

摘要

如何平衡共通语与语言多样性之间的关系是多民族国家语言政策面临的普遍性问题。苏联作为曾经的多民族、多语言大国，“如何处理共通语和其他语言之间的关系”成为贯穿其语言政策的一条主线。苏联语言政策的实践对多民族国家的共通语建设具有重要的理论和实践价值。其中，苏联建国初期实施的语言建设是该国语言政策活动之滥觞，这段历史对了解俄语作为国家共通语的起源及发展极为重要。然而，这一时期的政策与实践却极易被中西方学术界所忽视。

本研究从倡导联盟理论视角出发，结合语言政策与规划目标综合框架构建理论分析框架，通过分析苏联建国初期（1917—1930年代）俄语政策的内容、特点、影响因素及后效，进而探索共通语政策的过程机制。本研究需要回答以下三个问题：（1）俄语政策的内涵和影响因素是什么？（2）俄语政策的实施效果如何？（3）共通语政策的过程机制是什么？

本研究遵循历史研究的路径，收集的数据包括历史政策文本、人口普查数据、教材、媒体文本、政策决策者语录、学界研究著作、当代权威专家访谈等等。本文通过内容分析法和历史比较分析法相结合的方式，研究了俄语政策的历史背景、政策内容、特点、影响因素以及后效。此外，在针对内部影响因素分析的过程中，研究采用历史话语分析方法对苏联国家领导人的相关话语进行挖掘，研究了列宁和斯大林针对俄语所持的政策理念。这三种方法相辅相成，增强了研究的有效性和科学性。最后，通过对苏联建立初期俄语政策的讨论，提出了共通语政策的过程分析框架。

本研究的初步结论如下：

（1）苏联建立初期，为了巩固新政权，苏俄实施的第一项语言政策（即语言建设）秉持“各民族语言平等”的核心理念，以多语制作为民主、平等的象征，牺牲了语言的统一性。在语言政策核心理念层面，语言政策决策者有意识地放弃“国家语言”这一表述，在语言政策的显性层面没有赋予俄语任何特权。这一做法既在国家层面保证了各语言的平等性，又充分利用了俄语的中立性，并对苏联建立初期的国家整合发挥了一定的作用。

在多语主义语言建设的背景下，政府始终没有否认俄语在经济流通、族际间

交际中的纽带作用。“促使俄语为社会主义新国家而服务”成为俄语本体规划和习得规划的动力。在政策实践当中，苏联语言学家对索绪尔“语言政策不可能”的观点发起挑战，他们所开展的俄语标准化、俄语字母与拼写简化、词汇现代化等本体规划举措，提升了俄语表达新社会、新事物的能力，使其成为社会功能最具优势的共通语。因此，在苏联建立初期，俄语政策的本质是“发展一种能够团结所有社会阶层”的共通语政策。

(2) 俄语政策的变迁受到内外因素的共同作用。在内部因素方面，苏联二元主权的政治体系决定了语言政策的权力分配机制。其中，苏共中央始终占据了决策的主导权。苏联宪法在语言问题上坚持“语言的法律平等”和“语言作为交际工具”两项基本原则。此外，在问题领域的基本属性和根本社会文化价值当中，帝俄时期遗留的语言功能问题和社会文化问题成为国家建设的阻力，影响了苏联社会对俄语的认识和判断。

在语言建设后期，国家发展路线的变化改变了决策主体对语言本质的理解。在外部系统事件方面，经济条件的变迁、全民文化水平的提升，凸显了俄语的交际价值、经济价值以及文化价值。此外，国家领导人的更迭成为影响政策变迁的重要外部事件。由此以来，1930年代后期，“将俄语建构成为一种符合‘经济发展’‘国家统一管理’‘全民交际’的共通语”成为俄语政策的核心路线。然而，为保证社会主义国家核心理念体系不受质疑，“各语言平等”的核心理念始终没有被改变。

(3) 一项成功的共通语政策不但取决于自上而下的决策路径，而且取决于有效的语言政策协调机制。由于语言政策不是一个独立于外部社会环境的决策，因此它的决策和运作往往基于特定国家的社会历史状况。在制定和实施稳定的共通语政策时，决策主体通常需要对外部因素进行考量，以更好地理解语言在国家不同历史时期所需要承担的任务和挑战。其中，尊重不同政策主体的价值和贡献也尤为重要。

关键词：俄语政策；倡导联盟；苏联；语言建设；共通语

Abstract

Balancing the relationship between promoting national lingua franca and maintaining domestic language diversity is a universal problem faced by language policies in multiethnic countries. In the Soviet Union, which was a multiethnic, multilingual country, this problem was particularly prominent. “How to deal with the relationship between the lingua franca and other languages” has also become the mainline running through the language policy of the Soviet Union. The practice of its language policy is of great theoretical and practical value to constructing a lingua franca in multilingual and multiethnic countries. The language construction of the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s is the beginning of the country’s language planning activities. This period of history is significant for understanding the origin and development of Russian as the national lingua franca. However, the policies and practices of this period are easily ignored by Chinese and western academics.

This study combines The Advocacy Coalition Framework with the Framework of Language Policy and Planning Goals to construct a theoretical analysis framework. By analyzing the content, characteristics, influencing factors, and aftereffects of the Russian policy in the Soviet Union (1917–the 1930s), this study explores the process and mechanism of the national lingua franca policy. The research questions include : (1) What are the connotations and influencing factors of Russian policy? (2) How is the implementation effect of the Russian policy? (3) What is the process mechanism of the national lingua franca policy?

This study takes a historical approach, collecting data including historical policy texts, census data, textbooks, media texts, quotations from policymakers, academic research works, interviews with contemporary authoritative experts, etc. Combining content analysis with historical-comparative analysis, this study explores the historical background, policy content, characteristics, influencing factors, and aftereffects of Russian policy. Based on the discussion of the Russian policy in the early period of the Soviet Union, this study puts forward the process analysis framework of the lingua

franca policy. In addition, to identify internal influencing factors, the research applies historical discourse analysis to excavate the relevant discourses of the leaders of the Soviet Union and studies the policy ideas of Lenin and Stalin on Russian. These three methods complement each other and enhance the effectiveness and validity of the research findings.

The main findings of this paper are as follows:

(1) In the early days of the Soviet Union, to consolidate the new regime, the first language policy (language construction) implemented by the Soviet Union adhered to the core idea of “language equality of all ethnic groups”. They realized ethnic equality, which was also a symbol of democracy and equality, through a multilingual system at the cost of language unity. At the core policy idea, national language was regarded as the symbol of great Russian chauvinism. Therefore, in the early period of the establishment of the Soviet Union, policymakers consciously gave up the expression of national language and did not grant Russian any privileges in the explicit language policy. This approach ensured the equality of all languages at the national level and made full use of the neutrality of Russian, which played a specific role in the national integration at the early stage of the establishment of the Soviet Union.

In multilingual language construction, the government has never denied the pivotal role of Russian in economic circulation and inter-ethnic communication. “Encouraging Russian to serve the new socialist country” has become the driving force of Russian corpus planning and acquisition planning. In practice, Soviet linguists challenged Saussure's view that “language policy is impossible”, and their corpus planning measures had an essential impact on the structure and function of Russian. These measures include the construction of Russian norms and standards, the simplification of Russian letters and spellings, and the modernization of vocabulary; The corpus planning improves the social role of Russian in expressing new society and new things and makes it the most advantageous lingua franca in social function. It can be argued that the essence of the Russian policy in the early days of the Soviet Union is a policy of “developing a lingua franca that can unite all social classes”.

(2) The changes in the Russian language policy are affected by the combined effects of internal and external factors. In terms of internal factors, the political system of dual sovereignty of the Soviet Union determines the power distribution mechanism of language policy. Among them, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dictated the decision-making process, and the allied republics do not have the legislative power of relevant languages. The Soviet Constitution adheres to the two basic principles of the legal equality of language and language as a communication tool on language issues. The language functions and social and cultural issues left over from the Imperial Russian era became obstacles to national construction and affected the Soviet society's understanding and judgment of Russian.

The changing course of national development also changes the understanding of the nature of language. In terms of external system events, The changes in economic conditions and the improvement of the national cultural level have highlighted the communicative value, economic value, and cultural value of Russian. In addition, the change of national leaders has become an essential external event that affects policy changes. In the late 1930s, constructing the Russian language into a national lingua franca that was in line with economic development, national unified management, and national communication became the core of the Russian policy. To ensure the core concept system of the socialist country stable and unchallenged, the idea of equality of all languages has never been changed.

(3) In addition, a successful national lingua franca policy depends not only on a top-down decision-making path, but also on an effective language policy coordination mechanism. Its determination and operation are often based on a particular country's social and historical conditions. In formulating and implementing a stable national lingua franca policy, policymakers usually need to consider external factors to better understand the tasks and challenges that language must undertake in different historical periods. Among them, it is imperative to respect the values and contributions of different policy subjects.

Key words: language policy of Russian; The Advocacy Coalition Framework; Soviet Union; Language construction; National lingua franca