar and Tuncer Gülensoy. Furthermore, there were many participants who attended the 1991 Symposium who would link this congress to the symposium at Marmara University by presenting and ratifying its decisions. Although it was convened by the Turkish ministry of culture, and started under the blessings of the minister and included officials from Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkey. Thus, this congress was not authorized to take any officially binding decisions on behalf of any state as the 1991 Symposium.

### 3.2.1 *Structure of the Congress*

The congress had lasted for five days. The first day was dedicated to the opening speeches, to voting to elect two vice presidents and three rapporteurs on behalf of the congress, and to the free speeches of participants. Following three days, there were sessions made for topics on which the congress was dedicated; namely, on the common alphabet, on the common writing language, and on the common orthography among Turkic republics and communities. After these sessions made, the last day was for discussions about the reports prepared in these sessions, which was followed by a voting process to decide whether the congress should adopt these reports or send it back to the participants to that session to rephrase the report. While the first and the last day of the congress were published, the sessions were not. Nevertheless, the publication helps the reader to get the gist of the congress. That is because during the first day the opening speeches given by the Turkish minister of culture Fikri Sağlar and the head of the publication department of that ministry Ayla Kutlu enables us to evaluate the general aim and course of this congress. The free speeches given by Turkic and the Turkish participants during the first day enable us to evaluate not only their personal ideas but they also give information

142 Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 10 and p. 18. Kasımbekov's name was given as "Kasımbek Kasımbekoviç"

about the situation in various countries. In addition, there is a chance to analyze the commission reports and the participants' views on them since the reports were read aloud and discussed in the plenary session during the last day, and all these are included to the proceedings.

By convening this symposium, the organizing institution had several aims in mind. First, Ayla Kutlu stated that the congress aimed to create an environment to debate about "the Turk(ic) language and its dialects, and its alphabet [which was desired to be the Common Latin Alphabet], and its orthography, and their literary languages."[143] From this statement, one could infer the framework of the congress as linguistic issues. She also added that actually during the preparation process, it was also deliberated to prepare sessions to discuss respective literature of each Turkic language, and to bring the men of letters from various Turkic people together. On the other hand, linguistic issues were evaluated as primarily important and thus it was decided to prepare another convention with the theme of literature, in oncoming days.[144] The Permanent Turkic Language Congress was evaluated as a pioneer convention that was the first one convened on themes of the common alphabet, orthography, and literary language during the speech of the Minister of Culture. Although, there was a convention made by Marmara University's Institute of Turkic Studies in November 1991, as discussed below, at least, along with another one in Kayseri which would be described in this congress; unlike them, this congress was considered a pioneer, probably due to that fact, held as an official attempt by the Turkish Ministry of Culture rather than being a product of initiatives of individuals' and universities'. In addition to being official, this congress was also more extensive in terms of themes, while the 1991 Symposium was confined to the issue of Common Alphabet.

Secondly, by bringing Turkic and Turkish linguists and intellectuals together under this congress, it was aimed to detect "the common points on these themes of the alphabet, literary language, and orthography and work on them in order to present these to Turkic World."[145] And realization of these

143 Opening speech of Ayla Kutlu, the head of publications department of the Turkish Ministry of Culture in ibid., p. 2.

144 Opening speech of Ayla Kutlu in ibid., p. 3.

145 Opening speech of Fikri Sağlar in ibid., p. 7.

aims would enable Turkey and the other Turkic republics and peoples to "get to know each other well and to establish a healthy communication." This would trigger "a new process" in which "there would be a union in the literary language [among Turkic Republics and peoples] by the unification of the [linguistic] rules." This would make "possible to access a vast amount of literary pieces, thoughts and voices," and "to realise the line that starts from a deep past and goes to technology, creativity and scientific breakthroughs on the axis of a rich common language."[146] The majority of the participants who came from both Turkey and from Turkic Republics and Peoples also supported this goal.

Unlike the 1991 Symposium, the participants that came from Turkic Republics did not mention the social attitude towards the issue of the alphabet. This might be due to the fact that the herein republics had become independent and guaranteed their sovereignty; thus, the governing elite got the chance to evaluate these linguistic issues, among which the most visible and symbolically most important one was the issue of alphabet, as a technocratic problem to be dealt by government and experts. Hence, the focus was on the political developments in these issues. It was stated by the participants came from respective republics that Azerbaijan had already legislated for the revival of Latin alphabet ("berpa etmek" which was stated in this publication mistakenly as "bertab").[147] There was a parliamentary commission established by President in Kyrgyzstan, which was still working at that time.[148] Meanwhile, in Kazakhstan, the issue of transition was in the evaluation phase, and patience and time were needed.[149] This might be probably because of the sensitive situation of that republic's demographic structure, where the Kazakhs and Russians consisted 41.9% and 37% of the total population in 1992, respectively.[150]

146 Opening speech of Fikri Sağlar in ibid., pp. 4-8.

147 Speech of Kamil Veliyev [Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu] in ibid., pp. 15-6.

148 Speech of Tölögön Kasımbekovich Kasımbekov in ibid., p. 19.

149 Speech of representative of Kazakhstan (name not given) in ibid., p. 29,

150 Gülnur Smagulkızı Boranbayeva, "SSCB Dönemi ve Bağımsızlık Sonrası Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nde Kazak Dilinin Genel Durumu" *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi 1*, no. 1 (November 2004), p. 32.

During the congress, a few concerns about the congress were discussed, also. While it was stated by the chairman that the congress would not consider changing its methodology during the convention;[151] nonetheless, the participants were encouraged to demonstrate and criticise the deficiencies of the congress and to put forward ideas about the eligibilities and characteristics of the congress.[152] Among these issues discussed in the congress, the first one was the issue of participants, just like in the 1991 symposium. Many Turkish and the Turkic participants complained about the low number of existing representatives as well as the absence of the many Turkic peoples, such as "Khakas, Shor, Altai … Gagauz and others".[153] This might be considered as a crucial factor depreciating the claim of the congress on representing Turkic languages and peoples since the congress did not include the representatives of all Turkic peoples but some of them.

Another aspect of the participant issue criticized was the fact that the ratio of participants came from Turkic republics was so low, compared with the Turkish participants. One Turkish participant stated that there were present, at that moment, twelve people came from Turkic republics; while, there were over 400 invitees.[154] This makes around 3% of the total participants. On the list of participants, there were thirty-three names of participants came from former Soviet Turkic republics and people, while three from Northern Cyprus.[155] Meanwhile, the chairman introduced twenty-two participants coming from other Turkic republics and peoples.[156] In addition to that, there were participants who were living as members of diasporas in Turkey. Cemal Muhtar was to represent Iraqi Turkmens.[157] Ahmet Temir was ethnically Tatar and eventually became a Turkish citizen after leaving the Soviet Union when he was

151 Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 49 and p. 138.

152 Ibid., pp. 43-4.

153 Speech of Kamil Veliev in ibid., p. 15.

154 Speech of Açıkgöz in ibid., p. 50. His name was not mentioned in the proceedings, and there were two people with the same surname. So, I could not determine which one he was.

155 Ibid., pp. 196-213. The list of the members who attended the congress.

156 Ibid., p. 10.

157 Speech of Cemal Muhtar from Marmara University in ibid., p. 30.

seventeen years old. Thus, he considered himself as a representative of Tatars.[158] Numbers may vary, but there was not many representatives from the Turkic world in the congress. Temir stated that the reason was the invitations to the congress had been made during the prime minister's tour in Central Asia, generally. Even the participant came from Bashkortostan was attended coincidentally rather than intentionally.[159]

Adding to that, there were also some disturbances on the issue of participation among some the Turkish participants, too. For instance, Zeynep Korkmaz – an important academic in the TDK- asked the reason of the lack of coordination with the TDK at the institutional level and the invitation of its members, individually rather than institutionally.[160] The chairman's answer was that while the cooperation was offered to the TDK by the Ministry of Culture, this offer was refused by the TDK officials.[161] Another complaint came from Tuncer Gülensoy who had participated in the 1990 Symposium of Ministry of Culture and then organized a symposium in Kayseri on 23-27 October 1991, to which many Turkic academics attended. He complained about both the congress and symposium in 1991 were prepared in a rush, which could be understood by not inviting many academics who worked on these issues of cooperation in academic issues, like himself. [162]

The last aspect of the participant issue might be the fact that there were not many participants, who held important political positions in their countries, attended this congress. Although the congress was on the linguistic issues; the aims and goals of the congress were essentially political and necessitates the employment of the solutions suggested by the congress by all of Turkic republics and Turkey, at least; if there is going to be a common alphabet, orthography, and literary language.[163] Therefore, the existence of officially au-

158 Speech of Ahmet Temir in ibid., p. 65,

159 Speech of Ahmet Temir in ibid., p. 65.

160 Speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 69.

161 Speech by the chairman of the congress (name was not given) in ibid., p. 70.

162 Speech of Tuncer Gülensoy in ibid., pp. 42-6. He was correct in the sense that he attended the congress held by the Ministry of Culture in 1990.

163 Speech of Açıkgöz in ibid., p. 51.

thorized participants would help, at least, the congress to fulfil itself by announcing its decisions to the relevant authorities in the governments of each state, or might change the character of the congress to the technocratic one; rather than being a mere scientific convention. Thus, it seems that the eligibilities of the decisions taken in the congress were questionable because of these problematic aspects of the issue of participation. In fact, the congress was not positioning itself as an organ officially authorized for the task of determining all linguistic issues among Turkic people. It was just stated by many the Turkish participants that the congress could only take decisions on its behalf. Such decisions would not bind any actor but might be helpful during the process of alphabet transitions. This view on the authority of the convention did not differ from the 1991 Symposium and in fact especially emphasized by those who had also participated in 1991 symposium.[164]

### 3.2.2 *Discussions on Themes*

#### 3.2.2.1 Common Alphabet

As stated before, the real goal aimed at the process created by this congress was to create a common language among Turkic peoples, or at least work on it, as stated in the opening speeches. Therefore, creating a common alphabet seems like a humble; however, an important step for the goal of the Common Turkic Language. A common alphabet would be the preamble of this ambitious process to create the Common Turkic Language by enabling *mutual-literacy* among Turkic republics and communities. The goal of establishing a common Turkic language was not unopposed, whereas establishing a common alphabet was unanimously accepted. There were two distinct ideas about the structure and functioning of the common alphabet.

164 Speech of (Emine) Gürsoy (Naskali) in ibid., p. 41 and speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 68. Gürsoy's first name was not indicated in the proceedings and there were two Gürsoy's on the attendance list; however, as her university was indicated as Marmara University, I was able to determine her full name. Ms. Gürsoy Naskali was a faculty member of Marmara University; while, Ms. Korkmaz had attended the 1991 Symposium. Thus, they knew about the decisions of the 1991 Symposium and the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet and defended them.

The first group desired such an alphabet that could be uniformly used among all of Turkic republics. In other words, there must be an alphabet whole letters of which must be used in every Turkic language and not any other signs.[165] Some of the defenders for this uniform alphabet claimed that there was not any language in the world written with a phonetic alphabet. In this framework, they considered that persisting on the phonetic differences might create separation among different Turkic languages just as the different Cyrillic Alphabets created for each Turkic people by the Soviet Union had already done.[166] So, they suggested that the words that are commonly used but have different pronunciations in different Turkic languages must be written in the very same orthographic format. This unification, according to some, had already been existing among the developed nations, which kept the unity among their brethren or kins.[167] Therefore, it was considered preliminary for the long-term goal of the congress and the process created by it, that is, to establish a common Turkic orthography and a common Turkic literary language that were also themes of the following two sessions. Hence, this idea constituted an element of the ideas of some among the group that defends for a "common (literary) Turkic language" that will be evaluated when discussing the second session.

The second group defended the opposite view that each Turkic communities should constitute an alphabet from the Latin script for itself while emphasizing commonalities. Even some of the attendants who were in favor of, not criticizing at least, the idea of forming a common Turkic literary language preferred and desired for representing the particular phonemes of their languages, while some accepted as a necessity implied by the political situation. For example, Nebiyev desired to represent the phonemes /æ/ and /x/ in Azerbaijani alphabet.[168] According to Deliceırmak from Northern Cyprus, "nasal

165 Speech of Tölögön Kasımbekov in ibid., p. 20.

166 Speech of Yahya Akengin in ibid., p. 55.

167 Speech of Aydın Köksal in ibid., p. 54. He gave examples of identical orthography for multiple words with different pronunciations among Western languages, and in Arabic. Also, speech of Açıkgöz in ibid., p. 49.

168 Speech of Bekir Nebiyev in ibid., pp. 22-5.

n that is a common voice in Anatolian and Cypriot Turkish as well as in many Turkic languages" and they should be represented.[169] Here the desire was to reflect both the vocal asset and phonemes of these languages. Also, Veliyev stated that due to the strong influence of the "Communist Nationalism"[170] in the region, differences might occur among the alphabets though they had to be reduced to the minimum.[171]

In addition, there were some other participants who accepted that Turkic people have spoken similar, relative but different languages. In this situation, they concluded that it would be natural for these languages to have different alphabets; nevertheless, these alphabets could be gathered within a frame. For instance, Talat Tekin suggested that the Turkish Latin alphabet could be a basis for Turkic republics and peoples when constituting their own alphabet while letters for national phonemes should be added to the Turkish alphabet.[172] Not differing much, another group who either had attended the 1991 Symposium in Marmara University, or been a member of that University suggested that the 34-letter alphabet that had already been constituted in that symposium should be utilized as a frame alphabet for Turkic peoples.[173] As discussed above, this alphabet was based on Turkish Latin and was a frame alphabet that is, there would be a collection of letters, which are chosen to demonstrate the exactly same or very similar sounds in every Turkic language that would be the counterpart of the others. In other words, all Turkic nations should apply alphabets with phonemic orthography and use the letters in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

169 Speech of Orbay Deliceırmak in ibid., p. 28.

170 By the term of "Communist Nationalism," Kamil Veliyev probably meant patriotic and nationalistic feelings towards the Soviet republics and governance units, which were grounded especially during the Soviet Administration.

171 Speech of Kamil Veliyev in ibid., p. 16.

172 Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 39.

173 Speech of Emine Gürsoy Naskali in ibid., p. 40. Speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 67. And speech of Ahmet Bican Ercilasun in ibid., p. 77.

According to the report submitted to the congress by the alphabet commission, Ahmet Temir was chosen as the chairman of the alphabet commission of the congress.[174] Temir had also participated in the 1991 Symposium and submitted his model to that symposium, which was adopted by the symposium with minor modifications. Henceforth, it could be deduced that the 1991 Symposium and its decisions, as well as its participants, were influential in this commission; and thus the decisions taken would be parallel to the 1991 symposium.

The 34-letter alphabet created in the 1991 Symposium was adopted as a frame alphabet for Turkic languages by the alphabet commission as it was,[175] meanwhile one modification arose during the last day's plenary session when all of the commission reports were read aloud and participants debated about them. Especially Azerbaijani participants stated that Azerbaijani people preferred to write the phoneme /æ/ with Ə/ə both in the commission[176] and in the plenary session during the last day of the congress. In addition to being a tradition, the latter one would also enable writing without lifting the pen from the paper, in the sense that the former necessitated two dots to put on the letter.[177] Thus, it was decided to change from Ä/ä to Ə/ə by the majority of the votes.[178]

Other decisions made by the commission and later accepted by the congress were explaining and complementing the decisions of the 1991 symposium and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. For instance, it was stated that the letter selected for the phoneme /ŋ/ is "ñ" since it can easily be written in computers. Also, there were discussions on the representation of

174 Ibid., pp. 75-6.

175 For decisions made by the alphabet commission, see ibid., pp. 75-6. For the original document see Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 753-5. See also appendix.

176 The report of the commission states that there were objections, and although there were Azerbaijani participants who were in the alphabet commission of the congress, as listed in Eyvazova, *Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını*, pp. 255-6; there were no Azerbaijani signatories under the report of the alphabet commission.

177 Speech of Feridun Celilov in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 79.

178 Ibid., p. 91.

the phoneme /æ/ with letter Ä/ä in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet of the 1991 Symposium. The commission refused to change it. However, it was decided to abandon that letter for Ə/ə as Azerbaijani participants demanded during the plenary session. Also, there were other propositions about the representation of the phoneme /x/ with Ӈ/ӈ rather than X/x; nevertheless, it remained as such.[179] Besides these, the commission decided to represent the back g in necessary languages with ğ in Turkish alphabet. In addition to these, it was preferred to use one letter for similar voices, unless it was a phoneme; and decided to describe the long vowels by writing them two times in a row; just as proposed by Ahmet Temir in the 1991 Symposium,[180] and Talat Tekin in this congress.[181]

During the discussion made for the adoption of the final reports of the commissions on behalf of the symposium, the letters Ä/ä and X/x in the report of the alphabet commission were voted since there were objections to them. The result of the voting process was to adopt the report as it was just with one exception, concerning the replacement of Ä/ä with Ə/ə.[182] In conclusion, this congress became an organ to ratify the 1991 Symposium's decisions on the issue of the common Turkic alphabet. The 1991 Symposium had already accepted that the participants should submit the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet model to all of the conventions they would participate, especially to the national parliaments and alphabet commissions of their own countries. In this sense, the group that attended both the symposium and the congress made a good job. The 34-letter alphabet was accepted with a one-letter change as a frame alphabet that Turkic republics and other Turkic peoples would utilise as the source of their alphabets. Nonetheless, especially the cadre from 1991 symposium had already been aware of the fact that these de-

179 For discussions on the report of the alphabet commission, see ibid., pp. 76-95.

180 Speech of Ahmet Temir delivered during 2nd session on 20 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 44.

181 Speech of Talat Tekin in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 39.

182 Ibid., p. 91 and p. 94.

cisions could be only as recommendatory decisions, rather than being enforced;[183] and thus, it was stated in the report of the commission, and in the conclusive declaration of the congress.

#### 3.2.2.2 Common Literary Language

As stated above, the ultimate goal of the congress was to contribute to the construction of a common Turkic Literary language by which all Turkic peoples could communicate through literature, publication, correspondence etc. The most popular idea in the congress was that a common literary language would be realized sometime in the future, and this was an historical task to accomplish. During the decision-making process, both in the commission session and in the congress, the defendants of the ideal of establishing a common Turkic literary language was the dominant group.

The views of the defendants of the idea of forming a common Turkic literary language were based on the historical fact that Turkic peoples had a common language before the various Turkic languages and dialects emerged during the course of history. In Zeynep Korkmaz's words, "leaving the [distinct] vernaculars [or spoken languages], and dialects existed aside, there had been a *Common Literary Language* existed in the Turkic world until the fifteenth century." After that point, various political and geographic distances enabled the formation of different Turkic literary languages.[184] Furthermore, "captivity of Turkic peoples under Russia, the Soviet Union, China, and Iran" definitely contributed to this separation.[185] Nevertheless, the difference among Turkic languages was not considered much by this group,[186] actually, some stated that the difference has not been huge enough to use the term Turkic languages but

183 Speech of Emine Gürsoy [Naskali] in ibid., p. 41 and speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 67.

184 "Türk Dünyasında 15'inci yüzyıla kadar konuşma dilleri dışında, lehçeler dışında ortak bir yazı dili vardı." Speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 68.

185 Speech of Tölögön Kasımbekov in ibid., p. 19.

186 Speech of Orbay Deliceırmak in ibid., pp. 26-7.

instead, Turkic dialects and accents.[187] From these evaluations, this group concluded that a common literary language among Turkic peoples will be a possible goal to realise if correct steps are taken. Some of them proposed that this language would become into existence based on the Turkish language – that had the largest group of speakers – would adopt words from other Turkic languages, and eventually become open to the literacy of other Turkic peoples.[188] Meanwhile, some others claimed that a common literary language would be a product of interactions among Turkic peoples rather than based on a specific one, and this necessitated some time.[189] In this context, the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was evaluated as a first but a vital step to fulfil this project to create a common literary language; along with creating common terms to use throughout Turkic World.[190] Furthermore, establishing relations among Turkic peoples and supportive political decisions would help a lot, too.[191]

Criticism of the common literary language focused on the fact that "nobody would abandon one's own language for which a distinct dictionary had already been constituted."[192] In other words, although there had been a common Turkic language as the ancestor of the all Turkic languages and linguistic unity among Turkic peoples had been kept in vast areas under a few Turkic lingua francas until the nineteenth century; many different Turkic vernaculars evolved into distinct Turkic literary languages since then. Despite that, Russian was used as a lingua franca over them during the Soviet era. This ended during the last years of the Soviet Union when the languages of the titular nations started to be declared as official languages. In this conjuncture, Turkic peoples would not sacrifice the status of their national languages, which they were enjoying for just a few years, for a new lingua franca, that is, a potential common Turkic literary language. Furthermore, according to Talat Tekin, since these languages had developed their distinct vocabulary, it would be

187 Speech of Açıkgöz in ibid., p. 49 and speech of Hüseyin Ayan in ibid., p. 64.

188 Speech of Kamil Veliyev in ibid., pp. 15-7.

189 Speech of Bekir Nebiyev in ibid., p. 25.

190 Speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., p. 69.

191 Speech of Hüseyin Ayan in ibid., p. 64.

192 Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 39.

hard to create a common base to build the common literary language on, at least in the short-run.[193] Thus, simply expect to create a Common Literary Language would not be realistic in this conjuncture.[194] Instead of expecting and aiming for a common literary language, what can be done would be to apply similar alphabets to enable literacy among Turkic languages and to enable the people to get acquainted with other Turkic dialects.[195]

The report of the Common Literary Language Commission submitted to the congress was in parallel with the former group of defending the common literary language. Nevertheless, the former group also accepted that the goal to create a common Turkic language would be a long-term goal, which could not be formed by force; but by desire aroused by dense interaction among Turkic peoples in social and political life rather than in linguistic issues. The commission, meanwhile, provided some guidelines to ease the path that can be summarized in two categories. First, there were provisions on the academic and theoretical level; such as writing anthologies, comparative dictionaries, and grammar studies, thesauruses. The number of academics in the field of Turkic studies must be increased in every Turkic republic. Furthermore, commissions for the unification of terminology must be established starting from the ones on language and literature; and the ongoing congresses must be organized in sessions dedicated to specific topics such as grammar, literary language, vocabulary, terminology etc. Besides, there were practical provisions that aimed to broaden interaction among Turkic people such as publishing introductive handbooks, preparing student and academic exchange programs,

193 Ibid.

194 "Kurultayın gündeminde bulunan … yazım meselesi ve yazım dili meselesi bizi tereddüde düşürmüştür. Şayet Türk şiveleri için ortak bir yazı dili ve imla söz konusu edilecekse, bu gerçekçi olmayan, bugünün gerçeklerine cevap vermeyecek bir gayret olur." Nevertheless, Gürsoy Naskali took a milder position in this issue suggesting that with an agreement on the dialect [language] is to be used among Turkic peoples, discussions on a common orthography and literary language could be made. "Elbette Türk boyları kendi aramızda, hangi şive veya dili konuşarak anlaşırsak, bunu görüşebiliriz. Yine görüşebileceğimiz bir konu, birbirimizin şivesine aşinalık kazanmak için ne yapabiliriz konusudur." Speech of Emine Gürsoy Naskali in ibid., p. 41.

195 Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 39 and speech of Emine Gürsoy Naskali in ibid., p. 41.

the constitution of a media through bilateral TV and radio broadcastings and publishing a newspaper throughout the Turkic world, and prioritizing words that are commonly used in various Turkic languages. Thus, the necessary interaction would be provided while an infrastructural knowledge and expertise were tried to be provided by linguists.[196]

#### 3.2.2.3 Common Orthography

After the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was accepted by Turkic republics; then the next step on the agenda was the issue of rearranging the orthography and punctuation of these languages. The issue of common orthography was a multi-layered topic and a complex issue; thus, the conventions produced vague decisions. An aspect of the common orthography issue was producing practical measures. It is because these languages were going to start to use a new alphabet and therefore the orthography of some words and punctuation need to be evaluated. Another deeper aspect with political implications was to create a base orthography for the words in all of the Turkic languages. By doing that, it is believed that a linguistic affinity among Turkic languages might have created. This might lead to the *mutual-literacy* and to a common Turkic literary language in the future. This was actually the agenda of the many Turkist-traditionalist linguists, and of many the Turkic participants, as well.

The issue of orthography also has a theoretical aspect, which could affect alphabetical and orthographic structures of Turkic languages. Since the Baku Turcology Congress in 1926, the basic principle of Turkic Latin Alphabets have been an ideal phonemic orthography, in which every phoneme in a word is represented, separately. All of the phonemes, including peculiar ones to Turkic languages, should be represented by a letter according to that tradition of Turkic Latin Alphabets. This principle was also accepted in the 1991 Symposium and in the alphabet commission of the 1. STDKr. On the other hand, according to some participants who generally belonged to the Turkist-traditionalist

196 Ibid., pp. 145-9. The report of the Common Literary Language Commission was read by the chairman of the commission, Ahmet Bican Ercilasun.

group, the Common Orthography Project might stretch and violate that principle in order to construct a common Turkic literary language. In their opinion, following the matching of some basic rules and punctuation in the orthography, the next step would be the matching of the orthographic form of every single word. Rearrangement of the orthographic form of each word had to be done in order to include them into the future's common literary language.[197] Barutçu stated that this matching in orthography might also equalise all of the different Turkic alphabets in the future.[198]

It was actually hard to elaborate on this aspect of the Common Orthography Project since this project was vague and premature. It dates back to the Baku Turcology Congress in 1926, where some linguists proposed to create a common orthography at the expense of the phonemic orthography in order to create a common Turkic literary language as discussed in the previous chapter. Despite such proposals, it was hard to detect a specific roadmap for this project. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that this aspect of the Common Orthograph Project aims to create pictograms[199] for each word in Turkic languages to ease the communication among the different Turkic peoples. In this way, the words that share the same root would have the same orthography despite they pronounced differently in different Turkic languages.[200] The examples given in this congress and in future conventions, articles etc. were the

197 "(O)rtak Türkçe ve alıntı kelimelerin imlasında ortak yazılışların tesbit edilmesi gerekir. Ayrıca, şive kelimelerinin de yine ortak yazı dilinin özellik ve kaidelerine uygun olarak ortak dile kazandırılması da … önemlidir." Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., pp. 103-4.

198 "… Eğer Ortak Türklük kalın sıradan kelimeler için de (ku) yu [that is, the letter 'Q/q'] kabul ederse Türkiye Türkleri de bundan sonra bir beş, on yıl sonra alfabesini, resmi alfabesini değiştirmek durumunda ve kalın sıradan kelimeler için de (ku) işaretini kabul etmek durumundadır." Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., pp. 103-4.

199 "A pictogram (pictograph) is a logographic symbol that is a simplified picturelike representation of the thing it represents." Rowe and Levine, *A concise introduction to linguistics*, p. 284.

200 For instance, the word "snake" in most Turkic languages has the same root but differs in orthography and pronunciation (The pronunciation in IPA is in the brackets). It is *yılan* /jɨlan/ in Turkish, *ilan* /ilan/ in Azerbaijani, *ilon* /ilɑn/ in Uzbek, *ýylan* /jɨlan/ in Turkmen, *jylan* /ʒɨlan/ in Kazakh. The aim was to invent a common orthography for that root even though it does not correspond to the exact pronunciation – such as accepting the Turkish orthography

Chinese alphabet, Arabic language, and Latin language family, in which such words sharing same meaning or roots are written in the same way but pronounced differently.[201]

The report presented by the commission evaluated the issue from the practical aspect rather than the theoretical aspect. It emphasized that the orthography in Turkey had already been problematic and not unified. The first thing to do was to create the orthographic unity in Turkey by adopting the rules in 1977's orthographic handbook,[202] which was written with broad participation of the various segments of the Turkish society. The report provided some insights on these issues: "Orthography of compound words," usage of the hat sign (^) – which is put on the vowels to represent palatalization of the previous consonant in the word and to represent the long vowels in Turkish –, usage of

*yılan* for the word "snake" in each Turkic language, or at least in the Common Turkic Literary Language.

201 Speech of Açıkgöz in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 50. Speech of Aydın Köksal in ibid., pp. 53-5. Köksal gives the example of the word *gentil(e)* sharing same orthography in Spanish, French, and Italian, though pronounced differently. While Köksal was critical of the phonetic/phonemic orthography, he did not belong to the Turkist-traditionalist group, either. Meanwhile, the Turkist-traditionalist group defended phonemic alphabets for Turkic languages; however, they were also eager to pursue the Common Ortography Project to create pictograms in order to establish a common Turkic literary langugage in the future.

202 The TDK published a series of "New Orthographic Handbooks" from 1965 until 1981 that were markedly different from those of the previous years. The handbook in 1977 (Türk Dil Kurumu, *Yeni Yazım Kılavuzu*, 9. Baskı, (1977)) was part of this series prepared under the administration of Doğan Aksan and became the 9th edition of the Turkish orthographic handbooks since 1928. After the restructuring of the TDK following the 1980 coup, new orthographic handbooks were written and published in 1985 and 1988 in order to reevaluate the changes that had occurred since 1965. For a description of the issue, see Şükrü Haluk Akalın, "Sunuş," in *Yazım Kılavuzu,* the TDK, 27th Edition (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2012). Accessed from: http://tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_contentandview=articleandid=224:SUNU-Sandcatid=50:yazm-kurallarandItemid=132. Access date: 22.6.2017. The discussions on orthographic handbooks during congress were another aspect of the competition among the modernist linguists and Turkist-traditionalist linguists of Turkey. These handbooks were written by modernist linguists until the 1980s but the ensuing handbooks of 1985 and 1988 were written by Turkist-traditionalist linguists.

apostrophe, orthography of the abbreviations, orthography of the foreign words and finding their Turkish equivalents, orthography of the Persian possessive constructions and how to include them into dictionaries and orthographic handbooks, and transformation in the pronunciation of some Turkish words etc. For the integration among Turkic people, the report suggested that there should be gradual steps taken to realise the orthographic unity among Turkic peoples and the problems during that process must be evaluated periodically by a central committee established among Turkic peoples. In addition, publication and distribution of the common terminological dictionaries were considered as a contribution to this aim.[203]

During the discussions, the majority – generally from the Turkist-traditionalist point – evaluated the report negatively for they thought that the report, instead of discussing the orthographic problems throughout Turkic World and solutions for them. Instead, the report overemphasized the Turkish case,[204] and even manipulated the congress to declare ideas about the Turkish orthography.[205] Having this impression, they demanded a drastic rewriting of the report, if not desired for an abolishment. Meanwhile, there were some other participants, who defended the commission and the report. Their first argument was that Turkey could not involve in orthographic problems of others without solving her own problems. Another argument they put was that the number of members of the commission was very low. There were only twelve members in the commission, and only one of them came from a Turkic republic, Azerbaijan. Hence, discussing the orthographic problems of Turkic languages, in an extensive and decisive manner, became already impossible.[206]

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203 Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), pp. 96-100. The report of the Common Orthography Commission was read by the chairman of the commission, Kamile İmer.

204 Speech of Özveren (I could not find his name in the publication) in ibid., p. 114. Also speech of Hamza Zülfikar in ibid., p. 101. Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., pp. 102-3. Speech of Ahmet Bican Ercilasun in ibid., pp. 106-7. And speech of Zeynep Korkmaz in ibid., pp. 130-2.

205 Speech of Ahmet Bican Ercilasun in ibid., pp. 106-7.

206 Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., pp. 122-4. He wrongly stated that there were not any participant from Turkic republics in the Orthography commission. There was a Turkic participant, Letif Kerimov as stated in Eyvazova, Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını, pp. 255-6 where the

Talat Tekin took the defence of the commission's report a step further. He implicitly criticized the theoretical aspect of the Common Turkic Orthography Project, that is, the vision of creating pictograms to create a common Turkic literary language. He had already criticized the idea of a common Turkic literary language on the first day stating that none of Turkic nations would adopt a new lingua franca over their national languages.[207] This time, he synthesized his criticisms to the Common Literary Language and Common Orthography projects. He put forward it was not possible to create a common Turkic orthography without determining the basic rules of this common Turkic literary language. However, it was necessary to select a Turkic language to build this common Turkic literary language upon, at first. Since such a consensus had not yet existed, it was natural for the Common Orthography Commission not to produce decisions as the Turkist-traditionalists desired.[208]

This methodology of constructing the common literary language via choosing a Turkic language to build upon seems to be adopted by the Turkist-traditionalists. Some participants explicitly stated or implied that the base language would be Turkish in the 1. STDKr.[209] Also, some Turkist-traditionalist linguists would defend it in a future convention, though without naming the base language. However, there existed more egalitarian ideas based on the ex-

whole list of Azerbaijani participants can be found. For similar standpoints with Talat Tekin, see speech of Özdemir in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), pp. 107-111 and speech of Yusuf Çotuksöken in ibid., pp. 126-8.

207 "Ortak bir yazı dili bir ütopya gibi geliyor bana. Ne Tatar kendi yazı dilini bırakır, ne Başkurt kendi yazı dilini bırakır; ayrı yazı dillerini geliştirmişlerdir ve her birinin sözlükleri yayınlanmıştır." Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 39.

208 "Ortada, ortak bir yazı dili olmadan soruna bir çözüm bulamayız. Hangi dilin üzerinde ortak noktaya varılacağı da burada tartışılacaktır. Yani muhakkak surette Türkiye Türkçesi üzerinde kurulacak diye bir şey kimsenin aklından geçmesin. Onun için, bu çok uzak, geleceğe ait bir ülkü üzerine burada nasıl bir karar alınır konusudur." Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 122.

209 "(B)izim yine de ortak dilimiz Türkiye Türkçesidir ve git gide Türkiye Türkçesi diğer Türk dillerinin hesabına zenginleşecek ve diğer Türk dilleri de Türkiye Türkçesinin hesabına ortak yazı mahrecine gelecektir." Speech of Kamil Veliyev in ibid., p. 17.

change of words and grammatical structures rather than based on a single language.[210] Meanwhile, Tekin's concerns about the rejection of a lingua franca in the region and about putting the Turkish language forward would be realized in the future conventions. In those cases, these complications stemmed not even from the projects but from the suspicions[211] and indirect issues[212].

The chairwoman of the common orthography commission, Kamile İmer, also defended the report by stating that Turkey was also a Turkic republic, whose problems must be solved. Otherwise, it would be impossible to discuss the problems of the other Turkic states and acquire unity in orthography even in future conventions with broad participation. The commission, nevertheless, managed to evaluate the situation in Turkey and in other Turkic republics and suggested a basic route map to follow.[213] However, the congress decided to abolish the final report of the commission of orthography at the end of the discussion session after voting it.[214]

### 3.2.3 *Final Declaration*

The final declaration, although it might be considered as official because the organizer of the congress was the Turkish ministry of culture, the decisions were recommendations rather than authorized for implementation.[215] This

210 See section 3.4. 1st TÜDEV Congress, where Iristay Kuçkartayev comes with such a proposition. Also, speech of Bekir Nebiyev in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 25 can be evaluated in that manner.

211 See section 3.4. 1st TÜDEV Congress, where the Kazakh delegate misinterprets "Ortak Türkçe" as "Common Turkish," instead of "Common Turkic."

212 See section 3.5.2.1. in the 2nd Permanent Language Congress, where Zinnur Uraksın complains about Turkic languages being considered as dialects and about the Common Turkic Literary Language Project.

213 Speech of Kamile İmer in Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), pp. 133-6.

214 Ibid., p. 139.

215 Ibid., pp. 186-7. The final declaration of the 1st Permanent Turkic Language Congress was read by Zeynep Korkmaz. Also for original document, see Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 756.

was due to the scientific character of the congress, rather than political. Turkish ministry of culture, by itself, was not authorized to prepare a congress that could implement its decisions on other independent Turkic republics. However, it might be expected for these states to evaluate and adopt such decisions that were made by a scientific and neutral organ in which that republic was already represented. Nonetheless, the congress could also be evaluated, even, as not fulfilling these criteria, because of the issues about participants such as low number coming from other Turkic peoples and republics, and the fact that all Turkic peoples were not represented, as well.

In the declaration, it was stated that the 1. STDKr adopted "the 34-letter Frame Alphabet determined by the symposium convened in the Institute of Turkic Studies of Marmara University" in 1991 as the frame alphabet for Turkic peoples to use and suggested for Turkic republics to use the minimum amount of letters when constituting their alphabets.[216] By looking at this, it can be said that the 34-letter alphabet was ratified for the first time by an official convention. Thus, the alphabet was not a mere product of an improvisation of an institute, anymore; but an alphabet that was started to be adopted, officially. Modifying and ratifying the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet became the most concrete result of the first Permanent Turkic Language congress. A second important aspect of the 1. STDKr with respect to the series of conventions was that the common alphabet issue was evaluated along with other larger-scale projects – Common Turkic Orthography and Literary Language – feasibility of which can be questioned. The 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was evaluated along with the project to establish a common orthography to end up in a path towards a common Turkic literary language that would constitute a common linguistic and communication platform for all Turkic peoples (see appendix I).[217]

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216 Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları / 1413, 1992), p. 186, the final declaration.

217 The general structure of the congress in which there were commissions dedicated to the Common Orthography and to the Common Literary Language as well as the opening speeches already implied this vision. For a concrete statement see speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p.

As stated before, the report for the common orthography was already refused by the congress since the report was considered as out of its scope. Thus, the only statement about that was the necessity for solving the orthographic problems and disunity in Turkey in order to become able to unify the orthography, overall.[218] The Common Literary Language Project was evaluated as the one to be built upon the other two projects studied in this congress, that is, the common alphabet and the common orthography projects. It was accepted, in the final report, as a long-term goal. The report advised to be patient, and to make gradual attempts for this cause, and to increase the number of scientific studies in order to accomplish that goal.[219] This was the reflection of the Turkist-traditionalist linguists' agenda on the linguistic cooperation among Turkic republics and Turkey. However, that agenda did not go uncriticised. Especially, some Turkish academics criticized that agenda for the Common Literary Language and Orthography as not being realistic at that time. It was also underscored that these two projects might raise negative reactions in other Turkic republics and communities, which desired to emphasise their national identity. This would hold in some of the future conventions; where the Turkist-traditionalist agenda prevailed regarding the common Turkic literary language and regarding the language-dialect discussions.

Another important event in the 1. STDKr is the ongoing conflict among the Turkish linguists as modernists versus (Turkist) traditionalists. Many key arguments that the participants had put forward during the discussion sessions -especially during the session on the common orthography commission's report- were direct spill-offs of that conflict. Thus, the political-linguistic discussions in Turkey had an influence over the conventions, as well. The 1. STDKr was a convention with broad participation of Turkish linguists, in which both modernists and Turkist-traditionalists participated. While the latter group seemed as dominant in the 1. STDKr (that is, the First Permanent Congress); the former group would become the more influential one during the 2. STDKr (that is, the Second Permanent Congress). The congress that had

184: "Ortak yazı dilinin hayata geçirilmesi yolunda alfabede birliğin sağlanmasının yetmeyeceği açıktır. Bunun için, imlada da birliği sağlanması gerekir."

218 Ibid., pp. 186-7, the final declaration.

219 Ibid., p. 187, the final declaration.

started ın 4 May 1992 was closed on 8 May with these discussions and decisions.

## § 3.3 Official Conventions

### 3.3.1 *Ministerial Conferences*

#### 3.3.1.1 Conferences of Ministers of Education

After a few weeks from the 1. STDKr, the Conference of the Ministers of Education of Turk(ic) States on 16-23 May 1992 in Ankara convened in which the ministers or the representatives of ministries from Azerbaijani, Gagauz, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkish, Uzbek, and Northern Cyprus participated.[220] Although the main theme was education, there were some alphabet and linguistic discussions at the conference, as well. First, the developments about the common alphabet during the 1991 Symposium and 1st Permanent Congress in 1992 were put forward,[221] along with the desire for the transition to Latin alphabet.[222] Another important issue for the alphabet was the financial and material assistance from Turkey during the transition process, which some of Turkic republics had needed and demanded.[223] Turkey, actually, seemed to be eager to give by publishing some books in Latin Alphabet as well as planning to provide publishing machinery if official steps were taken.[224] The discourse of material support from Turkish authorities started to emerge or become intensified.

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220 Tahir Erdoğan Şahin, Fatma Zehra Esmeray, and Metin Akgüney, *Türkiye ile Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Türk Toplulukları arasında yapılan anlaşmalar, ilişkiler ve faaliyetler I. İkinci Kitap.* (Ankara: TC Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Türk Toplulukları Dairesi, 1993), p. 3.

221 Ibid., pp. 16-7, speech of Eşber Serakıncı (mistakenly written as Selakıncı): Minister of National Education of Northern Cyprus.

222 Ibid., pp. 24-5, speech of Çınara Şarşekızı Jakıpova (Чынара Шаршеевна Жакыпова) (spelled incorrectly throughout the book): Minister of Education of Kyrgyzstan.

223 Ibid.

224 "(H)er türlü kitapları Türkiye'de basıp göndermeye Sayın Bakanımız söz verdi …. Matbaa kurmaya da söz verdik. Onun için de son sistem matbaalar size kuracağız. Ama, siyasi olarak karar verip, bu işe geçmiş olmanız gerekiyor arkadaşlar. " Speech of Ömer Okutan, Head

On the other hand, officials in Turkey showed a certain level of faithlessness to the 34-letter Alphabet Model Project, as well. Köksal Toptan, Minister of National Education of Turkey stated that scientific discussions on the phonemes took too much time. Instead of these inefficient discussions made by linguists, politicians and administrators should take the initiative and solve the problems in the formation and application of the common Turkic alphabet.[225] His concerns might be a result of the various discussions occurred in 1. STDKr. On the other hand, this also demonstrates to us there was a lack of political-institutional support behind the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet Model. Discussions on the process and on the alphabet model continued constantly, and different projects continued to come up. Toptan's speech shows us that there was no agreement on methodological and linguistic issues. The series of conventions and the 34-letter Alphabet Model were evaluated as a Turkish action by the academic literature; however, even a high-ranking official in Turkey proposed to by-pass the existing process and decisions for other solutions.

Even though a certain resolution about the alphabet was not produced here; this conference did produce a proposal on the "Common Turkic Language" in the declaration form on 20 May 1992.[226] It also appealed to the linguistic aspect of the Turkist-traditionalists' views, who were influential during the series of conventions. In this proposal, it was suggested establishing a "Committee of Terminology" and to enable the "word exchange" and "utilization of the original resources of [our] common language" and expected a com-

Counsellor of Education and Morality in Turkey (Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanı) in ibid., p. 47.

225 "… Ortak alfabe çalışması konusunda bir yerde takılıp kalmanın bir yararı yok. … 'Sen haklısın, ben haksızım' gibi bir anlamsız tartışmayla uzatmanın yararı yok. … bilim adamlarına bu işi bırakmadan yöneticiler olarak … ortak bildiride buna bir işaret etmede bence yarar var." Speech of Köksal Toptan, Turkish Minister of National Education in ibid., pp. 52-3.

226 Ibid., pp. 65-6, Proposal of Common Turkic Language.

mon language to be formed as a result of an interaction that decreases the differences.[227] Furthermore, forming a curriculum for the lesson of common literature was another proposal,[228] which differed from the general proposals during the process as a part of educational policies rather than linguistic. The issue of "development of a common language of science and culture" was also put to the common declaration of the conference. This could be evaluated as a reflection of the issue of creating a common Turkic literary language that was discussed during the 1. STDKr. In the declaration, it was also stated that the second congress would be held in September 1992 in Bishkek.[229]

The second conference of ministers of education was held on 29 September-3 October 1992 in Bishkek. This time, adding to the participants to the first conference, Turkmenistan and many federative republics in Russian Federation, namely Altai, Bashkiria, Chuvash, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachai, Khakas, Tatar, and Yakut that accompanied with also a general representative on education of Turkic Peoples in Russian Federation, and Karaims were also represented in this second conference.[230] Unlike the first one, the second conference was published in the form of notes taken rather than deciphering. During the conference, the issue of transition of alphabet seems to be more detectable on the agenda. More participants mentioned the issue of the alphabet as well as it found a place for itself in the final declaration. As the important developments about alphabet transition, Minister of Azerbaijan stated that Latin alphabet had started to be taught in the education system by that year (the 1992-3 year of education).[231] Turkmen Minister invited the participants to the na-

227 Ibid.

228 Ibid.

229 Ibid., pp. 66-7, Declaration of the Congress of the Ministers of Education of Turkic Republics.

230 Ibid., pp. 93-5, Declaration of the Second Congress of the Ministers of Education of Turkic Republics and of the Representatives of Turkic Peoples.

231 Speech of Feridun Celilov in ibid., p. 70 and ibid., p. 79. Even though the notes did not mention his surname, his name was written on the final declaration.

tional congress for forming the Turkmen alphabet that would soon to be convened for alphabet transition.[232] Both Latin alphabet and other linguistic projects found places for themselves in these two documents of the conference, document for advisory decisions and the final declaration. Latin alphabet was perceived as "an active tool to incorporate the peoples of the countries with the [rest of the] globe" and to benefit them from contemporary science.[233] Also, the advisory decisions of the ministers and representatives envisaged new common studies between Turkic republics on linguistic issues, such as unification of terminology and common spelling books.[234] An implicit version of that advisory decision was included in the final declaration, as well.[235]

#### 3.3.1.2 Conferences of Ministers of Culture

According to Landau, a meeting on the alphabet issue was convened by the officials of Turkic states on 19-21 March 1992 in Istanbul,[236] which seems to be held before the 1. STDKr. However, I could not verify such a conference on that day, though I managed to find a convention made in Istanbul with the

232 Speech of Nursahat Bayramsahatov (Нурсахат Байрамсахатов) (mentioned as Bayram Nuri Sahatov in Turkish resources) in ibid., p. 70 and p. 78.

233 Ibid., pp. 93-5, the final declaration of the 2nd Conference of the Ministers of Education of Turkic Republics and the Representatives of Turkic Communities, article 4.

234 "Türk dilleri konusunda ortak araştırmalar ve çalışmalar yapılması, terminoloji birliğinin sağlanması, anadil öğretiminin sağlıklı bir şekilde yapılabilmesi için ortak bir imla ve telaffuz kılavuzunun hazırlanması." Ibid., pp. 89-91, the Advisory Decisions of the 2nd Conference of the Ministers of Education of Turkic Republics and the Educational Representatives of Turkic Communities, article 1.

235 "Türk dillerinin öğretilmesinde müşterek çalışmaların yapılması, terimlerin bir modele uydurulması ve anadilin daha iyi öğretilmesi amacıyla her bir devletin değişik eğitim tipi sözlükler hazırlaması." Ibid., pp. 93-5, the Final Declaration of the 2nd Conference of the Ministers of Education of Turkic Republics and the Representatives of Turkic Communities, article 1.

236 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: C. Hurst and Co., 1995), p. 212.

name of "1st Conference of the Ministers of Culture of Turkic Language Speaking States,"[237] convened exactly three months later than what Landau had written.[238] This led me to think these two conventions could be the same one, especially when its name and theme is considered. Ironically, my two different sources prepared by Turkish governmental organs suggest two close but different dates for the conference to start. My first governmental source is a booklet published by the ministry to describe the fulfilments that the ministry of culture in the 49th Government achieved. This booklet suggests that the conference was held on 17-25 June 1992.[239] Whereas, my other source suggests a little different date, which is the website created by the Office of the Prime Minister Directorate General of Press and Information (BYEGM). According to that website, the Conference of Ministers of Culture started on 19 June 1992 by the opening speech of Turkish minister Fikri Sağlar.[240] Hence, this convention was after the 1. STDKr. Nevertheless, both of my resources are in alignment on the issue of participants. It is stated that "the ministers and committees from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and TRNC (Northern Cyprus) were attended" to the conference.[241] Fikri Sağlar, Turkish minister of culture, stated that "any kind of rapprochement among Turkic republics would be realized by Turkic (or Turkish [language]) as the common language" during his speech.[242]

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237 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Araştırma, Planlama ve Koordinasyon Kurulu Başkanlığı. *49. Cumhuriyet Hükümeti'nde Kültür Bakanlığı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), p. 95.

238 Both dates given seemed like this: 19/Whatever Month/1992.

239 Ibid., p. 95.

240 Website for Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, "Haziran 1992 - Ayın Tarihi," accessed on Apr. 29, 2017, http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1992-06-19. The website is now down because of the administrative changes in Turkey.

241 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *49. Cumhuriyet Hükümeti'nde Kültür Bakanlığı*, p. 95. Website for Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, "Haziran 1992 - Ayın Tarihi," accessed on Apr. 29, 2017, http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1992-06-19. Note that Turkmenistan was not among the participants.

242 "Fikri Sağlar … Türk cumhuriyetleri arasındaki her türlü yakınlaşmanın ortak dil Türkçe sayesinde gerçekleşeceğini söyledi." Indirect Speech. Website for Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, "Haziran 1992 - Ayın Tarihi," accessed on Apr. 29, 2017, http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1992-06-19.

The 2nd conference of the ministers of culture was convened in late 1992. Again, my two governmental sources gave different time spans for this conference. While the booklet of Turkish Ministry of Culture gives the date of "30 November - 4 December 1992,"[243] the website of the BYEGM suggested that it was ended on 2 December.[244] During the congress, Turkmenistan along with Turkic republics, including Northern Cyprus, along with "the Tatarstan Autonomous Republic within the Russian Federation [participated] as an observing member."[245] Fikri Sağlar, Turkish Minister of Culture, issued a press statement after the conference on 4 December in Baku that declared the foundation of TÜRKSOY,[246] which would become the platform for cultural cooperation for these republics and for the conventions of ministers of culture.

### 3.3.2 *TİKA Conference of Alphabet and Orthography*

Another official meeting was organized by TİKA[247] on 8-10 March 1993 in Ankara.[248] Unlike the other official conventions, this conference aimed to deal with the alphabet and orthography, directly. The participants consisted of authorized political-bureaucratic figures and the linguists, as experts, many of whom had participated in the former conventions.[249] Among the Azerbaijani

243 Ibid., p. 95.

244 Website for Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, "Aralık 1992 - Ayın Tarihi," accessed on Apr. 29, 2017, http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1992-12-01.

245 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *49. Cumhuriyet Hükümeti'nde Kültür Bakanlığı*, p. 95.

246 Website for Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, "Aralık 1992 - Ayın Tarihi," accessed on Apr. 29, 2017, http://ayintarihi.byegm.gov.tr/turkce/date/1992-12-01.

247 Then, its name was "Turkish (or Turkic) Cooperation and Coordination Agency," that is, "Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı." Today, TÜRKSOY's name is "The International Organization of Turkic Culture, that is,, "Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı"; then, it was "the Common Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts," (Türk Kültür ve Sanatları Ortak Yönetimi). Cited from Website for the International Organization of Turkic Culture, "About," accessed on July 26, 2018, http://www.turksoy.org/en/turksoy/about.

248 Nadir Devlet, "Türkiye'nin Avrasya'ya Yönelik Kültür Politikaları" in *Türkiye'nin Avrasya Macerası 1989-2006 (Avrasya Üçlemesi II),* ed. Mustafa Aydın (Istanbul: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2007), p. 185.

249 The original full list of participants was provided by Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 757-9.

participants, Afat Gurbanov was the chairman of the committee that formed Azerbaijani Latin alphabet and Alovset Abdullayev had participated to 1991 Symposium. From Kazakhstan, there were the deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Saylav Batırsavoğlu,[250] as the official representative and Abduali Kaydarov and Erden Hacıbekov, as expert linguists. Hacıbekov had previously attended the 1991 Symposium and the 1. STDKr. The cadre coming from Kyrgyzstan seemed to have rather new names; however, included an official name, the deputy prime minister Abdugani Erkebayev,[251] who was also leading the alphabet committee in his country. From Turkey, Zeynep Korkmaz and Ahmet Bican Ercilasun were the ones who had attended the 1991 Symposium and the 1. STDKr, and were eminent representatives of Turkist-traditionalists; Sema Barutçu attended the 1. STDKr, and become an officer of TİKA.[252] Tuncer Gülensoy was also among the participants from Turkey who attended the 1990 Congress of Ministry of Culture, and to 1. STDKr. Bilal Şimşir and Mehmet Saray were the two Turkish officials attending the TİKA Conference. Şimşir was the representative of Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the issues with Turkic Republics and Saray was the representative of TİKA on cultural relations.[253] Cabbar Göklenov was one of the two participants from Turkmenistan. He participated in the 1991 Symposium. Later, Göklenov would eventually present an alphabet project in his country that was compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. The other Turkmen participant was Annagulı Nurmuhammedov, the undersecretary of the Turkmen ambassador,[254] who was leading the Turkmen committee. In the Uzbek Committee, there was Iristay Kuçkartayev,[255] who had attended the second conference of ministers of education as representative of his country.

This conference was the first official convention completely dedicated to alphabet issue in the sense that most of these republics were represented by

250 Mehmet Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 2014), p. 75. The deputy minister was Saylav Batırşaoğlu (Сайлау Батырша-ұлы).

251 Ibid., pp. 75-6.

252 Ibid., p. 70.

253 Ibid.

254 Ibid., p. 76.

255 Ibid.

official delegations that included influential officials in government, and included linguists. It should also be underscored that many of participants both coming from Turkey and from other republics had attended the previous phases of the process of constituting a common alphabet and some would continue for next phases; while there were also some new faces in this congress. The line of participants that linked one convention to another, here, enabled the alphabet formed in 1991 Symposium and 1. STDKr to be ratified in this congress rather than a new one to be produced. This continuity of participants was important because the discussions on the representation of some phonemes was done again according to Mehmet Saray's memoirs. The issue of the letters Ə/ə phoneme /æ/ was put forward by Azerbaijanis. Meanwhile, Kazakhs brought the issue of the letter W/w to represent the phoneme /w/ and diphthong /uw/-/yw/. Also, the letters of X/x and Q/q were put forward, too. The decision was taken accordingly with what the representatives from Turkic republics had desired.[256]

Decisions made in the TİKA Alphabet Conference about the representation of these phonemes were in parallel with the decisions of former conventions. In other words, 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet that was a product of the 1991 Symposium and the 1. STDKr was adopted, or ratified, once again in this conference. On the other hand, the fact that some of the letters were discussed in this conference implies that there was not an automatic ratification process of 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet in every convention. Instead, many conventions in the formation process of a common alphabet had started with a mind of tabula rasa but adopted or ratified the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet after it was explained in each convention, repeatedly. It was only efforts of the participants from previous conventions that turned these conventions into a series with consistent decision-making.

The TİKA conference also resembled the previous conventions in the sense of the application of its decisions. On the final declaration, it was stated that "the participants to the conference shall take the necessary initiatives for

256 Ibid., p. 70.

the adoption of the alphabet they accepted" by the leaders of Turkic states.[257] It was very similar to the 1991 Symposium, which demanded actions of participants in their countries for the realization of the 34-letter Common Alphabet Project. An important decision was to establish a workgroup that would become the central body in this issue. Forming a central body was supposed to solve the problems of repeated discussions and of relying on the actions of participants every time. However, such a decision had to be approved in the next "Summit of the Heads of Turkic States,"[258] which was going to convene in 1994. This ratification in the Summit would also formalize the series of conventions and the decisions, too. However, there was not going to be any decision about the process and the central unit and in the 1994 Summit.[259]

In addition to these, some of the participants, according to Mehmet Saray, were giving the signals that their countries might have other plans during the negotiations. Saray tells that the representatives of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan who held official posts in their states remained hesitant about whether to sign the declaration; though, they eventually did sign.[260] However, there is not any signatory on the original document published by Ercilasun.[261] Turkmen committee also stated that the alphabet in the conference and the alphabet that Turkmenistan was about to adopt – which was adopted a month later in April 1993 – differed at some points; for which, they promised to do their best in order to minimise the differences when they returned.[262] Thus, in conclusion, the 34-Letter Common Turkic Alphabet model was ratified by an of-

257 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 757-9, article 3.

258 Ibid. The Summit of the Heads of Turkic States convened from 1992 until 2010. All of the six Turkic republics – including Turkey – either sent leaders or high-level representatives up until 2001. Following an interruption between 2002 and 2006, Uzbekistan ceased participating and Turkmenistan did not sign any documents. The remaining active participants – Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgzstan, and Turkey – later formed Turkic Council.

259 İstanbul Bildirisi, Oct. 18-19, 1994, http://turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/10_IstanbulBildirisi1994_2.DevletBaskanlariZirveBildirisi_20140418_103924.pdf

260 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, p. 74.

261 Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," p. 759.

262 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 76-7.

ficial convention in which representatives of all Turkic republics had participated. Some of these representatives held important official posts in their states, which gave an image of an official convention to the TİKA Congress. However, it was also stated for the first time in an alphabet convention, there was a possibility that some Turkic republics might not adopt an alphabet compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

## § 3.4 1st TÜDEV Congress as A Semi-Official Convention

Another convention that could be evaluated as semi-official was convened on 21-23 March 1993 in Antalya,[263] a few weeks before the adoption of the Turkmen Latin Alphabet. Its full name was "The Congress of Turkic States and Communities for Friendship, Fraternity, and Cooperation" (TÜDEV). The mastermind of the TÜDEV congress series[264] was Alparslan Türkeş,[265] who was the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). The congress was organized by a foundation that had the very same name, TÜDEV. The connection between the foundation of TÜDEV and MHP might give the impression that the 1st TÜDEV congress was held in a non-governmental framework. However, this congress was also supported especially by the Turkish government, by President Özal, and PM Demirel as well as by the members of the cabinets and opposition. Hence, actually, it meant more than a simple NGO. This was also the case for the future TÜDEV congresses, too.

The 1st TÜDEV congress was also supplemented by the official delegations of Turkic republics, by the federative republics in Russia, and many other Tur-

263 Türk Devlet ve Toplulukları Dostluk, Kardeşlik ve İşbirliği Kurultayı Düzenleme Kurulu. *Türk Devlet ve Toplulukları Dostluk, Kardeşlik ve İşbirliği Kurultayı 21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları* (Ankara: TÜDEV, 1994)

264 This congress was the first of many TÜDEV congresses that convened annually almost without interruption until 2001. In parallel with the Summits of Turkic Heads of States, TÜDEV congresses started to convene again in 2006. However, the 2007 TÜDEV congress would be the last.

265 TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 2. Preface.

kic communities in other countries, such as Ukraine and Moldova. The foundation was grateful to the leaders of Turkic republics for the general participation of Turkic peoples because it enabled the congress to be organized as a "free forum" by convening representatives from all fractions of society.[266] This congress had five expertise commissions: Language-Alphabet, Education-Science, Politics-Law, Culture, and Economy-Technology that took recommendatory decisions and produced reports about these topics. These recommendations found a place in the final declaration of the congress.[267]

By 18 March, there were 160 participants came from all around Turkic republics and communities, and expected more according to the press declaration given before the congress started.[268] While all Turkic republics were represented by official delegations, there were also Altai, Yakut, Tuva, Kumyk, Nogai, Balkar, Tatar, Bashkir, Crimean, Karai, and Gagauz participants representing their communities, too.[269] Azerbaijani delegation had included the Prime Minister, Ali Mesimov and Minister of Education, Feridun Celilov,[270] who also participated in 1991 Symposium, 1. STDKr and 2nd Conference of Ministers of Education. The Kazakh delegation included Minister of Information, Haltugbay Sastımbayev.[271] Meanwhile, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were represented on the level of MPs. Kyrgyzstan's MP representative was Tölögön Kasımbekov as the head of Commission for Culture, Language, and History in Kyrgyz parliament,[272] who attended also to 1. STDKr. Uzbekistan's MP representative was Nurali Kabul.[273] Turkmenistan was officially represented by the ambassador in Turkey, Han Ahmedowiç (Ahmedow).[274] Thus the congress was neither official nor non-governmental, completely. While the republics had officially been represented by their delegations, many including

266 Ibid., pp. 1-3. Preface.
267 Ibid., p. 5.
268 Ibid., p. 13.
269 Ibid.
270 Ibid.
271 Ibid., p. 32.
272 Ibid., p. 33.
273 Ibid., p. 34.
274 Ibid., p. 36.

participants holding high official positions in their countries, the congress was not authorized to take any official decisions but recommendatory ones, as usual for the process.[275] Nevertheless, it can be said that high rate of participants coming from a vast range of Turkic peoples, if not all of them, definitely did contribute to the claim of the congress to be a free forum, to the aims of gathering Turkic peoples together and establish healthy and beneficial relations among them.[276] This also showed its ability to represent Turkic peoples rather than being Turkey-oriented.

While during the congress, it was aimed to evaluate and discuss an agenda with vast topics, alphabet had a special place in that. Its importance had started to be emphasized since the very beginning of the congress. Demirel, then-PM of Turkey, included the issue of the "Turk(ic) Alphabet Based on Latin Letters" in his opening speech. He emphasized the global characteristic of Latin script that would connect the Turks to rest of the world, and emphasized the common alphabet as a tool to connect the Turks to each other by enabling "to read newspapers, books, and letters of each other."[277] This was followed by the discussions in the commissions. After that, the final declaration of the congress also mentioned the common Turkic alphabet.

The 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Model, which was the product of the process of alphabet conventions was also ratified by the TİKA conference, which was an official convention, in early March 1993. It was, again, going to be ratified in the Language and Alphabet Commission of the 1st TÜDEV Congress.[278] Thus, another convention, that is, the 1st TÜDEV Congress, became a part of the series of conventions made for common alphabet project. Just like the former conventions, the participants who participated in the previous phases of the process played a crucial role in that continuation. The president of the language and alphabet commission was Ahmet Bican

275 Ibid., p. 349. In the final declaration, these decisions were stated as "recommendations."

276 Ibid., p .9.

277 Ibid., p. 24.

278 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 760-1. TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, pp. 331-2.

Ercilasun,[279] who attended the 1991 Symposium, the 1. STDKr and the 1993 TİKA conference. The vice-president was Sema Barutçu,[280] who also attended the 1. STDKr and the 1993 TİKA conference. Nadir Devlet was the vice director of the Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies during the 1991 Symposium and among the members of the organization committee of the 1991 Symposium.[281] Tuncer Gülensoy was an eminent linguist attended the 1990 Congress, which had triggered this process, and the 1. STDKr and 1993 TİKA conference.

From other Turkic republics, there was Feridun Celilov as the minister of education in Azerbaijan who had also attended 1991 Symposium, the 1. STDKr, and September-October 1992 Second Conference of the Ministers of Education in Bishkek. From Kazakhstan, there was Abduali Kaydarov,[282] an eminent linguist whose model was presented to the 1991 Symposium and who attended the 1993 TİKA conference. From Kyrgyzstan, there were Tölögön Kasımbekov, who attended the 1. STDKr as an official in his country, and Kadırali Konkobayev who attended the 1991 Symposium and the 1. STDKr. From Uzbekistan, there was Iristay Kuçkartayev, who had attended Second Conference of Ministers of Education, and to the 1993 TİKA conference. Interestingly, there were not any Turkmen vocal participant detected in the deciphering.[283] Also, there were some participants in other commissions of the 1st TÜDEV congress that had participated in former conventions. Such links established by participants, who had also attended the former conventions, enabled the adoption and ratification; thus, continuation of the alphabet formed in the 1991 Symposium in future conventions.

An implicit issue was whether to place the project of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet along with the other planned or realized projects within a wider schema or as a distinct project of its own. In other words, some

279 TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 65.

280 Ibid.

281 Opening speech of İnci Enginün delivered on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 13.

282 His name was written as Abdülveli Haydarov in the publications.

283 For all (vocal), participants to the alphabet commission, see TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, pp. 65-113.

had considered the alphabet project as a distinct one that would contribute to the rapprochement among Turkic peoples. Meanwhile, some others planned a project of forming a common Turkic literary language, through which all of Turkic peoples would eventually operate their literary communication. They accepted establishing a common Latin alphabet as the very first step, which would be followed by a standardized common orthography for Turkic languages. This view – described by Ercilasun – accepts the unity of all of the Turkic languages (or dialects) under a literary language, which had lasted until the thirteenth century. When the Oghuz Turks captured massive lands in the west of Caspian, especially in Anatolia, another Turkic literary language started to emerge in the West. Nevertheless, Turkic peoples' literary works, generally, kept intact around these two literary languages in the West and in the East. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were other literary languages started to emerge as a result of Russian efforts. Nevertheless, closing the linguistic gap is not impossible given that the necessary efforts should be performed by the current Turkic republics and communities.[284]

This distinction with regard to the function of a common alphabet was generally in parallel with the modernists versus Turkist-traditionalists among the Turkish Turcologists. The first group, predominantly, defended that the vernaculars of Turkic nations have become distinct literary languages, which could not be gathered around a common literary language. Whereas, the second group defended that Turkic peoples have been speaking the dialects of a common Turkic language, which were artificially transformed into literary official languages as a result of the imperialist policies to divide and rule. However, they defended, there was a chance now emerged to reunite under a common Turkic literary language after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Turkist-traditionalist view was represented since the 1990 Congress of the Turkish Ministry of Culture, which should be evaluated as a milestone in this process. The 1. STDKr would be the convention where the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project was merged with the projects to establish

284 For a speech drawing the general framework of this view, see the speech of Ahmet Bican Ercilasun in ibid., pp. 67-8.

a common orthography and common literary language, despite there were some criticisms about that. The Conferences of Ministers of Education and the TİKA Conference were influenced by this standpoint, which can be observed from the discussions and final declarations. The 1st TÜDEV congress was not an exception, actually, where some Turkish and some of the Turkic participants demonstrated the examples of this standpoint. It was reflected itself in the final report of the language-alphabet commission of the congress,[285] as well as in the final declaration of the 1st TÜDEV Congress.[286]

Sema Barutçu, who was vice-president of the commission as well as the representative of TİKA in the congress, stated that TİKA prepared "the common alphabet project" in which workgroups for terminology, for various dictionaries -including a great one of the Turk(ic) language-, and for preparation of grammar of common Turkic language and realignment of Turkic languages (dialects) would be established and coordinated by TİKA. "On the path of the common Turkic language, the topics of terminology, grammar, and realignment of Turkic dialects to each other were also mentioned" during the work of the commission.[287] Ahmet Bican Ercilasun's work of "Comparative Dictionary of Turkic Dialects" was mentioned throughout the commission and evaluated as successful, in general.[288] However, some added that it could not be considered as enough and much more work must be put. Also, some of the Turkic participants complained that they had not even received that work, yet.[289]

There were, however, different views on the issue of establishing a common literary language. Kuçkartayev suggested forming a new literary language by

285 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 760-1. TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, pp. 331-2. Final Report of the Language-Alphabet Commission. There, the phrase "Türk lehçeleri" (Turkic dialects) was used rather than "Türk Dilleri" (Turkic languages).

286 TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, pp. 349-50. Final Declaration of the Congress.

287 Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 99.

288 Speech of Nadir Devlet in ibid., p. 75.

289 Speech of Kadirali Konkobayev in ibid., p. 105.

studying the other Turkic languages rather than building the common language on an existing Turkic language as more politically correct.[290] His views differed from the general views of many Turkish proponents of the idea on this subject. Turkish academics, especially the Turkist-traditionalist branch, evaluated Kuçkartayev's proposal to build a new and artificial language as creating a new Esperanto, which would not eventually work. Instead, they defended that a Turkic language[291] should incorporate elements of vocabulary and grammar from other Turkic languages, and become the common literary language in the long future.[292]

There were also some other participants, such as Nadir Devlet, while admiring all the efforts put, he stated that the focus should be on the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet as a distinct project rather than merging it with other projects, such as creating a common Turkic literary language.[293] The dominant view in the previous conventions and the Language-Alphabet Commission of the 1st TÜDEV Congress was to follow the course of establishing a common Turkic literary language in linguistic cooperation. Whereas, there were some other participants existed in both of the 1. STDKr and in the 1st TÜDEV Congress, who desired to focus on the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet and were not interested in establishing a common Turkic literary language.

The Common Literary Language Project – the idea of it, at least – also created confusion in minds. A discussion emerged in the Education-Science

290 Speech of Iristay Kuçkartayev in ibid., pp. 84-5.

291 Holders of this view, usually, considered Turkish language to eventually become a common literary language by appropriating elements from other Turkic languages. This was due to the opinion that the Turkish language was the most processed among other Turkic languages. This opinion partially stems from the fact that Turkish was used by the Ottomans, who are evaluated as an apex of civilization. However, the continuous utilization of Turkish as an official language without interruption or linguistic corruption stemmed from the colonialism was another reason. However, this was not a politically correct idea due to its political implications.

292 Ercilasun, "Türk Dünyası ve Türk Dili: Geçmiş ve Hedefler," in *Makaleler Dil- Destan- Tarih-Edebiyat* ed. Ekrem Arıkoğlu (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınevi, 2007), p. 397.

293 Speech of Nadir Devlet in TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 75.

Commission was about the utilization of the word "Türkçe" for describing "Common Turkic Language." The word "Türkçe," in Turkish, has been used for denoting "the Turkish Language"; while the defenders of the common language frequently used it for denoting the "Turkic language." So, there was some confusion and misunderstanding emerged among the participants that led to objections. During the education-science commission's work, a participant objected the term "Türkçe." He was reminded about the declaration made by the ministers of education during their congress in May 1992, the name of which was "Ortak (Common) Türkçe," so, in their view, there should not be any problem since that use of the word was also accepted by the ministers of these countries.[294] Nevertheless, it was enough for us to see how misperceptions rendered the linguistic cooperation process fragile, which necessitated careful approaches and discourses. Also, another participant stated that recently became independent republics were not ready to incorporate into the process of unification of Turkic languages.[295] In other words, not everyone was eager to work on a common Turkic literary language project. Eventually, the Education and Science Commission decided not to add detailed views on the linguistic issues in their final report. They left it to the Language and Alphabet Commission. Education and Science Commission stated only a general desire for the adoption of the Latin alphabet.[296]

Another important point stated in the Language-Alphabet Commission was the lack of coordination emerged during the process as a crucial point criticized and tried to be solved in the commissions and reports. When the commission was evaluating the developments about the project and the process, Nadir Devlet as an important figure at the starting point of the process stated, "although many activities have been performed in Turkey; however, there is not a complete coordination even among ourselves [in Turkey.] We are not aware of the TİKA convention." As stated, the TİKA Congress was the first official convention dedicated solely to the issues of the Common Alphabet

294 Ibid., p. 206. The whole discussion can be found in ibid., pp. 205-6 and ibid., pp. 210-1.

295 Ibid., p. 215.

296 Ibid., p. 219. For the final report, p. 335. Interestingly, it mentioned only the Latin alphabet rather than a common one.

and Orthography. The possibility of development of a new process with another project made Nadir Devlet nervous. He got relieved after learning from the head of the commission, Ercilasun, that there were not significant diversions from the model put in the 1991 Symposium.[297] Later, Devlet declared that he brought the publication of the 1991 Symposium with him and would distribute them to the head of delegations coming from other republics.[298] While this was a significant moment addressing this point of lack of central coordination, many other participants also mentioned and proposed solutions for the lack of coordination. It was stated that there were lots of academic and technical institutions both in Turkey and in other Turkic republics that might produce different studies and projects; which needs certainly coordination.[299] This was how it had been dealt with in the Soviet Union; and today, an organ for coordination was necessary.[300] Coordination by TİKA was proposed as a solution to this problem.[301] Barutçu, as an official of TİKA, stated that actually during the conference held by TİKA in a few weeks before, it was decided to establish a workgroup that works on this task.[302] Nevertheless, ratification of that decision taken in the conference should wait for the next summit of Turkic leaders.[303] That summit would convene in October 1994; however, it did not suggest anything about a linguistic workgroup, but only about the necessity of the coordination in general terms.[304]

In conclusion, the 1st TÜDEV congress convened in March 1993 as a semi-official convention which was supported by the Turkish government and attended by the official delegations. The TÜDEV congress, in general, had a significant amount of the Turkic participants from most of Turkic nations and

297 Ibid., p. 75.

298 Speech of Nadir Devlet in ibid., p. 76.

299 Speech of Iristay Kuçkartayev in ibid., p. 85.

300 Speech of Razak Saydakanov in ibid., p. 103. Interestingly, he stated that he had attended an alphabet congress, before. I could not determine which one, though.

301 Speech of Iristay Kuçkartayev in ibid., p. 85.

302 Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 99.

303 Ibid. Also, Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 757 for a copy of the document.

304 İstanbul Bildirisi, Oct. 18-19, 1994. http://www.turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/10_Istanbul-Bildirisi1994_2.DevletBaskanlariZirveBildirisi_20140418_103924.pdf Access Date: 26.7.2018

communities. The 1st TÜDEV Congress had also included an Alphabet-Language Commission and both the commission and the congress adopted the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet based on Latin script. Thus, the 1st TÜDEV Congress can be linked to our series of conventions for the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet and for other linguistic projects. Furthermore, the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet was ratified by another important convention.

As stated before, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, which was also ratified in this convention, was a model developed in 1991 Symposium. Then, it went through some slight modifications during the 1. STDKr in May 1992. Following that, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was ratified by an official convention made by TİKA in early March 1993, just a couple of weeks before the 1st TÜDEV congress. It is interesting to note that, while the only change that I could find in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was that Ä/ä was replaced with Ə/ə. On the other hand, Sema Barutçu stated during the language-alphabet commission that there was also a small change in Ñ/ñ when compared with the alphabet of 1991.[305] However, I could not detect such a change from the original documents published by Ercilasun.[306] Hence, there might not have been any change in Ñ/ñ, at all, unless was a publishing mistake in the original documents.

The 1st TÜDEV Congress, like the other conventions, did not make any radical change in the basic principles of the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet Model. These principles can be summarized as "the very same phoneme should be represented by the very same signature" and "there should not be any multigraphs, that is, a phoneme must be denoted by one letter, not by a combination of them."[307] Another continuity that existed since the 1. STDKr was the integration of the idea of having a common alphabet with of having a common literary language. In the report of the commission, it was stated that

305 TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 99.

306 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* pp. 747-8 for 1991 Symposum; pp. 753-6 for 1. STDKr, pp. 757-9 for 1993 TİKA, and pp. 760-1 for TÜDEV.

307 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 760. TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 331. Final Report of the Language-Alphabet Commission.

"the delegates attended the symposium had adopted the view that all of Turkic republics and communities should be united under the common literary language and alphabet."[308] In the final declaration, it was put that

> All Turkic Republics and communities should be united under the common literary language via developing the reciprocal interest and relations. Again our congress decided to adopt the 34-letter alphabet stated in the language-alphabet commission as the Frame Alphabet of Turkic States and Communities.[309]

This might be considered as a spill-over of the view that considered Turkic peoples have been speaking the various dialects of one language, which was shared widely by the Turkish participants, especially by the Turkist-traditionalists. This view could be traced back to the 1990 Congress of the Turkish Ministry of Culture that could be considered as the starting point of this process. However, as a result of the broad participation, there also existed other ideas and tendencies about the Common Turkic Literary Language, too, on which there were discussions since İsmail Gaspıralı's era. The set of participants who involved in multiple conferences in the process, actually, enabled continuity in the process by defending the views accepted in the former congresses. Here, also, it was possible to detect a group of participants that linked this congress to the series of conventions. However, they had eventually become increasingly aware of the fact that an institutional continuity was necessary rather than continue to depend on the participants' efforts Thus, an article stating that "a coordination committee that would coordinate the previous and future works" is necessary and "should be established" was added to the final declaration.[310] TÜDEV congress ended on 23 March 1993 in Antalya with these remarks, few weeks before the adoption of the new Turkmen alphabet on 13 April 1993.

308 TÜDEV, *21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları*, p. 331. Final Report of the Language-Alphabet Commission.

309 Ibid, pp. 349-350. Final Declaration of the Congress.

310 Ibid., p. 331. Final Report of the Language-Alphabet Commission.

## § 3.5 2nd Permanent Turkic Language Congress (2. STDKr)

After a year from the First Permanent Turkic Language Congress (1. STDKr), and a few months later than the TİKA conference and TÜDEV congress, "the Second Permanent Turkic Language Congress" (2. STDKr) was convened on 22-26 September 1993. It could be considered as the last major convention in the process, which convened after the declaration of the Turkmen Latin Alphabet that would start to be applied in a few years, and just before the enactment of the presidential decree for the Uzbek Latin Alphabet. These new national alphabets were prepared rather independently from the 34-letter Frame drawn by this process, though the Frame also was among the sources for these alphabets. By looking at such independent national alphabets, it can be said that the 2. STDKr, this time, was being held at the end of the series of conventions for alphabet when the republics and their leaders had already made their minds and started to make decisions. Because of this fact, as well as of the ineffectiveness of the overenthusiastic and probably not feasible views put by some the Turkish participants; the Turkish side, who organized the congress, was much more modest about the mission and the decisions, this time.

### 3.5.1 *Structure of the Congress*

The 2. STDKr was organized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture on four themes, namely, "the alphabet, orthography, terminology and translation issues in the republics and communities that speak Turkic languages."[311] By doing that, the overall mission of the congress was "to find common solution methods for them"[312] including the difficulties during the ongoing process of the alphabet change in Turkic republics,[313] and "to enable the cultural rapprochement among these states."[314] Although the congress started with the

311 Opening speech of Meral Çerçi, the Head of the Department of the Publications of Turkish Ministry of Culture in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayımlar Dairesi Başkanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22--26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), p. 1..

312 Opening speech of Meral Çerçi in ibid., p. 1.

313 Opening speech of Fikri Sağlar, the Turkish Minister of Culture in ibid., p. 16.

314 Opening speech of Meral Çerçi in ibid., p. 1.

opening speeches of the important political figures, such as of the President of Turkey, Süleyman Demirel, and of the Minister of Culture Fikri Sağlar,[315] in fact, the congress was designed to be a medium for the academic discussions on the ongoing process, rather than being a technocratic one. Convention style of the congress much resembled the linguistic conferences of the TDK, where lots of different information and deduction are presented in the form of scientific articles. Here also, the structure was the same as the TDK conferences and it might be even considered as contributing to the scientific evaluation of the problems and difficulties in the process of linguistic cooperation.

The Second Continuous Turkic Language Congress had lasted for five days. There were 344 specialists invited,[316] and 73 participants attended from Turkey, Turkic republics, and Turkic peoples; as well as linguists from other countries attended the congress.[317] Around forty papers were read for five days. From that, more than twenty papers and speeches actually belonged to participants coming from other countries, most of which was from Turkic republics and peoples. Different from the 1. STDKr, it was chosen to work in plenary sessions instead of working in different commissions during the 2. STDKr. In other words, the whole congress would work altogether rather than in specific commissions, for each topic.[318] The topics with which the 2. STDKr would deal were namely the "problems emerged during the transition process from Cyrillic to Latin alphabet," "the orthographic problems in Turkic languages," "the problems about Turkicification of the scientific terms," and "the difficulties arising during the translations among Turkic languages."[319] These would be followed by a discussion session for the final declaration.[320] Ordinary chair of the congress was the minister of culture, Fikri Sağlar; however when he was not present, then by the undersecretary of the minister, Emre Kongar.

315 Ibid., pp. 1-22.

316 Opening speech of Meral Çerçi in ibid., pp. 1-2.

317 Ibid., p. 246. Final Declaration.

318 Speech of Emre Kongar, undersecretary of the Turkish Ministry of Culture in ibid., pp. 23-4. He was the chairman when the minister of culture was not there.

319 Opening speech of Meral Çerçi in ibid., p .2.

320 Ibid., p. 2.

When these two officials were not there, then two vice chairmen one of whom was appointed by the ministry, Yahya Aksoy, and the other one elected by the Congress, Mustafa Canpolat would chair the Congress.[321]

It is important to note that the 2. STDKr like the first one was not among the official conventions in the process, where governments of Turkic republics sent official delegations; however, some officials and important names participated in the congress, too. For instance, Sapar Kürenov and Murat Söyegov were the participants, who came from Turkmenistan. Söyegov was the chair of the alphabet commission that prepared the official Turkmen alphabet.[322] Kürenov had beforehand attended 1991 Symposium and he later presented a model with Cebbar Göklenov who attended 1991 Symposium and TİKA conference in 1993 to the national committee of the alphabet in Turkmenistan that was almost compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.[323] Thus, it could be said that both Kürenov and Göklenov, who attended the alphabet committee of Turkmenistan and presented their project, fulfilled their duties that were assigned to every participant by the conventions that was to defend the common alphabet model in their home countries. Another familiar name was Iristay Kuçkartayev from Uzbekistan who had attended the Conference of Ministers of Education, the TİKA Conference, and the 1st TÜDEV Congress. Also, Kenesbay Musayev from Kazakhstan who had attended the 1991 Symposium was among the participants.

From Turkey, there were representatives from TİKA, Sema Barutçu, and from TÖMER,[324] Mehmet Hengirmen, to evaluate the different aspects of the cooperation process and to present their projects to the congress.[325] Barutçu attended most of the conventions since 1. STDKr, while Hengirmen attended the First Conference of Ministers of Education. Among the Turkish academics

321 Speech of Emre Kongar in ibid., pp. 22-3.

322 For more information, see section 4.2.1.1.

323 For more information, see section 4.2.1.1.

324 Türkçe Öğretim Merkezi (Turkish Teaching Center) was first established in 1989 at Ankara University. Later, its name was revised, and many other universities opened such centers. For more information, see Website for Ankara Üniversitesi TÖMER, "About Us," accessed on July 26, 2018, http://tomer.ankara.edu.tr/en/about-us/.

325 Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., pp. 25-32. Speech of Mehmet Hengirmen in ibid., pp. 74-80.

participated, Tuncer Gülensoy was such a vital participant in the process who had attended almost all of the linguistic conventions, except the 1991 Symposium, in Turkey since 1990 Congress. Talat Tekin and Şerafettin Turan were other two eminent academics who belonged to a modernist group of the Turkish linguists.[326] Unlike their previous participation to the 1st Permanent Congress of Turkic Language, this time they were more actively involved, and actually replaced the Turkist-traditionalists who used to lead the conventions, which could be evaluated as a part of the change in the course of the process.

The 2. STDKr symbolized a diversion in the overall process in the sense that this congress did not focus on the issue of Common Literary Language. That project had implicitly existed since the 1990 Congress and emerged during the 1. STDKr in May 1992 and become an essential part of the process and defended by Turkist-traditionalists. However, the tide was changing. Turkish President Süleyman Demirel stated that this was "… future's subject; nevertheless, there (were) practical things that (could) be done" and they were included in the agenda of the congress.[327] He added that the concern should be cooperation[328] and rapprochement[329] among Turkic communities in this process; and "that bridge [among Turkic communities] is going to be established if everyone writes their own dialect with the 34-letter alphabet created by 'our'

326 Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy," p. 24 and p. 139

327 "Bu büyük toplumun (that is, Turkic World) birbirini anlayacak dili olabilir mi, ilerideki olay. Ama nihayet pratik olan şeyler var, yapılabilecek olan şeyler var. Bunları da bu Kurultay'ın gündemine koymuşsunuz." Opening speech of Süleyman Demirel, the President of Turkey in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri*, p. 20.

328 "Bu büyük Türk topluluğunun her sahada kaynaşması lâzım. İşbirliğine gitmesi lâzım ve kendi kültür hazinelerine yenilerini eklemesi lâzım, ekonomik işbirliği içerisinde olması lâzım, siyasi işbirliği içerisinde olması lâzım." Opening speech of Süleyman Demirel in ibid., p. 20.

329 "Bizim yapmaya çalıştığımız şey, daha çok birbirimize yaklaşmak, birbirimizi anlamak, birbirimizi tanımak, bu akrabalar sanki gurbete gitmiş bir ailenin çocukları gibi birbirlerinden uzak kalmışlar, kucaklaşmışlardır şimdi." Opening speech of Süleyman Demirel in ibid., pp. 20-1,

scientists."[330] Thus, it could be said that the agenda of the process started to abandon the abstract themes in linguistic cooperation and focusing on the more tangible ones.

Although it can be concluded that the expectations from the congress became more tangible, the agenda formed by Turkist-traditionalists for this process that linked it to the project of formation of a common Turkic literary language continued to exist in the discourses and projects of other governmental institutions. Sema Barutçu, as the representative of TİKA, then under the framework of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that they were aiming for Turkic [or Turkish] language to become an international language that would be among the official languages of UN.[331] To attain this goal, of course, there should be a similarity reached among Turkic republics and people; so, the people who use Turkic language would account for a significant population in the world. In order to enhance this project, TİKA had convened an alphabet congress on 8-10 March 1993, where the 34-letter Frame Alphabet was ratified by official delegations.[332] In addition to that, TİKA "might find itself a place in the transition from Cyrillic to Latin processes of Turkic republics by technical aids for the projects about the alphabet and its complementary projects and via procuring financial resources" for these tasks.[333] Furthermore, TİKA prepared a project that was about to be initiated called the "Turkic Literary Language Project … [where] scientists from Turkic Republics

330 "/e/ğer gene ilim adamlarımızın (our scientists) ortaya çıkardığı 34 harfli bir alfabeyle herkes kendi lehçesini (y)azarsa sanıyorum ki bu köprüyü birinci dereceden kurmuş oluruz." Opening speech of Süleyman Demirel in ibid., p. 21.

331 Speech of Sema Barutçu, the representative of TİKA at the 2. STDKr in ibid., p. 31,

332 Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 30.

333 "TİKA'nın Latin alfabesine geçiş süreçlerinde yer alabileceği bir diğer husus alfabe ve çevresinde oluşturulan … proje veya programlar için teknik yardımda bulunmak ve … gerekli mali kaynağın temininde sağlanacak katkı şeklinde özetlenebilir." Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 31.

[would] work" to "deal with the problems about alphabet and orthography" via publications and dictionaries.[334]

As a matter of fact, that similarity started to pay off, according to Sema Barutçu, in the sense that the ETSI[335] actually accepted the 34-letter common Turkic alphabet as "a base alphabet along with the English, French and German alphabets."[336] Thus, even though the congress was not prepared to defend the "Common Literary Language Project," it cannot be said that there was an end for this project, too. TİKA was still working on it. "TİKA was desiring the (Common) Turkic language" to become "an international language" as well as "an official UN language."[337] So, various benefits were expected for Turkey and for Turkic republics from this linguistic cooperation process.

Another institution represented in the 2. STDKr as one contributing to the linguistic cooperation was TÖMER. This institution was working on the teaching of Turkish language to other Turkic people both in Turkey and in their homeland.[338] TÖMER's activities can be considered as a public diplomacy attempt by Turkey to enhance her cultural influence on other countries, thus her soft power. On the other hand, teaching Turkish as another Turkic language would strengthen the interaction between various Turkic groups, mainly Turkish with other but not necessarily limited to that. Eventually, this could stir the process of the cultural and linguistic acquaintance between various Turkic nations and communities. Nevertheless, TÖMER would not be

334 "(A)rtık hayata geçirilme aşamasında olan Türk Yazı Dili Projesi kapsamında … Türk Cumhuriyetleri'nin bilim adamlarının yapacakları ilmi çalışmalarla … Latine geçişte karşılaşacakları alfabe ve buna dayalı imla problemlerinin çözümlenmesinde … ihtiyacı duyulacak çalışmaların ortaya konmasında da yardımcı kuruluş olarak yerini alacaktır." Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 31.

335 European Telecommunications Standards Institute

336 "34 harfli çerçeve ortak Türk alfabesi, Avrupa Telekomünikasyon Standartları Enstitüsü tarafından da İngiliz, Fransız ve Alman alfabelerinin ardından iletişimde temel alfabe olarak kabul edilen 4. alfabe olmuştur." Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 31.

337 "TİKA Birleşmiş Milletler dili olmasını arzu ettiği ve milletlerarası dil seviyesinde ulaşmasını hedeflediği Türk dilini ve bu hedeflere ulaşmak maksadıyla … hazırlanmış Türk Yazı Dili Projesi kapsamında …" Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 31.

338 Speech of Mehmet Hengirmen, the representative of TÖMER at the 2. STDKr in ibid., pp. 74-80.

elaborated here furthermore; since it was not directly related with the issue of the common Turkic alphabet.

### 3.5.2 *Discussion on Themes*

While it is true that the congress was not prepared to take technical decisions; ideas about the on-going process of the alphabet and other linguistic transformations in Turkic Republics, and Turkish projects were discussed. The congress was convened to discuss four themes, namely, alphabet, orthography, terminology, and translation. The first three topics were evaluated in the framework of establishing a common Turkic literary language. However, since the process started to abandon that idea, the content of the discussions started to change.

The argument that had also existed in previous conventions, which suggests that the number of the letters does not matter, was put forward in the 2. STDKr, too. As discussed, such discourses might imply that the 34-letter model was not settled firmly since other models continued to be proposed. Here, also, few academics proposed new signs or new models; however, there was not any change of model. In the 2. STDKr, the situation in the countries and communities were discussed intensively, which was not the case since 1991 symposium. The congress was also focused on theory and academic debates, especially on the characteristics of languages and other details. These discussions can be evaluated as a positive and necessary one for the general process. Otherwise, policies and propositions would just continue to emerge without any evaluation. On the other hand, such a change in the atmosphere of the congress also implied that the Common Frame Alphabet Project had started to fade away. The picture becomes clearer when the Turkmen and Uzbek alphabets that were out of the frame is considered. The application of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet became almost impossible even if it was accepted by many conventions.

#### 3.5.2.1 Alphabet Issue

There was already a 34-letter alphabet constituted and approved in the series of conventions. TİKA, also, was involved in this process via convening 8-10

March 1993 conference, which the representatives of Turkic republics attended.[339] TİKA's future goals were including the international recognition of this alphabet, such as by ETSI, and eventually the recognition of "Turkic"[340] among the languages of the UN. Although the efforts by the government for this task had continued; at the same time, they already became aware of the limitation of their capacity. The alphabet change in Azerbaijan for a similar alphabet with Turkey, and under the framework of the 34-letter alphabet (with a modification in one phoneme) could be considered as a success. On the other hand, Turkey and the Turkish participants would face with the diverting national alphabets of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet as the first failures in the 2. STDKr. The Turkish participants would accept the fact and even congratulate the Turkmen case since the previous Turkmen Latin Alphabet proposal was diverted from the Turkish and the 34-letter Frame Alphabet models than the officially adopted alphabet.[341]

While there was a common alphabet already existing since 1991 and started to be officialized by 1992, at least in the conventions held by Turkey; some other propositions continued to come. One of them, for instance, focused on the representation of a pair of specific phonemes, between the phoneme /e/ (that is, closed e) and the phoneme /æ/ (that is, open e), for which Demir suggested using a diacritic for the phoneme less common in that language.[342] In another instance, it was suggested using the Turkish alphabet without any change in all of the other Turkic languages. According to Gemalmaz, it is already possible for humankind to produce an almost infinite

339 "TİKA Birleşmiş Milletler dili olmasını arzu ettiği ve milletlerarası dil seviyesinde ulaşmasını hedeflediği *Türk dilini* bu hedeflere ulaşmak maksadıyla … *Türk Yazı Dili Projesi Kapsamında* …" Speech of Sema Barutçu in ibid., p. 31. My italicization. Regarding the italicized part, see the next footnote.

340 The statement *Türk dili* can mean Turkic language or Turkish, depending on the context. On the other hand, *Türk Yazı Dili Projesi* (Turkic Literary Language Project) implies that Turkic language is in question. Also, *Türkçe* is the more common way to denote Turkish in the Turkish language rather than *Türk dili*.

341 Speech of the chairman in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri,* p. 68.

342 Speech of Nurettin Demir in ibid., p. 45.

number of voices that can become phoneme; the representation of all of these was not efficient to enable the communication among the large masses. Hence, an alphabetic model "that satisfies the phonological[343] needs rather than emphasizing the phonetic details" must be established.[344] Gemalmaz did not evaluate the Turkish alphabet as an efficient one since the Turkish language could be represented by even less number of letters; nevertheless, he admitted the Turkish alphabet had managed to establish a tradition and therefore should remain. While he stated that the orthographic studies showed that the other Turkic languages could be written by alphabets constituted with minor additions to the Turkish; however, his conclusion was that the Turkish alphabet would be just enough for all other Turkic languages.[345] Such arguments suggest that there were still existing different technical opinions among linguists. These different ideas stemmed from the fact that the series of conventions lacked institutionalization and authority; thus, there was not broad participation to solve the issues once and for all and to disseminate and apply the decisions come out of the process.

During the congress, some participants also presented their views about the situation of the (common) Latin alphabet in the region, and the reasons for the current situation. An important factor according to Süleyman Demirel, the President of Turkey, was that "the lack of homogeneity" in Turkic World made the transformation of alphabet difficult. He took the example of Kazakhstan where the ethnic distribution consisted of 42% of Kazakhs, as the titular nation, while also of 38% of Russians,[346] who would not be in favor of changing alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin. Therefore, it was acknowledged that the issue

343 "Phonology … is concerned with the function, behaviour, and organization of sounds as LINGUISTIC items; as opposed to phonetics, which is a rather more 'neutral' study of the sounds themselves as phenomena in the physical world." Roger Lass, *Phonology: An Introduction to basic concepts* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 1. Gemalmaz, here, simply discusses here for such a system that hides the phonetic differences among Turkic languages.

344 "Yeter ki teferruattan uzak, yani fonetik ayrıntılardan çok, fonolojik ihtiyaçları karşılayabilecek bir alfabe ve yazım anlayışı geliştirilsin." Speech of Efrasiyab Gemalmaz in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri*, p. 58.

345 Speech of Efrasiyab Gemalmaz in ibid., pp. 58-9.

346 Speech of Süleyman Demirel in ibid., p. 21.

of transformation to the alphabet is mainly a domestic issue rather than completely open to the cooperation.[347]

Another case that was presented to the congress, was the situation in the Bashkiria. Despite the fact that transition to Latin alphabet was proposed by some linguists; however, this raised opposition from intellectuals, who demonstrated their reaction through publishing articles and making speeches on TV and radio broadcasts. In addition to that, the rate of Bashkirs in their republic had only been 22% and they were represented by a minority group in their parliament.[348] Another reason preventing an alphabet transition to the 34-letter Turkic Frame Latin Alphabet was the possibility of a Turkic-Islamic union to arise as a result of unity in the alphabet,[349] which had already been evaluated as a threat by Russians for a long time. Another factor was the consideration by some Turcologists that the different Turkic languages, such as Bashkir, as a dialect of another,[350] and proposing a common literary language. This hurts the national identity and led to the refusal of such ideas of cooperation.[351] As a result, expecting a social and political momentum for Latin was simply impossible; even though, the Bashkir language was decaying under the Russian language's influence, to which Cyrillic alphabet have contributed a lot.[352]

Also, it was stated by Turkmen representatives that even the proposals to revise Cyrillic alphabet were opposed by "the teachers and scientists" before the Turkmen independence; however, opposition ended two years after when Turkmenistan became independent. In the current situation, "people desire the transition to the new alphabet."[353] On the other hand, different ideas from Turkmen society emerged for the new Turkmen alphabet in Latin scripts. The

347 Speech of Süleyman Demirel in ibid., p. 21.

348 Speech of Zinnur Uraksın in ibid., p. 93.

349 Speech of Necibe Maksudova in ibid., p. 71.

350 Note that this attitude was generally held among the Turkist-traditionalist linguists in Turkey; however, some linguists from other Turkic republics and communities subscribed to similar views, as well.

351 Speech of Zinnur Uraksın in ibid., p. 93.

352 Speech of Zinnur Uraksın in ibid., p. 92.

353 Speech of Murat Söyegov in ibid., p. 101.

proposal based on this process was of a group of linguists, who modelled their alphabet project after the 1928 Turkmen Latin alphabet – based on the Uniform Turkic Alphabet of 1928-40 period – and after the 34-letter Common Frame Turkic Alphabet with a few modifications.[354] According to our observation of the project, the first modification in that model from the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was the difference in the sign of the phoneme /ŋ/, chosen as "ŋ̡" that was rather borrowed from the 1928-40 Alphabet. And the second one was to use the "W/w" letter instead of "V/v," which was adopted by the 1st Permanent Turkic Language Congress as preferential to the former sign. On the other hand, both of the letters were included in the 34-letter alphabet and it was not a modification. Lastly, the sign "Ä/ä" was preferred for the phoneme /æ/ rather than "Ə/ə," even though "Ə/ə" was preferred in the process since the 1. STDKr Congress over "Ä/ä." Nevertheless, this model could be considered rather as in the frame of the 34-letter Frame Alphabet.

Many different projects based on various principles also continued to emerge. Eventually, an alphabet commission in Turkmenistan was established and led by the President to evaluate different propositions and create a new alphabet for Turkmenistan based on Latin script. This committee prepared an alphabet and it was adopted as the new Turkmen alphabet on 12 April 1993 by the Turkmen Parliament.[355] In the new Turkmen Latin Alphabet, there were three different letters for the phonemes already represented in the 34-letter alphabet, while two letters in the Frame Alphabet used to represent other signs; and another one slightly modified. Thus, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet could not frame the Turkmen alphabet. The phoneme /ŋ/, on the other hand, was represented accordingly with the 34-letter alphabet.[356] It was stated by Turkmen participants – Kürenov and Söyegov – that while the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was considered as one of the sources for the new Turkmen alphabet, compatibility with the new publishing

354 Speech of Sapar Kürenov in ibid., p. 64. The model was published as a table even though it was misnamed in the proceedings.

355 See section 4.2.1.

356 Speech of Sapar Kürenov in ibid., p. 66. The model was published as a table.

machinery and with the informatics technology was also taken into consideration.[357]

While analyzing the Bashkiria case, Necibe Maksudova pointed to four factors to understand the difficulties in front of Latin alphabet. These factors are important for the analysis of the obstacles in front of the utilization of not only the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet but of any potential alphabet transition in Turkic nations and peoples. These factors, furthermore, will enable us to elaborate on what President Demirel put as "the lack of homogeneity," or simply, heterogeneity. When Demirel used this concept, he was essentially emphasizing the issue of ethnic distribution. The heterogeneity existed, also, in the attitude of these nations' public opinions to the issues that these societies faced. In our case, first, there were political obstacles,[358] which can be distinguished into two categories. Partially this was due to the Russian factor, which demonstrated itself as a sovereign force and majority of the population in cases of Federal Republics within Russia, such as Bashkiria. This factor would become concretely prominent in the case of Tatarstan. Furthermore, the Russian factor stayed even in an independent country like Kazakhstan, which has Russia as a powerful neighbor and had a significant Russian minority. There were some other issues and concerns originating from Turkic societies of these republics that would constitute an important obstacle for the project of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

The fact that there had not been any consensus among the intellectuals was another factor.[359] For instance, in Bashkiria, many intellectuals opposed to the alphabetical transition, from the outset. Actually many people thought that Cyrillic alphabets had a separatist effect among Turkic peoples since they had many different signs assigned for the very same phonemes and included many unnecessary letters that were specific to the Russian language. Thus, Turkic languages were isolated from each other while they became open to Russian influence. However, these alphabets were widely adopted by heart because

357 Speech of Sapar Kürenov in ibid., pp. 67-8. Speech of Murat Söyegov in ibid., pp. 101-2.

358 Speech of Necibe Maksudova in ibid., p. 71.

359 Speech of Necibe Maksudova in ibid., p. 71.

they enabled a widespread literacy and literary production for the national language. Even some defended the Cyrillic alphabets as national.[360]

Evaluating Turkic languages as dialects of a greater language, and discussions on creating a common literary language also perceived in a negative manner, which actually triggered the national fervor among Bashkirs against the process.[361] As already stated in the 1991 Symposium, there was a refrain from this process of cooperation since it was perceived as a Pan-Turkist attempt that aimed for the assimilation of the other societies into Turkish.[362] Although it was decided to transition the alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin script in many Turkic nations and communities, there were many propositions for the alphabet also due to this perception. The attitude of the governments was generally to compromise the various offers for the new alphabet including the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model. Thus, rather than choosing the inter-Turkic cooperation; the governments preferred to find national solutions, which could also be evaluated as a reaction to the pan-Turkist perceptions. Also, the majority of Turkic societies –such as in Bashkir case- chose to remain indifferent to such an alphabet problem,[363] which created inertia in the transition process alone, putting the cooperation aside.

Meanwhile, there was ongoing inertia, which could be observed from the low degree of participation in the conventions, such as to the 1992 Kazan World Turkic Congress. Instead of organizing and discussing the transition together, each state preferred to establish national commissions; and the societies had different tendencies. The disinterestedness of the governments and

360 Speech of Ziynet Elizade in ibid., p. 193. Her statement triggered discussion on the issue among Semih Tezcan, Ziynet Elizade, and the chairman of Turkicization of Scientific Terminology session. See, ibid., pp. 206-8. For similar views that Elizade shared via the press in her own country, Azerbaijan, see Eyvazova, *Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını*, pp. 232-3.

361 Speech of Zinnur Uraksın in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri,* p. 93.

362 Speech of Rafael Muhammetdinov delivered during 1st session on 18 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 23.

363 Speech of Necibe Maksudova in T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri,* p. 71.

the societies of Turkic republics towards the conventions gathered in the region, and the desire to find national solutions rather than general Turkic cooperation implies a lot about the process. The regional heterogeneity remained a great obstacle in front of the cooperation process along with the material insufficiency in Turkic republics and communities.[364]

#### 3.5.2.2 Terminological Issues

Even if the possibility of the creation of a common literary Turkic language was a disputed one, especially between the Modernist and Turkist-traditionalist participants; both of these two factions accepted the importance of using common terminology in various branches of sciences and aspects of life for the cooperation process. However, there were huge differences between especially Turkish and other Turkic languages; as well as among one another. A general evaluation of how the terms produced shows the reasons for such differences clearer. First, the languages from which the terms had been borrowed were different. Especially Russian was the predominant language for word borrowing for Soviet Turkic peoples; while, Arabic was also an important source, especially for Azerbaijani and other Turkic societies that had ceased to be nomadic in earlier times. Sources for Turkish also included Arabic; however, many Western languages were the other sources.

On the other hand, Turkic languages also formed new terms and words from Turkic roots in their own national languages, too. Even in this case, a complication emerged. The roots chosen to invent a specific term might differ in various Turkic languages. Also, different suffixes might have been used even if the term was formed on the same root. Many examples were given by Boeschoten to demonstrate these cases, like the term "kindergarten." It is "Ana Okulu" in Turkish, "uşaq bağçası" in Azerbaijani, "balabağçası" in Crimean Tatar, and "balalar baqşası" in Karakalpak, "çaağalar bağı" in Turkmen. While Turkish and the other Turkic languages completely differ from each other due that the latter ones derived the term from German, as the origin of the term 'Kindergarten', and Russian "Детский Сад," meaning "Child(ren)'s Garden."

364 Speech of Zinnur Uraksın in ibid., pp. 93-4.

However, even these Turkic languages differ from each other by using a different word for child, and by making it singular or plural, as well as the word for the garden is "vocally varied," too. The literal translation of this form into Turkish would be "Çocuk Bahçesi," which has a different meaning.[365]

#### 3.5.2.3 Orthography and Translation Issues

The other two issues on which presentations and discussions made were the orthographic problems among Turkic languages[366] and the problems occurred during translations among Turkic languages.[367] As a matter of fact, alphabet and orthography are two joint issues that cannot be separated from each other, easily. It is because orthography is also about the spelling of the words, which is related to how the letters denote the phonemes in the words. Hence, if the script, or collections of letters, which is the Frame Alphabet in our case, is a determinant of an alphabet model; orthographic rules are just the other determinant. So, there were discussions on the orthography of compound words and hat sign, which were rather peculiar to the Turkish language during the 1. STDKr. However, the orthographic discussions would focus on the other Turkic languages in the 2. STDKr.

Actually, it was hard to put concrete views about the orthography before the transition of the alphabet was undertaken. Furthermore, it is hard to distinguish the issue of orthography from the issue of alphabet and issue of Common Literary Language. Orthography is one of the two essential parts of an alphabet system along with the script used. In addition to that, a common orthography would hinder the representation of phonemic and phonetical characteristics of Turkic languages since it aims to unify the words with same roots, which has different pronunciations and spellings in different Turkic languages.[368] However, as stated previously during the overall process and during this congress, the main focus was on the utilization of Latin alphabets in every

365 Speech of Hendrick Boeschoten in ibid., p. 181.

366 Ibid., pp. 111-160.

367 Ibid., pp. 216-236.

368 Speech of Sultan Tulu in ibid., pp. 88-91.

Turkic republic on the basis of the 34-letter Frame Alphabet rather than limiting the number of letters and phonemes in Turkic languages.[369] Then, ultimately common orthographic rules should be included in the Common Turkic Literary Language Project, which is a project of the far future. In the section dedicated to the orthographic issues, the participants preferred to focus again on the representations of the different phonemes, which is a common theme between the alphabet and the orthography discussions. Discussions on the other aspects of orthography, such as punctuation, orthography of the suffixes and foreign words etc. were rarely existed and sometimes emerged in the other sections.

Kenesbay Musayev was the only one, if not a few, who had evaluated the issue of orthography in the general framework for Turkic languages. According to him, it should be better to conceal differences by determining an orthography for common Turkic language that was planned to be created. His example was the Chinese language. In this method, the word written in a peculiar orthography in the Common Turkic Language could be easily understood by Turkic peoples who would take the word with their national spelling. Thus, Common Turkic Language would contain a set of pictographs[370] of common words among Turkic languages that could easily be understood by all of Turkic peoples. This was the gist of the alphabet transition to Latin.[371] Furthermore, "improving the orthography and bringing closer the literary languages and vernaculars of Turkic people is possible."[372] Nevertheless, partially there had not been any studies and work done on the orthographic rules of Turkic languages in a comparative manner, partially due to the entanglement of the orthography with the alphabet, and partially due to consideration of that the common orthography and literary language as a long-term happening. What

369 Speech of Yahya Aksoy as the chairman of the Alphabet Transition Problems session in ibid., p. 91..

370 "A pictogram (pictograph) is a logographic symbol that is a simplified picturelike representation of the thing it represents." Rowe and Levine, *A concise introduction to linguistics*, p. 284. This is also explained in section 3.2.

371 Speech of Kenesbay Musayev in ibid., p. 132.

372 "Türklerin yazımını düzeltip, onların yazılı ve ağızca dillerini yakınlaştırmak mümkündür." Speech of Kenesbay Musaev in ibid., p. 131.

was put about the common orthography and literary language was not much more than expectations and wishes.

Apart from that, the general discussion was about the specific orthographic rules in these languages.[373] It was hard to put concrete views about the orthography before the alphabet transitions were undertaken. The main focus at the congress was on the utilization of Latin alphabets in every Turkic republic which would be derived from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet rather than limiting the phonemes and pronunciation in Turkic languages.[374] Another a similar discussion was whether to utilise all thirty-four signs in the alphabets of Turkic languages; however, Yahya Aksoy as the chairman of the alphabet transition problems session stated that was not the case.[375] The Common Orthography Project created question marks since the representation of all phonemes in the national languages could not be possible if such a common orthography, which also determines the phonemes used in each word, was going to be utilized.[376] However, as stated also by Yahya Aksoy that the main aim in the cooperation process was to minimise the number of total letters that must be learnt to read all of the Turkic languages rather than utilizing single alphabet in every Turkic republic and community.[377] Even the Turkist-traditionalist linguists, while aiming common orthography and common literary language, had aimed at different alphabets that could be framed by the 34-letter model constituted in 1991 Symposium. According to them, the common literary language would be the future's aim and be used, mainly, for inter-Turkic communication rather than replacing other languages.

The major theme of the participants' statements during the session for translational problems was that Turkic languages were easier to grasp and use for Turkic peoples because all are in the same linguistic family. Nevertheless; ones should not forget that these languages were distinct enough to necessitate some effort to transfer the message from one to another.

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373 Since they are technical, linguistic issues, I do not elaborate on them.

374 Speech of Yahya Aksoy in ibid., p. 91.

375 Ibid.

376 Speech of Sultan Tulu in ibid., pp. 88-91.

377 Speech of Yahya Aksoy in ibid., p. 91.

### 3.5.3 *Decision Making and the Final Declaration*

During the congress, it was announced that some participants, both from Turkey and from other Turkic republics and communities, were assigned to write the final declaration of the congress.[378] Sapar Kürenov and Iristay Kuçkartayev were from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan who participated in the various phases of the process. Talat Tekin and Şerafettin Turan were two academics of Turkey who had represented the modernist wing of the Turkish linguists against the Turkist-traditionalist wing who had also participated in the 1. STDKr Congress. However, during the 2. STDKr, there was no prominent member of the Turkist-traditionalist wing in the group to write the final declaration of this congress, although they formerly had actively participated in the overall process. Thus, it would not be a mistake to claim that the focus of the general process was diverted from the Turkist-traditionalists' paradigm that aimed to establish a common Turkic orthography and literary language in addition to the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

After all the papers were presented to the congress during the sessions dedicated to the problems of alphabetical transition, orthography, Turkicization of the scientific terms, and the translations among Turkic languages, participants evaluated the sketch of final declaration and shaped it to the official version to be declared. Many of the corrections were about the details that described the congress and the current situation in the region. There existed, however, some other issues that could be related to the general themes in the process and might enable us to comprehend the place of the congress in the general process, too.[379] One issue was that the statement of "Common Frame Alphabet" that Sema Barutçu, the representative of TİKA, evaluated as ambiguous and demanded to "34-letter Common Frame Alphabet" be written in order to clarify the alphabet model. Nonetheless, both the chairman, Emre Kongar, and İlhan Başgöz, who was in the group that prepared the declaration,

378 Ibid., p. 148.

379 Ibid., pp. 236-46 for the discussion session.

said that the "Common Frame Alphabet" was actually the 34-letter alphabet adopted by TİKAand the statement was not changed.[380]

Another discussion was on the statement that "the most appropriate script for Turkic languages and dialects is Latin script." Talat Tekin reminded that some participants were critical of comparing different scripts.[381] During the congress, Altay Amanjolov stated and reified that Kazakhs had used alphabets in Arabic, Latin, and Cyrillic scripts in history. And that time, Arabic and Cyrillic alphabets were still in use among the Kazakhs in China and the Soviet Union. In each of these alphabets, there had emerged a literature in the Kazakh language. As a result, he concluded that one should not judge them good or bad in linguistic terms since every script had their pros and cons. Both of these scripts contributed to the Kazakh language, significantly; however, these scripts can be evaluated in the current political context.[382] His point was also supported by Iristay Kuçkartayev that it was wrong to evaluate the scripts by good & bad dualism which is not scientific; but, they might be evaluated in terms of appropriateness for these languages. In his opinion, it was Latin script that is the most appropriate one for Uzbek and for all of the Turkic languages.[383] Emre Kongar as the chairman stated that the scripts were only evaluated according to their appropriateness for these languages and added that there was no objection when voting about the paragraph, which included that statement.[384]

After these discussions, in the final declaration, the congress stated that the unity of alphabet and the rapprochement in the language would be the key factor in the social, economic and cultural cooperation among Turkic nations. That rapprochement would contribute to peace and democracy, too. Congress decided that Latin script would be the most appropriate one for Turkic languages and dialects; therefore, Turkic nations should institute such alphabets

380 Speeches of Emre Kongar – the chairman delivered during discussion section on the final declaration – and İlhan Başgöz in ibid., pp. 243-4.

381 Speech of Talat Tekin in ibid., p. 246.

382 Speeches of Altay Amanjolov in ibid., pp. 32-3 and pp. 106-8.

383 Speech of Iristay Kuçkartayev in ibid., pp. 134-5.

384 Speech of Emre Kongar – the chairman delivered during discussion section on the final declaration – in ibid., p. 242.

that would be appropriate for their languages, which remain in the frame of the Common Frame Alphabet. Along with this, the important place of having common terminology in these efforts was also underscored and it was decided to increase the number of common terms used in the languages. In the meantime, the parliaments of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan adopted the utilization of Latin alphabet while Azerbaijan started to put it into practice. On the other hand, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tatarstan needed more time for this transition though hoping to follow that path in the future.[385] With these remarks, the second permanent Turkic Language Congress ended.

## § 3.6 Evaluation

Following this series of conventions, there was another convention gathered, again by TİKA on 7-12 February 1994 called as "Turkic Literary Language Symposium."[386] However, after the declaration of the national alphabets of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in April and October 1993, which differed from the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Model; this symposium could not have such importance and momentum to affect the regional policy. The year 1993 just remarked that the 34-letter model could not be a common alphabet and frame all of the Turkic languages unlike its name suggested. Just like the new Turkmen Latin alphabet was introduced to the Turkish and Turkic academics in the 2. STDKr; the new Uzbek Latin alphabet was introduced by Iristay Kuçkartayev –who participated in many conventions- both in the 2. STDKr and in this symposium of TİKA in 1994.[387] There were also some papers presented especially in the 2nd and the 3rd International Turkic/Turkish

385 Ibid., pp. 246-7 and Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler*," pp. 772-3. Final Declaration.

386 Although this symposium can be evaluated as the part of the process, a separate section is not devoted because I could not obtain the necessary documents.

387 Aynur Özcan, "Prof. Dr. İristay Kuçkartayev (1936-2000) Hayatı ve Eserleri," *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi 13*, no. 3 (September 2016), p. 11.

Language Congresses[388] organized by the TDK in 1992 and 1996. These papers continued to come in the following the TDK congresses and, maybe, in some other conventions; nevertheless, the process regarding the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet lost its momentum and ended.

It is proposed that this failure stemmed from the project itself by which Turkey tried to create a zone of influence by trying to implement alphabets derived from the Turkish alphabet. However, after analysing this series of conventions, I defend that this picture was not reflecting the reality for several reasons. The first reason was that producing a common Turkic alphabet was desired not only by the Turkish government or Turkish academics. There already existed an interest among Turkic people for such cooperation, which reflected itself in these conventions, where many Turkic participants worked in these conventions with great enthusiasm. The second reason was that the participation of Turkic academics and experts actually shaped the process, drastically. Enthusiasm for linguistic cooperation was not one-sided. Furthermore, the Turkish participants compromised with the Turkic participants many times when their opinions differed.

The last reason was that it would be a mistake to evaluate this project as a classical policy-making performed by governments. Instead, this process was mainly a product of the efforts of some Turkish and Turkic academics. The most important factor, which turned these series of conventions into a process, was the initiatives of the participants who attended these conventions, regularly. Thus, this project was not under the direct control of Turkey but a rather project prepared by a group of fellow academics both from Turkey and from other Turkic peoples. In spite of the extremely supportive discourse used by Turkish officials, this was not such a project that was as supported as the discourse suggests, either.

In this case, there are two issues to discuss further. First, why did not that process enjoy more support? The answer might actually be the disinterestedness of Turkic republics towards the issue. However, some of them were about

388 The TDK had organized linguistic congresses since 1932, on the orders of Atatürk's. After a brief interruption as a result of the 1980 coup d'etat and of the restructuring of the TDK, these congresses resumed in 1988 under the name Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı (International Turkish/Turkic Language Congress). It convenes quadrennially.

to undergo an alphabet transition. Then, why did not they cooperate under this framework established by the series of conventions? Their participants had come to terms on the 34-letter Common Frame Turkic Alphabet. Furthermore, cooperation might have lightened the burden of transition since they would have carried that burden together rather than alone and Turkey might have helped, as well. The Turkic participants had the ability to affect and change the decisions by their attitudes; which, they would certainly do if they felt there was such Turkey-oriented effect that would try to create a zone of influence. Finally, Turkic republics could also exclude Turkey from that process, if they were disturbed, and develop a new process to constitute a Common Frame Turkic Alphabet Model. Instead, Turkic republics preferred to create their own peculiar national alphabets through establishing national committees rather than inter-Turkic ones. So, there were not also any unity among other Turkic republics on this issue, either.

Hence, the main reason for the failure of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet project should be the fact that it could not acquire the necessary political support from Turkic republics. The series of conventions had remained a little more than an attempt by a group of fellow academics from Turkey and other Turkic countries because some of Turkic nations and communities would adopt alphabets abiding by the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model, and some others would be influenced by the 34-letter Model to a certain degree. Then, this question arises: Why did not these republics provide enough political support to fulfil this project? In my opinion, an answer can be found in the developments in these republics concerning the issue of the alphabet transition by taking the socioeconomic situation and nation-building process in these countries into account.

# 4

## Alphabet Transition Processes in Turkic Republics and Communities

While the series of conventions for the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet had already been going on, most of the newly independent Turkic republics had included the issue of adopting a new national alphabet based on Latin into their agenda. Three out of these five republics, namely Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, decided to use Latin script based alphabets while the conferences were going on. Furthermore, Gagauz people and Crimean Tatars, which does not have an independent statehood, also, swapped their former Cyrillic alphabets for a Latin script based one. Also, Tatarstan attempted to adopt a Latin script based alphabet, however, could not make it due to political issues in Russia. Nonetheless, in terms of staying in the frame of the common Turkic alphabet, Tatarstan was not the only unsatisfying case. There was no attempt for an alphabet transition in Kyrgyzstan since the very beginning; while Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and recently Kazakhstan adopted Latin alphabets, which violate the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. On the other hand, proposed but not applied Latin alphabet in Tatarstan in 1999, also, had few minor violations of the Frame Alphabet. Thus, one could not conclude that the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet project was extremely successful in practice. Notwithstanding, the cooperation process among Turkic republics had still continued on the platform

of the Summit of Turkic States' Leaders.[1] These summits represented the utmost authority that draws the way for the cooperation process among Turkic states, and they managed to reach consensus on some other areas. So, what was the reason for Turkic republics not to reach a consensus on the issue of the alphabet?

Some proposed that it was Turkey's approach to the region that was extremely self-oriented rather than region-oriented and aimed to expand her sphere of influence. According to them, the Turkish alphabet was not appropriate for the other Turkic languages and eventually refused by other independent Turkic republics.[2] During the previous chapter, the construction phase of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project was analyzed and that analysis showed us that this was not the case for a few reasons. The project was first started in a symposium convened on 18-20 November 1991 by an institute of a public university in Turkey where the fellow academics from Turkey and other Turkic peoples attended. Later, this alphabet was rechecked and approved throughout a process of various conventions, some of which were official. By looking at this process, it can be concluded that Turkish government had not directly involved in the formation process of this alphabet, though they started to defend the application of that alphabet and to invest in it materially. Furthermore, this alphabet was formed with the participation of Turkic academics coming from the region who checked and approved this alphabet for their respective languages. Even in one case, this frame was reshaped accordingly with the demands of Azerbaijani participants. Thus, evaluating the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project as Turkey-centric would not be incorrect. So was putting this as the reason for the project to fail.

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1 Mustafa Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler" in Türk Dış Politikası, ed. Baskın Oran, vol. 3 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), pp. 469-470.

2 For example, Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (London: Hurst and Company, 2001), p. 130; Jacob Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 30-1; Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008), p. 177.

One can, however, claim that the reason for the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project to be unsuccessful was the other Turkic republics' lack of desire to apply it rather than the flaws in the model. There had already existed some signs about this disinterestedness of Turkic republics. For instance, both in the 1st Summit of Turkic States' Leaders in October 1992 in Ankara and the 2nd one in October 1994 in Istanbul, there was no mention of the Common Turkic alphabet nor of the new national alphabets in the final declarations of these summits. Instead, there were only some vague wording stating that "(The Heads of the states) are supporting the efforts to revitalise the common elements in the language and culture"[3] and "the cooperation among the ministries of culture and institutions … in order to strengthen the common elements of their cultures including language."[4] Although some linguistic projects were praised in the final declarations of the summits, the common alphabet was not among them.

It is also interesting to see that in the final declaration of the second summit, instead of putting language as a separate topic, it was included in the issue of culture. This might be interpreted as a degradation of the issue on the agenda. The general attitude of the summits shows that the issue of the common alphabet could not find a distinct and significant place in the general cooperation agenda. Furthermore, in the final declaration of the 3rd Summit in August 1995 in Bishkek, the only mention about language was this: "(Heads of the states) think that along with the historical, linguistic, and cultural affiliation, the common long-term aims on the different aspects of the development have also been connecting the peoples of the participant states to each other."[5] Thus, it can be concluded that even the linguistic issues, in general, lost its

3 Ankara Bildirisi, Oct. 30-31, 1992, Article 8, http://www.turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/11_AnkaraBildirisi1992_1.DevletBaskanlariZirvesi_20140418_104048.pdf

4 İstanbul Bildirisi, Oct. 18-19, 1994, Article 9, http://www.turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/10_IstanbulBildirisi1994_2.DevletBaskanlariZirveBildirisi_20140418_103924.pdf

5 Bişkek Bildirisi, Aug. 27-29, 1995, Article 4, https://web.archive.org/web/20121024060023/http://www.turkkon.org/docs/09_BiskekBildirisi1995_3.DevletBaskanlariZirveBildirisi.pdf

previous importance in the cooperation process and was replaced by some other issues by 1995.

Thereby, putting the fact that the lack of interest among Turkic republics on the issue of the common alphabet and its application in their countries was an important factor behind the failure of this project. This needs further elaboration to answer why Turkic republics did not desire to apply the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet model. In this chapter, I will analyse the developments about the alphabet transition in each country and try to reach a general understanding of their transition periods from their preliminary moment until today. By doing that, it will be possible to underscore some common and some particular trends in these countries, which made the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet difficult to be applied.

In this chapter, we will evaluate how socioeconomic and political barriers contributed to the relative failure of the project of the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet. These two factors have found their reflections in society and entangled with each other. The conjuncture of the 1990s was shaped by these two barriers that prevented not only the application of the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet but any other alternative cooperation that would end up in other common alphabet projects. Rather than that, these countries preferred to create what Victoria Clement called as "emblems of independence" to emphasize their differences from other countries and make themselves as a unique member of the family of the world's nations. In this sense, they wanted to avoid the big brotherhood of Russia by changing from Cyrillic alphabet and the Turkish big brotherhood by adopting an alphabet differed from the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.[6] Furthermore, they did not cooperate with each other due to emphasizing their difference towards each other. Also, the political tensions among some of these states contributed to this, too.

6 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008), p. 177.

## § 4.1 Countries and Communities in the Frame Alphabet

### 4.1.1 *Azerbaijan*

Especially in our context, two trends in Azerbaijani history – especially during the Soviet era – draw attention. First, Azerbaijan had the role of being an avant-garde state among the Soviet Turkic peoples. This was partially due to volunteerism of the Azerbaijani people – especially intellectuals – for such changes and new applications and partially due to the Soviet government's application. The linguistic changes that were first introduced in Azerbaijan would be an exemplary model for the other Turkic republics to follow. This mission gained general acceptance in Azerbaijan and it was considered as an aspect for the nation to be proud of. Azerbaijani people were very enthusiastic about the alphabet change from Arabic to Latin script in the 1920s. Azerbaijani intellectuals were enthusiastically rallying that cause not only in their country but also among other Turkic communities in the Soviet Union, too. A great example would be the First Turcology Congress convened in Baku in the year 1926 where a strong tendency among Turkic peoples for alphabet transition to Latin script had emerged. Secondly, Azerbaijan had always been concerned about the situation and status of her national language. Their Cyrillic Alphabet had undergone few minor improvements until the late 1950s, and Azerbaijan became the first state among Turkic republics to give official status to her national language as early as 1978, in their newly prepared constitution.[7] Thus, it should not be very surprising that Azerbaijan would become the first country to adopt the Latin alphabet following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

#### 4.1.1.1 Formation Process of the Alphabet

While a more positive perspective emerged among the intellectuals to Latin alphabet even in the 1970s, the academic literature suggests the eminent poet Bahtiyar Vahapzade's poem named "Two Fears" published in 1988 during

7 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 111. Also, Constitution of AzSSR (1978), Article 73.

Glasnost era in which he criticized both of the previous two alphabet transitions – from Arabic to Latin and then to Cyrillic script – as the milestone for public discussions on the alphabet transition. Later, he was followed by Ziya Bünyadov, an eminent historian in Azerbaijan, who defended Latin alphabet.[8] On 9 March 1990, a working group was constituted within the Azerbaijan Institute of Manuscripts, which would be quickly evolved into an Alphabet Commission, the head of which became Afat Gurbanov.[9] Later in that month, the commission had decided to initiate a public discussion on this issue in order to learn the public opinion about the issue of the alphabet. Through writing letters to newspapers and to the commission and calling the phone line appointed by the commission for this task, many people declared their personal opinions on Cyrillic and Latin alphabet, and on a potential transition.[10]

Ziyafet Eyvazova – who studied the media's role in the alphabet transitions of Azerbaijan in her PhD thesis – actually published many examples of these letters.[11] In these letters, there were two standpoints shared among the supporters of Latin alphabet, which are neither perfect substitutes nor perfect complements of each other. The first standpoint suggests that Latin script as a widely common and the necessity for contemporary times, and that the transition to Cyrillic was a result of oppression and a historical injustice. Thus, Latin alphabet must be adopted in order to incorporate with the world and settle out the previous injustice against Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, the second standpoint suggests that being closer to Turkey and to rest of Turkic people could be another reason to adopt Latin alphabet. Although the only user of

8 Hatice Şirin User, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Yazı Sistemleri (*Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015), pp. 236-7 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 130.

9 Speech of Feridun Celilov delivered during 2nd session on 19 November 1991 in Nadir Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992), p. 39. Ziyafet Eyvazova, "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008), p. 178.

10 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 179-181.

11 Ibid., pp. 199-241.

Latin script was Turkey, every other Turkic people should adopt Latin in order to have a holistic *mutual-literacy* among Turkic languages in such an alphabet that would not remind the previous Russian domination.[12]

On the other hand, the defenders of Cyrillic Alphabet put forward some arguments against the transition to Latin alphabet.[13] The first reason was the potential future costs of this transition. Such a huge cost of the alphabet transition was considered unnecessary, especially in a conjuncture when the former Soviet states were dealing with an economic crisis and a huge restructuring following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In addition to that, Azerbaijan was in a war against Armenia. Another reason was the fact that the design of the Azerbaijani Cyrillic alphabet was proper for the language. Unlike the other Cyrillic alphabets of the Soviet Turkic peoples, the Azerbaijani alphabet was designed being compatible with the rules of the language. Unlike others, the national phonemes were represented and there were not any Russian letter added to protect the original Russian orthography of the Russian originated words borrowed by Turkic languages. By considering these properties, some considered Azerbaijani Cyrillic alphabet already as a national one and therefore were not in favor of Latin alphabet.[14] The last reason was the evaluation of the former Ottoman Empire, and its inheritor Turkey, as among the previous imperialist forces in the history that attempted to dominate Azerbaijan. Thus, the transition to Latin alphabet definitely would not help Azerbaijan to confront against imperialism.[15]

Although Eyvazova did not publish any letters of supporters of the Arabic alphabet, the general literature has various ideas on this phenomenon. The first reason was establishing solidarity with other Muslim nations, most of which use Arabic alphabet. Thus, the linguistic barriers among Muslim nations would decrease. Another reason was to be able to read the vast Azerbaijani literature in the Arabic alphabet, again. Hence, the cultural connection between the generations, which was cut when the transition to Latin alphabet

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 226-238.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p. 227.

was adopted in the 1920s, could be reestablished and a better understanding of literature and history could be established. Last reason was due to the fact that the Iranian Azerbaijanis, which consisted of a few times more population, had still been using the Arabic alphabet; the link among the larger Azerbaijani nation could be reestablished by adopting the Arabic alphabet.[16] Interestingly, when it was understood that the course of the alphabet transition would be definitely towards Latin script, most of the supporters of the Arabic script started to cooperate with the supporters of the existing Cyrillic script. By some academics, this situation is evaluated as the formation of a Russian-Iranian campaign, probably, to prevent the Turkish influence in the region.[17]

Another platform for the Azerbaijani public opinion towards the issue was "a poll conducted in August 1990 among primary school teachers in Baku."[18] In that poll, "58 out of 59 people were in favor of the transition to a new alphabet, 57 out of 59 advocated Latin alphabet."[19] On 15 August 1990, Afat Gurbanov as the head of alphabet commission under the Azerbaijan Institute of Manuscripts declared the main arguments of their platform in an interview. The intensified utilization of Azerbaijani language, the transition to Latin alphabet and closer relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey on science, education, and culture were among these arguments.[20] Thus, this alphabet commission had managed to fulfil its most important assignment to learn the public opinion towards alphabet transition. The general deduction from this assignment was that the public, in general, desired for such an alphabet change to Latin.[21] Following that, the commission applied to the President of Azer-

16 Lynley Hatcher, "Script change in Azerbaijan: acts of identity," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 2008.192* (2008): doi 10.1515/IJSL.2008.038, p. 112. The Azerbaijani poet Bahtiyar Vahapzade was in a similar position. Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 236.

17 Hatcher, "Script change in Azerbaijan: acts of identity," p. 112. Also see Tofik Hacıyev's statement in Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 188.

18 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 131.

19 Ibid.

20 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 182.

21 Ibid., pp. 181-2.

baijan in order to officialize the commission and its efforts. The President assigned the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan to deal with the issue of the alphabet transition and the Supreme Soviet preferred to establish a new commission for the alphabet under its own organizational framework on 11 October 1990.[22]

The meetings of the new commission in the Supreme Soviet had lasted until the end of the year 1990. During these meetings, it was decided to reform and restore the previous Latin alphabet of Azerbaijan during 1928-40 period. It is necessary to underscore that this view of reforming 1928-40 alphabet was represented by the discourse of "berpa etmek" during the series of conventions, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the last meeting of the commission in December 1990, it was stated that the commission had done the necessary work for this task. Now, the projects of alphabet and transition process must be presented to the Supreme Soviet in order to be discussed for corrections and then approved by the Supreme Soviet. Then, a process of public discussions about the transition process would be initiated.[23]

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of AzSSR listened the head of the alphabet commission [of the Supreme Soviet], Fazıl Muradaliyev, and accepted that the commission had already covered a lot of works on learning the society's attitude and decided on 2 February 1991 to include the new alphabet project into the agenda of the 1st Session of the Supreme Soviet.[24] Thus, "The Supreme Soviet included the issue of "New Azerbaijani Alphabet" into its agenda during the 1st Session in 1991."[25] "In [this] session Muradaliyev, head of the commission, presented the work of the commission … and suggested the reformation of Latin alphabet used until 1939."[26] This was also supported by many members of parliament some of whom were the members of these two Azerbaijani alphabet commissions, under the Institute of Manuscripts,

22 Ibid., pp. 182-3 and p. 189.

23 Ibid., pp. 185-6.

24 Yeni Azərbaycan Əlifbası Layihəsinin Hazırlanması Haqqında Azərbaycan SSR Ali Soveti Rəyasət Heyətinin Qərarı [Decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR on the Preparation of the Draft of the New Azerbaijani Alphabet], Feb. 2, 1991, no. 1980-XI, http://e-qanun.az/framework/6483.

25 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 186.

26 Ibid., p. 187.

and under the Supreme Soviet.[27] Afat Gurbanov and Feridun Celilov were such ones who would also participate in the series of conventions in Turkey for the formation of a common Turkic frame alphabet. The members of these previous alphabet commissions were in favor of taking the alphabet transition without any further delays; however, there were also oppositions to the transition in the Supreme Soviet. Therefore, on 9 February 1991, the Supreme Soviet decided to send the new alphabet project to the commissions of the Supreme Soviet and to wait for their propositions on this issue.[28] "This decision resulted in strong reactions coming from the supporters of Latin alphabet."[29] This issue also continued to "occupy the Azerbaijani press for a long time" until December 1991.[30]

Meanwhile, the series of conventions for the formation of a common Turkic frame alphabet started during the last phase of the acceptance of Latin script in Azerbaijan.[31] Just before a month from the official decision by the Supreme Soviet, the first convention, the 1991 Symposium of Marmara University, had convened during the last days of the November 1991 in Istanbul in order to evaluate the developments about the alphabets of Turkic languages. Feridun Celilov, then the MP and member of the alphabet commission of the Supreme Soviet and future's Minister of Education, and Vagif Aslanov who were in the alphabet commission under the Institute of Manuscripts were among the participants to this symposium from Azerbaijan.[32] During the symposium, some of the Azerbaijani participants were among the group that emphasized the sensitivity of the conditions in their countries, especially considering the uncertain nature of the future relations with Moscow, and underscored the necessity of some decisions taken by the symposium. Then, the symposium decided to evaluate the alphabet models presented and establish its own model. Two models out of seven came from Azerbaijan. The first

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 187. For the complete text of the decision, p. 189.

29 Ibid., p. 187.

30 Ibid., p. 189.

31 That process was described and analyzed in the previous chapter.

32 For Aslanov see Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 190.

model from Azerbaijan was the one of Afat Gurbanov, which would be adopted as the alphabet of Azerbaijan a month later. Since Gurbanov was the head of the first alphabet commission under the Institute of Manuscripts of Azerbaijan, the model was probably among the alphabet variants prepared by the national alphabet commissions in Azerbaijan. The second model was of Feridun Celilov, which was probably modelled on the transcription alphabet.[33] The symposium accepted the Ahmet Temir's model to become the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. This model seems to be based on the Turkish alphabet, which was supplemented by five additional letters in order to represent the phonemes in the other Turkic languages. Gurbanov's model lacked only two letters compared to Temir's model. It was because that Gurbanov's model was for Azerbaijani language rather than being an inter-Turkic model. Thus, Gurbanov's model remained within the frame drawn by the symposium and became an example for other Turkic republics to follow.[34]

The 1991 Symposium did not enjoy an official status but took recommendatory decisions; thus, it did not have a major effect on Azerbaijan's adoption of Latin alphabet. The symposium was used by the defendants of a similar alphabet with Turkey against the defenders of Cyrillic alphabet or a deviated alphabet model from the Turkish one. Therefore, it can be said that the symposium enabled or made it easier for Azerbaijan to adopt a closer alphabet model to the Turkish one and compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic alphabet.

On 25 December 1991, the National Council of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan convened for the final decision on the issue of the Azerbaijani alphabet. During that session, every aspect of the alphabet and of the transition process was discussed. The focus of the discussions about the letters was the issue of whether Ä/ä or Ə/ə would be used for the phoneme /æ/. Ä/ä was criticized due to having two dots. Also, other letters with dots such as Ü/ü and Ö/ö were criticized by some participants for various reasons. That objecting group, instead of Ä/ä, Ü/ü, and Ö/ö, preferred Ə/ə, Y/ɣ, and Ɵ/ɵ to be included in the new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet.

33 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 238.

34 See the previous chapter.

The first concern with these letters was the difficulty created by adding two dots to a letter during writing. These letters were actually representing phonemes peculiar to Turkic languages and thus exist in neither Latin nor Cyrillic script, originally. When Ä-Ü-Ö versions would be used in the Azerbaijani alphabet, then one must raise his hand three times from the paper in order to write that letter. However, this was not the case in previous Latin and Cyrillic alphabets used in Azerbaijan after abandoning Arabic-Persian script. In these alphabets, such variants were prepared, via various innovations such as adding tails to existed letters, which prevents raising the hand. Especially, utilization of the letter Ä/ä instead of Ə/ə in the new alphabet was objected since Ä/ä would become one of the most frequently used letter in Azerbaijani language while it does not exist in the Turkish language.

Another concern was to protect Azerbaijan's independence and authenticity, especially against Turkey. It was stated that "People's language should not be corrupted for the sake of the neighbor (Turkey was implied)."[35] Opponents to using the letters with dots evaluated selecting these letters as an alignment with Turkey at the expense of the national language. It was even evaluated as "an artificial Turkishization" that must be refrained.[36] Especially the letter Ə/ə, but also the letters Y/ɣ and Ө/ө, which existed in the Azerbaijani Cyrillic alphabet were considered as national letters that should be kept.[37] These letters did not exist in the basic Cyrillic script but were invented to meet the needs of the Azerbaijani language; thus, they should be kept as a tool to emphasise the national independence and sovereignty and keep a distance from Turkey. These two concerns can be grouped into the categories of technical and political; the former implying aesthetical and practical aspects of the alphabet during writing and the latter had to do with political factors.

Technical and political concerns were also at the roots of other discussions about some other letters. One participant, Gasımov, proposed the interchange of the phonemes represented by C/c and Ç/ç rather than use them as in Turkish alphabet. In the Turkish alphabet, C/c symbolise the phoneme /ʤ/ and Ç/ç symbolise /ʧ/. However, it should be a rule as in the former Azerbaijani Latin

35 Speech of Mirze İbrahimov in Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 271.

36 Speech of H.Eliyev in ibid., p. 272.

37 Ibid.

alphabet of the 1929-40 period that the phonemes peculiar to the national (in this case Azerbaijani) language should be represented by modified letters with diacritics and common phonemes by the plain letters in the original Latin script. This was the case when S/s and Ş/ş were considered. The former letter, as in all other Latin-based national alphabets, represents the phoneme /s/; meanwhile, Ş/ş represents a peculiar Turkic phoneme /ʃ/ in the Turkish language. On the other hand, the Turkish alphabet model violates that rule by appointing C/c, which is a basic letter in the original Latin script, to the phoneme /ʤ/ peculiar to Turkic languages. At the same time Ç/ç, which is a modified letter, was appointed to /ʧ/, which according to Gasımov was a common basic phoneme rather than peculiar to Turkic languages. Gasımov argued that this was something from which the new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet should refrain.[38] There were also some other concerns related to the K/k and G/g letters on which participants proposed different solutions. While doing that they indicated the differences between Turkish and Azerbaijani languages.[39] Thus, it is easy to deduce that the discussions had technical and political concerns, sometimes one merged into another.

There were, also, counter-arguments presented in the session for these concerns. Technically speaking, Rüstamhanlı found the concern for the dots of the letters valid one, especially for the interchange of Ə/ə with Ä/ä; nevertheless, according to him, mixing Cyrillic and Latin scripts for the new alphabet was wrong. Instead, it must remain within one script and particular phonemes of Azerbaijani must be represented by that script's means.[40] Rustemhanlı also criticized the alienation of Turkey by using "neighbor" discourse and the desire of creating distances between Turkey and Azerbaijan. Then he said that:

38 Speech of Tofig Gasımov in ibid., p. 270. Gasımov probably considers /ʧ/ to be a basic phoneme because it naturally exists in Cyrillic script being represented by Ч/ч. On the other hand, the phoneme /ʤ/ was represented by a modified letter Җ/җ, which was derived from Ж/ж that represents the phoneme /ʒ/. That rule was applied both in the previous Azerbaijani Latin alphabet used until 1940 and in the Azerbaijani Cyrillic alphabet.

39 Speeches of K. Rehimov and Afad Gurbanov in ibid., p. 273.

40 Speech of Sabir Rüstemhanlı in ibid., p. 271.

> If that alphabet model … unites a vast amount of land in the World, brings the peoples that speak the same language with minor dialectic differences, and thus serves a humanist ideal; then, what is at the stake, here, is not nationalism but the unification of the World; and why should we refrain from this? We should adopt a common system [of the alphabet] if it is adopted by the General Turkic Conference, and Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmens, and our brothers living in the South [South Azerbaijan in Iran] should adopt that system, too. It is a big step. This step was already taken, and it would be creating a cliff if we were going to refrain from it, and I am against it.[41]

His views were also supported by another participant who desired the application of "the 34-letter common alphabet prepared in Istanbul if Turkic peoples were going to transform their alphabets to Latin."[42] Meanwhile, the opposite group claimed that the common alphabet would not contribute to "the unification" or "common understanding of Turkic peoples."[43]

Following these discussions, the variant with the Ä/ä letter was adopted by a majority, twenty-six for and seven against.[44] National Council of the Supreme Soviet had also discussed the length and steps of the transition process along with some other technical issues about the draft. Then, "The law about the restoration (*berpa*) of the Azerbaijani alphabet based on Latin script" was drafted by "the law no.33 of the National Council of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan" that declared the "restoration with minor changes of the 32-letter Azerbaijani alphabet based on Latin script until 1940" and signed by the President Muttalibov.[45] The "no.34 Decree" described the new Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet and put a route map for the transition process. According

41 Ibid., p. 272.

42 Speech of Mirabbas Bey in ibid., p. 273.

43 Speech of H.Eliyev in ibid., p. 272 and speech of Tofiq Köçerli in ibid., p. 273.

44 Ibid., p. 273.

45 Latın Qrafikalı Azərbaycan Əlifbasının Bərpası Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasinin Qanunu [Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Revival of the Azerbaijani Alphabet in Latin Script], Dec. 25, 1991. no. 33, http://e-qanun.az/framework/6803. Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 274.

to the "no.34 decree," the variant with the Ä/ä letter would become the new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet (see appendix J).[46]

For the year 1992, it was prescribed that the new alphabet would be introduced to first classes and courses would be prepared for higher classes and educational institutions as well as public classes for the ordinary people. Lectures for the new alphabet should be prepared and broadcasted on TV and program names and subtitles in TV broadcasting would be written in Latin. New maps and a new orthographic dictionary should be republished in Latin alphabet. It was expected to initiate the transition in the publicly visible areas, such as official documents, signboards, stamps etc. Also, new contacts to buy equipment to renew the publishing machines should be dealt with. For the year 1993, the alphabet transition in the education and the compatibilization of the book and newspaper printing machines should be completed. In addition to that newspapers, journals, and books should be published in Latin.[47]

The new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet raised reaction among two groups. The first group was the defendants of the Arabic script. On 7 January 1992, the new alphabet was criticized by some of the defendants of the Arabic script, including Sheikh ul-Islam Allahşükür Paşazade, on an Azerbaijani TV program. This program has created a reaction among the people who, generally, put that the clerics had nothing to do with the alphabet.[48] Five days later, this time,

> A Turkish-language broadcast from Iran, on 13 January 1992, claimed that a crowd had been gathered in Baku to demand that the decision

46 "Latın Qrafikalı Azərbaycan Əlifbasının Bərpası Haqqında" Azərbaycan Respublikası Qanununun Qüvvəyə Minməsi Qaydası Barədə Azərbaycan Respublikası Ali Soveti Milli Şurasının Qərarı [Decision of the National Council of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan about the Method of the Realization of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Revival of the Azerbaijani Alphabet in Latin script]. Dec. 25, 1991, no. 34. Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 275-8. Also, see http://e-qanun.az/framework/6804. Note that the website gives the version with "Ə/ə" even though Eyvazova's thesis claims that the first version of the decree was with "Ä/ä." The letter "Ä/ä" was shown in many newspaper articles of the time, which Eyvazova published in her thesis.

47 Ibid.

48 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 278-281.

> to adopt Latin alphabet be rescinded and replaced with another, adopting the Arabic one. … President Muttabilov was said to have received Islamic clerics after the transition [who were against that change].[49]

The demands of this group to apply Arabic script Azerbaijani alphabet rather than Latin was not effective. Meanwhile, a second group that would affect the Azerbaijani alphabet had also emerged. This group was complaining about the letter "Ä/ä," which is chosen to represent one of the most frequent phonemes used in Azerbaijani and which is hard to write due to its two dots and not being national. They were favoring the letter "Ə/ə" that is much easier to write and was considered as a national letter. During the 1. STDKr on 4-8 May 1992, Azerbaijani participants in the alphabet commission demanded to change the Ä/ä letter for Ə/ə. This demand was refused in the Alphabet Commission of the 1. STDKr with the argument that Ä/ä had already a place in the future's informatics alphabet due to its long past in Latin script. Whereas, this was not the case for Ə/ə that might create problems in future. Possibly, due to that refusal, Azerbaijani participants did not sign the final declaration of the Alphabet Commission. However, in the plenary session of the 1. STDKr, the majority adopted the letter "Ə/ə" due to the demands of the Azerbaijani participants, and Ä/ä was abandoned and replaced by Ə/ə in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project.[50] After a month, in June 1992, the early examples of Azerbaijani alphabet with the letter Ə/ə emerged in the Azerbaijani press (see appendix K).[51] In summary, due to the objections of Azerbaijani public opinion, it was decided to replace the letters Ä/ä with Ə/ə. Thus, the domestic concerns were prevailing on the issue of the alphabet in Azerbaijan. However, Azerbaijan continued to attend the alphabet meetings and have the letter Ə/ə included in the 34-letter Common Alphabet Model instead of Ä/ä.

Since then, both the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet and the Azerbaijani Latin alphabet has used the letter Ə/ə. However, this situation also created two complications for general Turkic cooperation on the issue of the

49 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

50 See the previous chapter.

51 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," p. 350 (see appendix 22 in her thesis).

alphabet and for specifically Azerbaijan. First, other Turkic republics and communities that transformed their alphabet to Latin had not preferred to use the letter Ə/ə but to use Ä/ä. Thus, a duality has emerged in the representation of that specific phoneme /æ/, which was tried to be prevented by creating a common frame alphabet for Turkic peoples. Secondly, as stated in the *1. STDKr*, Ə/ə was not a represented sign in the computer fonts; thus, writing Ə/ə, "the upside down 'e'" partially became the "editor's nightmare."[52] This problem would be solved eventually, though it created some important difficulties during the early times of the transition. It was possible to include the sign "Ə/ə" by using some computer programs; nevertheless, the cost of these programs began "at $250 … [while] doctors [made] $20-$30 a month" and using them necessitated prior knowledge.[53] Furthermore, adding a sign to "an existing font" necessitates prior information of the producer of that font due to the "international copyright regulations." E-mail transmission also created another difficulty.[54] Eventually, "customized Azeri fonts" were created, which represented all of the signs in the Azerbaijani alphabet; nevertheless, most of the Azerbaijani fonts existed in the US resembled the font "Times" that created problems if something was going to be published with other fonts. This was exactly the case for the journal "Azerbaijan International."[55] Also, some other letters in the Azerbaijani alphabet – which also existed in Turkish and 34-letter Common Turkic alphabets – such as Ş/ş and I/ı were the other problematic cases.[56]

#### 4.1.1.2 Transition Process

After the Azerbaijani alphabet was adopted, the transition process from Azerbaijani Cyrillic to Latin alphabet started. Some aims that were stated in the

52 Betty Blair, "The new Azerbaijani Alphabet: the upside-down "e" – an editor's nightmare," *Azerbaijan International 1,* no. *3* (September 1993), pp. 36-40, http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/13_folder/13_articles/13_alphabetnightmare.html.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

decrees were achieved; however, the transition process was slower than expected for many people. As it was implied just above, the economic situation in Azerbaijan was not very bright due to the economic bottleneck observed in many post-Soviet countries. In addition, Azerbaijan was in a war against Armenia that made the situation even more desperate. Nevertheless, some important and astonishing achievements were also attained. For example, "Written text on TV has been exclusively in Latin since 1992."[57] Also,

> First graders received their Latin alphabet primers in September 1992. In fact, in order to print enough texts, the youth magazine "Ganjlik" sacrificed its August 1992 issue so that the printing house could run the textbooks instead. Later the same year, Yahya Karimov's primer 'Alifba' came out in Turkey and was brought to Azerbaijan[58] [around 50.000.[59] Also,]
>
> In 1994, single textbooks and atlases printed in the new script began to be available in secondary schools. The first newspapers featuring articles in both Cyrillic and Latin script started to appear[60] – only to disappear again from the newsstands due to financial problems.[61]

The first book of 'History of Azerbaijan' in Latin alphabet was also published in 1994 for the 6th graders.[62] Although the project of publishing seventy-three course books out of eighty-four in Latin for the year 1993 was failed "due to

57 Abulfazl Bahadori, "Alphabet in the Boiling Pot of the Politics," *Azerbaijan International 1,* no. *3* (September 1993), pp. 10-13, https://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/13_folder/13_articles/13_alphapolitics.html.

58 Ibid.

59 Büşra Ersanlı Behar, "Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde Latin Alfabeleri," *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* vol. XII (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995), p. 397. Also, Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

60 Ibid.

61 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

62 Büşra Ersanlı Behar, "Azerbaycan, Özbekistan ve Türkmenistan'da Eğitim ve Kültür Politikaları," in *Bağımsızlığın İlk Yılları Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan, Türkmenistan,* ed. Büşra Ersanlı Behar (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1994), p. 179, footnote.

financial incapability and lack of publishing houses;"[63] by 1998, "more or less all school books up to 8th grade" would become "available in the new script. A small number of academic and political books and brochures (had) likewise come out in it."[64] Nevertheless, most of the books and newspapers continued to publish in Cyrillic and just a few in Latin. This situation created an imbalanced condition for the pupils who were learning Latin alphabet at school but might not be able to "read all the Azeri literature and history printed in … Cyrillic."[65]

This was, however, not the only negative aspect of the transition process for the 1990s. Landau and Kellner-Heinkele describe the situation in Azerbaijan in these years as it goes:

> The Azerbaijani press is still largely in Cyrillic characters with Latin script banners. The number of Latin script books available in shops is still restricted. Paper money and stamps are now in Latin characters, while in some other cases the situation is ambiguous: At least in Baku, street name plates can be found in both Cyrillic and Latin script; vehicle licence plates and bus destinations are at times in Cyrillic characters, at others in Latin, occasionally in both; the plates on the doors of government offices, universities, schools and other institutions, advertisements and political slogans are frequently Latin characters with Cyrillic equivalents.[66]

The Azerbaijani government used "Latin alphabet in official documents;"[67] nevertheless, according to Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, only "a minority of

63 Ibid., p. 158.

64 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

65 Hugh Pope, "Freed of Russian Yoke, Turkic Nations Find They Miss the Alphabet: New Countries Proudly Adopt Their Own Version of ABCs; Now Try Reading the Menu," in *Wall Street Journal, Eastern edition*, Oct. 24, 2000, p. A1. Accessed on: http://search.proquest.com/docview/398892021?accountid=9645.

66 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

67 Bahadori, "Alphabet in the Boiling Pot of the Politics."

official documents and texts [were] written in Azeri, in Latin script, but Russian maintain[ed] its place in the diplomatic and political sphere." In addition to that, the press and many intellectuals who were proponents of Latin alphabet were complaining about the slowness of the transition process.[68] Landau and Kellner-Heinkele concluded in 2001 by looking at that picture that the government was "visibly less committed to alphabet change and in the face of considerable economic pressures, it [was] clear that the extensive program envisaged for the alphabet change has been carried out in part only."[69]

The Azerbaijani government, however, was also dissatisfied from the slowness of the transition process. On 18 August 2001, Heydar Aliyev issued a "Presidential Decree for the Development of the Application of the State Language." After a long description of the past events related to the state language, then the current situation was criticized for being problematic for the development of the Azerbaijani language. One aspect of that was about the Azerbaijani Latin alphabet "although the law for which was issued ten years ago, its application is limping irrespectively." In order to fix the situation, the decree foresaw that "a language commission under the president will be established within a month." The specific provisions for the issue of the transition of the alphabet were "to prepare the timeline for the republishing of the scientific and cultural works, dictionaries, and course books" and to regulate "the signboards, billboards, signs, placards, and such other public means in (public) places according to the rules of Azerbaijani language and to strengthen the application of the Azerbaijani language and the alphabet." Also, it was expected "to ensure the production of all of the newspapers, journals, bulletins, books, and other published materials published in Azerbaijani language in the country to be transformed to Latin alphabet until 1 August 2001."[70] On 1 August 2001, President Aliyev stated during an interview that "Azerbaijan has

68 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), pp. 133-4.

69 Ibid., p. 133.

70 Dövlət Dilinin Tətbiqi İşinin Təkmilləşdirilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Fərmanı [Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan about Improving

transformed her alphabet to Latin" from that day onwards once and for all. In order to underscore the significance of that day, 1st of August would be declared as the "day of Azerbaijani alphabet." By a presidential decree on 9 August 2001, this was fulfilled.[71] Although there were attempts to by-pass the full implementation of the new Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet; however, the government was stick to the transition process with strict measures. As a result, Latin alphabet reached an important level of application in Azerbaijan at the press, internet, and publication.[72]

In order to strengthen the transition process, the application of publishing new dictionaries, although existed since the 1990s, has been intensified and new lexical studies have been produced and published since the early 2000s.[73] On 12 January 2004, President Ilham Aliyev issued two presidential directives, № 55 and № 56, to publish more books in Latin alphabet. In the directive № 56, "The Directive about Realizing General Publishing in Azerbaijani Language in Latin Script," a preferential list of the masterpieces of the Azerbaijani and the World Literature was put in order to publish and disseminate them to both public and secondary school libraries. It was also ordered to create a "virtual library of the Azerbaijani literature in Latin script" on the internet.[74] In the directive № 55, it was planned to publish the multi-volume Azerbaijani National Encyclopedia in the years of 2004-2008; while, the volume dedicated

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the Application of the State Language], June 18, 2001, no. 506, http://e-qanun.az/framework/3568. Also see Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), p. 31.

71 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 197-8.

72 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), pp. 31-2.

73 Ibid., pp. 32-3.

74 Azərbaycan Dilində Latın Qrafikası ilə Kütləvi Nəşrlərin Həyata Keçirilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasi Prezidentinin Sərəncami [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Realization of Mass Publications in the Azerbaijani Language in the Latin Alphabet], Jan. 12, 2004, no. 56, http://e-qanun.az/framework/5427.

to Azerbaijan should be finished until the end of 2004. The further dissemination of these volumes on the internet was, also, demanded.[75] At the end of the year 2004, another directive "about the confirmation of the publishing list," № 562, was issued that put different but a parallel list of masterpieces to be published in Latin script.[76]

The volume of the National Encyclopaedia about Azerbaijan could not be published at the end of 2004 as previously planned, but published in 2007. Although there was a delay in the project; it was not dropped but continued. Following that volume in 2007, the 1st volume of the encyclopaedia came out of the publishing in 2009, the 2nd volume in 2010, the 3rd in 2011, the Russian edition of the volume about Azerbaijan in 2012, the 4th in 2013, the 5th in 2014.[77] Meanwhile, between 2004 and 2007, "accordingly with the directives of" № 56 and № 562 issued in January and December 2004

> … more than 9 million books from the series of Azerbaijani and World Literature as well as of dictionaries and encyclopaedias were sent to the libraries … By these publications, important tasks were accomplished to meet the young generation's need for the cultural and scientific literature published in Latin script.[78]

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75 Azərbaycan Milli Ensiklopediyasının Nəşri Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Publication of the National Encyclopedia of Azerbaijan], Jan. 12, 2004, no. 55, http://e-qanun.az/framework/5426.

76 2005-2006-cı İllərdə Azərbaycan Dilində Latın Qrafikası ilə Çapı Nəzərdə Tutulan Əsərlərin Siyahısının Təsdiq Edilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Approval of the List of the Works Considered to be Published in the Azerbaijani Language in the Latin Alphabet], Dec. 27, 2004, no. 562, http://e-qanun.az/framework/5604.

77 Website for Azərbaycan Milli Ensiklopediyası, "Haqqında," accessed on July 12, 2017, http://ensiklopediya.gov.az/az/content/22.

78 Dünya Ədəbiyyatının Görkəmli Nümayəndələrinin Əsərlərinin Azərbaycan Dilində Nəşr Edilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasi Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Publication of Distinguished Representatives of the World Literature in the Azerbaijani Language] Aug. 24, 2007, no. 2354, http://e-qanun.az/framework/13796.

This number was actually a quite high one for Azerbaijan where the population was 8.7 million in 2008.[79] Thus, simply put, a book was published for each individual in three years. Nonetheless, it was not considered enough a new series were planned to be published and distributed according to the Presidential Directive № 2354 on 24 August 2007. This series was called "World Library Literature"[80] that would include the "examples of the Azerbaijani and the World Literature" and consist of 150 volumes.[81] At the end of the year 2007, the list of the 150 books was determined by the Presidential Directive № 2613 that divided the books going to be published into four categories: "World Classics," "Contemporary World Literature," "The Works of the Nobel-Prize Winners," and "Anthologies on the World Literature."[82] Its process of publication has been continuing since then. Most of them were published around 2010,[83] and the number of the books published have reached 118 books, nowadays.[84] The project of "virtual library of Azerbaijani Literature" was also mentioned in the presidential directives № 2106 in 2007[85] and № 3072 in 2008. The latter

79 Website for the World Bank, "Preview," http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2andseries=SP.POP.TOTLandcountry=AZE.

80 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 32.

81 Dünya Ədəbiyyatının Görkəmli Nümayəndələrinin Əsərlərinin Azərbaycan Dilində Nəşr Edilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasi Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Publication of Distinguished Representatives of the World Literature in the Azerbaijani Language] Aug. 24, 2007, no. 2354.

82 Dünya Ədəbiyyatının Görkəmli Nümayəndələrinin Azərbaycan Dilində Nəşri Nəzərdə Tutulan Əsərlərinin Siyahısının Təsdiq Edilməsi Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Approval of the Publication of Distinguished Representatives of the World Literature in the Azerbaijani Language], Dec. 30, 2007, no. 2613, http://e-qanun.az/framework/14421.

83 *Website for Azerbaijan State News Agency,* "34 Books from 'World Literature Library' Series Published," Sept. 03, 2010, accessed on July 13, 2017, http://azertag.az/en/xeber/34_books_from_world_literature_library_series_published-595594.

84 Website for Kitabklubu.org, "Abunə," accessed on July 13, 2017, http://kitabklubu.org/arxiv/dak-abune.htm. These books can be ordered from this website.

85 Azərbaycanda Kitabxanaların Fəaliyyətinin Yaxşılaşdırılması Haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasi Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the

directive stated that the realization of the virtual library was planned for 2009,[86] and today the library exists at http://ebooks.azlibnet.az/

In summary, demands for the alphabet transition in Azerbaijan had started to emerge after Glasnost. As the demands for independence had strengthened since 1990, so the demands for transition, too. During the public deliberations in the early 1990s, mainly via media and press, an alphabet based on Latin script emerged as the future Azerbaijani alphabet. On 25 December 1991, Azerbaijan had adopted its own Latin alphabet, while the letter Ä/ä was abandoned to be replaced by Ə/ə during 1992. Following that, the transition process had started, though it had not been as fast as expected during the 1990s. Observing that, Azerbaijani government under Heydar Aliyev initiated further moves towards Azerbaijani Latin alphabet during the early 2000s. He issued a decree that would have been restricted Cyrillic alphabet in public life since August 2001.

After that, Cyrillic started to disappear while Latin emerge in the press and the internet. However, even in that situation, the lack of books in Latin alphabet created an important material constraint for the transition process. In order to solve this problem, the Azerbaijani government under Ilham Aliyev, have initiated a series of publications in Latin alphabet since 2004. In that manner, there were more than 9 million books published and distributed to the libraries and schools until 2007. Another series of publications has been published and distributed since 2007; while a virtual library was established in the late 2000s to further disseminate Latin script. Thus, press, books, and the internet have been the three columns of the transition process since the early 2000s.

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Improvement of Activities of Libraries in Azerbaijan], Apr. 20, 2007, no. 2106, http://e-qanun.az/framework/13033.

86 "Azərbaycan Respublikasında Kitabxana-Informasiya Sahəsinin 2008-2013-cü İllərdə İnkişafı Üzrə Dövlət Proqramı"nın Təsdiq Edilməsi Barədə Azərbaycan Respublikasi Prezidentinin Sərəncamı [Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Development of the Library-Information Area in the Republic of Azerbaijan in 2008-2013], Oct. 6, 2008, no. 3072, http://e-qanun.az/framework/15493

In that story, Turkey has played more or less an important role in a few realms. The first realm of Turkey's existence during the transition process was material aids to Azerbaijan. As it was stated above, Turkey had actually published and sent books in Latin script to Azerbaijan in order to meet their needs. In addition, Turkey presented a press to Nakhchivan, which had not had any press until then,[87] Turkey also sent "Latin script typewriters … [and] television programming to Azerbaijan with subtitles in Latin script."[88]

Secondly, the Turkish alphabet stood as a model for the new Azerbaijani alphabet. Some people were in favor of adopting the Turkish alphabet as it was; and some other proposed to adopt a modified Turkish alphabet, which would be compatible with the Azerbaijani language. Many from this group also implied that this option would also enable further general cooperation among Turkic peoples, especially through the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. However, some others were against Latin alphabet and especially against accepting Turkey as a model. While this view had some practical concerns, for example, the discussion on Ä (A-umlaut) vs. Ə (upside-down e) as discussed, this group also put an emphasis on Azerbaijan's sociocultural distinctiveness and independence from Turkey. Some observers of the era had attributed this attitude to a tacit "hatred against Turkey."[89]

In the aftermath of the competition among these two groups, the latter that defended a distance between Turkey and Azerbaijan had eventually prevailed. While the transition to Latin was accepted; the model of the former group with the letter Ä was abandoned because "Ə" was considered as national; whereas "Ä" as Turkish. Interestingly, A-umlaut actually existed neither in the Turkish language as a phoneme nor alphabet as a letter; however, selected due to its international acceptance and compatibility with the computer standards[90] by Turkish and Azerbaijani participants in the 1991 Symposium. Nevertheless, the most distinct event in this competition was the "name of the state

87 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 133.

88 Hatcher, "Script change in Azerbaijan: acts of identity," p. 113.

89 *Passat Yumurta Kimi Bloq* (blog), "'Ə' hərfi," blog entry by Passat33, Nov. 14, 2011, accessed on Jan. 27, 2019, http://passat33.livejournal.com/237664.html.

90 Described in section 4.3.

language." During the Elçibey era, who was the president before Aliyev and had pro-Turkish leanings, the state language of Azerbaijan was named *Türkçe* (same as Turkish but denoting the Azerbaijani Turkic) stating that this was the previous situation in Azerbaijan forcefully changed by Stalin. Meanwhile, this law would be changed in Aliyev's term who stated that this decision was accepted in a rush and without elaborative discussions. He reopened this issue in the commission of the new Azerbaijani Constitution and left the commission to take its own decision, independently. The decision was in favor of "Azerbaijani language" that was put in the draft of the constitution to be voted and accepted in 1995 in a referendum.[91] During that change, Aliyev also emphasized that Azerbaijani is a member of the family of Turkic languages that consists of 23 members. This could be evaluated in a manner that the cooperation among Turkic republics has its limits. These limits were especially for Turkey, which was considered to be trying to become a big brother.[92]

### 4.1.2 *Crimean Tatars*

Despite the fact that they had an autonomous state for a while, the Crimean Tatar community consisted of a few diasporas throughout the former Soviet Union, in Turkey, and in a few more countries during the dissolution of the Soviet Union. An important number of Crimean Tatars left their countries during the late eighteenth and whole nineteenth century when the Russian Empire captured Crimea, which had important historical, cultural, and political ties with the Ottoman Empire as a vassal state before, and inhabited Russians to the region.[93] Although their rate in the population of Crimea was constantly decreasing, they managed to protect their existence there until the Sec-

91 Eyvazova, "Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını," pp. 154-168 for the discussions in detail.

92 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 151.

93 Brian Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: From Soviet Genocide to Putin's Conquest* (London: Hurst and Company, 2016). See Chapter 2 and 3.

ond World War. They were even managed to have an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik revolution following their attempt to have their independence during the Russian civil war.[94]

On 18 May 1944, they were deported from Crimea, which was their homeland for centuries, and sent to various places, especially to Uzbekistan.[95] It was claimed by the Stalin government and the Soviet sources that the Crimean Tatar population had extensively cooperated with the Nazi authorities against the Soviet Union during the German occupation of Crimea. Thus, according to these sources, it was a punishment which they deserved and this was accepted by even the West.[96] Although one part of the Crimean Tatar community cooperated with the Germans, there were also co-operators from different ethnic backgrounds. Actually, the number of the Crimean Tatar co-operators was less than those of the co-operators from the other ethnic groups including the Slavs.[97] Also, the resources show that the number of the Crimean Tatars participated in the Red Army and Soviet Partisans was not less but probably even more than the collaborators with Germans. Afterwards, Crimean Tatars had lost their statehood and became a Turkic community spread throughout other Soviet Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union, the majority of whom in the Uzbekistan SSR.[98]

In 1967, as a result of Crimean Tatar efforts in order to be rehabilitated and to resettle in Crimea; the Soviet government "partially rehabilitated" and pardoned them for the unjust accusations.[99] "The decree was not published widely and loudly as originally promised …; it was published selectively in those regions of the Soviet Union where the Tatars" had been deported.[100] On the other hand, this did not mean an express ticket to return home. For a long period, the official policy was rather not to allow the Crimean Tatars to go

94 Ibid., p. 57.
95 Ibid., pp. 99-101.
96 Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1987), p. 150.
97 Ibid., pp. 155-6.
98 Ibid., p. 170.
99 Ibid., pp. 177-9.
100 Ibid., p. 180.

back to Crimea and only some minor attempts were successful until Glasnost.[101] "The permission to return" was "published in … the Soviet Union's two largest newspapers, Izvestiia and Pravda, on 24 November 1989."[102] Thus, Crimean Tatars had started to return and resettle to Crimea.

During the Soviet period, Crimean Tatar alphabet was changed first from Arabic to Latin Script in 1929, then from Latin to Cyrillic in 1938; just like the many other Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union.[103] During the deportation period, almost every aspect of the Crimean Tatar culture was seriously harmed including "the linguistic traces" left by them.[104] Alan Fisher, citing from a Crimean Tatar petition to the Soviet authorities, indicates that the both "ancient manuscripts" and modern publications, including the "Marxist-Leninist literature" in Crimean Tatar language had faced with large-scale destruction.[105]

In June 1991, the Second Crimean Tatar National Congress (Kurultay in Crimean Tatar), which was the traditional "Tatar national constituent assembly," was gathered. It was called the Second Kurultay since they considered themselves as the continuation of the Kurultay in 1917 when the Crimean Tatars had fought for their independence during the Russian Civil War. "In this Kurultay (in 1991), Dzhemilev was also elected the chairman of the Mejlis, the governing assembly of the Kurultay."[106] The Crimean Tatars that had started to immigrate back to their motherland established a community in Ukraine.

#### 4.1.2.1 Formation Process of the Alphabet

On 30 June 1991, the Second Kurultay decided to utilise Latin script, which can reflect the phonetic aspects of the national language correctly. In order to realise this, it was decided to convene a congress where Turcologists and the experts of the Crimean Tatar language would attend.[107] That conference was

101 Ibid., pp. 181-3.

102 Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars (*2016), p. 139.

103 Darya Kavitskaya, *Crimean Tatar* (Munich: Lincom Europa, 2010), p. 4.

104 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars (*1987), p. 171.

105 Ibid., pp. 171-2.

106 Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars (*2016), p. 130.

107 Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi (*Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), p. 481.

convened on 17-20 June 1992 in Simferopol (Aqmescit in Crimean Tatar language) under the name of the "Crimean Tatar Language and the Problems of the Transition to Latin Script."[108] There were also participants coming from Turkey and the other Turkic republics. The conference adopted that Crimean Tatars should choose such a Latin alphabet that would be compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet,[109] and they prepared such a variant.[110] Almost a year later, on 31 July 1993, the Second Session of the Second Kurultay, accordingly with these previous decisions described above, adopted the 31-letter Crimean Tatar Latin Alphabet (see appendix L), which was compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet since all of the letters had already been in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.[111] The task of developing the program of transition was given to the Majlis and it was decided "to contact with the President and the Cabinet of Ukraine with the request of issuing the legislative and regulative acts in order to ensure the transition of the Crimean Tatar Alphabet to Latin script."[112] "In 1997, the decision was made by the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea to use Latin script. Now, Cyrillic and Latin-based scripts are used interchangeably to write Crimean Tatar (language)."[113]

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108 Ercilasun, "*Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,*" p. 743. Also see, Postanovleniye vtoroy sessii II Kurultaya krymskotatarskogo naroda "O deyatel'nosti Medzhlisa krymskotatarskogo naroda v period s iyunya 1991 g. po iyul' 1993g. [Documents of the 2nd session of the Second Kurultay] accessed on July 14, 2017, http://qtmm.org/public/images/ckeditor/file/quick-folder/dokumenty_2_sessii_2_kurultaya.doc.

109 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 743.

110 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 249. Also see the "Documents of the 2nd session of the Second Kurultay," accessed on July 14, 2017, http://qtmm.org/public/images/ckeditor/file/quick-folder/dokumenty_2_sessii_2_kurultaya.doc

111 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 744. Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 249. Also see the "Documents of the 2nd session of the Second Kurultay," accessed on July 14, 2017, http://qtmm.org/public/images/ckeditor/file/quick-folder/dokumenty_2_sessii_2_kurultaya.doc.

112 Also see the "Documents of the 2nd session of the Second Kurultay," accessed on July 14, 2017, http://qtmm.org/public/images/ckeditor/file/quick-folder/dokumenty_2_sessii_2_kurultaya.doc Also, for Turkish see Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 744.

113 Kavitskaya, *Crimean Tatar* (2010), p. 4. Also, Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 249.

#### 4.1.2.2 Transition Process

Although the transition of the Crimean Tatar to Latin script was adopted at the level of regional government, the Ukrainian national authorities, both the cabinet and the ministries showed a lack of interest about this issue. Thus, the transition was not a complete one and a duality of Cyrillic and Latin had emerged for Crimean Tatar language.[114] According to Crimean Tatar Wikipedia, "the transition has been slowly going on … Latin script is predominantly used on the internet; nevertheless, Cyrillic is predominant in publishing …"[115] However, after the annexation of Crimea by Russia; the things started to get complicated for Crimean Tatars not only in their socio-political lives but also in terms of the alphabet, too. It is because Russia has a law since 2002 after the attempt of alphabet transition in Tatarstan that prevents the utilization of any other alphabet but Cyrillic in her borders.[116] The Crimean Tatars have been resisting to such a change,[117] while internet and informatics might help them on this issue, nevertheless, the existence of that law definitely shades the future of Latin alphabet for Crimean Tatars, too.

### 4.1.3 *Gagauzia*

Gagauz people are Orthodox Turkic people living in Southern Moldova after migrating from Bulgaria in the late eighteenth century. Their language belongs to the Oghuz branch of Turkic peoples and related with the Turkish, although not exactly the same language, especially with the variant spoken in the Balkans. Gagauzia had been governed by Russian Empire since the nineteenth century, following the First World War handed over to Romania, then after the Second World War, the Soviet Union took control in there by establishing

114 "Kırım Tatarca Latin Alfabesine Geçecek," *Qırım Haber Ajansı,* Mar. 29, 2016, accessed on July 17, 2017, http://qha.com.ua/tr/photo/kirim-tatar-dili-latin-alfabesine-gececek/27798/.

115 "Qırımtatar tili," *Wikipedia,* last modified May 14, 2018, https://crh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qırımtatar_tili.

116 See section 4.2.3.

117 "İşgalcilerin Kiril Alfabesi Dayatması Suya Düştü," *Qırım Haber Ajansı*, June 23, 2016, accessed on July 17, 2017, http://qha.com.ua/tr/egitim/isgalcilerin-kiril-alfabesi-dayatmasi-suya-dustu/146264/.

the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. During the governance of the Russian Empire, Gagauz language was written in Cyrillic script, mainly in the folkloric studies that aimed to record and study the language. During the interwar period, Gagauz people under Romanian rule started to use Latin alphabet, which was based on Romanian orthography rather than Turkish or Soviet Turkic Latin alphabets.[118] Nevertheless, it could not be said that there was a wide range of publication of Gagauz language in these alphabets since it was not considered as an official literary language until 1957 when Soviet authorities accepted to give an official status and an alphabet in Cyrillic Script to the Gagauz language.[119]

Although Gagauz Language had official status and alphabet in the Soviet Union; due to their low rate of population, it could not be said that the publication in Gagauz language consisted of many books. On the contrary, it was even claimed that the alphabet was kind of an ignored one.[120] "The Gagauz language is written in Cyrillic alphabet in 1957 and the Gagauz language was the medium of instruction for the first time in 1958. However, it was replaced by the Russian language in 1961;"[121] thus, eventually, Gagauz people became Russophones, too. However, during the Glasnost era, a stance for the national culture, identity and language started to emerge among Gagauz people. In the year 1988, the newspaper *Ana Sözü* (Mother Saying/Language) started its publishing life. Todur Zanet, who initiated the newspaper and managed to gather an intellectual cadre around it, publicized many things about Gagauz identity. One of them was writing the Gagauz language in Latin alphabet. These essays in the Ana Sözü would trigger the discussion of transition to Latin alphabet. The idea of transition had also roots in the public that they demonstrated via

118 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, pp. 201-2.

119 Tekin and Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri –Giriş-,* p. 181.

120 Mustafa Argunşah. "Gagavuz Türklerinin Kullandığı Alfabeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, Eylül 1994, C: 1994/II, S: 513, p. 218.

121 Gülin Dağdeviren Kırmızı, "Emotional and Functional Attitudes of Native Speakers Towards Gagauz As An Endangered Language," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Hacettepe University, 2015), p. 253.

the letters sent to the newspaper with the supporting ideas for the transition.[122] While this move would be the starting point of the transition, the path was not without any obstacle.

This could be directly related to the political situation in Moldova and the clash of Moldovans/Romanians' interests with the other ethnic groups. In parallel with the Gagauz efforts for their national language, Moldovans as the titular nation in today's Moldova, also put their efforts to officialise the Moldovan/Romanian language as the official language of Moldova that would be written in Latin script; which they managed to realise on 1 September 1989.[123] "In 1990, the parliament adopted the Romanian name of the republic-Moldova- instead of the Russian form-Moldavia."[124] The possibility of the reunification of the Moldova and Romania certainly created a phobia among Russophones, to which also Gagauz people belonged. They feared from being assimilated into Romanian language and culture.[125] Thus, according to Rilea, "Romanophobia and the envisaged linguistic barriers" resulted in an attempt of secession by Gagauz people from Moldova,[126] which could be understandable, of course, if Romanophobia is considered as a response to certain policies and to the possibility of irredentism. On 21 August 1990, Gagauz people declared their independence from Moldova, which led to a conflict that lasted for four years until the 23 December 1994, when both sides agreed to establish an Autonomous Territorial Unit in Gagauzia.[127] It was given an official status for the

122 Argunşah "Gagavuz Türklerinin Kullandığı Alfabeler," p. 219. Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 209.

123 Lilia Artemon Rilea, "Education and Language Policies in Moldova and Azerbaijan: Soviet and Post-Soviet Period," (MSc thesis., University of Southern California, 1998), p. 27.

124 Ibid., p. 28.

125 Ibid., pp. 27-8.

126 Ibid., p. 28.

127 Claus Neukirch. "Autonomy and Conflict Transformation: The Case of the Gagauz Territorial Autonomy in the Republic of Moldova," in *Minority Governance in Europe* (LGI/ECMI Series on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues, Vol: I), ed. Kinga Gál (Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 2002), pp. 109-111. Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, pp. 208-9, Footnote 668.

Gagauz language in the Gagauz territory by the law №3-VI/I "About the Functioning of Languages in the Territories of Gagauzia" on 31 October 1995.[128]

#### 4.1.3.1 Formation Process of the Alphabet

The discussions about and the decisions for a transition to Latin script in Gagauzia emerged under the circumstances described above. An important implication of this conflict between the Moldovan government and Gagauz people was the existence of a significant opposition against Latin script since it was already proposed and applied by Moldovans. Transition to Latin script was evaluated as a part of the projects of the Romanianization of the Gagauz people, which was already opposed by Gagauz people and led to conflicts. Thus, Gagauz people opposed Latin alphabet, at first, regardless of the previous history of Gagauz people with Latin alphabet and of Turkish Latin Alphabet.[129] When the 1991 Symposium in Marmara University was held in November 1991, Stepan Kuroglu participated from Gagauzia, as a scientist, author and the member of the Moldovan parliament from 1990 until 1994.[130] He emphasized that a decision could help Gagauz people in Moldovan parliament as well as in Gagauz parliament if it was going to be established.[131]

According to the "Decree about the Rules of the Orthography and Punctuation of the Gagauz Language" issued by the Public Assembly of Gagauzia on 8 August 2014 and published in the latest edition of the orthography booklet of the year 2014, there were three important legal regulations related to the

128 Evdokia Soroçanu, "*Gagauzskiy yazyk i ego dialekty*," pp. 1-2, http://altaica.ru/LIBRARY/turks/gagauz_dili.pdf. Also, for the legislation *O funktsionirovanii yazykov na territorii Gagauzii (Gagauz Eri)* [On Functioning of the Languages in Gagauz Territory], Oct. 31, 1995, no. 3-IV/I, http://halktoplushu.md/index.php/zakonodatelstvo/zakony-ato-gagauziya/288-2011-06-28-08-39-44.

129 N. Babaoğlu, "Gagauz Türklerinin Kirilik [Kiril] Alfabesinden Lâtin Alfabesine Geçmesi." *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 7, no. 7,* (Spring 1999), p. 57.

130 "Stepan Kuroglunun duuma günündän 75 yıldönümü," *Ana Sözü*, Jan. 09, 2015, accessed on July 17, 2017, http://anasozu.com/stepan-kuroglunun-duuma-gunundan-75-yildonumu/.

131 Speech of Stepan Kuroğlu during discussion session in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 34.

Gagauz Latin alphabet.[132] The very first decision about the Gagauz alphabet was taken by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Gagauzia on 29 January 1993. After a few months, further legislation came, this time, from Moldovan parliament on 13 May 1993, № 1421-XII "The Decision about the Transition of the Gagauz Alphabet to Latin."[133] The basic proposal includes "28 letters of the Turkish alphabet," and "Ä/ä" "that existed in the previous alphabet based on the Russian" Cyrillic for the phoneme /æ/.[134] Furthermore, as the decision states that the letters "X/x," "W/w," "Q/q," "Ă/ă," and "Ğ/ğ" may be used in foreign words and personal names.[135] This model was generally attributed to Dionis Tanasoglu in the academic literature.[136]

Meanwhile, another eminent academic Lyudmila Pokrovskaya criticized this model and started to prepare another model. Although that model was not presented to the public, according to Argunşah who had contacted with Pokrovskaya, Ă/ă, Ţ/ţ and Ğ/ğ were excluded while Ä/ä was kept in her model.[137] Both of these two academics actually worked before on the first official alphabet and orthography of the Gagauz language during the 1950s,[138] they continued to be active during the second official alphabet of the Gagauz language.

Just before the decision in the Moldovan parliament, during the TÜDEV congress in March 1993, Tanasoglu as the participant of Gagauzia described the situation as "Our university is using Latin script now; while our newspaper" is published half in Latin. Gagauz people "accepted two variants since there were two groups. One group desires the pure Turkish alphabet; meanwhile the other wants to have the letters that will show the phonemes of our

132 Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, *Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii Gagauzkogo yazyka novaia redaktsiya,* (Chișinău: Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, 2014), http://www.gbm.md/attachments/article/12/pravila_rus.pdf

133 Ibid., pp. 5-6. Introduction to the 1995 Edition.

134 Ibid, p. 6.

135 Argunşah "Gagavuz Türklerinin Kullandığı Alfabeler," p. 220.

136 Ibid., p. 219 and Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 209.

137 Argunşah "Gagavuz Türklerinin Kullandığı Alfabeler," pp. 221-2.

138 Nevzat Özkan, "Gagavuz Türkçesi" in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* 20.Cilt (2002): edited by Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Salim Koca, p. 252.

Gagauz language. There are twenty-nine letters in our alphabet." He continued that they desired an alphabet compatible with the Common Turkic Alphabet as well as capable to represent the characteristics of the Gagauz language.[139]

The orthographic rules of the Gagauz language were published, at least, since 1995,[140] while the first published one might be in the form of project in 1994.[141] A year later, on 25 January 1996, the People's Assembly of Gagauzia regulated Latin alphabet, decisively, by issuing the decision №22-VIII/I "About the Transition of the Gagauz Alphabet to Latin." This time, it was decided to abandon the additional letters in Tanasoğlu's model ("X/x," "W/w," "Q/q," "Ă/ă," and "Ğ/ğ") and to add the letters "Ê/ê" and "Ţ/ţ" to the alphabet. Since then, the Gagauz alphabet consists of thirty-one letters.[142] In 2014, Comrat State University published the updated version of the "Rules of Orthography and Punctuation of the Gagauz Language" that is the basic source for Gagauz language, since then (see appendix M).[143]

When evaluating the alphabet, one can see that the letters "Ê/ê" and "Ţ/ţ" that were not included in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, originally. Nevertheless, during the discussions in the 1991 Symposium, it was stated that the decisions about such phonemes particular to specific Turkic groups should be made by them. So, these two letters could be considered as such and thus they do not violate the frame. The letter "Ä/ä" creates a more interesting case since that letter was originally in the Frame Alphabet of 1991; it was abandoned accordingly with the Azerbaijani demands for "Ə/ə" during the later conventions starting by the year 1992.

139 TÜDEV 21-23 Mart 1993 Antalya Kurultay Tutanakları, p. 106. If the letters for foreign words and special names was not considered, there was 29 letters in the base alphabet of Gagauzia.

140 Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, *Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii,* p. 6. Preface to the 1995 edition.

141 Özkan, "Gagavuz Türkçesi," p. 260, footnote 12.

142 Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, *Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii,* p. 5.

143 Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, *Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii Gagauzkogo yazyka novaia redaktsiya,* (Chişinău: Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, 2014). It is downloadable from http://www.gbm.md/attachments/article/12/pravila_rus.pdf

#### 4.1.3.2 Transition Process

Since Gagauz people had managed to reach an official consensus with the official government about their alphabet as well as about their status; there were not many contradictory applications, as in the Crimean Tatar case. For instance, while some of the Crimean Tatar works have been published in Cyrillic in Ukraine due to the official status; Gagauz people do not have many problems in that issue. Because the Gagauz literature was relatively new, especially when it is compared with other Turkic languages; there are not many works to be transliterated into Latin. However, the main problem for Gagauz language lies just in there. While Gagauz people had their own alphabets during the Soviet era for the first time, Cyrillic script opened the Gagauz language to Russian influence. Furthermore, the Soviet educational policies limited the utilization of the Gagauz language, and most of the Gagauz people became Russophone and started not to use their own language. Although they definitely demonstrate ethnic consciousness, many Gagauzs generally speak Russian in their daily life rather than Gagauz language. This is especially observed among Gagauz youth. On the other hand, Gagauz language is considered as an important ethnic symbol, despite the fact that the Russian language is the widely used one in daily life.[144] Thus, the most important barrier in front of the Gagauz alphabet is the fact that the Gagauz language is not as frequently used as it should be used. An interesting example of this phenomenon was that the orthographic rules of the Gagauz language were published in the Russian language instead of the Gagauz language. Todur Zanet, the symbol name of the *Ana Sözü* criticized that in his article in the newspaper.[145]

144 Dağdeviren Kırmızı, "Emotional and Functional Attitudes of Native Speakers towards Gagauz," pp. 253-260.

145 Todur Zanet, "Gagauz dilin orfografiyası genä rus dilindä kabledildi. Etti artık!" in *Ana Sözü,* no. 13-14 (608-609), July 30, 2014, p. 1, http://anasozu.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/13-14_2014.pdf.

Besides that, as a language spoken by a relatively small number of people and having a relatively younger modern literature with fewer works,[146] material obstacles might be much less than other cases because the costs were much lower. Nevertheless, the transition of the previous literary works to Latin and publishing new books in Latin still made economic and material concerns. Gagauz people coped with this problem partially with the help of the Turkish government.[147] *Ana Sözü* was the only newspaper completely in Gagauz language.[148] In various cases, *Ana Sözü* thanks Kishinev Embassy of Turkey, TİKA, and YTB (The Presidency for Turks Abroad) for their support.[149]

### 4.1.4 *Evaluation*

In summary, Azerbaijan, Crimean Tatars, and Gagauzia were the three cases that came up with Latin script based national alphabets compatible with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet formed in the symposium on 18-20 November 1991. Chronologically, Azerbaijan was the first country among them to form and adopt such an alphabet in November 1991. Then Crimean Tatars – as an official ethnic community in Crimea, Ukraine – initiated such a project in 1992, while ended it up more or less at the same time span between 1993 and 1996 with Gagauzia – which became an autonomous region and government in Moldova.

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146 Nadejda Chirli, "Gagauz Edebiyatında Dionis Tanasoğlu'nun Yeri," *Turkish Studies International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 3, no. 7 (Fall 2008), p. 272.

147 N. Babaoğlu, "Gagauz Türklerinin Kirilik [Kiril] Alfabesinden Lâtin Alfabesine Geçmesi," p. 58.

148 Dağdeviren Kırmızı, "Emotional and Functional Attitudes of Native Speakers towards Gagauz," p. 45.

149 "Önünüzdä 600-cü nomerimiz," *Ana Sözü,* Mar. 29, 2014, accessed on Jan. 28, 2019, http://anasozu.com/onunuzda-600-cu-nomerimiz/. "Bunu läázım bilsin insan: Neçin 'Gagouz Sözü' 'Ana Sözü' oldu? Kim Gagauzlaa karşı gitti? 'Ana Sözü'n hem da latiniţanın dolayında dönän yalancılar kim!" *Ana Sözü,* Aug. 30, 2018, accessed on Jan. 28, 2019, http://anasozu.com/bunu-laazim-bilsin-insan-necin-gagouz-sozu-ana-sozu-oldu/. Also, "Ana Sözü," *Wikipedia,* last modified Mar. 19, 2016, https://gag.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ana_Sözü.

These three cases differ drastically from each other. In terms of socio-political organization, Azerbaijan is an independent state, Crimean Tatars are an ethnic community, and Gagauzia is an autonomous government. In terms of population, Azerbaijan is now converging to 10 million,[150] while the other two being a few hundred thousand. In terms of the literary production, Gagauz literature has especially been much younger and has fewer texts; nevertheless, material costs they faced did not differ in relative terms. Gagauzia and Crimean Tatars have much fewer resources when performing that transition, though Azerbaijan has much more tasks to accomplish. Internet, here, was a very helpful tool to disseminate Latin alphabet, as observed in the case of Azerbaijan,[151] since producing a text or sharing a book does not cost much or even none. Transliterating works of the past and publishing new ones, not in Cyrillic but in Latin, have been two important tasks need to be fulfilled. Even for Azerbaijan, the most successful case in the transition among Turkic nations, there was still too much work to do.

There were also similarities in the discussions and ideas during the transition process that affected the application of these projects. First, each country desired to represent their national phonemes in all of these transition processes and to protect their orthographic traditions, which differed from the Turkish alphabet. Azerbaijani linguist Vagif Aslanov was asked in a conference he attended in Kayseri that whether the Turkish alphabet could be applied to Azerbaijani. He replied negatively because there were letters in the Turkish alphabet with dots. Furthermore, the Turkish alphabet did not represent the /x/ and /æ/ phonemes in the Azerbaijani language. Turkish academic literature also proposed in their linguistic studies that the Crimean Tatar should abandon the letter "Q/q" that represents /q/,[152] and that the Gagauz alphabet

150 Website for the World Bank, "Population, total," https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=AZ.

151 Tamam Bayatly, "Alphabet Transitions: Chronology of the New Latin Script" *Azerbaijan International* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1997) pp. 22-4, http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/52_folder/52_articles/52_alphabet.html.

152 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 744, given as a discussion among Crimean Tatars. Also, Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 250.

should include the letter Ğ/ğ that represents /ɣ/.[153] Turkish linguists made these proposals in order to close the gap between Turkish and these languages; however, these proposals were not accepted by the representatives of Turkic people. For example, Bekir Nebiyev, as an Azerbaijani participant to the 1. STDKr felt obliged to defend the existence of the letters differing from Turkish. Also, Dionis Tanasoglu, the Gagauz participant in the alphabet commission of the TÜDEV conference, also emphasized the necessity to represent all the phonemes of their language.

Efforts of some the Turkish participants in the conventions to put forward the Turkish language as a model for Turkic nations were perceived as politically motivated. Thus, a certain prejudice had emerged about Turkey as a country trying to monopolise the national alphabets of Turkic republics and communities via alphabet conventions in order to win the new "Great Game" to dominate Central Asia.[154] That kind of prejudice was further supported by the projects of the Common Turkic Orthography and Literary Language, which was bandwagoned to the Common Alphabet Project. These two projects were created due that Turkic languages are known as being very rich in terms of vowels, which creates many combinations in pronunciation. Therefore, a standardized orthography could be a perfect tool to eliminate the phonetic differences among Turkic languages. It was thought that these differences would be eliminated in line with the Turkish language as the potential base of that orthography.

However, it was the Turkish and other Turkic academics rather than the Turkish state who were controlling the series of conventions by their decisions. In addition to that, the demands came from the region was eagerly accepted by the Turkish participants, too. Lastly, the project of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet tried to create a common ground for the alphabets of Turkic nations rather than to apply the Turkish alphabet to others. If it were such; then the model would consist of twenty-nine letters, not thirty-four. However, these concerns and prejudices as well as a certain degree of dissent against, among some, created a reaction to the Common Turkic Alphabet

153 Argunşah "Gagavuz Türklerinin Kullandığı Alfabeler," p. 221.

154 Bahadori, "Alphabet in the Boiling Pot of the Politics."

model. One way to protect and emphasise the independence was by creating or defending certain letters that differ from the equivalent in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. This was nothing to do with the question whether that phoneme would be represented; however, to do with how it would be represented. The example given above was whether the letter "Ə/ə" or "Ä/ä" would be used in Azerbaijan rather than representing the phoneme /æ/. In this case, there were also technical reasons to defend the letter "Ə/ə." After the letter "Ə/ə" was adopted in their country, Azerbaijani participants demanded to change the letter "Ä/ä" in the Frame Alphabet with "Ə/ə" in the following conventions in which they were successful. By doing that, Azerbaijan remained in the frame of the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet. It could be considered as the first example of the "emblems of independence," which was also observed in the transitions of the other countries.[155] On the other hand, this was a contribution to the Common Alphabet Project. Interestingly, thereafter, some nations and communities would adopt the letter "Ä/ä" in the previous frame alphabet, such as Turkmenistan and Gagauzia although it did not exist in the 34-letter Common Alphabet, anymore. Meanwhile "Ə/ə" would be adopted by Tatars who would not be able to carry out that transition due to the political conditions.

## § 4.2 Countries and Communities Differed from the Frame Alphabet

### 4.2.1 *Turkmenistan*

#### 4.2.1.1 Formation Process of the Alphabet

In Turkmenistan case, at first, reforming the existing Cyrillic Turkmen Alphabet was discussed rather than transition to Latin. However, Latin alphabet started to emerge as an option that would get more and more popular.[156] After the 1991 Symposium had formed the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet in November 1991, first models for the Turkmen alphabet started to emerge

155 For the term, Victoria Clement, "Emblems of independence."

156 See chapter 3.

in the summer of 1992. Cebbar Göklenov and Sapar Kürenov, who had participated in the symposium, prepared a model that fitted to the Frame Alphabet, except for a small modification using "ŋ" rather than "ñ" for the phoneme /ŋ/. This model consisted of 30 letters.[157] Nevertheless, other models were also emerging, which would not fit the Frame Alphabet. Some of these models had digraphs rather than depicting one phoneme with one latter, which was one of the main principles accepted in the process of alphabet conventions.[158] Meanwhile, during the International Turkish Language Congress[159] convened by the TDK in 1992, Turkmen linguists Pigam Azimov and Muratgeldi Söyegov supported such efforts for a common Turkic frame alphabet.[160]

The issue of a new Turkmen Alphabet became a hot topic for the Turkmen government in 1993. President Niyazov (Türkmenbaşı) chaired a meeting on 18 January 1993 with the high-level bureaucrats and the members of the Turkmen Academy of the Sciences. Participants stated their support for Latin alphabet in a consensus. It was stated that Latin alphabet would enable the integration of Turkmenistan into a global world. Meanwhile, Türkmenbaşı ordered that this task should be performed, swiftly. One reason for that was the new Turkmen passports would be ordered to Turkey to be published and it was desired that they should be in the New Turkmen Latin Alphabet.[161] Three days later, on 21 January 1993, a commission was established consisting of twenty-eight people including the President Türkmenbaşı, by "the Presidential Resolution" № 1146.[162] The chair of the committee was the president but

157 Bilâl N Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," *Türk Dili* 518 (1995), p. 120 and p. 129.

158 Ibid., pp. 120-1.

159 It was organized as a continuation of the TDK's Turkish (Turkic) Language Congresses initiated by Atatürk. This congress was not directly related to the Common Alphabet Project; nevertheless, it was another environment in which to discuss such issues along with other linguistic matters.

160 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of independence," p. 176.

161 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," p. 121.

162 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýiniň Proýekti Tekliplere Garamak Baradaky Komissiýasını Döretmek Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Creating the Commission to Discuss the Offered Projects for the New Alphabet

there were three vice-chairmen, too, to conduct the work. Two of them were the undersecretaries in the government; so, Muratgeldi Söyegov, who was the director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Turkmen Academy of the Sciences, would lead the commission.[163] Sapar Kürenov was another familiar name in the commission, who attended the 1991 Symposium and prepared an alphabet project[164] with Cebbar Göklenov accordingly with the decisions of the symposium. The only exception was the letter "ŋ" (adding a tail or augmenting a comma to the normal letter n)[165] for the phoneme /ŋ/. Preferring "W/w" rather than "V/v" can also be considered as another exception. It was because that the letter "V/v" was preferred over "W/w" in the 34-letter Alphabet Model. "W/w" should be used if there exist both the phoneme /v/ and vocally similar phonemes such as /w/ or /β/ in a Turkic language and both phonemes needed to be represented in order to prevent confusion in the meaning. However, this was not a major exception since both letters existed in the Frame Alphabet.

In less than a month, the Turkmen Alphabet Commission prepared its own project and presented it to the public. Commission's alphabet project was published in the newspapers on 11-12 February 1993.[166] This model was partly a mixture of various models proposed to the commission. For instance, there was a digraph "Sx/sx" for the phoneme /ʃ/, violating the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet Model. The 34-letter Frame Alphabet consisted only of monographs. Commission's project used, nevertheless, monographs for the phonemes /ʤ/ and /ʧ/. However, it was preferred to denote them by using the letters "J̇/j" and "C/c" instead of using "C/c" and "Ç/ç" in the Turkish and the Common Frame Alphabet. An interesting method was to assign the upper case of a letter in the classical Latin script to one phoneme but the lower case

of the Turkmen Language], Jan. 21, 1993, no. 1146, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/13060.html.

163 Ibid. For more information about him, see section 3.5.

164 Ibid. For more information about him, see section 3.1.

165 Adding a tail to the original letter was a legacy of previous Latin and Cyrillic alphabets prepared by the Soviet Union. One advantage of that method was to prevent writers from raising their hands when writing that letter.

166 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," p. 121.

of these letters to another, usually a related phoneme. For example, "ɐ/e" to /e/ and "E/ᴇ" to /æ/; "Ŋ/ŋ" to /n/ and "N/ɴ" to /ŋ/ and; "J̇/j" to /ʤ/ and "J/ᴊ" to /ʒ/. Interestingly, the last letter of the last couple was accordingly with the Turkish and the Common Turkic Alphabet model; meanwhile, the first one was violating it. Also, the vowels written with dots in the Turkish and Common Turkic Alphabet was not used in the Commission's project. Instead of the letters "Ö/ö" and "Ü/ü" for the phonemes /ø/ and /y/, "Q/ǫ" and "V/ᴠ" were used (see appendix N).[167]

The rest of the process was, now, at the hands of the president and the government.[168] Just before the Turkmen government made its final decision, exactly two months later, in April 1993; there were two conventions that were part of the formation process of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. They were TİKA conference in early March 1993 and the TÜDEV congress in late March 1993. Cebbar Göklenov participated in the former; while there was not any vocal Turkmen participant observed in the alphabet commission in the latter. In both of these conventions, it was discussed that some diversions existed in the proposed Turkmen model from the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet; while Göklenov stated during the TİKA Conference that he would write a report to the president and to the government in order for them to take this situation into consideration.[169]

Some parts of the model were changed, though it remained still far from the Turkish and the Common Alphabet Model. The "Sx/sx" digraph for the phoneme /ʃ/ was left for a monograph as in the Turkish and Common Turkic Alphabet though not for "Ş/ş" but for "$/¢." Thus, phonemic orthography was accepted as the basic principle of the new Turkmen Alphabet just the series of conventions and the 34-letter Frame Alphabet model had foreseen. Also "Ä/ä" for /æ/, "Ñ/ñ for /ŋ/, "Ç/ç," "Ö/ö," and "Ü/ü" as well as normalizing the upper and lower case difference for the letters above can be considered as a rapprochement to the 34-letter Common Alphabet model. However, adopting different letters than the 34-letter Frame and using some of the letters in the Frame for different phonemes than the model had foreseen, actually, made

167 Ibid., pp. 121-2.

168 Ibid., p. 122.

169 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 76-7. Also see the previous chapter.

Turkmen Alphabet outside of the frame. Interestingly, the issue of long vowels of Turkmen language that had been emphasized by Turkmen participants during the conventions was not addressed in the new Turkmen Alphabet, either. Other changes from the first draft were the letter "I/ı" for /ɨ/ was abandoned for "Y/y" and the letter "Y/y" denoting /j/ was abandoned for "¥/ÿ." The letter for the phoneme /ʤ/ remained as "J/j" and phoneme /ʒ/ described as "J/j" in the Turkish and the Common Turkic Alphabet was "£/ſ" in the Turkmen Model. This Turkmen model would be criticized in the future for using currency symbols as letters (see appendix O).[170] On 12 April 1993, President Niyazov approved the decree № PP-812 "About Adopting the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language." According to the decree:

> … In order to bandwagon the state of Turkmenistan to the World Civilization and to fasten the process of finding herself a place among the prospered countries, the proposal prepared by the state commission should be adopted … and start to be used after 1 January 1996. … Turkmen Academy of the Sciences and the Cabinet should be ordered to prepare the program that includes all the work related to that issue during the years 1993-1996 as the preparation term. In order to fulfil these measures, a state commission for coordination must be established.[171]

As a gesture, the day when President Türkmenbaşı had issued that decree, 12th of April, was the same day when Turkish President Turgut Özal was going to visit Turkmenistan. It was prepared as a surprise and as a gift for Özal and "the table of the New Turkmen Alphabet was presented to (him) by Niyazov (Türkmenbaşı)." This was, however, an ironical gesture.[172] It was received by the Turkish guests with appreciation and joy, at first; however, Bilal Şimşir, as a

170 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," pp. 124-7.

171 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýini Kabul Etmek Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Permany [Decree of the President of Turkmenistan on Adopting the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language], Apr. 12, 1993, no. PP – 812, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/25390.html.

172 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," p. 126.

diplomat and an expert, became thoughtful when he observed these differences described above.[173] Nevertheless, he accepted the lack of digraphs in the new model as a minor console.[174] On the other hand, during the *2. STDKr*, which I evaluate as the last ring of the process of alphabet conventions, this model was praised because the first one was found extremely far away from the Turkish alphabet and thus hard to be understood by Turkish people.[175]

#### 4.2.1.2 Transition Process and the Further Changes Made

The year 1996 was chosen as the date for the beginning of the transition when the Turkmen alphabet was adopted on 12 April 1993. Following that, another presidential decree № 1282 established a "State Organizational Committee that Leads to the Transition to the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language" consisting of fourteen members, including many ministers and Muratgeldi Söyegov, and Türkmenbaşı as the chair on 23 April 1993.[176] The extensive plan of the transition process emerged two months later, on 25 June 1993, in the presidential decree № 1380 called "About the Approval of the Program for the Precautions Related with Realizing the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language." This decree included a program for the 1993-1995 period that includes instructions assigned to ministries, academies, and related state organs about the various preparations before the transition process would completely start in 1996 and assigned Boris Şıhmıradov, one of the deputies of the head of the cabinet, as the supervisor of the execution of the program.[177] Later, this first alphabet

173 Ibid., pp. 125-6.

174 Ibid., p. 126.

175 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı *22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri*, p. 68. Speech of Mustafa Canpolat, the Chairman of the session.

176 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýine Geçmek Işine Ýolbaşçylyk Edýen Dövlet Guramaçylyk Komitetini Döretmek Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Establishing the State Organisation Committee in charge of the Transition to the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language] Apr. 23, 1993, no. 1282, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/24049.html.

177 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýini Durmuşa Ornaşdyrmak Boýunça Çareleriň Dövlet Programmasyny Tassyklamak Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Confirming the State Program of the Measures to Implement

commission would be abolished by the decree № 1924 on 27 August 1994; however, this decree ordered to form another alphabet commission.[178] This would be carried out by the decree № 2071 on 23 January 1995 that established a new commission according to the decree № 1924. Such a decision to form another alphabet commission seem to be stemmed from the changes in the posts and offices. Muratgeldi Söyegow was still included in the commission, as the first deputy of the ministry of science, and Boris Şyhmyradow was excluded this time.[179]

In the transition program published by the decree № 1380 on 25 June 1993, first, the alphabet transition was justified. Former Turkmenistan was described as a country that was forced to undertake two transitions of alphabet under the "Soviet Imperial Regime" during the 1920s and the 1940s. First transition was in 1928 when "Turkmens were deprived of their alphabet which they had used since a long past time" and the second one came in "during when (our) people started to read, write, produce, in other words, to adapt to the Turkmen alphabet based on Latin script that had been adopted in 1928." However, this time, Turkmenistan, as it became an independent state, would undertake the transition with its free will.[180]

The new alphabet was evaluated in the program as a vital necessity for Turkmenistan in the current conjuncture. The Turkmen government had initiated the "National Revival Movement" ('Milli Galkynyş' Hereketi) as a

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the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language], June 25, 1993, no. 1380, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/24064.html.

178 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýine Geçmek Işine Ýolbaşçylyk Edýen Döwlet Guramaçylyk Komitetiniň Düzümi Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on the Composition of the State Organisation Committee in charge of the Transition to the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language], Aug. 27, no. 1924, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/16711.html.

179 Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýine Geçmek Işine Ýolbaşçylyk Edýen Döwlet Guramaçylyk Komitetiniň Düzümini Üýtgetmek Hakında [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Changing the Composition of the State Organisation Committee in charge of the Transition to the New Alphabet of the Turkmen Language], Jan. 23, 1995, no. 2071, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/21133.html. The website suggests that it was no. 2070 while it was written "no. 2071" on the scanned text.

180 Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan], no. 1380.

movement "in which all citizens and public organizations, and associations participated in order for Turkmenistan to find its own appropriate place in the World Economy and Human Civilization." Information technology was considered as the cornerstones of being successful in this quest and computers as the most developed devices in the informatics. The fact that computer technology has been configured in Latin script was the key defence of the Turkmen government for alphabet transition to Latin that was considered as a vital need of independent Turkmenistan for her future. According to this document, this was also the opinion held by the Turkmen scientists and intelligentsia. Along with it, there were two other factors stated, which led to the alphabet transition. The first factor is that Latin alphabet was found more suitable for the Turkmen language than Cyrillic. The second and last factor is that the possibility to "improve the literary interactions among Turkic peoples using Latin alphabet."[181]

Following the justification, the program described a general plan of the transition process. The years 1993-5 were evaluated as "the preparation time" and the jobs described for the preparation time were divided into three sub-titles. The first sub-title consisted of "Organization and Explanation" of the transition process. Under this title, it was expected to establish commissions in the local and central government within a month from the issue of the program until 1 July 1993. Then, it was expected to determine a work plan and to constitute necessary groups for application until 15 July 1993. Another subject was the issue of radios and TVs broadcasts explaining the reasons for the transition and supporting it. Also, it was ordered to prepare educative broadcasts to teach the new alphabet for the people who would learn the new alphabet by his/her own. From 1993 onwards, it was expected from newspapers and journals to publish some of their articles in Latin. Publication process of the stamps, advertisements, road signs and other descriptive signs, new passports, diplomas, and other types of official certificates in Latin had to start until 1996.[182]

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

The second sub-title was about "the scientific and methodical principles of the transition to the new alphabet." The program ordered the handwritten shapes of the letters to be arranged and published until 01 July 1993. Then, courses should be opened during the 1993-4 period in order to prepare teachers for the transition. Furthermore, the primers for teachers' courses must be prepared until September 1993 before they were going to start. In addition to that, primers for self-learning people must be published during the 1993-6 period, and books for the higher education as well as ordinary ones, and dictionaries should have started to be published in Latin during this preparation process by the year 1993. Besides, it was expected to open sections in the universities "in order to provide the transition process in a scientific manner" until 1994.[183]

The third and last subtitle of the program was about "the financial, technical, and material" aspects of the transition process. Here, it was ordained that the efforts for buying enough papers for materials that would publish in the future, and the change of the machinery with ones with newer technology and new alphabet should be started from 1993. During the 1993-5 period, it was expected to buy enough machinery and computers that could work in Turkmen, Russian, and English. It was expected from the "Economy and Finance Ministry" as well as from the "commercial and public banks" to procure enough resources for this transformation.[184]

After a year, a presidential decree № 1956 "About the Transition to the New Alphabet … in the educational institutions" was issued on 29 September 1994 in order to determine a further program about the transition in schools and educational system. This decree foresaw that the transition in the educational system would start for the 1995-6 educational year when the 1st and the 5th grades would start to do their lessons in Latin alphabet.[185] Then, next year

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

185 Türkmenistanyň Okuw Jaýlarynda Okatmaklygy Türkmen Diliniň Täze Elipbiýine Geçirmek Hakynda Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Transferring the Education in the Educational Establishments to the New Alphabet of the

while the 1st and 5th grades would start in Latin, the 2nd and 6th grades would also continue in Latin.[186] Thus, until 2000, the transition in the education system would be completely transformed in Turkmenistan. It was evaluated as a much quicker method for transition than other ones applied in other Turkic countries.[187]

In order to fulfil this transition, the decree prescribed that new schoolbooks in the new alphabet for the 1st and 5th classes must be prepared and sent to publishing until 31 December 1994. Then, by 1 September 1995, they must be published in order to start the new educational year with the schoolbooks published in Latin. As a pre-experience, books of the 4th graders should be published in Latin until 1 November 1994. It was because that the 4th graders in 1994 were going to be the 5th graders in 1995 when the transition would begin. This generation was also going to take lessons in Latin script as the first generation along with the 1st graders of 1995. Also, it was expected to have materials for the other sections of the educational life –private schools, higher education levels etc. - 1996 onwards. The task of providing 1st quality paper and other stuff about publishing was assigned to the "Ministry of Means and Commerce" and financing to the "Ministry of Economy and Finance." The State Committee of Alphabet was responsible for supervising the application of these measures.[188]

A month later, on 27 October 1994, the first newspaper completely in the new Turkmen Latin alphabet was published and disseminated during the parades for the third anniversary of Turkmenistan's declaration of independence. The parade also worked as a kind of demonstration of the success in the

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Turkmen Language], Sent. 29, 1994, no. 1956, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/14914.html.

186 The 2nd and the 6th grades in 1996 were the 1st and the 5th grades in 1995. So, they were not starting but continuing their education in the Latin alphabet. In this way, Latin alphabet would be introduced to the upper grades in the education system with the first generation educated in the Latin alphabet.

187 Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan], no. 1956. Also see Büşra Ersanlı Behar, "Azerbaycan, Özbekistan ve Türkmenistan'da Eğitim ve Kültür Politikaları," p. 198. In addition, Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 156.

188 Türkmenistanyň Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan], no. 1956.

alphabet transition to the region and the world since delegations of many nations was ready there, too. Bilal Şimşir, who was in the Turkish delegation, told his impressions as:

> There had been a lot of work accomplished in Turkmenistan during the one and a half year since the decision to transition to Latin alphabet. The new alphabet attracts attention almost everywhere in Ashgabad. The names and plates of ministries and other official buildings had been converted to the new alphabet. Cyrillic alphabet had been removed from the appearance of the buildings. Slogans and banners prepared for the third anniversary of the independence had been written in the new alphabet. The most attractive slogan "Halk, Watan, Türkmenba¢y"[189] (People, Homeland, Turkmenbashy)[190] was written in the new alphabet almost everywhere. There are programs about the new alphabet on TV. They have been working to teach the new alphabet to the people.
>
> Newspapers have still been published in Cyrillic. However, they seem as if they are preparing to transition to the new alphabet. The headlines of the newspapers were converted to the new alphabet … On 27 October 1994, the anniversary of Turkmenistan's independence, a newspaper named *Gün* [The Day or the Sun] started to be published. This newspaper, consisting of six pages, have been completely in Latin alphabet and advertises itself as 'the first newspaper in the new alphabet'.

> Turkmens have one more year (written in 1995) to a complete transition to Latin alphabet. The year 1995 will be a busy one for the transition. I concluded from my observance in Ashgabad that Turkmenistan will succeed in this reform without any delays (my translation, see appendix P).[191]

189 At the time, it would probably seem as such. Şimşir personally preferred to write it in Turkish as "Halk, Vatan, Türkmenbaşı."

190 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), illustrations 14-15, pp. 146-7.

191 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," pp. 127-8.

Furthermore, Şimşir also wrote his memory with a Turkish journalist who complained to him after receiving the newspaper in that day about the new Turkmen alphabet since there was no difference between Cyrillic and the new Latin one in terms of literacy for a Turkish who would not understand both. Meanwhile, Şimşir was, also, unhappy about adopting different variants for the same phonemes. He wrote that they "could do some revisions after trying their new alphabets for a while" and the earlier these revisions would be done the better it would be due to the further costs and loss of time. Otherwise, "they will be able to communicate neither with us (Turkey) nor with the others, and they will not be able to integrate themselves into the civilized world."[192]

The panorama described by Şimşir was generally right. Especially, many letters in the new Turkmen alphabet was not satisfactory; thus, some of the letters had started to be abandoned for some other ones. Rather than continuing with the "$/¢," "In late 1994, the letter 'Ş/ş' was accepted" as in the Turkish alphabet for the phoneme /ʃ/.[193] This change was done by the alphabet commission defending that "not all computers in Turkmenistan possessed the $ symbol."[194] However, this was not the only change and Turkmenistan, and actually, they continued to follow an independent path when choosing letter rather than being in the frame of the Common Turkic Alphabet. Clement states that "by 1996 the commission had also replaced £, Ɣ, ñ with ž, ÿ, and ň. Not long after that they again changed ÿ to ý."[195] So, the phoneme /ʒ/ was represented by Ž/ž, /j/ by Ý/ý, and /ŋ/ by ň rather than J/j, Y/y, and ñ as in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet (see appendix Q).

In the aftermath of these revisions, the presidential decree for this change was issued on 10 January 2000 called № 4504 "About Perfecting the Turkmen

192 Ibid., p. 128.

193 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 742.

194 Victoria Clement "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen literacy, language, and power, 1904-2004," (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2005), pp. 154-5.

195 Ibid., p. 155.

National Alphabet."[196] It stated also that the transition should be completed by 1 January 2000 since when only Latin alphabet will have been used.[197] The new Turkmen alphabet, consisting of these letters, actually could be standardized in parallel with the alphabets of the Central European languages in the ISO/IEC 8859-2 (Latin Alphabet № 2)[198] standards used in computers and other spheres of informatics.[199]

As stated, the first newspaper fully in Latin had started to be published in October 1994. Also, the first book in Latin was published, "in early 1995" which was "about the state president. Entitled Türkmenbaşy- Türkmenlering Ykbaly (Turkmenbashy-Destiny of the Turkmens), it was written by Akbibi Yusufova, a journalist."[200] During the period of 1996-2000, the transition was a little bit slower than expected, mostly due to "the pedagogic and financial difficulties." TVs that were completely using Latin and giving lessons about the new alphabet, and the new currency, Manat, published completely in Latin script could be considered among the successes of the transition. The transition "in street names and road signs … most government and other public buildings" were

196 Türkmen Milli Elipbiýini Kämilleşdirmek Hakynda Türkmenistanyn Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan on Improving the Turkmen National Alphabet], Jan. 10, 2000, no. 4504, http://www.turkmenlegaldatabase.info/tk/documents.download/id/33646.html

197 Ibid. Also, Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), pp. 156-7.

198 Letters and numbers are processed by computers via codes. In order to standardize them, several standards were created that assigned a certain code to each single letter, number, and symbol. A specific set of standards were introduced worldwide by ISO (International Organization for Standardization) and IEC (International Electrotechnical Commission) as well as in Europe by ECMA (European Computer Manufacturers Association). ISO/IEC standards and ECMA standards are same, though they have different codenames.

199 "ISO/IEC 8859-2," *Wikipedia,* last modified Apr. 1, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISO/IEC_8859-2 Also, in order to obtain more official information about that standard, ECMA, *Standard ECMA-94 8-Bit Single Byte Coded Graphic Character Sets Latin Alphabets no. 1 to no. 4*, 2nd Edition (June 1986), Brief History, http://www.ecma-international.org/publications/files/ECMA-ST/Ecma-094.pdf

200 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 143.

other aspects of the success in the transition process. Nevertheless, in other areas such as the published media, the success was uncertain. The newspaper named Gün, which was published completely in Latin "remained a short-lived experiment … Turkmen periodicals often carr(ied) Latin-script title captions, while the news and articles remain in Cyrillic characters- as not many adults (were) fully familiar with Latin."[201] Also, "shop signs (were) partly in Cyrillic, partly in Latin- or both."[202]

Another factor that complicated the transition was the changes of some letters during the application. Şimşir rightly guessed that "the changes or revisions done in the future (cost) more and (lost) time to Turkmenistan."[203] Clement also shares the same opinion and describes the situation as it goes:

> Books with the 1993 version became obsolete in just two years time. Public signage, purchased from a company in Moscow, changed again and again. Teachers had to keep up and ensure that students were learning the new letters. The state began printing packages and labels for products in the new alphabet. In the case of a local brand of sugar cubes the packaging had been printed according to the first alphabet proposal in 1993. The letter *ñ* appeared in the word *Türkmenistanyñ*. However, after the 1996 reforms the letter *ň* replaced *ñ*. The factory had to correct thousands of boxes of sugar by covering the old *ñ* with tiny stickers showing the letter *ň* to spell: *Türkmenistanyň Altyn Asyr önümi* [Turkmenistan's Golden Era product].[204]

The fact that the level of success was not as high as expected also disturbed the Turkmen government. As Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2012) tells, in order to cope with that problem:

> The People's Council, the Council of Elders [of Turkmenistan], and the National Movement Galkynyş ('Revival') adopted a resolution on

201 Ibid., p. 144.

202 Ibid.

203 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," p. 128.

204 Victoria Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation'," p. 155. Bold and italics are original.

> the 'Eternal confirmation of the Turkmen Language and the Turkmen National Alphabet in all spheres of life of independent Turkmenistan' coming into force on 1 January 2000. A 23-person committee was appointed to supervise the implementation of this resolution.[205]

This resolution was further supplemented by the decree issued by President Türkmenbaşy № 4504 on 10 January 2000. As it was already described above, this decree was issued to accomplish the decisions made about the alphabet transition until now, that is, to complete the transition process. President's decree officially revised the New Turkmen Alphabet to the current one because the new alphabet became the official Turkmen alphabet that is to be used everywhere since 1 January 2000.[206] The new alphabet started to be used swiftly in daily life. According to Landau & Kellner-Heinkele's account, since "2 January 2000, newspapers duly published articles in Latinized Turkmen," which was "a striking indication of the Niyazow's (Türkmenbaşy) authoritarian rule."[207]

The decree № 4504 ensured that the utilization of the Turkmen alphabet according to the latest form rather than the previous ones.[208] Within a few years, "Latinized Turkmen" has become "in use almost everywhere."[209] Nevertheless, some discrepancies also occurred which could be considered as the common problems of alphabet transition in other countries, too. "The number of books published and available seemed rather low … [and] a high ratio of illiteracy among adults" observed due to the transition. Also, material problems of lack of schoolbooks published in Latin alphabet have also still existed that "in 2009, they were still using Soviet textbooks dated 1988 … at least in the countryside." These were the observations from the 2000s presented by Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2012) from various resources.[210]

In summary, Turkmenistan came up with a new Latin alphabet model in 1993 that would be upgraded by 2000. The first model had five different letters

205 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 157.
206 Türkmenistanyn Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan], no. 4504.
207 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 157.
208 Türkmenistanyn Prezidentiniň Karary [Decision of the President of Turkmenistan], no. 4504.
209 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 157.
210 Ibid., pp. 156-7.

from the Common Turkic Alphabet Model for many of which, the currency signs of USD ($) and cent (¢), GBP (£) and shilling (ʃ), and JPY (¥) were used. After the revisions, the new Turkmen alphabet had four different letters than the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. The "$/¢" was abandoned for the Turkish and the Frame Alphabet Model version of "Ş/ş" representing /ʃ/ phoneme. Thus, the number of the different letters between the Turkmen and the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet decreased to four. They are "Ž/ž" for /ʒ/, "Ý/ý" for /j/, "Y/y" for /ɨ/, and "J/j" for /ʤ/. Two of these letters also existed in the Common Frame Alphabet; however, these two letters are used for some other phonemes. These same letters representing the different phonemes cause confusion between the Turkmen alphabet and the Turkish, Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar, and Gagauz alphabets that fit the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame. The "J/j" couple must be used instead of "Ž/ž," "Y/y" instead of "Ý/ý," and "C/c" and "I/ı" must be added to compensate their values in Turkmen in order to make the Turkmen alphabet fit into the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. In addition, for the phoneme /æ/, which was represented by "Ə/ə" in the Azerbaijani and in the later version of the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, Turkmens used "Ä/ä" as in the previous Frame Alphabet. Thus, Turkmens and Gagauz people preferred "Ä/ä" while Azerbaijanis held "Ə/ə" to represent the very same phoneme, which created diversity on the phoneme /æ/. Also, the upper case "İ" for the phoneme /i/ was not used in the Turkmen alphabet as in Turkish or in the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet but it is preferred "I/i" as in English.

While Turkmen Alphabet and the Common Turkic Alphabet (so Turkish) shared many similarities; there have also existed some important differences that separated these two models from each other. Şimşir just rightfully supposed that the very first version of the Turkmen alphabet, with interesting letter selections, would separate the Turkmens "from the Turkish and the rest of the world as well as from the world civilization" and it would cost money and time to fix it.[211] Turkmen policy-makers, who thought the informatics as the most vital constraint, eventually preferred to fix this; however, in a spontaneous manner rather than according to the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet

211 Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," p. 128.

Model. Gökdağ suggests the "Turkmen nationalism have been constructed against Turkic neighbors and every [possible] regional unification," and he evaluates "the insistence of Türkmenbaşy on constructing an alphabet peculiar to Turkmenistan" as one of "the most striking examples of signifying Turkmenistan's independence on a symbolic level" by looking at this phenomenon.[212]

Clement, rightfully, defines these letters as the "emblems of independence" that aimed to "fortify (the) local culture" of the Turkmen nation. It was such a measure both "against Moscow's influence" and Turkmenistan's "Soviet past"[213] and against other Turkic nations as neighbors and Turkey as another potential new "big brother."[214] While Latin script, itself, was a measure against Moscow, "consider(ing) symbols from non-Turkic languages including" symbols of some currencies for the new alphabet rather than the 34-letter Frame Alphabet was a measure against Ankara.[215] The goals of "express(ing) Turkmen identity" as a "separate and distinct national identity" and "access(ing) to global computer technology" were the goals set by Türkmenbaşy by alphabet transition. The alphabet transition seems as if it "move(d) Turkmenistan one symbolic step closer toward its Turkic brethren."[216] On the other hand, the real aim of the alphabet transition seems not to "signify Turkmenistan's independence as a Turkic nation, but as a country among countries."[217] This aim was the first reason for the Turkmen government to create "emblems of independence" to be distant from the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.

Turkmenistan's rejection of the 34-letter Frame Alphabet had some cultural-linguistic grounds other than nation-building policy. According to Clement, that "the proposed Common Turkic Script [the Frame Alphabet] blurred regional distinctiveness- achieving the exact opposite of the phonetic

212 Bilgehan Atsız Gökdağ, "Türkmenistan'da dil politikaları," *Yeni Türkiye 53* (2013), p. 6. https://www.academia.edu/21765437/Türkmenistanda_Dil_Politikaları.

213 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of independence," p. 171. The concept "emblems of independence" is the title of the article.

214 Ibid., p. 177.

215 Ibid., p. 177.

216 Ibid., pp. 180-1.

217 Ibid., p. 177.

method. The shared orthography implied an eventual predominance of the dialect spoken in the Turkish Republic." Accompanied with some of the discourses of the "Turkish representatives" implying the Turkish "cultural hegemony" and "big brother(hood)," Turkmen government ended up in rejecting the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Model.[218]

Actually, the 34-letter Frame Alphabet was a product of the phonetic method rather than a tool to blur the regional distinctiveness. What the Frame Alphabet aimed was to ensure the representation of the same or very similar phonemes with the same letters, if not creating technical problems in that language. For instance, the phoneme /j/ should be represented by "Y/y" in every Turkic language. While it was such in Turkish, Azerbaijani, Gagauz, Crimean Tatar, and even in Uzbek, it was "Ý/ý" in Turkmen. Furthermore, utilization of the letter "Y/y" in Turkmen for the phoneme /ɨ/ while by "I/ı" in others, except in Uzbek, creates a confusion others' minds.

On the other hand, the Common Orthography Project might be evaluated as a Turkey-oriented project to blur the regional distinctiveness at first sight. However, it should be kept in minds that the project to establish a common orthography was not exactly the part of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project. Instead, it was defended by some Turcologists, generally from Turkey, to be the second phase of establishing a common Turkic literary language following the Frame Alphabet. Besides, the Common Orthography and the Common Literary Language Projects were very premature – if properly existed – and could be easily excluded from the agenda in case of an official demand. There were also many participants who did not favor such a process, and the project did not necessarily foresee "blurring the regional distinctiveness" in the national languages. It seems rather as an effort to create a common literary language that would have, of course, a single set of orthographic rules.

Some acts of the Turkish side also raised a general suspicion about the intentions of the series of conventions for a common frame alphabet. One was the discourses of some politicians who lacked both sufficient information about the issue and political correctness. Also, the academic discourse shared

218 Ibid.

by many Turkish linguists that put the national languages as the dialects of a "greater Turkic language" actually negatively affected the opinion of other Turkic peoples towards this project, too. A common orthography project could be perceived as beneficial for everyone in case there would be a standardization of punctuation and of some minor rules. However, attempts for the standardization of the orthography of the words could be suspicious in the eyes of the Turkic participants. This also holds for a possible common literary language project exactly when Turkic nations had desired to settle their national languages in their countries following the domination of the Russian language.[219] These projects became further suspicious when some participants, whether Turkish or Turkic, discussed that it should be based on the Turkish language as the most developed Turkic language in their opinion. Thus, an image of Turkey trying to become a "big brother" was established in the eyes of other Turkic nations. This was not an official Turkish attitude and Turkish politicians, such as Süleyman Demirel, desired to prevent such an image; nevertheless, this perception might be a reason of the creation of the "emblems of independence" in Turkmenistan as well as in other countries.

The alphabet transition process in Turkmenistan was actually a difficult process. During this transition, Turkey also helped by providing some books to Turkmenistan.[220] Nonetheless, it was not enough to solve every problem. Financial and pedagogic costs, that is, to renew signs, publishing machineries etc., to republish the previous works and new ones, and to teach grown-ups how to read & write in the new alphabet, were actually too high to undertake such a huge transition without any flows for a newly independent country that inherited also economic problems from the previous regime. In addition to that, changing some letters during the transition process, definitely, did not help Turkmenistan to minimise the costs. Although there were some minor delays, Şimşir's observation was right in the sense that Turkmenistan, eventually, dealt with the transition process, successfully, and almost in parallel with Azerbaijan, the other country successfully dealt with the transition process to such extent.

219 For a similar discussion, see Talat Tekin's position delivered during 1. STDKr.

220 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 144.

### 4.2.2 *Uzbekistan*

#### 4.2.2.1 Formation and Revision Process of the Alphabet

Different from the cases of other Turkic peoples described, there was a strong tendency for a transition to Arabic alphabet in Uzbekistan, which they had formerly used since the Medieval Age until the first half of the twentieth century, rather than to Latin. The Uzbek participants in the 1991 Symposium, while describing that situation, put forward two main reasons for the strong demand for the Arabic script in Uzbekistan. The first reason was the strong Islamic tendency in rural areas. The second reason was the existence of Tajiks as a significant ethnic minority that shared an ethnocultural background with the Iranian people, who still used the Arabic alphabet. Iran was searching for spheres of influence by importing their regime of the Islamic revolution and depending on the cultural and historical ties with the Central Asian people, who were under the influence of Iranian Civilization. Although Tajik population was generally Sunni, unlike Iran, Tajiks were generally defending an Islamist agenda in politics and they preferred Arabic alphabet along with many Uzbeks. Meanwhile, a significant part of the bureaucrats defended to use Cyrillic Alphabet or defended to create a new alphabet that would be based on both Cyrillic and Latin scripts.[221]

In this context, the first attempts on the alphabet issue were towards the Arabic alphabet. "The foremost literary journal *Shark Yulduzi* (Star of the East) started offering a complete course in the Arabic" alphabet during its "September-December 1989 issues."[222] Meanwhile, the Language Law of Uzbekistan, issued in October 1989, installed Uzbek as an official language of the Uzbek SSR. This law also supported teaching the old Arabic alphabet.[223] In 1990, Uzbek Language and Literature Journal published a sample text in Arabic script for educational aims. It was followed by the publishing of an Arabic

221 Speech of Holcigid Sanagulov delivered during 3rd session on 19 November 1991 in Devlet (transcr.), *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu*, p. 47.

222 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 135.

223 Ibid.

alphabet primer with 550,000 copies in 1991. This was a high number especially when it is compared with the publishing of the new Uzbek Latin Alphabet primer with 110,000 copies in 1993 after the new alphabet was adopted.[224]

Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001) evaluates this demand for Arabic alphabet a result of the so-called "Islamic Boom" occurred after Perestroika, which provided a more liberal environment to represent political and cultural ideas. However, in the following years, a strong desire for Latin alphabet had also started to emerge. It also partly stemmed from the eminent opposition party in Uzbekistan named "Erk," which defended a pro-Western and pro-Turkish political stance. In 1992, an article published in *Shark Yulduzi* defended that it is possible to be a good Muslim country and to use Latin alphabet and be a Westernized country, at the same time and provided Turkey as an example for that hypothesis. In addition to that, Uzbek government, also, started to stand for Latin after they observed and irritated by that Islamic Boom in Uzbekistan. Activities of Taliban and other Islamist groups in the neighbors of Uzbekistan and their aims for Uzbekistan fortified the Uzbek government and President Karimov's position against a change towards Arabic alphabet.[225]

## THE FIRST UZBEK LATIN ALPHABET

On 2 September 1993, the law № 931-XII "About Application of the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script" was issued by President Kerimov. The law "based on Latin alphabet experience" of the Uzbeks in "1929-40 period" and "took the demands of the representatives of the general public into consideration." Again, as in the case of Turkmenistan, development and attachment to the worldwide informatics were underscored as the reasons for that transition. The first article of the law described the new alphabet, which would consist of thirty-one letters and apostrophe. Meanwhile, the second article stated that

224 Ibid.

225 Ibid.

the Arabic alphabet and Cyrillic alphabet should also be taught to future generations since they were the previous alphabets of Uzbeks and many valuable masterpieces were in these scripts (see appendix R).[226]

In these thirty-one letters, there were six vowels and twenty-five consonants; which was prepared as the reformed version of the former Latin alphabet of Uzbeks. Actually, the first Latin alphabet applied by Uzbeks during the 1930s had consisted of nine vowels, though eventually it was reduced to six based on Tashkent dialect. Some linguists considered this more as a feature of the Tajik language, which is an Iranic language.[227] Some others also criticized it in a harsher manner in the sense that Tashkent dialect, as an Iranicized one, was selected in order to corrupt the language.[228] During the Cyrillic alphabet period, that model was supplemented by Russian letters in order to protect the original orthography of the Russian words that was adopted in Uzbek. Also, these letters had sometimes used as diphthongs in Uzbek originated words, too.[229] Now, the Russian letters were abandoned since they were not related to the Uzbek language, though the 6-letter vowel system kept. This system applied in this alphabet united the phonemes /o/ and /ø/[230] in the letter Ō/ō rather than separating into O/o and Ö/ö as in the Common Turkic Alphabet Model and as in many Turkic languages. Also, /i/ and /ɨ/[231] were kept in I/i and /u/ and /ʉ/[232] in U/u. It actually created confusions, since the words with different meanings were written in the same way.[233]

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226 O‘zbekiston Respublikasining Lotin Ezuviga Asoslangan O‘zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To‘g‘risidagi Qonuni [Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script], Sent. 2, 1993, no. 931-XII, the first version, https://web.archive.org/web/20170714051810/http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=112286anddONDATE=12.10.1993. Also see http://www.lex.uz/docs/112286?ONDATE=12.10.1993.

227 Hendrik Boeschoten, “Uzbek” in *Turkic languages,* edited by Lars Johanson and Eva A. Csato (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 358.

228 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 361.

229 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, pp. 354-5.

230 Boeschoten, “Uzbek,” p. 358.

231 Ibid.

232 Ibid.

233 Ibid. Also, see Şirin User’s evaluation of the same problem in the Cyrillic alphabet in *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 356.

Although the new Uzbek alphabet applied phonemic orthography, more or less, as the process of alphabet conventions and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Model had foreseen; it had some diversions, as well. The first group of diversions stemmed from the 6-letter vowel system that was described above. To start with the Uzbek vowel system, the first difference is the letter A/a was used not only for /a/ phoneme as in the Frame Alphabet but instead represented both /a/ and /æ/. Normally, the latter phoneme was represented by Ä/ä or Ə/ə in the Common Alphabet model. The letter O/o represented /ɑ/ (the Iranic round a) in the new alphabet, although it represented /o/ in the frame model. Ō/ō was used, instead, to demonstrate both /o/ and /ø/, as stated above. I/i representing the phonemes /i/ and /ɨ/ and U/u representing /u/ and /ʉ/ were other two differences stemmed from the 6-letter vowel system. Representation of the /ʤ/ phoneme with J/j rather than C/c was another case. Thus, the new Uzbek model also broke the rule of "one letter to one phoneme" designated by the 34-letter Turkic Frame Alphabet.[234] Thus, a perfect phonemic orthography seems not to be in the new Uzbek Latin Alphabet due to the 6-vowel system.

The second and the last group of diversions from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model was the inclusion of new or modified diacritical letters outside of the 34-letter Frame, just as the Turkmens did. Five of the new letters, Ō/ō, Ḡ/ḡ, N̄/n̄ and Ĵ/ĵ, were aesthetically different from the Frame Alphabet. The fifth was the lower case of "Q/ᴏ," the shape of which did not differ from the upper case of it; but instead, it had a smaller size. J/j and Ĵ/ĵ were representing the voices once in Cyrillic represented only by Ж/ж.[235] Furthermore, C/c was used, actually, to represent /ts/ phoneme. The new Uzbek Alphabet was introduced to the language conventions by İristay Kuçkartayev at the *2. STDKr* in

234 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 743.

235 Compare the Law of Republic of Uzbekistan no. 931-XII with Berdak Yusuf, *Türkçe-Özbekçe ve Özbekçe-Türkçe Sözlük* (Toshkent: Özbek-Remaksa, 1993), p. 189 and p. 230. The words given as examples in the legal text for these letters – "Жўра" and "Аждод" – were written with the same Cyrillic letter, "Ж/ж," in Berdak Yusuf's Uzbek/Turkish dictionary.

September 1993,[236] and at the TİKA Conference in 1994.[237] The new alphabet was also introduced to the Uzbek people by a book named "New Uzbek Alphabet in Latin" written by İristay Kuçkartayev and M. Tacibayev in 1994.[238]

The Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan as the legislative organ issued a resolution № 932-XII about adopting the law that instituted the alphabet on 2 September 1993, the same day when the new alphabet was adopted by the President. The resolution prescribed that the law about the new alphabet should be put into practice after it was published in the Uzbek newspapers. The law was published after a month, on 12 October 1993 on the "Xalq So'zi" (People's Voice) newspaper. It was foreseen that the transition process should be started on 01 September 1995 at schools and educational institutions, which would end five years later, by 01 September 2000 when the new alphabet would be applied during every grade. [239]

Furthermore, 01 September 2000 was accepted as the date for completion of the general transition in Uzbekistan. The transition would be completed at legal and symbolic levels when the resolution № 4 of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan SSR "About the transition of the Uzbek alphabet from Latin Script to the New Uzbek Alphabet Based on Russian" would be abolished. This was the legal jurisdiction remained from the Soviet Era, which imposed Cyrillic alphabet on Uzbeks. Thus, Cyrillic alphabet would be abolished, and the status of the Latin alphabet as the only alphabet for the Uzbek language would also be underscored in the legal acquis. This legal act both drew a program for the

236 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri*, pp. 134-138.

237 Özcan, "Prof. Dr. İristay Kuçkartayev (1936-2000) Hayatı ve Eserleri," p. 11.

238 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, p. 358.

239 «Lotin Yozuviga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To'g'risida»gi O'zbekiston Respublikasi Qonunini Amalga Kiritish Tartibi Haqida O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy Kengashining Qarori [Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Putting the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "on Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script" into Practice], Sent. 2, 1993, no. 932-XII, first version, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=125418andONDATE=12.10.1993. Also, http://www.lex.uz/pages/GetActMobile.aspx?lact_id=125418andONDATE=12.10.1993 Name of the newspaper was given in the exegesis of the law provided by the website http://lex.uz.

transition process, and it had symbolic importance for the newly acquired independence.[240]

For the transition to the new alphabet, 1993-5 period was considered as the time for preparation when the Cabinet would deal with the problems that might occur in that period. Meanwhile, a "state commission" must be established to control and supervise the transition process. Its first task was to prepare a "program for the transition process" within the three months after it was established. The resolution also foresaw that the course books should be ready one month before the initiation date, until 01 August 1995.[241]

The program was discussed and adopted by the resolution № 304 of the Uzbek Cabinet after nine months later, on 16 June 1994.[242] What was described in this program was more or less in parallel with the case of Turkmenistan. The program consisted of five titles. The first title was about the "Organizational Issues" that focused on the introduction of the new alphabet to the society and raise an "awareness" about the issue through media, TV, radio, conferences for the educational institutions. Also, it was foreseen for the new orthographic rules to be regulated and published during the 3rd quarter of 1994. Committees at the central and the local levels, and in the autonomous region of Qaraqalpakstan should have been established during 1994. The second title was about the "Material and Technical Preparations" that foresaw the provision of the publishing machinery -most urgently for school books- and computers. In this title, the deadlines of the provisions varied from 1996 to 1999. The third and fourth titles were about the "Education in the New Alphabet" and "New Schoolbooks and other kinds of books." The program foresaw that the education would start with the 1st graders, at first. Next year, however, the

240 Ibid.

241 Ibid.

242 O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasining Lotin Ezuviga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To'g'risidagi O'zbekistan Respublikasi Qonunini Amalga Oshirishni Ta'minlash Yuzasidan Davlat Dasturini Tasdiqlash To'g'risida O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasining Qarori [Decision of the Cabinet of the Republics of Uzbekistan Approving the State Program for the Application of the Law on Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script], June 16, 1994, no. 304, first version, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=738439andONDATE=16.06.1994.

5th and 6th graders would also start while the 2nd graders would continue in Latin and new 1st graders also start in Latin. This pattern would continue for each coming year and end up in 1999 with the 9th, 10th and 11th graders. The last title regulates the introduction of the new alphabet to daily life and to the official works. The road, street and similar signs, stamps, and boards should start to be converted from 1995 onwards; however, a deadline was not specified.[243]

### THE SECOND AND CURRENT UZBEK LATIN ALPHABET

Even though the alphabet was formed and the future transition process was planned for that alphabet; the Uzbek government modified the alphabet for once more on 6 May 1995. The law № 71-I issued by Kerimov "About the Including Changes" to the law that declared the Uzbek Latin alphabet in September 1993. This new law prescribed that the new alphabet should consist of "twenty-six letters, three digraphs and apostrophe" rather than "thirty-one letters and apostrophe." These digraphs would be Ch/ch representing /ʧ/ previously represented by Ç/ç, Sh/sh for /ʃ/ previously by Ş/ş, and Ng/ng for /ŋ/ previously by N̄/n̄. Also, two letters Ḡ/ḡ and Ö/ö were abandoned for the basic Latin letters combined with apostrophe G'/g' and O'/o'. Letters C/c and Ĵ/ĵ were abandoned totally and "Q/Q" was adopted just like in the Classical Latin Alphabet, so like the Frame Alphabet, as "Q/q" (see appendix S).[244]

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243 Lotin Ezuviga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To'g'risidagi O'zbekistan Respublikasi Qonunini Amalga Oshirishni Ta'minlash Yuzasidan Davlat Dasturi [The State Programme for the Application of the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script, https://nrm.uz/contentf?doc=126678_lotin_ezuviga_asoslangan_o%E2%80%98zbek_alifbosini_joriy_etish_to%E2%80%98g%E2%80%98risidagi_o%E2%80%98zbekiston_respublikasi_qonunini_amalga_oshirishni_taminlash_yuzasidan_davlat_dasturi_(o%E2%80%98zr_vm_16_06_1994_y_304-son_qaroriga_ilova)&products=1_. The program was attached as an appendix to no. 304.

244 O'zbekiston Respublikasining «Lotin Yozuviga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To'g'risida»gi Qonuniga O'zgartishlar Kiritish Haqida O'zbekiston Respublikasining Qonuni [The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Adding Changes to the Law on "Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script], May 6, 1995, no. 71-I, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=116158

To sum up, the phonemic orthography as a principle coming from the 34-letter alphabet was left for an imperfect one with digraphs. It is again phonemic since the phonemes are represented; however, using digraphs along with letters make a more complex system than the previous alphabet without digraphs. Uzbeks had selected a new Latin alphabet and decided to undergo the transition process, all over again, after 1.5 years from their first decisions. Some academics interpreted the new Uzbek Latin Model as the application of the English Alphabet to the Uzbek language.[245]

Landau claims that one of the major reasons for the change of the previously adopted Latin alphabet model was the deterioration of the Turkish-Uzbek relations.[246] Although the relations with Uzbekistan had started well for Turkey as the first recognizing country; several factors eventually brought the relations to a point of coldness and scepticism. A general scepticism towards Turkish big brotherhood and integrationism had already existed in the region. It was further complemented by the Uzbek attempts for a regional leadership that created a tacit competition between the two countries. A much more important event was the Turkish position on the issue of the Uzbek opposition. Turkish expectations for a more democratic regime and providing political asylum to Muhammod Solih and some other Uzbek opponents were not welcomed by Islom Karimov and the Uzbek government.[247]

In summary, the differences between the 34-letter Frame Alphabet and the Uzbek alphabet seems to stem from some linguistic and political reasons. Linguistically, the new Uzbek alphabets were based on the previous Uzbek orthographic tradition about the vowels. Politically, the desire to emphasise distinctiveness from Turkey as a result of the competition and of other problems resulted in even more distance. Clement's concept of establishing "emblems of

245 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 138.

246 Jacob M. Landau, "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 20,* no. 1 (Jan., 2010), p. 31.

247 Muzaffer Ercan Yılmaz, "Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemde Türkiye – Orta Asya Türk Cumhuriyetleri İlişkileri," in *Orta Asya ve Kafkasya: Rekabetten İşbirliğine,* ed. Tayyar Arı (Bursa: MKM Yayıncılık, 2010), pp. 428-9.

independence" for the Turkmen case also holds for the Uzbek case.[248] The differences between the first Uzbek alphabet and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet can be explained in Clement's framework. All of the differences were constituting different "emblems of independence." However, the Uzbek case seems to be evolved into a political competition and scepticism, especially towards Turkey. This resulted in a new Uzbek alphabet, which would become orthographically distant by using digraphs, which was not the case in Turkmen alphabet.

On the very same day, the Supreme Assembly,[249] also, issued a new decision № 72-I that was "About the Including Changes," which reshaped the decision № 932-XII of the previous Supreme Soviet about the realization of the law № 931-XII that declared the new alphabet. The new decision postponed most of the things stated in the previous decision by 1 year and the completion of the transition and everything that would be completed from 2000 to 2005. Thus, the initiation of education in schools with the new Uzbek Latin alphabet would be postponed to 1 September 1996.[250] Furthermore, this decision also shaped the general structure of the State Commission of the transition process. According to it, the deputy PM would lead to commission and both ministers of "People's Education" and of "High and Middle School Education" would be his deputies, accompanied by the deputy of the head of the Qaraqalpaqstan's cabinet and some others. Furthermore, "the director of the State

248 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008): doi:10.1515/IJSL.2008.042

249 Supreme Assembly (Oliy Majlis) is the continuation of the "Supreme Soviet" of the Republic of Uzbekistan, which was the legislative organ during first days of the independence.

250 «Lotin Yozuviga Asoslagan O'zbek Alifbosini Joriy Etish To'g'risida»gi O'zbekiston Respublikasi Qonunini Amalga Kiritish Tartibi Haqida»gi O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy Kengashi Qaroriga O'zgartirishlar Kiritish To'g'risida O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy Majlisining Qarori [Resolution of the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Uzbekistan to Make Changes in the Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan on Application of the Law on Introducing the Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin], May 6, 1995, no. 72-I, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=189432.

Company of TV and Radio" and heads of "Writers' Union" and "Uzbek Language Association" would be among the members of that committee.[251]

Almost four months later, on 24 August 1995, the Cabinet had taken the decision № 339 "About the Ratification of the Basic Orthographic Rules of the Uzbek Language," in the appendix of which, these rules were stated.[252] Thus, the new model of the Uzbek Latin Alphabet adopted in May 1995 started to settle once and for all. It was further clinched by the emergence of the transition program in March 1996. The new transition program was issued by the cabinet on 19 March via the decision № 104 "About the Changes" in the Previous Program Made in June 1994. The program was essentially similar to the previous one, which also had five titles; meanwhile, the acts were, generally, postponed to the next year. Due to the completion of the transition was postponed to 2005, many applications that would end up in 2000, as the previous program suggested, were also postponed to 2005. Thus, completion of some applications were postponed more than one year, not exceeding 2005.[253]

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251 Ibid.

252 O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy va O'rta Maxsus Ta'lim Vazirligi Toshkent Moliya Instituti, *Lotın Yozuvıga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosı Va Imlosi. O'quv qo'llanma.* (Toshkent: Toshkent Moliya instituti nashriyoti, 2004), p. 7. Downloaded from: http://media.turuz.com/Language/2013/0737-Latin_Yazuvigha_Asaslanghan_Ozbek_Alifbasi_Va_Imlasi_(Oxuv_Kullanma)_(Toshkent-2004).pdf . To see O'zbek Tilining Asosiy Imlo Qoidalarini Tasdiqlash Haqida O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasining qarori [Resolution of the Uzbek Cabinet on Ratification of the Orthographic Rules of the Uzbek Language], Aug. 24, 1995, no. 339 and its appendix, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=1625271

253 *Postanovlenie kabineta ministrov respubliki Uzbekistan o vnesenii ızmeneniy v postanovlenie kabineta ministrov ot 16 yunya 1994 goda n 304 "ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoy programmy po obespecheniyu na Latinskoy grafike* [Resolution of the Uzbek Cabinet on Modifying the Resoultion of the Cabinet of June 16, 1994 no. 304 "On Approval of the State Program for Transition to the Latin Alphabet], Mar. 19, 1996, no. 104 and its appendix, https://nrm.uz/contentf?doc=109922_postanovlenie_kabineta_ministrov_respubliki_uzbekistan_ot_19_03_1996_g_n_104_o_vnesenii_izmeneniy_v_postanovlenie_kabineta_ministrov_ot_16_iyunya_1994_goda_n_304_ob_utverjdenii_gosudarstvennoy_programmy_po_obespecheni-yu_realizacii_zakona_respubliki_uzbekistan_o_vvedenii_uzbekskogo_alfavita_osnovannogo_na_latinskoy_grafikeandproducts=1_zakonodatelstvo_respubliki_uzbekistanandanchor=%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BB.

A significant instance was the application of the New Uzbek Latin alphabet that would start, now, by 1996/7 educational year and would have been completed in 2005. While the first transition program had foreseen that the transition would be completed within five years, between 1995 and 2000; the new transition program almost doubled the completion time to nine years, between 1996 and 2005. So, the Uzbek government abandoned the application style that introduces the new alphabet to two or even three grades, which was much stressful than the application in Turkmenistan. The Uzbek Government decided to apply it to one grade per year, except 1997/8 and 1998/9 years when 2nd-3rd and 4th-5th grades would start. Thus, while Latin alphabet had first introduced to the education system in 1996; the students who had started to the school in 1994 and 1995 were also incorporated to the education with Latin alphabet. The pupils started in 1995 were incorporated when they became 3rd graders in 1997. Then, the pupils started in 1994 were incorporated when they would start the 5th grade. Transition process would be completed in all grades by 2004/2005 when the education in Latin alphabet would have extended to the 11th grades who had started to school in 1994.[254]

The program states that the publication of the schoolbooks of each grade should be finished in a year until July two months before the educational year starts. The schoolbooks must be prepared and submitted by the Ministry of Public Education one year before their publication. Following this, these books should be published until the next July, two months before the relevant grade starts. So, the printing houses had 1 year to publish these books. In parallel with the introduction date of the new alphabet to the relevant grades, the books of the 1st graders must be published until 1 July 1996. The books of 2nd and 3rd graders must be published until 1 July 1997, of 4th and 5th graders until 1 July 1998, of 6th graders until 1 July 1999 and so on. That process would finish by the books of 11th graders being published until 1 July 2004.[255] These changes both in the alphabet and in transition programs were further clinched by the

254 Ibid.

255 Ibid.

"Law about the Language of the Republic of Uzbekistan" issued on 21 December 1995,[256] which settled the issue once and for all.

#### 4.2.2.2 Alphabet of the Qaraqalpaqstan Autonomous Republic

Qaraqalpaqs are an ethnic group in Uzbekistan belong to Turkic peoples. Many researchers have evaluated their language as related to or a dialect of the Kazakh language.[257] Since the 1930s, Qaraqalpaqstan has been a part of Uzbekistan as an autonomous republic. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Qaraqalpaqs could not remain indifferent to the new conditions occurred in Uzbekistan. Qaraqalpaqs had already acquired "the right to 'decide on all linguistic issues within its own territory'" in 1989 during the Glasnost Era and they decided to use it although the area of which would be tightened a few years later.[258]Alphabet transition became a part of Qaraqalpaqs' agenda, too, since Uzbeks were changing their alphabets. On 26 February 1994, almost after half a year after Uzbeks, Qaraqalpaqs, also, prepared and adopted a new Latin alphabet. Unlike the Uzbek Model, according to Ercilasun,

> (T)he new Qaraqalpaq Latin Alphabet fully fitted to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. It consisted of thirty-one letters, five of which did not exist in Turkish alphabet "Ä/ä," "X/x," "Q/q," "Ñ/ñ," and "W/w," while three letters in the Turkish alphabet was excluded that were "C/c," "Ç/ç," and "V/v."[259]

Here, it is important to note two points. The first one was although Ercilasun said that "V/v" was not included in the Qaraqalpaq alphabet, actually it seems to be included in the new alphabet as Schlyter put. Thus, the first Qaraqalpaq

256 O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy Va O'rta Maxsus Ta'lim Vazirligi Toshkent Moliya Instituti, *Lotın Yozuvıga Asoslangan O'zbek Alifbosı Va Imlosi. O'quv qo'llanma*, pp. 8-9.

257 E.g. Mark Kirchner, "Kazakh and Karakalpak" in *Turkic languages,* ed. Lars Johanson and Eva A. Csato (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 331.

258 Birgit N. Schlyter, "The Karakalpaks and other language minorities under Central Asian state rule." *Prospects for democracy in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 84-5; cited in O'zbekiston Sovyet Sotsialistik Respublikasining Qonuni: O'zbekiston SSRning davlat tili haqida (1989), p. 5 (preamble).

259 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 743.

Latin Alphabet consisted of thirty-two letters, including "V/v" (see appendix T).[260] The last one was that the Qaraqalpaqs preferred to use "Ä/ä" for the phoneme /æ/ rather than using "Ə/ə" that was accepted after the *1. STDKr* in May 1992; thus, the bifurcation on the representation of that phoneme continued.

After Uzbeks changed their Latin alphabet system to such one compatible with English or Classical Latin without any different letter; Qaraqalpaqs, also, first "amended (their law) on 10 June 1995."[261] Schlyter evaluates this as a reflection of the increase in "Tashkent Control" over Qaraqalpaqs when the new Uzbek language law in 1995 has given the right to decide on "'issues concerning language function'" to Qaraqalpaqs rather than on all of the linguistic issues, as the previous law did.[262] While their first Qaraqalpaq alphabet was compatible with the 34-Letter Common Turkic Alphabet; "less than in two years," the Qaraqalpaq alphabet was reorganized in August and December 1995, according to the rules of the new Uzbek alphabet.

In this alphabet, "Ä/ä" representing /æ/ was replaced with " A'/a' ," "Ğ/ğ" representing /ɣ/ with " G'/g' ," "Ñ/ñ" representing /ŋ/ with " N'/n' ," "Ö/ö" representing /ø/ with " O'/o' ," "Ş/ş" representing /ʃ/ with "Sh/sh" digraph, and "Ü/ü" representing /y/ with " U'/u' " (see appendix U).[263] On the other hand, the new Qaraqalpaq alphabet still represented the nine vowels of the language by nine letters rather than using fewer letters as Uzbeks did. As a result, different from the Uzbek alphabet, other vowels not existed in the original Latin alphabet were represented; however, via adding an apostrophe to the original Latin alphabet as Uzbeks did for other letters. In addition to that, "I/ı" derived from the Turkish and the 34-letter alphabet to represent the phoneme /ɨ/ have stayed as it was, previously. It is interesting to note that, although the digraph "Ch/ch" representing /ʧ/ digraph was not included in Schlyter's sources; it is rarely used in Qaraqalpaq language for some words.[264] "(O)n 29 December

260 Schlyter, "The Karakalpaks and other language minorities," p. 85 and figure 1 in p. 86.

261 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 57.

262 Schlyter, "The Karakalpaks and other language minorities," pp. 84-5.

263 Ibid., p. 85 and figure 2 in p. 87.

264 My observation. An example to check in Qaraqalpaq Wikipedia: "Qaraqalpaqlar," *Wikipedia,* last modified June 23, 2018, https://kaa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qaraqalpaqlar

1995 …, Qaraqalpaq legislature passed a law on a Revised version for"[265] adopting this alphabet. It was eight days after from Uzbekistan's ratification of the decisive law about the state language.

#### 4.2.2.3 Transition Process that Remained Double-Edged

As stated, Uzbeks first adopted a new alphabet based on Latin script in September 1993; then, significantly modified it in May 1995. Also, Qaraqalpaqstan, as the autonomous republic within Uzbekistan, adopted Latin script first in February 1994, then in June 1995 for a similar alphabet model based on Uzbeks. Thus, the Uzbek government had to develop a transitional program two times, the latest one in March 1996. So, the transition in schools would start in September 1996 and be completed in September 2005. Furthermore, 1 September 2005 was set not only as the deadline for the completion of the transition in schools but as the deadline for the government offices and the private sector, as well.

The 1990s witnessed mixed results when the process of the transition to Latin alphabet was considered. Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001) describes the general situation in the educational realm as it goes:

> By the end of 1993, the Alifbo (the alphabet book) was printed in 100,000 copies and distributed. Schoolbooks, manuals for teachers and other works started to come out only since 1994. … The largest publishing firm of schoolbooks in Uzbekistan, O'kutuvchi, announced in August 1996 that for the school year about to start, it had prepared the necessary textbooks in Latin characters for the first graders and will prepare more for other grades each year.[266]

Meanwhile, the publishing of the schoolbooks should be carried out as the transitional program of 1996 has foreseen, that is, the books must be published until two months before the education would start.[267] "For the higher grades,

265 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 138.

266 Ibid., pp. 136-7.

267 I also described it in detail in section 4.2.1.2.

two hours a week are set aside for the teaching of the (Latin script), while at the universities, the attendance (for these lessons were) optional." Also, educative publishing and broadcasting had started to be given in the newspaper, *Xalq So'zi*, and some other TV channels since the late 1994 and 1995, respectively, although the alphabet would be modified within a few months.[268]

In everyday life, one of the vital items in the social life, the new Uzbek Currency, So'm, started to be published in 1994; however, in Cyrillic alphabet. On the other hand, the stamps could be found in the Latin script.[269] Nevertheless, the commemorative coins have been published since 1994;[270] and regular ones started to be minted in Latin script by 1999 and the previous ones that were still valuable to circulate were reminted in Latin script in following years.[271] Thus, Latin had gradually started to emerge on one of the densely used objects in society. However, the first banknote published in Latin was 5,000 So'm seems to be emerged by a very recent date, in 2013.[272] According to the observations presented by Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001), Latin alphabet also started to emerge on logos and commercial products, "in shop windows, billboards, street signs, and place name signs and in various slogans. … By May 1998, about 2,000 street signs in Latin characters were prepared for Tashkent," though "road signs on the inter-city routes were still exclusively in Cyrillic in 1995" but started to be "replaced by signs in Latin script." Also, some newspapers started to publish their articles "in both Cyrillic and Latin Script."[273]

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268 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), pp. 136-7.

269 Ibid., p. 139.

270 Website for Uzbekistan Central Bank, "Esdalik Tangalari," accessed on Aug. 02, 2017, http://www.cbu.uz/uzc/banknoty-i-monety/pamyatnye-monety/.

271 Website for Uzbekistan Central Bank, "Tangalar," accessed on Aug. 02, 2017, http://www.cbu.uz/uzc/banknoty-i-monety/monety/.

272 Website for Uzbekistan Central Bank, "Banknotlar," accessed on Aug. 02, 2017, http://www.cbu.uz/uzc/banknoty-i-monety/banknoty/.

273 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 139.

The indecisiveness of the transition process, unlike the other transition processes in Turkic World, had continued throughout the next decade, in the 2000s, too. Of course, it does not mean to return to the former Cyrillic alphabet; however, implementation of Latin was not ultimately successful. The most successful aspect of it was the educational realm when the transition was completed as planned by 2005.[274] Thus, a generation was raised and will be followed by new ones who are educated in Latin alphabet. These next generations, actively using Latin alphabet, are the guarantees of Latin alphabet in Uzbekistan.

During the 1990s, the publication in Latin was extremely limited. Almost all the books published in Latin was the alphabet primers up until 1998.[275] Furthermore, the journal "O'zbek Tili ve Adabiyoti" (the Uzbek Language and Literature) that have been officially published by the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, which should be the main organ to represent Latin alphabet, have still continued to be published in Cyrillic after an experiencing period in Latin that had lasted only for a year 1998/9. On the other hand, in the 2000s, many of the Uzbek classics, including "Alishir Nava'i," were managed to be "transliterated into Latin."[276] Thus, the visibility and everyday usage of the new Uzbek Latin alphabet have been raising since the 2000s.

The dual usage of the new Uzbek Latin alphabet with the previous Uzbek Cyrillic alphabet, nevertheless, have continued. There had already been going on some discussions on the existing new Uzbek Latin alphabet, on its model and on the necessity of such a transition. The end of the transition process had further suspended to 2010 by further legislation approved by President Karimov in 2004. "In May 2007, a group of Uzbek scholars offered varying views on Latinization" process that had continued for fourteen years.[277] Most of these criticisms, generally, put forward that the anti-Russian sentiments actually created unnecessary costs by leading to this transition. When carrying out

274 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), p. 54 and p. 58.

275 Ibid., p. 56.

276 Ibid., p. 58.

277 See the examples of criticisms in Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), pp. 54-6.

this project, the Uzbeks living abroad, mostly in the CIS countries had not been taken into consideration since they learn in Cyrillic in those countries. Also, some other criticisms put forward that the alphabet model and the planning of that transition was far from the perfect, which further complicated the process. Besides, the alphabet model has much little use to enhance Uzbeks' communication with Turkey and other Turkic countries. Enhancing such communication, however, was put as a factor during the transition process that could have widened the Uzbeks' horizon. The only consolidation was the prevention of the transition to the Arabic alphabet.[278]

As stated, the goal of abolishing the law about Cyrillic alphabet, and thus, enabling Latin as the sole script for the Uzbek language was postponed, one more time, to 1 September 2010 via updating the decision № 932-XII.[279] This change was approved by President Karimov on 30 April 2004 via the law № 621-II, which changed the previous legislation.[280] Since there have been no further legal changes about that in either of these documents, the law for Cyrillic alphabet was probably abolished in 2010. Following that, the new Uzbek banknote for 5,000 So'm have been published in Latin alphabet. Nevertheless, the double utilization of both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets for the Uzbek language continues throughout the country.[281]

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid., p. 54. Also, see the updated version of Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan no. 932-XII published in 2004, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?lact_id=125418andONDATE=07.07.2004

280 O'zbekiston Respublikasining Konuni O'zbekiston Respublikasining Ayrim Konun Hujjatlariga O'zgartishlar v Ko'shimchalar Kiritish To'g'risida [Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan On the introduction of amendments and supplements to certain legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan], Apr. 30, 2004, no. 621-II, Paragraph VI, http://www.lex.uz/pages/getpage.aspx?actForm=1andlact_id=205727andONDATE=07.07.2004.

281 "O'zbekiston lotin alifbosiga qachon o'tadi?" on May 28, 2014, via *BBC O'zbek*. http://www.bbc.com/uzbek/lotin/2014/05/140528_latin_alphabet_disco. Also, my personal observances of both the government and private websites in the Uzbek language led me to conclude so.

In summary, Uzbeks, after independence, adopted two Latin alphabets, the first model with thirty-one letters in 1993 and the second one with 26 letters in 1995 that is the current Uzbek Latin alphabet. Especially the latter model, which is the current one, has been evaluated as distancing Uzbekistan one step further from Turkey for political reasons.[282] This model with its digraphs and letters representing different letters is actually one of the most contrarian Latin alphabets that can ever contradict the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, which defended monographs and common letters for similar phonemes. Instead, this model is considered in line with the English, and it is considered to be a transliteration of the former Cyrillic model to Latin script.[283]

The first Latin model adopted was actually distant to the Turkish and to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet models although it was used one letter for one phoneme and much more abiding by the Frame Alphabet. It was because the Uzbek orthography was using six letters rather than nine to represent vowels since the mid-1930s,[284] is already criticized as being probably the most defective orthographic model among Turkic languages.[285] During the transition process, Uzbeks did not accept this as a linguistic issue that must be solved. So, both of these models, although differed in some aspects, were nothing but the mere transition of the previous Uzbek Cyrillic alphabet after getting rid of the unnecessary Russian letters put for the Russian-originated

282 Jacob Landau, "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 20*, no. 1 (January 2010), p. 31.

283 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 138.

284 Mehmet Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 20*, no. 1 (January 2010), pp. 54-5.

285 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 743; Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, pp. 359-361; Hamza Zülfikar, "Özbekistan'da Lâtin Harflerine Geçiş Süreci," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, (September 1992), No 489, p. 240; Feridun Tekin, "Özbek Türkçesinin Latin Alfabesi Esasındaki İmlası Üzerine," *Turkish Studies International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish and Turkic 3, no. 6 (Fall 2008),* p. 608. Note that Ercilasun and Zülfikar were among the active participants at the conventions. Ercilasun was also a leading figure of Turkist-traditionalist linguists.

words. While this was also the case in other countries, their orthographic system was already appropriate to be gathered on common ground as well as with Turkey. During the formation of the new Uzbek alphabet, this problem or other problems emphasized during the series of conventions, such as the representation of the phoneme /ɑ/ (the Iranic "round a" specific to Uzbek), were not taken into consideration. The Uzbek model became even more distant after changing the previous model to one based on English digraphs. Henceforth, not only the letters were used as "emblems of independence," but also the orthographic system. Thus, the Uzbeks remained as the furthest model among Turkic countries who had undertaken the transition process to Latin alphabet.

This situation was also reflecting isolation of Uzbekistan from their neighbors, the relations among which was tense. However, recent developments have started to change the previous picture. Following the Karimov Era, Uzbekistan has started to develop more cooperative and extrovert relations with her neighbors under the new Uzbek president, Shavkat Mirziyoyev. It seems that the rapprochement has also linguistically paid off, too. The new Kazakh Latin Alphabet, adopted during the second half of 2017 before it was modified, have used a similar model though has differences when representing the national phonemes. Following the modification, the level of similarity was a little bit reduced; nevertheless, still exists since the new Kazakh alphabet seems a combination of all Latin alphabet models used among Turkic republics. The New Kazakh Alphabet is going to be evaluated later.

### 4.2.3 *Tatarstan: An Unsuccessful Attempt for the Alphabet Transition*

Volga Tatars are the native population of Tatarstan and relatives of Crimean Tatars. Their country is a part of Russia since the mid-16th Century. Tatars had an autonomous republic that was the part of the RSFSR (that is, the Russian Soviet Federation) in the Soviet Era. During the last years of the Soviet Union, Tatars, under the effect of the Perestroika process, also demanded an extension of their political and cultural rights. From 1990 to 1994, there were public discussions about the status of Tatarstan, and a referendum was made about it in 1992. In this referendum, the majority of the voters defended more rights for Tatarstan. It was solved in 1994 when Russians and Tatars "signed a power-

sharing agreement" that differed from the other federal structures, which preferred to sign "the Federation Treaty" with Russia in 1992. Thus, Tatarstan's rights to sovereignty were extended.[286]

In other Former Turkic Soviet Republics, one of the first actions taken was to ensure the status of the language after the Republic was named. This was, actually, legal collateral for the status of the national language, examples of which were issued in other former-Soviet Turkic republics during Glasnost Era. Tatarstan parliament managed to issue such a law called "The Law about the Languages of the Peoples of Tatarstan" on 1 September 1992.[287] This was at the time when Tatarstan attempted for more sovereign status, if not independence, that was successfully ended in 1994. This law legally supported "establishing TV channels, publishing newspapers, books, and journals" in the Tatar language, also using Tatar language "in the government offices, and issuing official documents" in it. The Tatar language was also included in the syllabus of "the Russian students during the primary schools, and 15% bonus to the salary would be have been awarded to people who know both Russian and Tatar languages." Furthermore, the year 1998 was accepted by the Tatar parliament as the year of the Tatar language.[288]

After the adoption of the Tatar language as one of the official languages of Tatarstan, discussions about the Tatar alphabet had also started to become more popular. There were two options for the Tatar alphabet. The first option was either to use the existing alphabet based on Cyrillic script or make some changes to improve the existing alphabet. The second option, meanwhile, was to constitute a new alphabet based on Latin script.[289] In the case of Tatars, Ar-

286 Ruth Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation in the Debate about the Introduction of a Latin Script in the Republic of Tatarstan (Russian Federation), in *Language Change in Central Asia,* ed. Elise S. Ahn and Juldyz Smagulova (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 171-2.

287 Ercan Alkaya, "Tataristan'da Dil ve Alfabe Meselesi Üzerine," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2, no. 562 (*October 1998), pp. 296-7.

288 Ibid., p. 297.

289 Ibid.

abic alphabet did not emerge as an important alternative to those two options.[290] So, Tatars had two options for scripts to base their alphabets, either Cyrillic or Latin. Both of these scripts had defenders who suggested some defending factors on behalf of their own script as well as some adverse factors to reject the opposite party's script. On 20 July 1994, Tatarstan Supreme Soviet adopted the "State Program About the Protection, Teaching, and Development of the Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Tatarstan" that employed the Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan to study to the transition to a new Latin alphabet and to develop projects about it by 1995.[291] Nevertheless, at the official level, these discussions and developments were followed only by a law № 997 changing the places of some letters in the alphabet on 20 January 1997,[292] "to stand next to those signs from which they were derived or to which they were most similar."[293] It was perceived as such a movement made by the government to calm the demands for a new alphabet.[294] However, this situation would change after a few months in August 1997 when the Second World Tatar Congress would adopt the transition to the Latin alphabet.

Bartholomä categorizes the arguments of the defenders of both Cyrillic and Latin alphabet. The arguments of the defenders of Latin script can be classified under three titles of "historical," "philological," and "modernity" arguments.[295] Historically, the previous experience of the Tatars with Latin alphabet during the late 1920s and 30s was considered positively; but the change to Cyrillic overnight in a negative manner. Phonologically, it was believed that Latin alphabet might represent the phonemes of the Tatar language better than

290 Gulnara Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty: the politics of switching to Latin alphabet in Tatarstan," translated by Mark Eckert, *Prism* 3, no. 16 (1997), https://jamestown.org/program/language-and-sovereignty-the-politics-of-switching-to-the-latin-alphabet-in-tatarstan/

291 Ercilasun, *"Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler,"* p. 745.

292 Zakon Respubliki Tatarstan ob uporyadochenii Tatarskogo alfavita [Law of the Republic of Tatarstan on Ordering of the Tatar alphabet], Jan. 20, 1997, no. 997, http://gossov.tatarstan.ru/fs/site_documents_struc/9971997.doc

293 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 174.

294 Alkaya, "Tataristan'da Dil ve Alfabe Meselesi Üzerine," p. 298.

295 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 183.

Cyrillic.[296] This idea was, almost unanimously, shared by the Tatar intellectuals in Tatarstan since Cyrillic had caused in lots of mispronunciations which corrupted the language. This was due to the fact that the Tatar Cyrillic alphabet had not represented all of the phonemes peculiar to the Tatar language. Thus, they defended the alphabet change as a principle even though their works might become unreadable for the next generation following the transition process.[297] The arguments about modernity put forward two theses. First, Latin alphabet would enable the Tatar people to incorporate to the rest of the world, since Latin has been the most commonly used alphabet, among which also the strongest nations exist.[298] Hence, the Tatar nation could be accustomed to the "globalization."[299] Lastly, science and technology, especially "internet," "computer technology" and "informatics based on computers," have been developing through Latin alphabet.[300] Transition made to Latin might help Tatars who had already significantly invested in this technology via universities and therefore, enable Tatars to get the lead of Turkic peoples in computer science.[301]

Defenders of Cyrillic alphabet, meanwhile, put forward three kind of arguments, which were "economic," "habitual," and "cultural" that could be evaluated as the obstacles in front of the transition. Economically, it was put forward that the economic burden of the transition would be high as well as lots of time would spend on it.[302] Habitually, it was hard to adapt to the students and people to a new alphabet. According to Cyrillic supporters, students educating in Tatar schools would be in a disadvantageous position when compared with the students in Russian schools. It was because that the Tatar students might lose time to learn the new alphabet. In addition to that, new students educated in Latin alphabet might face difficulties when learning Cyrillic

296 Ibid.

297 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

298 Alkaya, "Tataristan'da Dil ve Alfabe Meselesi Üzerine," p. 298.

299 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 183.

300 Ibid.

301 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

302 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty." Alkaya, "Tataristan'da Dil ve Alfabe Meselesi Üzerine," pp. 297-8. Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 183.

and Russian. This problem would also increase for the Tatar school graduates during the later phases of education, where the scientific studies and dissertations would be written in Cyrillic. Another problem would be for the Tatar diaspora that constituted around 60% of the Tatar population in the world, who mostly settled in the other regions of Russia and would be educated in Cyrillic.[303] Culturally, it was defended that the future Tatar generations, if educated in Latin, could not access to the past generations' vast literary heritage written in Cyrillic.[304] Another political and cultural concern of the defenders of Cyrillic was the potential isolation of Tatars from both the Russian culture and the Russian Federation. According to many Russians, this transition implied an attempt to strengthen, not only the sovereignty but also the distinctiveness of Tatars that could end up in the declaration of independence in the future.[305] That perception of Russians about the transition also made some Tatars nervous who considered such a perception risky in that conjuncture.[306]

These concerns of Cyrillic supporters were not left unanswered by Latin supporters. In such a conjuncture when the Tatar language and culture were under threat of corruption, or even assimilation, due to the Russian influence; Latin supporters defended that the economic concerns should not be considered important in the first instance.[307] The general answer of Latin supporters for the habitual, cultural, and political concerns was that Tatars have been taking courses in both Russian and a foreign language in Latin during their education. Therefore, neither reading in Latin nor in Cyrillic would be a problem for a Tatar. The change of alphabet would not slow the education process in Tatar schools. At the higher levels of education, the language used have been already Russian; therefore, the transition would not affect scientific studies and dissertations.[308] Also, the Russian language would keep its position in everyday life and education as one of the two official languages in Tatarstan. So,

303 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

304 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 183.

305 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," pp. 183-6.

306 Alkaya, "Tataristan'da Dil ve Alfabe Meselesi Üzerine," p. 297.

307 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

308 Ibid.

there should not be any concerns about accessing the literary legacy of Tatar in Cyrillic since the next generation would know Russian and thus Cyrillic. This also refutes the claims for isolation of Tatarstan from Russia, which will not be the case.[309] A landslide majority of the Tatars defending Latin considered this transition as a way to protect their national peculiar culture from foreign influences rather than to fulfil some political ambitions.[310] Many Tatars suggested that the Tatar culture must be isolated from Russian influence, which would be beneficial for authentic Tatar culture;[311] however, the Tatar people should not be isolated from Russia. It was because the position of the Russian language would not change that Tatarstan and its people would not be alienated the Russian Federation by the transition of the alphabet to Latin script. This was a concern and suspect of Russians rather than the aims of Tatars.[312]

The question of the outsider Tatars was solved, according to Latin defenders, at the same time with the transition of the Tatar alphabet to Latin script was officially declared. On 26-30 August 1997, the Second World Congress of Tatars convened in Kazan, the capital city of Tatarstan. During the Congress, the President of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, stated that the Tatar alphabet should be converted back to Latin after its compulsory abandonment for Cyrillic in 1939. He said, "Tatars are part of Turkic world, and it would be wrong to remain outside this general trend" of returning back to Latin that had already been performed by Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Unlike the first congress, "the delegates to the Second Congress were elected by Tatar communities in twenty countries and sixty Russian regions." This Congress had "unanimously" decided to the transition to Latin alphabet in Tatarstan. Therefore, the decision for the transition would not be made by considering the circumstances of Tatarstan only, but there were also representatives of Tatar communities came throughout the world.[313] Henceforth, it can be said that

309 Ibid.

310 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," pp. 185-6.

311 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

312 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 184.

313 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

the official process for the transition started via the Second World Tatar Congress in August 1997.

In parallel with the decision taken in the congress, the Tatar government initiated the governmental process. The cabinet of the ministers convened on 3 April 1998, for the first time, on the issue of the transition led by the Prime Minister Ferit Möhemmetşin. Mirfatih Zekiev, who had also participated to the 1991 Symposium, presented a model for the Tatar alphabet based on the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet; thus, fulfilled the duty given by the symposium to the participants. On the other hand, Helit Kurbatov proposed another Latin alphabet model based on the Yañalif used by Tatar people during 1928-40 period, to which he had only added the letters "W/w." During these conventions, the transition to Latin alphabet was accepted unanimously; however, the exact model could not be determined. In order to deal with the formation of the new Tatar Latin alphabet, it was decided to establish a commission to form the new alphabet from the models proposed. That commission started to convene on 14 May 1998.[314]

There were three groups among the defenders of Latin alphabet, each defending a different model. The first group defended the restoration of the previous Latin alphabet, called Yañalif, which was used until 1939 before the forceful transition to Cyrillic script. Yañalif was generally desired by the older generation to whom Yañalif was taught. Another group, mainly, consisted of scientists and technologists dealing with the computer informatics who desired such a new Latin alphabet that would not include any other letters than the original Latin alphabet in order to be consistent with the new technology. The last group defended a common Turkic Alphabet, which would enable or ease the inter-Turkic communication.[315] After the 1991 Symposium, this group simply desired such a model for the new Tatar alphabet that would remain in the frame drawn by the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet formed in the

314 Erdal Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," *Türk Dünyası Tarih Kültür Dergisi* 199 (2007 [2003]), p. 5, http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/CAGDAS%20TURK%20LEHCELERI/erdal_sahin_kazan_tatar_turkleri_latin_alfabesi.pdf

315 Khasanova, "Language and sovereignty."

symposium. Defenders of the Yañalif would accuse this group "of betraying Tatars by not adopting Yañalif and selling Tatars to Turkey."[316]

By March 1999, the State Council of Tatarstan had started to discuss the alphabet project produced by the commission. This project was going to be adopted during the Twentieth General Session of the State Council and the President Shaimiev ratified this decision as the law № 2352 "About the Restoration of the Tatar Alphabet on the Basis of Latin Script" on 15 September 1999. The law was accepted to "perfect the Tatar alphabet and to enter the world communication system." New Tatar alphabet consisted of thirty-four letters including the national ones.[317] Among them, thirty-two out of thirty-four letters were already in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. The letters, "Ө/ө" and "n," were used from the Yañalif instead of the letters "Ö/ö" and "ñ."[318] The law and the new alphabet should be put into practice starting by 1 September 2001 and there would have been a period until 1 September 2011, when both Cyrillic and Latin Tatar alphabets would be in utilization. A transition program should be created by the cabinet of ministers until 1 March 2001 (see appendix V).[319]

The years of 1999-2001 were evaluated as a preparation time when primers for the new alphabet was published and distributed as well as some 2nd and 3rd grades were selected for the experimental application of the new alphabet.[320] One month before the law being put into practice, President Shaimiev

316 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," pp. 5-6.

317 Zakon Respubliki Tatarstan O Vosstanovlenii Tatarskogo Alfavita Na Osnove Latinskoy Grafiki [Law of the Republic of Tatarstan on the Restoration of the Tatar Alphabet Based on Latin Script], Sent. 15, 1999, no. 2352, in *Vedomosti Gosudarstvennogo Soveta Tatarstana, no. 10, (October 1999) (*Kazan: Ofitsial'noye izdaniye Gosudarstvennogo Soveta Respubliki Tatarstan, 1999), http://gossov.tatarstan.ru/fs/site_documents_struc/Vedomosti/1999/10_1999.zip. Note that there is no alphabet chart included in the document. For the chart, see Türk Dil Kurumu, "Haberler: Tatar Alfabesinin Lâtin Harflerinin Temelinde Düzenlenmesine İlişkin Tataristan Cumhuriyeti Yasası," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 1*, No: 577 (January 2000), pp. 94-5.

318 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," pp. 6-8.

319 Закон Республики Татарстан [Law of the Republic of Tatarstan], no. 2352.

320 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," p. 8; Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 175. Also, see Susan B. Glasser, "In a Russian Republic, ABCs Are

questioned during his public speech in August 2001 that whether this transition was going to be done hastily or not. This created or reflected the hesitation in the government about the alphabet transition that would start within a month despite the fact that feasibility works had already been done via pilot classes. That hesitation prevented the initiation of the transition process to the new Tatar Latin alphabet as planned on 1 September 2001.[321] Following that, the objections against the transition started to emerge in public. On 14 September 2001, an open letter published in Rossiyskaya Gazeta sent by outlander Tatar intellectuals "address(ing) to the Deputies of the Republic of Tatarstan" opposed to the transition and desired Cyrillic alphabet.[322] Eventually, that letter would be reprinted in some other newspapers repeatedly.[323] Four days later, on 18 September, the "Language and Culture Congress" convened in Moscow demanded from Tatarstan not to hurry in the transition process and to reconsider it.[324] An interview with similar concerns would be published in *Tatarstan Yeşleri* on 20 September.[325] Although the transition was not fulfilled during that period, some books had continued to be published in the new alphabet.[326]

Russians had already evaluated the project of a new alphabet in Latin as a kind of betrayal and an attempt for secession.[327] After a year of the transition attempt in Tatarstan, Russian parliament included a proposal into its agenda when the transition process had already halted. It was to amend the "Language Law of the Russian Federation" that ordered to ban the utilization of all the other scripts except Cyrillic throughout the Russian Federation. Thus, the transition process in Tatarstan, and such other projects, would be prevented once and for all. That proposal was adopted on 15 November and 27 November

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Test of Power" *Washington Post,* Apr. 16, 2001, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/04/16/in-a-russian-republic-abcs-aretest-of-power/886498e6-fca9-4f29-b4e0-9639e7f64d79/?utm_term=.670aff7cdfdd

321 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," p. 8.

322 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," p. 186.

323 Ibid., pp. 187-8.

324 Şirin User, *Türk Yazı Sistemleri*, pp. 342-3.

325 Ibid., p. 343.

326 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," pp. 8-9.

327 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," pp. 183-5.

2002 by both chambers of the Russian parliament, which made the alphabet transition in Tatarstan legally impossible.

That move raised reaction among many Tatars including President Shaimiev who claimed that it was a wrong move to do. However, President Putin of Russian Federation ratified that proposal on 11 December 2002, and it was put into practice in the following day when it was published.[328] That move made by Moscow raised reactions such as:

> The Permanent Commission of Science, Education, Culture and National Issues in Tatarstan Parliament led by Razil Veliyev who also attended the 1991 Symposium, objected that decision via the Consitutional Court of Russian Federation since that law violates the Federational Constitution.[329]

Furthermore, objection letters were sent to President Putin and Oleg Mironov, who was the human rights representative of the Russian Federation.[330] The Constitutional Court of Tatarstan attempted to repeal that law by claiming that the issue of the alphabet was a matter of each autonomous republic on its own rather than of the Federation. However, on 16 November 2004, the Constitutional Court of Russian Federation issued the decision № 16-P and refused that by claiming that the alphabet change would limit the citizens in some part of the Federation; thus, it was a federational matter rather than being left to the local government.[331] This legislation would also affect the case of Crimean Tatars after the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014. Returning to Volga Tatars, no active move was followed since then by Tatarstan for the transition to Latin alphabet. Actually, the Law for the New Tatar Latin Alphabet was declared null and void by the law № 5-3RT adopted by the State Council on 24 December 2012, which was ratified by President Minnikhanov on 12 January

328 Şahin, "Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Latin Alfabesi Mücadelesi," pp. 9-11.

329 Ibid., p. 10.

330 Ibid.

331 Bartholomä, "The Construction of a Tatar Nation," pp. 176-8. Vafa Hasanova, "Tek Türk Alfabesi," *Turan Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi 4,* no. 13, (Winter 2012), p. 7.

2013.[332] Also during the same dates, the law № 1-3RT "About the Utilization of the Tatar Language as the State Language of Tatarstan Republic" was renewed, which declared Cyrillic Tatar Alphabet as the official alphabet of the Tatar language.[333]

In summary, Tatarstan as an autonomous republic in Russian Federation decided to use Latin alphabet in 1997 and formed it in 1999 to use it by 2001 after the official status of Tatarstan was settled via negotiations with Moscow during early 1990s. This attempt, however, made Russians unpleasant and, in turn, Moscow developed some other plans to prevent the transition process in Tatarstan. Eventually, Russian parliament and government decided to prevent any other script than Cyrillic via legislative methods and they realized it by late 2002. During the next decade, the Tatar legislation about the transition to Latin was completely abolished. Furthermore, this legislation will probably affect another Tatar community's future, the Crimean Tatars who accepted to use Latin alphabet before the Russian annexation of Crimea.

Back to the case of Tatarstan, while there would not be any other official effort for Latin alphabet, Latin script for the Tatar language is used on the Internet, too. For instance, some articles in the Tatar Wikipedia were written in a similar Latin alphabet adopted in 1999. Another instance came from the computer scientists who had previously offered to use such an alphabet com-

332 Zakon Respubliki Tatarstan O priznanii utrativshim silu Zakona Respubliki Tatarstan 'O Vosstanovlenii Tatarskogo Alfavita Na Osnove Latinskoy Grafiki'" prinyat gosudarstvennym sovetom respubliki Tatarstan 24 Dekabrya 2012 goda [The Law of the Republic of Tatarstan On the Recognition of the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan 'On the Restoration of the Tatar Alphabet On the Basis of the Latin Graph' "was adopted by the Republic of Tatarstan State Council on December 24, 2012], Jan. 12, 2013, no. 5-3PT, http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/fs/site_documents_struc/zakon/2696_file_5_2013rus_ru.pdf.

333 Zakon Respubliki Tatarstan ob ispol'zovanii tatarskogo yazyka kak gosudarstvennogo yazyka respubliki tatarstan," prinyat gosudarstvennym sovetom respubliki tatarstan 24 dekabrya 2012 goda [The Law of the Republic of Tatarstan on the use of the Tatar language as the state language of the Republic of Tatarstan," adopted by the State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan on December 24, 2012], Jan. 12, 2013, no. 1-3PT, http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/fs/site_documents_struc/zakon/2692_file_1_2013rus_ru.pdf.

patible with informatics, that is, such one based on the 26-letter English alphabet. After these events, they developed a model called "İnalif (Internet alphabet)" according to their principles of being compatible with the global communication system.[334] It was presented by the Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan on 10 December 2003 and has two variants.[335] Both variants use a similar method to represent the vowels peculiar to the Tatar language, accompany the original letters with an apostrophe rather than using diacritics, just like in the current Uzbek Latin alphabet. For the peculiar consonants, on the other hand, digraphs have been extensively used (see appendix W).[336] Nevertheless, the official alphabet for the Tatar language remained in Cyrillic script.

### 4.2.4 *Evaluation*

In summary, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tatarstan were three cases that came up with some differences from the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet model. In both Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the new Latin alphabet was adopted in 1993. Uzbeks modified their alphabet in 1995 to a much different model from the Turkish and 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet. The new Uzbek alphabet not only had different letters but also digraphs which were principally refused by Turkish and 34-letter Common Alphabet Model. Meanwhile, the Turkmen alphabet was modified gradually that lasted until 2000. While the principle of using monographs was accepted in the new Turkmen alphabet as in Turkish Alphabet and 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet, the Frame Alphabet was not an ultimate source for the new Turkmen alphabet, which included some different letters. The transition process in Turkmenistan has managed to be accomplished despite the great social and economic costs. Meanwhile, there has been a bifurcation in Uzbekistan, where still Cyrillic alphabet is in use in parallel with Latin. In Tatarstan, on the other hand, the government adopted an alphabet in 1999 that differed from the Common Turkic model only with two letters. Nonetheless, the new Tatar alphabet could not put into application. The first reason was the government of Tatarstan got cold

334 Hasanova, "Tek Türk Alfabesi," p. 9.

335 "Inalif," *Wikipedia,* last modified June 18, 2018, https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Иналиф.

336 Ibid.

feet due to the political environment in Russia. The decisive reason was the intervention of the Russian government and state organs, which halted the transition process to Latin alphabet.

When these three cases are observed, it could be said that the social and political reasons must be considered, in the first case, as the reasons for diversions from the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. Socially speaking, although strengthening the connection with Turkic brethren was put as a factor to apply the 34-letter Frame Alphabet model in Turkic republics; there were also different models continued to be proposed for new Latin alphabets. For instance, computer technology and adaptation to the global communication web were such factors put forward in these countries and enabled other models to be defended. Also, the previous Latin alphabet was considered as another source along with the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. Eventually, such models that had minor or major differences from the Frame Alphabet had also been proposed and national alphabet commissions in these countries, usually, came up with compromising models among the proposed ones. Thus, it can be said that there were other tendencies in Turkic societies that created alternatives to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet and led to the diversions from the frame in these countries.

Politically speaking, there are two factors that diverted these Turkic nations from the Frame Alphabet. The first factor is the relations with Turkey. Specifically, deterioration of the Turkish-Uzbek relations is believed to be a crucial reason for the modification of the Uzbek Latin alphabet in 1995, which was a much further model from the Turkish alphabet, especially compared with the first one adopted in 1993.[337] The second factor is not only related to Turkey, but also to the other Turkic republics and the nation-building process in these countries. For the governments, the transition from Cyrillic alphabet symbolized the liberation from the previous Russo-Soviet dominance or colonialism; and the transition to the new Latin alphabet symbolises the inclusion of these nations to the World Civilization. Although relations with Turkic brethren was emphasized as a supporting argument in the transition, it seems as the primary reason for the transition was not to signify "independence as a

337 Landau, "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics," p. 31.

Turkic nation, but as a country among countries. … Central Asian Turks chose to create individualized orthographies to highlight their new forms of independence and national consciousness" as Clement stated.[338] Therefore, the national alphabets of these countries worked as one of the "emblems of independence" towards both Russia and Turkey.[339]

It is also important to put forward that Latin script's function as an "emblem of independence" or a tool to distancing one's self from Russia might have affected the other Turkic countries to reconsider the transition process. While Kazakhstan, unlike Tatarstan, has been an independent country, a strong perception among the Russians about the transition process as betrayal might have made Kazakhstan, where Russians consisted of an important amount of population, reconsider and slow-down the process in order to persuade Russia and Russian minority to accept this transition. In addition to that, there are socioeconomic costs, as well. The financial costs and pedagogical difficulties of teaching a new alphabet to the entire nation stood as a pedagogical barrier. These costs necessitated great efforts and forced the other two countries, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, to reconsider Latin alphabet for one more time or, simply, forget about it.

## § 4.3 History of a Recent Transition: Kazakhstan

Unlike the other Turkic countries; Kazakhs, although being the titular nation, lived as a minority in Kazakhstan during most of the Soviet reign due to the policies followed. Nonetheless, the population dynamics changed gradually in favor of Kazakh people and they became the major ethnic group in Kazakhstan during the last years of the Soviet Union. There were also other smaller minority groups living in Kazakhstan. Partially due to this demographical complexity and partially due to the Soviet language and administrative policies, Russian became the most commonly used language throughout Kazakhstan. Even many Kazakhs preferred to speak in Russian rather than Kazakh

338 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of independence," p. 177.

339 Ibid., p. 177 and p. 182 as well as the name of the article.

among themselves. In summary, the Kazakh language was in a degraded position on the eve of the Perestroika.

The degraded position of the Kazakh language was one of the most vital problems stood in front of the Kazakh government. In May 1987, the decision "About Teaching the Kazakh Language" was issued by the Central Committee of the Party in Kazakhstan.[340] This was followed by the language law on 23 September 1989. Issuing a language law was a common move among Turkic Soviet republics of the Soviet Union, which settled the language of the titular nation as an official language of that republic along with Russian.[341] A month later, on 21 October 1989, "the Kazakh Language Society"[342] (Qazaq Tili Koğamı) was established that would eventually become the International Kazakh Language Society in 1992.[343] Many regulations and plans about the languages in Kazakhstan had followed these developments during the 1990s; however, only the official decision made by "the State Committee for Nationalities policy" in 1996 contained any provision about a new alphabet "towards the introduction of Latin script, backed by President Nazarbayev."[344] This situation became more striking since even the program "Kazakhstan 2030" published two years later, in 1998, did not include any implication for Latin alphabet[345]

340 Gülnur Smagulkızı Boranbayeva, "SSCB Dönemi ve Bağımsızlık Sonrası Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nde Kazak Dilinin Genel Durumu" *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi 1*, no. 1 (November 2004), p. 27. Also, Cemile Kınacı, "Sovyetlerden Günümüze Kazakistan'da Kazak Dilinde Eğitim Politikalari" *Turkish Studies International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic 5*, no. 4 (Fall 2010), p. 1314.

341 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 111.

342 Translation from Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 73.

343 Boranbayeva, "SSCB Dönemi ve Bağımsızlık Sonrası Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nde Kazak Dilinin Genel Durumu," p. 28. Kınacı, "Sovyetlerden Günümüze Kazakistan'da Kazak Dilinde Eğitim Politikalari," p. 1314.

344 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 141.

345 Ibid., pp. 139-141.

The milestone for the official moves about the issue of the alphabet would be 2006; nevertheless, Kazakh participants had always been active during the process of the conventions for a common Turkic frame alphabet during the 1990s. More importantly, Kazakhstan was represented by an official delegation in some of these conventions,[346] such as TİKA and TÜDEV[347] conventions in March 1993.[348] Also, important Turcologists and Linguists had continued to put their efforts on the issue of the alphabet. Abduali Kaydarov (Әбдуәли Қайдар), who was the chairman of the Qazaq Tili (Kazakh Language) Society then, prepared a Latin alphabet model for the Kazakh language, which was presented to the 1991 Symposium. It shared some similarities with and had some differences from the 34-letter Common Alphabet Model. Later, he participated in the TİKA conference as a member of the Kazakh delegation in March 1993 and signed the final declaration ratifying the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet.[349] Within that year, he created a Kazakh Latin alphabet model that fit the 34-letter Frame Alphabet.[350] Next year, in 1994, as the chairman of the Kazakh Language Association, he also wrote a letter addressing to President Nazarbayev that suggested the transition of Kazakh alphabet to Latin.[351] A year after, in 1995, another eminent Kazakh Turcologist,

346 Ibid., p. 140.

347 The TÜDEV was congress had many agendas for inter-Turkic cooperation process besides linguistic issues. Thus, the attendance of a Kazakh delegation does not specifically imply that Kazakhstan was especially interested in linguistic cooperation at a first glance. However, the attendance of Abduali Kaydarov (about whom I give more information in the following sentences) in the TÜDEV's language-alphabet commission suggests that Kazakhs could have also been interested in the linguistic cooperation.

348 See sections 3.3.2. and 3.4.

349 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 70-4.

350 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 140.

351 Işıl Güney, "Language Planning Policies in the Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," (MSc thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2007), p. 78. Also, for the president's name, Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 140.

Kenesbay Musayev, prepared a Latin alphabet model based on the 1928-40 Kazakh Latin alphabet and the Turkish alphabet.[352] Furthermore, the European Union had also carried out studies with the scientists from the Central Asian region, and specifically with Kazakh scientists, to contribute to a potential alphabet transition to Latin in the region, and in Kazakhstan.[353]

Meanwhile, some of the defenders of Cyrillic alphabet evaluated Kazakhstan as the most Russified state in Central Asia where the education and interethnic communication language have still been primarily Russian. There were also many Russophone elites who did not want that change. Furthermore, it was evaluated that the transition may lead to the loss of the last century's cultural and literary legacy written in Cyrillic.[354] Another factor was that while the Russian population in Kazakhstan supported independence, they did not want Kazakhstan to be distant from Russia both culturally and politically.[355] They are still an important minority that consists of 25% of the population by 2011.[356] Thus, their socio-political unrest could have caused important political results in Kazakhstan. This was further supplemented by Russia's utilization of the Russian minorities in Kazakhstan as a "political tool" in ex-Soviet countries.[357] It is especially dangerous for Kazakhstan, which was historically evaluated as integral to Russia, unlike other Central Asian republics. There were even calls to separate Northern Kazakhstan, where Russians had constituted the majority of the population, and annex it to Russia.[358]

On the other hand, Latin defenders evaluated Latin alphabet as a tool for Kazakhstan to reposition herself economically, culturally, and politically.

352 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 140.

353 Ibid.

354 Ibid., pp. 140-1. Also, Landau and Kellner-Heinkele*, Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), pp. 103-4.

355 Mehmet Kutalmış, "Tarihte ve günümüzde Kazakistanın alfabe meselesi*." Bilig, Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,* no. 31 (2004), p. 10.

356 Bilgehan Atsız Gökdağ, "Kazakistan'da Dil Uygulamaları," *Yeni Türkiye 53* (2013), p. 1. https://www.academia.edu/21765861/Kazakistanda_Dil_Uygulamaları.

357 Sevinç A. Özcan, *Bir Sovyet Mirası Rus Azınlıklar (*Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2005), pp. 66-7.

358 Ibid., p. 65

Many wanted integration to the global civilization. Also, getting closer to Turkic brethren was another factor in the transition. Latin alphabet was also considered as a tool to make foreign language education much easier as well as to adopt the computer and similar technologies easier.[359] These concerns existed also in the other former Soviet Turkic republics since their first years of independence. Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan responded to these concerns by changing their alphabet to Latin.

Although the project of alphabet transition had supporters and time to time they made efforts to bring it to the general attention; the milestone in Kazakhstan was the President Nazarbayev's speech on 24 October 2006 during the 12th Session of the "Assembly of People of Kazakhstan."[360] During that speech, he talked about the fact that Kazakhs have used and still been using three scripts, Arabic and Latin outside of Kazakhstan, and Cyrillic in Kazakhstan. Among them, Latin script is the most used one in global communication. Furthermore, he mentioned that the three post-Soviet Turkic republics have already changed their alphabet to Latin-based versions.[361] Following that event, Ministry of the Science and Education prepared a report "About the Problem of Transition to Latin."[362] In this framework, a commission was settled to learn and evaluate Latin alphabet experiences of Turkey – as a Turkic country using Latin for 80 years – as well as Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan – as three post-Soviet Turkic countries changed to Latin.[363]

359 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), pp. 103-4.

360 The translation of the name of the institution was taken from the official website of the President of Kazakhstan: Official Site of the President of Kazakhstan, "The Assembly of People of Kazakhstan," accessed on Aug. 12, 2017, http://www.akorda.kz/en/national_projects/the-assembly-of-people-of-kazakhstan. The assembly worked as a consultant body to the president. Later, its status was added to the constitution, as well.

361 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia (*2012), p. 104.

362 Işıl Güney, "Language Planning Policies in the Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," p. 80.

363 Ibid.

### 4.3.1 *Alphabet Study with Turkey*

In this context, the Kazakh committee performed its studies on Turkey with the TDK (Turkish Language Association) by the benefaction of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and TİKA on 11-15 June 2007.[364] The Kazakh delegation included Erden Kacibekov "as the head of the Language Committee of the Kazakh Ministry of Culture and Information" and Köbey Hüseyinov as the manager of the A. Baytursınov Institute of Linguistics of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences.[365] Both of them had participated in the 1991 Symposium that was the part of the series of conventions that established the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. Şükrü Haluk Akalın as the chairman of the TDK, Emine Gürsoy-Naskali, Nadir Devlet, and Mustafa Öner were the familiar faces from Turkey who participated in the series of conventions to form a common Turkic alphabet.[366] Thus, the meeting included many familiar faces already while many new faces attended, too. The Turkish party shared their views on the issue of alphabet transition in Kazakhstan as well as various past experiences and the Kazakh party shared the recent developments, including a Latin alphabet model from Kazakhstan.

The meeting and studies officially started on 12th of June, the following day of the Kazakh delegation's arrival. The meeting opened with the speech of Akalın as the chairman of the TDK. He made a brief introduction for the guest delegation about the Turkish counterpart and summarized the experience of the series of conventions for a common Turkic frame alphabet in 1991-1993. During his speech, he also criticized the transitions happened in post-Soviet Turkic republics stating that the "lack of scientific cooperation with Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan resulted in disjointed applications" in these countries on the issue of alphabet transition.[367] According to the Turkish delegation, this was the reason lying under the relative failure of the 34-letter

364 Mustafa Öner, "Kazakistan Latin Alfabesine Geçiyor! Yeni Kazak Alfabesi," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, no. 674 (Febraury 2008).

365 Ibid., p. 142.

366 Ibid.

367 Ibid., p. 143.

Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Model that could not gather the new alphabets of the post-Soviet Turkic republics.

Later, Kacibekov spoke on behalf of the Kazakh delegation. After he introduced the members of the Kazakh delegation to Turkish, he continued with the developments that emerged in Kazakhstan about the issue of the alphabet. He stated that the Nazarbayev had ordered the formation of the new Kazakh Latin alphabet and the preparation of the experts and the institutions for the transition process. Meanwhile, he added, "technical preparations in order for the new alphabet decision not to disconnect the cultural legacy written in Cyrillic script." The "transliteration programs" in the computer that transliterate the texts from Cyrillic to Latin was developed rapidly in Kazakhstan. There were also projects in Kazakhstan about preserving and restoring the cultural and historical legacy of the Kazakhs and Turkic people.[368] Köbey Hüseyinov further described the preparations made by the institutions for the transition process and the Institute of Linguistics in Kazakhstan.[369]

Another issue discussed was the compatibility of a future Kazakh alphabet to the Latin no. 5 Standard (also called ISO/IEC 8859-9 or ECMA-128),[370] which was a standard to represent Turkish alphabet primarily on computers and similar devices.[371] Thus, the Turkish side during the meeting, personally both Prof. Eşref Adalı and columnist Yurtsan Atakan, then writing for the newspaper *Hürriyet*, emphasized the alignment with Latin no.5 Standard since it was prepared for Turkish and appropriate for Kazakh, too. Atakan especially emphasized the fact that since the Turkish government did not neatly regulate

368 Ibid., p. 144.

369 Ibid., p. 145.

370 The fifth Latin standard, known as Latin no. 5, ISO/IEC 8859-9, or ECMA-128 was initially prepared to meet the needs of the Turkish language and was derived "from Latin Alphabet no. 1 in which six Icelandic letters were replaced by the letters required for the Turkish language." For general information "ISO/IEC 8859-9," *Wikipedia*, last modified, Feb. 18, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISO/IEC_8859-9. Also, for the ECMA version, ECMA, *Standard ECMA-128 8-Bit Single Byte Coded Graphic Character Sets Latin Alphabets no. 5*, 2nd Edition (December 1999), Brief History, http://www.ecma-international.org/publications/files/ECMA-ST/Ecma-128.pdf.

371 Öner, "Kazakistan Latin Alfabesine Geçiyor! Yeni Kazak Alfabesi," p. 146.

the compatibility of devices imported to Turkey with Latin no. 5 Turkish people suffered from some problems. The first problem was to pay extra money for text messages written with Turkish characters. The second problem was the inability to read such texts properly due to the fact that sending and receiving devices frequently used different Latin alphabet standards. In response, the Kazakh delegation stated that these provisions are easy to fulfil and surprised at the fact that how Turkey could not fulfil them in the past.[372]

After that, Alimhan Junısbekulı stated that following the declaration of the decision for alphabet transition, many different circles including

> Non-experts started to make many suggestions and projects. He also emphasized that they were trying to develop such an alphabet that reflects the phonetics of Kazakh best and the most appropriate alphabet for practical use, for pedagogical and printing facilities.[373]

Then he presented an alphabet model for the Kazakh language, which has thirty-two letters. It differed from Turkish alphabet, phonetically, by the phonemes /æ/, /q/, /ŋ/, and /w/ represented by "Ä/ä," "Q/q," "ñ," and "W/w." These letters were, however, existed in the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet; thus, there was no objection from the Turkish side regarding these letters. In this 32-letter Kazakh Alphabet Model, only "Č/č" and "Š/š" differed from the Turkish and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. The 34-letter Alphabet and the Turkish Alphabet have been using the letters "Ç/ç" and "Ş/ş." "Č/č" and "Š/š" are also not included in Latin no.5 standard used by Turkey. Turkish delegation underscored these points; however, the model was found successful and much simpler than the Kazakh Cyrillic that used 42 letters. The perception was generally positive especially compared with the Turkmen and Uzbek alphabet.[374] Then, Prof. Nurettin Demir stated his opinion that

372 Ibid.

373 Ibid., p. 147.

374 p. 147.

the letters "K/k" and "Q/q" can be merged into another rather than represented separately.[375] In the end, the Kazakh delegation visited the AA (Anatolian Agency) and the newspaper *Hürriyet*. Then, a memorandum of understanding was signed to prepare a detailed protocol about the cooperation between the TDK and Kazakhstani Ministry of Culture and Communication.[376] Thus, the Kazakh delegation's studies in Turkey ended.

### 4.3.2 *The Decision Process*

#### 4.3.2.1 Discussion Stage

Although a program was prepared for Kazakhstan to initiate the process of transition starting by 2008, its application was cancelled or postponed to an uncertain date for that moment.[377] Nevertheless, Latin alphabet has been brought time to time again to the agenda and discussions made and the government have not left the issue to be removed from the agenda. On 14 December 2012, Nazarbayev addressed a speech via which he declared "Strategy Kazakhstan-2050: The New Political Course of the Established State." He stated that the definite transition to Latin alphabet will be started by 2025.[378] In 2013, further governmental meetings and studies about the transition emerged.[379] The general discourse of the Kazakh government was to put that the transition does not have any political meaning.[380] This discourse can be thought as a tool of the Kazakh government to prevent any potential negative impression in Russia about the alphabet transition.

In 2017, the issue heated up. President Nazarbayev published an article named "The Course towards Future: Modernization of Public Conscience" on 12 April 2017 in the newspaper Kazakhstankaya Pravda. Here, he stated that

375 Ibid., p. 148.

376 Ibid., pp. 149-150.

377 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia* (2012), p. 104.

378 Nursultan Nazarbayev, "Strategy Kazakhstan-2050: new political course of the established state," Dec. 14, 2012, https://strategy2050.kz/en/multilanguage/.

379 Joanna Lillis, "Kazakhstan: The ABCs of the Alphabet Debate," *EurasiaNet's Weekly Digest, Apr.* 3, 2013, http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66778.

380 "Kazakhstan denies switch to Latin script 'political'," *KazInform, Jan.* 18, 2015, http://www.inform.kz/en/kazakhstan-denies-switch-to-latin-script-political_a2527409.

Kazakhstan had passed under "two most important processes of modernization – the political reform and the modernization of the economy." Now, a "Third Modernization" was about to start, which would preserve "the culture and national code (w)ithout (which) modernization (would be) an empty rhetoric." This was "the main drawback of Western Modernization models in the twentieth century" according to Nazarbayev. On this path, the first thing in the "agenda for the next few years" is the issue of alphabet transition to Latin. After he described the previous alphabet transitions and evaluated that these changes occurred due to "the specific political reasons," he reminded his address to the nation in 2012, which put the year 2025 as the due time for alphabet transition. Then, Nazarbayev underscored that there was not much left to the year 2025; thus, a new alphabet should be prepared until the end of 2017. Since the youth have already been learning English, the new alphabet should not be a problem for them, according to Nazarbayev; however, the personnel should start to be trained in the new alphabet from 2018 onwards. During the transition process, he foresaw the utilization of both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets.[381] An alphabet commission was established on 13 April 2017, the following day of President Nazarbayev's article, to "creat[e] 'the most appropriate' variant of Latin-based script for the Kazakh language." [382]

A fortnight later, President Nazarbayev published another article named "Future Orientation: The Spiritual Revival" published in the newspaper "Egemen Kazakhstan" on 26 April 2017. He repeated that Kazakhstan would perform the transition to Latin alphabet by 2025. He reminded that a final version of the Kazakh Latin alphabet should be formed until the end of 2017 and the

381 "President Nursultan Nazarbayev's article 'The Course towards Future: Modernization of Public Conscience'," *KazInform,* Apr. 12, 2017, http://www.inform.kz/en/president-nursultan-nazarbayev-s-article-the-course-towards-futuremodernization-of-public-conscience_a3016600.

382 "Kazakh president signs decree on switching to Latin-based alphabet," *Asia-Plus, Oct.* 27, 2017, https://www.news.tj/en/news/centralasia/20171027/kazakh-president-signs-decree-on-switching-to-latin-based-alphabet.

schoolbooks should start to be published starting by 2018.[383] Kazakhstani Minister of Education and Science, Erlan Sagadiev, made a statement on 26 July 2017, putting that a special commission had already established and currently been working on the Kazakh Latin alphabet.[384]

After the Kazakh transition became popular in the media since April 2017, organs of the international Turkic cooperation, which have been reorganized since the 2000s, were not indifferent to the developments. The educational and scientific branch of Turkic cooperation, TWESCO (International Turkic Academy)[385] organized a conference on 16 June 2017 about the transition process in Kazakhstan within the framework of the Eurasian Book Fair 2017. Here, ideas on the future of Latin alphabet in Kazakhstan was discussed; meanwhile, there was an emphasis on the Common Turkic Alphabet, too.[386] TWESCO's proposal was that the new Kazakh alphabet should be based on 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet.[387]

383 Nursultan Nazarbayev, "Bolashaqqa baǵdar: rýhanı jańǵyrý," *Egemen Qazaqstan,* Apr. 26 2017, https://egemen.kz/article/nursultan-nazarbaev-bolashaqqa-baghdar-rukhani-zhanhghyru.

384 *"Latinskiy alfavit budet prinyat v etom godu – Sagadiyev," Tengri News,* July 27, 2017, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/latinskiy-alfavit-budet-prinyat-v-etom-godu-sagadiev-323049/. "Kazakistan'da Latin alfabesi için komisyon kuruldu," *Dünya Bülteni,* July 27, 2017, https://www.dunyabulteni.net/kafkaslar/kazakistanda-latin-alfabesi-icin-komisyon-kuruldu-h404588.html.

385 TWESCO is the abbreviation of "Turkic World Educational and Scientific Cooperation Organization"; nevertheless, "International Turkic Academy" is another name accepted and widely used.

386 Website for International Turkic Academy, "Academy Held a Meeting on the Transition to Latin alphabet," June 16, 2017, http://twesco.org/en/news/meropriyatie_po_latinskomu_alfavitu/.

387 "Darhan Kıdırali: 'Azərbaycan əlifbasına əsaslanan ortaq türk əlifbası təklif etmişik,'" YouTube video, 32:08, from an interview televized by APA TV, posted by "APA TV," July 5, 2017, https://youtu.be/fIk_LEzvWJw; Timur Kocaoğlu's Facebook Page, accessed on Apr. 30, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/timur.kocaoglu.1/posts/10212691207129249; Zhanibek Ussenbek's Facebook Page, accessed on Apr. 30, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/zhanibek.ussenbek/posts/2058601880832676.

#### 4.3.2.2 The First Model Discussed

Models had started to emerge by September 2017. On 11 September 2017, a variant for Kazakh alphabet was presented to the Kazakh parliament for further deliberation. That variant was proposed by Erbol Tileşov who has been the director of the Ş. Şayhmedov Republican Coordination and Methodology Center for Language Development. Tileşov's variant had twenty-five letters and the specific phonemes of the Kazakh language were represented by nine digraphs. In sum, thirty-three phonemes would be represented by Tileşov's variant for Kazakh Latin Alphabet. An important and peculiar diphthong of Kazakh language, /uw/-/yw/,[388] was represented by W/w, which is already a commonly used method and exists as a letter in the 34-letter Frame Alphabet, too. Another diphthong /ij/-/ɨj/, previously represented by И/и was merged into I/i, along with the phoneme /ɪ/ represented by I/i in Kazakh Cyrillic. Meanwhile, the previous two letters, H/h and X/x, which represent the related phonemes, /h/ and /x/, were merged into H/h couple. C/c representing the phoneme /ts/, J/j representing the phoneme /j/ and Y/y representing the phoneme /ɨ/, and using I/i for the phoneme /i/ as in the Classical Latin Alphabet were the basic diversions from the 34-Letter Common Turkic Alphabet Model. Digraphs, on the other hand, were another kind of violation of the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet Model, which foresees utilization of only monographs. These digraphs were Gh/gh for the phoneme /ɣ/, Ch/ch for the phoneme /ʧ/, Sh/sh for the phoneme /ʃ/, Zh/zh for the phoneme /ʒ/, Ae/ae for the phoneme /æ/, Oe/oe for the phoneme /ø/, Ue/ue for the phoneme /y/, and Ng/ng for the phoneme /ŋ/. Their counterparts were Ğ/ğ, Ç/ç, Ş/ş, J/j, Ə/ə (or Ä/ä was used by some countries and communities), Ö/ö, Ü/ü, and Ñ/ñ in the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet Model (see appendix X).[389] This variant can be evaluated as a combination of the English alphabet and Russian Transliteration Alphabet applied to the Kazakh language.

388 Website for Indiana University Bloomington Center for Languages of the Central Asian Region, "Kazakh Alphabet," http://iub.edu/~celcar/alphabets/Kazakh_Alphabet.pdf

389 "Latyn álipbıiniń jańa úlgisi tanystyryldy," *Egemen Qazaqstan,* Sept. 11, 2017, https://egemen.kz/article/158164-latyn-alipbiininh-ulgisi-tanystyryldy.

The emergence of this variant did not go unnoticed. Some proponents of 34-letter Common Frame Turkic Alphabet Model raised their voices against this variant since it was violating the frame. As quickly as in two days, Timur Kocaoğlu, a Turkish academic in Michigan State University, shared a post on Facebook on 13 September 2017 telling that it would be a mistake for Kazakhs to adopt an alphabet with digraphs rather than a variant based on the 34-Letter Frame Alphabet Model. In his post, he was grateful to Azerbaijan, Gagauzia, and Tatarstan[390] since they adopted such variants compatible with the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model. On the other hand, he besought the Kazakh authorities not to adopt such a variant violating the Frame Alphabet as well as the Uzbek authorities to repeal the Uzbek alphabet accepted in 1995, which violates the 34-letter Frame Alphabet Model.[391]

Meanwhile, another linguist, who had participated in the 1991 Symposium, the 1. STDKr, TİKA, and TÜDEV conventions, namely Ahmet Bican Ercilasun wrote a criticism of this model around a fortnight later. That criticism was first published in http://abai.kz, a Kazakh information portal, in the Kazakh language on 27 September 2017.[392] A few days later, it was also published in Yeniçağ Newspaper in Turkey in the Turkish language on 01 October 2017.[393] In this article, he evaluated the alphabet variant with digraphs no less harmful than what Stalin did to Turkic language(s).[394] He stated that even the languages of the most developed nations, such as English, French, German,

390 As discussed in the Tatarstan section, the new Tatar Latin alphabet was not applied due to political obstacles. While two letters of the Tatar alphabet differed from the 34-letter alphabet models, the differences were minute. It is not so extraordinary for Kocaoğlu to include Tatarstan to the thanking list.

391 Timur Kocaoğlu's Facebook Page, accessed on Jan. 25, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/timur.kocaoglu.1/posts/10212690873760915.

392 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Ankaradan jetken ün. Qaripke Stalindik zaual," *Abai.kz*, Sept. 27, 2017, translated by Erğalı Esbosınov, http://abai.kz/post/59749.

393 Idem., "Alfabeye Stalin'den Daha Büyük Kötülük," *Yeniçağ Gazetesi,* Oct. 1, 2017, http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/alfabeye-stalinden-daha-buyuk-kotuluk-44425yy.htm.

394 Although Ercilasun accepts the current political status of Turkish languages, he is (or was) among a group that thinks that there is only one Turkic language and that other national vernaculars are dialects of it.

and Polish, included some letters with diacritics.[395] In addition to that, contemporary technology enables to invent and write with new letters with diacritics with great ease. On the other hand, it will be a mistake to apply such variants with digraphs, which is an old-fashioned manner to represent the national phonemes. Instead, representing them with peculiar letters with diacritics would be a modern solution that benefits from the facilities of modern technology. Another relevant issue for Ercilasun was the existence of diphthongs in Kazakh alphabet. According to Ercilasun, it should be a principle of a modern alphabet that a voice has to be represented by one letter. One aspect of that principle is not having digraphs, and the other aspect of it should be not having diphthongs. In Cyrillic Kazakh alphabet, the letters И/и and У/у have represented the diphthongs /ij/-/ɨj/ and /uw/-/yw/ respectively. They should be abolished and represented separately in the new Kazakh Latin alphabet. In conclusion, according to Ercilasun's view, it would be better for Kazakhstan to adopt an alphabet variant compatible with the 34-letter Common Frame Turkic Alphabet model.

#### 4.3.2.3 The First Model Adopted

This variant proposed in September, however, was not adopted for the New Kazakh Latin Alphabet. Instead, a newer variant was prepared and adopted a month later. It was adopted via the Presidential Decree № 569 "On Transition of the Kazakh Language's Alphabet from Cyrillic Script to Latin Script," which was published in the website of the President of Kazakhstan, http://www.akorda.kz on 27 October 2017. The decree briefly described a roadmap for the transition process. A national alphabet committee is to be established and the transition process is to be completed until 2025. The decree has an appendix that included the letters of the new alphabet.[396]

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395 "Letters with dots and hooks" (noktalı ve çengelli harfler) was the original statement in his article.

396 *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan "O perevode alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka s kirillitsy na latinskuyu grafiku"* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the translation of the alphabet of the Kazakh language from the Cyrillic alphabet into Latin script"], Oct. 26, 2017 no. 569, http://www.akorda.kz/ru/legal_acts/decrees/o-perevode-alfavita-kazahskogo-yazyka-s-kirillicy-na-latinskuyu-grafiku.

The first new Kazakh Latin alphabet essentially consisted of twenty-three letters and an apostrophe. The new model included neither any diacritics nor any digraphs to represent the particular phonemes and diphthongs of the Kazakh language. Instead, it included nine letter-apostrophe couple to represent them; thus, the new alphabet actually consisted of thirty-two graphemes (symbols showing the phonemes). These letter-apostrophe couples were A'/a' for the phoneme /æ/, G'/g' for the phoneme /ɣ/, I'/i' for the phoneme /j/ and the diphthongs /ij/-/ɨj/, N'/n' for the phoneme /ŋ/, O'/o' for the phoneme /ø/, S'/s' for the phoneme /ʃ/, C'/c' for the phoneme /ʧ/, U'/u' for the phoneme /y/, and Y'/y' for the diphthongs /uw/-/yw/. These were violating the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet since the latter model uses diacritical letters for these particular phonemes. On the other hand, while the Uzbek Latin alphabet uses letter-apostrophe couples; it is not that much, actually. Only G'/g' and O'/o' exist in the Uzbek alphabet. Meanwhile, other particular phonemes are generally represented by digraphs. There were some diversions from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet with respect to common phonemes, as well. The phoneme /ɨ/ was represented by Y/y, as in the Turkmen Latin Alphabet, rather than with I/ı as the 34-Letter Frame Alphabet did. Another difference from the 34-letter Frame Alphabet was the utilization of I/i rather than İ/i couple for the phoneme /ı/, which was also the case in Turkmen and Uzbek Latin alphabets (see appendix Y).[397] In summary, it can be said that the new Kazakh Latin alphabet borrowed, more or less, from each Latin alphabet models used among Turkic peoples and created itself a peculiar model.

As a transitional plan, the decree assigns the Kazakh cabinet to form a commission for the transition to the new alphabet. Then, it foresees a gradual transition process, which must be completed until 2025.[398] As a matter of fact, a general course of action had already been drawn by the past declarations of the President and the government, as described. To sum them up, it can be

397 *Utverzhden Ukazom Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan Ot 26 Oktyabrya 2017 Goda № 569* [(Table) Approved by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated October 26, 2017 no. 569], http://www.akorda.kz/upload/media/files/d9bc81021d59a7eaa9835fdae9069532.docx.

398 *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan], № 569.

said that 2018 will be the year to train the personnel in the new alphabet and to publish schoolbooks, following the approval of the alphabet in 2017. More information, on the other hand, can be acquired by following the latest developments. The decree for alphabet transition was adopted on Friday, 27 October 2017, and all the emblems of the TV channels were changed from Cyrillic to Latin on next Monday, on 30 October 2017. Furthermore, the first book in the new alphabet, President Nazarbayev's "Jyldar men Oilar" (Years and Thoughts), was published on 30 October 2017. On the very next day, Minister of Culture and Sports Arystanbek Muhamediýly declared that it was done with the help of a system that can convert Cyrillic to Latin in just three seconds.[399] On 3 November 2017, a newspaper in Qostanaı, Arqalyq Habary, published its first page in Latin as an experiment.[400] Around a month later, on 01 December 2017, President Nazarbayev declared that the education in the New Latin Alphabet would start in 2020 during a TV program.[401] Thus, the transition to the new Kazakh Latin Alphabet had a quick start. Meanwhile, the personnel and necessary material will have been prepared during 2018 onwards to initiate the education in Latin alphabet by 2020. Eventually, the transition will include every aspect of life, gradually, and will have been finished by 2025.

#### 4.3.2.4 The Current Kazakh Latin Alphabet

This was the case until February 2018. The model with apostrophes was criticized significantly after its release. Using letter and apostrophe combination as a grapheme seems compatible with technology, at first, since all computers have these basic letters and an apostrophe. On the other hand, using such graphemes "complicates web searches and social media hashtags, where an

399 Aiguzel Kadir, "*Kakiye novosti o latinitse udivili Kazakhstantsev*," *Sputnik Kazakhstan*, Nov. 05, 2017, https://ru.sputniknews.kz/society/20171105/3678493/kakie-novosti-o-latinice-udivili-kazahstancev.html.

400 "*Pervaya polosa gazety «Arkalyk khabary» vyshla na latinitse,*" *KazInform, Nov.* 2, 2017, http://www.inform.kz/ru/pervaya-polosa-gazety-arkalyk-habary-vyshla-na-latin-ice_a3081458.

401 "Nazarbayev: Hayatımda iki doğum günüm var," *Kazakistan.Kz,* Dec. 01, 2017, http://www.kazakistan.kz/nazarbayevhayatimda-iki-dogum-gunum-var/.

apostrophe between letters splits them into separate words."[402] Furthermore, it does not have any aesthetical value, either. The main reason put forward by the government was the compatibility with information technology. The general judgment in Western media, however, was that the Kazakhstani leadership did not want to seem as realigning with Turkey and other Turkic nations. The reason was in order not to be perceived as motivated by pan-Turkism, which would disturb Kazakhstan's colossal northern neighbor, Russia.[403]

As a result, there were several criticisms emerged both within Kazakhstan and outside of Kazakhstan.[404] Propositions for the new model had continued to pop up. For instance, Saken Joldas, a Kazakh film director, proposed to use accents on these letters instead of using letters with apostrophes in the video he made in order to criticise the adopted model.[405] This was rather an unconventional way to propose a model.[406] On the other hand, he eventually managed to reach his goal. Kazakhstan amended the original decision, actually for a new model, on 20 February 2018.[407] This model was actually in the line of Joldas' idea.

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402 Alec Luhn, "Apostrophes trip up Kazakhstan's move away from Russian alphabet," in *The Telegraph,* Jan. 20, 2018. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/20/apostrophes-trip-kazakhstans-move-away-russian-alphabet/.

403 Ibid.; Andrew Higgins, "Kazakhstan Cheers New Alphabet, Except for All Those Apostrophes," in *The New York Times,* Jan. 15, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/15/world/asia/kazakhstan-alphabet-nursultan-nazarbayev.html.

404 Ibid.

405 Alec Luhn, "Apostrophes trip up Kazakhstan's move away from Russian alphabet."

406 "*Alternativnyy variant, gde Шш = Śś*," YouTube video, 1:40, posted by "Saken Joldas," Oct. 30, 2017, https://youtu.be/FX_lbp6hroQ.

407 *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan O vnesenii izmeneniya v Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 26 oktyabrya 2017 goda № 569 O perevode alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka s kirillitsy na latinskuyu grafiku* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan On Amendments to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated October 26, 2017 no. 569" On the Translation of the Alphabet of the Kazakh Language from Cyrillic to Latin], Feb. 19, 2018, no. 637, http://www.akorda.kz/ru/legal_acts/decrees/o-vnesenii-izmeneniya-v-ukaz-prezidenta-respubliki-kazahstan-ot-26-oktyabrya-2017-goda-569-o-perevode-alfavita-kazahskogo-yazyka-s-kirillicy.

On 5 April 2018, the program for the alphabet transition was adopted by Erlan Sagadiev, the Minister of Education and Science.[408] According to this program, the schoolbooks will be published in 2018 for the preschool, in 2019 for the 1st graders, in 2020 for the 2nd graders, in 2021 for the 3rd graders, in 2022 for the 4th graders, and in 2023 for the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th graders. Latin alphabet will be introduced to the preschool and 1st graders in 2020, to the 2nd graders in 2021, to the 3rd graders in 2022, to the 4th graders in 2023, to the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th graders in 2024, and to the 10th and 11th graders in 2025. In this period, courses will be prepared for the teachers, as well. These courses will educate 192,331 teachers in total. Starting in 2019, these courses will take 9,038 people each year until 2024. In 2024, 90,765 teachers will attend these courses; and 56,376 teachers in 2025.[409]

The new Kazakh alphabet is a perfect combination of the alphabets of each Turkic nation, including the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet as a principle, while it has also authenticity. All the graphemes consisting of a letter and an apostrophe together were abandoned for letters with accents, except for three letters. Two among these letters are replaced with the digraphs "Sh/sh" for the phoneme /ʃ/ and "Ch/ch" for the phoneme /ʧ/. The third one was rather the letter I/ı that represents the phoneme /j/ and the diphthong /ij/-/ɨj/.[410] Hence, the new alphabet adopted the accented letters Á/á for the phoneme /æ/, Ý/ý for the diphthong /uw/-/yw/, Ǵ/ǵ for the phoneme /ɣ/, Ó/ó for

408 "*Kogda kazakhstanskiye shkoly pereydut na latinitsu*," in *Sputnik Kazakhstan/Kazakh, Apr.* 06, 2018, https://ru.sputniknews.kz/society/20180406/5200290/latinica-shkola-uchebniki-kazakhstan.html.

409 Ibid. For the program, see *Grafik perekhoda alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka na latinskuyu grafiku do 2025 goda na vsekh urovnyakh obrazovaniya* [The schedule of transition of the alphabet of the Kazakh language to the Latin script until 2025 at all levels of education], https://legalacts.egov.kz/application/downloadconceptfile?id=1895487.

410 The phoneme /j/ corresponds to Cyrillic letter Й/й. The diphthong /ij///ɨj/ corresponds to Cyrillic letter И/и according to the Kazakh alphabet chart prepared by the Indiana University Bloomington Center for Languages of the Central Asian Region, http://iub.edu/~celcar/alphabets/Kazakh_Alphabet.pdf. The letter Й/й is called as "short i" in Russian while the letter И/и is called "ii" However, the former letter is "Y/y" and the latter is "İ/i" in the Frame Alphabet.

the phoneme /ø/, Ú/ú for the phoneme /y/, and Ń/ń for the phoneme /ŋ/. Thus, most of the accented letters are satisfying the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet Model's one letter to one phoneme principle in a slightly modified way in terms of aesthetics. They are using accents above of the letters rather than two dots as Ö/ö and Ü/ü or breve as Ğ/ğ and tilde as Ñ/ñ. Á/á resembles the a-umlaut (Ä/ä) that existed in the alphabet prepared in the 1991 Symposium but abandoned for the inverted e, Ə/ə, in following symposiums at the request of Azerbaijan. On the other hand, the 34-letter alphabet uses W/w instead of Ý/ý, and not as a diphthong but for the phoneme /w/.[411]

This model still includes differences from the 34-letter Common Alphabet, too. Digraphs are not the part of the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet, while they exist in Uzbek alphabet, as they are used in the new Kazakh alphabet. For the phoneme /ɨ/, Y/y was used as in Turkmen alphabet, while the 34-letter Alphabet Model uses I/ı. The letter I/ı was used in the new Kazakh alphabet for the phoneme /j/ and for the diphthong /ij/-/ɨj/; however, it violates the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet from several points. The first point is the fact that I/ı represents different phonemes in the new Kazakh Alphabet and in the 34-letter Frame Alphabet. The phoneme /j/ has to be represented by the letter Y/y according to the 34-letter Frame Alphabet. The second point is the fact that the 34-letter Frame Alphabet model does not support diphthongs as an orthographic principle. The last point was that the letter I/ı corresponds to the letters *И/и* and *Й/й* in the Kazakh Cyrillic Alphabet; however, these Cyrillic letters correspond to two different letters – İ/i and Y/y – in the Turkish and the 34-letter Frame Alphabet models. Thus, the new Kazakh alphabet also fused two letters of the Frame Alphabet into a single letter.

Interestingly, it has an interesting feature of including the letters "I/i" for the phoneme /ı/ (a shorter and stressed version of the phoneme /i/) and "I/ı," which share the same upper case. As a result, there are five major differences between the New Kazakh Latin Alphabet and the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. These are I/ı (used for /j/), Y/y, Ý/ý, Sh/sh and Ch/ch. If we

411 Appendix of the *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan], № 569.

count the I/i since it aesthetically and phonetically[412] differs, then it increases to six. If we also add the other accented letters, this increases to eleven. On the other hand, Y/y was adopted as it has been used in Turkmen alphabet, as well as Á/á reminding a-umlaut, and the digraphs were used in Uzbek alphabet. Accented letters, except Ý/ý, remind the diacritical letters in the 34-letter alphabet that also exist in Turkish and Azerbaijani alphabets (see appendix Z).[413]

### 4.3.3 *Evaluation*

In summary, due to the fact that the Kazakh language had lost its primary status during the Soviet era, the very first job of the Kazakh government was to regain that position. When the years flow to the thirtieth anniversary of the independence of Kazakhstan, the Kazakh language has slowly started to regain importance and status with the help of the identity and nation-building policies. It was defined as "Kazakhstanihood" that aimed to gather every citizen of Kazakhstan around the Kazakh language regardless of everything else.[414] The enhancement of the status of and the growth in the number of people speaking Kazakh have been although slower than first expectations; nevertheless, continuous efforts started to pay off, too. It is expected that 95% of the citizens will be able to excel in Kazakh by 2025 as stated in the 2050 program.[415]

The focus on the fortification of the Kazakh language's status affected the comparatively disinterested attitude for Latin alphabet in Kazakhstan. Furthermore, there existed a possibility that Russia and the Russian minority in Kazakhstan could respond negatively to an alphabet transition attempt. This possibility can also be considered among the reasons why the new alphabets

412 The phonetic difference can be considered minor since the phoneme /ı/ is a shorter, stressed version of the phoneme /i/. For a comparison of these phonemes in Kazakh and Turkmen, see alphabet charts prepared by the Indiana University Bloomington Center for Languages of the Central Asian Region. For Kazakh, see http://iub.edu/~celcar/alphabets/Kazakh_Alphabet.pdf. For Turkmen, see http://iub.edu/~celcar/alphabets/Turkmen_Alphabet.pdf.

413 Appendix of the *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan], № 569.

414 Gökdağ, "Kazakistan'da Dil Uygulamaları," p. 6.

415 Ibid. See also, Nursultan Nazarbayev "Strategy Kazakhstan-2050: new political course of the established state," Dec. 14, 2012, Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, https://strategy2050.kz/en/multilanguage/.

of Kazakhstan adopted in 2017 and modified in 2018 are not compatible with 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet or with alphabets of any other Turkic nations. Instead, these Kazakh alphabet models are peculiar ones that had some similarities with the alphabets of other Turkic nations. The first model with apostrophe was reminding the Uzbek model; however, an exaggerated version; while, not reminding the 34-letter (or Turkish & Azerbaijani) model, at all. The latter model is more balanced in the sense that used only two Uzbek digraphs and modified diacritics that reminds the 34-letter model.

Meanwhile, Kyrgyzstan also faced with almost all of the inhibitors occurred in the Kazakh case; however, Kyrgyzstan has a much smaller economy and lesser resources compared with Kazakhstan in order to confront these barriers. Therefore, except for some deliberation among the governmental circles, there has not existed any official attempt to initiate a transition process,[416] though linguists and Turcologists had attended the series of conventions for a common Turkic alphabet. So, it can be said that the most inactive case among the newly independent republics was Kyrgyzstan, which was even in stronger inertia when compared with some of the autonomous republics and communities. The academic literature and observers suggest that Kyrgyzstan might involve in an alphabet transition after the alphabet transition in Kazakhstan. The Kazakh language is a very close relative of the Kyrgyz language. Furthermore, Kyrgyzstan will become the only Turkic republic using a Cyrillic alphabet after the transition in Kazakhstan.[417] Actually, during the April 2017 when lots of news about the transition process in Kazakhstan had emerged in media; some news about Kyrgyzstan similarly started to emerge, too.[418] Nevertheless, there have not been any official developments since then.

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416 Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001), p. 142.

417 As an example, consider the words of Caştegin Turgunbayer, a Kyrgyz descendant academic working at Dicle University, delivered during the TDK-Kazakh Commission meeting in 2007. See Öner, "Kazakistan Latin Alfabesine Geçiyor! Yeni Kazak Alfabesi," p. 145.

418 E.g. "Kırgızistan'dan Latin Alfabesi Adımı," *TürkYurduHaber,* Apr. 15, 2017, https://www.turkyurduhaber.org/haber/26208/kirgizistandan-latin-alfabesi-adimi.html. Another example, "Latin alfabesine geçiş Rusları kızdırdı," *Kırım Haber Ajansı,* Apr. 18, 2017, http://qha.com.ua/tr/turk-dunyasi/latin-alfabesine-gecis-ruslari-kizdirdi/154814/.

## § 4.4 Other Related Developments

### 4.4.1 *Turkey's Efforts*

Turkey has been using an alphabet based on Latin script since the late 1920s; therefore, could publish more than an abundant amount of publication to satisfy the Turkish public. As a result, it was expected that Turkey could help the other Turkic republics during their transition process to Latin via her publishing facilities through both distributing books, e.g. alphabet primers as well as other printed material and through supplying publishing machinery. Some of them were material aids provided by Turkey; meanwhile, some others worked via contracts between Turkic republics and various Turkish firms occurred in the free market. TİKA was very effective during that period by providing printing machinery, computers and printers to some government bureaus, schoolbooks, and maps needed by the three post-Soviet Turkic countries during their alphabet transition process.[419] The quantity of these aids was modest. Furthermore, partially due to the effects of 1994 economic crisis occurred in Turkey[420] and partially due to the corruption in the Turkish bureaucracy, the real aim of increasing Turkey's attractiveness in the eyes of the newly independent Turkic republics could not be fulfilled, at least at such a level that Turkey desired.[421] However, these aids definitely helped these countries that had tried to fulfil the transition process within a limited time and with a limited budget during the first years of independence.

Besides that, there were two kinds of efforts came from the Turkish side. First, some publications were published either solely by Turkey or as a product of inter-Turkic cooperation that aimed to contribute not only the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet project but also to a common language project. Nevertheless, the projects planned and conducted by Turkish govern-

419 Fatma Tombak, "Türkiye'nin 1990-2000 Yıllarında Türk Cumhuriyetleri İle Kültürel, Siyasi ve Ekonomik İlişkileri," (PhD diss., Erciyes University, 2013), pp. 140-171, where TİKA's aid of Turkic Republics is described in detail.

420 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 132-3.

421 For the corruption story, see Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 78-9.

mental organizations will be included in the next section for the sake of simplicity. Lastly, the transition process had already triggered anxiety about the potential loss of the cultural and literary legacy most of which was written in Cyrillic alphabet. In order to prevent that, many computer programs have been developed that transliterates the texts in Cyrillic alphabet to Latin. One specific computer program developed by a Turkish academic attracted the attention of the Turkish officials and opened to the public service through an official website. Thus, the next two sections are dedicated to these two efforts.

#### 4.4.1.1 Publications via Efforts of Turkish Governmental Organizations

An important wave of publication about Turkic peoples' history, languages, and culture had started in Turkey during Glasnost Era, which preceded the collapse of the Soviet Union and meant a liberalization, at least, in cultural policies. During Glasnost, Turkic nations had also started to focus on improving the status of their national culture and language. The most important focus of these nations was to emphasise the authentic aspects of the national cultures that distinguish them from their neighbors and from the rest of the world. On the other hand, the Turkic aspect of these cultures had also underscored to a certain level, sometimes by intellectuals and sometimes by official circles. Turkey was introduced into that picture as the country that could help the other Turkic brethren when they were dealing with the new circumstances. This perception was valid and desired not only in the eyes of a minority with Turkist ideas but also in the eyes of the governments of the Soviet Turkic republics that would sign mutual agreements with Turkey on cultural assistance.[422]

Furthermore, the academic cadre with Traditionalist-Turkist perceptions started to hold positions in cultural offices of the state bureaucracy, such as in the TDK, after the regulations following the 1980 coup d'état. While they were eager to focus the Turkish cultural policies on Turkic nations in the Soviet Union, the political conjuncture also suited for a cultural rapprochement between Turkey and Turkic republics, as described. These two factors, the new

422 For examples, see Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya ile İlişkiler" in *Türk Dış Politikası vol.2* (2001), p. 373 and p. 378 for Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, respectively.

cadre and the conjuncture, made the approach of the Turkish government towards the new cultural focus favorable. The number of publications increased after the dissolution of the Soviet Union since the public interest towards the issue reached the apex with newly emerging independent Turkic republics.

Although there have been important publications published by private publishing houses that were written by eminent academics, I will evaluate the works published by governmental organizations and publishing houses as a part of official projects, otherwise there is a vast amount of publications to evaluate. Both individual publishing houses and the TDK (Turkish Language Association) have published lots of works on Turkic languages.[423] So, it would be more efficient to limit the extent of the chapter to the major official projects that could be considered relevant to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project, to the Common Turkic Literary Language Project, and to other projects that were discussed in the series of conventions.

## PUBLICATIONS OF TURKISH MINISTRY OF CULTURE

The very first publication was, actually, the republication of a work published by the Ministry of Culture beforehand in 1977. It was Ahmet Bican Ercilasun's "Örneklerle Bugünkü Türk Alfabeleri" (Contemporary Turkic Alphabets with Examples) that was published by, again, the Ministry of Culture after revisions in 1989. This second edition was 3000 copies. Then, next year in 1990, its third edition was published 2000 copies. The fourth and the fifth editions were published in 1993 and 1996, each of them was 10,000 copies.[424] In addition to that, a concise booklet version of that work was published in 1990.[425] Starting by the second edition, each of these editions had a foreword that describes the past

423 For a detailed bibliography, see Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Giriş – Türkiye Türkolojisine ve Türkiye'deki Türk Lehçeleri Çalışmalarına Genel Bakış," in *Türk Lehçeleri Grameri*, ed. Ahmet Bican Ercilasun (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2007), pp. 22-30.

424 All the numbers can be verified in Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, *Örneklerle Bugünkü Türk Alfabeleri (*Ankara: *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, 1996), p. IV.

425 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, *Bugünkü Türk Alfabeleri Anahtar Kitapçığı* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990).

experiences of Turkic peoples with alphabets as well as implying that the barriers that blocked the relationship between the Turkish and the other Turkic peoples, most importantly the Iron Curtain, started to be collapsed.[426] In this framework, that work aimed to increase the *mutual-literacy* among Turkic peoples, especially on the Turkish side.[427] The fifth edition in 1996 also had another foreword that describes the series of conventions to constitute a common Turkic alphabet and the recent developments in these countries about Latin alphabet.[428] That work includes the alphabets of the twenty Turkic peoples, including the Turkish alphabet, and texts from thirteen Turkic languages with their various dialects that are comparatively put with the Turkish language; while the 1996 edition also includes the texts with new Latin alphabets of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Gagauz People.[429]

Another publication project of the Ministry of Culture was the "Comparative Dictionary of Turkic Dialects" (Karşılaştırmaları Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü) published in 1991, which was written by a commission including Turkic linguists led by, again, Ercilasun. The dictionary includes Azerbaijani, Bashkir, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tatar, Turkish, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Uygur as Turkic languages, and Russian. It consists of two volumes and includes 7000 words. In the foreword, it was stated that the in words coming from the European languages, which similar forms in Turkic languages were not included. Also, the words that could be derived by similar suffixes were not included, too. Thus, the author claims that it is possible to understand 15000 words through that dictionary.[430] The words are transliterated to Latin script rather than using the national alphabets of that time in Cyrillic script. A second edition of the dictionary was published in 1992.[431] Also, a pocket edition of that dictionary –including only its parts of Turkish-Azerbaijani and vice versa- was

426 Ibid., preface.

427 Ibid.

428 Ercilasun, *Örneklerle Bugünkü Türk Alfabeleri,* pp. XIII-XIV

429 Ibid., pp. VII-VIII

430 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun (ed.): *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü (*Ankara: *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, 1991), preface, pp. IX-XII

431 Ibid.

published in 1991.[432] Later, the Comparative Dictionary of Turkic Dialects was transferred to a website as a common project of Ahmet Yesevi University, Turkish Language Association (the TDK), and Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.[433] Now, there is access to the dictionary on the TDK's website.[434]

The last major project of the Ministry of Culture was the "Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi" (Anthology of Turkic Literatures except for Turkey). From 1993 until 2005,[435] there were thirty-two volumes published.[436] The first six volumes were dedicated to Azerbaijan and Iraqi Turkmens, who are ethnically relatives. Then, the volumes from seventh to twelveth were dedicated to Balkan Turks, Turkish Cypriots, and Gagauz people. Following these, other volumes are dedicated to the independent Turkic republics and other Turkic nations living in the Russian Federation.[437] The project manager was Nevzat Kösoğlu and the general advisors were Ahmet Bican Ercilasun and Yavuz Akpınar.[438] Each volume, nevertheless, had a peculiar equip, including academics from the region, to prepare it.[439] The anthology is open to online access via the website prepared by the Ministry of Culture, the address of which

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432 Ahmet Bican Ercilasun and Alaeddin Mehmetoğlu Aliyev, *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Cep Sözlüğü* (Ankara: *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, 1992).

433 Mehman Musaoğlu, "Türk Yazı Dillerinde Aktarma ve Bilişim Çalışmaları," (paper) in *Türk Lehçeleri Arasındaki Aktarma Çalışmalarının Bugünkü Durumu ve Karşılaşılan Sorunlar: Uluslararası Sempozyum ve Uygulama Atölyesi / Tebliğler ve Aktarım Örnekleri*, TÜRKSOY (Ankara: TÜRKSOY), p. 31.

434 Website of Türk Dil Kurumu, "Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü," http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_lehcelerandview=lehceler.

435 Nevzat Kösoğlu, *Türk Kimliği ve Türk Dünyası, 3rd ed.* (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2015). Author's Biography.

436 Ibid.

437 Website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi," http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,78479/turkiye-disindaki-turk-edebiyatlari-antolojisi.html.

438 Website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Azerbaycan Türk Edebiyatı 1.- 2.- 3.- 4.- 5. - 6. Ciltler" http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,78480/azerbaycan-turk-edebiyati--1--2--3--4--5---6--ciltler.html.

439 E.g. Website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Özbek Edebiyatı (14.-15.-16.Ciltler)," http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,78535/ozbek-edebiyati-14-15-16ciltler.html.

is given below.[440] Besides these projects, the Ministry of Culture also published some a primer of the new Azerbaijani Latin alphabet.[441] Also, the Gaspıralı Project that will be described in detail in the next section is also a website prepared by the Ministry of Culture. The ministry of Culture was praised for publishing lots of works about Turkic peoples although it was not the only area that the ministry deals with. On the other hand, the ministry of culture attained a nice level of publication even when compared with other agencies, the focus of which was solely Turkic cooperation.[442]

### PUBLICATIONS OF AKDTYK

The last two major projects of publication were mainly the product of "T.C. Başbakanlık Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu" (AKDTYK, Republic of Turkey Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language, and History) which includes the TDK (Turkish Language Association), as well as the TTK (Turkish History Association), Atatürk Research Center, and Atatürk Culture Center. The first two association were established during Atatürk's era and they were redefined under AKDTYK after the 1980 coup d'état along with the latter two institutions. Two out of four institutions, the TDK and Atatürk Culture Center, had worked on these two major projects since the 1990s and completed to a great extent in 2000s. After the necessary paperwork, DPT (State Planning Organization) assigned the TDK to carry out "The Project of Field Work for the Comparative Dictionary and Grammar of Turkic Dialects and Sub-Dialects" and Atatürk Culture Center to "The Project of the Common Literature of Turkic World" that consisted of several sub-projects. In this task,

440 Website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi," http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,78479/turkiye-disindaki-turk-edebiyatlari-antolojisi.html.

441 E.g. Kerim Şamazov, *Alfabe* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999), in Mehmet Toprak, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayın Kataloğu (1952-1999)* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000).

442 Nadir Devlet, "Türkiye'nin Avrasya'ya Yönelik Kültür Politikaları," in *Türkiye'nin Avrasya Macerası 1989-2006 (Avrasya Üçlemesi II),* ed. Mustafa Aydın (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2007), p. 193.

TİKA was also assigned to cooperate with their counterparts in these institutions, especially, on technical and financial issues.[443] However, after a while, TİKA left.[444] Saray stated that it was due to the financial problems, which made that agency much smaller in scale.[445]

According to Mehmet Saray, a Turkish academic who specialises on Turkic peoples and who had worked as an advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this issue during the 1990s, TİKA developed many cultural projects for the region. Among them, there were Common Literature Project and Common Grammar and Dictionary Project to which, Sema Barutçu also contributed a lot. Barutçu even made a speech about a project called the "Common Turkic Language" (Ortak Türk Dili) in the 2. STDKr, which included dictionaries and other scientific works.[446] I think that the project that Barutçu had described in 2. STDKr was these projects.

Saray states that the first move for the project was made on 29 March 1993, by a protocol signed by the chairmen of the TDK and the TTK,[447] Ahmet Bican Ercilasun and Yusuf Halaçoğlu, as well as by the manager of TİKA, Umut Arık, and the undersecretary of the Ministry of National Education, Necdet Özkaya. In this protocol, it was decided that the guest academics coming from Turkic nations would be guested in the Başkent (Capital City) Teachers' Lodge owned by the Ministry of National Education. According to Saray's narrative, TİKA was the institution that acquired expert support from the TDK, at least during the first phase of the project. For both of these projects, of the literature and the grammar & dictionary, 56 scientists came from Turkic republics and the

443 Türk Dil Kurumu, *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Grameri I – Fiil- Basit Çekim,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), pp. IX-XII.

444 Ibid.

445 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, p. 82.

446 T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 22-26 Eylül 1993 Ankara Konuşma Metinleri*, p. 31, speech of Sema Barutçu.

447 TİKA and the TTK also initiated a project of schoolbooks for Turkic history; thus, the TTK was in the protocol, too.

Russian Federation.[448] However, the supporting institution was TİKA in the TDK's perspective, while the work was supposed to be done by the TDK.[449]

## PROJECTS OF THE TDK

The Field Work for the Comparative Grammar (and for Comparative Dictionary) project started, according to Ercilasun, then chairman of the TDK, in 1994; after the DPT assigned the TDK for this task in late 1993. The executive committee was established on 19 February 1994 and consisted of 3 people, Ercilasun himself, Reşat Genç as the chairman of the AKDTYK, and Leyla Karahan.[450] However, Ercilasun stated that the cooperation protocol made with TİKA occurred on the eve of the TİKA's "Turk(ic) Literary Language Symposium" in February 1994. Thirty-two Turkic academics and eleven Turkish academics had started to study on this project since June 1994. This project consisted of the grammars of twenty Turkic languages to be evaluated through comparative methodology. Methodological deliberation for the preparation of the grammar and the dictionary and preparing word and suffix coupons according to the principles accepted after deliberations had consisted of the general framework of the studies made for the first six months. However, most of the Turkic academics had started to leave Turkey between February and June 1995. Then, the project had to be carried out mainly by Turkish academics. Another misfortune for the project was TİKA's leave of the project, which was paying the wages of Turkic academics and computer experts, due to the austerity measures in their budget. Following that, the project was started to be financed by the TDK.[451]

A further misfortune was that the important names for the project left their posts in the administration of the project. Reşat Genç resigned as the chairman of the AKDTYK, which was the supreme foundation over the TDK.

448 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, pp. 80-1.

449 Türk Dil Kurumu, *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Grameri I – Fiil- Basit Çekim,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), pp. IX-XII.

450 Leyla Karahan was also a participant in the 1990 Congress and the 1. STDKr, both of which were organized by the Ministry of Culture.

451 Türk Dil Kurumu, *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Grameri I,* pp. IX-XII

Later, Leyla Karahan as the head of the project who classified and wrote the contents of the works also left her position, too. Thus, Fatih Kirişçioğlu was the one who reviewed the existing works for the last time and made them be prepared to be published. When this project was first started, the expectation was to finish it within four years; however, it took eleven years, in practice, to finish the project.[452] In 2004, the project was reached for a final. The first volume, "Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Grameri I –Fiil- Basit Çekim," was published for the first time in 2006. Besides that, the volume for the compound conjugation of the verbs passed the final check and it is ready to be published; however, it has not published yet. The other works relating verbs, nouns etc. were partially written but not passed through final check and waiting for evaluation.[453] Meanwhile, the comparative dictionary project is another one that could not be fully completed. For many Turkic languages, the word coupons were completely collected and transferred to the computers. The coupons for some Turkic languages, however, could not be completely collected because the project was ended.[454]

### PROJECTS OF ATATÜRK CULTURE CENTER

The other grand project was the Common Turkic Literature that was performed by the Atatürk Culture Center via publishing four different series of encyclopaedias. The paperwork with the DPT took longer and completed in 1996.[455] Saray describes it as the least problematic project and attributes this to the cooperative teamwork occurred among the Associate Professors rather than Professors.[456] Although there were also professors worked in this project, the academics in lower ranks also took an important place in the preparation. It took a shorter time to have the first volumes of these four series be published

452 Ibid., pp. XI-XII.

453 Ibid. See also, Website for the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, "Türk Dil Kurumu Projeleri," http://www.ayk.gov.tr/c62-projeler/tuerk-dil-kurumu-projeleri/.

454 Website for the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, "Türk Dil Kurumu Projeleri," http://www.ayk.gov.tr/c62-projeler/tuerk-dil-kurumu-projeleri/.

455 Website for the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, "Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Projeleri," http://www.ayk.gov.tr/c62-projeler/atatuerk-kueltuer-merkezi-projeleri/.

456 Saray, *Türk Dünyasında Neler Oldu*, p. 81.

in eight years, in 2001 and 2002, than the TDK's project of Comparative Grammar, which started to be published in 2006. The last volumes of these series would start to be published in 2006 and 2007;[457] thus, it could be said that this project really achieved most of its aims at the end.

The general project¸ Common Turkic Literature project was executed by Sadık Tural as the chairman of the AKDTYK who had two deputies, Kamil Veliyev (Nerimanoğlu) and Önder Göçgün. Also, there was a commission dealing with the coordination of the project with Turkic World. Kamil Veliyev from Azerbaijan led the commission and the five independent Turkic republics as well as Tatarstan and Bashkiria as the autonomous structures in the Russian Federation had representatives in the commission. Each of the four series of encyclopaedias, as sub-projects, had their own executors and a commission for scientific review. All of the commissions for scientific review included Sadık Tural as a member. The name of the first two sub-projects were the "Turkic World Literature Texts" and "Turkic World Literature History." These two projects were prepared parallel to each other. Turkic World Literature Texts as an anthological work consists of eight volumes and includes generally the anonymous works of seven independent Turkic republics, such as myths, fairy-tales, sagas etc., and some of the other Turkic nations. This series started to be published in 2001 and the last volume of it in 2007. It is planned to have another series for the written literature in the future.[458]

An important aspect of this anthology was the use of the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet in publication for every Turkic language. Also, this was the case for the much distant and isolated Turkic languages, which have different signs for some of their phonemes in linguistic studies.[459] In these works, the letter "Ä/ä" was preferred for the phoneme /æ/ rather than "Ə/ə," which was adopted during the later alphabet conventions instead of the former. Turkic World Literature History, as the second work, consists of nine volumes

457 Website for the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, "Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Projeleri," http://www.ayk.gov.tr/c62-projeler/atatuerk-kueltuer-merkezi-projeleri/.

458 Ibid.

459 Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, *Türk Dünyası Ortak Edebiyatı: Türk Dünyası Edebiyat Metinleri Antolojisi, vol. 1 (*Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2001), p. XII, preface.

starting from the earliest ages to contemporary times. A related series to Turkic World Literature History was the "Encyclopaedia of the Men of Letters in Turkic World" that consists of eight volumes and including 30000 Turkic men of letters wrote in around twenty Turkic languages. The first volume of it published in 2002 and the last one in 2007.[460] These works may enable more information about the literatures of Turkic languages for the Turkish academic circles and enthusiasts. Also, they may contribute to the issue of establishing a common Turkic literary language since the literary works and an important bulk of information was gathered together in these works. This might contribute to future literary interactions among Turkic peoples and languages. The last project was the "Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Concepts and Terms in Turkic World Literature" that consisted of six volumes and including 14000 concepts and terms. The terminology was first given in seven Turkic languages then defined in Turkish.[461] This collection of terminology might enable more information for Turkish academic circles as well as contribute to the issue of establishing Common Terminology among Turkic languages.

## EVALUATION

In summary, Turkish projects on language have focused on two things. During the first years of the former Soviet Turkic nations' independence, Turkey made material aids to the region. The newly independent republics needed publishing machinery, schoolbooks, and typing machinery, especially computers. That need became severe for Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan that changed their alphabet to Latin script during the first half of the 1990s. The compatibility of the new alphabets to the existing publishing machinery in Turkey and Latin-5 alphabet standards was crucial. Otherwise, it would be harder for Turkey to send the books in the new national alphabets of these republics, and to send machinery from which these republics would benefit. However, the efforts to create "emblems of independence" in the region ended up in completely the opposite way. Furthermore, the economic situation of

460 Website for the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, "Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Projeleri," http://www.ayk.gov.tr/c62-projeler/atatuerk-kueltuer-merkezi-projeleri/.

461 Ibid.

Turkey was unstable during the 1990s that affected the quantity of these helps, negatively.

Towards the end of the process of alphabet conventions, the fact started to emerge that different models rather than the 34-letter Frame Alphabet would be adopted in the region. Maybe as a result of this phenomenon, and in order to focus on the other aspects of linguistic cooperation, some other projects regarding the scientific/linguistic publications started to be planned. By doing that, increasing the level of acquaintance to the other Turkic languages were aimed and this would characterise the process during the second half of the 1990s. In that framework, comparative grammar and lexical works were planned in the linguistic realm and encyclopaedias in literature. The linguistic works were assigned to the TDK and works on literature to Atatürk Culture Center both of which have been tied to a superior council, AKDTYK. TİKA, as the coordination agency, was assigned to give financial and technical support. It was planned, especially for linguistic works, to be finished in much shorter time span; however, the return of Turkic academics back to their country and TİKA's quit from the project due to the financial constraints harmed the evolution of these projects. Nevertheless, the encyclopaedias had started to be published in 2001 and in 2007, all volumes were published. The linguistic projects of grammar and dictionary started to be published by 2007, but not finished, yet.

#### 4.4.1.2 Gaspıralı Project

Another official effort of Turkey was to disseminate a computer program that transliterates the texts in Turkic languages written in former Cyrillic alphabets. As the process of alphabet transition had emerged, one issue was to transliterate the texts written in Cyrillic. An important section of the former Soviet Turkic countries' cultural legacy was written in the former Cyrillic Script. A crucial argument against the transition process was the potential loss of that legacy after future generations will be taught in Latin but not in Cyrillic. Thus, the government that would undertake the transition process either had to accept that loss that was actually unacceptable or had to accept an enormous cost of transliteration of these texts to Latin alphabet. Meanwhile, as it was

described above, most of the countries that had undertaken the transition process have suffered from the lack of enough Latin texts to support the future generations' demand of literacy in the new Latin alphabet. Besides, it was also necessary for Turkish academics in order to process the texts produced by Turkic alphabet much easier; since they would only need to study some vocabulary and a little grammar to become literate in other Turkic languages. Otherwise, the loss of a certain amount of time was certain.[462]

In order to get rid of that burden, an independent academic had started to research to create a computer program that transliterates Cyrillic published text into Latin to a .doc file. Mehmet Kara, who had been working on this issue since 1998, managed to produce a .exe program that managed to do this task. The program, which was called "Gaspıralı" by Mehmet Kara after İsmail Gasprinski, is based on Finereader that is an OCR program that converts the scanned picture files to .doc. After the mentioned document was scanned in Finereader program, then it is put to Gaspıralı.exe to be converted. It was stated that the program was 70-80% successful when converting into Uzbek due to the fact that the vowels were represented by much fewer letters that create confusion. For the other Turkic languages, the success rate of the program was around 90%, which increased up to 100% after future improvements. The program is capable to Latinize twenty of the existing Turkic languages.[463] After the project was presented to TİKA in the "Meeting of Turkic Republics' Workgroup for Informatics Technology" on 17 December 2002, officials accepted to cooperate.[464] The program was converted to ASP[465] in 2004 that can

462 Mehmet Kara, "Gaspıralı: Kiril Latin Alfabeleri Arasında Çeviri Amaçlı Program," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi 16, Marmara Üniversitesi-Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi* (2004), p. 228 and p. 230.

463 Ibid., pp. 228-231.

464 TİKA, *Avrasya Bülteni* (December 2002), http://web.archive.org/web/20050206104527/http://www.tika.gov.tr:80/pdf/avdos/av5.pdf

465 "Active Server Pages (ASP): later known as Classic ASP or ASP Classic, is Microsoft's first server-side script engine for dynamically generated web pages." For more information, check out: "Active Server Pages," *Wikipedia,* last modified on Jan. 8, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Active_Server_Pages.

also transliterate most of the websites written in Cyrillic.[466] Gaspıralı was put by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism on the internet. While it was formerly on http://www.kultur.gov.tr/gaspirali,[467] the new address is http://gaspirali.kultur.gov.tr. In the website, Mehmet Kara is stated as the advisor while Murat Kaya as the programmer.[468] Although there have been other transliterating websites, most of them are for individual languages rather than for a collection of Turkic languages.

### 4.4.2 *Efforts at the Level of the International Cooperation among Turkic Republics*

As discussed, linguistic issues had not been an important area of cooperation among Turkic republics. It had only been mentioned a few times in the Final Declarations of Turkic Leaders' Summits in the 1990s and vanished quickly. Nevertheless, TÜRKSOY (Common Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts) was established in 1993 after the conventions of Turkic Countries' Ministers of Culture in order to protect and process the common Turkic cultural heritage. In this context, TÜRKSOY has been publishing selected literary works of Turkic culture since its establishment. Also, the TDK and TÜRKSOY, jointly, convened a symposium named "Common Language Turk(ic) in Turkic World" on 25 September 2002. In this symposium, participants shared their views and expectations on the Common Turkic Literary Language since it was not yet developed as a project and was not constructed.[469] Another symposium convened was on the "Contemporary Situation in the Works of Transferring[470] among Turkic Dialects and the Problems Occurred" on 31 March- 5

466 Kara, "Gaspıralı: Kiril Latin Alfabeleri Arasında Çeviri Amaçlı Program," p. 230.

467 Ibid., p. 228.

468 Website for Gaspıralı Project, "Türk Lehçeleri," http://gaspirali.kultur.gov.tr/.

469 Türk Dil Kurumu, *Türk Dünyasında Ortak Dil Türkçe Bilgi Şöleni (25 Eylül 2002) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008).

470 The general view held by many academics in Turkey and by some in the region is that Turkic languages are dialects; therefore, the word "transfer" was used rather than "translation."

April 2009 as a product of the cooperation among TÜRKSOY, TİKA, Maltepe and Gazi Universities, and the Writers Union of Euroasia.[471]

The latest development came from Turkic Council (Türk Keneşi) that is an organization evolved from the Summits of the Heads of Turkic Countries during the 1990s. After 2001, these summits were interrupted due to the lack of interest shown by some countries, accompanied by some tensions. In 2006, these summits started again, though Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan would not attend anymore. After these two countries left the summits, the cooperation got a more active rhythm and evolved into the Turkic Council, that is, Türk Keneşi that became fully operational in 2011. Turkic Council, again, was based on the annual summits of Turkic leaders; however, there is a permanent secretariat existing in Istanbul to pursue the decisions made at these summits. Thus, the problem of lack of coordination that had existed in the 1990s was solved.

As stated, linguistic issues were degraded in Turkic cooperation and became less and less important in the 1990s. The only mention of language was when the Turkic identity as the basis of the cooperation was put forward. However, during the Second Leaders' Summit of Turkic Council in 2012 in Bishkek, it was put that "a new common Turkic cultural agenda" was needed and should be initiated. In order to fulfil that, the International Turkic Academy (TWESCO), which would definitely contribute linguistic and other studies in Turcology was established. More importantly, it was decided to establish a "Committee of Common Terminology" and wait for its decisions.[472] The committee convened for the first time on 16 November 2012, in Istanbul and accepted the decisions to constitute a common terminology, to write dictionaries of it and use it, and to constitute a common alphabet for scientific purposes. Also, in order to increase the acquaintance to each other's language, it was suggested including each other's language to the syllabi in schools. These

471 TÜRKSOY, *Türk Lehçeleri Arasındaki Aktarma Çalışmalarının Bugünkü Durumu ve Karşılaşılan Sorunlar: Uluslararası Sempozyum ve Uygulama Atölyesi / Tebliğler ve Aktarım Örnekleri (*Ankara: Türksoy), p. 130. Impressions by Abdülvahap Kara.

472 Türk Konseyi İkinci Zirvesi Bildirisi, Bişkek, Aug. 23, 2012, Article 1, http://www.turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/Biskek_Bildirisi_Turkce_imzali_20140418_102501.pdf

decisions were appreciated by Turkic leaders during the 3rd Summit convened in Gebele.[473] As a common alphabet, Turkic Council adopted the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet with the letter "Ə/ə." The letter "Ə/ə," while adding to the Frame Alphabet at the request of the Azerbaijani participants, also creates a link to the Uniform Turkic Alphabet, which was used by the Soviet Turkic peoples during the 1930s. Turkic Council has been using that alphabet in their internal correspondences.[474] Also, after the Kazakh transition became popular in the media since April 2017, TWESCO organized a conference about the transition process in Kazakhstan and introduced the Common Turkic Alphabet within the framework of the Eurasian Book Fair 2017 in June 2017.[475] TWESCO's proposal for the New Kazakh Latin Alphabet, as stated above, was the application of such a model within the frame of the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet. TWESCO's stand was rather general, in alignment with Turkic Council. Even if the 34-letter Frame Alphabet is not going to be applied by all of Turkic Republics, TWESCO desires to continue to apply that model as a scientific transcription alphabet, at least.[476]

## § 4.5 Evaluation

Here, one can talk about two groups of reasons as preventive for the application of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. First, there are socio-economic reasons, which is a great challenge in front of the alphabet transition in front of the newly independent republics. When we look at the alphabet

473 Türk Dili Konuşan Ülkeler İşbirliği Konseyi Üçüncü Zirve Bildirisi, Gebele, Azerbaycan, Aug. 16, 2013, Article 3, http://www.turkkon.org/Assets/dokuman/format_deklarasyon_TR_20140418_102229.pdf.

474 Abdülvahap Kara, "Türk Keneşi (Konseyi) ve Türk Dünyasının 34 Harfli Ortak Alfabe Sistemi," Dec. 7, 2012, http://www.abdulvahapkara.com/turk-kenesi-ve-alfabe/. Also, I was told by the Turkic Council that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet contributed to the alphabet that they are using.

475 "Academy Held a Meeting on the Transition to Latin alphabet," *TWESCO,* June 16, 2017, http://twesco.org/en/news/meropriyatie_po_latinskomu_alfavitu/.

476 "Darhan Kıdırali: 'Azərbaycan əlifbasına əsaslanan ortaq türk əlifbası təklif etmişik'," YouTube video, 32:08, from an interview televized by APA TV, posted by "APA TV," July 5, 2017, https://youtu.be/fIk_LEzvWJw.

transition processes in three countries, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, we observe that it has lasted for a long period and the challenges brought by this process have only recently been recovered in these countries. The outcome in Uzbekistan, as the third country that went for a Latin alphabet, was much less certain than the other two since both Cyrillic and Latin scripts continue to be used.

The first socioeconomic barrier was the necessity to renew all the publishing machinery and to publish new pupil books to teach the new alphabet. Secondly, this transition would lead to a sharp decrease in the ratio of literate people, where many of them must be reeducated to become literate in Latin alphabet. It is important to note that the very same people, also, would have to teach Latin alphabet to the new generation. Thirdly, Cyrillic alphabet was the alphabet in which most of the literary works of these languages were written. Thus, most of the important works written in the past must be republished in Latin script in order to prevent the cultural discontinuity among the generations. The economic cost of this transition was already a great one, especially for the post-Soviet Turkic countries that were passing through a period of economic hardship after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In addition to that, the psychological costs of a new alphabet made an important section of the society reluctant for this transition, too, and required extensive efforts to undertake it.

As a result, Kazakh and Kyrgyz governments preferred to postpone the transition – or not to do it, while complications in Uzbekistan delayed taking a complete result from the process until the 2010s. Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan had managed to undertake this transition process successfully despite the colossal economic hardships accompanied with a war for the former; however, certain success was achieved in the 2000s, which took almost a decade. Thus, putting a common alphabet aside, even the national transition processes meant for many complications and challenges for the newly established governments to deal with.

Although the socioeconomic factors explain still an important aspect of the failure for the common alphabet, they do not explain the standpoint of Turkic republics, which changed from Cyrillic to Latin alphabet but refused to apply the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. I think the answer lies

in the nation-building process of the former Soviet Turkic republics as the second reason. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, newly independent Turkic republics had to establish and strengthen their national identities in order to ensure their existence. These national identities started to compete with the Soviet nostalgia, with greater identities in the region – such as Turkic and Islamic ones – and with local identities – such as the ethnic and regional ones. In order to cope with the situation, these newly independent republics preferred to promote their peculiar national identities via creating alphabets full of "emblems of independence."

These emblems can be thought of having two functions. Their first function is to emphasize the cultural and political independence against other countries and make their citizens prioritise and be loyal to their nation rather than any other identity. Here, Russia as the previous big brother and Turkey as the potential big brother were two vivid examples but not the only ones. A Common Turkic Alphabet Project represented also a greater Turkic identity; thus, these republics had preferred to evaluate the issue of the alphabet as national rather than an inter-Turkic and did not cooperate among themselves. So, every republic preferred to underscore their authentic national culture against all outsiders, including other Turkic brethren, and transformed their national alphabet into another component of their authentic culture. Their second function has to do with Realpolitik. Emphasizing the political independence is actually something diplomatic, geopolitical and immanent to international relations. Meanwhile, these countries have to keep the balance of power in the region, too, and unconscious rapprochement with Turkey might break that balance. Lastly, fluctuations in the bilateral relations among Turkic republics can also be considered as a factor in the establishment of these emblems of independence, too.

# 5

# Conclusion

In this study, I analyzed the fate of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet project by studying three topics. First, I evaluated developments in the early modernization era of the Turkic world, that is, the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. During that era, the Turkic world encountered with the publication, the press, and the idea of the modern nation, which had certain intertwined influences on Turkic languages. Then, I evaluated the conventions for the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet project as the second topic. The historical experience of the early modernization era influenced the proposals and discussions as well as the constitution of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet. However, only Azerbaijan, the Crimean Tatars, and the Gagauz people formed national alphabets in line with the Frame Alphabet. It was important to evaluate the formation process of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project as well as the project itself. Finally, it is also necessary to look at transition processes and the general situation in those countries.

Before the period of radical revolutions, that is, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two major legacies shaped the region structurally. The first is the idea of a modern nation with a literary and print language. In the ideological sense, communication with Russians and the West generated an avant-garde group of intellectuals who desired to introduce modernity to their societies. Theoretically speaking, philological studies and vernacularization

constitute two important aspects of the idea of nation, which is a duplicable model to be applied by other polities according to Benedict Anderson. The spread of nationalist ideology was a duplication of a political model. These ideologies shared a great deal in common in terms of principles and application – except for peculiar folkloric elements. Actually, changes to the model became unacceptable if the "nation" as a model was significantly violated.[1] Thus, producing philological and folkloric studies and basing a new literary print language on them were part of the idea of nation, which was the key part of the modernity package. Starting with the Tatars, a significant movement toward philological studies and the vernacularization of the literary language emerged.

Practically speaking, new literary print languages needed to be close to the vernacular in order for the public to understand and demand the texts. Anderson's theory is based on the existence of the print capitalism, and thus on the profit maximization of publishers. Khalid criticizes that theory in the Central Asian case.[2] Anderson's theory, however, seems to have explanatory power on the Ottoman and Tatar cases where a certain level of production was reached. On the other hand, it best explains the first decade of the twentieth century when constitutional revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Iran created a more liberal environment for authors and media. The variety of ideas and works published increased along with the level of education. Modern-day Tatar literature started to emerge in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and flourished after the constitutional revolutions when newspapers also flourished.[3]

Anderson chooses the emergence and development of the Young Turk movement and the first independent media in the 1860s and 1870s as a milestone for the first movements for the vernacularization of the literary language

1 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso Books, 2006), pp. 67-82, Chapter 4: Old Languages, New Models.

2 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform (*California: University of California Press, 1998), p. 119.

3 Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri,* 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Kültürün Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966), pp. 132-159.

in the Ottoman Empire.[4] It is a fact that the Young Turk movement worked for vernacularization; however, the milestone seems to be when the *Genç Kalemler (Young pens) movement* including Ziya Gökalp and Ömer Seyfettin emerged with a defined agenda appealing to a broader base in the 1910s – following the declaration of the second constitutional monarchy in 1908.

Another point to discuss on Anderson's theory is the role of market incentives in the vernacularization process – at least in the case of Turkic peoples. Intellectuals calculated how to increase the circulation of their work was a market-based concern; however, it did not completely arise from the impulse to maximize profits. They also wanted to communicate with their societies as quickly as possible. Their means was to write in a simple, understandable language, that is, to vernacularize the literary language. A similar concern with communicating with locals existed among Russians, too. They conducted Turcology studies, accordingly, and published periodicals in local vernaculars. Although the printing industry and market was not yet fully developed – neither was the print capitalism, efforts to create demand in the print market for communicative purposes was a significant factor in vernacularization as Anderson discusses.

An important actor that influenced linguistic modernization was Russia. Not every Russian action to vernacularize national literary languages aimed at dividing and ruling Turkic peoples. In an effort to understand and communicate with the recently joined subjects and potential subjects, Russia introduced modern academic institutions to the region. Understanding and communicating were the prevailing aims in some Russian actions, especially in initial phases. On the other hand, Russian policies later supported and directed vernacularization processes to further their political ambitions vis-à-vis Turkic peoples.

A certain path was initiated by Grigorev and Ilminski who sought to win over minor nations from Tatarization for Russian. Their agenda aimed at producing a literature based on the local vernacular written using the Cyrillic alphabet sought to separate them from Tatarhood, Turkicness, Islam, and other

4 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p. 75.

non-Russian and non-Orthodox Christian identities. The goal was to underscore independent and isolated identities in the region, which would be absorbed by Russia in the future.[5] There were also Russian fanatics who refused to value and recognize these identities. This group also worked on shaping the agenda of educational policies towards non-Russians, which had also a linguistic aspect. Non-Russians such as Russian Turkic peoples also defended their right to say something on this issue in the Duma.[6] Some of the tsarist policies developed in this era resembled later Bolshevik educational and nation-building policies.[7]

Since the occupation in the mid-sixteenth century, the Tatars did not evaluate the Russian policies positively. Despite the relative liberalization in the reign of Catherine II, a certain Russian fanaticism and chauvinism continued in the nineteenth century based on culture and religion. These were further supplemented by set of Ilminskian measures starting in the 1860s, though Ilminski personally did not degrade. Intellectuals among the Russian Turkic peoples responded to this environment by calling for the modernization of their societies. Two paths emerged. The first and later dominant path a nation-building process based on local vernaculars and folklore. Its mechanism was the "philological revolution," as Anderson puts it.

On the other hand, a second group evaluated these nations as too small to survive geopolitically. They defended the cultural unity of Turkic peoples and tried to create a Common Literary Language. The emergence of local vernaculars as new literary languages precluded the potential unity of Turkic peoples. İsmail Gaspıralı was a key figure of this standpoint. As the owner of the newspaper *Tercüman*, he managed to establish a certain connection among Turkic intelligentsia around the world, but he could not attract the majority of the

5 Isabelle Kreindler, "Ibrahim Altynsarin, Nikolai Il'minskii and the Kazakh national awakening," *Central Asian Survey*, 2:3, pp. 99-116.

6 Wayne Dowler, "The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire, 1865-1914," The Russian Review, Vol. 54, no. 4 (October 1995), pp. 516-538.

7 Isabelle Kreindler, "Educational Policies toward the Eastern Nationalities in Tsarist Russia: A Study of Il'minskii's System," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969), p. 211-3.

younger intellectuals to this standpoint.[8] His legacy, nevertheless, was evident in the 1926 Baku Turcology Congress, and in conventions of the post-Cold War era.

The Arabo-Persian script and classic orthography were considered reason of the low literacy rates by many intellectuals. Some proposed an alphabet transition. Latin script is the most favorite option. Others proposed keeping the Arabic script but adopting a phonetic orthography to make reading and writing easier. The problem with Arabic script was the existence of the only three vowels – which also represented consonants – in Arabic script given the minimum of six or eight vowels in Turkic languages. A third group opposed such drastic measures and proposed minor reforms if anything. Some nations started to adopt the second option of undertaking phonetic reforms to the Arabo-Persian script in the 1920s. The Soviet Azerbaijan government officially decided on a transition to Latin in 1923 even as the new alphabet was used in publications in 1922. The idea of a transition to Latin alphabet was be adopted by the Soviet government, as well, which led to the 1926 Baku Turcology that eliminated the opposition and put the transition into the minds of the people.[9]

The focus of the 1926 Baku Turcology Congress was the issue of the alphabet. Certain officially supported workgroups had already studied the regional attitude towards it and sought to convince as many people as possible of the new Latin alphabet before the congress. Many eminent Turcologists among Turkic peoples – including Mehmet Fuat Köprülü from Turkey –, Soviets, and Europeans, attended the congress. The specific aim of the Soviet government was to legitimize the alphabet transition. In order to guarantee this, the Soviet government ensured that most participants in the Baku Turcology Congress

8 Nadir Devlet, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı) (*Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988); Edward James Lazzerini, "Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914," (PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 1973).

9 Cemil Həsənli, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultaya Qısa Tarixi Baxış," in the TDK, *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kongresinin 70. Yıl Dönümü Toplantısı (29-30 Kasım 1996) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), p. 8. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi (*Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), pp. 97-114.

would favor the alphabet transition.[10] While accepting Turkic nations as distinct and main polities, the congress reflected some inter-Turkic agenda, as well. Following the dedication of the congress to the eminent Turcologist Radloff,[11] the Turkic participants proposed to further dedicate the congress to İsmail Gaspıralı, who had pursued cultural pan-Turkism via his newspaper *Tercüman* and the project for a common Turkic literary language. It was accepted, as well. Furthermore, Gaspıralı's compatriot Bekir Sıtkı Çobanzade, who was a philologist and Turcologist, would discuss the necessities of a Common Literary Language, a Common Orthography, a Common Terminology, along with the application of a Common Turkic Alphabet. He was supported by some Turkic Turcologists.[12] A common alphabet was also the desire of the Russian Turcologist, Samoilovich, for he thought that Turkic languages should not be separated.[13] The congress adopted Latin script as a superior option to the Arabo-Persian script but left the ultimate decision to Turkic peoples.[14]

Alphabet transition among Soviet Turkic peoples was shaped according to these standpoints – Latin script and a centralized, shared alphabet. Azerbaijanis developed a specific Latin alphabet in the early 1920s and completed a transition process at the time. Meanwhile, the Central Asian Uzbek, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz nations compromised on a common alphabet model among themselves, which was based on different orthographic rules and letters in 1927. To prevent such separation and isolation, the VTsKNTA (All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet) would adopt a "Uniform Turkic Alphabet" in June 1927 for all Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union.

The orthographic rules, however, included differences and peculiarities among these nations. Adopting the same orthographic form for each word already contradicted the phonetic principle, which suggests writing words as

10 Həsənli, "Birinci Türkoloji Qurultaya Qısa Tarixi Baxış," pp. 9-10.

11 Although born as a German in Germany under the name Wilhelm Radloff, he later became a citizen of Russia under the name, Vasili Vasilevich Radlov. I use his German name since it is the name by which he is commonly known in Turkey.

12 Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi (*Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), p. 121.

13 Ibid., pp. 129-130.

14 Ibid., p. 128. *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayı (Tutanaklar) 26 Şubat-6 Mart 1926,* tr. Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu and Mustafa Öner (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), p. 456.

they are pronounced in each national language. Thus, some contemporary academics state that the Uniform Turkic Alphabet project failed.[15] Çobanzade's complaint that Turkic people lacked a Common Literary Language pointed to this issue, actually. On the other hand, the Turkic intelligentsia aimed to raise national vernaculars to the level of literary and print language in order to strengthen the modern day Turkic nationalities that emerged as a political actor since the nineteenth century. While building common ground among these nationalities and cultures was acceptable to everyone to a degree, nobody supported measures that would overshadow nationalities for other supra-identities. Despite orthographic differences, a uniform Latin alphabet was applied among Turkic peoples in which letters corresponded to the same or similar phonemes. This constituted the basis of the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project constituted in the 1990s. Also, most Turkish academics accompanied by some Turkic academics would support the Common Turkic Orthography, Literary Language, and Terminology projects.

The Soviet attitude towards linguistic developments and nation-building processes can be defined in two phases – before and after the Great Purge. These two phases shared an important similarity, which was a degree of support given to nationalities as cultural identities. The national Soviet Socialist Republics and other sub-administrative structures were the key to cultural and administrative life. The basic principle was summarized by the Stalinist maxim: "national in form, Bolshevik in content." Some changes were made to national form and Bolshevik content; however, the place in the Soviet administration system of these nations and their national republics remained. For most of the nationalities, there was continuity from the early years of the Soviet Union until its collapse. Changes to some linguistic elements of these nations would rearrange their positioning vis-à-vis each other, instead.

15 Mehmet Uzman, "Romanization in Uzbekistan Past and Present," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 20, no. 1 (Jan., 2010), p. 56. Victoria Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2005), p. 67 and pp. 97-8.

The nationality and linguistic policies of Bolsheviks with respect to Turkic peoples can be summarized in the period before the Purge by the dictum having "alphabet in Latin script, terminology in Russian, and language in proletarian," as Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu describes the "Bolshevik Turkism" or "Communist Nationalism."[16] Nationalist intellectuals and leaders who were forced to live abroad, like Mehmed Emin Resulzade from Azerbaijan, resisted policies in line with that dictum, and were concerned for the assimilation and corruption of the nation. The transformation of their national cultures corresponding to Bolshevism and Russianhood were the main concerns of these nationalist intellectuals.[17]

On the other hand, Bolshevism and Internationalism were not integrated with Russianhood until after the Great Purge. Before the purge, the Latin alphabet rather than Cyrillic was promoted among the Soviet Turkic peoples. Many ideological terms were created from within the national languages rather than being loaned from Russian. Jadidist intellectuals who worked with the Bolsheviks and adapted to the new political environment continued to contribute to the cultural lives of their nations. Clement states that some academics considered that era to be a continuation of the Jadidist era in Turkmen literature.[18] An important element of the Jadidist era – the inter-Turkic public space that connected Turkish people with Russian Turkic peoples –ceased by the late 1920s. The wall between the Soviets and Turkey would eventually ascend.[19] Nevertheless, linguistic policymaking in the era did not lead to a complete isolation among the Soviet Turkic cultures, at least. The Uniform Turkic

16 Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu, "1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayı Üzerine," in *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayı (Tutanaklar) 26 Şubat-6 Mart 1926,* tr. Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu and Mustafa Öner (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), p. 13.

17 Ibid. Also, Nəsib Nəsibzəde, "Sovet Siyasətində Bakü Türkoloji Kurultayının Yeri," in the TDK, *1926 Bakü Türkoloji Kongresinin 70. Yıl Dönümü Toplantısı (29-30 Kasım 1996) (*Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), pp. 97-100.

18 Victoria Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2005), p. 27.

19 Adeeb Khalid, "Central Asia between the Ottoman and the Soviet Worlds," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 12*, no. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 470-6.

Alphabet served the continuation of inter-Turkic ties. The new Turkish alphabet and the Uniform Turkic Alphabet used by the Soviet Turkic peoples even shared great similarities.

At least until the Great Purge the Soviet Turkic peoples were not isolated from each other; actually, the cultural relations and ties continued among the Soviet Turkic nationalities to a certain degree. The change in Soviet nationality policies altered the fate of the region forever. Bolshevik internationalism, as Clement stated, was defined by Latin script rather than being tied to Russian culture through the Cyrillic alphabet until the mid-1930s.[20] Furhermore, internationalism among Turkic peoples had included significant inter-Turkic elements from Jadidism, as well. Starting by the mid-1930s the alphabet would be Cyrillic, the terminology strictly in Russian, and the language would remain proletarian. The new internationalism was based on the Russian culture, which according to the national intelligentsia was among the most cultivated and progressive since it had created the October revolution.[21]

Nevertheless, the classic Stalinist maxim "national in form, socialist in content" still held. The real change was the strict redefinition of national essence and socialist internationalism by Moscow. Some scientific interventions started to emerge during the mid-1930s; however, Soviet Turkic nations would be redefined in compliance with the Russian culture, from the alphabet down to the vocabulary, in line with a new form of Soviet internationalism. National content was initially created in cooperation with those among the old Jadidist intelligentsia who were ready to work within Bolshevism although they brought along a non-communist legacy.

During the October Revolution, Bolshevik cadres worked with nationalists to establish the political structure through compromise. However, the nationalists were not allowed to govern and were soon expelled, instead.[22] Dur-

20 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 118.

21 Ziyafet Eyvazova "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008), pp. 57-63.

22 Nadir Özbek, "The Bashkir Nationality Question and Zeki Velidi Togan in the Russian Revolution and the Civil War, 1917-1921," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 11 (2002), p. 167.

ing the Great Purge, it was the time for the linguists and intellectuals who participated in nation-building processes of Soviet Turkic nations to be eliminated. The fate of the Uniform Turkic Alphabet and other linguistic and cultural policies did not differ from those of their creators.[23] The Great Purge was a historical milestone. The new nations would be assigned new Cyrillic alphabets that differed from each other, thus isolating them completely from each other. The vocabulary became completely Russian, and all letters specific to the Russian language were preserved in most of the new alphabets to protect the orthography of that vocabulary. The new Soviet internationalism destroyed all ties to the ancien régime and established new ties connecting everything to Moscow.

The general trends among Turkic nations in the nineteenth century up until the Great Purge in the mid-1930s explains the post-Cold War era. The first trend was the nationalization of social structure and the vernacularization of literary languages. These projects, to a great extent, resulted from the ideological evolution of the intellectuals subject to the modernity. Nationalism as an ideology required vernacularization in the ideological realm, on one hand, while the necessity of communicating with society required this in the practical realm, on the other. Similar practical concerns also led to the Arabo-Persian script being evaluated as problematic. The Tsarist and Bolshevik regimes were also involved in the linguistic life of Turkic peoples. A second trend among the modernist intellectuals was opposition to the vernacularization and support for a common Turkic literary language that would enable a wider public space, which would help protecting the national rights and the existence of nations. Ultimately, nationalization and vernacularization won out; however, this led to the isolation of Turkic nations from each other under Soviet policies and the significant influence of Russian culture. The legacy of this era and its winners and losers affected the mindsets of the publics and intellectuals of the Turkic world as well as their political and linguistic structures

23 Betül Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi (*Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 2004), pp. 72-4. Betül Aslan, "Sovyet Rusya Hakimiyetinde Yaşayan Türklerin Ortak 'Birleştirilmiş Türk Alfabesi'nden 'Rus Kiril' Alfabesine Geçirilmesi," *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi,* Sayı 40, Erzurum 2009, pp. 369-370.

of the Turkic World. This would come to shape current post-Cold War era linguistic policies.

The last years of the Soviet Union were an opportunity for nations to pursue cultural policies independent of the center and Bolshevism. In that framework, language was the key for defining nations. Nations first raised their languages to an official level. At the same time, they sought to rearrange their languages independent of Bolshevik principles and Russian domination of the language. Most national Cyrillic alphabets included some authentic Russian letters to protect the orthography of words borrowed from the Russian language. Some Soviet Turkic Turcologists and intellectuals considered that the time had come for *berpa* (revival) of Latin alphabet that was applied uniformly throughout the Soviet part of Turkic World until the late 1930s.

The linguistic policies of Turkey also changed after 1980 since the TDK (Turkish Language Association) was restructured. Before the 1980 coup d'etat, a modernist group was in charge of the TDK and linguistic policy. They defended that the modern Turkish language should be based on Anatolian, Turkish elements within the national borders. They supported to produce neologisms following the Kemalist revolution according to this principle. Their agenda was dominant in linguistic policymaking until 1983. Following the restructuring, a Turkist-traditionalist group was put in charge, who supported closer connections with other Turkic languages rather than being limited to Anatolia and national borders.[24] Thus, the perfect moment for an inter-Turkic linguistic agenda emerged.

A few meetings took place in the Soviet Union among the Soviet Turkic peoples and in Turkey among Turkish academics before the moment for cooperation on linguistic issues came. The first significant inter-Turkic linguistic study was conducted in November 1991 when the "International Symposium on Modern Turkic Alphabets" convened at Marmara University. Participants adopted the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, which was based on the Turkish alphabet but revived the tradition of the Uniform Turkic Alphabet. The symposium suggested that national governments use these letters

24 Yılmaz Bingöl, "Revisiting Turkish Language Policy In Lıght Of the Actors' Norms and Identity Model" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002).

when preparing their national alphabets. Thus, the same or similar phonemes would be represented by the same letter throughout Turkic World, as was the case during the 1930s in the Soviet Union. This time, Turkey would also be incorporated into that tradition.

The Azerbaijani government adopted the model without reservations, at first, but later, demanded a change to one letter. This was adopted in the "(First) Permanent Turkic Language Congress" in May 1992. Later, until 1993, a series of conventions took place throughout which there was continuous reference to the alphabet and its ratification. The only independent nations to apply that model were Turkey and Azerbaijan. Gagauzia and Crimean Tatars also applied that model as subnational units. Tatarstan slightly modified the model but eventually did not apply at all. Turkmenistan violated the frame but preserved the orthographic rule of not using multigraphs. Uzbekistan and more recently Kazakhstan applied digraphs and other combinations and violated the frame, as well. Hence, the 34-letter Common Turkic Alphabet Project had a limited success, which arises the question of why.

Some academics put forward the view that Turkey followed an imperative and assimilative agenda with regard to national culture vis-à-vis the Turkic republics, which the latter eventually rejected.[25] This view has some pros and cons to understand what happened. In favor of that view, are the discourses arose in the conventions, especially among the Turkish participants in relation to their Turkic colleagues. From the analysis of their historical and linguistic evaluations and the projects they had proposed, it can be found two different but complementary attitudes of the Turkish academics towards the region.

Linguistically speaking, Turkish academics took the view that Turkic languages were dialects of a single Turkic language called as *Türkçe,* just like the Turkish language. Classifying the national vernaculars such as Azerbaijani, Kazakh, and Turkish as different languages was viewed mainly the result of imperialist divide and rule policies, pursued especially by Russia. This view was grounded in the old Turcology studies. In the second chapter, Alexander Kazem-Bek's work is given as an example of these classic studies. However,

25 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008), p. 177.

Wilhelm Radloff's work *Опыт Словаря Тюркских Наречий* (Opyt Slovarya Tyurkskih Narechiy - an Attempt for a Dictionary of Turkic Dialects) was the generic example given by Turkic academics that denoted *Turkic* as the name of the language, and the national vernaculars as dialects of it.[26] Today, it is almost universally accepted that the national vernaculars are different languages in the same linguistic family.

In terms of projects, Turkish academics proposed the Common Turkic Orthography and Literary Language projects as complements to the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project. These projects can be grounded in Gaspıralı's views. They were also discussed during the Baku Turcology Congress. These projects were evaluated negatively by the opponents of the nation-building processes and the vernacularization of literary print languages. The defenders of a common orthography and a common literary language during the post-Cold War era evaluated the nation-building and vernacularization processes as part of Russian divide and rule policies rather than as a part of the natural historical evolution of region.

The dialect approach of Turkish academics, as stated by one participant in the 2. STDKr, was evaluated as disrespect of Turkic nationalities. Calling the main language *Türkçe* resulted in a further discussion in the TÜDEV convention since the word means Turkish language and Turkic language at the same time. Also, that perception was adopted vulgarly, incorporated with a sense of big brother perspective of some Turkish politicians, too. Observers from the region were disturbed and suspected from political intentions.[27] I described these moments in the relevant sections of my thesis. Hence, it is possible to conclude that that the Turkish mindset at the academic and governmental levels negatively affected the attitudes of the Turkic republics to the Frame Alphabet project.

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26 As an example, see Hasan Eren, "Yazı Reformları Karşısında," *Türk Dili 1,* no: 494 (February 1993), pp. 82-3. For a criticism of Eren's article and that idea in general, see Talat Tekin, "Türki Tilder Familyası," in *Türkoloji Eleştirileri* ed., Mehmet Ölmez, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Simurg, 1997), pp. 235-6.

27 Abulfazl Bahadori, "Alphabet in the Boiling Pot of the Politics," *Azerbaijan International 1,* no. 3 (September 1993), pp. 10-13, https://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/13_folder/13_articles/13_alphapolitics.html.

On the other hand, this was a sensational aspect of why the 34-letter Frame Alphabet rejected and a complete analysis of the series of conventions is needed. While the paradigm of Turkish academics at the conventions overemphasized the divide and rule policies and neglected the historical evolution of nationalization and vernacularization, this did not imply that as a group they sought to assimilate other Turkic languages. First, the Common Turkic Frame Alphabet also had an intellectual basis in other Turkic republics. From the beginning in 1991, many linguists in Turkic republics, some of whom attended the conventions, emphasized the concept of *berpa*, that is, the revival of the 1928-40 *Yañalif* alphabet. This demonstrated that the project was created on equal terms. The original alphabet was not revived because letters prepared more than 60 years ago were not supported by contemporary printing machinery and digital fonts. Instead, the Turkish alphabet would become the basis of the Frame Alphabet since it was successfully used for more than 60 years. This would also enable Turkey to be incorporated into the tradition of *berpa*.

Secondly, Turkic academics carefully pursued and openly stated the interests of their national language. On some issues, the Turkish party was more stubborn; however, the democratic organizational framework of the conventions generally favored Turkic nations. Moreover, the Turkish participants were aware of some of the needs of Turkic republics and proposed solutions. For instance, the long vowels of the Turkmen language were underscored since the Jadidist era,[28] and the national Turkmen orthography did not include them during the Uniform Turkic and Cyrillic alphabet eras. Turkmen participants also emphasized that problem during these conventions; thus, a solution was produced within the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project. This was the case, for example, when the letter Ä/ä, which is more universal as a result of its use in German and therefore supported by the the Turkish participants, was abandoned in favor of Ə/ə, which was defended by Azerbaijani participants since it existed in both the Uniform Turkic Alphabet (*Yañalif*) of the 1930s and in Azerbaijani Cyrillic alphabet and was thus considered national.

28 Clement, "Rewriting the 'Nation': Turkmen Literacy, Language, and Power, 1904-2004," p. 25.

Thirdly, it would be a mistake to evaluate this project as classical policy-making by governments. Instead, the process was mainly a product of the efforts of Turkish and Turkic academics. The most important factor that made these conventions a series or a process was the initiatives of the participants to previous conventions. Thus, this project was not policy-making directly attributable to Turkey. On the other hand, the project was eventually adopted by the Turkish government, though not always strictly supported. Turkish bureaucratic and governmental authorities sometimes discussed alternative solutions. The most important aspect of the conventions was that was no central organ to organize and regulate these conventions or the general process. This was not the case in the transition to the Uniform Turkic Alphabet, which was initiated by the Soviet government. This was underscored by İristay Kuçkartayev during the TÜDEV Congress, as well. As stated in that same congress, there were efforts to create an official, central structure to organize alphabet transitions, but the establishment of that structure needed to be ratified by the Summit of Turkic Leaders. However, there were neither significant decisions made at these summits on linguistic issues nor any decisions regarding a central structure for alphabet transition.

Lastly, Turkey started changing the discourses addressing to the region during the 2. STDKr, which was the last in the string of conventions. Turkish president Süleyman Demirel underscored that a common literary language would not be appropriate at that phase and suggested focusing on feasible projects such as the Frame Alphabet Project. Meanwhile, the Turkist-traditionalist cadre, whose paradigms and projects were controversial, lost the chairmanship in the 2. STDKr to the modernist cadres, who accepted that Turkic vernaculars are languages on their own. On the other hand, the Turkmens and Uzbeks had already started adopting national alphabets that violated the frame drawn by the previous conventions. Thus, the changes made by Turkey was happening at a very late phase.

It would be hasty to blame Turkey for the failure of the Common Turkic Alphabet Project for the reasons described above; nevertheless, the paradigmatic mistakes of Turkish academics and authorities also did not help. On the other hand, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was never dis-

cussed at the governmental level among Turkish and Turkic states. This indicates that Turkic republics did not evaluate the issue of alphabet transition to be an area of cooperation. Several factors caused Turkic republics to think and act so.

Monetary and pedagogical costs were regional factors that contributed to the delay of alphabet transitions in some countries. Such transitions required buying new printing machinery and computers, publishing old books anew as well as new ones, and replacing everyday objects including street signs and money. Also, the new alphabet had to be taught to both old and new generations, which required significant educational mobilization and additional spending. On the other hand, the newly independent republics were passing through an economic bottleneck. The last years of the Soviet Union were ones of economic crisis, and the transition from communism to capitalism meant significant social and economic change, starting with the redistribution of the means of production from the state to individuals. To lessen the general burden, different republics adopted different strategies.

Another important regional factor was what the government and the society aimed to accomplish with the alphabet transition. While inter-Turkic rapprochement was mentioned in some legal documents concerning alphabet transitions, these transition processes had other goals, which superseded that. An important theme was integration with rest of the world after the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which had isolated these republics. Preparing a national alphabet comprised of internationally recognizable letters seemed to many to serve that aim more so than such alphabets with diacritics representing national phonemes. This became more important following the development of global computer technology based on the English alphabet, which does not include any diacritics. Before that, handwriting and printing machinery was much more important, and limited discussion of the issue to a national framework. Today, the power of technology allows us to print whatever we want. On the other hand, that same technology can force nations to be subject to global trends, such as the QWERTY keyboard and letters without diacritics. It is

problematic to incorporate different letters into typefaces due to copyright issues, as Betty Blair discussed when evaluating the Azerbaijani letter Ə/ə.[29] Alternative diacritical letters and symbols were also proposed in the region. A vivid example of such alternative letters were the peculiar letters of the Uniform Turkic Alphabet.

A frame alphabet based on the Turkish alphabet was one option among others. On some points, the Turkish alphabet, and thus the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet, had certain advantages because of its 60 years of application. Such an alphabet would allow other Turkic nations to access Turkish literature, which included many original and translated works. This thesis of accessing Turkish literature was actually used as a part of the criticism in Uzbekistan that did not apply the Frame Alphabet Model.[30] Another advantage was that Turkic alphabets would own their own alphabet standard to be used on digital devices. The alphabets of Eastern and Central Europe, and other nations already had their own peculiar alphabet standards, by which they can represent their letters and diacritics without problem on electronic devices. These standards were used in the devices sold and used in these countries. Indeed, a standard called ISO/IEC 8859-9 or ECMA-128 (Latin Alphabet no. 5)[31] for the Turkish alphabet had existed since 1988. By applying the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet, this standard could be used throughout Turkic World.[32] Defenders of the inter-Turkic cooperation expected from Turkey to support the region materially, such as with published books, typewriters, printing machinery, computers. This was evaluated as another advantage of the adoption of the Frame Alphabet by its defenders. However, Turkish support of Turkic republics did not meet all of economic needs of the region. Economic situation of

29 Betty Blair, "The new Azerbaijani Alphabet: the upside-down "e" – an editor's nightmare," *Azerbaijan International 1*, no. 3 (September 1993), pp. 36-40, http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/13_folder/13_articles/13_alphabetnightmare.html

30 Jacob Landau, "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 20, no. 1 (January 2010), p. 31.

31 ECMA, *Standard ECMA-128 8-Bit Single Byte Coded Graphic Character Sets Latin Alphabets no. 5,* 2nd Edition (December 1999): Brief History, http://www.ecma-international.org/publications/files/ECMA-ST/Ecma-128.pdf

32 Mustafa Öner, "Kazakistan Latin Alfabesine Geçiyor! Yeni Kazak Alfabesi," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, C: XCV, S: 674 (Şubat 2008), p. 146.

Turkey was an obstacle in front of the great scale aims. Another obstacle was the fact differing alphabet models were also discussed and adopted in the region, for which Turkey had neither compatible material nor willingness to help.

Finally, historical and political structures were other regional factors with very aspects. Turkic nations started to emerge as a political force in the nineteenth century when an inter-Turkic environment coexisted with nations emphasizing their peculiarities and authenticity. The possibility of furthering the inter-Turkic public space was destroyed by the Bolshevik government, which isolated the new nations from each other. This was successful to an extent. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, neither the public nor the leaders cared much about reestablishing the inter-Turkic public space through a common Turkic alphabet. This was rather the concern of a small intellectual cadre of philologists and Turcologists. Hence, that a neighboring Turkic nations using different Latin alphabets was not such a significant issue for Turkic countries. Coordinating alphabet transitions throughout Turkic World was not a concern, either. Nevertheless, studies regarding views on the issue of the alphabet in media and public space in different Turkic republics would render more concrete results for future studies.

Turkic governments also used alphabet transition processes as a tool to redefine and reposition their states and nations. How they utilized the discourse of *berpa* (revival) of the national Latin alphabet was important. The general emphasis of the governments was national rather than inter-Turkic. This was the opposite of how the participants to the 1991 Symposium and other conventions interpreted the issue. What mattered to the governments of Turkic republics was their national Latin alphabet, which was forcefully repelled by Bolsheviks to imperialist ends. The aim was to restore national Latin alphabets in ways compatible with the contemporary needs of globalization and computer technology. In some cases, the governments emphasized that the trajectory of Turkic nations was back to Latin alphabet and it was necessart to catch up with that trend. On the other hand, different letters were added to in the national alphabets to make them "emblems of independence" as Victoria

Clement states.[33] Thus, the new nations would have the following characteristics: First, they followed a contemporary globalization pattern. Secondly, there was a return to national culture as well as a move further away from Russia. However, this was carried by each nation independently and in isolation from neighboring Turkic republics. The national identities inherited from the Soviet Era were essentially preserved but purified of communist and Russian elements.

In terms of the alphabet and historiography, there were significant changes. However, other aspects of the culture established by the Soviets were maintained even if they were contentious. For instance, while the Turkmen language has long vowels as phonemes, Turkmen orthography as shaped by the Bolsheviks did not include long vowels. This was criticized by Turkmen participants during the 1991 Symposium. While the orthography of the Frame Alphabet offered a solution in answer to these complaints, the orthography of the new Turkmen Latin Alphabet did not differ from the previous one with respect to that issue. Other issues shaped by the communist regime, such as the Uzbek language with only six vowels, were not changed either, despite criticisms in the conventions. Therefore, it would be harsh to evaluate that the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet as a tool for Turkish cultural domination. However, the nationalization processes of Turkic peoples were deeply influenced by Soviet policies and remnants of this influence remained in the post-Cold War era. Cultural isolation and some entrenched cultural and linguistic elements remained despite the fact that some other Russian and Bolshevik elements were removed.

Lastly, these structural factors were reflected the international arena, as well. Turkic republics sent the message that they were ready to be incorporated into the globalization process. Their trajectory would be towards the West or a more neutral position rather than towards Russia. This did not imply hostility towards Russia; however, they emphasized their independence. At some point, Turkey was deemed as a new big brother in the model of Russia. Thus,

33 Victoria Clement, "Emblems of Independence: Script Choice in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 192 (*July 2008).

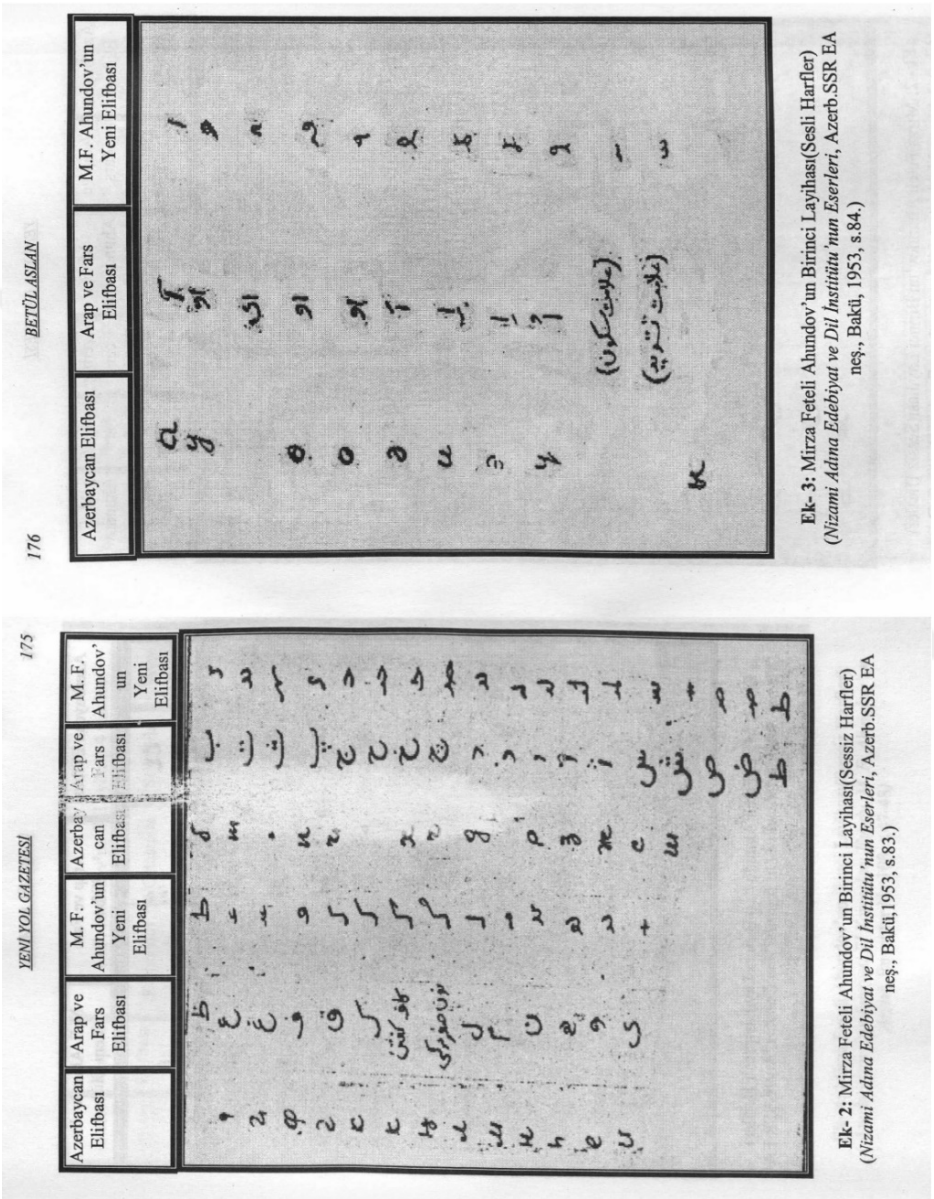
the region decided on models independent of Russia, Turkey, and their neighbors.

In conclusion, the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was not a success. While not a complete failure, either, its achievements remained limited. The Turkish paradigm, which neglected the natural emergence of Turkic nationalities and overemphasized past pan-Turkist linguistic policies and Russian divide and rule policies, did not have a positive impact. On the other hand, presenting the Turkish paradigm as intended for assimilation and as the sole cause of the failure is not the right approach. The Frame Alphabet Model even included compatible characteristics with local cultures that their own alphabets did not have. Historical and structural factors negatively affected the project. Since the nineteenth century, Turkic nations were in a nation-building process that emphasized their authentic national characteristics. The Bolshevik nation-building process that isolated Turkic cultures furthered that trend and became an important element of the project's failure. Turkic governments desired to protect that cultural isolation vis-à-vis supra-identities. Competition and tension in the region also blocked a frame alphabet project, regardless of Turkey's involvement. Also, other socioeconomic factors worked as a strong obstacle. However, Turkey's failure to understand the fact that Turkic world consists of different nations negatively affected public opinion in the region. In addition, Turkey did not have the necessary economic and political power to cope with socioeconomic problems in the region.

Finally, Turkey was not the sole creator of the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet Project even though it was most enthusiastic about its application. It was prepared by academics from Turkey and other Turkic peoples in mostly unofficial conventions. These efforts and decisions made at these conventions had a certain influence over some official conventions; however, they were not collectively adopted by Turkic republics due to the reasons discussed. Turkey, Azerbaijan, Northern Cyprus, Gagauzia, the Crimean Tatars, and Turkish minorities in the Balkans and the Middle East use alphabets compatible with the Frame Alphabet. The Tatars adopted an alphabet with minor violations, but eventually abandoned it. The Turkmen alphabet violated the Frame Alphabet but applied the orthographic principle of not using multigraphs. The Uzbek alphabet was the most extreme deviation, using digraphs

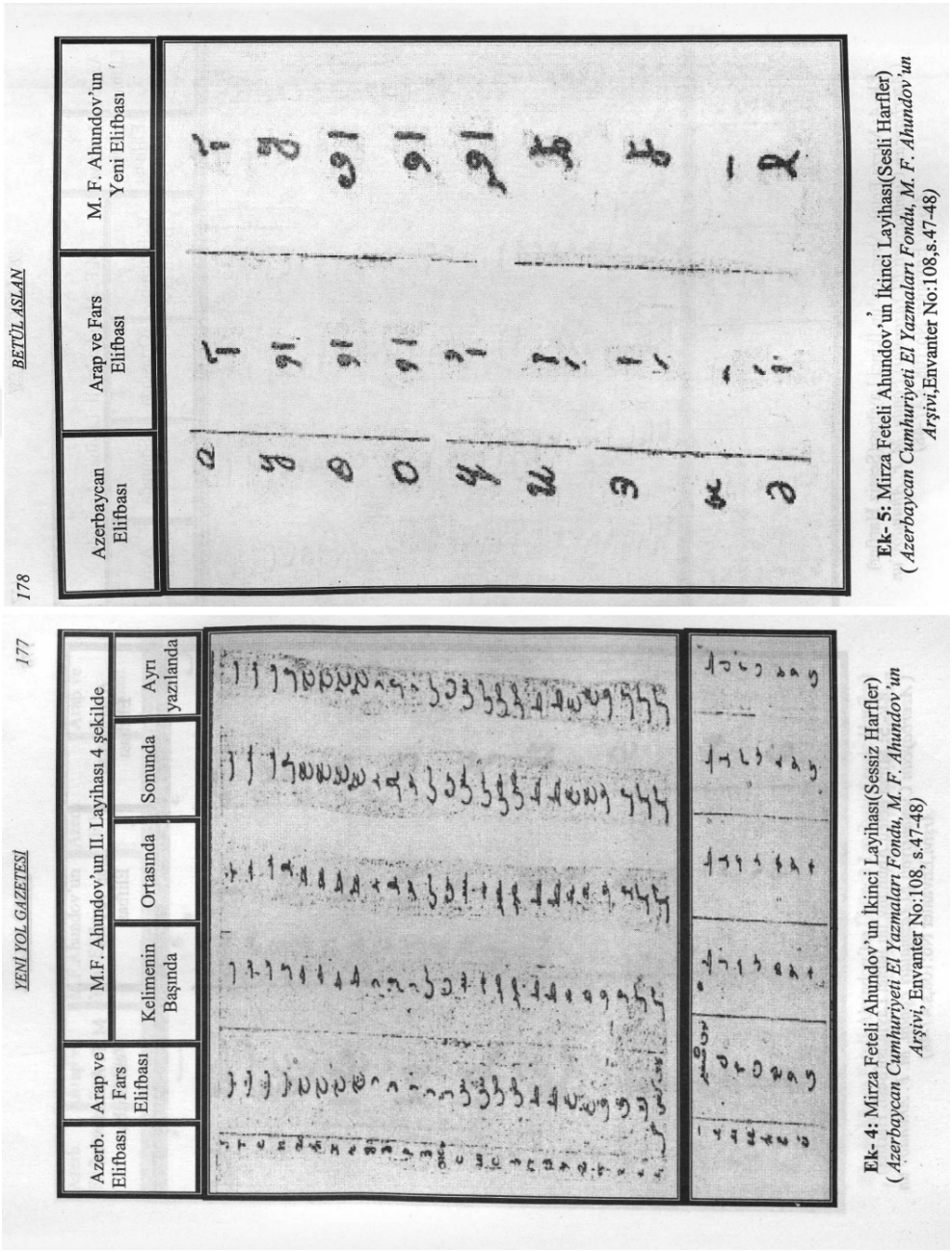
and letter-apostrophe combinations for several graphemes. The Kazakhs were positioned between the Turkmen, Uzbek, and the Frame Alphabet models. In their current model, they use digraphs, as in the Uzbek alphabet, as well as letters with diacritics that resembles those of the 34-letter Common Frame Alphabet. In Kyrgyzstan, however, no official transitions have emerged, yet.

# Appendix A Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's First Reform Proposal for the Arabic Script



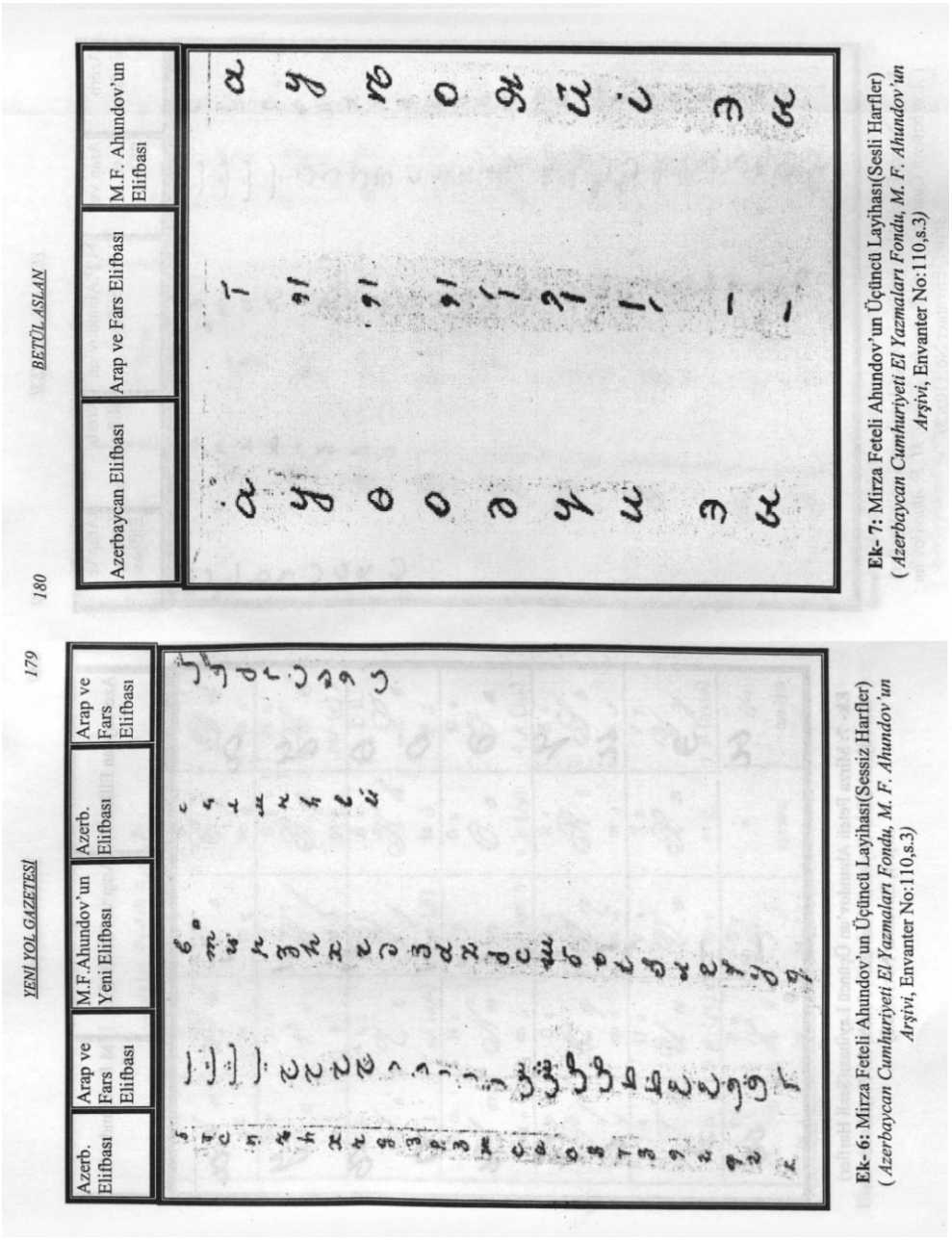
SOURCE Betül Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2004), app. 2 and 3, pp. 175-6.

# Appendix B Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's Second Reform Proposal for the Arabic Script




SOURCE Betül Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2004), app. 4 and 5, pp. 177-8.

# Appendix C Mirza Feth Ali Ahundzade's Alphabet Model Based on Latin and Cyrillic Scripts




**Ek- 6:** Mirza Feteli Ahundov'un Üçüncü Layihası(Sessiz Harfler) (*Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti El Yazmaları Fondu, M. F. Ahundov'un Arşivi*, Envanter No:110,s.3)

**Ek- 7:** Mirza Feteli Ahundov'un Üçüncü Layihası(Sesli Harfler) (*Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti El Yazmaları Fondu, M. F. Ahundov'un Arşivi*, Envanter No:110,s.3)

SOURCE Betül Aslan, *Azerbaycan'da Latin Alfabesi'ne Geçiş Sürecinde Yeni Yol Gazetesi* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2004), app. 6 and 7, pp. 179-180.

# Appendix D The New Azerbaijani Alphabet in 1922



**Jeni turq əlifbasınıŋ duzuluʒu.**

**يڭى تورك الفباسنيك دوزولوشى.**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A a<br>a T | B b<br>be ب | C c<br>ce ج | Ç ç<br>çe چ | D d<br>de د |
| E e<br>e ې | Ə ə<br>ə ې | F f<br>ef ف | G g<br>ge غ | H h<br>haʒ (ح) ه |
| I ı<br>ı ا | K k<br>ka ق | L l<br>el ل | M m<br>em م | N n<br>en ن |
| ŋ<br>saguır nyn ڭ | O o<br>o او (توز) | Ö ö<br>ö او (سوز) | P p<br>pe پ | Q q<br>qu ك |
| Ꝗ ꝗ<br>ꝗu گ | R r<br>er ر | S s<br>es س | T t<br>te ت | U u<br>u او (اوتو) |
| V v<br>ve و | X x<br>xe خ | Y y<br>y او (اوزون) | Z z<br>ze ز | Ƶ ƶ<br>ʒe ژ |
| ʼ<br>apostrof | معلوم<br>mə›lym | | | |

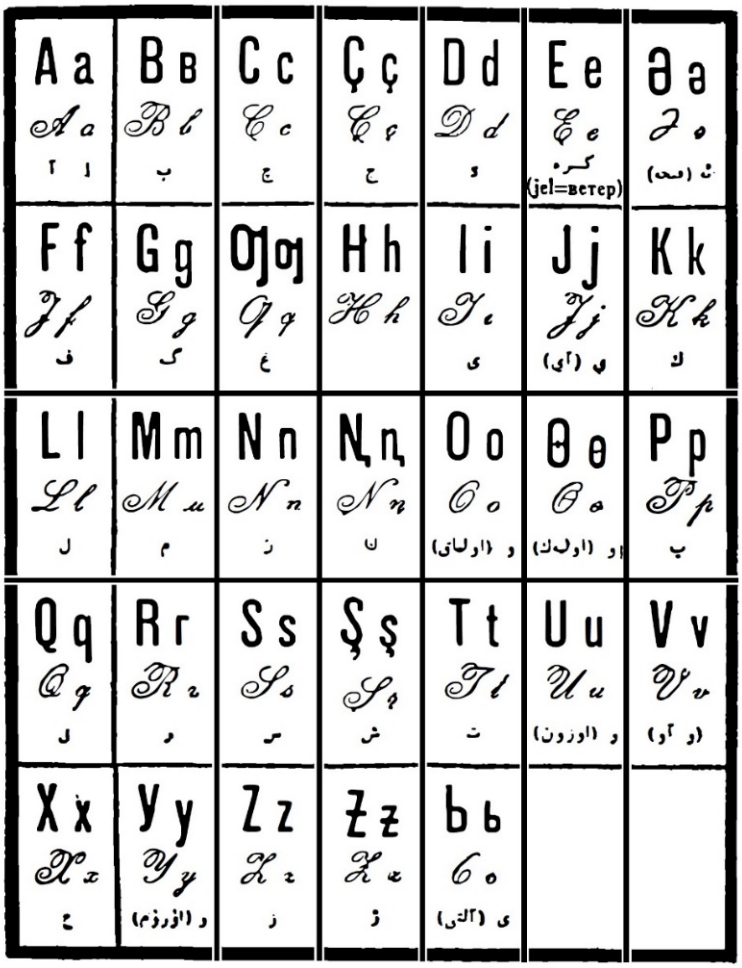
**44. Mayıs 1922'de Azerbaycan'ın başkenti Bakû'da "Yeni Türk Elifba Komitesi" adlı bir komite kuruldu. Bu komite, Türk dili için Lâtin alfabesi esasına dayalı yukarıdaki alfabeyi hazırladı. "Yeni Türk Elifbası" adını taşıyan bu alfabe 1922 yılında Azerbaycan'da sınırlı ölçüde kullanılmaya başlandı.**

SOURCE Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), app. 44, p. 412.

# Appendix E The Uniform Turkic Alphabet (Yañalif) Adopted in 1927



BIRLƏŞDIRILMIŞ JENI TYRK ƏLIFBASЬ




ALPHABET LATIN ADOPTÉ POUR LA TRANSCRIPTION DU TURK.
(Comm. par J. Castagné.)

55. Sovyet Türkleri, Arap alfabesinden Lâtin alfabesine geçerken, her Türk boyu için ayrı alfabeler hazırlanması eğilimi belirdi. Türk alfabesinin parçalanmasını önlemek amacıyla 1926 yılında Bakû'da kurulan "Türk Alfabesi Merkez Komitesi" bütün Sovyet Türkleri için bir tek alfabe hazırlamak görevini üstlendi. Ve 1927 yılında "Birleştirilmiş Yeni Türk Alfabesi"ni hazırladı. Yukarda bu alfabe görülüyor. 1927 yılından sonra bütün Sovyet Türkleri bu "Birleştirilmiş Yeni Türk Alfabesini" kabul ettiler ve böylece alfabe birliğine kavuştular.

SOURCE Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), app. 55, p. 423.

# Appendix F The Turkish Alphabet Adopted in 1928





5. Türk Dil Encümenince 1928 yılında hazırlanıp bastırılmış olan yeni Türk Alfabesi levhası. Lâtin alfabesi esasına dayanan yeni Türk alfabesinin açıklamaları Arap harfleriyle yapılmıştır.

SOURCE Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), app. 5, p. 412.

# Appendix G The First Common Turkic Frame Alphabet adopted at the 1991 Symposium and the symposium's Final Declaration



ÇAĞDAŞ TÜRK ALFABELERİ SEMPOZYUMU
SONUÇ BİLDİRİSİ(18-20 KASIM 1991)

Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü tarafından 18-20 Kasım 1991 tarihleri arasında İstanbul'da toplanan "Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri" Sempozyumu adlı ilmî toplantı çalışmalarını fevkalade yüksek bir seviyede tamamlamıştır.

Yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda şu hususlar tesbit edilmiştir :

1) Sempozyumda muhtelif Türk bölgelerinden gelen bilim adamlarının hemen bütünü Türk boylarında Latin harflerine dönme düşüncesinin ortaya çıktığını belirtmişlerdir. Sempozyumumuzun iştirakçileri bu düşünceleri oy birliği ile tasvip ve kabul etmiştir.

2) Sempozyum Azerbaycan Parlamentosunda görüşülen Latin asıllı Azerbaycan Türk alfabesinin biran önce Azerbaycan Parlamentosundan çıkmasını temenni etmişlerdir.

3) Sempozyuma katılan bilim adamları Latin alfabesindeki aynı harflerin aynı sesleri gösterme prensibinde anlaşmaya varmışlardır.

4) Sempozyumda diğer Türk boyları arasında Latin asıllı alfabenin kabulünün Türk boylarının birbirini anlamasında ve kültür birliğinin pekiştirilmesinde en önemli unsur olduğu görüşüne oybirliği ile varmışlardır.

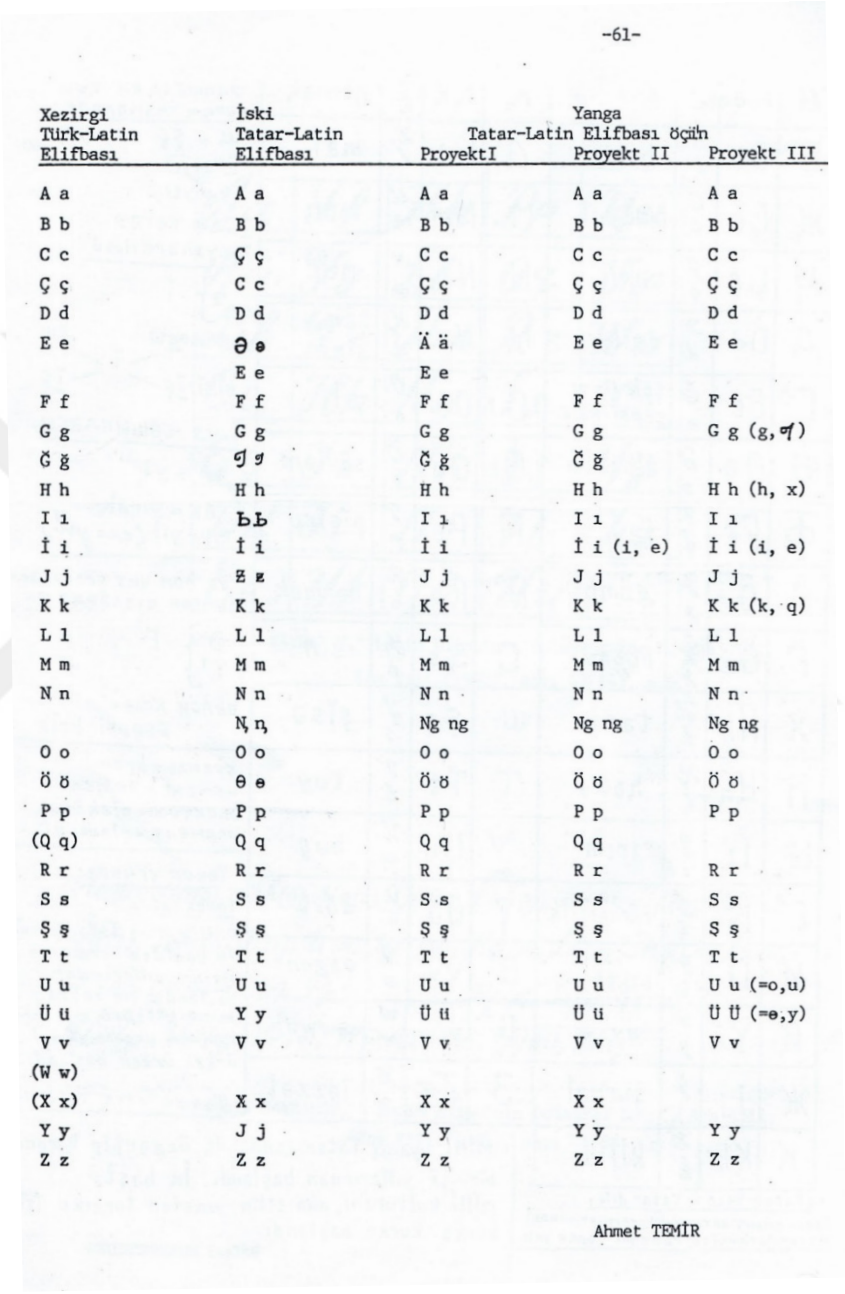
5) Sempozyum Türk boyları için Latin asıllı aşağıda gösterilen alfabenin esas alınmasını tavsiye etmektedir.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | c | ç | d | e | ä |
| f | g | ğ | h | x | ı | i |
| j | k | q | l | m | n | ñ |
| o | ö | p | r | s | ş | t |
| u | ü | v | w | y | z | |

6) Bu Sempozyumda alınan ilmî kararların yetkili organlara duyurulması tavsiye edilmiştir.

SOURCE Nadir Devlet, transc., *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992), p. 67. Decisions are all on this page, but signatures continue on p. 68.

## Appendix H Ahmet Temir's Project Presented to the 1991 Symposium on which the 34-letter Common Turkic Frame Alphabet was based.



-61-

| Xezirgi Türk-Latin Elifbası | İski Tatar-Latin Elifbası | Yanga Tatar-Latin Elifbası öçün ProyektI | Proyekt II | Proyekt III |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A a | A a | A a | A a | A a |
| B b | B b | B b | B b | B b |
| C c | Ç ç | C c | C c | C c |
| Ç ç | C c | Ç ç | Ç ç | Ç ç |
| D d | D d | D d | D d | D d |
| E e | Ə ə | Ä ä | E e | E e |
| | E e | E e | | |
| F f | F f | F f | F f | F f |
| G g | G g | G g | G g | G g (g, ɠ) |
| Ğ ğ | ɠ ɠ | Ğ ğ | Ğ ğ | |
| H h | H h | H h | H h | H h (h, x) |
| I ı | Ьь | I ı | I ı | I ı |
| İ i | İ i | İ i | İ i (i, e) | İ i (i, e) |
| J j | Ƶ ƶ | J j | J j | J j |
| K k | K k | K k | K k | K k (k, q) |
| L l | L l | L l | L l | L l |
| M m | M m | M m | M m | M m |
| N n | N n | N n | N n | N n |
| | Ng ng | Ng ng | Ng ng | Ng ng |
| O o | O o | O o | O o | O o |
| Ö ö | Ө ө | Ö ö | Ö ö | Ö ö |
| P p | P p | P p | P p | P p |
| (Q q) | Q q | Q q | Q q | |
| R r | R r | R r | R r | R r |
| S s | S s | S s | S s | S s |
| Ş ş | Ş ş | Ş ş | Ş ş | Ş ş |
| T t | T t | T t | T t | T t |
| U u | U u | U u | U u | U u (=o,u) |
| Ü ü | Y y | Ü ü | Ü ü | Ü ü (=ө,y) |
| V v | V v | V v | V v | V v |
| (W w) | | | | |
| (X x) | X x | X x | X x | |
| Y y | J j | Y y | Y y | Y y |
| Z z | Z z | Z z | Z z | Z z |

Ahmet TEMİR

SOURCE Nadir Devlet, transc., *Milletlerarası Çağdaş Türk Alfabeleri Sempozyumu* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992), p. 61.

# Appendix I Decisions in the Final Declaration of the First Permanent Turk(ic) Language Congress (1. STDKr) in 1992



SÜREKLİ TÜRK DİLİ KURULTAYI SONUÇ BİLDİRİSİ

Sürekli Türk Dili Kurultayı 04 - 08 Mayıs 1992 tarihinde toplanmış ve aşağıdaki tavsiye kararlarında görüş birliğine varmıştır.

Dünyadaki bütün Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve topluluklarının ortak bir abece ve yazı dilinde birleşmesi görüşü benimsenmiştir. Yazımın genel ilkelerinde de birleşilmesi gerektiği konusunda da görüş birliğine varılmıştır.

Daha önce Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü'nün düzenlediği sempozyumda tespit edilen 34 harfli çerçeve abecenin kabul edilmesi benimsenmiştir. Ye abeceler düzenlemirken bu 34 harfli çerçeve içinde kalınması ve mümkün olduğu kadar az sayıda harfle yetinilmesi düşüncesi üzerinde birleşilmiştir.

Ortak bir yazim için önce Türkiye'de bir uzlaşmaya varılması gerekmektedir. Yazımda diğer Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve topluluklarıyla bütünleşmenin de uzlaşmayla sağlanabileceği düşüncesi üzerinde görüş birliğine varılmıştır. Ayrıca yazım konusunun Türkçe öğretimiyle iç içe olduğu ve bir bütünlük içinde ele alınması; ana dili öğretiminin sağlıklı yapılabilmesi için yazım kılavuzu ile birlikte söyleyiş kılavuzunun da hazırlanması gerektiği üzerinde birleşilmiştir.

Ortak bir yazı dilinin kısa zamanda ve zorlamalarla oluşturulamıyacağı; politika, eğitim, turizm, ekonomi gibi dil dışı şartların bu ihtiyacı duyuracağı ve hızlandıracağı görüşü kabul edilmiştir. Bu hedefe daha kolay ve sağlıklı olarak ulaşabilmek için lehçeler üzerinde çalışan bilim adamlarının ve bu konudaki araştırmaların artırılması karşılıklı yayınların teşvik edilmesi görüşü benimsenmiştir.

Saygılarla arz olunur.

Prof. Dr. Kâmile İmer

Prof. Dr. Ahmet B. Ercilasun

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Canpolat

SOURCE Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, no. 523, (July 1995): p. 756.

## Appendix J The First Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet Following Independence from the Soviet Union in which the Letter Ä/ä Was Accepted.

Ek-21: Yeni Azerbaycan alfabesi
Kaynak: "Ganun ve Elifba", Heyat, **Bakı,** 9.01.1992



Həyat

9 JANVAR 1992-ci IL

№ 6 (260)

Vacib məsələ

# ГАНУН ВӘ ӘЛИФБА

AZƏRBAYCAN ƏLİFBASI

| Çap şəkli | Yazı şəkli | adı | kiril | Çap şəkli | Yazı şəkli | adı | kiril |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A a | A a | a | а | Q q | Q q | qe | г |
| B b | B b | be | б | L l | L l | el | л |
| C c | C c | ce | ч | M m | M m | em | м |
| Ç ç | Ç ç | çe | ч | N n | N n | en | н |
| D d | D d | de | д | O o | O o | o | о |
| E e | E e | e | е | Ö ö | Ö ö | ö | ө |
| Ə ə | Ə ə | ə | ə | P p | P p | pe | п |
| F f | F f | fe | ф | R r | R r | er | р |
| G g | G g | ge | к | S s | S s | se | с |
| Ğ ğ | Ğ ğ | ğe | f | Ş ş | Ş ş | şe | ш |
| H h | H h | he | h | T t | T t | te | т |
| X x | X x | xe | х | U u | U u | u | у |
| I ı | I ı | ı | ы | Ü ü | Ü ü | ü | ү |
| İ i | İ i | i | и | V v | V v | ve | в |
| J j | J j | je | ж | Y y | Y y | ye | j |
| K k | K k | ke ka | к | Z z | Z z | ze | з |

türk xalqlarının əlifbaları ilə tutuşdurma apardıqdan sonra məlum oldu ki, başqa türk dillərində də (türkmən, tatar, başqırd, qazax, uyğur və s.) «ə» fonemini ifadə etmək üçün «ə» işarəsindən istifadə olunur. Bəzi də ədalı çıxılan türk dillərinin əksəriyyəti üçün bu, spesifik xarakter daşıyır.

Nəticə, əlifba komissiyasının üzvləri latın qrafikalı əlifbamızı bərpa edərkən «ə» hərfini sıxışdırıb çıxarmış, onun yerinə «ə» səsinin əsasdakı ifadəsi kimi «ä» işarəsini daxil etmişlər.

Etiraf etmək lazımdır ki, «ə» səsini ifadə etmək üçün əlifbamızda «ə» yerinə «ä» işarəsinin daxil edilməsi nə texniki cəhətdən, nə də ümumtürk mənafeyi baxımından sərfəlidir. Əsasən də kim kimi ajdıdır ki, hərflərin üçtüncü qoşulan nəcələr yazılışın kəsəllişini pozur, sür'ətini azaldır, hərfin qavranılmasını çətinləşdirir, mətbəə məhsulunun ucuzalmasına səbəb olur.

Şübhəsiz ki, bu dəyişənlər əlifbadakı dikər hərflərə (i, ö, ü) də aiddir. Lakin bu hərflərin başqa türk dillərində, xüsusən müasir türk dilində də əsasdakı şəkildə olmasını nəzərə alsaq, təbii ki, başqa çıxılış yolunun olmadığını başa düşmək bir o qədər də çətin deyil. Amma heç bir əsas və əhtiyac olmadan «ə» şəklini çıxarıb onu «ä» şəkli ilə əvəz etmək heç bir məntiqə sığmır.

Çəmi 180 minlik qaqauz xalqının və 7—8 minlik qarabin tatarlarının dili müstəsna olmaqla, heç bir türk xalqının dilində «ə» səsinin yazıdakı ifadə əsitəsi kimi «ä» işarəsindən istifadə olunmur.

Bə'zilərin bunu «kompüter məsələsi» ilə bağlamaları. Kompüterə görə, əlifbanı dəyişmək, əsasən də dilin əlifbasına qoşulan yeni hərflər daxil etmək çox asan və sadə işdir. Əlifbanı kompüter dilinə uyğunlaşdırmaq xatirinə dəyişmək lazımsa, həll olsaydı, kompü-

SOURCE Ziyafet Eyvazova, "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008), app. 21, p. 349.

## Appendix K The Second Azerbaijani Latin Alphabet Following Independence from the Soviet Union in which the Letter Ə/ə Was Accepted.

Ek-22: Lâtin esaslı Azerbaycan alfabesinin mükemmelleştirilmiş son varyantı. Kaynakça: **Dalğa,** 10-16.06.1992.



ƏDƏBİYYAT

10 — 16 ИЮН 1992-ЧИ

# ЛАТЫН ГРАФИКАЛЫ АЗӘРБАЈЧАН ӘЛИФБАСЫНЫ ТӘКМИЛЛӘШДИРИЛМИШ СОН ВАРИАНТЫ

| çap şəkli | əl yazısı şəkli | adı | kiril | çap şəkli | əl yazısı şəkli | adı | kiril |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aa | Aa | a | а | Qq | Qq | qe | г |
| Bb | Bb | be | б | Ll | Ll | el | л |
| Cc | Cc | ce | ц | Mm | Mm | em | м |
| Çç | Çç | çe | ч | Nn | Nn | en | н |
| Dd | Dd | de | д | Oo | Oo | o | о |
| Ee | Ee | e | е | Öö | Öö | ö | ө |
| Əə | Əə | ə | ə | Pp | Pp | pe | п |
| Ff | Ff | ef | ф | Rr | Rr | er | р |
| Gg | Gg | ge | к | Ss | Ss | se | с |
| Ğğ | Ğğ | ğe | ғ | Şş | Şş | şe | ш |
| Hh | Hh | he | һ | Tt | Tt | te | т |
| Xx | Xx | xe | х | Uu | Uu | u | у |
| Ii | Ii | ı | ы | Üü | Üü | ü | ү |
| İi | İi | i | и | Vv | Vv | ve | в |
| Jj | Jj | je | ж | Yy | Yy | ye | j |
| Kk | Kk | ke (ka) | к | Zz | Zz | ze | з |



SOURCE Ziyafet Eyvazova, "Latin Alfabesinden Kiril Alfabesine, Kiril Alfabesinden Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreçlerinde Azerbaycan Basını" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008), app. 22, p. 350.

# Appendix L The Crimean Tatar Latin Alphabet



**II. Kırım Tatar Millî Kurultayı'nın II. Toplantısında alınan "Lâtin esasındaki Kırım Tatar alfabesi kararına ilâve:**

| Lâtin alfabesi esasındaki Kırım Tatar alfabesi | Kiril esasında Kırım Tatar alfabesi |
|---|---|
| A a | Аа |
| B b | Бб |
| C c | Дждж |
| Ç ç | Чч |
| D d | Дд |
| E e | Ээ |
| F f | Фф |
| G g | Гг |
| Ğ g | ГьГь |
| H h | Хх |
| İ i | Ии |
| I ı | Ыы |
| J j | Жж |
| K k | Кк |
| L l | Лл |
| M m | Мм |
| N n | Нн |
| Ñ ñ | Ньњ |
| O o | Оо |
| Ö ö | - |
| P p | Пп |
| Q q | Къкъ |
| R r | Рр |
| S s | Сс |
| Ş ş | Шш |
| T t | Тт |
| U u | Уу |
| Ü ü | - |
| V v | Вв |
| Y y | Йй |
| Z z | Зз |

SOURCE Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, no. 523 (July 1995): p. 771.

# Appendix M The Gagauz Latin Alphabet

**GAGAUZ ALFABETİ**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A a (а) | I ı (ы) | S s (с) |
| Ä ä* (ä) | İ i (и) | Ş ş (ш) |
| B b (б) | J j (ж) | T t (т) |
| C c (ж̌) | K k (к) | Ţ ţ (ц) |
| Ç ç (ч) | L l (л) | U u (у) |
| D d (д) | M m (м) | Ü ü (ӱ) |
| E e (е) | N n (н) | V v (в) |
| Ê ê* (э) | O o (о) | Y y (й) |
| F f (ф) | Ö ö (ö) | Z z (з) |
| G g (г) | P p (п) | |
| H h (х) | R r (р) | |

Алфавит гагаузского языка на основе латинской графики утвержден:

- постановлением Верховного Совета Гагаузской Республики от 29.01.1993г. «О переводе гагаузской письменности на латинскую графику»;

- постановлением Парламента Республики Молдова №1421-XII от 13.05.1993г. «О переводе гагаузской письменности на латинскую графику»;

- постановлением Народного Собрания Гагаузии №22-VIII/I от 25.01.1996г. «О переводе гагаузской письменности на латинскую графику

и состоит из 31 буквы.

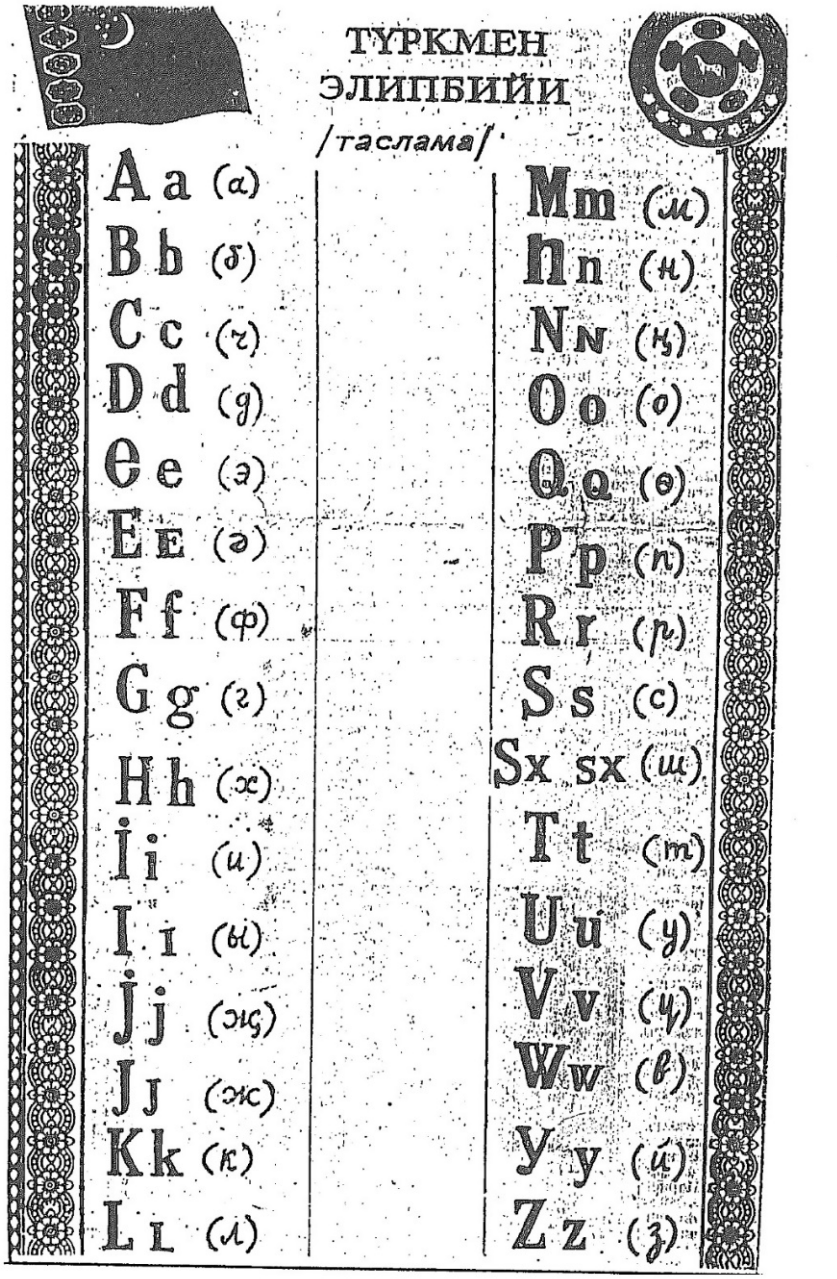
*В абсолютном начале слова буквы Ää, Êê не употребляются.

5

SOURCE Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii Gagauzkogo yazyka novaia redaktsiya, (Chișinău: Komratskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet, 2014), p. 5. http://www.gbm.md/attachments/article/12/pravila_rus.pdf.

## Appendix N The First Latin Alphabet Project Published by the Turkmen Government



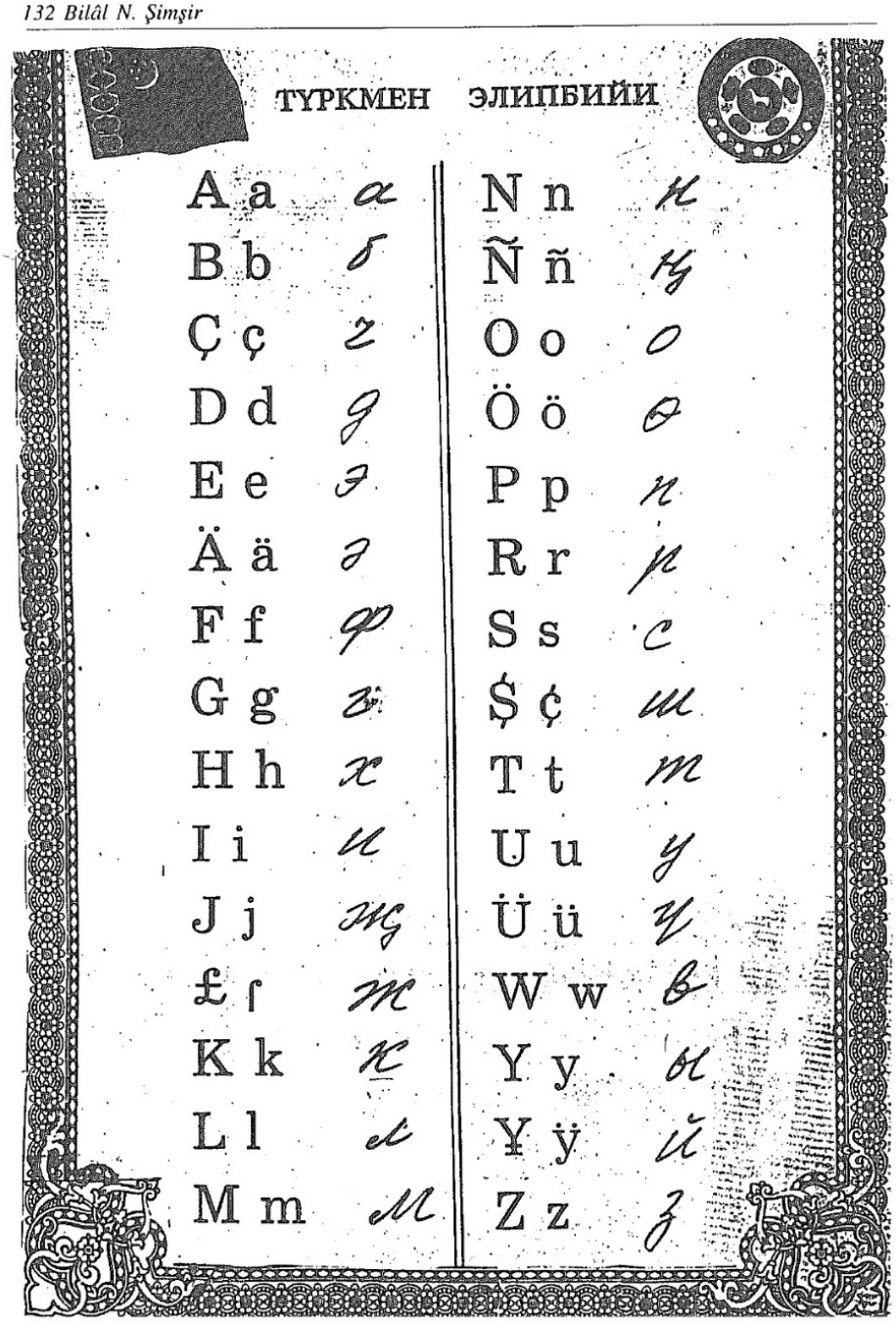


TÜRKMEN
ЭЛИПБИЙИ
/таслама/

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aa (а) | | Mm (м) |
| Bb (б) | | Nn (н) |
| Cc (ж) | | Nn (ң) |
| Dd (д) | | Oo (о) |
| Ee (э) | | Öö (ө) |
| Ee (э) | | Pp (п) |
| Ff (ф) | | Rr (р) |
| Gg (г) | | Ss (с) |
| Hh (х) | | Sx sx (ш) |
| İi (и) | | Tt (т) |
| Ii (ы) | | Uu (у) |
| Jj (йж) | | Vv (ү) |
| Jj (йч) | | Ww (в) |
| Kk (к) | | Yy (ы) |
| Ll (л) | | Zz (з) |

SOURCE Bilâl N Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," *Türk Dili* 518 (February 1995), p. 131.

# Appendix O The First Version of the Turkmen Latin Alphabet




SOURCE Bilâl N Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," *Türk Dili* 518 (February 1995): p. 132.

# Appendix P Şimşir's Impressions



*Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları 127*

aradığım sembolü buluyor, cımbızla seçer gibi tek tek alıp buraya yerleştiriyor, sonra yine normal yazım programına dönüyorum. Her sembol için bu işlemi tekrarlıyorum. Yani gereksiz yere kat kat fazla zaman harcıyor veya zaman kaybediyorum. Zahmeti de cabası. Bazı Türkmen harflerini ise semboller tablosunda bile bulamadım. Bizim küçük **j** ve küçük **ş** harflerimizin yerine kullanılan işaretler bilgisayarımın semboller tablosunda da yoktur.

Daha önce üç ayrı toplantıda, bilim adamları, bütün Türk halkları için 34 harften oluşan bir çerçeve alfabe tablosu tespit etmişlerdi. *"Her Türk Cumhuriyet ve Toplulu¤unun kendi alfabesini bu çerçeve alfabe içinde tespit etmesini"* tavsiye etmişlerdi. Yeni alfabeyi hazırlayan Türkmen uzmanlar bu çerçeve alfabenin de dışına çıkmışlar ve 34 harfin içinde bulunmayan yepyeni harfler yaratmışlardır. Bu alfabe Türkmen çocuklarını zorlayacaktır, sanırım. Daha sade bir alfabe yapılamaz mıydı acaba?...

Yeni Türkmen alfabesini daha ilk gördüğümde kafama bu soru takılmıştı. Nisan 1993'te, zihnimde bu gibi sorular ve düşüncelerle Türkmenistan'dan dönmüştüm.

**Bir Buçuk Yıl Sonra**

Bir buçuk yıl sonra bu defa Cumhurbaşkanımız Sayın Demirel'in heyetinde tekrar Türkmenistan'a gittim ve merakla Türkmenlerin Lâtin alfabesine geçiş çabalarını izlemeye çalıştım.

Türkmenistan'da, Lâtin alfabesine geçme kararından bu yana, yani son bir buçuk yıl içinde çok iş yapılmış. Aşkabat'ın hemen her yerinde yeni yazı göze çarpıyor. Bakanlıkların ve diğer resmî binaların adları, tabelâları yeni yazıya çevrilmiş. Kiril harfleri resmî binaların dış görüntüsünden silinmiş. Bağımsızlığın üçüncü yıl dönümü için hazırlanmış olan sloganların, pankartların çoğu yeni yazıyla kaleme alınmış. En çok göze çarpan "HALK, VATAN, TÜRKMENBAŞI" sloganı hemen her yerde yeni yazıyla kaleme alınmış. Televizyona yeni yazı programları konmuş. Halka yeni alfabeyi belletmek için çalışıyor.

Gazeteler hâlâ Kiril alfabesiyle çıkıyor. Ama yeni yazıya geçme hazırlıkları içinde görünüyorlar. Gazetelerin başlıkları yeni yazıya çevirilmiş. Önemli görülen ve halka belletilmek istenen bazı özlü sözler çokçası yeni yazıyla veriliyor. Vatan teması yoğun biçimde işleniyor ve şu sözler gazetelerin baş köşelerinde yeni yazıyla tekrarlanıyor:

*Türkmenistan, ata watanym,*
*Gurban bolsun sa¤a bu janym, tenim,*
*Eğer- de men sa¤a sahelçe çek yetirsem,*
*Goý meniñ elim gurasyn!*
*Eğer-de men sa¤a dil ýetirsem,*



*Goý meniñ dilim gurasyn!*
*Eger-de men Türkmenistan watanyma dönüklik etsem,*
*Onda goy meniñ ömrüm kül bolsun!*

27 Ekim 1994 günü, Türkmenistan'ın bağımsızlığının üçüncü yıl dönümü kutlamalarına katıldık. Geçit resmi pek etkileyici, pek görkemli oldu. Pek çok çarpıcı, düşündürücü pankart taşındı. Bunların yarıdan fazlası Lâtin harfleriyle yazılmıştı. Arap harfleriyle de birkaç pankart taşındı. Bunlar daha ziyade törende hazır bulunan İran Cumhurbaşkanı Rafsancani ile Pakistan Başbakanı Benazir Butto'ya karşı birer dostluk jesti niteliğindeydi ve alfabe değişikliğiyle ilgili değildi.

Tam olarak Lâtin alfabesine geçmek için Türkmenistan'ın önünde daha bir yıl kadar bir zaman vardır. Geçiş için 1995 yılı yoğun bir çalışma yılı olacaktır. Aşkabat'taki gözlemlerim sonunda vardığım kanaat odur ki, Türkmenistan, bu büyük reformunu gecikmeden başaracaktır.

Türkmenistan'ın bağımsızlık yıl dönümüne rastlayan 27 Ekim 1994 günü, Aşkabat'ta, *Gün* adlı bir gazete yayımlanmaya başlandı. Altı sayfalık bu gazete tamamen Lâtin harfleriyle çıkıyor ve "Taze elipbiyde çykyan ilkinci gazet" (yeni alfabeyle çıkan ilk gazete) diye kendi reklâmını yapıyor. Aynı 27 Ekim günü, Aşkabat Büyükelçiliğimiz bahçesinde heyetimize verilen öğle yemeği sırasında bu yeni gazete bizlere de dağıtıldı. Orada bulunan bir Türk gazetecisi, elindeki *Gün* gazetesini bana göstererek, sanki sorumlusu benmişim gibi, "Bu ne Sayın Büyükelçi! Kiril alfabesinden farkı yok bu gazetenin; Kiril yazısını da anlamıyorduk, bu yeni Türkmen yazısını da anlayamıyoruz!" dedi. Ne diyeceğimi bilemedim; kem küm ettim.

Yeni Türkmen alfabesi düzeltilmezse, Türkmen kardeşlerimizle kolay anlaşamayacağız. Türkmenler, yalnız bizimle değil, başkalarıyla da kolay anlaşamayacak ve medenî dünya ile çabuk bütünleşemeyeceklerdir, sanırım. Şimdiki hâliyle yeni Türkmen alfabesi, Türkmenistan'ı yalnızlığa itecek gibi görünüyor.

1928 yılının ikinci yarısında, Türkiye'de, yeni alfabe bir süre denendikten sonra, zorluk yaratan bazı işaretler ve harfler değiştirilmiş ve alfabemiz daha sağlıklı olarak yerine oturtulmuştu. Şimdi Türkmenler de yeni alfabelerini bir süre denedikten sonra bazı ıslahat yapabilirler. Bunu yol kısayken yapmak daha iyidir. İlerde yapılacak değişiklikler veya ıslahat hem daha masraflı olur, hem de Türkmenistan'a boş yere zaman kaybettirir.

Kanaatimce, Türkmen alfabesine, bizdeki **c, ğ, ı, ş, v, y** harfleri oldukları gibi, yani aynı sesleri karşılamak üzere alınabilir. Bunları almak Türkmenler için hiçbir sakınca yaratmayacak, fakat sayısız yarar sağlayacaktır.

Lâtin alfabesi Türkmen kardeşlerimize hayırlı, uğurlu olsun.

SOURCE Bilâl N Şimşir, "Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Alfabesine Geçiş Hazırlıkları," Türk Dili 518 (February 1995): pp. 127-8.

## Appendix Q The Revised, Current-Version of the Turkmen Latin Alphabet

**TÜRKMEN MİLLÎ ALFABESİ**

| Matbaa harfleri | Adı | Yazma harfler | Türkiye Türkçesi |
|---|---|---|---|
| A a | a | *A a* | A a |
| B b | be | *B b* | B b |
| Ç ç | çe | *Ç ç* | Ç ç |
| D d | de | *D d* | D D |
| E e | e | *E e* | E e |
| Ä ä | ä | *Ä ä* | (açık e) |
| F f | fe | *F f* | F f |
| G g | ge | *G g* | G g, Ğ ğ |
| H h | he | *H h* | H h |
| I i | i | *I ı* | İ i |
| J j | je | *J j* | C c |
| Ž ž | že | *Ž ž* | J j |
| K k | ka | *K k* | K k |
| L l | el | *L l* | L l |
| M m | em | *M m* | M m |
| N n | en | *N n* | N n |
| Ň ň | eň | *Ň ň* | (damak n'si) |
| O o | o | *O o* | O o |
| Ö ö | ö | *Ö ö* | Ö ö |
| P p | pe | *P p* | P p |
| R r | er | *R r* | R r |
| S s | es | *S s* | S s |
| Ş ş | şe | *Ş ş* | Ş ş |
| T t | te | *T t* | T t |
| U u | u | *U u* | U u |
| Ü ü | ü | *Ü ü* | Ü ü |
| W w | we | *W w* | V v |
| Y y | y | *Y y* | I ı |
| Ý ý | ýe | *Ý ý* | Y y |
| Z z | Ze | *Z z* | Z z |

SOURCE Türk Dil Kurumu, "Haberler: Türkmenistan'da Lâtin Harfleri Uygulaması," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 1*, no. 579 (March 2000): p. 287.

# Appendix R The First Version of the Uzbek Alphabet



*Ўзбекистон Республикасининг Қонуни*

## ЛОТИН ЁЗУВИГА АСОСЛАНГАН ЎЗБЕК АЛИФБОСИНИ ЖОРИЙ ЭТИШ ТЎҒРИСИДА

Ушбу Қонун Ўзбекистон Республикаси Конституциясига асосланиб ва ўзбек ёзувининг лотин алифбосига ўтилган 1929—1940 йиллардаги ижобий тажрибасидан келиб чиқиб, кенг жамоатчилик вакилларн билдирган истак-хоҳишларни инобатга олган ҳолда республиканинг ҳар тарафлама камол топишини ва жаҳон коммуникация тизимига киришини жадаллаштирувчи қулай шароит яратишга хизмат қилади.

1-модда. Ўзбекистон Республикасида лотин ёзувига асосланган, қуйидаги 31 ҳарф ва 1 тутуқ белгиси (апостроф)дан иборат ўзбек алифбоси жорий этилсин:

| Лотинча Ҳарфлар | | | Кирилл-ча | Лотинча Ҳарфлар | | | Кирилл-ча |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Босма | Ёзма | Талафф. | Ҳарфлар | Босма | Ёзма | Талафф. | Ҳарфлар |
| A a | *A a* | a | А а | R r | *R r* | re | Р р |
| B b | *B b* | be | В б | S s | *S s* | es | С с |
| C c | *C c* | ce | Ц ц | T t | *T t* | te | Т т |
| D d | *D d* | de | Д д | U u | *U u* | u | У у |
| E e | *E e* | e | Э э | V v | *V v* | ve | В в |
| F f | *F f* | ef | Ф ф | X x | *X x* | xa | Х х |
| G g | *G g* | ge | Г г | Y y | *Y y* | ye | Й й |
| H h | *H h* | he | Ҳ ҳ | Z z | *Z z* | ze | З з |
| I i | *I i* | i | И и | | | | |
| J j | *J j* | je (Jōra) | Ж ж (Жўра) | Ç ç | *Ç ç* | çe | Ч ч |
| K k | *K k* | ka | К к | Ğ ğ | *Ğ ğ* | ğa | Ғ ғ |
| L l | *L l* | el | Л л | J j | *J j* (aj̇dod) | je (аждод) | Ж ж |
| M m | *M m* | em | М м | Ñ ñ | *Ñ ñ* | ñe | Нг нг |
| N n | *N n* | en | Н н | Ō ō | *Ō ō* (ōrdaK) | ō (ўрдак) | Ў ў |
| O o | *O o* (ota) | o (ота) | О о (ота) | Ş ş | *Ş ş* | şe | Ш ш |
| P p | *P p* | pe | П п | (') – тутуқ белгиси (апостроф) | | | |
| Q q | *Q q* | qa | Қ қ | | | | |

2-модда. Лотин ёзуви асосидаги ўзбек алифбосини жорий этиш билан бирга Ўзбекистон халқининг миллий ифтихори бўлмиш бебаҳо маънавий мерос битилган араб алифбосини ва кириллицани ўрганиш ва улардан фойдаланиш учун зарур шароитлар сақлаб қолинади.

Ўзбекистон Республикасининг Президенти И. КАРИМОВ

Тошкент шаҳри,
1993 йил 2 сентябрь.

АҚШ–

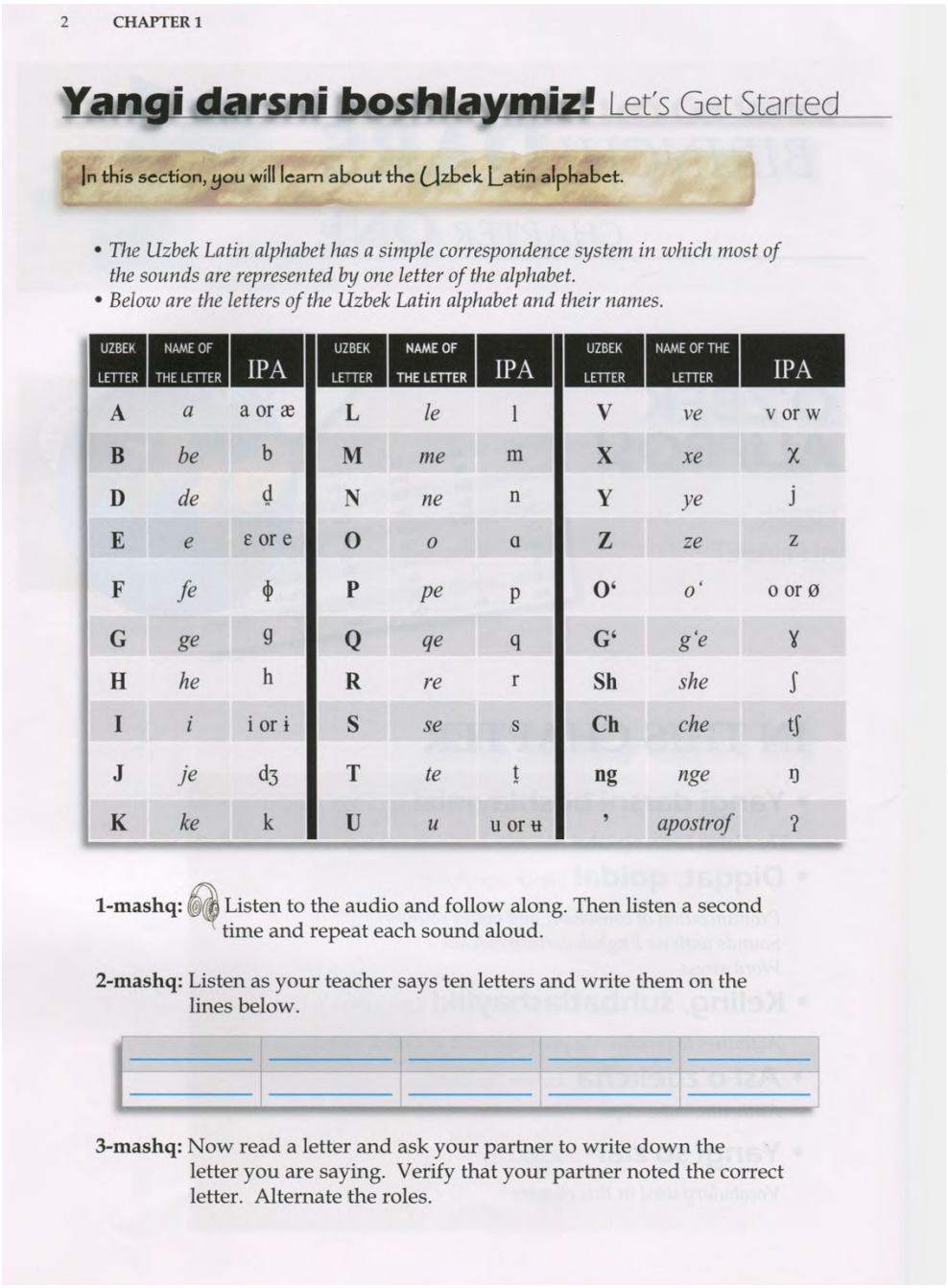
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Ўзбекистон Республи
публикамизга ташриф б
лар жамғармаси делега
денти «Нью-Йорк таймс
Жим Гринфилд ҳамда
сонлар билан учрашув
Мазкур жамғарма ҳук
либ, оммавий ахборот
ратларини оширишда, э
бўлишда беғараз ёрдам
лари шарқий Европанин
маҳорати билан боғлиқ
ҳозирги замон журнали
ўқув қўлланмалари тайёр
Делегация аъзоларини
компютер техникаси би
Штатларда катта ишлар
нинг иш столида турган
Йорк таймс» газетасини
материалларни жойлашт
Меҳмонлар жамғарма
билан ҳамкорлик қилишга
да оммавий ахборот во
ни инглиз тилига ўқитиш
лум тайёргарликдан сўнг
ўргатувчи семинар ташк
ва журналларни замонав
маҳорати масалаларида
лигини таклиф сифатида
Ўзбекистон Журналист
Лутфулла Кабиров делега
ахборот воситаларининг
да турган вазифалар тў
адабиёти ва санъати» ҳа
жон Мелибоев Америка
юқорида таклиф этилган
эканлиги, бу иш икки м
айнрбошлаш нишга, муно
киладн.
Меҳмонлар сафар чоғи
ҳар томонлама мақбул й
бир қатор нашрлар таҳр
фунунининг журналистика



SOURCE Ahmet Bican Ercilasun, "Lâtin Alfabesi Konusunda Gelişmeler," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 2*, no. 523 (July 1995): p. 769.

# Appendix S The Second, Current Uzbek Latin Alphabet



2 CHAPTER 1

## Yangi darsni boshlaymiz! Let's Get Started

In this section, you will learn about the Uzbek Latin alphabet.

- *The Uzbek Latin alphabet has a simple correspondence system in which most of the sounds are represented by one letter of the alphabet.*
- *Below are the letters of the Uzbek Latin alphabet and their names.*

| UZBEK LETTER | NAME OF THE LETTER | IPA | UZBEK LETTER | NAME OF THE LETTER | IPA | UZBEK LETTER | NAME OF THE LETTER | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | *a* | a or æ | L | *le* | l | V | *ve* | v or w |
| B | *be* | b | M | *me* | m | X | *xe* | χ |
| D | *de* | d̪ | N | *ne* | n | Y | *ye* | j |
| E | *e* | ɛ or e | O | *o* | ɑ | Z | *ze* | z |
| F | *fe* | ɸ | P | *pe* | p | O‘ | *o‘* | o or ø |
| G | *ge* | g | Q | *qe* | q | G‘ | *g‘e* | ɣ |
| H | *he* | h | R | *re* | r | Sh | *she* | ʃ |
| I | *i* | i or ɨ | S | *se* | s | Ch | *che* | tʃ |
| J | *je* | dʒ | T | *te* | t̪ | ng | *nge* | ŋ |
| K | *ke* | k | U | *u* | u or ʉ | ’ | *apostrof* | ʔ |

**1-mashq:** Listen to the audio and follow along. Then listen a second time and repeat each sound aloud.

**2-mashq:** Listen as your teacher says ten letters and write them on the lines below.

**3-mashq:** Now read a letter and ask your partner to write down the letter you are saying. Verify that your partner noted the correct letter. Alternate the roles.

SOURCE Nigora Azimova, *Uzbek: An Elementary Textbook* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2010), p. 2.

# Appendix T The First Qaraqalpaq Latin Alphabet



QARAQALPAQ
TĪLĪNĪŃ
ĪMLA
QAĞIYDALARI

ӘЛИПБЕ
Қарақалпақ әлипбесиндеги ҳәриплер,
олардың дүзилиў тәртиби ҳәм атлары.

| Баспа | Жазба | Айтылыў | Кирилше | Баспа | Жазба | Айтылыў | Кирилше |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aa | *Aa* | *a* | а | Ll | *Ll* | *el* | л |
| Ää | *Ää* | *ä* | ә | Mm | *Mm* | *em* | м |
| Bb | *Bb* | *be* | б | Nn | *Nn* | *en* | н |
| Dd | *Dd* | *de* | д | Ńń | *Ńń* | *ńe* | ң |
| Ee | *Ee* | *e* | е, э | Oo | *Oo* | *o* | о |
| Ff | *Ff* | *ef* | ф | Öö | *Öö* | *ö* | ө |
| Gg | *Gg* | *ge* | г | Pp | *Pp* | *pe* | п |
| Ǵǵ | *Ǵǵ* | *ǵa* | ғ | Rr | *Rr* | *er* | р |
| Hh | *Hh* | *ha* | х | Ss | *Ss* | *es* | с |
| Xx | *Xx* | *xa* | х | Şş | *Şş* | *şe* | ш |
| Ii | *Ii* | *i* | ы | Tt | *Tt* | *te* | т |
| Íí | *Íí* | *í* | и | Uu | *Uu* | *u* | у |
| Jj | *Jj* | *je* | ж | Üü | *Üü* | *ü* | ү |
| | | | | Vv | *Vv* | *ve* | в |
| Kk | *Kk* | *ke* | к | Ww | *Ww* | *w* | ў |
| Qq | *Qq* | *qa* | қ | Yy | *Yy* | *y* | й |
| | | | | Zz | *Zz* | *ze* | з |

*Figure 1. The 1994 Karakalpak Latin alphabet; cf. footnote 13.*

SOURCE Birgit N. Schlyter, "The Karakalpaks and other language minorities under Central Asian state rule," in *Prospects for Democracy in Central Asia*, ed. Birgit N. Schlyter, vol 15, (Stockholm: Alpha Print AB Swedeni, 2005), fig. 1, p. 86.

# Appendix U The Second, Current Qaraqalpaq Alphabet

«ЕРКИН ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚСТАН»

БИРИНШИ ШАҚЫРЫҚ
ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ ЖОҚАРҒЫ КЕНЕСИНИҢ
БЕСИНШИ СЕССИЯСЫ

«ЛАТЫН ГРАФИКАСЫНА ТИЙКАРЛАНҒАН ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚ АЛФАВИТИН ЕНГИЗИЎ ҲАҚҚЫНДА» ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫҢ НЫЗАМЫНА ӨЗГЕРИСЛЕР ҲӘМ ҚОСЫМШАЛАР КИРГИЗИЎ ҲАҚҚЫНДА» ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫҢ НЫЗАМЫН ҲӘРЕКЕТКЕ ЕНГИЗИЎ ТӘРТИБИ ҲАҚҚЫНДА

ҚАРАҚАЛПАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ ЖОҚАРҒЫ КЕНЕСИНИҢ ҚАРАРЫ

| басма | жазба | аты | Кирилл | басма | жазба | аты | Кирилл |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aa | *Aa* | *a* | а | Mm | *Mm* | *me* | м |
| A'a' | *Ā ā* | *a* | ә | Nn | *Nn* | *ne* | н |
| Bb | *Bb* | *be* | б | N'n' | *N̄ n̄* | *n̄e* | ң |
| Dd | *Dd* | *de* | д | Oo | *Oo* | *o* | о |
| Ee | *Ee* | *e* | е э | O'o' | *Ō ō* | *ō* | ө |
| Ff | *Ff* | *fe* | ф | Pp | *Pp* | *pe* | п |
| Gg | *Gg* | *ge* | г | Rr | *Rr* | *re* | р |
| G'g' | *Ǧ ǧ* | *ǧa* | ғ | Ss | *Ss* | *se* | с |
| Hh | *Hh* | *he* | х | Tt | *Tt* | *te* | т |
| Xx | *Xx* | *xa* | х | Uu | *Uu* | *u* | у |
| Ii | *Ii* | *i* | ы | U'u' | *Ü ü* | *ü* | ү |
| İi | *İi* | *i* | и | Vv | *Vv* | *ve* | в |
| Jj | *Jj* | *je* | ж | Ww | *Ww* | *we* | ў |
| Kk | *Kk* | *ke* | к | Yy | *Yy* | *ye* | й |
| Qq | *Qq* | *qa* | қ | Zz | *Zz* | *ze* | з |
| Ll | *Ll* | *el* | л | Sh sh | *Sh sh* | *she* | ш (ч,щ) |

*Figure 2. The revised 1995 Karakalpak Latin alphabet; cf. footnote 15.*

SOURCE Birgit N. Schlyter, "The Karakalpaks and other language minorities under Central Asian state rule," in *Prospects for Democracy in Central Asia*, ed. Birgit N. Schlyter, vol 15, (Stockholm: Alpha Print AB Swedeni, 2005), fig. 2, p. 87.

# Appendix V The Tatar Alphabet Ratified But Not Applied



| Nu. | Matbaa hartleri | Yazı harfleri | Lâtin okunuşları | Kiril okunuşları |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A, a | *A, a* | a | а |
| 2 | Ə, ə | *Ə, ə* | ə | ә |
| 3 | B, b | *B, b* | be | бе |
| 4 | C, c | *C, c* | ce | җе |
| 5 | Ç, ç | *Ç, ç* | çe | че |
| 6 | D, d | *D, d* | de | де |
| 7 | E, e | *E, e* | e | е |
| 8 | F, f | *F, f* | ef | эф |
| 9 | G, g | *G, g* | ge | ге |
| 10 | Ğ, ğ | *Ğ, ğ* | ğı | гъ |
| 11 | H, h | *H, h* | he | һе |
| 12 | I, ı | *I, ı* | ı | ы |
| 13 | İ, i | *İ, i* | i | и |
| 14 | J, j | *J, j* | j | же |
| 15 | K, k | *K, k* | ke | ке |
| 16 | Q, q | *Q, q* | qa | къ |
| 17 | L, l | *L, l* | el | эл |
| 18 | M, m | *M, m* | em | эм |
| 19 | N, n | *N, n* | en | эн |
| 20 | Ñ, ñ | *Ñ, ñ* | eң | эң |
| 21 | O, o | *O, o* | o | о |
| 22 | Ө, ө | *Ө, ө* | ө | ө |
| 23 | P, p | *P, p* | pe | пе |
| 24 | R, r | *R, r* | er | эр |
| 25 | S, s | *S, s* | es | эс |
| 26 | Ş, ş | *Ş, ş* | şa | ша |
| 27 | T, t | *T, t* | te | те |
| 28 | U, u | *U, u* | u | у |
| 29 | Ü, ü | *Ü, ü* | ü | ү |
| 30 | V, v | *V, v* | ve | ве |
| 31 | W, w | *W, w* | wı | в (у) |
| 32 | X, x | *X, x* | xa | ха |
| 33 | Y, y | *Y, y* | y | й |
| 34 | Z, z | *Z, z* | ze | зе |

SOURCE The TDK, "Haberler: Tatar Alfabesinin Lâtin Harflerinin Temelinde Düzenlenmesine İlişkin Tataristan Cumhuriyeti Yasası," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi 1*, no. 577 (January 2000): p. 95.

## Appendix W Tatar Inalif Alphabets along with Proposed Tatar Latin and Current Cyrillic Alphabets

**Татар әлифбалары**

| № п/п | Яңалиф-2 | Кириллица | Inalif | Inalif-2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | A, a | А, а | A, a | A, a |
| 2. | Ә, ә | Ә, ә | A', a' | A', a' |
| 3. | B, b | Б, б | B, b | B, b |
| 4. | C, c | Җ, җ | C, c | C, c |
| 5. | Ç, ç | Ч, ч | Ch, ch | Ch, ch |
| 6. | D, d | Д, д | D, d | D, d |
| 7. | E, e | Е, е (э) | E, e | E, e |
| 8. | F, f | Ф, ф | F, f | F, f |
| 9. | G, g | Г, г | G, g | G, g |
| 10. | Ğ, ğ | — | Gh, gh | Gh, gh |
| 11. | H, h | Һ, һ | H, h | H, h |
| 12. | I, ı | Ы, ы | Y, y | I', i' |
| 13. | İ, i | И, и | I, i | I, i |
| 14. | J, j | Ж, ж | Zh, zh | J, j |
| 15. | K, k | К, к | K, k | K, k |
| 16. | Q, q | — | Q, q | Q, q |
| 17. | L, l | Л, л | L, l | L, l |
| 18. | M, m | М, м | M, m | M, m |
| 19. | N, n | Н, н | N, n | N, n |
| 20. | Ŋ, ŋ | Ң, ң | Ng, ng | N', n' |
| 21. | O, o | О, о | O, o | O, o |
| 22. | Ө, ө | Ө, ө | O', o' | O', o' |
| 23. | P, p | П, п | P, p | P, p |
| 24. | R, r | Р, р | R, r | R, r |
| 25. | S, s | С, с | S, s | S, s |
| 26. | Ş, ş | Ш, ш | Sh, sh | Sh, sh |
| 27. | T, t | Т, т | T, t | T, t |
| 28. | U, u | У, у | U, u | U, u |
| 29. | Ü, ü | Ү, ү | U', u' | U', u' |
| 30. | V, v | В, в | V, v | V, v |
| 31. | W, w | — | W, w | W, w |
| 32. | X, x | Х, х | Kh, kh | X, x |
| 33. | Y, y | Й, й | J, j | Y, y |
| 34. | Z, z | З, з | Z, z | Z, z |

SOURCE "Inalif," *Wikipedia*, last modified 18 June 2018, https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Иналиф.

## Appendix X Latin Alphabet Project of the Institute of Linguistics of Kazakhstan



### Жаңа латын әліпбиінің үлгісі

| № | Латын таңбасы | Дыбысталуы | № | Латын таңбасы | Дыбысталуы |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Aa | Аа | 13 | Mm | Мм |
| 2 | Bb | Бб | 14 | Nn | Нн |
| 3 | Cc | Цц | 15 | Oo | Оо |
| 4 | Dd | Дд | 16 | Pp | Пп |
| 5 | Ee | Ее | 17 | Qq | Кқ |
| 6 | Ff | Фф | 18 | Rr | Рр |
| 7 | Gg | Гг | 19 | Ss | Сс |
| 8 | Hh | Хх/Һһ | 20 | Tt | Тт |
| 9 | Ii | Ii / Ии | 21 | Uu | Ұұ |
| 10 | Jj | Йй | 22 | Vv | Вв |
| 11 | Kk | Кк | 23 | Ww | Уу |
| 12 | Ll | Лл | 24 | Yy | Ыы |
| | | | 25 | Zz | Зз |

### Диграфтар

| № | Латын таңбасы | Дыбысталуы | Транскрипциясы | Мысалы |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Gh / gh | Ғғ | [ғы] | ghylym |
| 2 | Ch / ch | Чч | [чы] | chempion |
| 3 | Sh / sh | Шш | [шы] | shyndyq |
| 4 | Zh / zh | Жж | [жы] | zhazw |

### Диграфтар

| № | Латын таңбасы | Дыбысталуы | Транскрипциясы | Мысалы |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ae / ae | Әә | [ə] [æ] | aelem |
| 2 | Oe / oe | Өө | [ө] | oerken |
| 3 | Ue / ue | Үү | [ү] | uekimet |

### Диграф

| № | Латын таңбасы | Дыбысталуы | Транскрипциясы | Мысалы |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ng / ng | Ңң | [ың] | tangba |

SOURCE "Latyn álipbiiniń jańa úlgisi tanystyryldy," *Egemen Qazaqstan,* 11 September 2017, https://egemen.kz/article/158164-latyn-alipbiininh-ulgisi-tanystyryldy.

# Appendix Y The First Kazakh Latin Alphabet

УТВЕРЖДЕН
Указом Президента
Республики Казахстан
от 26 октября 2017 года
№ 569

**АЛФАВИТ**
**казахского языка, основанный на латинской графике**

| № | Написание | Звук | № | Написание | Звук |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A a | [а] | 17 | N' n' | [ң], [нг] |
| 2 | A' a' | [ә] | 18 | O o | [о] |
| 3 | B b | [б] | 19 | O' o' | [ө] |
| 4 | D d | [д] | 20 | P p | [п] |
| 5 | E e | [е] | 21 | Q q | [қ] |
| 6 | F f | [ф] | 22 | R r | [р] |
| 7 | G g | [г] | 23 | S s | [с] |
| 8 | G' g' | [ғ] | 24 | S' s' | [ш] |
| 9 | H h | [х], [h] | 25 | C' c' | [ч] |
| 10 | I i | [і] | 26 | T t | [т] |
| 11 | I' i' | [и], [й] | 27 | U u | [ұ] |
| 12 | J j | [ж] | 28 | U' u' | [ү] |
| 13 | K k | [к] | 29 | V v | [в] |
| 14 | L l | [л] | 30 | Y y | [ы] |
| 15 | M m | [м] | 31 | Y' y' | [у] |
| 16 | N n | [н] | 32 | Z z | [з] |

SOURCE *Prilozheniye k ukazu prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 26 Oktyabrya 2017 goda № 569* (Attachment to the Decree no. 569 of the President of Kazakhstan on 26 October 2017), http://www.akorda.kz/upload/media/files/d9bc81021d59a7eaa9835fdae9069532.docx.

# Appendix Z The Second, Current Kazakh Latin Alphabet to be Put into Effect in 2025

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ
к Указу Президента
Республики Казахстан
от 19 февраля 2018 года
№ 637

УТВЕРЖДЕН
Указом Президента
Республики Казахстан
от 26 октября 2017 года
№ 569

**АЛФАВИТ**
**казахского языка, основанный на латинской графике**

| № | Написание | Звук | № | Написание | Звук |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A a | [а] | 17 | Ń ń | [ң] |
| 2 | Á á | [ә] | 18 | O o | [о] |
| 3 | B b | [б] | 19 | Ó ó | [ө] |
| 4 | D d | [д] | 20 | P p | [п] |
| 5 | E e | [е] | 21 | Q q | [қ] |
| 6 | F f | [ф] | 22 | R r | [р] |
| 7 | G g | [г] | 23 | S s | [с] |
| 8 | Ǵ ǵ | [ғ] | 24 | T t | [т] |
| 9 | H h | [х], [h] | 25 | U u | [ұ] |
| 10 | I i | [і] | 26 | Ú ú | [ү] |
| 11 | I ı | [и], [й] | 27 | V v | [в] |
| 12 | J j | [ж] | 28 | Y y | [ы] |
| 13 | K k | [к] | 29 | Ý ý | [у] |
| 14 | L l | [л] | 30 | Z z | [з] |
| 15 | M m | [м] | 31 | Sh sh | [ш] |
| 16 | N n | [н] | 32 | Ch ch | [ч] |

SOURCE *Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan o vnesenii izmeneniya v Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 26 oktyabrya 2017 goda № 569 «O perevode alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka s kirillitsy na latinskuyu grafiku»* [Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Amendments to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated October 26, 2017 no. 569 "On the Translation of the Alphabet of the Kazakh Language from Cyrillic to Latin"], Feb. 19, 2018, № 637, http://www.akorda.kz/upload/media/files/4875d3f1718f50dd282c242ea2ac9ff5.docx

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