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# CONTENTS

## Philology

- Evdokiia N. Afanaseva and Raissa P. Ivanova**  
Semantic Development of the Word “Tajara” in Sakha (Yakut) Language 306
- Nikolai N. Efremov**  
Characteristics of the G.V. Baishev’s Translation of the Yakut Heroic  
Olonkho Epic “Ala-Bulkun” Into Russian  
(Illustrated by Verbs of Motion and Epic Formulae) 314
- Marina I. Kysylbaikova**  
Language Consciousness of the Yakut Language Speakers 324
- Gavril G. Torotoev and Sandaara G. Torotoeva**  
Linguistic Annotation of Grammatical Categories of Sakha: Nouns 329
- Akulina A. Vasil’eva**  
The Influence of the Russian-Yakut Translation on the Development  
of Linguistic Research in the Yakut Language 337
- Lidia V. Vinokurova, Agafia D. Efimova and Valentina I. Ivanova**  
Some Similarities in the Future Tense Indicative Mood Categories  
of the Yakut and Frech Languages 353
- Liudmila S. Zamorshchikova, Irena S. Khokholova,  
Anna N. Ikonnikova, Marianna V. Samsonova and Viktoria V. Lebedeva**  
Toponymic Landscape of Central Yakutia: Etymological Analysis  
of Geographical Names 359

## Psychology

- Igor A. Alikin, Larisa V. Dovydenko and Natalia V. Lukyanchenko**  
Structural and Typological Features of the Axiological Aspect  
of Modern Students’ Representation about Success 372
- Elena A. Chereneva, Olga L. Belyaeva and Irina Ya. Stoyanova**  
Current Approaches to Differential Diagnostics of Autism Spectrum Disorders  
and Similar Conditions 381
- Marina V. Safonova, Olga V. Gruzdeva, Olga M. Verbianova  
and Valerii A. Kovalevskiy**  
Conditions for Ensuring Psychological Health of Family and Child 390
- Natalia Yu. Verkhoturova and Yaroslavna V. Bardetskaya**  
Studying and Evaluating Emotional and Personal Tendencies  
and Behavioural Patterns of Emotional Response of Primary School Pupils  
with Impaired Intellectual Development 406

## Law

- Sergei N. Kasatkin**  
Herbert Hart’s Doctrine of Indeterminacy in Law (1949–1961):  
Main Stages of Development 418
- Sergei N. Kasatkin**  
H.L.A. Hart’s Methodology of Defining Legal Concepts: Problems  
of Connection Between Semantics and Pragmatics in Legal Language 423



**Philology**

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## Semantic Development of the Word “Taŋara” in Sakha (Yakut) Language

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the evolution of the lexical meaning of the word ‘taŋara’ in Sakha (Yakut) language. The study focuses on Humboldt’s activity theory and observes a fusion of cultures as one of the ways of language development. The results of the study can be formulated as follows: etymology and functioning of the word in the epic reveal the following meanings: ‘heaven’, ‘deity’, ‘spirits of aiyy’ and ‘ičči’. The word use context has changed under the influence of the Orthodox dogma. Though the external form remained unchanged, the word underwent significant morphological and semantic changes: the affixation method increased the word-formative and phrase-forming potential of the word, the basic meaning of ‘god’ was fixed, the semantic volume was expanded, some values reflecting the pagan world view became obsolete. There was a separation between its synonym ‘ičči’ being a designation for otherworldly entities, and ‘aiyy’ as the name of good spirits, which still remains a component of the name of the Christian Orthodox god, ‘Aiyŋ Taŋara’.

**Keywords:** semantics, lexical meaning, the word taŋara, seme, semantic feature, semantic modification, shift of meaning.

Research area: philology.

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## Introduction

Humboldt’s activity theory presents language as a dynamic process of thinking and communication. So, language is an important tool for expressing human thought, which manifests itself in communication: “Die Sprache wird durch Sprechen gebildet” (Humboldt, 2000: 163). As a social phenomenon, language is sensitive to different historical changes. According to Humboldt’s conception, fusion of cultures is considered to be one of the ways of language development. The problem of linguistic contacts and their impact on the worldview of people was studied in our previous work (Afanas’eva, Ivanova, 2016).

Bloomfield lists the following basic ways of semantic change in a language: specialization and generalization of the word meaning (after H. Paul), obsolescence and loss of meaning, isolation, borrowing and metaphorization. Semantic change can be internally or externally motivated. Changes in the objective reality are determined by the real situation of communication. Alteration in the mental space influences the word context and its sphere of use (Bloomfield, 1968: 478–486). The phenomena of language change, linguistic models, grammaticalization, social context, contact-based explanations and typological perspective, namely: formal and functional motivation for language change (Newmeyer, 2004), metaphors, models and language change (Aitchison, 2004), grammaticalization (Lightfoot, 2004), in cognitive linguistics (Shitikov, 2012), in Russian literature studies (Azarenko, 2013) were discussed in the book “Motives for Language Change” (2004). In the present work, we observe the semantic change as a result of external changes of social and ideological nature.

## Etymology and functioning of the word in olonkho epos

The Sakha noun ‘taŋara’ goes back to the ancient Turkic language: *täŋri* ‘1. sky, 2. god, deity, 3. divine, 4. master, lord’ (DTS, 1969: 544). In the ancient Turkic language there were other designations of sky, with other meaning than ‘god, deity’: *qaliq* ‘1. sky, heavens; airspace, air, 2. heavenly; airy, 3. the upper chambers, the upper floor of the palace; chambers,

hall, room’; *χaliq* I ‘sky’ (DTS, 1969: 635); *kök* I ‘sky’ (DTS, 1969: 312), pair words *kök qaliq* ‘sky, heavens’ (DTS, 1969: 312, 412; Sravnitel’no-istoricheskaja grammatika..., 2001: 59). In Sakha language *küöx xallaan* ‘blue sky’ is a combination of the adjective *küöx* and the noun *xallaan*. In this case, we see traces of contamination of the meaning of the noun *kök* I and the adjective *kök* VI ‘blue, bluish’, *kök täŋri* ‘blue sky’ (DTS, 1969: 312). Ancient Turkic names of heavenly bodies *kün* ‘sun’ and *aj* ‘moon’ bear the meaning of ‘god’: *kün täŋri* lit. ‘god the sun’ (DTS, 1969: 326, 544); *aj täŋri* rel. ‘the deity of the moon’ (DTS, 1969: 24, 544). In Sakha language there is no designation of *iy taŋara*, but in some set phrases there are signs of the deification of the sun and the moon. The combination of *kün taŋara* ‘the sun-god’ was later transformed into *kün iraaxtaayy* lit. ‘the sun king’ (king after the arrival of Russians, lit. *iraaxtaayy* ‘staying in a remote place’). The same of the sun and moon deification has been preserved in the imperative set combination *kün-iy buol!* ‘Save! Be the sun and the moon!’ These examples show the stability of the semantic structure of words representing the significance of god. Semantic signs of the ancient Turkic word meanings can still be found in some set phrases. The sky and heavenly bodies were endowed with a divine nimbus; a man sought salvation from them.

In the Sakha olonkho epos “Žuluruyar Nyurgun Bootur” (“Nyurgun Bootur the Swift”) the lexeme *taŋara* is used in the meaning of ‘sky’:

*Taŋara syrдыyta, / Tatyiyk yllyyta, / Kün taxsyyta, / Küöregey kötüüte ... (ŽNB, 2003: 178–179). ‘At dawn [of the sky], when the tit sings at sunrise, when the lark flies off ...’*

In Olonkho, the noun *xallaan* is found in the composition of the izafat combination *xallaan taŋarata*, ‘heavenly god, the celestial’ and the attributive combination *taŋaralaax xallaan*, ‘the sky is the abode of gods’. According to Olonkho, the sky is the habitat of not only the divine, but also the demonic forces of *xallaan abaahita* ‘heavenly demons, demons’ (Afanas’eva, 2013: 78).



*Tajaralaax xallaanym / taxsan erer künün / tunalyanin kurduk ... (ŽNB, 2003: 13). '... it looks like the radiance of the rising sun of the divine sky'.*

*Tajara* is a deity name. The supreme celestial deity appears in the form of the gray-haired old man:

*Uruj Aiyy / Aar Toyon tajara ('the white holy God'), which is toyus hallaan toyono, ayys hallaan yraahtaayyta, sette hallaan kineehe (KKK, 1985: 1420) 'the lord of the nine heavens, the king of the eight heavens, the prince of the seven heavens'.*

The epithets *aiyy* and *aar* in the meaning of the 'saint, kind, revered' have correspondences in the ancient Turkic language, cf. other Turkic. *ayır* II 1. 'valuable, dear, 2. respected, honoured, respectable, honourable; the holy one' (DTS, 1969: 19); *arıy* III '1. clean, uncontaminated, 2. fig. morally impeccable, noble, decent, unblemished', 3. Rel. 'pure, true, uncomplicated, righteous, sacred, holy' (DTS, 1969: 51–52). *Aiyy* is a characteristic of the names of saints and good spirits.

The epos reflects the worship of the sky, the worship of the heavenly deities. The hero of the Olonkho "Er Sogotox" ("Lonely Warrior"), presenting the cup with koumiss, appeals to the supreme heavenly deity with the request:

*Warrior Er Sogotox on his knees / He went down, stared at the sky, / began to create the spell with choron: / "O Great Heavenly Host, / Yuryun Aar, the great ruler / of the nine white tiers of the sky ..."* (Er Sogotox, 1991).

Apparently, the set combination *tajara tabata* 'divine deer' refers to the archaic cult of the deer sacrificed in honour of the gods. Often this combination is used as an epithet for the bride. The next quotation refers to a richly dressed young bride, whose hand and heart shall be fought for by the strongest warriors of the middle and lower worlds:

*Tajara tabatyn kurduk / Tajinnaran nañnalit-tygyt / Tahaara oxson kuluñ! Kiaybyt ilya, / Kiaytarbyt matya (ŽNB, 2003: 315). 'Dress her as a divine deer,*

*bring her out quickly! The winner takes her, and the loser gets nothing'.*

Olonkho displays an animistic world full of spirits, where every phenomenon is endowed with a living soul, every object has the spirit of *ičči*, compare with ancient Turk. *idi* 'lord' (about god) (DTS, 1969: 203), *igä* 'master, spirit, deity' (DTS, 1969: 204), *ijä* 'host, lord (about god)' (DTS, 1969: 205). In the following examples, the word *tajara* is used as a synonym for the noun *ičči* 'spirit, master':

*Uot Kudulu Bayyalym / Uluu kuday tajarata, / Hallaan Žalydy Bayyalym / Haraja tajarata ... (ŽNB, 2003: 174). 'The great deity of the fiery ocean Kudulu, the dark deity of the heavenly ocean of Jalidi'.*

Etymological and contextual analysis reveals the following semantic features: 'the sky', 'the sky is a deity', 'the sky is the abode of celestial gods', 'deities are spirits'. The words *tajara* 'heaven, deity', *aiyy* 'holy', *ičči* 'spirit' form a single synonymic row. The outer and inner forms of the lexeme *tajara* indicate the presence of some animistic view and traits of the ancient religion of Tengrism. Human life is controlled by the inhabitants of heaven and spirits, so the man asks them for help and blessing, offers them sacrifices.

#### Word meaning development after the spread of Christianity

"Yakut Language Dictionary" by E.K. Pekarskiy reflects the lexical composition of the language of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, besides linguistic information, offers some cultural information of encyclopaedic nature. It provides five lexical meanings of the word *tajara*; the semantic volume of the word is expanded by extrapolating the primary meaning to all concepts associated with god. In the dictionary article, the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> meanings are later formations that appeared after Christianization: *tajara* '1) the visible sky; sky as a deity' *bylyttaax tajara* 'cloudy sky, cloudy day, cloudy weather'; *aiyy tajara* (in the old days) 'the deity sky; 2) the general name of good creatures (= *ajyy*), a good spirit, a god, a goddess, a pagan deity; the chief deity who lives in the seventh

heaven; spirit protector; idol, fetish; image of the protector spirit'; 3) 'God; deity, divine nature; icon, image', *taŋarata suox* 'godless, atheist'; *Aiyy Taŋara*; *cress taŋara* 'crucifixion'; *üs mörsüönneeh taŋara* 'The Holy Trinity'; *ürdük taŋara* 'the Supreme Being'; *taŋara aha* 'holy gifts'; 4) 'holy, sacred', *taŋara uu* 'holy water'; 5) 'holiday'; *ulaxan taŋara* 'a great holiday' (e.g. Christmas); *taŋara kün* (*taŋara küne*) 'a festive day, a feast; Sunday' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2552). The image of the ancient deity of the Sakha *Aiyy toyon taŋara* acquires some icon features, and Orthodox icons are called *taŋara küllüge* lit. 'shadow of God'.

In the Christianization period, the Orthodox dogma influence changed the context of the word use, shifting the emphasis towards the meaning of "God". Along with this, the morphological processes of affixation began.

With the help of the affix *-laax*, which carries the meaning of possession, the lexeme *taŋaralaax* was formed. In the function of the attribute it conveys the information that a baptized person is considered to be enlightened and advanced: *taŋaralaax* 'divine' (about communion), *ünär taŋaralaax*, *ünäsär suuttaax kibi* 'a person who has a deity to whom he prays, and a court in which he is judged' (i.e. social and moral, not savage). Language retains traces of early beliefs; each Sakha clan, or ulus, had its totem deity: *oyus taŋaralaax* (shaman) 'with the bull deity (protector)'; *kuba taŋaralaax uluus* 'ulus with the swan deity', *moyotoj taŋaralaax nähiliek* 'the settlement with the chipmunk deity' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2552). Idolatry is illustrated by the phrase: *oloror oyo saya taas taŋaralaayym* 'a stone idol of a sitting child [size] I had'. In shamanism, spirits retain their national identity: *nuučča taŋaralaax* shaman 'to whom the Russian devil comes during the ritual', *toŋus taŋaralaax* 'shaman to whom the Tungus spirit comes' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2552). The patronage of the gods extends to all living beings: *taŋaralaax süöhü buolla* 'this is a domestic animal that is not destined at this time to die or be stolen and eaten (about a cow that escaped from thieves)' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2553).

Examples with the affix *-lyy* carrying the meaning of similarity, in the function of the

adjective mainly designates church rituals: *taŋaralyy kičäl* 'divine endeavour'; *taŋaralyy sibätiäydänär* 'divine sanctification' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2553). With the help of affixes *-msax*, *-hyt*, nouns are formed, denoting the conviction and status of a person as a believer: *taŋaramsax* 'God-loving, worshiper'; *taŋarahyt* 1) 'having God's fear, God-fearing, pious, praying, carrying God within him; a hypocrite, a saint', *taŋarahyttar* 'church as a society'; 2) 'devoutness' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2553).

Earlier, death was perceived as a withdrawal from the middle world: *orto doyduttan bar* – 'leave the middle world' (Pekarskiy, 1959: 2552). After the adoption of Christianity, in the interpretation of death another motive appeared; after that, dying meant 'going to God'. The idea of going to God was one of the significant moments in changing the image of God; dying, a person does not disappear into the dark world of demons, but reaches the saving God. The meaning is expressed with the help of the verbal affix *-laa*: *taŋaralaa* 'to rest, to die; to give up the spirit', *taŋaralaabyt* 'the dead' [Pekarskiy 1959: 2552].

*Ököyö kargänä ämiä tynatynan ialjan byhaas taŋaralaabyt suraxtaaya. Sofron Danilov. 'They say that Okoj's wife died of lung disease this spring' (BTS, 2013: 210).*

The dictionary of E.K. Pekarsky reflects both pre-Christian and Christian concepts of God. The pagan god meant heaven, spirit, deity, idol, fetish and totem. Christianity, which began to spread in Yakutia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, brought new meanings to the semantics of the word *taŋara*. The appearance of words describing church life testifies to the role of the church in the process of transforming the pagan concept of God. In the context of Orthodoxy, the word *taŋara* takes on some new meanings: 'god', 'holy', 'icon', 'day of church holidays'. Affixation expands the word-formation capacity; the word performs the functions of an adjective, a verb, forms derivative nouns. The word *ičči* falls out of the synonymic row, retaining its reference to the otherworldly forces in general, while *aiyy* remains an epithet of the god name *Aiyy Taŋara*. The activ-

ities of the Orthodox Church contributed to the transformation of the value component of spiritual life. God *taṅara* materializes in the form of an iconic image; all Orthodox saints are categorized as gods.

The modern "Great Explanatory Dictionary of Yakut Language" (2013) provides five meanings of *taṅara* as a noun.

1. According to religious beliefs: 'the supreme being who created the world and controls it, God'. *Taṅarattan kōrdös 'ask from God' (BTS, 2013: 203).*

*Taṅara kinileri [aanñallary] olus taptyyr buolan, ürdä suox üöriüinü, muḡura suox jolu bäläxtääbit. N. Luginov. 'God gave them [the angels] boundless joy and endless happiness, because he loves them';*

2. The icon.

*Utary munnukka oxo kötöyüülääx jaxtar taṅara oloror. Amma Aččygyia. 'In the opposite corner, the goddess sits with a child in her arms' (BTS, 2013: 204);*

3. The day celebrated by the church as a religious holiday.

*Mäxääläyöp taṅara tiyen kelbite. Kunnuk Uurastyrap. 'Soon, St. Michael's day came';*

4. Archaism. 'protector spirit, totem';

5. Archaism. 'sky'.

*Bylyttaax taṅaraya byktarbakka – ayalaax iyätä ataaxtatan üöskäppiter. P.Oyuunuskay. 'Father and mother brought her up in tenderness, not showing her the cloudy sky' (BTS, 2013: 204).*

The lexeme *taṅara* is a component of the terminological combination, which generally refers to God in general: *taṅara itäyälä* 'religion', 'a religion based on the belief in the existence of god (in the form of the God-man) who created the world and rules it' (BTS, 2013: 207), lit. 'God's faith'.

The dictionary entry *taṅara* and the examples from fiction texts show the shift of the main meaning as a result of the shift the actualization of the meaning of the god. The meanings of 'heaven', 'protector spirit', 'totem' have passed into the category of archaisms, and the meanings formed under the influence of Orthodoxy, have established: 'icon', 'saints' day', 'church feast'.

### The meanings of phraseological units with 'taṅara' component

Semantic analysis of the phraseological units with *taṅara* component helps to identify some additional semantic features. Christianity was perceived by the Sakha through the pagan cult experience; by analogy with deification of the sun and the moon, the Sakha later compared Christ to the sun: *taṅara (kun) kurduk kōrör* 'to deeply respect smb., to bow before someone; idolize' (Nelunov, II, 2002: 179).

God is the supreme almighty being, and the man is powerless before him: *taṅaraya mastammykka dyly (mastan)* 'brave in front of an enemy too strong' (Kulakovsky) (about impotent threat), lit. 'it's like a stick to threaten the sky':

*Käbis-käbis, jüögäm, taṅaraya mastammykka dyly, jylybütiḡar baaysan da xayäxpytyi? Oḡohuubut on-nuk buollaya äbäät. N. Luginov. 'No, no, dear, it's just like threatening the sky with a stick, you cannot change anything, complaining about fate? So, we have such a fate' (Nelunov, II, 2002: 178).*

God knows and sees everything: *taṅara biler* 'God knows' (BTS, 2013: 205).

*Xanna siljaryn taṅara biler.* 'God knows where he goes' (Nelunov, II, 2002: 178).

A person tries to be honest with God:

*Taṅara baaryna, kyrjyk. A. Aččygyia.* 'God knows, it's true' (Nelunov, II, 2002: 177).

God disposes of the destinies of people and man obeys him: *taṅara xanna gynarynan syljabyt* 'wherever God sends'.

*Taṅara xanna gynarynan syljabyt. 'Wherever God sends, we'll go there' (BTS, 2013: 207).*

The church is the abode of God: *taṅara jiete* 'building for worship, the church, the temple of God', *taṅara üöreye* 'theology', *taṅara dolbuura (xoloruga)* 'a shelf for icons'. The communion rites serve as a motivator for phraseological units: *taṅaraya tikser kurduk (keri-ete)* 'seldom, occasionally' from *taṅaraya tigis* 'religion, confession, communion' (Nelunov, II, 2002: 180; BTS, 2013: 206); *taṅara ahyn*

*kurduk tut* – ‘to cherish smth. very much, to cherish smth., lit. treat smth. as a prosphora!’ (Nelunov, II, 2002: 177).

God’s grace is perceived as a carefree life, devoid of suffering: *taṅara taalata* inform. ‘a joyful, free life’, *taṅara talbyt* ‘to be on top of bliss’.

*Tuox da kihalyata, äräye suox, bāyāte talbytynan jahanar, köñülünen tuttar olus üčügei oloḡun tuhunan “kööčöön körö”, “taṅara taalata” dien noruokka bylyr etillen xaalbyt* (Nelunov, II, 2002: 180). ‘Since immemorial times, people have referred to a carefree, devoid of suffering, independent and free life as the “merriment under the sun”, “God’s grace”.’

God is the saviour and man can always rely on God’s help: *taṅara buol* – ‘protect, save, protect from encroachments’ (lit. ‘be a god’), *taṅara byyhaatyn* ‘God save’, *taṅara kömölöhüex* ‘God will help’, *taṅara ahan biederder* ‘if God helps, lit. if God opens the way’ (BTS, 2013: 206).

*Taṅara kömölöhöө ini, – dien oḡonnor kiriestenen kebiste. P. Oyuunuskay. ‘I think God will help, “the old man said and crossed himself”’* (Nelunov, II, 2002: 179).

God is merciful, the man hopes for the pity of God: *taṅara ahymmyt* ‘God was merciful’.

*Seriitten xasta da ulaxannyk baahyran kelbite. Xayaan tyynnaax orputa buolla, čaxčy taṅara ahymmyt kihite. ‘He returned from the war with multiple heavy wounds. How could he survive? The truth is, God took pity on him’* (Nelunov, II, 2002: 177).

Everything that a person has in this world is given by God: *taṅara bierie* loan phrase: ‘god will give’, *taṅara tugu bierbitinen* loan word: ‘what god sent’, *taṅara uon oččonu bierie* ‘god will render a hundredfold, lit. God will give ten times more’, *taṅara bäläye* ‘a gift of fate (god)’ (BTS, 2013: 205–208; Nelunov, II, 2002: 178–180).

*Taṅara äyiexe uon oččony bierie, onon, xata, malyymanna yllat. S. Omolloon. ‘God will reward you with a hundredfold, therefore, come on, serve a prayer’.*

God can punish a person: *taṅara nakaaha* ‘punishment of God’, *taṅara atayastaabyt* loan phrase: ‘god offended someone by smth’.

*Ardayy, xaary bilimmeke mas kändärbit. Onno baara – taṅara nakaaha dien. ‘We felled the trees, despite the rain and snow. It was God’s punishment’* (BTS, 2013: 207).

The language reflects a reverential attitude towards God, he should be thanked: *taṅaraya maxtal* ‘thank God’ (BTS, 2013: 206). A person feels a mental connection with him: *taṅara sanaa bierdeyine* ‘something good will come to mind suddenly (lit. if God sends a thought)’ (BTS, 2013: 207), *taṅara imnännäye* ‘god ordered (lit. probably god winked)’ (BTS, 2013: 206).

A disobedient person, who does not recognize God, is despised: *taṅarany umnubut bayayı* ‘a person who does not obey and violates God’s laws’. Some phraseological units have stylistic shades, expressing irony, reverence and humour. The ironic attitude towards those who create themselves an idol is transmitted by the phraseological unit *taṅara gynan ünĵ* (*ünĵer taṅara oḡohun*) ‘to worship someone’ (BTS, 2013: 206). Some comparative units express respect and reverence: *taṅara kurduk körör* ‘deeply respect smb., bow to smb., idolize (lit. as to look at God)’.

*Saṅa oskuolany tuttarbyt. Onon oloxtooxtor Nikolai Vasilievihy taṅara kurduk köröllör äbit. N. Bosikov. ‘He built a new school. Therefore, local residents look at Nikolai Vasilyevich as a god’* (BTS, 2013: 206–207).

Most phraseological units are borrowed from Russian language, which motivates the following senses: the ‘higher being’, ‘disposes of the destinies of living beings’, ‘saviour and helper’, ‘brings grace’, ‘all-knowing’, ‘giving’, ‘gracious’, ‘punishing’.

## Conclusion

The material and spiritual culture of the Sakha people takes its origin from the era of the ancient Turks, as evidenced by the historical connection of the words of Ancient

Turkic *tānri* and Sakha *taṅara*. Analysis of the linguistic material indicates that the ideology of Orthodox Christianity, which spread among the people of Sakha more than three hundred years ago, caused some significant transformations in the language system. As a result, the following changes occurred in the development of the lexeme *taṅara* in Sakha language:

- 1) due to the metonymic shift, it lost its primary meaning of 'heaven';
- 2) the meaning of 'God' was updated;
- 3) the semantic volume expanded by extending the meaning to the designation of Christian saints, shrines and relics;
- 4) affixation discovered new functional and semantic possibilities; the word has acquired the functions of an adjective, a verb, and some new nouns have been derived;

5) adoptions from Russian language increased the phrase-forming potential of the word;

6) with the differentiation of meanings between the words *taṅara* "god" and *ičči* "spirit", the latter acquired a meaning close to the designation of otherworldly forces, e.g. *iččileex sir* 'a place inhabited by dark forces'.

Most of the set units are borrowed from Russian language through adoption. This process was influenced by the following circumstances: 1) translation of religious books and texts by Orthodox missionaries, 2) religious service in Sakha language, and 3) development of bilingualism among the local population. Analysis shows that changes have affected all levels of the language. Linguistic facts prove that the transition from the pre-Christian pagan time to the Christian era led to some transformations in the concept of God.

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## Развитие семантики слова 'танара' в якутском языке

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена изучению эволюции лексического значения слова 'танара' в якутском языке. Рассматривается этимология, функционирование слова в эпическом тексте, проводится анализ данных толковых и фразеологических словарей, выпущенных в разное время. Слово 'танара' восходит к древнетюркскому *tāŋra* и до XX века сохраняет значение 'небо, божество'. Внешняя и внутренняя формы лексемы свидетельствуют о наличии следов древних языческих верований (тэнгрианства, шаманизма). Поздние словари фиксируют значения, отображающие реалии православного христианства и замену первичного значения на 'бог', значение 'небо' отходит на второй план. Значения, обозначающие ранние верования, перешли в ранг устаревших. Бог больше не тождественный духу в языческом понимании, а персонифицированный иконический образ. Изменение контекстуального окружения слова привело к активизации аффиксов, что способствовало образованию глагола, имени прилагательного и других имен существительных. Заимствования из русского языка увеличили фразеологический потенциал слова; большинство фразеологических единиц с компонентом 'танара' образованы способом калькирования. Анализ показал, что изменения семантики слова 'танара' коснулись всех уровней языка. Семантические преобразования обусловлены внешними факторами, влиянием русской культуры через распространение среди якутов православного религиозного учения.

**Ключевые слова:** семантика, лексическое значение, слово 'танара', сема, семантический признак, семантическая модификация, изменение значения.

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## Characteristics of the G.V. Baishev's Translation of the Yakut Heroic Olonkho Epic "Ala-Bulkun" Into Russian (Illustrated by Verbs of Motion and Epic Formulae)

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**Abstract.** The objective of the study is to reveal the main techniques of the translation of the Yakut Olonkho epos "Ala-Bulkun" into Russian, made by the Yakut linguist and writer G.V. Baishev – Altan Sarin (1898-1931). The study is based on the verbs of motion and some main epic formulae used in this Olonkho epos. The analysis of the techniques used for translation of the Yakut verbs of motion into Russian showed that the verbs are translated with the reformulation technique. It suggests that the translator sought to adequately communicate the semantics of the Yakut verbal forms. This, in turn, is determined by the fact that verbal forms as predicative structures are the heads of both dependent and independent predicative structures. The epic formulae are translated using parallelism or by dividing the sentence into several sentences. Besides, to expand the context in order to reveal the translated information more slowly, the repetition technique is used. It was found that the translation under consideration demonstrates some elements of authorized translation. The studies of Olonkho translation techniques aimed at communicating the stylistic and poetic features of this Yakut folklore genre are of both theoretical and practical importance.

**Keywords:** Olonkho, oblique translation techniques, reformulation, verb, epic formula, parallelism.

Research area: philology.

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## Introduction

The Yakut epos of Olonkho is a collection of heroic legends about feats of the ancient heroes, the forefathers or protectors of Sakha Urangkhay (the ancient endonym of the Yakuts) descending from a large and powerful epic tribe Aiiy (Emel'ianov, 1983: 3). The heroes fought for establishing the power of the Yakuts in the Middle World, the beginning and continuation of the Sakha Urangkhay people, the interests of the Aiiy tribe, peaceful and happy life on Earth. The Olonkho plot unwinds as a story a hero of the Middle World, the forefather or the protector of the Sakha Urangkhay people, the creator of life on Earth (Emel'ianov, 1983: 3).

The present paper discusses the main characteristics of the translation of the Olonkho epos "Ala-Bulkun" into Russian. The subject of the analysis are verbs of motions and some major epic formulae used in this Olonkho.

The first translation of a Yakut Olonkho into another language (German) was published in O.N. Böhtlingk's grammar (Böhtlingk, 1851). The first translations of Olonkho into Russian appeared in the 1880s. In 1884, the Russian translation of the Olonkho by N.S. Gorokhov "Yryñ Uolan" "providing the most full and true representation of the Yakut Olonkho" was published in the Proceedings of the East Siberian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (Nikolaeva, 2014: 286). In 1890, "Verkhoyansk Collection" presented the interlinear translation of the Olonkho "Basymn'ylaakh Baatyr" by I.A. Khudiakov (Khudiakov, 1890). In 1929, five Yakut Olonkho eposes were published in "Examples of the Yakut Folk Literature" recorded and translated by S.V. Iastremskiy (Iastremskiy, 1929). Recently, Yakut Olonkho epos is translated into other languages including English (Nakhodkina, 2014).

The Yakut Olonkho is represented in various types of translation (compare the categories of inexhaustibility of the source text, multiplicity of translation (Razumovskaya, 2018)), including adapted translations for children, prosaic translations, versifications by Russian poets, literary Olonkho-based texts for children, full poetic translations,

scientific translations (Vasil'eva, 2017: 47). In scientific translation, "attention is paid not only to the accuracy of conveying the contents, but also to the lexical and grammatical structure of the text as a unique feature of the Yakut epos worth deeper examination" (Vasil'eva, 2017: 49).

The Olonkho "Ala-Bulkun" was translated in 1926-1927 by G.V. Baishev – Altan Saryn by the order of academician E.K. Pekarskiy, who edited this Olonkho to be published in the third volume of "Examples of the Yakut Folk Literature". However, Pekarskiy did not succeed to publish this Olonkho along with other two recorded by V.N. Vasil'ev. A part of the translation by G.V. Baishev was published in 1994 by the Institute of Language, Literature and History of the Academy of Sciences of Sakha Republic (Yakutia) prepared and annotated by V.M. Nikiforov (Ala-Bulkun, 1994). The full text was published in 1998 (Altan Saryn, 1998).

In the foreword to his translation G.V. Baishev – Altan Saryn described the principle he applied: "to translate the sense of a real epos *as it may be perceived by a common Yakut listening to a narrator*" (italics added) (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 226). Baishev emphasized that he "tried to make the translation closer to the text, literal when possible" (ibid). Such translation principle was determined by the linguistic interests of E.K. Pekarskiy. Working on "Dictionary of the Yakut Language", he needed to objectively define Yakut words and phrases that he had mostly collected from folklore texts. Besides, being a reformer of the Yakut written language, Baishev probably tried to translate the Olonkho using the semantic technique to achieve a maximally full translation of the context meaning of the source text elements. In doing so, Altan Saryn chose the scientific translation strategy (Vasil'eva, 2017: 49).

## Discussion

### Translation of verbs of motion

The techniques used to translate the verbs of motion are illustrated by passages from the given Olonkho describing **the character's appearance, the rising sun, and the epic country**.



**Character's appearance.** The description of the character's eyebrows and cheeks involves relative verbal (participle) constructions with space meaning, direction to start, marking the starting point of motion (*Аллантан киирбит*, *Кытайтан кэлбит*), e.g.:

Source language	Target language
(1) <i>Аллантан киирбит Хара саарбаны Хардарыта тунпунт курдук Харалаах хара көмүс хаастаах</i> (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 11).	имеет брови из черного серебра, словно поставленные друг против друга два алданских черных соболя (Altan Saryn, 1998: 228).

In (1), the relative participle construction *Аллантан киирбит* of the source language (further, SL) is replaced in the target language (further, TL) by the derivative adjective *алданский* that within the context of the sentence also translates the meanings of the starting point of motion.

(2) <i>Кытайтан кэлбит кыһыл саһылы Кыттыһыннара уурбут курдук Икки кыһыл көмүс иннээх</i> (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 11).	имеет две пылающие щеки, словно точенные из красного серебра, подобные двум рядом поставленным красным лисицам, привезенным из Китая (Altan Saryn, 1998: 228).
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In (2) the verb *кэл-* in the fourth lexical-semantic variant (LSV4) 'be brought, be delivered somewhere' (Great Dictionary of the Yakut Language (GDYL, 2007: 466)) has an equivalent in the TL *привезти* (привезенный) 'bring (brought)' – *доставить везя* 'deliver' (Ozhegov, 1972: 539).

### Rising sun

(3) <i>Ойон тахсар куннээх</i> (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 12).	в ней прямо восходящее солнце (Altan Saryn, 1998: 229).	'There is the directly rising sun in it'.
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In (3) *ой-* of the SL is characterized by LSV3 'rise, appear above the horizon (of the sun)' (GDYL, 2009: 228). The verbal analytical construction (further, VAC) of the SL *ойон табыс-* 'jump out, rise quickly' is translated by the word combination "adverb + verb" *прямо взойти*. *Взойти* 'rise above the horizon' (Ozhegov, 1972: 75), *прямо* 'directly, passing by everything else, intermediaries' (Ozhegov, 1972: 579). This word combination makes the translation adequate.

(4) <i>Кун Тойон көрбүтүнэн тахсар Күллүрууттээх күндүл көмүс хайата</i> (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 12).	ослепительно белая гора, которая дышала зарею утреннего восхода, когда над ней восходил сам господин старец солнце, с открытыми глазами (Altan Saryn, 1998: 230).	'A dazzling white mountain that was breathing with the dawn of the morning sunrise, when the master old man sun rose over it, with his eyes open'.
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In (4) the verbal form (participle) *тахсар* functioning as the predicate of the relative clause is translated by the verb *восходил* functioning as a predicate of the adverbial clause of time. In this case, the participle form is translated by the finite form of the verb.

### Epic country

(5) <i>Субу курдук Устата-туората биллибэтэх, Унуоргутулаҕата көстүбэтэх Уһун киэн дойду ортотугар</i>	<i>Очутившись</i> на середине этой неведомо широкой страны, с ее безграничной долготой, и стоя на середине такой обширной	'Having found oneself in the middle of this unbelievably wide country, with its endless longitude, and standing in the middle of such vast
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<i>киирэн туран.</i>	страны, с	country, with
<i>Өйдөөн-</i>	неуловимыми	the boundaries
<i>дьүһүлээн</i>	для глаз	that eyes cannot
<i>(көрөн)</i>	пределами,	catch, if one
<i>турдахха –</i>	если устремить	turns one's eyes
<i>Собуруу диэки</i>	свой взор	towards the
<i>сунту көрөн,</i>	на юг (Altan	south'.
<i>Одуулаан</i>	Saryn, 1998:	
<i>турдахкына</i>	229-230).	
<i>буоллабына</i>		
(Ala-Bulkun,		
1994: 12).		

In (5) *киир-* LSV5 'be in the middle, center of something, come into the center, middle of something' (GDYL, 2007: 68). In the TG the verb *киир-* in the form of an adverbial participle is represented by the adverbial participle *очутившись – очутиться* 'find oneself somewhere' (Ozhegov, 1972: 446).

(6) <i>Арыыта-</i>	ярко	'Bright green
<i>сыата</i>	зеленая там	grass there
<i>айгырачы</i>	колыхалась	swayed as if
<i>сүүрэ</i>	травы, словно	vaporizing
<i>турар Абыс</i>	<i>испаряя</i> на	heavy butter
<i>салаалаах ача</i>	себя жирное	onto itself'.
<i>күөх оттоох</i>	масло (Altan	
(Ala-Bulkun,	Saryn, 1998:	
1994: 12).	230).	

In (6) the adverbial participle *сүүрэ* is derived from the verb *сүүр-* in LSV4 'flow out something in a continuous current, run (e.g. of tears, blood)' (GDYL, 2012: 325) is translated by the adverbial participle *испаряя* < испарить 'turn into vapor' (Ozhegov, 1972: 234).

Thus, the analysis of translation of the Yakut verbs of motion into Russian in the given text shows that they are translated using transposition technique, substituting functional verb forms and parts of speech.

### Translation of epic formulae

In the Yakut epos studies, an epic formula is referred to as a literary polished tirade,

(7) <i>Былыргы дьыл</i>	<i>На лоне древних лет, на вершине</i>	<i>'In the bosom of the ancient times,</i>
<i>мындаатыгар, Урукку дьыл</i>	<i>прошлых времен, за чертой</i>	<i>at the top of the old times, behind</i>
<i>урбатыгар, Ааспыт дьыл</i>	<i>прошедших годов, вблизи старинных</i>	<i>the boundary of the past years, in</i>
<i>арбаатыгар, Эргэ</i>	<i>времен, в узле оных веков, на</i>	<i>the knot of those ages, at the</i>

the largest complete semantic and rhythmic group of a poetic text containing a whole descriptive picture and image (Vasil'ev, 1965: 101). It is noted that the major structural core of such formula is short with the so-called main word combination. Epic "formulae are short, the basic idea is concentrated in the main word combination, their meaning is aphoristic, their literary form is poetic" (Illarionov, 2006: 28). Linguistically, epic formulae are based on the major structural law of the Yakut language "the prepositional defining component + the postpositional defined component" where a prepositional component acts as the semantic core (compare, main word / word combination) (Efremov, 2013).

**The epic formula of time** is represented within the tirade utterance (*epic formula*) describing *the existence of the hero Ala-Bulkun* "in the bosom of the ancient times". It functions as a prepositional construction, parallelism of six components where the main word combination of the first component is the word combination *былыргы дьыл* 'ancient time'. This word combination coupled with the syntactic noun *мындаатыгар* – *Былыргы дьыл мындаатыгар* has the meaning 'in great antiquity, in ancient times' and functions as *an introduction formula* (GDYL, 2006: 491). The given tirade is translated into Russian with five phrases using the syntactic transformation, dismemberment of the sentence determined by rhythm and intonation as the Olonkho introductory tirade is slowly chanted by the narrator. The introductory epic formula is arranged as a separate incomplete phrase in the form of parallelism of six members. It is separated from the second, relative, phrase by dots marking a certain pause after the phrase meaning epic time. The initial two incomplete phrases, epic time and an epithet, make up a separate paragraph which emphasizes the logical meaning of this segment of the tirade:

*дьыл энэригэр, Нөнгүө дьыл түмүгэр, Чизрэс дьыл тимэбэр / Үс түһүү төгүл дойду Үрүт көбүөтүгэр Үрдүк мындаатыгар Үктэллэнэн үөскээбит, Туйгун туруу дыабыл дойду Ньургуннаах сулар ньууругар Дугуйдаан торулуйбут, Абыс иилээх-сажалаах аан ийэ дойдутун Алтан туона хонуутугар Адабыйан айыллыбыт, Тылыгар чымьрбаннаах, Сырайыгар ынырыктаах, Турар бэйэтэ кутталлаах Көстөр дьүһүнэ суостаах, Көрөр мөрсүөнэ дьулааннаах, Улахан аҕа ууһа Талыы харба аймаҕа, Эдьээн айыы сиэнэ, Күрүө Дьөһөгөй дьоно, Күрүө Баай улууһа, Күрэннээх күн айыы аймаҕа, Көбүстээх чубукуй, Тынырахтаах дьэгиэ, Кынаттаах дайбарыын, Кутуруктаах дэлэкиир, Уордаах уйусхан, Үчүгэй Имэрэкээн эмээхсин уола, Аланхаҕа төрөөбүт *Айаас Ала аттаах* Ала-Булкун бухатыыр диэн киһи Үөһэ бөбөттөн үүннээх-ыныырдаах Үтүө киһи (баара) эбитэ үһү (Ala-Bulkun, 1994: 11).*

*границ чуждых эпох* (introductory formula) ... Возникший, своей пятой попирая, верхнюю грань высокой поверхности трех сущной земли (страны), резвившийся свободно, на благородной, открытой, лицевой стороне, благородно бурой колыбели матери земли (the first relative construction, epithet – relative construction). Созданный владычествуя золотой серединой восьмиободной и восьмигранной его начальной матери земли (the second relative construction) Богатырь Ала-Булкун (Выделяющийся бунтарь), *имеющий своим конем Айаас Ала* (Ярый Пеструн), родившийся в сезоне созревания. Языком (своим) внушающий трепет, на лице (своим) имеющий грозу, (он) стоя внушающий страх, (он) страшной внешностью своей, и с видом (он) внушающим робость, (он) из великого рода, (он) из славного племени, (он) отпрыск доброго начала, (он) из гордого богатого улуса, (он) сроден со стремительными солнечными духами). (И этот) человек называющийся: Ала Булкун, *имеющий своим конем Айаас-Ала*, родившегося в плодоносном сезоне, был сыном Үчүгэй Имэрикээн (Хороший Гладила) старухи, (которая имела следующий эпитет к своему имени: Козлиная спина, Крючковатые когти, Махающие крылья, Развевающийся хвост, Тревожная ярость. Он был имеющий назначение свыше великий человек (Altan Sarгyn, 1998: 228).

*edge of alien eras* (introductory formula) ... Appeared, the upper edge of the high surface of the three-entity earth (country) treading with his heel, frisking freely on the noble open front side of the brown cradle of the mother earth (the first relative construction, epithet – relative construction). Created by the golden middle of his eight-rim and eight-side primary mother-earth (the second relative construction) Hero Ala-Bulkun (Standing Out Rebel) *having Ayaas Ala* (Forceful Marked) *as his steed* born in the season of ripening. Evoking quiver by (his) tongue, having thunderstorm on (his) face, (he) by his fearful appearance, (he) evoking timidity by his looks, (he) descending from the great kin, (he) being from the good tribe, (he) being an offspring of the good, (he) being from a pride rich ulus (district) (he is kindred to the swift sun spirits). (And this) man is named: Ala Bulkun *having Ayaas-Ala as his steed, born in the ripening season*, was the son of the old woman Yčygey Imärikään (good stroker – [one that strokes, pats]), (who has the following epithet to her name: goat back, hooked claws, flapping wings, waving tail, disturbing fury). He was a great man having a mission from above.<sup>7</sup>

The analysis of (7) shows that the relative participle construction *имеющий своим конем Айаас-Ала* 'having Ayaas-Ala as his steed' is repeated in the translated text that "slows down the pace of communication significantly" (Cellow, 1997: 76). Such repetition is a linguistic technique to mark the slow rhythm of the tirade. The epithets to the name of the old woman *Yčygey Imärikään* are given in parentheses as a commentary which

can be explained by the scientific character of this translation. The literal translation of the names of the Olonkho characters is given in parentheses: the epic hero Ala-Bulkun (Standing Out Rebel), his horse Ayaas Ala (Forceful Marked), the old woman Yčygey Imärikään (Good Stroker – one that strokes, pats). Thanks to such translation of the names the reader of the translated text perceives their meaning as the reader of the original text would. Besides,

the Yakut graphic image of the names is also presented so that the reader could apprehend the information as close to the original as possible.

The formula describing **the appearance of the epos character** is translated in five sentences. The culture-specific vocabulary is also

presented in the original form with the corresponding scientific comments (*былас, харыс*). There is an addition of a certain image (e.g., the height of the character), omission of naturalistic descriptions, etc. which may be considered as the elements of authorized translation. Compare:

Абыс иилээх-саҕалаах Аан дойдун иччититтэн Эньэлээх-сэтиилээх төрөөбүт Үрдүк үтүө киһини, Көрсүө бөбө унуобун Дьүһүн-бодо одуулаан, Бырта-харта быластаан, Чинчи сэбэрэ бэрийэн, Өйдөөн дьүһүлээн көрөн турдакка: Түһэ кэбиһэ *түөрт былас* суон Төгүрүмчэлээх киһи эбит; *Оон-ньуу-күлэ уон арсыын Уһун киһи эбит Үс былас* (харыс) куоҕайар маҕан Уһун мойньоох, *Биэс харыс* мэлийэр Уһун мэлигир маҕан сырайдаах, Ой хара тыаны Орто-тунан ойо баттаан ылбыт курдук Ойбонноох оройдоох, Саннын салбаҕар диэри үүнэн түспүт Куудуралаах хара көмүс баттахтаах; Аллантаан киирбит Хара саарбаны Хардарыта туппут курдук Харалаах хара көмүс хаастаах. Кытайтан кэлбит Кыһыл саһылы Кытыһыннары уурбут курдук Икки кыһыл көмүс имнээх, Аллаах ат сототун Сулуйа баттаан баран Туруору туппут курдук Хансаардаах үрүн көмүс муруннаах, Уон атыыр тулугу Кэккэлэччи туппут курдук Аалыылаах дьырыы көмүс тиистээх, Бойдуод уял липхаан халҕанын Тэлэйэн кэбиспит курдук Былаа маҕан түөстээх; Уолах тиити төрүт чууркатынан Быһыта сыспыт курдук Кырыылаах сылбаран маҕан харылаах, Икки хоппо күрдьэх курдук Икки сабарай таас ытыстаах, Уон тыһы кырынааһы таннары сахсыйбыт курдук Бабыа көмүс тарбахтаах Икки кэрэ сылгы кэлин мындаатын Кэккэлэтэ туппут курдук Түһүү төгүл маҕан нылбэктээх, Баай тиити Баһын-атаһын быһыта сыспыт

Если посмотреть любопытствующе на его внешность, на его крепкий стройный стан, на его разумный (крепкий) здоровый (кровь) нрав и (станем) соразмерять, подвергая (их) внимательному обследованию, то он (его качества) будет таков (говоря условно): он имеет «четыре быласа» (мера длины, около двух аршин) в окружности, *говоря в шутку, он имеет в десять аршин вышины. Имеет высокую шею, длиною в три «харыса»* (мера длины – меньше одного фута, больше полфута). Имеет открытое белое лицо, длинное в *пять «харыс-ов»*, имеет темя с пробиркой, подобное темному лесу с просекой, имеет ниспадающие на плечи кудри, словно из черного серебра, имеет брови из черного серебра, словно поставленные друг против друга два алданских черных соболя, имеет две пылающие щеки, словно точенные из красного серебра, подобные двум рядом поставленным красным лисицам, приведенным из Китая, имеет горбатый нос, словно точенный из белого серебра, подобный вертикально поставленной оголовной голени ретивого коня, имеет шлифованные яркие зубы, точенные из белого серебра, подобные десятью рядом поставленным самцам снегирям, имеет белую выпуклую грудь, похожую на развернутые тяжелые двери богатой семьи. Его белые гладкие ногти с гранью подобны бревнам, вырубленным из основания молодого дерева, две его широкие, каменные ладони подобны двум вогнутым

'If look curiously at his appearance, at his strong slender figure, at his reasonable (strong) healthy (blood) disposition and (we will) proportion by (their) close examination, he (his qualities) will be like that (speaking relatively): he is "four bylas" tall (a linear measure, about two arshins [= 0.71 m]) around, *to say for fun, he is ten arshins tall* (added by the translator). Has a neck three "kharys" long (a linear measure – less than a foot, more than half a foot). Has an open white face five "kharys" long, has the crown with a parting like a dark forest with an opening, has shoulder-long curls as if of black silver, has the eyebrows of black silver like two Aldan black sables set opposite each other, two burning cheeks as if made of red silver like two red foxes brought from China put side by side, has a hooked nose as if chiseled of white silver like a vertically put shin of a hot horse, has polished bright teeth as if made of white silver like a row of ten male bullfinches, has a white bulging chest similar to open heavy doors of a rich home. His white smooth nails are like logs cut off the base of a young tree, his two broad stone hands are like two concave deep spades. His mighty, as if chiseled of white silver fingers look like ten wild ermines rushing downwards, he has two active quick thighs like two white horses standing back to back, his smooth white shank is

курдук Дьулагыр маҕан сотолоох,  
Сэттэ мастаах сиитик оночону  
Иттэннэри кэбэн кэбиспит курдук  
Сабарай таас улуунахтаах; ...  
Тоҕус мастаах хойуук оночону  
Туруору кэбэн кэбиспит курдук  
Бөлтөркөй бүрүө көбүстээх, Күтүр  
улахан киһи эбитэ үһү (Ala-  
Bulkun, 1994: 11).

глубоким лопатам. Его могучие,  
словно из серебра, точенные  
пальцы похожи на десять диких  
горностаев, стремящихся книзу,  
он имеет два подвижных быстрых  
бедра, подобных двум стоящим  
рядом задам белых коней, его  
гладкая белая голень подобна  
бревну из могущего дерева с  
обрубленными вершинами и ос-  
нованием, его широкие каменные  
ступни похожи на опрокинутую  
лодку, сделанную из семи плах,  
его громадная объемная спина по-  
хожа на большой каюк (большая  
лодка), построенный из десяти  
деревьев. Это был такой громад-  
ный человек (Altan Saryn, 1998:  
228-229).

like a log made of a strong tree  
with top and bottom cut off,  
his broad stone feet look like  
an upside-down boat made of  
seven blocks, his vast bulky  
back is like a large boat made of  
ten trees. That was such a huge  
man'.

The **epic country** formula is translated in three sentences. The last sentence is of authorized character. The introduction of the construction is represented by a parallelism of four members in the accusative case. It is also trans-

lated with a parallelism of four members. The name of the mythological creature Ala manday balyk 'Ala manday fish' is provided with a scientific comment, like in the previous tirades, as a parenthesis. Compare:

Үрдүк үтүө киһи гиэнин  
Үөскээбит үтүө дойдутун<sub>1</sub>,  
Төрөөбүт төрүт буорун,  
Иитиллибит ийэ сири<sub>2</sub>,  
Айыллыбыт аҕыс иилээх-  
саҕалаах, Атааннаах-  
мөнүөннээх, Айгырыын  
силик, Аан чалбай, Туруой  
ырай, Туйгун туруу дьабыл  
дойдутун<sub>2</sub>. Өйдөөн, дьүһүлээн  
көрөн турдахка<sub>4</sub> – Оргуйар  
муора улаҕалаах, Дьалкыйар  
муора дьайыннаах, Эргийэр  
муора эркиннээх, Ала  
мандай балык атахтаах  
Айгыр уу алыннаах, Чэннээх  
үөдөн түгэхтээх, Сибэтиэй  
буор ортолоох, Сизэрэй  
солко аартыктаах, Сизги  
дьабыл эркиннээх, Унаар-  
манаар урсуннаах, Уйгу  
буйан ортолоох Уолах мас  
ойбостоох, Уолан бараммат  
уулаах, Охтон бараммат  
мастаах, Ороһулаан төрүүр  
торбостоох, Ойуныхтаан  
үөскүүр кулунаах, Ойон

Если обратить внимательный взор<sub>4</sub> на  
ту славную страну<sub>1</sub>, где возник этот  
высокий человек – на его родную,  
восьмиобводную, восьмигранную  
землю<sub>2</sub>, с изменчивой средой – на  
землю<sub>2</sub>, где он воспитывался и  
рос, которая была его колыбелью,  
подобная второму раю, на его  
божественную нарядную страну<sub>3</sub>,  
вечно ликующую, благородно-бурую,  
где он был создан, то она окружена  
была бурными морями, ее основания  
уходят в вечно волнующиеся моря,  
ее охватывает со всех сторон океаны,  
ее опирается на Ала-Мандай-рыбу  
(название легендарной рыбы, на  
которой якобы держится земля).  
Он стоит на сплошной воде, дном  
ее служит ледяная преисподняя, и  
только в середине находится святая  
земля, дороги на которой словно  
устланы серым шелком, которой  
сопутствуют пестрая жизнь,  
безграничное очертание которой  
утопает в пространстве синего  
тумана, одно ее дыхание несет  
обильные плоды, она обрамлена

If one gives an attentive look  
at that good country where this  
tall man arose – at his native  
eight-rim, eight-side earth with  
a changing environment – at the  
country where he was brought  
up and he grew up, that was his  
cradle like the second paradise,  
at his divine spruce country,  
always triumphing, nobly brown,  
where he was created, it was  
surrounded by rough seas, its  
base going down into seas always  
rising in waves, it is embraced  
by oceans from all sides, it rests  
upon Ala-Manday fish (the  
name of the legendary fish that  
supposedly the earth). It stands  
on endless water, its bottom is the  
icy underworld, and only in the  
middle there is a holy land whose  
roads are covered with grey silk,  
that is accompanied by motley  
life, whose limitless outline  
drowns in the space of blue fog,  
its breathing gives abundant fruit,  
it is framed by fresh trees, it is

тахсар күннээх, Көнгүлүнэн  
үөскээбит көй кэрэ дойду  
Күтүр үтөө өттө көнтөс  
көбүлүгэр Күөлүргэхтээн  
үөскээбит (эбит) (Ala-Bulkun,  
1994: 11).

свежими деревьями, она наделена  
неубывающей от испарения водой,  
она имеет неиссякаемые от падения  
леса, в ней поздно рождающиеся телята,  
в ней прыгая рождающиеся жеребята,  
в ней прямо восходящее солнце.  
Этот человек преуспевал, свободно  
располагая самим собой, на лоне  
благородной, самопроизвольно  
возникшей, прекрасной, чудной  
страны (Altan Saryn, 1998: 229).

filled with water endless due to  
vaporizing, it has inexhaustible  
forests, there are late born calves  
in it, there are foals born jumping  
in it, there is the directly rising  
sun in it. This man thrived,  
being free in the bosom of the  
noble, spontaneously emerged,  
beautiful, wonderful country.

## Conclusion

The translation of the Olonkho "Ala-Bulkun" has some elements of authorized translation although the translator sought to translate as close to the original as possible, as the analysis of the epic formulae tirades revealed. The tirades are translated using syntactic transformation, dismemberment of the sentence into several phrases or utterances. The analyzed verbs of motion are generally

translated by reformulation. Culture-specific words (e.g. proper names of characters, words with quantitative meaning, etc.) are represented in the target language in the phonetic image of the source language provided with parallel literal translation of scientific comments. The translation of the given Olonkho deserves further investigation as one of the first attempts of scientific translation of the Yakut heroic epos into Russian.

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## Особенности перевода олонхо «Ала-Булкун» Г.В. Баишевым на русский язык (на примере глаголов движения и эпических формул)

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**Аннотация.** Целью и задачами статьи служит выявление основных способов перевода на русский текста якутского героического эпоса олонхо «Ала-Булкун», осуществленного якутским лингвистом и писателем Г.В. Баишевым-Алтан-Сарын (1898-1931). В качестве материала исследования были выбраны глаголы движения и некоторые основные эпические формулы, использованные в данном олонхо. Анализ способов перевода на русский язык якутских глаголов движения показывает, что эти глаголы переведены на русский язык способом замены. Подобный факт свидетельствует о том, что переводчик стремился точно передать семантику якутских глагольных форм на русский язык. Это, в свою очередь, обусловлено тем, что глагольные формы как предикативные структуры являются вершинами тех или иных предикативных конструкций – зависимых или независимых. Эпические формулы переведены при помощи синтаксической замены – параллелизмами, а также расчленением предложения на несколько предложений. Кроме того, встречаются лексические и синтаксические повторы для расширения контекста с целью более медленного раскрытия передаваемой информации. Установлено, что в рассмотренном переводном тексте имеют место элементы авторизованного перевода. Изучение особенностей подобных переводов олонхо, ориентированных на воспроизведение стилистических и поэтических особенностей данного жанра якутского фольклора, имеет как практическое, так и теоретическое значение.

**Ключевые слова:** олонхо, переводческие трансформации, замена, глагол, эпическая формула, параллелизм.

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## Language Consciousness of the Yakut Language Speakers

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**Abstract.** The paper proposes results of the language consciousness analysis through the concepts “Culture”, “Language”, “Nature”, “History”, “Love”, “Beauty” and “Family”. The aim of work is to expose the core component of the language consciousness of the Yakut language speakers. The main method of study is the associative experiment which involved questioning more than 2,000 people. Respondents of experiment were 25-65 year old people, students of different specialties, teachers, engineers, doctors, businessmen, designers, actors, accountants, etc. As a result, the analysis of associations shows that the language consciousness of the Yakut people is totally connected with the national traditional culture. Most of associations to different concepts are related to the Yakut traditions, culture, literature, beliefs, nature, science, etc. The analysis of the data obtained during the free associative experiment reveals that the structure of different concepts under study clearly shows the ethnocultural features of the representation of the Yakut language speakers. Results of research work can be used as the material for future study of Psycholinguistics, General Linguistics, Theory of Language, etc.

**Keywords:** concept, language consciousness, associative experiment, Yakut language

**Research area:** philology

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## Introduction

In connection with the rapid development of the ideas of cognitive science in linguistics, conceptualization issues have recently become relevant and significant. The cognitive mechanism of a person can be understood precisely through language, therefore the study of this problem becomes inevitable.

Currently, psycholinguistic and ethno-psycholinguistic studies of language consciousness, the study of the worldview of an ethnos demonstrate a new integrated approach. The approach used in our work is aimed at identifying the ethnocultural specificity of the linguistic consciousness of representatives of various linguocultural communities.

## Theoretical framework

Turning to the ethnocultural specificity of the language consciousness of a certain linguistic cognitive community, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the language of the linguocultural community members is, above all, the main tool for its assimilation and dissemination of such information for humankind.

The mental worldview, mediated by the language of a particular culture, constitutes language consciousness. In the linguistic consciousness of individuals there is a type of culture that they encounter (Gerrig, 1992: 127; Geeraerts, 1995: 87).

It is well known that each language in its own way categorises the world and determines a way of conceptualizing reality that is unique only for a given linguistic culture. On the other hand, the culture in which the given language was once formed and functions now imposes an indelible imprint on the peculiarities of the linguistic perception of reality and the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of a given language.

## Statement of the problem

Studying a language from different perspectives, namely from the point of view of a cognitive approach, helps to look into the person him-/herself with all the correspondent intellectual, mental, social, ethno-national and other components. In this regard, a person be-

comes the center of attention of many studies, while the language of a person becomes the focus of research of linguists (Filippova, 2014: 203). The aim of the present work is to reveal the core of the language consciousness of the Yakut language speakers through the analysis of different concepts.

## Methods

In this work a free associative experiment was chosen as a research method as this experiment allows us to find out how fragments of language consciousness are arranged in native speakers' minds. We agree with the opinion of V.P. Belianin who believes that "the associative experiment shows the presence in the meaning of a word (as well as a subject denoted by a word) of a psychological component. Thus, an associative experiment makes it possible to construct the semantic structure of a word. It serves as a valuable material for studying the psychological equivalents of what in linguistics is called the semantic field, and brings out into the open the semantic connections of words that objectively exist in the psyche of a native speaker. In this connection it should be noted that the main advantage of an associative experiment is its simplicity, ease of use, as it can be conducted for a large group of people at the same time" (Belianin, 2007: 129).

The questionnaire is the main tool in the associative experiment which makes the linguistic ability of native speakers available for our observation. Yu.N. Karaulov mentions that "syntactic structures fixed in stimulus-response pairs are reproduced spontaneously and unconsciously like any other integral unit as they were used repeatedly in the texts of a given linguistic person or their reference group" (Karaulov, 1999: 68).

Hence, associative fields present more accurate data content, they contain not only internally developed knowledge, but also sensory data characteristic of each person and each national consciousness. The proximity of associative fields in different languages or their difference (besides linguistic reasons) can be explained by the coincidence or inconsistency of the main forms of culture.

## Discussion

2,000 Yakut language speakers took part in our associative experiment, all of them were 25–65 years old. Social strata of the respondents: representatives of diplomatic missions, teachers, businessmen, missionaries, volunteers, tourists, respondents of various specialties, respondents of various social categories, students, etc.

Associative experiment with different concepts (“Culture”, “Language”, “Nature”, “History”, “Love”, “Beauty”, “Family”) was made in the period 2012–2017. Respondents were given a questionnaire list consisting of 50 words, 30 stimulus-words among them.

For instance, the following reactions were presented by the Yakut language speakers for the stimulus-word “Tradition” (concept “Culture”).

The table shows that the most frequent response of the Yakut language speakers is *suguruyuu / worship*. In the understanding of the Yakut people *suguruyuu / worship* is one of the main traditions of the Sakha people. Native speakers of the Yakut language more bow Aiyy to the Deities, the worship ceremony to the Deities can be seen in all large-scale

events, as it is intrinsic in the tradition of the Yakut culture. Yhyah (Ysyakh) is a national holiday of the Yakuts, a meeting of the summer, a holiday of the awakening of nature and abundance. Various ritual actions and rituals are performed on this holiday. Nowadays in the frenzied rhythm of modern life when the old foundations are supplanted no one is particularly trying to maintain rituals. And only once a year, on Yhyah, one can observe the careful and accurate practice of the rituals of our ancestors. It is on this national holiday that one can see sundry rituals of worshipping the highest Deities.

It should be noted that the *blessing (algys)* as a ritual is usually made together with the rite of *treating the spirits of fire or earth*. *Algys* is an appeal to a higher power, the spirits of earth and sky with a request or gratitude. Traditions

Table

Reactions	Quantity
suguruyuu / worship	30%
yhyah / ysyakh	25%
olonkho / olonkho	10%
bult / hunt	4%
byraabyla / rules	4%
Ite5el / faith, religion	4%
nomoh / saying	4%
sier-tuom / ritual	4%
tuom, duom / rite	4%
kharystaahyn / compliance	4%
aiyl5a / nature	2%
aiyy / sacred	2%
kuha5an / poor	2%
siri-uotu ahatty / treating the spirits of the earth, fire	2%
uchugey / good	2%

Single answers:

Reactions	Quantity
djol / happiness	0,3%
mas / wood	0,3%
us kut / soul of man	0,3%
uhuyeen / myth	0,3%
Aiyyylarga suguruyuu / worship of the highest gods	0,25%
cepseen / story	0,25%
custom / custom	0,25%
algys / blessing	0,2%
Bayanay / spirit of the forest	0,2%
literature / literature	0,2%
novella / short story	0,2%
ostuoruya / fairy tale	0,2%
traditsiya / tradition	0,2%
uut / milk	0,2%
elbehter / many	0,2%
cultura / culture	0,15%
noruot / people	0,15%
oyuunnaahyn / shamanism	0,15%
zanudno / boring	0,1%
tyl / tongue	0,1%
uye / century	0,1%
ebuge ugehe / custom ancestors	0,1%

are also *kept* in significant events: when a child is born; when housewarming is celebrated; at weddings and funerals. Hunters also adhere to their rites, there is a number of unwritten rules that must be followed in *nature* when *hunting*. Ritual is always associated with *beliefs, religion*. The Yakuts believe in spirits, deities, and this is reflected in their answers: *the sacred Urung Aar Toion* – the supreme god and *Bayanay* – the spirit of the forest, the patron saint of hunters.

According to the data obtained the core of the concept “Culture” in the language consciousness of the Yakut language speakers is “folklore”.

The first layer of the structure of the concept “Culture” in the Yakut language is represented by the signs “Art”, “Science”, “Literature”.

The second layer: “Language”, “Sport”, “Education”.

The third layer: “Faith”, “Soul”, “Geography”, “Family”.

The collected data make it possible to conclude that for the Yakut people “culture” is folklore. The available data of the Yakut language speakers confirm that the culture of the Yakuts is based on folklore which is oral folk art. The folklore of the Sakha people is known for its rich diversity.

It should also be stated that it is impossible to imagine the culture of the Yakuts without folklore. The genre composition is inexhaustible and manifold: olonkho, fairy tales, songs, stories, historical legends, riddles, tongue twisters, proverbs and sayings, etc. Folklore has its specific features: traditionalism, orality, collectivity and variability. Oral-poetic creativity emerged simultaneously with the ethnic formation of the Sakha people.

One more example is reactions to the stimulus-word “Literature”. Native speakers of the Yakut language cited a large number of references to Yakut writers and the names of famous works as associations for the stimulus-word “Literature”. It is gratifying that the Yakuts honor their native classical literature, do not forget about the first works of Yakut literature and also the first founders of it. Along with the Yakut authors, the classics and con-

temporaries of foreign literature, the names of famous works of foreign authors, the names of periodicals were mentioned, too.

As for the concept “Nature”, the reactions turned out to be very miscellaneous and complex. It is worth noting that reactions are often associated with the spiritual world, with nature, with the exceptional culture of the Sakha people. Native speakers of the Yakut language presented relatively many synonymous associations related to patriotism, their homeland, frequently referred to the birthplace, and, in contrast, to the place of their temporary residence.

### Conclusion

Summing up, I come to the conclusion that culture is a universal concept. Culture is displayed in language, the very language is culture. Language is one of the most specific components of any ethnic culture. Ethnicity makes this or that culture special. The study of national linguistic, ethnic consciousness allows us to formulate the worldview of the bearers of a particular linguoculture. It is the language consciousness that is especially important when interpreting the thoughts and conveying the way of thinking.

The Yakuts, having appeared as a nation (as a Turkic ethnic community) before the arrival of the Russians, are experiencing a further evolution in their ethnic development. In the process of interethnic contacts the Sakha people have acquired an ethnic identity, a national identity and a national ideology. It should also be noted that in the process of interethnic contacts there arise a cultural diversity of an ethnos and its specific national forms. It is known that already in the pre-revolutionary period the emerging Yakut ethnic intelligentsia used ethnicity as a consolidating factor in the development of the Sakha people.

As for the language consciousness of the Yakut respondents the data obtained prove that in order to have complete knowledge of the presentation and content about their culture, the carrier of the cultural code must know about the traditional components of the native culture, respect the customs, and be able to accept the characteristics of other cultures.

In the conditions of a sharp increase of the role of national, ethnic factors, the scientific understanding of this phenomenon becomes extremely important as an integral element of the interethnic communication system in which ethnic and ethnocultural processes take place.

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## Языковое сознание носителей якутского языка

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**Аннотация.** В статье представлены результаты анализа языкового сознания через концепты «культура», «язык», «природа», «история», «любовь», «красота», «семья». Цель работы – выявление основного компонента языкового сознания носителей якутского языка. Основным методом исследования служит ассоциативный эксперимент (анкетирование), который проводился среди более чем 2000 человек. Респондентами эксперимента являются люди в возрасте 25-65 лет различных специальностей, например учителя, инженеры, врачи, бизнесмены, дизайнеры, актеры, бухгалтеры и т. д., а также студенты. В результате анализ ассоциаций показывает, что языковое сознание якутов полностью связано с национальной традиционной культурой. Большинство ассоциаций на различные концепты связаны с якутскими традициями, культурой, литературой, верованиями, природой, наукой и т.д. Анализ данных, полученных по результатам свободного ассоциативного эксперимента, показывает, что структура изучаемых понятий ясно отображает этнокультурные особенности представления якутов. Результаты исследовательской работы могут быть использованы в качестве материала для будущего изучения психолингвистики, общего языкознания, теории языка и т. д.

**Ключевые слова:** концепт, языковое сознание, ассоциативный эксперимент, якутский язык.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

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## Linguistic Annotation of Grammatical Categories of Sakha: Nouns

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**Abstract.** This paper shows the work to create instruments for linguistic annotation of grammatical categories of Sakha language (Sakha language and Yakut language are full synonyms). It describes the basic inflectional characteristics of Nouns of Sakha language (numbers, personal endings, possessive endings, cases), which are based on Leipzig Glossing Rules. As a result of scientific research (2014-2018) the system of tags was developed, which reflects all word forming potential of the Nouns in the Sakha language, including 247 morphological indicators in its arsenal. It should be noted that the standardized system of morphological tagging of Turkic languages, developed by the Turkologists, is far from perfect, there are various treatments concerning reflection and interpretation of grammatical categories in different Turkic languages. Despite this, the article summarizes constructive and progressive ideas of our colleagues on this matter.

**Keywords:** linguistic annotation, grammatical categories, Sakha, nouns, numbers, possessiveness, simple declension, possessive declension, diminutive, tags.

Research area: philology

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## Introduction

Linguistic annotation of grammatical categories of languages is an up-to-date issue in modern computational linguistics. Artificial intelligence opens an opportunity to get innovative results in theoretical linguistics (acquiring new knowledge about language structure), as well as in applied linguistics (modernization of linguistic research methods, implementation of new technologies for automated language processing).

Today, due to the intensive development of computer technologies, there is a need in tagging system for the automatic analysis of electronic corpora of Turkic texts. To improve the effectiveness of comparative studies and acquisition of objective language data as a representative linguistic instrument, it is necessary to apply a standardized morphological tagging system to the corpora of texts in Turkic languages.

A working version of standardized morphological tagging of Turkic languages was accepted in 2014 during UniTurk workshop (“Unification of Grammatical Annotation Systems in the Electronic Corpora of Turkic Languages”) in Kazan. The database is built on the morphemic structure of Turkic word forms and is made to reflect structural-semantic model of Turkic languages as precisely as possible. The uniform standard of linguistic information representation opens a unique opportunity for Turkic languages to join the common information space. (Zheltov, 2015: 329).

## Problem statement

As a result, it is necessary to develop a tag system which would adequately reflect all grammatical categories of the Yakut language. The work in this area has been in progress for five years to conclude that there are some grammatical categories of the Yakut language that have not been fully reflected in the previous publications. The computer processing of text, which requires complete formalization of knowledge about language and its grammar, reveals some interesting language facts and implicit (hidden) linguistic details, not covered by the classic works by the Yakut scholars.

The computational linguistics researchers have been paying special attention to the inflectional and derivational morphology. Consequently, first it is required to describe and mark all regular inflectional and active derivational indicators of the Yakut language. Secondly, it is necessary to develop rules for the allomorph selection and sandhi rules for automatic word form analysis (morphonological processes in morphemic boundaries; phonetic processes within one word form).

## Methods

The study is descriptive. To find the maximum number of inflectional allomorphs of nouns in the Sakha language, the quantitative method was used. As a result of the empirical analysis, nine tables were compiled, forming the basis for the interpretation and reflection of the grammatical categories of nouns in the Sakha language. The research results may be used for filling lacunas in the existing studies of the Sakha Language.

## Discussion

For morphological annotation of grammatical categories of the Sakha language the system of tags based on the Leipzig glossing rules is used. Tags indicating parts of speech in the Sakha are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Tags	Full term
N	Noun
POSS	Possessive
PRO	Pronoun
NUM	Numeral
ADJ	Adjective
V	Verb
PCP	Participle
CONV	Converb
ADV	Adverb
MOD	Modal word
INTJ	Interjection
CONJ	Conjunction
PART	Particle
POST	Postposition
IMIT	Imitative word

From the point of view of the Sakha language glossing, in this article the grammatical category of nouns was considered. Such inflectional characteristics of the noun as number, case, possessiveness and personality have been carefully analyzed.

### 1. Number

In the Yakut language, the plural affix *-lar* is represented by 16 forms (Korkina, 1982: 125-126). In the selection of the optimal allomorph,

oped in accordance with vowel harmony rules, rules of assimilation and accommodation, and demonstrate the sound changes at the morphemic boundaries.

### 2. Possessiveness

In the Sakha language, the initial form of the possessiveness category is represented by 58 morphological indicators. These forms are frequently used, as they express various logical relations and connections between objects, that

Table 2

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
SG	singular	-	-
PL	plural	-lar/-lor/-ler/-lör -nar/-nor/-ner/-nör -dar/-dor/-der/-dör -tar/-tor/-ter/-tör	-LAr

the key role is played by the vowel harmony rules of the Yakut language. Phonetic compatibility of morphemes also depends on assimilation rules (progressive, regressive, progressive-regressive assimilation of consonants) and accommodation. Thus, sandhi rules are devel-

oped in accordance with vowel harmony rules, rules of assimilation and accommodation, and demonstrate the sound changes at the morphemic boundaries.

### 3. Cases in the Yakut language

In the interpretation of grammatical categories and their indication with corre-

Table 3

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
POSS_1SG	Possessive, 1 <sup>st</sup> person, singular ('my')	-m	-m
POSS_2SG	Possessive, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person, singular ('your')	-ŋ	-ŋ
POSS_3SG	Possessive, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person, singular ('his/her/its')	<i>after consonants: -a/-o/-e/-ö</i> <i>after vowels: -ta/-to/-te/-tö</i>	-A -rA
POSS_1PL	Possessive, 1 <sup>st</sup> person, plural ('our')	-byt/-bit/-but/-büt -pyt/-pit/-put/-püt -myt/-mit/-mut/-müt	-BYT
POSS_2PL	Possessive, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person, plural ('your')	-xyt/-xit/-xut/-xüt -xyt/-xit/-xut/-xüt -kyt/-kit/-kut/-küt -gyt/-git/-gut/-güt -ŋyt/-ŋit/-ŋut/-ŋüt	-xYT
POSS_3PL	Possessive, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person, plural ('their')	-lara/-lora/-lere/-lörö -nara/-noro/-nere/-nörö -dara/-doro/-dere/-dörö -tara/-toro/-tere/-törö	-LARa



sponding tags we relied upon the work of the academician O.N. Boethlingk “About the language of the Yakuts” published in 1851. He registered ten cases in the Yakut language: Casus Indefinitus, Accusativus Indefinitus, Dativ, Accusativus Definitus, Ablativ, Lokativ, Instrumental, Casus Adverbialis, Comitativ, Casus Comparativus (Boethlingk, 1990: 278-285). As it can be seen from the case names, there is no significant difference between the modern terms and those used by O.N. Boethlingk. In the modern Yakut language there are eight cases, Lokativ and Casus Adverbialis are not included into the case paradigm.

#### Simple declension

There are two types of declension in the Yakut language: simple and possessive (Korkina, 1982: 129-147). In simple declension, all morphemes have 4 allomorphs each, for example: -TA (-ta/-to/-te/-tö).

#### Possessive declension

In total, simple (88) and possessive declensions (87) have 175 morphological indicators in the Yakut language. It all shows the huge functional capacity of nouns in the Yakut language as a special lexical and grammatical word class.

#### 4. Personal endings of nouns

Nouns in the Yakut language can act as a predicate in sentences. In such cases, predicativity affixes are added to the word root, except the third person singular.

#### 5. Diminutive

Diminutiveness category is an understudied aspect in the Sakha language. Table 7 shows common diminutive affixes -čYk, -čAAn, -kAAn with their allomorphs.

In addition to these affixes, the Yakut lexical units can consist of fossil affixes such as -yja, -čče, -ka, considered to be of little efficiency at the moment. In Table 8, they are rep-

Table 4

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
NOM	Nominative	-	-
PAR	Partitive	-ta/-to/-te/-tö -la/-lo/-le/-lö -na/-no/-ne/-nö -da/-do/-de/-dö	-TA
DAT	Dative	-xa/-xo/-xe/-xö -ga/-go/-ge/-gö -ŋa/-ŋo/-ŋe/-ŋö -ka/-ko/-ke/-kö	-xA
ACC	Accusative	<i>after consonants:</i> -y/-i/-u/-ü <i>after vowels:</i> -ny/-ni/-nu/-nü	-Y -nY
ABL	Ablative	<i>after consonants:</i> -tan/-ton/-ten/-tön <i>after vowels:</i> -ttan/-tton/-tten/-ttön	-tAn -ttAn
INS	Instrumental	-nan/-non/-nen/-nön	-nAn
COM	Comitative	-lyyn/-liin/-luun/-lüün -nyyn/-niin/-nuun/-nüün -tyyn/-tiin/-tuun/-tüün -dyyn/-diin/-duun/-düün	-LYYn
COMP	Comparative	-taaxap/-tooxop/-teexer/-tööxör -naaxap/-nooxop/-neexer/-nööxör -daaxap/-dooxop/-deexer/-dööxör -laaxap/-looxop/-leexer/-lööxör	-TAAxAr

resented downward from the diminutive point of view.

## 6. Derivation

Word-forming potential of nouns in the Sakha language requires a specific approach and a deep study. Without going into details, it should be noted that dozens of productive and non-productive affixes such as -hyt (-syt, -čyt, -djyt, -njyt), -byl (-bil, -bul, -bül), -laŋ (-leŋ, -loŋ, -löŋ), -lta (-lte, -lto, -ltö) and others take

part in noun formation in the Sakha language. As an example of derivational affixes, let us consider three frequently used morphemes used to derive verbal nouns.

### Examples of linguistic annotation of nouns

To validate the tag system developed for the linguistic annotation of the word forming potential of nouns in the Yakut language, let us analyze few examples.

Table 5

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
NOM	Nominative	See Table 3	See Table 3
PAR	Partitive	-yna/-ine/-una/-üne	-YnÄ*
DAT	Dative	<i>after consonants:</i> -ar/-or/-er/-ör <i>after vowels:</i> -gar/-ger	-Ap -gAr
ACC	Accusative	-yn/-in/-un/-ün	-Yn
ABL	Ablative	-ttan/-tten	-ttAn
INS	Instrumental	-nan/-nen	-nAn
COM	Comitative	-nyyn/-nuun/-neen <i>non-literary version:</i> -naan/-niin	-nYŸn
COMP	Comparative	-naaxap/-neeyer	-nAAxAp

\*currently out of use.

Table 6

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
P_1SG	1 <sup>st</sup> person, singular ('I am')	-byn/-bin/-bun/-bün -myn/-min/-mun/-mün -pyn/-pin/-pun/-pün	-BYn
P_2SG	2 <sup>nd</sup> person, singular ('you are')	-γyn/-yin/-yun/-yün -xyn/-xin/-xun/-xün -kyn/-kin/-kun/-kün -gyn/-gin/-gun/-gün -ŋyn/-ŋin/-ŋun/-ŋün	-γYn
P_3SG	3 <sup>rd</sup> person, singular ('he/she is')	-	-
P_1PL	1 <sup>st</sup> person, plural ('we are')	<i>after</i> -LAR: -byt/-bit/-but/-büt	-bYt
P_2PL	2 <sup>nd</sup> person, plural ('you are')	<i>after</i> -LAR: -gyt/-git/-gut/-güt	-gYt
P_3PL	3 <sup>rd</sup> person, plural ('they are')	-lar/-lor/-ler/-lör -nar/-nor/-ner/-nör -dar/-dor/-der/-dör -tar/-tor/-ter/-tör	-LAR

Table 7

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
DIM	Diminutive	-čyk/-čik/-čuk/-čük -čaan/-čoon/-čeen/-čöön -kaan/-koon/-keen/-köön	-čYk -čAAn -kAAn

Table 8

Size L	Size M	Size S	Size XS	Size XXS
Lexeme	-yja	-čče	-ka	-čaan
küöl 'lake'	kölüje	kölüčče	kölüke	kölükečeen
ürëx 'small river'	ürüje	ürüčče	-	ürüječeen
xolbo 'box'	xolbuja	-	xolbuka	xolbujačaan

Table 9

Tags	Description	Allomorphs	Morphemes
AN	Agens noun	-aaččy/-eečči/-oočču/-ööččü	-AAččY
VN	Verbal noun	-yy/-ii/-uu/-üü -aahyn/-eehin/-oohun/-ööhün	-YY -AAhYn

- (1) *xarandaac+(y)nan* → *xarandaahynan*  
(*uruhujduur*)  
pencil-INS  
'(he draws) with a pencil'
- (2) *oro+η+un* → *ororun* (*köröör*)  
child-POSS\_2SG -ACC  
'(look after) your child'
- (3) *ubaj+lar+byt+(y)gar* → *ubajdar-  
bytygar* (*bierbippit*)  
brother-PL-POSS\_1PL-DAT  
'(we gave) our brothers'
- (4) *at+lar+ryt+(y)naaxar* → *attargy-  
tynaaxar* (*türgen*)  
horse-PL-POSS\_2PL-COMP  
'(faster) than your horses'
- (5) *ije+te+neen* → *ijetineen* (*kelle*)  
mother-POSS\_3SG-COM  
'(he came) with his mother'

### Conclusion

During the research (2014-2018), all grammatical categories of nouns in the Sakha language have been analyzed. Through this process, the system, consisting of the conventional symbols (tags) used to reflect the inflectional potential of nouns in the Sakha language, including 247 affixes, has been fully completed.

To enable a computer to automatically analyze texts of any complexity presented in the electronic corpora of the Sakha language, it is necessary to provide standardized tags to all grammatical categories of the Sakha language. The solution of this problem would make it possible to develop new computer programs, such as online translators, automatic text analyzers, speech synthesizers and others.

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## Лингвистическое аннотирование грамматических категорий языка саха: имя существительное

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена работе по созданию инструментария для лингвистического аннотирования грамматических категорий языка саха. Базируясь на Лейпцигских правилах глоссирования, описываем основные словоизменительные характеристики имени существительного в якутском языке (число, персональность, посессивность, падежная система). В результате научно-изыскательских работ (2014-2018) создана система тэгов, отображающая весь словоизменительный потенциал имени существительного в якутском языке, включающий в своем арсенале 247 морфологических показателей. Разрабатываемая тюркологами унифицированная система морфологической разметки тюркских языков далеко не совершенна, существуют различные трактовки по части отображения и интерпретации грамматических категорий в разных тюркских языках. Несмотря на это, в статье обобщены конструктивные идеи коллег по данной проблематике.

**Ключевые слова:** лингвистическое аннотирование, грамматические категории, язык саха, имя существительное, число, посессивность, простое склонение, притяжательное склонение, диминутив, тэги.

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## The Influence of the Russian-Yakut Translation on the Development of Linguistic Research in the Yakut Language

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**Abstract.** The article is dedicated to the history of the Russian-Yakut translation in Yakutia which is inextricably linked with the history of the country and the political life of Yakutia, the history of the Yakut literary language, the history of literature, etc. Through the genre classification of translation texts, the main milestones of translation work in the republic are outlined in the chronological order. The article concludes that the Russian-Yakut translation has always led to the development of other practical aspects of the Yakut language. Specifically, the first written translations of Orthodox literature raised such issues as the creation of the Yakut written language and the organization of book-printing and school education in the region. Terminological dictionaries were created to solve practical problems of translating school textbooks from Russian. The translation of official texts and socio-political literature led to the fact that the official style began to differentiate in the Yakut literary language. Numerous literary translations from the Russian language allowed young Yakut writers to develop skills as well as enriched Yakut literature with new genres and forms.

**Keywords:** Russian language, Yakut language, translation, translation history, literary language, writing system, functional style, terminology, lexicography, comparative grammar, literary translation.

Research area: philology.

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## Introduction

In a multilingual society, considerable importance is given to translation, which attracts great scientific interest both to the translation process as an act of communication and to the problems of studying languages and literatures, where it is a way of presenting and learning an unfamiliar or little-known culture. Therefore, at the present stage of the socio-cultural development of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), studies on the history of translation activities in Yakutia are of particular relevance. They can contribute, firstly, to the systematization of the translation activities' results of various groups, generations of translators; secondly, to the generalization and theoretical substantiation of the translators' practical experience; thirdly, to the development of recommendations on the translation technology of various texts.

As is known, the history of written translations in Yakutia began in 1705, when the text of the Our Father prayer was first printed in the Yakut language (Sleptsov, 1999: 45). As the researchers note, periodization of the translation history is not amenable to a linear, chronological description and is closely connected with the history of language and literature (Garbovskii, 2004: 19-28). The historiography of the Russian-Yakut translation is also complex and multifaceted. For example, P.A. Sleptsov in 1999 gave a brief description of the translation activities of Yakutia in four chronological stages (pre-revolutionary period, the 1920-40s, the 1950s, present) (Sleptsov, 1999). Then, in 2006, he gave the most complete description and assessment of the process, based on the style-genre classification of translated texts (religious literature, socio-political, educational, scientific, fiction) (Sleptsov, 2006: 3-21).

Observing the history of translation activities in Yakutia, it can be seen that translations reached the greatest success, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in times when the spontaneous processes of the Russian-Yakut and Yakut-Russian translations were regulated by the participation and purposeful work of state and other influential structures: 1) the work of the Commission for the translation of church books into the Yakut language, headed by Archpriest D. Khitrov (1853-57); 2) the work of the Trans-

lation Commission of the People's Commissariat for Education headed by P.A. Oiunsky (1920-30); 3) work within the framework of the all-Union movement "Friendship of Literature – Friendship of Peoples" (1970–80); 4) the 1990s, related to the enhancement of the status of the Yakut language and the implementation of the Concept of the national schools' revival.

## Translation of religious literature

As is known, the first publication of the translated text in the Yakut language dates back to 1705 – it was the text of the prayer "Our Father" in the travel notes of the Dutch traveler and scholar Nicholaes Witsen "North and East Tartary". The following publications of translated texts are of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, it can be assumed that over the course of a whole century there could be some written translations that have not yet been discovered. The translation activities of the missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church in Yakutia can be chronologically divided into two major stages: 1 – from 1705 to 1853, 2 – from 1853 to 1917.

The first stage of the missionary translation development of church books brought the first Yakut alphabet, which was created by adapting the Church Slavonic and Russian alphabets without denotement of Yakut sounds. The first book in the Yakut language, "Prayers, Symbol of Faith and Commandments of God (the beginnings of dogma)" was published in Irkutsk in 1812. During this period the "Short Catechism..." was also translated and published (1819). It is likely that these translations were made due to the decree of the Most Holy Governing Synod of 1803 on the translation of liturgical books into non-native languages of the Russian Empire (Artamonova, 2018: 1198).

P.A. Sleptsov, having studied the texts of those years translated into the Yakut language, reveals the basic principle of the translation of the relevant literature: "... conservative clergymen put at the center of the translation absolutely literal adaptation of the canonical 'holy scriptures' into the Yakut language, diligently following the letter of the originals" (Sleptsov, 1986: 17), however, he also gives examples of quite adequate translation of religious texts. The low quality of translations

of this period had objective reasons: the alphabet and writing system did not take into account the sound features of the Yakut language, the concepts of Orthodox culture and the Yakut primordial faith had not converged yet. Moreover, translation activities were not planned, purposeful.

The second period of missionary translations is characterized by the increased organization of the Church's translation activities, higher quality translations, and a large amount of published literature. In 1852, Yakutia was integrated to the Kamchatka eparchy, and soon the residence of the archbishop moved from Alaska to Yakutsk. The leadership of the eparchy was headed by an energetic church leader, Archbishop Innokenty Veniaminov (Popov), who, "as an experienced missionary, understood that Christianity can be spread more quickly only if it is promoted in the native language" (Popov, 1947: 291). With this, the Commission for the translation of church books into the Yakut language headed by Archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov was established in 1853 in Yakutsk. According to P.V. Popov, the work of the commission was disbanded as early as 1857 (Popov, 1947: 292). However, it is also known that, at the initiative of D. Khitrov, the revision of old translations and the implementation of new translations of church books into the Yakut language began in the 1870s. Church books in the Yakut language were published in the 1880s, in Kazan, where the brilliant Arabist and Turkologist N.I. Ilminsky and prof. N.F. Katanov participated in their preparation and publication. At the suggestion of these professors, educated Yakuts were also involved in the translation work (Sleptsov, 1986: 24). Indeed, it is known that Yakuts A.I. Kondakov, I.V. Popov, D.A. Kochnev, N. Nifontov, A. Dyakonov, and others were engaged in translations of orthodox literature while studying in theological seminaries in Kazan and Moscow. According to E.P. Gulyaeva, in this period, the Yakutsk Eparchial Missionary Committee organized printing in Yakutia for the first time, and of the 88 liturgical books published in Yakutsk from 1866 to 1916, 25 were translations into the Yakut language. Earlier, in 1857-1858, 11 translations of liturgical books into the Yakut language were

published in Moscow. The scientific grammar of the Yakut language, specified and written by Academician O.N. Böttingk and published in St. Petersburg in 1851, as well as the involvement of young Yakuts, native speakers of the two cultures and two languages in the translation work, were of great help in organizing the translations of the second stage. As noted by prof. P.S. Sleptsov, in translations of this period, for example, in the translation of the "Short Catechism ...", one can already find poetic translations of Biblical aphorisms, the use of ordinary expressions of the Yakut language, as well as the use of original Yakut concepts for the translation of specific religious vocabulary (Sleptsov, 2008: 482-484).

Thus, the organization of translation work in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Yakutia was dictated by the pressing problems of Christianity propaganda, which was one of the most important policy directions of tsarist Russia.

It can be said that further translation activities in Yakutia were spontaneous until the middle of the 1920s. It was because of the general state of the country and the situation in Yakutia itself – the period of revolutionary events and the subsequent Civil War, which brought ruin and famine to the country. At this time in Yakutia the translation of socio-political literature of a revolutionary propaganda nature intensified. The Russian-Yakut literary translation appeared, being not only a source of inspiration and an example to follow during the inception and development of the Yakut literature but also having political and cultural significance.

#### **Translation of socio-political literature**

The number of translations of socio-political literature from Russian into Yakut arguably exceeds the translation volume of all other styles. The original and translated socio-political literature, having an important ideological significance and wide distribution channels, reinforces in the linguistic consciousness of the readers numerous speech clichés, which characterize this type of text as correct, and therefore corresponding to the standards of the literary language. Therefore, the language of the periodical press and the translation of ideo-



logical literature deservedly received much attention of researchers.

The first Yakut newspapers “Sakha Doyduta – The Yakut country” (1907-1908), “Sakha ologo – The Yakut Life” (1908-1909) and the journal “Sakha sanata – The Yakut Voice” (1912-1913) were created at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the revolutionary events of 1905-1907. These bilingual publications were issued by political exiles and therefore were dissident in nature. Professor P.A. Sleptsov notes in his study of the language of the first Yakut newspaper the significant role of the Russian-Yakut translation in educating the masses of the Yakut people and shaping the literary norms of the Yakut language. He comes to the conclusion, that “a very original style of newspaper journalism based on the processing of a spoken language, generalized forms of emotionally expressive folklore and oratorical speech, and book-written ways of expression with various innovations under the direct influence of Russian texts was born on the pages of [the first] newspapers” (Sleptsov, 2017: 353).

After the revolution, the main print media of the republic was the newspaper “Kyym”, which published huge volumes of translations of socio-political literature. The history of the newspaper “Kyym” is divided into several stages: 1) the initial stage when the newspaper was published under the name “Manchaary” – 1921-1923; 2) pre-war time – 1923-1941; 3) the years of the Great Patriotic War and the subsequent years of the economy restoration – 1941-1950; 4) 1950-1960s; 5) 1970-1980s until 1993; 6) 1993-2004; 7) from 2005 to the present day. Famous journalist D.V. Kusturov, who worked for a long time as a translator in the newspaper “Kyym”, notes that the translation works in the newspaper experienced three peaks of activity: 1) the years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945); 2) the times of the Khrushchev Thaw (1953-1964); 3) the era of Gorbachev’s “Perestroika” (1987-1989) (Kusturov, 1992: 4).

From the very beginning of the creation of the newspaper “Kyym”, famous people of the republic worked in its editorial office – M.K. Ammosov, P.A. Oiunsky, I.N. Barakhov, I.N. Vinokurov, M.I. Popov, M.I. Kuzmin-Kha-

ra, S.R. Kulachikov-Elley, D.V. Kusturov, and many others. According to the researchers of the history of the newspaper “Kyym”, the translation work in the newspaper stepped up during the Great Patriotic War. Despite the fact that almost all members of the editorial board were called to war (M.I. Kuzmin-Khara, I.I. Korokin, F.I. Gogolev, M.I. Tayursky, E.N. Nogovitsyn, A.E. Bashkirov, M.P. Kharlampyev, S.L. Gavriliev, P.V. Zabolotsky, S.R. Kulachikov-Elley), front-line summaries, speeches of the country’s leaders, military journalism, and patriotic articles were regularly translated by new employees. The circulation of the newspaper reached 50 thousand copies at that time. After the end of the war, even the translations into the Yakut language of materials covering the Nuremberg process were published in the newspaper “Kyym”. The front-line writer M.I. Kuzmin-Khara, who worked as the head of the agricultural department in the editorial office of the newspaper “Kyym”, translated them in two strips for each number of the newspaper.

Three full-time translators worked in the “Kyym” editorial office in 1950-60 – Danil P. Alekseev, Vasily S. Nikolaev, Ivan I. Kimov. They worked very hard, sometimes staying in the editorial board until late if it was necessary to translate the speech of the country’s leader N.S. Khrushchev, the text of which was sent from Moscow by the end of the working day in Yakutsk. When the Congresses of the Communist Party or the plenary sessions of the CPSU Central Committee were held, party workers from the regional committee were sent to help translators of the newspaper “Kyym”, and then an editorial commission was created, in which S.K. Tomsy, P.I. Philippov, L.G. Kolesov, as well as Professor A.E. Mordinov, Chairman of the Radio Committee G.P. Tikhonov and Literary Critic G.S. Syromyatnikov always worked. All of them are known as translators of the works of V.I. Lenin and other party leaders into the Yakut language.

1970s-1980s are characterized by the predominance of international topics in newspaper publications, the coverage of intercultural relations, for example, of the Literature Days of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Bashkiria, Ta-

tarstan, Khakassia, etc. in Yakutia, as well as of the Days of the Yakut literature in different republics of the multinational country. In addition, environmental issues related to the industrial development of Yakutia were touched upon; therefore materials of popular science were translated. News headings of those years regularly posted translation of TASS news. The information on the implementation of the Russian-Yakut translation at that time can be found in the memoirs of the Yakut journalists published in Yakut commemorative books "Kyymnar" ("Kyymovtsy", 2001) (Gur'ev, 2001) and "Sitim bystybat" ("The Inextricable Link of Times", 2006) (Ksenofontov, 2006). When reading the memoirs, one can come to the conclusion that it was often a translation from a sheet, when the translator, seeing the text in Russian, dictated their translation into the Yakut language to a typist. Apparently, news from the teletype tape was always translated in such a manner and was immediately typed.

In 1993, the newspaper "Kyym" was published the last time during the Soviet period as a press media of the Communist Party and then was closed. The newspaper "Kyym" was restored a year later by the first female Yakut professional journalist Fedora P. Egorova. It was a completely different newspaper – it did not depend on the Communist Party of the Russian Federation; some members of the republican parliament Il Tumen sponsored the release of this newspaper. This newspaper ceased publication in 2004 after the death of its chief editor F.P. Egorova. However, the newspaper that was already beloved by the readers was restored a year later by the media group "Sitim". Nowadays, the newspaper "Kyym" is published once a week on 48 pages as a socio-political newspaper. Unlike the "Kyym" of the Soviet period, it has relatively few translated texts, but regularly publishes materials from news sites translated into the Yakut language.

A significant amount of the Russian-Yakut translations of socio-political literature were the translations of the works of V.I. Lenin and other ideologues of communism during the Soviet period. It is known that in November 1929 the Yakutian Central Executive Committee adopted a special decree on the plan for pub-

lishing Lenin's works and set up a commission for editing translations led by P.A. Oiunsky. An extensive program of publishing and distributing the works of V.I. Lenin was adopted. According to calculations of Ph.D. S.V. Maksimova, 27 thematic collections of works and 33 separate editions of V.I. Lenin's works with a total circulation of 281,170 copies were published in the Yakut language from 1917 to 1969 (Maksimova, 2009). P.A. Sleptsov notes that translators and publishers, gathered in special commissions for translation and publication of works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, constantly worked to improve the translations. However, apart from single examples of high-quality translation, the vast majority of translations leave much to be desired. According to the professor, the reason for this was the insufficient development of philosophical terminology at that time, as well as the difficult working conditions of translators who were forced to issue huge volumes of translations in a very short time.

Because of the need to translate quickly and accurately without relying on the talent of a writer alone, Yakut translators thought about the theoretical foundations of translation activities as early as in the 1920s-1930s. Language construction activities in the Yakut ASSR were widely covered in the press during these years. There was a sharp controversy on language issues, including the most pressing problems of the time – translation and terminology closely related to it. In 1931 a small article by A.A. Ivanov-Kunde "Khaytakh tylbastyakha" ("How to Translate") was published in the magazine "Kysyl ylyk" ("Red Path") (Kunde, 1931: 104-106). In this article, Kunde acutely poses the problem of equivalence of translation. Using the example of parsing the translation of two sentences into Yakut language in the Lenin text, he shows how inaccurate a literal translation is, and the reason for the inaccuracy of the translation is the differences in the syntactic structure of the Russian and Yakut languages.

In 1933, an article by N.N. Pavlov-Tyasyt "Tylybastyyr ule biriinsiptere" ("Principles of Translation Work") was published in the newspaper "Kyym" (Tyasyt, 1933: 4). In this article,

the author in an over-eager manner criticizes the attitude of both the translators themselves and their customers to the translation from Russian, complains that there is no scientific approach in the translation work related to the selection of the most acceptable language tools. Tyasyt puts forward the following requirements as the principles of translation: 1) the translator must be proficient in the Russian and Yakut languages in all the variety of their stylistic and other features; 2) the translator must possess background knowledge in the field of the phenomenon described in the original; 3) the translator must be able to transfer in translation the individual style of the author of the original; 4) words (terms) used in translation must be clear to the reader; 5) the speech peculiarities of characters, which illustrate their social status, class, etc., must be transmitted in translation; 6) translation of slogans and speech clichés must correspond to the original in content and form; 7) the translator must understand and correctly convey the meaning of the translated.

However, the development of the private translation theory in those years was impossible due to the incomplete development of the linguistic foundations of translation – terminology, comparative grammar, functional style. It was the time when the written language first appeared and widely spread and the literary language only began to develop.

#### **Translation of official documentation**

The Yakut language was the language of interethnic communication in Eastern Siberia before the revolution and until the industrial development of Yakutia. Therefore, it is not surprising that the decrees and orders of the authorities were translated into the Yakut language. Specifically, one can find on the pages of the first Yakut newspapers the translation of the “Instructions on the order of equalization distribution of settlement lands between social activists in accordance with tax and duty payments” compiled by Governor V.N. Skrypitsyn (“Sakha Ologo” No. 82 of December 5, 1908, No. 83 of December 9, 1908; translation by a certain M.S.); minutes of the most important land management meetings (“Sakha

Doyduta”, No. 32 of October 25, 1907, No. 33 of October 28, 1907, No. 34 of November 1, No. 35 of November 4, No. 38 of November 15, No. 41 of November 25, No. 42 of November 29, 1907, No. 46 of December 12, No. 48 of December 20, 1907, No. 49 of December 23, 1907; “Sakha Ologo”, No. 12-13 of March 30, 1908, No. 15 of April 6, 1908, No. 19 of April 24, 1908). It should be noted that these protocols, having signs of newspaper reporting, do not quite correspond to modern requirements. Nevertheless, the usage of words and the prevailing style features link these texts to the official style. Therefore, through translations from the Russian language and under its influence, the official business style of the Yakut language began to take shape even before the revolution. In the Soviet period, office work at the local, ulus level was conducted mainly in the Yakut language due to objective reasons, but gradually towards the end of the era, it inevitably switched to Russian.

The new period of the official style development in the Yakut language and the intensification of the Russian-Yakut translation in this area began in the 1990s. The Law on Languages in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) was signed on October 16, 1992, according to which the Yakut language in the republic acquired status on a par with the Russian language. The Decree “On the Order of Enactment of the Law of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) “On Languages in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)” states that the Commission on Science, Education and Culture must “create a republican service in terminology and language translations before February 1, 1993”. (Postanovlenie: 262). The emergence of various commissions and groups involved in language translations was the result of the implementation of this resolution. For example, the Il Tumen State Assembly had its own team of translators, and later a similar team appeared in the Presidential Administration and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The teams translate legislative acts, administrative documents, etc. into both state languages, provide with the interpretation the state events with the participation of the Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the parliament sessions.

A translation department was formed at the Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IHR&ISN SB RAS) in the mid-1990s, and then joined the Institute's Center for Sociolinguistic Studies. Currently, the Institute continues to translate legal texts, compile terminological dictionaries, conduct linguistic expertise, etc., thereby supporting and streamlining the development of the official style of the Yakut language.

Translation and interpretation are in great demand in the system of law enforcement and judicial authorities. Here, Russian-Yakut correspondences of terms and clichés have developed over the decades. The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (2002), Rules of the Road (2016) were translated, the Russian-Yakut Law Dictionary (2000) was compiled, etc. However, these few translations cannot fully provide with literature all the translators in this field. There is a need to translate new versions of laws, codes, and rules, but no one takes up this work, no organization finances it. Therefore, the accuracy of the translation of a legal term or a specific expression entirely depends on the translator's skills.

#### **Translation of educational and scientific literature**

With the formation of the Yakut ASSR, active language construction began in the young republic. A translation commission was established in 1931 under the People's Commissariat for Education and Healthcare of the Republic, chaired by P.A. Oiunsky. The commission was created to translate textbooks for a seven-year school, and during its activity prepared about 60 textbooks on arithmetic, natural history, geography, biology, etc. for publication. Taking up the translation of textbooks, members of the commission were faced with the need to translate or create terms of different sciences. The decision to compile school dictionaries of terms and place them in annexes to translated textbooks was made. P.A. Oiunsky, as the head of the language construction of the young republic, sought to ensure that the newly emerging scientific terminology in the Ya-

kut language responded to linguistic laws and preserved a balance between direct borrowing of vocabulary and conscious word-making of educational literature translators. As a result of many years of painstaking work on the translation of textbooks, a terminological and orthographic dictionary under the authorship of P.A. Oiunsky, G.S. Tarsky, and L.N. Kharitonov was published in 1935 in Moscow. The theoretical substantiation of the dictionary set out in the work of P.A. Oiunsky "Yakut language and ways of its development" laid the foundations for the further development of Yakut terminology and spelling. Thus, once again the translation has become an incentive for the development of the Yakut language science.

Periodization of the history of the textbooks translation into the Yakut language is closely connected with the history of teaching in the native language in Yakut schools. Specifically, the first translated mathematics textbooks were published in 1925 in Moscow and were intended for a three-year study at a labor school. From 1932, textbooks on all major subjects were developed and translated or compiled in the Yakut language, and all textbooks of a seven-year school had already been published in 1933-35 in the Yakut language. This was the result of the energetic work of P.A. Oiunsky's commission, whose members included a prominent figure in general education in Yakutia, S.N. Donskoy, as well as students from Moscow universities who later became famous people of the republic and contributed to the development of the Yakut Soviet culture and science – the philosopher A.E. Mordinov, the bibliographer and translator G.S. Tarsky, the folklorist G.M. Vasilyev, the philologist L.N. Kharitonov, etc.

In addition, at this time newspapers and individual brochures published popular science articles, designed to enlighten the masses of the Yakuts on the issues of sanitation, hygiene, agriculture, animal husbandry, mechanics, etc. The terms and scientific concepts in such articles were inevitably translated in different ways; a new style of information transfer was formed, which differed from the traditional colloquial and folklore-poetic organization of speech. Specifically, the book styles of the Ya-

kut language arose under the strong influence of the Russian language and through the translation from it: educational and popular science varieties of the scientific style and the official style.

The next stage of the educational literature translation is characterized by a gradual narrowing of the material being translated, as national schools throughout the country gradually switched to teaching in Russian, and the need for translated textbooks remained only in the elementary school. A new leap in the history of school textbook translations was in the 1990s when the Concept of the national schools' revival was implemented in the Republic of Sakha. During these years, many teachers and educators worked on new translations of school textbooks for all grades and the creation of copyright textbooks in the exact sciences. In the most active teaching staffs of schools and departments of school subjects teaching methods, numerous groups of authors were created, which were engaged in developing new terminology in the Yakut language without looking back at the experience of the past decades. The dynamic translation work and the general desire to revive the national culture and language led to the fact that new terms were created and their synonymic row increased, creating confusion and causing a rejection in children.

At the present stage of the translation of textbooks, which began in 2012 with the adoption of the Federal State Educational Standard (FSES), translators have a large number of terminological dictionaries, reference books, etc. In 2013, the Department of Stylistics and Translation of the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Peoples of the Northeast of the Russian Federation received a large order from the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) to translate sets of textbooks for elementary school recommended by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

#### **Translation of Yakut folklore for research purposes**

Academic translations of the Yakut folklore made for scientific purposes are of great importance for the practice of the Yakut-Rus-

sian translation. From the very beginning of research on the Yakut folklore, translation has played an important role in them. The Institute has issued bilingual publications of all genres of the Yakut folklore with extensive scientific commentary. For many decades, principles and methods of philological translation of Yakut folklore texts were developed at the institute. Today the translations of G.U. Ergis, S.P. Oinuskaya, N.V. Emelyanov, P.E. Efremov, and others present a valuable research material for many philological sciences, including the special theory and practice of the Yakut-Russian translation. These translations are a rich source of material for translation teaching since there can be found excellent examples of translational transformations, both at the vocabulary and grammar levels. Some techniques of the Yakut-Russian translation developed by S.P. Oinuskaya and her colleagues, being repeated in each translation and consistently improved from year to year, are assessed today as the only right ones for the adequate transmission of not only the meaning but also the artistic originality of the Yakut folklore text.

The contribution of the Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Institute of Language, Literature, and History) to the development of the translation activity of the republic is enormous – since the first days of its existence, the institute has been involved in translation in one way or another. First of all, it was the Yakut-Russian scientific translations of folklore, as well as the formation of the educational and scientific style of the Yakut language when translating the first Soviet school textbooks, creating terminological dictionaries; analysis of the language of Russian-Yakut artistic and journalistic translations in order to study the problems of the formation and development of the literary language; participation in the translation of fundamental legislative literature and its scientific support; the beginning of the monitoring of translation activities of recent years.

#### **Translation of literary works**

Literary translation for literatures of all peoples has always been a school of excel-

lence. The Yakut literature, which originated in 1900, was no exception. The founder of the Yakut literature, Aleksey Eliseevich Kulakovsky – Eksekuleekh Eleksei (1877-1926) – made a free translation of the poem “Demon” by M.Yu. Lermontov in 1908, which was published in the newspaper “Sakha Ologo” (No. 19, April 24, 1908). It was a poetic retelling of the main plot of the poem in the traditions of the Yakut folklore versification and is still considered as one of the best examples of the artistic word. In 1912-13 the first journal in the Yakut language “Sakha Sanata” printed translations from Russian literature in addition to original works: a poetic translation of the fable “Asyynkalaakh Kymyrdagas” (“Dragonfly and Ant”) by I.A. Krylov, made by the future first playwright Anempodist Ivanovich Sofronov-Alampa (1886-1935), translation of the play “Harana suol kuuse” (“The Power of Darkness”) by L.N. Tolstoy, made by one of the founders and ideological inspirer of the first Yakut newspapers and journal Vasily Vasilyevich Nikiforov-Kulumnur (1866-1928). The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the time of the formation of all genres of Yakut literature, and the Russian-Yakut translation was undoubtedly a school of creative excellence. The young A.I. Sofronov-Alampa, who at the beginning of the century was still keen on home theater productions, was translating the works by A.P. Chekhov and N.V. Gogol, and then he began to write dramatic works in his native language himself.

The founder of the Yakut Soviet literature, a reformer of the Yakut versification, a major political and public figure of the Yakut ASSR, a linguist and olonkhusut poet Platon Alekseevich Sleptsov-Oiunsky (1893-1939) translated “Marseillaise” and “Internationale” into the Yakut language, so that the people gathered at the meetings could sing these revolutionary songs in their native language and understand their content, becoming sincerely inspired to fight. It can be said that it was these translations that brought accentual-syllabic verse to the traditional versification, which then rapidly developed in the Soviet period. In addition to these songs, P.A. Oiunsky had excellent translations of A.S. Pushkin, M.Yu. Lermontov,

V. Goethe, S. Petofi, and others in the Yakut language. He chose the most significant works of the time for translation, expressing the idea of a struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people.

The country experienced a cultural revolution in the 1920s-30s, an unprecedented action to eliminate illiteracy was carried out throughout the country. Along with the translation of textbooks, classic children’s literature was translated into the Yakut language. In the 1930s, Yakut children could read in their native language the tales of the Brothers Grimm (1936, translation of G.M. Vasilyev), G-Ch. Andersen (1937, 1938, translation by G.M. Vasilyev, N. Kanaev), Ch. Perrot (1937, translation by N. Kanaev), V. Gauf (1937, 1938, translation by N. Pavlov, I. Vinokurov), E. Raspe (1938, translation by N. Zabolotsky), R. Kipling (1939, translation by G. Tarsky, A. Abaginsky). The classics of foreign literature was also first translated into the Yakut language in the 1930s-40s, namely “Grant Captain Ogoloro”, “Kistelenneeh Aryy” (“The Mysterious Island”) by J. Verne, “Kylaattaah Aryy” (“Treasure Island”) by R. Stevenson, “Gulliver Liliputtarga” by J. Swift, in the 1950s – 60s Jack London’s stories, “Robinson Crusoe ologo uonna muuchurgenneeh dikti syryylara” by D. Defoe, “Chippolino muchurgenneeh syryylara” by D. Rodari.

Like any poet living in Russia, every Yakut writer was inspired by the works of the great A.S. Pushkin. The translations of his works are numerous and make a rich material for research. The first translator of A.S. Pushkin’s works into the Yakut language was P.A. Oiunsky, who translated the poem “The Cloud” in 1925. The first tale of A.S. Pushkin, translated into the Yakut language, was “The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish” (1936, translation by G.M. Vasilyev), the first of Pushkin’s prose to be translated (by A. Boyarov) were excerpts from “The Captain’s Daughter”, which were published in the journal “Kysyl ylyk” in 1937. And in 1935, the translation of the drama “Boris Godunov” by N.D. Neustroev and N.N. Pavlov was published in the same journal. In 1937, on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the great poet’s death, Yakut poets translated and published the cho-

sen lyrics of A.S. Pushkin (editors of translation – P.O. Oiunsky, S.R. Kulachikov-Elley, I.D. Vinokurov-Chagylgan) in Moscow. A collection of selected prose was published the same year, which included the translations of “Dyam koroochchu” (“Stationmaster”), “Baasynai kysa baarysna” (“Young Lady-Peasant”), “Horuopchut” (“The Undertaker”), “Happytaan kysa” (“The Captain’s Daughter”), “Duburuoskai” (“Dubrovsky”) by N.M. Zabolotsky. The translations of the selected lyrics of A.S. Pushkin by I.E. Sleptsov-Arbita (1913-1943) were published in 1940. He masterfully translated 47 poems of the great poet, and these translations in terms of the completeness of the content and original’s ideas transmission, the clarity of rhythm and rhymes, which are as close as possible to the sound of the original, are supreme and present an excellent example of the translator’s skill. All of Pushkin’s fairy tales are translated into the Yakut language, and *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish* was translated twice in 1936 by G.M. Vasiliev (1908-1981) and in 1975 by V.G. Chiryayev (1911-1989).

In 1954 the Yakut translation of “Eugene Onegin” was released by a front-line soldier and poet, a graduate of the Maxim Gorky Literature Institute Gavril Ivanovich Makarov-Dzhon Dzhangly (1914-1956). Gavril Ivanovich Makarov-Dzhon Dzhangly (1914-1956), a front-line soldier, a poet, and a graduate of the Maxim Gorky Literature Institute, worked on the translation for 15 years. The poet-translator wrote in his article “My work on translation” after the completion of the translation, “I ventured on such a bold creative step because I was captivated by the unsurpassed creation of the great poet. I had a passionate desire for my people to read this work, which has become a treasure of Russian and world literature, in their native language” (Makarov, 1954:2). This translation acquired a political tinge when Yakut literature was subjected to aggressive attacks which accused its origins in being of bourgeois-nationalist character, as well as doubts about the competence of Yakut artistic word. Yakutia Union of Writers appointed talented, experienced writers, translators N.N. Pavlov-Tyasyt, I.D. Vinokurov-Chagyl-

gan, F. Sofronov, S.R. Kulachikov-Elley, and later N.A. Gabyshev as the reviewers of the translation. The reviewers not only evaluated the translations of the novel’s chapters in verses but also carried out explanatory work from the pages of the republic’s newspapers about the significance of this translation for the development of Yakut literature. The full texts of these reviews were published by Semen Tumat in 2013 in the second edition of a book about G.I. Makarov-Dzhon Dzhangly (Tumat, 2013).

The Yakut-Russian literary translation had begun to become more active since the late 1930s. One of the most famous translators of the Yakut literature of those years is the Irkutsk poet A.S. Pestyukhin-Olkhon (1903-1950). Specifically, in the 1946 collection “From the Lena Shores” (Olkhon, 1946) he published translations of the poems “The Bayanay Spell” (“Bayanay Algysa”, 1900), “Big Fire-breathing Boat - Parakhod” (“Uot Tyynnaakh Ulakhan Onocho”, 1913), “The Gifts of Lena” (“Orus Belekhtere”), “The Miserly Rich Man” (“Kechegi Baai”), “Army of the Snowy-Ice Country” (“Haar-Muus Doydu Armyyata”, 1925) by A.E. Kulakovsky, “Songs of the Spirits” (“Aannal Uonna Abaasy”), “Motherland” (“Töröobut Doydu”) by A.I. Sofronov-Alampa, “Life” (“Olokh”), “The Scent of Dung” (“Kii syta”), “Of Summer” (“Sayinnyga”) and others by A.I. Ivanov-Kunde, translation of the improvisations of the folk singer and olonkhosut M.N. Timofeev-Tereshkin, poems of the young poets Amma Achygya, Kunnyuk Urastyrov, Ilya Chagylgan, Kyun Dzhiribine, Sergey Vasilyev, which were popular then. Most of these translations were included after in other collections of Yakut poetry published in Siberia (Ol’khon, 1947). In addition to poetry, A.S. Olkhon also translated Yakut prose, namely the stories “Golden Stream”, “Diamond Seekers”, “Diamond and Love” by N.G. Zolotarev – Nikolai Yakutsky (published in 1977), the novel “Children of Marykchan” by S.S. Yakovlev – Erilik Eristin (1951), and others. He also recounted for children the olonkho “Nurgun Bootur the Swift” by K. Orosin in the translation of G.U. Ergis (1950, “Yakut fairy tales about Nurgun the Swift Light Vit-yaz”). Olonkhos of K. Orosin was subjected to

literary processing in Russian more than once. The poem "Nurgun the Swift. A poem based on the Yakut folk epos" was published in 1957 in Blagoveshchensk, while a poetic transcription of olonkho "The Bogatyr on a bay horse" was published by A. Steinberg in 1960 in Irkutsk. The researchers of the Yakut literature noted a fairly free handling of the original texts when the Yakut works were processed beyond recognition (the poem "Nurgun the Swift" by V.V. Poletika, the book of Erilik Eristin's works' translations "The Tale and the Story"), or when the translators consciously added their own explanatory inserts and openly pointed to this in the preface to the translation (A. Olkhon in the translation of "Children of Marykchan" by Erilik Eristin). However, the translations of the Yakut literature of the 1930-60s fulfilled their role in familiarizing the Soviet reader with the Yakut literature. Other works, which had become notable achievements of the young Yakut literature, were also translated into Russian during these years, for example, the novel-epic "Saasky Kem" by N.E. Mordinov, translation of A. Dmitrieva and L. Kornilova; fairy tales and stories of D.K. Sivtsev – Suorun Omollon, translation of L. Gabyshev; poems of S.P. Danilov; tales and stories of Nikolai Yakutsky, etc.

An unprecedented rise in translation activity in the republic occurred in the 1970-80s, when the national poet of Yakutia Semen Petrovich Danilov (1917-1978) was actively involved in its organization. As the chairman of Yakutia Union of Writers, he initiated a planned work to translate Yakut literature into Russian and into the languages of the peoples of the USSR using Russian; besides, he made the publishing of translations in the country's central publishing houses a common practice. "The Polar Star" magazine was created in Yakutsk for the development of literary translation. First, it was engaged in dubbing the content of the oldest Yakut literary magazine "Khotugu Sulus", but soon became an independent publication. In order to enrich the Yakut literature with new images and artistic means, as well as to hone the skills of young writers, S.P. Danilov stimulated translations from the Russian language of the multinational literature of the Soviet Union

and foreign countries. For many years, in the magazine "Khotugu Sulus" under the heading "Friendship of Literature – Friendship of Peoples", translations of works by Soviet writers from different republics were published. In addition, almost all translations published in a separate book were first vetted in the magazine "Khotugu Sulus". Both magazines still exist, acquainting readers with literary novelties.

During the time when he headed Yakutia Union of Writers (1961-1978), he also organized the translation into Russian of the olonkho "Nurgun Bootur the Swift" by P.A. Oiunsky. When the talented writers-translators N. Zabolotsky, L. Gabyshev, N. Gabyshev, S. Kulachikov, S. Rufov compiled a subscript translation at his request, for a long time they could not find an artistic translator. Finally, V.V. Derzhavin, an experienced translator of the epic texts, decided to take up the translation, I.V. Pukhov, a major epic literature expert, became the academic adviser, and V.M. Novikov – Kyunnyuk Urastyrov, an olonkho poet, became the literary adviser. The olonkho translation process, as well as the translation of "Eugene Onegin", aroused the great interest of the public and similarly became a major cultural event. It is this translation and the achievements of Yakut culture and art based on it that enabled the Yakut heroic epic to become one of the masterpieces of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005.

Feeling the need for professional translators from the Yakut language into Russian, Semen Danilov insisted that a group of the talented Yakut youth were sent to study at the Maxim Gorky Literature Institute in 1974. Aita Shaposhnikova, one of those students who successfully graduated from the Literary Institute, noted that there was a huge need for translations at that time, especially for subscript. These students, according to S. Danilov, were to form the backbone of the translation service at Yakutia Union of Writers. However, the untimely death of the poet and organizer of translation activities in Yakutia, Semen Danilov, did not allow these plans to be realized (Shaposhnikova, 2003: 76).

However, the years of Perestroika and the revival of national identity opened up new top-



ics for Yakut literature and new horizons for its development and allowed creative self-realization to such professional translators as Aita Shaposhnikova, Albina Borisova and Maria Alekseeva. In addition to the many interlinear translations which allowed the most famous contemporary poets to be famous beyond the republic's borders, Aita Efimovna Shaposhnikova is known for translating the novels of the national writer V.S. Yakovlev-Dalan (1928-1996), based on historical and ethnographic materials, for literary translations of olonkho, etc. Albina Andrianovna Borisova provides with very good translations of modern Yakut poetry, which are regularly published outside the republic (poems by E. Sleptsova-Kuorsunnaah, G. Androsova, national poetess N. Kharlampyeva, etc.). She worked for a long time as a translator in the Sakha Academic Theater, traveled half the world with the theater troupe as a synchronous interpreter, then successfully worked in the bilingual children's magazine "Chuoraanchyk – Kolokolchik", where, in addition to a number of translations of poetry for children, she translated the author olonkhos of Sergei Vasiliev-Borogonsky and the philosophical novel "Kudangsa the Great" by P.A. Oiunsky. Maria Egorovna Alekseeva worked for a very long time in the Il Tumen State Assembly, where she managed translation work in various positions. She is also known for the translation of the olonkho "Eles Bootur" by P. Ogotoev, the fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen, the Yakut memoir literature and essays.

Thus, in the 1970-80s the organization of translation activity was mostly aimed at artistic translation. The trend of the time can also be seen here. The exchange of cultural wealth of the multinational Soviet Union's people was the internal policy of the state. The education of professional translators was also a distinctive feature of this period of translation work organization in the republic. The national science of translation was experiencing a real boom in those years, and the republic absolutely needed not only talented but professionally educated translators. Such major works of Lev Tolstoy as "War and Peace" (Vol. 1 – in 1978, Vol. 2 – in 1979, Vol. 3 – in 1980, Vol. 4 – in 1981) and "Resurrection" (1985) were trans-

lated in the 1970s-80s into Yakut. All these novels were translated by the national writer of Yakutia N.E. Mordinov – Amma Achygya (1906-1994). Previously, he had also translated "Anna Karenina" (Vol. 1 – in 1947, Vol. 2 – in 1950). Another work he had translated is "The Quiet Don" by M.A. Sholokhov, very original in style and language. These translations of Amma Achygya once again demonstrated the possibility of the Yakut language, which can adequately convey such historically, culturally, and linguistically complex works.

Semen Titovich Rufov (1927-2016), a poet and a graduate of the Literary Institute, actively translated in the 1960s–1990s from Russian into Yakut and from Yakut into Russian. His major translations are "Tiigir tanastakh bukhatyyr" by Sh. Rustaveli (1982), "Narispii" by K. Ivanov (1990), 154 sonnets of William Shakespeare (1966). He represented Yakutia in translating the gazelles of Alisher Navoi into the languages of the USSR peoples. The collection of his translations "Sulustaah Hallaan" ("Starry Sky") (1998) includes translations of the poetry of various nations and demonstrates how flexible the Yakut language can be and how well a translator can do if they possess not only poetic talent, but also an analytical mind of a researcher. The philosopher and poet K.D. Utkin-Nusyulgen wrote about the significance of his translations, "With his translations of numerous authors, S.T. Rufov expanded literary connections to the planetary scale. With his persistent and selfless work of translating the works of world and Russian classics, he tested himself for creative maturity, subjected the Yakut literary language to the severe analysis by the world standards of literary relations (Utkin, 1998: 53).

Semen Titovich Rufov made presentations at writers' conferences and meetings and confronted with the acute problems of the quality of literary translations and the organization of the work of translators. His reports and articles contain not only facts but also arguments on the ways to achieve the adequacy of translation, and therefore are of great value to researchers of the Russian-Yakut translation. He also took an active part in the events of the Literary Days of the Fraternal Peoples both

in Yakutsk and other republics. Mutual translations and friendship often became the result of such meetings.

According to prof. P.A. Sleptsov, the language of literary translation has a great influence on the formation of literary norms. Ph.D. T.I. Petrova writes on the importance of studying the issues of translation, "The value of the translation from Russian into Yakut increases significantly, which involves not only the transmission of the information expressed in Russian but also in preserving the national identity of the Yakut language, because "translation is a fact of consciously counteracting interference, i.e. the impact of the system of that language that during speech production remains in the mind of the translator" (Garbovskii, 2004: 318) In other words, the translator familiar with the techniques of equivalent translation neutralizes the influence of the Russian language constructions, replacing them with adequate Yakut structures, i.e. objectively performs the function of the keeper of the Yakut language. For nearly four centuries the Yakut and Russian peoples coexist on the northern land, the same time their languages have been in contact, having survived various stages of interaction. In order to ensure the existence of this historical tandem for as long as possible without harming one another, it is imperative to work out the issues of an equivalent Russian-Yakut translation, which at the modern stage of society's development becomes the problem of the preservation of the Sakha language and unique material and spiritual culture, as well as the survival of the Sakha people themselves" (Petrova, 2005: 123). With this in mind, in 1999 Tamara Ivanovna Petrova, Associate Professor, made it possible to open the department of the Yakut language stylistics and the Russian-Yakut translation of the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Peoples of the Northeast of the Russian Federation, the structural division of NEFU named after M.K. Ammosov.

For nearly twenty years the educational and methodical activity, as well as the scientific activity of the department have been carried out in three scientific areas of fundamental and practical nature: 1) theory of translation and

translation practice; 2) linguo-stylistics of the Yakut language; 3) Yakut language for all departments of NEFU (three-level teaching of the Yakut language: advanced (for proficient), intermediate (for those with low skills), beginner (for non-proficient) levels). Tamara Ivanovna gathered the most promising graduates of the department and in a relatively short time developed the foundations of the special theory of the Russian-Yakut translation, functional stylistics and culture of Sakha speech. Since 2002, the members of the department have begun to defend their dissertations at a viva voce under her and prof. P.A. Sleptsov's guidance. Currently, the department has qualified scientific and educational personnel specializing in Russian-Yakut, Yakut-Russian translation, style and speech culture of the Yakut language. The Department of Stylistics of the Yakut Language and Russian-Yakut Translation of the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Peoples of the Northeast of the Russian Federation works closely with the Council on Language Policy under the Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Yakutia Union of Writers, the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), educational organizations, the media, law enforcement and judicial authorities, practicing translators from the department, which undoubtedly demonstrates the relevance of the translation work in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Scientific events on the style of the Yakut language, Russian-Yakut and Yakut-Russian translation, seminars and courses on the culture of the Yakut speech and translation for employees of various fields of activity are the forms of interaction with these organizations.

Graduates of the department successfully work in the government bodies of the republic, the media, publishing houses, and other organizations in which the state languages of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) are used symmetrically. Three graduates of the Russian-Yakut translation department defended their dissertations on grammar, terminology and literary translation, and two more graduates are receiv-

ing postgraduate education. The high demand for translation services in Yakutsk allowed some graduates to open private enterprises. The Center for Professional Translation “Tylbaas” unites mainly the first master’s graduates in Russian-Yakut translation. “SP Egorova”, “SP Borisova”, “SP Sleptsova” also occupy their niches in the market of translation services in Yakutsk.

#### **The modern stage of translation work in Yakutia**

A distinctive feature of the current stage of translation activities development in the republic is cooperation with Russian and international organizations. Specifically, Yakut translators have been cooperating with the World Bible Institute for more than ten years. There is a regional branch of the Union of Translators of Russia in Yakutia (headed by A.A. Nakhodkina, Ph.D., associate professor), which in 2003 approved the Unified Translation Tariffs, thereby somewhat streamlining the market for translation services.

The year of literature in Russia gave a fresh impetus to literary translation. Yakut poets again began to be actively published outside the Republic and started to translate the poetry of colleagues from different parts of Russia themselves. We can include the following works in the list of the achievements of the modern development of literary translation: the publication of the Yakut poetry anthology “From century to century. Yakut poetry” in the series “Literature of the Cyrillic alphabet peoples” (2014); the translation of the novel “Alampa” by the national writer of Yakutia Egor Neymokhov, dedicated to the life

and work of Anempodist Sofronov-Alampa, made by the Petersburg writer Evgeny Kaminsky; translations of entries from the Sakha Theater for participation in All-Russian and international competitions; translations of Yakut films, participants and winners of various competitions and festivals; translations of the heroic epics of the peoples of Russia and the translation of the olonkho into these languages in the framework of the international project “Epos of the peoples of the world” of the National Organizing Committee for the Organization and Implementation of the Second Olonkho Decade in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), etc.

#### **Conclusion**

Considering the history of translation activities in the republic, we can conclude that the practice of Russian-Yakut translation has always led to the development of other related practical aspects of the Yakut language study. Specifically, with a social demand and a party order for the urgent translation of school textbooks, the Translation Committee of the People’s Commissariat for Education of the Yakut ASSR headed by P.A. Oiunsky stimulated the development of the Yakut spelling in the course of its translation activities. Due to the translation of educational and scientific literature, a term and spelling dictionary was created, which was originally planned to be released as a series of school dictionaries (Okoneshnikov, 1993: 457). And now it is time to combine all vast practice of Russian-Yakut and Yakut-Russian translations, theoretically conceptualize it and use its regularities to preserve the Yakut language and culture.

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## **Влияние русско-якутского перевода на развитие лингвистических исследований по якутскому языку**

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена развитию русско-якутского перевода, который неразрывно связан с историей страны и политической жизнью Якутии, историей якутского литературного языка, а также художественной литературы и т.п. На основе жанровой классификации текстов перевода в хронологическом порядке излагаются основные вехи переводческой деятельности в республике. В статье делается вывод о том, что русско-якутский перевод всегда приводил к разработке других прикладных аспектов якутского языка. Так, первые письменные переводы православной литературы поставили вопросы создания якутской письменности, организации книгопечатания и школьного образования в регионе. Ради решения практических задач перевода школьных учебников с русского языка были созданы терминологические словари. Перевод официально-деловых текстов и общественно-политической литературы привел к тому, что в якутском литературном языке начал дифференцироваться официально-деловой стиль. Многочисленные художественные переводы с русского языка были школой мастерства для молодых якутских писателей и обогащали якутскую литературу новыми жанрами и формами.

**Ключевые слова:** русский язык, якутский язык, перевод, история перевода, литературный язык, письменность, функциональный стиль, терминология, лексикография, сопоставительная грамматика, художественный перевод.

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## Some Similarities in the Future Tense Indicative Mood Categories of the Yakut and French Languages

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**Abstract.** The present article discusses some special features and ways of expressing actions together with the semantic and stylistic correspondences in the future tense forms in the Yakut and French languages. The object of our research is the comparative and typological study of the grammatical form correspondences in the future tense in the Yakut and French languages. The analysis shows that in order to represent modal and expressive verbal aspects, both languages use similar grammatical expressions to denote actions despite the differences in the grammatical structure of these future form expressions: the Yakut language has only one verbal form, while the French language has six grammatical forms.

**Keywords:** mood, verb, word-building, language grammatical structure, auxiliary verbs.

Research area: philology.

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According to its genealogical origin, the Yakut language belongs to the Turkic group of languages, whereas the French language belongs to Romance group of languages (Vinokurova, Efimova, Ivanova, 2017: 953).

In terms of its structure and typology, French is an analytical language, whereas Yakut is an agglutinative language. All the word-building processes in the Yakut language take place by adding affixes to the root form. In the complex tenses of the French languages the same process is made with the help of auxiliary verbs.

The indicative mood, which is the subject of our study, is expressed by one of the main verb forms in both languages.

The Yakut language is estimated to have ten verbal mood forms, which differ from each other in their morphological representations and modality. These are the indicative, imperative, conditional, probable, affirmative, modal, subjunctive, presumptive mood and the imperfect mood of an action being completed (Ubratova, 1982: 305).

There are four grammatical mood forms in the French language: indicative, imperative, conditional, and subjunctive. The indicative mood in French and Yakut can be formed in all three tense paradigms: past, present and future. The future tense does not strictly manifest itself, unlike the past tense. The future tense in French denotes a future action, which can be regarded in two aspects: as a particular future action or as an indefinite future action. Both tenses form the basis for modal transpositions (Gak, 2004: 348).

#### Future tense in the Yakut language

Future tense (*keler birieme*) in the Yakut language is formed from the stem of – *yiakh* participle by adding the possessive affixes.

Below is an example of the conjugation of the positive form of the verb **bar** ('go', 'leave', 'depart', 'to set off') in the future tense, indicative mood.

Sing. f.	Pl. f.
bar-yiag-yim (I will go, I will depart) / bar-yiakh-pyt (we will go, we will depart)	
bar-yiag-yin (you will go, you will depart) / bar-yiakh-hyt (you will go, you will depart)	

bar-yiag-a (he will go, he will depart) / bar-yiakh-tara (they will go, they will depart)

Singular form in the positive form of the future tense in the Yakut language has a phonetically contracted form which is used along with the full form: *min baryiam*, *en baryiang*, *kini baryia*. The main concept of the future tenses is to denote actions, which will happen in the near or distant future starting from the moment of speech, for example: *sarsyn*, *teatrga baryiam*.

According to its general meaning, the future tense in the Yakut language does not differ from the future tense in the French and Russian languages. For example: *Elle sera professeur de la langue française (Fr)*. *Kini frantsuzkay tyl uchuutala buoluo (Y)*. *Je parlerai yakoute (Fr)*. *Min sakhalyy sangaryam (Y)*. The future form in Yakut also serves to denote some other future tenses.

1) Future imperative: *turun*, *agagytyt kytta balyktyy barsyahhyt (Y)*. (Get up, you will go fishing with your father (literary translation)).

If the imperative action comes from other people and not the speaker directly, an additional modal word '*ugu*' ('they say') is added to the future form. For example: *miigin kytta barsyang ugu* ('They say you need to come with me').

2) A warning not to complete an action, which is undesirable from the speaker's perspective, in the future. For example, *olus aydaaryman – oghonu ugugunnaryahhyt (Y)* ('Don't make too much noise – you will wake up the baby').

3) A polite request to complete an action. For example, *tukaam, oghuskun killerien duu. Tymnyy olustaabyt (Y)*. (Let's take the bull inside the barn, shall we? It got much colder).

#### Future tense in the French language

Unlike the Yakut language, where the future tense has only one grammatical form, the French language has six grammatical forms to denote the future tense. It can be simple (futur simple, futur dans le passé (future-in-the-past)) and complex, which is formed using the auxiliary verbs 'avoir' ('to have') and

'être' ('to be') (futur antérieur (future perfect), futur antérieur dans le passé (future perfect-in-the-past)) and also using a half-auxiliary verb 'aller' (futur immédiat (future continuous) and futur immédiat dans le passé (future perfect continuous)). Among them there are some future tenses which are mainly used in spoken form (future simple, future continuous, future perfect), some are used in both – the spoken and written form (future perfect, future perfect continuous) (Tarasova, 2000: 365).

In our opinion, the functional characteristics of various modal forms of the basic future tenses meanings in the Yakut language correspond to the functional characteristics of all the six grammatical forms of the future tense in the French language.

### Futur simple

Futur simple is normally used to denote a future action that the speaker is expressing at the moment of speech (Popova, Kazakova, 2011: 365), (Kostetskaia, 2002: 156). Futur simple is formed by adding the *-ai*, *-as*, *-ons*, *-ez*, *-ont* endings to the infinitive forms of almost all the verbs of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> groups. For example: *parler (sanar, kepset) – je parlerai; finir (byut) – je finirai, min butuegyum; sortir (tagyis) – je sortirai, min takhsyagyim*. Some verbs of the 3<sup>rd</sup> group have special forms in the future simple: *être (buol) – il sera, kini buoluo; aller (bar) – il ira, kini baryia; faire (ongor) – il fera, kini ongoruo; savoir (bil, sataa) – il saura, kini biliye, satyia, etc.* When used in context, Futur simple expresses a polite request: *Je vous prie-rai de me prévenir. Tu m'éciras n'est pas? En bighigini sereter ere. En miehe suruyaar duu?* Futur simple can also express an order instead of Impératif: *Vous emmenez les enfants à l'école. Oholoru oskuolaga ildzher. Tu tairas-tu! Sanaraayahhyn!* It can express a statement, a confirmation, an affirmation: *Si tu es fatigué, depose-moi un moment dans l'herbe. Ça ira! Sylaydahhyna miigin ottooh sirge sytyaraar. Sep duo?*

In his textbook *Theoretical Grammar of the French Language*, V.G. Gak notes that “the Futur denotes a future action which can be regarded dually: as a definite or an indefi-

nite action. Both of these grammatical features serve as a basis for modal transpositions. Futur shows that the action is compulsory when it expresses an order (it replaces the imperative)” (Gak, 2004: 349).

In colloquial speech, future simple often denotes a presumption when it is used instead of the present tense: *Voilà quelqu'un qui lui rassemble, ce sera son frère aîné. Bu kiniehe maigynnyyr araaha iti kini ulahan ubaya byhyllaah.*

The future tense form can convey a polite form: *Je vous ferai remarquer que. Min eyiehe belieten etiem etc.*

### Futur immédiat

In the system of verb tenses in the indicative mood, the immediate tenses (temps immédiats) are used; they denote an action that directly follows or precedes another action. These are four tenses: futur immédiat (immediate future), futur immédiat dans le passé (immediate future perfect), passé immédiat (immediate past) и passé immédiat dans le passé (past perfect) (Gak, 2004: 862).

Futur immédiat is a tense which is used to express the nearest future action: *Annette va préparer le déjeuner. Annett ebiet buharaary sylzar. Madame Labiche va venir.* Futur immédiat is formed using the present tense form of the verb 'aller', which in this case serves as an auxiliary verb and is followed by an infinitive of a notional verb. This tense denotes a future action, which should immediately follow the moment of speech: *Je vais ouvrir la fenêtre. Min sibiligin aany aryyayiam. Nous allons dîner. Bihigi sotoru ahyiahpyt. Je vais faire une piqûre de morphine. Min biligin ukuol turuoruom.* In certain contexts Futur immédiat can express a polite request: *Je vais vous prier d'attendre un peu. Kyratyk kuute tuherger kyordyohuyom etc. Tu vas préparer le dîner, hein? En ebiet buharyan duu? Allez vous coucher, les enfants, dit doucement notre père. Ogholor, baran utuyaaryn, dien aghabyt sibigineyde.*

In colloquial speech futur immédiat can be used to denote any future action: *Qu'est-ce tu vas faire? Je vais parler au directeur. Tugu gynyahyniyi? Min diriekterdiin kepsetiem.*



### Futur immédiat dans le passé

Futur immédiat dans le passé expresses an action which should immediately follow another action taking place in the past or an intention to complete an action. It can be expressed by using the imparfait tense of the verb 'aller' ('bar') and an infinitive of the notional verb. Futur immédiat dans le passé forms are usually translated into Yakut as 'sibiligin subu' which corresponds to the French 'J'allais vous de dire': *Sibiligin min eyiehe ol tuyunan etiem. Quand j'allais partir, le téléphone a sonné. Subu baraary turdahpyna telephon tyahaata.*

The Futur immédiat dans le passé tense replaces the Futur immédiat tense in indirect speech, if it refers to the past, for example: *Mon ami a dit: "Je vais régler mes affaires"* in French or "*Dzhyalabyn biligin byhaaryam.*" – *diete doghorum* in Yakut. – *Mon ami a dit, qu'il allait régler ses affaires. "Dzhalabyn subu byhaaryam ete," – diete doghorum.*

### Futur dans le passé

The Futur dans le passé tense is formed using the infinitive of the notional verb and adding the imparfait endings: -ais, -ais, -ait, -ions, -iez, -aient. The Futur dans le passé tense denotes an action in relation to the past: *Il gagna le Bois de Boulogne. Il s'y promènerait. Kini Bulon oyuurugar dieri tiyie ete. Onno kuuleydie ete buollagha.*

This verb tense is used instead of Futur simple in indirect speech, when it describes the past: *J'ai répondu que je choisirais bien le moment. Toghoostooch tugini kuuttuyom ete dien hardardym. Demain, il transvaserait le lait dans un chaudron de cuivre. Sarsyn kini uutu altan kytaha kutuogha.*

### Futur antérieur

Futur antérieur is formed using the auxiliary verb 'avoir' or 'être' in the futur simple tense and participe passé (Participle II) of the conjugated verb: *j'aurai parlé, ils auront parlé, je serai venu ils seront venus* (Moshenskaia, 2003: 253). Futur antérieur denotes a future action, which precedes another action in the future: *Quand vous l'aurez vu, téléphonez-moi. Kinini kyodyohhutune miehe billererin. Elle va vous expliquer tout, quand je serai parti. Min*

*bardahpyna kini barytyn ehiehe byharyia.* This tense is used in the subordinate clauses of time, especially after such subordinating conjunctions as 'quand', 'lorsque', 'dès que', 'aussitôt que'. For example: *Dès qu'il aura tout appris, il nous excusera. Yoydyoghune kini bihigini byrasty gynya. Vous me direz ce que vous aurez compris. Yoydyotyohhytyné onu miehe eterin.* The Futur antérieur tense is used in the main or in the independent clause: *Quand tu viendras, j'aurai déjà quitté la ville. En kekerger min haiyy – yuyghe kuorakka suoh buolabyn. Roger viendra à midi. Moi, je serai parti. Roga kunus kelie. Otton min haiyy – uyeghe baryyam.* The Futur antérieur tense in simple sentences expresses the completion of a future action: *Dans un instant j'aurai fini de taper. Biligin bechetten butuyom.* The Futur antérieur tense also highlights the swiftness of an action. The adverbial modifiers of time serve as indicators in such cases: *Il aura bientôt traduit ce texte. Kini bu tiekhihi sibiligin bechetten buterie.*

### Futur antérieur dans le passé

The Futur antérieur dans le passé tense stands for a future action, which precedes another future action and follows an action in the past. It is formed using the futur dans le passé form of the auxiliary verb 'avoir' or 'être' and participe passé of the conjugated verb. For example: *Elle attendait son fils. Dès qu'il serait revenue, elle lui parlerait de leurs projets. Kini oghotun kuutere. Oghoto kelleghine inniki bylanyn iyyitalahya. Jadis, il aurait tranché la question sans scrupules, sûr de son jugement, mais, à mesure qu'il vieillissait, il devenait plus prudent. Hahan ere kini beietiger olus erelleh buolan, munah boppuruohu birinchige suoh turgennik byhaarara, ol eren sahyran isteghin ayi sereghediyer buolbuta.* The Futur antérieur dans le passé tense can be used instead of the Futur antérieur tense in indirect speech, if it refers to the past. For example: *Il dit: "Je serai architecte, quand j'aurai terminé mes études". Kini eppite: "Min uyorehpin buterdehpine arhitektor buoluom".*

Thus, non-related languages can also serve as the objects of a comparative and typological study. Despite the differences in grammatical form structures of the future tense in Yakut and

French (in Yakut there is only one verb form, whereas in French there are six verb forms), both languages use similar ways of expressing specific tenses of the future action in order to show modal and expressive shades of meanings which these tense forms contain.

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## Некоторые схождения глаголов будущего времени в якутском и французском языках

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**Аннотация.** В статье рассматриваются некоторые особенности и способы действия, а также семантико-стилистические соответствия грамматических форм будущего времени в якутском и во французском языках. Объектом нашего исследования является сопоставительно-типологическое изучение схождения некоторых грамматических форм будущего времени в неродственных языках: в якутском и во французском. Анализ показывает, что для представления модальных и экспрессивных оттенков глагольных времен оба языка используют сходные средства способов действия, несмотря на разницу оформления грамматических форм будущего времени: в якутском языке есть только одна глагольная форма, а во французском – шесть грамматических форм.

**Ключевые слова:** наклонение, глагол, словообразование, грамматическая организация языка, вспомогательные глаголы.

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## Toponymic Landscape of Central Yakutia: Etymological Analysis of Geographical Names

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**Abstract.** The article focuses on the attempts of reconstructing the process of exploration of Central Yakutia on the example of the Khangalassky region in different time periods and by various tribes. As a result, the etymological analysis of toponyms of the territory under research allowed to reveal several layers of ethnic impact, as well as traces left by different ethnic groups in the course of exploration of the territory.

Modern geographical sciences (human geography in particular) demonstrate interest in the nature of relations between humans and environment, and the problems of landscape ontology as a source of a wide range of socio-humanistic knowledge. Moreover, the issues of etymology of toponyms in the Yakut language have not been studied thoroughly, although it is a factor that reveals layers of knowledge on the history of peoples who have established long-term contacts with one another; problem of language and culture of the peoples or tribes who have influenced the formation of the Yakut language on the one hand, and dialect characteristics within a single language on the other, in terms of naming the same geographical objects.

The objective of the given research is to identify the etymological element of Yakutia's toponyms in order to reconstruct the historical past of Central Yakutia's exploration, and to determine the types of landscape's identification by various ethnic groups in formation of toponyms.

The leading method in analyzing the given problem is a comparative method based on identification of the toponyms' etymological component, as well as the method of statistical processing of the quantitative results of the analysis. More than 300 toponyms have been studied on the material of the toponymic base of Central Yakutia's Khangalassky region. The etymology of toponyms is studied on the basis of dictionary definitions and the material provided by informants.

The analysis resulted in identification of etymological components in Central Yakutia's toponyms. The Khangalassky region was selected for the analysis of toponyms due to the historical factor in the first place. The Yakuts as an ethnic group had settled in the basin of Middle Lena, in the valleys of Erkeni and Samartai. The final formation of

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the Sakha people occurs as a result of the mixture of outsider Turkic tribes with local paleoasiatic family groups, as well as with outsider Mongol-speaking Khori and Tungus tribes. The etymological and semantic components of toponyms show, that the toponymy of the Khangalassky region is marked by the most ancient layer in Yakutia's toponymic formation. The toponyms of the Khangalassky region have been greatly influenced by the Lena river, as well as adjacent rivers and creeks the names of which could be found in the Evenki, the Mongol, and the Turkic linguistic and cultural layers. In the toponymic formation based on the Yakut language one can observe a layer of Mongol toponyms which had appeared before the Turkic toponymic layer. Traces of Tungus-Manchurian tribes of the earliest layer could still be found among the names of small rivers and creeks, since the tribes had been wandering in order to hunt while using large objects as landmarks. The Russian etymological layer is considered to be the most recent one, connected with the territorial exploration by Russian explorers and farmers who settled on the territory of the Khangalassky region, and the post tract which linked the Yakut region to the Russian Empire during the reign of Peter I and Catherine II. The analysis shows the gradual nature of toponymic formation in relation to the landscape. It allows systematizing the origins of toponyms in both historical and linguistic contexts. Materials presented in the article could also be of use for linguists, historians, cultural study specialists, and geographers.

**Keywords:** landscape, toponyms, territorial explorations, culture, etymology, ethnic and language contacts, history and origin of place names.

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## Introduction

The issues of human exploration of territories, forms of conceptualizing the natural objects, phenomena, and events linked to certain landscapes have been analyzed in the frame of RSF project No. 15-18-20047 "Landscape ontology: semantics, semiotics, and geographic modeling" (2015-2017). The exploration of the vast territory of Yakutia with its variety of landscapes by the indigenous peoples occurred in different historical periods. In the course of this exploration each ethnic group while adjusting to surrounding landscape, occupied a certain niche thus avoiding competition: each group occupied their own ethno-cultural landscape. Yakut cattle-breeders lived in the alases and valleys between the

rivers. Tungus-speaking tribes who lived by reindeer-breeding inhabited the mountain-taiga area. Unlike the Evens and the Evenks, the reindeer-breeding Chukchis occupied the tundra areas. The Yukagirs who mainly focused on fishing lived in the valley of the Kolyma river. Thus, each ethnic group inhabiting the region had come up with their own system of geographical terms. Their semantics was determined not only by landscape, but also by their lifestyle and types of activities. Linguistic contacts have also played an important role in forming the geographical vocabulary in various languages.

Such great geographers as P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky and L.S. Berg had contributed greatly to the establishment of modern Russian

toponymy. Over different time periods, the issues of toponymy were considered by such authors as N.V. Bubnova, V.A. Zhuchkevich, A.P. Dulzon, V.I. Lytkin, A.K. Matveev, E.M. Murzaev, V.A. Nikonov, A.I. Popov, E.M. Pospelov, D.I. Rudenko, B.A. Serebrennikov, A.V. Superanskaya. The ethno-linguistic approach is presented in the works by A.S. Gerd, N.I. Tolstoy, E.L. Berezovich. The works by V.V. Kornev represent cognitive and functional approaches. A particular branch of cultural geography focuses on developing the ideas of cultural (and humanistic) geography (Yu.A. Vvedenin, R.F. Turovsky, V.L. Kagansky, V.N. Kalutskov, A.G. Druzhinin, D.N. Zamyatin, V.P. Maksakovsky, M.V. Ragulina, and others).

Tremendous contribution in the field of name study was made by K. Miller, H. Haens, A. Hermann, P. Aalto, G.J. Ramstedt, E. Chavannes, J.G. Grano, L. Basin, F. Hirth, L. Ligeti, P. Boodberg, R. Czegledy, J. Jeong, T. Osa-wa.

The researchers Conedera, Vassere, Neff, Meurer and Krebs considered toponyms as a reflection of subjective environment perception. The work by Calvo-Iglesias, Diaz-Varela, Méndez-Martínez and Fra-Paleo contain a three-part interpretation of toponyms: spatial location, information about the place and landscape. Remaining despite recent land use changes but also in a long-term context, the place names show a strong inertia in time (Calvo-Iglesias et al., 2012).

Geographical names are preserved over long period of time, and many retain the original naming even in the conditions of changing environment. "The metaphor of 'cultural arena' focuses on the capacity of place names to serve as sites of contest, debate, and negotiation as social groups compete for the right to name and, in the words of Don Mitchell (2008: 43), 'the power to define the meanings that are to be read into and out of the landscape'" (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, Azaryahu, 2010).

As stated by G.D. Tomakhin, "onomastic vocabulary on the whole is particularly marked in terms of both national and cultural aspects. Any given toponym and anthroponym is perceived in language and culture in the context of certain associations based on certain charac-

teristics of the object under study" (Tomakhin, 1986).

Toponyms play an important role in the lives of people and society, since human activity is always connected with the ideas of space, or moving in space and time. By naming and emphasizing the surrounding objects, toponyms function as signs and benchmarks guiding people across space. As marked by V.F. Barashkov, "due to this function toponyms have been accompanying humankind from ancient times up to nowadays. As a result, today even within relatively small territories one can observe co-existing geographical names which appeared during different historical periods, or names linked to languages of the peoples who used to inhabit, or still inhabit the given territory". Hence, it is obvious that while performing their primary function, toponyms of any territory represent an important source of knowledge about their home territory: the peoples and languages who used to be linked to it, certain geographical characteristics both from the past and the present, the people who left a trace in the history of the given location, etc. This leads to the suggestion that geographical names are a book which holds records on the history of humankind" (Barashkov).

Nikolay Ivanovich Nadezhdin (1804-1856), a historian and an ethnographer, as well as one of the founders of historical geography in Russia, wrote: "Toponymy is the language of the earth; the earth is a book of the history of humankind recorded in a geographic nomenclature. The first page in the history should be that of a geographic map, and not only as an auxiliary tool that allows one to see the location of events, but also as a rich archive of the documents and sources". Toponymic characteristics is closely linked to the ethnic groups who used to live and live in the given territory with their own lifestyle, contacts, cultural and worldview specifics. V.L. Vasiliev noted that "Toponymic-ethnographic map could be defined as a map showing settlements along with characterizing the semantic and linguistic genesis of the given toponyms, as well as the types of settling (according to locations in the system of cultural landscape), and the time when the settlements were founded" (Vasilyev, 2006).

Toponyms help to reconstruct ancient landscapes, ancient routes, processes of territorial exploration, economic activity characteristics; to understand the ethnogenesis specifics, and ethnic compound of population, as well as many other aspects of local environment and everyday activities within a given territory in the past (Kornev, 2014). Toponyms help to identify intra- and extra-linguistic cognitive prerequisites for the emergence and functioning of intercontinental and intracontinental names-migrants. The linguistic-cognitive focus on toponyms allows us to consider their specificity in the conceptual perspective, and to pay attention to the mental processes of the occurrence of toponymic units in the language (Urazmetova, 2018).

While acknowledging the inter-disciplinary nature of toponymy as a science standing on the crossroads of geography, history and linguistics, V.A. Zhuchkevich defines “toponymic landscape” as its subject. By “toponymic landscape” he means a bulk of names of rivers, lakes, lands, relief shapes, settlements, etc. that has been formed in the given territory. “A toponymic landscape is a verbal expression of a geographic landscape” (Zhuchkevich, 1968).

When studying ontological and mental existence of toponyms L.M. Dmitrieva notes, “a toponymic system as an explication of the image of the toponymic worldview, it is built on certain principles, similar to those by which the mental image of space in general is formed, and by which in the process of perception, the toponymic picture replaces and represents the ontological form of the landscape reality’s existence” (Dmitrieva, 2002). Toponyms can also act as carriers of languages and can be preserved for a long time. Toponyms were used to analyze the endangered Manchu language in Northeast China (Zhu, 2018).

The study of place names of Central Yakutia allows revealing the traditional system of orientation in space and the attitude to the surrounding world through the anthropocentric worldview. “The cognitive component covers numerous aspects of cultural knowledge accumulated over centuries in this landscape territory through deciphering the semantics of the toponyms, thus revealing the historical

modes in which people used to manage natural resources, engage in agriculture, find their way in space, history and cultural experience in general; and the special attitude to natural objects and sacred places” (Khokholova, Zamorshchikova, Filippova, 2018). The study of semantics and semiotics of the nomination of landscapes in the languages of indigenous peoples of the North-East of Russia provides the ability to compare different representations of the natural world, to identify the dynamics of change in the worldview and representation, and use of the surrounding landscape (Zamorshchikova, 2016).

The material of this article is represented by the linguistic database of toponyms of the Khangalassky region. It includes both officially map-registered toponyms, and the local ones that include among others the micro-toponyms collected during the field expeditions. The database includes such indicators as toponyms in their officially recognized Russian form; the native toponymic form in Yakutia’s national language; historical naming of a toponym; etymology; dictionary sources; relief characteristics; types of natural objects (rivers, lakes, mountains, plots of land); and information on the flora landscape, and soil, as well as some others.

### Results of the research

The Lena river played the key role in forming the toponyms of the Khangalassky region, as well as the adjoining small rivers and creeks, the names of which could be found in linguistic-cultural layers: the Evenki, the Mongol and the Turkic.

The most ancient Tungus-Manchurian layer can be traced in the names of small rivers and creeks which characterize 1) *natural and landscape peculiarities*, for instance, *Dyanykha* is a hill or a creek located above the tundra zone, or mountains with bare rounded tops (way-finders); *Siine* deriving from “hii”, “a thicket, a forest (thick), taiga”; *Keteme* from the Evenki “meadow, a glade amidst the forest”; *Negyurchene* from the Evenki “negur”, “a wolf”. 2) due to search of *hunting grounds* the hunters looked to large objects mainly located along the “feeding” creeks: *Degiletti* from “degi” (Evenki)

fowl + suffixes -le, -t, -ty = approximately, “to hunt for fowl”. It is possible that the area was known for the abundance of fowl; *Oldokun* from “olgo-mi”, i.e. to dry (out), “dried-up”, or “oldo”, a fish, “a huge fish” + exaggerative suffix -kun. 3) *qualitative features*, as in *Nuolla*, possibly from the Evenki “nyo”, which is to outrun, or from the Yakut “nuolur”, meaning very soft, tender (for certain type of feathers, small feathers, down of a bird); *Nachabyl* from the Evenki “na”, i.e. to hit the target + suffixes -cha, -vul = possibly “to start hitting the target”. 4) *humans and society*, as in *Kycha*, possibly from the name of an Evenki family of Kichel of the Baikitsky region of the Krasnoyarsky District.

Results of the research of the Khangalassky region toponyms show that toponyms of the Mongol etymology render: 1) *qualitative characteristics* of geographical objects in relation to small rivers and creeks: *Byrdzangaya* from the Khalkha “birzhiy”, Buryat “birzay” meaning to be uneven, rough, spotty; Kalmyk “birzhi”, which is to be wrinkly, to have facial spots. The Yakut verb “byrday” means to squeeze out (as of puss, lard); *Byryi-Chyna* from the Khalkha, Buryat “muddy”, “dark”, “murky”; Buryat “silt”, “clay”, “swamp”; “chin” meaning trampled down, strong; *Bytyrystakh* from the Mongolian “bytara”, which is to fall apart into small parts, to shatter (W. Rassenen); in Yakut it denotes tassels, small rocks + -taakh, a Yakut affix of possession, *Dardagar* from the Khalkha “dardgar”, Kalmyk “dardhr” meaning hard, hardened, rough; the Khalkha “fragile”; the Buryat “dardagar” meaning huddled; extended, covered in amalgam (see dardayi-), or Khalkha “derger”, Buryat “dereger”, Kalmyk “dergr”, which is dried-up and sticking out; protruding, Buryat “dagdagar”, which is straggly, shaggy; clumsy, in Yakut meaning lanky, hulking, the verb “dardai” meaning to dry up while sticking out. 2) *characteristics of relief*; *Daban* from written-Mongolian “dabahan”, i.e. the mountain; 3) *sacredness*; *Kullaty* (Kuldaty) from late Mongolian Quladu meaning “harrier (bird of prey)”, Buryat “khulda”, Kalmyk “khuld” meaning “harrier (bird)”, bird of prey, kulda, i.e. duck-hawk (or marsh harrier), a bird of hawk family, possibly the totem animal of

the Khangalass tribe (Saneev, Orlovskaya, Shevernina, 2015, 2016).

Toponyms of Turkic origin also render 1) *qualitative characteristics* of rivers and creeks, for example, *Kurun-Yuryakh*, *Kurunakh* originate from a single proto-form of “ku:ra”, from the Turkic proto-form “kur” (dry, to dry, to dry up). The Turkic languages show the loss of vowels in auslaut. “Kurun”, “kurungakh” denote a dry tree, dry wood. *Kyuryulyur* from Turkic “ky”: Kyr.-alt. is sound imitation of a humming sound, a dull rumbling, literally, a river making a humming or rumbling noise. *Kyummyuk-Yuryakh* from Old Turkic “kyopik”, Turkic “kyopuk”, “kyobuk”, “kyobik”, “gyobyuk” (foam), from “jarik yurekh” (a river, creek, foamy river water); *Left Satigay* from Turkic “djadjahay”, which is open, Kyrgyz “zhadahay” (literally, single, unprotected); Kazakh “zhadahay”, i.e. light clothing; Yakut “satahay” (literally, open, not sealed). Epithet “Left” was probably added later or translated from Yakut into Russian. 2) particular attitude expressed towards small rivers and river as a *symbol of life*, where there is light and future. Of special notice are names of rivers and small rivers which derive from general Turkic etymology. For example, toponym Aallaakh probably derives from: 1) “aal” from the Turkic “sal” meaning “raft”, “any floating device”; “hearth”; or 2) from “aal” meaning “sacred fire”, “hearth”. There is no single opinion on the origin of the given word. There are several viewpoints: 1) S. Kaluzhinsky links the Yakut “aal” to the Shor “sal” (“hearth, a place where fire is set”); according to E.Z. Kazhibekov, the Shor “sal” (“hearth, a place where fire is set”) is a nominal correlate of “sal” (raft). 2. According to M. Räsänen, the Lopnur “al” meaning “a spirit, malignant creature”, Turkish, Crimean-Tatar, Kumyk, Kazakh originate from “aal” meaning “red” (Saneev, 2015, 2016; Tomakhin, 1986; Urazmetova, 2018; Vasilyev, 2006). We think that the etymology of the given toponym could possibly be related to both variants (as raft and hearth), since raft could be viewed as a vessel; old vessels were used as a type of hearth in which fire could be set. The given hypothesis is also supported by the etymology of the toponym Kenkeme – from Old Turkic



“keng” – wide, large; Turkic “keme/kebe” (correspondence of the labial m-b is typical of the Altay dialect) means a fire hole, a hearth dug in the ground, “kebe”, “keme” is a boat, since mud oven was usually made from an old boat; also “gemi” in Turkish dialect is “raft”, “boat”, “piece of ice drifting on water, that could be ridden and sailed on”; in Tatar dialect “kime zhiber” means to set up fire during ice-drift.

Toponyms of the Khangalassky region of that period had been formed on the Evenki, Mongol, and Turkic bases; they are built on the archetypical, classic type of naming; on the dialectal relation with nature and its reclamation as a strategically necessary aspect of life (Fig. 1).

The latest layers of toponyms based on the Yakut language and the Russian layer which appeared when settlements were established, show a different attitude towards the regional landscape connected with the complete exploration of the territories and their use in economic activities.

The Yakut layer in the toponymic etymology of the Khangalassky region is determined by the introduction of settlements and their activity. The left bank uplands show the prevalence of the Yakut names. Erkeeney valley is one of the centers of the origin of the Yakut people; thus mostly Yakut toponyms are found there: *At-Byraan*, i.e. High hill, *Orto Doidu*, i.e. Middle earth, *Alas*, i.e. a round field or a meadow in the forest, *Ugus-Urasa*, i.e. a large number of old Yakut homes, *Byutey bytey*, i.e. 1. an enclosed place without an exit; a backwoods area; 2. A fencing, an enclosure; an enclosed pasture; 3. *obsolete*, a fenced land-piece that was turned from communally owned to private one.

Along with that, there are settlements with Russian names: the town of Pokrovsk, founded with the arrival of the Russian Cossacks in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Pokrovsk is a sacral name, referring to *Pokrov*, i.e. the Protection of the Holy Mother of God (an Orthodox Christian celebration); Yelanka, in Russian “yelan” means an open space in the forest. River Siine (of the Evenki origin)

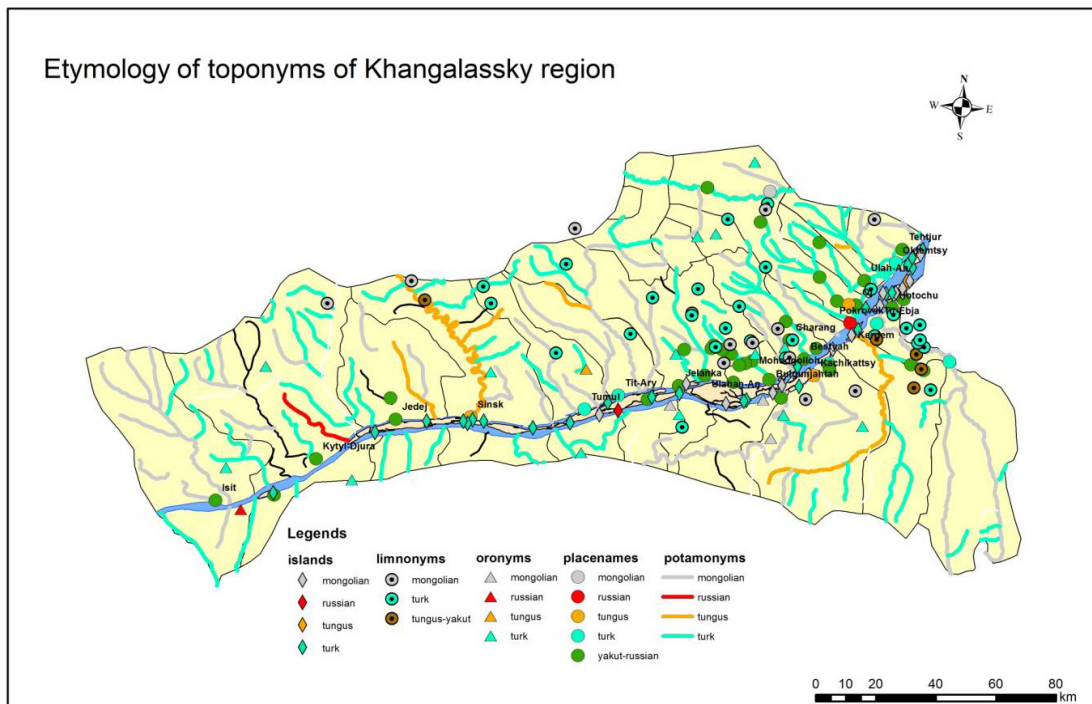


Fig. 1. Map of toponyms' etymological distribution is made in the framework of RSF project No. 15-18-20047 "Landscape ontology: semantics, semiotics, and geographic modeling" by Sebastien Gadal, Moisei Zakharov, Irena Khokholova, and Viktoriia Lebedeva

was renamed in the Sinyaya river, when both the phonemic and semantic aspects of the name changed. When the Irkutsk-Yakutsk post tract began to function in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian settlers founded and populated the coach stations. This is reflected in the toponyms of the area: *Yam-Aryta/ Djam aryta* (the coach island). Although the word “yam” is of the Turkic origin, it was borrowed and adapted to the Russian language. “Yam” from Turkic “djam”, Turkish, Uighur, Chagat “jam”, i.e. “a post station, post horses”. The Soviet period made an impact on the formation of the toponymy of mainly settlements: *Kyhyl sulus* meaning Red star, *Chapayevo*, the Orkjonikidze district, *Pioneer laahy-rya*, i.e. pioneer camp, and many others.

This map shows the historical processes under which the toponyms of Russian origin overlapped the ethnic area (Erkeeni valley) inhabited by the Yakuts, thus modifying the region's toponymy.

Economic activities usually depend on landscape type. Turkic, Mongol and Yakut cattle-breeders mostly settled near lakes where the alas type of economy prevailed. The alas type is characterized by stable hay-making in places where grass is of particular nutritional value for breeding cattle and horses. All of these factors are reflected in toponymy. Names of surrounding geographical objects have Mongol, Turkic, and Yakut origin. For instance, the limnonym *Kien-Tolon* is likely of the Yakut origin, since “kieng” derives from Turkic “king”, “keng” (“wide”, “large”); “toloon” from Old-Turkic “tala”. The word “toloon” could be found in both Turkic and Mongol languages; Tatar “dala” meaning steppe, Buryat “tala” meaning “field”, “steppe”.

Names of rivers and creeks have the Turkic-Mongol origin. It is possible that they had been inhabited by the Mongol and Turkic tribes. However, this assumption is arguable, since the Yakut language derives from both languages (Turkic and Mongol), and a river or a creek could be named during the period of the formation of the Yakut ethnic group. In this case, the historical data found in regional archives appears to be the most substantial source.

Certain creeks in the region (Siine, Nyuol-la, Negyuchene, and some others) are of the

Evenki origin, since fishing and hunting are the basic types of the Evenk traditional economy. There are far less names of rivers and creeks of the Evenki origin than those of the toponyms of the Turkic and Mongol origin. This could probably be explained by the lifestyle of the reindeer-breeding Evenks who moved from one place to another in search of feeding for reindeer, fish, or good hunt.

For the people of the Khangalassky region, islands have always been the main base for horse and cattle-breeding (the key economic branch of the region). Etymologically the majority of island names derive from the Yakut language which is obvious from the names of islands and peninsulas: *Utelir* from the Yakut “ytelee” meaning “to provide with food”, “a place that provides the people with food stock”; *Arangas-Atyr* from the Yakut “yellow stallion”; or *Ynakh Ary* meaning “a cow island”. From ancient times, the Yakuts have been using the isles as the main source of hay harvest for cattle-breeding. This could be seen in toponyms like the Yakut *Uyong aryy*, i.e. “a plenteous island”. There are few hay-making grounds on the Lena plateau; the place is hilly and uneven. Hence, the islands with their river meadows are the ideal place for hay-making and conservation of food for long winter periods. Before the arrival of the Yakuts the territory used to be inhabited by the Tungus-speaking Evenks who were engaged in reindeer-breeding; the name of the isle Oronnookh refers to the Evenki word *oron*, i.e. “reindeer” with added Yakut ending *ooh*, which leads to the name being interpreted as “the place where reindeer live”.

A toponym can also reflect certain local superstitions. The isles of the Middle Lena have always been home for the local population. Thus, the name of an isle *Abaahyta suokh* (“a place free from evil spirits”) reflects the local beliefs, as well as certain historical events when during the collective farms' integration, people were forced to leave their homes on the isles and re-locate to the left bank of the Lena in order to join the newly-founded settlements built after unification of several post stations and island-based Yakut villages. The locals believed that the abandoned houses left on the isles became haunted. The *Abaahyta suokh* (“A

place free from evil spirits”) isle is low enough, so the water constantly washes over its surface, rendering it uninhabitable; hence, no houses were abandoned on it.

Life on the isles was comfortable for people of the region. The current of the river had contributed to creation of a special micro-climate which provided for the vegetation until late autumn protecting it from ground frosts. In spring during ice-drift and freeze-up the people lived in isolation, bearing with temporary inconveniences and without significant discomfort. Here one can trace Russian names, like Yam-Aryy (stage-coach island) which reflects the establishment of the Irkutsk – Yakutsk tract by the Russians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The oronyms are mostly based on the Turkic-origin roots which had permeated into the Yakut language which is characteristic of the later period. For example, in the name *Myachei-Sise* the Yakut element “Sis” meaning “spine” derives from the Old Turkic “yim”, i.e. “uplands with inhabitable valleys”. The name itself has undergone both phonetical and orthographical changes. It is often used as a geographical term (metaphorically) referring to uplands, mountainous areas, or ridges. “Myachei” is possible a personal name linked to the form of land-owning among the Yakuts which finalized following the yasak reforms of the 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is also possible, that the tukulans (sandy deserts remnant of the deserts of the Central Asia) had been named earlier, since the element “elesin” (sand) is a part of the toponym Kysyl-Elesin of the Mongol origin unlike the word “kumakh”, i.e. “sand”, of the Turkic origin. Mongol-speaking tribes had been among the first settlers of the Lena basin.

Overall, 350 toponyms were analyzed. Among them there are 90 oykonoms, 185 hydronyms (lakes – 45, rivers – 140), 32 oronyms, and 43 island names.

Etymological analysis showed that the words of the Turkic origin prevail among the toponyms of the Khangalassky region making up 39.7%. The words of the Yakut origin are numerous (13.6%). Though it should be noted that many Yakut toponyms during the Yakut period were made from the Turkic-Mongol borrowings (e.g. **Kyhyl-Elehin**, where **Kyhyl**

is Turkic, and **Elehin** is Mongol). Toponyms of Mongol (7.7%), Tungus (2.8%), and Russian (2.6%) origin are also observed.

The etymological analysis has also shown a layer of toponyms of mixed (16.9%) and unknown (17.1%) origin. Among the toponyms with mixed etymology there are the toponyms formed by two words of different origin (Tiit-Aryy, where Tiit is Turkic for “larch”, and Aryy is Yakut for “isle”), and word of questionable/arguable origin (**Ebe** from Mongol *eme* or from the Tatar *ebi*). The toponyms of unknown origin include the words the meaning of which is not known, and the origin of which is untraceable (**Namsylay**). Etymology of some words in this category is assumed but not confirmed by official sources (**Nyokhoroy** may probably come from the Yakut *nyokhoy*, i.e. “hunched”).

It is noteworthy that the names of the Yakut etymology prevail among the oykonoms and oronyms, while the names of the Turkic etymology dominate among the hydronyms and island names (with absence of the Yakut-origin names).

#### **Oykonym (Settlements) – 90**

- 1) Mongol etymology – 2.2%
- 2) Turkic etymology – 20%
- 3) Tungus etymology – 3.3%
- 4) Yakut etymology – 41%
- 5) Russian etymology – 5.5%
- 6) Mixed etymology – 4.4%
- 7) Unknown etymology – 23.3%

#### **Hydronyms (Lakes – 45, rivers – 140) – 185**

- 1) Mongol etymology – 11.3%
- 2) Turkic etymology – 50%
- 3) Tungus etymology – 2.1%
- 4) Yakut etymology – 0%
- 5) Russian etymology – 1%
- 6) Mixed etymology – 20%
- 7) Unknown etymology – 15.6%

#### **Oronym (Location relief) – 32**

- 1) Mongol etymology – 0%
- 2) Turkic etymology – 18.7%
- 3) Tungus etymology – 6.2%
- 4) Yakut etymology – 28%
- 5) Russian etymology – 3.1%
- 6) Mixed etymology – 19%
- 7) Unknown etymology – 25%

**Island names – 43**

- 1) Mongol etymology – 9.3%
- 2) Turkic etymology – 53.5%
- 3) Tungus etymology – 2.3%
- 4) Yakut etymology – 0%
- 5) Russian etymology – 2.3%
- 6) Mixed etymology – 28%
- 7) Unknown etymology – 4.6%

In total, among the analyzed **toponyms (350)** of the Khangalassky region:

- 1) Mongol etymology – 7.7%
- 2) Turkic etymology – 39.7%
- 3) Tungus etymology – 2.8%
- 4) Yakut etymology – 13.2%
- 5) Russian etymology – 2.6%
- 6) Mixed etymology – 16.9%
- 7) Unknown etymology – 17.1%

Based on the etymology and historical assumptions one can note that settlements predominantly appear later, when intensive economic development occurs among the Yakuts, and with the arrival of the Russians. This is reflected in the names of the settlements. Oykonyms are mostly of the Yakut origin with the exception of some settlements like Pokrovsk, Chkalov, Chapayev; or they represent an assimilation of the Evenki and the Yakut words by Russian, like in the names of Sinsk, Kachikatsy, or names of mixed etymology, like the Verkhny (Upper) Bestyakh.

**Conclusion**

Our research allows us to note that etymological and semantic elements of toponymy show that the Khangalassky region's toponymy forms the most ancient layer in the formation of the Yakutia toponymy. Firstly, this could be explained by the region's historical past. It is suggested that the Turkic-language tribes re-located in the territory of the present-day Yakutia in several "waves", the latest of which occurred in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Yakuts as an ethnic group had been formed in the Middle Lena basin on the valleys of Erkeni and Samartai. Here the formation of the ethnic group was finalized on the basis of the mixture between the newcoming Turkic-speaking tribes with the local Paleo Asiatic groups, as well as with the newcoming Mongol-speaking Khoro and Tungus tribes.

Secondly, according to the etymological studies, the stage-based character of the toponymic formation in relation to the landscape is revealed.

The first stage is marked by the archetypical names based on the dialectal relations with the nature. Traces of the Tungus-Manchurian tribes of the most ancient layer remained in the names of small rivers and creeks, since the tribes used to move in search of fowl while using large objects as landmarks (mostly along the creeks of Degiletti, Dyangykh, Negyurchene, Siine, Ederge, Edini, Kirim, Keteme, Kycha, Nyuolla, Nachabyl, Oldokun, etc.). During the course of the toponymic formation on the Yakut basis one may observe a layer of the Mongol toponyms (Byrdjangaya, Byryi-Chyna, Bytyrystakh (with Yakut affix), Daban, Dardagar, Dyulyung-Yuryakh, Yedey, Kullaty (Kuldaty), etc.) which had formed before the Turkic toponymic layer (Kenkeme, Kyuryun, Kurunakh, Kyra-Tas, Kyukkyuryui, Kyumyuk-Yuryakh, Kyuryulyur, Left Satagay). These outer linguistic factors were reflected in the formation of the toponymy of the given uluses. The Khangalassky region's toponymy is based on the archetypical, classic type of names, on the dialectal attitude towards nature and its reclamation as strategically necessitated for the livelihood of the people (the Sakha family groups) who had settled in the Middle Lena basin. At the given stage the Lena river as well as adjoining small rivers had played a big part in forming the toponymy of the Tungus-Manchurian, Mongol, and Turkic layers.

The second stage shows the territorial reclamation and their utilization for the benefit of the economic activity. The latest toponymic layers based on the Yakut language as well as the Russian layer have appeared with the settlements. They are marked by a different attitude towards the region's landscape determined by the complete exploration of the territories and their use for the benefit of the economy and strategies of economic utilization.

Thus, the etymological study of the toponyms conducted in one of the regions of the Central Yakutia allows to reveal some regional patterns of the toponymic landscape which have pre-determined a particular set of regularity in naming of the geographical objects, as well as the ontological exploration pattern of the given space.

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## Топонимический ландшафт Центральной Якутии: этимологический анализ географических названий

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**Аннотация.** В статье предпринята попытка реконструкции освоения территории Центральной Якутии на примере Хангаласского района в разное время разными этническими племенами. На основе этимологического анализа топонимов исследуемой территории выявлены слои этнического влияния, следы, оставленные разными народами в ходе освоения данной территории.

Актуальность данного исследования обусловлена интересом современной географической науки, в частности гуманитарной географии, к взаимоотношению человека и среды, к проблемам онтологии ландшафта как источника широкого спектра социогуманитарного знания. Кроме того, вопросы этимологии топонимов в якутском языке, раскрывающей пласты знаний об историческом прошлом народов, находящихся в длительном контакте, проблемы языка и культуры народов или племен, повлиявших на формирование якутского языка, с одной стороны, с другой – диалектных особенностей в пределах одного языка для наименования одних и тех же географических объектов, еще недостаточно разработаны.

Цель данной статьи – выявление этимологической составляющей топонимов Якутии для реконструкции исторического прошлого в освоении территории Центральной Якутии, определение типов выделения ландшафта разными этносами для образования топонима.

Ведущим методом исследования данной проблемы служит сравнительно-сопоставительный с выявлением этимологической составляющей топонимов, а также метод статистической обработки количественных результатов исследования. Изучены более 300 топонимов на материале базы топонимов Хангаласского улуса Центральной Якутии. Этимология топонима изучается на основе словарной дефиниции на материале, полученном от информантов.

В результате исследования выявлены этимологические составляющие топонимов Центральной Якутии. Выбор Хангаласского улуса в изучении топонимии объясняется историческим прошлым региона, так как якуты<sup>1</sup> как народность сформировались в бассейне Средней Лены, в долинах Эркэни и Самартай. Окончательное формирование народа саха происходит на основе смешения пришлых тюркоязычных племен с местными палеоазиатскими родами, а также с пришлыми монгольскими хоринцами и тунгусами. Этимологическая и семантическая составляющие топонимии показывают, что топонимия Хангаласского улуса имеет наиболее древний пласт в образовании топонимии Якутии. В формировании топонимизации Хангаласского улуса основную роль сыграла река Лена и прилегающие к ней реки, ручьи, наименования которых мы находим в лингвокультурных пластах, эвенкийском, монгольском, тюркском. В формировании топонимии на основе якутского языка

<sup>1</sup> Yakuts. In *free encyclopedia "Wikipedia"*. Available at: <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Якуты>

наблюдается пласт монгольских топонимов, который появляется раньше пласта тюркских топонимов. Следы тунгусо-маньчжурских племен наиболее древнего пласта в названиях рек, ручьев, так как они кочевали в поисках промысла и при этом на крупные объекты. Наиболее поздним пластом считаются топонимы русской этимологии, связанные с освоением территории исследуемого района русскими землепроходцами и поселением на землях Хангаласского улуса переселенных крестьян, почтовым трактом – связующим звеном Якутского края с Российской империей во времена царствований Петра I и Екатерины II.

Исследование показывает поэтапность формирования топонимов по отношению к ландшафту, что позволяет систематизировать происхождение топонима в историческом и лингвистическом контексте. Материалы статьи могут быть полезными для лингвистов, историков, культурологов, географов.

**Ключевые слова:** ландшафт, топонимы, освоение территории, культура, этимология, этнические и языковые контакты.

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## Structural and Typological Features of the Axiological Aspect of Modern Students' Representation about Success

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**Abstract.** Currently, one of the leading orientations for determining the quality of life in many young minds is achieving success. The focus on success is the basis of achievement motivation, which activity is a psychological factor for economic growth, and this fact determines its high social significance. Psychologically competent provision of conditions for the productive implementation of pursuit for success implies understanding of its axiological aspect. A study of structural and typological features of the axiological aspect of modern students' representation about success has been conducted. Respondents are 591 students of Krasnoyarsk universities. Methodology by S.A. Pakulina "Students' Motivation to Achieve Success in University" has been applied. Data processing included descriptive statistics, correlation, factor and cluster analysis, as well as identification of significant differences. According to the study results, students' representation of success is based on a wide range of values. At the same time, the values of interiorized (internally represented) success are of great importance for both humanitarian and technical students. The significance levels of various value aspects of success are interconnected in a positive way. The overall level of success values' significance is determined by the cumulative effect of subjective and personal values, as well as values of social importance. In accordance with this, the strategy of developing psychological tools to help students in the productive implementation of the pursuit for success, should include formation of social interest, development of individual strategies for the implementation of social utility and skills for obtaining positive feedback in the process of achieving goals.

**Keywords:** success, interiorized success, exteriorized success, values, representation, students, humanitarian specialties, technical specialties.

Research area: socio-psychological personality traits.

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## Introduction

The issue of success has become a kind of a marker of the current state of young Russians' mindset and a trend of different levels of discourses. Success is discussed as an orientation and criterion of the quality of life. The category of success has acquired the meta-level characteristics, becoming a motivational meme of unprecedented significance, which must be taken into account when developing forms of psychological support for the optimal implementation of human resource in the modern society. Psychology can and should respond to this challenge of modernity. However, the analysis of the current state of psychological practice indicates that this response is of a spontaneous, or one might say, "market" nature. Populist programmes about "the secrets of success" are in high demand. Their promises mesmerize young people striving to obtain samples of life productivity. There is a vivid shortage of scientifically and empirically grounded psychological technologies that meet this interest.

The young generation potential is actively studied in the aspect of communication (Lee et al., 2012; Proctor et al., 2009; Rentzsch et al., 2011; Robinson, 2008; Rudawska, Szarek, 2014), personal (Kauffman, Husman, 2014; Sulayman, 2013), and cognitive (Ziegler, Stoeger, 2011) characteristics. Along with this, the field of study on the perception of social reality and the possibilities of self-determination by young people is being formed (Alexander, 2013; Kondratyev, 2017; Rean, 2018; Timoshina, 2016; Folomeeva, Fedotova, 2018). And consideration of value perception of success by university students by S.A. Pakulina (Pakulina, 2008), connected with the motivation of achievement, is of specific interest. This perception is highly relevant, since extraordinary significance of success orientations for young people can be seen as the potential for increasing achievement motivation. And, as demonstrated in a series of large-scale social studies by D.C. McClelland, such an increase is a necessary condition for

economic growth (McClelland, 1987). As a popular subject of study in Western psychology, achievement motivation was mainly studied in its dynamic aspect and under laboratory conditions (Heckhausen, 2003). Achievement motivation is focused on achieving success as a positive result of activity. But, if under laboratory conditions success is determined by the characteristics of an experimental assignment, in real life this orientation is mostly a subjective assessment. And not only from the point of view of levels, but in the value criteria basis as well. The axiological component of the subjective perception of success determines what exactly is significant for a person in his/her assessment of the quality of life. According to N.A. Baturin, success orientations are global mechanisms that affect the need and motivational basis of activity, they affect the choice, initiation and regulation of a person's activity. This assessment is of complex nature and originates simultaneously from a system of bases of different content and nature (Baturin, 1999). In this connection, S.A. Pakulina indicates that "... success is not only a phenomenal object that is qualitative in relation to the result, and not only the result itself, but, above all, its assessment and the meaning for existence for an actor who forms the substantive basis of a person's motivational sphere" (Pakulina, 2008: 25). This refers to the value-based content of the idea of success.

On the one hand, the axiological problematics in psychology is focused on the study of basic values of a person (Schwartz, 2015). On the other hand, a lot of researchers pay attention to the fact that value orientations in modern society have seriously changed even compared to the recent past (Zhuravleva, 2006; Rzhanova, Alekseeva, 2018; Fedotova, 2016; Lönnqvist et al., 2018; Tulviste et al., 2014).

In connection with the above, a study of structural and typological features of the axiological aspect of the representation of modern students about success has been conducted.

## Methods

Students of Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University named after V.P. Astafyev, Reshetnev Siberian State University of Science and Technology and Siberian Federal University took part in the study. The total number of respondents is 591 people, 315 of which are students of humanitarian specialties and 276 are of technical specialties; 233 young men and 358 young women.

Methodology by S.A. Pakulina "Students' Motivation to Achieve Success in University" (Pakulina, 2008) was used in the study. Although the name of the methodology is formulated in motivational terms, according to the author's definition, as well as the essence of the procedure, it is aimed to determine value preference for different aspects of success among students. In the process of S.A. Pakulina's methodology development by a multi-stage analysis, which includes processing of students' essays and questionnaires in connection to the provisions of famous researchers (H. Heckhausen, Yu. M. Orlov, G.A. Tulchinsky and McDougall), a list of 36 statements beginning with the words "For me success is ..." was formed. The respondents are asked to assess the significance of each of them according to a five-point scale. These judgments reflect "key categories of motives for achieving success" identified by the author and grouped together into exteriorized and interiorized success groups (Pakulina, 2008).

The exteriorized orientation of the idea of success corresponds to the following categories: success-luck (successful achievement of a desired goal, a favorable set of circumstances, luck in most cases, the possibility to get into the right environment); material standard of living (material well-being, the possibility to travel around the world, personal well-being, having one's own business in entrepreneurship); recognition (ability to stand out in society, public recognition, approval, popularity, importance for others); power (influence on others, the possibility to manage people, recognition of own authority by others, the ability to make decisions for other people).

The interiorized orientation of the idea of success corresponds to: success as a result of

one's own activity (implementation of an opportunity to do what you want, positive result in studies or work, professionalism, expertise, achievement of the expected result); personal success (self-esteem, self-satisfaction, confidence in security, personal fulfillment, satisfaction in love and health); success as a mental state (experiencing satisfaction and joy, peace of mind, emotional stability, feeling good, good mood, feeling of positive emotional uplift); success as overcoming obstacles (a stable position of an individual in a particular situation, self-affirmation, a source of human inner power, self-sufficiency, independence, freedom of action); success-mission (the opportunity to express oneself and one's abilities to the full extent, self-expression in creative work, service to a higher idea, activity after one's heart, an interesting job).

The research data processing included descriptive statistics (determination of mean values and ranking), correlation analysis with the use of the Spearman coefficient, factor analysis, cluster analysis (using the nearest neighbor algorithm in Euclidean space), and identification of significant differences using the Mann-Whitney U-test.

## Research results

To determine comparative significance of different value components of the representation of success mean values of their indicators among students of humanitarian and technical specialties were calculated and ranked (Table 1).

Hierarchies of value aspects of success are similar among students of different fields of education. Internal values are of greater significance (interiorized success). "Success-power" and "success-recognition" are of the least significance. Personal success takes the first place in the "competition" for the top two among students of humanitarian specialties, and value "success as a result of one's own activity" takes the second place. Success as a result of one's own activity is prioritized among students of technical specialties. In other words, for students of humanitarian specialties the most valuable manifestation of success is personal confidence, a sense of high "quality of person-

Table 1. Ranked hierarchy of mean values of success values significance indicators

Rank	Comparison groups	
	Humanitarian students	Technical students
1	Personal success 17.1	Success as activity result 17
2	Success as activity result 16.7	Personal success 16.8
3	Success as a mental state 16.5	Success as a mental state 16.4
4	Success as overcoming obstacles 16	Success as overcoming obstacles 16.1
5	Success-mission 15.7	Success-luck 15.6
6	Success as material standard of living 15.4	Success-mission 15.4
7	Success-luck 15.2	Success as material standard of living 15.4
8	Success-recognition	Success-recognition 13.4
9	Success-power 11.1	Success-power 11.7

Table 2. Correlation of success values significance indicators among students

	Luck	Material standard of living	Recognition	Power	Activity result	Personal success	Mental state	Overcoming obstacles	Mission	Exteriorized success	Interiorized success
Luck		0.42	0.43	0.38	0.40	0.37	0.39	0.41	0.28	0.68	0.48
Material standard of living	0.42		0.43	0.43	0.47	0.50	0.34	0.46	0.33	0.70	0.53
Recognition	0.43	0.43		0.67	0.33	0.33	0.22	0.37	0.28	0.84	0.39
Power	0.38	0.43	0.67		0.30	0.23	0.09	0.37	0.20	0.83	0.31
Activity result	0.40	0.47	0.33	0.30		0.51	0.42	0.53	0.42	0.46	0.74
Personal success	0.37	0.50	0.33	0.23	0.51		0.56	0.54	0.46	0.43	0.80
Mental state	0.39	0.34	0.22	0.09	0.42	0.56		0.47	0.44	0.30	0.76
Overcoming obstacles	0.41	0.46	0.37	0.37	0.53	0.54	0.47		0.39	0.50	0.75
Mission	0.28	0.33	0.28	0.20	0.42	0.46	0.44	0.39		0.33	0.72
Exteriorized success	0.68	0.70	0.84	0.83	0.46	0.43	0.30	0.50	0.33		0.53
Interiorized success	0.48	0.53	0.39	0.31	0.74	0.80	0.76	0.75	0.72	0.53	

ality”, while for technical students – in quality and effectiveness of the activities performed.

The procedure for identifying significant differences determined a significantly greater importance (95%) of personal success, success-mission and less significance of luck, power and overall exteriorized success rate for students of humanitarian specialties compared to students of technical specialties.

All the indicators obtained in the study were included into the correlation analysis, which results are given in Table 2.

Significance levels:

- 0.0807 for 95% of the correlation coefficient significance level ( $p < 0.05$ );
- 0.1060 for 99% of the correlation coefficient significance level ( $p < 0.01$ ).

The overall picture of correlation links has a unique feature: all the indicators are connected with all other indicators by significant positive links. There are no negative links. This means that no axiological aspect of success is opposed to another. The level profile of success values significance can be either generally

higher or lower. In the context of the fact that at the theoretical level different success value orientations are opposed to each other, this empirical fact is of interest. Only values of mental state and power have very low, close to the lower limit of significance correlation coefficient.

The factor analysis of the data obtained allowed to determine two factors, covering a total of 61.8% of dispersion (the first is 47.3%, and the second one is 14.5%). Factor weights of the indicators were distributed as follows.

Factor 1: mental state 0.81; personal success 0.807; overcoming obstacles 0.69; mission 0.68; activity result 0.66; material standard of living 0.53; luck 0.45; recognition 0.17; power 0.06.

Factor 2: power 0.90; recognition 0.84; luck 0.511; material standard of living 0.50; overcoming obstacles 0.35; activity result 0.31; personal success 0.18; mission 0.12.

It is worth noting that the identified factors practically reflect each other. Considering the factor weights, it is possible to distinguish three groups of indicators in each of the factors. Such indicators of success significance as overcoming obstacles, material level, activity result and luck have average weights in both factors. Success as a mental state and personal success have large weight in the first factor, in contrast to the second one, where they occupy the least

positions. Such indicators of success as power and success-recognition, which do not play a significant role in the first factor, have large weights in the second factor. Only such an indicator as success-mission has an average weight in the first factor and close to zero in the second one.

In the opinion of the authors of the present paper, such data can be interpreted in the following way: there is a kind of a core in the students' sampling of the axiological aspect of success (overcoming obstacles, a material standard of living, activity result and luck), which can be found at the point of confluence of two relatively independent sources: subjective and personal values (mental state and personal success) and values of social significance (power and recognition).

The cluster analysis gave an opportunity to identify 4 groups of respondents, opposing to each other in their perception of success values significance. The first of them included 249 people (42% of the sampling), the second group included 242 people (41%); the third one 78 people (13%); and the fourth group 22 people (4%). The average values of the studied parameters in each of the groups are presented in Table 3.

The selected groups can be divided into two pairs according to the features of the axio-

Table 3. Average group values for the indicators of success values significance

No.	Values	Groups			
		1	2	3	4
1	Success-luck	15.2	16.8	12.9	12
2	Success as material standard of living	14.8	16.9	13.2	<b>12.4</b>
3	Success-recognition	13	14.8	9.3	11.1
4	Success-power	<i>11.3</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>7.3</i>	<i>10</i>
5	Success as result of one's own activity	<b>16.3</b>	<b>18.1</b>	15.3	<b>13.9</b>
6	Personal success	<b>16.2</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>16.4</b>	11.4
7	Success as a mental state	<u>15.7</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<b>16.1</b>	10.5
8	Success as overcoming obstacles	15.2	17.6	15	<u>12</u>
9	Success-mission	14.6	16.8	<u>15.6</u>	11.8
10	Exteriorized success	67.8	76.9	53.4	56.8
11	Interiorized success	78	88.8	78.4	59.6

Note: the highest indicator values in the group are in bold; the third in their importance are in italics with underlining; the lowest values are in italics.

logical profiles that characterize them: the first and the second groups; the third and the fourth groups.

The first pair of the respondents group has higher indicators of the success values significance compared to the second group. And inside the pair they are higher in the second group compared to the first one. Herewith, the indicators hierarchy is similar. The first two places are occupied by the indicators "success as a result of one's own activity" and "personal success." The third place is taken by the indicator "success as a mental state". The exteriorized success values are assessed as less significant. The success-power value has the lowest indicator.

The first pair of the respondents group has higher indicators of the success values significance compared to the second group. And inside the pair they are higher in the second group compared to the first one. Herewith, the indicators hierarchy is similar. The first two places are occupied by the indicators "success as a result of one's own activity" and "personal success." The third place is taken by the indicator "success as a mental state". The exteriorized success values are assessed as less significant. The success-power value has the lowest indicator.

For the third group of respondents, the subjective aspects of success, which are quite far from its external, social manifestations (personal success, success as a mental state, and success-mission) are of special significance. The exteriorized success values (success-power and success-recognition) have the lowest indicators among all groups. The levels of indicators related to the "value core" of success correspond to the conditional third place in the intergroup comparison: higher than in the fourth group, but lower than in the first and second groups.

The fourth group of respondents is characterized by the lowest indicators of success values significance. In can be said that its instrumental orientation is its peculiarity. The exteriorized success values (success-recognition and success-power) are more important for the respondents of this group than for the third one. At the same time, in comparison with oth-

er groups, the significance of success as a mental state and other internalized values is very low. Success as overcoming obstacles, success as activity result and success as a material standard of living are prioritized.

As can be seen, the comparative analysis demonstrates that the respondents' groups with low indicators of subjective and personal values or social significance values are characterized by a reduced level of all value aspects of success. This can be considered as a confirmation of the fact that success significance as a whole is determined by the cumulative effect of the values of subjective experience of success and social significance values.

**Conclusions.** Students' representation of success is of poly-axiological nature and its core includes a wide range of values.

For both students of humanitarian and technical specialties, the interiorized success values are of great importance. At the same time, for students of humanitarian specialties, compared to students of technical specialties, this value indicator is higher.

The levels of various success value aspects significance are positively interconnected. The significance of different values does not contradict each other. The cumulative profile of success values significance has a general tendency level.

The success values can be divided into the "value core" (overcoming obstacles, the result of one's own activity, material standard of living and luck), subjective and personal values (mental state and personal success) and social significance values (power and recognition).

The overall level of success values significance is determined by the cumulative effect of subjective and personal values, as well as values of social significance. Reduction in both values entails a decrease in the level of the entire success value profile.

The study data give an opportunity to determine the strategy for developing psychological tools to help students in the productive implementation of their pursuit for success, which include: social interest formation, development of individual strategies for the implementation of social utility and skills for obtaining positive feedbacks in the process of achieving goals.

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## Структурные и типологические особенности аксиологического аспекта представления современных студентов об успехе

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**Аннотация.** В настоящее время одним из ведущих ориентиров определения качества жизнедеятельности в сознании многих молодых людей выступает достижение успеха. Ориентация на успех лежит в основе мотивации достижения, активность которой является психологическим фактором экономического подъема, что определяет ее высокую общественную значимость. Психологически грамотное обеспечение условий продуктивной реализации стремления к успеху предполагает понимание его аксиологического аспекта. Было проведено исследование структурных и типологических особенностей аксиологического аспекта представления современных студентов об успехе. Респонденты – студенты красноярских вузов в количестве 591 человека. Использована методика С.А. Пакулиной «Мотивация достижения успеха студентов в вузе». Обработка данных включала описательную статистику, корреляционный, факторный и кластерный анализ, выявление достоверных различий. Результаты исследования показали, что представление студентов об успехе содержит в своей основе широкий диапазон ценностей. При этом большую значимость для студентов как гуманитарных, так и технических специальностей имеют ценности интериоризованного (внутренне представленного) успеха. Уровни значимости различных ценностных аспектов успеха взаимосвязаны друг с другом положительным образом. Общий уровень значимости ценностей успеха задается совокупным действием субъективно-личностных ценностей и ценностей социальной значимости. В соответствии с этим стратегия разработки психологических средств помощи студентам в продуктивной реализации стремления к успеху должна включать формирование социального интереса, выработку индивидуальных стратегий реализации социальной полезности и навыков получения положительной обратной связи в процессе достижения поставленных целей.

**Ключевые слова:** успех, интериоризованный успех, экстериоризованный успех, ценности, представление, студенты, гуманитарные специальности, технические специальности.

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## Current Approaches to Differential Diagnostics of Autism Spectrum Disorders and Similar Conditions

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**Abstract.** Autism spectrum disorders ASD is a group of pervasive developmental disorders, manifested mainly through the lack of ability to social interaction, communication disruption and stereotyped behavior. Despite of generally recognized practical and theoretical significance of studying the mechanisms of formation, it still has got little attention.

The article represents some approaches to differential diagnosis of autism and similar conditions. The authors make an attempt to find out the main reasons for such sharp increase in the number of patients suffering from this disease. The article aims analysis of existing research and contains the results of complex diagnostics and the mechanisms of disorders formation. In solving the problem of ASD formation mechanisms, clinical data, medical history data, genetic confounding factors and course of prenatal, natal and postnatal periods are used.

In their findings, the authors develop the technology for ASD and similar conditions differential diagnostics; diagnostic markers and algorithm for the development of psychological and pedagogical treatment programs are suggested.

**Keywords:** autism, autism spectrum disorders (ASD), diagnostics, scotopic sensitivity syndrome, neuroenergy mapping (NEM).

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### **Introduction**

Autism spectrum disorder is a quite common disease. According to WHO, every 166<sup>th</sup> child is diagnosed with autism (Morozov, 2015). Its symptoms and signs were first described in the work of psychologists in the 1920s. Such unusual mental disorder in children was first addressed by Grunya Efimovna Sukhareva, a Soviet psychologist (Morozov, 2015). Most suggest that the disease is spreading similar to an epidemic. Some researchers have noted excessive worries of doctors, which cause over-diagnostics of similar diseases. For example, in cases of sensomotor alalia, children can have disturbed communication, as in autism; in dysarthria, they have decreased social intelligence and possible abundance of stereotypy, and when suffering mutism, their speech can be destroyed, like in ASD. Some studies are devoted to autoimmune, viral and bacterial nature of autism (Simashkova (ed.), Klyushnik, Yakupova et al., 2013). Taking into account such a wide range of diseases characterized with similar symptoms, the development and implementation of differential diagnostics is very important, since it allows identifying the key pathogenesis in a given individual (Cherenova, Volodenkova, 2016). This will enable to develop more accurate and efficient way to rehabilitate the child suffering ASD (Cherenova et al., 2016).

### **Problem statement**

Even the most common and popular methodological approaches to the ASDs treatment, in particular, behavioural ones, has not yet been proved to satisfy all the needs (Cherenova et al., 2016). Some very good or even bright results are far from improving this situation, but, in contrast, rather confirm it: the population of young autists is characterized by abnormal clinical polymorphism, and attempts to use one or another approach in all the cases, in fact, cannot ensure high results of autism correction. A differentiated approach is needed, but, then, we lack any satisfactory ASD classification (Bog-

dashina, 2014; Lebedinskaya, Nikol'skaya, 1991). This paper considers one of the factors most significantly impacting clinical diversity of autism manifestations, i. e. high frequent comorbide disorders in ASD2 and the possibility of using the features of autism and comorbide disorders relations in order to increase the results of remedial work with autistic children. Comorbidity is not the only factor in the polymorphism of autism, it is also determined by asynchrony — its main dystontogenetic mechanism of development (Bogdashina, V. V. Lebedinskii, S. A. Morozov, N. V. Simashkova), and behavioural diagnostic criteria (ICD-10, DSM-IV, DSM-V) (Gillberg, Fernell, 2014).

In people suffering ASD, other disorders are found frequently enough: mental retardation — 70–75 %; infantile cerebral palsy (CP) — 5–20 %; attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) — 20–25 %; genetic diseases (tuberous sclerosis, cerebral lipidosis, congenital rubella, infantile spasms, Down syndrome, Martin-Bell syndrome, etc.) — 10 %; epileptiform syndrome — up to 30–35 % by the adult age; severe speech disorders (SSD) — frequency is not found, and other disorders. It appears that autistic disorders are often a component of developmental disorders with a complex defect structure (Lebedinskii, 2011; Morozov, 2015). Such range of comorbide disorders and frequency of autism co-occurrence make us wonder: how often can autism be identified per se, i. e. exclusively of other developmental disorders? If we suppose that these disorders and autism occur independently of each other (which, apparently, is not always the case, and which undoubtedly increases the expected frequency of autism per se), then the probability of meeting autism without the above violations (excluding SSD) will be no more than 15 % (including SSD — even less). Thus, the practice of treating people with ASD requires using correction methods for not only autism, but also other disorders, and the spectrum and evidence of both autism and each of comorbide pathologies will be patient-specific. This point can

already be regarded as a compelling argument for the choice of rehabilitation approach should be individualized, not to speak of the variants of adapted principal education program pattern, curricula and other programs (Morozov, 2015).

In 1943, autism was claimed as “rare disorder” (Kanner, 1943). For many years, the most recognizable statistic has been the one stating that autism occurs 4–5 times per 10,000 births. In 1966, Lotter revealed the first results on epidemiological study of children suffering Kanner syndrome in the former county of Middlesex. By this study, prevalence rate of this disorder was 3.0–4.5 per 10,000 (Lotter, 1966). The prevalence of autism in boys was reportedly four times higher than in girls. Since then, many studies have been conducted that give prevalence rates ranging from 3.3 to 16.0 per 10,000. From 1971 to 1973, Wing and Gould (1979) investigated the prevalence of autism in Camberwell. They studied children whose IQ was below 70 and found 22 children in the autism spectrum per 10,000. Ehlers and Gillberg (1993) examined children with IQ of 70 or higher in schools in Gothenburg and found 36 autistic children per 10,000 born between 1975 and 1983 years. In addition, they also identified children with damaged social interactions, who, however, did not show full symptoms of Asperger syndrome: 35 per 10,000. Adding the figures of these two studies gives the following prevalence — 91 per 10,000, i. e. almost 1 % of the whole population. Based on their research in Karlstad (Sweden), Kadesjo, Gillberg and Hagberg (1999) reported the prevalence of ASD for all IQ levels as 1.21 %.

Autism may be everywhere, but it is not detected / diagnosed everywhere with the same prevalence level (Eyal et al., 2010). For example, Swedish children are much more likely to be diagnosed as autistic than children in other countries. Thus, an epidemiological study in 1997 conducted on the western coast of Sweden revealed 46.4 cases of autism per 10,000, while in Norway it was only 5.2 per 10,000 (Fombonne, 2003). On the other hand, in Ukraine in 2011 only 1,500 cases were officially diagnosed (with the population of approximately 43 million people). In 2011, South Korean research-

ers, who directly examined nearly 55,000 schoolchildren for ASD, found this disorder in every 38<sup>th</sup> child. Two-thirds of these children studied in ordinary schools, where autism had not been identified before and no services had been done (Kim et al., 2011).

There is another question — what does increase: the number of cases of autism or merely the interest and “recognition” of this condition? If the answer is in the number of people, then what’s the reason?

There are several possible explanations for what may contribute to anticipated growth in the number of autism cases:

- currently, the definition of ASD is much broader than the original one of “early childhood autism” described by Kanner;
- more accurate diagnostics classifications have been suggested compared to early days;
- most who are diagnosed with autism disorders at these days, were in the past defined as mentally retarded, imbeciles, schizophrenics, etc.;
- there really is an actual increase, but the reasons are still unknown.

Some researchers believe that the increase in cases occurs indeed, and it is not just enrichment of our knowledge about this disorder. Rimland (1994), for example, points out several possible hypotheses to explain this phenomenon: 1) increased use of antibiotics for ear infections and similar problems treating in early childhood; a side effect of antibiotics is a rapid spreading of yeast, such as *Candida albicans*, which produce neurotoxins; 2) vaccinations; 3) environmental pollution (Bogdashina, 2014).

The literature provides very few studies on genetic, psychiatric, viral, bacterial, autoimmune, and biochemical nature of autism. In the recent years, the researchers have linked autism with digestive problems, gluten and casein intolerance.

Some investigations have shown the connection of autism with damaged amino acid and B-vitamins metabolism. Also the data contains information about increasing content of heavy metals in autistic children’s hair, particularly — of mercury. However, these data are

rather scattered and statistically of low significance. Therefore, the objectives of our study include reviewing medical data, identification of genetic confounding factors and course of the prenatal, natal and postnatal periods; estimation of the child's neurological status; analysis of the child's haematological data from their birth to the investigation moment; immunological studies, including bacterial and viral screening (PANDAS syndrome and encephalitic syndrome). Also, we conduct brain assessment using EEG to identify the cerebral cortex features, omegametry and to analyze brain stem performance. In addition, we estimate the level of energy exchange in cortical structures using neuroenergy mapping.

### Materials and methods

Differential diagnostics of ASD and similar conditions have been developed and tested with support of International Institute for Autism at Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University named after V.P. Astafyev in cooperation with OOO (LLC) "Clinic for Modern Correctional and Developing Technologies". The sample consisted of 70 children — 10 girls and 60 boys — aged 1.5 to 5 years. The anamnesis data was collected by interviewing the parents and analyzing the children's medical records; haematology was carried out basing on clinical blood tests data, also provided by the parents, EEG — by the doctor of functional diagnostics with encephalogram "Mitsar", neuroenergetic mapping — with the five-path neuroenergy mapper NEK-5 (invented by Scientific Research Institute of Human Brain). NEM functioned by fixing stable potentials, which are recorded on hydrogen ions in the cycle of ATP formation from glucose, being oxidized by the brain cells. The children's immune status assessment was provided by the immunogram data, collected through the haematology laboratories of Krasnoyarsk. As for the statistics the data were processed by the means of *Statistica 6.0*.

### Results and discussion

100 % of examinees have been officially diagnosed with atypical autism. All the children have revealed violations in cognitive,

communicative and emotional sphere. 40 % of respondents do not have speech, and the speech is disturbed by the type of sensomotor alalia. 60 % of children have echolalistic speech, and they do not use it for communication. In 95 % of children we have found various types of sensory impairments, as well as multiple stereotypes and autostimulation. 80 % of children have self-service difficulties and problems with getting used to the toilet or potty. In 75 % of these cases autism appeared at the age of 1.5 years after the period of normal development; the parents noted a setback in speech development, behavior and other characteristics. In 20 % of cases, parents noted sleep disorders in the background of autistic regression. According to the EEG data, theta-waves prevail over the alpha ones, in 2 % of cases there are delta-waves. One child in the sample has been recording a long paroxysmal activity. Some children have demonstrated a decrease in electrogenesis of the cerebral cortex and changes in the wave activity in their frontal, occipital, and temporal lobes.

The obtained data are free of normal distribution law, therefore, the reliability of gaps in the results has been estimated using non-parametric statistics of the Wilcoxon test. The haematological studies have shown that 90 % of children from their birth to the time of with health institutions suffer persistent violations of haematological pattern, seen as decreased haemoglobin concentration, expanding red blood cell distribution width, lymphocytosis and neutropenia. Thus, for normal oxygenation of the organs and tissues in the children's body, 130–140 GM/GL is necessary, while the showed haemoglobin decrease on average to  $110 \pm 7$  GM/GL, which on the back of the changes in the vertebral arteries blood flow velocity (80 % of cases, the reduction of main blood flow velocity in PA have pointed 30–40 %), can dramatically affect the oxygen supply of the child's brain cells. The decrease in haemoglobin has often been accompanied by changing the size of red blood cells, so in half of the cases the width exceeded the norm and in some cases reached 15 %. Such indicator as the width of red blood cells distribution can rise due to the reduction of red blood cells volume,

as well as by changing their shape. In both cases, an anaemic condition occurs, accompanied by hypoxia of tissues and organs.

These data are consistent with the signs of damaged brain energy exchange, which can be found using neuroenergetic mapping (NEM). Thus, 95 % of children revealed partial oxygen starvation, mainly in the temporal and frontal lobes of the brain; in two children (1.4 %) complete decrease in the energy exchange of the cerebral cortex has been identified, following by increased products of glucose hypoxic splitting— lactate in the blood and parts of the Krebs cycle components excreted through the urine.

A full blood count has shown chronic disorders of the immune system in 97 % of cases, manifested in lymphocytosis and neutropenia. In general, according to the studies, lymphocytosis with neutropenia within the norm is typical for infants. In our sample group, the number of neutrophils in the blood has reached  $10 \pm 5$  %, and the number of lymphocytes —  $70 \pm 9$  %, indicating violated immune homeostasis of the children's blood, caused either by congenital or acquired immunodeficiency. At the same time, in 100 % of cases in children from one to three years old, there is an episode of viral disease recorded by a pediatrician, manifested in increased temperature, up to  $40^\circ\text{C}$ , and in growth of monocytes — up to  $16 \pm 5$ , while some cases marked with a sharp decrease or increase in the number of medium size cells. These immunograms in 100 % cases have revealed a decrease in the phagocytic activity of blood cells, suppression of humoral immunity, especially due to IgA, as well as an excessive growth in the number of T-lymphocytes against normal or slightly reduced number of B-lymphocyte, as well as significant fall of natural killer cells. 50 % of children from the research sample have undergone an immunoassay of blood to Ig G: M for herpes family viruses. Epstein-Barr virus (EBV) has been found in 10 % of children, cytomegalovirus (CMV) — in 10 %, herpes viruses 1,2 and / or 6 herpes — in another 10 %. In the remaining 20 % of children, various combinations of viruses — CMV + EBV, CMV + EBV + Herpes type

6, Herpes types 1, 2 and 6 + CMV and / or EBV — have been found. 6 children (8.5 %) have been tested for the avidity analysis, which has showed either the absence of avid bodies to viruses or the presence of low avid bodies. Reduced avidity of immunoglobulins to viruses leads to herpes infection chronization. In fact, the above viruses are capable of causing chronic viral encephalitis of the brain, accompanied by the symptoms typical for ASD. The studies represents MRI and CT signs of proceeding viral encephalitis, which often involves the frontal, occipital, and temporal lobes in the pathogenesis, and EPI waves appear in the temporal lobes in 1 and 2 herpes types (Gillberg, C., Fernell, E., 2014). Pathogenesis in the frontal lobe causes damaged emotional-volitional sphere; the temporal lobes involved in the pathogenesis results in impaired understanding and reproduction of speech; pathogeneticity of the parietal lobe leads to sensory impairment; violation of the occipital lobe leads to scotopic sensitivity syndrome (Irlen syndrome). Antiviral treatment of three children in an immunologist has reduced manifestations of autism in these children. This indirectly confirms the viral nature of the autistic pathogenesis. Further studies will include chemiluminescence analysis, which allow calculating the intensity of free radical oxidation (FRO) processes occurring in the body of children suffering ASD.

About 70 % of the information comes to us by our vision. Distorted visual perception leads to many problems in various fields of activity. Scotopic sensitivity syndrome (SSS), now better known as Irlen syndrome, is a dysfunction of visual perception independent of visual acuity, determined by traditional optometric and ophthalmological methods, which manifests itself in varying degrees in 20 % of people. People suffering from Irlen syndrome see the world differently than we do. The patients with a very severe form of this syndrome may experience difficulties in perceiving people, i. e. see the world fragmentary, like in small “pieces” until they come to them closely enough. Others may experience difficulties in the perception of printed text: vagueness, fusion, apparent

movement of letters and words on the page, etc. The mild form manifests itself in frequent headaches, fast reading fatigue, inability to determine spatial distances, poor coordination of movements, etc.

Irlen syndrome can also occur in conjunction with other disorders such as dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyspraxia, dysphasia, arrested development, hyperactivity, autism, etc. This syndrome was first described in 1983 by Helen Irlen; she proved that visual perception dysfunction lends itself to 100 % correction by selecting lenses of certain shade. Although it has not been yet known how the use of colored glasses normalizes visual perception — the researches are still being taking and, hopefully, in the near future the answer to this question will be found. About 20 % of the world's population suffers from this disorder. Sometimes Irlen syndrome is also called “visual dyslexia” because it is most common among the dyslexics. Helen Irlen, in her book called “Reading by the Colors”, concluded that 46 % of people with reading difficulties have this disorder as well. Many people who are trying to get rid of dyslexia do not achieve the results just because Irlen syndrome is the cause. That is why, when treating dyslexia and other disorders of learning activities, it is important to accurately recognize whether the person suffers also from scotopic sensitivity syndrome. The study of Irlen syndrome has also confirmed the link with other disorders, including chronic fatigue syndrome, depression, ADHD and autism.

The syndrome can be present through many different symptoms, the main of which are: photosensitivity; concentration and retention problems; headaches and migraines caused by light; distortion of letters or background in the text; tension and fatigue while reading; problems with estimating the depth of space; people with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) may also show fragmented (mosaic) perception.

To date, there are more than 100 investigations confirming the emergence of perceptual processing difficulties associated with Irlen syndrome (Bogdashina, 2014). Now there is no

doubt that the use of Irlen lenses helps certain people to adjust their visual perception, and the effect varies from a slight improvement to a significant one. Still, in most cases, the treatment of Irlen syndrome by color filters should be accompanied by remedial work on the development of certain skills and abilities that was previously hampered by distorted perception. The Irlen filters do not remove the problem, but they only facilitate its solution, eliminating visual distortion.

### Conclusion

1. Clinical manifestations of autism, recorded in the emotional-volitional disorders, are accompanied by EEG-signs of damaged cerebral cortex. Therefore, EEG can be used as a diagnostic method for the autism correction.

2. According to the NEM, in children with autism there are signs of partial or full damage of brain energy exchange, manifested in decreased ATP production in different parts of the cerebral cortex. This may be due to impaired blood flow in the vessels of the cervical spine and of the brain. Therefore, NEM can be used when diagnosing autism spectrum disorder to find the strategy for treatment.

3. According to the haematological data, there are homeostasis damages in the internal environment due to decreased haemoglobin, changes in the erythrocyte's shape and volume, and immune dysfunction, manifested in lymphocytosis and neutropenia in children. Thus, a comprehensive blood count can be an early diagnostic criterion for the ASD pathogenesis.

4. According to the immunogram data, children with ASD have secondary immunodeficiency, against which chronic herpetic infection can occur, which, in turn, can cause chronic brain encephalitis, manifested similarly to ASD.

5. According to the results of scotopic sensitivity (Irlen syndrome), it has been found in 80 % of examinees. This suggests that the majority of surveyed respondents have deficient activity of visual cortex, which, in turn, affects the formation of perception and processing of visual information.

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## Актуальные подходы дифференциальной диагностики расстройств аутистического спектра и сходных состояний

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**Аннотация.** Расстройства аутистического спектра (РАС) представляют собой группу первазивных нарушений развития, основными маркерами которых являются отсутствие способности к социальному взаимодействию, нарушение общения и стереотипность поведения. При общепризнанной практической и теоретической значимости исследования механизмов формирования РАС они (механизмы) до сих пор остаются малоизученными.

В статье представлены некоторые подходы к дифференциальной диагностике аутизма и сходных состояний. Авторами предпринята попытка понять причины значимого прироста в последнее время пациентов с данным заболеванием. Цель статьи — анализ существующих исследований и представление результатов комплексной диагностики с учетом механизмов формирования нарушения. При исследовании указанных механизмов использованы клинические данные, сведения из анамнеза пациентов, позволяющие выявить отягощающие факторы со стороны наследственности и течения пренатального, натального и постнатального периодов. По результатам исследования авторами разработана технология дифференциальной диагностики РАС и сходных состояний, выделены диагностические маркеры, дан алгоритм разработки психолого-педагогических программ коррекции нарушений.

**Ключевые слова:** аутизм, расстройства аутистического спектра (РАС), диагностика, синдром скотопической чувствительности, нейроэнергокартирование (НЭК).

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## Conditions for Ensuring Psychological Health of Family and Child

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**Abstract.** The article discusses the outcomes of the current child development environment survey: socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of the family, leisure activities of the family, involvement of young students in the virtual environment. In total, at different stages the survey was participated by 206 families with preschool children, 138 primary school children aged 9-11 years and their parents. The data obtained in the course of study were processed with the statistical data and Pearson correlation analysis carried out with SPSS.17.0 software. The study showed that in the presence of favourable socio-demographic and cultural factors, the leading condition for the optimal development of children is the nature of parent-child relations and the pedagogical impact of the parents. At the present moment, the dominating communication style is still authoritarian-monologic, when parents do not fully acknowledge the interests, inclinations and needs of the child. The style of upbringing, communication between the parents and the child is one of the factors contributing to the involvement of the children in the virtual world. The main conditions for ensuring psychological health of the family and the child are improving psychological and pedagogical culture of parents, their parenting competence, together with supporting conscious parenthood. The efforts should be systematic, involving both propaedeutic activities at the stage of future parents' upbringing, and psychological and pedagogical support of the by school and family psychologists. The practical significance of the study is to highlight the technological complex of professional actions to ensure the psychological health of children and adults.

**Keywords:** modern childhood, child, parents, psychological health, information environment, psychological support, direct communication, family, preschool age, primary school age.

Research area: development psychology, acmeology.

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## Introduction

Children's health is normally listed among the underlying values of the modern society and education system. The detected disorders of the children's psychological health are normally referred to as anthropogeny.

The psychological health problem was set a long time ago by such outstanding humanitarian researchers, as G. Allport, A. Maslow, C. Rogers. They described the psychological health parameters that look like a domain of maturity in the modern context. Studying the psychological health of children and teenagers, I.V. Dubrovina (2009) claims psychological health to underlie personal individuality development, and declares that the essence of psychological health is the growing person's gradual acknowledgment and acceptance of his or her own mental development, personality and individuality. Studying the concept of psychological health in the unity of biological, psychic and social contexts, V.A. Anan'ev (2000) comes to the conclusion that psychological health implies a stable, adaptive functioning of a person at the vital, social, and existential levels of being. O.V. Khukhlaeva and G.S. Nikiforov consider psychological health in the context of adaptation approach, where a healthy person is the one able to successfully adapt to and support well-balanced relations with the people around. According to Khukhlaeva O.V. understanding psychological health as a dynamic balance between the individual and the environment, harmony between the person and the society should be taken as its basic criterion.

At the present moment, there are some established criteria for the psychological health development for various age categories of children: preschool, younger schoolchildren and teenagers. Together with that, being a condition for psychological health support, family context of the child development appears to be an essential component of the study. The researchers agree that the subjective state of the child is directly connected to the environment the child

lives in. Based on a number of researches carried out in various countries of the world, experts of the World Health Organization (WHO) declared mental health disorders to be much more common for children living in disturbed relations with adults.

The academic novelty and advantage of this research is highlighting relevant indicators and conditions of the modern children's development, ensuring the development and conservation of their psychological health. The practical relevance of the research is outlining a technological set of professional activities intended to support the psychological health of children and adults.

## Conceptual basis of the research

The studied phenomena are considered in the context of the systemic and anthropological psychology regarding an individual as an open self-organizing psychological system capable of self-movement and self-determination (Klochko, 2005, 2007), interacting with the environment based on the "correlation between needs of the system and satisfaction of such needs outside the system" principle within the framework of subjective activity approach (Antsyferova, 1980; Klimov, 1996, 2006; Petrovskiy, 1992 etc.) as a manifestation of the selective and purposeful activity of the individual concerning his or her own development. The conducted research is based on the theoretical provisions on the specificity of mental development (L.S. Vygotsky); psychological and pedagogical concepts of personal development (B.G. Anan'ev, D.I. Fel'dshteyn, V.S. Merlin, R. Burns), theoretical provisions on family environment (A. Adler, A.Ia. Varga, A.A. Bodalev, S.S. Spivakovskaia), and its psychological functions (E.K. Vasil'eva, N.V. Maliarova, A.V. Shuvalov, N.A. Iurkevich); modern research of virtual environment (O.V. Lutovinova, E.Iu. Krylov, E.V. Smyshliaeva, A. Zhichkina, E.A. Ignat'eva), children's personal development, mental and psychological health studies data (V.M. Bekhterev, B.S. Bratus', V.I. Brut-

man, A.Ia. Varga, D. Winnicott, A.I. Zakharov, V.N. Miasischev, S.L. Rubinshteyn, G.G. Filipova).

### **Problem setting**

Among the psychological health conditions, the present article considers family environment including the one expanding in the sociocultural space in the process of leisure activities of the family, and virtual environment as an underlying concept of modern children's development.

### **Methodology**

The research of the sociodemographic and cultural properties of families as a context of preschool children development was carried out in the years 2017-2018. The survey was participated by 120 families with preschool children, who attend municipal preschool education institutions of the city of Krasnoyarsk and the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai). The survey was provided by the specialists of the Higher School of Economics Scientific and Research Institution. The objective of the survey was to make up a modern family portrait and to describe the lifestyle of a family with children of preschool age. The empiric outcomes were processed with the correlation analysis methods using statistic data processing software.

For the family leisure study, an anonymous questionnaire was developed to find out the nature, essence and peculiarities of the leisure of modern urban preschool children. 86 parents of preschool children were surveyed; the share of fathers was 27%. The questionnaire included questions intended to reveal the peculiarities of joint leisure activities organized for children by their parents as well as individual leisure activities of the children.

The questionnaire was designed to identify:

- parents' idea of the role and concept of children's leisure;
- popular leisure activities participated by parents;
- demand for different kinds of children's leisure activity;
- peculiarities of independent leisure activities of preschool children;

– parents' opinion on the specificity and quality of family leisure events and activities offered by municipal and regional bodies, including private establishments.

The research of involvement of younger schoolchildren into the virtual environment covered 138 children of younger school age, 73 boys and 65 girls aged 9-11, and their parents. The diagnostic procedure involved a questionnaire intended to study the virtual communication peculiarities, the "Computer Addiction Screening" method by L.N. Iur'eva and T.Iu. Bol'bot (2006), the "Seven-Colour Flower" method for the study of predominating values, the "Ladder" self-esteem study method by A.I. Lipkina, the "Communicative and Organizing Competence" (COC) method by V.V. Siniavsky, V.A. Fedoroshin, the school anxiety test by Phillips and a sociometric procedure. To study the parents' influence on the children, the "Family relations analysis" questionnaire (E.G. Eydemiller, V.V. Iustitsky) and "Parents' attitude questionnaire test" (A.Ia. Varga, V.V. Stolin) were used. The research outcomes were analysed with the statistical data processing method and Pearson correlation analysis carried out with SPSS.17.0 software.

### **Discussion**

#### **Family environment characteristics**

In structure, the surveyed families are predominantly two-parent families with one child or two-parent families with two children. The share of single-parent families among the 120 surveyed is 6.72%. The families of 5 and 6 people constitute 1.68% each.

The predominant age of mothers is 33-35 years old (born in 1982, 1983). The predominant age of fathers is 35-37 years old (born in 1980, 1977).

The education background of the parents is mostly higher education (mother: higher education degree / father: higher education degree (31.93%) or mixed (mother: higher education degree / father: no higher education degree (12.61%). The majority of parents do not speak a foreign language (evaluate their foreign language command as unsatisfactory).

The analysis of employment and professional occupation of mothers and fathers revealed that among the mothers 46% are professionally occupied. The rest are on a long-term (8.4%) or a short-term (0.84%) job-protected leave. 5.88% of mothers are unemployed. Among the fathers, 58.82% are employed, being mostly public servants (7.56%), executives (administrators, managers, senior employees) (7.56%), industrial employees with good experience and tenure (7.56%). A half of the surveyed regularly attend advanced training courses; 31.93% systematically improve their professional skills and 34.45% do not do it on a regular basis.

The monthly income of the families is: 16-20 thousand roubles (22.69%), 21-30 thousand roubles (21.95%), 11-15 thousand roubles (16.81%), 8-10 thousand roubles (10.92%), 51-60 thousand roubles (5.04%), under 7 thousand roubles (2.52%), 71 thousand roubles and more (2.52%), 41-50 thousand roubles (0.84%). 9.24% were undecided about identification (calculation) of their monthly family income. 63.03% of children have their own rooms. 87% of the surveyed families own a car; 13% do not. Families with preschool children were found use social services on a regular basis (67% of the surveyed families). The most popular services are: ready-to-eat food delivery (44.54%), courier delivery of goods (29.41%), house cleaning services (4.2%), grocery delivery (2.52%), babysitting (1.68%). As their last family holiday, the families mentioned: staying at a summer cottage (dacha) (29.41%); visiting other regions of Russia (28.57%); staying at home, within the hometown (24.37%); travelling around the region (21.1%); travelling abroad (13.45%); travelling in CIS countries (4.2%).

Therefore, around a half of the surveyed families may be identified as families with pos-

itive social and material conditions: a two-parent family, well-educated and professionally occupied parents working on improving their professional skills, enjoying satisfactory financial conditions, able to use social services to save time for leisure, and to afford travelling on holidays

Together with that, the Internet as a means of support and organization of leisure plays an important role in the family lives. The Internet was found to be used for the following purposes (Table 1).

As we can see, the parents are active Internet users, creating the grounds for children to get involved in the virtual environment at an early age.

The families spend their personal leisure in the following areas (Table 2).

It should be remarked that leisure activities of the parents are very diverse, and many of them can be shared with children. A positive finding is the inclination of the families to a healthy lifestyle, outdoor activities, self-development using the services provided by the education and culture bodies. All in all, it may be concluded that the parents are setting a positive example for their children.

The surveyed parents find it important and necessary for children to do some household duties. Among such, they list: self-service (cleaning up the toys (9.24%), keeping clothes in order (7.56%), brushing teeth (2.52%), making bed (2.52%), helping about the house (washing up (10.92%), watering flowers (2.52%)). In general, the listed duties are appropriate for the age of the children.

Among methods of punishment, the parent use verbal reprimands (10.08%), sending to the naughty corner (7.56%), raising voice (5.04%), forbidding to watch TV (2.52%). 15.13% of parents prefer not to punish their children at all.

Table 1. Internet use purposes

Everyday service	Purchase and order of goods (78.99%), payment for purchased goods (50.42%)
Self-education	Reading and downloading books (47.06%), watching video lessons (42.86%), video conferences (10.08%)
Entertainment	Online video games (44.54%), social media (24.37%), blogging (6.72%)
Social activities	Charity donation (20.17%), signing petitions (8.4%), project donation (0.84%)

Table 2. Personal leisure areas

Open air, outdoors	Park, forest, countryside (89.2%), summer cottage (dacha) (85.71%), outdoor activities (43.7%), zoos (34.45%)
Shopping	Shopping malls (84.03%), bookstores (31.09%)
Socialization	Visiting friends and relatives (67.23%)
Entertainment	Cafes/restaurants (53.78%), children's entertainment centres (38.66%), reality quests (5.04%)
Culture, art	Cinemas (65.55%), museums (34.45%), classical music concerts/ballet (33.61%), theatre (15.13%), club gigs (14,29%), circus (10.92%)
Self-care	Bath house / sauna (52.1%), beauty salons (47.06%)
Education	Trainings (19.33%), children's education centres (18.49%)
Sports	Fitness club (26.89%), billiards (5.88%), sport matches (5.04%)

Table 3. Correspondence of additional classes attended and desired by children

Attended	Desired
Sports (24.37%)	Volleyball (1.68%), football (1.68%), hockey (0.84%), sport in general (0.84%), judo (0.84%), alpine skiing (0.84%)
Dancing (19.33%)	Dancing (5.04%), choreography (2.52%), dance sport (0.84%), ballroom dancing (0.84%)
Preparation for school (18.49%)	-
Art (11.76%)	Art (2.52%), ceramics (0.84%)
Singing (9.24%)	Singing (0.84%)
Swimming (7.56%)	Swimming (9.24%)
Speech therapy (5.88%)	Speech therapy (0.84%)
English (1.68%)	English (1.68%)
Technical classes (1.68%)	Technical classes (2.52%)
Drama (0.84%)	Theatre (1.68%)
	Model school (0.84%)
	Travellers' Club (0.84%)

It is delightful to find no physical punishment in the list, but raising voice and exercising forbiddances, limiting the freedom of the child may be classified as negative punishment options just like total absence of such. Therefore, a certain incompetence of the parents in upbringing of children may be found.

Almost two thirds (63%) of the surveyed families replied that their children attended some additional classes besides their preschool education institution. At that, 75% of the parents believe in the importance of extra-curriculum activities. The additional classes attended by children outside their preschool education institution are distributed as follows (Table 3).

There are some mismatches found in the preferable and actually attended classes, mostly involving singing, preparation for school, art and dancing. It may be stated that choosing activities for their children, the parents are mostly guided by their own ideas. It may be explained by the domination of the authoritative-monologic type of communication over the dialogic one. L.I. Gabdullina (2007) writes that self-determination of the person is an axiological choice based on the mechanisms of dialogue. For this reason, it may be supposed that if such attitude of the parents remains unchanged, the children may suffer self-determination difficulties in the future.

Therefore, at the present time family remains the main underlying factor for the development of the child. In a positive sociodemographic and cultural environment, the main condition for optimal development of the children is the nature of parent-child relations and the system of pedagogical techniques practiced by the parents. Parenthood psychology is a new branch of study adjacent to various fields (interdisciplinary nature), characterized with a systematicity of approach. Despite the existing demand, in practice parenthood psychology is at the early stage of development, with many practical methods requiring theoretical substantiation. To make the family environment ensure truly developing conditions for the child, the psychological and pedagogic culture of the parents may be promoted through the "Parenting University" programme carried out close to the places of family residence or the children's studies and designed as an interactive platform for discussion of parenthood issues and for development of constructive communication skills.

#### ***Family leisure survey results***

Culture of leisure is known to be a part of the general personal culture. The interest to the essence and forms of leisure is rising, as leisure is a powerful tool for socialization, development and breeding a personality; it is a means of moral, mental, and physical development.

The children's leisure is specific for being organized by surrounding adults, who have the authority to choose the type and nature of leisure activities for their children. A special and critical role in the development of a child, especially a preschool child, is the family that provides conditions for various activities of the child, including leisure. Selecting leisure activities, children make up the social requirements of the community and the demand for children's leisure. This is why it is so important to understand the way the parents see the role of leisure in their children's life, to study their ideas concerning organization of leisure, to identify the leisure preferences of parents and their children. All these provide a basis for evaluating children's leisure as a resource for mental and physical development.

Various researches have numerously underlined that there is no unified definition for leisure. In the context of a preschool child upbringing, leisure is considered as a part of free time when the child is free to choose an activity. It connects leisure to the presence of free time and underlines the active nature of leisure.

The analysis outcomes yield the following conclusions.

1. Parents are genuinely interested in organizing leisure for their preschool children, realize its importance in socialization of the children and believe that proper leisure "helps children develop". At all that, 91% of parents mention the lack of free time, which directly indicates some deficiencies in their parenting.

2. Among popular children's leisure activities organized by municipal and private institutions of Krasnoyarsk, there are: a) visiting living nature exhibitions (89%), b) music events for children organized in the city (76%), c) children's sport events (69%). As a family leisure activity, visiting cinemas with preschool children, though practiced by some parents, may not be classified as popular (21%). Going to the theatre with children is extremely seldom.

One third of the families (34%) practice regular attendance of developing clubs, studios, classes for children. In the recent years, the share of such families and such service providers in the city is rapidly growing.

3. Quite often (66%) the leisure of children is organized by grandparents, provided that they live in Krasnoyarsk.

4. Children's leisure activities may be classified into those shared with adults and those freely selected by children. Determination of the share of such activities does not appear possible at the present moment.

5. Parents' survey makes it possible to give a qualitative evaluation of the leisure shared by children and adults. E.V. Sokolov listed the following kinds of leisure: recreation, entertainment, contemplation, celebration, creation, education. It should be taken into account that the borders between them are very conventional and all of them are closely interconnected. The results made it possible to divide the leisure shared by children and adults into two main groups. The majority of them belong to en-



tertainment and celebrations (76%), which includes participation in various events, meeting friends and relatives, walking, doing sport activities. Thus, the parents consider it entertaining for their children (and, obviously, for themselves as well) to visit relatives and friends. This kind of leisure is very popular among the surveyed adults (39%).

Taking part in local events and festivals (exhibitions, competitions, concerts, going to the cinema or theatre) constitutes 27%.

Joint walks, sport activities and outdoor games make up 34%. The latter manifests the current inclination of the society to healthy lifestyle.

It should be clarified that the given proportion may significantly vary depending on the proximity of the family residence to a large city centre. Moreover, the family leisure choice is influenced not only by the family culture (which is often also determined by neighbourhood peculiarities). Leisure activities are strongly regulated by the financial and social capacity of the family.

The other group of leisure activities is associated with creation and education. Unfortunately, it constitutes only 34% of the total volume of leisure shared by children and their parents. This group includes: reading books, joint creative activities, playing developing table games, regular attendance of various additional education clubs and studios.

The facts prove that within the family environment, the leisure of children is dominated by entertainment, not creation or enlightenment. Indeed, even entertainment gives a child some opportunities for emotional development, new forms of socialization and building social relations, a potential for moral and aesthetic growth, development of the communication competence. However, the culture of leisure is shaped in the early childhood under the influence of family environment. It makes it so important for the parents to understand the necessity of shaping up the interests of their children.

6. Similar tendencies are found in independent leisure activities of the children. They normally prefer entertainment kinds of leisure (78%): watching cartoons, playing videogames, playing with toys. Nowadays children rarely

prefer creative or educating activities in their free time. Modern children hardly ever draw; they do not often read or play any developing games. It may be explained by their parents' not positioning leisure as a means for developing their cognitive needs and aspirations. As it may be concluded from the parents' survey results, the fact of absence of any substantial interests does not bother the parents.

The adults should pay attention to developing the interest of their children in the substantial aspect of leisure. According to A.F. Volovik, interest for leisure activity as such acts as a dominating motive. Leisure activeness or passiveness of the child is only determined by the presence or absence of interest in such.

7. Analysis of the survey results unveiled a mismatch in the parents' answers concerning the interests of the child and his/her independent free time activities. This fact proves that the parents do not connect the interests of the child to his/her leisure. On one hand, it may manifest the low awareness of the parents of their children's interests. On the other hand, it would be appropriate to assume that the family does not provide the conditions for the child to exercise his/her interests in the leisure activities.

It is obvious that parents should be more careful about the interests of their children to facilitate their development by providing proper conditions and facilities.

8. Parents express their wish to diversify the leisure of their children, but at the same time they prefer to address this wish to various social institutions. This way the parents shift the responsibility for organizing leisure of their children to the municipal bodies and education institutions. They do not see any leisure resources within the family environment. For instance, parents are not aware of the advantage of using joint household activities as a leisure activity for their children. Little ones are well-known for their interest for such household activities as cooking, interior design or needlework, but very few parents mentioned these activities in the survey.

9. The deficiency of organized leisure for preschool children is mostly seen in the families bringing up boys. It is proven by insuffi-

cient participation of fathers in leisure activities, poor substantial content in boys' leisure, low share of activities associated with men's work. Thus, modelling or handcrafts are hardly seen in boys' leisure. In general, parents tend to ignore gender peculiarities of boys in organizing their leisure.

The results of the parents' survey revealed the deficiencies in organization of social kinds of children's leisure.

- lack of sport facilities and playgrounds for preschool children, inconvenient working hours of leisure facilities for preschool children, low quality of service and incompetence of specialists working with young children, uncomfortable infrastructure;

- lack of children's events of the city and district scale;

- poor advertising of municipal children's events. Parents claim that they hear about some events from media after they are over and cannot get any information in advance.

The identified needs of the parents help the authority bodies organize leisure for the population, improving communication between the social institutions involved in the new generation upbringing.

There is no doubt that the task of the teachers is to draw attention of the parents to the need for organized leisure, to explain its peculiarities, to unveil the diversity of leisure activities and their developing potential, to provide professional support to the parents at all stages of the children's development.

***Results of the research of involvement of young schoolchildren into the virtual environment.***

The studies of children's development in a virtual environment are getting more and more relevant, since as the child is growing up and mastering new communication technologies, he or she tends to spend more and more time in the virtual space for various reasons: for studies, communication, entertainment, self-affirmation, or just for getting distracted from the problems they face in the real world (Shakhmartova, Nedoshivina, 2012). At the same time, the amount, and more importantly, the substantial content of the time spent in the virtual envi-

ronment is hardly ever controlled and directed by the parents for many reasons, including the obvious ones.

A research intended to study the distinctive features of virtual communication of young schoolchildren, to draw a psychological portrait of the children involved in virtual communication, to assess the risk of developing computer addiction for children greatly involved in virtual communication and to analyse the factors facilitating the immersion of the child into the virtual environment was carried out.

Among the criteria used to assess the degree of involvement into the virtual space, there were: number of forums and social media used for communication, amount of time spent in the virtual environment, number of virtual friends and preferred type of communication.

The analysis of the "Virtual Communication" survey carried out with a two-years' interval revealed that in the year 2015 70% of children (boys – 38% and girls – 32%), and in the year 2017 96.3% of children (boys – 60.4% and girls – 35.9%) used social media for communication. Almost 100% of children were involved in virtual communication, and the greatest growth rate was created by boys as more active users.

On the average, every school student has accounts in 2-3 social media. Moreover, 5.9% of children use more than 3-4 social media, with 66.7% of them being boys and 33.3% being girls. Children with no accounts in the social media comprised, in the year 2017, 3.7% (boys – 1.85% and girls – 1.85%). The major websites used by children are: vk.com and mail.ru, less frequently Odnoklassniki, YouTube, Blaber, Facebook, Skype, and Twitter.

Speaking of the number of virtual friends, 31.4% (boys – 18.75%, girls – 81.25%) of the respondents communicate with 1-10 friends; 41.2% of children (boys – 85.7%, girls – 14.3%) claim to have from 11 to 30 friends, and 27.4% of the surveyed (boys – 85.7%, girls – 14.3%) have over 30 friends. It may be concluded that girls are more selective about their circle of friends and tend to limit it unlike the boys who eagerly expand the network of their contacts. The virtual friends of young schoolchildren are of various age: the majority of them are peers,

9-12 years old (60%), but there are some older ones, aged from 11 to 30 years old (32%), and sometimes interlocutors aged over 30 years old are found (%). This virtual partner age diversity sets the task for an additional research of online communication motives of children.

Another important indicator of involvement into virtual communication is the time spent in social media. In 2015, there were 7% of children who did not spend any time online at all or did it just several minutes a day or even a month. In 2017, there were no such children at all. 29.4% of the surveyed children use social media for communication 1-2 hours 3-4 times a week (40% of boys and 60% of girls); 54.9% of junior school children socialize online for 2-3 hours 3-5 times a week, and in this category there are almost 3.5 times less girls than boys (21.4% and 78.6% correspondingly), and 15.7% of the respondents spend in the social media over 3 hours daily (62.5% of boys and 37.5% of girls).

15.7% of the respondents (boys – 12.5%, 87.5% – girls) claimed to spend from 1 minute to 30 minutes for one online communication session; 66.7% of children (boys – 73.5%, girls – 26.5%) said one session lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours, and over 3 hours are spent for one session by 17.6% of the surveyed children (boys – 77.8%, girls – 22.2%). We see that over a half of children (54.9%) are involved into virtual communication from 6 to 15 hours per week, which forces us to acknowledge it as a new socialization venue for children. At that, it is worth noticing a greater activeness of boys, which, together with their poor selectivity of contacts, brings up the importance of teaching them the basics of safe Internet behaviour.

Teaching children the basis of safe virtual communication and Internet behaviour is also one of today's relevant issues due to the distinctive features of interaction practiced by children in social media discovered by the recent research.

1) children set the bar of critical attitude to websites, videos and games lower than adults; they are more gullible and positive about the content they find in the Internet;

2) unlike adults, children tend to perceive random interlocutors in the Internet as

“friends” and trust virtual conversations; they are open to new contacts and, at the same time, get more emotional about any negative communication experience;

3) children are not always aware of the danger or inappropriateness of some video, audio materials, website contents and games;

4) Internet addicted students live with the permanent feeling of danger; they have difficulties communicating with their peers in reality (Kuznetsova, Chudova, 2009, 2011).

According to 51.9% of the respondents, the main topics for online conversations of young schoolchildren are games (boys – 69.2%, girls – 30.8%); 25.5% of the surveyed discuss school life experience (boys – 46.2%, girls – 53.8%), 17.6% of students discuss their out-of-school lives (boys – 66.7%, girls – 33.3%), and 5.9% have no preferences, talking “about everything” (100% boys).

The respondents were offered choosing virtual or real communication as a more preferable option for them. In 2015, live communication was chosen by 30% of the surveyed, virtual was preferred by 29%, and 11% said they wanted to combine both, with the approximately equal proportion of boys and girls in each category. In 2017, the received replies were the following: 52.9% of the respondents (boys – 81.5%, girls – 18.5%) chose live communication, 25.5% of the surveyed (boys – 38.5% and girls – 61.5%) marked virtual communication as the most preferred option, and 21.6% of children (boys – 54.5%, girls – 45.5%) aspired to combine both. It reveals an interesting paradox: normally less active in the virtual space, girls involved into online communication tend to get overwhelmed and prefer it to live communication. On the opposite, though boys are active online, they still tend to choose live communication. It is delightful that the inclination of the children to reality or to at least to combining virtual communication with real one is growing. To our mind, one of the tasks of parents and school is stimulation of the emotionally positive and intensive communication in the real world accompanied with the development of IT and computer competence of children.

The answers of children describing the emotions they experience in online commu-

nication are of special interest. The most frequently mentioned emotions are: pleasure, joy, confidence, fury, and fear – by 60.8 of all respondents (boys – 71%, girls – 29%); joy, fury and curiosity are experienced by 21.5% (boys – 45.5%, girls – 54.5%); anxiety and boredom were mentioned by 11.8% of children, with equal proportion of boys and girls; boredom and indifference are the main emotions of 5.9% of the respondents, boys only. As we can see, virtual communication evokes a wide range of emotions, both positive (pleasure, joy, confidence) and negative (anxiety, boredom, indifference). Remarkably, there are only 17.7% of children who feel anxiety, boredom and indifference in virtual communication. It brings up the motivation issue: children may get online for various reasons, including satisfaction of needs, paying a tribute to today's fashion or the desire to "fit in".

Spending time in the web, young schoolchildren do not use it for communication purposes only: 45.1% of children play games (boys – 69.6%, girls – 30.4%), 41.2% of them listen to audio and watch video (boys – 61.9%, girls – 38.1%), 5.9% of students transfer files (boys – 66.7%, girls – 33.3%), and 7.8% attend various groups and communities (equal share of boys and girls). As we can see, the Internet is used by young schoolchildren mostly for entertainment, and less frequently for organization of other kinds of activities. On one hand, it sets the task of organizing attractive free time activities for children in real life; on the other hand, it requires teaching children the skills of using Internet as a source of development and a tool for organizing one's activity in the real world.

Summing up the survey results, we can divide the children into three groups based on the degree of their involvement into virtual communication.

The 22.7% children found to be deeply involved in virtual communication (girls – 37.1%, boys – 62.9%) tend to have a large number of online friends, over 50 people. Children spend over 5 days a week on forums and websites, spending 3 hours or more on one communication session and prefer virtual communication to live.

39.2% of children are classified as having medium involvement (girls – 22.5%, boys – 77.5%). They have fewer chatting partners, from 11 to 30 people. The children of this category spend 3-4 days a week on forums and websites, spending 2-3 hours for one communication session and prefer virtual and live communication to an equal extent.

37.8% of children of low level of involvement (girls – 46.6%, boys – 53.4%) communicate with a limited number of people, from 1 to 10, once or twice a week, with a conversation lasting from several minutes to one hour, and prefer live communication to virtual.

In the results analysis, some gender differences in the young students' behaviour was found. Girls tend to have smaller number of friends, from 1 to 10, while boys have many more. Girls are more selective in communication; they are trying to create an illusion of real relationships online, while boys appreciate having a wide range of contacts. Girls spend around half an hour for one communication session, while for boys it may last for three hours and more, and they get online more frequently than girls. However, boys claim to prefer live communication; virtual contacts for them do not replace real relationships, but supplement it. Girls find a replacement for real communication in the web; they build friendships online and prefer this style of communication, using it to compensate the absence of real social contacts.

For boys, online communication brings, besides joy and curiosity, boredom and indifference; perhaps, they turn to virtual communication to get rid of boredom, to find something to do. Boys use more opportunities of social media, playing games, transferring files, watching videos and listening to audio. Besides communication, they use the virtual environment to expand their opportunities. As noted above, girls tend to create a replacement for real relationships in the Internet, perhaps, to compensate the challenges they face in live interaction; it brings them bright and saturated emotions, such as joy, curiosity, fury. They may use the web to compensate something they lack in real life. In the virtual space, when your interlocutor does not hear or see you, and,

moreover, you can create a fictitious image of yourself, you can go beyond the limits of your common behaviour. In real life we are expected to comply with certain social regulations. Traditionally, girls are subject to more restrictions, and they care more about what others think of them, making more effort to make a good impression on others. It may be suggested that this is an opportunity to “safely try on another role” that makes virtual communication so attractive for girls.

Just like “streets” not so long ago, the web today may be regarded as a natural socialization institution; for this reason, it makes sense to suppose that the children active online may have some typical distinctive features. With a series of diagnostic methods, we succeeded in making up a generalized psychological portrait of young schoolchildren involved in virtual communication to a certain degree. We do not claim the Internet to make a direct impact on the development of children, but we assert the presence of certain tendencies.

Children with low involvement level have an adequate self-esteem. They are more confident and relaxed, they can fairly understand and evaluate themselves, have a clear vision of material and moral values. It is worthwhile noticing that children with low exposure to virtual communication have perfect communication skills and good organizational competence. Among them there is a small percentage of outsiders or leaders, they are generally preferred and rarely neglected by their peers. Internet addiction of such children either equals to zero, or they may use the Internet for a hobby. They do not enjoy the computer too much; a little time in the social media is enough for them. They can easily interrupt a computer session, which makes a good influence on their offline life, academic success and family relations. They may have different statuses, from an outsider to a leader, but the majority of them are clearly preferred or neglected. Internet addiction of such children can belong to any of the three stages: zero addition (mostly), interest, or first stage of addiction. Children from this group feel agitation and satisfaction when they find themselves in the social media. They often anticipate their time at the computer as a pleasure. They do not

need to spend much time online, but they often feel the need to get back to the computer. It is more difficult for them to interrupt a computer session on their own, which makes a negative impact on their academic success and family relations.

Children with high level of involvement have predominantly inflated or deflated self-esteem; focus on moral and material values is present; communication skills and organizational competence is below average. Among them, there are “leaders” and “preferred ones” as well as the “outsiders” and “misfits”. In this group, the first stage of Internet addiction dominates: these children feel pleasure, satisfaction and relief when they find themselves online, and away from computer they are tense and frustrated. They can hardly interrupt an online session; they need more and more time in the web. The need for the virtual world rises more and more often, destroying relations within the family, ruining communication with peers and academic activities.

As the research results demonstrate, virtual communication does not make a certain impact on the values of the children. Maybe it is explained by the earlier establishment of basic values by the parents, while the value priorities are developed later, in the teenage period, and the survey of this age group may reveal some significant differences. Children with different level of involvement into virtual communication do not show much variety in the status among peers. It should be noted, however, that the children preferring real communication are more adequate in their self-esteem; they are more confident, have better developed communication skills and organizational competence, and, therefore, their socialization and personality development run smoother.

The correlation analysis of the variables reflecting the psychological properties of the children and the variables characterizing the parents’ attitude and the family upbringing style, revealed the following tendencies with the certainty of 0.01:

Authoritarianism of both parents to the child develop the fear of not complying with the other people’s expectations. Such children struggle to please the adults regardless of their

own wishes, which in the future may bring them into co-dependent relationships or development of patience for benefit. A well-balanced parenting style distinctive with the faith in the child, co-operative relations, understanding their needs, may prevent the development of fear of not complying with the expectations of the others, and, therefore, warn the child against getting into addictions and co-dependence (negative correlation between “cooperative” upbringing and fear of not complying with the expectations of the others).

The figure of father plays a special role in the development of general anxiety and the symptoms constituting it: a rigid, strict behaviour of the father makes the child fear frustrating other people’s expectations and therefore makes up the risk of Internet addiction development. Insufficiency of punishment applied by the father is in a negative correlation with the fear of not complying with expectations of the others; stricter sanctions reduce the risk and prevent the development of Internet addiction. Excessive demands of the father positively correlate with general anxiety, which means that an excessively strict attitude of the father evokes anxiety in the child, causing addiction development. The more attention the father gives to the child, the less is the likeliness for the child to develop an addiction. The expansion of the parenting feeling of the father and upbringing him in the “adult” pattern reduces the anxiety of complying with other people’s expectations, and, therefore, reduces the risk of developing computer and other addictions.

Excessive attention of the mother, her reverential attitude and overprotection directly causes strong anxiety, pushing the child to addiction. Reduction of the anxious attention to the child and freedom, trust for the child’s deeds may prevent the development of general anxiety and reduce the Internet addiction risk. Excessive demands of the mother are in negative correlation with the wilful control of the child: the stricter requirements are set by the mother, the less capable is the child of organizing his or her leisure, the more is the risk of developing Internet addiction and likeliness of violations and offences.

Summing up the results of the analysis it may be concluded that parents of the children with a high Internet addiction development risk do not pay enough attention to the pedagogical performance of the family. Mothers often try to compensate the absence of the father with strict rules and attitude, increasing the anxiety of the child, which may (and does) cause a higher risk of Internet addiction. In two-parent families, fathers are often non-committal about bringing up the child, showing little care and attention and not setting enough demands, provoking the child to escape from the reality into the virtual environment. We suppose that further ignoring and permissive attitude to the child may not just affirm his or her need for additional activity stimulators and the escape from reality (where he or she may be not accepted, suffer from being forbidden, criticized or actually forsaken), but also get carried away with some more destructive addictions.

The high likeliness of having a young schoolchild absorbed into virtual communication transform into a teenager with developed addictions just 5-7 years later prove the need for running preventive psychological and pedagogical consultations for the parents to help them develop parenting competences and to bring up a psychologically healthy and socially successful child.

### Conclusion

Analysis of the research results yields the following conclusions:

1. At the present time, family still acts as an essential factor of the development of a child. In advantageous socio-demographic and cultural situation, the leading conditions for the optimal development are proper parent-child relationships and the pedagogical performance of the parents. For the time being, authoritarian-monologic communication style, with parents underestimating the interests, inclinations and needs of the child, is dominating.

2. Aware of the significance of expanding the socialization space of the child, the parents show more interest for organizing leisure of their children. But the lack of free time excuse used by 91% of the parents demonstrates parenting deficiencies, such as the idea of need for

free time to organize proper communication with the child, while those are skills of proper communication with the child that are limited.

3. The parent-child relations and parenting style, communication between parents and their children are the factors that influence the involvement of children in the virtual world. Ignoring their needs and authoritarianism, permissive or overprotective attitude affirm the need of the child for additional ways to stimulate activity and for escaping the reality.

4. Therefore, one of the main conditions for ensuring psychological health of the family and the child is the development of psychological and pedagogical culture of the parents, their parenting competence, development of consciousness parenting style. The efforts in this field should be consistent and include both propaedeutic activity at the future parents' maturing stage and psychological and pedagogical assistance provided by school and family psychologists.

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## Условия обеспечения психологического здоровья семьи и ребенка

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**Аннотация.** В статье обсуждаются результаты изучения современного состояния среды развития детей: социодемографических и культурных характеристик, а также досуговой деятельности семьи, включенности младших школьников в виртуальную среду. Всего на разных этапах в исследовании приняли участие 206 семей дошкольников, 138 младших школьников в возрасте 9-11 лет и их родители. Полученные в ходе работы сведения были подвергнуты методу статистической обработки данных, корреляционному анализу по Пирсону, проведенному с помощью прикладного пакета SPSS.17.0.

Исследование показало, что при наличии благоприятных социодемографических и культурных характеристик ведущими условиями оптимального развития детей выступают характер родительно-детских отношений и система воспитательных воздействий родителей. В настоящее время преобладает авторитарно-монологическое общение, при котором родители не в полной мере учитывают интересы, склонности и потребности ребенка. Стиль воспитания и общения родителей с ребенком является одним из факторов, способствующих вовлеченности детей во взаимодействие с виртуальным миром. Основные условия обеспечения психологического здоровья семьи – повышение психолого-педагогической культуры родителей, родительской компетенции, формирование осознанного родительства. Работа в этом направлении должна носить системный характер и предполагать как пропедевтическую деятельность на этапе взросления будущих родителей, так и психолого-педагогическое сопровождение семьи в рамках деятельности психологов образования и семейных психологов. Практическая значимость исследования состоит в выделении технологического комплекса профессиональных действий по обеспечению психологического здоровья детей и взрослых.

**Ключевые слова:** современное детство, ребенок, родители, психологическое здоровье, информационная среда, психологическое сопровождение, непосредственное общение, семья, дошкольный возраст, младший школьный возраст.

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## Studying and Evaluating Emotional and Personal Tendencies and Behavioural Patterns of Emotional Response of Primary School Pupils with Impaired Intellectual Development

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**Abstract.** The article raises the insufficiently studied, yet the crucial problem of the need for timely study and evaluation of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional response of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. The key problems related to the improvement of these pupils' socialization and social adaptation in the modern society cannot be solved without studying the emotional regulation of their behaviour and correcting possible swerves. The studied schoolchildren are characterized by significant lagging in the development of emotional response, a narrow range of feelings, frequent incomppliance of emotional reactions with external influences as regards strength, intensity and details of these reactions, limited interpretation of sensory material, which in aggregate lead to inadequate perception of other people's emotional reactions and not always adequate and differentiated expression of their own emotional responses in socially acceptable ways. All these tendencies provoke difficulties for pupils' with impaired intellectual development in their relationships between themselves and with surrounding adults; create serious barriers for their training and education; contribute to different deviations in behaviour; lead to travails of social adaptation and socialization.

The article describes the organization of the carried out research, presents the main components, technological parameters, stages of the study of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural repertoire of emotional responses of primary school pupils with intellectual development disorders. The model used in the research consists of consistently implemented diagnostic procedures aimed at studying and evaluating dominating emotional reactions, expressive reactions; at regulating emotional responses; as well as at studying and evaluating the cognitive-perceptual dimension of emotional responses of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development.

On the basis of the ongoing research, the authors identified specific features of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional response of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development, which is not only possible, but

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also necessary to undergo psychological and pedagogical correction in order to improve the processes of socialization and integration of these pupils in modern society.

**Keywords:** emotional response, emotional reactions, emotional-personal tendencies, behavioural patterns, components of emotional response, pupils with impaired intellectual development.

Research area: correctional psychology.

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### **Statement of the problem and objectives of the study**

Analysis of the modern research results has shown that socialization problems, which students with impaired intellectual development face, are determined not only by a congenital defect, but also, to a greater extent, by their insufficient skills in regulating their behaviour and activities in the social environment. The lack of timely diagnostic and psychocorrectional care gives rise to a series of subsequent secondary disorders, including the emotional and personal ones, difficulties in social interaction with others, manifested later in the unsuccessful school life and social maladjustment of this category of schoolchildren.

Emotional sphere performs essential functions, connected with the reflection of the world around, with adaptation to its constantly changing conditions, the same goes for schoolchildren with mental disabilities. Due to abnormal intellectual regulation, the emotional reactions of children with impaired intellectual development do not always correspond to external influences in their strength, dynamics and expression. Violations of the adequacy of emotional reactions can be observed even at an early age. By the time of schooling these violations are not only preserved, but also aggravated, acquiring the features of a pathology; they incite difficulties in relationships with others, create serious barriers for the education and upbringing of this category of schoolchildren, making their problems of socialization even more serious.

Primary school pupils with intellectual disabilities are characterized by a pronounced lagging behind from other students in terms of the development of emotions. They show undifferentiated emotional state and instability of emotional response, limited range of feelings, the extreme expression of joy, grief, anger and happiness. The emotional response of younger students with impaired intellectual development is followed by inertia, manifested in the difficulties of changing one emotional reaction to another, or, in contrast, lability. The expression of even basic emotions, like emotional response, emotional fireworks or outburst (affect) is often accompanied by poor concreteness of emotional response (complete or partial lack of understanding of the causes of emotional experience); limited ability of these schoolchildren to express emotional reactions in socially acceptable ways.

In most cases, the specific features of emotional and personal tendencies and the behavioural repertoire of emotional responses lead to an acute negative reaction of surrounding people and the dominance of punishments in the methods of upbringing these children. Very often such a child is in conflict with the generally accepted norms of behaviour and the requirements of adults, destroying the already unstable system of their own relations with the surrounding social reality. The occurring hardships cause an increase in emotional tension, anxiety, negativism and hostility; the development of misunderstanding and proneness to conflict, which further exacerbates and intensifies deviations in the

emotional-personal and behavioural sphere, and, in particular, induces the aggressive behaviour of such students.

Analysis of the modern literature has proved scarce theoretical coverage of this problem in special psychology journals. The phenomenon of emotional response of students with impaired intellectual development has not been studied thoroughly, which is confirmed by the lack of comprehensive scientific, theoretical and empirical research on the identified problem. In the literature studied there is only generalized information about the specific features of the emotional behaviour regulation of this category of schoolchildren (Lebedinsky, 2003; Lubovsky, 2009; Petrova, Beliakova, 2002; Rubinstein, 1986, etc.). Much less works are devoted to the problem of the empirical study of individual emotional reactions of students with impaired intellectual development, their theoretical understanding in the context of the analysis of the internal mental regulation and control over their behaviour and activities (see, for example: Agavelian, Agavelian, 1997; Verkhoturova, 2012; Pleshakova, Nugaeva, 2011; Semenova, 2008; Shapovalova, 2005, etc.).

There is not enough coverage of the expression, structure and mechanisms of emotional response of students with impaired intellectual development, changes and refinement of their emotional responses from the standpoint of age and gender differences, but, what is more important, the issues of the development of effective programs for comprehensive diagnostic assessment of emotional response management skills and the relevant correction, which is highly necessary for the studied category of schoolchildren.

The existing peculiarity of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional response of primary school pupils with intellectual disabilities leads to additional difficulties in their training and education, barriers to communicative interaction, difficulties in social adaptation. This, coupled with incomplete development of psychological approaches to timely diagnostic and correctional work on the formation of skills of these children to manage their emotional response, determined

the relevance of the problem we raised and prompted us to start the present study.

#### **Methodology (materials and methods)**

Based on the previously developed by us concept of managing emotional responses in primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development, we created, theoretically substantiated and introduced into school education a technological model for studying and evaluating emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional response of the studied schoolchildren.

The experimental study was conducted in educational institutions for students and pupils with disabilities. The study involved teachers and psychologists of these educational institutions, as well as students with mild intellectual disabilities. The experimental groups included only children with a clinical diagnosis F70 "Mild mental retardation". The experiment encompassed several groups within the primary school age (8–9, 10–11 years old).

In organizing the study, we took as point of departure the understanding of the emotional response as a complex multidimensional and multicomponent structural-hierarchical phenomenon, an objective study and monitoring of whose development requires a conceptual theoretical and methodological work on a comprehensive assessment system, involving defining technological parameters, criteria and indicators of all components of this system structure.

For the study and evaluation of emotional and personal tendencies, as well as behavioural patterns of emotional response of primary school pupils with intellectual disability, we singled out the following main components:

*The impressive component*, which is the obligatory aspect of the emotional response research model, which means the assessment of understanding and differentiation of emotional reactions; understanding their causation, connection of emotional reaction with the concrete subject;

*The expressive component*, which is the obligatory aspect of the emotional response research model, which implicates the assessment of mimic expressiveness; enrichment of emo-

tional reactions with optimal means for external expression of these reactions.

The next level of the research model is a set of particular facets (aspects) of emotional response, revealing specific details of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional response of primary school pupils with intellectual development disorders. This level comprises:

*The communicative component*, which is the ability to receive and transmit emotional information using the means to express emotional response in public;

*The interactive component*, which is the ability to respond emotionally; empathize and sympathize; interact effectively;

*The perceptual component*, which consists of the ability to perceive and reproduce emotional information integrally, structurally and objectively on the basis of means to express emotional response in public;

*The cognitive component*, which is the ability to understand the substantive emotional reactions based on the skill to distinguish and differentiate these reactions, to use the means of emotional response;

*The regulatory component*, which is the ability to plan and control the different emotional response models using the means to express them in public.

In the process of this study realization, we defined and described the substantive content of the technological parameters of studying and evaluating emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural repertoire of emotional response of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. Among these parameters we pinpointed the following: *the duration of the emotional response*, which is a qualitative and / or quantitative characteristic, expressing the length of the emotional response over time; *the concreteness of the emotional response*, which is a qualitative and/or quantitative characteristic that conveys a degree of understanding and comprehension of the emotional reactions (states) experienced and their causes; *the intensity of emotional response*, which is a qualitative and / or quantitative characteristic, denominating the degree of strength, tension, intensity of emotional response.

In order to do the research on the study and assessment of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural patterns of emotional responses of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development, we selected various emotional responses differing in their modality: “joy”, “fear”, “anger”, “anxiety”, “offense” and “aggression”.

The experimental study included several diagnostic stages.

1. *Studying and evaluating the emotional reactions that dominate in students' behaviour.* Experimental research suggested studying the emotional reactions prevailing in the behaviour of pupils with impaired intellectual development and an assessment of their emotional and personal tendencies of emotional response. The results obtained testified not only to the dominant emotional reactions, but also indicated the level of their compliance with and adequacy to the emotional stimuli.

2. *The study and evaluation of meaningful expressiveness and regulation of emotional response.* Our experimental research was aimed at exploring the meaningful expressiveness of emotional reactions of students with impaired intellectual development and assessing their condition by the following parameters: concreteness, objectivity, duration, and then the extent to which they comply with the standards and rules of behaviour adopted in society.

3. *The study and evaluation of the cognitive-perceptual aspects of the emotional response.* The target of this diagnostic procedure incorporated the study and assessment of the skills of students with impaired intellectual development to perceive and reproduce emotional information objectively; to distinguish emotional reactions using the analysis and selection of essential traits and constituent elements of meaningful expression; to correlate emotional reactions with the substantive content; to name their sign attribution (modality).

## Results and discussion

At the *first stage* of the study we collected information about the interviewees, which implied work in two directions: 1) an analysis of

psychological, medical and pedagogical documentation and 2) a survey of participants in the experiment. Special questionnaires were developed for students with intellectual disabilities and teachers working in these educational institutions.

In respect to a survey of primary school pupils with intellectual disability, it was found that most of the respondents in the boys groups and girls groups aged 8–9 and 10–11 years have difficulty in determining their emotional state; they do not know the names of many emotional reactions and their causes. In both age groups of test pupils, we pointed out a general trend in analyzing the causes of emotional reactions. The overwhelming majority of primary school pupils replace the definition of the causes of emotional experience by listing the child's actions at the time of the emotional reactions experienced. The respondents gave the following answers "I play", "I trundle the car", "I watch cartoons", "I walk" to the questions "Do you ever feel happy?", "Do you ever feel sad?" and alike. The vocabulary of pupils of both age and gender groups does not have names of many emotional reactions. Emo-

tional reaction "joy" is substituted by "happy", "good"; "fear" is changed for a simpler one reaction "scared", "I am afraid".

Analysis of the results of the survey of teachers showed that all the participants of both age and gender groups rarely realize their emotional reactions and practically do not correlate them with the context of the situation. There are low indicators of the adequacy of emotional reactions to external influences as regards the content, intensity and duration of these reactions. All interviewees experienced difficulties in controlling emotional reactions both during classes and in normal situations of communication with peers.

The information obtained was supplemented by the results of observations and analysis of initial conversations with primary school pupils with intellectual development disorders and their teachers. According to the results of this stage of the study, it was concluded that the indicators prevailing for all interviewees were deviations in behaviour, which was expressed in disturbed interaction with adults and peers, in the apparent aggressive tendencies, impulsiveness, proneness to conflict and irascibility (Table 1)

Table 1. Results of the analysis of psychological and pedagogical documentation of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. Comparative data

Parameters	Age groups							
	Boys				Girls			
	8–9		10–11		8–9		10–11	
	abs.*	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Behaviour deviations	26	74.3	28	77.8	24	66.7	26	70.3
Disturbed communication with adults and peers	27	77.2	29	80.6	25	69.5	25	67.6
Proneness to conflict	23	65.8	26	72.3	18	50.0	22	59.5
Aggressive tendencies	25	71.5	27	75.0	22	61.2	25	67.6
Affective manifestations	24	68.6	25	69.5	24	66.7	24	64.9
Impulsive behaviour	6	74.3	26	72.3	24	66.7	24	64.9
Negativism	20	57.2	21	58.4	15	41.7	15	40.6
Vengefulness	13	37.2	15	41.7	12	33.4	13	35.2
Intolerance to the opinions of others	21	60.0	21	58.4	18	50.0	18	48.7
Irascibility	22	62.9	26	72.3	20	55.6	24	64.9
Assertive behaviour	12	34.3	17	47.3	12	33.4	15	40.6

\*abs. – absolute number.

Table 2. Indicators of emotional manifestations of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development, according to the HTP method (%)

Symptom complexes	Age groups			
	Girls		Boys	
	8–9 years (n=36)	10–11 years (n=37)	8–9 years (n=35)	10–11 years (n=36)
Insecurity	41.7	40.6	34.3	33.4
Anxiousness	47.3	51.4	42.9	44.5
Agressiveness	63.9	70.3	71.5	77.8
Asociality	41.7	40.6	28.6	30.6
Hostility	58.4	70.3	68.6	77.8
Proneness to conflict (frustration)	50.0	67.6	65.8	80.6
Difficulties in communication	63.9	75.7	80.0	83.4

In addition, the analysis of the data got allowed us to mark a tendency of increased severity of the considered parameters when the children grow up, which indicates the need for timely diagnosis and taking measures to correct the spotted weak points.

The use of the projective drawing technique “House – Tree – Person” (hereinafter referred to as HTP) by R. C. Burns and S. H. Kaufman (modified by R. F. Beliauskaitė) made it possible to obtain information about the dominant emotional reactions of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development, their aggressiveness, hostility, anxiousness, proneness to conflict and other traits (Table 2).

As follows from the data in the table, all pupils, who participated in the study, demonstrated that out of the seven symptom complexes the most frequent and pronounced are the following: aggressiveness, hostility, anxiousness, proneness to conflict and difficulties in communication.

At the *second stage* of the study, we investigated and evaluated meaningful expressiveness and regulation of the emotional response of these very primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development.

Within the framework of this stage we used the standardized “Method of monitoring the emotional expression of a child” introduced by J. Schwanzara. The evaluation scale

included: a list of emotional reactions, modified according to the aims of our study, besides, the parameters “concreteness” and “duration” were added to the parameter “intensity”. All emotional reactions were differentiated in agreement with the selected by us criteria and are presented in individual “Profiles of emotional response”.

As a result of the study, it was found that all participants of both age and gender groups showed extremely high indicators of *intensity* of aggressiveness, violence, cheerfulness and anger. Apart from that, there were identified age and gender differences in the intensity of emotional expression. It was discovered that the level of intensity of violence, aggressiveness, cheerfulness and anger in the group of boys aged 10–11 years has a striking tendency to increase with age. Indicators of aggressiveness and cheerfulness turned out to be higher by 10.2 %, violence – by 10.5 %, anger – by 10.4 % than in the group of boys aged 8–9 years. Somewhat different situation was observed in the group of girls aged 10–11 years, where the intensity of violence was lower by 3.0 %, anger – by 0.9 %, cheerfulness – by 3.7 % than in the group of girls aged 8–9 years. The lowest intensity indicator of empathy in was recorded in all the groups.

The minimum *concrete correlation* of emotional reactions of all participants refers to the emotional manifestations of susceptibility



to offense, violence, aggressiveness, anxiousness and empathy. Primary schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities have difficulty understanding and controlling their emotional reactions; they do not correlate external influences with their emotional reactions. The highest indicators of awareness of emotional reactions among boys and girls of all age groups were noted in relation to fear, joy and anger.

Analysis of the results of the emotional reactions study (with the main parameter being *duration*) proved that all the participants had extremely excessive indicators in the expression of aggressiveness, anger and joy. The lowest level of duration in all gender groups concerned expression of empathy and anxiousness. Furthermore, there were identified age and gender differences as regards the duration indicator of the emotional responses “aggressiveness” and “anger”. In the groups of boys aged 8–9 and 10–11 years, the expression of these emotional reactions lasted longer than those reactions in the groups of girls of the same age.

*The third stage* of the study was focused on studying and assessing the cognitive-perceptual implications of the emotional response in primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. To complete this stage of the study, we used the technique “*Examining the understanding of emotional reactions depicted in the picture*” by G. A. Uruntayeva, Yu. A. Afon’kina. We adapted the procedures of the methodology, simplified the instruction, selected the material with a pictorial display of emotional reactions and series of pictures illustrating certain situations, added one methodological stage and reduced the number of tasks. Upon completion of the adaptation, we conducted a pilot experiment, which showed sufficient validity of this methodology. The experimental work was carried out in two directions: 1) the study of emotional reactions and assessment of their understanding, and 2) their subsequent verbalization.

In each direction, the interviewees were offered two series of tasks. In the first series, we determined the current level of children’s development; in the second series we evaluated their potential opportunities. To study

their emotional reactions, evaluate their understanding and name them, students were offered sheets with graphic image on the slides. These images showed a sort of face expressing different basic emotional reactions. In the second series of tasks the children looked at pictures which showed different life situations and had hidden clues. The display of these pictures was accompanied by a conversation between the experimenter and the child, which included finding out the signs that the child relies on in determining the emotional reaction and its further verbalization. During the conversation, the researcher determined how well the pupils understood the meaning of the events depicted in the pictures, and how adequately they correlated the context of the situation with the character’s emotional response.

A comparative analysis of the results of the tasks done by both age and gender groups during two stages of this methodology showed that the participants were more successful in completing tasks aimed at studying the understanding of emotional reactions and their differentiation than the tasks aimed at verbalization of these reactions. The second series of tasks, namely working with pictures of different life situations and leading questions from the experimenter, improved the results of all children.

The results of the tasks from the first stage of the methodology showed that all boys and girls aged 8–9 and 10–11 years experience the greatest difficulties in understanding and differentiating the emotional reactions of anger, anxiousness and aggression. The most recognizable for all the children were the emotional reactions of joy and fear, whereas offence was the least recognized.

Particular difficulties in understanding and differentiating the emotional reactions of anger, aggression and anxiousness were observed in all groups of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. Groups of boys and girls aged 8–9 years could not correctly indicate any of the above-mentioned emotional reactions when doing the tasks from the first and second series. Though groups of boys and girls aged 10–11

years showed somewhat higher results, they experienced grave difficulties in the differentiation of emotional reactions. The conversation with leading questions did not produce the desired results

The second stage of this methodology realization was directed at studying the understanding and verbalization of emotional reactions of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development. Analyzing the results of the second stage of the methodology, we found that among all the emotional reactions presented on slides, pupils aged 10–11 years and less often pupils aged 8–9 years most frequently identified joy, fear and offense. The names of other emotional reactions (“anger”, “anxiety” and “aggression”) were unrecognised by all the children while they did both series of tasks. Along with this, it was revealed that the main reason for the difficulties in all the series of tasks for all age and gender groups was the lack of knowledge about the main essential signs of the external expression of emotional reactions and their names.

### Conclusion

Having made a comparative analysis of the results of the study in all age and gender groups, we should admit that pupils with impaired intellectual development show higher rates of understanding of such emotional reactions as joy, fear and anger when they grow up, yet, they still have difficulties in differentiation and verbalization of these reactions. Difficulties in understanding, differentiating and verbalizing the emotional reactions of offence,

aggression and anxiousness were observed in all age groups of students with impaired intellectual development

Our study on the study and assessment of the emotional and personal tendencies and the behavioural repertoire of emotional responses of primary school pupils with impaired intellectual development made it possible to draw the conclusion that all the participants have specific aberrations at the level of basic behavioural components: intensity, concreteness, duration. The pupils showed these aberrations due to the absence of adequate, accurate and complete understanding of the causes of emotional experience or even due to the partial understanding of the causes of emotional reactions. The aberrations were also caused by the inobservance of emotional reactions to external influences as regards their strength and duration; by difficulties in understanding, differentiating and verbalizing emotional reactions. These violations entailed deviations in behaviour, which was expressed in encumbered of interaction with adults and peers, in the apparent aggressive tendencies, impulsiveness, proneness to conflict and irascibility.

In the course of an experimental study, we identified some gender characteristics in the realization of emotional and personal tendencies and behavioural repertoire of emotional reaction of pupils with impaired intellectual development in terms of the intensity and duration of emotional reactions. At the same time, there is no difference in terms of the subject correlation of visible peculiarities in the emotional response of boys and girls.

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## Изучение и оценка эмоционально-личностных тенденций и поведенческого репертуара эмоционального реагирования учащихся младшего школьного возраста с нарушением интеллекта

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**Аннотация.** В статье поднимается недостаточно исследованная, но актуальная проблема необходимости своевременного изучения и оценки эмоционально-личностных тенденций и поведенческого репертуара эмоционального реагирования учащихся младшего школьного возраста с нарушением интеллектуального развития. Решение ключевых вопросов, связанных с улучшением процессов социализации и социальной адаптации данного контингента школьников в условиях современного общества, не может рассматриваться вне контекста проблемы изучения и коррекции эмоциональной регуляции их поведения. Исследуемой категории школьников свойственны существенное отставание в развитии эмоционального реагирования, узость диапазона переживаний, частое несоответствие эмоциональных реакций внешним воздействиям по силе, интенсивности и содержанию, ограниченность интерпретации чувственного материала, которые приводят к неполноценному восприятию эмоциональных реакций других людей и не всегда адекватному и дифференцированному выражению собственных эмоциональных реакций

социально приемлемыми способами. Все это провоцирует сложности во взаимоотношениях учащихся с нарушением интеллектуального развития между собой и с окружающими взрослыми, создаёт серьезные барьеры в их обучении и воспитании, опосредует возникновение отклонений в поведении различного порядка, приводит к трудностям социальной адаптации и социализации.

В статье описывается организация реализуемого исследования, раскрываются основные компоненты, технологические параметры, этапы изучения эмоционально-личностных тенденций и поведенческого репертуара эмоционального реагирования учащихся младшего школьного возраста с нарушением интеллектуального развития. Модель исследования раскрывается посредством последовательно реализуемых диагностических блоков, направленных на изучение и оценку доминирующих в поведении учащихся эмоциональных реакций, экспрессивной выразительности и регуляции эмоционального реагирования, а также на изучение и оценку когнитивно-перцептивного содержания эмоционального реагирования учащихся младшего школьного возраста с нарушением интеллектуального развития.

На основании реализуемого исследования описываются специфические особенности эмоционально-личностных тенденций и поведенческого репертуара эмоционального реагирования учащихся младшего школьного возраста с нарушением интеллектуального развития, которые не только возможно, но и необходимо своевременно подвергать психолого-педагогической коррекции с целью улучшения процессов социализации и интеграции изучаемого контингента школьников в современном обществе.

**Ключевые слова:** эмоциональное реагирование, эмоциональные реакции, эмоционально-личностные тенденции, поведенческий репертуар, компоненты эмоционального реагирования, учащиеся с нарушением интеллектуального развития.

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**Law**

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## Herbert Hart's Doctrine of Indeterminacy in Law (1949–1961): Main Stages of Development

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**Abstract.** This article challenges a traditional account of a British philosopher and jurist H.L.A. Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy in law, according to which this doctrine is associated with the ideas of "open texture" of legal terms / rules and problems of judicial decision and discretion, expressed in *The Concept of Law* treatise (1961) and, partly, in the essay *Positivism and the Separation of Law and Morals* (1958). The article reconstructs development of Hart's corresponding views and distinguishes three main stages of this development associated with the author's 1949, 1953–1957, and 1958–1961 texts. In these texts problems of indeterminacy appear in different contexts, forms, roles, and so on, irreducible to the ideas of "open texture". As a result the article substantiates conclusions about an earlier dating of Hart's doctrine, its broader content, complex structure, diversity of terminology, etc., that helps to provide its more balanced assessment and use.

**Keywords:** H.L.A. Hart, indeterminacy in law, open texture, legal language, legal concepts, ascriptivity, analytical jurisprudence, legal reasoning, judicial discretion, legal positivism, analytical philosophy of law.

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## Introduction

Views of a prominent British legal thinker Herbert Hart (1907–1992) dealing with indeterminacy in law is a subject of countless researches in Western philosophical-legal literature starting from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Herewith a traditional account associates Hart's corresponding doctrine (a) with the idea of "open texture" of legal terms / rules; (b) with the author's conception of judicial decision (legal reasoning); 3) with *The Concept of Law* (1961) and, possibly, *Positivism and the Separation of Law and Morals* (1958) as basic relevant texts; etc. Similar viewpoints are also present in Russian legal literature (Didikin, Ogleznev, 2012; Drobyshvskiy, 2015; Kozlikhin, Poliakov, Timoshina, 2015; Martyshyn, 2016; Moyiseyev, 2004; etc.).

Basing on a study of H.L.A. Hart's 1949–1961 texts this article proposes a different view. Contrary to the traditional account, Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy in law, historically reconstructed, is a much earlier and broader one. Problems of indeterminacy appeared in the author's writings since his first 1949 essay and developed till 1961 treatise and further, addressing different tasks and topics irreducible to the famous conception of "open texture" of law. Thus the article will (1) distinguish three stages in development of Hart's doctrine in question, and (2) draw some conclusions as to its general characteristics.

### Three stages in development

#### of H.L.A. Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy

So now basing on the author's writings (taken as dividing criteria) it's possible to speak of *three stages* in development of his doctrine of indeterminacy in law up to 1961 treatise. (The fourth stage could also be distinguished referring to Hart's debate with R. Dworkin and his corresponding texts (Hart, 1983b; 1983c; 1994, Postscript)). Being interrelated with each other and having conditional borders, these stages though differ in disciplinary types, goals, theses, arguments, discursive apparatus, so issues of indeterminacy appear in various contexts, forms, plays various roles, etc. (Kasatkin, 2014, ch. 3 § 2).

The *first* stage is associated with the 1949 philosophical essay, *Ascription of Responsibility and Rights* (Hart, 1949). Here H.L.A. Hart defends an "ascriptive", i.e. nonfactual and normatively-charged, use of a concept of action (and of "social" / institutional concepts in general) and inadequacy of its object (ostensive) and formal-logic descriptions. In this regard he points to indeterminacy and defeasibility (i.e. presumptive applicability) as specific traits of legal concepts which make unsatisfactory their descriptive definition through a "closed" logical formula of always necessary and sufficient conditions of their application. (Contrary to common opinion, Hart retains much of his 1949 commitment: the author's "renunciation" of the 1949 article (Hart, 1968a, Intro.) is rather pragmatic and concerns secondary points leaving large intact his general conception of ascriptivity (Kasatkin, 2014, ch. 3 § 3)). Herewith indeterminacy acts as a peripheral notion within a problem sphere of linguistic-analytical philosophy emphasizing complex and open character of a particular speech practice ("language game") – that of legal discourse taken in a precedent legal system with regulations through concrete examples, lack of exact definitions and a broad judicial discretion (Kasatkin, 2016b).

The *second* stage is connected with H.L.A. Hart's 1953–1957 essays: *Definition and Theory in Jurisprudence* (Hart, 1983a), *Philosophy of Law and Jurisprudence in Britain (1945–1952)* (Hart, 1953), *Theory and Definition in Jurisprudence* (Hart, 1955), *Analytical Jurisprudence in Mid-Twentieth Century: A Reply to Professor Bodenheimer* (Hart, 1957). In these papers the author elaborates his own (reformed) project of analytical jurisprudence as a philosophical-linguistic explanation of key legal terms resting on specificity of legal language and a corresponding method of "philosophical definition" (accounting for meaning and speech function of legal terms). Within this project Hart especially stipulates an area for indeterminacy questions. He decenters a problem of indeterminacy of legal terms for analytical jurisprudence, stressing a priority of elucidating their basic features (meaning, connections with facts and norms, role in legal conclusions).



At the same time the author advocates possibility and importance of neutral reflection of indeterminacy in analytical jurisprudence (Hart, 1955, s. IV–V; 1957, s. IIIa, IIIc). On one hand he demonstrates various techniques of explaining vagueness (as well as ambiguity and complexity) of legal concepts / terms (Hart, 1957, s. IIIc). On the other hand he draws contours of a descriptive analytical theory of adjudication including explication of cases of indeterminacy of legal terms / rules, stating situations of choice, systematization of arguments for and against given decisions, etc. (Hart, 1955, s. V–VI; Kasatkin, 2017).

The *third* stage involves the 1958 essay *Positivism and The Separation of Law and Morals* (Hart, 1958, s. III) and the 1961 treatise *The Concept of Law* (Hart, 1994). Here indeterminacy is primarily seen in light of proper representation of legal reasoning, nature of rules and their ability to predetermine legal outcomes, and so in a more general context of adequacy of positivistic interpretation of law as a socially established normative system. H.L.A. Hart famously defends importance of rules as standards able to predetermine a decision in (being dominant) clear cases, but requiring judicial discretion in borderline situations. Thereby the author emphasizes a value of legal positivism, giving a (distinct from J. Austin and H. Kelsen) linguistic-philosophical justification of the positivist thesis of indeterminacy and discretion, and justifying a “middle” position between formalism, legal realism (normative skepticism) and, also, natural law theories (Hart, 1958; 1994; Kasatkin, 2012; 2016a). (In this period Hart also clearly demonstrates non-identity of legal reasoning to logical deduction (Hart, 1958, s. III; 1953), and formulates a doctrine of (judicial) discretion as a rational responsible choice in indeterminacy situations — a doctrine that didn't receive his further elaboration, being claimed in expanded form in the author's “lost” and recently discovered 1956 essay *Discretion* (Hart, 2013) and, quite briefly, in 1958 essay (Hart, 1958, s. III)).

**Conclusion.** The offered historical reconstruction of Hart's views shows some valuable implications for a more sound picture of H.L.A. Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy in law which

is irreducible to his ideas of “open texture” expressed in 1961 *The Concept of Law* (and, partly, in 1958 *Positivism and The Separation of Law and Morals*) and concerned with nature of legal terms, rules and adjudication.

First, such doctrine has earlier dating and textual sources. It could already be found in Hart's first 1949 essay and is present in several important writings by the author up to 1961 treatise and further. The same is entirely true for the author's conception of legal reasoning, judicial decision and discretion.

Second, such doctrine is a much broader one. It appears in different contexts and for different purposes, having more diverse content, theses and arguments. In particular, it addresses problems of general methodology of explaining legal / social concepts, a project of analytical and positivist jurisprudence, a conception of normative legal regulation, of judicial decisions, reasoning, discretion, and so on.

Third, to Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy in law could be attributed a complex structure. The doctrine proceeds at different “levels”: (a) ones of methodology and subject-matter (which could as well be found in chapters 1 and 7 of *The Concept of Law* (Hart, 1994)); (b) of legal theory and legal practice / practical ideology (present in Hart's discussion of a “formalist fallacy” (Hart, 1958, s. III)). Moreover, being primary and mainly a descriptive conception, the author's doctrine could incorporate some normative or policy arguments (e.g., considerations as to a clear theoretical and practical explanation (Hart, 1958a, s. I–III; 1958, s. I–III), a need for balance between determinacy and indeterminacy in legal system and justification of a moderate discretion (Hart, 1994, ch. 7), as to possible limits of stretching language in adjudication (Hart, 1960, s. V), etc.).

Forth, Hart's doctrine of indeterminacy in law is expressed with different discursive apparatus. Thus, its well-known term, “open texture”, is not exclusive for the author's discussion of these issues. In the 1950s works Hart prefers to talk of “core” and “penumbra” of a meaning or of “clear” and “borderline” cases of applying terms / rules (Hart, 1957; 1958), having only two uses of “open texture” expression before 1961 (Hart, 1953, s. IV; 1957, s. I).

Therefore, a historical reconstruction of H.L.A. Hart's relevant views and their development grants a richer picture of his doctrine of indeterminacy in law (with ideas of "open texture" being an integral part of it). Many of Hart's 1961 positions have a detailed justifica-

tion in his earlier 1949–1950s texts allowing a more balanced assessment and use of the author's contentions and arguments (in comparison to those present in the 20<sup>th</sup> century literature including Hart's debates with L. Fuller, R. Dworkin, etc.).

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## Доктрина неопределенности в праве Герберта Харта (1949–1961): основные этапы развития

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**Аннотация.** В данной статье оспаривается традиционный взгляд на доктрину неопределенности в праве британского философа и правоведа Г.Л.А. Харта, согласно которому эта доктрина ассоциируется с идеями «открытой текстуры» правовых терминов / правил и проблематикой судебного решения и усмотрения, выраженными в трактате «Понятие права» (1961) и отчасти в очерке «Позитивизм и разделение права и нравов» (1958). В статье реконструируется развитие соответствующих взглядов Харта и выделяются три основных этапа такого развития, связанные с текстами автора 1949, 1953–1957 и 1958–1961 гг. В указанных текстах проблемы неопределенности предстают в различных контекстах, формах, ролях и т.п., несводимых к идеям «открытой текстуры». В итоге в статье обосновываются выводы о более ранней датировке доктрины Г. Харта, о ее более широком составе, комплексной структуре, разнообразии терминологического аппарата и пр., что позволяет обеспечить ее более взвешенную оценку и использование.

**Ключевые слова:** Г.Л.А. Харт, неопределенность в праве, открытая текстура, юридический язык, правовые понятия, аскриптивность, аналитическая юриспруденция, юридическое рассуждение, судебское усмотрение, юридический позитивизм, аналитическая философия права.

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## H.L.A. Hart's Methodology of Defining Legal Concepts: Problems of Connection Between Semantics and Pragmatics in Legal Language

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**Abstract.** The subject of this article is a method of jurisprudential definition introduced by a British philosopher and jurist H.L.A. Hart. In particular it discusses: (1) the author's account of specificity of legal discourse (meaning and speech function of legal concepts) and discrepancy between that and a traditional method of definition per genus et differentiam; (2) Hart's alternative method of "philosophical definition" of legal concepts; (3) correlation of this method with other definitive / explanatory techniques used by the author in 1949–1961 papers and further; (4) complexities of jurisprudential and philosophical character related to Hart's method. Special attention is paid to Hart's position as to relationship between semantics and pragmatics in legal discourse (and so in "philosophical definition"). The conclusion is established claiming a change of the author's corresponding views: a transition to a looser type of connection between meaning and force of legal concepts in which these concepts (while maintaining its social, institutional character) can be used both in descriptive ("external") and "ascriptive" / normative ("internal") statements.

**Keywords:** H.L.A. Hart, legal language, legal concepts, jurisprudential definition, ascriptivity, legal semantics, legal pragmatics, analytical philosophy of law, jurisprudential methodology.

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## Introduction

A classic method of conceptual definition *per genus et differentiam* (by specifying genus and species differences) is very common in modern social sciences and humanities, including jurisprudence. This method and a philosophical theory associated with it has become an object of discussion and criticism by Herbert L.A. Hart (1907–1992) – a representative of the Oxford school of philosophical analysis of ordinary language and a legal scholar, who offered a powerful alternative methodology of explaining legal concepts.

In this context the proposed article would focus on (1) a study of Hart's position as to an appropriate method for defining legal concepts, and on (2) stating some difficulties concerning this approach in light of traditional jurisprudence as well as of general philosophical-analytical doctrine, with a special emphasis on connection between semantics and pragmatics of legal usage.

### H.L.A. Hart: specificity of legal concepts and a method of their definition

Hart starts from a philosophical-analytical doctrine of meaning as (language) use. However, he employs it not in a version of “language games” à la L. Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein, 1953), but in the context of performatives conception, advanced by J.L. Austin (Austin, 1961). Austin doesn't just reproduce Wittgenstein's thesis about social-practical, conventional-normative basis of linguistic meanings (suggesting to explain them through different examples of their use). He develops a doctrine about various forms of use (or speech functions) of linguistic expressions, formulating an idea of “performatives” as speech acts opposed to simple descriptions (“constatives”) (Austin, 1961).

Hart applies ideas of diversity of speech functions to the so-called “social” concepts, primarily to concepts (terms) of legal language, such as “contract”, “crime”, “property”, “action”, “state”, “corporation”, “right”, “duty”, etc. (Hart, 1949; 1983a; 1955; 1957). According to the philosopher, in contrast to “natural” classes (terms like “chair” or “cat”) social concepts have no direct empirical referents,

their content is determined purely by a normative-institutional speech context, by an existing system of their use. In turn, as Hart argues, a typical form of their use – in expressions like “It's yours”, “He did it”, “Hereby I give you...”, “He has a right / a duty...”, etc. – is not a description, but something what Hart at different times calls an “ascription”, an “operation with rules” (an operative or a performative), a “drawing [normative] conclusions” (qualification of a particular case) (Hart, 1949; 1983a, s. II–III; etc.). In other words in his initial (1953) explanation of legal concepts the author inextricably links their semantics and pragmatics, actually inferring the former from the latter (Kasatkin, 2014, ch. 2, § 5).

As a result Hart rejects a classic method of definition *per genus et differentiam* (that supposes a universal rule of translation of a term in question into other (familiar) terms or suggests a formula of always necessary and sufficient conditions of a term's use). According to Hart, in relation to legal concepts such method is misleading, directing to description paradigms and to a search for empirical referents where they are absent (besides demanding certainty where it doesn't exist) (Hart, 1949; 1983a, s. II–III). In contrast to that in his 1950s works (starting from 1953 *Definition and Theory in Jurisprudence*) the author proposes a distinctive method of “philosophical definition”, combining these concepts' semantic and pragmatic aspects. It involves: 1) an analysis of the concepts / terms in whole characteristic statements taken in typical socio-linguistic contexts of their use; 2) explication conditions of “truth-value” / appropriateness of their use as well as of their specific speech function (context and goal) (Hart, 1983a, s. II–III; 1955, s. II; 1957, s. II).

A famous example of application of Hart's method is his account of a concept (or an expression) “legal right”:

1) A statement of the form “X has a right...” is true (appropriate) if the following conditions are satisfied:

- a) there is an existing legal system;
- b) under rules of the system some other person Y in certain circumstances is obliged to do or refrain from some action;

c) this obligation is made by the law dependent on a choice of X (or a person authorized to act on his behalf), so that either Y is obliged to refrain from some action only if this is a choice of X (or another person), or until X (or another person) chooses otherwise.

2) A statement of the form "X has a right" is used for drawing a legal conclusion in a particular case which falls under relevant rules (Hart, 1983a: 35).

Another typical instance is Hart's definition of a concept "legal person" ("corporation") with an example concerning the name of a fictional state "Nusquamia". According to the author, "to elucidate it we must... take the whole statement 'Nusquamia owes you £1000' and describe its use perhaps as follows:

1. Here in the territory of Nusquamia there is a legal system in force; under the laws of this system certain persons on complying with certain conditions are authorized for certain purposes to receive sums of money and to do other actions analogous to those required to make a contract of loan between private individuals.

2. When such persons do such acts certain consequences, analogous to those attached to the similar actions of private individuals, follow, including the liability of persons defined by law to repay the sums of money out of funds defined by law.

3. The expression 'Nusquamia owes you £1000' does not state the existence of these rules nor of these circumstances, but is true in a particular case when they exist, and is used in drawing a conclusion of law from these rules in a particular case" (Hart, 1983a: 38–39).

In regard to Hart's proclaimed method of definition it's necessary to pay attention to a number of points.

First, relatively brief "definitions" cited here are ones among few quite well-composed, compact and structured "philosophical definitions" presented in the author's texts. In Hart's other writings there are either much more lengthy explanations of legal concepts (e.g., a concept of legal obligation (Hart, 1957: 965–967) or even a concept of law (Hart, 1994)) or, on the contrary, only comments about the individual (obscured) features of

explained concepts without explicating all elements valuable for its definition (along the 1953 method).

Second, in Hart's works one can find various types of explanatory / definitive techniques concerning legal and alike concepts, such as: (a) a technique of defining "open" and defeasible social concepts (Hart, 1949, s. I); (b) a technique of explaining concepts with a complex structure ("umbrella terms") (Hart, 1955, s. III); (c) techniques of explanation of ambiguity (diverse / logically non-unified use) and indeterminacy (vagueness) of legal concepts (Hart, 1957, s. IIIc); (d) techniques of explanation of legal "operatives" or performatives (Hart, 1949, s. II; 1955, s. II; 1957, s. II; etc.). Although Hart doesn't clarify their precise relationship with the 1953 method / approach the latter can be seen as a more general or framework method of definition, toward which the subsequent techniques act as particular, specifying elements (instantiations). These accent (and analytically isolate) either questions of semantics or questions of pragmatics of legal usage (Kasatkin, 2016).

Third, the 1953 method differs from the method / approach of "defining" a concept of law in the famous eponymous treatise of 1961. As before, the 1961 method is motivated by rejection of traditional concise definitions and "closed" logical formulas and is a technique of explanation of a complex concept and / or an ambiguous and vague ("open") concept. It involves composing a taxonomy of use of a concept, revealing its clear and borderline cases, analyzing their structure, relationships, principles of usage, etc. (Hart, 1994, ch. I). However, in contrast to the 1953 approach, the 1961 method rather starts from a subject-matter issues, its most acute problems ("persistent questions": relationship between law, coercion and morality, understanding of legal rule, etc. (Hart, 1994, ch. I) and also contains relevant important considerations and arguments of "non-linguistic" nature. Herewith, of course, key elements and analytic techniques of the 1950s are seen in the 1961 treatise in discussing the mentioned specific issues (relations between specific concepts), including the famous dis-

inction between “internal” and “external” statements based on earlier differentiation of ascriptive and descriptive speech functions (Hart, 1994, ch. IV–V, etc.).

**Jurisprudential  
and philosophical complications  
of H.L.A. Hart's methodology**

Hart's approach is of interest as a significant variant of justification of a general descriptive value-neutral theory and methodology of law concentrated on a study of “conceptual framework” of legal thought and contributing fruitful ideas of analytical-linguistic philosophy into jurisprudence. However, this approach poses several difficulties of both jurisprudential and philosophical character.

As for a jurisprudential aspect, Hart, first, focuses on “philosophical” rather than “technical” definitions, i.e. on explanation of specific nature of legal concepts, their meaning, relations to norms and facts, their speech functions, etc., and not on fixation of correct use of relevant terms within a legal system, their place in existing classifications (Hart, 1955, s. II; 1957, s. IIIa, III d). Hence Hart's analytical jurisprudence converted along the model of philosophical-linguistic studies à la J.L. Austin and others, separates itself from discussing a number of traditional problems of (general and branch) legal dogma and practice (Bodenheimer, 1956).

Second, Hart's methodology provides an analytical and value-neutral description / explanation of basic legal concepts, centering its typical, “clear” cases of language usage (Hart, 1955, s. V; 1957, s. IIIa). As a consequence, this approach doesn't offer doctrinal justification of legal decisions, including one in situations of uncertainty (Dworkin, 1977); value assessment of normative systems and substantiation of an obligation to follow legal rules, especially in relation to vicious political regimes and immoral official regulations (Fuller, 1958); empirical formalization and verification of its theoretical claims (Leiter, 2003).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that similar difficulties (partly recognized by the British jurist), on one hand, is inherent in the tradition of analytical jurisprudence as a

whole, on the other hand, it doesn't negate importance of Hart's project with its unique methodological tools, its relevance in modern legal theory.

Apart from jurisprudential issues the considered method of defining legal concepts gives rise to various questions of philosophical character, including those addressing connection between semantics and pragmatics of legal language.

Thus, first, in contrast to Hart's claims, a type of linking semantic and pragmatic aspects of discourse practiced by the author is not consistent in style with that of J.L. Austin (a fortiori with that of L. Wittgenstein). Austin rather explores these issues separately, in different kinds of research (Austin, 1961; 1962).

Second, and more important, claiming an “ascriptive” or non-constative character of legal concepts (causing inseparability of their semantics and pragmatics and a key role of the latter) Hart, despite Austin, confuses different aspects of a non-descriptivity: on one hand, an absence of exclusive empirical referents (material facts), on the other hand, a specific “force” or speech function (producing speech acts different from description). From the very author's examples already follows a possibility of descriptive use of such “ascriptive” terms (e.g., pronouncing “This is mine” for a statement of fact (Hart, 1949, s. II)), and vice versa (a directive in court judgments as to violation of rules concerning production of furniture or pets treatment). This in turn erodes peculiarities of legal concepts, pointing to more general patterns of language, and also impedes an explicit differentiation of legal discourse: it's unclear whether its specificity consists in its characteristic terminology or way of its use (Kasatkin, 2014, ch. 2, § 1).

As a result (in 1955 essay, in *The Concept of Law*, etc.), Hart retreats from such a rigid connection between semantics and pragmatics (Hart, 1955, s. III; 1994, s. IV–V, etc.), taking as an error his confusing a use as a meaning and as a “force” (speech function) (Hart, 1983b, s. I–II). In this view the same (social / legal) concept can be employed in different ways (speech acts), in “internal” and “external” statements, i.e. both from a “participant” perspective (a

rules-based operation or qualification) and from a perspective of an “observer” (a description or a prediction of behavior in a normative system). Anyway, for Hart such a retreat doesn't mean a return to a traditional “closed” or ostensive definition, but rather a “broader” look at a link of semantic and pragmatic issues (allowing for different types of their relations in language practices) as well as adherence to other meth-

ods of conceptual analysis grasping specificity of basic legal concepts.

In this form H.L.A. Hart's method of defining legal concepts proceeds in line with a philosophical-analytical methodology of his time, remaining open to reassessment through a light of subsequent theories about connection between semantics and pragmatics and corresponding jurisprudential doctrines.

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## Методология определения правовых понятий Г.Л.А. Харта: проблемы связи семантики и прагматики в юридическом языке

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**Аннотация.** Предмет настоящей статьи – метод правоведческого определения, вводимый британским философом и правоведом Г.Л.А. Хартом. Здесь, в частности, разбираются: 1) авторская трактовка специфики юридического дискурса (значения и речевой функции правовых понятий) и несоответствие ей традиционного метода определения *per genus et differentiam*; 2) предлагаемый Хартом альтернативный метод «философского определения» правовых понятий; 3) соотношение данного метода с иными дефинитивными / объяснительными техниками, используемыми автором в работах 1949–1961 гг. и далее; 4) сложности правоведческого и философского характера, связанные с методом Харта. Особое внимание уделяется позиции Харта относительно связи семантики и прагматики в юридическом дискурсе (и «философском определении»). Обосновывается вывод об изменении соответствующих взглядов автора: о переходе к более свободному типу связи значения и силы правовых понятий, при котором последние (сохраняя свой «социальный», институциональный характер) могут употребляться как в описательных («внешних»), так и в «аскриптивных» / нормативных («внутренних») утверждениях.

**Ключевые слова:** Г.Л.А. Харт, юридический язык, правовые понятия, правоведческое определение, аскриптивность, правовая семантика, правовая прагматика, аналитическая философия права, методология юриспруденции.

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