Language policy: CIS and Kazakhstan experience

The article provides a comparative analysis of the language policy experience in the CIS countries and the Republic of Kazakhstan. To understand the current language situation in Kazakhstan, the achievements and shortcomings of the language policy of the countries coming from the Soviet system are demonstrated. To improve the state language policy, models that exist in the CIS countries and proposals useful for Kazakh science are presented. The current state of the state language, the peculiarities of the development of the language situation in multiethnic countries, including the methods adopted by the CIS countries to solve the problems of forming the state language policy determine the need for a new language policy in Kazakh society. This indicates the relevance of the study. The study describes the impact of the difficult language situation in Kazakhstan after gaining independence on the state language policy. Based on the current language situation, the direction of further progress of language policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan will be determined.

Considering the experience of language policy in the Baltic states when the language situation was similar to Kazakhstan, significant phenomena in the course of their implementation allow Kazakhstan to develop and implement a more effective language policy concerning national and foreign languages. Within the framework of the specifics of language policy in these countries, issues of functioning, and status features, a review of legislation will be conducted. As an example, the reforms in the field of language that prompted Alash figures to do this, as well as the works of scientists who were engaged in systematic improvement of the use of the native language in life, both in the later and modern periods, are given. Data on the language policy of Kazakhstan in the Soviet system and documents on the state language policy in modern Kazakhstan are analyzed. Looking at historical and social factors affecting the policy, activity, and development of the state language from the point of view of social linguistics, the authors make proposals for the development of the status and policy of the state language.

Keywords: language policy, language situation, language planning, language development practice, state language, Kazakh language.

Introduction

If language is a large-scale socio-historical phenomenon, language policy is a political-social complex system that exists simultaneously and simultaneously interacts with several factors (positive or negative). At the centre of our analysis, the current experience of language policy in Kazakhstan and the CIS countries is considered. Discussions and attitudes about the state language that have been taking place recently are opening the field of the issue of improving the language policy.

The language policy in society does not consist only of purely linguistic measures aimed at narrowly solving language problems in the country. It relies on the examples of countries of the world related to language development, certain positions of public institutions, and special legislative documents of the state. In addition to these, language policy includes the relationship between language and society, language and people, preservation and development of the mother tongue, planning the development of languages by giving them status, changing or stabilizing the linguistic situation, etc. covering a wide range of critical issues. It is guided by research methods and scientific results of sociolinguistics in this direction.

When observing the direction of the language policy in Kazakhstan, as well as the state of the language situation in the country, when showing the number of languages in the socio-communicative system, it is necessary to rely on statistical data. For example, according to the Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan, we see that more than 130 ethnic groups speak 128 languages in the country. However, this language is not actively used in society. They are divided into three groups according to their speakers and their role in society:

1) widely used languages (the state language is the Kazakh language and the Russian language is used equally);
2) **rarely used languages** (languages used as the language of instruction in secondary school);
3) **languages with poorly developed social activity** (a small number of languages without writing, taught only as a native language in Sunday schools, used only among representatives of their ethnic group, which is limited to them).

Following such a service load of languages in the Kazakh country, the national language policy has the following directions:
1. The policy of developing the Kazakh language as a state language.
2. The policy of using the Russian language as an official equivalent of the Kazakh language.
3. The policy of developing the English language as a proper entry language into the world economy.
4. Policy of preservation and development of other languages as mother tongue.

As a result of this policy, according to the latest 2009 population census in Kazakhstan, 74% of the population understands the Kazakh language orally, 64.8% reads fluently, and 62% writes fluently [1].

**Experimental**

When language development is consciously undertaken and language policy is carried out in a democratic direction, it is first necessary to take into account the linguistic situation of any administrative territory at a certain time and the social factors affecting it. Two factors of different nature contribute to the linguistic situation in different territorial parts of the country. The first is objective factors, and the second is subjective factors. Among the subjective factors, the most important factor is the political factor or language policy [2; 62].

Language policy has always been considered an integral part of the general political course of the state. Whether it is the domestic policy concerning certain classes or social groups in a state, foreign policy about certain countries, national policy in a multiethnic state, and ultimately language policy is not considered separately from one of them.

Language policy is a system of political, social, and social linguistic measures aimed at changing or stabilizing the language situation in society, implemented by the state and public organizations [3; 158]. In this case, language policy consists of measures taken to consolidate the status of the language in society, especially adopted laws and positions. As a result of all this, language policy allows us to turn the state language into a real language of society.

Taking into account the world experience, any language develops or disappears in two different ways: the first - develops by itself, or falls out of use; the second is systematically developed or excluded by society, the state.

To consider the language situation in Kazakhstan from a social and linguistic point of view, it is necessary to consider the historical and political events that contribute to the current state of the language situation in the Republic. The dynamics of the language situation in Kazakhstan were formed based on political, economic, and socio-cultural factors in the process of formation and development of the country in the period from 1917 to 1990 (the Soviet period in the history of Kazakhstan).

During the years of Soviet rule, language policy was one of the main elements of national policy. Therefore, any change in the state and party orientation in the USSR changed the understanding of the language problem among the people. The language policy in the multiethnic space of the Soviet Union was influenced by interethnic relations that developed at different times.

Language policy, language ideology, and language planning in Soviet Kazakhstan were all under pressure from Soviet politics and ideology. This period in the language policy of Kazakhstan is connected with the course of the policy of the Communist Party, which is aimed at uniting the peoples and languages of the Soviet Union to strengthen such a system as the Soviet Union. From the same party position, a culture of “National in form, socialist in content” was formed in the country [4; 369].

After the revolution of 1917, the linguistic policy of the young Soviet state was based on the transfer of all multiethnic residents of the country to a single common language. The goal was that every Soviet citizen, regardless of nationality, could freely use the language “common” to society and through it master the highest peaks of World Culture. The theoretical foundations of the development of language policy and the justification of the socialist state’s attitude to it were reflected in V.I. Lenin’s policy on the national question of 1912–1914. After the end of the era of internal party struggle, and Stalin assumed the role of the sole leader of the Soviet state, language policy became ambiguous. Since the 1930s, the balance between Russian and other national languages of the Union, proclaimed by V.I. Lenin, has gradually been disrupted.

The February Revolution of 1917 brought together all the Kazakh intelligentsia. The citizens of Alash took an active part in raising the flag of liberation and achieving true independence. In April-May 1917, re-
Regional Kazakh congresses were held in many regional and district centres, and Kazakh committees began to open.

One of the most important issues considered at the second all-Kazakh Congress in Orenburg on December 5–13, 1917 was the problem of language. At the Congress, Mirzhakyp Dulatuly noted that there are not enough schools in Kazakhstan, and there is a shortage of textbooks in the native language of Kazakh, so it is necessary to build national schools. To solve these problems, the commission for the preparation of textbooks in the Kazakh language started its work on the introduction of a model of writing in the Kazakh language, translation of books into the Kazakh language, etc.

The first of the goals set by Alash figures in Kazakh society at the beginning of the XX century was to lay the foundations of the state system, and the second was to implement the state language policy. Alash intelligentsia served in the commission of education without mercy in educating the younger generation, bringing people to culture. Alash activist Akhmet Baitursynuly says that no language in the world comes out of itself, that language is born in the cauldron of everyday life of a rich country.

From the very beginning, the government of Alash paid great attention to the education of generations, and the future of generations. For the next generation to be literate in their native language, they published textbooks in their native language. In addition, the issue of Kazakh office management was put on the agenda. It adhered to the idea that education should be in the native language. Special attention was paid to the publication in the Kazakh language.

Until 1930, although the language policy of the Soviet Union was the ideology of the creation of a monolingual society, scientists proposed the peculiarities of the Kazakh language, the science of the Kazakh language in general, the methods of its research, and systematically promoted the use of our native language in life. After 1930, research in this direction began to be directed in the political direction. The main focus was on meeting the need to create the positions of the Soviet language policy.

In general, the language reforms carried out during the Soviet Union in the Allied republics of the USSR, in particular in Kazakhstan, caused intense controversy in the scientific community. Thus, the well-known Soviet historian and ethnologist M.N. Guboglo believes that the legislative approval of the state language status for national languages in the late 80s is not directly related to the actual linguistic needs of the people, but in fact, it was a political step aimed at making the national elites of the allied republics independent [5; 202].

On this issue, the Kazakh sociolinguist-linguist B.H. Khasanov, who was concerned about the fate of the Kazakh language and the narrowing of its scope, expressed an opinion against it. B.H. Khasanov pointed out that several factors have become an “insurmountable wall” on the way to the introduction of the state language, among which he pointed out “the status of the Russian language formed by the priority of representatives of Russian nationality” and sharply criticized the equation of the language status of the Kazakh and Russian languages, justifying the fact that Kazakh-Russian bilingualism contributes to the strengthening of assimilation of Kazakhs [6; 30].

A broad view of language policy in the Soviet system includes the position that the Soviet government pursued a policy of “forced Russification” of the Union republics. At the same time, this position should be taken from different angles: language is not only a means of communication but also the basis of thinking, the existence of a person as a person, therefore, a change in the language identity of an individual is practically equivalent to a change in his thought. Soviet policy, knowing that freedom of language, along with freedom of conscience, is one of the foundations of human existence, continued to impose foreign languages. The return of language identity can normalize after some generations have passed, so language policy should determine the general direction of the movement based on this, the results of which will be visible within ten years.

The beginning of “perestroika”, combined with the weakening of the role and authority of the Union, exacerbated internal contradictions in the Union republics, which began to use the language question to justify the need to grant States national sovereignty. The First Union republics to declare such a right were Estonia (1988), Latvia (1989), Lithuania (1989), and the Georgian SSR (1990), whose script and Alphabet differed from the Cyrillic alphabet and as a result had minimal linguistic and cultural ties with the Union. The response of the Union Center was an attempt to implement a strict language policy. For example, on April 24, 1990, the law “On languages of the peoples of the USSR” was issued, which declared Russian the official language for the first time in the history of the Soviet government. This normative legal act has existed for more than a year and a half, but the fact of its adoption by the union has shown the importance of resorting to language policy to resolve growing national contradictions.
Although in most of the former Soviet republics the Russian-speaking population was balanced in comparison with the local-speaking population that existed in the USSR for more than 70 years, the newly independent states began to abandon the principle of linguistic pluralism imposed on them.

The beginning of period of language democracy began in 1989, which conditionally coincided with the period of perestroika in the Soviet Union, and continued its continuation with the national-linguistic policy of the former Soviet independent republics. This period of language policy is characterized by the desire of ethnic groups of the republics that have gained independence to pursue a new political status in their native languages.

Results and Discussion

The period 1991–2011 is characterized by changes in the process of trying to understand the national and civic identity of the people of post-Soviet countries, attempts to rediscover themselves as citizens of an individual state at a new level, and the return of history. After the collapse of the Soviet government, the Russian language lost its status as the official language and language of interethnic communication, and at present, in some post-Soviet republics, it is recognized only as the language of “no status” or a representative of a minority. For example, the Republic of Armenia reflected the main principles of language policy in the following documents:

1. The law of the Republic of Armenia “On languages” (adopted on April 17, 1993) regulates the language status and language relations of state authorities and management bodies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

2. Charter of European regional languages Yazid, Russian, Greek, and Assyrian languages are included in the list of languages of minorities in Armenia.

In Armenia, since 2011, legislation has come into force that the native language is only Armenian. Research by the Gallup Institute confirms the practical implementation of this legislation because, in everyday life, 97% of citizens of the republic use the national language [7].

Over the past 20 years, the most acute language policy has been reflected in Turkmenistan. President Saparmurat Niyazov (1990–2006), who in his national policy focused on the creation of a monolithic Turkmen state, legally deprived the Russian language of its official status even as a state. The deprivation of state funding for Russian-language media and the press, the Prohibition of the import of Russian-language literature and the press, as well as the translation of all education into Turkmen, as well as the translation of the script from Cyrillic to Latin - all would create conditions for the development of Turkmen speakers with priority. Until 2007, learning Russian in Turkmenistan was possible only at the school of the Russian Embassy in Ashgabat.

Although in neighbouring Uzbekistan, Russian was the official language of the republic for some time after the collapse of the Soviet government, alongside Uzbek, which had state status (as required by the 1989 Soviet-Republican “Law on Languages”), since 1995, the law has made Uzbek the sole language of state administration and proceedings came out. Even though Uzbekistan has a significant Russian-speaking community, the Russian language has been given the status of one of the languages of minorities. The main condition for admission to the civil service is the requirement to know the Uzbek language. This policy closed the way to power for representatives of other nationalities who do not know the Uzbek language.

Currently, the Russian-speaking population of Kyrgyzstan is facing significant problems. According to data from the Gallup Institute, 38% of citizens in this country use the Russian language in everyday life, and 52% of the population use the Kyrgyz language (the remaining 10% speak Uzbek, Tajik, and other languages of the region) [7].

According to the law “On the State Language of the Kyrgyz Republic” dated February 12, 2004, the Russian language is defined as the official language of the republic (and the Kyrgyz language is the state language). In practice, it is observed that there is no fundamental difference between these two statuses because according to the same law, it is stated that “the rights and freedoms of citizens cannot be undermined based on lack of knowledge of the state or official language”.

After the revolution of April 2010, with the coming to power of the Social Democratic Party of Kyrgyzstan and the declaration of Roza Otunbayeva as the “interim president of Kyrgyzstan”, a revision of the republican legislation began. In particular, R. Otunbayeva confirms the need for “fundamental reform of the linguistic component of education” and suggests abandoning teaching Russian in schools. Considering the natural decline of the Russian population in the country, it seems reasonable to reorient the language policy model of Kyrgyzstan to the Tajik or Uzbek model.
In Moldova, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and between 1990 and 2000, the Russian language gained state status due to the large Russian-speaking population (according to various estimates, the share of Russian speakers was from 13% to 20%). The influence of nationalist groups increased when the leader of the pro-Romanian liberal party, Mihai Ghimpu (who was president from 2009–2010), came to power. As a result, a debate began in society about the unecessariness of the old Soviet policy, and at the same time, about reducing the role of the Russian language.

The language policy aimed at displacing the Russian language in the Baltic countries has borne fruit. As a result, the number of Russians in Lithuania is less than 6%, and the issue of the status of the state language in that country is no longer relevant [8; 67].

At that time, there were few indigenous peoples in Latvia and Estonia. Under the influence of their language policy, the relocation of the Russian-speaking people to their homeland was carried out actively. After the collapse of the USSR, the number of indigenous Latvians and Estonians was comparable to the number of Russian residents. Nevertheless, the political authorities of these countries declared that speaking the mother tongue is the main principle of national policy and decided to abandon the idea of multinational states.

In the Baltic countries, the Russian language does not have official legal status. The Estonian language is the language of state administration, and since 1990, the Keeleinspektsoon (“Language Inspectorate”), a special structure, has been supervising its use in the public administration sphere. Its jurisdiction includes applying administrative sanctions to officials who violate the republican language legislation: conducting business in Russian or selectively punishing state employees, including non-Estonian-speaking employees (mostly teachers).

Today, in Georgia and Azerbaijan, the Russian language is used in everyday life only by the older generation, but young people are not interested in it. According to the Gallup Institute, only 6% of Azerbaijani citizens and 7% of Georgian citizens use Russian in everyday communication, while Azerbaijani and Georgian languages are used by 94% and 92% of the population, which shows that the status of the Russian language in Transcaucasia is low.

Since the mid-2000s, President Emomali Rahmon of Tajikistan has adopted a language policy aimed at strengthening national sovereignty, and as a result, on October 7, 2009, defining the Tajik language as the “state language of the Republic of Tajikistan”, the law stipulates that “a citizen of the Republic of Tajikistan must know the state language”. Thus, the Russian language was excluded from the sphere of public administration of the Republic because “in Tajikistan, the proceedings of legislative, executive and judicial bodies are carried out in the state language” (Article 37, 6). In addition, the publication of normative legal acts in two languages was also stopped.

Article 7 of the current Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, adopted on August 30, 1995, as a result of a referendum in the country, and Article 4 of the Law on Language in the Republic of Kazakhstan clearly state: “The state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the Kazakh language”. As for the Russian language, it is designated: “In state organizations and local self-government bodies, the Russian language is officially used on an equal footing with the Kazakh language (Article 5)”. If we recognize the Russian language as the official language based on this, it will be a contradiction. Because Russian is unlikely to be an official language in Kazakhstan. The status of the Russian language is not equal to the status of the Kazakh language in the Constitution and the Law on Languages. If so, since the official language of Kazakhstan is not specified in legal documents, it is considered an illegal act to recognize it as an official language [9; 18].

It seems that there is no difference between the Kazakh language, which has a state status in the country, and the Russian language, which is considered to be officially used because both are used in the economy, politics, science, and mass media. Compared to the language policy of other countries reviewed above, Kazakhstan does not abandon the fundamental principles of the Soviet language policy based on old principles. It is evidenced by the rule that “The state creates conditions for learning and developing the languages of the people of Kazakhstan”. This is also guaranteed by our Constitution. The consequence of this decision is that the country is legally and practically multilingual [10; 98].

Thus, the rapid spread of bilingualism and the development of multilingualism in Kazakhstan was not only due to historical events but also due to the country’s language policy. The general state language policy should be based on 3 principles:

1. Through the law of the state protecting the language.
2. Promotion of the state language in society.
3. By allocating funds for the development of content in the state language.
Mass media in the country, first of all, the Internet, played a major role in the formation of both bilingualism and modern trilingualism. The field of education, where teaching is carried out in foreign languages, has led to the spread and development of multilingualism. These reasons are closely related to each other because the mass media and educational institutions of the republic are the drivers and implementers of the language policy of the state.

State programs for the implementation of the language policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan, divided into stages, are being implemented. However, our state language is still unable to become the language of full-fledged communication, business, and science. The reason for this is the attitude of the citizens towards the future of the language, the choice of the Russian language with the thought that it is “understandable to everyone”.

Another problem is that the issue of bringing to administrative responsibility persons who violate the current language norms remains weak. There are various reasons for this. One of them is to avoid interethnic conflicts that may arise as a result of the language problem.

The language of our schools and kindergartens is being translated into a mixed trilingual format. Currently, in many institutions engaged in preschool education, the educational process is conducted in a mixed format. Given that a person’s language is formed in childhood and youth, education in kindergartens and schools should be conducted following the National idea of the language.

Due to the existing problems, we are faced with the need to develop a new national language policy that will maximize the optimal functioning of the state language. A well-known public figure and politician Dos Koshim believes that the Kazakh language is one of the mainstays of aitys and conscious discussions, it is “the need for language in society” [11].

According to international experience, the need for a language is created in two ways: the first is based on the law. The state should adopt certain laws and create a need for the state language. The law provides for actions from such a measure as the rejection of certain types of activities in case of ignorance of the state language to fines for advertisers who make mistakes in writing in the state language. Such conditions exist in the laws of developed countries on the state language. Now, according to the second - the “Baltic countries approach”, the need for the Kazakh language should be created by native speakers themselves. During the collapse of the Soviet government, the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic states did not recognize the native language of the local population - the state language, and demanded that others speak Russian, as in Soviet times. Those who use the Russian language when obliging the state language by law said that “they discriminate against the Russian language”. However, in this case, representatives of the Baltic people, who have been subjected to the forced oppression of the Russian language for half a century, have come up with a new approach that does not trample culture, and human rights on the ground. At the root of this was the principle: “no matter what language you speak, I have no business, and I speak my native language”.

In the Baltic states, people who spoke Russian in everyday society began to respond (or not respond at all) in the state language, in the language of the people who formed the basis of this state. Our Kazakh-speaking citizens should follow this approach. Only those who hear the words of the Kazakh language and see the inscriptions begin to understand the need to learn the Kazakh language. This is a great help for Russian-speaking citizens.

Seventeen years ago, Kazybek Isa’s current “Kazakh Voice” newspaper wrote: “Let the Parliament, which tramples on the state language, be dissolved!”. The article published under the title was hotly discussed in society. In 2011, the “Open Letter of 138” demanding the adoption of a law on the state language, which demanded the removal of the Russian language from the Constitution, was also supported by the people. This year, deputy Kazybek Isa sent another question to the Government, in which he made suggestions regarding the free use of the state language in all spheres [12]. Based on the opinion of Kazybek Isa, today, since the Law on Language was issued in 1989, when the number of Kazakhs was 39 percent, the demographics of Kazakhs have doubled, and modern society demands the competent use of the state language in all spheres without any obstacles.

Conclusions

In short, the Kazakh language should become a real language of inter-ethnic communication. During the 30 years since the country became an independent state, the number of local Kazakhs has increased significantly, and accordingly, the number of people demanding services in the state language has also increased. The real way to turn the Kazakh language into a real social communication language is the law. The international experience of the considered countries can serve as proof and an example. Latvia, whose lan-
The article was written within the framework of grant funding for scientific and (or) scientific and technical projects for 2021–2023. The research was funded by the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan (grant AP09259988).

Acknowledgements

The article was written within the framework of grant funding for scientific and (or) scientific and technical projects for 2021–2023. The research was funded by the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan (grant AP09259988).

References

3. Хасанов М. Н. Механизм введения и реализации «Закона о языках» в Казахской ССР и пути внедрения государственного языка в различные сферы жизни / М. Н. Хасанов. — Алматы, 1990.

А. Абасилов, А. Кенес

ТІЛ САЯСАТЫ: ТМД ЕЛДЕРІ МЕН ҚАЗАҚСТАНДЫҚ ТӘЖІРИБЕ

Макалада ТМД елдері мен Қазақстан Республикасындағы тіл саясаты тәжірибелеріне салыстырмалы талдау жасалған. Қазақстандық қазірге дейін аудауды тусіну үшін кеңестік жүйе қолданып, қазақ тілігін қолдау арқылы мемеліктік тіл саясатын мемлекеттік жүйеде өзгертуге қол жеткізу мен құбылыс шығару жүйесін қоғамдық қызметі мен мемлекеттік құқыралардың қолданылуына қауіпсіз қол жеткізу үшін қолданылатын ықтималдықтар / А. Абасилов, А. Кенес. — Алматы, 1990.
Языковая политика: опыт стран СНГ и Казахстана

В статье приведен сравнительный анализ практики языковой политики в странах СНГ и Республике Казахстан. Для понимания современной языковой ситуации в Казахстане показаны достижения и недостатки языковой политики государства-выходцев из советской системы. Для совершеннствования государственной языковой политики были предложены образцы, имеющиеся в странах СНГ и полезные для казахской науки. Исходя из состояния современного государственного языка, особенностей развития языковой ситуации в многоэтносных странах, в том числе методов, принятых странами на пространстве СНГ для решения вопросов формирования государственной языковой политики, выявлена необходимость новой языковой политики и в казахском обществе. Это свидетельствует об актуальности исследования. Авторами освещено влияние усиления языковой ситуации в Казахстане после обретения суверенитета на языковую политику государства. На основе современной языковой ситуации определено направление дальнейшего прогресса языковой политики в Республике Казахстан. Особое внимание удалено опыту языковой политики в странах Балтии, языковая обстановка которых в свое время была схожа с казахстанской, и существенные явления в ходе их реализации позволят Казахстану разработать и реализовать наиболее эффективную языковую политику в отношении национального и иностранного языков. Приведен обзор законодательства в рамках специфики языковой политики, вопросов функционирования и статусных особенностей в этих странах. В качестве примеров представлены реформы в области языка, которые были созданы деятелями Алаша, которые способствовали систематическому повышению жизненного уровня родного языка. Проанализированы данные о языковой политике Казахстана в советской системе, документы о государственной языковой политике в современном Казахстане. Исторические, социальные факторы, влияющие на государственную языковую политику и его деятельность, рассмотрены в контексте социолингвистики, кроме того, высказаны предложения по развитию статуса и политики государственного языка.

Ключевые слова: языковая политика, государственный язык, казахский язык, языковая ситуация, языковое планирование, опыт развития языка.

References

6 Khasanov, B.Kh. (1990). Mekhanizm vvedeniiia i realizatsii «Zakona o yazykakh» v Kazakhskoi SSR i puti vnedreniiia gosudarstvennogo yazyka [The mechanism of introduction and implementation of the law on languages in the Kazakh SSR and the ways of introducing the state language in various spheres of life]. Almaty [in Russian].