

## Artículo de investigación

## ON SPELLING OF LOANWORDS IN THE YAKUT LANGUAGE

О правописании заимствованных слов в якутском языке  
Acerca de la ortografía de las palabras prestadas en el idioma Yakut

Recibido: 12 de abril de 2019. Aceptado: 27 de mayo de 2019

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**Abstract**

The article is devoted to one of the topical issues of the Yakut spelling - the spelling of words borrowed from the Russian language. The purpose of the study is to trace the current state of spelling of borrowed words in the modern Yakut language. The study is carried out on material extracted from national newspapers. The theoretical basis for the study are the methodological provisions of N.D. Dyachkovsky on the description of the phonetic system of the Yakut language. The main methods of work are: the method of continuous sampling during the initial collection of material from newspaper sources, the method of linguistic analysis, descriptive method using the methods of observation, interpretation, comparison, generalization, method of quantitative data processing. The article presents the results of the analysis of spelling changes of Russisms that have undergone phonetic development, which can be used in the practice of compiling dictionaries of the Yakut language. It is concluded that the tendency to increase in phonetic spelling is in line with the dominant phonetic principle of the Yakut spelling.

**Keywords:** Sakha (Yakut) language, spelling rules, spelling, loanwords, phonetization.

**Resumen**

El artículo está dedicado a uno de los temas principales de la ortografía de Yakut: la ortografía de las palabras tomadas del idioma ruso. El propósito del estudio es rastrear el estado actual de la ortografía de las palabras prestadas en el lenguaje moderno Yakut. El estudio se realiza sobre material extraído de periódicos nacionales. Las bases teóricas para el estudio son las disposiciones metodológicas de N.D. Dyachkovsky sobre la descripción del sistema fonético de la lengua yakut. Los principales métodos de

**Аннотация**

Статья посвящена одному из актуальных вопросов якутской орфографии – правописанию заимствованных из русского языка слов. Цель исследования – проследить современное состояние правописания заимствованных слов в современном якутском языке. Исследование осуществляется на материале, извлеченном из республиканских якутоязычных газет. Теоретической основой для исследования являются методологические положения Н.Д. Дьячковского об описании фонетической системы якутского языка. Основными методами работы являются: метод сплошной выборки, метод лингвистического анализа, описательный метод. В статье представлены результаты анализа орфографических изменений русизмов, подвергшихся фонетическому освоению, которые могут быть использованы в практике составления словарей якутского языка. Делается вывод о том, что тенденция к увеличению фонетизированных написаний идет в русле господствующего фонетического принципа якутской орфографии.

**Ключевые слова:** якутский язык; орфографические правила; правописание; заимствованные слова; фонетизация.

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trabajo son: el método de muestreo continuo durante la recolección inicial de material de fuentes periodísticas, el método de análisis lingüístico, el método descriptivo que utiliza los métodos de observación, interpretación, comparación, generalización, método de procesamiento de datos cuantitativos. El artículo presenta los resultados del análisis de los cambios ortográficos de los rusos que han experimentado un desarrollo fonético, que se pueden utilizar en la práctica de compilar diccionarios de la lengua yakut. Se concluye que la tendencia a aumentar la ortografía fonética está en línea con el principio fonético dominante de la ortografía Yakut.

**Palabras clave:** idioma sakha (yakut), reglas de ortografía, ortografía, préstamos, fonetización.

## Introduction

New directions of language policy and language planning require that the Yakut language has a developed system of styles, stable norms for the free functioning of the language in all areas of society (culture, education, business, science, etc.) Particular attention is paid to the questions of spelling as the focus of the norms of the written and literary language, the question of spelling words borrowed from the Russian language is being actively discussed. This is the reason for the relevance of this article.

At present, the lexical composition of the Yakut language continues to be actively replenished by Russian borrowing while preserving its foundations in the Russian style of drawing or spelling change, which form a wide layer of Russian borrowings.

This study is devoted to describing the problem of spelling features of borrowed words - in Russian or in phonetic form. In our previous studies, borrowings have been analyzed that contribute to the appearance of previously little-known or absent combinations of consonants that do not undergo decomposition or are not typical of Yakut phonetic norms (eg, see: Vasilieva, 2016).

The theoretical basis of the study is the works of O.N. Betlingk (1990), A.E. Kulakovsky (1979), N.D. Dyachkovsky (1961; 1962; 1971; 1977; 2000; 2009), L.N. Kharitonov (1947), P.A. Slepsov (1964; 1975), and others.

In the process, we turned to the Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language, (2002; 2015), as well as newspaper materials. The main methods of work are: the method of continuous sampling during the initial collection of material from lexicographic sources, periodicals, a synchronic-descriptive method using the methods of observation, interpretation, comparison, generalization, method of quantitative data processing.

## On History of Loanword Studies

Borrowing plays an important role in the development of each language. Borrowing words is a natural process that reflects the relationship between nations in different periods of their history.

Russian words have penetrated into Sakha (Yakut) since the annexation of Yakutia by the Russian state, i.e. since the XVII century. Since then, the influence of Russian has been constantly increasing. Up to 1917 more than 3,000 words excluding proper names had been borrowed under conditions of total illiteracy of population (Slepsov, 1964). A considerable part of loanwords is adopted through oral speech and is fully integrated into the language, being no different from basic vocabulary. In the pre-Soviet era, loanwords had been adopted psychologically in such a degree that even Russians didn't identify them as foreign.

Academician O.N. Betlingk was the first who wrote about Russian loanwords (Betlingk, 1990). His fundamental work *On the Language of the Yakut* (1851) includes more than a hundred of loanwords spelled after pronunciation of A.Y. Uvarovsky who was born in Yakutia. In his grammar, O.N. Betlingk revealed phonetic differences in loanwords pronounced by Uvarovsky which is clearly seen in his dictionary. He also found that these words are subject to phonetic alteration according to phonetic laws of the Yakut language, in particular, vowels are governed by the law of consonance, combinations and replacement of consonants follow strict standards of combinative power of Yakut consonants and their positional restrictions. The words *ыстан*, *ырбахы*, *сулуспа*, *саллат*, *билкэ*, *кинэс*, etc., in contrast to modern spelling (*ыстаан* 'штаны – pants', *ырбаахы* 'рубаха – shirt', *сулууспа* 'служба – service', *саллаат* 'солдат – soldier', *биилкэ* 'вилка – fork', *кинээс* 'князь – prince'), are spelled through short vowels. It may be

explained, as O.N. Betlingk noted, by the fact that A.Y. Uvarovsky didn't letter long vowels and diphthongs (Betlingk, 1990, p. 66). As N.D. Dyachkovsky suggested, O.N. Betlingk probably didn't dare to correct spelling without having other sources of Yakut pronunciation of those words (Dyachkovsky, 1962, p. 6). P.A. Slepsov also notes that it is lack of evidence that prevented Betlingk from determining the regularities recognized by subsequent investigators (Slepsov, 1964, p. 62).

Spelling of loanwords in mission sources in Yakut have two principles: 1) to write Russian words in Yakut texts the way they are pronounced and written in Russian; 2) with development of Yakut written language and, particularly, academic books, loanwords in mission publications had been spelled according to their popular pronunciation by the end of the XIX century, e.g.: ырбаахы 'рубаша – shirt', оскуола 'школа – school', тэлиэгэ 'телега – cart', дьяарысса 'ярица – ariza', etc. This trend prevailed from the XIX century to late XX century.

From the early XX century newly borrowed Russisms were spelled close to their Russian prototypes with development of Yakut periodicals (the newspapers Sakha Dojduta, Sakha Olovo, the journal Sakha Saḡata), e.g.: институт 'институт – institute', класс 'класс – class', рөбөлүүссүйэ 'революция – revolution', тэлэгрээп 'телеграф – telegraph', балныыса 'больница – hospital', управлиэниэ 'управление – management', просыан 'процент – percent', etc. However, older and previously adopted loanwords were written according to their pronunciation.

Thus, in pre-Soviet written language there was a tendency to spell loanwords in phonetized manner with some exceptions close to their Russian prototypes.

In the Soviet era, the following should be noted in respect to spelling of loanwords: after October Revolution 1917 the whole lifestyle of the Yakut changed rapidly, with new Russisms denoting novel life phenomena caused by Revolution massively penetrating the language. The refore Yakut intelligentsia who in general had been educated in Russian and didn't learn the Yakut orthography were somewhat confused and spelled differently. Life made orthographic interpretation of massively appearing loanwords highly urgent.

Hence, the pioneer of Yakut literature A.E.

Kulakovsky: "Most Yakut intelligentsia think that the Yakut supposedly mangle Russian words, transforming them helter-skelter, at random. But this opinion is incorrect. It is true that, having heard a foreign word, a Yakut remakes it sometimes unrecognizably in his manner, according to capabilities of his speech organs. However, this transformation is made not disorderly but following certain regularities of language" (Kulakovsky, 1979, p. 317). Seven rules following which "foreign words are transformed in Sakha way" stated in Russian Words Borrowed and Adopted by the Yakut (except Proper Names) (1924) are compiled with great understanding of the heart of the matter. The first rule is "the law of vowel consonance": кружево – курухуба 'lace', проверка – бэбиэркэ 'check'. The second rule is integration of vowels into loanwords between consonants, e.g.: напрасно – напарааһына 'vainly'. The third rule says if a loanword starts with p or two consonants, a vowel is added before the word, e.g. ряд – эрээт 'range', статья – ыстатыйа 'article', штопор – устуонар 'corkscrew'. The fourth rule is "the law of assimilation of consonants", e.g.: солдат – саллаат 'soldier', чайник – чаанньык 'kettle', архиепей – аккыырай 'pontiff'. The fifth rule says that the consonants п and н of loanword bases are doubled, e.g.: сапоги – саппыкы 'wellingtons', машина – массыына 'machine', терпение – тэрпиэниэ 'patience'. The sixth rule was formulated by A.E. Kulakovsky as follows: "If the word is very long, some vowels and syllables are omitted", e.g.: правление – бырыбылыанньыа – бырыбыанньыа 'board', доказательство – такасааталыстыба – такаастыба 'evidence'. The seventh rule recommends to replace all Russian consonants by Yakut ones: ф, в, п – б, м; ж, з, ш, щ, ц – с (h), ч; all iotacized е, ё, я, ю, as well as и before a vowel, д – before the palatal vowel and the soft sign – дь; п at the beginning of a word – б; к at the beginning of a word – х. The author considers this rule the most difficult as it is hard to control (Kulakovsky, 1979, p. 132-323).

P.A. Ojunsy paid special attention to spelling of loanwords. In the paper On Borrowing of Foreign Words and Terms by the Yakut Language he proposed to phonetize all Russian words, do not use any foreign letters in writing, replace sounds at the beginning of a word to make loanwords as close as possible to the Yakut language, e.g.: гиря – киирэ 'weight', капитал – хаппытаал 'capital', коммунист – хомуньуус 'communist' (Ojunsy, 1931). When phonetizing loanwords, he finds it necessary to know the laws of vowel consonance and suggests

four rules. The first rule is concerned with vowel consonance а-ы-а-ы, о-у-а-ы, уо-у-а-ы, э-и-э-и, и-э-и, ө-ү-э, үө-э-и. The second rule deals with incompatibility of vowels. The third rule suggests phonetization of loanwords that cannot be translated and have no Yakut equivalent following the rule of vowel consonance. The fourth rule requires writing some vowels incompatible in Yakut as an exception when spelling loanwords. However, in his theoretical work *The Yakut Language and Ways of its Development* (1935) P.A. Ojunsky suggested adopting the letters ф, ж, з, as it is done in other languages and make national and international writing of term closer if phonetically possible (Ojunsky, 1993).

L.N. Kharitonov wrote on substitution of Russian stressed vowels in his work *Modern Yakut Language*: “Russian stressed vowels are usually pronounced long: баран – бараан ‘ram’, амбар – ампаар ‘barn’, хомут – хомут ‘clamp’, лампа – лампа ‘lamp’, диво – дьиибэ ‘marvel’, колотушка – холотууска ‘mallet’. Ударные е, о заменяются дифтонгами иэ, уо: честь – чизэ ‘honor’, семя – сизэмэ ‘seed’, мох – муох ‘moss’, порог – боруок ‘doorstep’, порох – буорах ‘powder’” (Kharitonov, 1947, p. 29). Besides, L.N. Kharitonov mentioned loanwords in the papers *On Influence of the Russian Language on Yakut* (Kharitonov, 1955). He gives a general characteristics of Russian loanwords before and after Russian Revolution 1917.

The problem of loanwords spelling was touched upon and analyzed in works of N.D. Dyachkovsky (1961; 1962; 1971; 1977; 2000; 2009). As a real unbiased scholar N.D. Dyachkovsky never held on the theses that proved to be inconsistent with actual reality in the course of language development. He was quite flexible in his position, amended if necessary, did not phonetize all loanwords. Such approach is observed in the paper of N.D. Dyachkovsky *Problems of Language Development* (1965) that was published only in 2009, where he wrote: “I have never put forward the principle of complete phonetization of loanwords. My paper has now ordaboutit” (Dyachkovsky, 2009, p. 79-86). N.D. Dyachkovsky as phonetician-experimentalist analyzed alterations of vowels in Russian words in detail, first of all stressed vowels and their substitutions in Yakut as well as specifics of Yakut pronunciation of Russian consonant combinations in loanwords. He found that Russian stressed vowels are represented in Yakut through long vowels and diphthongs. Therewith

it is noted that Russian stressed vowels at the absolute end of a word are represented, as a rule, by Yakut short vowels: блоха – былахы ‘flea’, дуга – дуҕа ‘arc’, кабала – хабала ‘bondage’, клопы – кулахы ‘bedbugs’, носки – наскы ‘socks’, огурцы – оҕурсу ‘cucumbers’ очки – ачыкы ‘glasses’, сапоги – саппыкы ‘boots’, цветки – сибэки ‘flowers’, щипцы – сыпсы ‘ongs’ etc. N.D. Dyachkovsky experimentally proved that the increase of vowel length in the given position leads to increase of lowest limit of vowels length resulting in Russian stressed end vowels not being associated with Yakut long vowels. He suggests that loanwords adopting Yakut phonetic rules are simultaneously deprived of the grammatical characteristics that they possess in Russian and accept lexical-morphological standards and patterns of the Yakut language: a) they are deprived of gender characteristics as in Yakut there is no grammatical category of gender; b) they are deprived of grammatical number; c) words of the same part of speech may be borrowed as another one (Dyachkovsky, 1962, p. 24).

The works of P.A. Slepsov Russian lexical borrowings (Pre-revolution period) and Russian lexical borrowings (Post-revolution period) are dedicated to Russian lexical borrowings (Slepsov, 1964, 1975). He analyzed lexical borrowings before and after Russian Revolution of 1917, composed word lists illustrating diachronical process of enrichment of Yakut vocabulary by Russian loanwords, specifics of their lexical-semantic and form acquisition in various periods of language development. Division of Russian loanwords into two periods, according to P.A. Slepsov, is based on recognition of deep fundamental difference between the pre-revolutionary influence of the Russian language on languages of neighboring nations and the influence of the Russian language on languages of peoples of the USSR (Slepsov, 1964, p. 7). In the first work the author analyzes loanwords generally used in colloquial speech, including dialects, determined the total number of loanwords, approximate chronological frame and conditions of borrowing some important terms, made classification of the material into lexical-semantic groups, paid much attention to the phonetic-morphological characteristics of loanwords. Pre-revolution loanwords adopted orally and widely used in everyday speech were completely assimilated phonetically. Here, phonetic re-formation of words is of strict regular character and proceeds according to requirements of the phonetic system of the Yakut language. The following work of P.A. Slepsov has historical and sociolinguistic character. The



latter is motivated by the fact that “the complex issue of language contacts and their consequences is a set of social, psychological, and linguistic questions” (Slepsov, 1975, p. 6). The author clarifies linguistic and extra-linguistic causes determining specifics of functioning and adopting of loanwords in different periods of development of the Yakut language.

All Russisms found in oral and written speech of the Yakut P.A. Slepsov divides into the following groups in regard to the system of the receptor language:

- 1) Inclusions-quotations. Inclusions-quotations, Russian words, word groups and complete sentences in Russian substituting Yakut words are found in utterances of certain groups of bilinguals, especially, youth.
- 2) Occasional Russisms, or occasionalisms. Occasionalisms serve certain contexts that most commonly occur in translated text of informational character or in utterances of certain people and are rarely used.
- 3) Used Russisms. Used Russisms are used in certain functional styles of speech. They have no firm place in the language system due to insufficient frequency and non-regularity of functioning and are usually not included in orthographic and Yakut-Russian dictionaries.
- 4) Loanwords. Loanwords are numerous Russisms that became lexical units of the Yakut language due to its use in some relation. The major characteristic of a loanword is its functional role and thus functional activity in the Yakut language (Slepsov, 1975, p. 7).

Functional value of a Russism in Yakut is defined, first of all, by the fact that it denotes objects and notions lacking its adequate expression in the Yakut language itself, or it is a refining terminological or stylistic synonym to the corresponding Yakut word.

In these works P.A. Slepsov composed an index of loanwords, most common and widely used variants of words, a word list illustrating the diachronic process of enrichment of Yakut vocabulary by Russian loanwords, specific features of their lexical-semantic and formal adoption in different periods of language development (Slepsov, 1964, p. 177-191; Slepsov, 1975, p. 187-244). The word list includes most widely used loanwords of the two

periods except proper names.

### On Rules of Loanword Spelling

In the modern Yakut language, a large number of borrowed words are spelled in phonetic form. This is explained by the fact that the sound composition of the Yakut language has a significant difference from the phonetics of the Russian language. As is known, in the Yakut language there are seven specific monophthongs, four diphthongs, eight long vowels, a number of long consonants that are absent in the Russian language, at the same time, there are no seven consonant sounds available in the Russian language (в, ж, з, ф, ц, ш, щ), moreover, in the Yakut language the law of harmony of vowels and strictly defined norms of consonants in the beginning, middle and end of the Yakut core words function very consistently. All these features of the phonetics of the Yakut language led to a strong change in the sound composition of Russian words borrowed directly through the spoken language of the people (Kharitonov, 1947). Reflecting precisely these peculiarities of the pronunciation of borrowed words, in the spelling rules of the Yakut language, the writing of a large number of Russian words is established according to the most common variants of their Yakut pronunciation.

Reflecting these very specific features of pronunciation of loanwords, spelling of a large quantity of Russian loanwords is regulated according to most common variants of their Yakut pronunciation in orthographic rules of the Yakut language. In the spelling rules (2001), the basics of Russian words were transmitted in two versions (Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language, 2002, p. 531-541). The orthographic rules require keeping Russian form of the stem in terms denoting international, socio-political, and scientific notions, providing freedom of choosing spelling of words in other functional domains.

The Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language (further, ODYL) published in 2002 based on the new rules reflects a new tendency in spelling loanwords that appeared in the 1990s, increasing the number of standard phonetized variants (Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language, 2002). The ODYL differs from the previous publications by allowing to spell loanwords in two variants – phonetized and with Russian stem forms. If widely used in colloquial speech and fixed in writing, the Yakut variant may become standardized. In the 1960s N.D. Dyachkovsky noted that “having chosen one variant corresponding with general language

rules and having fixed it in writing, we would thereby contribute to establishment of a firm pronunciation standard” (Dyachkovsky, 1961, p. 1). This way of orthography stabilization is considered more reliable as it will always be supported by the standards of people’s real speech. N.D. Dyachkovsky also points out that “in an effort to elaborate fixed uniform orthography rules, to freely enrich Yakut vocabulary through Russian loanwords by means of their conscience rapid transformation into common vocabulary, it is essential to fix Yakut spelling for the words that are not yet widely used by people but can be easily subject to application of the phonetic principle due to affinity of their phonetic composition” (Dyachkovsky, 1961, p. 2).

Loanwords that are difficult to pronounce in phonetized variant are spelled with the original Russian stem form. They are listed in Appendix 2 Loanwords whose Stem is Spelled in Russian, e.g. абитуриент ‘applicant’, аэрофлот ‘aeroflot’, баскетбол ‘basketball’, биология ‘biology’, бульдозер ‘bulldozer’, геология ‘geology’, гимнаст ‘gymnast’, гуманизм ‘humanism’, джаз ‘jazz’, жанр ‘genre’, интервью ‘interview’, лаборатория ‘laboratory’, матч ‘match’, мониторинг ‘monitoring’, новелла ‘novel’, яхта ‘yacht’ etc. (Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language, 2002, p. 516-520).

The current Yakut orthography rules, approved by Decree No. 501 of the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of December 22, 2015, provide improved spelling rules for Russian fundamentals and affixed forms (Orthographic Dictionary of the Yakut Language, 2015). The spelling rules preserve the Russian form of designation of the basis of the terms representing international, socio-political and scientific-technical concepts, and borrowed words from other functional areas are spelled in phonetised form.

### Usage of Loanwords in Periodicals

We conducted a study on the observance of the approved rules and modern state of spelling loanwords. For this purpose, issues of regional newspapers published in Yakut Sakha Sirä, Il Tumän, Küm, Käskil, Tujmaada were examined since, as is known, periodical press is directly and daily connected with people and thus, whether intentionally or not, reflects the overall picture of formal assimilation of foreign vocabulary.

The newspaper Sakha Sirä is an official paper of the Government of Sakha Republic (Yakutia). The newspaper is mainly devoted to regional, national and international news, events and facts, official documents.

In the newspaper, many words whose writing is fixed in the orthographic dictionary as phonetized are spelled in Russian, e.g.: велосипед/бэлисибиэт ‘bicycle’, врач/быраас ‘doctor’, газ/гаас ‘gas’, директор/дириэктэр ‘director’, лекция/лиэксийэ ‘lecture’, проект/бырайыак ‘project’, секретарь/сэкирэтээр ‘secretary’, служба/сулууспа ‘service’. At the same time, there are different variants of spelling within one issue, e.g. автор/ааптар, ‘author’, врач/быраас ‘doctor’, председатель/бэрэссэдээтэл ‘chairman’, депутат/дьокутаат ‘deputy’, кэмितिэт/комитет ‘committee’, министерство/министиэристибэ ‘ministry’, партия/баартыйа ‘party’, пенсия/биэнсийэ ‘pension’, радио/араадыйа ‘radio’, республика/өрөспүүбүлүкэ ‘republic’, etc. But then some words not represented in the orthographic dictionary are spelled in phonetized form, e.g.: уопут (experience), лимит (limit), сударыстыбаннай ‘state’, обуйума ‘clip’.

It is revealed that newspaper material directly depends on their authors and editors don’t change much the text arrangement, in doing so, giving freedom in orthography. Certainly, vocabulary of an article is directly related to its topic and Russian words and terms are widely used in socio-political, technical articles.

Table 1. Spelling newspaper «Sakha Sirä»

	2003	2005	2007	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2018
Total number of loanwords, average in one issue	640	664	650	590	760	940	842	905	1520
From them non-phonetized // phonetized (per cent)	74,5%	73,1%	73%	57,7%	53,2%	42,6%	41%	38,5%	31%
	25,5 %	26,9%	27%	42,3%	46,8%	57,8%	59%	61,5%	69%

In general, in comparison to the issues of 2003, the actual issues of the newspaper Sakha Sirä demonstrate tendency to phonetized spelling of loanwords (see Table).

The newspaper II Tymin is a parliamentary newspaper of the State Assembly (II Tymin). Many loanwords are spelled in phonetized form, e.g.: ааксыя 'акция – action', бибилиэтиэкэ 'библиотека – library', бырабыталыстыба 'правительство – government', бэрэсидьин 'президент – president', бэрэстэбиитэл 'представитель – representative', инспиэктэр 'инспектор – inspector', каадыр 'кадр – frame', кэнсиэр 'концерт – concert', министиэристибэ 'министерство – ministry', мээрийэ 'мэрия – city hall', маастар-кылаас 'мастер-класс – master class', сийиэс 'съезд – congress', устуоруйа 'история – history', etc. Phonetized spelling of loanwords whose spelling is fixed in the Dictionary in Russian (Appendix 2), e.g. мэдиссиинэ 'медицина – medicine', үнүстүүт 'институт – institute', бэрэпиэссэр 'профессор – professor', бакылтыат 'факультет – faculty', дассыан 'доцент – associate professor', үнүбэрсиэт 'университет – university'.

The newspaper Käsfil is intended for children therefore it is particularly important in developing proper usage and spelling of loanwords. Analysis of newspaper texts shows that loanwords are spelled, to a great extent, following the rules of Yakut orthography.

Loanwords are used phonetized, e.g. ансамбль – ensemble', бэлисиэит 'велосипед – bicycle', куорпус 'корпус – body', кэрэспэдьин 'корреспондент – correspondent', суруналыыс 'журналист – journalist', устудьуон 'студент – student', үбүлүөй 'юбилей – anniversary', худуохунньук 'художник – painter', эксэмэн 'экзамен – exam', etc. Thus, in average 55 percent of the used loanwords are spelled in phonetized variant.

The non-governmental newspaper Tyjmaada uses loanwords in two variants, e.g. the following words are spelled in phonetized form: ырыынак 'рынок – market', судаарыстыба 'государство – state', устудьуон 'студент – student', араадыя 'радио – radio', бэлиитикэ 'политика – politics', оптуобус 'автобус – bus', бөртөлүөт 'вертолет – helicopter', испэктээк 'спектакль – spectacle', бэйиэт 'поэт – poet', култуура 'культура – culture', etc.

The daily commercial newspaper Kiiim has one of the largest circulation (35,025 copies) and is widely read. Only this newspaper among all regional periodicals completely follows the rules of Yakut orthography, strictly applying them to new loanwords. Loanwords are more often used in articles on politics and in translations. Earlier, writers allowed parallel use of both variants of loan words, e.g. чиновник/чунуобунньук

'official', правительство/бырабытталыстыба 'government', республика/өрөспүүбүлүкэ 'republic', делегат/дэлэгээт 'delegate', журналист/суруналыыс 'journalist', etc. N.M. Borisova, when studying style of the modern Yakut press, notes that from 2005 to 2006 only 6,091 foreign and borrowed words were used in the analyzed 55 publications in the Kĭim, with 64.2 per cent being adopted and 35.8 per cent not being adopted [Borisova, 2012, p. 100-101]. In 2018, some 60,000 words are used in average in one issue. 4,320 from them are loanwords: 3,440 are phonetized, 880 are spelled in Russian which makes 79.6 and 20.4 per cent respectively. It proves that Yakut spelling of loanwords prevails in recent years.

The loanwords whose spelling is fixed in the orthographic dictionary in both variants are spelled in newspapers only in phonetized variant, e.g.: албакаат 'адвокат – lawyer', аахсыйа 'акция – stock', аспаал 'асфальт – asphalt', бааргыһа бүддьүөт 'бюджет – budget', датаассыйа 'дотация – subsidy', дьаабылыка 'яблоко – apple', дьоруой 'герой – hero', куонкурус 'конкурс – competition', настарыанна 'настроение – mood', ньиэп 'нефть – oil', симиэнэ 'смена – change', сииэсийэ 'сессия – session', түөрүйэ 'теория – theory', ускуустуба 'искусство – art', үрүсээк 'рюкзак – backpack', устуора 'штора – curtain', etc.

Loanwords like аппарат/аппараат 'apparatus', гостиница/көстүүнэй 'hotel', курорт/куруорт 'resort', линия/лииньийэ 'line', лицензия/лиссиэнсийэ 'license', почта/буоста 'post', спорт/успуорт 'sport', слон/сулуон 'elephant' are used in the news paper in both variants. Loanwords such as президент 'president', детсад 'kindergarten', противень 'baking tray' have two or three variants (президент – бэрэсидьйэн – Аҕа баһылык, детсад – дьыссаат – оҕо саада, противень – боротумуон – тимир лиис), with the following variants бэрэсидьйэн (lately, Ил Дархан), оҕо саада, тимир лиис being more widely used.

The stems of some loanwords are spelled only in Russian, e.g.: база 'base', гимназия 'gymnasium', диагноз 'diagnosis', департамент 'department', доцент 'assistant professor', металл 'metal', etc.

It should be noted that the paper spells loanwords not given in the dictionary in phonetized form according to phonetic rules of the Yakut language (we have found more than 40 words), e.g.: болкуобунньук 'полковник – colonel',

диисэл 'дизель – diesel', интэриниэт 'интернет – Internet', духуобунас 'духовность – spirituality', уопут 'опыт – experience', кирэдьиит 'кредит – credit', көнкүрүөнсүйэ 'конкуренция – competition', сомпуун 'шампунь – shampoo', үстүрүмүөн 'инструмент – tool', etc.

One should hail the initiative of the Kĭim to introduce equivalent neologisms instead of Russisms: предприниматель – урбаанньыт 'entrepreneur', предпринимательство – урбаан 'entrepreneurship', наука – билим 'science'. These words are now coming into wide use both in oral and written speech.

The loanwords like e.g. албакаат 'адвокат – lawyer', баабырыка 'фабрика – factory', балаата 'палата – ward', борокуруор 'прокурор – prosecutor', күбэринээтэр 'губернатор – governor', муусука 'музыка – music', собуот 'завод – factory', сыгаара 'сигара – cigar', уопсастыба 'общество – society', уртуут 'ртуть – mercury', хамыһыһыйа 'комиссия – commission', хантараах 'контракт – contract' were used in phonetized form before Russian Revolution 1917 (Slepsov, 1964, p. 177-191), this being so, their spelling in this form by the Kĭim is favoured.

Having considered features of spelling loanwords in regional newspapers, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- the daily newspaper Sakha Sirä generally spells loanwords in Russian. However, in comparison to 2003, the newspaper tends to phonetization of loanwords;
- the weekly newspaper Kĭim follows the orthographic rules and the orthographic dictionary of the Yakut language when spelling loanwords and phonetizes most Russian words according to phonetic rules of the Yakut language;
- the newspaper Kĭim sometimes uses 'excessive' loanwords that have their Yakut equivalents, e.g. учуобунньук – үөрэнэр кинигэ 'text book', сииркэп – танара дьийэтэ 'church', сэкириэт – кистэлэн 'secret', etc.;
- in the newspapers analyzed spelling of some loanwords is fixed in phonetized form, e.g., бэрэстэбиитэл 'представитель – representative', бэрэссэдээтэл 'председатель – chairman', куурус 'курс – course', настарыанна 'настроение – mood', суруналыыс 'журналист – journalist', урган 'орган – organ', устудьуон 'студент – student', уопут 'опыт – experience', лимиит 'лимит –



limit', etc., although they used to be spelled in their Russian form;

- the practice of the newspaper *Kiim* based on the orthography of 2015 is very helpful for wide and active use of phonetized forms of Russian loanwords orally and in writing. It should be noted that the editors are not restricted to the words given in the orthographic dictionary but suggest Yakut spelling of new words.

### Conclusion

The results of analysis indicate that the time is ripe to establish uniform standards of spelling loanwords in Yakut and to control following of these standards. The rules must be observed if they are prescribed by an appropriate regulation. As P.A. Slepsov point out, "if there is no codification, observation of language standards is optional. It leads to lack of grammatical correctness, firm knowledge, culture of writing and speech. That is why state authorities should implement codification" (Slepsov, 1999, p. 35). It is time to establish and require observation of uniform orthographic order in spelling loanwords not only in newspapers but generally in Yakut writing.

Thus, from the above it might be assumed that in terms of language standards phonetization of loanwords is directed against excessive use of not-assimilated foreign words and in terms of orthography itself the tendency to increase phonetized spelling corresponds with the prevailing phonetic principle of Yakut orthography.

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