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The language issue of Ukraine during the russian-Ukrainian war. The impact of centuries of repression of the Ukrainian language on modern society

Abstract. The study of the language issue in Ukraine is relevant considering the importance of linguistic identification: since most Ukrainians have been Russified, it is necessary to pursue a clear and strategic language policy that could ensure the gradual but steady development of all things Ukrainian in the future. The purpose of this research was to explore the current state of linguistic consciousness in Ukrainian society, and the specifics of the establishment and development of the Ukrainian language during the long linguistic crimes and after the outbreak of the russian-Ukrainian war. The following methods were used to achieve the set purposes: analytical and synthetic, comparative and contrastive, historical, diachronic and synchronous. A panoramic analysis of the prohibitions and restrictions on the functioning of the Ukrainian language over the past four centuries was conducted, in particular in the fields of education, book publishing, office work, the church, etc. The study examined the historical stages of the development and formation of the identity of the Ukrainian language and provided statistics on the language issue a few years after independence, after the russian aggression in eastern Ukraine, and after russia's full-scale invasion. It developed an understanding of the causes and consequences of linguistic crimes and assessed the stages of Russification and the impact of the russian-speaking space in different regions of Ukraine. Attention was focused on the mechanisms of linguistic decolonisation on the example of different national languages and countries, forms of linguistic planning and national policies of states affected by language bans, and the revival of identification. The materials presented in this work can be used for further scientific research in the field of linguistics, sociology, historiography, and cultural studies, in particular, in the study of colonisation and decolonisation processes in various national languages of the world

Keywords: expansion; destruction; decolonisation; public space; planning

Introduction

The study of the language issue in Ukraine is relevant considering the current historical circumstances, including the russian-Ukrainian war, the attempts to get rid of colonial influence and finally decolonise, and the struggle for the right to be a territorially integral and independent state. Language is an important link in national and ideological identification, connecting the speaker with a particular cultural space and public discourse.

And although bilingualism, using exclusively russian or Surzhyk, is not an accurate identification in terms of political or social, it still indicates a specific degree of colonisation, which can influence the production of thought patterns.

Thus, it is crucial to apply a policy of restrictions on the russian language and gradually push it out of the

public sphere and eventually out of everyday life. Despite the qualitative and quantitative changes in the language issue, it remains important to pass on the language to other generations, and this can only be ensured by a complete transition to Ukrainian in all spheres of life.

The relevance of the subject is high only for a specific proportion of Ukrainians, the majority do not fully understand the importance and urgency of its solution. The policy of effective and targeted language planning should enshrine provisions both in official laws and in the linguistic consciousness.

Despite the positive dynamics in this area, there are still many unresolved problems, including the legal framework and the implementation of state regulations on using the Ukrainian language, for example, in the service sector.

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To understand what kind of language policy to pursue, it is necessary to assess and rethink the impact of centuries of linguistic crimes on the current state of the Ukrainian language. Considering this, it is necessary to revive the language in terms of lexicon, to restore using Ukrainian suffixes and prefixes, syntactic constructions, etc.

The study by E. Mites demonstrates that using a colonial language in education and other areas of functioning results in linguistic inequality. The author demonstrates the persistence of colonial provisions transmitted through language by analysing social media, drawing attention to the main threat: the coloniser's practice is taken for granted and not questioned, and language policies focused on the development of the mother tongue are usually encountered with several prejudices regarding prestige, function, etc.

Based on Chayinska's survey data, it was identified that citizens who were familiar with the subject of historical linguicide demonstrated greater support for restrictive policies designed to preserve the ethnic group due to concerns about the future viability of the Ukrainian language and collective fear (Chayinska, 2022).

O. Nikilev examines how the evolution from a monolingual majority to a bilingual majority occurred at the regional level. Due to socio-economic factors, the narrowing of the spheres of functioning of the Ukrainian language was not accepted in society as an adverse phenomenon. The absence of support for the Ukrainian language environment demonstrates that the political processes regarding language policy have not been organic. russification was accompanied by a disregard for national cultural heritage and a rejection of the Ukrainian language (Nikilev, 2021).

Linguist V. Britsyn examines the trends in the development of the modern literary and colloquial Ukrainian language from a retrospective perspective, in particular, linguistic phenomena in word development, morphology, and syntax, studies the practice of using communication strategies, and focuses on applied linguistic sections (rhetoric, stylistics, translation studies). In addition, the researcher notes that loose language codification leads to a loosening of provisions, which adversely affects the development of the Ukrainian literary language (Britsyn, 2021).

L. Bromham discusses the problem of narrowing linguistic diversity, in particular, based on various criteria: official documentation, educational policy, legal recognition, and socio-economic indicators. The author attempts to prove that contact between languages cannot cause its loss, but educational processes can contribute to this more actively than other factors (Bromham, 2022).

The purpose of the research was to explore the colonising influence of the Russian language on the development of Ukrainian linguistic identity, centuries of linguistic crimes and their adverse effects on the modern development of the language in Ukraine, and to consider qualitative and quantitative changes in the statistics of language changes over the past year. The subject of this linguistic work is theoretical research, which deals with the synchronic and diachronic development of the Ukrainian language and data from modern sociological surveys.

Materials and Methods

The theoretical foundation of this research is the scientific work of linguists who have explored the problem of linguistic and ethnocide, language planning, prevention of the destruction of national languages, changing the discourse from colonising to decolonising, and developing ideas about educational processes and their impact on language policy. Based on these works, the author analysed the development and establishment of the Ukrainian language over the past four hundred years, in particular, during the linguistic crimes of the Russian empire, the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), and the period of Ukraine's independence.

To confirm the key ideas about the dynamics of qualitative and quantitative language changes, the following survey data on the language issue in Ukraine were used: data from the Soviet census (Historical Truth, 2023); data from the All-Ukrainian census in 2001 (State Statistics Committee, 2003); and a survey conducted by the sociological group "Sixth nationwide survey..." in 2012 (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012). In addition, the materials of the nationwide survey conducted by the "Democratic Initiatives" Foundation together with the sociological service of the Razumkov Centre were covered (Novynarnia, 2021); CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) survey, March 2022, participants – citizens of Ukraine aged 18 and older (except for the temporarily occupied territories) (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022); Gradus Research survey at the request of Suspilne and with the support of BBC Media Action (Ukrinform, 2022).

This work uses analytical and synthetic, comparative and contrastive, historical, diachronic, and synchronic methods, which were used in combination to establish a complete picture of the functioning, development, and establishment of the Ukrainian language in public, official, and everyday spaces. To compare the statistical data and consider the current linguistic situation, materials on the oppression and linguistic crimes against the Ukrainian language over the past four hundred years, including the Russian empire, the USSR, and the period of Ukraine's independence, were first collected.

The analytical and synthetic method was used to explore scientific research and monographs that reflected the basic laws of language policy and planning. The issue of decolonisation in the post-Soviet space and the stages of establishment of the national identity of Ukrainians over the past thirty years were considered. The perception of numerous bans on the Ukrainian language was developed, in particular, through restrictions on its functioning in the church, education, printing, official documents, and later on television and radio broadcasting. The comparative and contrastive analysis concerned different historical stages of the establishment of the Ukrainian language, in particular, the language policy of the Russian empire and the Soviet government was compared, and the adverse effects and influences on the modern Ukrainian language, in particular regarding monolingualism and bilingualism, were assessed. Connections were being developed between political restrictions on the functioning of the Ukrainian language and the russification of large cities and regions in the east, south, and centre of Ukraine.

The historical analysis was designed to explore the establishment of the Ukrainian language in chronological order (from the 17th century to the present day), citing important historical dates related to the narrowing or expansion of the spheres of functioning of the Ukrainian language. The diachronic method was used to explore the vertical section of the language, i.e., its historical development, and the synchronic method was applied to the current state of the Ukrainian language.

Results

Linguicide should be understood as the planned and deliberate extermination of a particular language, which is a key feature of a particular nation, primarily targeting the written language, with the main purpose of eliminating a particular ethnic group as a separate cultural and historical unit (Kramsch, 2020). Nowadays, about 7000 languages are spoken in the world, and 2500 are endangered (Kornai, 2013). The extinction of languages is accompanied by the disappearance of culture, history, and cognitive habits (Kaul, 2015).

The destruction of the tradition of bilingual education in post-colonial societies is an important factor in preserving national identity and language (Chimbutane, 2011). Recent research on language education has demonstrated that it has a significant impact on the outcomes of language policy in general (May, 2003; Vanbuel, 2022).

Linguistic crimes of the 17th-20th centuries and the state of the Ukrainian language in the early 21st century. Repression of the Ukrainian language began as early as the 17th century: in 1626, an order was issued to destroy old Ukrainian books and import moscow editions instead, then in 1627 they were burned, and in 1693 severe restrictions were imposed on all literature.

The 18th century was a real linguistic genocide: in 1720, a ban on printing books, strict censorship of religious literature, and in 1729, the rewriting of all state documents in russian. In 1740, Ukrainian was ousted from the sphere of office work. The destruction of the national language continued with a ban on teaching at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and after the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich, an order to close Ukrainian schools located there (Zinchenko, 2017).

In the 19th century, the situation deteriorated, as bans were imposed on the extermination of Ukrainian in schools, including a tsarist decree of 1804 that prohibited teaching in Ukrainian. The year 1847 began with the defeat of the Cyril and Methodius Society and the tightening of control over cultural space (Zinchenko, 2017).

The Valuev Circular of 1863 further restricted the rights of Ukrainians concerning language, in particular, it was decided to suspend the publication of most books, prohibited the publication of literature related to education, training, and religion, and allowed only the publication of fiction. The motive for the introduction of such repressive measures was the tsarist authorities' suspicion of an increase in "separatist" or "anti-tsarist" sentiment. The Valuev Circular is an example of russia's chauvinistic imperial policy (Literary Encyclopedia, 2007).

The Ems Decree of 1878 consolidated and expanded the restrictions specified in the Valuev Circular, in particular, it was forbidden to print texts under music, import Ukrainian books from abroad, and stage theatre performances. Only "great russians" (Muscovites) were appointed as teachers, and Ukrainian intellectuals were evicted to the St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Orenburg districts. Thus, Ukrainians migrated to Russia and vice versa, which had adverse consequences in the future (Literary Encyclopedia, 2007).

At the end of the 19th century, new bans were introduced: it was forbidden to preach sermons and teach in public schools in Ukrainian, to translate Russian books, and to use Ukrainian at the state level. In 1908, it was declared that Ukrainian-language activities were harmful to the Russian Empire, and thus cultural societies, publishing houses, etc were forced to close (Zinchenko, 2017).

During the Soviet period, the language situation in Ukraine was difficult, as Russian began to spread in the public sphere and was promoted as a "second mother tongue". Ukraine has demonstrated less resistance to such narratives than the Baltic states and the Transcaucasus (Olszanski, 2012).

In 1918, the Bolsheviks brutally executed 5,000 people who spoke Ukrainian or wore Ukrainian national clothes. The years 1929-1930 were marked by the arrests of Ukrainians who were active in the scientific, educational, cultural, and church spheres, and they were tried in Kharkiv under the name of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (Zinchenko, 2017).

The Soviet government's policy in the 1930s was called "indigenisation", which included systematic russification as a method of combating "bourgeois nationalism". In addition, the lands of southern Ukraine were affected by the high intensity of migration to industrial areas (Schneider, 2007).

Ukrainian was gradually being ousted even from everyday communication, while several laws were passed to regulate educational processes and the study of the Russian language, and to translate the record-keeping in museums into Russian. Russian received the status of an official language in 1989 (Zinchenko, 2017).

Compared to the Soviet censuses (the last one in 1989) (Historical Truth, 2023), the number of ethnic Ukrainians increased by 3-5%, which was reflected both at the linguistic level and in civic position and cultural identity (State Statistics Committee, 2003).

The proportion of bilinguals has decreased significantly (from 27-34% to 22-23%), but the ratio between Ukrainian and Russian-speaking citizens has hardly changed. The situation with the language in the west, east, and centre is heterogeneous, as restrictions on the functioning of Ukrainian in the east lasted from the 17th century until Ukraine gained independence (State Statistics Committee, 2003; Historical Truth, 2023).

According to the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census, 68 per cent of Ukrainians stated that Ukrainian was their native language, while 30 per cent considered Russian to be their native language (Fig. 1) (State Statistics Committee, 2003).

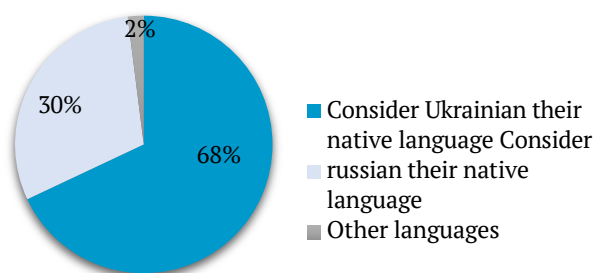


Figure 1. Data from the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census on language

Source: 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census data on language (State Statistics Committee, 2003)

The russification of the Ukrainian corpus in Soviet times occurred at the level of language planning, and today it is reflected in regional varieties of the Ukrainian language, and various types of surzhyk. Bilingualism implies knowledge of both languages and the highest number of people in Ukraine were bilingual. At the present stage, the promotion of the Ukrainian language is intended to de-Russify it to eliminate the consequences and influences of Russian colonialism.

Surzhyk is marked by significant stigma, generally perceived as an adverse phenomenon, as it is a demonstration of Soviet russification, described as a form of linguistic deformity, a sign of low culture, national schizophrenia, low intelligence, or identity crisis.

Important changes in linguistic discourse since Ukraine's independence in regions with a high proportion of Russian speakers are being recorded alongside the dominance of Russian in the media, which is a sign of postcolonial thinking. The absence of a clear and planned language policy has resulted in the russification of Ukrainian-speaking citizens, particularly in large cities. Notably, the situation concerning language before 2014 was as follows: linguistic and ethnic borders are not identical, with the share of Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian being roughly the same as the share of Russian speakers (Kaplan, 2011).

The development of the Ukrainian language during the Russian-Ukrainian War

In Ukraine, the Russian language functions as an object of Russia's assimilationist colonial policy, which is trying to continue its linguistic and cultural expansion. Since the aggressor country has been using hybrid warfare methods for years, language policy has long been in line with disinformation, manipulative distortion of facts, and illegal operations in the cybersphere (Liddicoat, 2021).

On 28 February 2018, the Constitutional Court ruled that the Kivalov-Kolesnichenko law, which legalised bilingualism in the regions and hindered the development of the Ukrainian language, was unconstitutional. The absence of a language law regulating the language issue has hurt the conduct of language policy in general. Notably, in Ukraine, unlike the Baltic states, there has long been no strategy for developing a political nation through a linguistic tool (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2013).

On 25 April 2019, the Law of Ukraine "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" was adopted based on the current legislation

and international legislative practice, which emphasises the importance of its use in various spheres of life. The adoption of this language law was a significant step towards statehood, a path that other Eastern European countries have taken (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

Notably, not all provisions of the language legislation have been fully implemented, and many of them have not been enforced both by individuals and businesses and at the governmental level. The law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" stipulates that the state gives citizens the right to master the state language "through non-formal and informal education", but the programme was not approved promptly (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

The rule on book publishing states that a publisher must publish at least 50% of its books in Ukrainian during the year, but there is a clarification: this rule does not apply to publishing in the languages of indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine. In addition, Article 29 is ambiguous: "The language of public events is the state language unless otherwise provided by the Law" (the first version of the law clearly stated that only Ukrainian was the language). The provisions of this law do not impose an obligation on persons holding public office to pass an exam or certification for knowledge of Ukrainian, and the procedure for bringing to justice those who violate language rights in trade or services is very complicated (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

On 16 January 2021, Article 30 of the Law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" became effective, requiring all service providers to serve consumers and provide information about goods and services in the state language. On 16 January 2022, Article 25 of the Law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" became effective, which provides for the transition of all national and regional publications published in Russian to Ukrainian. The introduction of such provisions has undoubtedly influenced the development of the Ukrainian language in the public sphere, particularly in large cities. However, notably, not everyone still adheres to the established rules, despite the full-scale invasion. A system of punishment for non-compliance has not yet been developed (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

On 16 July 2022, the second and sixth parts of Article 27 of the same law came into force, stating that the state language on the Internet should be exclusively Ukrainian

and that it should be used to establish computer software interfaces. In particular, it applies to Ukrainian-language interfaces in technical devices that must have control panels in Ukrainian and Internet resources (websites, social media pages, mobile applications, telegram, and Viber channels) that provide an online representation of business entities registered in Ukraine. The main version of any software should be in Ukrainian by default. Advertising for services and goods on the Internet should be published only in Ukrainian. The amount of the fine is set at UAH 3,400 to 8,500, and for a repeated violation – from 8,500 to 11,900 UAH (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

The absence of a coherent and systematic national language policy in 2014 established the preconditions for russian aggression. In the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, in particular, in Donetsk, Luhansk, and Crimea, the Ukrainian language is gradually being ousted from the public sphere. Citizens are unable to speak Ukrainian fluently, have no access to Ukrainian-language media, and cannot educate their children in Ukrainian-language schools. Any manifestations of national identity are suppressed by using false accusations and torture. The occupation administration seeks to level the legal status of the

Ukrainian language. Although Ukrainian has been granted the status of an official language in Crimea, it is declarative, as no measures are taken to promote Ukrainian. In the occupied territories of Crimea, parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, Ukrainian does not have the status of the state language. The liquidation of educational institutions results in Ukrainians being deprived of learning their native language, which prevents them from entering Ukrainian universities (Review of restrictions..., 2021).

The sixth nationwide survey on the language issue was conducted in March 2022, with citizens aged 18 and over participating (1,000 respondents from all over Ukraine, except for the occupied Crimea and Donbas). The CATI method (telephone interviews) was used.

The number of citizens who consider Ukrainian to be their native language has increased from 57% (2012 statistics, survey conducted by the Sixth nationwide survey... sociological group) to 76% (2022 statistics, sixth national survey). The share of citizens who say russian is their mother tongue has decreased from 42 to 20% (Fig. 2), which was influenced by the Revolution of Dignity, the annexation of Crimea, and the occupation of Donbas (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

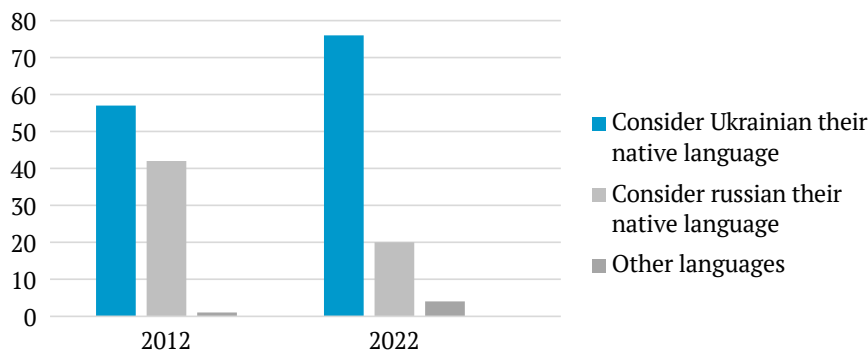


Figure 2. Dynamics of language changes (2012-2022)

Source: data from the survey conducted by the sociological group “Sixth nationwide survey...” (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012) and the sixth national survey (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022)

A steady decline in the share of russian speakers: 40% in 2012, 18% at the beginning of the full-scale invasion, accompanied by a shift in the status of "bilingual" citizens: the share of bilinguals increased from 15% to 32%. Notably, the total abandonment of the russian language in everyday life is insignificant: from 44% to 48% (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

The intensification of russia's aggression in 2022 had a positive impact on the recognition and consolidation of the status of the only state language in Ukraine, supported by 83% of citizens in all regions. In 2021, as many as 25% of citizens were in favour of declaring russian the state language (a nationwide poll conducted by the “Democratic Initiatives” Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service), and in March 2022 – 7% (Novynarnia, 2021; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

Data from the sixth nationwide survey in 2022 demonstrate that language is largely perceived as a regional feature and is not identified with political opinions, with 65%

of bilingual Ukrainians calling the russian federation an aggressor country (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

Nowadays, 67% of Ukrainians believe that there is no problem with the language issue in Ukraine, 19% claim that there is a minor language problem, and only 12% say that the language issue is a threat to national security. Opinions about problems in the language sphere are most common in the west of the country (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

The level of linguistic identification demonstrates stable growth; the war has given a new impetus to the development of Ukrainian cultural and linguistic products and influenced the rejection of russian and russian-speaking. There is a gradual evolution in both public life and everyday life, in particular, many factors contribute to this: the isolation of the russian federation from the international cultural and information space, and the destruction of the idea of “fraternal peoples” (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

On 18-19 October 2022, Gradus Research, at the request of Suspilne and with the support of BBC Media

Action, surveyed 1000 respondents, aged 18-60, throughout Ukraine, except for the occupied territories and active combat zones, with a margin of error of 3.1% (Novynarnia, 2021; Ukrinform, 2022).

Since the share of residents of small towns who spoke Ukrainian even before the full-scale invasion was higher, the growth rate of Ukrainian-speaking citizens in large cities is

slightly higher (54% in cities under 50,000, 60% in cities over 50,000) (Ukrinform, 2022). The survey demonstrated that 42% of Ukrainians began to speak Ukrainian more frequently, and 14% of citizens switched to Ukrainian completely compared to the language situation in 2021 (a nationwide survey conducted by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service) (Table 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of language changes since the beginning of the full-scale invasion

Criterion	2021	2022
Consider Ukrainian their native language	78%	76%
Acknowledge the status of the only state Ukrainian language	75%	83%
Consider russian their native language	18%	19%
Allow for recognition of the official status of the russian language	25%	7%
Speaking Ukrainian	51%	48.4%
Speaking two languages	36%	23,9%
Speaking russian	13%	27,3%

Source: based on a nationwide survey conducted by the “Democratic Initiatives” Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service, a survey conducted by Gradus Research at the request of Suspilne and supported by BBC Media Action 2022, and the sixth nationwide survey in 2022 (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Ukrinform, 2022; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022)

The demand for learning Ukrainian in Ukraine and around the world is growing and thus is the desire to study Ukrainian history and culture. The return to the Ukrainian language in public space, the entry into the force of laws on language legislation, and the development of new educational programmes will only help to promote the Ukrainian language. Nowadays, a large proportion of Ukrainians are aware of the necessity and value of preserving their own cultural and linguistic space.

Despite numerous linguistic crimes by the russian authorities, Ukrainians managed to preserve their language. Survey data from the years of independence confirm that the process of returning to the mother tongue is gradual, with more intense changes recorded in 2022. Ukrainian performs the functions of the state language in Ukraine and is used in the information space, business, NGOs, and public authorities.

Notably, although positive changes are gradually occurring, the statistics on the transition to Ukrainian in everyday life and the abandonment of russian are not high. There is still a large proportion of the population that uses Surzhyk, which is a consequence of russification and hinders the development of the Ukrainian language. The increase in the share of bilinguals is, on the one hand, a positive development, but, on the other hand, it may pose a threat if Ukrainian is used in public but not spoken in private.

Discussion

The term “post-colonial societies” refers to communities in certain territories that were under colonial rule in conditions of political or economic domination, and hierarchisation, accompanied by violence and oppression of the enslaved, and which have gained independence or other changes in political status.

F. Kramer notes that a distinction should be made between the concepts of “colonialism” and “coloniality”, which implies the preservation of power structures from

the colonial period. In such post-colonial societies, inequality (social, economic), cultural and linguistic marginalisation, and the lack of equal political representation may persist (Kramer, 2022).

Decolonisation is an ongoing process of struggle against the remnants of colonialism after independence (Kramer, 2022). The current stage of development of the Ukrainian language demonstrates that it still has significant colonising influences, in particular, due to the ongoing russification of its citizens. In addition to teaching the Ukrainian language in schools and supporting its functioning in public spaces, citizens should be encouraged to deepen their knowledge, expand their language vocabulary, etc.

Decolonisation processes concern officially colonised countries, unofficially colonised countries, and those states that have faced the challenges of colonialism. P.P. Poudel examines Nepal's policies that have resulted in the double colonisation of indigenous languages: on the one hand, external colonisation by English, and the other hand, internal colonisation by Nepali (Poudel, 2022).

The author illustrates the waves of colonisation and decolonisation, relying on the country's linguistic policy and the decisions of local communities, and focuses on the issue of decolonisation of modern educational programmes (Poudel, 2022). The example of the Ukrainian language demonstrates a deliberate policy of its destruction over the centuries, with decolonisation beginning only with the declaration of independence.

P.J. Meighan raises the issue of decolonisation of the English language, as it carries assimilative and colonial features. The author believes that this history is not emphasised in textbooks and curricula, and notes the need for an ecocentric linguistic policy towards indigenous peoples (Meighan, 2021). Since russians are not indigenous people of Ukraine, there should be no additional rights to the russian language in the public or state sphere.

The term “trans linguistics” is associated with the switching and mixing of cultural codes, and the fitting of certain concepts into a historical and social context. J.E. Bonnin highlights the issue of considering linguistic dynamics in the state to the rights of indigenous language speakers engaged in national revitalisation in Latin America (Bonnin, 2021).

The work presents clear distinctions between Spanish and ethnic languages, which is a key impetus for the accumulation of socio-political struggles of national minorities against Spanish cultural and linguistic expansion (Bonnin, 2021). The absence of a clear and consistent language policy since Ukraine's independence has led to tragic consequences for the Ukrainian language, with Russian dominating television, radio, and publishing.

Chimbunde's research examines the progress that has been made in the decolonisation of African languages and steps taken to combat linguistic violence, particularly in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The author highlights the challenges of decolonising language policy and its implementation (Chimbunde, 2022). To restore the Ukrainian language after a long period of colonisation, it is important to limit using Russian-language products, including those produced by Ukrainians, as much as possible.

N. Bermingham's research focuses on the contradiction between linguistic diversity in the lusophone world and monolingual educational systems, which confirms how deeply rooted monoglossic ideologies contribute to the process of marginalisation of local varieties of Portuguese. The author presents the implications of education in the wider social context, in particular, regarding social mobility and social justice (Bermingham, 2022). A large number of schools in Ukraine were bilingual, which hurt the education of citizens and the development of national identity.

Linguistic planning and policy are based on laws (overt and covert) that define the linguistic rights and privileges associated with the national language(s). T. Alam explores the process of evolution of policy documents used at different levels of government: municipal, regional, state, and national. The author examines how language development occurs and what factors influence language policy (coercion, contestation, neglect) (Alam, 2022).

In addition, research on linguistic planning is based on communicative analysis of speech, semantic analysis of data corpora, and linguistic analysis of films, music, and other cultural products (Alam, 2022). Language planning in Ukraine should be implemented through the introduction of unambiguous legal provisions and their enforcement.

One of the most important tasks of language policy in South Africa is to officially recognise African languages and support a multilingual policy that would allow the development of indigenous languages. N.M. Kamwangmalu notes that official language practice has a three-tiered structure, with English at the highest level, Afrikaans at the middle level, and African languages at the lowest level (Kamwangmalu, 2012). In addition to multilingualism and multiculturalism, it is necessary to ensure that citizens are aware of their national identity, including through language.

A.B. Nicholas explores the connection between linguistic and historicide, in particular, he emphasises that

the destruction of a language goes hand in hand with the physical destruction of its speakers. The researcher draws historical parallels and compares historical facts with the cultural and social life of the population (Nicholas, 2022). The war in eastern Ukraine and the full-scale Russian invasion have proved that the destruction of language and culture goes hand in hand with the physical destruction of the carriers of the national code.

J.J. Zwisler notes that the forced loss of language affects many communities around the world and carries many threats. In linguistics, this linguistic situation is described by two terms: linguistic genocide and linguicide, which are synonymous. According to the researcher, the result of the loss of the national language is the forced assimilation or destruction of the identity of a certain group of people (Zwisler, 2021).

The term “linguicide” better reflects the essence of the destruction of language, thus, it is commonly used in linguistic practice (Zwisler, 2021). The results of this research examine the main stages of the linguistic destruction of the Ukrainian language by the Russian empire, the USSR, and now the Russian Federation.

P. O'Neill defends the rights of speakers of different languages and uses the example of Brazil to examine the fight against language prejudice and linguistic discrimination. The author emphasises that such manifestations should be condemned at the level of international institutions (O'Neill, 2019). In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, linguistic discrimination should be considered in conjunction with linguistic violence, as Russians do not recognise the right of Ukrainians to their own language and cultural space.

Scholar C. Bower suggests that one of the reasons for language loss may be a harsh policy of colonisation with cultural restraint on the development of national languages, suppression of indigenous languages, and the lack of language learning in educational institutions (Bower, 2021). The gradual destruction of the Ukrainian language is occurring in the temporarily occupied territories, including Crimea, and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts have been under a ban on the Ukrainian language for 8 years. They are marked on the language map as areas with a high threat of losing their native language.

H.N. Lee's macro-level analysis demonstrates that those languages that are surrounded by extinct or endangered languages are at risk of extinction, which suggests the existence of “language hotspots” in the world. The Meso-level analysis identified 13 language communities with varying degrees of threat. Micro-level analysis has confirmed that geographically isolated languages are critically endangered (Lee, 2022). Currently, many Ukrainians are abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion, but despite this, Ukrainian citizens are trying to produce Ukrainian content, work for Ukrainian companies and communicate in Ukrainian.

M. Khawaja explores the endangered languages of Canada's indigenous people. The author notes that some languages have retained their status, while others have completely lost it, and indicates that assimilation policies (e.g., education in special boarding schools) have been implemented to eradicate these languages, which has

resulted in a deterioration in the mental health of citizens (Khawaja, 2021). In addition to the Ukrainian language, the Crimean Tatar, Krymchak, and Karaite languages are considered indigenous languages in Ukraine. As Crimea has been under occupation since 2014, it is not possible to implement language planning and policy for the study and development of these languages.

Thus, contemporary researchers most frequently consider issues related to linguistic and ethnic crimes, colonisation and decolonisation processes, language planning, and policy, i.e., the range of issues is wide. The problem of the destruction and establishment of the Ukrainian language in different historical periods is mainly explored by Ukrainian linguists, historians, and literary critics.

Conclusions

The language issue in Ukraine is a complex one, as the current state of the language consciousness of society is affected by centuries of linguistic crimes during the Russian Empire and the USSR. The influence of the Russian-speaking space on Ukrainian culture after independence and the lack of a well-thought-out and clear language policy have had adverse consequences for linguistic identification.

The decolonisation of Ukraine's public, educational, religious, and cultural space should be implemented through language planning, which could ensure the gradual transition of Ukrainians to their native language and increase the number of Ukrainian speakers. Important changes in the language issue have already occurred, with a significant proportion of the Russian-speaking and bilingual population opting for Ukrainian.

As the Ukrainian language has been destroyed over the years, many regions of Ukraine, particularly in the south and east, are now Russified. The language problem still requires a solution and an effective policy in the linguistic sphere, the development and implementation of language laws, and their enforcement at various levels: state, regional, or local.

The study analyses the main stages of the establishment of the Ukrainian language, the forms of destruction of Ukrainian culture, education, and book printing in different historical periods, and presents the results of surveys that demonstrate an increase in demand for the study and use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of life. The author demonstrates in detail how the linguistic identification of Ukrainians has changed since independence and with the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

Considering the results of the study, the main objectives of the language issue in Ukraine were achieved. Priority tasks in further linguistic practice will include the following: exploring colonisation and decolonisation processes in different countries of the world, statistics on the growth of speakers of Ukrainian or other national languages during certain historical periods, researching linguistic phenomena that were destroyed in the Ukrainian language, restoring specific Ukrainian lexemes, affixes, syntaxes, etc.

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Conflict of interest

None.

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Вплив столітніх репресій української мови на сучасне суспільство країни під час російсько-української війни

Анотація. Дослідження мовного питання в Україні актуальне з огляду на важливість мовної ідентифікації: оскільки велика частина українців була русифікована, необхідно проводити чітку та стратегічну політику щодо мови, яка змогла б в подальшій перспективі забезпечити поступовий, але впевнений розвиток всього українського. Метою цього дослідження стало вивчення сучасного стану мовної свідомості в українському суспільстві, особливостей становлення та розвитку української мови впродовж тривалих лінгвоцидів та після початку російсько-української війни. Задля реалізації поставлених цілей використовувалися такі методи: аналітико-синтетичний, порівняльно-зіставний, історичний, діахронічно-синхронічний. Було здійснено панорамний аналіз заборон та обмежень стосовно функціонування української мови впродовж останніх чотирьох століть, зокрема в сфері освіти, книгодрукування, діловодства, церкви тощо. Розглядалися історичні етапи формування та становлення ідентичності української мови, наводилася статистика щодо мовного питання через кілька років після здобуття незалежності, після російської агресії на сході України та після повномасштабного вторгнення росії. Формувалося уявлення про причини та наслідки лінгвоцидів, оцінювалися етапи зросійщення та вплив російськомовного простору в різних регіонах України. Акцентувалася увага на механізмах лінгвістичної деколонізації на прикладі різних національних мов та країн, формах лінгвістичного планування та політики держав, що постраждали від мовних заборон, відродження ідентифікації. Матеріали, представлені в цій роботі, можна використовувати для подальших наукових розвідок у сфері лінгвістики, соціології, історіографії, культурології, зокрема при вивченні колонізаційних та деколонізаційних процесів у різних національних мовах світу

Ключові слова: експансія; знищення; деколонізація; публічний простір; планування