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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES ON ABAI QUNANBAYULI IN MODERN RESEARCH: NATIONAL IDENTITY, IDEOLOGIES AND INTERPRETATION ISSUES

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Abstract. The article explores how the Kazakh national icon and poet Abai Qunanbayuli is portrayed in contemporary academic discourse. As a case study, it focuses on four key sources as part of an extended national project to explore the narratives surrounding Abai, aiming to identify why he is distanced from the national identity of younger generations and remains relatively unknown or misunderstood. The research employs qualitative critical discourse analysis, examining the ideologies and values promoted in the selected works, and is framed by the concept of symbolic capital. It focuses on how Abai is referred to and how his name is exploited to endorse certain viewpoints and legitimize certain ideas on the political and social topics. The findings of the study are the following: the majority of sources traditionally portray Abai as a cultural symbol and icon idealising him and showing him as an uncritical veneration; the discourses use Abai's name and legacy to legitimize their viewpoints and recommendations; there are also multiple fallacies and irrelevant assumptions regarding Abai's intended messages and his historical identity. The paper makes an attempt to explain why there is a gap between Abai's creativity/personality and new generatio. We address sensitive issues of overusing and misusing Abai's name as well as misinterpreting historical facts around his personality which might contradict each other and evoke misunderstanding and doubts in anything written about the poet and his creativity. The article advocates for careful consideration, and even selective censorship, when invoking Abai's name in academic publications. Theoretical significance of the research lies in its contribution to the field of Abai Studies (Абайтану – Kaz.), critical discourse analysis, particularly as it pertains to the construction of national identity and the exploitation of symbolic figures in political and academic narratives.

Keywords: Abai, ideologies, critical discourse analysis, symbolic capital, (mis)interpretation, national identity, reference, legitimation

Introduction

A pivotal and canonic figure in the Kazakh literature and culture Abai Qunanbayuly has an impact which extends across both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. His role in shaping national identity in Kazakhstan prompts important

questions about how his legacy has been represented and interpreted over time. This article investigates contemporary perspectives on Abai, focusing on how his image has been formed, utilised, and sometimes misinterpreted in recent decades.

The article aims to identify and analyse trends in the current literature on Abai, examining why his legacy might still be misunderstood. By employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the concept of symbolic capital, the study explores how Abai's cultural, intellectual, and spiritual contributions have been leveraged in both Soviet and post-Soviet contexts to bolster national identity. The article shed light into the ways how Abai is depicted in contemporary discourse over the past 20 years and what deficiencies or inaccuracies exist in the literature concerning Abai's legacy.

The analysis of five academic sources which reveal the overidealization and misattribution of Abai's ideas, which contribute to a distorted understanding of his true contributions. This has created a disconnect between portrayals of Abai and the perceptions of younger generations. The article advocates for a more balanced and critical approach to studying Abai's work to better grasp his legacy and avoid ideological misuse.

Abai Qunanbaiuly (1845-1904) is an iconic figure in Kazakh literature, culture, and spirituality. The popularity he gained in both the Soviet and post-Soviet eras of Kazakhstan raises questions about his canonic function in the nation-building and identity-building of Kazakhs during these periods. In the Soviet era, M. Aueyzov was the essential writer who presented Abai to the entire Soviet space in 1956 through his classical and renowned novel *Abai zholy*. Studies show that Aueyzov had to struggle to 'Sovietize' Abai, adjusting his image to fit Soviet interests and serve in shaping Soviet identities of Kazakhs [1, 2]. Certain aspects of Abai, such as his commitment to Islam, were concealed from Soviet readers, as the period did not welcome religiousness.

Kudaibergenova [3] posits that, despite the large body of studies on Abai and the enduring legacy of his works, he remains incomprehensible and misunderstood by the younger generation. Her work calls for a rethinking and rereading of Abai's heritage. Our article, in response, partly agrees with the assertion that he is misunderstood. However, we argue that there have been sufficient attempts to explore Abai's image and heritage.

This article aims to reveal patterns in the bulk of research about Abai, how he is represented in contemporary studies, and why he might still be misunderstood by younger generations. Using the critical discourse analysis, we draw on P. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital to examine how Abai's cultural, intellectual, and spiritual legacy has been leveraged in the post-Soviet context in Kazakhstan to serve as a resource for national identity. Our analysis addresses the following research questions:

- Who is Abai and how is he presented to a contemporary reader, according to recent discourses over the past 20 years?

- What is missing or flawed in the literature on Abai's heritage?

To answer these questions, we analyze five sources of literature on Abai as a case study and employ a critical discourse analysis (CDA) to identify patterns in his representation.

Methods and materials

The study examines four academic books on Abai as a case written in Kazakh and Russian languages between 2020 and 2022 in Kazakhstan. These books are part of a series of 24 volumes produced by scholars from the Abai Academy, published under the state-funded project "The Legacy of Abai Qunanbayuly in the Aspect of Social Sciences and Humanities" ("Наследие Абая Кунанбайулы в аспекте общественно-гуманитарных наук"). At this stage, we intentionally focused on state-funded academic sources to observe the official narratives about Abai. These sources can be seen as representative of the perspectives held by political elites and what they aim to convey to the public.

The four books were selected from the 24-volume series and retrieved from the National Academic Library of Kazakhstan in Astana, as they are only available in hard copy (no electronic versions exist). The sources were organized into note-taking tables for data extraction, where we summarized each book, documenting references, methods used, findings, and further sources to explore. Additionally, we highlighted the key ideas that stood out in terms of how Abai and his legacy are portrayed.

This data was analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to identify key patterns in the discourses that address both research questions. CDA, as understood by scholars like Fairclough [4], Wodak [5], and Van Dijk [6], reveals how social actors are represented, uncovering the ideologies, inequities and power relations embedded in their portrayal. In this study, we focus on legitimization of ideologies and nomination and reference across the discourses, and we analyze how Abai is referred to and how discourse producers legitimize their political ideas through references to Abai's name and legacy.

Using this method, we annotated and categorised the findings and key ideas regarding Abai and his works. The labels were then grouped into broader themes. Ultimately, we identified three main ways in which Abai is described: as a cultural icon, as a political force and legitimizer, and the poet whose personality produces confusing discourses.

Results and discussion

Abai as a Cultural Icon

The nomination of Abai is crucial for legitimizing discussions about him and promoting his ideas. The books consistently employ highly positive language and metaphors to present him as an iconic figure and symbol of Kazakh identity:

Титан национальной поэзии

Titan of national poetry [7, p.15].

Абай – это гений, сумевший создать идеал нации

(Abai is a genius who created the ideal of the nation) [7, p. 13].

Микрокосм казахской культуры

(Microcosm of Kazakh culture) [7, p. 13].

Дана ақын, ұлы ақын

(A wise poet, a great poet) [8, p. 13].

Извечная путеводная звезда и художественный ориентир для своего народа

(An eternal guiding star and artistic reference point for his people) [9, p. 7].

At the same time, these texts tend to prioritise Abai's broader societal and political impact over his creative achievements. His influence on the nation is often depicted as more important than his literary contributions:

Абай не ограничивается только литературными рамками...

(Abai was not confined by the boundaries of literature...) [9, p. 7].

Абай өз заманы мен кейінгі заманның ұлысы ғана емес, ол сол қоғаммен бірге өзгеріп отыратын....болашақты ыңғайына қарап өзгертетін тұлға

(Abai is not only a great man of his time and later generations, but a figure who evolves with society and adapts to shape the future) [8, p. 62].

The emotional language used in these portrayals suggests that Abai's name is employed as a form of symbolic capital—an individual who holds prestige, recognition, and honor in society [10]. His status is harnessed to validate various societal processes and justify political messages. The political slant in these works is apparent, as they often begin with quotes from political leaders, such as President K. Tokayev and former President N. Nazarbayev. For example, K. Tokayev's admiration of Abai is prominently featured:

Абай мұрасы – біздің ұлт болып бірлесімізге, ел болып дамуымызға жол ашатын қастерлі құндылық

(Abai's legacy is a sacred value that opens the path to our national unity and development as a country) [11, p. 3].

Tokayev's views are then reinforced throughout the books, with much of the focus on Abai's social and political influence rather than his literary work. This suggests that these texts use Abai's legacy to promote specific ideologies, which is explored further.

Abai as a Political Force and Legitimiser

The books (perhaps subconsciously) illustrate a polyphony of voices, using Abai's name to discuss various cultural and ideological issues. Contemporary topics such as gender inequality, patriarchy, and domestic violence are linked to Abai's work, using his writings to critique these issues and call for change among today's readers. For instance:

Ни за что жену накажет, разговор его – кулак

(He punishes his wife for no reason; his conversation is his fist) [9, p. 148].

Abai's poems are also used to condemn practices like bride prices and amengerlik (the tradition of marrying a widow to her brother-in-law), empowering calls for reform:

Красотка-девушка у хана жила

(A young beauty lived at the Khan's) [9, p. 140].

Similarly, Dogalov emphasizes that Abai supported equal rights [9, p. 155]. In a postcolonial vein, Abai Academy [11] argues that Soviet rule prevented the exploration of Abai's connections to the Alash movement, which fought for Kazakh autonomy. The book suggests that the post-Soviet era has allowed for deeper exploration of these links.

However, certain Soviet-era views persist, such as the glorification of Russian culture, which is often positioned as superior to both Eastern and Western influences. Korabay (2021) quotes Russian writer V. Belinsky's description of the classic Russian poet A. Pushkin and then compares Abai to him, echoing the Soviet practice of equating the two poets. References to Russian writers like M. Zoshchenko also reinforce this Soviet-style framing [7].

In contrast to Soviet-era portrayals, Abai's commitment to Islam is cautiously acknowledged in these books. However, Kayshatayeva [8] notes that Abai was wary of religious dogma, reflecting contemporary concerns about religious extremism:

Абай дінді догма қылудан сақтанады

(Abai was cautious about making religion a dogma) [8, p. 306].

Abai's religious identity is treated carefully, as any overemphasis on his religiosity could be seen as promoting fanatical views. This suggests that modern ideologies are explicitly and implicitly promoted through Abai's works, shaping contemporary values and policies.

Confusing discourses on Abai

The idealization of Abai often leads to an uncritical veneration that risks misattributing ideas and ideologies to him. As a figure of symbolic capital, Abai is vulnerable to misinterpretation. For example, Abai Academy [11] attempts to connect Abai to the Alash movement, but the evidence does not seem solid. The text quotes criticism of Abai's father, Qunanbay, but assumes, without clear justification, that this critique reflects Abai's own views [11, p. 16]. Such assumptions can mislead readers, attributing ideas to Abai that he may not have endorsed.

Similar examples occur when Abai is presented as a financial mentor, despite having no direct involvement in economic matters. For instance, Dogalov [9] uses Abai's poetry to call on wealthy Kazakhs to fund scholarships for rural students:

Дорогие казахстанские бизнесмены-толстосумы, может быть

вы учредив по несколько стипендий таким выпускникам средних школ из отдаленных аулов, явитесь спонсорами будущим новым Сатпаевых, Ауэзовых, Айткожиных

(Dear Kazakh businessmen, perhaps by establishing scholarships for rural high school graduates, you will sponsor the next Satpayevs, Auezovs, and Aitkozkins) [9, p. 157]

These attempts to link Abai to modern policy discussions, such as critiques of vocational education policy [9, p. 189], risk distorting his legacy by using his name to legitimize unrelated agendas.

The younger generation's distance from Abai may be partly due to their tendency to challenge traditional value [12]. However, the flawed portrayals of Abai in contemporary scholarship also contribute to this disconnection, with misinterpretations potentially obscuring his true significance.

Yerdembekov et al. [13] argue that much of Abai's work has been closely linked to his own life and experiences, and Amangazykyzy [14] labels Abai as a 'timeless paradigm of change'. Nevertheless, times change, and his advice may no longer be applicable to all areas of modern life or relevant for guiding the younger generation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article examines the role of Abai Qunanbayuly as a symbolic figure in academic discourse over the past two decades, particularly within Kazakhstan. Through critical discourse analysis of four academic sources, we have identified recurring patterns in the ways Abai is represented, interpreted, and at times misinterpreted. Our research highlights that while Abai is celebrated as a cultural icon and symbol of Kazakh identity, his legacy is often utilized for ideological purposes, which can lead to misrepresentation and distortion of his ideas.

Addressing the first research question on Abai's representation, the study reveals three primary themes: Abai as a cultural symbol of Kazakhness, a political force, and a legitimizing figure for contemporary policies and ideologies. In these works, the focus on his social and political influence frequently overshadows his creative and literary contributions, transforming Abai into a figure of symbolic capital. His legacy is invoked to promote national and political narratives, as demonstrated by leaders and scholars, including President Tokayev, who often reference Abai to emphasize national unity and progress.

Regarding the second research question on omissions and flaws in the discourse surrounding Abai, the analysis points to the dangers of uncritical veneration. In some instances, authors misattribute or misinterpret Abai's works, linking him to ideologies and movements, such as the Alash party, without sufficient evidence. These misrepresentations risk distorting the poet's legacy and contributing to a disconnect between depiction of Abai and the younger generation's understanding of him. As Kudaibergenova (2018) notes, despite an

extensive body of scholarship, Abai's image has become increasingly difficult for today's youth to relate to.

The article acknowledges ongoing efforts to explore and analyze Abai's heritage, but it also calls for a more nuanced and balanced approach that transcends the political and ideological exploitation of his name. By critically reexamining Abai's works, scholars can avoid the pitfalls of misattribution and better engage with the complexities of his legacy. This approach would lead to a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of Abai Qunanbayuly, both as a poet and as a symbol of the Kazakh nation.

Moreover, this research contributes to such areas as Abai Studies (Абайтану – Kaz., Абаведение – Rus.) and critical discourse analysis, especially in using this method for exploring national identity and using national icons and symbolic capital within socio-political and academic discourses.

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ЗАМАНАУИ ЗЕРТТЕУЛЕРДЕГІ АБАЙ ҚҰНАНБАЙҰЛЫ ТУРАЛЫ ДИСКУРСТАРДЫ СЫНИ ТАЛДАУ: ҰЛТТЫҚ КЕЛБЕТ, ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛАР ЖӘНЕ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЯ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада қазақтың ұлттық символы, ақын Абай Құнанбайұлының қазіргі академиялық дискурстарда қалай бейнеленгені сыни тұрғыдан қарастырылады. Мақалада кейс ретінде кең ұлттық жобаның бір бөлігі, төрт негізгі дереккөз алынып, Абай төңірегіндегі нарративтер зерделенеді. Зерттеу мақсаты – Абайдың неліктен жас ұрпақтың ұлттық болмысынан алшақтап, салыстырмалы түрде қарағанда белгісіз болып қалатынын немесе дұрыс түсінілмей жүргенін анықтау. Зерттеу «символдық капитал» концепциясы аясында таңдалған жұмыстарда насихатталған идеологиялар мен құндылықтарды зерттеу үшін сапалы сыни дискурс

талдауын пайдаланады. Мақалада осы академиялық дискурстарда Абайдың қалай аталатыны және оның есімінің саяси-әлеуметтік мәселелерге қатысты белгілі бір көзқарастарды қолдау, ой-пікірлерді заңдастыру (легитимация) үшін қалай қолданылғаны қарастырылады. Зерттеу нәтижелері келесі: көптеген дереккөздер дәстүрлі түрде Абайды мәдени нышан және пір ретінде бейнелейді, оны идеал және шексіз құрметке ие тұлға ретінде көрсетеді; дискурстар өз көзқарастары мен ұсыныстарын заңдастыру үшін Абайдың есімі мен мұрасын пайдаланады; Абай шығармаларындағы болжамды хабарлар мен оның тұлғасына қатысты тарихи деректерге қатысты көптеген қате пікірлер мен орынсыз болжамдар бар. Мақалада Абай шығармашылығы/тұлғасы мен жаңа ұрпақ арасында неліктен алшақтық бар екенін түсіндіруді көздейді. Біз Абай есімін шектен тыс, дұрыс қолданбау, ақын және оның шығармашылығы туралы жазылғандардың бәрінде бір-біріне қайшы келетін, түсінбеушілік пен күмән тудыратын тарихты бұрмалаудың өзекті мәселелерін қарастырып жатырмыз. Мақалада Абайдың есімі академиялық басылымдарда аталса, оны мұқият тексеруге, тіпті цензурадан өткізуге қажет деген пікір ұсынылып отыр. Зерттеудің теориялық маңыздылығы оның абайтану, сыни дискурстық талдау, әсіресе ұлттық болмыстың құрылысы мен ұлттық пірлерді саяси және академиялық нарративтердегі пайдалану мәселесіне қатысты үлесі.

Тірек сөздер: Абай, идеологиялар, сыни дискурсты талдау, символды капитал, кері интерпретация, ұлттық келбет, сілтеме, легитимация

КРИТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ДИСКУРСОВ ОБ АБАЕ КУНАНБАЙУЛЫ В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ: НАЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ, ИДЕОЛОГИЯ И ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ

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Аннотация. Статья исследует то, как казахская национальная икона и поэт Абай Кунанбайулы изображается в современном академическом дискурсе. В качестве кейсов, исследование фокусируется на четырех ключевых источниках в рамках расширенного национального проекта по изучению нарративов вокруг Абая, с целью определить, почему он дистанцирован от национальной идентичности молодого поколения и остается относительно неизвестным или непонятым. В исследовании используется качественный критический дискурс анализ, с помощью которого изучаются идеологии и ценности, пропагандируемые в выбранных работах в контексте концепции «символического капитала». Статья акцентирует внимание на том, как упоминается Абай в данных

академических дискурсах и как его имя используется для поддержки определенных точек зрения и легитимации идей на политические и социальные темы. Результаты исследования следующие: большинство источников традиционно изображают Абая как культурный символ и икону, идеализируя его и показывая его как безусловно почитаемую личность; дискурсы используют имя и наследие Абая для легитимации своих точек зрения и рекомендаций; также существуют многочисленные заблуждения и неуместные предположения относительно предполагаемых посылов в произведениях Абая и исторические факты о его личности. В статье предпринимается попытка объяснить, почему существует разрыв между творчеством/личностью Абая и новым поколением. Мы рассматриваем острые вопросы чрезмерного и неправильного использования имени Абая, а также неверного толкования истории, которые могут противоречить друг другу и вызывать непонимание и сомнения во всем, что написано о поэте и его творчестве. Статья призывает к тщательному рассмотрению и даже выборочной цензуре при упоминании имени Абая в академических публикациях. Теоретическая значимость исследования заключается в его вкладе в Абаеведение, критического анализа дискурса, особенно в том, что касается построения национальной идентичности и эксплуатации национальных икон в политических и академических нарративах.

Ключевые слова: Абай, идеологии, критический дискурс анализ, символический капитал, (мис)интерпретация, национальная идентичность, ссылка, легитимация

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