

The demographic composition of Tsarist administrative units

- Most Caucasian units reflect the history of Russian expansion: some territories acquired by treaty, others by conquest.
- Borders typically conform to pre-Tsarist political entities incorporated into Empire, or river basins (Terek and Kuban)
- Most entities multi-ethnic; many ethnic groups in multiple entities

Official interest in language and ethnicity

- 1830s-50s: rise of military statistics as scientific discipline (especially in military academies) & "population politics" [Holquist]
- In statistical publications from the mid- and late-19th c., populations are primarily classified and counted according to:
 1. Social class (nobility, artisans, various categories of peasants, etc.); profession
 2. Sex and age
 3. Religion
 4. "Nationality" (*narodnost*) of lesser importance. Usually confined to confessional-language classifications (Georgians, Armenians, "Tatars", Jews, Russians); European nationalities mostly used for foreigners (French, German etc.)
 5. Interestingly, detailed language data only collected for Dagestanian mountaineers, perhaps because it seemed the most scientific way to categorize them

Religion and writing systems in the Russian Empire

- Alphabets reflected the major confessional groupings within the Empire
- Christianization accompanied by the inventing of scripts
- Cyrillic: Slavic Orthodox churches
- Latin: Catholic and Protestant nations (Poles, Balts, Germans)
- Hebrew: Jews (Hebrew, Yiddish)
- Armenian: Gregorian Monophysite
- Georgian: Georgian Orthodoxy
- Mongolian: Buddhist Kalmyks, Buriats

The South Caucasian Republics (1918-1920/1)

- Transcaucasian republics organized on ethnonational principle.
- Georgians and Armenians: especially high level of national consciousness
- 1. long history of statehood
- 2. distinctive confessional-linguistic identity (Georgian Orthodoxy, Armenian monophysite, with national liturgical language)
- 3. long history of literacy & unique alphabets



Language status in the independent republics

- Georgian, Armenian and Azeri proclaimed as official languages — a status they retained after the Soviet invasion
- New Latin-based script promulgated for Azeri in 1919 — foreshadowing shift to Latin script in early Soviet years

The Soviet period, I: 1917-1937

- 1. The RSFSR/USSR as anti-colonial multi-ethnic state: Lenin and Stalin's nationalities policy
- 2. Written languages for each titular nationality: alphabetization, promotion of Latin-based scripts
- 3. Reformed scripts and new alphabets

Why Lenin & Stalin supported national self-determination

- 1. National consciousness was a necessary phase in the historical path from capitalism to socialist internationalism
- 2. The non-Russian peoples were the victims of Great-Russian colonialism and chauvinism. Minority nationalism is understandable, and less dangerous than Russian nationalism
- 3. Nationalism was an ideological illusion, but a useful one; better that we use it than let them use it against us

Political-territorial categories of the USSR compared to Russian Empire

- multi-layered geopolitical structure
- innovation: creation of ethnically-based territories, as well as purely regional ones
- RSFSR maintained concept of Rossiiskij supra-ethnic identity, as in Russian Empire
- At USSR level, Russian (*Russkij*) became "unmarked" nationality, without titular territory.
- Lenin's inversion of relation between Russians and minorities: "affirmative action empire" (Terry Martin)

The multilayered territorial structure of the USSR

- 1. USSR as a union of republics
- 2. RSFSR ("super-ethnic": Rossijskaja) & Union Republics (ethnic, with constitution)
- 3a. Autonomous SSRs (ethnic, with constitution)
- 3b. Kraj (non-ethnic)
- 3c. Oblast' (within Union Republic or Kraj): Autonomous Ob (ethnic), Ob (non-ethnic)
- 4. Autonomous Okrug (ethnic; within Krai or AObl; mostly in Siberia)
- 5. Rajon (local units, like Tsarist *uezd*)

Literacy rates at the end of the Tsarist period: 1897 census

- Literacy for the entire empire: 28,4%
- Literacy in component nations:
- Estonia 96,2%
- Russian-speaking lands: 29,6%
- Georgia: 23,6%
- Tadjikistan: 2,3%
- Turkmenistan: 0,85%

Soviet alphabetization policy

- Elimination of illiteracy
- Creation of writing systems for all Soviet minority languages
- Institute instruction in native-language schools
- Publication of textbooks, literature, newspapers, Communist Party materials in native languages

Writing systems for Caucasian languages

- A. [Premodern] Greek, Georgian, “Albanian” or Arabic scripts
- B. [Tsarist period] Modified Cyrillic or Latin scripts formulated by Uslar, Marr and other linguists
- C. [Soviet period to 1928] Arabic script allowed (and even revised) for some North Caucasian languages
- D. [1920s-1938] experimentation with Latin scripts (revision in 1932)
- E. [1938-1991] Cyrillic imposed for all newly-written languages; EXCEPT Georgian script for Abkhazian and (South) Ossetian (until 1954) — i.e. alphabet of titular union nationality adopted
- F. [post-Soviet] Shift to Latin script for some languages; new written standards for Rutul, Aghul

l'alphabet arménien

- créé vers 400 (par St. Mesrop Machtots), après l'adoption du christianisme
- l'ordre des lettres suit celui de l'alphabet grec, avec intercalation de lettres supplémentaires

SYMBOL		CLASSIC ORIGIN			NEW ORIGIN			NUMBER OF WORDS
Majority	Minority	Scientific	Classical	Classical	Scientific	Classical		
A	a	a	a	a	ay	ay	1	
B	b	b	b	b	beta	beta	2	
C	c	c	c	c	chi	chi	1	
D	d	d	d	d	delta	delta	2	
E	e	e	e	e	eta	eta	1	
F	f	f	f	f	feh	feh	1	
G	g	g	g	g	gamma	gamma	2	
H	h	h	h	h	heta	heta	1	
I	i	i	i	i	iota	iota	1	
J	j	j	j	j	jota	jota	1	
K	k	k	k	k	kappa	kappa	1	
L	l	l	l	l	lambda	lambda	1	
M	m	m	m	m	mu	mu	1	
N	n	n	n	n	nu	nu	1	
O	o	o	o	o	oxa	oxa	1	
P	p	p	p	p	pe	pe	1	
Q	q	q	q	q	qua	qua	1	
R	r	r	r	r	rho	rho	1	
S	s	s	s	s	sigma	sigma	1	
T	t	t	t	t	tau	tau	1	
U	u	u	u	u	upsilon	upsilon	1	
V	v	v	v	v	vee	vee	1	
W	w	w	w	w	wei	wei	1	
X	x	x	x	x	xeta	xeta	1	
Y	y	y	y	y	ye	ye	1	
Z	z	z	z	z	zed	zed	1	
AA	aa	aa	aa	aa	alpha	alpha	100	
BB	bb	bb	bb	bb	beta	beta	200	
CC	cc	cc	cc	cc	chi	chi	100	
DD	dd	dd	dd	dd	delta	delta	200	
EE	ee	ee	ee	ee	eta	eta	100	
FF	ff	ff	ff	ff	feh	feh	100	
GG	gg	gg	gg	gg	gamma	gamma	200	
HH	hh	hh	hh	hh	heta	heta	100	
II	ii	ii	ii	ii	iota	iota	100	
JJ	jj	jj	jj	jj	jota	jota	100	
KK	kk	kk	kk	kk	kappa	kappa	100	
LL	ll	ll	ll	ll	lambda	lambda	100	
MM	mm	mm	mm	mm	mu	mu	100	
NN	nn	nn	nn	nn	nu	nu	100	
OO	oo	oo	oo	oo	oxa	oxa	100	
PP	pp	pp	pp	pp	pe	pe	100	
QQ	qq	qq	qq	qq	qua	qua	100	
RR	rr	rr	rr	rr	rho	rho	100	
SS	ss	ss	ss	ss	sigma	sigma	100	
TT	tt	tt	tt	tt	tau	tau	100	
UU	uu	uu	uu	uu	upsilon	upsilon	100	
VV	vv	vv	vv	vv	vee	vee	100	
WW	ww	ww	ww	ww	wei	wei	100	
XX	xx	xx	xx	xx	xeta	xeta	100	
YY	yy	yy	yy	yy	ye	ye	100	
ZZ	zz	zz	zz	zz	zed	zed	100	
AAA	aaa	aaa	aaa	aaa	alpha	alpha	1000	
BBB	bbb	bbb	bbb	bbb	beta	beta	2000	
CCC	ccc	ccc	ccc	ccc	chi	chi	1000	
DDD	ddd	ddd	ddd	ddd	delta	delta	2000	
EEE	eee	eee	eee	eee	eta	eta	1000	
FFF	fff	fff	fff	fff	feh	feh	1000	
GGG	ggg	ggg	ggg	ggg	gamma	gamma	2000	
HHH	hhh	hhh	hhh	hhh	heta	heta	1000	
III	iii	iii	iii	iii	iota	iota	1000	
JJJ	jjj	jjj	jjj	jjj	jota	jota	1000	
KKK	kkk	kkk	kkk	kkk	kappa	kappa	1000	
LLL	lll	lll	lll	lll	lambda	lambda	1000	
MMM	mmm	mmm	mmm	mmm	mu	mu	1000	
NNN	nnn	nnn	nnn	nnn	nu	nu	1000	
OOO	ooo	ooo	ooo	ooo	oxa	oxa	1000	
PPP	ppp	ppp	ppp	ppp	pe	pe	1000	
QQQ	qqq	qqq	qqq	qqq	qua	qua	1000	
RRR	rrr	rrr	rrr	rrr	rho	rho	1000	
SSS	sss	sss	sss	sss	sigma	sigma	1000	
TTT	ttt	ttt	ttt	ttt	tau	tau	1000	
UUU	uuu	uuu	uuu	uuu	upsilon	upsilon	1000	
VVV	vvv	vvv	vvv	vvv	vee	vee	1000	
WWW	www	www	www	www	wei	wei	1000	
XXX	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xeta	xeta	1000	
YYY	yyy	yyy	yyy	yyy	ye	ye	1000	
ZZZ	zzz	zzz	zzz	zzz	zed	zed	1000	

les alphabets du géorgien ancien

Asomtavruli and Nuskhakhucuri alphabets
The top row of letters on each line is in the *Asomtavruli* alphabet, the bottom row is in the *Nuskhakhucuri* alphabet.

፬	ሀ	ሐ	፪	፫	፬	፭	፮	፯	፰	፱	፳	፻	፼	፽	፿
a	b	g	d	e	v	z	ay/ə	t	i	k	l	m	n	o	u
[a]	[b]	[g]	[d]	[e]	[v]	[z]	[ə]	[t]	[i]	[k]	[l]	[m]	[n]	[o]	[u]
ረ	ሸ	ሹ	ሺ	ሻ	፲	፳	፻	፼	፽	፿	፿	፿	፿	፿	፿
r	sh	shh	shhh	shhhh	l	ll	lll	llll	lllll	llllll	lllllll	llllllll	lllllllll	llllllllll	lllllllllll
[r]	[ʃ]	[ʃh]	[ʃhʰ]	[ʃhʰh]	[l]	[lː]	[lːː]	[lːːː]	[lːːːː]	[lːːːːː]	[lːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːːːːː]
ሰ	ሶ	ሸ	ሺ	ሻ	፲	፳	፻	፼	፽	፿	፿	፿	፿	፿	፿
s	sh	shh	shhh	shhhh	l	ll	lll	llll	lllll	llllll	lllllll	llllllll	lllllllll	llllllllll	lllllllllll
[s]	[ʃ]	[ʃh]	[ʃhʰ]	[ʃhʰh]	[l]	[lː]	[lːː]	[lːːː]	[lːːːː]	[lːːːːː]	[lːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːːːː]	[lːːːːːː~	

l'inscription alanique de Zelenchuk

- pierre tombale de c. 1000 ap J-C
- texte en langue alanique (vieil-ossète), inscrit en lettres grecques
- lecture et traduction par Vs. Miller

pierre tombale de c. 1000 ap J-C
 texte en langue alanique (vieil-
 ossète), inscrit en lettres
 grecques
 lecture et traduction par Vs.
 Miller

The image shows a stone inscription from a tomb, dated around 1000 AD. It features a drawing of a cross at the top and a column of text in Old Ossetian script, which is written in Greek letters. The text is a prayer or commemorative inscription.

1	ΕΧ	1	✠	1	Ι Ξ
2	Χρ(ε)τ(ι) Νικολαιον	2	Ν	2	Χ Ξ
3	Σαργανιου	3	Ν	3	Ο Α. Σ
4	επι τοιουτου	4	Ν	4	ΝΙΚΟ ΑΛ
5	Επιταφιας Ηρακλιδου	5	Ν	5	Ο Ξ
6	Ανταλ. Ανεστηλεν τοιουτου	6	Ν	6	ΛΑΧΗ
7	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	7	Ν	7	ΡΗΘΟΥ ΠΤ
8	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	8	Ν	8	Χ
9	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	9	Ν	9	ΡΗΘ
10	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	10	Ν	10	Ο ΓΤ
11	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	11	Ν	11	ΠΑΚΑ
12	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	12	Ν	12	ΘΑΡΠΑ
13	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	13	Ν	13	ΚΛΘΑΗ
14	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	14	Ν	14	ΘΟΥΓΤ
15	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	15	Ν	15	ΑΝΙΑ
16	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	16	Ν	16	ΑΝΑΠΑ
17	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	17	Ν	17	ΑΝΗΦ
18	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	18	Ν	18	Ο ΓΤ
19	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	19	Ν	19	ΛΑΚΑ
20	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	20	Ν	20	ΝΗΤΖΗ
21	Αναστην εν τ(ι)ς	21	Ν	21	ΘΕ-ΘΒ Α

Orthographic reform in early Soviet period (1917-1928)

- “Lunacharskij Phase I”: revision and upgrading of existing writing systems
- Cyrillic reform of Dec 1917
- For East Caucasian languages sporadically written in Arabic characters: development of “new adjam” — improved Arabic orthography (1920)

scripts for Avar

- 1 & 2: Georgian and Latin transcriptions used by Chikobava and colleagues
- 3. Peter Usler's Cyrillic script
- 4. Anton Schiefner's script
- 5. Arabic “adjam” script, used until 1928
- 6. Official Latin script (1928-1938)
- 7. Official Cyrillic script (from 1938)

N/N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	а	а	а	а	а	а	а
2	б	б	б	б	б	б	б
3	в	в	в	в	в	в	в
4	г	г	г	г	г	г	г
5	д	д	д	д	д	д	д
6	е	е	е	е	е	е	е
7	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж
8	з	з	з	з	з	з	з
9	и	и	и	и	и	и	и
10	к	к	к	к	к	к	к
11	л	л	л	л	л	л	л
12	м	м	м	м	м	м	м
13	н	н	н	н	н	н	н
14	о	о	о	о	о	о	о
15	п	п	п	п	п	п	п
16	р	р	р	р	р	р	р
17	с	с	с	с	с	с	с
18	т	т	т	т	т	т	т
19	у	у	у	у	у	у	у
20	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф
21	х	х	х	х	х	х	х
22	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц
23	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч
24	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш
25	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ
26	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ
27	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы
28	э	э	э	э	э	э	э
29	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю
30	я	я	я	я	я	я	я

N/N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	а	а	а	а	а	а	а
18	б	б	б	б	б	б	б
19	в	в	в	в	в	в	в
20	г	г	г	г	г	г	г
21	д	д	д	д	д	д	д
22	е	е	е	е	е	е	е
23	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж
24	з	з	з	з	з	з	з
25	и	и	и	и	и	и	и
26	к	к	к	к	к	к	к
27	л	л	л	л	л	л	л
28	м	м	м	м	м	м	м
29	н	н	н	н	н	н	н
30	о	о	о	о	о	о	о
31	п	п	п	п	п	п	п
32	р	р	р	р	р	р	р
33	с	с	с	с	с	с	с
34	т	т	т	т	т	т	т
35	у	у	у	у	у	у	у
36	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф
37	х	х	х	х	х	х	х
38	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц
39	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч
40	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш
41	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ
42	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ
43	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы
44	э	э	э	э	э	э	э
45	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю
46	я	я	я	я	я	я	я
47	а	а	а	а	а	а	а
48	б	б	б	б	б	б	б
49	в	в	в	в	в	в	в
50	г	г	г	г	г	г	г
51	д	д	д	д	д	д	д
52	е	е	е	е	е	е	е
53	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж	ж
54	з	з	з	з	з	з	з
55	и	и	и	и	и	и	и
56	к	к	к	к	к	к	к
57	л	л	л	л	л	л	л
58	м	м	м	м	м	м	м
59	н	н	н	н	н	н	н
60	о	о	о	о	о	о	о
61	п	п	п	п	п	п	п
62	р	р	р	р	р	р	р
63	с	с	с	с	с	с	с
64	т	т	т	т	т	т	т
65	у	у	у	у	у	у	у
66	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф	ф
67	х	х	х	х	х	х	х
68	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц	ц
69	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч	ч
70	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш	ш
71	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ	щ
72	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ	ъ
73	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы	ы
74	э	э	э	э	э	э	э
75	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю	ю
76	я	я	я	я	я	я	я

“Lunacharskij Phase II”: Latinization

- Latin script as universal writing system, to make all languages accessible to international socialist community
- 1921-1932: new Latin-based alphabets for non-literary languages of Central Asia & Caucasus
- 1928: Arabic scripts — too associated with Islam — replaced with Latin
- 1930: Lunacharskij proposes that even Russian itself should be Latinized

Another motivation for Latinization

By supporting [alphabet movements in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus], the party appeared to promote nativization policy, giving peoples new or revised alphabets designed for mass literacy and education. Yet Latinization also offered Moscow the perfect opportunity to begin to undermine the power of the Muslim clerical establishment ... forcing Latin as the new medium of script literacy, the party would mount an impassable barrier between traditional Islamic print culture and the masses of the new “Soviet” literates. Since the vast majorities of the Turkic and indigenous populations of the east were still illiterate, control over alphabet politics meant control over them. (Michael G. Smith, quoted in Clement 2005:

- Note that more Azeri speakers live in Iran than in Azerbaijan. They have always written their language in Arabic script
- In 1925, the Soviets forbade the importation of documents written in Arabic script. In 1928 an attempt was made to confiscate & destroys books in Arabic script.



Latin scripts replacing Arabic for languages of Muslim peoples of USSR

- Poster promoting new Latin script for Uzbek
- Contrast between workers holding new alphabet & waste-heap of mullahs, medresseh teachers and old generation of intellectuals mixed with Arabic letters [Bobrovnikov]

The Brezhnev period: 1964-1982

- Brezhnev clients named to post of First Party Secretary; remained in power for most of the Brezhnev years.
- Period of stagnation and relative prosperity, maintained by widespread clientalism and corruption, collusion of government in defense of national language & culture
- Azerbaijan: Heydar Aliiev, 1969-1982
- Georgia: Eduard Shevardnadze, 1972-1985
- Armenia: Karen Demirchian, 1974-1988
- All three politicians reemerged as post-Soviet leaders: Shevardnadze (1995-2003) and Aliiev (1993-2003) as presidents, Demirchian as Armenian parliament speaker (1998-99)

Dissident activity in Georgia

- 1960s: emergence of patriotic manifestations, mostly at Georgian Orthodox feastdays such as Easter
- 1970s: alliance of Georgian intellectual dissidents with colleagues in Russia, such as Sakharov. Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava emerge as leaders.
- Samizdat publications circulate. Key themes: defense of Georgian culture & language; calls for autonomy or independence; the issue of Abkhazia.

Official languages in the constitutions of the union republics of the USSR

- The three Transcaucasian republics retained the official declaration of their respective languages as state languages in their Soviet constitutions.
- In the other republics, no mention was made of official languages
- With regard to the increasing presence of Russian in the schools and the public sphere, Brezhnev continued on the path begun under Khrushchev (and prefigured by the new prominence of Russian and Russians in late Stalinism)

Georgian as state language in the 1926, 1937 and 1978 Georgian SSR constitutions

10. The state language of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia shall be Georgian.
17. National minorities, residing on the territory of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia shall have the right to free development and application of their native language in national-cultural life, as well as at the state organizations.

Article 156. Georgian is the state language of the Georgian SSR.
The national minorities residing on the territory of the Georgian SSR shall have the right to the free development and application of their mother tongues in cultural, as well as in state institutions.

Article 157. The laws, as well as the Decrees and Resolutions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, the Decisions and orders of the Council of people's Commissariats of the Georgian SSR shall be published in Georgian language, and for the Autonomous Republics and Autonomous oblasts – in Georgian and in the language of autonomous Republic or oblast.

Article 158. The laws, as well as decrees and ordinances of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republics, orders and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Autonomous Republics, decisions of the executive committees of the autonomous oblast shall be published in the language of respective autonomous republic or autonomous oblast and in Georgian.

Article 75. The State language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall be Georgian.
The Georgian SSR shall secure the comprehensive development of Georgian language and safeguards its application in the state and public organs, as well as in the cultural, educational and other institutions.
Free application of Russian and other languages, used by the population, shall be secured in the above mentioned organs of the Georgian SSR. Any privileges for or restriction of any language is inadmissible.

The teaching of languages in Soviet Georgian schools

Patterns of language-teaching in Georgia's late-Soviet schools

Teaching in Georgian-Language Schools (periods per week)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Geo Lang	11	9	9	4	4	4	3	2	-	-
Geo Lit	-	-	-	2	3	2	2	3	4	3
Russ Lg/Lit	4	5	6	6	5	4	5/4	3	3	3

Teaching in Russian-Language Schools (periods per week)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Russ Lang	12	11	10	6	6	4	3	2	-	-
Russ Lit	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	4	3
Geo Lg/Lit	-	-	3	3	3	3	3/2	3	3	3

Trilingual programs in Azeri & Armenian schools within Georgia (Georgian as third language)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Arm Lang	11	10	10	4	4	3	3	2	-	-
Arm Lit	-	-	-	3	2	2/3	2	3	3	3
Russ Lg	4	5	5	4	5	4/5	4/3	1	1	1
Russ Lit	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	7
Geo Lang	-	-	-	2	2	2				

Teaching in Azeri-Language Schools (periods per week)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Azeri Lang	12	10	9	5/4	3/4	3	3	2	-	-
Azeri Lit	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Russ Lg/Lit	4	6/5	6	4/5	6/5	4	4/3	3	4	3
Geo Lang	-	-	-	2	2	2	1			

Georgian not taught at all in Abkhazian and (South) Ossetian schools, whereas more hours of Russian than native language

Teaching in Abkhaz-Language Schools (periods per week)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Abkh Lang	7	6	6	3	3	3	4	2	-	-
Russ Lg	8	9	9	6	6	4	4/3	2	1	1
Abkh Lit	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Russ Lit	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	3	2

Teaching in Ossetic-Language Schools (periods per week)

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Oss Lang	8	6	6	2	2	2	2	1/2	-	-
Russ Lg	7	9	9	6	6	5	3	2	2	2
Oss Lit	-	-	-	2	2	1	2/1	2/1	2	2
Russ Lit	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3	3	2

March 1978: proposed change to Georgian SSR constitution

Непосредственным поводом для выступления было предложение внести изменение в статью 75 в проекте новой конституции Грузии. Прежняя соответствующая статья гласила, что грузинский язык является государственным языком Грузинской ССР. Новая статья звучала так:
«Грузинская ССР обеспечивает употребление в государственных и общественных органах, культурных и других учреждениях русского языка и осуществляет всемерную заботу о его развитии. В Грузинской ССР на основе равноправия обеспечивается свободное употребление во всех органах и учреждениях русского, а также других языков, которыми пользуется население. Какие-либо привилегии или ограничения в употреблении тех или иных языков не допускаются».

24 марта республиканская газета «Заря Востока» напечатала проект ст. 75 в новой конституции.

Сессия Верховного Совета Грузинской ССР для утверждения новой конституции была назначена на 14 апреля. Перед этим состоялось «всенародное обсуждение» проекта. Газеты были завалены предложениями оставить статью 75 без изменений, сохранить грузинский язык в качестве государственного. Среди выдвинувших это предложение был 80-летний академик-языковед Шанидзе. В Тбилисском университете и во многих других учебных заведениях стали собирать подписи под его предложением. За несколько дней до открытия сессии Верховного Совета в университете и других местах появились листовки, призывающие выйти 14 апреля на демонстрацию с требованием оставить в новой конституции положение о грузинском языке как государственном языке Грузии.

- The removal of the provision for Georgian as state language would have brought the constitution of Georgia (also Armenia and Azerbaijan) into conformity with the other union republics, none of which had such a provision

14 April 1978: Mass protests in Tbilisi in defense of the status of the special status of the Georgian language



- Despite Shevardnadze's warnings of another massacre as in 1956, over 10000 protestors massed in front of the government building, where the parliament was meeting to vote on the constitutional changes
- Although many Tbilisi militia officers were ethnic Ossetians, only Georgian officers were present, not bearing weapons. Rumors spread that behind the last line of militiamen were armed Soviet soldiers
- Loudspeakers broadcast the parliament session to the crowd. Finally, the Georgian Supreme Soviet voted to retain the status of Georgian as state language
- To avoid similar protests in Armenia or Azerbaijan, the Soviet leadership agreed to the same provision for those republics

Georgian-Abkhazian relations

- 1938: Imposition of Georgian script
- 1946: Closure of Abkhazian-language schools, replaced with Georgian
- 1951: Georgian literary historian Pavle Ingorova argued that medieval population of Abkhazia was Georgians, and that Abkhazians migrated from Northwest Caucasus in 17th century.
- 1954: Cyrillic script for Abkhazian, reopening of schools
- 1978: After Moscow agreed to Georgian language demands in April 1978, a group of 130 Abkhaz intellectuals send a letter to Brezhnev asking that the Abkhaz ASSR be incorporated into the RSFSR. In response, large investments are made on behalf of Abkhazian culture, including a university in Sukhumi with an Abkhazian-language sector, Abkhazian TV programs, etc.

Gorbachev years: Glasnost and increasingly visible ethnic tensions

- February 1988: protests in Nagorno Karabakh, demanding annexation to Armenia; some weeks later, violence breaks out in Sumgait, dozens of Armenians killed, hundreds leave. Further violence and emigration in 1988
- Autumn 1988: public demonstrations in Georgia
- 18 March 1989: Lykhny Assembly in Abkhazia, calling for secession from Georgia, restoration of Union Republic status (as in 1921-31)
- 9 April 1989: Mass protests and hunger strikes in Tbilisi, demanding Georgian independence, as well as opposition to Abkhazian separatism. Protestors attacked by Soviet troops. 21 killed.
- 1989-1990: Other union republics elevate their national languages to official status, as in Georgia
- 20 January 1990: 120 killed by Soviet troops in Baku.
- 31 March and 21 September 1991: Georgia and Armenian hold referendums on independence; the vote is 99% in favor in both. Although voters in Azerbaijan had earlier voted in favor of maintaining the USSR, the country declared its independence as the Soviet Union dissolved in December 1991

Language in the three South Caucasian republics I. Azerbaijan

- Re-Latinization of Azeri promulgated four days after independence, 25 December 1991. (Partially motivated by anti-Russian sentiment after January 1990 massacre?)
- New alphabet based on Turkish, except for the "schwa" [ə], which at the time was not available in most character sets. It was promoted as a distinctive feature of both Cyrillic and Latin Azeri scripts since the 1920s.
- President Abulfaz Elchibay adopted a strongly pan-Turkic orientation. Language renamed "Turkish", then "Azerbaijani Turkish". The next president Heydar Aliiev returned to the original name "Azerbaijani".
- Aliiev père & fils have not impeded use of Russian in broadcasting or press, but its use is declining in favor of English. Linguistic minorities — meaning Lezgins, Talysh (the Armenians having fled) — are officially protected.

Re-Latinization of Azeri in 1992: New school primers; Latin-script signs



Support for conversion to Latin (Lynley Hatcher 2008)

To support the Latin script and a Turkic identity, Turkey soon began sending in Latin script typewriters (Cornell 1999: 68). It directed television programming to Azerbaijan with subtitles in Latin script (Robins 1993: 607), as well as working to increase its influence by a variety of foreign aid, including trade and the opening of schools in Azerbaijan (Aras 2000). Heydar Aliyev, the next president of Azerbaijan, greatly supported the Latin script initiative in terms of nation building and the creation of a distinct Azerbaijani identity. Aliyev, a former member of the Politburo, was often complimented for having better Russian than that of his Russian colleagues. Nevertheless, he was a strong advocate for the transition to the Latin script and of moving away from Russian language usage throughout his presidency. In early 2001, Aliyev declared 1 August 2001 the deadline for a mandatory shift from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet. This decree included newspapers, books, government documents, and government correspondence switching to the Latin script (Blair 2001: 17).

Some older writers accept that their works in Cyrillic will one day be unreadable

Even writers who support the shift to the Latin script recognize that within several years of the shift, many of their own works published in the Cyrillic script will be inaccessible to young people taught to read in the Latin script. Kamal Talibzade (2000: 66) has faced this and made a clear choice for the Latin-related identity:

Within five years or so, the younger generation won't be able to read my books. Sometimes I think: "What a pity! I've been serving this society as a scholar for 55 years. But none of my books will even be readable in the future." I'm still convinced, however, that we made the right decision to embrace Latin. Our future is the main issue ... I'm among the happiest people in the world because I've seen the collapse of the Soviet Union ... It's important for us to adopt the Latin alphabet.

Bilingualism in Azerbaijan

Country	Bilingualism ^a
Kazakhstan	TR: 79.6 RT: 3.6
Estonia	TR: 44.6 RT: 6.5
Latvia	TR: 69.0 RT: 20.1
Ukraine	TR: 94.4 RT: 26.5
Moldova	TR: 86.9 RT: 12.4
Dniestria	TR: 90.5 ^b RT: 7.4
Azerbaijan	TA: 1.5 TR: 46.2 RT: 36.9
Refugees in Armenia from Azerbaijan	ArAz: 27.8 ArR: 96.3

- TR: knowledge of Russian by titular nation
- RT: knowledge of titular language by Russian minority
- Uncommonly high knowledge of Azeri by Russians (37%), nearly as high as Russian fluency of Azeris!
- Armenian refugees from Azer. also have high fluency in Azeri (28%)
- Source: Laitin, 2001

II. Armenia

- Ease of transition: language already official, no script change needed, nearly homogenous populations
- Below: protest against Soviet rule in 1988



The special importance of the Armenian script



- The Armenian script is intimately connected to the history and culture of the Armenians since their adoption of Christianity in the 4th c.
- The unique script, like the distinctive monophysite Christianity of the national church, is a highly significant, almost fetishized, symbol of Armenian identity

Alphabet monument near Artashavan commemorating 1600th anniversary of invention



- Another alphabet monument, at Oshakan, the place of birth of St Mesrop Mashtots, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet



The situation of Russian in Armenia

Во-вторых, образовательная система нацеливает каждого ученика армянских школ на обязательное знание еще как минимум двух других языков - русского и одного из европейских. Их статус неравнозначен. О ведущей роли русского языка в системе преподавания языков в армянской школе свидетельствуют последние статистические данные о количестве учителей:

русский язык - 1500 (51%)

английский - 930 (30%)

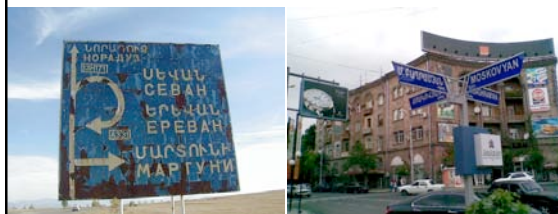
французский - 350 (10%)

немецкий - 320 (9%)

Русский язык преподается в школе со второго класса по десятый, в то время как иностранные языки - только с пятого. В вузах русский язык является обязательным как минимум на первом-втором курсах. За последние 2-3 года количество часов, отводимых русскому языку и в школах и в вузах, значительно увеличилось.

- Russian remains the second language of most adults, and the language most taught in Armenian schools, but use is declining among young people

Bilingual signs: English replacing Russian



- Old Armenian-Russian signs still around, but new signage (as above in Erevan, 2010) favors English as second language

Nagorno-Karabakh: erasure of Azeri language



- road signs in Karabakh: Armenian only, or Armenian-Russian bilingual

III. Georgia

- Renaming of toponyms and street names (often restoration of pre-Soviet names)
- Erasure of Russian/Cyrillic from signage, replacement with English
- Influx of English loans into Georgian language (including written use)
- Active promotion of English in Georgian schools; TLG program

Restoring old toponyms

- *Senak'i* (Mingrelia): renamed after Bolshevik *Mixa Cxak'aia* (1933-1976), then only *Cxak'aia* (1976-1989)
- *Dedoplis-c'q'aro* ("Queen's Spring", Kakheti): renamed *C'itel-c'q'aro* ("Red Spring") from 1963-1991

Besides restoring old names, Georgian authorities name streets after recent political figures

Tbilisi Sakrebulo to consider renaming street in honor of Richard Holbrooke

27.12.10 11:57

Georgia, Tbilisi, Dec. 27 / Trend N.Kirtzhalia /

The Tbilisi City Assembly, Sakrebulo, will on Monday consider renaming the Bagdati Street after the late American diplomat, Richard Holbrooke.

Earlier, Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili appealed to the Tbilisi Sakrebulo with this initiative and expressed hope that it will be understood and supported. Saakashvili also issued a decision to posthumously award Holbrooke with the Saint George Victory Order for promoting peace and democracy throughout the world.

The Bagdati Street located near the Isani metro station was selected as the street to be named after Holbrooke.

Holbrooke died at the age of 70 in Washington this week from aortic rupture. He is best known for his part in signing the Dayton Agreements in 1995, which ended the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Today the Tbilisi Sakrebulo also intends to rename the Stalin Street in Tskneti to Prince Amilakhvari Street.

Sometimes Georgian citizens take the initiative in street renaming



Rename Pushkin street into Lech Kaczyński street in Tbilisi

Wall Info Discussions Photos Video Events

Basic Info

Name: Rename Pushkin street into Lech Kaczyński street in Tbilisi
 Category: Common Interest - Politics
 Description: Appeal to the Georgian Government and Mayor of Tbilisi to rename central avenue in Tbilisi currently called "Pushkin street" to the name of Georgia's National Hero Lech Kaczyński who never abandoned us in hardship and horror of August 2008. Pushkin has given nothing to Georgia while Lech Kaczyński contribution is enormous for our country.

- Facebook page with petition to name street after late Polish president who supported Georgia in August 2008 war

Sometimes Georgians disagree with new street names

Protesters in Tbilisi demand 'Bush Street' be renamed

Protesters raised a banner over the sign marking a street named after former US President George W. Bush, in Tbilisi, as they demand the street be renamed. Tbilisi, Georgia. 25/03/05



- The highway leading to Tbilisi airport was renamed "George Bush Street" when Bush visited in 2005.
- Street named after living person: not practiced in most countries; harks back to Stalin years

Signage in Georgia: English supplants Russian as international language



- English in both official and private signage
- In road signs, English lettering often painted over earlier Cyrillic
- "Integration into NATO": signs addressed to foreigners sometimes in English only

Traces of the earlier presence of Russian



- The occasional Georgian-Russian street sign (that hasn't been redone in English)
- Pirosmiani's famous advertisements from late-Tsarist Tbilisi

Saakashvilian trilingualism?



- Billboard in central Tbilisi (2005), with three messages in three languages, intended for three audiences (P. Manning)
- 1. Georgian: "strength in unity"
- 2. English: "celebrating Georgia's diversity"
- 3. Russian: "Georgia is my homeland"
- strength for Georgians, celebration & diversity for Americans, *rodina* for Russians

Loanwords in Georgian

- In the Tsarist period, numerous Russian words entered Georgian, especially for concepts with which the Georgian became familiar through Russian
- These words were accepted in written use and included in dictionaries
- Many Russianisms also appear in Georgian literature of the time (e.g. the writer Vazha-Pshavela referred to Germans as *nemcebi* < Russian *nemec*)

Some Russianisms in Chubinashvili's *Georgian-Russian Dictionary*, pub. 1890
(all of them now excluded from normative literary Georgian)

GEORGIAN	RUSSIAN SOURCE	GLOSS
morozhina	morozhenoe	"ice cream"
st'oli	stol	"table"
k'resla	kreslo	"armchair"
p'odnosi	podnos	"tray"
shlap'a	shlyapa	"Russian hat"
st'akani	stakan	"cup, drinking glass"
p'ap'irosi	papirosa	"cigarette"

Russian loanwords in Soviet Georgian

- At the end of the Tsarist and beginning of Soviet periods, Georgian lexicographers and linguists adopted the policy of banning Russianisms, unless they were either "international words" — lexemes based on Greek, Latin or West European roots, such as *philharmonia*, *p'omada*, *k'abinet'i*, *huligani*, *valdhorni* (< Waldhorn) — or terms specific to Russian culture (*samovari*, *borshchi*)
- At the same time, Georgian (especially Tbilisi) slang was full of Russianisms, which were regularly denounced by language purists

Some Russianisms in L. Bregadze's *Georgian Slang Dictionary*, published 1999
(all of them now excluded from normative literary Georgian)

GEORGIAN	RUSSIAN SOURCE	GLOSS
gimni'obs	gimni' "hymn, song"	parades, has a wild time
p'og-shi	itog, "sum, total"	in sum, in the final analysis
t'ip'sha	tip + feminine suffix -sha	woman
shp'lik'-ebi	shp'li'ki "pins, pegs" - in context podpuski' shp'li'ki "make nasty, caustic remarks to sb."	venomous remarks, criticism
geche [now obsolete]	Cyrillic letters ГН (GN) on license plates of cars used by rural gov't officials	naive, ignorant villager
praieri	fraier (< German <i>Freier</i>), in Russian slang: dupe, easy mark (esp. sb. from intelligentsia)	careless, unthinking person, goof

English loanwords in post-Soviet Georgian

- Occasional English loans began appearing in late-Soviet Georgian slang (*visiksaot* "let's have sex")
- After independence, the flood-gates opened. Numerous expressions entered the language from:
 - US popular culture (*rep'i* < rap, *hevi-met'ali*)
 - Business, finance, journalism, marketing (*p'iri* < PR = Public Relations, *int'egirebuli mark'et'inguli k'omunik'aciebi* "integrated marketing communications")
 - Technology, media (*masmedia* < mass media; *vebsait'i* < website)
 - The jargon of grant agencies, NGOs, sociologists, conflict studies, etc. (*identoba* "identity", *genderi*, *t'reningi* "training")
- Many Anglicisms appear regularly in Georgian print and broadcast journalism, as well in the language of politicians and the younger generation of social scientists and intellectuals

Teach and Learn with Georgia program

- Program launched by Saakashvili administration with the goal of recruiting 1000 native English speakers to teach in primary and secondary schools throughout Georgia
- Teachers are placed in villages and small towns as well as large cities like Tbilisi or Batumi
- Results so far are mixed: Some cases of culture-shock and misunderstandings; complaints about poor infrastructure in rural schools, lack of textbooks and supplies, low level of preparation of students and Georgian teachers



Mingrelian: language or dialect?

- Mingrelian spoken by over half a million Georgians, concentrated in province of Mingrelia/Samegrelo
- Distinct identity in Middle Ages? "Egros" < Egrisi (ancient name of Mingrelia) as one of the sons of Targamos
- Mingrelian speech described by 17th c. Italian missionaries, Çelebi
- Vaxushti & Saba Orbeliani described Mingrelian as "distorted Georgian"
- Intelligibility: Mingrelian (unlike Svan), sounds Georgian, but cannot be understood by other Georgians



Russian colonialism and Mingrelian

- Güldenstädt and Klaproth described Mingrelian as a "dialect" (Mundart) of Georgian, but analyzed it as a separate language, along with Svan
- Rosen (1844) and Tsagareli (1880) call Mingrelian a language (*Sprache, jazyk*), write it with Georgian characters
- Mingrelian texts in the *Sbornik materialov* written in Cyrillic (*mingrel'skaja azbuka*)
- Proposal by Russian clergy to translate Bible and catechisms in Mingrelian, rejected by Mingrelians themselves and Georgian intelligentsia



Mingrelian during the Soviet period

- 1926 census: Mingrelian language counted separately
- Brief period of publishing (newspapers and Communist manuals), as well as use in schools, 1930-38.
- 1939 census: Mingrelian no longer listed
- "Samizdat" writing in Mingrelian, including translations of national epic "Knight in the leopard's skin" (at least two different translations, earliest by K. Zhvania in 1966)
- Large number (disproportionate?) of Mingrelians in Georgian cultural elite, intelligentsia: *vyshij sort Gruzín*



The Mingrelian question today

- Mingrelian refugees (over 100K) in Tbilisi and elsewhere in Georgia, after Abkhazian War of 1993
- Political tensions: Mingrelians associated with Zviad Gamsaxurdia and his policies
- Increasingly tendentious debate over status of Mingrelian as "language" or "dialect"
- Criticism in Georgian press and chat groups about use of Mingrelian in writing (esp. the possibility of a translation of the Bible into Mingrelian; 75% opposed in an on-line poll)
- Introduction of Mingrelian writing in Abkhazia



- Trilingual Abkhaz-Russian-Mingrelian newspaper "Gal" in Abkhazian Republic
- Most Georgians of Abkhazia, especially those of the southernmost province of Gali, speak Mingrelian.
- Is this an outreach to the once-majority Georgian population, or an attempt to eliminate the public use of the Georgian language?



Mingrelian linguistic debate

- Two extreme positions:
 1. Mingrelian as dialect, with Georgian as literary standard and "mother tongue" (*deda ena*). Since Mingrelians are Georgians, their speech can only be regarded as a Georgian dialect (Gamsaxurdia, Putkaradze, Metropolitan Ananias)
 2. Mingrelian as language, to be used in publication and taught in schools. As an endangered language, it requires special protection. Furthermore, the Mingrelians are a distinct ethnicity from the Georgians (Hewitt, Feurstein)
 3. Caught in the middle: Georgian (including most Mingrelian) and foreign linguists who refer to Mingrelian as a language based on standard definition in terms of mutual intelligibility, but who acknowledge that the Mingrelian speech community is an integral part of the Georgian nation.

Christmas sermon of Georgian Orthodox Patriarch Ilia II, Jan 2011



მეტად სამწუხაროა, რომ ტერიტორიული მთლიანობის საკითხს, ერის ერთიანობის წინააღმდეგ მიმართული ქმედებებიც უნახებია. როგორც ცნობილია, XIX ს-ის ბოლოს მეფის რუსეთის იმპერიაში შემუშავდა "მეწიფრული" კონცეფცია (დედაც და იმპერიის პრინციპის გათვალისწინებით) საქართველოში. მეგრულ-ლასურ-ჭართლ-სვანური ერების და კულტურების დამოუკიდებლად არსებობის შესახებ.

ეს პროცესი, მეტ-ნაკლებად ფარულად, კლასიკურ მიმდინარეობს და, რა თქმა უნდა, მხოლოდ და მხოლოდ უფრო ქვეყნების ინტერესებს ემსახურება. ჩვენ შინა და გარე, დავიწყებულ ჩვენი ერთობა, ისევე როგორც ამას აკეთებდნენ ჩვენი წინაპრები. იღონებ, როგორც დიდნი ილია ამბოხის, დიდნი არის არა მხოლოდ, არამედ წყნისა და კალმის ილია.

- "As is well known, at the end of the 19th c., work was undertaken in the Tsarist Russian empire on the 'scientific' concept — consistent with the policy of divide-and-rule — of the independent existence in Georgia of the Mingrelian, Laz, Georgian and Svan languages and cultures. This process, more or less hidden, is once again occurring, and of course, it can only serve the interests of foreign nations ..."