

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ATTITUDES OF KAZAKHS TOWARDS THE LATIN
ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHY REFORM IN KAZAKH

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ABSTRACT

Raua-Banu Kadirova: The Sociolinguistic Attitudes of Kazakhs Towards the Latin Alphabet and Orthography Reform in Kazakh
(Under the direction of David Mora-Marin)

This research study examines the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform by means of the sociolinguistic attitude survey. The recent announcement of Nursultan Nazarbaev, the Kazakh president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, about an intention of the Kazakh government to have shifted the current Cyrillic-based Kazakh alphabet to the Latin seemed to lead to the division of the Kazakh society into two opposite groups. The president announced a full support of the Latin alphabet adoption by various sections of the population of Kazakhstan, although there is not or no publicly available a research study or official consensus regarding the reform in Kazakh. Therefore, this research study is directly motivated by this linguistic situation in Kazakhstan. To find out whether such an alphabet and orthography reform is triggered by a linguistic need of Kazakh, an interview with some Kazakh language experts was also conducted in addition to the sociolinguistic survey. As a result, both the Kazakh language users and experts unanimously support the current reform and associate it with a language need and globalization.

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INTRODUCTION

This study examined the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh. The written Kazakh language has been based on several alphabet systems throughout history. Hence, a history of the written Kazakh shows that it has used alphabets like Old Turkic (Runic), Arabic, Latin, and Cyrillic. Currently, Kazakh is based on the Cyrillic alphabet, but the government of Kazakhstan is planning to have shifted to the Latin alphabet by 2025 and reform the orthography. This alphabet and orthography reform was initiated by Nursultan Nazarbaev, the President of Kazakhstan, at the XII session of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan in 2006. However, some sources state that this kind of alphabet shift has been a part of the government's language planning agenda since Kazakhstan achieved independence in 1991.

Not only is each of these alphabets visually very different from one another, but the motivation, purpose, and circumstance in which each of them was adopted also varied considerably. That is, if some of them were adopted voluntarily and by language need, then others were enforced by governing regime of the time. Most importantly, each of these alphabet changes had tremendous effects on Kazakh in terms of language structure, language development, language domain, etc. Constantly changing the alphabet of Kazakh may have affected language users, too, and may have influenced their particular linguistic attitudes towards it. Indeed, a great number of language scholars demonstrated that introduction of a language variation, language feature, second language will be successful or not heavily depends on the linguistic attitudes of people. Therefore, the fact that there is no publicly

available study or official consensus on the attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform directly motivated this research study.

As a matter of fact, the idea of alphabet shift was not initially generated only in Kazakhstan, but also in other Turkic countries which had already shifted to the Latin alphabet following the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, a number of Turkic countries like Turkey, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan had already adopted the Latin alphabet and reformed their orthography. Encouragement of an adoption of the Latin alphabet by these Turkic countries is mostly justified by the fact that they are not adopting a new alphabet, but returning to a previously used alphabet at the beginning of the XX centuries. In turn, it might lead to assumptions about the formation of a consolidation of Turkic countries. Whether this is true or not, but comparing the language reform experiences of each of them is beneficial for further predictions and potential effects of the Latin alphabet introduction on the Kazakh language. The thesis, therefore, has set multiple goals as follow:

- to provide a historical background and comparative analysis of language reforms in Kazakh;
- to compare and contrast the language experience of other Turkic countries that have already shifted to the Latin alphabet;
- to examine and generalize attitudes of Kazakhs toward the current reformation;
- to contribute to a development of Kazakh linguistics and make Kazakh-based material available for English readers.

Linguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform were assessed by means of a linguistic attitude survey which implemented a direct method of measurement. Additionally, an interview was also conducted with the Kazakh language experts to elicit their linguistic stance for the current alphabet and orthography reform. Being able to reveal the sociolinguistic attitudes of both ordinary Kazakh language users and

experts will help one understand whether such a reform is motivated by a language necessity. The survey was posted on the internet and 122 responses obtained from various age groups were analyzed. Meanwhile, a list of written interview questions was sent to 10 preliminarily determined Kazakh language experts and 7 responses out of them were analyzed. The analyzed results showed that majority of Kazakhs have a positive attitude towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform and perceive it as a necessity of a globalization. The survey results are comparable with the language expert interview results. It seems that both survey participants and language experts support the current reform and show a great enthusiasm for it.

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter supplies the sociolinguistic background of Kazakhstan and the historical background of the written Kazakh language. The second chapter describes the history of language policies related to Kazakh and their effects on Kazakh language use, development, essence, etc. at various times. The third chapter reviews comparative case studies: Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan. Both similarities and differences in each language reform of these Turkic countries were examined and compared with the current language reform in Kazakhstan. This gives us the opportunity to see potential scenarios which might play out in Kazakh and the possible outcomes of this alphabet and orthography reform. The fourth chapter partially describes linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan to demonstrate a current language use. It will also help one see if there is any change in the current linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan in terms of the current alphabet and orthography reform. The fifth chapter reviews the concept of sociolinguistic attitudes. The role of a sociolinguistic attitude study and its importance in sociolinguistics are covered as well. A brief review of previous studies is provided and three basic methods of measurement of linguistic attitudes are described. The sixth chapter is devoted to the methods, procedure, and general results of both the sociolinguistic attitude survey and interview of the Kazakh

language experts of the study and discusses the general results of both the survey and expert interview. Finally, the last chapter presents the results of the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform, and the interview with Kazakh language experts

CHAPTER 1: SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF KAZAKHSTAN AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO WRITTEN KAZAKH LANGUAGE

1.1 Introduction

Before proceeding to elicit the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the current reform in Kazakh, it is useful to be mindful of some information about Kazakhstan such as a current sociodemographic, sociolinguistic and historical background of Kazakhstan and its languages. Additionally, a brief review of historical background information of a written Kazakh and language reforms in Kazakh will provide one with a better understanding of possible underlying reasons for the formation of certain linguistic attitudes towards the current reform.

1.2 Sociolinguistic and Historical Background of Kazakhstan and its languages.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is one of the former Republics of the Soviet Union and became independent only in 1991. Kazakhstan is located in Central Asia and borders with Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. It is identified as one of the ‘landlocked’ countries due to lack of a direct access to ocean. Although Kazakhstan is the 9th largest country in the world and its territory is 2,717,300 km², its population is only about 18 million. It is a secular country; however, two major religions, Islam and Orthodox Christianity, are represented.

Kazakhstan is a multiethnic country with two major ethnic groups, Kazakhs and Russians. The other minority ethnic groups are Ukrainians, Germans, Poles, Koreans, Tatars, Uzbeks, Uighurs, etc. Kazakhs constitute 63.1% of the total population, whereas

Russians and the other ethnic groups constitute 23.7% and 13.2% respectively (Official Consensus of 2009). Accordingly, Kazakhstan is also a multilingual country. There are 126 ethnic groups and languages; however, 43 languages spoken in Kazakhstan have fewer than 200 speakers, and overwhelmingly these are the languages indigenous to Siberia (Suleimenova & Smagulova, 2005).

The Kazakh language is a member of Turkic language family, especially of the Kipchak branch. Like the other Turkic language peculiarities, Kazakh is also an agglutinative language and renowned for its *synharmony* (*vowel harmony*). Concerning the syntactic structure of Kazakh, it is a head final language with right branching tree form and has SOV word order. Currently, Kazakh is spoken as a native language by nearly 10 million people in Kazakhstan and by other 5 million people in all over the world. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Article 7), Kazakh is the official state language, while Russian is another official language of Kazakhstan. Therefore, Russian is used on par with Kazakh for official purposes in the state and local government structure.

The main languages used in the school system are Kazakh (1,631,500 pupils) and Russian (1,326,500 pupils). Additionally, about 3.3% of school children attend minority language schools; secondary education is available in Uzbek (83,200 pupils, 80 schools), Uighur (21,700 pupils, 14 schools), Tajik (2,700 pupils, 3 schools), Ukrainian (1 school), German (300 pupils), Turkish and Tatar (Smagulova, 2006).

The concept of ‘native language’ is perceived quite differently among Kazakhs than in a worldwide practice. For example, 98.3% of Kazakhs can understand spoken Kazakh and 1.7% cannot speak or write in it, although they may claim that Kazakh is their native language (Official Census of 2009). In contrast, 92% of Kazakhs are proficient in Russian and Russian might even be the only source of communication at school and home. However, Kazakhs still perceive it as a second language (Smailov, 2004; Official Census of 2009).

To understand how Kazakhstan became so heterogeneous, we need to review some historical facts about Kazakhstan and its population.

In the middle of XV century, several Turkic-speaking tribes emerged together as a distinct Kazakh nation. Kazakh rulers were forced to seek military protection from the Russian Empire in the beginning of the XVIII century to protect their own territories from invasions of Zhungars (Oirat Mongols), China, Bashkir and Kalmyks. After a successful agreement between the Russian Empire and the Kazakh Khanate, there was a stabilization period in the territory. However, in 1820 the Tsarist Empire started to build military garrisons in the north-western, northern and eastern territories of the Kazakh Khanate to strengthen its imperial rule in the territory. Later, this triggered the Russian and Cossack immigration into the inner territories of Kazakhs. According to Smagulova (2006), the first Russian and Ukrainian immigrants came after the Tsarist government eliminated the serfdom in 1889 and established a 'Law on Voluntary Relocation of Rural Citizens to State Lands'. Russian peasants started to immigrate to Kazakhs' land and appropriate the most fertile grounds along rivers and lakes, and forced the nomad Kazakhs to move from the north and north-east to the south and east.

A construction of the Trans-Siberia Railway (1891- 1905) caused the number of Russian immigrants to increase rapidly. The cities built by the early Russian military outposts or commercial centers were located far from population centers inhabited by Kazakhs in the south (William, 1998). In contrast, they are tightly connected with each other in present-day northern and eastern Kazakhstan and they are more closely linked with Russian cities such as Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, Omsk, and Barnaul than southern Kazakh cities such as Almaty or Shymkent. The Russian and Ukrainian population reached 544,000 (12.8% of the total population) and 79,000 (1.9% of the total population) respectively, while Kazakhs constituted 3,39 million (82%) of the total population.

The next wave of immigrants into Kazakhs' land was triggered by P. Stolypin's¹ Agrarian Reform (1900-1917) in which the Russian peasants were encouraged to emigrate from their communities and settle down in Kazakhs' territory to colonize it by cultivation of fertile lands. The Tsarist Empire policy gave full freedom to locators of any social class and any ethnic background to relocate to any area. Consequently, the population of Kazakhstan reached 5.4 million, of which 67% were ethnic Kazakhs, 28% Russians or Ukrainians, 1.7% Tatars, 0.7% Germans and 0.3% Moldovans in 1911 (Shaimerdenova, 2000; Masonov et.al., 2001; Dave, 2004).

In 1917, the October Revolution took place and caused the downfall of the Russian Empire. As a consequence, the Bolsheviks came into power. The next period of immigration into Kazakhstan took place during the affiliation of Kazakhs into the Soviet Union as a Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakh ASSR) in 1920 and as a separate Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakh SSR) in 1936. If, in 1926 Kazakhs constituted more than half of the total population (58%), it dramatically decreased to half within the next decade (1926-1937). If the policy of resettlement of non-indigenous population caused their numbers to increase to 1.5 million, at the same time it caused over 1.5 million Kazakh deaths as a result of forced sedentarization (Smagulova 2006; Khazanov, 1995).

Other factors that also caused the death of ethnic Kazakhs were 'manmade' famine and Stalin's repression of Kazakh intellectuals. In 1930, the forced collectivization policy and its 'manmade' famine resulted in the loss of 1.5 to 2 million ethnic Kazakhs' lives (Kulzhanova, 2012). During that period, many Turkic ethnics such as Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uyghur, etc. had to leave their home land due to the famine and the Soviets. Moreover, in late 1930, Stalin's deportation policies of political and criminal convicts and 'non-socialists' to Kazakhstan was the main influence in making Kazakhstan heterogeneous. Kazakhs sheltered

¹ The 3rd Prime Minister of the Russia and Minister of Internal Affairs of the Empire during 1906-1911.

444,005 Germans, 244,674 Chechens, 95,241 Koreans, 80,844 Ingushs, 35,735 Karachai, 28,130 Poles, 28,497 Meskhetian Turks, 16,819 Balkars and other nationalities from all over the Soviet Republic. Only in 1953, after the death of Stalin, was it possible for deported people to return to their homelands, although many of them still live in Kazakhstan (Masonov et al., 2001). Another major reason behind the massive influx of Slavs to Kazakhs' land was the campaign of the "Virgin Lands". The campaign and a rapid industrialization brought another 2 million Slavs to Kazakhs' land. Especially, the urban population increased predominantly because of Slavic immigrants, while most Kazakhs lived in villages and only 27% of them lived in cities.

As a result of all these reforms, industrialization policies, and World War II, Kazakhstan became the only former Soviet Republic in which the titular nation was a minority in their own territory. For example, in 1960 Kazakhs constituted only 30% of the population, whereas Russians accounted for 43 % (William, 1998). Moreover, Russians were not only the majority, but also became political, cultural and social elites because Kazakh intelligentsia was purged due to their active opposition to those policies at the time. By beheading Kazakh intellectuals, the Soviet government opened the way for the spread of a new pro-Russian elite who were also poorly educated members of society (Roy, 2000). By the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the demography of Kazakhs had slightly changed. Based on the census of 1989, Kazakhs constituted 40% of the population, Russians 37.4%, Ukrainians 6%, Germans almost 6%, Tatars and Uzbeks 2% each, and other minorities. Such a demographic change can be explained by two factors:

- mass emigration of Russians, Germans, and other nationalities to their home country;
- high birthrate among Kazakhs and immigration of ethnic Kazakhs from other countries.

To date, the demography of Kazakhstan has dramatically changed, especially of the Kazakh share. Since 1991, ethnic Kazakhs have repatriated to Kazakhstan from countries like Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, China, Afghanistan, and Mongolia. They are officially given the status of ‘*oralman*’ (*returnee*) and they are strategically encouraged to settle in the northern and north-eastern parts of the country. Relocation of the capital city (previously Alma-Ata, later Astana) to the north of the country and urbanization of Kazakhs also contributed to the redistribution of the Kazakh population. According to Smagulova (2006), the Kazakh share among the young generation is significantly greater and she predicts the demographic situation to be very different in 20 years.

1.3 Historical Background to Written Language and Language Reforms

1.3.1. The Old Turkic Scripts (the Orkhon-Yenisey)

In the middle of VI century, several Turkic-speaking tribes united to form a Turkic Khanate in Central Asia. The Turkic Khanate had its own territory and the Old Turkic language. To record the language, the Old Turkic alphabet was used. Because of an intractability of the writing form of the Khanate to researchers until the end of XIX century and its superficial similarities with Germanic runic scripts, modern scholars called it a “runic” script, too. No one had been specialized in this sphere until recent times. While many scholars had difficulties ascribing this script to a particular tribe, Vilhelm Thomsen, a Danish philologist, was able to decipher the Orkhon-Yenisei manuscripts and proved that they belonged to Turkic-speaking tribes by relying on the Turkic language peculiarities in 1893.

The first manuscripts, indicating the social structures, degree of cultural developments and language peculiarities of Turkic-speaking tribes, were found in Orkhon, Yenisey and Talas rivers (Mongolia, Siberia, and Zhetisu (part of a contemporary Kazakhstan) respectively). The *Orkhon-Yenisey* manuscripts are invaluable sources for investigating early linguistic evolutionary stages of current Turkic languages. In the manuscripts, scholars

frequently encounter some features of lexicon, phonology, and grammar peculiarities in accordance with current Turkic languages (Azerbaijan, Altai, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uzbek, Uygur, Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkurt, etc.) The *Orkhon-Yenisei* and *Talas* manuscripts were clearly a common means of writing for all Turkic-speaking tribes before each of them became a distinct nation. As a result, there is still ongoing debate among turcologists about the creator and original place of generation of the Orkhon-Yenisey manuscripts.

In turcological literature, variations in the of Orkhon-Yenisey manuscript collection are divided into three major groups:

1. *Yenisey manuscripts*. In the upper branch of the Yenisey river as well as in Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), Yakut ASSR and Mongolia, a lot of manuscripts were found. Compared to the Orkhon, the Yenisey manuscripts are quite old and date back to V-VII centuries.

2. *Talas manuscripts*. In 1896, three manuscripts of the Orkhon-Yenisey manuscript collection were found in the Talas river. A. Kallaur, who was a chief of a former Aulieata county and regional researcher, found these manuscripts. Until that time, only six stones and boards in Old Turkic manuscripts had been found. Later, I.A. Batmanov, a member of the Kyrgyz SSR Science Academy, conducted a thorough investigation of the Talas river and discovered several new manuscripts, increasing the total number to eleven.

3. *Orkhon manuscripts*. These manuscripts belonged to the VII-VIII centuries and were mostly devoted to the prince and emperor such as Bilge Kagan and Kul Tigin respectively. The Tonyukuk inscription is about the legendary origins of Turks, the golden age of their history, and various defeats and victories.

Similar to the Orkhon-Yenisey manuscripts, there are some manuscripts found in Azov and Novochoerkassk in the Don river, and among the towns Mayats and Saint Miklos in Hungary. Some scholars do not exclude the possibility that crockeries with the Old Turkic

scripts, found in Miklos, might have been brought to Hungary in the VIII-IX centuries by the Bulgars, a Turkic semi-nomadic warrior tribe. It seems that Turkic-speaking tribes such as Khazars, Pechenegs, Bulgars and Kipchaks had been expanding their territories to the lower branches of the Volga river, and the Don, Azov, Kama, and Danube rivers. They reached even as far as Hungary and Lithuania. Based on these facts, scholars and historians think that it is possible to explain the widespread of the Old Turkic (runic) scripts.

A great number of scholars have contributed to the Old Turkic scripts. However, despite such contributions, little is known about them. For example, scholars still do not know whether these manuscripts are products of one type of writing or combination of multinational symbols. Moreover, there is no evidence about the time of its evolution or its generator.

1.3.2 The Arabic Script and its Replacement by Latin script

The next alphabet which was used in *Chagatai* (a common language for all Turkic-speaking people of Central Asia) was an Arabic alphabet. The Arabic alphabet was used during the 900 years from X to XX centuries.

The first concerns about using the Arabic alphabet for the Kazakh language trace back to the end of XIX century. For example, in 1896 an article of A. Kurmanbaev, who was a supporter of I. Altynsarin's idea of enlightenment, was published in the "Dala ualayaty" newspaper. In that article, he addressed some issues about variegated Kazakh written language with the Nogai (Tatar) language (Syzdykova, 2013). The reason for such concern was because some Turkic-speaking people such as Uzbeks and Tatars had invented their own orthography rules based on the Arabic alphabet at the time (Tolybaev, 1999). According to Tolybaev, because Kazakh books were published in the Arabic alphabet and orthography used by Tatars, Kazakh words sounded more Tatar than Kazakh. Consequently, the

dissimilarity of the Tatar orthography and adaptation of Kazakh sentences to the Tatar orthography caused problems for Kazakhs to read.

The orthography of Arabic, Persian and Russian borrowings

If this was the first issue regarding a Kazakh vocabulary, later, national orthography and punctuation problems were taking place. In 1896, the educator D. Sultangazin mentioned in his “About Kazakh-based writing” article the borrowings of foreign language orthography in Kazakh. He was the first person who brought the orthography issue up among other scholars. The author proposed to write the Arabic and Persian borrowings based on the Kazakh pronunciation rules because of their long existence and already phonologically adapted forms in Kazakh. Conversely, he held a different principle for the Russian borrowings (Syzdykova, 2013). First, he did not agree that they should borrow more words from the Arabic and Persian languages into Kazakh, but he encouraged them to pay more attention to Russian words. He made the following notes on the orthography of Russian borrowings: “Russian borrowings are divided into two groups. Words borrowed at an earlier time, which are already adapted into Kazakh phonology, should stay the same, while words borrowed through the writings should be based on the Russian orthography rule as far as the Arabic alphabet allows. We should write Russian words as similar as possible” (Syzdykova, 2013). For example, Sultangazin claimed that a word *general* (*генерал*) should be written on the basis of the Russian orthography instead of *zhanaral/ zhandaral* (*жанарал, жандарал*) in a Kazakh orthography. The “Dala ualayaty” newspaper abided by this rule. Apparently, one of the ongoing Kazakh orthography debates, which has been taking place since the XIX century, is whether to write the Russian borrowings, adopted through writings, in accordance with its own ortho-grammar or in a “broken” Kazakh form. Currently, the Kazakh orthography is based on the ‘Sultangazin’s rule’.

However, the most important linguistic issue was the Arabic alphabet itself. Towards the end of the XIX century, there were a number of scholars such as R. Duisenbaev, O. Alzhanov, and I. Beisenuly, as well as several newspaper articles indicating the inability of a pure Arabic alphabet to transmit Kazakh specific sound system peculiarities, and brought up an idea of the Kazakh orthography simplification. For example, they described the impracticality of Arabic alphabet for Kazakh language due to its 3 vowels in the sound inventory which clearly showed a necessity for supplement or invention of a new alphabet (R. Duisenbaev “a problem about Kazakh alphabet” DUG, 1897, #10). During the end of the XIX century and the beginning of XX centuries, a public voice also started openly expressing opinions, publishing articles about the orthography of Kazakh manuscripts, and indicating problems of Kazakh punctuation rules (Syzdykova, 2013).

Christian Missionary

Meanwhile, N.I. Ilminskii, who used such language disagreements for missionary goals, promoted the idea of conducting alphabetic reform among educated Kazakhs and adopting the Cyrillic alphabet (Mazhitaeva et.al. 2014). For instance, in 1899 in the “Dala ualayaty” newspaper D. Sulatangazin raised the issue of the Kazakh alphabet and tried to compare and contrast the practicality of the Arabic alphabet and the Russian alphabet, which was offered by Christian missionaries, for the Kazakh phonology system. Nevertheless, D. Sultangazin did not announce any concrete solution to the Arabic alphabet problem. According to N.I. Ilminskii, any kind of alphabet is adopted due to a religion, no matter what nation it is. For example, Europeans adopted the Latin alphabet due to the Latin church, Russian’s alphabet- the Slavic church, and the Arabic alphabet among Muslims was due to the spread of the Islamic religion. Therefore, Ilminskii and other like-minded people were aiming at achieving the following goals by introducing the Cyrillic alphabet to Turkic nations: first, to make them refuse Islam and become orthodox Christians; and second, to

dispossess a native language (Saduakas, 2007). By involving some Kazakh intellectuals, they tried to show that the alphabetic shift was initiated by Kazakhs (Baitursynov collection, 1992). However, according to Mazhitaeva (1999) such kind of task had been already set a long before the educated Kazakhs started to talk about it (Saduakas, 2007). Saduakas provides a quote from Ilminskii's work published in 1883 Kazan:

“Despite indifference to the Islamic religion among Kazakh students studying in Russian schools, they are fond of their own mother tongue. If we can explain them that the Russian alphabet is the main way of preserving Kazakh language peculiarities, they would help us in the process of introducing the Russian alphabet”.

It is apparent from the quote above that the writing issue became a tool of social politics in achieving Ilminskii's missionary goals to change the destiny of the nation. As a result, some educated Kazakhs called the old orthography “*tatarshina*” or “*arabshina*” (Tatarish, or Arabish respectively) and joined those who tried to depict it as negative (Uali, 1999).

A. Baitursynov and his Arabic alphabet reform

Even though the first idea of the Arabic alphabet reform was generated among Kazakh scholars during the 1880-1890, it was only in 1910-1915 that it was conducted by A. Baitursynov. A. Baitursynov was a great enlightener, social activist, and the first Kazakh linguist who could understand the underlying sociopolitical meaning of the language issue and tackle the problem correctly. For example, he shaped the grammar of the Kazakh language through creating a Kazakh national alphabet on the basis of the modified Arabic alphabet, and by setting orthography and punctuation rules. Especially, he identified and documented the classification of vowel harmony and its synchronic harmo-position on the basis of scientific principles. To have a Kazakh specific alphabet, Baitursynov decided not to adopt a new alphabet, but rather he reformed the Arabic alphabet due to the following reasons:

- its assimilation into the Kazakh language and its long use for ten centuries;

- its use not only by Kazakhs, but also by the other Turkic nations (Tatar, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, etc.)

Therefore, A. Baitursynov decided to create a modified Arabic alphabet, specifically adapted to Kazakh phonology. The fact that A. Baitursynov had been teaching children in rural schools during 1895-1909 shows his familiarity with the core problems of the Arabic alphabet and its use in Kazakh writing. As a result, his experience with the language and full awareness of the problem made him succeed in alphabetic reform. For example, the Arabic alphabet has some letters which you do not come across in Kazakh; on the other hand, it drastically lacks some essential sound segments specific to Kazakh. Becoming aware of this, Baitursynov removed all unnecessary extra characters, and invented new characters which enabled the expression of the Kazakh specific sound inventory. Furthermore, he correctly identified features of Kazakh segments such as minimal pairs of vowels (soft vs. hard, open vs. close, rounded vs. unrounded) and consonants (voiced, voiceless, and sonorant).

Although some grammar terminologies and rules of Kazakh had been formed by and implemented in manuals of I. Altynsarin, they were not widely used because of its limited ability in use. However, A. Baitursynov was able to contribute to its widespread use by developing them on the basis of scientific language rules, systems, and structure principles. Later, this writing became popular among people as ‘The Baitursynov’s writing’ or ‘The new orthography’. In 1912, the first manuals of instruction, compiled by Baitursynov, were published in Orenburg. This aroused an aspiration of many people to gain knowledge. Until 1930, Kazakhs had been taught in this modified alphabet, which consequently entailed the increase of the literacy rate among Kazakhs.

At the same time, during the first decade of the XX century, a number of newspapers such as ‘Aikap’, ‘Kazakh’, ‘Kazakhstan’ and journal ‘Shora’, which had quite a good public voice in the society, continued the tradition of the ‘Dala ualayaty’ newspaper in bringing

issues regarding the Kazakh written language, alphabet, terminology, punctuation and textbook to public attention. Generally, these newspapers published articles of A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov and M. Seralin, which were systematically presented and bore scientific points.

Ultimately, the Kazakh national alphabet came to exist and was officially accepted in 1924 in Orenburg at the first Kyrgyz-Kazakh Congress. It is also believed that even the neighboring Kyrgyz nation used this alphabet.

Evaluation of A. Baitursynov's work by Russian and other modern scholars.

Modern phoneticians admitted that A. Baitursynov had successfully identified the sound inventory of the Kazakh language as having synharmonic phonemes. Whether to create the Kazakh national alphabet or grammar (morphology) category, A. Baitursynov adhered to a paradigmatic system of linguistics. "Paradigmatic system" refers to the systematizing of two types of a language unit by juxtaposing them with each other (Syzdykova, 2013). Therefore, Baitursynov considered the minimal pairs of vowels and consonants while constructing the Kazakh alphabet. From the point of modern linguistic science, it was recognized as a great achievement of that time based on scientific proofs. Additionally, professors E.D. Polivanov and N.F. Yakovlev, famous Russian scholars, highly evaluated Baitursynov's work. E.D. Polivanov called this script "The Baitursynov's alphabet" and pointed out that this alphabet did not need a further correction. Also, he pointed out that this was a product of a historical need which developed national graphics of Kazakhs. However, only Mahambet Zhusipuly, a scholar from Tashkent, could systematically and scientifically present and prove the scientific value and majesty of Baitursynov's alphabet and orthography norms in his doctoral dissertation. Therefore, Baitursynov is considered to be the first reformist and constructor of the Kazakh orthography rules based on the Arabic alphabet.

Unfortunately, works of A. Baitursynov were suppressed by an administrative-command system of the Soviet power in order to prevent stabilization of the alphabet in society (Mamyrbekova, 2012). Since 1924, supporters of the Latin alphabet had been already formed and they were actively opposing the Arabic alphabet despite how successfully the Arabic alphabet had been reformed. Subsequently, an alphabetic debate started to take place in Kazakh society.

The alphabet debates mostly concerned the following options:

- keeping the old Arabic alphabet
- keeping with the modified Arabic alphabet
- adopting the Latin alphabet
- introducing a Russian alphabet

Many educated Kazakhs expressed their concerns about the importance and future of the writing system in the cultural and spiritual lives of the next generation. However, since 1924, the centralistic power expressed its intention to have a common Soviet alphabet within the Soviet Union. Additionally, Azerbaijan SSR, a Turkic-speaking nation of the Union, had already adopted it. Nonetheless, Mamyrova (2012) claims that the Soviet administration realized that its main political goal of *Russification* would not be achieved until the "Islamic religion" was abolished. Therefore, it was necessary to expel Arabic script first. Hence, the Arabic script, which in its time played a positive role in social development, now seemed to be a reverse of the historical progress. Mamyrbekova (2012) further argues that adoption of the Latin alphabet was just an intermediate stage of the overall Arab-to-Cyrillic alphabet change process because the Soviet administration realized that they might have had the uprising of the masses with the support of the 'Jadids'. Therefore, the administrative-command power decided to move to the Latin alphabet first.

1.3.3 The Latin Script and its Replacement by Cyrillic script

In the first half of XX century, the Latinization process had spread not only among Kazakhs but also among other Turkic ethnics such as Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Turkmen of the Union. Although Turkey was not a part of the Soviet Union, it was one of the first Turkic ethnics along with Azerbaijan SSR, which was a part of, to adopt the Latin alphabet. Later, the Latin alphabet was progressively taking over in the political-social lives of all Turkic-speaking nations under control of the Soviet Union (Syzdykova, 2013).

The initial stage of this process was the adoption of the alphabet and corresponding orthography rules, which had socio-political characteristics. Many conferences and meetings were held regarding the alphabet debate in 1924 in Baku. In those meetings and conferences, a lot of science and practice based reports and debates were done. As a result, Kazakh educators and scholars divided into ‘Arabs’ and ‘Latins’. The group of ‘Arabs’ led by A. Baitursynov and M. Dulatov was the minority, however. Since Azerbaijan SSR had been already using the Latin alphabet, it accordingly invited the other Turkic-speaking nations to join. As the result, the adoption of the Latin alphabet was decided for all Turkic ethnics of the Soviet Union.

Whether it was to reform the old alphabet or adopt a new one, problems of the orthography and punctuation were always important in Kazakh writing. Concomitant with the orthography problems, punctuation was also deeply discussed in conferences, debates and newspaper articles. Thus, since the last decades of the XIX century, the importance of correct and accurate writing and punctuation in written Kazakh had been discussed, and has always been put forward as a crucial problem to solve. For example, the lack of punctuation marks such as capital letter, paragraph, hyphen, colon, semi colon, etc. in the Arabic script caused difficulties in accurate writing not only for writers but also in comprehension of texts for readers, especially for schoolchildren.

As a consequence of scientific debates and conferences lasting five years, Kazakhs had to move from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet in 1929. Accordingly, the orthography rules of the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet were separately analyzed in a conference held in Kyzyl-Orda and started to be implemented in schools, publications, and typography. However, use of the alphabet which had been adopted with such effort was not to be enjoyed by the Kazakhs for long. Approximately ten years later, Kazakhs were forced to reject the Latin alphabet because the Communist imperial policy with great zeal introduced the Cyrillic alphabet to all Republics of the Union (Syzdykova, 2013). According to Grenoble (2003), there were weak scientific and theoretical justifications for supporting the adoption of the ‘Russian script’. It did not have a long historical tradition of use like the Arabic script, nor was it suitable for the Kazakh phonology, and did not have an advantageous priority for writing compared to other writing systems. Moreover, it did not offer any dramatic changes in punctuation rules for the accurate writing of Kazakh. The only advantage it had was the orthography rules which were beneficial for Russian terminology or borrowings which came from the Russian language. For instance, Syzdykova (2013) claims that the new orthography of the introduced Cyrillic alphabet did not bother to adapt foreign borrowings, especially the Russian ones, to Kazakh phonology, but decided to write them on the basis of the Russian orthography, which seemed an easy way to solve the problems.

Unlike the process of Latin alphabet adoption, the process of the Cyrillic alphabet shift was held without any All-Union meetings and conferences, scientific-scholarly debates, or preparation tasks. The previous decree about the Latin alphabet adoption was removed for all Turkic ethnics of the Union, instead there was a new decree which urged the use of the new alphabet in the Fall of 1940 (Syzdykova, 2013).

Without a doubt, people expressed their concerns about the new alphabet and script at meetings, conferences, and newspaper articles prior to the movement. However, all of these

concerns were regarding only the punctuation rules of the new script because Kazakh scholars, educators, and people did not have any authority to choose the type of alphabet they would use. Such a decision was clearly done for the Russian imperial interest and communist ideology. Unlike the process of Latin alphabet adoption, there was a strong pressure from the centralistic power and the interest of science and education were avoided. Moreover, A. Baitursynov, A. Bokeikhanov, M. Dulatov, T. Shonanov, K. Kemengerov, and other Kazakh scholars, who could fight for national interests and speak on equal footing, had been accused as ‘enemies of the people’ and repressed during Stalin’s repression in 1937-1938.

Without having enough time to spread and learn the new Cyrillic alphabet, the social life of all in the Union was suddenly changed by World War II. The possibilities to investigate and polish the orthography and punctuation thoroughly were not the priority of the Soviet language planners for the next four years of the war. Beginning at the end of 1940, nevertheless, Kazakhs started to use the new Cyrillic alphabet in periodical publications, typography and education. Towards the end of WWII, the alphabet had become stabilized and Kazakhs were quite fluent in writing and reading periodicals written in the new alphabet (Syzdykova, 2013).

Because proper orthography and punctuation rules were not introduced at the beginning, they caused more complications in the writings. Only in 1957 were problems caused by the Cyrillic alphabet identified and some changes were made in the Kazakh orthography rules. The other changes and supplements were done in 1983 by the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Until recently, Kazakhs have been using the last redaction of the orthography rules with minor changes. Somewhat orthographical dictionaries have been published based on these rules. The process of russification of the native language and writing of Kazakhs lasted until 1990 (Saduakas, 2007).

1.4 Conclusion

As one may easily notice, the Kazakh language has been used in various alphabet systems for various reasons, circumstances, and motivations. As a result, each language reform had its own effect on the language and caused some changes in the language. Therefore, historical events had no less important impacts on a language. Knowing a history of not only language users, but also their written language might shed a light on some things that trigger particular changes, adoption, or elimination of one or another language variation, linguistic features, language policy, etc. Consequently, it is apparent why some scholars study language from a comparative historical point of view. Concerning the current research study, a background information of both sociolinguistic and historical helps one understand and discover possible underlying reasons, triggers, motivation, or explanations for the current linguistic reformation in Kazakh.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF LANGUAGE POLICIES RELATED TO KAZAKH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a historical background information of language policies related to Kazakh. It is well known that any type of policies is oriented to achieve particular outcomes or goals. Therefore, a description of the history of language policies regarding Kazakh will enable one to understand deeper and better the current linguistic situation in Kazakhstan. The chapter covers three language policies of three different time periods such as the Pre-Soviet (the Tsarist Russia), the Soviet, and the Independent Republic of Kazakhstan. Especially, the chapters demonstrate implemented types of language policies and their relative impacts on the Kazakh language.

2.2 Language Policy in the Pre-Soviet Era

According to Belikov & Krysin (2001), during the XI-XII centuries implementation of a *Russification* policy of the Russian Empire was slow or was nonexistent. On the contrary, East-European languages as well as Turkic languages were widely spoken because of the exogamy and alliance with steppe people respectively. Therefore, multilingualism was widely spread at the time.

Initially, the Russian Empire started to incorporate territories in Eastern Europe and established its principalities there during the XIII-XVII centuries. Although Old Russian was assigned as the language of the principalities, the Tsarist administration was often content to communicate with local populations via translators (Pavlenko, 2011). The same policy was implemented with Turkic speaking tribes. Then, Russia continued to invade territories of people in the east of the Russian Empire. At the beginning, the goal of the invasion was

collecting *yasak* ('tribute'), but later on it became an economic mastering of the territory (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). Therefore, the Tsarist Empire started to build military outposts to establish imperial rules.

At the end of the XIV century, several Turkic tribes with an identical language emerged together as a distinctive *Kazakh* nation and established a Kazakh Khanate² with its own territory (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). The Kazakh khanate consisted of three hordes: the great, middle and young, and each of these hordes was located far from each other which negatively affected the unity of Kazakhs. Constant wars over authority and a piece of land among inner tribes of the Kazakh Khanate, and an external pressure from Zhongars and the Chinese Empire did not allow Kazakhs to unite and to protect themselves. Therefore, Kazakhs had to seek military protection from the Russian Empire in the early XVIII century (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

In the XIX century, the Russian expansion continued in Central Asia. Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, and the Kokand khanate (1865), the Bukhara khanate (1868) and Khiva khanate (1873) were occupied by the Russian Empire (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). According to Fierman (1998), in 1820 the Russian Empire started to build military garrisons to consolidate the imperial rule in the northern and northwestern parts of Kazakh lands and started to appropriate those lands. Ethnic composition of the Russian administration changed in local territories, but it did not have an impact on local languages. On the contrary, local languages were used on a daily basis; even the Russian settlers learned local languages to a great extent. Although the Russian Empire started to have a noticeable language policy since XVIII century, language assimilation took place slowly (Pavlenko, 2011). Moreover, the administration did not intervene in problems of local languages.

² Khanate is a political entity ruled by a Khan or Khagan. This political entity is typical for people from the Eurasian Steppe and it can be equivalent to tribal chiefdom, principality, kingdom or even empire.

Russian Language Policy in Education and Publication

A purposeful language policy towards minority languages of the empire can be traced back to the days of Peter the Great (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). German remained the official language in the Baltic region until the beginning of XIX century. The need to teach Russian to Germans arose only in 1820 (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). The local languages of the Baltic region were not developed, while in the Muslim community religious schools functioned and taught mostly the Arab language and the Koran. According to Pavlenko, the Tsarist Empire was very selective about implementing the *Russification* policy on nations under its power. For example, there was a prohibition for Latvians to speak their native language and they were publicly ashamed for speaking it (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). On the contrary, the Russian Empire had a different policy for the Caucasians and Central Asians. For instance, they were not obligated to study Russian and the orthodox churches were not successful in converting Muslims to Christianity. Thus, the Muslim community enjoyed use of their native language more than other communities of the Russian Empire. This can be explained by a low rate of literacy among a majority of Muslims, only elites and intelligentsia (intellectuals) had an access to education. Therefore, the Russian Empire aimed to achieve their assimilation, Russification, and religious conversion goals through establishing schools for this population.

A dramatic change in language policy of *Russification* occurred in middle of XIX century under Alexander II, who aimed to unify the empire through a single language (Pavlenko, 2006). Russian became an official language of Poland in 1863 and Poles were forbidden to speak their native language during breaks at school or even at home. Since 1871, Russian became a required subject in Polish and Baltic religious schools. Pavlenko (2006) states that the same policy was implemented towards Belarusians and Ukrainians. Although the main purpose of the *Russification* policy was to convert ethnics into Orthodox Christianity through

language, a secular education was offered in Russian. In general, Russian was established as an official language of communication, but in some exceptional cases, like in the Muslim community, the Russian administration used the services of translators.

In 1870, the policy of teaching Russian to nations of Siberia and Central Asian started to be fruitful due to the systematic work of I.V. Ilminskii. As was mentioned above, a secular education had been offered on topics of the geography of various countries, nations, animals, and great world travelers, and primary and secondary education were taught in local native languages. Then, the language of instruction switched to Russian. All teachers were obligated to master local languages. Under the same provision, there was a mandatory shift for schools for girls, and Russian became a required subject in *mekhtabs* and *medressas* (Islamic religious education institutions). However, this decree was not carried out equally in all regions (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). For example, in some Muslim education institutions Russian was not taught at all, while in other communities the quality of Russian class was insufficient. Therefore, the linguistic and cultural assimilation process took place very slowly in these Muslim communities. In the context of the Kazakhs, Ilminskii influenced the formation of views of the Kazakh enlightener Y. Altynsarin, who founded the first Kazakh national school.

Only in 1880, schools with a new teaching approach started to be established, offering a secular education in local languages. Additionally, Russian and some subjects in Russian were offered. I. Gasprinskii was an initiator of establishing such schools in Central Asia. So, by the end of the century the number of Kazakh-Russian schools increased. However, most Muslims obtained their primary education in their native language and knowledge of the Russian language in religious schools. The main purpose of Kaufman, the general governor of Turkestan, was to enrich the political dominance of the Tsarist regime and encourage cultural assimilations with Russians in Central Asia, which in turn would enhance the spread

of the Russian script (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). To accomplish his goals, he was very cautious, of course. For example, textbooks were published in native languages but additional Russian-alphabet-based transcriptions were offered alongside. Later, Russian-medium instruction books were introduced; however, due to their low quality, such attempt was unsuccessful at the time. At the end of the XIX century, obtaining a secular education in primary, secondary, and higher education was possible only in Russian (Belikov & Krysin, 2001). As a result, according to Landau (1998), by the end of the XIX century co-opted elites and intelligentsia throughout the Russian Empire territory, from Baltic to Georgia and Kazakhstan, were quite fluent in Russian (Pavlenko, 2006).

Publishing practices were also a part of the Russification policy of the Tsarist Empire. The empire replaced the local language and bilingual newspapers and journals with the Russian language. Again, this policy was not consistent throughout the empire. In some communities where the Russian language literacy was low, newspapers and journals were published in native languages. In the context of Central Asian Union, *Turkestan Vedomstvosy* ('Turkestan Institution') started to be printed in Kazakh and Uzbek as an additional but not regular newspaper at the time. Povlenka (2006) concludes that Russian never exceeded the scope of the bureaucratic structures in Muslim communities and their native languages enjoyed an 'unprecedented revival'.

A revolution in Poland against a forced introduction of the Russian language dramatically changed the language situation in the society in 1905. As a result, it introduced not only more tolerant language policies, but it also removed all language limitations; nationality and language problems started to be openly expressed, and the number of minority schools and publications increased (Pavlenko, 2006). For example, books were published in more than 20 languages and religious books published in Arab exceeded 800 thousand copies. However, Smagulova (2006) quotes Tunyshpaiuly who states that Kazakh was banned from use in any

official purposes such as school, courts, and publishing in 1906, while Russian became a required subject in all Muslim religious schools. Moreover, it led to destruction of religious schools and mosques, and to imposition of the Bible in Russian to Muslims by confiscating all Islamic religious books.

It was not until 1917 that social activists expressed their views about a required Russian language knowledge. For example, V.I. Lenin, a future leader of the Soviet Communist Party, claimed that he was against the compulsory teaching of Russian, but he supported those who expressed a desire to learn it. However, Lenin admitted himself that Russian was the *de-facto* language of the government. Nevertheless, all nationalists and intelligentsia insisted on developing their native languages and increasing literacy in native languages among lower social strata. This was a culmination period in the history of minority languages of the Russian Empire. Because social class and opportunity for further development were important but limiting factors in obtaining knowledge, only regional elites were more Russified than the other social strata.

2.3 Language Policy of the Soviet Era

To understand the language policy of the Soviet Union, many authors suggest to view it as an integral part of the nationality building policy of the Soviet Union. The revolution in October of 1917 led to the establishment of the Soviet government by overthrowing the Tsarist regime. The most important goal of the Soviets was to build a new country with a new identity, *a Soviet man*. The Soviet administration used language as a main tool of manipulation in order to be better understood and supported by the local activists. For example, the first thing the Soviet administration did was to convey the idea of having a multinational state with literate people. Another goal of the administration was to achieve its linguistic and cultural assimilation of nations. To arrive at the final destination, a number of steps were taken by the Soviet administration to ensure the future of the Soviet Union.

According to Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001), the language policy consisted mainly of two phases: *The Emancipation Phase, and the Coordination Phase*. The policy of *korenizatsia* (indigenization) was a part of the first phase of the language policy in which nationality and language equality within the Union were emphasized. In turn, this coopted loyal non-Russian elite into the new communist leadership in 1920 (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). By this time, Kazakh nationalists had already formed and joined their colleagues within the Union hoping to develop their own culture and language (Mamyrbekova, 2012). The October revolution meant not a class but a nationalist revolution for Kazakhs (Smagulova, 2006). The Kazakh nationalists' main aims included gaining independence, returning appropriated lands, and reestablishing religious and language rights. Consequently, the local languages of the Union were supported and developed in order to pacify the local language demands caused by the tsarist regime. Courts, administrations, schools, publishing houses and other institutions started to function in local languages. For example, bearing in mind that most people in Muslim communities, especially women, had no access to education at the time, the literacy of Kazakhs dramatically changed within seven years. Thus, it grew from 2% to 22.5% and Olcott explains this situation as being due to the familiarity of Kazakhs with the Arabic alphabet (Smagulova, 2006).

A non-Russian language and culture support should have dissolved the national antagonisms and created stability in the multi-national state. However, the opposite happened, which led to the consolidation of nationalities and spread of the nationalist ideology within the Union. For example, Kazakh nationalists demanded autonomy from the Soviet power during 1917-1920. Instead, the contrary happened, and Kazakhs became an Autonomous Socialist Republic of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Russian SFSR) (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

In 1920, Stalin switched to the centralistic model and instated a repressive nationalities program, which also affected the Kazakh intelligentsia and many national leaders were executed (Smagulova, 2006). As a result, by 1930 all republics had been placed under full control of the Soviet central power which was a sign of the beginning of the second phase of the language policy. In the *Coordination Phase*, the centralized Soviet power dictated to its borders a policy in which Russian became mandatory. Not surprisingly, the selection of Russian as a lingua franca was a preliminary decision (Jachnow, 1982; Bruchis, 1988 cited in Landau & Kellner- Heinkele, 2001).

Alphabet and Orthography Reform

Concerning the Turkic language people (Azerbaijan, Kazakh, Turkmen, Uzbek, etc.) of the Soviet Union, all of them used the Arabic alphabet, which unified the many different Turkic groups both with one another and with others outside of the Union, such as Turkey. Additionally, the Arabic script was the alphabet of the Islam religion. So, a language policy of a Latin alphabet adoption, introduced in 1920, was first and foremost intended for the Islamic population, while a Cyrillic alphabet was intended for some other Siberian languages of the Soviet Union (Grenoble, 2003). In 1924 the First All Union Turcological conference officially proclaimed the use of Latin-based script for all Turkic speakers. Despite a severe disagreement between the Kazakh intelligentsia about the alphabet change, Kazakhs finally adopted it in 1929 because continuing to use the Arabic script was perceived as ‘*reactionary*’ and supporters were seen as class enemies (Alpatov, 1997 cited in Grenoble, 2003). Furthermore, in August of 1929 there was an official announcement and decree of the *Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union* claiming that within twenty days all publishing houses and clerical works must be based on the new alphabet, and workers who did not master it must be considered a secret enemy of the new alphabet (Grenoble, 2003; Mamyrbekova, 2012).

In sum, all Siberian and Central Asian languages adopted the Latin alphabet and new orthography rules were introduced by the literacy campaign. The choice of the Latin alphabet over the Cyrillic was fully due to the perception of Russian language as the language of the Tsarist oppressors. Therefore, the Soviet administration consciously avoided such sense of oppression. However, Mamymbekova (2012) argues that the Latin adoption was merely a transitional stage in the overall Arabic-to-Cyrillic script change among the Muslim populations of the Soviet Union. Additionally, the Soviet administration was afraid of the *Jadid*³ movements which constantly insisted on offering education in Arabic script for Muslims. Nonetheless, approximately ten years later, a new alphabet was enforced on the Kazakhs.

A change from the pluralist policy of 1920 (language autonomy and Russian as a lingua franca) to a policy of assimilation and Russification took place in 1930. Thus, concurrent with indigenization policy of 1920, a poor mastery of Russian by non-Russians had been purposefully brought up by Soviet language planners to public attention (Pavlenko, 2006). Accordingly, the Russian language campaign was organized to promote Russian and improve teaching methods in regions. In 1930, some exceptional Socialistic Republics still provided education in native languages due to the continuation of the illiteracy elimination. Nevertheless, native languages and cultures were already suffering because of Stalin's massive repression of national intelligentsia.

The Latin-based script, as mentioned above, had a relatively brief existence, and soon the next centrist policy was released by the Soviet language planners in 1935. This time, shifting to Cyrillic alphabet was offered because “the Latin alphabets interfered with the literacy campaign and the learning of the Russian, and the ultimate aim of Russifying, linguistically,

³‘Jadid’ is the Arabic word for ‘new’, but Jadidism was a drive for cultural and social renewal among Muslims in the Russian Empire in the early 20th century.

all ethnics in the Soviet Union” (Bruchis, 1984 cited in Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). Despite the fact that the Latin alphabet had been a successful attempt at unifying alphabets of multilingual state and creating an international language of the proletariat with all possibilities of using European and American printing machines and publishing houses, it was not supported by high-level officials when it came to converting Russian from Cyrillic to Latin (Grenoble, 2003). Conversely, attempts were reinforced at spreading the Russian knowledge and Cyrillic alphabet as much as possible. As Pavlenko indicates, regional national elites preferred Cyrillic over the Latin script due to the presence of historical or traditional connections and promises for career achievements (Smith, 1998 cited in Pavlenko, 2006). Mamyrbekova (2012), however, argues that the Soviet administration was more afraid of Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkism which might have led to the consolidation of Muslims inside and outside of the Union.

By 1940, all Soviet languages, except Armenian, Georgian, Karelian, and Yiddish, were changed to Cyrillic alphabet. Within a relatively short time, multiple versions of Cyrillic alphabet were generated for writing all these languages which not only specified language peculiarities but also differentiated linguistic groups from each other (Grenoble, 2003).

A decree on 13 February 1935, advanced in 1938 by a Resolution ‘On the Obligatory Study of the Russian Language in Schools of National Republics and Regions’ (Isaev, 1978; Alpatov, 1997; Burtents, 1998 cited in Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001), obligated all Soviet schools to study Russian as a compulsory second language. In fact, as Smith (1998) notices the decree emphasized the role of Russian as an “official language” of the Soviet Union and as a prerequisite for the Soviet man. Pavlenko (2006) and Grenoble (2003) describe three main approaches taken to promote the Russification policy:

- the orthography change: all Soviet languages were transitioned to Cyrillic;

- language standardization: all Soviet language grammar and neologisms were based on Russian structure and taken from Russian vocabulary;
- language domains: all possible native language domain uses were replaced by Russian language.

As a result, Russian became appreciated as a language of consolidation, industrialization, collectivization and advanced science.

In the following years, if the Soviet language policy did not fully solidify, partially to due World War II, it definitely did not weaken over the period. During the WW II, the Soviet administration suspended the spread of compulsory Russian because for two reasons: first, partially it was not able to take a full language control and second, the Soviet administration was mainly afraid of awakening of opposition republics. And yet, following WWII, the role of Russian was dramatically elevated. The Soviet victory upon Nazi Germany made the language of Russians a more sacred object and Russian classes were indications of the Soviet patriotism, pride, the true Soviet man, love of the motherland, etc. Therefore, a tendency for bilingualism was welcomed which also contributed to the spread of Russian by decreasing the need for publications in the native language. The more people became bilingual, the less there was a need for publishing in native or traditional languages.

After Nikita Khrushchev became First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (1953-64), Russian made further advances in its language reform policy in education. The 1958-1959 laws required students to study more Russian at school, sometimes in addition to, or at the expense of, their native languages. According to E. Suleimenova⁴, during 1950 the Kazakh language was severely repressed and five years later, Kazakh language classes, as a prerequisite for Russian classes, were cancelled (Smagulova, 2006). Thus, the administration ensured that Russians and non-Russians would master the Russian

⁴ A contemporary sociolinguist in Kazakhstan.

language not as a lingua franca, but as a second mother tongue of all Soviet citizens (Landau & Kellner-Heinekele, 2001).

Under Leonid Brezhnev's years of leadership in the Communist Party (1964-82), Russian was seen as symbol of unity of the Soviet people and their ultimate cultural fusion. It was not just a language of education or career but was the language of supranational identity for the common Soviet nationality. The number of administration organizations, mass media and schools with a primary medium of instruction in Russian exceeded the Kazakh ones (Alpatov, 2000). Even though the Soviet regime repeatedly proclaimed the *de jure* equality of all languages in the Soviet Union, it was obvious that Soviet leaders preferred to promote Russian as the *de facto* language. Introducing Russian language classes in pre-school, unequal financing for Russian and Kazakh schools, unavailability of Kazakh classes in cities were indications of such unequal treatment by the Soviet administration (Smagulova, 2006). Thus, even if all languages of the Union had language autonomy, they did not have a language equality (Smith, 1998). As a result, during 1960, 1970, and 1980 all Turkic speaking people started to speak Russian as a second language.

The next decree entitled 'On Measures for Further Improving the Study and Teaching of the Russian Language in the Union Republics' of 1978 called for: new Russian syllabi, textbooks and teaching aids for schools where Russian was not a primary medium of instruction; increasing the share of Russian as the language of instruction; the establishment of Russian as a pre-school language requirement; increasing the knowledge of Russian language instructors; for supplying all schools with Russian language and literature centers and equipment. Landau & Kellner-Heinekele indicate that 70 % of pupils in Kazakhstan were studying in Russian-language schools in 1982. By 1989, 60 % of Kazakhs regarded themselves as bilingual and preferred Russian, although 97% of them admitted Kazakh as their first language.

Native language publishing practices were suspended; in contrast, the Russian-language books were most widely read. Writers tried to publish in Russian or at least be translated into Russian. All of these material advantages of knowing the Russian language led regional elites to know Russian better than their own native language.

However, the decree issued in 1978 triggered numerous public objections and protests within the Union to solve native language discrimination. Georgians, Armenians, Tajiks, Azerbaijani, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, etc., started expressing their complaints about how Russian was marginalizing titular languages both at school and home, children's inability to master their native language, and inability of having a job or doctor appointment in native language, etc. For example, Smagulova (2006) reports that in 1970 and 1980 there were only two schools with Kazakh medium of instruction in Almaty. Smagulova further states that anyone attempting to improve situation in education was considered to be a nationalist. Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001) explain that most of local ethnicities were bilingual, whereas Russian settlers were monolingual Russian speakers. Therefore, hatred arose directed against the Russian language dominance and monolingual Russians living in Azerbaijan and Central Asia.

The language situation changed mildly in the Kazakh SSR, when street demonstration erupted in Alma-Ata, then a capital of the Kazakh SSR, in December of 1986. The dismissal of Dinmammed Kunaev, the First Kazakh Secretary of the Kazakhstan Central Committee of the Communist Party, and replacement by a non-Kazakh, Gennadii Kolbin; Russian language dominance; and native language discrimination all triggered the street demonstrators' antagonism. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985 with his restricting program, *perestroika* ('reconstruction'), he was focused on economic and political problems, but not on local language problems. The December demonstration entailed positive results, but at a high human cost. For example, the December demonstration triggered the

issuing a new language resolution adopted by both the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers and Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee in 1987. The resolution was *On Improving the Study of the Kazakh and Russian languages*. As Fierman notes (1998), such a resolution was indeed a turning event in the Kazakh language reform history and brought back the importance of the Kazakh language.

In August 1989, taking advantage of *perestroika*, the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan adopted a Law on Language prescribing Kazakh a status of official language and Russian a status of inter-ethnic communication of Kazakh SSR. Unlike the previous December demonstration, it was created peacefully without violence. Moreover, prior to its adoption, it was actively discussed in public at various meetings and in the Republic Press for months which was very un-Soviet-like (Fierman, 1988). Not surprisingly, local Russians started expressing their disagreements and demanded that Russian have an equal status.

Kazakh SSR adopted the *State Program on the Development of the Kazakh Language and Other National Languages in the Kazakh SSR in the Period Up Until 2000*. The language questions were addressed in a more concrete and detailed way by providing a separate section for Kazakh, Russian, and other minority languages.

In 1991 the Soviet Union came officially to its end, but before it happened, Kazakhstan had published its Declaration of Sovereignty in 1990 and Declaration of Independence on December 16, 1991. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a number of language policies regarding titular language and Russian were adopted, but this time by an Independent Republic of Kazakhstan.

2.4 Language Policy of an Independent Kazakhstan

It seemed that Kazakhstan, immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, would actively and exclusively elevate the status of the Kazakh language and promote it as soon as possible. Nonetheless, keeping in mind the census of 1989, in which Kazakhs constituted

only 39.7%, while Russians constituted 37.7% of the total population, the Kazakh government found itself in a very unusual situation in 1991 (Fierman, 1998). Because of the unusual nature of the language identity, both the Declaration of Sovereignty and Independence skirted the problem of language in Kazakhstan, though Fierman assures that preliminary drafts of both of them had sections dealing with a language situation in Kazakhstan.

However, defining the language identity of Kazakhstan was unavoidable for the Kazakh administration when it came to adopt the first post-Soviet Constitution in 1993. In fact, it took the government officials a long time to publish the Constitution of Sovereign Kazakhstan, and Fierman (1997) believes that it was due to the ‘bitter division of opinion on the language question’. The Constitution stated that Kazakh remains the state language and Russian the language of the interethnic communication. This, in turn, evolved into an undeniable ideological conflict of Kazakh and Russian (Smagulova, 2006).

For the sake of solving ideological conflicts between the languages, the new 1995 Constitution prescribed Kazakh a status of the sole state language, while Russian was elevated from interethnic communication to official language status (Smagulova, 2006).

After the adoption of the Constitution, a number of laws and decrees followed. In November 1996 a ‘Concept for Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan’ was declared which emphasized the need for mastering the sole state language, and its preference in education and publication; on the other hand, it also confirmed that Russian remained the main source of information in many spheres of science and technology, and also as a means of communication (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

A new Law on Languages was issued in July 1997. It was an elaboration of the above ‘Concept’. It stated that the government:

- protects all languages of the state;

- undertakes the obligations to create a favorable condition for all language acquisition and development;
- guarantees an equal and respectful attitude towards all languages of the state.

On the one hand, it especially emphasized that the state fully supports and guarantees every citizen's right to study Kazakh. On the other hand, it also declared a new status of Russian, a national language of Kazakhstan, and its possibility to function on par with Kazakh in all state and regional bodies of Kazakhstan. Thus, Russian can be equally used with Kazakh in any state and local administration, as well as in education, business, etc. With this, the government administration showed its intention to revive and develop the Kazakh language and culture, but not to diminish the Russian culture (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

A further elaboration of the presidential decree on the principles of the 1996 'concept' and on the 1997 Language Law was released in October 1998. The president pointed out the importance of harmonizing the interethnic relations in Kazakhstan, and set up several goals for development of the state language in a document titled 'The Government Program for the Functioning and Development of Languages' (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012). Similar government instructions were issued in following years of 2001 and 2002 on the functioning and developing of languages as well as on the expansion of Kazakh language domains. It is noticeable that Kazakh language status was gradually but firmly increasing over the time. For example, instructions published by the Kazakh government in 2007 indicated that 'all official documents in Russian ought to have a Kazakh translation' (Guzhvenko, 2007 cited in Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

As recently as 2010, the promotion of Kazakh as a factor of national unity in all spheres of society, including publication, mass media, personal and place names, language courses and circles was declared in the 'State Program for the Functioning and Development of

Language in the Years 2010- 2020'. Also, the program emphasized that all languages of the country will be promoted as well.

Language Kazakhization

Kazakhstan was the most Russified state among six ex-Soviet Muslim states when the Soviet Union came to an end. Additionally, the presence of a large Russian diaspora gave Kazakhstan little choice but to accept the current Russian role in society (Pavlenko, 2006). Therefore, a policy of *Kazakhization* has become of utmost importance for Kazakh nationalists to change language situations in the society, such as an asymmetrical bilingualism and the imbalance between Russian and Kazakh language knowledge, which favors Russian even among ethnic Kazakhs. Therefore, the core of this policy was to develop Kazakh language and culture rather than to de-Russify. Throughout history not only the native language of Kazakhs, but also Kazakhs themselves were severely marginalized by Russians and their language. Based on the language laws and decrees, it is apparent that the Kazakh government officials acted moderately and slowly, but consistently, in elevating the status of Kazakh in education, bureaucracy, and communication. Thus, the Kazakh administration is trying to increase Kazakh language domains in which Russian was predominantly used. For example, the number of ethnic Kazakhs increased in both houses of parliament; the language of documentation was changed to Kazakh; the Kazakh language was promoted, first among ethnic Kazakhs, and since 1998 among non-Kazakhs; the capital city was relocated from the south to the north of the country which is heavily inhabited by non-Kazakhs or Russophones; language laws and decrees were passed encouraging people to master the state language, etc.

Despite all these efforts, the Kazakh language planners seem to have achieved little so far. Some of the possible reasons might be the following:

- some ethnic Kazakhs have not mastered Kazakh and feel uncomfortable with language requirements;

- the president always addresses the population in two languages, first in Kazakh and then in Russian, and he sometimes criticizes ‘a rapid Kazakhization’;
- the administration is always cautious and issues ‘soft’ language policies granting Russian the same standing as Kazakh;
- only the president and speakers of the parliament are required to master the sole state language;
- some Russian speaking Kazakh intellectuals, such as Olzhas Suleimenov, are against demanding all parliament members to speak only in Kazakh and have negative attitude towards Kazakh-language nationalists calling them ‘village teachers with a limited world knowledge’.

2.5 Conclusion

Based on the aforestated historical facts and sequence of the events, it leads to the conclusion that the Kazakh language underwent different language policies. Namely, the language oriented policies of the Tsarist regime conducted towards Kazakh (*Chagatai- a common Turkic language*) was not impactful or nonexistent. In contrast, the language policies of the Soviet Union for Kazakh and other languages of the post-Soviet countries were the most dramatically affected ones. As a result, due to both the language and immigration policies of the Soviet Union, the Kazakhs used to be the minorities in their own countries at the beginning of the Independence period. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the Kazakh government is slowly but gradually trying to turn the linguistic situation in the opposite situation. However, such an effort seems to be less effective due to the still dominance of the Russian language in Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, the current alphabet changes and orthography reform is believed to be as an attempt to revise the linguistic situation.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDIES: TURKEY, AZERBAIJAN AND UZBEKISTAN

3.1 Introduction

Although the Turks were not nations of the Soviet Union, they share a religious as well as a linguistic background with some Turkic-speaking nations of the Soviet Union in Caucasus and Central Asia. Moreover, there are some historical date overlaps in the history of written Turkish and written Turkic languages in Caucasus and Central Asia. For the purpose of this thesis, I would like to limit myself to the following language types: Turkish, Azeri, Uzbek and Kazakh. It is known that these languages had been using both Arabic and Latin alphabets approximately at the same time. It is also believed that there used to be a strong pan-Turkic identity and a common linguistic identity among all the Turkic languages mentioned above. Therefore, it is useful to briefly describe historical similarities and differences in the written language experience of these Turkic languages and to compare the linguistic experience of an alphabet change of these countries.

3.2 The Alphabet Reform of Turks

Some scholars and historians believe that the idea of adopting the Latin alphabet in Turkey was generated during the early XX century and that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the initiator who accomplished it in a relatively short time. However, other scholars indicate that this idea had been discussed since the late XIX century due to inability of the Arabic alphabet to transmit internal native language laws of the Turkic languages. For example, the Arabic alphabet with three vowels in its sound inventory caused severe problems for the Turkic languages, which possess at least nine vowels. Therefore, the alphabet of the Semitic language family was not suitable for the Turkic language family. Because it was also difficult for the majority to learn, only a limited number of highly educated people had access to

literature. The main reason for the use of the Arabic alphabet by the Turks is that it had a strong association with the Islamic religion and the words of God.

In 1862, Munif Efendi proposed the adoption of the Latin alphabet in order to develop international relations, revive the culture, and ease reading and writing for ordinary people of the Ottoman Empire. However, nobody dared to think of changing the alphabet at the time. Changing the alphabet meant being against the religion and risked losing the old Islamic science and culture. Therefore, the idea was easily suppressed. Then, the Turks did a partial reformation of the Arabic alphabet but it appeared to be ineffective.

The idea of the Arabic alphabet reform occurred to the Turks again in 1921. The offer to adopt the Latin alphabet in 1923 prompted a new wave of resistance from people who feared the loss of literary and cultural treasures, and the religious identity of the Turks. However, the failure of the Arabic alphabet to transmit phonological peculiarities of the native language and to literate children effectively, as well as the spread of an ill-formed writing system in the country overweighed the former misgiving at that point.

When the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came to power. From the beginning of his presidency, he actively supported the idea of alphabetic change. In 1926 there was a survey in the newspaper '*Aksham*' questioning the necessity of the Latin alphabet adoption among Turkish nationalists and elites. As a result, a limited number of them were supporters of this idea. Despite the major opposition to the Latin alphabet, he continued to seek a way to ease the Turkish writing. According to Amirzhanova (2016), Kuhne, a prominent European educator, suggested that Kemal Atatürk investigate the alphabet of Hungarians. At the same time, the first All-Union Turcology Congress of the Soviet Union had been held in Baku in 1926. At the Congress, all Turcologists of the Union gathered together to discuss the idea of the Latin alphabet shift. This became another

motivation for Kemal Ataturk to shift to the Latin alphabet in order to have a similar Turkic identity with those in the Union.

Eventually, in 1928, the Turks decided to adopt not only the alphabet but also the whole western standard system including the numeral system, calendar, units of measurement, etc. Before the final decision of the alphabet adoption, a special language commission was formed which had the task of investigating the Latin alphabet of other European ethnics. Also, there were teaching courses and schools for teachers. Initially, the Turk administration had adopted a pure Latin alphabet which later was found to be impractical among language users. With some minor changes, a new modified version of the Latin alphabet was introduced to the public, and was officially and unanimously adopted in 1928-1929. The Latin-based text consisting of 29 letters and a few diacritics from literature was presented to the public for visual observation and acceptance. The government allowed use of both the Arabic and Latin alphabets until the 1st of June, 1929, after which the use of the Arabic alphabet was strongly discouraged in order to be consistent with the language plan. Accordingly, the government authorities and language of documentation switched to the new Latin alphabet in 1929. The new alphabet adoption stimulated the rise of the literacy rate, from 10% to 60% of the total population. Hence, Turkey was able to achieve the target language plans within a year. The only reason for Turks to treat the alphabet with caution was because there was no country who refused the old alphabet and underwent a full transformation.

To summarize, the main differences between the Turkish alphabet reformation and the Kazakh one were:

- Turkey was not a colonial country and conducted a policy depending on its wish;
- Turkey tried to implant European values;

- The idea of the alphabet reform was not politicalized, but aimed only at developing the country and easing the writing for people;
- Turkey lost the following phonemes: [ŋ] [ɣ] [x]

Since 1928 Turkey has been successfully using the Latin alphabet and managing to keep not only its cultural, national and religious identity properly but also to modernize the country. Moreover, Turkey has been actively increasing its influence in the post-Soviet space by helping other Turkic nations since the Soviet Union collapse. It has spiritually and culturally supported nationalities such as the Azeri, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, etc., and encouraged them to build a common Turkic identity and adopt the Latin-based Turkic alphabet as a symbolic sign of that. A group of delegations from all Turkic countries met in Istanbul in 1991 and 1992, and the idea of having a common alphabet was proposed in 1993.

3.3 The Alphabet Reform of three Post-Soviet Republics

Both the Republics of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan share a common historical and linguistic background with the Republic of Kazakhstan. All of these countries are post-Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union and they belong to the Turkic language family. Before the Soviet times, all of them accepted a common Islamic religion and used the Arabic alphabet accordingly. Then, they adopted both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets at approximately the same time under the Soviet power. As mentioned above, the Arabic alphabet caused the Turkic language speakers difficulties in reading and writing. Therefrom, debates on the idea of the Arabic alphabet reform or its full replacement by the Latin alphabet were regularly taking place among all Turkic people of the Union. As a result, all Turkic language speakers adopted the Latin alphabet. However, the way each of them adopted the Latin alphabet as a Socialist Republic was slightly different. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the independent Republics of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan chose a

different way of alphabet development than the Republic of Kazakhstan. Furthermore, the experience and results of the alphabet reform dramatically differs even within these two Independent Republics. Therefore, it is useful to briefly describe the process and motivations of alphabet changes and to compare and contrast the language experience and final results of each of these countries with Kazakhstan, which is now beginning the process of alphabet reform.

3.3.1 The Republic of Azerbaijan

Although the Republic of Azerbaijan is not located in Central Asia, but in the Caucasus, it is always addressed alongside the Central Asian Turkic countries due to two main reasons:

- shared linguistic and historical background
- a major Muslim population

Azerbaijan was the leader in Latinization among the Turkic people even in Soviet times. According to Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001), a discussion of Azeri intellectuals on the reform of the Arabic alphabet dates back to the second half of the XIX century. At that time, there was a supporting group of the Latin alphabet, too. A commission of the Arabic alphabet reform was formed in 1919. However, the supporters of the Latin alphabet triumphed over the Arabic alphabet supporters with the help of the Soviet administration in 1920. The Latin alphabet became official and obligatory for Azerbaijan SSR in 1924 (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). The IV All Azerbaijanis Congress was held in 1925. There it was decided that the new alphabet would be introduced into primary schools from 1925-1926, whereas all education institutions, publishing houses, administration, etc. would transit to it in 1932-1933. In Baku in 1926, Azerbaijanis held an All-Union Turcology Congress in which they encouraged all Turkic-speaking nations to adopt the Latin alphabet. As a result,

administrations, schools, and publishing houses had to switch to the new established alphabet in all Soviet countries beginning in 1929.

The Soviet administration was the most interested in the process of the Latinization of the Turkic people because there was a strong alternative identity- a Muslim/ Pan-Turkic identity- among the Turkic people of the Union (Grenoble, 2003). Such a strong sense of alternative identity was perceived by the Soviet administration as a potential danger for building a Soviet identity. Grenoble (2003) states that the Soviet administration intentionally divided the Turkic people based on the language to form a particular national identity such as Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, etc. and to dissolve the Muslim/ Turkic identity among them. For example, the Soviets discouraged Azerbaijanis from having ties with Turkey and with Iranian Azeri, who used the Arabic alphabet, for fear of Pan-Turkic or Pan-Islamic collusion. On the other hand, advocates of the Latin alphabet among native intellectuals were justified by their intentions to eliminate the illiteracy among people, because, for instance, the literacy rate of the titular nation, Azerbaijanis, was very low at the time.

Although Azerbaijanis had significantly refined the Latin alphabet, they had to change their alphabet again. In 1940 the Soviet administration again imposed a new alphabet, the Cyrillic, on most of the Soviet Republics as a means of the Soviet integration. Based on the Soviet administration such a decision was motivated by the desire to build a common alphabet of the Soviet people and to satisfy the requests of the people of the Soviet. Because the Latin alphabet could not meet the language requirements, people of the Soviet wished to switch to the Cyrillic alphabet which was reported as peaceful and desirable. At the same time, the constantly increasing necessity of learning Russian among non-Russians also entailed the need to learn the Cyrillic alphabet. However, Mamyrbekova (2012) and Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001) described it as a possible process of further diminishing the

Turkic identity not only within the Union but also with Turkey who had already switched to the Latin-based alphabet.

Unfortunately, a year later after the Cyrillic alphabet introduction, World War II began which, subsequently, led to a number of problems in the implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet in the Soviet Union. For example, despite a massive influx of Russian words as neologisms, the Soviet language planners did not try to adapt the Russian loanwords into the phonology of the titular nation. Rather, they preferred to keep them in accordance with the Russian orthography rules which in turn violated the natural language essence. Furthermore, the pronunciation of these words was also affected and violated. Both the orthography and pronunciation of Russian loanwords were based on the Russian language rules.

In 1989-90, there was a patriotic breakthrough and national awakening among Azerbaijanis, criticizing the colonist nature of the Cyrillic alphabet. Initially, there appeared two main opposing groups in the country. One was in favor of the Arabic script, hoping to recover all pre-Soviet literature and cultural heritage, and to reunite with Iranian Azeri, while the other group was in favor of the Latin alphabet, presenting the Western modernization opportunities. According to Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele (2012), there were some supporters of the Cyrillic alphabet too, the older generation educated in the Cyrillic script, but their complaints were not so strong and easily dissolved in the society.

The government of Azerbaijan held discussions and conferences, and published newspaper articles allowing its population to participate and express their views towards the alphabet reform over many months. All in all, the Latin alphabet was preferred to the Arabic one, not to mention the preservation of the Cyrillic. If the Latin alphabet favor was triggered by close contact with Turkey and opportunities of western modernization, the Cyrillic alphabet was clearly rejected due to its strong association with the compulsion of the use of Russian orthography in Russian borrowings and religious alienation (Mamyrbekova, 2012).

In 1990, a special language commission was set up consisting of famous writers, linguists and philologists to start preparation for the Latinization of Azerbaijanis. Furthermore, the Azerbaijan government conducted a poll, in 1990, among primary school teachers in Baku. Not only did 58 out of 59 participants support the alphabet change, but also 57 of them preferred the Latin alphabet (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). When the preparation work was done by the Commission, a new law on the replacement of the Cyrillic by the new Latin alphabet was released by an Independent Republic of Azerbaijan in 1991. The new Latin alphabet with some modifications was based on the previous Latin Azeri script used in 1920. Because the Azerbaijan government consulted with the public and presented the draft for public discussion, 89.6% of the total population, based on the research results of Behar in 1993, supported the Latinization process (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

Taking advantage of the Soviet Union collapse in 1991, the Turks tried to build cooperation among these post- Soviet Turkic countries by unifying politico-economic and cultural-humanitarian relations. The idea of creating a common Turkic language and alphabet also belonged to Turks. As a result, along with Turkey, three of the five ex-Soviet Turkic countries adopted the Latin alphabet: Turkey (1928), Azerbaijan (1991), Uzbekistan (1993) and Turkmenistan (1994). Only Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan suspended the process due to political and economic difficulties in the countries at that time. Although Azerbaijan was the first among the Turkic countries to switch to Latin, it did not adopt the common Turkic alphabet which was agreed upon at the conference of all Turkic countries in Ankara.

Since 1991, the government administration and language planners published a well-planned agenda of annual measurements, and systematically carried it out. For example, from 1992-1993 the Latin alphabet was supposed to be implemented in the following spheres, but in fact it started to be realized beginning in the 1991-1992 school year:

- all grades of the general education schools, vocational schools, and universities;

- special courses of all institutions for teachers as well as social institutions for volunteers;
- all publishing sectors for employers such as newspapers and periodicals;
- all clerk work of public institutions and public signs;
- cultural and scientific institutions;
- orthography dictionaries.

From 1993, all textbooks for school children of all grades, socio-political, scientific books and press started to be printed in the Latin alphabet, except the Russian language discipline. Concurrently, technological problems such as the standardization of the Azerbaijani Latin computer font were also solved in UNICODE. Additionally, the Republic of Turkey also demonstrated its intentions to help Azerbaijan by supplying an autonomous region of Azerbaijan with a printing press in Latin character (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). However, there were some opposition groups demanding to stop the Latinization and return to the Arabic alphabet. Ebulfaz Elchibey, the president in 1992-1993, supported the Latinization despite the Russian community and the Islamist oppositions (Goltz, 1994 cited in Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

Although the Latinization was initially developing at a rapid pace, over the next seven years the alphabet change slowed down and was partially fulfilled. Therefore, some scholars assumed that the official alphabet reform was ended in 2001, while others state it continued until 2008. In fact, there were still the public and government signs as well as press in both alphabets due to economic pressure in 2001. The pace of the Latinization still continued to be slow until Haidar Aliiev, the President of Azerbaijan, released a new decree, in 2001, about the Latin- based alphabet publication which ordered that there not be a single Cyrillic character in any kind of document. Consequently, this sped the transition process up and called for a unanimous consolidation of all public institutions of the society. For example, all

press has been based on the Latin script; the National Academy of Science prepared a priority list of literature to be translated into the Latin-based Azerbaijani; the Writers' Union published various literature and dictionaries in the Latin script. Not only did local government put in an effort to ease the Latinization process, but also foreign governments helped Azerbaijan. For example:

- a joint work of Turkey and Azerbaijan was published in four languages: *Turkish-English-Azerbaijani-Russian dictionary of Medical Terms*.
- Organizations of the U.S and Europe donated to Azerbaijan funds for the shift to the new alphabet and publications of works in the humanitarian spheres.
- UNESCO supported setting up a database of all texts of Azerbaijani writings and world classics translations (2007-2008).

As a final result, the language of Azerbaijanis revived and purified from all previously borrowed words; the norms of writing and pronunciation were systematized; the process of native language learning sped up; and the lost [ɤ] phoneme was revitalized.

3.3.2 The Republic of Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is located in Central Asia and borders with Kazakhstan to the north and northwest. According to Grenoble (2003), until the creation of the Uzbek nation with a sense of an Uzbek identity by the Soviet government in 1924, people living in that territory had rather a Pan-Turkic identity. Moreover, a contemporary territory of Uzbekistan and its population were divided into multiple autonomous regions and even the language of the Uzbeks was not considered a distinct language, but a dialect of the Turkic language continuum in Central Asia. The written language that Uzbeks used before 1920 was called *Chagatai* (old Uzbek), which Kazakhs had also used, and was based on the Arabic script. Thus, *Chagatai* was a common language for all Central Asian inhabitants. Grenoble (2003)

also states that literacy rate of Uzbeks was 2% before the Revolution in 1917; the orthography was not standardized or consistent in presenting different pronunciations.

As mentioned above, Uzbeks had also used the Arabic alphabet and experienced the same alphabet problems in their language (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). Unlike Azerbaijanis, however, the debate on the choice of the alphabet of Uzbeks dates back to the time when the Latin alphabet supporters had already won the debate in Azerbaijan SSR. At the beginning, the idea of changing the Arabic alphabet failed because of religious leaders' opposition; Hence, at the Uzbek Language and Orthography Congress in 1921, it was decided to reform it. Accordingly, three proposals had been offered but only two of them were realized.

The further process of the Arabic alphabet reform was canceled due to the imposition of a new Latin alphabet by the Soviet rulers in 1926. However, the first steps of the Latinization were taken only in 1927-1928 in the Uzbek SSR. Starting in 1929, administrations, schools, and publishing houses had to switch to the new established alphabet in all Soviet countries.

In a similar fashion to Azerbaijan SSR, the Latin alphabet was foremost intended to have an impact on religious leaders and intelligentsia of Uzbeks, and to lessen their influence and prestige in the society. By introducing a new Latin alphabet, the Soviet people achieved two things:

- cutting off the Turkic people from the Arabic users and religious literature;
- dividing the Turkic people into different distinct ethnics.

On the other hand, when the Latin alphabet adoption was offered, the literacy rate in Uzbek SSR was still 3.8 % in 1928 (Grenoble, 2003). Although the religious Arabic and Russian-language schools had been established there earlier, only 1% of all eligible children attended schools in Uzbek SSR in 1925. Additionally, due to various dialectal differences in

the Uzbek language, the written language was not consistent within the country. For example, the urban dialects of the Uzbek did not have a *vowel harmony*, while the rural dialects did. Therefore, nationalists who supported the Latin alphabet, like in Azerbaijan SSR, also saw the Latin alphabet as a way of systematizing the language and increasing the literacy in the society. However, when the Soviet language planners decided to codify the Uzbek spelling based on the *vowel harmony* feature, it caused problems for the urban dialect speakers who were supposed to be educated and enter the workforce (Grenoble, 2003). Generally, the Russification policy of the centralistic administration was not implemented on the same scale in all areas within the Union. Central Asia with its high birth rate and low literacy rate was not susceptible to accept the goals of the policy.

As it was planned, the Soviet language planners introduced a Cyrillic alphabet into Uzbek in 1940. Like in all Turkic languages, the orthography, pronunciation, syntax, grammar, neologisms, etc. were all based on the Russian language rules. Yet, most importantly, adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet led to the elimination of the *vowel harmony* from standard Uzbek, which is one of the common distinguishing features of all Turkic languages. Unfortunately, standard Uzbek lacks the vowel harmony, which has caused linguistic feature separation of Uzbek from other Turkic languages.

Although Uzbeks had also thought about changing the alphabet before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a main purpose of doing so had a somewhat different character than in Azerbaijan. According to Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001), the most important political force *Birlik* (unity), although not unanimously, and the Tajiks, an important minority in Uzbekistan, were in favor of the Arabic alphabet, and seemed to be willing to have an access to medieval literature and cultural heritage. However, the authors indicate that the literary elite knew that they needed to revive the classical language of the Central Asian *Chagatai*, first, in order to recover all lost medieval literature. Therefore, it was more of a

political need rather than a love of the cultural heritage. In other words, the main motivation was a derussification of the nation and the building of a new identity connecting with past history.

To achieve these goals, a language law and some journals appeared to provide study conditions, text samples and complete courses in Arabic-based Persian script for Uzbek schoolchildren and students (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). Moreover, 550 thousand primers were published to teach children the Arabic alphabet in 1991. This was an 'Islamic boom' in Uzbekistan.

However, ongoing civil wars in Tajikistan and Afghanistan influenced the alphabet choice of Islam Karimov, the president of the Uzbekistan, in favor of the Latin alphabet. An adaptation of the Uzbek language to computer programs, learning western languages and opening to the Western modernization all served as reasons for adoption of the Latin alphabet. Most importantly, refusing the imposed Cyrillic alphabet was seen as the primary goal, rather than love of the cultural heritage in a patriotic fight (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

Hence, a law on the Latin alphabet adoption was decreed in 1993, indicating its full completion date of 2000. It stated that this alphabet choice was based on the positive experience of the past Latin alphabet and public's wishes. The new alphabet consisted of 31 letters and 1 apostrophe. Concomitant with the new Latin alphabet, the law also encouraged the preservation and use of both Cyrillic and Arabic alphabets, referencing the spiritual legacy of Uzbekistan. However, Shuhrat Rizaev, a scholar specialized in Uzbek literature, claims that such a decision was exclusively made by the government circle. He further argues that, despite the value in the idea of the introducing the Latin alphabet, the process of selecting a version of the Latin alphabet was not right. For example, the new modified Latin alphabet was far from the old Latin-based Uzbek alphabet and did not correspond to the

internal language requirements. As a result, a new modified version of the Latin alphabet was reintroduced in 1995 which was not also flawless.

The parliament of Uzbekistan issued a new law to revise the Latin alphabet in 1995.

Although the Uzbek government presented a detailed plan of the Latin alphabet implementations to be completed by 2000, it failed to meet the deadline and was extended further to 2005. This caused a further dissimilarity between the alphabet of the Uzbeks and that of the Turks, Azerbaijanis and Turkmen (adopted in 1994). The revised Latin alphabet consisted of 26 letters, 3 digraphs, and 1 apostrophe. Some Uzbek sound specific characters were eliminated and the alphabet looked more like the Anglo-Saxon alphabet. Thus, [ʃ], [ç], [ŋ] became [SH], [CH] and [NG] respectively and [ō] and [g̃] became [O'] and [G'] respectively. However, such revisions did not solve the Uzbek language problems. For example, the Uzbeks are still experiencing difficulties in unifying the alphabet and orthography use in Uzbek. Essentially, what the government did was a transliteration of the Cyrillic-based Uzbek to Latin-based Uzbek and no analytical approaches were done before the Latin alphabet introduction. As Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001) show, the problem of a 'phonetic deficiency' in Cyrillic-based Uzbek was reflected in the Latin-based Uzbek alphabet too.

Apparently, the Uzbek government was not able to carry out the task by the settled deadline and postponed it for another 5 more years (to the year 2010), referring to the lack of modern technology, expertise, bureaucracy and a large proportion of adults who had to learn the alphabet from scratch (Lindau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012). To the Uzbek society's misfortune, this deadline was not met either.

Some teachers, linguists, writers, poet-philosophers, politicians, etc. have started to express their negative views and even criticized openly through social media and newspaper articles. According to some educators, a schoolteacher preparation for the Latin alphabet and

its introduction in schools were supposed to be realized in 1993-1994 and 1995 respectively. However, the Latinization in schools was realized only in 1996 and the educators claim that it had not been approached seriously and scholarly. Moreover, it was announced in local newspaper news that linguists were still discussing improvements in the Latin-based alphabet even in 1999. Nowadays, the Latin-based Uzbek alphabet is not similar to the Turkish alphabet and is easy to read and write; however, it is still unable to reflect the whole range of phonemes of the Uzbek language. Some Uzbek linguists say that they do not see any improvement or even any difference from the Cyrillic-based Uzbek alphabet, which seems to be more practical for Uzbek.

Furthermore, Fayzulla Iskhakov, a Professor, sent an official letter to Islam Karimov, the President of Uzbekistan, accusing the idea of Latinization as a Russophobic act and its alienation to a general population. Consequently, according to Uzbek linguists, the society of the Uzbek language users was broken into two groups. There are two opposing groups: the older generation, mostly educated in the Cyrillic alphabet, who wants to preserve the Cyrillic alphabet, and the younger generation, lately taught in the Latin-based alphabet, who wants to keep up with the Latin alphabet. No one on either side shows a desire or concession to adopt one or the other alphabet. As a result, there arose some publishing houses and newspapers that still continue to publish in the Cyrillic script to satisfy the demand of those who prefer to read in this alphabet. Another problem is that the national currency is still printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, while monetary is both in Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. Generally, the Latin alphabet implementation was not taken seriously. For example, the economic costs of the Latin alphabet transition were charged by the non-commercial institutions. As a result, the lack of financial support led to a number of serious problems in the country such as a partial fulfillment of replacement of public signs and transliteration of books to the new alphabet. The Latin-based public signs are common in central parts of cities, while in rural places they

are half-Latin and half-Cyrillic. The number and content of the Latin-based books cannot compete with Cyrillic-based ones. Therefore, Uzbek educators, teachers, linguists and politicians are concerned about the inability of the government to provide a sufficient number of books and knowledge.

As a final result, the Uzbek language was not developed due to the following major errors done during the planning of the alphabet:

- the absence of the referendum about alphabet change;
- modification of the alphabet done twice;
- postponing the deadline over and over again;
- financial obligation on non-financial institutions;

3.3.3 The Republic of Kazakhstan

On the 24th of October, 2006, the first official announcement about the current Kazakh alphabet shift from Cyrillic to Latin was mentioned by Nursultan Nazarbaev, the President of Kazakhstan, in his speech at the XII session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. The speech of the President was primarily devoted to a spiritual development of the people of Kazakhstan and a “Language Trinity: Kazakh, Russian and English” policy in Kazakhstan. In addition to these, he pointed out the importance of the alphabetic shift and invited to consider it not as a political motivation, but as a historical event in Kazakh history. Consequently, on the 27th of January, 2007, he published his next announcement “A new Kazakhstan in a new World” and reminded the people of Kazakhstan of the topic of the alphabet shift. Probably because of the absence of public reactions to that, some scholars thought that a year later the proposal was abandoned, or at least postponed (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

However, Alimkhan Zhunisbekov, a Kazakh language expert at Baitursynov Language Institution, states that the idea of Kazakh alphabet shift and orthography reform

has been considered and discussed among both the Kazakh government and language experts, and that there exist more than 100 versions of the Latin alphabet prepared by various language scholars since the beginning of the Independence period in Kazakhstan. This again proves the fact of existence of the “Common Turkic alphabet” proposal, which was proposed by Turkey, along with the fact that a government delegation from Turkic countries traveled to Turkey to discuss that proposal. However, as mentioned before, only the Republics of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan had been postponing the alphabet change due to economic and political difficulties in the countries.

Only on the 14th of December, 2012, when the annual address by Nursultan Nazarbaev “Strategy Kazakhstan-2050: new political course of the established state” was published, was it announced that the alphabet shift in Kazakh is officially planned to be completed by 2025. In that address, great attention was drawn to widespread globalization in which a technology and modern information space are rapidly developing. The use of the Latin alphabet was especially underlined in that rapidly developing technology and information era. Nursultan Nazarbaev stated that in order to develop a relationship, enter the global communication space and fasten information exchange with foreign countries, Kazakh needs to be Latinized. Also, he pointed out that Latinization of Kazakh will facilitate a promotion of its language status. Even at that time, the Kazakhstani society seemed not to express an interest nor discussed the idea.

A vigorous discussion of the Kazakh alphabet change happened only on the 12th of April, 2017 in all levels of the social hierarchy, when concrete preparation tasks of the alphabet change were announced in the article of the president “Future Orientation: The Spiritual Revival”. The national plan is as follows:

- to start to prepare teaching personnel and textbooks for the Latin alphabet in 2018;
- to start teaching 1st-grade school students in the Latin alphabet in 2021-22;

- to have all spheres of the society transitioned to the Latin alphabet by 2025.

Such a consistent behavior of the government initially seemed to involve a resonance in some sections of Kazakhstani population. Different people expressed different opinions. If some of them have welcomed the idea of alphabet change, others have expressed concerns about it in terms of publishing, literacy rate, and financial expense of the country. Especially, some people such as writers, poets and mathematicians who had been taught in Cyrillic-based Kazakh, were mainly worried about republishing books published during the 70 years of the Soviet period. Despite such public concerns, the president verbally stated that attitudes of different sections of the population were surveyed and the results showed a full support of the alphabet change in Kazakh. The next steps are to create a working group, to determine the alphabet version and to release of a decree for it.

More interestingly, despite the age difference among Kazakh linguists, all of them seemed to support the idea of the alphabet change and orthography reform. The linguists explain that this is a great chance for Kazakh to elevate its status and be promoted not only as an ethnical identity of Kazakhs, but also as a unifying factor of the country (Fazylbekova, 2016). Moreover, such alphabet change and orthography reform will provide a chance to remedy all orthography and orthoepy problems in Kazakh which were admitted during the Soviet times. According to Fazylzhanova, a Kazakh linguist at Baitursynov Language Institution, the change in alphabet and orthography reform are first and foremost important for forming a national identity which enable the unification of both Kazakh- and Russian-speaking Kazakhs. She believes that the written form of a language is symbol of national culture and identity, and through means of Latin-based Kazakh, the writing will help society form the following:

- a new national identity of Kazakhs;
- a new way of thinking;

- an elimination of negative causality of old “colonized mind”;
- an elimination of stereotypes;

She thinks that such alphabet and orthography reform is not generated on the basis of politics, but that it is a pure linguistic necessity. For instance, she states, the Kazakh orthography and orthoepy were formed on the basis of Russian grammar and phonology respectively, which lead to violations of the principles of vowel harmony. Moreover, she stated the existence of a direct translation of Kazakh sentences from Russian. This is further proof of syntactic assimilation of Kazakh with Russian. Consequently, she points out the difficulties of breaking old stereotypes despite any kind of efforts, regarding language writers finding non-Russian orthography ungrammatical or illiterate. Additionally, Syzdykova also admits the existence of this problem and believes that through the means of a new orthography it is possible to unconsciously affect language users to break those “colonized mind” stereotypes.

On the 13th of April, 2017, a working group involving 200 thousand people was formed and more than 20 scientific conferences were held. Nursultan Nazarbaev clearly expressed his wish that the alphabet not have any type of ‘diacritics’ and suggested that it be simple and ready to use wherever and whenever. The working group consists of two special groups of linguists and IT programmers. As a result, it is believed that more than 100 modified versions of the Latin alphabet were prepared. According to Zeinep Bazarbaeva, a Doctor of Philology Science and Professor, all these alphabet versions were made on the basis of two types of the Latin alphabet versions: *Linguistics and Internet-based* (computer). The linguistics-based version is in accordance with language norms in which various types of diacritics are used to specify language specific sound systems. This is also in accordance with a principle of the “Common Turkic alphabet” in which 1 phoneme corresponds to 1 character. The internet-based version consists of digraphs and apostrophes, and is very easy to use on a standard keyboard. Bazarbaeva believes that both versions of the alphabet have

advantages and disadvantages to some extent. For instance, the internet-based version will help one learn western language and computer navigation easier and vice-versa, but there is a chance of having difficulties in coding with apostrophes. On the other hand, the linguistic version is good at communicating the language specific sound inventory, but would require adding extra characters to the standard Latin keyboard.

The government of Kazakhstan is collaborating with language specialists to address people's concerns about the idea of the reform by:

- creating platforms where people can express their views and attitudes;
- forming a special language group who is responsible for terminology, orthography and onomastics;
- creating hi-tech software programs which allow for the conversion of Cyrillic-based text into Latin alphabet text.

Surprisingly, Kazakh language planners and experts do not show any anxiety in terms of the population learning a new alphabet due to their experience in learning German and English during the Soviet and current times respectively. They assert that various sectors of the population of Kazakhstan are at least familiar with a standard Latin alphabet and that the Kazakh society is ready to shift to the Latin alphabet.

The first modified Latin alphabet version was reviewed on the 11th of September, 2017 at a parliamentary hearing proposed by Erbol Tileshov, the Director of the Shayakhmetov Republican Coordination and Methodological Center for the Development of Languages in Kazakhstan, and Alimkhan Zhunisbekov, a Kazakh language expert at Baitursynov Language Institution. The version consisted of 25 characters and 8 digraphs and looked like a more Anglo-Saxon alphabet. However, it was not popular among language users, probably because of a long addiction to the principle of “1 phoneme- 1 character” among post-Soviet countries.

The second modified Latin alphabet version was proposed on the 9th of October of the same year and reviewed by the president and parliament house members. Later, it was even approved on the 26th of October by presidential decree. The second proposed version consisted of 32 characters, out of which 9 phonemes were indicated using apostrophes. Moreover, as shown and discussed below in Chapter 4, some government organizations started to implement this version on different signage and logos of government buildings and channels. However, this version was not supported by language users at all. The language users were expressing their negative attitudes on social media, Kazakh language scholars sent a complaint letter to the president about its difficulties in writing and the absence of some characters, IT programmers as well as various ministers of the government informed the president about the impracticality of this version in different spheres like banking systems and internet search systems. All these together made the government reject the alphabet version with apostrophes. Consequently, a new, third version of the Latin alphabet was proposed.

The third modified Latin alphabet version was proposed on the 20th of February, 2018. The president reapproved the alphabet version by making changes to the decree issued on the 26th of October, 2017. This version consists of 32 characters, 6 of them are indicated with *diacritics: acute*, and 2 digraphs. Based on observations from different forms of social media, the ordinary citizens seem to be relatively satisfied with the last version, but still disagree on some characters.

As one may notice, the first and second proposed versions of the Latin alphabet were prepared on principles of an internet-based alphabet, which is also in accordance with the presidential preference. The third one is more based on the linguistics-based alphabet principles. However, nowadays Kazakhs are active on different social media and openly express their views regarding the alphabet versions. Thus, the public has been actively

participating in and even influencing the choice of the alphabet version. As a result, the third version was eventually approved. Most importantly, it should be noted that both the population and the government are in search of an appropriate alphabet version rather than questioning the need for such an alphabet and orthography change. Language scholars state that the alphabet should adapt to language, not language to an alphabet.

3.4. Conclusion

As Dulat Isabekov, a writer, comments, the president and the government of Kazakhstan had prioritized economy first and postponed the idea of reform during the early Independence period. Only 15 years later, when the country has become more or less economically and politically stable, is it mature enough for such a tremendous reform both in the spiritual and national identity of the country.

Despite the Kazakh government currently being only in the initial phase of alphabet and orthography reform, some comparison and contrast can be withdrawn from the experiences of aforementioned countries' alphabet and orthography reform. After describing the process of the alphabet and orthography reform of each country, the following similarities and differences are noticed. Like in the Latin-based Uzbek alphabet, there are 2 digraphs in the Kazakh alphabet. However, language scholars state that these digraphs are not Kazakh-specific phonemes and their frequency of occurrence in Kazakh is almost none compared to Uzbek. Unlike Uzbekistan, Kazakh language experts believe that the alphabet change and orthography reform is mostly supported by the population. Although it seems that an official census or study of the alphabet attitudes of the Kazakhstani population is not publicly accessible, the Kazakhstani population has the advantage of discussing the reform on social media, which was not available for the Uzbek population. On the other hand, like Azerbaijan, both the majority of the population and the Kazakh government seem to support the idea of

the Latin alphabet and orthography reform, and it is financially supported by the government. To some extent, the last version of the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet has some similarities with the “Common Turkic alphabet consisting of 34 characters” and mutually easy to exchange information, but language scholars assert that it has own characteristics. As mentioned above, all Soviet men were exposed to the Latin alphabet while learning German in Soviet times. Therefore, Kazakh language planners and experts expect neither the older generation of Kazakhstan nor the middle and younger generations, due to their exposure to English as a foreign language, to have difficulties in learning a new alphabet. Because these two language varieties are Latin-based, Kazakhs would spend time only in learning Kazakh-specific characters. However, there are some critical moments for the Kazakh government to be mindful of. Lessons for Kazakhstan from both post-Soviet countries include:

From Uzbekistan:

- not to allow a democratic position in writing;
- not to extend the process of transition time;
- not to obligate non-commercial organizations to fund the reform

From Azerbaijan:

- introduction to secondary school was a milestone in the process.

CHAPTER 4: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF KAZAKHSTAN

4.1 Introduction

‘Linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of language on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region’ (Bourhis & Landry, 1997:23). Making a language used visually available gives a covert hint, if not overt, about language and its current use in a particular place and time. If you travel to South Korea, government, public and road signs, names of buildings, or private names can probably be found written both in Korean and English. On the contrary, it is less likely that one would see them both used alongside each other in North Korea. This gives you a good idea of what the dominant language(s) is/are in a current time and place, and how to use language(s) accordingly.

Before the 1970s, this kind of phenomenon and its possible effects on people’s language identity was not taken into account. In 1979 and 1980, Verdoot in Belgium and Corbeil in Quebec, respectively, were the first to effectively apply this concept to please community’s language demands. Since that time, a lot of similar research studies have been done ending up with interesting results.

However, have we ever thought about how a concept of ‘Linguistic Landscape’ is applied or might look in post-Soviet countries where there used to be only one dominant language, Russian, and a titular language was stigmatized? Kazakhstan is an excellent example of such cases. Additionally, the fact that English is rapidly gaining a prestige as a global language in Kazakhstan might have possible impacts on the languages of Kazakhstan. Therefore, a current Linguistic Landscape of Kazakhstan will be partially examined in this chapter to see if any correlations with historical facts as well as current events can be traced.

4.2 Administrative-territorial structure of Kazakhstan and Connection of Language use with Historical Events



Figure 1. The map of Kazakhstan (taken from Wikipedia.org)

Generally, the territory of Kazakhstan can be divided into five parts on a map: north, south, east, west and central. There are currently 14 regions (oblys) and 2 cities of republican significance, Astana and Almaty. From the beginning of Independence, the Kazakh government started to rename most Soviet city names or at least readapt them to Kazakh phonology. A list of renamed cities can be found in Table 1. below. In 1997, the capital city, formerly Almaty, was relocated to the north of the country and named Astana.

Kazakh SSR	Kazakhstan
Целиноград [tselinograd]	Астана [astana]
Павлодар [pavlodar]	Павлодар [pavlodar]
Кустанай [kustanai]	Қостанай [qostanai]
Петропавл [petropavl]	Петропавл [petropavl]
Кокчетав [kakteetav]	Көкшетау [køkʃɛjtau]

Усть-Каменогорск [ustʲ- kamenagorsk]	Өскемен [øskəjməjn]
Семипалатинск [semipalatinsk]	Семей [səjməji]
Уральск [uralʲsk]	Орал [oral]
Гурьев [gurʲev]	Атырау [atərau]
Актюбинск [aktəbinsk]	Ақтөбе [aqtəbəj]
Шевченко [ʃevtʃenko]	Ақтау [aqtau]
Караганда [karaganda]	Қарағанды [qaraɣandə]
Алма-Ата [alma-ata]	Алматы [almatə]
Джамбул [dʒambul]	Тараз [taraz]
Чимкент [tɕimkent]	Шымкент [ʃəmkəjnt]
Кзыл-Орда [kzɪl-arda]	Қызыл-Орда [qəzəl-orda]

Table 1. A list of renamed cities of Kazakhstan.

Based on the above stated historical facts in Chapters 1 & 2, the administration of the Russian Empire built military garrisons in the north-west, north and north-east of the Kazakh khanate to establish imperial rule. Accordingly, the majority of Slavic peasants: Russian, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, had settled there at that time. During the Soviet time, Slavs and other ethnicities continued to immigrate to Kazakhstan and populate mostly the northern parts to build the centers of ‘collective and state farms’. Meanwhile, the majority of Kazakhs lived in the south of the country. Later, during the industrialization period, some Slavs with a small number of Kazakhs resettled in cities, but most Kazakhs continued to live in rural areas. For example, a number of current cities such as Karagandy, Oskemen, Rudnyy, Pavlodar, etc. are typical Soviet cities which are overwhelmingly inhabited by Slavs, and in which heavy industries such as coal mining, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, gas and oil, etc. were developed and accommodated around their fringes. Based on the following pictures and stated facts, it is reasonable to conclude that all these cities and people living in those cities became monolingual Russian cities and speakers due to immigration, industrialization and the language policies of the Soviet Union.

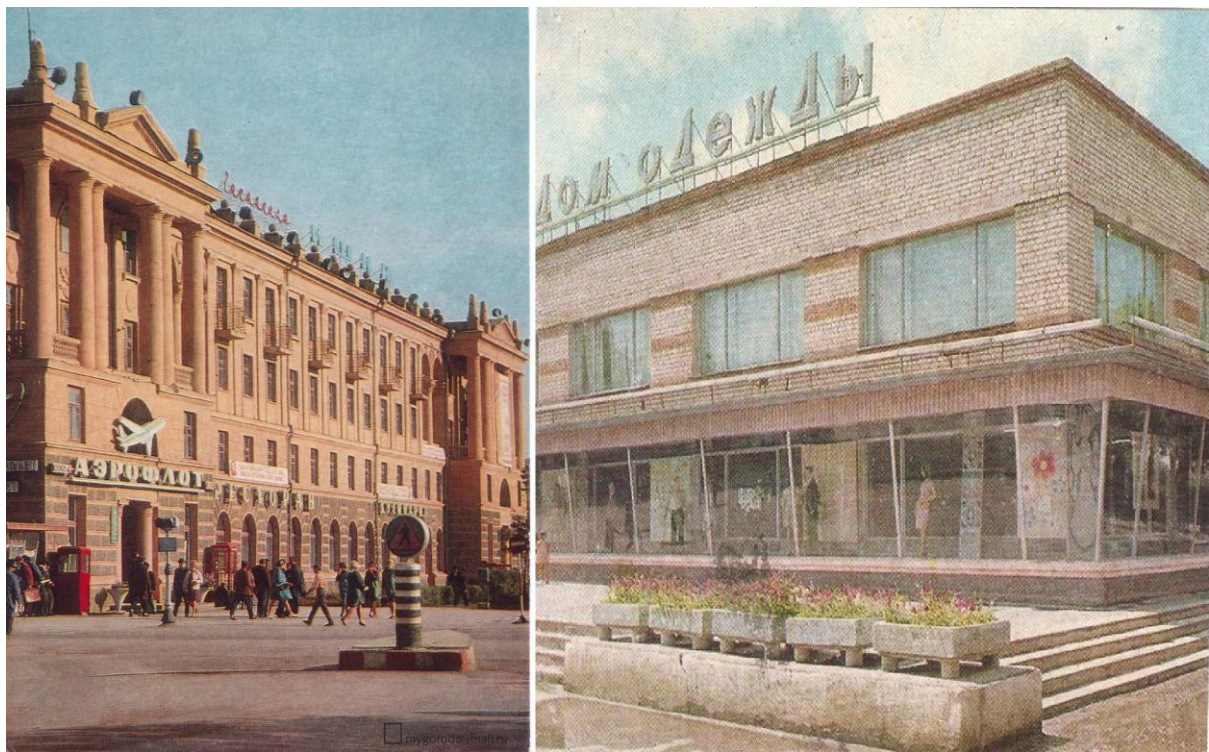


Figure 2. The 'Ishil' hotel in Tselinograd and the 'Dom Odezhdy' shopping mall in Uralsk



Figure 3. 'Dzhezkazgan' hotel and a movie theater in Karaganda

Towards the end of 1980s, the use of Kazakh on par with Russian started to be implemented in some signage during the Soviet times, although very few. This time overlaps with the time when Kazakh youth went to street demonstrations in 1986-87 demanding an ethnic Kazakh ruler for the Kazakh SSR.



Figure 4. Pictures of cities of Kazakh SSR in the end of 1980s

Nowadays, we still see the same trend of 30 years ago, where the majority of the Slavic population continues to live either in northern Kazakhstan or urban cities, but with the former centers and state farms turned into large villages now. Despite the majority of Kazakhs also continuing to live in rural places, the number of urban Kazakhs is catching up with Slavs. Although it is known that all big cities, except for Pavlodar and Petropavl, have been renamed to Kazakh, little is known about small cities, public places, and government as well as commercial signs within these fourteen regions in terms of the ‘Linguistic Landscape’ concept. As Kazakhs have been actively urbanizing and learning English since declaring independence, the linguistic landscape might have been impacted by these factors so far. Therefore, it is useful to examine the current Linguistic Landscape of Kazakhstan to see if we

have any traces of the Kazakh SSR and English. Being aware of a limiting factor such as a necessity of a field trip to examine a land thoroughly, the purpose of this chapter is limited to examination of signage of road and street direction signs of Kazakhstan based on pictures available on the internet. Thus, the road signs of both external and internal cities will be the objects of examination.

In spite of multilingualism in Kazakhstan, almost all Kazakhstani are proficient either in Kazakh or Russian. According to *The State Language Development Institute in Kazakhstan* (2009), it is estimated that 94.4% of Kazakhs can understand spoken Russian, while 84.8% can read and write in it. At the same time, according to the Official Census of 2009 of the Republic of Kazakhstan 86 % of all Slavic nations can understand spoken Kazakh. Thus, Russians (25.3%), Ukrainians (21.5%), Belarus (19%), and Polish (20.9%) can understand spoken Kazakh, but they also declared that only 6.3% of Russians, 5.2% of Ukrainians, 4.8% of Belarus, 6.6% of Poles are able to read and write in Kazakh. Therefore, it is natural to expect to see diglossia in Kazakhstan; however, the concept of diglossia is used in its extended scope in which two different languages, rather than two distinct varieties of a language, are in use. Indeed, the Kazakh and Russian languages are equally used in administration, government and private domains of language in Kazakhstan. Accordingly, the languages used in the Linguistic Landscape of Kazakhstan are supposed to be Kazakh and Russian based on the Cyrillic alphabet. More interestingly, an examination of the linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan might even reveal an emergence of a concept of polyglossia because of an active introduction of English to the education system in Kazakhstan.

4.3. Methods

In order to have some idea about a current linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan, 168 random signages, available for public use, of various cities in Kazakhstan were taken from the internet. These pictures, from different parts of Kazakhstan, were used for the purpose of

this study to depict the linguistic picture and language use throughout the territory of the country. Based on function the address names, the signs were divided into internal and external address names. Thus, there are 88 signages with street names and 80 signages with locality names within Kazakhstan.

Results

Internal city street names

The 102 street names of various cities in Kazakhstan were collected from 88 signage. Based on language type used in signage, they were divided into five groups and a frequency of the occurrence of each of the language based groups can be seen in Table 2. below. The groups are:

- Kazakh-Russian-English
- Kazakh-Russian
- Kazakh-English
- Kazakh
- Russian

Parts of Kazakhstan	Kazakh Russian English	Kazakh-Russian	Kazakh-English	Kazakh	Russian	Total
<i>North</i>	0	10	10	15	1	36
<i>South</i>	0	22	3	24	0	49
<i>East</i>	2	1	0	2	2	7
<i>West</i>	0	1	0	5	0	6
<i>Central</i>	0	1	0	3	0	4
Total	2	35	13	49	3	102

Table 2. Street names in Kazakhstan

From the table above it can be seen that the number of signage, available on the internet, is not equal within the different parts of Kazakhstan. Thus, the number of signage found in the Northern and Southern parts of Kazakhstan quite exceeds that found in other parts of Kazakhstan. This is due to the status of two cities, Almaty and Astana, situated in

each of these parts of Kazakhstan. Therefore, the final result might be inaccurate in terms of regional representation of language type used in street name signages.

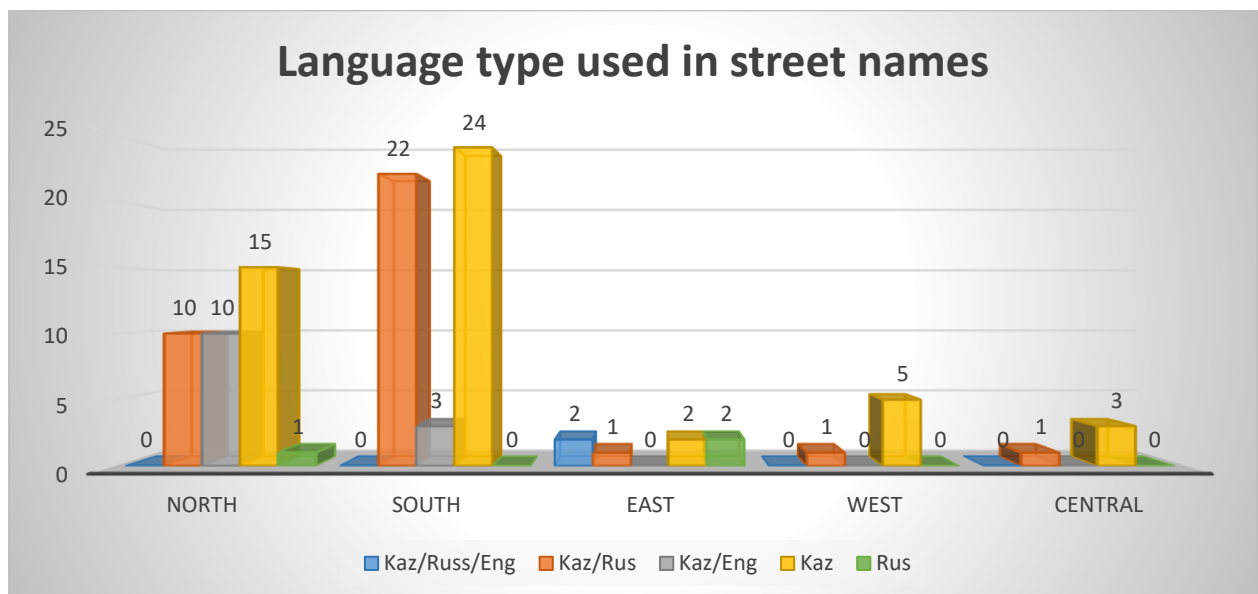


Figure 5. The frequency of occurrence of a language type in signage of street names

Generally, as expected, the result shows that in spite of the location of a city within the country, both Kazakh and Russian are equally used in signage to denote street names. Despite the unequal number of regional signages found from various parts of Kazakhstan, the signages in *Kaz /Russ* is still present in all parts. This, at least, shows the presence of the Russian language within the country. The following figures demonstrate the use of Kazakh alongside Russian in signages to denote a street name.

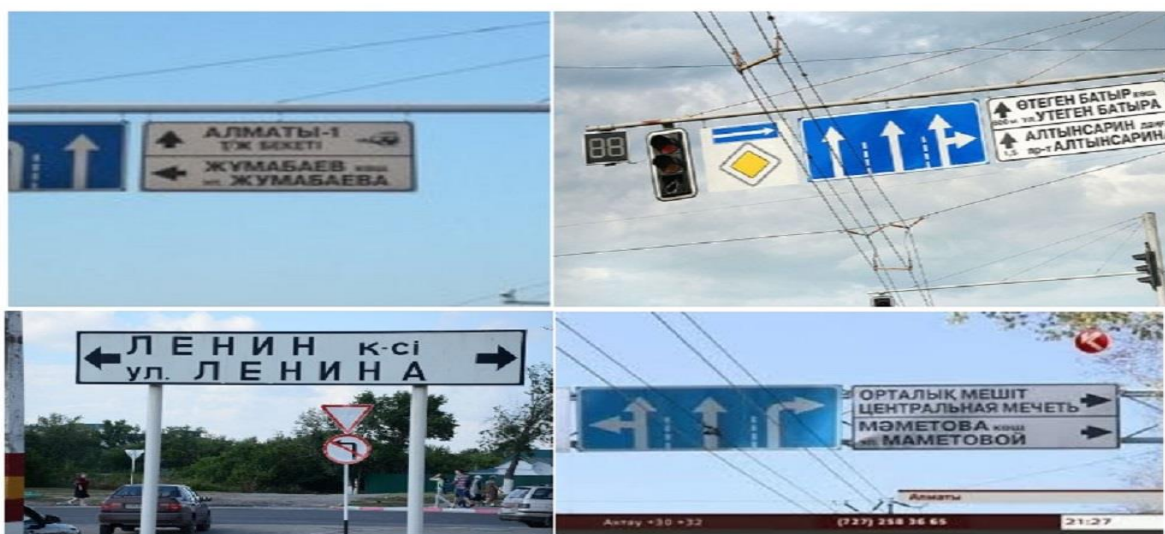


Figure 6. The equal use of both Kazakh and Russian in signage of street names

On the other hand, as it was also predicted, the result shows a clear implementation of English in the linguistic landscape of north and south Kazakhstan. So far, the emergence of English is clearly seen in signage of the north. These kinds of illustrations lead to the conclusion that the use of Russian and English is equal, or even more, Russian is probably being replaced by English in new signage of internal street names in Astana, North Kazakhstan. It seems that the street names in Astana are indicated either in monolingual Kazakh or both in Kazakh and English, but no longer in Russian. Some signs of Anglicism are also noticeable in Almaty and Shymkent, South Kazakhstan.



Figure 7. Street names in signage of Astana, North Kazakhstan



Figure 8. Street names in signage of Almaty and Shymkent, South Kazakhstan

External locality names

In total, 132 location names, available on the internet, were gathered from 80 signage within the country. Similarly, most of the signages denoting locality names were found from North and South Kazakhstan. The signages were divided into two groups on the basis of used language types. Thus, there are Kazakh and Russian names of the locality in present signage. The frequency of occurrence of the language type can be seen in table below.

Parts of Kazakhstan	Number of Signage	Kazakh	Russian	Total
Central	8	9	5	14
Northern	24	14	19	33
Southern	32	49	4	53
Eastern	3	4	1	5
Western	13	19	8	27
Total	80	95	37	132

Table 3. Signage with locality names in Kazakhstan

Table 3 shows that the Kazakh-based locality names were found more in the south, but the Russian-based localities were comparatively more in the north. The distribution of locality names of both language types as follow:

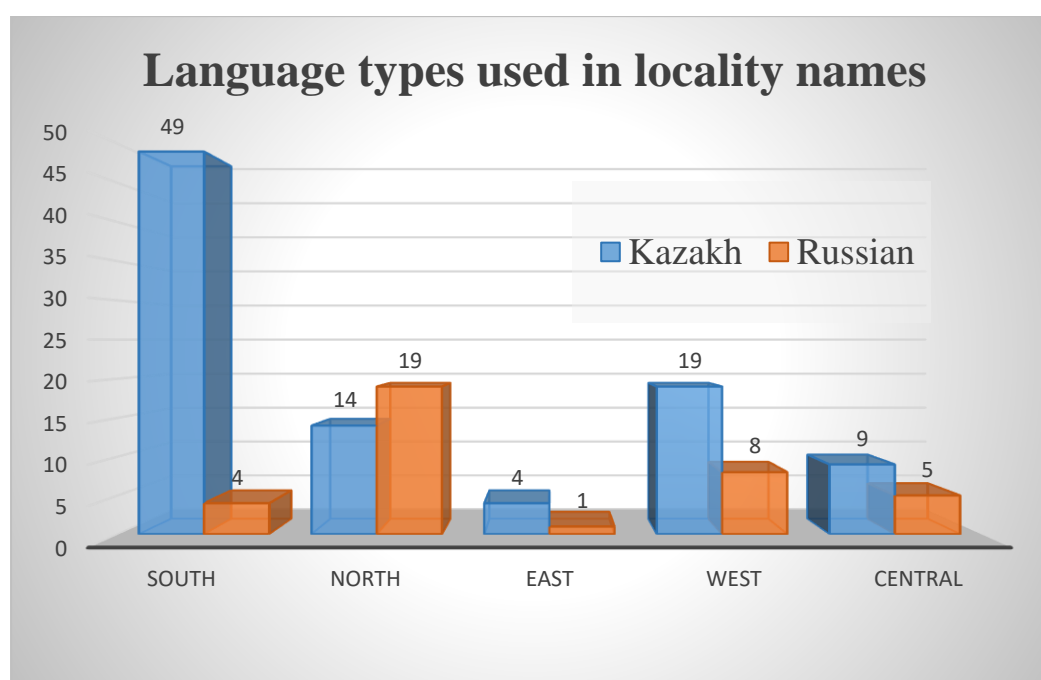


Figure 9. The frequency of occurrence of locality names both in Kazakh and Russian

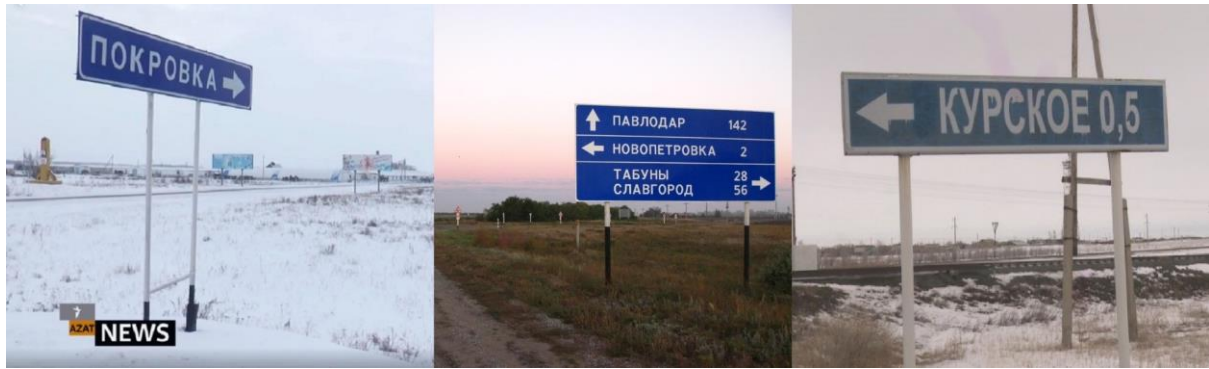


Figure 10. Russian locality names in north Kazakhstan



Figure 11. Kazakh locality names in south Kazakhstan

Again, the present distribution chart of the language type may not be accurate, but it is helpful to get some idea about it. Probably, these are indications of a preferred language type used in regions and by the majority of the population. It does not necessarily mean that all names of locality are only in Russian if they are in the north, or only in Kazakh if they are all in the south of the country. It might show a possible dominance of a particular language, Kazakh or Russian, in a region. Nonetheless, it seems that geographical coordination of a locality does have an impact on the language type of names.

On the other hand, such distribution chart might show a process of *Kazakhisation* not only in the south, but also an emergence of Kazakh into the northern parts of the country which are historically and predominantly inhabited by Slavs.

In terms of alphabet use, these signages are another interesting case. Despite a geographical coordination of localities, be it in the north, south, west, etc., and the language type of locality names, Kazakh or Russian, some names of those locality tend to be Latinized.

In the following signages both Kazakh and Russian locality names seem to be equally Latinized.



Figure 12. Latinized Kazakh and Russian locality names

In turn, it leads to the conclusion that in spite of the location of localities, both Kazakh and Russian are Latinized. However, if we examine an orthography of names in signage carefully, the use of Latinized Kazakh or Russian can be possibly explained differently. First of all, it should be noticed that in order for locality names to be Latinized, they need to be located on highways. The following Figure 13. below are regional signages denoting locality names, but they are not apparently situated on a highway. Therefore, they are not Latinized.



Figure 13. Non-Latinized locality names

When locality names are Latinized, the actual size of the locality or language type do not play a role if the locality is along a highway. However, as mentioned before, a close look at the orthography of all these locality names says something different. The orthography examination states that locality names are Latinized based on the Russian phonology regardless of whether the locality has a Kazakh or Russian name. For example, the pronunciation of the city Oskemen in Kazakh is [øskəjməjn] but in Russian the old Soviet version is used, [ustʲ- kamenagorsk] and if we look at Figure 12, we see the Latinized orthography of it based on the Russian phonology. Moreover, if we look at Figure 12 again, we see three versions of orthography of a city Karagandy, and if we compare the phonology then we have: [qarɑyɑndə] (Kazakh) vs. [karaganda] (Russian), vs. [karaganda] (English).

This might lead one to think that the intended Latin alphabet and orthography is going to be applied to Russian as well, or even that Russian will be replaced by English.

4.4. Discussion and Conclusion

When signage of highways was analyzed, it was clear that locality names were used in Cyrillic-based Kazakh and Latin-based Russian most of the time. At first glance, it misleads one to think that the Latin alphabet is intended for Russian, but not for Kazakh.

Nonetheless, it might be so because of following reasons. First of all, it might be possible that language planners were aware of Russian being more prevalent than Kazakh in the international arena. Consequently, the language planners in Kazakhstan expect foreign visitors in Kazakhstan to know at least Russian, if not Kazakh, to travel around. Therefore, these Latin-based Russian city names were made for foreign visitors rather than for Russian speakers in local or near abroad. Secondly, the absence of Kazakh specific phonemes in a standard Latin alphabet system might make language planners use Russian in the Latin alphabet instead. Thirdly, when all these signages were put on highways, there may not have been any official announcement yet about a shift of Kazakh to the Latin alphabet. Even now when Kazakh is going to shift to the Latin alphabet, the Cyrillic-based Russian stays intact. The following pictures demonstrate a desire of Kazakh government to base Kazakh on the Latin alphabet as soon as possible even though the version of the modified Latin alphabet with apostrophe was replaced by diacritics.



Figure 14. Street names in Almaty and Astana in the Latin alphabet with apostrophe

That is why, it is reasonable to reject the hypothesis of Russian language replacement by English. This proves not only the intention of the Latin alphabet for Kazakh, but it also shows the readiness of the Kazakh government to switch Kazakh from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet.



Figure 15. Various signage in the Latin alphabet with apostrophe

However, as mentioned above, the language planners of the Ministry of Education is actively introducing English into education in Kazakhstan. Moreover, Kazakhstan has been

regularly holding various international conferences, exhibitions, summits, etc. In all of these events Kazakhstan had to use Latin-based English for particular purposes.



Figure 16. Prevalence of the English language in different signag.

CHAPTER 5: SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

Despite the presence of various definitions of the term ‘attitude’ in the social psychology and other scientific disciplines, generally it may be described as ‘a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects’ (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). The class of objects could be anything from a person to linguistic variant that a person adopts in a speech (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 6). It is believed that the concept of attitude is processed through three main components such as belief, emotion, and behavior (Deprez and Persoons, 1988:125 cited in Akers, 1996). In other words, such attitude can be cognitive, affective and behavioral. In terms of language, when attitude is derived in a cognitive level, it tends to generate particular beliefs about language or linguistic features. For example, after a careful examination, one is likely to find that English is a language of modern science and technology. Affective component of attitude further entails certain feelings such as perceiving a post-vocalic ‘r’ as prestige in Northern America. Finally, attitude affects behavior and triggers certain actions such as learning a post-vocalic ‘r’ because of a positive attitude towards it. That is, the linguistic features accompanying a speech not only influence our views of others, it will also define our own disposition towards particular linguistic features, and build our attitudes towards those linguistic features. Such various linguistic attitudes influencing our own repertoire of the linguistic features make us implement or avoid some of them in a speech in order to be heard of or treated in a desired way.

Consequently, we can conclude that language is a ‘powerful social force’ which can partially influence our inferences about others even based on the type of language or linguistic features such as a dialect, lexical diversity, speech rate, accent, etc. adopted in a

speech (Cargile et.al., 1994: 212). Because language is directly connected with and used by people, sometimes it is quite common to consider attitudes toward language users too, but not just a language in isolation. Additionally, our beliefs about particular language or linguistic features can be influential both in interpersonal and intergroup communications (Hewstone & Giles 1986:13).

A historical root of such social attitudes of people towards languages and linguistic features dates back to the ancient times when people's credibility as well as social status were determined based on the language they spoke and the linguistic features they adopted in a speech. Thereafter, scholars have started to use this concept in various areas of disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, communication, etc. where a language comes to a close interaction. One of such disciplines in which a study of linguistic attitudes is beneficially implemented is sociolinguistics, the study of language in society. During the early twentieth century, a great number of scientific researches, although had a general description purpose, had been conducted by dialectal geographers calling attention to various regional as well as dialectal language variations, accents, voice, speech, etc. in the studies of language attitudes. In turn, this influenced other scholars to do a systematic review and arrive to consistent results within different times (Cargile et.al., 1994:212). The followings are classical studies of the linguistic attitudes in sociolinguistics.

5.2 Pear and Social Stereotypes

In the 1930s, Pear (1931) was interested if a personality could be predicted solely on the basis of an individual's way of speaking. To conduct the study, he invited subjects and asked them to listen to different speakers on BBC radio. Then, he asked the participants to provide with a personality profile that they thought would match with voices on the radio. Although his study was not intended to measure linguistic attitudes of people, the results he obtained inspired other scholars in all over the world to do a similar work in specific oriented

fields. Hereby, Pear's work accidentally became one of the first studies in linguistic attitude studies. It turned out that Pear's participants had grouped the radio speakers into speech varieties that they were familiar with. When they were asked to give a personality profile for those radio speakers, participants simply expressed their "stereotypical views associated with those groups and their speech varieties" (Kraus, 2016).

Whenever analogous studies to Pear's study tried to search for a connection of speech and personality, they were mostly little advantage. Rather, all of them encountered the same traits of results. Thus, Pear and his other colleagues revealed that participants tend to express stereotypical associations with the voices that they heard (Giles & Billings, 2004). Here, we can recall that attitudes cannot solely be based on a language, but language users too. This is what exactly Pear discovered in his study. Pear's study participants as a group expressed their "social stereotypes" associated with the majority of other groups (Hewstone & Giles, 1986). As a result, Pear's and other studies have presented quite a significant social consensus of stereotypical traits among listener-judges and proved that they are socially vital.

However, the term "stereotype", a set of particular attributes, does not necessarily have to bear a negative meaning. For example, the British accent tends to stereotypically remind North Americans of a "refined and cultured personality". Whether being an in-group or outgroup member, not only a person but also a speech is stereotyped as a group member. In turn, this will influence formation of linguistic attitudes as well.

5.3 Lambert's Matched Guise Test

A study done by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardener and Fillenbaum (1960) continues the chain of the classical studies of linguistic attitudes. Lambert et.al. (1960) examined the listeners' evaluative reactions to English and varieties of French in Montréal. The researchers hired four balanced bilingual speakers of French and English to audio-record a French prose passage and its English translation. Then, they used these recordings as experimental stimuli

for French and English-Canadian bilingual participants in their study. The researchers had the study participants listen to both versions of the passage and asked them to rate the speakers on the following fourteen traits with six-point scales: *height, good looks, leadership, sense of humor, sociability, intelligence, religiousness, self-confidence, entertainingness, kindness, ambition, character, and likability*. After a statistical comparison of the eight speakers-text combinations in addition to filler traits, the results showed that English version of the prose was rated favorably on several traits both by French and English-speaking respondents. Furthermore, the researchers stated that French-speaking participants appreciated the English version more on some traits than the English-speaking ones. Lambert and his colleagues have indicated that it might be a consequence of an external factors such as the socio-political environment in Canada.

Despite curious results of the study, it was mostly appreciated for its technique and considered to be seminal. Through the use of the ‘matched-guise’ technique (MGT), the researchers for the first time attempted to have an experimental control over “potentially confounding speaker idiosyncrasies” (Cargile et.al., 1994: 213). To avoid directly asking participants their linguistic attitudes of English and French speakers, the researchers implemented the MGT to measure ‘privately held beliefs’ of them. Thus, the researchers organized these recordings in order so that the study participants were not aware of evaluating the same speaker twice. Being able to control for voice and content of the passage, this method allowed the researcher to present pure linguistic attitudes of people when they rated differences between two recordings of the same speaker. Lambert and his colleagues have stated that with the help of this method they were able to elicit stereotyped views of one ethnolinguistic group towards another. Since the 1960s, this method has been widely used in various types of linguistic attitude studies.

In 1965 Lambert et.al. repeated the same kind of study with a focus on linguistic

attitudes towards the Arabic and varieties of Hebrew (Yemenite and Ashkenazic). This time, the authors combined two methods of linguistic attitude measurements: indirect and direct measure. Similarly, the authors hired bilingual speakers of Arabic and Hebrew varieties to record a standard philosophical passage. For an indirect method of measurement, they let Arab and Jewish high-school students listen to the recording and reacted to each speaker on the six-point rating scale, while as for direct method, Jewish participants were asked about their general attitudes toward the labels, 'Ashkenazi Jews', 'Arabs' and 'Yemenite Jews'. The results showed that both Arab and Jewish high-school students rated each other negatively on traits like honesty, humor, and friendliness. However, most surprisingly, the results of direct and indirect measures were not correlated. In other words, the results of match-guise and the general attitude were not coinciding. Thus, researchers tried to demonstrate how different types of methods elicit dissimilar linguistic attitudes towards language varieties. Lambert et.al. concluded that the match-guise technique is the best way to elicit responses which are the least stereotypical and social.

However, researchers did not limit themselves to studies with prototypical design which tried to minimize the impact of message content on responses of participants, but went further by applying different techniques and conditions of the MGT to discover what factors affected participant's response. A study done by Giles and Coupland (1991), for example, states that not only genre of text, but the text itself also can never be less neutral than vocal styles. For example, the same phrasal expression, 'I don't know' is interpreted differently depend on social factors of a speaker. Thus, if participants are given contextual information, such as age of a speaker, then responses vary. In a similar fashion, Giles et al. (1981) has expanded domains of the language attitude study focusing on effects of two or more written or spoken languages on language attitude change.

The next study comes from Omdal (1995) in which he reexamines attitudes towards spoken and written Norwegian. In that study, he informs the existence of two different Norwegian languages in Norway: Bokmål and Nynorsk. Despite the same official status, and a large amount of identical grammar and vocabulary, there are various attitudes towards them. Particularly, linguistic attitudinal domains diverge in terms of pronunciation. Because of attitudinal conflicts, the Norwegian government decided to have a spelling reform in both languages during 1917, 1938, and 1958. Nonetheless, some sectors of the Norwegian population, especially influential well-educated people, resisted to adoptions of “Nynorsk” or “dialectal” elements in Bokmal. To eliminate such a “language conflict”, the government again conducted a new reform in 1981 in which a great number of alternatives of both language varieties were adopted to give language users more options. Finally, he concludes that until recent time, there used to be a relatively negative linguistic attitude towards each variation of Norwegian. Although, he states, it is difficult to show clearly whether such linguistic attitude change is result of, as Labov says, a change from bottom to top or from top to bottom, he was able to demonstrate the change both in language and language attitude in Norwegian language situation during the last two decades.

Moreover, linguistic attitude studies can be used not only to elicit attitudes of people towards language and linguistic features applied in social interaction, but also be applicable to discover whether languages have institutional support or are superseded by more prestigious varieties in a society in terms of public policy, education, and second language programs. For instance, Chiung (2001) was able to identify a potential target group in Taiwan in which a promotion of Taibun as the national orthography could be successfully implemented. That is, Chiung, by asking Taiwanese college students to rate different orthography systems in a distributed sociolinguistic attitude survey, was able to foresee the future realization of the Taibun orthography (Chiung, 2001). Therefore, studies of linguistic

attitudes have become more important in sociolinguistics and even in language policy in terms of defining a real sociolinguistic stance of a language or linguistic feature in the society.

Because of aforementioned importance and reasons of conducting a sociolinguistic attitude studies, it is very important to have analogous study in discovering linguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh. Depending on the final results of this type of work, I would at least be able to shed a light on linguistic attitudinal situation towards a written Kazakh, and also to foresee a future implementation of such reform in Kazakh. To assess sociolinguistic attitudes towards the intended alphabet and orthography norms, I need to review what kind of method of linguistic attitude measurements are available.

5.4 Methods to measure linguistic attitudes

Ryan et.al (1982) states that there are three basic methods to evaluate speakers' linguistic attitudes towards language at any level. Whether attitude is assessed at macro or micro levels in which contrasting languages or within-language variations (dialects and accents) are concerned respectively, these methods are applicable. So, they are analysis of *content societal treatment of language varieties*, *direct measurements*, which applied through conducting surveys and interviews, and *indirect measurements* in which a speaker's evaluation paradigm is analyzed.

Direct method of linguistic attitude measurement

The most popular method, available for measuring linguistic attitudes, is a direct measurement which allows a researcher to directly ask participants questions about their attitudes towards particular languages, language varieties, or language behaviors such as accent, voice quality, speech rate, lexical diversity, etc. This technique is mostly applied while conducting interviews or questionnaires. Thus, asking study-participants direct

questions allows a researcher to arrive to a specific topic of interest. This technique can be used not only to compare or contrast attitudes toward two different languages in the society; on the other hand, it also gives an opportunity to measure them at microscopic level such as different dialects, accents, code-switching, lexical or pronunciation digression within a language.

According to A. Kraus (2006, p. 4), defining linguistic attitudes through direct measurement is often found helpful for spheres like education or language policy to successfully introduce a language or a standards of a language in a country. Moreover, this method would be helpful to reveal attitudes towards second language learning, language preference and maintenance. A study done by Kriens (2003) aimed to find whether people living in the Kurik District need a developmental language program by asking villagers about their linguistic attitudes towards their native language. Despite that this method is useful for a researcher to obtain information, the results might be trickier because participants might feel pressured and give desired responses whereby real linguistic attitudes might be repressed (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone, 1988).

Indirect method of linguistic attitude measurement

The next method used in the studies of linguistic attitudes is an indirect measure. In contrast to the previous method, this technique does not ask participants direct questions but rather measure speaker's linguistic attitudes makes inferences based on the speaker's evaluation paradigm (Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone, 1988). The speaker evaluation paradigm takes is used when listeners evaluate speakers on audio-type without being introduced to various language varieties. Because participants are not aware of the purpose of measurement, this method is believed to be more reliable to elicit covert linguistic attitudes of people than the direct method. Lambert et al. (1960) invented match-guise technique of

indirect measures to attempt to demonstrate that people tend to express stereotypical evaluations towards various linguistic-cultural groups.

Analysis of societal treatment of language varieties

Last but not least, the method of measuring the linguistic attitudes is ‘content analysis of a societal treatment of language varieties’. This method is applied through observing, examining and analyzing a content of various language documents, decrees, public signs, language policies, literature, newspaper articles, etc. oriented towards the relative status and worth of a language. For example, a study done by Fishman et al. (1971) compared linguistic attitudes of both English and Spanish language newspapers of New York towards the Puerto Rican ethnic group, its language and cultural concerns. In that study, the authors examined how frequently Puerto Ricans were referenced in both languages and what major focus was of those references. Also, the authors looked at if Puerto Ricans were associated with Spanish language users as well as American citizens or if their dual status was ignored, and if their needs and problems were considered in the context. This kind of technique allows one to make inferences about outgroup and in-group attitudes towards the competing languages in a society.

5.5 Conclusion

The studies of sociolinguistic attitudes of people towards language variations, linguistic features, voice, accent are important not only at eliciting particular attitudes, but they are also important at predicting success and introducing any of them to the society. Influence of people’s perception of each other whether in interpersonal or intergroup communication will determine a success of a language planners in introducing any linguistic variations, features, or even the second foreign language. On such ground, the sociolinguistic attitude survey will be implemented in the next chapter to elicit the linguistic attitudes of

Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and enable to make some further prediction on its successful introduction to the Kazakh society.

CHAPTER 6: THE CURRENT STUDY, ITS METHODS AND RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

After careful and versatile considerations, taking into account all possibilities, limitations and the importance of the current topic, a decision was made to measure the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in the Kazakh language through means of a linguistic attitude survey. Because of limiting factors such as geography and the intention of the Latin alphabet adoption only for Kazakh, the online survey was conducted only among monolingual Kazakhs either permanently living in Kazakhstan or temporarily the US. Because of issues of internet access and activeness of different age groups on the internet, the main target groups of the survey were considered to be younger and middle age generations of Kazakhstan. Especially as, due to the latest demographic share of age difference of population in Kazakhstan, it is highly likely that further implementation or rejection of the Latin alphabet and orthography reform depend on these two target groups.

Additionally, to find out whether the necessity of the alphabet and orthography reform is triggered by a linguistic need, a written interview was conducted with several Kazakh language experts. An email containing a list of questions was sent to the Kazakh language experts aiming to elicit their opinions on the motivation, reason, and purpose of reforming the alphabet and orthography from a linguistic point of view.

6.2 The Current Study

The Survey

The necessity of designing and conducting this kind of survey is triggered by the absence of an official report regarding the alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh, or its

inaccessibility for public use. Therefore, this can be seen as one of the first studies of this nature. Thanks to the ideas, suggestions, and revisions of Dr. Mora-Marin and Vanessa Miller, a survey and statistics consultant from the Odum Institutions, the sociolinguistic attitude survey was created.

As mentioned in chapter 3, currently the government in Kazakhstan is undergoing the initial phase of the alphabet and orthography reform. Thus, the government has recently approved the last version (*diacritics: acute*) of the modified Latin alphabet, but it has not offered any orthography rules so far. Therefore, the survey was designed to elicit the general attitudes of study participants towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform and their predictions for the future linguistic situation in Kazakhstan. The structure of the sociolinguistic attitudes survey is grouped into 5 different sections consisting of 32 questions in total. The survey aimed to elicit study participant's sociodemographic and sociolinguistic information in sections 1 and 2 respectively; and sociolinguistic attitudes towards the current alphabet and the Latin alphabet issues in Kazakh in sections 3 and 4 respectively; finally, section 5 is devoted to eliciting participants' opinions on the future linguistic situation in Kazakhstan. Having designed the survey questions, the completed survey was posted on the internet and sent to email addresses of several university departments in Kazakhstan.

In section 1, participants were asked to supply sociodemographic information and fill in blanks as appropriate. Questions in section 2 mainly elicited information about participants' sociolinguistic background such as the number of languages they know and their current use of those languages (Kazakh, Russian, and English) in different language domains. It also explored participants' linguistic attitudes towards the 'Language Trinity' policy of Kazakhstan and its effect on the use and development of Kazakh. Section 3 was focused on eliciting a preference of an alphabet type for Kazakh and opinions on the exclusion of Russian phonemes from the future alphabet of Kazakh. Specific questions concerning the

alphabet change and attitudes towards it were mentioned in section 4 where participants were directly asked about their preference of the Latin alphabet versions, and their particular reason for holding such an opinion. Finally, section 5 was about future implementations of languages in Kazakhstan and the possible results of the alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh.

The Language Expert Interview

The fact that the current reform in Kazakhstan seems to be vigorously and unanimously supported by the middle and younger generations and by all Kazakh linguists, in spite of their age differences, but not by the elder generation is similar to the situation of Uzbekistan. Thus, it seems there is an analogous situation in which the youth and linguists supported the alphabet change, while opinions of the elder generation with different specialties were not taken into account. Therefore, to be on safe side, it would be helpful to interview Kazakh language experts on some frequently expressed concerns of the elder generation as well as to reveal their linguistic stance and assumptions about the final outcome of the alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh.

Recruiting

An informative email about the current topic, its purpose, survey goals and a request of a further forward of this email to their list-serves was sent to the email addresses of several universities in Kazakhstan. To have an objective view of Kazakh participants, the email was sent not only to university departments which are affiliated with language and linguistics, but also to those which have comparatively less contact with language, such as the geography, technical, and law departments. Also, it encouraged members of all age groups, genders, occupations, and social classes to take part in the survey and to contribute to the development of Kazakh linguistics. The email contained the link to the linguistic attitude survey and all contact information of the researcher, in case participants had questions, concerns, etc. To

increase the chance of the participation of Kazakhs, an announcement and access to the survey with all aforementioned information were posted on different social media sites as well. The survey was active for a week for participants to take part in from any computer with internet access. Participants' responses were stored completely anonymously.

Ten Kazakh language experts were chosen from different areas of interest such as two politicians, two lawyers, two Kazakh language teachers, two Kazakh language planners, an independent journalist and a public activist/analyst to compare and contrast their professional views of the main reasons, motivations, and need for this reformation. These people were contacted through email and asked to take part in the study. When they agreed to do so, a list of interview questions was sent to their email address and they were given a week to complete the responses.

Participants

The total number of all participants of the sociolinguistic attitude survey is 166. Participants were divided into the following 4 different age groups: less than 18, 18-35, 35-50, and over 50. Of the 4 age groups, participants who were less than 18-years-old were excluded from the survey due to their deficient experience in alphabet and orthography norms and inability to make an objective judgement about the practicality of the alphabet used. Also, several incomplete responses were removed from the data analysis. Hence, only 122 responses out of 166 participants were analyzed.

At the same time, only 7 out of 10 chosen interviewees were able to respond to the written interview questions. Thus, responses were received from the following people:

Name	Occupation
Akmaral Mamrayeva	A Senior Lecturer of Civil Law at school of Law in M. Saparbaev Humanitarian Institution
Anar Fazylzhan	A Deputy of Director of A Baitursynov Linguistics Institution, Turcologist and Kazakh Language Planner

Alimkhan Zhunisbek	Kazakh Language Planner at A Baitursynov Linguistics Institution,
Sjezd Akimbekov	A Chair Department of Kazakh Linguistics at al-Farabi Kazakh National University
Zholdasbek A. S	A Teacher of Political Studies in M. Saparbaev Humanitarian Institution
Kuantkhan Vanov	Independent analyst of the Kazakh language and public activist
Darkhan Mukhanov	Kazakh language Philologist and Independent journalist of “Qamshy” newspaper

Table 4. A list of obtained interview responses from Kazakh language experts

Survey set-up

The survey was created by the ‘Qualtrics’ application provided by the UNC Software Acquisition program (<https://software.sites.unc.edu/qualtrics/>). Due to the necessity of eliciting the true attitudes of people, no identifying information was required for this study.

6.3 General Results

The recorded responses were downloaded from the Qualtrics survey application in CSV format. Then, the results were analyzed using Fisher’s contingency test due to the small sample size of the survey. An additional test was done on Chi-square test for a statistically significant result.

Section 1. Sociodemographic information

Based on the obtained responses, the study participants were divided into 4 different age groups, and participants who were less than 18 years old were excluded from the study because of aforementioned reasons. Hence, of the 122 participants, 18-36-year-olds constituted 52.46 %, 35-50-year-olds constituted 21.31%, and participants over 50 constituted 26.23% of the study. A gender category showed that females constituted 63.11%, while males 36.89% of the total. Of the 122 participants in the study, 2 (1.64%) participants

have high school diplomas, 14 (11.48%) have college diplomas, 82 (67.21%) have bachelor's degrees, and 24 (19.67%) have Master's or PhD degrees. In terms of the social status of participants, 19 (15.57%) students, 90 (73.77%) workers, and 13 (10.66%) retired people took part.

Section 2. Sociolinguistic information

Questions of the second section revealed that of the 122 participants one Kazakh and one Chechen (although the survey was intended to be conducted only among monolingual Kazakh speakers, this participant was not excluded from the survey due to some interesting responses provided by this participant.) have indicated Russian as their native language, while the rest has indicated Kazakh. For the question of using Kazakh in different language domains, the responses have been divided in the following ways:

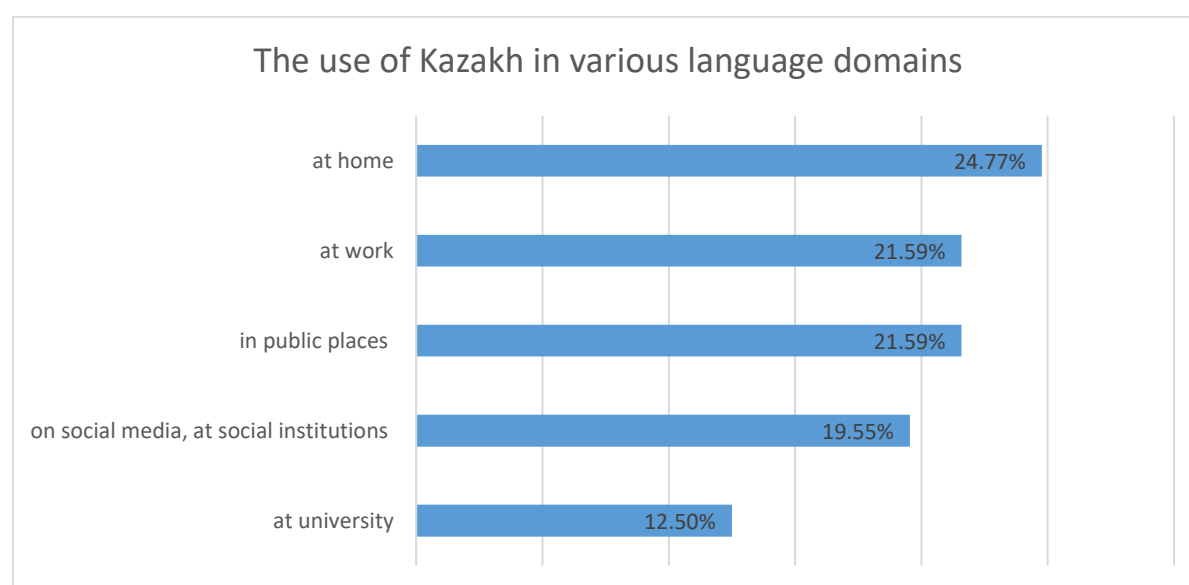


Figure 17. The Kazakh language use by the participants

From the Figure 17, it is obvious that Kazakh is least used in the university domain (12.59%). This can be connected with the fact that the majority of participants have a working status and there is no need for them to use Kazakh at the university. When participants were asked about their the most frequently used language type, 83.61% of them

indicated Kazakh. The use of Russian and English constituted 14.75% and 1.64% respectively.

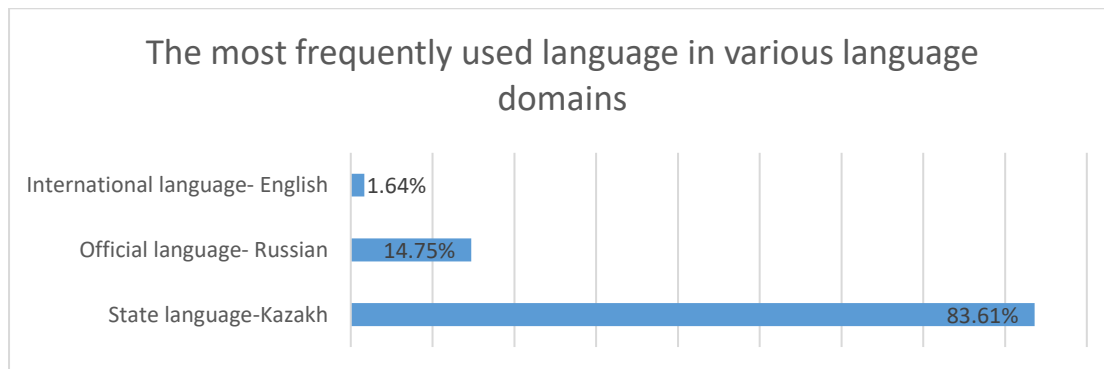


Figure 18. The most frequently use language in various language domains

Right after indicating their most frequently used language, participants were asked about their attitudes towards the “Language Trinity” policy of Kazakhstan and its potential impact on the use of Kazakh. The results showed that 46.72% of participants felt confident about its future potential, while 53.29% felt insecure, neutral or reported that the Kazakh society was not ready for or predicted little effectiveness of this language policy. That is, 7.38% was not secure, 8.20% was neutral, and 9.84% and 27.87% of participants indicated that the society was not ready and had not seen any results in spite of theoretical efficiency of the policy respectively. Consequently, for the next question 33.61% of participants said that this policy would limit language domains of Kazakh, in contrast 28.69% of people thought it would have a positive effect. It seems that Kazakhs do admit the theoretical benefits of such a policy in general, but for the Kazakh language domains and development it might have negative impacts.

Sections 3. and 4. Information pertaining to Current alphabet and the Latin alphabet issues

As Figure 3 below shows, when the study participants were asked to indicate what type of alphabet they prefer to use for Kazakh, 63.93 % of the total participants indicated the

Latin alphabet, while 29.51% of the rest indicated the Cyrillic alphabet as the second most favorable alphabet.

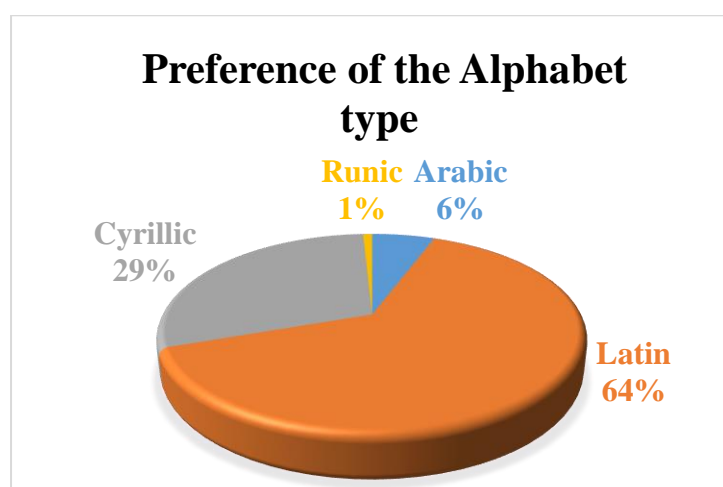


Figure 19. A general alphabet preference

However, when the participants were asked if they agreed to exclude the Russian specific phonemes from the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet, 45.08% of the participants did not agree. It seems that participants are currently worried about not being able to pronounce Russian terminologies in a way they accustomed to. This is similar with what the Kazakh language experts have foreseen in terms of stereotypical associations with Russian orthography. On the contrary, 36.07% of them agreed and 18.85% of them preferred to be neutral pertaining to this question. The next question considered the statement of the Kazakh linguists of an unconscious influence of the Latin alphabet shift in decreasing the Russian language dominance. 47.54% of them agreed with the statement, while 17.21% and 19.67% of the participants expressed their disagreement or skepticism towards that statement. The rest had a neutral position for this (15.57%). Moreover, 49.18% of the participants even expressed that all citizens from different spheres of the society should be involved in and contribute to the process of the alphabet and orthography reform, while 2.46% and 16.39% of the rest expressed their reliance on either language experts, IT programmers and the

government, or solely on state decree. This, in turn, demonstrates an active involvement of all people in the reform, despite their various reasoning.

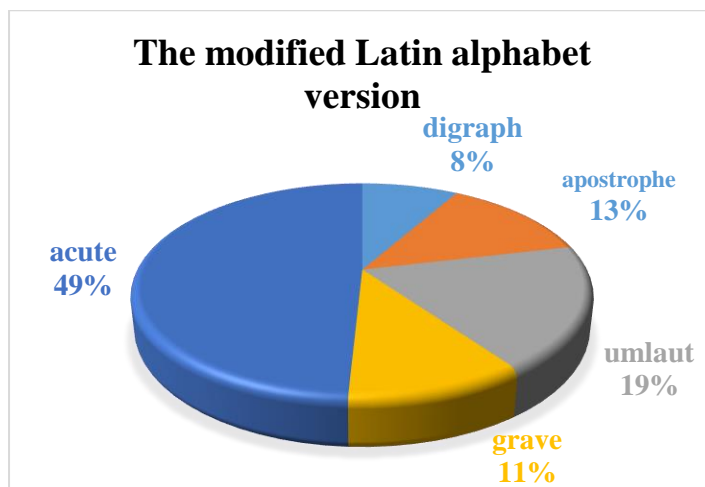


Figure 20. A general preference of the modified Latin alphabet versions

Further, participants were asked questions pertaining to the modified Latin alphabet and some related issues. For example, 49.18 % of the total participants preferred the version with *diacritics: acute* and 18.85% of them preferred the alphabet with *umlaut*. Not surprisingly, only 13% of the rest indicated the version with apostrophe as the preferred alphabet. As one may notice, both versions with acute and umlaut are types of diacritics, and according to language experts these types of the Latin alphabet are easier to read, write and comprehend. This is in accordance with the question in the survey in which 4 different texts based on different modified Latin alphabets were given to the participants and they were asked to indicate which one is the easiest to read and comprehend. Indeed, the preference of the Latin version with diacritics of the participants was not by accident.

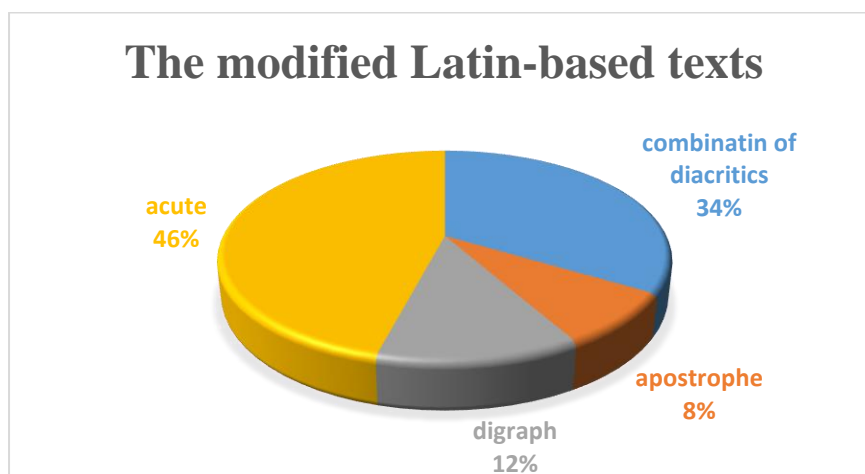


Figure 21. A general preference of the modified Latin-based texts

According to the Kazakh linguists, discussed in section 3.3.3 of the Chapter 3, the last version of the Latin alphabet is supported by the majority of the population, but there are some disagreements on certain characters. This statement was again proved by the next question of the survey regarding the quality of the Latin alphabet. 50% and 28% of the total population assessed it as average and good respectively, while 8% assessed it as bad and 1.64% as very bad. However, in contrast to Kazakh linguists' predictions, it seems that the study participants, who did not think or were skeptical that the Latin alphabet would facilitate an increase of the Kazakh language domains, constituted 17% and 31% respectively.

54.92% of the participants associated the current alphabet change with globalization, 80.33% of them seemed to agree that adopting the Latin alphabet to Kazakh not only encourages to use Kazakh in various language domains but would also moderately facilitate the process of learning English. Additionally, 59.84% of the total participants seemed to agree that limiting the number of characters to a standard Latin alphabet characters in a keyboard would evolve some progress in the Kazakh languages development.

Section 5. The sociolinguistic attitude towards future linguistic situation

Questions in this section were dealing with attitudes of the participants towards the future of the linguistic situation in Kazakhstan. That is, the questions were designed in such a way as to elicit attitudes of the participants towards the future linguistic situation presuming the current alphabet change. Especially, a number of questions in this section were generated based on some frequently expressed anxieties by the elder generation and some politicalized issues of the language. The participants were asked if they agreed with the statement that parents would prefer classes with Russian medium instruction due to difficulties in the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet. The survey result showed that 62.30% of the participants did not agree with that statement, while the remaining 37.70% agreed. The next question revealed that 79.51% of the participants were not worried about the next generation not being able to

learn Russian, while the rest (20.49%) was worried about it. For the question of the possibility of the equal existence and usage of three languages in a country, 62.30% of the participants expressed impossibility of such a situation, but 37.70% of the participants seemed to believe in the idea. Further, the participants were asked to imagine having a language duality in the country where two languages from the list provided in the survey will be remained. Consequently, 59.02% of the total participants preferred to have *Kazakh-English* in the country, while 39.34% preferred to keep *Kazakh-Russian*; however, there were 2 participants (1.64%) who preferred to have *Russian-English* languages in the country. The next question was asked to discover if the participants thought that Kazakhstan would not develop without the Russian language. The sum of the responses of the participants who agreed with the statement either because of anxiety about the massive immigration of monolingual Russian speaking specialists from the country or who agreed but did not prefer to assign Russian an equal stance with Kazakh as 30%. Nevertheless, there were some people (28%) who disagreed with the statement and thought that either English or other languages could replace Russian. The next question was generated due to the tendency among the youth of Kazakhstan to study abroad. If during the Soviet time, the elder generation went to Russian to study, nowadays the younger generation, in spite of a proficiency in Russian, prefers to study in western countries with English as the medium of instruction. Therefore, the next question was intended to elicit the underlying reasoning for this tendency among the youth. The result showed that 77% of all participants thought it was because of a leading position of English in science and education, while around 23% of them thought it was due to a decrease of the competitiveness of Russian in the science and education sphere. The last two questions of the survey were especially designed to examine whether the Kazakh speakers were aware of the possible consolidation of the Turkic language countries and possible scenarios of the alphabet change and orthography reform. It turned out that 44 participants were not aware of

the possible consolidation of the Turkic countries, while 40 did admit such possibility, and 38 people did not think so. However, when the participants were asked what the final result of the alphabet in the country would be, 52% and 7% of all participants answered that it is going to have unique results or to be as successful as Azerbaijan. On the other hand, 9% and 31% of the other share of participants thought that it might fail as in Uzbekistan or declared non-awareness of such a thing.

6.4 Statistically significant results according to age, gender and social status categories.

To examine if there is a statistically significant difference of results among variables such as age, gender and social status of the participants, the data was tested on Fisher's exact contingency table test in addition to Pearson's Chi-square. Based on the obtained results, the following categories had a significance relation with some of the study results.

Age category

As mentioned above, the 122 participants were divided into 3 groups on the basis of their age. The age groups were made up of 18-35, 35-50, and over 50. The 18-35 group consists of 64, the 35-50 group- 26, and the over 50 group- 32 participants. Only four questions proved significant according to the age category. In general, the Latin alphabet was preferred by the majority of the participants which was 64% of the total participants.

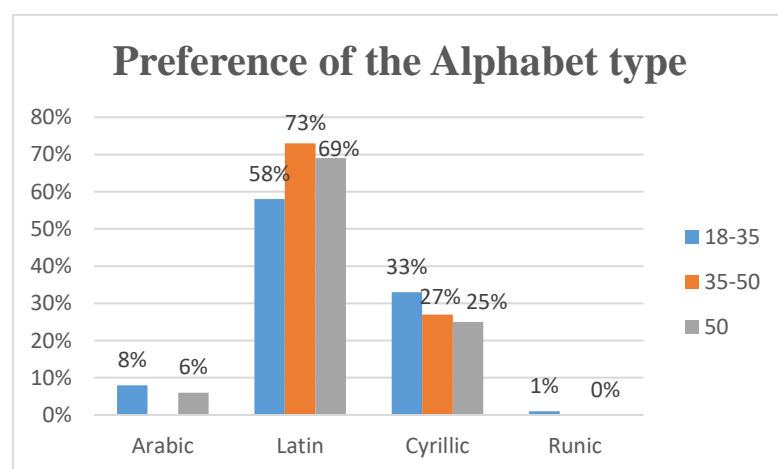


Figure 22. Age-group-based preference of different types of an alphabet

As can be seen from Figure 22, around 58% of the youngest generation preferred the Latin alphabet, the middle generation had 73%, and around 69% of the elder generation declared the same alphabet type preference. However, it seems that there is a statistically significant difference between various age-groups on type of alphabet preference. Thus, a preference of the type of alphabet for Kazakh had a relation with the age category. The associated significance was less than .001.

Moreover, it turned out that a preference of the modified versions of the Latin alphabet was also related to the independent age category of the groups. The figure below shows that the Latin alphabet version with acute was preferred by the majority of the participants (49%), but it also shows a relation between categories of age and the Latin alphabet versions. The associated significance was .014.

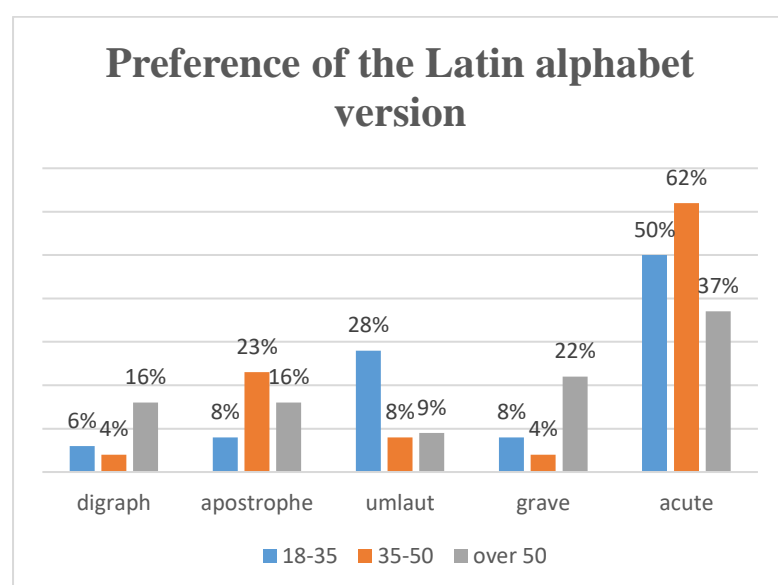


Figure 23. Age-group-based preference of different versions of the Latin alphabet

The next question that was significant according to age was whether participants thought if the Latin version was finalized. The associate significance was .007. Thus, 36% of the youngest age group, 18-35, thought it was finalized, 35% of the middle age group, 35-50, claimed the same, while 66% of the elder generation answered affirmatively to this question.

The final question which had a statistically significant different result was whether the participants agreed, disagreed, or claimed awareness of the possibility of the consolidation of Turkic countries through means of the Latin-based alphabet. The associated significance was .049.

Gender category

Based on the gender category, seven questions proved significant. The first question that proved significant was whether males and females have positive attitudes to the “Language Trinity” policy in Kazakhstan. The significant value is .002 on the basis of the gender category. That is, 48% of female participants expressed a positive attitudes and declared a confidence in the future of the policy, while 44% of male participants expressed the same attitude.

Additionally, one question that had shown a significance according to age was significant according to gender, too. The question was on the preference of the alphabet type for Kazakh. For both gender groups, the majority preferred the Latin alphabet type, but 75% of the male participants indicated the preference of the Latin alphabet, while only 57% of the female participants had the same preference. The associated significance was less than .001. That is, there is a relation between categories of gender and the alphabet type for Kazakh.

Based on the gender category, the question that had a significance of .011, was whether females and males agreed or disagreed to keep Russian-specific phonemes in the future Latin-based Kazakh alphabet. Consequently, 45% of both females and males disagreed with that, but the male participants indicated the highest percentage of agreement (53%), while only 26% of the female participants had agreed not to keep the Russian-specific phonemes in the alphabet. The rest of them stayed neutral.

As for the question of a reason for conducting this alphabet and orthography reform, the significance was revealed among gender category which had a significance of .044. The

p-value shows that there is a relation among the category of gender and the reason for the alphabet shift.

Whether the participants have concerns about the future generation learning Russian have proved significant on the basis of the gender category. The female participants who do not have such concerns constituted 73%, while 91% of the male participants indicated of having no such concerns as well. The p-value was equal to .019.

The next question related to the latest tendency among Kazakhstani student going abroad for study. 83% of the female participants explained that with reasons of increase of English language dominance in science and education, while 67% of the male participants indicated the same reason. The p-value was equal to .046.

The final question that was significant according to gender was whether participants had associated the alphabet and orthography reform with the possible consolidation of the Turkic speaking countries. For both gender groups, 36% of the total participants stated unawareness of such possible consolidation, but 40% of the males had answered affirmatively, while only 29% of the females had the same response. The associated significance was .050.

Social status category

Only two questions proved significant according to the social status of the participants. According to the social status, the participants were divided into student, worker, and retired groups. The first question which had a difference of statistical significance was whether the participants worried or not about the learning of Russian by the future generation. The p-value was equal to .001. Thus, around 47% of the student participants were not concerned, while both 84% and 92% of the participants with working and retired social status did not express any concerns pertained above mentioned question.

The last question with statistically significant results dealt with a hypothetical linguistic situation in which the participants were asked to state their preference concerning language duality in the country rather than language trinity. The associated significance was .034. That is, the percentage of the participants with student social status constituted 58%, the workers- 62%, while only 39% of the retired participants preferred to remain *Kazakh-English* language duality in the country. However, it is useful to keep in mind that the total number of participants with different social status are not equal to each other. Due to the activeness of the working participants on the Internet, their total number dramatically exceeds the other two social groups.

Results of the interview with Kazakh language experts

As for the interview part of the thesis, Kazakh language experts with various concentrations of professions, namely, two language scholars, a lawyer, a journalist, a public activist, a teacher of the Kazakh language, and a politician, were interviewed. All of them agreed to answer the following interview questions.

To the question of whether they support the Latin alphabet adoption and why, of the 7 subjects, 6 of them expressed their supportive attitude towards it and substantiated their reasons with following points:

1. The potential of the Latin alphabet is great.
2. It is one of the competitive alphabets corresponding to requirements of globalization and modern science and technology.
3. It facilitates English language learning which became an international language and enhances the possibilities of a country to enter into international communication and information space.
4. According to Kazakh language scholars, the rules of the Russian language violate some essential features of the Kazakh language.

Particularly, the phonology and orthography of Russian has changed the Kazakh specific sound system. Therefore, the Kazakh language experts hope to reestablish and preserve

Kazakh-specific national phonology and orthography rules by means of the Latin alphabet. Moreover, they find the Latin alphabet the most suitable alphabet type for communicating the Kazakh specific language essence. However, Akmaral Mamraeva, a lawyer who is looking for retirement, declared her neutral position due to age and inability to give up the writing system she learned during the Soviet period and learn a new system, during the Soviet period, and stated that she will probably retire once the Latin alphabet takes effect. As a whole, based on the advantages of the Latin alphabet adoption and orthography reform mentioned above, the majority of the subjects are not against such a process.

The second question the subjects were asked was whether Kazakhstan will encounter the same difficulties of the alphabet and orthography reform in Uzbekistan. The result shows that all subjects believe that such a situation will not take place in Kazakhstan. Having interpreted their provided answers to that question, these are the most frequent reason of why Kazakhstan will not encounter the same problems as Uzbekistan:

First of all, the time period in which each country conducted or has been conducting the change is not comparable. Uzbekistan started the process of reformation during the collapse of the Soviet Union and at the beginning of the economic and political crisis of a newly Independent Republic of Uzbekistan. Moreover, as the previous president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, admitted, Uzbekistan hurried with the decision of conducting the reform. Meanwhile, the Kazakh government has been dealing with this issue for 20 years. Additionally, Kazakhstan is believed to be the most politically and economically stable country in Central Asia and it has possibilities to conduct the reform consulting with the people of Kazakhstan. Moreover, Uzbekistan continues to face reform problems due to the hasty choice of the Latin alphabet version, while Kazakhstan has spent more than half a year for selection and discussion of an alphabet version. The fact that the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbaev, made changes to the previously approved decree with the Latin

alphabet version with apostrophe and reapproved the version with acute diacritics, is proof of this. That is, the Kazakh government is allowing time for consulting with both language scholars and users of Kazakh. Thirdly, being a Soviet country and using a Cyrillic alphabet for 70 years made the previously used Latin alphabet estranged for all post-Soviet countries. Therefore, during the 1990s the majority of the population of all post-Soviet countries resisted the idea of the Latin alphabet shift. Nowadays, however, it is reasonable to say that almost all people are familiar with the pronunciation and reading rules of the Latin alphabet system. Therefore, neither the younger nor elder generation resist this reform in Kazakh. The number of people who are against such a reform is not significant. Based on the above mentioned questions and responses, one may say that the process of the Latin alphabet shift and orthography reform has successfully begun.

As for the third question of what principles should be adhered while adopting the Latin alphabet in the Kazakh language, all interviewees unanimously responded to some extent. That is, all of them prioritized the language peculiarities of the Kazakh nation as a main principle of the Latin alphabet adoption. Based on the obtained responses the language peculiarity principles can be grouped into several points. First, there is a need to abolish Russian specific phonemes from the Kazakh sound inventory. Second, it must not violate linguistic regularities of Kazakh-specific articulation, perception, vowel harmony, orthography, etc. Additionally, Alimkhan Zhunisebek, the Kazakh language scholar, disagrees on limiting the number of characters of the alphabet to 26, a standard Latin-based keyboard, and stated that technology should be adapted to a language, not the other way around. Meanwhile, Darkhan Mukhanov, a Kazakh linguist and an independent journalist, thinks that the language rules of the other Turkic-speaking countries should be taken into consideration as well. The others believe that principles should be determined based on the language scholars' opinions.

Generally, all the responses obtained from Kazakh language experts, scholars, social activist, and a teacher of the Kazakh language are similar. The main issues that they have brought up are problems of Kazakh phonology and orthography due to the forced imposition of Russian language rules. Therefore, they believe that the Latin alphabet will help reestablish a national orthography and fill the gaps in Kazakh linguistics. The respondents think that by means of a new alphabet and orthography, there is a great possibility for us to revitalize the Kazakh-specific phonology writing norms. In addition to that, Anar Fazylzhanova, the Kazakh language expert, thinks that if Kazakh brand names are written based on the Latin alphabet, they will become popular in other nations of the world. Darkhan Mukhanov, the journalist, thinks that by shifting to the Latin alphabet we will acquire new technology and programs faster, while Akmaral Mamrayeva, the lawyer, thinks that having relatively similar alphabets will enhance relationships between Turkic-speaking countries. “It will also help learn western languages faster and easier” says a politician. Consequently, one may come to conclusion that the Latin alphabet adoption will, first of all, help uproot all imposed language rules by the Soviet regime. Second of all, it will help Kazakhs increase the international relations, and facilitate achievements in science and technology spheres.

As the reform seemed to have some political characteristics by its nature, the interviewees were asked whether they think this alphabet and orthography reform is really oriented on language improvement and development, or is there any other underlying reasoning of that such as a pan-Turkism/ pan-Islamic oriented identity policy. As for this question, all participants speculate that this policy is only oriented to language development and expressed doubt that the policy is aimed at unifying the Turkic-speaking countries. Having said that, the respondents also believe that such a reform will increase cultural, spiritual and scientific relations with Turkic-speaking countries. Therefore, one might conclude that the process of the alphabet change is currently oriented to develop the Kazakh language, and to expand its

information space. On the contrary, Siezd Akimbekov, the Chair of the Department of Kazakh linguistics at al- Farabi Kazakh National University, states that the term “Pan-Turkism” is made under pretext by the Soviet administrates in order to introduce their various socio- political interests and even in the existence of the idea that we should use only one type of alphabet, while Darkhan Mukhanove, the journalist and philologist, underlines the impossibility of unifying all Turkic-speaking countries with a help of one alphabet type. A. Fazylzhanova adheres to this opinion and states that to form a union of all Turkic-speaking countries a powerful economic union is needed, rather than a united alphabet. On the contrary, Alimkhan Zhunisbek asserts that this alphabet shift should have been intended to unify Turkic countries, but the last approved Latin alphabet version is far from being identical to the alphabets of the other countries. Nowadays, there is a debate about Linguistic and Internet-based versions of the Latin alphabet. This has already proved that Kazakhstan distances itself from the Pan-Turkic identity. On one hand, the majority of the respondents do not associate the current alphabet reform as a way of unifying Turkic countries; on the other hand, they do hope and support a unity of Turkic countries. Therefore, one may conclude that all Kazakh language experts who have been interviewed believe the current alphabet change and orthography reform is language oriented.

When the Latin alphabet version with apostrophe was approved, dissatisfaction of Kazakh language experts with that decision was observed on different social media. This led to the assumption that Kazakh language experts were left out of the board. Therefore, the next question was generated in order to find out whether the Kazakh government consults with language experts’ opinion while dealing with such a reform. Based on the observed responses of the subjects, they are divided into two groups. That is, there some people who do think that Kazakh language experts are left uninvolved, while the others claim that several corrections to the approved alphabet are due to the direct involvement of the Kazakh

language experts. For instance, Zholdasbek A, a teacher of politics, thinks that social activists and figures are actively participating and supporting the alphabet reform, while the language experts seem not to be involved in this process. Moreover, A. Mamrayeva supposes that due to the age of most of the language experts, probably they do not want to accept the Latin alphabet shift, but to keep the Cyrillic alphabet. On the other hand, a number of language experts, journalist, and an independent analyst think that the government administration made some correction to the first approved alphabet version due to the active work of language experts and scholars of the Language Institution and Development Centers. Meanwhile, Darkhan Mukhanov brought up the existence of the disagreement between language experts and the government administration. That is, the language experts are mainly concentrated on the Kazakh language regularities and rules, while the government wants, for the sake of technology convenience, to have a more Internet-based alphabet version. Therefore, there seems to be some disagreement among themselves. Meanwhile, Kuantkan Vanov, an independent language analyst and public activist, mentioned that the language experts of Linguistics Institution are preparing orthography principles. In conclusion, it can be said that this reform should be a national reform. It is not something that only language experts have to do deal with, but something that needs to be done by all members of the social strata.

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the responses to these questions, it can be concluded that each respondent who is actively involved in the alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh is not against it. One of the main problems in Kazakh is the violation of Kazakh phonology and orthography and almost all language experts hope to solve all these problems through means of the Latin alphabet. One may easily notice that these participants expressed a hope to discontinue a Russian language influence on Kazakh, but they do not seem to believe in any kind of possible pan-Turkic consolidation or formation. Moreover, they also admit that the current

approved version of the Latin alphabet might be changed in the future if necessary.

Therefore, they are hopeful that all representatives of various professions and language experts will stay actively involved and come to a joint conclusion in the reformation process because both language experts and language users have the potential to influence the Kazakh government decision.

CONCLUSION

Even though the newspaper articles about an intention of the Kazakh government to adopt the Latin alphabet and reform the orthography received less attention from the public, they had been publishing for 25 years since the beginning of the Independence period. Only when the decree issued by the government in 2017 announced to start the preparation work for the Latin alphabet transition and orthography reform, the topic obviously became one of the most discussed issues in the Kazakh society. Nowadays the process of the Latin alphabet and orthography reform is receiving a full attention from all the levels of the social hierarchy and is fully coming to realization. Initially, it was not clear what the underlying reasons, motivations, goals of it were and whether such a reform was supported by the majority, and what the possible outcomes of it is going to be. However, after describing the following topics in corresponding chapters within the entire thesis, the aforementioned things seemed to become clear.

Since this Master's Thesis is about the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh and is being investigated in the US, a background information such as the geography, sociolinguistic, sociodemographic and history of the written Kazakh language have been covered in Chapter 1.

The Chapter 2 describes thorny passes of the Kazakhs regarding the written language culture, the Tsarist Russia, the impacts of the Soviet language policies on the nation language and the current linguistic situation in Independent Kazakhstan. As it was observed, the history of striving of a Kazakh nation to preserve its native language is full of complicated periods. Therefore, the chapter demonstrates the presence of the language issues in Kazakh.

Next, in Chapter 3 examination was done on the history of the Latin alphabet transition process of a country which had shifted to it. Namely, a historical examination was done to both a post-Soviet and non-Soviet countries which had already adopted the Latin alphabet and changed their orthography. That is, an analysis was done to the history of the Latin alphabet transition process and reformation results of those countries which belong to the same language family with Kazakh. Accordingly, a comparative analysis was done of reasons and causes of each country in reaching successful and unsuccessful results of the alphabet and orthography reform. This helped to reveal underlying possible reasons and causes that may lead to different final results and revealed such possibilities that Kazakhs should be mindful of.

Additionally, to deepen the content of the research study, a partial territorial observation was conducted in Chapter 4. To understand the current use of languages of Kazakhstan, a linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan was partially examined. That is, the street and locality names within Kazakhstan were taken into consideration for this purpose. As result, it was proved that not only Kazakh has been promoted as a state language in signage, but a rapid introduction of English was also revealed. Moreover, the chapter revealed that not only English is implemented in various signage such as in government and private buildings in Kazakhstan, but also the Latin-based Kazakh script is being actively introduced to the society. Based on these empirical evidence, it was concluded that the dominance of the Russian language is gradually decreasing, while the Latin-based scripts are actively increasing in number.

Most importantly, this study researched the sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform by means of the sociolinguistic attitude survey in Chapters 5 and 6. In the current globalization period, the issues of the alphabet change are one of the main language problems that the Independent Kazakhstan is currently

dealing with. To find out whether such a reform is triggered by a real language necessity or not, an interview with Kazakh language experts was additionally conducted. The Kazakh language experts were interviewed to elicit their linguistic stance towards the reform.

Being able to elicit the sociolinguistic attitudes of both ordinary citizens and the Kazakh language experts, one may notice that Kazakh-speaking citizens and experts unanimously support the ongoing process of the alphabet and orthography reform. The obtained results of both survey and interview have shown the willingness of the Kazakh society to abolish the dominance of the Russian language. Because the Kazakh nation was a part of the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union for more than a century, both spoken and written Kazakh underwent different transformations. Theoretically and historically, it is known that writing affects language. The orthography, orthoepy and reading of the Kazakh language had been dramatically affected by Russian-based orthography. Therefore, it is apparent why Kazakhs are willing to eliminate influence of the Cyrillic-based writing to Kazakh and form their own orthography and orthoepy system. Next, the results revealed their positive attitudes of Kazakhs towards acquiring science and technology in globalization period through the Latin alphabet. All these conclusions were drawn from the results of the sociolinguistic attitude survey and interview with the Kazakh language experts.

In turn, this leads to the conclusion that the idea of the Latin alphabet adoption and orthography reform did not appear all of a sudden. A past and future history of the Republic of Kazakhstan have led it to a decision of the alphabet change. Therefore, as Kazakh president said, this reform is turning point in a history, rather than motivated by politics.

All in all, it can be concluded that the current society in Kazakhstan is not questioning whether to adopt the Latin alphabet or not, on the contrary, is active in search of the most effective ways of realization. In fact, the alphabet change process is quickly progressing in

socio-political lives of Kazakhstanis. That is why, it is possible to assume that Kazakhstan will overcome this important and historical period successfully.

APPENDIX: A
The Latin alphabet type with digraphs

Жаңа латын әліпбиінің үлгісі



№	Латын таңбасы	Дыбысталуы	№	Латын таңбасы	Дыбысталуы
1	<i>Aa</i>	Аа	13	<i>Mm</i>	Мм
2	<i>Bb</i>	Бб	14	<i>Nn</i>	Нн
3	<i>Cc</i>	Цц	15	<i>Oo</i>	Оо
4	<i>Dd</i>	Дд	16	<i>Pp</i>	Пп
5	<i>Ee</i>	Ее	17	<i>Qq</i>	Ққ
6	<i>Ff</i>	Фф	18	<i>Rr</i>	Рр
7	<i>Gg</i>	Гг	19	<i>Ss</i>	Сс
8	<i>Hh</i>	Хх/Һһ	20	<i>Tt</i>	Тт
9	<i>Ii</i>	И / Ии	21	<i>Uu</i>	Ұұ
10	<i>Jj</i>	Йй	22	<i>Vv</i>	Вв
11	<i>Kk</i>	Кк	23	<i>Ww</i>	Уу
12	<i>Ll</i>	Лл	24	<i>Yy</i>	Ыы
			25	<i>Zz</i>	Зз

Диграфтар



№	Латын таңбасы	Дыбысталуы	Транскрипциясы	Мысалы
1	<i>Gh / gh</i>	Ғғ	[ғы]	<i>ghylym</i>
2	<i>Ch / ch</i>	Чч	[чы]	<i>champion</i>
3	<i>Sh / sh</i>	Шш	[шы]	<i>shyndyq</i>
4	<i>Zh / zh</i>	Жж	[жы]	<i>zhazw</i>

The Latin alphabet type with apostrophe



ҚАЗАҚ ӘЛІПБИІНІҢ
ЛАТЫН ҚАРПІНДЕ ЖАЗЫЛУЫ

№	Жазылуы	Дыбыс-талуы	№	Жазылуы	Дыбыс-талуы
1	A a	[a]	17	N' n'	[ɲ], [ɲɪ]
2	A' a'	[ə]	18	O o	[o]
3	B b	[b]	19	O' o'	[ɵ]
4	D d	[d]	20	P p	[p]
5	E e	[e]	21	Q q	[q]
6	F f	[f]	22	R r	[r]
7	G g	[g]	23	S s	[s]
8	G' g'	[ɣ]	24	S' s'	[ʃ]
9	H h	[x], [h]	25	C' c'	[tʃ]
10	I i	[i]	26	T t	[t]
11	I' i'	[ɪ], [j]	27	U u	[ʊ]
12	J j	[ʒ]	28	U' u'	[y]
13	K k	[k]	29	V v	[v]
14	L l	[l]	30	Y y	[ɣ]
15	M m	[m]	31	Y' y'	[ɯ]
16	N n	[n]	32	Z z	[z]

The Latin alphabet type with diacritics: acute and two digraphs

Латын графикасына негізделген қазақ тілі
ӘЛПБИІ

№	Жазылуы	Дыбысталуы	№	Жазылуы	Дыбысталуы
1	A a	[a]	17	Ń ń	[ɲ]
2	Á á	[ə]	18	O o	[o]
3	B b	[b]	19	Ó ó	[ø]
4	D d	[d]	20	P p	[p]
5	E e	[e]	21	Q q	[k]
6	F f	[f]	22	R r	[r]
7	G g	[g]	23	S s	[c]
8	Ġ ġ	[ɣ]	24	T t	[t]
9	H h	[x], [h]	25	U u	[ʏ]
10	I i	[i]	26	Ú ú	[y]
11	I ı	[ɯ], [ɨ]	27	V v	[b]
12	J j	[ʒ]	28	Y y	[ɣ]
13	K k	[k]	29	Ý ý	[ɣ]
14	L l	[l]	30	Z z	[z]
15	M m	[m]	31	Sh sh	[ʃ]
16	N n	[n]	32	Ch ch	[tʃ]

APPENDIX: B

КЕЛІСІМ ФОРМАСЫ

Бұл ғылыми жобаның мақсаты қазақтардың латын әліпбиі мен орфографиялық реформаға деген лингво-әлеуметтік көзқарасын зерттеу. Ғылыми жобаны Америка Құрма Штаттары, Солтүстік Каролина университетінің магистранты Рауа-Бану Кадирова жүргізеді. Он сегіз жасқа толған және қазақ тілінде оқып-жаза алатын болсаңыз бұл сауалнамаға қатыса аласыз.

Бұл сауалнамаға қатысу ерікті. Қатыспауыңызға да болады. Сауалнамаға қатысу барысының кез-келген сәтінде жалғасты жауап беруден бас тарта аласыз. Мүлдем қатыспаған немесе кез-келген уақытта бас тартсаңыз ешқандай жауапкершілікке тартылмайсыз.

Сауалнамаға жауап беру 20-30 минут уақытыңызды алуы мүмкін. Жауаптарыңыз құпия түрде сақталады және жеке бас ақпараттарыңызға (аты-жөніңіз, электронды почта адресіңіз, IP адресіңіз, туған күніңіз, т.б) қатысты сұрақтар жоқ. Сауалнама басталмас бұрын сіздің қол қоюыңызды сұраймыз. Бірақ, қойған қолыңыз жауаптарыңызбен сәйкестендірілмейді. Сауалнаманың аясына Қазақстандағы тілдер және олардың қолданылуына, Латын әліпбиі мен орфография реформасына, және “Үш тұғырлы тіл” саясатына байланысты сұрақтар кіреді.

Егер сізде сауалнамаға байланысты қандай да бір сұрақ болса, бізге хабарласуыңызды сұраймыз (төмендегі байланыс ақпараттарына назар аударыңыз). Бұл ғылыми жұмыс Солтүстік Каролина университетінің адам құқығын қорғау (IRB) мекемесі тарапынан бекітілген және осыған байланысты сұрақтарыңыз болса мына электронды мекен-жайға IRB_subjects@unc.edu, немесе (919) 966-3113 телефон номер арқылы хабарласа аласыз. “қазақтардың латын әліпбиі мен орфографиялық реформаға деген лингво-әлеуметтік көзқарасы” атты ғылыми жұмыстың номері: #18-0138.

Электронды келісім формасы. Төмендегі бос орынға қол қойыңыз.

Бұл орынға қол қою арқылы сіз мына шарттарға келісім бересіз:

Сіз жоғарыда айтылған информациямен толық таныстыңыз.

Сіз қатысуға ерікті түрде келісім бердіңіз.

Сіз кемінде 18 жастан үлкенсіз.

Егер сіз бұл ғылыми жұмыстың сауалнамасына қатысқыңыз келмесе, жауап беруден кез келген уақытта бас тарта аласыз. Селбескеніңізге рахмет.

1 бөлім- Жалпы лингво- әлеуметтік ақпарат

1. Жасыңыз
 - ☐ 18ге дейін
 - ☐ 18-35
 - ☐ 35-50
 - ☐ 50 ден жоғары
2. Туылған жеріңіз (облыспен көрсетіңіз/шетел азаматтары үшін мемлекет атымен)

3. Ұлтыңыз

4. Жынысыңыз
 - ☐ әйел
 - ☐ еркек
5. Біліміңіз
 - ☐ орта білім (мектеп)
 - ☐ арнайы кәсіби білім (колледж)
 - ☐ жоғарғы білім (бакалавр)
 - ☐ жалғастырғалы жоғары білім (магистратура, Ph.D)
6. Әлеуметтік статусыңыз
 - ☐ мектеп оқушысы
 - ☐ студент
 - ☐ жұмысшы
 - ☐ зейнеткер

2 бөлім – Қазақстанның мемлекеттік, ресми және халықаралық тілдері

7. Ана тіліңіз

8. Қосымша білетін тілдеріңіз (бірнеше жауапты таңдай аласыз)

- ☐ қазақ тілі
- ☐ орыс тілі
- ☐ ағылшын тілі
- ☐ ешқандай
- ☐ басқа да тілдер

9. Қазақ тілін қолданатын тілдік домендеріңіз (бірнеше жауапты таңдай аласыз)

- ☐ үйде
- ☐ жұмыста
- ☐ оқу орынында
- ☐ қоғамдық орындарда (мысалы: парк, ресторан, қоғамдық көліктерде т.б)
- ☐ әлеуметтік желіде, мемлекеттік мекемелерде (мысалы: сот, халыққа қызмет көрсету орталығы, емхана, т.б)

10. Жоғарыда көрсетілген тілдік домендерде ең көп қолданатын тіліңіз

- ☐ мемлекеттік тіл - қазақ тілі
- ☐ ресми тіл - орыс тілі
- ☐ халықаралық тіл - ағылшын тілі

11. 2007 жылы қабылданған “Үш тұғырлы тіл” (қазақ, орыс, ағылшын) саясатына көзқарасыңыз?

- ☐ Болашағына сенімдімін.
- ☐ Болашағына сенімсізбін.
- ☐ Бейтараппын.
- ☐ Біздің қоғам бұған дайын емес.
- ☐ Теориялық тұрғыдан жақсы болғанымен, іс жүзінде нәтижесін көрген жоқпын.

12. “Үш тұғырлы тіл” саясатының қазақ тіліне әсері қандай?

- ☐ Қазақ тілінің дамуына оң әсер етеді.
- ☐ Қазақ тілі жойылып, тек ағылшын тілі мен орыс тілінің ғана қолданылуына әкеледі.
- ☐ Қазақ тілінің дамуына кері әсерін тигізеді.
- ☐ Қазақ тілінің қолданылу аясын шектейді.
- ☐ Орыс тілін ығыстырып, тек қазақ тілі мен ағылшын тілінің қолданылуына ықпал етеді.

3 бөлім – Қазақстандағы қолданыстағы әліпби

13. Қазақ тілінің қай алфавитте қолданылуын қалайсыз?

- ☐ Араб
- ☐ Латын
- ☐ Кирилл
- ☐ Руна

14. Орыс тіліне тән [в, ч, ц, щ, ю, я, э, ь, ё, ф] дыбыстарын қазақ тілінен алып тастауға келісесіз бе?

- ☐ йә
- ☐ жоқ
- ☐ бейтараппын

4 бөлім – Латын әліпбиіне қатысты арнайы сұрақтар

15. Тіл мамандары “латын әліпбиіне көшу – орыс тілінің ықпалын бей саналы түрде азайтады” деп қарайды. Сіз бұған келісесіз бе?
- ☐ йә
 - ☐ жоқ
 - ☐ күмәндімін
 - ☐ бейтараппын
16. Қазақстандағы әліпби реформасымен тек кәсіби тілші-ғалымдар айналысуы керек дегенмен келісесіз бе?
- ☐ әрине, келісемін.
 - ☐ жоқ. Бұған қоғамның барлық саласындағы адамдар атсалысуы керек.
 - ☐ тек үкіметтің қаулысымен ғана келісемін.
 - ☐ тілші ғалымдармен қатар ІТ саласындағы мамандар және билік өкілдерінің ортақ шешімі қажет.
17. Латын алфавиттің қай нұсқасы ұнайды?
- ☐ диграф [s**a**ebiz]
 - ☐ апостроф [sa'**a**biz]
 - ☐ умлаут [s**ä**biz]
 - ☐ дәйекше [‘s**a**biz]
 - ☐ диакритика [s**á**biz]
18. Жақында қабылданған диакритикалық алфавиттің сапасын қалай бағалайсыз?
- ☐ керемет
 - ☐ жақсы
 - ☐ орташа
 - ☐ нашар
 - ☐ өте нашар
19. Қазақ тілін латын графикасына негіздеп жазғанда қазақ тілінің қолдану аясы кеңейе ме?
- ☐ йә
 - ☐ жоқ
 - ☐ күмәндімін
 - ☐ бейтараппын
20. Латын әліпбиіне көшуді немен байланыстырысасыз?
- ☐ Тарихпен
 - ☐ Мәдениетпен
 - ☐ Жаһанданумен (глобализация)
 - ☐ Тіл үйренумен
 - ☐ Саясатпен

21. Қазақ тілін пернетақтадағы латынның 26 әрібіне сыйдырып жазу қазақ тілін қаншалықты дамытады?

- дамытады
- орташа деңгейде дамытады
- мүлдем дамытпайды
- күмәндімін
- бейтараппын

22. Латын әліпбиіне көшу – қазақ тілін дамытып қана қоймай, ағылшын тілін тез меңгеруге септігін тигізеді деген пікірге келісесіз бе?

- йә .
- йә, бірақ, толықтай жеңілдете қоймайды.
- жоқ.
- біршама жеңілдетуі мүмкін.
- күмәндімін, мұның әліпбимен қатысы жоқ.
- бейтараппын

<p>1) Tabiғat jaғdaily. Azia dūniejūzında tabiғat jaғdaynyñ aluantūrlılıgımen ereқselenedi. Būl, eñ aldymen, onyñ alyp jatqan audanynyñ öte auqymdy boluymen, jer bederi men klimattyq jaғdaynyñ asa kūrdelılıgımen tūsındırıledi. Jer bederiniñ 75%-yn taular men tauly ūstırtter alyp jatyr. Ortaşıa birtıgı jaғynan Antarktidadan keingı ekinşı orynda- 950 m. Teñız deñgeimen eñ biik jeri- 8848 m-lik. Djomolungma şsyñy, әlemdегі eñbiik nūkte bolyp tabylady. Aziadaғы eñ tōmen jer- Ōlı teñız, ol teñız deñgeimen 403 m tōmen ornalasqan.</p>	<p>2) Sonymen birge bass'tab «I'dji's» anti'zmyrandyq qorg'anys ju'i'esine kiretin SM-3 Block IIA jol kesy's'i us'ag'ynyn' qurastyryly'ynan qay'iptenedi. AQS' Resei'din' qurlyqaralyq bali'sti'kalyq zmyrandaryna tosqay'yl bola alady, al ten'iz ja'ne qurlyq kes'enderinin' iske qosylg'an zmyrandyq kontei'nerleri bolsa «Tamgavk» zmyrandaryn jasyryn zari'adtay'g'a qay'qarly.</p>
<p>3) Qazaqstannyng barlyq oengirinde koemir tapshylyghy zhoq. Bul twraly buegin Uekimetting selektorlyq rezhimdegi otyrysynda QR Oenergetika ministiri Qanat Bozymbaev aitty, dep habarlaidy. Oetken zhyly qyrkueiekte 73.5 million tonna koemir oendirildi. Onyng 41.1 million tonnasy oenergia oendirwshi kaeciporyndargha zhoeneltildi. Oeksport 21.1 million tonnany qurady.</p>	<p>4) Osy jyldary Almatydan kelgen Geografia instituty okilderi qum etegine osimdikter otyrgyzы arqyly qumdy toqtatыga synama, zerttey jumystaryn jurgizdi. Keinnen bul sekseyil otyrgyzы jumystaryn Mañgystayda qurylgan «Jasyl alem» mekemesi jalgastyrdy. Senek, Ush-tagan ayyldaryna birneshe tup sekseyil otyrgyzgan olar bul isti Tushyqudyq, Shebir ayyldarynda jalgastyrdy.</p>

23. Әртүрлі варианттағы мына мәтіндердің сіз үшін қайсысы оқуға жеңіл?

- ☐ 1)
- ☐ 2)
- ☐ 3)
- ☐ 4)

5 бөлім – Қазақстандағы тілдердің болашағы

24. Қазақ тілді мектептердегі латын әліпбиінің қиындығынан қашып, ата-аналар балаларын орыс тілді мектептерге бере бастайды деген пікірмен келісесіз бе?

- ☐ Келісем
- ☐ Келіспеймін

25. Латын әліпбиіне көшсек кейінгі буын (балаңыз не іні-қарындастарыңыз) орыс тілін меңгере алмай қалады деп алаңдайсыз ба?

- ☐ йә
- ☐ жоқ

26. Жаңа әліпбидің соңғы нұсқасы қабылданды деп санайсыз ба?

- ☐ диакритикалық нұсқа келешекте өзгереді
- ☐ йә, президент Жарлығымен бекітілгені қабылданғанын білдіреді
- ☐ ол ғалымдар мен белсенді азаматтардың батылдығына байланысты

27. Бір мемлекетте үш бірдей тілдің тең дәрежеде қолданылуы мүмкін деп ойлайсыз ба?

- ☐ мүмкін.
- ☐ мүмкін емес.

28. Егер мемлекетте екі тұғырлы тіл болуы керек десе қай екі тілді таңдар едіңіз?

- ☐ қазақ – орыс
- ☐ қазақ – ағылшын
- ☐ орыс – ағылшын

29. Орыс тілінсіз қазақ мемлекеті дамымайды дегенмен келісесіз бе, неге?

- ☐ Келісемін. Өйткені, орыс тілді білікті мамандардан айрылып қаламыз.
- ☐ Келісемін. Бірақ, орыс тілінің қазақ тілімен тең құқылы мәртебеге ие болғанын қаламаймын.
- ☐ Келіспеймін. Ағылшын тілі – орыс тілінің орынын басады.
- ☐ Келіспеймін. Ағылшын немесе қытай тілдерінің мемлекетті дамыту мүмкіндіктері орыс тілінен басымдау.
- ☐ Бейтараппын.

30. Санақтарға негізделгенде қазір ресейге барып білім алғысы келетін жастардың саны айтарлықтай азайып, керісінше өзге мемлекеттерге аттанатын оқушылар мен студенттер көбейген. Бұл орыс тілінің бәсекеге қабілетсіздігін білдіре ме?

- ☐ орыс тілінің ғылым және білім саласындағы бәсекеге қабілеттілігінің азаюы
- ☐ білім және ғылым саласында ағылшын тілінің көшбасшыға айналуы

31. Латын әліпбиіне көшудің негізгі мақсаты Түркі халықтарының бірігуі немесе Түркі мемлекеттерінің одақтасуы деп ойлайсыз ба?

- йә
- жоқ
- бұл жағынан хабарсызбын

32. Қазақстанның латын әліпбиіне көшуінің соңғы нәтижесі қандай болуы мүмкін деп ойлайсыз?

- Өзбекстан мемлекеті секілді сәтсіздікке тап болуы мүмкін.
- Әзербайжан мемлекеті секілді сәтті орындалады.
- Ешкімге ұқсамайтын нәтижелер болады. Бұл жағынан хабарсызбын.

CONSENT FORM (English version)

The purpose of this research project is to examine sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh. This is a research project being conducted by Raua-Banu Kadirova at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. You are welcome to participate in this research project if you are able to read and write in Kazakh and are at least 18 years old.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you decide to participate in this research survey, you may stop at any time. There is no penalty for not participating or withdrawing at any time.

The procedure involves filling an online survey that will take approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Your responses will be confidential and no identifying information will be collected such as your name, email address, IP address and date of birth. You will be asked to provide your signature; however, your signature will not be attached to your survey response. The survey questions will be about languages and their use in Kazakhstan, linguistic attitudes towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh, and the policy of “Language Trinity”.

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact us (for contact information see below). If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Institutional Review Board via email at IRB_subjects@unc.edu, or at (919) 966-3113 if you would like to contact the IRB anonymously. This survey has been reviewed by the UNC-CH Non-Biomedical Institutional Review Board (IRB) as part of application # 18-0138: “The Sociolinguistic attitudes of Kazakhs towards the Latin alphabet and orthography reform in Kazakh”.

Electronic content: Please sign below.

By signing up below you acknowledge that:

You have read the above information

You voluntarily agree to participate

You are at least 18 years of age

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please kindly disregard it. Thank you for cooperation!

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ATTITUDE SURVEY (English version)

Section 1. A general sociolinguistic information
1. Age <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> under 18<input type="radio"/> 18-35<input type="radio"/> 35-50<input type="radio"/> over 50
2. Place of birth <hr/>
3. Nationality <hr/>
4. Gender <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> male<input type="radio"/> female
5. Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> high school<input type="radio"/> college degree<input type="radio"/> bachelor degree<input type="radio"/> master/PhD degree
6. Social status <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> secondary school<input type="radio"/> college student<input type="radio"/> worker<input type="radio"/> retired
Section 2. State, Official and International Languages of Kazakhstan

7. Native language

8. Additional languages that you know (you may choose multiple answers)

- ☐ Kazakh
- ☐ Russian
- ☐ English
- ☐ none
- ☐ other languages

9. In what language domains do you use Kazakh?

- ☐ at home
- ☐ at work
- ☐ at university
- ☐ in public places (e.g.: park, restaurant, public transportation, etc.)
- ☐ on social media, at public institutions (e.g. court, community service centers, hospital, etc.)

10. Which of the following languages do you use most in above mentioned language domains?

- ☐ state language- Kazakh
- ☐ official language- Russian
- ☐ international language- English

11. What is your attitude towards a ‘Language Trinity’ policy (Kazakh, Russian, and English) which was approved in 2007?

- ☐ confident about its future implementation
- ☐ not confident about its future implementation
- ☐ neutral
- ☐ our society is not ready for this
- ☐ theoretically good, but have not seen any results so far

12. How do you think the ‘Language Trinity’ policy is going to affect Kazakh?

- ☐ it will affect the Kazakh language development positively
- ☐ Kazakh will be eliminated, Russian and English will remain in use
- ☐ it will affect the Kazakh language development negatively
- ☐ Russian will be eliminated, Kazakh and English will remain in use

Section 3. Alphabet use in Kazakhstan

13. Which alphabet do you prefer to use for Kazakh?

- ☐ Arabic
- ☐ Latin
- ☐ Cyrillic
- ☐ Runic

14. Would you agree with the removal of the following Russian specific letters [в, ч, ц, ш, ю, я, э, ь, ы, ё, ф] from a future Kazakh alphabet?
- ☐ yes
 - ☐ no
 - ☐ neutral

Section 4. Specific questions on the Latin alphabet

15. According to language experts, 'an adoption of the Latin alphabet will unconsciously decrease the influence of the Russian language'. Do you agree with this?
- ☐ yes
 - ☐ no
 - ☐ doubtful
 - ☐ neutral
16. Do you agree that only language specialized scholars should deal with alphabet reform in Kazakhstan?
- ☐ of course, I agree
 - ☐ no, everyone should be involved
 - ☐ agree only with the state decree
 - ☐ along with language scholars, IT specialists and state officials should arrive at a common solution
17. Which of the following version of the Latin alphabet do you prefer?
- ☐ digraph [sa**e**biz]
 - ☐ apostrophe [sa'**e**biz]
 - ☐ umlaut [s**a**bbiz]
 - ☐ acute [s'**a**biz]
 - ☐ diacritic [sábiz]
18. How would you evaluate the quality of the last approved alphabet with diacritics?
- ☐ excellent
 - ☐ good
 - ☐ average
 - ☐ bad
 - ☐ very bad
19. Do you think writing Kazakh in the Latin alphabet will enlarge its usage?
- ☐ yes
 - ☐ no
 - ☐ doubtful
 - ☐ neutral
20. What do you connect the process of the Latin alphabet adoption with?

- history
- culture
- globalization
- language learning
- politics

21. Do you think limiting the number of letters to 26 in the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet will develop the Kazakh language?

- it will develop it
- it will moderately develop it
- it will not develop it at all
- doubtful
- neutral

22. Do you agree that the Latin alphabet adoption will not only develop Kazakh, but it will also help learning English?

- yes
- yes, but it will not make it completely easy
- no
- it may moderately make it easy
- doubtful, it does not have anything to do with the alphabet
- neutral

<p>1) Табиғат жағдайлары. Азия дүниежүзінде табиғат жағдайының алуантүрлілігімен ерекшеленеді. Бұл, ең алдымен, оның алып жатқан ауданының өте ауқымды болуымен, жер бедері мен климаттық жағдайының аса күрделілігімен түсіндіріледі. Жер бедерінің 75%-ын таулар мен таулы үстірттер алып жатыр. Орташа биіктігі жағынан Антарктидadan кейінгі екінші орында- 950 м. Теңіз деңгейінен ең биік жері- 8848 м-лік. Джомолунгма Ұшы, әлемдегі ең биік нүкте болып табылады. Азиядағы ең төмен жер- Өлі теңіз, ол теңіз деңгейінен 403 м төмен орналасқан.</p>	<p>2) Сонымен бірге бас таб «І'dji's» анти'зымырандық қорғаныс жүйесіне кінетін SM-3 Block IIA жол кесіс'і ус'ағының' қурастырылы'нан қай'iptenedi. AQS' Resei'din' қурықаралық бали'sti'kalyq зымырандарына тосқай'ыл бола алды, ал тен'із ja'ne қурық kes'enderinin' iske qosylg'an зымырандық конте'нерлері болса «Tamgavk» зымырандарын жасырын зари'adtay'g'a қай'qarly.</p>
<p>3) Қазақстанның барлық оңірінде коемір тапшылығы жоқ. Бул тәуірлі бугеін Уекіметтің селекторлық режімдегі отырысында QR Оөнергетика министірі Қанат Бозымбаев айтты, деп хабарлайды. Оеткен зһылы қыркүйекте 73.5 million</p>	<p>4) Осы жылдары Алматыдан келген География институты өкілдері қум етегине өсімдіктер отырғызы ақылы қумды тоқтатыға synama, зерттеу ю-мустарын жүргізді. Кеіннен бул сек-</p>

tonna koemir oendirildi. Onyng 41.1 million tonnasy oenergia oendirwshi kaeciporyndargha zhoeneltildi. Oeksport 21.1 million tonnany qurady

seýil otyrǵyzý jumystaryn Mańǵys-taýda qurylǵan «Jasyl álem» mekemesi jalǵastyrdy. Senek, Úshtaǵan aýyldaryna birneshe túp sekseýil otyrǵyzǵan olar bul isti Tushyqudyq, Shebir aýyldarynda jalǵastyrdy.

23. Which of the above texts was the easiest for you to read and comprehend?

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)

Section 5. Future of Languages in Kazakhstan

24. Do you think parents would prefer a Russian class as a medium of instruction because of difficulties in the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet?

- ☐ agree
- ☐ don't agree

25. Are you worried that next (siblings or children) generation will not master Russian later if we switch to the Latin alphabet?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

26. Do you think that the last version of the Latin alphabet is final?

- ☐ the version with diacritics will be changed
- ☐ yes, if there is a presidential decree it means it is final
- ☐ it depends on scholars and public activists

27. Can three languages be used equally in a country?

- ☐ yes, they can
- ☐ no, they can't

28. Which two languages would you choose if a country should be bilingual?

- ☐ Kazakh- Russian
- ☐ Kazakh- English
- ☐ Russian- English

29. Do you agree that without the Russian language Kazakhstan will not develop?

- ☐ agree, because we will lose the Russian speaking specialists
- ☐ agree, but I don't want Russian to be given an equal stance with Kazakh
- ☐ don't agree, because the English language will replace Russian
- ☐ don't agree because English or Chinese have more possibilities to develop the country

- Neutral

30. Based on the latest statistics, the number of Kazakhstani students who prefer to study in Russia has diminished substantially. Instead, students who prefer western or eastern education is dramatically increasing. Why do you think this is so?

- the competitiveness of the Russian language in science and education has decreased
- the formation of English as a leading language in science and education

31. Do you think that shifting to the Latin alphabet is aimed at the Kazakh language development or creating a union of the Turkic countries?

- yes
- no
- I am not aware of it

32. What do you think will be the end result of the introduction of the Latin alphabet in the Kazakh language?

- it will be unsuccessful as in Uzbekistan
- it will be successful as in Azerbaijan
- Kazakhstan will have its own unique results
- unsure

APPENDIX: C

ҚАЗАҚ ТІЛДІ МАМАНДАРҒА АРНАЛҒАН СҰХБАТ СҰРАҚТАРЫ (Kazakh version)

1. Латын әліпбиіне көшуді қолдайсыз ба? Не үшін?
2. Өзбекстанның тіл реформасының нәтижесіне сүйенсек, латын әліпбиіне көшу сәтсіз болды деп айтуға болады. Қоғам екіге бөлініп, ондағы үлкен буын өкілдері Кирилл әліпбиін қолданса, жастар латын әліпбиіне сауат ашты. Олардың латын әліпбиі туралы пікірталасы әлі күнге дейін шешімін тапқан жоқ. Біздің қоғамда да латын әліпбиіне қатысты қарама-қарсы пікір қалыптасты. Егде буын өкілдері мен кейбір қоғам қайраткерлері бұл әліпбиге қарсы болса, жастар жағы қолдау көрсетіп жатқаны байқалады. Өзбекстан кебін кимейміз деп айта аласыз ба?
3. Қазақ жазуын латын графикасына көшірудегі басты ұстаным қандай болу керек деп санайсыз? (Қазақ тілі пәнінің оқытушысы ретінде)
4. Латын әліпбиіне көшу қазақ тіліндегі қандай мәселелерге шешім тауып береді деп ойлайсыз?
5. Сіздің ойыңызша, қазақ тіліндегі соңғы әліпби реформасы шын мәнінде тілді дамытуға бағытталған тілдік саясат па әлде түркі халықтарын біріктіруге бағытталған (пан-Түркизм, пан-Ислам) ұлттық бірегейлік саясаттың астары бар ма?
6. Тіл білімі институты мен тіл ғалымдары әліпби реформасында шет қалғандай көрінді. Бұл не үшін?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR KAZAKH LANGUAGE EXPERTS (English Version)

1. Do you support the idea of the Latin alphabet transition? Why or why not?
2. According to the language experience of Uzbekistan, the Uzbek government failed to transition successfully from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin. As a consequence, there are two opposing groups: the older generation, which is against the Latin alphabet, and the younger generation, which is in favor of it. The same phenomenon also seems to be reflected in the society of Kazakh language speakers. Do you think that Kazakhs will also face the same problem as Uzbeks?
3. What principals do you think should be adhered while adopting the Latin alphabet in the Kazakh language? (as a teacher of the Kazakh language)
4. What language problems in Kazakh do you think the Latin alphabet can solve?
5. Do you think that the latest alphabet reform of the language policy in the Kazakh language is aimed to develop the language or aimed at the unification of Turkic peoples (Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islam)?
6. The institute of linguistics and linguists seemed to be abandoned in the alphabet reform. Why is this so?

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