LANGUAGE PLANNING POLICIES IN POST-SOVIET
KAZAKHSTAN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE PLANNING POLICIES IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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The aim of thesis is to analyze the relationship between language planning policies and nation building process in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The language planning policies in Kazakhstan aim to raise the status and role of Kazakh language in political and social contexts (status planning), develop Kazakh language as the medium of administration, education, media and science (corpus planning), and spread the use of Kazakh language (acquisition planning). However, given the demographic conditions, heterogeneous and multilingual ethnic composition of Kazakhstan, the desired progress has not been achieved. The main argument of the thesis is that so long as Kazakhstan cannot develop comprehensive, well-integrated language planning policies with suitable short-, medium- and long-term targets it cannot be expected to have success in their desire to make Kazakh the state language. The reason lies in the fact that Kazakhstan consists of a sizeable Russian minority and an ethnic nation building process takes place in the country. Thus, the existing language planning policies cannot respond to the needs of the society. The thesis examines factors and reasons affecting this process. To this end, the thesis shall cover an analysis of language policies and nation building policies within a historical context.

Keywords: language, identity, language planning, nation-building, Kazakhstan.

ÖZ

SOVYET SONRASI KAZAKİSTAN'DA DİL PLANLAMASI POLİTİKALARI

GÜNEY, Işıl

Yüksek Lisans, Avrasya Çalışmaları

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Bu tezin amacı Sovyet sonrası dönemde Kazakistan'da dil planlaması politikaları ile ulus inşası süreci arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Kazakistan'daki dil planlaması politikaları Kazak dilinin siyasi ve toplumsal bağlamlardaki rolünü artırma (statü planlaması), Kazak dilini yönetim, eğitim, medya ve bilim dili olarak geliştirme (bütünce planlaması) ve Kazak dilinin kullanımını yaymayı (edinim planlaması) hedeflemektedir. Ancak Kazakistan'ın demografik koşulları, çokdilli ve heterojen etnik kompozisyonu sebebiyle hedeflenen gelişmeye henüz ulaşılmamıştır. Bu tezin temel argümanı, Kazakistan'ın uygun kısa, orta ve uzun vade hedeflerini kapsayan, iyi bütünleşmiş ve kapsamlı dil politikaları geliştirmediği sürece Kazak dilinin devlet dili olmasının başarıya ulaşmasının beklenemeyeceğidir. Bunun nedeni ise Kazakistan'da büyük oranda Rus azınlık yaşaması ve ülkede etnik bir ulus inşa sürecinin sürmesidir. Bu yüzden mevcut dil planlaması politikaları toplumun ihtiyaçlarına cevap verememektedir. Bu tez bu süreci etkileyen faktörleri ve nedenleri incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, dil politikaları ve ulus inşası politikalarının tarihsel bir bağlamda yapılan analizini de kapsar.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Dil, kimlik, dil planlaması, ulus inşası, Kazakistan

To my family

Aileme

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introducing the Study

The year 1991 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Kazakhstan as it gained its independence from the Soviet Union. Immediately after the independence, Kazakhstan started to implement nationalizing policies with the aim of building a new Kazakh state. However, it faced the difficulty of dealing with political, social, economic, domestic and international problems brought by the post-communist era. For the Republic of Kazakhstan, this process has been particularly challenging since it had the formidable task of nation-building in a multi-ethnic and multilingual state. During the Soviet era Kazakhstan was the only Soviet national republic in which the titular ethnic group did not constitute a majority and had a sizeable amount of Russian population. Even after the independence Kazakhstan has a significant number of Russians constituting a significant percentage of the total population. Statistical data from the Kazakh Statistical Agency show the rate of ethnic composition in Kazakhstan as of the date January 1, 2007 as Kazakh (Qazaq) 59.2% %, Russian 25.6% and other ethnic groups including Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Germans, Tatars and Uygurs and others 15.2%[1]. Due to the demographic superiority of Russians in Kazakhstan, Kazakhs were relatively more affected by linguistic and cultural policies of the Soviet Union as compared to other titular nationalities. The linguistic Russification in Kazakhstan is so high that the percentage of Kazakhs who speak Russian at home is the highest among the other titular nationalities of the former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan started implementing a policy of Kazakhization, which created a friction between Russians and Kazakhs. One major area of conflict was related to the language issue. The 1993 law which declared Kazakh as the sole state language

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[1] O migratsii i demograficheskoy situatsii v Respublike Kazakhstan (On migration and demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan) Online available at http://www.stat.kz/index.php?lang=rus&uin=1171952771

caused anxiety among the Russian population. Combined with the ongoing nationalization policies, economic and political reasons there has been a mass migration of Russians from Kazakhstan. Soon Kazakh administration became aware of the fact that in order to maintain social and political stability within the country, ethnic harmony was needed. Thus, Kazakh administration gave Russian the status of official language whereas Kazakh language retained its status of the state language in the 1995 Constitution of Kazakhstan. Within this context, language planning has become an essential part of nation-building policies.

Language is known to play a crucial role in the construction of individual and group identities. One's mother tongue conveys and contributes to the forming of the self and the development of individual personality (Isaacs 1989: 94). According to Edwards "The essence of human language is a communication system composed of arbitrary symbols which possess an agreed upon significance within a community" (1994: 19). This definition suggests that language performs communicative function among individuals and enhances social integration. Language is also significant in the formation of group identity. But with Fredrick Barth's (1969) theory of group boundaries and boundary maintenance of which main claim was that the cultural "staff" which boundaries enclose may change but group boundaries may survive, language does not always become a *sine qua non* of ethnic identity since a group may lose its tongue but may still preserve its ethnic identity In this way language performs its symbolic rather than communicative function.

Language is regarded as one of the building blocks of nations and it serves as an important instrument for protecting collective identities and mobilizing people around symbols and values with a high emotional potential (Brass cited in Safran 1999: 77-93). Many scholars believe that language is an important factor in modern nationalism. For Benedict Anderson (1991) language is essential to the origin of nationalism. Thanks to the advent of print capitalism, the idea of the nation and the ideology of nationalism spread, languages are standardized; hence, linguistic nationalism takes root. According to Anderson, it is that print-language what invents nationalism. However, Anthony Smith (1991) believes that language comes after the growth of nationalistic sentiments; it does not create it. Nationalists use language to

justify their claims (Schmid 2001:9). However, as Safran mentions "The sentiment of belonging to an ethno-national community is not necessarily connected with a language" (Safran 119:91). Language may be accepted as part of the cultural heritage of that community and have symbolic power. People may establish a strong unique identity without their original language and they can even gather around the language of those against whom they are mobilized (Safran 1999: 77-93).

Hence, language politics and language planning have always been a part of nationalism and nation building projects. Language planning and language politics as a field of academic inquiry first appeared in the age of nationalism. They were part of nation-building process in the 18th and 19th centuries. The idea that nations are really language groups and that nationalism is a linguistic movement had its root in Herder during the era of German Romantics. Particularly effective were the work of Fichte and Herder who elaborated the role of language in ethnic nationalism. During this time language was considered as an inseparable part of collective identities and especially national identity. Herder believed that so long as speech communities preserved their language they could survive as discrete entities. In France Renan accommodated language and the theories of civic nationalism. In the early 19th century all national movements aimed at reminding the group of its origins. Those groups attempting to exit from the rule of the British, Russian or Austro-Hungarian and French Empires tried to codify, standardize and disseminate a single language for the group which would enable them to claim for a separate polity. (Wright 2004: 8)

After the Second World War language planning has become a recognized subject of academic inquiry. In the late 1960s and early 1970s ex-colonial African and Asian states became suitable areas for language planning and policy activities since there were many different groups and languages in the newly established states and communication problem had to be solved for smooth functioning governance. These activities were accompanied by the construction of democratic states and nation building efforts where people gave their loyalty to their civic states rather than to ethnic ties. The understanding of "one language, one people, one state" was accepted. People were expected to merge into a homogenous culture so that the

Western model of nation-state could be realized in the ex-colonies of Africa and Asia, and the absence of linguistic unity was in contradiction with the principles of nation-building activities. Yet, ethnic conflicts and separatism in African and Asian states during 1980s and 1990s ended the ideals of democratic state formation. With the collapse of the multi-national Soviet Union, not all the states remained homogeneous and that created ethnic discontent and fragmentation. Accordingly, these changes brought about discussions in the field of language planning and policy. By the 1980s and early 1990s the field was criticized for ruling out political, socio-economic factors and power relations, and becoming just simple efforts of technical efficiency and linguistic matters. Recently, the field of language planning has become interdisciplinary, and insights from political, economic and social theory are now being used to explain language planning cases (Ricento 2006:8). Today, the issue of how people acquire, manipulate and negotiate various languages in order to achieve their aims, consolidate their groups and powers receive more and more attention. This study aims to analyze the role of language planning policies in nation building process in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Language policies involve the development and implementation of public policies thorough the use of state authority to affect various aspects of the status and use of languages by people under the state's jurisdiction. Language policy comes to the agenda "when political actors believe that something important is at stake regarding the status and/or use of languages in their society, and that these stakes call for intervention by state" (Ricento 2006: 96). Kazakh leaders are aware of the fragile state of multi-ethnic relations, but due to the supremacy of Russian over Kazakh language in Kazakhstan, Kazakh authorities have been exerting efforts to develop Kazakh language and increase its use in all aspects of life. The language planning policies in Kazakhstan try to raise the status and role of Kazakh language in political and social contexts (status planning), elaborate on and develop the potential functions of Kazakh language as the medium of administration, education, media and science (corpus planning), and spread the use of Kazakh language (acquisition planning). In Kazakhstan language politics lie at the core of identity politics. Since the

independence of Kazakhstan in 1991, Kazakh politics has been defined by the search for a definition of collective identities. As Wright puts it,

> The desire to ally communicative competence and group identity lies at the heart of language planning whether it is conceived as overt policy making or develops informally in the general governance of social groups. Such a desire is central to nation building, where national leaderships encourage linguistic convergence and assimilation within national groups and their permeability to outsiders (2004:9).

However, despite the state's attempts towards the use of language as a means for asserting their own power in a Kazakh dominated state, and although the state is the most powerful agency in language planning, the desired progress has not been achieved in Kazakhstan, yet. At that point, it is argued in this thesis that so long as Kazakhstan cannot develop comprehensive, well-integrated language planning policies with suitable short-, medium- and long-term targets it cannot be expected to have success in their desire to make Kazakh the state language since Kazakhstan consists of a sizeable Russian minority and an ethnic nation building process takes place in the country so, the existing language planning policies cannot respond to the needs of the society.

Despite some progress has been made in spreading Kazakh language, most of the laws, acts and documents related to language problem issued after the independence of Kazakhstan had only declarative character. Kazakh language planning did meet the expectations of official authorities despite the fact that seventeen years have elapsed since its independence. The reason lies in the fact that Kazakh language policies in the post-Soviet era were not compatible with the linguistic culture of the society. According to Schiffman, language policy is primarily a social construct, and as such rests primarily on other conceptual elements such as belief systems, attitudes, myths, the whole complex that we are referring to as *linguistic culture*. So, it is important to see language policy not only the explicit, written, overt, *de jure* and official and top down decision-making, but rather implicit, unwritten, *de facto*, unofficial ideas which can affect the underlying ideas about language (1996:149). In post-Soviet Kazakhstan, where the linguistic culture was formed as a result of seventy years of planned Soviet language planning, state

authorities' willingness in achieving the language shift towards Kazakh was complicated by their nation building process which aimed at securing their own power. Yet, the focus on linguistic culture should also be combined with historical background and the relations between political developments. So, it is also necessary to analyze socio-political events and processes that affect language choice and change within a historical framework. Thus, firstly this study aims to examine the role of socio-historical factors and their effect on post-Soviet Kazakh language planning. To this end, history of Soviet Kazakhstan along with Soviet language planning and nationalities policies shall be reviewed. Secondly, it evaluates the current state-sponsored language planning policies in Kazakhstan within the context of social and political events characterizing post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Finally, it explores the factors hindering the language planning process.

1.2 Methodology

For the purpose of this thesis, documentary research was chosen as the research method. Documentary research method enables systematically locating, evaluating, and synthesizing evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning a set of events. It also allows one to access to the past and thus, provides a better insight into the course of contemporary events. To this end documentary research uses printed materials, from archives or other resources, as a source for information. Documents may be regarded as physically embodied texts, where the containment of the text is the primary purpose of the physical medium. Sources of documentary research include historical documents such as laws, declarations, statutes and people's accounts of events and periods, reports based on official statistics, governmental records, mass media, novels, plays, drawings, and personal documents such as dairies and biographies.

In this thesis the Constitution of Republic of Kazakhstan, declarations, statements and discussions of officials including the speeches of Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakh newspapers and official web-sites, state's official policy of "Cultural Heritage State Program for 2004-2006", laws, decrees and analyses on

language policies of the state including "Law on the Languages of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1997)", "Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of Kazakh Language (2006)", State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 to 2010 (2001)", "On the Problem of Transition to Latin (2007)" and "Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan (2005)" were used as primary sources. Along with them, books related to the research subject within the field of linguistics, sociology and politics; articles published in domestic and international journals and periodicals of sociology, history, linguistics, education and politics, reports on statistics and researches were used as secondary sources. Limitations of the thesis lie in the fact that no part of the study was conducted in Kazakhstan and therefore, no interviews and sources only available in this country were included in the study. However, the abovementioned primary sources in Russian language were used and translated into English. The fact that I do not know Kazakh language prevented me from accessing the possible resources in this language.

Documentary research is often criticized in terms of authenticity and credibility of sources. I have tried to overcome those issues by critically evaluating and cross-checking all the available sources. Another criticism on documentary research concerns the researcher's identity. Influenced by the social context s/he lives in and his/her identity, the researcher may give biased and selective understanding of a document. I have tried to keep my objectivity as much as possible throughout the thesis.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter of the study is dedicated to the statement of the problem and methodology. The second chapter presents the historical development of language planning and focuses on definition of basic terms and approaches in the field of language planning. The third chapter covers Soviet nationalities policy and Soviet language planning. Ideological bases of Soviet language planning are examined in their relation to Soviet nationalities policies. Then Soviet language planning is analyzed in terms of its relation to socio-

political history of Soviet Kazakhstan in three distinct periods. In the fourth chapter language policies and nation-building process in post-Soviet Kazakhstan are examined. The policies of status, corpus and acquisition planning are analyzed, and in the final chapter an analysis of these policies is made.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

The chapter provides the literature review on language policy and language planning issues. The study deals with language policy issues which are generally analyzed within the domain of language planning. There is no agreed definition of language planning in the field as the terms language policy and language planning are related concepts. To the extent that policies are created deliberately and consciously, they generally comprise some form of planning (Herriman and Burnaby 1996:3). Language policy can be described as the ideological orientations and views and language planning as the actual proposal that makes up their implementation (Bakmand 2000). Fettes establishes the link between language policy and language planning as;

> Language planning must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy; the former producing the standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better….language planning models. Such a field would be better described as language policy and planning (LPP) (1997: 14)

Within this context, this study covers both language planning and language policy efforts.

2.1. Background

Language planning is relatively recent in the field of linguistic studies; yet, language planning activities have been going on for centuries. Sue Wright examines language planning in three different phases as; the first phase starting in the age of nationalism during the 18th and 19th centuries, the second phase after the Second World War when the discipline became a subject of academic inquiry and the third phase covering the post-war era and the age of globalization (2004:10). Thomas Ricento divides research in LPP into three historical phases: (1) decolonization,

structuralism and pragmatism; (2) the failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics and access; (3) the new world order, postmodernism and linguistic human rights. He identifies three factors as being effective in shaping the field which are macro sociopolitical, the epistemological, and the strategic factors. The macro sociopolitical factors refer to such national or supra national events and processes as state formation, disintegration, wars, migrations…etc. Epistemological factors are related to paradigms of knowledge and research such as post-modernism and structuralism in the social sciences, rational choice theory and neo-Marxism in economics and political science. Strategic factors concern the reasons for which the study is conducted (2000:196-197). Bearing in mind the abovementioned categorizations, below is the summary of the field's historical development.

Language planning and language politics first appeared in the age of nationalism. They were a part of nation-building in the 18th and 19th centuries. Fichte and Herder produced effective works in this field and they elaborated the role of language in ethnic nationalism. In France, Renan also accommodated language and the theories of civic nationalism. In the early 19th century national movements prevailed and their main concern was to remind people of their origins. Language became a tool for differentiating one group from another. For those groups attempting to achieve their independence from the rule of the British, Russian or Austro-Hungarian and French Empires language became an important tool. They tried to codify, standardize and spread a single language for the group which they could use later to demand for a separate polity (Wright 2004:8).

After the Second World War, language planning has become a recognized subject of academic inquiry as a branch of sociolinguistics. After the demise of colonization there was a surge in interest for language problems of the new nations and their solution. The problem was that the new states had to be governed effectively and homogeneous states were to be created by merging separate groups (Wright 2004:9). To this end, grammars, writing systems and dictionaries were developed for indigenous languages of Asia, Africa and South America by Western-educated linguists (Ricento 2006:12). Joshua Fishman became the leading researcher in the field and he considered the developing nations as "an indispensable field-work

locations for a new breed of genuine socio-linguistics" (Fishman 1968: 11). The field became to be known gradually due to the conferences, projects and publications of the scholars who believed that language problems could be solved by planning activities. Projects carried out by Joshua Fishman, Jyotirinda Das Gupta, Joan Rubin and Björn Jernudd focused on one national case, respectively, Israel, India, Indonesia and Sweden Einar Haugen who first used the term "language planning" in 1968 dedicated his work to language standardization in Norway (Hornberger 2006:26).

In the 1950s and 1960s those academic approaches West in the field of language policy and planning formulated considered language as "a finite, stable and standardized, rule-governed instrument for communication; monolingualism and cultural homogeneity as necessary requirements for social and economic progress, modernization and national unity, language selection as a matter of rational choice available in which all options are equally available to everyone or could be made available." (Ricento 2006:14)

These ideas were also complying with the main principles of Western conception of state and nation building in developing countries. They needed to reach to the advanced Western society; thus, the best language would be the one which enabled them to reach this end. Most of the time the language serving this end was the former colonial language and it was being used by elites in national political and educational sectors. The new states were having difficulties in terms of modernization and development, formation of more democratic governance, and nation-building. They were trying to establish cohesive state so that their citizens could feel loyalty to this civic state rather than to local and ethnic ties. Nevertheless, this was a hard task since the new states had multiethnic and multilingual groups due to the artificial borders of the colonial era. This deprived authorities of the new states of a previous cohesion upon which they could build a new national identity. (Ferguson 2006:1-2).

From late 1970s to 1990s scholars started to question the optimistic belief in the effectiveness of such policies in being a solution to language problems (Wright 2004:9). They began to focus on the social, political and economic dimensions of language and the role of language in emergence of social and economic inequality by

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paying attention to issues of status, access and advantage/disadvantage. According to them, multilingualism could not be explained solely by such terms as "native speaker", "mother tongue", "linguistic competence" because they were considered inadequate in explaining the complex cases of language contact in various parts of the world. For them sociolinguistic arrangements were the result of political processes and ideologies of state formation. As Ricento states,

> In this view, societal bilingualism was seen as normal and its recognition and acceptance were taken as an important requirement for the realization of meaningful democracy since the constituent groups were better positioned to participate as equals when their cultures and languages are respected and afforded legitimacy through institutional recognition and support (2006:13).

Starting from the late 1980s, critical theorists criticized those earlier linguistic theories in that they stood against the development of language policies for complex multilingual settings. The period starting from the post-war era leading up to the millennium was characterized by the effects of globalization such as the spread of English and other global languages, language loss and endangerment of indigenous and small language communities worldwide, and linguistic rights (Hornberger 2006:24). Such global events as massive migrations, the collapse of the Soviet Union, resurgence of national and ethnic identities, penetration of American and Western culture, technology to the developing world and unification of European countries under European Union, where local and regional languages must compete with supranational ones, all raised concerns about the status of languages (Ricento 2000:203). Today in multilingual settings the problem does not concern how to develop languages, which language to choose for what purposes but rather "how and for what purposes to develop local, threatened languages in relation to global spreading ones for language planners and policy-makers" (Hornberger 2006:27-28).

Copper summarized the field by asking "what actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?" (1989:98). Scholars tried to find out a theory that would put the field within social theory. Work in language planning and language policy began to converge in the 1990s and referred to as

Language Policy and Language Planning. Can language planning be considered as policy? There is no consensus among scholars in the field on the definition of language planning as well as the domains it covers. The terms language planning and language policy are often used interchangeably, though many agree they refer to two different types of actions.

Language Planning generally takes place in multilingual and multicultural settings which means that planning for one language affects other languages and ethnic groups. Along with the role of ideology, language planning decisions are influenced by power relations and socio-political and economic interests (Ricento 2006:5). Due to the complexity of the issue, there is no overriding theory of language policy and planning. Therefore, as Cooper puts it, "We have, as yet, no generally accepted language planning theory if by theory we mean a set of logically interrelated, empirically testable propositions" (1989:41). Ricento suggests that "domain of inquiry" is a better usage since researchers address social problems involving language rather than attempt to prove a theory. He notes that political, social and economic theory can provide language planning researches insight into explaining language planning and policy debates and as a sub-branch of sociolinguistics, he believes LPP must take into account issues of language behavior and identity and also developments in discourse analysis, ethnography and critical social theory (2006:12).

2.2   Language Planning Policy Types and Approaches

Major dimensions of language planning were introduced by Joshua Fishman in his book entitled Advances in Language Planning (1974). Later these aspects were described in a four-fold matrix by Einar Haugen in (1987:59). This model includes selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation, elaboration.

Table 1: Major Dimensions of Language Planning

	Norm	Function
Society	(1) Selection	(3) Implementation
Language	(2) Codification	(4) Elaboration

Source: Haugen, Einar. 1987. Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning: Problems and Pleasures. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Selection of a norm is a form of policy planning which establishes that a given language shall enjoy a given status within a community (Haugen 1983:60) whereas codification refers to the codification of the selected norm in dictionaries and grammars which includes graphization; that is to develop writing systems for the language, grammatication; to formulate the rules of grammar and lexication; the selection of appropriate lexicon (Haugen 1983:60). Implementation deals with the spread of the selected and codified language form by writers, institutions or government. That is achieved by producing books, pamphlets, newspapers, and textbooks in the selected language. Authorities encourage its use in schools as a medium of instruction, mass media through laws and regulations. Elaboration refers to continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world. This model has been revised by Neustupny (1970) by the addition of cultivation (Haugen 1983:61). Language planning approaches take place at a level which can either simply be a policy made or a long-term process for implementing the decision, that is, cultivation. Cultivation means that a language has a well defined domain. The model is also in line with the typology made first by Kloss (1969) which divided language planning into two parts, namely status planning and corpus planning.

Table 2: Revised Model of Language Planning

	Form (Policy Planning)	Function (Cultivation Planning)

Society
(Status Planning)
	1.Selection (Decision Procedure)
	  a. identification of problem
	  b. allocation of norms
		3.Implementation (Educational Spread
		  a. correction procedures
		  b. evaluation

Language
(Corpus Planning)
	2. Codification (Standardization Procedures)
	  a. graphization
	  b. grammatication
	  c. lexication
		4. Elaboration
		  a. terminological modernization
		  b. stylistic development

Source: Haugen, Einar. 1983. The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice. Union'. In Juan Cobarrubias, Joshua A. Fishman (eds) *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives.* Berlin & New York: Mouton.p 275.

Later acquisition planning was added by Cooper to this typology. According to him, language planning refers to "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989:45). Such language planning involves three basic activities; status planning (changing the status of a language within society by increasing or decreasing its functions), corpus planning (connecting the alteration or standardization of a language to fulfill new functions) and acquisition planning (creating language spread by increasing the number of speakers and uses by for example language teaching) Hornberger (1994) summarizes them in an integrative framework.

Table 3 Hornberger's integrative framework of language planning goals

Approaches Types	Policy Planning (on form) Goals	Cultivation planning (on function) Goals
Status planning *(about uses of language)*	Standardization of status Officialization Nationalization Proscription	Revival Maintenance Interlingual Communication 　International, 　Intranational Spread
Acquisition planning *(about users of language)*	Group Education/School Literary Religious Mass Media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign language/ Second language Shift
Corpus planning *(about language)*	Standardization 　Corpus 　Auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization(new functions) 　Lexical 　Stylistic Renovation 　Purification 　Reform 　Stylistic simplification 　Terminology unification

Source: Horrnberger, Nancy H. 1994. Literacy and Language Planning. *In Language and Education*, 8. p.83

2.2.1 Status Planning

Status planning deals with the assignment of roles to language and is concerned with the role of language in political and social contexts. As Ricento puts it;

> Status is widely understood within LPP as the perceived value of a named language, usually related to its social utility which encompasses its so-called market value as a mode of communication as well as more subjective features rooted in a society's linguistic culture (2006: 5).

Kloss sees the object of status planning to be recognition by a national government of the importance or position of one language in relation to others. However, the term has started to be used to refer to the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions, eg. medium of instruction, official language, vehicle of mass communication (Cooper 1989:32). According to Gorman language allocation is "authoritative decisions to maintain, extend or restrict the range of uses (functional ranges) of a language in particular settings" (cited in Cooper 1989:32).

Status planners try to have greater status for their language variety within a given society in relation to other language varieties (Millar 2005:99). Status planning begins with the selection of a norm which involves choosing a language variety for specific purposes frequently associated with official status or national roles. Status planning covers such activities as officialization, nationalization, standardization of status or proscription. Status planning decisions are generally made by governments and the choice of national or official language is affected by social, political, cultural and economic issues. Often status planning decisions are not apart from state's national planning or social policies. Sue Wright states that in state nations the official language was not imposed by the planning authorities rather the dominant language gains its status through political process along with political and economic power of its speakers (2004:44). As for ethnic nation states the question of national language is central to ethnic consciousness so, language becomes a focus of conscious policy making (Wright 2004:45). Yet, according to some scholars language is not always an element of identity but also a means of communication and multilingual nations without language conflicts also exist as in the case of Switzerland and Ireland. In Ireland, Irish is the first official language and English is the second official language (Wright 2004:46).

Status planners often mention the functional domains of a language. Cooper defines status planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages" (1989:99). For language functions the most comprehensive list was prepared by Stewart. According to the list official language functions as legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis. Stewart defines three types of official

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languages; namely statutory, symbolic and working. The constitutionally specified language is regarded as statutory official language. A language may also be a working official language when used for day-to-day activities in the state; or a symbolic official language if it is used for symbolic purposes, for example, as a symbol of the state. Provincial language is the official language of a province or region which does not have a nationwide official function whereas a language of wider communication functions as a medium of communication across language boundaries within the nation. These are not official languages but have important communicative functions. International language functions as a medium of communication internationally, e.g. for diplomatic relations, foreign trade, tourism, etc. English can be cited as an example. Capital language is used as a medium of communication around the national capital. This function gains importance in countries where political power, social prestige and economic activity are centered in the capital. This function can be effective in language spread as languages often diffuse from the political and economic center to the periphery. Group language is used among the members of a cultural or ethnic group such as a tribe, foreign immigrants, etc. as a medium of communication. Educational language is used as the medium of primary or secondary education either regionally or nationally (Steward 1968:531-545). However, post-secondary education is not included in this function. Choice of language for school system often has political dimension. Cooper states that education is a tool for social control and social mobility hence; it is no surprise that language of instruction becomes an important political issue (1989:112). Language may also be taught as a school subject at the secondary or higher education levels, which is not necessarily the medium of instruction. Literary language is primarily used for literary or scholarly purposes. Finally, religious language is used primarily in connection with the ritual of a particular religion (Stewart 1968:531-545).

2.2.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning is concerned with the form and structure of the language itself. It refers to the changes in the structure of language and elaborates whether the

language is adequate to fulfill its potential functions as the medium of communication in such domains as legislation, administration, justice and education, media, culture, places of work, science and also in philosophical, scientific and technical discourse.

Cooper identifies three aspects of corpus planning; graphization, standardization and modernization. Graphization refers to writing a language down or the reform of the system of writing. Standardization is the development of an overarching standard language that provides a norm for social and regional dialects and modernization is the development of styles of language and terminology in range of topics of international relevance (e.g. science, medicine, technology) which can be easily transferred in translation to other languages (1989:25).

According to Nahir there are five goals in corpus planning. The first goal is purification. Purification is to prescribe correct usage in order to defend and preserve the purity of the language. Revival which is the second aspect often functions in the formation of a national identity. Both purification and revival may be ideologically and emotionally motivated. Reform, however, refers to those efforts which make language easier to use either through simplification of the orthography or the spelling system. Such reforms may be affected by ideology, politics or emotions. For instance, Turkish language reform which is one of the most quoted language reforms became a part of modernization and westernization initiatives led by Atatürk. The two basic features of this language reform were the adoption of a new alphabet and the purification efforts. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. In order to purify language, Arabic and Persian words removed but terminology from European languages were taken to make modernization possible. Finally, lexical modernization aims to update the language to be able to function in the modern world (1977: 108).

When we take a look at the combination of Cooper's and Nahir's typologies we can see that corpus planning refers to both the form (policy planning approach) and the function of a language (cultivation planning approach). Standardization and graphization are related to the form of a language while modernization, renovation and their sub-categories are related to language's function.

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The success of status planning and corpus planning are interdependent and they are necessary for effective corpus planning. For instance, languages which assumed new functions as a result of status planning may not be well-developed in terms of their structure to fulfill those functions assigned to them efficiently. Thus, they may need to be modified and elaborated via corpus planning.

Corpus planning may also be subject to nationalist views. Corpus planners may want to differentiate their national language from other national groups to mark the boundary. Under those circumstances where nationalism prevailed, they were more likely to adopt the national language, since it was the symbol of national communities and national pride and had assumed symbolic function along with its pragmatic role in building communities of communication. (Wright 2004: 48)

2.2.3   Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning was developed by Cooper in the late 1980s. Cooper claimed that language planning efforts were dealing with language spread or on the users of the language but were remaining outside the domains of both status and corpus planning. Thus, this addition was necessary to the field (1989).

Cooper defines acquisition planning as 'increasing the number of users' - speakers, writers, listeners, or readers of a language. This can be done by promoting its learning and thus giving people the opportunity and incentive to learn the language (1989:33). Examples of acquisition planning include attempts to create or improve opportunities or incentives to acquire a language through its promotion in school, mass media or work spheres (Kendall 2001:23).

There are two aspects in discussing acquisition planning. One of them is the overt language planning goal/s, which generally include acquisition of the language as a second or foreign language (e.g., spoken Mandarin by the Taiwanese), reacquisition of the language by populations for whom it was either a vernacular (e.g., the revitalization of Maori in New Zealand) or a language of specialized function, language maintenance (e.g., attempts to prevent the further loss of Irish (Gaelic) in the Gaeltacht) The second aspect is the method/s used to attain the goal/s, which there are three types, methods designed to create or improve the opportunity to

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learn the language, methods designed to create or improve the incentive to learn the language, methods designed to create or improve both opportunity and incentive simultaneously Cooper (1989:158-159).

Fasold also talks about acquisition planning agencies. The main tools are educational system, government agencies, military, print and media, professional societies, businesses, political and cultural organizations and societies (Fasold 1984:253).

Jernudd gives a list of language planning agents in addition to governments. He cites national but non-governmental organizations, non-national and non-governmental agencies, a newspaper's proof reading functions, the individual author, letter writer or even after-dinner speaker (cited in Fasold 1984:252).

Finally, Fasold also mentions the role of an individual speaker of the national language. Specifically, he claims that an active role can be assumed by writers or filmmakers, who choose to create in the national language, thus encouraging their viewers or readers to learn the language. Even an ordinary citizen can potentially participate in language planning by refusing to communicate with other citizens in a language other than the national one (1984:253).

Within this context the latest framework of language planning in which the earlier frameworks are combined was made by Hornberger (2006) by putting all into a new six-fold integrative framework. In the following chapter language planning policies in Kazakhstan will be analyzed by using Hornberger's integrative framework of language planning approaches. This framework enables to categorize and analyze Kazakh language planning policies systematically by offering a more comprehensive framework including all aspects of planning goals as compared to other frameworks as also mentioned in this study.

Table 2.1 Hornberger's integrative framework of language planning approaches

Types	Policy Planning Approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on function)
Status planning (about uses of language)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual Communication- international, intranational
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literary Religious Mass Media Work —————————— Selection Language's formal role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign Language/second language/literacy ———— ———————— Implementation Language's functional role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Standardization of Auxiliary code Graphization —————————— Codification Language's form *Linguistic Aims*	Modernization (new functions) Lexical Stylistic Renovation (new forms, old functions) Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification ———— ———————— Elaboration Language's function *Semi-linguistic aims*

Source: Hornberger, Nancy H. 2006. 'Frameworks and Models in Language Policy and Planning'. In Thomas Ricento (ed.) *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method.* USA : Blackwell.pp.29

CHAPTER 3

SOVIET LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICIES

The relations between the Kazakhs and Russians, and their languages are long-standing and date back to the Tsarist era. Having emerged as a distinct group separate from Uzbeks around the beginning of the 16th century Kazakhs came under Russian rule at the end of the 19th century. By 1880s Russian forces had conquered all of Central Asia. Afterwards the nature of the colonization in the area began to change significantly (Melvin 1995:100–105). Russia started to increase its economic and administrative influence on Kazakhstan and Russian culture became influential, too. Russian was the official language of the Empire and the Tsarist regime pursued a policy of Russification (Dickens 1989:3). Tsarist policies of language were confined to the field of education and administration. Pursuant to the rise of Great Russian nationalism in the 1850s, there was an increase in the idea of assimilating Kazakhs so that Tsarist administration could ensure a far better consolidation of the empire. Yet, it was not until the beginning of the Soviet regime that the peoples of Central Asia were exposed to an active linguistic policy or in other words any attempt to change and regulate by legislation languages or methods of writing them (Wheeler 1964:194). With the Russian Revolution of 1917 Tsarist Empire came to an end. During the turmoil experienced in this era, the autonomy of Kazakhs was proclaimed by the nationalist Kazakh party, Alash. The autonomy of Kazakhs lasted until 1920 when Bolsheviks initiated the formation of the Soviet Union as the first socialist state in the world. The Tsarist Empire was composed of many different groups of different cultures, languages and political backgrounds due to the migration policies. By 1911 nearly two million Russians were forced to migrate to the Kazakh steppes within the Stolypin land reform program of Imperial Russia. Soviet Union allocated a large amount of capital to Central Asia and sent skilled workers to work in the region. The First World War and the exile of Russians accelerated the increase of Russian population to Kazakhstan (Melvin 1995:100–105). Hence with the revolution this multiethnic and multilingual state was inherited from the Tsarist Empire and Kazakhstan with its Russian population came under the Soviet rule. One of the main

problems of the new state was to sustain the unity of this multiethnic and multilingual state. Soon after the revolution with the aim of securing the unity of the state, the new Soviet administration started to implement Soviet nationalities policy, an integral part of which was Soviet language planning.

Language planning and policies are analyzed along with the political and social contexts in which they are implemented. Language planning is a part of a social change; thus, many factors contribute to language planning activities. This process does not only consist of the linguistic aspect including such efforts as code selection, standardization creating orthographies and alphabets, inventing vocabularies or means to disseminate new policies through systems and agencies such as educational systems or academies but also social, political, economic factors including social principles and ideologies as well. Lewis states that although these policies are not included in the planning process itself, language planning policies are implemented under these conditions (1972: 309).

Understanding today's Kazakhstan and language policies in the post-Soviet era requires an understanding of Soviet language planning and policies, which in turn necessitate an evaluation of policies and social events characterizing the Soviet era. One needs to first comprehend the link between language and Soviet nationalities policies and accept them as an inseparable part of the Soviet regime's aims in order to have a better understanding for Soviet language planning in Kazakhstan. Thus, in this chapter firstly a brief history of Kazakhstan shall be given to prepare the ground for further analysis of Soviet era and Soviet nationalities policy. Then, the policies will be examined; analyzed and finally Soviet language planning and policies will be evaluated. Soviet linguistic policy passed through several stages and its development was not always consistent. Soviet language planning and policies varied in terms of status, corpus and acquisition planning and according to social, economic and political policies of the Soviet administration they are generally analyzed in three distinct periods respectively as; 1917-1930, 1930-1950 and 1950-1985. The first and last period is accepted to be active in terms of language planning policies whereas during the period from 1930-1950 there was little language planning activity

(Kreindler 1995:189). However, in this thesis we shall cover the third period up until 1990 since language policies continued after 1985.

3.1 The Soviet Language Planning and Its Implementation in Kazakhstan from 1917 to 1930

The Soviet linguistic policy is regarded as a special category since it is an inseparable part of Soviet nationalities policies and it covers not only the changing of languages but also their creation (Wheeler 1964:194). The early years of the Soviet era became a scene for flourishing minority languages (Dickens 1989:6). We can explain the willingness of the Soviet administration to promote national languages by stating three main reasons. The first reason is linked with the Marxist-Leninist view of nations. A nation, according to Stalin "is a historically evolved, stable community, based on a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture" (cited in Slezkine 1994: 415). Among them language was a nation's most important feature. Nations had their roots in the objective and historical realities of language (Smith 1998:3). As Isayev puts it, Bolsheviks believed that the nation was first of all a speech community. If there is no linguistic tie, one cannot imagine a nation (cited in Dickens 1989:7). According to this view language defined the nation, so for each ethnic group under Soviet rule a separate literary language was chosen and developed.

Secondly, Lenin's nationality policy envisaged that all nationalities and their languages would be equal and he thought that disregarding languages of nationalities would lead to Great Power chauvinism. Lenin set forth the ideological basis of Soviet language policy at the Communist Party Program of 1919. According to the basic tenets of this policy, all nationalities irrespective of their size would have first and foremost equal rights and accordingly all languages irrespective the stage of linguistic development were accepted to be equal. All nationalities would also have the right to have their children educated in their native tongue and this was a basic right. Thus, in no way would Russian be allowed to have a special status (Mansour 1993:111). So, endorsing the development of languages and literatures of the formerly oppressed nationalities was given a priority. Stalin believed that;

> A minority is discontented not because there is no national union but because it does not have the right to use its native language. Allow it to use its native language and the discontent will pass by itself (cited in Slezkine 1994: 419).

Thirdly, in a setting where illiteracy prevails one cannot indoctrinate ideology. The quickest way to reach high levels of literacy was through the teaching and use of mother tongue (Kreindler 1995:190). If nations could manage to overcome the problem of illiteracy, they would also gradually have cultural, social and political consciousness. Socialism had to express itself in all national cultures and languages. As Lenin puts it,

> They needed native languages, native subjects and native teachers to polemicize with their own bourgeoisie to spread anti-clerical and anti-bourgeoisie ideas among their own peasantry to banish the virus of nationalism from their own minds (cited in Slezkine 1994: 418).

Consequently, Soviet language policy was conducted simultaneously with the creation of national-territorial administrative units, cultures and policies of nativization (Kreindler 1995:191). Although the process of creating ethno-territorial units and endowing them with languages, territory and administrative units may seem contradictory with the basic assumptions of Marxism which sets the goal of creating a new socialist society where all nations and differences will disappear, the Soviet language policy of which slogan was "nationalist in form, socialist in content" should be seen as an initial step of a long-term goal, which is the merging of the Soviet nationalities. This would be accomplished not by means of forced assimilation but economic and social relations would necessitate the use of one common language which is most suitable for the majority (Mansour 1993:111). In order to achieve first creation, then convergence and finally fusion of nations, Soviet language planning was supposed to serve the Soviet nationalities policy with the overlapping aims. For this purpose, firstly languages had to flourish by enrichment of local languages through codification and standardization, introduction and development of normative grammar, phonetics and morphology, the compilation of dictionaries including the encouragement of a new literature in each language. Secondly, manipulation of the vocabulary by removing foreign influence mainly Persian and Arabic and

introducing Russian or other loanwords needed to create a new technological vocabulary was targeted. Finally, Russian would be introduced as a language of inter-ethnic communication, a dominant lingua-franca for the whole area, used in education and obligatory for advancement in official field and public careers (Wheeler 1964:195). This process is known as *iazykovoe stroitelstvo* originally meaning language construction.

While discussing how these policies were implemented in Kazakhstan one needs to bear in mind that the underlying aims of linguistic and national policies were the modernization of various ethnic groups living in the USSR (Leprêtre 2002). The Soviet project aimed at the transformation of Central Asia by an ideological, political and socio-economic revolution (Blank 1994:39). The consolidation of the state required a new Soviet society with critical individuals who would be able to come up with the challenges of this new formation. Language was one of the instruments for this change. As Leprêtre puts it; "It was therefore necessary to set up a new educational system and new cultural, ideological and communicative domains in different languages" (2000:6). Thus, the Bolsheviks had proposed a planned change in status of languages from the early days of Soviet rule. However, the change in the status of national languages and their implementation could not be realized immediately due to some problems.

Firstly, illiteracy was one of the greatest problems encountered by the new regime. When the revolution took place, illiteracy was very high among Kazakhs, especially among nomads. According to the 1897 census, literacy rate of Kazakhs was 1.0%. This illiteracy had to be eradicated since it got in the way of building of socialism. The Bolshevik rule set the goal of reaching universal literacy whereby personal traditional communication would be replaced by printed mediums and desired change would be achieved. Earlier efforts to eliminate illiteracy had already been specified in a decree of 1919 on "Eradication of Illiteracy among the Population of Russian Federation" which required citizens of Central Asia to read and write in their own languages or in Russian. The first campaign for illiteracy lasted until 1920s when many centers and schools for literacy were established. Some voluntary organizations and commissions such as "Down with Illiteracy Society" and "All-

Russian Extra Ordinary Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy" were set up and congresses were held to cope with the problem of high literacy rates among the population, especially among women (Dickens 1989:4-5)

The Bolshevik rule then decided to set up special bodies, *Narkomnats* (People's Commissariat for Nationalities) during the first Soviet government in 27 October 1917. Their task was to translate national politics of Soviet power into life in native tongue of nationalities (Khasanov 1976: 47-48). *Narkomnats* executed language policies through four activities "selection of a standard code for each native language and its spread as a language of communication for people in each autonomous republics, the modernization of lexicon according to the needs of a modern industrial society, the reform or creation of new alphabets for indigenous languages, large scale literacy campaign by teaching those languages in the new national school system. (Leprêtre 2002:6). Since the Russian Civil War was continuing and the country was in a state of turbulence, the first years after the Revolution did not give Moscow many opportunities to implement measures which aimed at raising the status of non-Russian languages. So, *Narkompros* (People's Commissariat for Enlightening), established in November, 1918 and charged with education of national minorities could not manage to fulfill its tasks effectively (Fierman 1991: 167). In April 1918, at the meeting of the Soviet Muslim Commissariats of Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg and Ekaterinburg Stalin guaranteed that the organ of the local school, local court, local administration, local organs of power, local socio-political institutions the right of using local language in all spheres of socio-political work ensured (Fierman 1991: 179).

In these earlier efforts of language policies we see the development of Kazakh language thanks to its expansion into political and social life. In the spring of 1918 Kazakhstan party clubs were established within the Kazakh party organization. There communists were introduced with the party program and Marxist-Leninist literature. Kazakh language also became an instrument of propaganda and agitation. In this process Red Army, Muslim-Kazakh and Kazakh-Tatar Sections of oblasts played a significant role. They first published the *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) in local languages, set up special schools for training Kazakh agigators, organized mobile

national theater companies, gave provisional concerts and conducted meeting of *akims*. Then short term courses started for preparation for electioneers and campaigners. Their initiatives realized the translation of political literature into Kazakh language. In 1918 translations of classical works of Marxism-Leninism, regulations and party program began (Khasanov 1976: 48-52).

In these years Kazakh language developed as a literary language[2] and Kazakh language went on its development by functioning as a language of press. Fundamental changes happened in the function of Kazakh language with issuing of first Soviet newspapers in Kazakh language in 1918, *Durystyk Dzholy* (Road to Truth) in western Kazakhstan, *Kazak Mungy* (Kazakh Grief) in Turgay and *Tirshilik* (Life) in Akmola. In 1919 other Soviet-Kazakh newspapers such as *Enbekshi Kazakh* (Socialist Kazakh) and *Leninshil Dzhas* (Leninist Youth) were started to be published (Akiner 1986:299). In some Russian newspapers, for instance in *Zarya Svobody (Dawn of Freedom)*, sometimes articles in Kazakh language were published. Some Russian newspapers duplicated in Kazakh such as *Vestnik Semirechenskogo Trudovogo Naroda* (News of the Working People of Semirechie) In 1919-1920 new newspapers and journals appeared in Kazakh language such as *Ushkyn* (Spark) (17 December 1919), *Kedey Sozi* (Voice of the Poor) and *Kazak Tili* (Kazakh Language). The pedagogical journal *Mugalim* (Teacher) was launched in 1919 by People's Committee Publishing and articles were about high prestige of educators and parents, educational opinions of Aristotle, Socrates, J.J. Rousseau, L.N.Tolstoy and many others. Establishment of Kazakh professional theatre in 1920, increase in number of newspapers, emergence of socio-political, artistic and children's journals and improvement of book-publishing contributed to development of Kazakh literary language. One major contribution to the development of Kazakh language during this

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[2] In the Soviet context if a language is given a written standard and is used in publication, it is called the literary language. As Comrie (1981:25) states it "The former use is more close to the more usual western term 'standard language', the latter to 'written language'. The term 'literary language' *literaturnj jazyk* does not imply any restriction to artistic literature (belles letres), nor imply any comment on the literary value of works composed in the literary language".

period was its demographic condition[3]. In this period Kazakh population constituted the majority in the republic. Thus, Russian language could not spread widely yet, it was being used in socio-political life. From 1918 to 1919 in Kazakhstan and Turkestan Russian language became the language of instruction in different short term courses. During the year 1920, monthly party courses for Muslims who did not know Russian were organized. In February 1918, in Semipalatinsk, the first issue of Soviet newspaper "Proceedings of Soviet Workers and Socialist Deputies" was issued. In the same year in March the newspaper *Znamiia Truda* (Banner of Labor) was published. In 1919 first issues of newspapers *Mir Truda* (The World of Labor) (Petropavloks), *Priurale* (Ural), *Put k kommunizmu* (Road to Communism) (Aktobe) were published. In January 1920 *Prikaspiyskyia Kommuna* (Caspian Commune) *Pravda* (Truth), *Izvestia Orenburgskovo Krai* (News of Orenburg Krai) were published (Khasanov 1976: 50).

Another important aspect of language development has been the establishment of the education system on the basis of native tongue. One should note the significance of the Directive of the Russian Soviet Federative Soviet Republic (RSFRS) *Narkompros* dated 31 October 1918 "On National Minority Schools" according to which each nationality was granted the right to open secondary schools, vocational training institutions and higher schools operating in the native tongue (Zhiltsov et.al 1986:8). With the aim of flourishing and convergence of different nationalities, instruction in the majority language of the given region would be introduced in the schools of national minorities.

Soviet language planning was initially carried out to increase the status of native languages in the domains of bureaucracy and education. To this end during the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in March 1921 decisions were taken to help masses; to develop and consolidate for themselves the Soviet state system in forms corresponding to the national lifestyles of these peoples, develop and fortify, in the native languages, courts, administration, organs of economy and authority, composed of local people who know the local ways and psychology of the local population; develop the press, school, theater, clubs and

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[3] According to 1926 census Kazakhs constituted 57.1 percent of the population whereas Slavic group formed 31 percent. Among them the ratio of Kazakhs was 19.68 percent.

general cultural enlightenment institutions in the native language, to develop and strengthen the use of native languages in such areas as administration, courts and bodies of economy and authority. Aside from administration the status was aimed to be standardized in educational and cultural institutions. In the same congress decisions to develop the press, school, theater, clubs and general cultural enlightenment institutions in the native language was taken (Fierman 1991:166).

In the development of printed literature and publishing activities Central Bureau of Muslim Communist Organization of *Narkomnat* played a great role which published more than four millions of copies of newspapers, brochures and various leaflets in Tatar, Turkic and Kazakh languages only from January to November in the year 1918. Kazakh section of *Narkomnat* in Moscow contributed to development of Kazakh language by publishing *Temir Kazakh* (Iron Kazakh) (Khasanov 1976: 50-51). Despite the developments in Kazakh language illiteracy did not increase immediately. By 1920, the first phase of this campaign had ended. There had been some progress. However, great results had not been achieved due to the ongoing Civil War. Another problem was that after the October Revolution Kazakhs had a huge territory but lived scattered and could not have a united national government at once and in some places there was the establishment of the rule of White Guards who absolutely remained indifferent to development of Kazakh culture and language. Such a decentralized administration in the form of oblasts and lack of interrelation between them affected literacy campaigns in the earlier years of Soviet power (Khasanov 1976:46-47). Moreover, better training methods, teachers and materials in native languages were needed (Dickens 1989:5). By the end of 1920s, schools offering only for one or two years' instruction in reading and arithmetic had been established in Kazakhstan but only three quarters of Kazakhs attended such schools. The standards of education were low and only some 70 % of the teachers had primary education (Lane 1975:177-178). The slow progress in level of literacy was also related to the economic backwardness. Early 1920s had posed serious problems for Kazakhs who faced a severe famine in 1920 and 1921. As a result of the famine one million Kazakhs died. Aside from the famine, many Kazakhs did not accept the

Soviet rule. Many opponents of the new regime fled to China, Mongolia and Afghanistan and Iran (Olcott 1995:159).

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks were gradually establishing their power and starting to establish the Soviet Socialist Republic. In this process of territorial formation Kazakhs were given an autonomous republic on October 1920. The name of the new Republic was Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic[4]. On December 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took shape and Kazakhstan was incorporated into the Union. In 1924 and 1925 the Soviet administration began to implement the National Delimitation Policy. Thanks to this policy Kazakhstan's borders were demarcated and it was renamed as the Kazakh SSR[5] (Akiner 1995: 35-38). After the foundation of the republic, the Soviet rule launched their new modernization programs on social and economic reform including agriculture, industrialization, transport and communication, land-ownership, health care, education and reform of family life during the 1920s. The New Economic Policy was initiated during the first five years of the 1920s which targeted helping Kazakhs in order to relieve the effects of economic problems (Olcott 1995: 156-157). Aside from socio-economic efforts for raising the standards of people, the Soviet administration was attempting to realize institution building and nation-building. As for institution building activities, they were building regional branches of the Communist Party and related organizations, establishing professional and trade unions, training local, administrative personnel, and selecting republican emblems and other distinctive symbols. Along with their support for developing national identity, they were also trying to create awareness for Soviet identity. These policies were also complemented by a cultural revolution having three aims; emancipation from the ideology of the previous regime; raising the educational level of the backward nations, and the formation of a common Soviet value system (Akiner 1995:40). After territorial formation and national delimitation, national consolidation opened wide perspectives for development of Kazakh national language (Khasanov 1976: 53-54).

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[4] The name Kirghiz was used for Kazakhs at that time by Russians while the Kirghiz were called as Kara-Kirghiz.

[5] However, the formation of territories in the form of independent statehood lasted for Kazakhstan until when its status was elevated to union republic level in 1936 (Akiner 1995: 35-38).

Hence, both in administrative and public lif usage of Kazakh language was supposed to increase. In the field of and education prominent event was "Circulation Decree of the Presidium of KazTsIKa (Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh SSR) "On Publication of Works in Kazakh Language" in 1922. Starting from 1922 first educational textbook for Kazakh Soviet Schools began to be published. For local Kazakh readers regulations and programs of Russian Communist Party were published in 1000 copies (Khasanov 1976: 52).

In order to regulate the publishing of books in Kazakh language, Commission of Central Publishing House of Nationalities of USSR helped. It engaged in publishing of textbooks for elementary schools and books of geography, physics, mathematics, botanic, anatomy, human physiology and zoology which reflected the function of Kazakh language in different fields of knowledge (Khasanov 1976: 52). A decree adopted by the Central Executive Committee of Kazakhstan on 22 November 1923 stipulated that official documents shall be written in Kazakh language as of the date 1 January 1924 and all transactions shall be carried out in Kazakh language along with Russian language (depending on conditions) throughout Kazakhstan. Additionally the decree also dealt with the issue of opening Kazakh language courses for Kazakh civil servants in districts and Kazakh teachers' training courses. Executive Committee in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic was charged with the implementation of all decrees and orders on the issue of rendering all official work in Kazakh language (Boranbayeva 2004). The decree issued on November 1923 required completing the introduction of parallel paperwork in Kazakh and Russian in all central government organs within thirteen months (Terry 2001:133). The policy of nativization was helpful for increasing the use of Kazakh language. The policy of nativization filled much of the Soviet administrative state apparatus in Kazakhstan with native Kazakhs. Nativization of state apparatus led central and local commissions to introduce Kazakh language in corresponding executive committees. Commission determined a time period for learning Kazak language. When the time expired, those who did not know Kazakh language had to give his place to workers knowing Kazakh language (Khasanov 1976: 56). This policy also specified that in locations with a Kazakh population, all business would

be conducted in the Kazakh language, administrative bodies were to be staffed by ethnic Kazakhs and Russians were to be taught in the Kazakh language. This meant that non-native, mostly Russian employees were urged to learn Kazakh. However, due to their strong negative attitude towards local languages and lack of educational opportunities this policy never gave good results (Schlyter 2004: 821).

Changes in the status of Kazakh language and its penetration into various different domains were complemented by corpus planning activities. During this era of language planning, corpus planning gained momentum. Language planning covered language construction, compiling relevant linguistic data, processing that data to be available for use in education and pedagogy, devising alphabets and orthographic systems for languages which did not have before. When Soviet linguists started to devise alphabets, the question of which alphabet came to the agenda in the early 1920s (Kirkwood 1991:62). In 1923-1924 the political situation seemed so stabile to elaborate on the alphabet issue. A conference was organized by Kazakh Academic Center in 1923 about improvement of the orthography of the 1913 alphabet (Baldauf 1993:282). First, attempts were made to reform the Arabic alphabet. In the first alphabet reform, Arabic influence in Turkic languages was attempted to be diminished. One of the most important reasons for reform was that Turkic vowels did not have their exact representations in the existing unreformed alphabet since vowels varied considerably from dialect to dialect. Yet, Turkic dialects were more uniform thanks to this ambiguity. At the same time learning was more difficult. Another difficulty while learning to write was that the orthography of words of Arabic and Persian origin was being written in the same form as in the "lending language". This created difficulty because Turkic dialects did not distinguish all of the Arabic and Persian sounds. Hence, some letters were redundant. However, the lack of clarity helped to keep cultural and linguistic unity both among the Turks and between Turks and the Arab and Persian worlds (Fierman 1991:59-60). Akhmet Baitursynov, leader of Kazakh national movement, referred to Russian and European scripts as "chaotic and obscure hieroglyphics to use the Turkic mind"; instead he created a more popular, phonetic, neo-Arabic script for Kazakh speakers. Diacritic marks were added to represent all vowels in Turkic languages and letters

representing Arabic sounds were eliminated (cited in Dickens 1989:9). Furthermore, there were attempts towards introducing Latin alphabet. In May 1922, the Nationalities Comissariats organized the Commission on the Latinization of Writing. "The statute which organized this commission indicated that Latinization was an eventual goal; it claimed that the Arabic alphabet had been mistakenly transformed from a religious alphabet into the native one, as Aliyev puts it, for all Muslims of the East of non-Arabic origin and in particular in the autonomous oblasts and republics of the RSFSR" (Aliev cited in Fierman 1991: 76). The first suggestion for Kazakh language to have Latin alphabet was made in 1924 by Nazir Turakul who worked in State Publishing House for the Peoples of the East in Moscow. He took this step by his own initiative without negotiating with Kazakh Academic Center or Nationalities Commissariats for education (Baldauf 1993:282-284). The year 1926 brought the second alphabet reform at Baku Turkological Congress[6]. The proponents of change to Latin argued that Latin script had an international character and it was written from left to right as contrary to the Arabic alphabet. The direction of writing was said to be especially important for any text with numbers, which were always written left to right. Soviet rule believed that Latin alphabet would facilitate learning and increase literacy and thus, it would facilitate the attainment of the regime's goals (Fierman 1991: 75). Latin alphabet was also expected to ease the printing and publishing thus, creating new textbooks for schools. They hoped that Latin scripts would be efficient means for mass literacy by providing better script representation for native sounds (Smith 1998: 122). Kazakh delegation was headed by Akhmet Baitursynov and he opposed to the Latin alphabet. He praised the Arabic based Kazakh alphabet believing that it had more superior phonetic writing system than all Turkic alphabets and European writing systems (Baldauf 1993:282-284). Yet, proponents of Latin alphabet stated that Arabic script lacked certain vowels so it did not comply with the vowel harmony system of Turkic languages which made it more difficult to learn and write. In addition with the adoption of Latin script religious leaders who were literate in the Arabic script would lose advantage which literacy gave them over the illiterate population (Fierman 1991:76-77). Nearly no attention

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[6] Baku Turkological Congress was convened in 1926 in Baku, Azerbaijan. The main aim of the congress was to discuss problems of Turkic nations, their languages and alphabets.

was given to the suggestion of adopting the Cyrillic script for Turkic languages. Cyrillic alphabet was rejected for ideological reasons. It was a reminiscent of Tsarist imperialism since in the later half of the nineteenth century; Russian missionaries had introduced a Cyrillic-based script for Kazakh. Consequently, Latin alphabet was adopted for all the Turkic languages of the USSR (Kirkwood 1991:62). Kazakh delegation together with the Tatar delegation voted against the resolution. In Kazakhstan the Latin alphabet began to be used for Kazakh writing after the alphabet reform of 1926. With the aim of standardization of the new alphabet, devise orthographies and terminology All-Union Central Committee for the New Alphabet was set up. In 1928, the Unified Turkic Latin Alphabet was introduced across Central Asia[7]. Following this development, the campaign to end illiteracy among ethnic Kazaks increased greatly. The average level of literacy among the Kazakhs in 1926 was just over 7% and by the early 1930s adult literacy had been raised to an estimated 40% (Akiner 1995:40).

Along with the alphabet issue creation of terminologies was handled in the Baku Congress. At the time of independence Kazakh lacked words for many modern philosophical, political, scientific, technical and other concepts and most of their speakers were illiterate. However, as compared to other Central Asian languages, despite its deficiencies, Kazakh language could meet the new demands of socio-economic and political change. It had little dialectical variation, hence could be considered to constitute a unified national language (Akiner 1995:37). Actually, before the Baku Congress studies in the field of lexical domain had previously started. After the First Soviet All-Kirghiz Congress (1920) which worked out fundamental laws of about recognition of Kazakh language and its practical use in science, literature and office-work, Kazakh *Narkompros* established spelling of Kazakh language, developed mass political and scientific terms, program for Kirghiz schools about publishing works in Kirghiz language. Subsequently there appeared literature in Kazakh language on juridical, agricultural, medical and political themes along with this new local Kazakh terminology (Khasanov 1976: 50-51). In 1922 special Terminological Commission started to work. Terms were definitely asserted

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[7] In the same year in 1928, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk realized the transition from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet.

by scientific researchers and its activities were always controlled by government. Activities of the Commission was widely discussed in All-Kazakh Congress by researchers in 1924 and in First Turkological Congress in Baku in 1926 (Khasanov 1976: 92).

In the Baku Congress some standards have been set for the issue of terminology. Firstly, nations would choose Turkic terms before non-Turkic ones. Arabic and Persian terms would remain in the lexicons but they would be revised according to the rules of Turkic phonetics and grammar. In future borrowing of words Arabic and Persian terms was to be prohibited. International terms would be preferred (Russian and European) rather than Arabic and Persian ones and they would be adapted to the rules of native phonetics and grammar (Smith 1998:135). Native linguists were required to form terminologies based on their sources, "native stock of the peasant" hinterland, "in the interests of the psycho-physiological economy of the speaker". Yet, they were also encouraged to adopt loan words according to their international and Russian forms. In 1920s, in the Kazakh Autonomous Republic "…under Baitursynov and Polivanov's slogans of "democratization" they first created scientific and political terms from the native Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Tajik and only later they moved towards assimilation of Turkic and European terms, always adapted to native phonetics and grammar" (Smith 1998: 135).

Another issue that was also subject to political considerations and debated at the congress was the vowel harmony of Turkic languages (Baldauf 1993: 276). Vowel harmony is a distinct feature of sound system of Turkic languages. According to the definition of Crystal "Vowel harmony is a type of assimilation which takes place when vowels come to share certain features with contrastive vowels elsewhere in a word or phrase" (1992:168). This requires a vowel system that provides matching sets of vowels within and between words. However, in languages with many foreign borrowings from the Arabic, Persian or European languages, vowel harmony was no longer a dominant characteristic of the language. Thus, leaders of Turkic nationalities with more developed literary languages and many foreign borrowings opposed its strict retainment whereas the least developed ones supported

its use in their script systems. Those who were against certain uses of vowel harmony were in defense of unification of Turkic alphabets and thus, saw the principle of vowel harmony as preventing this ideal. However, Polivanov and Iakovlev supported the use of the vowel harmony principle especially for Kazakh, Bashkir, Kirghiz and Turkmen peoples. They believed that alphabets should not be made harder to learn for some peoples simply to promote pan-Turkism (Smith 1998: 132). In May 28, 1927 a joint meeting was held by Uzbek, Kazakh and Kirghiz language planners and in the meeting it was reaffirmed that their languages should represent vowel harmony.

Political considerations not only affected the choice of alphabet but also directed the creation of languages. For some scholars in an attempt to prevent a possible unification of Turkic communities their languages were deliberately separated. According to Dickens,

> Each Central Asian Group chosen to constitute a nation was given a literary language which was artificially differentiated from those of neighboring nations which were often linguistically similar (as, for instance, with the Kazakh and the Kirghiz). Thus, the linguistic unity of the area was broken up while differences between the languages were emphasized. (1989:8)

Wheeler states that although differences for instance between Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Karakalpak languages were merely dialectical, the decisions were taken for political reasons to constitute them as separate literary languages (1964: 194).

Consequently, the period from 1917 to 1930 was the time when the formation of Kazakh Republic took place. The concept of nation-state had been brought to the region with the policy of delimitation. During this period, the Soviet government established ethnic territorial units from the republic to the village level, promoted members of ethnic minorities to leadership positions in these units, developed literary languages for ethnic minorities, and organized native language education in those languages. In this period, Russification was condemned as great power chauvinism and thus, rejected by the state. The rulers stated that members of ethnic minorities could only develop socialism when they reached equal status with the majority Russians. As Slezkine noted, this period represented "the most extravagant

celebration of ethnic diversity that any state had ever financed" (cited in Terry 1994:414).

During this period, Kazakh language became the most prestigious language. It developed and expanded its lexical stock as a result of liquidation of illiteracy, increase in schools, teaching in native tongue, massive publishing of periodical material, development of literature, translation of classical works of Marxism-Leninism, translation of classics of Russian and other Soviet authors. From 1924 to 1927 the social development of Kazakh language was characterized by its widening of sphere of use in society which was caused by fundamental changes and social transformations in life of Kazakh nation. In this period Kazakh language began to function not only as a language of elementary education but also it started to fulfill the function of the language of middle and special educational institutions. There was a sharp increase in publication of books in Kazakh language. The nativization of state apparat contributed to development of Kazakh language. Thus, Kazakh language became a language of official affairs. It became a language of the propaganda of idea of Soviet power, a language of culture, literature and institutions of middle education. Also, its social function expanded in economic, social and political life of its native speakers (Khasanov 1976: 58-59).

3.2 The Soviet Language Planning and Its Implementation in Kazakhstan from 1930 to 1950

During the first period after the formation of the Soviet Union, Soviet rule tried to erase the traces of the Tsarist regime. In 1924 Lenin died and Stalin came to power. Following to Stalin's ascension to power the new regime started to pass to a coordination phase. With the aim of attaining its own ideological and economic goals, the regime started to impose its policies in the periphery. Starting from late 1920s and early 1930s the population of the Kazakh ASSR faced the harsh blow of the center on traditional social, economic and cultural structures which was marked by industrialization, urbanization, anti-national-purges, mass expropriations, deportations and demographic changes. During the 1930s there was a shift from the nationalities policy envisaging the emergence and development of nations and

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languages. As contrary to Lenin who defended cultural freedom for peoples of the USSR and who believed that no language should enjoy the status of state language, Stalin was determined to create a unitary state with a definite language policy (Landau 2001:52). Hence, language policies were affected by Stalin's centralist policies. They not only caused a decline in the Kazakh speaking population but also affected the development of Kazakh language due to the shift in nationalities policy.

One of those changes which contributed to change the balance of demography against the Kazakhs was the policies of collectivization and sedentarization. Kazakhs were particularly affected since they resisted the policy bitterly. The Bolshevik tried to gain and to maintain control over the countryside which necessitated the overturn of the existing ownership structures. The first signs of collectivization had begun to be seen in 1927. First, the possessions and cattles of wealth Kazakhs were confiscated and then cattles were distributed among poorer peasants (Allworth 1994:32). The aim of collectivization was to strengthen industrialization efforts by organizing the peasantry into collective and state farms (Hoffmann 1984:46). Nationalists regarded this policy of forced collectivization as a sign of Russification. Rather than yielding to the collectivization policies Kazakhs chose to flee to China and Uzbekistan. Collectivization and sedentarization caused Kazakhs great human cost. Some of the drop can be attributed to the out-migration of Kazakhs to Sinkang, China and Uzbekistan but most of it was due to the violence they experienced. Over 40 % of the total population 200.000 fled into neighboring countries and 453.000 took refuge in neighboring Soviet Republics (Akiner 1995:45). 300.000 Kazakhs moved to Uzbekistan and a group of 44.00 Kazakhs set out for China, but less than a quarter of them survived the journey. Out of a 4,120,000 Kazakh population in 1930 some 1,750,000 died from starvation, epidemics and executions by 1939 (Akiner 1995:45).

The center had also begun to dictate policies favoring linguistic and cultural russification. Even tough it may seem as a shift from Leninist policies in the first years of the Soviet Union, it is in line with the overall purposes of the regime convergence and final fusion of nationalities. In the 1930s centralism gradually increased and there was a revival of Russian nationalism. The situation had started to

turn against the non-Russian nationalities. At the Seventeenth Party Congress in early 1934, Stalin stated that non-Russian nationalism now constituted a greater danger than "Great Russian chauvinism". Although non-Russian nationalism was labeled as the greatest threat, it was indeed Russian nationalism that was on the rise. Those who raised their voice against policies of center were labeled as "bourgeois nationalists" and they have been purged. As Kreindler states; "The field of linguistics became especially vulnerable since dealing with language could be dangerous". By the 1930s writers, linguists and literary scholars were vulnerable to the charges of bourgeois nationalism (Kreindler 1995:194). Purges meant the loss of many members of prolific Kazakh intelligentsia including writers, linguists and literary scholars who could well contribute to the development, use and spread of Kazakh language.

Some leading Kazakhs were removed in 1925 but it gained speed with the discovery of an underground counter-revolutionary organization in 1928. Afterwards Kazakh intelligentsia faced mass arrests, exile and imprisonment. Beginning from 1935 the local ruling elite was liquidated. Many people were shot and were subject to repression in about 1938 including many prominent members of the Kazakh intelligentsia. It was a period of horror and repression and many people with nationalist background were arrested (Akiner 1995:43).

Native language education and promotion of minority cultures were largely restrained. Although because of the purges all creative language planning slowed, we cannot say that it totally stopped during this era. Studies on lexical development were being conducted. For the first time in 1934 studies were carried out for standardization of scientific-technical concepts, symbols and terms. Various terms were translated into Kazakh language. In addition internationalization of state standards of terminology in the field of science and technique was achieved. In the republican newspaper *Sotsialistik Kazakhstan* list of new words approved by Commission was published with the aim of unification and elimination of parallelism among them, replacement of obsolete words with modern ones, more precise definition and differentiation of meaning of individual terms (Khasanov 1976:93-94). In the development of Kazakh language military press also played a role. During the

years of war prose works on the theme of war appeared. Only in two years of war in Kazakhstan there were 80 titles in war literature in Kazakh language when terminology of war developed. In 1941 Russian-Kazakh Dictionary of Military Terms and Russian-Kazakh Military Dictionary in 1942 were published (Khasanov 1976:66). Similar terminological work furthered improvement of military lexicon in literary language with respect to their accuracy in conveying concepts and subjects related to war.

Newspapers and journals published in Kazakh language were contributing to the standardization of new terms in Kazakh language. In 1932, for instance, 62 newspapers and journals were issued in Kazakh language (Khasanov 1976:60). By the end of the decade there were 38 different newspapers and bulletins (13 in Kazakh) and out of 193 magazine titles 33 were published in Kazakh annually. In 1936 the Kazak publishing industry was reorganized to bring both censorship and printing under central control and the number of mass publications -especially newspapers and journals- was increased. During the mid-1930s Moscow started studies for preparing a common curriculum with more emphasis on the texts to be used in the Kazakh language schools. In 1938 and 1939 out of 6443 copies of textbooks, 5523 of them was in Kazakh language (Olcott 1995:195). In 1940s the volume of book and publications rose greatly. By 1940, 126 papers and 9 Kazakh journals were being published (Lane 1975:178). There were 762 book titles published in Kazakhstan (382 in Kazakh) and 13 periodicals and 438 newspapers in Kazakh, with a joint annual print of 72 million copies (Akiner 1995:37).

Kazakh language also started to function as a language of higher education in Kazakhstan where there were 13 pedagogical and teaching institutes. In 1935, 150.000 copies of a new Kazakh primer were printed as well as 500.000 additional copies of another in primary school texts. Another important event was the opening of Kazakh scientific research Institute of Marxism-Leninism. In that institute, works of Marx, Engels and Lenin along with the materials of party and Soviet organs were translated, which affected widening of function Kazakh as a scientific language.

Along with Kazakh language, Russian was raising its sphere of use. Soviet Nationalities Commissariat of Kazakhstan issued a resolution on November, 1935

"On Regulating Structure of Schools of Kazakhstan and Increasing Kazakh Secondary Schools" which helped broadening the function of Russian language in education. With this decree, in each rayon of the Republic, Russian secondary schools would be opened. As a result, Russian language became a language of secondary education (Khasanov 1987:106). The most remarkable indication of Russian's increasing emphasis was the decree of March 1938, which made Russian a compulsory subject in all non-Russian schools. This also meant a change in the status of languages. *De facto* and *de jure* Russian was accepted to be more important than other Soviet languages and no other Soviet language could compare to Russian in terms of its functional range and its communicative importance (Kirkwood 1991:63).

After Russian became obligatory in Kazakh schools studies on the question of teaching Russian language and literature in Kazakh schools and scientific-research institutes within *Kaznarkompros* and in departments of Russian language in higher education institutions began. By 1940, 20 higher educational institutions had been set up. Yet the number of Kazakh students admitted was lower than the Russians (Khasanov 1987:106).

Another development which facilitated learning of Russian was the alphabet change. The corpuses of all non-Russian languages were affected by the shift from Latin script to Cyrillic script. A decade ago when the shift to Latin alphabet was taking place Cyrillic had not come to the agenda but now conditions had changed. Fierman poses the following answers to question of how conditions became suitable to enable the transition form Latin to Cyrillic. A number of events had happened in the setting where language and orthography planning were taking place in the USSR. Firstly, language planning of the former era was carried out by nationalist language planners most of whom were eliminated during the Great Purges. Secondly, Russian was no longer seen as a source for Great Power chauvinism since it was officially declared that local nationalism constituted more threat than Russian nationalism at the Seventh Party Congress. Thirdly, the role of the Russians in the history of the peoples of the Soviet Union was reevaluated. They were no longer colonists (1991: 135).

In the late 1930s, the need for non-Russians to master Russian was stated in the press since they could not read the works of Lenin, Stalin, Pushkin and Gorki in the original language. All languages had to be written in the same alphabet so that it would be easier for non-Russian peoples to learn the Russian language. This would also facilitate the unification of all peoples of the Soviet Union. Those who were opposed to the alphabet change were just the "remnants of the representatives of bourgeois ideology" (Fierman 1991: 136). The government posed several reasons for this change. As for linguistic reasons, the government stated that the Latin script had become so fragmented and divisive that it constituted an obstacle to the mastery of Russian language. Another reason was that Latin was not adequate for the sound, spelling and print needs of the Soviet peoples, especially since more and more non-Russians were now learning their own languages, written in Latin scripts in the primary schools. Later on they learned Russian in Cyrillic letters with discrepancies making Russian more difficult to learn. Reformers also claimed that the Cyrillic alphabet had more letters than the Latin alphabet that made it more suitable to represent languages with many number of phonemes (Smith 1998:157). Many people argued that it led to typographical difficulties which hampered printing. There were also economic, social and economic factors such as industrialization, collectivization, anti-national purges, and the growth of Soviet patriotism which promoted the importance of Russian. The official explanation was that the switch to Russian was in response to the democratically expressed wish of the Soviet people (Kirkwood 1991:63). According to Desheriyeva, firstly it was impossible to have an effective communication between peoples of the republics without a single language of intercourse. Secondly, absence of such a direct communication would pose a big obstacle in solving problems concerning economic, political and cultural development of all Soviet Republics in connection with a single state planning. Thirdly, there had to be a language comprehensible by all peoples of the Soviet Union for not only daily communication but also during all-Union conferences, conferences and meeting. Finally, it would be difficult to conduct office work in central institutions and departments in all languages of peoples of the USSR (cited in Khasanov 1976:90).

Finally to promote the unity of national literary cultures under a Russian standard, the new letters of the non-Russian languages were required to represent the same function or significance as non-Russian letters. The spelling of international terms was to match as closely as possible with Russian spelling forms rather than to create any "artificial divergences". This meant that languages received altogether new Russian sounds for their phonetic systems, to match with the new Russian letters for the integral spelling of international terms. Secondly, once the script project meets this standard, each region or republic was left to create a Russian alphabet system to best serve the needs of mass literacy (Smith 1998:157).

In February of 1937, the Seventh Plenum of the All Union Central Committee of the New Alphabet (VTsKNA)[8] formally approved the Conversions of the North Causcasian and Northern Siberian scripts from Latin to Cyrillic. By the end of the year, the rest of the national regions and republics of the RSFSR had converted to Russian script. Languages were now more open to Russian influence. In the following decades, vocabulary of Kazakh language was developed to compensate the needs of the society by borrowing a large number of Russian and international words.

Soviet regime's full impact on the social, cultural and political life of the Kazakhs, the most detrimental outcome resulted from Soviet demographic policy during 1940s, which effectively destroyed the ethnic composition of Kazakhstan. The forced migration into Kazakhstan caused a great decline in the ratio of Kazakhs to non-Kazakhs in Kazakhstan's population and changed the balance in favor of Russian language. Firstly, nearly 509.000 people migrated to Kazakhstan from other regions of the USSR for labor recruitment between 1931 and 1940. Secondly, the Second World War contributed to migration of various groups to Kazakhstan. Migrations during the war consisted of those ethnic groups who were deported to Kazakhstan including the Volga Germans, Koreans from the Far East and Poles from the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. Starting from the early 1940s, and especially in 1943–44, Karachays, Balkars, Kalmyks, Chechens and Ingushes, and Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks were labeled 'undesirable' people and were

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[8] *VTsKNA* stands for "Vsesoyuzniy Tsentral'nıy Komitet Novogo Alfavita" (All Union Central Committee of the New Alphabet) in Russian language.

deported to Kazakhstan. Additionally, after the elimination of the Chechen–Ingush ASSR in March 1944, some 89.000 Chechen and Ingush families totaling 406.400 people were re-settled forcibly in Kazakhstan. (Zardykhan 2004:64-65).

Furthermore, during the Second World War Kazakhstan the territory was under intense pressure to make up some of the industrial and agricultural losses suffered in the country. In the first years of the German-Soviet conflict Stalin relaxed control of all aspects of life and society throughout the Soviet Union. During war years efforts to reduce the Kazakh population were intensified when more than 450.000 Kazakhs were conscripted into the Soviet Army, and some 536.000 non-Kazakhs were transferred from western regions of the USSR into Kazakhstan (Zardykhan 2004:65). After the war, some 2.500.000 German and Japanese prisoners of war were put to work in the territory of Kazakhstan until they were returned to their home countries in the 1950s (Olcott 1995: 188).

As a result, the period from 1930s to 1950s was a kind of transition period for Kazakhstan. With the gradual increase of centralism, Soviet authorities attempted to break peoples' resistance towards the new regime. As contrary to the center's support for development of national languages in the 1920s, this era signaled the beginning of the shift towards support of Russian language. The fact that Russian became a compulsory language in all non-Russian schools rendered it more prestigious than other languages of the USSR and paved the way for increase in Kazakh-Russian bilingualism. When we consider the functional domains of Kazakh language we can say that in daily life, social and professional spheres which were dominated by Kazakhs, the Kazakh language was predominant. However, due to the change in demographic structure combined with Russian's being compulsory in non-Russian schools, Russian became a language of majority of population of the Republic and a language of secondary and higher education institutions whereas it was for the most part a language of propaganda, school instruction and press during the 1920s (Khasanov 1987:107).

3.3. The Soviet Language Planning and Its Implementation in Kazakhstan from 1950 to 1990

Starting from 1950s a new era started for consolidation of Soviet and national identities. One of the factors which helped to strengthen this trend was the experience of the Second World War. After the Second World War resulting in victory, the Soviet Union underwent a centralization process and strengthened both domestically and centrally. Pursuant to Stalin's death in 1953 his successor Nikita Khrushchev tried to revive the stagnant Soviet economy and supported the Virgin and Idle Lands Program. Under this program huge grazing lands were started to be cultivated. During the program nearly a million Slavs moved into Kazakhstan which caused the Russian percentage of Kazakh population increase to over 40% in 1959. This made Kazakhs a minority within their own republic, According to 1959 census, the Kazakhs constituted only 29 % of the population in Kazakhstan. Slavic and European nationalities together formed nearly 60 percent of the total population (Crowe 1998: 404).

The trend toward Russification continued after the Second World War. At the end of the war Russian majority's position among the various Soviet nationalities was endorsed. During Khrushchev's term as the first secretary of Central Committee of CPSU, Russian language was officially promoted and it came to the central stage. The importance of Russian was increasing steadily which was also endorsed by patterns of post-war reconstruction, urbanization and migration. This increased the role of Russian since career development in administration or in other professions required a sound knowledge of Russian. In addition, the Soviet Union striving to develop its technology needed a common language of communication. Also, promoting national languages could potentially pose a threat for the unity of the state due to trends towards autonomy or language autonomy (Kreindler 1995:195). This trend caused anxiety in Kazakhstan. In 1957 some articles appeared in the *Kazakh Edebiyety* (Kazakh Literature) which criticized the stance of the Party. Russians working in Kazakhstan were being criticized because of their failure to learn the Kazakh language. The journal suggested that this ought to be compulsory. The center's response was an official reprimand. They admitted that "business

correspondence is not conducted in Kazakh everywhere that it should be" but they also stated that "no one has he right to make a knowledge of Kazakh an obligatory condition of work in Kazakhstan" (Wheeler 1964: 197-198). In *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* an article about the increasing penetration of Russian was published:

> In this connection there are serious defects. In many offices they have ceased to conduct legal affairs in the Kazakh tongue. Glaring abuses are to be observed in the ministries of agriculture, of the sovkhozes, of commerce, culture, and in the organs of justice. These organs are closely bound with the broad masses of the population, but they carry on legal proceedings only in one language - Russian. Even letters and complaints which are received in Kazakh are answered in Russian…An end must be put to this inadmissible state of affairs. In this matter the example ought to be set by all soviets, beginning right with the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR. All our laws, all decisions of the local Soviets and their legal processes ought to be transmitted to masses in two languages (Ornstein 1959: 16)

The reason why there was an increasing reaction to Russian penetration was that the effects of the alphabet change and policies towards endorsement of Russian had begun to be felt. Fundamental and unprecedented changes took place in the vocabulary of the languages of the USSR. Stalin pointed out that "language provides a direct and immediate reflection of changes in productive activity without waiting for changes in its basis" and emphasized that the "vocabulary of a language being the element most susceptible to change is in fact in a state of almost perpetual change." (cited in Baskakov 1960:14). The implications of societal needs in language planning aims resulted in a special task for Soviet language planners; namely to introduce the concept of Marxism-Leninism into the lexical structures of the many languages and to extend the societal functions of Soviet languages (Baskakov 1960:14).

The change to the Russian orthography helped in the development of the vocabulary of the languages of the peoples of the USSR and greatly increased the intake of Russian vocabulary. Specifically some objectives of language planning in this framework of internationalizing the vocabulary of various languages had been incorporating Marxist-Leninist terminology in the social and political fields including social sciences, military terminology, and lexical inventories for different areas of technology for higher education and for special professional and scientific

fields. The replacement of existing words by Russian or Russianized international words was carefully controlled. Thus, most political expressions became Russian while cultural expressions remained Persian or Arabic. For instance, *Inqilab* the Arabic word for "revolution*"* became *revolyutsiya* while *edebiyat* was still used for "literature" in all the Central Asian languages (Wheleer 1964: 196). A large number of Russian words and terms were received into the modern national literary language of Kazakh. Russian loan words related principally to the vocabulary of everyday life or to the terminology of agriculture, commerce, administration and to a certain extent culture. The intake of Russian and international vocabulary, especially of social, political and scientific terminology increased such as revolution, proletarian, public, party, communism, socialism, democracy, factory, theatre, museum, sports, biology, farm. The change comes about by the existing vocabulary being supplemented by new words arising out of changes in the social structure in the development of production, culture, science and the like. Addition to vocabulary is brought about both by drawing on the native sources of a language and by borrowing from Russian which possesses a much larger vocabulary. But, as Thomas states, "The overabundance of words from a threatening non-related language may also pose a threat to the autonomy, if not the continued existence, of the dominated language by ensuring enrichment of the linguistic repertoire from one source only." (1991: 55). In a much shorter period Kazakh has been supplemented by the vocabulary which accumulated in Russian in the course of several epochs.

Russian and international words began to appear in the Kazakh language and to replace the Arabic and Persian words which had been artificially introduced and which were not understood by the masses. As a rule Russian and international terms were taken over the Russian orthographical forms and this simplified the learning of Russian. Since 1952 it has been mandatory to write loanwords as they are written in Russian, complete with Russian suffix endings (Dickens 1989:13). As a result of the enriching of the vocabulary and of the borrowing of a large quantity of words from the Russian language, the phonetic system of the Turkic languages has been increased by new vowels and consonants. Kazakh whose vowel system is characterized by as absence of the normal close vowel corresponding to the Russian

vowels "y" (u) and "и" (i) adopted these sounds with the Russian loan vowels. There was an even greater change in the consonant system. Kazakh adopted the consonant sounds "ф, в, ч, щ" (f,v,ç,ş). There appeared a number of different variants of the reformed alphabet reformed to suit languages with vowel harmony (Baskakov, 1960: 13).

Aside from changes in the corpuses of the languages, Soviet administration was determined in assigning more functions to Russian. Being most effective tool in acquisition planning for the spread of a language, Soviet administration chose the field of education. This desire was reflected in the educational laws of 1958-1959. The Clause 19 of the draft law on educational reforms promulgated in 1959 abolished the right to choose the language of instruction and titular languages became elective. For career advancements most parents would likely to choose the Russian language for education of their children. The likelihood of titular and non-titular children to learn the language declined. Thus, the status and importance of Russian would increase and Russian would perform more functions at the all-Union level. The Clause 19 of the original document explained it as follows;

> Instruction in the Soviet school is conducted in the native tongue. This is one of the most important achievements of the Leninist nationality policy. At the same time, in schools of the Soviet Union and autonomous republics the Russian language is studied seriously…Nevertheless, we must note that in the area of language study in the schools of the Union and autonomous republics children are considerably overloaded. It is a fact that in nationality schools children study three languages – their native tongue, Russian and one of the foreign languages. The question ought to be considered of giving parents right to send their children to a school where the language of their choice is used…To grant parents the right to decide what language a child should study as a compulsory subject would be a democratic procedure. (Bilinsky 1962:139)

The article 14 of the Kazakh Republican law concerning the implementation of the Soviet educational laws of 1959 adopted by the Kazakh Supreme Soviet offers a model model of the standard version.

> Instruction in the schools of the SSR is conducted in the native language of the pupils. The parents, however, has the right to decide into which school with which language of instruction is conducted according to the wishes of

the parents and pupils. In the schools of the Republic, wherever conditions are appropriate, one foreign language should be studied (Bilinsky 1962:145).

The relation between Russian and other languages changed to a greater extent. Although Russian was not given the status of state language, it became a *lingua franca* and second mother tongue of Soviet people. Although the official document declared it to be a democratic act, it harmed national languages. As Kirkwood puts it there was hierarchy of importance for languages closely tied with the politico-ethnic divisions of the Soviet Union. According to this hierarchy, Russian ranked the top since in terms of its functions it had significance as much as English and French. In the next stage there were languages of Union-Republics which were fulfilling the functions required at the union-level. This hierarchy was followed by languages of other administrative units of autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts (1991:64).

By 1960s most of the initial aims of Soviet language planning had been achieved. Immense efforts and a great deal of scholarship were directed towards the systematization of languages whose literary form was either underdeveloped or non-existent. Grammars and dictionaries were produced for all of them and they all acquired their own literatures and surprisingly large numbers of newspapers and periodicals. But it can hardly be said that it reached the stage when it could be as the medium of instruction in higher and in particular scientific education (Wheeler 1964:195). However, for the case of Kazakhstan, Russian language rapidly replaced the functional domains of Kazakh language and during the Brezhnev era (1964-1982) the status and use of Russian accelerated. Language policies in this era were related to the policy of promoting the concept of *Sovetskii narod*. Soviet Union claimed that unity had been ensured among the nationalities of the Soviet Union and nationality problem was solved. Russian was referred to as the language of culture, science, international communication. It also assumed the status of the language of Lenin and October Revolution. This culminated in ever-increasing importance of Russian. Russian was also the language of international communication (Kirkwood 1991:64). According to Soviet administration Russian had to be above other loyalties and forge

a supra-national identity for the common Soviet nationality, the language of socialism and a cement of the Union.

By 1970s Kazakhs became the most Sovietized of all Soviet citizens. They had universal literacy and the highest percentage of graduates with tertiary education of all the Central Asian peoples. Kazakhs had already strengthened their position so much when Dinmukhammed Kunaev became Kazakh First Party Secretary in 1960. Kazakhstan gained power and influence. It was under his leadership that Kazakhstan consolidated its position as a key Republic, one of the Soviet state's crucial fuel and power center, a large-scale producer of grain and meat, the location of a sizeable portion of the nuclear arsenal and space research. Kazakhstan was one of the most ethnically mixed of all the republics. It gained reputation as an outstanding example of internationalism. By this time very little of the pre-Soviet culture remained alive in everyday life. Knowledge of language regressed where the majority of young urban based Kazakhs knew only standard phrases in Kazakh. In 1970 census 98% of Kazakhs claimed Kazakh as their mother tongue. Responses reflected ethnic loyalty rather than actual linguistic situation Under Kunaev leadership, the development of Kazakh culture was backed and the number of indigenous population in universities increased. The policy under Kunaev brought good living standards to Kazakhstan. Reforms in higher education allowed a higher percentage of the indigenous nationalities to attend universities and to take advantage of better jobs. The Kazakhs developed a high degree of ethnic pride (Akiner 1995:50-52).

Until the mid 1970s, the Soviet rhetoric on language issues included the two terms *sblizhenie* (rapprochement)[9] and *sliianie*[10] (merging) which had also been used for relation between nationalities. As far as both language corpus and language function are concerned, these two concepts can be associated in the former case with closeness between languages through overlapping vocabularies and complementarity in usage, and in the latter with the identification and finally replacement of one

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[9] *Sblizhenie* refers to those Soviet policies of bringing the diverse nationalities into a close socialist community by gradually reducing ethnic differences of individual nationalities.

[10] *Sliianie* literally means blending, merging. It is a term used to describe the theory that all Soviet nationalities could be merged into one by eliminating ethnic identity and national consciousness.

language by another (Schylecher 2004:825). When we consider the functional domains of Kazakh language we can say that in daily life, social and professional spheres which were dominated by Kazakhs, the Kazakh language was predominant. However in the sphere of state administration and heavy industry, the economy, Russian was almost universally used since the traditional Kazakh language was based on nomadic and traditional ways and lacked the vocabulary for the transition to a new industrial way of life (Akiner 1995:50-52). Kazakh language had been functionally retarded and lost more and more of its capacity as media of communication.

Isaev states that

> The Russian language has become a means for exchanging experience in communist development, and for giving each nation access to cultural and other achievements of other nations, above all to the revolutionary traditions and rich cultural heritage of the Russian people to the original versions of the immortal creations of Lenin, to the masterpieces of Russian literature, to the advance of science, and technology. Through Russian the Soviet nations become acquainted with events of world significance. Under such conditions Russian language is fast becoming another native language, or second mother tongue for the majority of the Soviet peoples. The special role of the Russian language has made it one of the basic sources of further enrichment of national languages (cited in Schylecher 2004:825).

Language construction went hand in hand with the expansion of education. The Soviet authorities also stressed the importance of teaching of Russian as a second language, methods and teaching of Russian. In 1973 a decree called "On State of and Measures for Further Improving the Teaching of Russian Language and Literature in the National Schools of the Union Republics" allowed the establishment of mixed schools where both Russian and the native languages are instructed. In the two all-Union Conferences on teaching of Russian both of which were held in Tashkent, Russian became a part of national school curriculum. The first conference in 1975 "Experience in the Study and Teaching of Russian in Schools and Higher and Specialized Institutions of the Country" put forward the extension of the provision of Russian as an optional subject in all higher and secondary school

establishments; producing 'model' textbooks and materials for use in primary, secondary and higher education; producing 'model' syllabuses for programs of 'intensified Russian instruction' in national schools; organizing by the end of the first quarter of 1976 measures for the organization of Russian in national kindergartens of the Union republics; beginning the teaching of Russian in the first class in the national schools of those republics where it was still being taught only from the second year onwards; requesting school supply authorities to launch a program of equipping schools with language laboratories and audio-visual aids centers, increasing the extra-mural use of Russian; increasing the number of schools offering intensified Russian instruction (Kirkwood 1991:66).

Many of these proposals became law in October 13, 1978 under the title of "On Measures for Further Improving the Study and Teaching of the Russian Language in the Union Republics". In this legislation the redistribution of Russian lesson hours, introducing Russian in all preschool institutions and preparatory studies and teaching in the Russian language of specialized disciplines in institutions of higher learning were envisaged.

The Second Tashkent Conference was held in 1979 titled as "The Russian Language under the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR". The 1979 Tashkent conference meant the expansion of the use of Russian at all levels of the educational system. At pre-school more activities involving the use of Russian such as daily activities of walking, sport…etc. shall be made. In the comprehensive schools the use and learning of Russian would be increased through Pioneer and Konsomol organizations, schools. Intensive courses of Russian would be arranged. The same activities would be applied in professional and technical school where Russian for technical purposes would be given importance. In institutions of higher education all coursework and diploma work should be written in Russian language.

In 1979 also a new model for teaching of Russian was accepted. With this program the teaching and materials of Russian would not be based on native language and Russian wouldn't be taught in comparison with one's mother tongue; thus, the status or role of the learner's mother tongue was downgraded. Here, the aim

is not linguistic-based rather ideological where ideology takes precedence over linguistic aims. The number of Central Asian bilinguals in Russian rose significantly between 1970 and 1979 and the percentages for Kazakhs were higher than other republics (Kirkwood 1991:66-67).

In the 1980s Kazakh language had developed as a literary language but it had failed to be functional in the field of state administration, office work and science. It was being used in literature, art and humanities in narrow areas (Masanov 2002:1). It was also being used to a certain extent in rural areas. Yet, for the urban areas Russian was overwhelmingly dominant (Fierman 2005: 405). Except for its use within family circle it could never become a language of interethnic communication. By 1982, 70 % of pupils in Kazakhstan were studying in Russian language schools and Kazakh language was continuing to retreat in school. In Kazakhstan native publications declined and in the field of science and technology nearly came to an end. As the languages lost their prestige and narrowed in function, the national elite especially in the cities began to know Russian better than their own language (Kreindler 1995:197). In April 1984, the Soviet administration started to launch new measures to enforce the teaching of Russian from the first year in every school. Yet, language intervention caused reaction. Demands for raising the status of Kazakh increased. Declining status of Kazakh language was expressed in the press. Increase in Kazakh's population rate, the development of a Kazakh intelligentsia had fostered the revival of a Kazakh national identity. In 1984 it was stated in *Kazpravda* that "In recent years the tendency of lowering the prestige of Kazakh language especially among native nationality is remarkable. Many of them, first and foremost from the urban population, lost knowledge of native language". (Khasanov1987:124-125).

During this time Mikhael Gorbachev ascended to power in 1985, the period of perestroika began. The center removed Dinmukhammed Kunaev from his post as the First Secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party in 1986 because of charges of corruption and appointed Gennady Kolbin who was an ethnic Russian and had no experience in Kazakhstan. This event caused mass riots and protests in Almaty and was suppressed by force. Kolbin's policies seemed particularly directed against the Kazakhs. The campaign for bilingualism for instance turned into a campaign to

improve the teaching of Russian after Kolbin declared that not knowing the language of inter-ethnic communication was a political failing rather than a cultural one. The December riots triggered Kazakh nationalist consciousness and the perestroika era saw the emergence of nationalist groups such as *Alash, Azat* and *Zheltoksan* to claim the historic rights of Kazakhs to live in Kazakhstan which aimed at sovereign Kazakh state and Kazakh language. Events in Kazakhstan were characterized by Moscow as nationalistic riots (Olcott 1995:255). With the bloody response of the Soviet forces in Almaty identity awareness assumed a rationalist character, whose most evident expression was perforce cultural, chiefly in the domain of language. The Soviet press began a campaign to fight against Kazakh nationalism. Some of the newspapers were accused of publishing more material about Kazakh people than Russians in Kazakhstan. The literary language in the Kazakh language was criticized for publishing Kazakh authors instead of translating the writings of authors working in other languages.

In March 1987 the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party and the Council of Ministers adopted new resolutions "On Improving Instruction in the Kazakh Language in the Republic" for improving the teaching of both Kazakh and Russian languages in Kazakhstan. According to these resolutions the Kazakh language would be introduced in a preschool establishment in years II to VIII of schools on a voluntary basis from September 1987. In Kazakhstan the number of Kazakh schools had declined along with the number of books published in Kazakh and the periodical *Kazakhskii Yazık i Literatura* was discontinued. In May 1987 there was a report of "Positive Improvements in the Teaching of Kazakh" in Almaty (Kirkwood 1991:70).

By mid-1988 language issue came to the agenda again. There was concern among non-Russians about the status of their own native language; on the other hand, they lacked the provision for learning these languages within the educational system. They were concerned about the language loss among the society (Kirkwood 1991:73). At an All-Union Congress of the CPSU in June-July 1988, the resolutions touched upon language policies. These resolutions requested educators to respect for the traditions, language and history of the peoples of the USSR. It also supported the

peoples of other lands to ensure free development and equal use by all the Soviet citizens of their own languages and the mastery of Russian language. The first secretary Gennady Kolbin initiated a campaign for developing the Kazakh language. These were aimed at increasing the role and status of Kazakh language. During this time administrative measures were taken rather than widening the Kazakh language's sphere of use among the society (Masanov 2002:1). In 1989, the Soviet population census revealed that 97% of Kazakh claimed Kazakh to be their own language whereas 60% regarded themselves to be bilingual and many preferred to use Russian mainly in Almaty. In 1990 the Kazakh writer Anuar Alimjanov stated that almost 40% of Kazakh children did not speak Kazakh. The Russian language continued to be promoted in the first years of perestroika. Despite the ongoing discussion about the official language policy of CPSU and concerns about the native languages, there was very little change. The Soviet Union did not want to compromise on the issue of parents' right to choose the language of instruction. The CPSU saw it as a problem for that republic so long as declaring one language official did not discriminate against other languages (Kirkwood 1991:74).

Kolbin was replaced by Nursultan Nazarbayev on June 22, 1989 as the first secretary. After assuming power, Nazarbaev initiated political reforms to strengthen his position in Kazakhstan. Soon after becoming the first secretary Nazarbayev supported the legislation that made Kazakh the state language of the Republic. In 1989 the Law on Languages of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was adopted. Before the adoption of the law, it caused debates because of the status of Kazakh and Russian languages at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In the end both Kazakh and Russian were declared as state languages in the draft law. However, in August the draft law was amended and Kazakh assumed the status of state language whereas Russian was granted the status of interethnic communication. It was also stated that Russian could be used on a par with the state language. With the law the Kazakh language squeezed into narrow functional domains were supposed to be spread into such areas as party work, office communication and trade. By expanding the use of Kazakh into administrative affairs, its prestige was aimed to be raised. The law also made the knowledge of

Kazakh language a requirement for the position of director. In order to fulfill the service and professional responsibilities knowledge of Kazakh language at an adequate level would be necessary for the graduates of high special high schools or institutions of higher education. Passed in August 1989 to take effect on July 1990 the bill obliged a staged program for increasing Kazakh language instruction in republic schools and gradually shifting the conduct of local and republic level government business to Kazakh (Karin and Chebotarev 2002:1).

Nazarbaev supportedGorbachev until he became the head of an independent Kazakh state on December 8, 1991. Nazarbaev was elected President of Kazakhstan by over 98% of those voting in the country's first presidential elections. A symbolic date, December 16, 1991 was chosen to declare Kazakh independence (Crowe 1998:409). The independence reversed the direction of language planning policies which will be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

4.1 STATUS PLANNING

After gaining its independence in 1991, Kazakhstan inherited a multiethnic and multilingual state from the Soviet Union with a sizeable Russian minority. According to data from the Kazakhs Statistical Agency, the population of Kazakhstan is 15.394.600. Kazakhs constitute 59,2%, Russians 25,6% whereas other ethnic groups constitute 15,2% of the population[11]. Along with its multiethnic composition Kazakhstan had a huge land of 2,717,300 square km, being the ninth largest country in the world. Within this huge territory and mixed population Kazakhstan faced the difficulty of dealing with the political, economic, domestic and international problems brought by the post-communist era. It carried out the task of state and nation formation simultaneously. At the same time Kazakhs wanted to leave the Soviet legacy away (Landau 2001:22). In this respect the issue of Russian minority became a matter of concern in all aspects of Kazakh life, society and politics. Duality penetrated into Kazakh nation state formation with such dichotomies as "ethnic vs civic", "monolingual vs bilingual", "Kazakhs vs Russian". Language constituted a significant but a delicate part of nation and state building efforts. It has also been one of the most contentious issues in Kazakhstan. Debates concerning the status of languages caused the emergence of a conflict within the society. Indeed, underlying reasons for conflicts about language policy are generally rooted in group conflicts. Here what language symbolizes is a part of the struggle over political power and economic resources. Under those conditions when language is regarded as a marker of group identity and a source of access to political power and economic resources, the likelihood of language conflict arises (Tollefson 2002:5-6). In some cases language may not even perform its practical function but at that moment "the

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[11] O migratsii i demograficheskoy situatsii v Respublike Kazakhstan (On migration and demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at http://www.stat.kz/index.php?lang=rus &uin=1171952771

symbolic value of a language can have profound consequences, not only for minorities seeking to negotiate complex and changing identities, but also for dominant groups seeking to retain various forms of political and economic power" (Tollefson 2002:5). Language has often served as a rallying point for the formation of national consciousness, but those who promote language also promote themselves as proto-elite who will come to power with the political apparatus they create through mass mobilization (Fishman 1972). Although language planning may seem to be starting with corpus planning, which is the technical side of the enterprise, language planners should take into account the potential effects of status planning, meaning the allocation of languages to certain functions. In Kazakhstan the most arduous task was to determine the status of Russian language against Kazakh since choices made by the authorities could prevent some groups from learning or using a language. They can even declare certain languages as prerequisites for accessing to employment, licensing, court access, etc. Hence, language can turn into a means for participation, access or deprivation, in that it can change existing relationships of power between different groups within the society. Language policy should not rule out this fact. The debate over how language planning can be implemented usually revolves around issues of corpus planning and administration on one side, and the political effects of status planning on the other (Caviedes 2003:251-252). As Caviedes puts it, "It is also this second dimension which most suitable for addressing the deprivations to culture and identity that can consciously be brought about through a language policy that values efficiency over democracy, equality and self-determination" (2003:252). Therefore, in order to understand aspects of status planning activities we must examine the underlying social, economic and political struggles that language can symbolize.

Firstly, immediately after independence Kazakhstan began to deal with a major problem of nation-building. As Smith puts it (1991) "The nation is also called upon to provide a social bond between individuals and classes by providing repertories of shared values, symbols and traditions. By the use of symbols, flags, coinage, anthems, uniforms, monuments and ceremonies, members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their

sense of common identity and belonging". The Kazakh administration started to pursue a policy of Kazakhization favoring Kazakhs socially, politically and economically. This policy covers granting official status to its language, rewriting history, inventing national and state symbols, flags, legends and festivals and promoting national cadres...etc (Landau 2001: 64).

While Kazakhs were trying to establish their majority in the republic by nationalizing policies language would be an efficient means to promote their own power. The main aim was to achieve language shift from Russian to Kazakh by attaching more importance to Kazakh language (Landau 2001:61). Yet, at the time of independence the mastery of Kazakh language among Kazakh population was rather low although in 1989 census 97% of them declared it as their native language. Nearly 64% of Kazakhs claimed fluency in Russian as a second language. In its first years of sovereignty, there began a campaign for revival of Kazakh language. *Qazaq Tili* was founded by a decision of the Council of Ministers on 12 February 1990 with a newspaper of the same name. There are the widespread activities of the *Qazaq Tili* organization. Members of the organization are engaged in helping people learn Kazakh and reviving Kazakh traditions. (Holm-Hansen 1999:182). The tasks of the organization include the certification of translation standards, language reform, the replacement of Russian/international words with Turkic/Arabic analogues (Sarsembaev 1999: 334).

However, a legal base for the status of Kazakh and Russian languages were needed. This issue divided the society into two. Some demanded that only Kazakh be a state language whereas others supported Kazakh-Russian bilingualism. Those who defend the idea of one state language mention that linguistic situation within the country today is a result of the policies of the Soviet Union so Russian language was seen as a carrier of colonial past (Hansen 1999:182). Opponents to this approach claim that without doubt Russian is the language of Kazakhstan, thus both languages should have equal status. The first constitution of Kazakhstan was adopted in 1993 under conditions of ongoing nationalization policies and attempts for reviving Kazakh language. The new constitution of Kazakhstan was adopted after long discussions concerning the status of languages. In this 1993 constitution Kazakh

assumed the status of state language while Russian became the language of interethnic communication. The new constitution did not satisfy both sides invoking new debates. Some part of the society especially literary intelligentsia and academics many of whom were members of *Qazak Tili* opposed having two state languages and wanted Kazakh to be the sole state language. The main argument of those who demand Kazakh as the only state language of Kazakhstan is that each nationality should have its own language and maintain it within the borders of the state. So, Kazakhstan is the homeland of the Kazakh nation and Kazakh language should be the state language. They believe that if Kazakh language cannot be protected and promoted in its homeland in Kazakhstan it cannot prosper in anywhere else (Dave 2004:135). Another choice was to have two state languages. But, it was feared that Kazakh could not compete with Russian in the case of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism resulting in domination of Russian. The proponents of Kazakh language complain that Kazakh language has still not been mastered by ethnic Kazakhs whereas opponents talk about the neutrality of the state and argue that if persistence on Kazakh language as the state language in governmental institutions goes on this would prevent ethno-cultural integration (Hansen 1999:179).

After the law a feeling of anxiety prevailed among the Russian population. Their concerns about language combined with some other reasons as unemployment, low living standards and wages, uncertainty in the future, desire to live in the homeland with relatives and resulted in migration of nearly two million Russians (Karin and Chebotarev 2002:2). The Russian population was not willing to learn the Kazakh language which they considered less prestigious, underdeveloped or inadequate. Some did not even consider it as a language rather a dialect or a folkloric language. As Dave pointed out: "Still in 1992-1993, it seemed quixotic for non-Kazakhs over half of the country's population than-to learn a language that had so little prestige" (cited in Nauruzbaeva 2003:6). Russian remains dominant in numerous technological, academic and some administrative jobs, mostly in those areas inhabited by a sizeable Slav population (Landau 2001: 45-46).

One of the main Slavic movements in Kazakhstan wanted Russian language to have the status of a state language in areas predominantly inhabited by Russian

populations. It also demanded suitable administrative appointments for Russians living there with the aim of stopping the Russian emigration (Landau 2001:45). The City Soviet of Ust-Kamenogorsk became real danger for the Kazakh government as they threatened to insist on regional autonomy in case the clause concerning the situation of languages in the law was not amended. Territorial integrity of Kazakhstan became an issue of concern. The advocating separatism or irredentism was strictly prohibited in the constitution and other laws. The activities of some regional branches of the Slavic movement Lad, the Society for Slavic culture and the Russian community were banned (Smith et al 1998: 158). Then Kazakh officials believed that if they could have a proper demographic balance they could restore both the integrity and the status of the Kazakh language (Dave 2004: 131). Kazakhstan has extended Kazakhstani citizenship to any person of Kazakh descent but rejected demands for dual citizenship by Russian-speakers. By permitting dual citizenship for Kazakhs living in other states, the Kazakhstan leadership hoped to encourage their migration to their newly independent "historic homeland". Since 1992, Almaty has actively pursued the resettlement of nearly 3 million ethnic Kazakhs who live abroad, primarily in China (1,200,000), Mongolia (150,000), Russian (600,000), Uzbekistan (830,000), Turkmenistan (90,000) (Smith, G 1998: 157). The ongoing emigration of the Slavic and German population and immigration of Kazakh diaspora from Mongolia, Turkey and other neighboring countries has accelerated process of nationalization. However, with the migration of qualified labour force, worsening situation of Russian threat in the north, Nazarbaev found the enactment of a new language law necessary. Although Kazakh monolingualism seemed to comply with the aims of nationalizing policies, it was impossible to insist on Kazakh anymore. Nazarbaev and his advisers tend to be in favor of Kazak-Russian bilingualism rather than Kazakh monolingualism or multilingualism. Yet in the case of bilingualism it was feared that Kazakh would lose out to Russian. (Landau 2001: 86). Due to the complexity of Kazakhstan's national identity, declaring Kazakh as the sole state language was realized with concessions to the recognized status of Russian. Kazakhstan's new constitution was launched in August 30, 1995. With the new constitution Russian had an equal use with Kazakh language.

Article 7 of the Constitution stated that the state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan would be the Kazak language. But in state institutions and local self-administrative bodies Russian language would be officially used on a par with Kazak language and the state would promote conditions for study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan. An amendment was made to this constitution in 1996 and Russian became an official language. (Dave 2003:8). In November 1996 a new document called "Conception of Language Policy" was launched. The aim of the document was to define "the strategy in state policy to preserve and develop the language in transition period, defining the tasks for creating conditions for developing Kazakh as the state language" (1996:1). This document determined the functional domains where state language was to be used. It targeted administration, bureaucracy and official work. The official status of Russian language as equal to the state language was guaranteed to be protected. The document was in fact an earlier version of a more comprehensive language document determining the functional domains of languages. A year later in 1997 a specific law solely on language "On Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan" was issued[12]. According to the Article 4 of the law, state language is Kazakh. State language is defined as the language of government, legislation, legal proceedings and office work operating in all spheres of public relations in the whole territory of Kazakhstan. Article 4 of the law also states that "It is the duty of all citizens of Kazakhstan to master the state language". The status of Russian is reiterated in the Article 5 of the law which states that "Russian is officially used on a par with Kazakh". By adopting this law the government also ensures to create conditions for studying and development of languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan (Article 5). It also guarantees its citizens to use the native language and free choice of instruction, training and education (Article 6). The law also requires a minimum of fifty percent of Kazakh language broadcast in TV irrespective of the ownership of the channel. Moreover, the law defines the domains and languages to be used. According to the law;

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[12] Zakon o Yazikah v Respublike Kazakhstan (Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan) .Online available at www.zakon.kz/law/pravsys/doc/yazyk.htm - 31k

Kazakh is required for traditional Kazakh titles and transliteration, texts of governmental seals and stamps; in certain professions (including deputies of the Senate and Majelis; the President).

Both Kazakh and Russian are used in governmental organizations, local government institutions, documentation of state and governmental institutions, constitutional documentation, arbitration courts, military, field of science (including defense of dissertations); names of state institutions, texts of seals and stamps regardless of the form of ownership, labels of goods, all texts of visual information.

Either Kazakh or Russian may be used in postal-telegraphic messages and customs documentation. Both Russian and other languages (if necessary) may be used in localities of compact residence of ethnic groups in documentation of non-governmental institutions, courts, documentation of administrative offences, contracts of individuals and legal entities, responses of governmental and non-governmental institutions to requests of citizens, paper forms, information signs, announcements, advertisements, price catalogs and lists; pre-school institutions, orphanages; high, vocational and higher education; cultural events; press, radio and TV programs (amount of broadcasting in Kazakh must be not lesser than in other languages. For non-numerous and not compactly residing ethnic groups: classes, extracurricular activities, Sunday schools. (http://www.osi.hu/fmp/laws/)

Two controversial proposed clauses, one requiring Kazakhs to master their language by the year 2003 and all others by 2006 and the list of positions in the government where Kazakh would be mandatory, were dropped. No formal means for testing proficiency in the state language existed, nor was any documentation attesting to the proficiency was required in the law (Dave 2004:132).The language law does not regulate language use in personal relations and religious associations. Language law denotes the Kazakh as state and Russian as the official language, but does not restrict the use of other languages.

It is quite natural that Russian language is used in state organizations and local government bodies in many areas of Kazakhstan, a situation which is recognized in language law which establishes that these institutions can use Russian language officially and equally to the Kazakh language. While the Law gives Kazakh as state language and states language is to be used in state administration, legislation, court, proceeding in all public interactions in Kazakhstan, in practice, the use of Kazakh is not nearly as common as it is required. It is clear that use of Kazakh language is promoted in the public policy (Gilliland 2000:3).

The laws and language situation in Kazakhstan went on triggering new debates. According to Russians, officials in Kazakhstan take advantage of language law that requires knowledge of the state language, and employs those who belong to Kazakh nationality in especially administrative and educational structures in promotions and obtaining greater access to resources, so official apparatus consists mostly of Kazakhs. For some Russian speakers, the Law on Languages enables Kazakh to promote themselves, so there is an ethnic discrimination in employment. In current situation, open positions in state requires knowledge of Kazakh, state language and this, according to some puts non-Kazakhs disadvantage at the beginning and the priority is not the qualifications for the jobs but for ethnicity (Karin and Chebotarev 2002:6). Russians have been continually complaining about discrimination in employment, schooling, publishing and cuts in Russian broadcasts. Yet, Russians do not study Kazakh language seriously whatever the job possibility involved. Masanov claims that language policy implementations are perceived by Russians as an effort to make them leave from the country.

During the Soviet era ethnic Russians tended to settle in the north of Kazakhstan which had become richer, more industrialized, and more urbanized than the south. Along with Russians urban Kazakhs were well integrated into Russian culture, some of whom were also educated in Russian universities. The status of languages became a matter of debate not only between Kazakhs and non-Kazakhs but also between these Russophone and traditional Kazakhs. As many urban Kazakhs are speakers of Russian language, they meet the policy of Kazakhification with resentment believing that this would put them into disadvantageous position (Sarsmbaev 1990:328). Those Kazakh people who see Russian as the language of enlightenment, education and higher social status and support continuation of its use are named *mankurts*[13]. They attribute positive qualities to Russian language as a means for upward mobility (Nauruzbayeva 2003:5). Among such famous *mankurts* is Nurbulat Masanov who is an ethnic Kazakh and a political scientist. According to him Kazakh language remained in the past. According to him speaking Kazakh

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[13] The term *mankurt* is taken from Chingiz Aitmatov's book "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years". It is used for the Russified Kazakhs, who have lost their roots and have very little or no knowledge of Kazakh language.

language would isolate Kazakhstan from the rest of the world and turn it into an inward-looking and provincialized country alienated from the achievements of world civilization, since it is the Russian language that enables Kazakhstan's communications with the outside world (cited in Hansen 1999). In fact even today, there are Kazakh intellectuals like Masanov, who criticize the language policies of the government and denote these efforts as non-effective and a move towards age of darkness and ignorance (Nauruzbaeva 2003:6). On the contrary rural Kazakhs speak Kazakh and have little knowledge of Russian. Yet, all urban Kazakhs have a good command of Russian as already mentioned. Most of urbanites are Russophone and have no or very little Kazakh knowledge.

In 2000 Nazarbaev announced that language problem was solved within the country. He assigned Kazakh elites the task of speaking with their children and grandchildren in Kazakh. He also restated that it was the duty of ordinary citizens to learn the state language (KazPravda 15/12/2000). Although Nazarbaev declared that language problem was solved, the goals they had set had not been achieved, yet. This was confirmed by an official document which was adopted a year later. On February 7, 2001 "State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 to 2010" was launched[14]. The purpose of the document is to widen and strengthen social and communicative functions of language, preserve socio-cultural function of Kazakh and develop languages of ethnic groups.

The program, firstly, introduces the domains where the use of state language is ensured and measures to be taken for its development. It aims to provide functioning of the state language as the language of state governance, develop legislative foundations; take actions that would ensure acquisition of the required level of skills in the state language by the government employees; ensure of the use of the state language as the main means of communication in the government; ensure state-language-use in the court and in legislation; take actions for the use of the state language in the military of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in all types of military formations and units; ensure functioning of the state language in communication in all organs of local administration; ensure utilization of the state language in

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[14] Gosudarstvennaya Programma Funksionirovaniya i Razvitiya Yazikov na 2001-2010 gody. Online available at http://www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=00551.

international relations. Secondly, it lists measures to be taken for creation of the conditions for learning the state-language in the Republic. These measures include organization of a unified system of free instruction in state language skills funded from the local budgets; provision of material, technical and legislative conditions for the acquisition of the state language acquisition by employees in such spheres as science, culture, education, public health, and service; provision of the maximally high level of the knowledge of the state language among the students of the pre-school, secondary and postsecondary educational institution regardless of their form of property. Thirdly, the document lays down the measures for the corpus development of Kazakh language which include provision of the unification of the norms of the contemporary Kazakh literary language by means of intensification of the scientific research and practical implementation of its results: systematization on the scientific grounds of the rules of word formation in the Kazakh literary language, including the rules for terminological construction; implementation of a functional Kazakh language terminological apparatus; formalization of the norms of the Kazakh literary language; taking steps to ensure the improvements of the Kazakh alphabet and orthography in such a way that it would better reflect the phonological structure of the language; scientific support of onomastic changes. Finally, it covers activities for the spread of Kazakh language. It aims to make Kazakh language function as a state language in the spheres of culture and mass media: develop and implement a system of actions directed at production or renting of movies and video materials in the state language, including animation and programs in translation; provide issuance of periodicals and other printed materials in different branches of culture, science, fiction and art; ideological support (agitation and propaganda) of the activities directed at the promotion of the state language; ensuring the use of the state language in the means of mass communication; resolution of the problem of computerization of the state language. Concerning the Russian language its provision of functioning of the Russian language in the spheres of science and education, provision of functioning of the official language in the spheres of culture and mass media, research support of the functioning of the official language shall be secured.

We can analyze what extent these provisions have been successful by examining the language situation in the year 2005. The state published a document on the web site of the Ministry of Culture and Information titled as "Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan"[15]. This document also analyzes the situation at the beginning of 2000. When we take a look at the functional domains of Kazakh language within the light of the official document, we see that in state administration, executive organs, thanks to the work on broadening the sphere of function of Kazakh language, a growth in terms of its use was observed. When we come to the year 2005, an increase in the use of Kazakh language in *oblasts* with predominantly Kazakh population such as Qyzylorda, Southern Kazakhstan, Atyrau, Mangghystau and Zhambyl is observed. Although remarkable results were achieved in terms of use of state language in state organs in regions with predominance of Kazakh, the level for realization of state language in works of state organs were not adequate. Among state officials there are only few specialists having command of state language at a level necessary for fulfilling official functions. Thus, one of the basic tasks for the program is preparation of qualified cadres. A process for introducing Kazakh language into armed forces also started (2001-2010). Studies focused on formation of modern Kazakh military terminology. Kazakh language also increased its function in the field of education. In 1999-2000 educational year, according to data from the Ministry of Education and Science from 3,5 million students in the republic 1,6 million studied in Kazakh language (50.6 %), 1.5 million in Russian (45%), 80.000 in Uzbek (2.3%), 23.000 in Uighur (0.6 %), 2500 in Tajik (0.07 %). The number of schools in Kazakh language increased to nearly 43%. (State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001-2010). In 2005 the number of students studying in Kazakh language departments increased and reached to 42% [16]

At the beginning of 2000s it was seen that in elementary and secondary professional organizations of education instruction in Kazakh was conducted in 200 specializations and in higher educational institutions in 75 specializations. By the

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[15] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

[16] *Ibid.*

year 2005 there was instruction in Kazakh language in nearly 80 specializations. The number of students in the departments with Kazakh language was nearly 32% where as the number of students in the departments with Russian language was nearly 68%. Kazakhs was heading its way to official domains of state administration and military while Russian continued to dominate science, education and mass communication. In the field of education there were 2.365 schools in Russian language instruction and mixed schools with a higher number of classes in Russian language. There is a slight increase in the number of dissertations defended in Kazakh language but the number remains insignificant. In 1999 it constituted just 14 of all dissertations. As for media, in 2000, there were 393 newspapers, 78 journals and 20 TV channels in Russian language (State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 to 2010).

The number of educational institutions instructing in Kazakh increased marking the shift towards the Kazakh language. Nevertheless, these measures were not sufficient for Kazakh language revival. According to Nauruzbayeva, the enforcement of Kazakh language remains on paper and Russian is still dominating public sphere (2003:2-3). Dave states that in practice there was a wide gap between the goals of the state language policy and their actual implementation. As she puts is "Almost all Kazakhs recognized the rhetorical value of an ability to issue basic pleasantries in Kazakh, but many city residents would quickly return to a more comfortable Russian. Informants consistently reported that this was quite common, even in the absence of non-Kazakhs" (Dave 2003:9). According to Berik Abdygaliev's article in Saisat (a social science journal in Kazakhstan) in 1996, today it is the Russian language that creates the basis for the unity of all Kazakhstan. It functions as a means of communication all over the republic and enables social interaction among all citizens in the country across social, demographic, territorial and professional group boundaries (cited in O'Callaghan 2005: 210). The increase in use of Kazakh among many Kazakhs is mainly due to schools and military because Kazakh is mandated in those places, but the standard of Kazakh is poor, so people switch to use Russian after they leave their workplace (O'Callaghan 2005:211).

In general, when we look at the language situation in Kazakhstan within the context of above mentioned laws and governmental efforts, the use of Kazakh language does not seem to have reached to the desired level. Although Nazarbayev depicts Kazakhstan as a civic state by saying that "a melting pot of peoples, languages and cultures" and defines Kazakhstan as a Eurasian state, home to Slavic and other ethnic groups" (cited in O'Callaghan, 2005: 208), the increase in the ratio of Kazakhs in the population and in the administrative sphere seems to confirm the ethnic concept of Kazakhstan as the homeland of Kazakhs. The Ministry of Culture published a document in its official web site titled as "Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan"[17]. The document analyzes the situation until 2005 and put forwards the official stance towards language policy. It emphasizes the supremacy of Kazaks by stating that in multiethnic Kazakhstan in order for all national interests to be realized, the equality of nations should be ensured under the integrating role of Kazakh nation. But, even under these conditions still the language shift towards Kazakh could not be achieved. The main reason why Kazakh cannot assume a higher status among the population although it is more prestigious on paper is that Kazak language has symbolic value for the Kazakhs. This can be understood by looking at the results of the 1999 census. According to the census, 99.4 percent of the Kazakhs claimed proficiency in Kazakh language despite the fact that only a very small portion of it can master the language fluently. Yet, the fact that they cannot speak Kazakh is not a hindrance against their defining themselves as Kazakh. Thus, while Kazakh performs its symbolic function Russian language performs communicative function. Another reason is related to meanings attached to the languages over the period of time. During the Soviet era Kazakh language had squeezed into narrow functional domains confined to family circle and rural areas deemed as backward symbolizing the rural life whereas Russian was the language of modernization, culture and development and it prevails dominantly in Kazakhstan.

Nevertheless, Kazakh administration seems to be determined to achieve Kazakh-Russian bilingualism. To this end a new conception called "Conception of

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[17] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

Broadening the Sphere of Use of Kazakh Language 2006" was adopted[18]. The document is of significance because it explains the further dimension of language problem while analyzing the problems experienced during the implementation of language policy. While reiterating the necessity of a language policy and emphasizing the primordial land of Kazakhs the document defines Kazakhstan as a civic country with a multilingual structure allowing the development of all languages within Kazakhstan. The Conception states them as follows;

> Today, recognizing the process of globalization, one should take into account the acute necessity of protecting the national originality of nations. In countries where inhabitants due to historical complex circumstances consist of various nationalities, one of the most important conditions for their stabile development is harmony among nationals, tolerance of relations between citizens. The language policy of the state must fully assist this. Under such conditions of multiethnic society, language policy must be built on traditions mutual respect of state and the citizen, and it is one of the main aims and tasks of the given conception. The constitution of our republic agrees that Kazakhstan is a unitary state with presidential form of governance. Thus, the ongoing model of functional development of languages represents the most optimal. The Kazakh nation "united by a common historical fate, created statehood on primordial Kazakh land" manifested its attitude towards the language policy through constitution. State language in the county is the Kazakh language. Taking into account the linguistic and demographic situation in the country, historically developed condition of social relations and socio-cultural traditions, Russian language was recognized as officially used language. State is responsible for creating conditions for learning and development of languages of Kazakh nation. Such a model would promote preservation of consent among consent among nations, political stability, further development and deepening of democratic processes, strengthening of civil society. (2006:2-3)[19]

According to the Conception, today, normative-legal bas for a successful realization of language policy has been established. But, for the analysis of the problem in the conditions of Kazakhstan today scientific monitoring of functional correlation of languages, real estimation of their demand in social and interpersonal relations are necessary. The Conception touches upon the reasons why there is a slow development in language policy. It states that it is necessary to overcome stereotypes

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[18] Concepciya Rasshireniia Sfery Primeneniia Gosudarstvennogo Yazyka 2006. Online available at www.sana.gov.kz/download/Koncepciya.doc.

[19] The author's own translation.

while determining functional assignment of languages depending on its degree of their spread, number of speakers and other factors. Yet, until now critics made about quality of work do not support legal and other normative acts in the state language, do not overcome problems in development of terminology, borrowing terms, number of translations and do not conduct statistical reports and other documents in the field of finance.

According to the Conception another problem in realization of language policy is the lack of scientific and well-grounded analysis of ethno-linguistic situation within the country. But, this analysis must be based on sociolinguistic research by using available statistics in the field of education, culture, and means of mass communication. The government proposes some measures to increase the use of Kazakh language. In the field of education it aims to ensure the principle of continuity of education, educational process, starting from pre-school education and training including system of higher and post-graduation education in state language. Along with this quality, scientific-methodological ensuring of process of learning, production of a unified method of instruction is required. In the system of higher education, on the basis of a state order, education for training specialists for instructing in state language, translators to translate from Kazakh to Russian and vice versa should be provided. Apart from this opportunities must be created for use of internet technology and distant education. Improving information politics in the field of language policy must exclude extreme politicization process. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary for periodical printed publications and electronic means of mass media to assume role, to ensure actuality, quality of broadcasts and publications, assist successful realization of legislation on languages, increase cultural speech and relations. In state organizations and local establishments, it is necessary to reach an annual increase in volume of document circulation in state language. The final aim should be to achieve an optimal combination of functioning of languages in office work taking into account priorities of development of state language. It is necessary to take measures for propaganda of state language with use of modern international technology, various forms and methods of verbal and visual influence. For an objective evaluation of level of Kazakh language knowledge in

state and non-state organizations a universal system of testing and methods of teaching language are required. It is also necessary to continue work in preparing a project of a law providing a list of professions, specializations and posts for occupation for which mastery of definitely state language is necessary. Assembly of Nations of Kazakhstan should promote coordination of work and interaction with Ministry of Education and Sciences in solving the questions of preparing textbooks and teaching-methodological complexes for learning national languages and their adaptation to Kazakhstan's program towards the formation of the feeling of membership to a unified Kazakhstan nation, starting to train instructors of languages. Also higher education should provide high quality specialists especially in order for future specialists to master Kazakh, Russian and one of the foreign languages and can fluently use them in their further official affairs.

Another important element is the educational institutions which train and prepare specialists in the field of medicine, transportation, service sectors…etc. These specialists should know and master fluently professional lexicon in Kazakh, Russian and other languages. Young people are active and dynamic part of population some of whom have negative stereotypes towards the languages and language policies. The most effective mechanism of changing the attitude towards Kazakh language must become an everyday task with the youth. Industrial business comprises a wide portion of our society and they must use Kazakh language not only passively but as language of daily relations and service. Responsible organs in the development of languages should prepare and introduce a motion for a unified net of training languages on the basis of Republican Center for learning state language which necessitates the establishment of their regional branches and give them right in their publishing activities. The state also proposes incentives for state employees mastering the state language. Apart from them in order to spread the use of state language, its use in information technologies must be supported. An internet magazine portal should be established to spread Kazakhstan books not only in Kazakhstan but also for Kazakh diaspora in other countries (2006: 4-16).

4.2 CORPUS PLANNING

In Kazakhstan corpus planning activities were affected by the politics of nation formation. Corpus planning activities including standardization, purification, and modernization are often politically motivated reform processes. The underlying motivation usually have a collective significance in shaping the identity of certain members or groups within the community; thus, serving the processes of identity politics. According to Shapiro, "Language is merely not a neutral medium of communication, that is, an instrument, but also social and political discourses, for languages comprise socio-ideological as well as politico-ideological components. Policies aimed at standardizing a community's language system are themselves political acts since they are prone to legitimize or at least narrow forms of otherness" (cited in Landau 2001:148). One of the most commonly applied methods by the politicians is purification. Purification covers those efforts to purge the language of elements that are considered to be non-native or non-standard and their replacement with others, borrowed from local dialects or written sources. Language purification activities are made by supporters of nationalism (Landau 2001:148). Nationalism and purism have many features in common. In order to be a prestigious, autonomous and standard language, purism is a necessary step which languages must pass through (Thomas 1991:139). For, purists the removal of undesirable elements is a problem to be solved so that language could achieve or maintain its proper status as a prestigious code (Thomas 1991:216). Nationalist aesthetic sees national culture as unique and irreplaceable. Thus, only the national language can adequately serve as a symbol of self-identification with this national culture. The native language, which is considered as part of this national culture and national identity, needs to be differentiated from any other language (Thomas 1991:43). In Kazakhstan language intervention can be observed particularly in the sphere of purification, but also to a certain extent in modernization, standardization and development of lexicon.

The Kazakh government created the State Terminological Commission which works in the field of terminological lexicon of the Kazakh language on all branches of economy, science, techniques, and culture and as such, the terminological base of Kazakh language is attempted to be improved. In the document on Regulations about

the State Terminological Commission in the Republic of Kazakhstan it is stated that the activity in the commission is guided by principles of maximal use of a vocabulary of primordially Kazakh lexicon. The State Terminological Commission is constantly approving new terms; realize the publishing of series of dictionaries belonging to various branches (2001-2010). Four times a year a bulletin *Terminologiialyk Khabarshy* in which all questions or coordination of terminological work at republican level, work of State Terminological Commission, views of specialists are published. From the period 2002 to 2005 from 6298 terms examined by State Terminological Commission, 2320 terms have been officially approved[20].

Language purism is also seen in the field of onomastics[21]. During 1980s and 1990s there was a sharp increase in the tendency of reviving native language, culture, tradition among all nationalities of the former USSR. This process has been actively manifested in swift renaming of cities, villages, streets, squares and schools. In the document "Language Policy in Kazakhstan", it is stated that if one paid attention to the archives one could notice that in Kazakhstan administrative-territorial division was repeatedly exposed to topological changes first and foremost to please ideological and political conjecture[22]. After independence a process of revival in national forms of geographical names occurred. Under these conditions the field of onomastics and its sub-branch topology[23] gained importance in Kazakhstan. In 1991 State Onomastics Commission (*Gosonomkoma*) was founded. Onomastics as one of the leading directions of national language politics in the republic acquires not only cultural and historical but also political and social meaning. The State Onomastic Commission set up by the government was empowered to change the geographic and administrative territorial names on the map of Kazakhstan. Activities of *Gosonomkoma* include regulating the historical names of territories of the republic,

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[20] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

[21] Onomastics or onomatology studies proper names of all kinds and the origins of names.

[22] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

[23] Topology means the study of place names.

conduct work of topological naming in relation with phonetical, lexical and graphical principles. Many names were changed with Kazakh ones. Tselinograd became first Akmola, then Astana, Alma-Ata was changed to Almaty, Chimkent to Shymkent, Chu River to Shu River. This also embraced the names of the streets. Non-Kazakh citizens regard this as "russophobia" or apartheid (Landau 2001: 149). From the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991 to 2005 renaming of 4 oblasts (Tselinograd to Akmola, Guryev to Atyrau, Mangyshlak to Mangghystau, Uralsk to Western Kazakhstan), 12 cities, 53 rayons, 7 urban rayons, 43 railway stations, 957 localities were realized. Also writing of two oblasts (Qustanay to Qostanay, Aktyubinsk to Aqtöbe), 13 cities, 13 rayons, 76 railway stations and 22 localities was changed[24]. Between 1991 and 2005, 890 physical and geographical places and organizations of education, science, culture and sports were named or renamed. Yet, according to the document published by the state "2006 Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of State Language" work in the field of onomastics is not enough. Firstly, scientific investigators in this field are not enough. In many cities renaming and naming of cities have been completed disregarding aesthetics. It is also necessary to consider further work like publishing continuously various geographical, climatic, contour and other maps in Kazakh, English, Russian, Chinese, French and Japanese languages. But despite the active work in the field of lexicon and onomastics the new terms could not be standardized among Kazakhs. Aside from the State Terminological Commission, Institute of Linguistics also deals with corpus planning activities including basic directions of scientific activities such as phonetics, lexicology, lexico-orthography, grammar, speech culture, ethnolinguistics, onomastics, terminology, history of Kazakh literary language, dialectology and computational linguistics. Another development was that Kazaks were allowed to shed the ending (-ov/-ova, -ev/eva) of their family name and replace the Russian suffixes of fathers' names (-ovich/-ovna/-evich/-evna) with –ūly and kyzy (Landau 2001: 149).

Corpus planning activities also became a part of "Cultural Heritage State Program (CHSP)". In the section of "Linguistics" different defining dictionaries of the Kazakh language in 15 volumes, dictionary of synonyms, the dialectological

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[24] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

dictionary of the Kazakh language in 3 volumes, and etymological dictionary of Kazakh language in 2 volumes, the orthoepical[25] dictionary of the Kazakh language and the orthographical[26] dictionary of the Kazakh giving full data on the development of the Kazakh literary language and which are conducive to the enrichment of its vocabulary are planned to be published[27].

Another activity of corpus planning is the graphization that is to writing a language down or the reform of the system of writing. The choice of an alphabet is an important step in standardization of a language. The written form of a language may have to be developed, modified, or standardized and it is important to have an orthographic system reflecting the phonology of a language. However, the choice of a writing system is not only a linguistic act since "the choice of alphabet or writing system has great implications for social identity, protection of elite status and national development" (Tucker and David 1997:157). Writing is not only a graphic representation of a language but it expresses cultural, religious and national identity. Although Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan changed their alphabet to Latin after independence, in Kazakhstan the issue of alphabet reform was not handled immediately after the independence since carrying out a reform within Kazakhstan could cause discontent and anxiety within the population as Kazakhstan had a sizeable Russian minority and Russophone Kazakhs. There was also the danger of annexation of Northern Kazakhstan to the Republic of Russian Federation (Landau 2001: 139-140). Yet, the issue has always been voiced in Kazakhstan. In 1994 the president of international society *Qazak Tili* sent an open letter to the president of Kazakhstan. He proposed to switch to the Latin script. Previously this issue was discussed at an international congress in Antalya in 1994 where all participants including 50 Kazakh delegates, representatives of thirty states, univocally decided that a transition to the Latin alphabet was necessary. The main reason for the transition was that the cultural structure of the language had to be retained and all

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[25] Orthoepy means correct pronunciation, or the study of pronunciation.

[26] Orthographical means "of or pertaining to orthography", which means correct spelling or the part of language study concerned with letters and spelling.

[27] "Cultural Heritage State Program". Online available at www.chsp.kz.

Turkic peoples had to have an opportunity to recover their common roots (Gazeta KZ 02/08/04)[28]. In 2001 the linguists of the Language Institute of the Academy of Science of Kazakhstan sent a letter to the Government and the Ministry of Science and Education in which demanded the Latinization of Kazakh literature. The necessity of translation of Kazakh language from Cyrillic to Latin was expressed in the letter. Most of the Turkic language states had turned to Latin so, linguists suggested to carry out a reform of Kazakh language so that such necessities as active development of the language, enrichment of its vocabulary, ordering of pronunciation and spelling of new words, determination of new terms and denominations, changing of the sound line of Kazakh language could be realized (Kazakhstan Today 19/07/01)[29]. According to the director of the Institute Mr. Husainov words "With the appearance of new words native speakers of Kazakh language use it sometimes tactlessnessly, as a result, a lot of synonyms appeared". New orthographical and explanatory dictionaries of Kazakh language are suggested to be created in the frames of the reform. The issue was also discussed in seminars. In a seminar dedicated to "Actual problems of Kazakh terminology", Bekbolat Tleukhan, Vice Minister of Culture noted "the Kazakh alphabet consists of 41 letters and some of them contrary to the nature of Kazakh language". He emphasized, "In relation with that there are the problems and some of the words are in conflict with the phonetical rules". B. Tleukhan believed that in case of transferring of the Kazakh alphabet to the Roman alphabet "some of the letters and sounds will be excluded and a lot of problems will be automatically settled". (Kazakhstan Today 15/07/04)[30]. Herold Belger, who is a famous linguist, believes that Kazakhstan will be much closer to the West. Thanks to computer technologies Kazakhstani citizens will know English, if Kazakh adopts the Latin script and thus, the communication area of the

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[28] "Time to learn Latin alphabet" by Elina Alkova. Online available at http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid =48041

[29] "The Linguists Of The Language Institute Of The Academy Of Science Of Kazakhstan Have Sent The Letter With A Suggestion Concerning Latinization Of Kazakh Written Language To The Government" by Kazakhstan Today news agency. Online available at http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid =6147

[30] "Conversion of Kazakh alphabet to Roman alphabet discussed" by Kazakhstan Today news agency. Online available at http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=47323

country will become much broader. Other language experts say that it has nothing to do with the friendship with the West, but the main thing is that Turkic peoples will become closer to each other (Gazeta Kazakhstan 02/08/04)[31]. The President Nazarbaev talked about transition to Latin alphabet at XII session of RK peoples' Assembly on 24 October 2006. Along with the necessity of learning English he pointed out that they should first weigh all the pros and cons and take the time (KazPravda 25/10/2006)[32].

The Committee of the Science of the Ministry of Science and Education published preliminary analytic information titled as *O Probleme Perekhoda K Latinitsu*[33] (On the Problem of Transition to Latin) about the transition of Kazakh writing to the Latin script. The document comprises of four parts. In the first part the issue of foreign experience on introduction of the Latin alphabet is handled and case studies from such countries as Turkey, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, China, Armenia, India, Japan etc. are examined. In the second part, philosophical and political aspects of transition to Latin are mentioned. Here, writing is believed to have no less value for the formation of national identity than language and writing is accepted as not only a means of graphic expression of language but also an expression of religious, cultural and more widely national identity. Citing from Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" and "print capitalism", Kazakh imagined community formation is evaluated. It is stated that Kazakh nation formation starting in the 19th century was stopped by the October Revolution that was accompanied by ideology and russification, one aspect of which was the acceptance of Cyrillic alphabet. So, transition to Latin alphabet means the change of Soviet colonial identity which still dominates over national consciousness and sovereign Kazakh identity. The document states that in Kazakhstan implementation of the national politics is based on Kazakh citizenship which is referred to as civic nation. Such a community must be formed around the leading or state-building

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[31] "Time to learn Latin alphabet" by Elina Alkova. Online available at http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid =48041

[32] "Home land in every heart". Online available at http://www.kazpravda.kz/index.php?uin=11522436 24&chapter=1161783545&act=archive_date&day=25&month=10&year=2006

[33]Online available at http://www.nauka.kz/pismen/04.php

ethnos, Kazakhs. Yet, for this purpose the larger ethnos should have a strong identity. At that point transition to Latin alphabet, according to official explanation, will help to overcome the dominance of Russian culture and influence on Kazakh nation. The official statement also touches upon the position of Cyrillic alphabet and Russian language. Cyrillic is regarded as the cultural basis uniting all peoples of Kazakhstan in the process of formation of a unified nation. It is due to this reason that the transition to Latin did not take place in 1990s. However, Cyrillic alphabet bears on itself traces of colonial past and it was not the free choice of Kazakh people rather a forced attempt from above by the totalitarian state. In the long term this transition will help Kazakh language strengthen its position as a state language. Concerning the status of Russian language it is stated that Russian-Kazakh bilingualism is a long-term trend. Russian language will not disappear from the sphere of ethno-linguistic communication since it has powerful cultural-historical roots in Kazakhstan. It will remain the language of inter-ethnic dialogue although Kazakh language will increase. Hence, it will be necessary to keep signboards, names of streets, cities, areas, settlements both in Latin and Cyrillic scripts. Consequently, transition to Latin has a big sociopolitical value as the basic symbols of independence. The motivation behind the change of alphabet is based on political, social and cultural factors. The government also expresses the linguistic reasons for the transition to Latin by saying that transition to Latin is not denying any other language and its letter but it is also necessitated by the reforming of Kazakh alphabet and its rules. The contemporary Kazakh alphabet and spelling does not reflect the basic features of sound structure and laws of spelling of modern Kazakh language rather. Such a transition is not likely to take place within a short period of time. Kazakh government also accepts that the process of transition will be long and consist of several stages.

The first stage is the phase of examining experience of foreign countries. It covers such activities as making economic calculations and financing of the process (official trips, devising the alphabet, devising the program, introducing to the computer, teaching the new graphic, publishing newspapers, magazines, textbooks and finally translation of scientific and artistic works to Latin). It is estimated to take 5-7 years from 2007 to 2012. The second stage is dedicated to devising the alphabet,

the computer program and its introduction to computers form 2012-2014. The third stage covers publishing paramount materials: publishing textbooks for schools and institutions of higher education and publishing newspapers and magazines. During the first year it will be necessary to print the same material in two alphabets. The stage is planned to last 2-3 years from 2012 to 2014. In the forth stage teaching of Latin alphabet is envisaged to be started simultaneously in schools and higher educational institutions. This period is expected to last 3 years from 2017 to 2021. Afterwards training in schools and institutions of higher education should continually go on (7-8 years). In the fifth stage there are the activities of translating scientific works necessary for the programs of schools and institutions of higher education. This should occur in parallel to training and last approximately 7-8 years. In the sixth and further stages translating of all classics of Kazakh literature and folklore, scientific and cultural heritage to Latin script is planned. This may last two or three decades.

Kazakhstan has already started to implement the first stage of the program and started to examine the experience of Turkey. Turkish Linguistic Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu)* shared their knowledge on this issue with Kazakh linguists visiting Turkey in June, 2007.[34]

4.3 ACQUISITION PLANNING

4.3.1 Education

Acquisition planning covers the activities to spread the language by creating conditions, incentives and methods through education, school, mass media…etc. Among them education is the most important domain in acquisition planning. In most of the countries, state funds education. Hence, education remains under the control of the state and becomes a tool in national transformation. Schools also constitute a crucial part of socialization process. As Ferguson puts it "School pupils

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[34] "Kazakistan Latin Alfabesine Geçiyor" (Kazakhstan makes transition to Latin). Online available at http://www.turkgundem.net/icerik/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2155&Itemid=159

are captive audience and curriculum affords the state unequalled opportunities to shape their attitudes and behaviors of the next generation" (2006: 33-34).

Preschool period is a stage when children are most receptive to language learning. As stated in UNESCO Policy Brief on Early Childhood Kazakhstan's Experience, until the early 1990s, all children in Kazakhstan, regardless of their regional and social backgrounds had universal access to state preschool services. However, after the independence many preschool organizations had to close along with the plants, farms and industrial organizations to which they were attached (2006:1)[35].

UNESCO/OECD Early Childhood Policy Review summarizes the situation of preschool education in Kazakhstan. According to the Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan of 11 July 1997, preschool education can be provided both in Kazakh and other ethnic groups have the right to have education in their own languages. The language of education and training in orphanages and other social services is determined by the local governments by taking into account the ethnic composition of the services (2004:22)[36].

At present no mechanism has been developed to implement general mandatory pre-school education. This should be done, given the various existing forms of the education process with a short-term and flexible regime of attending pre-school groups. A total of 265 pre-school institutions (24% of the total number) provide training in Kazakh; 416 (40%) provide training in in Russian; and 408 (37.3%) mixed language schools teach 27.300 children communicating in Kazakh and 45,000 in Russian (UN Development Report for Kazakhstan 2004:45)[37]

The government has been trying to improve the quality of education in pre-school institutions. According to the State-run Program of Education Development in Kazakhstan for 2005-2010, pre-school education covers children of up to 5 years of age; its curricula will include a wide range of learning games. Computer science and

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[35] Online available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001463/146304E.pdf

[36] Online available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001390/139025e.pdf

[37] Online available at
http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/europethecis/kazakhstan/kazakhstan_2004_en.pdf.

foreign languages are to be introduced into the school curricula starting from the 2nd grade. According to the UNESCO/OECD Early Childhood Policy Review Project, for one-year mandatory pre-primary education for students at the age of 5-6 from 2003-2004, the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan developed 19 sets of teaching and learning materials for pre-primary education (UMK)[38] which include an ABC exercise book, reading materials, handouts, manuals for educators and parents on how to organise preschool education activities. 2.3 million copies of the UMKs were produced in Kazakh and Russian languages (2004:39)[39]. According to data from the State Committee on Statistics for 1994, 262.511 children in Kazakh preschools were brought up in Kazakh while, 478.490 children were brought up in Russian (Abydulgaliv). Yet, despite improvements in preschool education the number of preschool educations did not exceed 25% in the year 2005. That is attributed to the absence of such establishments everywhere within the country and economic conditions of families.

According to "State-Run Education Development Program to be Implemented in the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2005-2010" secondary education in Kazakhstan is traditionally divided into three stages: primary (1st to 4th grades); basic (5th to 9th grades); senior (10th to 11th and 12th grades). In Kazakhstan, in addition to comprehensive schools, there are schools with intensive teaching to certain disciplines; lyceums and gymnasiums[40].

The education system consists of Kazakh-medium and Russian-medium schools. The choice of the language of children's education is free. Although the curriculum in these schools is the same they only differ in the medium of education (Smagulova 2006:6). Official data suggest a 28.5% increase in the number of monolingual Kazakh medium secondary schools in the period 1989-1996 and 37% drop in the number of Russian medium schools in the same period. Kazakh schools are attended by Kazakhs whereas Russian schools are attended by a multiethnic

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[38] UMK stands for *Uchebno-Metodicheskih Kompleksah* (Educational and Methodological Complex) in Russian language.

[39] Online available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001390/139025e.pdf

[40] Online available at http://en.government.kz/resources/docs/doc8.

population of pupils. Although there is an increase in the number of students studying in Kazakh language the actual use of Kazakh language is not adequate. One of the reasons is attributed to the type of "mixed schools" in Kazakhstan. Mixed school is an institution with groups of pupils studying in different mediums of instruction. Often in Kazakh schools not an adequate level of instruction is observed. That problem is less seen in Russian medium schools where there is richer teaching-methodical potential (Fierman 2006). In the late Soviet period, a large share of Kazakh urban children was being educated in Russian medium classes. Most cities had a few Kazakh medium-schools. In the city of Almaty only two schools provided Kazakh medium instruction. In the 1990-1991 school year about 49% of Kazakh urban pupils were in Russian medium classes. Today the share of Kazakh urban pupils in Russian medium-classes has declined to somewhere in the range of 25 to 30% (Fierman 2005:406-407).

Children of 80 ethnic groups are studying in general education day schools. Teaching in Kazakh is becoming more widespread in schools. According to data obtained from the UN Development Report for Kazakhstan in 2004, while in the 1990/91 school year 32% of pupils were taught in Kazakh, in the 2003/04 school year, 55.3% were taught in Kazakh, 41% were taught in Russian and 3.7% in the languages of other ethnic groups. If in 2000 the school students studying in the official language (Kazakh) made up 52, 1% of all the school students, their number stands at 54.8 % in 2005. As of today, there are 3687 (44.6%) schools of general education in the Kazakh language, and 2069 (26.1%) bilingual (Russian and Kazakh) schools. The number of students at Kazakh schools has been growing on an annual basis. The number of innovation institutions with national languages of training has increased. At the moment, 1.123 schools provide training in the national language (in 6,462 programs) with deep theoretical and practical studies of some subjects, including 28 lyceums, 42 gymnasia, 19 schools with lyceum classes, 100 schools with gymnasia classes, 10 special schools for talented children, and 7 line schools. The difficulty of using active training methods is a serious problem for schools with combined classes and is becoming a reason for the bad reputation of combined classes in Kazakhstan. Rural schools seriously lack teachers of foreign languages.

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About 20% of secondary schools have no classes in chemistry, mathematics, or Kazakh language. During implementation of the national program for computerisation of secondary schools teaching and learning materials, new textbooks on information science, software (including practical tasks), dictionaries of information technology terms, methodological guidelines on telecommunication technologies and a Russian-Kazakh dictionary for computer filing were developed. Soft textbooks and multi-media training software for secondary education were developed in Kazakh and Russian for 16 subjects. They include textbooks for the Kazakh language, history of Kazakhstan, biology, chemistry and other subjects. Soft multi-media training programs are being developed for 11 subjects for grades 10-11 in Kazakh and Russian[41].

As for the situation of higher education, the system of higher education is represented by 180 institutions of higher education and 86 branches of higher education institutions. In higher education institutions the principal language of instruction is Russian and this situation cannot be changed without the training of future specialists. In the 1989-1990 academic year, only 7.9% of all students enrolled in Kazakhstan's higher educational institutions studied in Kazakh language groups. In the 2002-2003, 2003-2004 and 2004-2005 academic years, the analogous share ranged between 32% to 40%. Even in the 1989-1990, the share for ethnic Kazakhs was 32.7 % (Fierman 2005:407)

Economic recession and cuts in public spending have led to a general decline in Kazakh education. Despite cuts in 1997, a majority of primary schools in Kazakhstan are Kazakh language schools. Yet, their numbers are small and mostly situated in the Kazakh settlements and the *aul*. A great number of schools are mixed, training in various languages. Yet, lack of readers and other didactical material has led to closures. In technical and professional schools Kazakh language has never made any breakthrough in industry and education sectors. Only 4% of the books in the libraries of the technical universities are in Kazakh while the average for all universities and colleges is 20.3% (Hansen 1999: 184)

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[41] UN Development Report 2004: Kazakhstan "Analysis of Education System in Kazakhstan" Education for All: the Key Goal for a New Millenium Online available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/europethecis/kazakhstan/kazakhstan_2004_en.pdf.

The quality of instruction in the Kazakh language sections is due to lack of Kazakh medium specialists as well as absence of good quality textbooks and academic or technical literature in Kazakh. Almost all textbooks are translations from Russian or English. Many of the translations are done by under-qualified staff and do not have a standardized technical or scientific vocabulary. State funded universities tend to favor students of Kazakh nationality (Dave 2004:8).

The teaching of Kazakh in Russian language institutes is poor because of the predominance of the outdated extensive methodology of teaching languages, the shortage of qualified teachers and suitable materials, and lack of adequate control by public education agencies. Kazakhstan press draws attention to the tendency of parents to withdraw their children from schools and kindergartens which switched from in 1991-1992 from Kazakh-medium schools (Hansen 1999:184). According to a survey carried out by the Information Analysis Center of the Supreme Council along with the Committee on Languages of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1996 inhabitants of Kazakhstan give preference to Russian when choosing for the medium of language for their children (%46) (Arenov and Kalmykov 1998).Actually, the official document "Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of State Language Conception"[42] published in 2006 cites the reasons for Kazakh language's failure for becoming effective in the field of education of which translation is given below

Today in Kazakhstan there are 8.000 general education schools and lycees from which more than 3.700 students constituting nearly 50% are educated in Kazakh language. Specialists of not only Kazakh but also Russian, English and other languages must be trained. It must be noticed that criteria for assessment of the quality of education must not only depend on language learning but also other parameters. So, in order to overcome this important disproportion in training of specialists in state and Russian languages, it is necessary in the first place, to provide quality of teaching process which should depend on competitiveness, ability to adaptation to the conditions of real market competition. But providing a high level of education and training of specialists, it is necessary to attain continuity of educational process based on high level of its quality, observance of international standards, one of the most important elements of which is language preparation. Preschool and secondary school era are important periods in mastering language. In the process of globalization, it is necessary to provide education of young generation, prepare future specialists due to the demand for new technology. So, the development of education system in Kazakhstan is envisaged with training

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[42] Concepciya Rasshireniia Sfery Primeneniia Gosudarstvennogo Yazyka 2006. Online available at www.sana.gov.kz/download/Koncepciya.doc.

of future specialists in the field of language which would not only be in the Kazakh language but also in Russian as one of the world languages and in English and other languages. In the society there exists a deep anxiety about the quality of education, especially in the state language. In 2005/2006 educational year, Kazakh schools in the republic constituted 47% of general number of students and nearly 80% of children at school age from Kazakh nationality studied in Kazakh schools. Yet, along with some positive tendencies in Kazakh schools, it must be noted that more than 80% of them are in rural localities more than 50% of them are *malokomplekt*[43]. Such a situation essentially necessitates students and teachers of these educational institutions to have an access to bibliographies, opportunities of information technology, distant education, Internet…etc. In some larger cities practically Kazakh schools are not open due to the composition of the population. In many schools in rural areas there is a lack of foreign language teachers and their absence in some schools of cities explain the inadequate material. Other problems are the quality of education in language, formation of language culture, lack of teaching and learning books, methodological literature in secondary, college and higher educational institutions. In recent years attempts were made to prepare original books, other popular literature in state languages. But, in many cases, there was an absence of circulation. (2006:7-9)[44]

4.3.2 Media

Media is another effective tool in acquisition planning since the use of a language in the print media, on radio and on TV reaches a great number of people. The state intervention in media most often takes the form of determining how many hours there should be broadcast in state and other languages. Today in Kazakhstan Russian is the main language of the media. According to 1993 statistics, there were 238 radio and TV stations registered in Kazakhstan out of which only 2 broadcasted in Kazakh whereas 9 broadcasted only in Russian. 171 broadcasted both in Kazakh and Russian and 56 broadcasted in other languages (Abdigaliev 1995). In order to increase the share of Kazakh language broadcast the Law on Languages adopted in 1997 stipulated that 50% of all broadcasts be in Kazakh language. Yet, this seems not have lead to a great increase in use of state language in media. As for media in 2000 there were 393 newspapers, 78 journals and 20 TV channels in Russian language (State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 According to the "2006 Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of State Language Conception", successful realization of language policy depends on

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[43] *Malokomplekt* are schools, often located in the countryside. They have generally lack teachers and facilities. Jorn Holm-Hansen.1999. *Political Integration in Kazakhstan. In: Kolsto, Pal (ed.). Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies.* Boulder:Colombia Westview.pp 185.

[44] The author's own translation

effective organization of activities of means of mass information, active propaganda of culture, language and establishment of various educational programs, training, cultural speech…etc. The Conception gives information about the current situation of the media. Out of more than 2.000 newspapers and journals published only 18% are in state language within the country. As of 2006, 212 republican and local TV and radio channels operate. Most programs in state language are broadcasted at night. Another problem is the low quality of many programs, their lack of topicality and attractiveness for audience which cannot help to formation of culture of speech and its successful use. Mass media reaches millions of people so it is necessary to exclude the language ignorance, use terms and jargons, overcome monotony, create original programs, and give attention to family training. TV serials in Kazakh language depicting the life of Kazakhs, *aul*s within the context of a cultural policy are also planned to be filmed[45].

4.3.3 Workplace

The use of a language as a medium of communication in the workplace may be subject to official criteria. With the language law Kazakh made inroads to workplace. Starting October 4, all the paperwork and official documentation in South Kazakhstan Oblast started being carried out in the state language of the country, which is Kazakh. (Kazakhstan Daily Digest 05/10/ 2001)[46].

In late 2001 Qyzylorda Oblast became the first oblast officially to shift all office work to Kazakh. Some communications, in particular a large share of those with the government in capital, apparently continue in Russian but the change to date still represents a rise in status for Kazakh. Four other oblasts have since officially followed Qyzylorda's leads and plans call for all government internal office work throughout the country to be shifted to Kazakh by 2008 (Fierman 2005:409). In the year 2010 all office work is planned to be transferred to Kazakh.

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[45] "Proekt Teleseriala na Kazakhskom Iazyke" (Project of Teleserials in Kazakh Language) Online available at www.nlrk.kz/upload/files/rm_1_14.pdf

[46] "South Kazakhstan Oblast Officially Switched To The Full Use Of The Kazakh Language". Online available at http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/kazakhstan/hypermail/200110/0017.html

It is clear that Kazakh is much more in government offices today than fifteen years ago. Thanks in part to the greater prevalence of the Kazakh language in various domains since independence, the language appears to have begun to serve as part of a commonality for an increasing share of Kazakhs. Although there is an increase in the use of Kazakh language Russian is clearly dominant as the language of day to day government activity. Not only ethnic Russians but even ethnic Kazakhs often remain accustomed to speaking Russian in the workplace and any widening of the knowledge of the Kazakh language is a slow process. South Kazakhstan oblast officially switched to the full use of the Kazakh language. Among government employees, 75% use Russian and 25% use Kazakh. As a rule, official documents are written and edited in Russian, then translated into Kazakh. On rare occasions a Kazakh speaking member of Parliament will choose to speak in Kazakh when other members use headphones and listen to an interpreter (Smagulova 2006:9). It can be inferred that Kazakh language has not yet become a language of workplace. In "2006 Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of State Language Conception" it is stated that preparation of documents in state language constitutes only 20-30% of work in departments constituting 40-50% of all volume of document circulation[47]. According to this document, the reasons for the low amount of office work in state language are:

> The analysis also showed that office work in local executive organs did not reflect the identical situation in the regions. Even in regions overwhelmingly majority of Kazakh population, this result is not positive since workload bases on specialists and translators of state organs. Under these conditions it is necessary to conduct a constant work for improvement of organization of courses for state language. Structure of courses must be more stable envisaging a level for command of language from beginner to intensified level in which not only the mastery of language at level for relations but also a level for independent preparation of documents should be intended. Until now, there are not adequate teachers, specialists and translators for Kazakh language.[48]

The document also draws attention to the fact that in institutions of higher education multidimensional preparation has not been made, yet. It states that taking

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[47] Concepciya Rasshireniia Sfery Primeneniia Gosudarstvennogo Yazyka 2006.
Online available at www.sana.gov.kz/download/Koncepciya.doc.

[48] The author's own translation.

into account the modern reality, it is necessary to create conditions for specialists of various branches, promote their mastery of foreign languages; mainly English at a professional level which would enable to raise their level of competitiveness, open create opportunities for adaptation and access to relations with representatives of other countries and thus reach achievement in science, technique and information technology faster.

4.3.4 Book Publishing

Textbooks are of course a crucial instrument of language instruction. Their suitability and availability determine progress, indeed success, in education. (Landau 2001: 196). New books are written in line with the new ideology and teachers are required to use Kazakh books. Russian language textbooks (eg. for the sixth grade) widely use excerpts from Kazakh authors writing in Russian (or translated into Russian) and they also contain texts of ideological character about the motherland, interethnic unity, patriotism and so on (Smagulova 2006:6-7). The state prepared a program for modernization of education titled "2005-2010 State Program for Education Development" and created a scientific-practical center called "Textbook" in 2005 which engaged in expertise of textbooks. After expertise of textbooks 135 manuals were revised: 48 – improved and 14 – withdrawn from education process. Byrganym Aitimova, Republic of Kazakhstan Minister of Education and Science stated that "Six textbooks out of 14 were used in schools with Kazakh as language of instruction. At present when the country needs technical specialists rural schools are short of chemistry and physics classrooms" (KazPravda 15/11/2005)[49]

But Russian books continue to be imported from the Russian Federation. A container with 73 000 school textbooks of 169 kinds worth 2 million rubles came from Russia to Astana in 2004. The textbooks, purchased by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia was distributed among Russian schools and libraries of cultural

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[49] "Grant Distribution among Top Students". Online available at http://www.kazpravda.kz/index.php?uin=1152249713&chapter=1132056899&act=archive_date&day=15&month=11&year=2005

communities in Astana, Karaganda, Pavlodar and Petropavlovsk (Kazpravda 09/01/2004)[50]

According to State Statistical Committee (*Gaskomstat*) in Kazakhstan in 1993, 159 books and brochures were published, 522 of which were in Kazakh. Out of 1044 periodicals published in Kazakhstan, 262 are in Kazakh, 396 are in Russian, 357 are both in Russian and Kazakh and 29 are in other languages (Abdigaliev 1995). The number of books, brochures and other materials published in Russian significantly outnumbers those in Kazakh. As mentioned by Smailov, out of 1301 titles published in the country in 1999, 867 (66.6 %) were in Russian. Russian is also dominant in printed media. 433 newspapers 81.9 % of the national total in terms of circulation and 168 journals (75.8 % in circulation terms) are published in the Russian language (cited in Smagulova 2006:9).

Publishing activities also became a part of Cultural Heritage State Program[51]. The program helps the spread of Kazakh language by publishing books in various fields such as literature, fiction, philosophy, science, economy linguistics…etc. Within the scope of the program special consideration is given to the publication of works of folklore, national and world humanitarian thought. The program recommends including not only the classical foreign works but the best works of native authors and humanitarians in Kazakh language. In the field of folklore, literature study and art study, publishing of the series of books "*Babalar sozi*" (The words of the ancestors), which unified the Kazakh national folklore: fairy-tales, legends, epic works and historical *dastans* are envisaged. In the section of fiction, world literature is aimed to be introduced through the series of "The library of world literature". In the field of philosophy, both the philosophical views of famous Kazakh thinkers and world philosophical history are reflected in "The philosophical heritage of the Kazakh people from ancient times to our days" and "The world philosophical heritage". The section of history deals with compiling written sources on the history of Kazakhstan in the state language including the works by Herodot,

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[50] "Textbooks from Russia". Online available at http://www.kazpravda.kz/index.php?uin=1152250835&chapter=1096434745&act=archive_date&day=09&month=01&year=2004

[51] "Cultural Heritage State Program". Online available at www.chsp.kz.

Ptolemy and other most notable Arabic, Persian, Turkic-lingual, Chinese, Mongolian, Russian and western written sources along with the series of series "The world historical thought". Archeological works and monuments in Kazakhstan and their history are planned to be described in the series of books "The register of monuments of history and culture" with illustrations. There is also work on the creation of a whole system for the study of historical heritage of the Kazakh people among which are the "Archeology of Kazakhstan" and "Petroglyphs of Kazakhstan. The culturology project aims to have translations of works of past and modern thinkers on culture and civilization, cultural values and cultural phenomena subject of culture and cultural heritage, traditions and innovations in culture, types of culture and others. National traditions and customs of Kazakh will be depicted in the section of Ethnography and Anthropology with illustrated book albums "The Kazakh national traditions and customs" while "The ancient world of law of the Kazakhs" include speeches, edifications and prescriptions directed upon the preservation of unity of the Kazakh people and integrity of the territory. Aside from them, "The written heritage of the Kazakh elite", the series of world sociological, psychological and political thought, classics of economics are planned to be published. There is also a section of "Encyclopedias" which covers the series of different range of encyclopedias and encyclopedic reference-books on literature, culture and art, giving an idea about the history of Kazakh culture, specific literary genres and trends of art.

4.3.3 Translation

Translation activities contribute to the spread of language. In post-Soviet Kazakhstan translation is one of the fields which gained prominence to a greater extent. The lack of qualified translators is deeply felt. With the purpose of preparation of qualified translation cadres the Public Council recommends without delay to open the translation department on the basis of the chair "The theory of fiction translation and literary creativity" and the chair "The foreign philology" at the faculty of philology of the Kazakh National University shall be opened. In addition, new specialties at the philosophical faculty of the Kazakh National University shall

be opened including "the culturologist with the knowledge of foreign languages", "the philosopher with the knowledge of foreign languages" and the "fiction translation". Translation is also important in office work. The Ministry of Culture and Information of Kazakhstan plans to create in 2008 the automated translation system of office-work on the Kazakh language. Computer programs provide for electronic document converter for Kazakh language and automated translation systems for translation from Kazakh to Russian and vice versa. There are innovative computer programs, bilingual phrasebooks and television programs for learning Kazakh language[52]. Distant teaching program called *Kazak Tili Sabaktary* (Kazakh Language Courses) was started. With the aim of development and functioning of Kazakh language, every year seminars, meetings, scientific-theoretical conferences are held[53].

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[52] "Culture Ministry plans to create automated translation system of office-work to Kazakh in 2008". http://www.kztoday.kz/index.php?lang=eng&act=arch&uin=1133435353&chapter=1153420824&n_date=2007-07-18

[53] Yazikoviya Politika v Respublike Kazakhstan (Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at sana.gov.kz/showarticle.php?lang=rus&id=1033 - 53k 2005

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

After gaining its independence in 1991 due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan started to establish a new Kazak state. This required a process of nation building and struggle for the construction of a new Kazakh identity which was complicated by the existence of its multilingual and multinational composition. Particularly problematic was the language planning which became a part of identity politics of the state. This thesis attempted to examine language policies in post-Soviet Kazakhstan and their relations with nationalizing policies. In doing so, I focused on official language policies of the state. The main argument of this thesis is that as contrary to official expectation that language problem can be solved within a short period of time, official policies of language policies in Kazakhstan have had only declarative character up till today and they cannot be expected to be succeful within a short span of time. Declared objectives and realities have differed in terms of language policies. On the one hand we find explicit, *de jure*, official policies of language; on the other hand, there exists the actual linguistic situation within the country.

In order to analyze language planning policies, it was initially necessary to define some terminology and approaches in the field of language planning. Hence, definitions and frameworks for analysis of language planning policies were provided. Hornberger's integrative language planning goals provided a framework for description, classification and a systemic analysis of language policies for the purpose of this thesis This framework created by Hornberger comprises all the other previous models for language planning goals within a single framework. It also offers an explanation for the case of Kazakhstan in that it makes a distinction between policy planning and cultivation planning approaches. It is meaningful for the case of Kazakhstan in that Kazakh language planning still remains at the level of policy and shows little development whereas cultivation planning goals have not been reached, yet.

We found out that the field did not have an overriding theory and it had become interdisciplinary. So, scholars started to benefit from political, economic and social theory to explain language planning cases. It was seen that in the case of Kazakhstan language policies became a part of politics of identity. In order to understand how these policies interacted with language policies, we first needed to find out how this linguistic culture, in which post-Soviet Kazakh language planning was taking place, was formed. For this purpose historical background was provided and Soviet language planning was analyzed with reference to socio-political events of the Soviet era. Specific historical conditions under which language policies were implemented were described in order to cast a light on post-Soviet language policies in Kazakhstan. The Soviet legacy has had a profound effect on Kazakhstan. We found out that historical and geographical factors have contributed to the dominance of Russian language in Kazakhstan. It was seen that Kazakh language lost out to Russian due to Soviet nationalities policies, policies of language, linguistic Russification and demography. Therefore, languages assumed some meanings as a result of socio-economic and political developments where Russian language represented enlightenment, development and modernization whereas Kazakh language symbolized backwardness, underdevelopment and inadequacy. Thus, Soviet era affected the formation of a linguistic culture of which reverberations hindered attainment of language planning goals in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. We can also infer from the analysis of the Soviet era that it also changed language attitudes of the society. After seventy years of planned language policies many Kazakhs feel emotional attachment to Kazakh language that fulfills its symbolic rather than communicative function. As a result of this, Kazakh policy makers became confronted with the dilemma of how to promote the spread of Kazakh language within a population a majority of whom speak Russian.

The goal of Kazakh administration was to achieve a bilingual society where both Kazakh and non-Kazakhs citizens master not only Russian but also Kazakh language. For this purpose Kazakh language was granted a more prestigious status than Russian. So, they aimed to achieve language shift. Analysis of post-Soviet language policies in Kazakhstan made it evident that language was being used by

political elites for power. Combined with the Kazakh nationalizing policies, the issue of language became politicized since language was used as a tool for elites to assert their own power. This policy manifested itself by the condition of learning the state language for official jobs. As stated by Delorme, vehement calls of Kazakh nationalists for mastery of Kazakh language by all citizens of Kazakh and widespread Kazakhization policies, i.e of replacing non-Kazakhs with Kazakhs in leadership positions seems to have made Russians and other non-Russians less willing to learn the state language (1999:2). The goals defined for language policies were too ambitious to be realized within a short period of time. It was unrealistic to expect a linguistic change of attitude of non-Kazakhs within a few years where even Kazakhs were unwilling to learn Kazakh language. Thus, rhetoric and implementation differed. Kazakh language planning showed us that although state is the most powerful agency in language planning policies disregarding the linguistic culture of a society leads to not fulfillment of targeted planning goals. Kazakh administration who believed to achieve a quick language change seems to understand and accept the fact that they are far from their objectives. In line with the hypothesis of this thesis, new planning goals set by the government such as the project of trinity of languages envisaging that Kazakh youth should be able to communicate freely in three languages of Kazakh, Russian and English support the argument that Kazakhs are trying to attain many incompatible goals at the same time.

In order to prove this argument I began to question status, corpus and acquisition planning activities in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Status planning activities were analyzed in harmony with Kazakhization policies. To this end, constitutions, language laws, conceptions of state were inspected. It was inferred that Kazakh language retained its status on paper while the Russian language fulfilling communicative functions within the society. The official policies demonstrated clear examples for the argument of this thesis that official documents published by the state began to accept the problem with the implementation of state language policy and proposed ways to further increase the sphere of use of Kazakh language starting from recent years. An analysis of corpus planning activities reveals that firstly there were not enough specialists in this field. Kazakh language has not yet become

standardized and new terminology did not become widespread among the society. Kazakh language still lack technical and scientific terminology and studies conducted on this issue are not enough. As for equivalences for place names they cannot gain acceptance among the society since they were formed by ruling out aesthetics. Since corpus planning cannot be separated from status and acquisition planning, any problem in these fields unfavorably complicates standardization of Kazakh language.

Pursuant to corpus planning, acquisition planning activities were examined. One could realize that Kazakh did not become a language of education. The reasons behind the failure of Kazakh language in education were examined. It was remarkable that Kazakhstan did not have the necessary infrastructure to provide good quality education in the Kazakh language. They suffered from lack of qualified language teachers and Kazakh language specialists. Thus, quality of education in state language remained rather low since active teaching methods were not used and there was shortage of good-quality textbooks. Combined with the low performance of mixed schools where the use of Kazakh language is suppressed by the Russian speaking environment Kazakh medium education had a bad reputation. This is also one of the main reasons for the withdrawal of many pupils by their parents from Kazakh medium-schools and emergence of a negative stereotype among the society towards Kazakh language education. Due to the absence of specialized academic staff in Kazakh language in various branches and standardized technical and scientific vocabulary, Kazakh language failed to become a language of higher education. Affected by the economic conditions, people did not allocate money for language learning. Many parents could not send their children to preschool establishments. Additionally, preschool establishments are not available everywhere. Kazakh language has not also become a language of workplace, yet. It is clear that Russian still dominated in the workplace. We found out that there were only a few specialists with good command of the state language and the requirement for producing office work in Kazakh language was fulfilled by the translators rather than officials themselves. As for the language of media it appeared that Russian language was the main language of media. It was seen that the law on media requiring half of

all broadcasts to be in the state language was implemented weakly by broadcasting Kazakh language programs at night. It became clear that programs in Kazakh language did not attract Kazakh society since they did not have topicality and were of low quality.

When language planning policies are a matter of concern, one should not expect a sudden change within a short period of time. However, successful implementation of short term planning goals would pave the way for favorable implications for long-term planning targets. Yet, Kazakh administrators constantly lay down unattainable short-term planning goals which cannot be realized within the specified period of time since Kazakh linguistic culture is not compatible with the goals of Kazakh language policies set forth by the state. It is not only Kazakh-Russian bilingualism but also to a certain extent biculturalism that is embedded within the Kazakh society. One can conclude that in such a multiethnic setting where the titular group hardly constitutes the majority and an ethnic nation building process is taking place, language policies cannot lead to a success in the short run, which might well complicate the attainment of long-term goals.

Kazakhstan faces the dilemma of constructing a new nation-state with a multilingual and multiethnic society. On the one hand, public policies are required to respond to linguistic diversity and political claims of ethnic groups. On the other hand, they try to create a common identity around –what they refer to as- "the leading ethnos" of Kazakhs. While the civic dimension of Kazakh nation-building and their desire to preserve and respect this multiethnic structure are constantly stressed, the Kazakh administration do not refrain from underlining the supremacy of the Kazakhs. In line with their policy of creating a common national identity within a nation-state, they have been formulating language planning goals to this end. Thus, this paradoxical policy has produced mixed results in Kazakhstan and uneven spread of languages occurred. Saying that there is a total failure would be unfair since Kazakh language has begun to be more heard, spoken and learnt in Kazakhstan as compared to the Soviet period. Kazakh became more widely used in Kazakh-dominated rural places and in administrative domains whereas Russian language continued to retain its position as language of communication.

Some scholars draw attention to the fact that Kazakh population increases more rapidly than the Russian population and hence, eventually Kazakh language will have preeminence over the Russian language. Others believe that gradual penetration of English as also proposed by the President Nazarbaev will help to break the dominance of Russian language in the future. These projections will take a long time to test since language planning is a gradual process. Not all state language planning leads to success however, if Kazakhstan can manage a carefully planned and integrated language planning policies reflecting the needs of the society, Kazakh language will succeed to become the language of Kazakh people.

A further research step in Kazakh language planning policies should be to make micro-scale analyses so that they are combined with macro-scale factors. The need for a comprehensive examination of actual ethno-linguistic situation in the country is deeply felt. Studies such as language attitudes, factors affecting people's language choice and attitude, impact of official policies in actual linguistic settings, conditions under which language shift occurs and factors affecting this process, interpersonal relations and communication, language in classroom need to be carried out.

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