

S o f i k o T c h a a v a
Sokhumi State University

**Georgian Linguistic Situation,
1926-1927
(According to the Archival Documents
and Press Materials)**

National Archives of Georgia preserves the document¹, which describes the administrative units of Georgia (1926-1927) according to administration and widespread speaking languages (the document is written in Russian). As stated in the abovementioned material the Georgian SSR is divided into 26 districts (called "Mazras") and 519 administrative units (next to the cities and villages the names of their centers are indicated). Among them SSR Abkhazia, Adjarian ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast could also be found. The following administration languages are named in analytical material: Georgian, Russian, Armenian and Turkish (in some parts of the document it is indicated Turkish but is meant Azerbaijani). Despite the fact that by the constitution of 1926 the official languages for the territory of Abkhazia were Georgian, Abkhazian and Russian, in SSR Abkhazia Abkhaz is not specified as an official language. Moreover, specifically only in this document is indicated administration language of Gagra district that is Russian, when there are not mentioned administration languages of Sokhumi, Gudauta, Kodori and Gali. However, there are other sources, where the data of Abkhaz is recorded separately and Russian and Abkhaz are named as the official languages in the above mentioned districts and Georgian – in Gali.

Thus, Georgian was used as administration language in 395 administrative units of Georgian SSR (during 1926-27), Russian – in 92, Armenian – in 8 and Turkish – in 6 (the data of Sokhumi, Gudauta, Kodori and Gali are also included).

Administrative duties in districts (Mazras) were conducted in one, two, three or four languages. The languages were assigned as follows:

¹ Fund 284, registered 1, description 597, administration and widespread speaking languages, 1926-1927: 98-108.

1. 23 districts were Monolingual (among them only 367 villages of 18 districts are Georgian speaking (79 villages of 5 districts are Russian speaking, totally – 446 villages);
2. Bilingual – 1 (Tbilisi district: Georgian – in 24 and Russian – in 7);
3. Trilingual – 1 (Akhalkalaki district: Armenian – in 7, Russian – in 4 and Georgian – in 1);
4. Quadrilingual – 1 (Akhalkalaki district: Turkish – in 6, Georgian – in 3, Russian – in 2 and Armenian – in 1).

Only Russian was used for administrative duties in the following districts: Borchalo district – 18 communities; the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast – 15 communities; Gagra district – 5 communities; Gudauta district – 21 communities; Sokhumi district – 20 communities. Therefore, only Russian was an official language in 79 communities of 5 districts. Along with other languages Russian was used in 13 communities of 3 districts – totally in 92 communities.

Thus, the main language for the administrative duties was Georgian and after it the most used was Russian as for monolingual and polylingual districts and villages.

Another important part of the analytical material is the indexes of the widespread speaking languages throughout Georgia. According to the document, speaking languages are: Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Abkhaz, Ossetian and German.

We represent monolingual, bilingual, trilingual and quadrilingual administrative units of Georgia, 1926-27.

418 monolingual communities are described in total according to the mentioned source, among them Georgian – 367, Abkhaz – 18, Turkish – 11, Armenian – 9, Ossetian – 6, Russian – 6 and Greek – 1.

75 communities are bilingual. Georgian is one language among 46 communities, also Armenian in – 14. Along with Georgian other languages are spoken in the following communities: Georgian – Ossetian – 13 communities, Georgian – Turkish – 9, Georgian – Russian – 8, Georgian – Armenian – 7, Georgian – Abkhaz – 5, Georgian – Greek – 4.

The quantitative indexes of other bilingual communities are as follows: Armenian – Greek – 5, Armenian – Azerbaijani – 3, Armenian – Russian – 2, Russian – Abkhaz – 2, Armenian – Abkhaz – 2, Turkish – Abkhaz – 1, Greek – Russian – 1, Russian – Azerbaijani – 1. 16 communities out of 7 districts are trilingual, among them Georgian is used in 13 districts 1. Akhalkalaki district: Turkish – Armenian – Russian – 1; 2. Akhaltsikhe district: Georgian – Turkish – Russian – 1, Armenian – Turkish – Georgian – 1. 3. Borchalo district: Turkish – Georgian – Armenian – 1; 4. Signaghi district: Georgian – Turkish – Ossetian – 1; 5. Tbilisi district: Georgian – Russian – Armenian – 1, Armenian – Greek – Turkish – 2, Georgian – Russian – Turkish – 1; 6. Sokhumi district: Georgian – Greek – Armenian – 4, Georgian

– Armenian – Abkhaz – 1; Kodori district: Georgian – Armenian – Abkhaz – 1; Georgian – Armenian – Greek – 1. There are quadrilingual communities in 4 districts, totally in 7 communities, Georgian is one of the spoken languages of these communities: 1. Borchalo district: German – Turkish – Armenian – Georgian – 1; 2. Gagra district: Georgian – Greek – Armenian – Russian – 1; 3. Tbilisi district: Georgian – Armenian – Greek – Russian – 1; 4. Sokhumi district: Georgian – Greek – Armenian – Russian – 4. According to the presented archival materials, Abkhaz is spoken in 29 communities, among them only Abkhaz is spoken in 18, along with other language or languages– in 11, in particular: 5 communities were Georgian – Abkhaz, 2 – Armenian – Abkhaz, 3 – Georgian – Armenian – Abkhaz, 2 – Russian – Abkhaz.

Ossetian is used as spoken language in 20 communities, among them only Ossetian – in 6, Georgian and Ossetian – in 13 and Georgian, Ossetian and Turkish – in 1 community. By summarizing the abovementioned document, we came to the conclusion that:

The administration language according to the districts: monolingual – 23, bilingual – 1, trilingual – 1, quadrilingual – 1.

Spoken languages according to the administrative units: monolingual – 418, bilingual – 75, trilingual – 16, quadrilingual – 7; there are registered 98 multilingual communities in total. As we can see, in the abovementioned period Georgian as an official language was used mostly for administrative duties and for communication as well on the territory of Georgia. After Georgian, Russian was used also. However, there is inappropriate correspondence between the indexes of the usage of Russian as administration (92) and speaking language (20). In particular, according to the archival material it is clear that the mentioned language was used as an official language among different structures while Russian-speaking people were much less. This again proves the necessity of the use of Russian as administration language was based on the language standards and regulations developed by the heads of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, despite the language policy created artificially, Russian as the most widely spoken language was less commonly used in Georgia.

№ п/п	Наименование темы /ис сель- советов.	Наименование центра.	Язык дело- производ- ства.	массовые разговорные языки.
I. Ахалкалакский уезд.				
1.	Баралетское	Ц.С.Баралет.	Армянск.	Армяно-Грузинский.
2.	Хизабаврск.с.с.	Ц.С.Хизабавра	Грузинск.	Грузинский.
3.	Хертвисское.	Ц.С.Хертвис	русский.	Грузинск.-Русский.
4.	Сатхинское	Ц.С.Сатха	Армянск.	Армянск.ИТюркский.
5.	Онамское	Ц.С.Онам	русский	Тюркск.Арм.иРусский
6.	Нардзахское	Ц.С.Нарзах.	Армянск.	Армянск.Русский.
7.	Топорванское	Ц.С.Топорван	русский	Русск.Армянск.
8.	Гореловское.	Ц.С.Гореловна	русский	русский.
9.	Кондуринское	Ц.С.Кондура	Армянск.	Армянский.
10.	Вштинское.	Ц.С.Вштия.	Армянск.	Армянск.
11.	Аластанское.	Ц.С.Аластан	Армянск.	Армянск.
12.	Ахалкалакской	П.Г.Ахалкалаки	Армянск.	Армянский.
II. Ахалцихский уезд.				
1.	Ахалцихское	Ц.Г.Ахалцих.	Грузинск.	Грузинск.тюркск.и рус.
2.	Валинское	Ц.С.Вали	Армянск.	Арм.Тюркск.Грузинск.
3.	Барханское	Ц.С.Барханы	Тюркский	Груз.и тюркск.
4.	Звельское	Ц.С.Звели	русский.	Грузинск.Тюркск.
5.	Нивальское	Ц.С.Нила	русский	Грузинск.Тюркск.
6.	Толошское	Ц.С.Толоша	Грузинск.	-" -"
7.	Угинское	Ц.С.Уге	Грузинск.	-" -"
8.	Уравельское	Ц.С.Уравели	Тюркский	Тюркский.
9.	Шалашетское	Ц.С.Шалашети	Тюркский	Грузинск.Тюркский.
10.	Аспиндзское	Ц.С.Аспиндза	-"	-" -"
11.	Ацкурское	Ц.С.Ацнури.	-"	-" -"
12.	Ахиганское	Ц.С.Ахигани	-"	-" -"

Picture 1: Fund 284, registered 1, description 597,
administration and widespread speaking languages, 1926-1927

There is thematically similar document preserved in the Fund of Central Executive Committee of the Georgian SSR of National Archives of Georgia² with the title: "About the works carried out among ethnic minorities living in SSR Abkhazia" (Russian text of the document is compiled in January, 1930). The following text is placed on the right below the title, "Материалы к содокладут. Чанба в Совете национальностей Союза ССР. Январь 1930 года," "Materials for comrade

² Fund 284, registered 1, description 640, 1929.

Chanba's supplementary report in the Council of Nationalities of the USSR. January 1930" (Here The Council of Nationalities of Central Executive Committee of the USSR is meant).

The report compiled by Samson Chanba contains interesting and unknown data on the linguistic situation of the 20s in Abkhazia. Along with other essential information, the districts of Abkhazia are described according to administration and spoken languages in one section of the text, in particular: Georgian was used as administration language in 395 administrative units, only Georgian was spoken in 367 communities, along with Georgian other language or languages were used for communication in 66. Among 519 administrative units Georgian was spoken in 433, non-Georgian in – 86.

Administrative duties were conducted in Russian in administrative units. Only Russian was spoken in 6 communities and along with Russian other language were used in 14. Russian was communication language in 20 villages totally.

Thus, administration languages among 90 districts of SSR Abkhazia were: Georgian – in 22 communities, Abkhaz – in 24, Russian – in 44; Georgian and Abkhaz were used in equal number of communities as the official language and Russian – twice over in communities.

Georgian was not used as an administration language in the districts of Gagra, Gudauta and Kodori, but only in 1 village of Sokhumi district. Georgian was mostly used in 21 communities of Gali district.

In SSR Abkhazia as mostly spoken languages were: Georgian – in 27 communities, Abkhaz – in 38, Russian – in 17, Armenian – in 17 and Greek – in 11.

Among most spoken languages Abkhaz was spoken in the most communities (38), then – Georgian (27), Russian (17) and Armenian (17) equally, less Greek (11).

As a result, Russian was used as administration language in 44 communities, but as communication language – in 17; Abkhaz was used as administration language in 24 communities, as communication language in – 38; Georgian was used as administration language – in 22, as communication language in 27 communities.

Russian was mostly used for administrative duties, Abkhaz was mostly used as communication language, while the Georgian was almost equally used as administration and communication language.

According to the statistical data presented in the document 73 communities of Abkhazia district were monolingual, 11 – bilingual and 6 – trilingual.

As we can see, the complex scheme of the use of three languages existed in state institutions: The official languages were distributed according to various districts: Georgian was used only in one district (Gali), Abkhaz – in 2 (Gudauta and Kodori), but Russian in 3 administrative units (Gagra and Sokhumi district, also in Sokhumi). On the basis of this data it seems that Abkhaz and Russian had priority as were more

widespread. Another question is how Abkhaz language could have been used as administrative language. Translating legislative acts with accuracy in Abkhaz would also be challenging as neither appropriate terminology nor professional translators existed that time as well as the norms of the literature were not established yet. The use of languages in relation of the districts and central organs was balanced. Particularly, the representatives of the districts applied to the central authorities in the language chosen by the central authorities and on the contrary. By doing this they seem to have recognized each other's linguistic choice.

ССР Абхазия.			
1. Гагринский уезд.			
Наименование темы (сельсоветов)	Наименование их центров.	Язык делопроизводства	Массовые разг. воин. языки.
1. Ново-Гагринский сельс.	Гагра	Русск.	Абх., Греч.
2. Алахадинский "	Алахади	"	Русск.
3. Колдахварский "	Колдахвара	Абхазск.	Армянск.
4. Колхидский "	Нижн. Колхида	Русск.	Абхазск.
5. Холодно-Речинск. "	Гагра от.	"	Абх., Греч., Русск.
5. Холодно-Речинск. "	Гагра от.	"	Абх. и Греч.
11. Гулдаутский уезд.			
1. Абгарухский сельсовет	Абгаурта	Абхазск.	Абхазск.
2. Анухо-Абхазск. "	Анухва Греч.	Русск.	"
3. Анухо-Арм. "	Анухо-Арм.	"	Армянск.
4. Ацинский "	Ацини	"	"
5. Ачандарский "	Ачандари	Абхазск.	Абхазск.
6. Ваклаковский "	Ваклановка	Русск.	Русск.
7. Варимский "	Варимы	"	Абхазск.
8. Влахурхвинский "	Влахурхва	"	"
9. Вомборский "	Вомбора	"	Русск.
10. Дуринский "	Дурини	Абхазск.	Абхазск.
11. Звандрипский "	Звандрипи	"	"
12. Каваклукский "	Каваклук	"	"
13. Колдахварский "	Колдахвара	"	"
14. Лидзавский "	Лидза	Русск.	"
15. Лихинский "	Лихни	Абхазск.	"
16. Мугудирхвинский "	Мугудирхва	"	"
17. Мцарский "	Мцари	Русск.	Армянск.
18. Отхарский "	Отхара	"	Абхазск.
19. Петр-Павловский "	Арсаули	"	Русск.
20. Псирхский "	Псирхы	"	Абх., Абхазск. и русск.
21. Джирихский "	Джирихва-Ахуци	Абхазск.	Абхазск.
22. "	"	"	"
111. Сухумский уезд.			
1. Авантский сельсовет	Авантха	Русск.	Греч.
2. Андреевский "	Андреевское	"	Русск.
3. Ацарский "	Ацара	"	Груз. и Русск.
4. Вадутерский "	Вадутери	Груз.	Груз.
5. Вешкардашский "	Вешкардаш	Русск.	Греческ.
6. Гулрибский "	Гулрибни	"	Груз. и Арм.
7. Гумистинский "	Гумиста	"	"
8. Драндский "	Дранда	"	Груз., Арм. и Греч.
9. Екатерининский "	Екатерининское	"	Греческий
10. Эпирский "	Эпири З.	"	Абхаз. и Арм.
11. Владимировский "	Владимировка	"	Русск.
12. Володарский "	Володарское	"	Абх., Русск.
13. Константиновск. "	Константиновское	"	Греч.
14. Красно-Цебельский "	Цебельда Красн.	"	Абх. и Русск.
15. Латский "	Латда	"	Абх. и Русск.
16. Мерхеулский "	Мерхеули	"	Абх., Греч. и Груз.
17. Михайловский "	Михайловское	"	Греческий
18. Николо-Арастесев "	"	"	Русск. и Греч.
19. Потапов-Ольгинский "	Ольгинское	"	Русск., Греч. и Армянск.
20. Пехуновский "	Пеху	"	Русск.

Picture 2: Fund 284, registered 1, description 640, 1929

The issue of the use of languages of administration language of rural council was also interesting.

Village residents could choose the language of the majority of the population or any other language desirable for them. However, in any case they had to apply to the districts in the language chosen by Soviet executive committee of districts. Besides, every person could apply to the state structures in his/her native language. Thus, beside 3 official languages, the language of the minority used as administration language might have been Greek or Armenian. Mostly these minorities lived compactly in different communities of Abkhazia mainly. The representatives of the central executive committee and rural councils chose themselves the administration language and applied to each other in chosen languages. "Linguistic chaos" could be called the cases of use of depicted languages. That would be uncomfortable mostly for ordinary people. Supposedly, the linguistic choice would be based on the directives of the government, and in case of districts this issue would be solved in favor of Russian. In order to find out whether or not the official linguistic data described in the newspaper articles coincide with the linguistic situation, we inquired the press materials of the mentioned period. Particularly, the articles published in "Communist" 1927 were interesting, in which sociolinguistic events along with other important facts are described. Primarily the report – "The Soviet Construction in Abkhazia, National Relations" by Nestor Lakoba, chairman of the Council of Public Commissariat of Abkhazia should be mentioned. The author focuses on the administration languages and notes the following:

Briefly saying, to conduct administration duties is permitted in the language, that is spoken by the majority of the village population (Abkhaz, Russians, Armenians, Greeks and etc.). We consider the language of the majority of district residents as an official language for the district, for example: In Gali district – Georgian, Kodori and Gudauta district – Abkhaz, but Gumistan [must be written "Gumisti" – S. Ch.] and Gagra district where the settlements (population) are international – Russian is considered to be an official language that has the role of conciliating the whole population of these districts. Sometimes they ask a question – whether any outcome is brought with using three languages, might it have a formal character? The real fact proves that in almost all villages of Gali district the correspondence is provided in Georgian, for instance with some central structure. Russian language is used for administration duties in case where Abkhaz is difficult to use. Even though peasants have the right to apply to institutions in their native language, despite their nationality³.

The report by N. Lakoba proves our suggestions that in the given period administration duties could not be conducted in Abkhaz. The high ranking politician states directly that administration duties in Abkhazia instead of Abkhaz was fulfilled in Russian. Thus, in fact, the official language of 5 districts of Abkhazia (Kodori, Gumista, Gudauta, Sokhumi) was Russian and only in one (Gali) – Georgian.

³ "Communist" 1927, March 27, #68: 3.

3. It is interesting to find out beside administration and speaking languages, which others were used for different fields in Georgia. For example, in “Communist”, 1927, the radio programs announcement (December 25-26) was published. There was an indication about the languages that would be used for broadcasting. 12 radio programs were listed, 6 of them would be broadcasted in Georgian, 5 – in Russian, 1 – in Armenian and 1 – in Turkish (Azerbaijani is meant), the broadcasting language of 3 shows was not specified (the announcement of the observatory, the explanation of music, concert).

The list of programs and languages from the newspaper is given below: “Pioneer newspaper in Russian and Georgian; Report on superstition - in Georgian; the condition of the manufactured goods and provisions in Tbilisi – in Georgian and Turkish; the information of the telegram agency of the Transcaucasia – in Russian and Georgian; Whether or not Christ existed – in Georgian; Decembrists revolt in 1825 – in Georgian and Russian; womens’ participation in the council elections – in Armenian; talks about radio technology – in Russian”. It is clear that selection of languages would have been defined by the themes. For example, 2 programs dealt with religious issues and both should have been broadcasted only in Georgian, ideological political programs – in Georgian and Russian. Armenian and Azerbaijani should also have been used supposedly for less necessary themes. The report of 1927 by B. Bibineishvili (the head of the State publishing house) is published in “Communist”. According to his information, State publishing house had special agreement with Tbilisi State University and on the basis of it had published the textbooks confirmed by the University – 10 big books (five books awaited). State publishing house had the same agreement with the headquarters of the Georgian Division, with help of it they published 33 popular books about military theme (it was planned to publish the same number of books). In 1927, during 9 months it had published 222 books with 882 200 copies. Besides, State publishing house was publishing various magazines in Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani: “Mnatobi”, “Proletarian writers”, “Young Bolshevik”, “Georgian writers”; kids magazines: “Nakaduli”, “Pioneer”, “Karmir-tsiler” (Armenian), “Kizil-shephek” (Turkish). It is noteworthy to mention the information by the head of State publishing house about the Russian State publishing house:

State publishing house had an agreement with Russian State publishing house and other publishing houses, which allows us to disseminate the Russian book in the same conditions as our publications will be distributed. In all our bookstores in Tbilisi there is a section – “Russian book” that works productively. Except Tbilisi this department could be found in Batumi as far, where State publishing house has fully received the bookstore of Russian State publishing house and in this way it satisfies all the requirements of Adjara⁴.

In the mentioned paragraph b. Bibineishvili speaks about duties under which the Georgian State publishing house should have helped the distributing Russian books.

⁴ “Communist” 1927, September 30: 2.

The existence of the section of Russian books, spreading Russian books in the same conditions as Georgian, opening the bookstore of Russian State publishing house in Batumi – it clearly confirms that this was done to facilitate spreading of Russian language. The demand of the population of Adjara – to have Russian bookstore – in my opinion, cannot be the true. The educational system of Georgia was not straightened for that period. The question is, who should have read so many Russian language books in Adjara?! Therefore, the Georgian State publishing was publishing Georgian books, but it promoted the popularization and realization of Russian books as well. In the “Communist”, 1927, an article – “Russian in Georgian Schools” was published. In the letter the education commissioner David Kandelaki’s word is reported, which he spoke at Russian Teachers Conference. In the introduction the problem of Russian was stated as “difficult and big issue” by D. Kandelaki that was not easy to solve. The Commissioner emphasized the nationalization of schools and noted that there was no need for extra “surveillance”. The Commissioner criticized those people willing to teach various subjects in Russian instead of Georgian and named them as weak thinkers.

Here he also mentioned that it should not have been considered as a matter of discussion. Despite this position, the Commissioner spoke about necessity of teaching Russian language and explained why was it important and essential to learn this language. D. Kandelaki explained the first reason this way:

The need of strengthening Russian is absolutely clear, it is important for all of us not only for the reason that we are united in the entire Soviet Union and that Russian is the language of the October Revolution, but with the pure business opinion, all of our intelligentsia and the essential interests of the youth we are preparing. Everything is in favor of the need for strengthening Russian. You all know well that our country was a kind of source that produced Russian forces for neighboring provinces, for now for republics where Georgian intelligentsia could use their knowledge. There is no doubt that there would be an over-abundance of cultural-educated forces in our country, and therefore the issue concerning the use of knowledge of intelligentsia in our and in neighboring republics has a vital meaning. The teaching Russian in this regard is absolutely essential⁵.

The Commissioner’s explanation that Georgian intelligentsia should have learnt Russian to use their knowledge in other countries is strange and illogical. It turns out that neighboring republics did not have educated people, and for this reason the great thinkers of the Soviet Union intended to fulfill this resource through Georgian scholars. According to D. Kandelaki, Georgian intelligentsia is lagging behind the development of the economy of the country and this brainpower would be even more useless without Russian. According to the Commissioner, the second reason why it was necessary to learn Russian was higher education. He states:

⁵ “Communist” 1927, №45: February 25:3.

The professor is compelled to use Russian sources to transfer the knowledge into Georgian. The student listens to lectures in Georgian, studies in Russian and takes an exam in Georgian. Comrade, you are aware that this is a very difficult issue, and you can imagine the result of such training. This certainly does not mean that the issue of higher, special education should be solved the way that teaching should be conducted through Russian textbooks. This is not the case. Our task is to ascertain vigorous, with help of the Government take measures to publish textbooks in Georgian with a score that we can give special knowledge in native language. There is no doubt that in the nearest future Russian will become quite compulsory, because in a short time we will not be able to produce a large number of books in Georgian. Some people learn subjects without any sources because they do not have an opportunity to use appropriate literature in Russian.

The situation in high schools in comparison with secondary schools and different levels of schools is worsening. Therefore, the strengthening Russian language to the extent that pupil could use different tools and textbooks to study the subject, is an absolutely essential. The higher education should be placed at the appropriate height, and this issue is put before us scathingly. The need for strengthening Russian is recognized by the whole Georgian intelligentsia – an advanced progressive part of it. The need for strengthening Russian is derived from the practice and it is felt by youth and our population as well. It is necessary to take measures to strengthen Russian language⁶.

According to D. Kandelaki, Russian literature was used by students and professors in colleges and institutes as there were no Georgian textbooks. In Commissioner's opinion, it was necessary to publish Georgian books, but he added also that the Georgian Government could not afford it for several years. Therefore, the teaching Russian should have been strengthened in schools. So, pupils at the age of the school should have learnt Russian at the level that they could have used Russian study materials in higher colleges. This is Soviet logic – instead of publishing Georgian textbooks to spend money for strengthening the Russian language teaching. Finally, D. Kandelaki discussed about the subject how to make children like the Russian language:

We should not be optimists and think that our youth will achieve the goals we have already achieved in Russified School. In any case, we have to achieve the aim, that pupil with his language knowledge would be able to use the subject. This is the goal to which we have to strive to. I think we have to give attention to the area outside the school also. Establishing circles of Russian language lovers is a must. We have to introduce our youth with Russian writers and artistic words. By this way we will be able to increase the interest and love for this language, because no mechanical measures and orders could create this love. The increasing interest to this language is the main point for the pupil who would really learn Russian and Russian would be taught at schools⁷.

⁶ Right there.

⁷ As mentioned above.

Working at school and outside the school in order to make Russian more favorable, the commissioner entrusted the teachers of schools and technical colleges and expressed hope that teaching Russian would be raised at appropriate level at nationalized school.

1. The report of the Education Commissioner shows clearly what kind of language policy was implemented in Soviet Georgia. D. Kandelaki's arguments can be summarized as it follows: The representatives of Georgian intelligentsia should have learnt Russian to use their knowledge in neighboring republics;
2. Russian should have been taught intensively at nationalized School of Georgia

Thus, according to the archival documents and the press materials ("Communist"), 1926-27, in particular, it becomes clear that:

1. Georgian was used as an administration language in the state institutions of various administrative units of Georgia, along with Georgian, Russian was mainly used;
2. In the districts and communities of Georgia (districts and villages are meant – S. Ch.), Russian rarely played the role of a spoken language;
3. From 5 districts in 2 districts of SSR Abkhazia administration duties were conducted in Russian and in 2 districts instead of Abkhaz the same language was used. Therefore, Russian was used as an official language in 4 districts of Abkhazia out of 5 (Gagra, Gudauta, Kodori, Sokhumi) and in one (Gali) – Georgian; This was happening in those conditions, when the Abkhaz language was officially granted state language status, although this language was not yet ready for this function (in this language there was neither official-business style nor the corresponding terminology, the number of literate people among the Abkhazians was too low, and the remuneration of the staff of the Chancellery was low too). It turns out that the Communist regime was not concerned about the expansion of the Abkhazian language rights, but intended to dominate the Russian language instead;
4. The State publishing house was publishing Georgian books, but on the basis of the agreement signed with the Russian State publishing ("Russian Book"), equally promoted the distribution and realization of both Georgian and Russian books;
5. According to D. Kandelaki, the representatives of Georgian intelligentsia should have learnt Russian language to use their knowledge in neighboring republics; at the same time due to D. Kandelaki's statement, Russian textbooks were used at Tbilisi State University mainly. With the illogical plan of the Soviet Government, instead of publishing Georgian textbooks, they had planned to strengthen the process of Russian teaching at schools in order to give an opportunity to students to use Russian literature. With this strategy Russian language would have been established at school and at university also.

Almost equal numbers of radio programs were broadcasted in Georgian and Russian. Based on the analysis of the research materials we have obtained, it could be stated that the Soviet government promoted the expansion of Russian as much as possible. Despite Russian was not an official language of Georgia according to the Constitution of that period, it was almost equally used with Georgian for administration duties as well as in the fields of education and culture. Obviously, Georgian politicians were getting language directives from Russian governing bodies.

In spite of the above efforts, the Russian language still failed to become a massive speaking language for the majority of Georgian population, this function was still performed by Georgian language in the natural environment.

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Georgian Linguistic Situation, 1926-1927

Abstract: National Archives of Georgia preserves the document (Fund 284, registered 1, description 597, case administration and widespread speaking languages, 1926-1927, p. 98-108), which describes Georgian administrative units of 1926-1927 according to case administration and widespread speaking languages (the document is written in Russian). In mentioned archival material the Georgian SSR is divided into 26 districts and 519 administrative units.

In the Georgian SSR of 1926-27 years Georgian was used as language of the case administration in 395 administrative units, Russian – in 92, Armenian - in 8 and Turkish – in 6. In different districts case administration was monolingual, bilingual, trilingual and quadrilingual. According to the mentioned source 418 monolingual communities are described in total, among them Georgian – 367, Abkhaz – 18, Turkish – 11, Armenian – 9, Ossetian – 6, Russian – 6 and Greek – 1. Thus, after the Georgian state language, most of all, Russian was used as the language of case administration.

According to the administrative units speaking languages were monolingual – 418, bilingual – 75, trilingual – 16, quadrilingual – 7, There are registered 98 communities in total.

As we can see, on the territory of Georgia, mostly, the Georgian state language was used as case-administration and speaking language.

After Georgian, Russian was used most of all. However, there is inappropriate correspondence between indexes of the use Russian as case administration (92) and speaking language (20). In particular, according to the archival material it is clear that the mentioned language had the

function as an official language in different structures and the people speaking in that language were much less. This again proves the necessity of the use of Russian as the language of case administration based on language standards and regulations developed by the heads of the Soviet Union. In contrast, despite the language policy created artificially, Russian as a widespread speaking language was less commonly used in Georgian.

Keywords: state language, administration language, speaking language