



Evaluation of Sociogenetic Factors in the Development of Uzbek Language

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Abstract: *The emergence of the modern Uzbek language is closely linked to the migratory of Turk communities towards present-day Uzbekistan. Turks who reached this area encountered sedentary city dwellers of the Transoxiana cultural axis with a relatively high intellectual level. This situation meant that the Turks, who had a nomadic tradition, were strongly influenced by the culture and language of the sedentary population. However, the political and social power of the Turks prevented this influence from reaching the level of assimilation. Especially after the Timurid period, the influence of the Turks on the local folk culture gradually increased. In this article, the interaction between the Turks and the Indo-European settlers was interpreted using the hermeneutic technique, taking into account historical, sociological, ethnographic and folkloristic data. Phylogenetic studies, which provide more objective data than other methods, were used to confirm the information interpreted using this technique, and the reasons for the common phonemic and grammatical standardisation between Uzbek and Tajik were highlighted. In addition, the distinguishing features between Uzbek and other Turk languages resulting from these grammatical events are discussed along with their historical reasons. In this way, the general effects of the linguistic composition of present-day Uzbekistan on the Uzbek language are determined.*

Key words: *Historical development of Uzbek language, Relationships between Uzbek language and Iranian languages, Distinguishing features of Uzbek language from other Turk languages, Multilingualism in Uzbekistan.*

Introduction

Today's Uzbekistan, which has inherited the historical legacy of the Silk Road, is almost a laboratory for linguists. This is because the country's various cultures have strongly influenced and changed each other. And this change, which has also had an impact on the field of grammar, is still ongoing.

While the cultural mosaic of Uzbekistan was forming, the political dominance of the Karluk Turks in the region was an essential element. In addition, the Kipchak and Oghuz uruks diversified the Turk presence in the region (Uulu, 2023, p. 1973). However, the Iranian tribes

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had a considerable influence on the cultural and linguistic development of the Uzbeks. This goes so far that Terentev, while talking about the concept of Sart in the region, says the following:

When we look at the lifestyle, traditions, customs and traditions of the Sarts, we can consider them as Persians. If we look at the language they speak, they are Turk. However, if all the above signs are considered equivalent, the Sarts can be considered a separate people (cited in Uulu, 2023, p. 1973).

Although the concept of the Sart suggests how intertwined the ethnic structure of the region was, it never really corresponded to an original nation. This concept was promoted to serve the Russian Empire's desire to create a new and more controllable status quo in the region. During this period, dictionaries and grammars were also printed in Sartian under state patronage. In the 1897 census, the Sarts were even listed as a separate nation (Baldauf, 1991, p. 80). However, the Turk-speaking population, especially in Bukhara and Samarkand, never embraced this concept and, as Baldauf puts it, this linguistic experiment failed (Baldauf, 1991, p. 80). As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the triggering force that drove the Russians to this experiment is nothing other than the fact that Uzbekistan is still a grammatical laboratory.

The Uzbeks, with their unique ethnic background, have formed a complex linguistic structure between the geography inhabited by the Uyghurs, one of the most civilized Turk peoples of the first millennium, and the sedentary Iranians. During this process, a nomadic steppe culture interacted with a sedentary culture that was very different from it, without losing its own language and preserving the relationship of equality. In such a situation, only linguistic methods are ineffective in understanding the emergence of Uzbek and the Uzbeks of today. In studies on this topic, fields such as folklore, genetics, history, sociolinguistics and ethnography are essential resources that should be utilised.

The Spread of Turk Tribes in the Geography of Today's Uzbekistan

Some of the most important cities on the historic Silk Road are located on the territory of present-day Uzbekistan. The Silk Road, one of the most important supply routes of the ancient world, naturally became a route that attracted the economic attention of all nations in the region. Thus, various tribes have shown interest in the region since the ancient centuries, and the route of the Silk Road has been shaped by the migrations of different communities. Studies of Tajiks, who are generally considered to be one of the oldest peoples of Uzbekistan, show genetic heritage from Central Asia, Europe, Central South Asia and the Middle East in similar proportions (Martínez-Cruz et al. 2011, p. 218).

It is also known that there are tablets with the Köktürk alphabet on the territory of present-day Uzbekistan and that the archaic “Keltaminar culture”, which is also associated with the pre-Turks, lived on the territory of present-day Uzbekistan, especially in Tashkent (Oktay-Çerezci, 2022, p. 1; Sadıkov, 2000, p. 297). This shows that the presence of Turks in the region dates back to ancient times.

The geography of Uzbekistan thus harbours a rich genetic heritage in which different genetic pools have formed a common civilisation throughout history, often through linguistic connections. The Indo-European languages that dominated mainly the south and south-west of Uzbekistan at the beginning of the first millennium are not an expression of a common hereditary unity. As will be explained later in this article, the expeditions undertaken mainly from the Karakhanid cities to the regions where the Indo-European languages dominated, and the migratory movements that followed these expeditions, encouraged the spread of the Turk language throughout most of the Uzbek geography. According to Barthold, these expeditions were so effective that by the first quarter of the first millennium, the communities belonging to the Indo-European languages had largely disappeared from the demographic map of the geography, with the exception of the urban centres of Bukhara and Samarkand and a few mountain villages (2004, p. 207).

By the 13th century, Uzbekistan had become a largely Turk-speaking area, but the established cultures and languages in the region had a strong influence on the Turk language spoken there. This goes so far that the categorisation of the Uzbek dialects into three groups, with the exception of the Kazakh-influenced dialects in the north, is based on the influence of Tajik on Uzbek. Accordingly, the dialects of Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand are now categorised as dialects influenced by Iranian languages, while the dialects of Fergana and Kokand are considered to be dialects in which this influence is moderately pronounced (Sharipova et al., 2019, p. 16).

Although the Turk spoken in Uzbekistan has been under strong external influence and has largely lost a feature such as vowel harmony, which is unique not only to Turk but to all Altaic languages, it has become a widely spoken language in this sophisticated geography in which it has settled (see Azimov, 2023, pp. 74-80).

In other words, with the arrival of Turk speakers in the geography of Uzbekistan, there was a relative “diffusion of respectable culture”. However, thanks to the political influence and strong oral culture of the Turks, this effect did not lead to assimilation and language loss.

The Effects of Elite Culture on the Turks in the Geography of Uzbekistan

The theory of diffusion of elite culture, a German approach often used in ethnological research and folklore, is, despite its many shortcomings, an important tool for describing transitivity between societies. According to this theory, more developed cultural environments transfer their characteristics over time to relatively less developed cultures (Burke, 1983, pp. 6-7).

This theory has very valuable contributions to offer on this topic. However, as cultures and societies have undergone a continuous process of modernisation throughout history, the “qualification of being an elite culture” is also a changeable characteristic. For example, the geography of Uzbekistan under the reign of Timur, whose legacy modern Uzbekistan claims, had an undeniable military and cultural superiority over the Russian principalities. Indeed, Tokhtamysh Khan, supported by Timur, conquered and plundered Moscow (Alan-Akbıyık, 2003, pp. 121-125). However, the cultural power of Russia, which modernised over time, influenced Uzbek geography, which it began to occupy militarily and sociologically in the 18th century (see Avcı, 2017, pp. 11-13; Wei & Kolko, 2005, pp. 211-213). As a result, despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, almost everyone in Uzbekistan still knows enough Russian to understand each other and use the language, especially in business negotiations. According to one study, around 40% of the population can speak Russian very well (Wei & Kolko, 2005, pp. 211-213).

The greatest opportunity of the Uzbek language during the period of Russian domination is that it had relatively few problems with losing its effectiveness, as was the case with some Turk dialects, e.g. the Kazakh language. In fact, the Uzbek language continued to be used effectively even during the period of Russian rule (Wei & Kolko, 2005, p. 211).

If the theory of the spread of elite culture is a valid hypothesis for the geography of Uzbekistan, at least some of the Turk communities that moved into this geography must have been influenced by the sedentary Iranian population and changed their mother tongue. This probably happened in a limited group around Bukhara and Samarkand for reasons that will be explained later. In other words, it is very likely that a part of the population whose mother tongue is Iranian today was originally of Turk origin and became Iranian after losing their language. Turk communities are representatives of a nomadic tradition, when they encounter sedentary cultures, interactions occur that cannot be explained by general sociological and ethnographic tendencies. It turns out that Turks usually retain their own language when they encounter sedentary communities. This situation has also occurred in the geography of Uzbekistan, and it

is likely that Turk-speaking communities in places outside the main cultural axis, such as Bukhara and Samarkand, have largely succeeded in preserving their own language.

In short, it is possible that some of the Turk elements in the old cultural cities of Uzbekistan have been Iranianised. Conversely, it is also possible that some Iranian elements have been Turkicised. An assessment that expresses a one-sided passage that extends to the whole country would not be healthy. To solve the problem, one must instead focus on the factors and local differences that prevent Turks from assimilating into the culture of the elites.

Sources of Resistance to Elite Culture and Language

In order to understand the relationship of the contemporary Uzbek language to other languages with which it coexists, one must first understand the transitivity of Turk language with other languages in general.

Although the Turks are representatives of a culture of nomadic origin, they are a people who have managed to establish very powerful states in their geography, such as the Gokturks, Seljuks, Ottomans and Timurids. Far from assimilating in their geography, the Turks in general have managed to leave a strong influence on the local elements with their strong oral culture and warlike characteristics. The clearest examples of this can be found in the pre-Islamic history of the Turks.

In fact, Chinese sources report that in some places, under the influence of Turk garrisons along the Silk Road, people abandoned their own language and gradually began to speak Turk language. According to these sources, the Sogdians, the trading tribe of Central Asia, and most of the Tocharians, one of the ancient Indo-European peoples, first started speaking Turk and became Turk over time (Kılıç, 2018, p. 242).

The Sogdians are an important tribe in the ancient history of the Turks and played an active role in the Gokturk bureaucracy. In fact, the Burgut inscription from the first Gokturk khaganate period was written in Sogdian and the Karabalsagun inscription from the 8th century used Sogdian along with Uyghur. However, the Turk people never used Sogdian as a language of daily communication. On the contrary, the elements serving the state that originated from Sogdian were Turkified (Saka, 2022, pp. 5-6). In short, although the Turks used the languages of the civilised societies they conquered in literature, art and state affairs, the people continued to speak Turk.²

² For example, the language of madrasah education in the Ottoman Empire was Arabic, but this did not mean that the people also spoke Arabic (Demir, 2017, p. 614).

Another example of the Turks' resistance to elite culture comes from Chinese history. It is known that Turk clothing and music spread among the Chinese during the Tang Dynasty (Kılıç, 2018, p. 209).

All this actually shows that despite their nomadic lifestyle, the Turks were not a backward community that was despised in their time. Wilhelm Barthold expresses this fact as follows:

The writing style and phrases of the Orkhon Monuments suggest that the level of civilization of the Turks was much higher than that seen in communities living an ordinary nomadic life. In fact, in the monuments, the Turk khan invites all Turk tribes to read and understand the monuments he wrote and left, and to know the success of their own khan and the difficulties they faced as a result of the people's rebellion against the khan (2004, p. 17).

Despite its nomadic origins, the "high nomadic culture" to that Barthold refers had a great influence on the Turks' ability to preserve their own identity. This culture derived its strength from the oral laws called "töre" and from the Turks' military prowess. As we have already mentioned, Turk communities in the areas where they hold political power tend not to forget their own language and preserve their identity through their language, even though they sometimes favour foreign languages as the language of science and state. For example, in the Hungarian and Bulgarian geographies where political supremacy has been lost, the phenomenon of Turkishness, both in terms of language and culture, has largely disappeared (Biçer, 2018, p. 123). Although there are exceptional examples, the most effective shield of Turk ethnicity throughout history has been political-military power and the protection of the Turk language.

Throughout history, the Turks have been heavily influenced by the Sogdians, Chinese, Arabs and Persians, and in recent centuries, the Anatolian Turks have been heavily influenced by Europe, and the Central Asian Turks have been heavily influenced by the Russians. In fact, the Uyghurs took over the protection of the Manichaean religion, which the Sogdians tried to spread through the trade routes (Güngör, 1988, pp. 152-153). The Anatolian Turks, on the other hand, took over the protection of the Islamic religion and moved the centre of the caliphate to Istanbul (see Ardiç, 2017, pp. 313-314). However, none of these historical developments led to the Turks becoming Arabs or Sogdians. In other words, although Turks are open to the influence of foreign cultures, they generally appear to be a resilient people who maintain their identity.

Based on the above information, it is possible to make more consistent statements about the geography of Uzbekistan, where the main routes of the Silk Road are located.

Sociogenetic Findings on the Linguistic Situation in the Geography of Uzbekistan

Understanding the presence of Turk in Uzbekistan is quite difficult due to the complex sociological and grammatical dynamics in the region. Research based on positive science undoubtedly provides the most accurate results in an area with such a complex web of relationships. At this point, the study by Irwin and her colleagues, which investigated the presence of mtDNA in Uzbekistan, is of great value. In this study, the researchers genetically analysed 1500 people in Fergana, Karakalpakstan, Khwarezm, Kashkadarya and Tashkent in order to get the best possible picture of the ethnic structure of Uzbekistan. This also took into account the kinship of the people analysed, who were of Kazakh, Turkmen, Tajik, Afghan, Russian, Uzbek and Kyrgyz descent. According to the research results, there were significant differences between the DNA compositions of people living in Uzbekistan who identify with these different origins (2010, p. 203).

An even more important study for understanding Uzbekistan comes from Martínez-Cruz et al. In examining the genetic composition of Central Asian peoples, Martínez-Cruz and her colleagues found that Turk-speaking peoples are closely related to East Asian peoples and Indo-Iranian-speaking peoples are closely related to West Eurasian peoples. The more important finding, however, is that the results of the Uzbeks, unlike other Turk-speaking peoples, lie in the middle of these two different genetic ranges (2011, p. 216).

The following table shows a map of genetic structure reflecting East Asian (yellow), European (blue), Central South Asian (grey) and Middle Eastern (orange) heritage, based on the research of Martínez-Cruz et al.

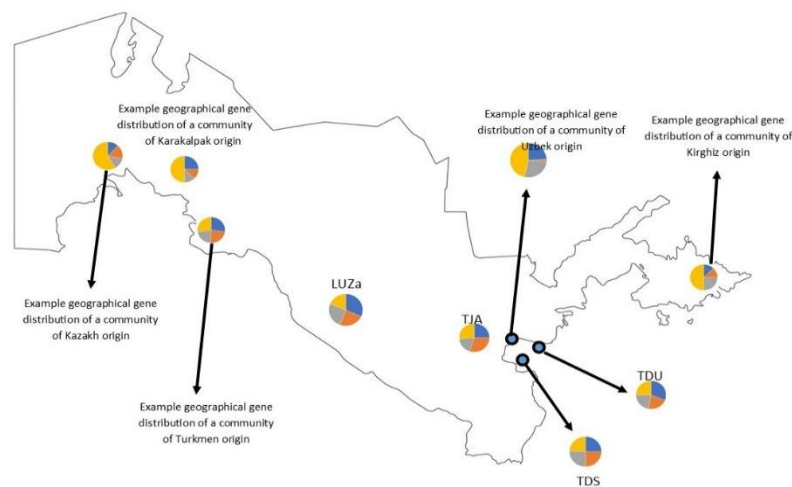


Figure 1. Genetic Heritage of Central Asian Geography

(Martínez-Cruz et al. 2011, pp. 218)

According to the map, the East Asian mix increases the further you move from the Bukhara oasis towards Khwarezm, just like the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. The study of communities whose mother tongue is Uzbek in Uzbekistan also shows that the East Asian mix is relatively high. In other words, in places with a high level of East Asian heritage in Uzbekistan, Uzbek language proficiency is also increasing.

It can be seen that the East Asian gene is less pronounced in those communities in the country that use a language from the Indo-European language family as their mother tongue. However, it can be seen that in both Turk-speaking and Indo-European communities, inheritance is not one-dimensional, but is influenced by different gene pools.

To summarise, it can be said that the mother tongue is generally decisive for inheritance in Uzbekistan. In fact, Turk in Uzbekistan are genetically more similar to Turk peoples such as Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. However, if we look at the problem from a genetic point of view, the situation in Samarkand and Bukhara is somewhat different. This is because the results of the sample coded as LUZn, the native Uzbek speakers around Bukhara, showed that the inherited geographical distributions were very close to each other. The same applies to the TJA, TDU and TDS samples of native Tajik speakers in the Samarkand area. These results show that the relationship between the native languages and the inherited heritage of the resident population in Bukhara and Samarkand is weaker. It is clear that language change is taking place in these regions.

When it comes to Uzbekistan, Samarkand and Bukhara are the cities that need to be analysed in particular.

Samarkand is a city that for many years was the administrative centre of Turk in Central Asia. The Turkicisation of the city and the spread of Turk traditions go back a long way (Barthold, 2004, p. 75). The reason for this is that the Sogdians around Samarkand and Bukhara entered the process of Turkification during the Tang Dynasty (Kılıç, 2018, p. 232). In his *Divanu Lügati't-Türk*, Mahmud al-Kashgari talks about the bilingual tribe of Sogdians around Bukhara and Samarkand, who disguised themselves as Turks and became completely Turk in their behaviour and actions (Gömeç, 2009, p. 22). In fact, it can be assumed that the members of this tribe make up part of the Uzbek-speaking people living around Bukhara and Samarkand today.

At the beginning of the second millennium, the efforts of the Qarakhanids to gain control over Samarkand and Bukhara were successful. The rule of the Qarakhanids did not meet with any serious reactions, as the Qarakhanids were a state that accepted Islam, just like the indigenous people living in the area. However, instead of choosing one of the cultural cities such as

Bukhara and Samarkand, which they ruled, as their permanent capital, the Karakhanids focussed on places where the Turk population was denser, such as Balasagun and Kashgar (Barthold, 2004, pp. 76-77).

One of the remarkable situations that illustrates the situation of Turk and the Turk population in the region during the Karakhanid period is the beginning of Turk language and folk etymologies in the cities of the region. For example, the Turk name of Tashkent, whose previous name was Shash, was first mentioned in Biruni's work in the eleventh century. In addition, Mahmud al-Kashgari mentioned a folk etymology at this time, according to that the name Samarkand was based on the Turk words *semiz* "fat" and *kent* "city" (Alyılmaz, 2022, p. 306; Barthold, 2004, p. 77). This account by Mahmud of Kashgar in particular shows that there were significant Turk-speaking communities in Samarkand and its surroundings even during the Karakhanid period. For a place where there are no or very few Turk speakers, it is unlikely to assume a Turk etymology for the name of the place. However, the fact that the declaration of Samarkand as the capital of the Karakhanids took place in a much later period could also mean that there were not enough Turk subjects in Samarkand at the beginning of the 1st millennium. It is quite natural that the Karakhanids did not want to make a place their capital where the number of people belonging to them was small.

It is known that in the 13th century there were about 60 thousand Turk soldiers in the garrison of Samarkand, and the number of Turk soldiers was slightly higher than the number of Tajik soldiers (Barthold, 2004, p. 142). Considering the population of the city at the time, it is inevitable that the number of soldiers present made the influence of the Turk felt in the social fabric of Samarkand, even if there were no Turks among the local population of Samarkand. However, despite this influence, the idea of making Samarkand the capital of the Turks was always a controversial issue. During the Chagatai period, when Kazagan's son Abdullah wanted to make Samarkand the capital of the country, dissatisfaction led to his dethronement, and during this period Timur was also opposed to making Samarkand the capital (Barthold, 2004, pp. 177-178). However, one of the most important turning points for Turk sovereignty in Samarkand was that Timur, who was against Samarkand becoming the capital before his reign, made the city the capital after he came to power (Barthold, 2004, pp. 177-178).

After Timur made Samarkand the capital, the Turk' influence here increased considerably. Despite his devastating attacks in wars, he had the most modern buildings of his period built in his main area of dominance, especially in Samarkand, during peace periods. As a sign of the importance he attached to Turk identity, the tomb of Hodja Ahmet Yesevi was erected in his

time (Barthold, 2004, pp. 177-178). Timur thus created works that represented himself and the civilisational peak of Turk culture in a geography where a high local culture already existed. So much so that Babur, who defined himself as a Turk, claimed that Samarkand was his right, but gave the fact that this city belonged to a Turk, i.e. Timur, as the reason (Oruç, 2023, pp. 547-552). Also in this period, the support of the Turk nobles in this area was important for the authority that ruled Samarkand (Oruç, 2023, p. 554). It is clear from all this that an influential Turk community formed in Samarkand, especially under Timur's rule.

Another important centre in the adventure of the expansion of Turk in the Uzbek geography is Bukhara. Bukhara is an ancient cradle of civilisation and the city centre has always harboured a strong sophisticated heritage. For this reason, the millennia-long accumulation of cultural assets in the city centre has created a great cultural attraction. The population that slowly streamed into the centre from the outskirts of the city and its villages probably encountered and adopted Tajik, the language that has been spoken in the centre for many years. In fact, the number of people whose mother tongue is Uzbek increases the further one moves from the centre of Bukhara towards the villages.³ It is known that the Oghuz Turks began to settle in the steppe areas in the north-east, north-west and west of the Bukhara oasis from the 11th century (Babayar & Cumaniyazova, 2023, p. 201). In other words, it can be said that the city centre of Bukhara was home to a certain proportion of the population that was originally of Turk origin, but over time began to use Tajik as their mother tongue.

Whether the language is Uzbek or Tajik, Bukhara is a place where ethnic ambiguity prevails (Finke & Sancak, 2012, p. 47). For in this city, people feel that they belong to this country regardless of their origin, they see no original differences between them and they unite on the denominator of being "from Bukhara" (Finke & Sancak, 2012, p. 47). Finke and Sancak express this situation in Bukhara as follows:

(...) According to these schemas similarity is the product of common residence and socialization rather than descent and language. Thus, one may simultaneously be an Uzbek and a Tajik, as the main source of identity is locality and a shared way of doing things (Finke & Sancak, 2012, p. 47).

³ During my stay in Bukhara, I got along much more easily as a Turkish, especially with people in the markets where the villagers were concentrated. Because they had a much better command of the features of General Turk than many residents living in the center, their language is a preserved continuation of the historical Chagatai Turk language in many aspects. Later, the information I frequently heard from city residents that "the number of native Uzbek speakers increases as you move from the city center to the villages called kışlak" actually made my experience with peasant sellers in the marketplaces more grammatically meaningful. In addition, the dominant language on the streets of Bukhara is now Uzbek. However, multilingualism is so developed here that almost all Bukhara residents can easily speak Uzbek, Tajik, and Russian. For example, communication can be achieved bilingually when the other person answers in Uzbek to a person asking a question in Tajik.

The slow population movement in Bukhara from the periphery to the centre must have served the collective culture of the city. For the reasons explained above, the new masses, integrated into the internal dynamics of the city through a slow migratory movement, became the denominator of the current system without changing the structure of the city. In addition, both Tajik and Uzbek speakers in Bukhara have entered into marriages with each other. Incidentally, this situation applies not only to Bukhara, but also to the general structure of the geography of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In fact, genetic analyses of the Uzbeks and Turkmen show fewer East Asian genes than other Turk-speaking peoples of Central Asia. These two Turk tribes are genetically closer to the Indo-European communities (Martínez-Cruz et al., 2011, pp. 222-223).

Common Phonemicization and Grammatical Unification between Uzbek and Tajik

One of the most important features of human language is that different languages constantly interact with each other. While this interaction sometimes occurs from a distant source through intellectual works and the readers of these works, sometimes the main source of interaction is the coexistence of people. The increase of words of Arabic origin in Ottoman Turkish, for example, is more related to the interest of the intellectual classes in Arabic, especially since the Holy Qur'an is written in Arabic, than to direct contact between Turkish and Arabic-speaking peoples (Yaqoob, 2021, pp. 302-303). Arabic words, which were mainly used in the intellectual classes, became embedded in popular culture over time. The influence that changed Ottoman Turkish was therefore not the result of the relationship between the speakers themselves, but of an influence from afar.

As a result of interlingual influence or interaction that occurs directly in the common habitat created by the peoples and not from a distant source, events such as common phonemicisation or grammatical standardisation can occur (Oswald et al., 2018, pp. 2-3). In places where a common living culture develops, languages may choose a common word, especially when naming new situations, or a word existing in one language may be transferred to another language. However, this word transfer does not develop with phonological freedom as in a remote interaction and forces the speaker to focus on the similarities between the two languages. According to Oswald et al., this focus, which forces the human consciousness to orientate towards the similarities, leads to a narrowing of the language's own vocabulary and some other sensitive features over time (2018, pp. 2-3). For this reason, it is possible to evaluate situations such as the loss of vowel harmony and the monomorphism of suffixes in contemporary Uzbek in terms of the aforementioned cognitive orientation.

In distant interactions, the cognitive processes are largely controlled by the language concerned. For example, since the Kyrgyz people have virtually no contact with the Arabs, the words that entered Kyrgyz through remote interactions with religious and cultural influences were adapted to the phonetic structure of Kyrgyz. This adaptation is so strong that in most cases it is difficult to understand that these words are Arabic in Kyrgyz (Acar, 2017, p. 219). However, it will be seen that the phonetic status of many words borrowed between Uzbeks and Tajiks, who have centuries of shared life experience, is almost the same. For example, *bozor* “market”, *non* “bread”, *piyoz* “onion”, *pul* “money”, etc. Even the phonetic structures and phonological transformations of the words that came from Arabic into Uzbek and Tajik are very similar in many cases: *tahorat* “ablution”, *kitob* “book”, *maktab* “school”, etc.

As you can see, Uzbek and Tajik are so closely related that even the phonological development of the borrowed word is united in a common process. An important factor here is the disappearance of the centuries-old class difference between Uzbek and Tajik speakers and the erosion of hierarchical superiority between the languages after some time.

In short, when two languages subject a word they have borrowed from a third language to a common phonetic development, or when they copy the words they borrow from each other exactly with phonemic rather than allophonic features, the phonetic structure of these languages inevitably converges. This is because a speaker who is constantly exposed to the correct pronunciation of a word from the neighbouring language in the shared living space will inevitably begin to learn the original pronunciation of this word from the neighbouring language. Words originating from a third language will encounter common reactions in the shared habitat, and speakers of both languages will have some part in clarifying the pronunciation of these words. This process forces the languages to focus on a common phoneme pool. The fact that the Arabic word “book” undergoes a similar change in both languages as /-a-/>/-o-/ in both languages is a clear example that points to a common phonemic pool.

Languages that live in a common area have both grammatical similarities and phonetic similarities. For example, the Uzbek interrogative structure “mi” is widely used in the Bukhara Tajik dialects (Ido, 2014, p. 99).

To summarise, Uzbek and Tajik, the two predominant languages in Uzbekistan today, have long been fed by the same sources, even if their origins are not the same. Therefore, these two languages have much in common in terms of their development processes.

Results

In order to understand the position of the Turk language in contemporary Uzbekistan, historical, ethnographic, linguistic and genetic factors must be evaluated together. When all these factors are evaluated, compatible results are obtained.

Uzbekistan is the centre of an ancient culture with important cities such as Bukhara and Samarkand forming the historical cultural axes emanating from the Silk Road. For this reason, the Turks who came to Uzbekistan were influenced by the culture there.

Although the Turks came from a nomadic culture, they managed to preserve their identity thanks to their devotion to their traditions and political-military power, and they did not assimilate into the local culture. In fact, much of the Uzbek landscape today is populated by people whose native language is Uzbek.

Genetic studies conducted specifically in Uzbekistan have shown that the relationship between mother tongue and origin is generally directly proportional. In line with these studies, Turk language increases as one moves northwards from the Bukhara-Samarkand line towards Khwarezm in the west and Tashkent in the east. Especially in Bukhara and Samarkand, however, the parallelism between language and origin decreases somewhat. The reason for this is probably that there was genetic mixing through marriage in these ancient cultural centres and that people of different origins acquired a different language as their mother tongue. It is possible that the Tajik language was adopted when the Turk-speaking population around Bukhara migrated to the city centre due to sociological balances, especially in the period before the independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan. In Samarkand, the situation is two-dimensional. It is known that the Sogdian population in Samarkand began to Turkicise before the first millennium. From this it can be concluded that the Sogdians in Samarkand, who were originally of Iranian origin, may speak the Uzbek language today.

At the same time, it is very likely that the people of Turk origin who came to the city, especially before Timur rebuilt Samarkand and made it the centre of Turk culture, began to speak Tajik for sociological reasons, as they did in Bukhara. The fact that Samarkand could not be made a permanent capital despite being conquered by the Karakhanid state before Timur shows the sociological balance of the time in Transoxiana. More importantly, genetic studies among Tajik speakers in Samarkand point to the presence of Tajikified Turk origins within the elite culture.

In short, the majority of the population in the geography of Uzbekistan today consists of the heritage of Turk-speaking peoples. However, during the expansion of the Turks into

Uzbekistan, the high level of local culture in the geography of Uzbekistan has meant that the Turk spoken here has been heavily influenced not only in terms of vocabulary, but also in terms of phonetics and grammar. Today, many of the Uzbek dialects have not only lost the features specific to Turk languages, but also some features such as vowel harmony which all Altaic languages have. This is due to the fact that the sociological integration between the Turks who came to the region and the natives of the region has led to a common phonemic and grammatical standardisation, especially in Uzbek and Tajik.

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Çağdaş Özbekçenin ortaya çıkışı, Türk topluluklarının bugünkü Özbekistan coğrafyasına yönelen göç hareketleriyle yakından ilişkilidir. Bu coğrafyaya ulaşan Türkler, burada Maveraünnehir kültür aksının entelektüel seviyesi yüksek yerleşik şehir halklarıyla karşılaşmıştır. Bu durum göçebe bir geleneğe sahip Türklerin, yerleşik halkın kültür ve dilinden büyük oranda etkilenmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Fakat Türklerin siyasi ve toplumsal gücü, bu etkilenmenin asimilasyon boyutuna erişmesini önlemiştir. Özellikle Timur Devri'nden sonra Türklerin de yerel halk kültürü üzerindeki etkisi gittikçe artmıştır.

Kaşgarlı Mahmud'un daha 11. yüzyılda Semerkant'ın adını "Semiz Kend" olarak Türkçe bir tabirle açıklaması ve daha Köktürk Kağanlığı Dönemi'nde bugünkü Özbekistan topraklarının büyük bir bölümünün Türk kontrolüne girmiş olması; Özbekistan'daki Türk varlığının ve yerleşik Türklerin Karahanlıların fetihlerinden de daha önceki dönemlere dayandığını göstermektedir.

İşte bu makalede, Türkler ve yerleşik halk arasındaki etkileşim; tarihî, sosyolojik, etnografik ve halk bilimine dair veriler dikkate alınarak hermönetik teknikle yorumlanmıştır. Bu teknikte yorumlanan bilgilerin teyit edilmesi için ise diğer yöntemlere göre daha nesnel veriler sunan filogenetik araştırmalardan yararlanılmış, Özbekçe ve Tacikçe arasındaki ortak fonemleşme ve gramatik birleşme hadiselerinin sebepleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Ayrıca bu hadiseler sonucunda Özbek lehçesinin diğer Türk lehçelerinden ayrılan özellikleri, tarihsel sebepleriyle birlikte tartışılmıştır. Böylelikle bugünkü Özbekistan coğrafyasının dilsel kompozisyonunun bu lehçeye olan etkilerinin genel hatlarıyla saptanması amaçlanmıştır.

Yukarıda da belirtildiği üzere, bugünkü Özbekistan coğrafyasında Türk dilinin konumunu anlayabilmek için tarihî, etnografik, dil bilimsel ve genetik faktörleri birlikte değerlendirmek gerekmektedir. Tüm bunlar değerlendirildiğinde birbiriyle uyumlu sonuçlar elde edildiği görülmektedir.

Özbekistan, içerisinde İpek Yolu kaynaklı tarihî kültür akıllarını oluşturan Buhara ve Semerkant gibi önemli şehirlerin bulunduğu kadim bir kültürün merkezidir. Bu sebeple Özbekistan coğrafyasına gelen Türkler hem buradaki kültürden etkilenmiş hem de buradaki kültürü etkilemiştir. Türkler göçebe bir kültürden geliyor olmalarına rağmen törelerine olan bağlılıklarının yanında siyasi ve askerî güçlerinin sayesinde baskın yerli kültürün içinde erimemeyi büyük oranda başarmıştır. Nitekim günümüzde Özbekistan'ın büyük bir kısmında ana dili Özbekçe olan bireyler yaşamaktadır.

Özbekistan özelinde yapılan genetik arařtırmalar, ekseriyetle ana dil ile köken baęının doęru orantılı olduęunu göstermiştir. Buhara-Semerkant hattından kuzeye doęru, batıda Harezmi'e ve doęuda ise Tařkent'e gidildikçe bu çalışmalarla uyumlu olarak Türk dillilik artmaktadır. Fakat özellikle Buhara ve Semerkant'ta dil ve köken baęı arasındaki paralellik bir miktar azalmaktadır. Bunun sebebi muhtemelen bu eski kültür şehirlerinde evlilikler yoluyla genetik karışmaların meydana gelmesi ve farklı kökenden gelen insanların farklı bir dili, ana dili edinmeleridir. Özellikle Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti'nin baęımsızlığından önceki dönemde, sosyolojik dengeler sebebiyle Buhara'nın çevresindeki Türk dilli nüfusun şehir merkezine akan göçlerinde Tacik dillileşmenin meydana gelmesi olasıdır. Semerkant'ta ise durum iki boyutludur. Semerkant'taki Soęd nüfusun daha ilk binyıldan önce Türkleşmeye başladığı bilinmektedir. Bundan, Semerkant'taki aslen İrani kökenlere sahip olan Soędların bugün Türk dilli hâle gelmiş olabileceęi anlaşılmalıdır.

Aynı zamanda özellikle Timur'un Semerkant'ı yeniden imar ederek Türk kültürünün merkezi hâline getirmeden önceki süreçte şehre gelen Türk kökenlilerin tıpkı Buhara'daki sosyolojik sebeplerle Tacik dilli hâle gelmesi büyük bir olasılıktır. Nitekim Timur öncesinde Karahanlı Devleti tarafından ele geçirilmesine rağmen Semerkant'ın başkent olması konusunda temkinli davranılması da buradaki dönemin sosyolojik dengelerini göstermektedir. Bundan da önemlisi Semerkant'taki Tacik dilliler arasında yapılan genetik arařtırmalar, seçkin kültür içerisinde Tacik dilli hâle gelen Türklerin varlığına işaret etmektedir.

Kısacası bugün Özbekistan coęrafyasındaki nüfusun büyük çoęunluğu çeşitli Türk boylarının bakiyesidir. Fakat Türklerin Özbekistan'a yayılma sürecinde, Özbekistan coęrafyasındaki yerel kültürün yüksek bir seviyede olması, burada konuşulan Türkçenin sadece kelime varlığı olarak değil fonetik ve dil bilgisi açısından da ciddi etkilenmelere maruz kalmasına sebep olmuştur. Bugün Özbek ağızlarının birçoęu sadece Türk dillerine has özellikleri değil Altay dillerinin tamamının sahip olduęu ünlü uyumu gibi bazı hususiyetleri de kaybetmiştir. Çünkü bölgeye gelen Türklerle bölgenin yerel halkı arasında oluşan sosyolojik bütünleşme, özellikle Özbekçe ve Tacikçede ortak fonemleşme ve gramatik birleşme hadiselerini ortaya çıkarmıştır.